



The Pragmatics of Apology Speech Act Behaviour in Iraqi Arabic and English

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

English Linguistics

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2017

To: My dear wife: MARWA and my lovely son: AYOOB

Abstract

This study is concerned with examining the speech act of apology by Iraqi Arabic native speakers (IANs) and Iraqi English foreign language learners (EFLL). It aims at examining the strategies and functions of apologies produced by two groups of participating speakers as well as their perceptions of apology. This study is significant and necessary for the field of pragmatics and politeness theories. It represents a new cultural study that has not been previously examined. From pragmatic and politeness perspectives, all previous research has focused on the realization of apologies rather than how they are perceived. To fill this gap, the current study is believed to be the first that examines both producing and perceiving apology in terms of politeness¹ (producing actual speech acts) and politeness² (perceiving them). The apologies elicited in this study were represented by written and spoken responses. The former was elicited by a Discourse Completing Task followed by a Scale Response Task while the latter was stimulated by an Open Role Play followed by a Semi-Structured Interview. In both cases, the situations designed for eliciting apologies were systematically different and varied according to the social status, gender, age and social distance and the severity of offence.

The main results showed that the choice of apology strategies was highly influenced by the collectivistic nature of Iraqi culture as well as the socio-religious conceptualization of apology. The results also showed that, unlike the Iraqi Arabic native speakers, the Iraqi EFL learners were less aware of pragmatic competence than of grammatical competence. The perception of apologies achieved by the Semi-structured interview revealed the participants' conceptualization of apologies in different contexts. Thus, from a functional perspective, we found that the functions of apologies performed in L1 (Iraqi Arabic) were different from the function of apologies performed in L2 (English). Further, the Iraqi Arabic native speakers tended to use extended apologies for certain offences while the Iraqi EFLL employed a single apology strategy or a non- apology strategy.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude and acknowledgement to my supervisors: Prof. Lixian Jin, Prof. Martin Cortazzi and Dr. Debbie Le Play for their continuous support and assistance during the years of writing my thesis, they had valuable comments, suggestions, and revisions that made this study more valuable.

I would like also to thank my sponsor the Higher committee for education development in Iraq for granting me the opportunity to pursue my study in the UK. Many thanks to all its members and I wish all the best to them.

My thanks also should be extended to the external assessors who have evaluated the data of the present study: Prof. Dr. Zaidan Omar, Anbar University, Iraq; Assistant Prof. Dr. Nassier Al-Zubaidi, Baghdad University, Iraq and Dr. Hazim Hakoosh, Anbar University, Iraq and Andrew Cohen, University of Minnesota, USA. I would like also to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Iraqi Arabic recruiting participants as the main subject of the present study during the time of data collection.

I should also extend my thanks and gratitude to my family especially my wife and parents who have always been with me with their spiritual support, patience and endurance during the long journey of study in the UK.

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List of Abbreviations

IANS	Iraqi Arabic Native Speakers
IEFLL	Iraqi English Foreign Language Learners
DCT	Discourse Completing Task
SRT	Scale Response Task
H	Hearer
S	Speaker
L1	First Language
L2	Second language
MMA	Mixed Method Approach

Definition of significant terms

Some key terms are used variably by different scholars, however, here in this thesis; the following terms are used as defined by the present researcher. These glosses are thus in line with the aims and context of the present study:

- 1- `Pragmatics` is the study of using language in context. It is concerned with the process of transferring meanings/messages to another party by using different strategies and norms (Crystal, 1996).
- 2- `Cross-cultural pragmatics` is the study of language use across different cultures. It is concerned with the differences and similarities in the process of producing and comprehending utterances in the different languages (Wierzbicka, 2003).
- 3- `Interlanguage Pragmatics`: is a sub-field of pragmatics that is concerned with the non-native speakers' use and acquisition of second language pragmatic knowledge (Kasper and Rose, 2002).
- 4- `Face` is term used in the analysis of politeness phenomena in both pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics. It falls into two types: positive face that refers to the interlocutors' want to show involvement with others; and negative face, which refers to the interlocutors' want not to be offended by others (Goffman, 1976).
- 5- `Cooperative principle`: refers to the way successful communication is achieved in social situations, i.e. how interlocutors cooperate and accept each other to be understood without communication breakdown (Grice, 1975).
- 6- `Apology` is the social behaviour performed by the offender or apologizer to an offended person (apologizee) in order to repair damage or to show politeness (the researcher's own definition).
- 7- `The Offender` is the person who caused a violation and is expected to give an apology to the victim (the researcher's own definition).
- 8- `Apology conceptualization`: refers to the people's view about apology phenomena (the researcher's own definition).
- 9- `Rules`: is a pragmatic term used for creating an imposition to be obeyed as a strong convention by language users (Lakoff, 1975).

- 10- `Strategies`: can be defined as the way in which interlocutors choose for communication. The choice of strategies depends on certain factors, such as the relationship between the addresser and the addressee, the social power and distance (Brown and Levinson, 1983).
- 11- `Maxims`: refers to language parameters that has a lesser degree of imposition compared with rules. They involve a sense of responsibility and aim at protecting social values. Socially, `maxims` represent the components of expectations regarding interpersonal interaction (Leech, 1987,2014).
- 12- `Social norms`: are informal understandings of certain phenomena that determine the expected social behaviour of people in a specific culture. (the researcher's own definition).
- 13- `Religious norms`: are formal duties, rules, and moral and spiritual exhortations of a certain religion, here Islam, that frame or determine the religious behaviour of people inside and outside the Islamic community (the researcher's own definition).
- 14- `Cultural dimensions`: is a term used in inter- and cross-cultural communication. It refers to the effect of culture on the expected behaviour and values of community members, seen in terms of differing profiles of combined dimensions such as social distance and power, orientation to the group and individuals, ambiguity and uncertainty, happiness and well-being, among others (Thomas, 1985; Wierzbicka, 2003).

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Having the experience of English language learning, teaching and studying in the UK, I noticed (from an Iraqi perspective) that apologies are used in everyday interaction, in particular in academic contexts, and workplace contexts in face-to-face talk and in online communication. In contrast, in Iraqi Arabic contexts, apologies seem rare or are unusually given, though they are essentially recommended by Islamic principles. This personal observation motivated me to explore and examine how apologies are produced and perceived in Iraqi Arabic contexts and how Iraqi learners of English apologise in English.

Previous research in the field of pragmatics (Searle, 1969; Brown and Levinson, 1989; Holmes, 1995, Deutschmann, 2003: cited in Al-zubaidi,2011) seeks to ascertain and authenticate the rules that govern the production of speech acts and whether rules are identical linguistically across languages and cross-cultures or not. Consequently, a variety of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research has been adopted for revealing the pragmatic rules that enable people from different cultures to achieve successful communication. The last few decades have witnessed significant efforts in investigating apologies under the scope of politeness research. Previous research indicated that the apology speech act is a common, even universal phenomenon. Such phenomenon can also be a culture-specific issue since it can be determined by of certain social factors that vary from one context to another or from one culture to another. The perceived need to apologize and the function of apology differ from one culture to another because what is seen as an offensive act in one culture might not be interpreted as offensive in another culture due to the different social norms and values.

Apologies are chosen here as the mirror of politeness in the Iraqi Arabic culture and in English as a second language because from my own perspective they are relatively rare in the Iraqi Arabic context but according to TED Sussex University (2012) more frequent in the British culture/language. Interestingly, apologies are among the first speech acts to be learned often in a second language. Thus, to give an effective and successful apology, there should be an adequate pragmatic competence in both L1 and L2 as a part of the socialization process. Apology as speech act behaviour, however, draws considerably researchers' attention and has been largely examined in terms of cross cultural and interlanguage perspectives.

This study is concerned with examining the strategies and functions of apology speech act behaviour by Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi English foreign language learners (EFLs) within a cultural and an interlanguage pragmatic approach. By examining apologies in the Iraqi Arabic context of culture, the present study also aims at exposing the conceptualization of Iraqi Arabic apologies. Thus, the main aim of this study is to provide an account for the way in which speech act of apology is realized in Iraqi Arabic by Iraqi Arabic native speakers and in English by Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language, and identify differences and similarities.

This study has adopted a mixed method approach for collecting the data. Thus, the data collection methods adopted comprised a written discourse-completing task, a scale – response task, open role-play and semi-structured interview. The statistical analysis of the frequency of apologies is of paramount significance since it provides a quantitative evidence base to yield insight to the understanding of the social phenomenon of apology. To this end, both quantitative and qualitative analysis was adopted. Following Drever (1995) and Al-Adalieh (2007), both a scale response task and a semi-structured interview were used as follow up methods to gather more in-depth data relating the participants' perceptions of apology. The use of these two extra methods was motivated by the doubt that the participants' perception of cultural rules might be different from the way they operationalize them in the real life interaction; this is a kind of ideal-real gap between expectations and actual behaviour in context. Therefore, the data elicited by the perception

methods can complement and perhaps validate the data yielded by the quantitative analysis as well as to solidify views about apology speech acts. The methodological approach adopted in the present study for the perception of apologies based on Grainger (2011) and Kadar and Haugh (2015) approach of politeness realization and perception. According to them, understanding of politeness in this study involves combining the *lay observer* and the *analyst* for examining producing and perceiving apologies in Iraqi Arabic and English. The lay observer is represented by the participants recruited in the present study as apologizers and evaluators as well. In addition, the analyst is represented by the researcher. The current study has been developed in the light that the researcher is a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic that facilitated the interpretation of the participating Iraqi people's perceptions of politeness through apology strategies and functions along with the participants' retrospective evaluations.

1.2 Research questions

The present study thus aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the apology strategies used by Iraqi native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners? And what functions do they perform?
2. To what extent do Iraqi EFL learners make a pragmatic transfer when apologizing in English? What is the nature of any transfer and what are its underlying factors when apologizing?
3. What cultural values are involved in Iraqi apologies? And which are more influential?
4. How is apology perceived in Iraqi Arabic culture?

1.3 The significance of the study

This study is designed to be theoretically and practically significant. Theoretically, it seeks to contribute to theoretical pragmatics as, through the particular case of Iraqi Arabic and speakers who learn English, it exposes principles and norms which govern the production of speech acts and the degree to which the rules of language use vary from one language to another and from one context to another. The practical results of this study should be valuable for Iraqi EFL teachers, textbook authors and syllabus designers. The findings are

beneficial for teachers to anticipate and minimize situations in which Iraqi EFL learners are expected to experience language and cultural misunderstandings and avoid communication breakdown. Pragmatic learning materials can be designed to be integrated within EFL programs. This can be achieved by improving how the Iraqi EFL/ESL schoolbooks represented pragmatic knowledge of the target culture, which is currently inadequate; basically by providing better understanding of concepts of politeness. Iraqi EFL learners often encounter difficulties and problems in communicating with native speakers of English; therefore, this study is potentially beneficial to aid development of a new communicative approach for teaching positive and negative politeness strategies which will be effective for the Iraqi EFL learners who are generally exposed to a limited amount of politeness in classrooms.

1.4 The structure of the study

The thesis is divided into three parts. **Part One** includes this **introduction**, and **Literature Review**. The literature review falls into three chapters. **Chapter two** reviews aspects of general pragmatics, interlanguage pragmatics, the relationship between language and culture as well as some cultural dimensions that are expected to be relevant in the present study as rules or norms that govern producing and perceiving apologies. **Chapter three** comprises a critical review for the traditional and post-modern theories of politeness. This chapter is considered as a theoretical foundation for perceiving Iraqi Arabic politeness through apologies. **Chapter four** demonstrates previous research on the speech act of apology, how apology was defined? What strategies of apology were identified? And what social variables affect producing and perceiving apologies.

Part Two includes chapter five, which is devoted to the research methodology. The study has adopted a mixed method approach in collecting apologies in Iraqi Arabic language and English as a foreign language (EFL). The methods adopted are a Discourse Completion Task, a Scale – response task, an Open role-play and a semi-structured interview. This chapter also presents how the situations for eliciting apologies were designed, considerations of data validity and reliability as well as the coding scheme and pilot study.

Part Three is devoted for the data analysis and interpretations. It is divided into two chapters: six and seven. **Chapter six** deals with the results analysis and discussion of the data collected by the DCT and the scale response task whereas **Chapter seven** discusses the results of analysing the data elicited by the open role play and the semi-structured interview. Finally, **Part Four**, which involves **Chapter eight**, provides general theoretical and empirical conclusions arrived at throughout the present study as well as limitations, offering suggestions and recommendations for further research finalizing with a general reflective picture about the work.

Chapter Two

Pragmatics and Cultural Considerations

This chapter is systematically focused towards a contextualized rationale for the research questions of this study. This chapter is not intended to answer the research questions directly, but they can be addressed and argued in terms of reviewing pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. Both are concerned with the realization of speech acts in a first and a foreign language. This chapter also focuses on the conceptualization of culture as a baseline for interpreting the apologies or the data of the present study.

Thus, this chapter starts with a review of the theoretical background of pragmatics in cultural contexts. First, it offers an overview of the definition and scope of pragmatics emphasizing macro-pragmatics as the main concern here. The notion of culture is discussed in relation to politeness research. This chapter also describes in depth the social variables of social distance and power in terms of Hofstede's dimensions of collectivism and individualism, high context and low context and masculinity and femininity. It is argued that these dimensions linked to Iraqi Arabic culture are a framework to show some features of the communicative style, which is likely to prevail when apologizing. Then, we provide a theoretical background on interlanguage pragmatics to show its significance in pragmatics and discuss the types of communicative competence as a basis to find out what types of pragmatic transfer made by the Iraqi EFLL when they apologize.

2.1 Pragmatics: Preliminaries:

The term pragmatics has been first used as a branch of semiotics in the 1930s (Morris, 1938). Then it was employed in linguistics as a branch that studies the usage of language. Through Morris's (1983) distinction between the main branches of linguistics: phonology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, Pragmatics is defined as the study of 'the relation of signs to interpreters' (Morris, 1938: 6). However, it is a relatively new specialism within linguistics compared to phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. It has been established as an independent focus of linguistics research, although it is inevitably related to the other special areas mentioned. It has emerged as a result of seminal ideas, views and

arguments about the function and the use of language by philosophers such as Austin (1962) and (Searle (1969), Searle (1979)) through their “speech act theory” and Grice (1975) through his “cooperative principle”.

To define pragmatics, given a huge number of definitions of this term, is problematic because it has been a major sophisticated interest for many linguists, philosophers and researchers and some have defined pragmatics according to their own stance. For example, (Crystal 2008:379) defines pragmatics as a branch of linguistics that deals with language from three perspectives: “the interlocutors, the social relationship between them, the choices they make and the constraints they make in using a language for communicative acts”. Generally, two key phrases which re-occur in the definitions of pragmatics by many scholars are 'language in use' or 'of meaning in context'. More closely, (Levinson (1997a) defines pragmatics as research which deals with those aspects of meaning which cannot be utilized and understood by semantic theory, and it studies language in relation to the context of its utterances. However, the broader delineation of pragmatics adopted in the present study is concerned with examining uttered meaning in interaction, taking into account the different contributions of the interlocutors as well as their utterances and their context. That is, meaning is produced by the conjunction and combination of these elements and it is neither inherent in the expressed words alone, nor is it created by the speaker alone, nor by the hearer alone. Thus, producing meaning is a dynamic and interactive process, covering the association of meaning between speakers and hearers as well as the linguistic, social and cultural contexts of utterances (Spencer-Oatey 2008).

2.2 Pragmatics and Culture: Overview

Culturally speaking, pragmatics is concerned with examining how speech acts might be more appropriately, efficiently and satisfactorily understood within and between cultural communities (Ting-Toomey 2012). It focuses on interpreting concepts, ideas, and assumptions based on a model of understanding culture or cultures related to the intentions of participants. It is clear that understanding the use of language depends upon cultural context, which has been the interest of a vast number of researchers, but relatively few

studies have clearly explored pragmatics within a culture. Thus, (Brøgger 1992:55) argues for a cultural pragmatics in his 'Culture, Language, and Text' "...a type of cultural pragmatics is necessary—the study of how the speech acts of a given discourse assume culture-specific functions." It is apparent that he gives a clear social and cultural functional interpretation. It is significant to identify how linguistic acts perform particular pragmatic functions; however, cultural pragmatics cannot clarify the way by which such social and cultural understanding is perceived unless the relevant norms are considered alongside their function to realize utterances as communicative acts. Pragmatics research thus needs to determine the relevant features of cultural contexts that are involved, how they are revealed and taken up in interpreting utterances. Therefore, the next section will focus on details of the relationship between pragmatics and cultural context.

2.2.1 Cultural Context

It is apparent from the considerations above, that pragmatics studies how language is used and how it is integrated in a specific context. In such a way, meaning can be changed from one context or culture to another (Wierzbicka 1985). For example, an utterance like "*If I were in your shoes*" in English culture is used when a person wants to inform someone else what he would do if they were in his position or situation, but in other cultures like Iraqi Arabic such an utterance seems to be very confusing in the absence of an immediate equivalent idiom in Iraqi Arabic. Hence, the role of context in determining the meaning of any linguistic unit has long been seen as a key consideration. A long standing difficulty, for scholars who are interested in the relationship between language and culture, is how to set an appropriate and general definition for cultural context since, in principle, anything and everything among the situational factors and features of participants' knowledge and beliefs are part of context. For example, (Duranti 1992) argues that the difficulty of defining the notion of cultural context is due to the fact that doubts and difficulties arise in the interpretation and acceptability of certain linguistic expressions. In addition, although context is essential in determining the meaning of a linguistic unit, its role is still not recognized completely in some formal models of linguistic competence (e.g. in universal grammar). Nevertheless, it is the job of an ethnographer, for example, depending on his/her

ability, to figure out, skilfully and explicitly, patterns of behaviours, and examine which kinds of speech acts are involved in which features of culture as well as how contexts of situation are relevant.

Context has therefore been considered as a key issue for all those interested in the social and cultural perspectives of language. Linguists realized that language should be established within a specific time and place since utterances might not be realized or understood without being involved within a dynamic account of meaning in verbal interaction. Anthropologists and sociologists have emphasized the significance of examining the sociocultural context of any linguistic unit (Requejo 2007). According to (Duranti 1992), context refers to the “*background*” where both verbal and non-verbal acts are similar. This is further divided into two types: external context and intra-interactional context. The former deals with the compositions of social interaction including the class, gender, ethnicity, power and culture which can be understood as a distinctive source of ordering or limitations of social interaction. These variables can be taken as a framework which shapes what goes on in the social interaction. By the second type of context, it would be easy to identify the setting of the social interaction such as, the interlocutors, who is the speaker to whom he/she is talking, on what occasion as well as the event of the interaction (request, apology, thanking...etc.). However, Cortazzi (2015) comments that while the external context is usually relatively stable over an interaction, the intra-interactional context is, by definition, a dynamic variable since each utterance is part of this context: every contributory utterance is part of the context of the next or future utterances and may change their intended or actual interpretation. The same idea is confirmed by (Schegloff 1992), who states that categories like sexuality, gender, social distance and class, culture are generally assigned as external aspects of context. All these categories with their cultural setting determine or help to determine the course of an interaction. To relate this to apologies, its potential contribution towards the formation of upcoming context can be seen in the likely next turns following an apology: an explicit acceptance or rejection of the apology is normal or maybe down-toning such as stating that the previous speaker has no need to apologize. Thus, the absence of any of these is such

that the apology is likely to be rejected or ignored, which itself becomes part of a further need to apologize and will add extra tension and stress within the interactional context. In his study, (George Psathas 1995) argues that the meaning of a specific utterance differs from one cultural context to another. For example, the utterance “Are there any tickets for the show tonight?” may be understood and interpreted as a kind of polite request for information (a yes-no question) when uttered by the northern Italian businessmen, or a request for doing a service (to purchase seat tickets from the seller) if uttered by their southern Italian counterparts because of the two different contexts, which contrast here between Italian regions. Accordingly, as far as Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners are concerned, as participants in the present study, we can develop a definition for cultural context. It can be defined as people’s cultural norms, background and beliefs. This refers to members’ different views, opinions, thoughts and feelings that result from their experiences and norms, regions, and religion. An example of this is when a picture of an artist reflects someone’s childhood, schooling, or any specific time from his/her life experiences. We can conclude that the ‘picture’ represents “Cultural context” in that kind of context which reflects a connection between expressions and the cultural awareness of people who are engaged in the process of communication through portraiture and an associated embodied narrative or biography, all of which are cultural products.

Moreover, cultural context has mainly two main levels of information, i.e. *principles of interaction* and *cultural norms*. There is no doubt that all these levels of information are different and may share some aspects, which have common features when interactants speak in the mother tongue and the foreign language. At the level of ‘*principle*’, in addition to Grice’s cooperative principle and politeness principles, there are other cultural principles of human communication. For example, the Iraqi Arabic people appreciate the subjective pronoun ‘We’ to a great extent. They believe that this solidarity marker which is simultaneously both friendly and proud is of supreme importance. Such solidarity marker involves the proud and friendliness in terms of establishing in- group harmony and interdependency rather than independency. In this regard, Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) state that Arabic people gives priority to in- group aims over the personal ones. They also set

certain features of the Arabic collectivistic culture: interdependency of group members, priority of the group goals over the personal ones and the harmony of the whole group. This principle of using language could enhance the interpersonal interaction between participants within the same pragmatic community because it refers to the people as a group rather than individuals. This will be elaborated later (in section 2.3). However, culture-specific principles for social interactions contribute to understanding utterances that need extra-linguistic information for successful communication. Besides, in every culture there are everyday norms or rules, which play an important role as an action or speech act specification. They function effectively more than the principles since they indicate what must be said - and what mustn't be - according to situations of interaction. It is clearly a cultural rule for opponents in sports and martial arts competitions to show respect to each other by being polite, and not to be offensive or ill-mannered. However, the precise realization of a given rule can vary across cultures (this permeates different sports with different cultural origins: boxers touch gloves, fencers salute with their weapon, judo contestants bow). For example, it is a cultural norm that an Iraqi person should not ask a question about his friend's wife's name due to the cultural norm which says that such a thing is taboo, whereas such an enquiry would pass unnoticed in a western culture where interlocutors would be unlikely to see a reason for not giving the lady's name; they interpret the inquiry as a polite getting-acquainted conversational move.

Micro-pragmatics vs. Macro-pragmatics

This section has been deleted since it seems redundant and not necessary in this place.

2.3 Language and Culture

The notion of culture has long been investigated by researchers who are interested in the study of human communication. A large number of anthropological studies have been conducted to reveal how people from different cultural backgrounds differ in their ways, traditions and behaviours of speaking (Foley 1997), Duranti (2001), Ahearn, 2012). Unlike the definition of language, which is complex, the term *culture* is an ambiguous and complex one. Barron (2003: 24) confirms that culture is a notion which does not have

undisputed definition. However, the wide range of definitions include key ideas that culture refers to everything that humans identify, know, perceive, or feel throughout associating with or in socio-cultural groupings. Since this study compares the realization of apology speech acts in Iraqi Arabic and English, we adopt (Hofstede, McCrae 2004) definition of culture and some dimensions categorized which have been broadly applied for cross cultural comparison. Hofstede's six dimensions (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010) can be seen as a system, i.e. they are interlinked, and should be employed cautiously and selectively. However, it is not necessary to apply all of them unless they are all applicable to a particular issue. Therefore, in this study we focus on only what is expected to re-occur throughout our investigation. What we expect to be pertinent with our data collection are Hofstede's two dimensions: Collectivism vs. Individualism and Masculinity vs. Femininity as well as Hall's (1995) dimension of Low vs. High context. Thus, these cultural dimensions mentioned are expected to occur when participants are apologizing.

2.3.1 Hofstede's Model of culture

According to Hofstede (2004:24), culture is considered as “the software of the mind”. He reveals the effect of human experience and the social environment on our mentality in general and on producing language in particular. Culture as a mental frame affects all principles of human activity including language. In addition, language cannot be established in a vacuum, but to achieve successful communication every utterance; word, expression or sentence should be compatible with and appropriate to a specific context. Hofstede's model of cultural variability is shown through different measurable dimensions of cultures has been widely criticized (Jones 2007; Shaiq, *et. al* 2011; McSweeney 2002). Much of this criticism has been directed to methodological issues as well as levels of analysis (Hofstede 2010). In terms of methodology, using a questionnaire has been evaluated as an inappropriate for collecting cultural data since it does not grasp the subjectivity or the richness of certain cultures. In addition, statistical measures used to analyse questionnaire results cannot give an accurate sense of cultural variability and its impact on practice in cross cultural comparisons (McSweeney 2002). From an analytical view, as a social or organizational psychologist, Hofstede depends on group level data

rather than individual data. Further, he focuses on shared knowledge of understanding values, but ignores other important aspects in communication such as norms, beliefs and other habits or customs. By specifying culture as cultural values, he ignores more than 200 years of anthropology that highlighted the specific behaviour and beliefs of cultural groups (Lee, Baskerville 2003). However, Hofstede *et al.* (2010: 44) make some use of relevant sociological surveys, such as the World Values Survey.

Nevertheless, Hofstede's cultural theory is considered as a basis for cross cultural communication which examines the effects of a specific society on the norms and values of its individuals and how the relationship between these values and the behaviours of those individuals are established. This theory has been widely employed in several areas of research particularly in cross- cultural communication and cross cultural psychology, organizational psychology and business communication. Despite the fact that Hofstede's theory has been targeted for much criticism, it is still one of the most widely used approaches in cross cultural communication (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012; Christopher, 2012). It is clearly noted that his dimensions, which will be discussed in the next section, especially those which relate to context, are helpful in comparing the ways of speaking or behaviours in two different languages (Prykarpatska 2008). Thus, Hofstede's model has many interesting characteristics. One is popularity, it was noted in citation indices: Hofstede's 1980 research received 1,036 citations. A large number of researchers and research evaluators agree that high rates of citation strengthen the value of studies (Wu, 2006; Roersoe, et. al. (2009) and Dimitrov (2014). Arguably, Hofstede's work involves one of the largest questionnaire studies in the most countries of the world in any discipline. Hofstede used a framework based on a precise strategy with efficient data collecting and a comprehensive theory; and this is what researchers and scholars had been demanding. Many scholars examined and argued whether the choice of Hofstede's dimensions is most appropriate for hypothesizing and understanding culture. They found out that cultural homogeneity is predominant; and it is possible to say that the only difference between learners is their culture; therefore, comparing or contrasting cultural values has great potential. Moreover, Hofstede's model has been used widely and has been verified. Several

research studies on cultural values have been conducted and it has been found that their results were quite comparable (Mead 1998). Moreover, Hofstede suggests the dimensions can be used to analyse cultural values with a view to predicting intercultural differences in approaches to interaction (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). The present study will focus on the dimensions that seem significant for the Iraqi Arabic contexts. That is, such cultural dimensions and their reflections might be observed in the apologies given by Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners.

2.3.1.1 Individualism and Collectivism

This model shows the relationship between addresser and addressee and determines the degree of closeness of an individual to a particular society. In this respect, Hofstede (2004) states “*Individualism*” is characteristic of societies in which there are not strong social ties between people and if there are, they could be less effective. People in this case are likely to be interested in themselves separately; that is to say, every person is likely to value and express their individual ideas, opinions and attitudes, personal freedom and independence. Otherwise, in *Collectivism*, people find themselves incorporated within supportive and unified communities, within which group cohesion, harmony and values are paramount. The concentration of society members, in collectivistic culture, is highly placed on the group rather than individuals because the members think that working, thinking, communicating in relation to the group is the most important (Kim et al., 1994; Triandis, 1995). So, in this culture of collectivistic view, people are likely to grant their loyalty and dependability to the group or society they live in. In return, people and individuals are secure, sustained and helped by the group. This issue is different in individualist cultures where the individual is preferred to the group. In this sense, people think separately in terms of “I” rather than “we”.

Hofstede *et al.* (2010) make it clear that individualism-collectivism is not an either-or cultural choice; rather all cultures can be located on a dimensional scale between these two, with different balances or combinations of the dimensions. Hofstede’s database, although it is statistically extensive, means that he can compare ‘Arab countries’ as a

region but not individual countries, except Morocco; His category of 'Arab-speaking countries' includes Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, and – importantly for the present study – Iraq (Hofstede et al. 2010: 36). (Jandt 2015) argues that there is a big cultural difference between western and eastern culture in general and Arabic culture in particular. He notes how individualism is prevailing in most western countries, like the UK and USA, while Arabic cultures like the Iraqi one enjoy a high degree of collectivism. Thus, he maintains the two cultural groups are considered completely different; this difference is apparent in all aspects of life: individualism complements collectivism. Recent studies have revealed that Iraqi Arabic culture is centred on relatedness, kinship, empathy and cooperation. As opposed to Western cultures, Iraqi culture is a social system that offers support to the members of society and, in general, can be considered high on the dimensions of collectivism, power, distance, and masculinity (Abu-Haidar 1989).

In spite of the many differences among Arab countries, Arabs themselves obviously identify themselves as a cultural group and consider themselves as one 'nation' or 'people', but with some individualism regardless of the multinational ties. To support this, it is noteworthy that every Arabic cultural group has a tribe and the tribal logic which dominates does not deal with individuals in terms of "who are you?" or 'to what a tribe do you belong?', but the generational ties of "by the son of whom?" which is closely linked with the connection with a specific clan. (Nydell 2002) reported the measurement of individualism-collectivism orientations in the UK. Through a survey, he measured the level of individualism and collectivism as well as socio-political attitudes towards the social welfare and community organizations. The survey containing demographic information about the respondents was carried out by using the Northern Ireland Statistic and Research Agency (NISRA). In terms of individualism and collectivism, he (Ibid.) found that there was no difference between the Catholic and the Protestant participants "interviewees" whereas they had expected to find a clear and strong difference in this dimension.

The concept of face according to Ting-Toomey (2005; cited in Al-Zubaidi, 2011) can be seen as face-management in line with the group. Accordingly, the speakers of Iraqi Arabic are seen as members of a more collectivistically oriented community where the speakers can save the face of others by being indirect. A good example of this can be noted where the Iraqi Information and Press Minister rigidly declared that the USA forces were not in Iraq, yet actually they were there. Using such a tactical speech is attributed to the Arabic culture which is generally considered as collectivistic in which a speaker attempts to save face to maintain sincerity with the interest of the in- group rather than being direct in his speech. From my own view, we as Iraqis used to use the name of the tribe when asking about our origin due to how Iraqi society constitutes a mixture of tribes to which individuals belong, which they respect and for which they sacrifice as collectivistic society members. On the whole, the cultural dimension of collectivism- individualism has a considerable effect on choosing linguistic strategies and perceiving sociolinguistic phenomenon but should not be used specifically for analysis without considering other cultural dimensions, such as power, uncertainty, future orientations, well-being, and so on.

Thus, applying such a cultural diversity represented by different balances between individualism and collectivism even within different cultural groups has an impact on studies in pragmatics especially those, which are related to speech act and politeness theory (cf. Wierzbicka, 2003, 2006; Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989; Trosborg, 2003 and Ting-Toomey, 2005). To support this, Mao (1994: 480) brings to light the universality of politeness theory and face concepts which are attributed to Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983). Both might be addressed to non-western cultures, but they were largely first directed to western ones. Yet these theoretical approaches have pretensions to be universal and are therefore applicable at some level to contexts around the world, which, obviously, must include Arab cultures.

2.3.1.2 High Context and Low Context communication

This model identifies the level of context prevailing in a particular society and organization in a particular country, which is held to influence the degree of explicitness expected in verbal interaction. It reveals the importance of the relationship between members of that society. The degree of how much information needs to be conveyed, depending on whether the context is seen as high or low, has a great influence on communication between people within the same culture or in communicating with those from a different culture.

This dimension indicates the extent to which meaning is activated within two kinds of contexts and how the communicative messages are conveyed (Hall 1997). Cross cultural communication differs according to the context labelled by Hall as high and low context based on how much meaning is necessarily to be made explicit or how much can be assumed to be implied by the context and is therefore already available to the addressee. This is widely applied in intercultural communication (Lewis, 2005, 2008; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012; Jackson, 2014) Culture which involves a relatively less implied meaning is characterized as low context culture, but when relatively more meaning is determined by the context, the culture is categorized as high context. This means that direct and explicit utterances are dominant to communicate meaning in low context cultures whereas in high context cultures, such as in much political discourse, meaning is conveyed using indirect and implicit utterances and communication is largely dependent on the context. Both high context and low context communication prevail in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Jandt, 2004). For example, people from the Arab countries, China or Japan live within high-context cultures because their close personal relationships are emphasized and they have pervasive networks between each other including families, groups and friends. For example, the Iraqi context of communication is characterized by the high usage of formal address forms. On the other hand, a low-context culture needs speakers to give more contextual information to be explicit when people engage in sociocultural interaction so that relevant information is found within an unambiguous code. People living the UK,

Germany and America are examples of low-context cultural communities in which their relations are also categorized as, family friends, colleagues etc. (Hall, 1997).

According to Hall (1997), communicating within a high cultural context concentrates upon in-groups while engaging in a low cultural context focuses upon individuals. And saving face or avoiding loss of face is facilitated in less clear or more ambiguous discourse because if the addressee takes an utterance as face threatening the speaker can always resort to this ambiguity to clarify an alternative meaning which is already a possible implied meaning. However, the concept of face-saving is mostly regarded as more significant in cultures of high context such as Arabic speaking countries like Iraq and Egypt as well as Eastern Asian countries like Japan or China than in low-context ones such as the UK, U.S. or Germany (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012).

2.3.1.3 Masculinity vs. Femininity

Another dimension which is likely to be relevant in the present study is Masculinity and its complementary opposite Femininity. This dimension shows the role of gender-aligned qualities in societies (not of gender as such) (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). When desirable social qualities are viewed as tough, assertive and focusing on material achievement, that society or culture is called a 'masculine' society while in a contrasting society the social qualities expected to be tender and more passionate and focusing on the lifestyle in a 'feminist culture' (Hofstede, 1998: 176; Prykarpatska;2008). Thus, femininity prevails in communities where the contribution of gender can be interrelated with either male or female interactants, or vice versa in a masculine one. Therefore, we observe that both male and female are likely kind-hearted, humble, tender and focusing on their lifestyle in a more feminine society (Jing 2010). From a linguistic perspective, gender has long been and remains an interesting topic in sociolinguistic and cross cultural research. Both males' and females' relationships to language can sometimes imply two different or overlapping subcultures for men and women. In other words, due to the different psychological, social and biological status and roles of males and females, their language is likely different. It

seems that most if not all studies conducted on gender and language are submitted within an interdisciplinary area of culture, anthropology and sociolinguistics.

Gender, however, has an influence on using language in all cultures. Men and women differ in their linguistic style. Abu-Haidar (1989) stated that Iraqi women's language is characterized by its shortness (brevity of expression) and attention and the excessive use of prestigious words. From the other hand, men's speech tends to be longer and more socially dominant. Another study by (Bakir 1986) stated that Iraqi women do not prefer using standard Arabic since they recognize it as a male-oriented form of language so they keep away from it. Conversely, women in western cultures tend to keep their linguistic norms even closer to the standard language than men do or are agents of upcoming linguistic changes. Studies on language and gender have revealed the differences between male and female linguistic style (Lakoff,1975; Tannen,1986; Fashold,1995; Cameron,1996). Classically, Lakoff (1975) concludes that men and women speak differently. Women use a large number of tags and less interruption forms in conversation than men do. In Western cultures, as stated by (Shaaban, Ghaith 2000), women often use high prestigious expressions more than men do. Gerritsen et al. (1979:49) state that unlike men, women 'have a more positive attitude towards standard language'. A few decades ago, scholars in the field of intercultural and cross cultural communication have isolated cultural dimensions mentioned previously which can be employed for distinguishing cultures. The cultural dimensions are neither fixed absolutes nor contradictory, but they are relative and scalar\; no culture is entirely individualistic or collectivistic or more collectivistic than some other cultures, and precise realizations of the dimensions also depend on contexts.

To conclude, different cultural values can be assigned to both western and Iraqi cultures in communication practices. In Iraqi culture, we can find a system influenced by collectivism and high context while in many western cultures, the individualistic system "with some collectivism" and low context communication is more likely to be predominant. By examining apologies in both Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language, we will have to verify which cultural dimension occur when apologizing in L1 and L2 as well as the reason behind such variability. These differences could be accredited to the cultural

variability so it is worth discussing such variability as one of the factors that might affect performing a speech act.

2.4 Cultural Variability and Cross Cultural Pragmatics

Language is often considered the best means of human communication and among the best ways of reflecting – and constituting - a particular culture. Neither language nor culture can be separated from the other. By language, cultural values and norms can be easily reflected and expressed to others cultures (Kramsch, 2009: 69-70). Any speech utterance in use cannot arise without an environment or a context, but instead each of these elements is related and deepened by the social and cultural backgrounds. That is, any speech utterance or act is culturally affected and interpreted (and in turn as part of context now, it affects upcoming social and cultural acts). It is worth going back to the distinction between sentence meaning and utterance meaning. Widdowson (1978) adopted a linguistic perspective for the study of meaning by focusing on two terms: *signification* and *value*. The former refers to the semantic description of the linguistic units whether they are words, phrases or utterances, while the latter reveals the pragmatic implications of the use of such units within a specific context. Thus, when differentiating between these two terms, we are driven to the difference between sentence meaning (semantics) and utterance meaning (pragmatics). Sentence meaning refers to the invariants of the collective meaning of the words which are used to form a sentence, while utterance meaning is a more interesting term; it refers to the speaker's intention, background knowledge, and the realization of his social norms or cultural variables.

This difference brings us back to Searle's Speech Acts Theory which claims that the speaker's intention is not necessarily at all times decided or understood by what is being uttered. Therefore; all what is said is not so direct, for example the statement "*I am getting thirsty*" could be classed as a directive paraphrased as "*Give water*". And "*There is a bull in the garden*" has an illocutionary act of warning when it is uttered in a specific situation with the potentially dangerous animal present. The statement could be expressed explicitly way as in: '*I warn you, don't go into the garden*'. However, such an utterance cannot be

judged as true or false, but a listener can infer the intended meaning of warning when there is a danger or something unbeneficial present for the hearer.

In terms of intercultural communication, Widdowson (1978) argues that teachers of a second language believe that there is no need for teaching 'value' and it is more important to focus on 'signification' which in turn provides learners with the essentials of using language in an appropriate way. However, in order for learners to use language in real communication, their rules should be practiced in cultural contexts in order to be combined with their communicative competence. Thus, misunderstanding and miscommunication happens when interlocutors are not aware of the cultural variability for the utterances of each other. Given the rise of recognizing intercultural communicative competence (e.g. Byram, 1997) or more generally, intercultural communicative competence (e.g. Dai & Chen, 2014), Widdowson's statement appears dated and inclusion of culturally appropriate pragmatic value now seems essential.

The concept of cultural variability emerged from Hofstede's dimensions of culture. It refers to the prevailing values, beliefs, attitude, principles and norms that are shared by people who represent a culture. These factors compose the whole framework when people want to organize their perception, emotions, and behaviour in relation to their environment. However, being familiar with the cultural variability and pragmatic rules of a certain culture and language significantly enhances the likelihood of achieving effective communication. That is, using these rules or norms does not mean necessarily that speakers obey them at all times and situations, but even if interlocutors want to interact with each other impolitely or in a wrong way they need to be aware of what forms suitable behaviour in order to violate it; therefore, what is seen to be polite or appropriate or not by interlocutors in a particular language and culture is highly related to their perception of cultural variability and norms (Schauer, 2009:13). This argument is significantly reinforced by longstanding sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspectives which recognize the necessity to investigate cultural insider's perspectives, practices and beliefs about utterances in context, often formulated as 'who says what, to whom, how, why, where and when' (e.g. Hymes, 1975; Saville-Troike 2003) which is far more than a stylistic variation

perspective and arguably has the status of a 'sociolinguistic paradigm' or 'metatheory' (Figueroa, 1994).

Wierzbicka (2003:67) remarks that anyone who spends a long period living in two different countries identifies how people in different countries communicate with others in different styles - not only for using different linguistic strategies having different grammars, but because their ways of using those styles are also different. It is difficult to distinguish between different styles of speaking between two cultures since some of these differences are variable and others are systematic. Thus, the relationship between language and culture seems to be complex due to the large difficulty in understanding and interpreting people's cognitive processes, intentions and behaviour during their communication. In terms of functional aspects, language is seen as "knowledge of rules and principles and of the ways of saying and doing things with sounds, words, and sentences rather than just knowledge of specific sounds, words, and sentences" (Wardhaugh, 2002:2). More directly, Thanasoulas (2001) states that language and culture are interlinked with each other, that is, "...language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives". In the same aspect, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) adopt an ethnographic perspective in cultural learning to help learners develop their competence to communicate successfully with learners and teachers from different cultures and to help participants develop their learning and teaching. This requires familiarity with language functions taking into account contextual variations and social diversity. To this end, they state that intercultural learning needs a great interest for developing competence and other skills; therefore, learners should be aware of their own culture and others' cultures. Kachru (1999) argues that in order to achieve successful communication, a speaker and hearer need to be well-familiar with shared knowledge of a particular language or culture. Thus, if they do not have some kind of compatible cultural background knowledge or they are unaware with the rules and norms of that language, it could be challenging them to convey their intended meaning in an appropriate way.

In the words of Hall (1997) culture is not a matter of how we eat, behave, or dress, but it involves the manner or the way in which humans identify themselves as an entity to the whole world; and language is a part of that culture which functions as the best means of human communication; and it is also a representation of people's cultural backgrounds. Therefore, miscommunication comes from using different and contradictory styles of communication or from misunderstanding those of others. Tannen (1981) uses a key concept from Hall's view of culture as webs of significance to describe culture as social networks that connect people in different societies using various ways of speaking to express communicative values, and such ways of communication, like other cultural strategies, delineate them as an independent community. Accordingly, no two communities have exactly similar communicative circumstances. As a result, all or much communication is, potentially, cross-cultural, and understanding cross-cultural communication is the best way to grasp language. Several cross-cultural research studies have revealed that cultural variety can be noted by understanding different linguistic realizations of speech acts. Hence, realizing certain speech acts could be different according to their strategies, their sociocultural conventions of their use. This has been asserted by Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969, 1979) universality view of speech act realization. Similarly, Wierzbicka (2003:33) discusses the significance and the effects of cultural norms in realizing speech acts. Such norms are regularly reflected on production and perception of speech acts in different linguistic and cultural contexts.

The effect of cultural norms of producing speech act behaviour has been examined within cross-cultural pragmatics - a new sub-field of pragmatics-that is concerned with differences and similarities in the process of producing and comprehending utterances in different languages and cultures. This field does not deal with the notion of culture as intellectual heritage, but instead, social organization and set practices are the main concern of it. Wierzbicka (1991) notes that:

“In different societies and different communities, people speak differently; these differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic, they reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values; different ways of speaking,

different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities (p.69).

These principles altogether constitute the basis upon which cross-cultural pragmatics are able to find out how people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds produce a stock of speech acts such as apology, request, gratitude, thanking, complaining... etc. Wierzbicka (1991) concludes that most cross-cultural pragmatics studies have confirmed that speech acts are carried out differently in different cultures. What is important here is that some researchers revealed that there has been a contradiction between cross cultural pragmatics and some other linguistic theories such as cooperative principle, speech act theories. That is, investigations carried out in cross-cultural studies are based on cultural background. Concepts and notions in particular culture or language, which are provided for linguistic analysis, there might be a social or cultural preference for not uttering or saying what is required to be the case. This contrasts different features of quantity or quality. For example, in performing the speech act of compliment, American native speakers cause embarrassment since their expression is perceived by outsiders as excessive, whereas other people, such as Japanese may understand it as an apology; therefore, it would be difficult to accept. From the other hand, Thomas (1995) argues that the universality of cross-cultural pragmatics is not limited to native and non-native communication, but to any kind of communication, in any other situation, both within and between cultural communities.

Many studies have been carried out in the area of cross-cultural pragmatics; and the most prominent research project in the field of cross cultural and interlanguage pragmatics is the Cross- Cultural Speech Act Research Project (CCSARP). It has been revealed through this project that both producing the speech act of request and apology by L1 speakers and L2 speakers is based on a variety of different social contexts across different languages and cultures. The method used to elicit data is discourse completion task (*DCT*) and the data analysed are British English, American English, Danish, Hebrew, German, Chinese and Japanese (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

Thus, the scope of CCSARP encouraged researchers to carry out similar investigations on other different languages not examined yet. It also provides researchers with good coding system for request and apology. However, the general aims of CCSARP are summarized as follows:

1. Identifying the native speakers' strategies of speech act realization.
2. Identifying the similarities and differences in the speech act realizations cross linguistically and cross culturally.
3. Identifying the similarities and differences between native and non-native realization patterns in relation to the same social limitations.

Based on the above objectives, the present study will examine the Iraqi Arabic native speakers' strategies of apologies in both Iraqi Arabic and English. As far as the non-native speakers are concerned, there is a need to shed light on the notion of interlanguage pragmatics which is concerned with the second language learners' production and perception of speech acts. The next section is, therefore, examines interlanguage pragmatics, learners' competences and transfer.

2.5 Interlanguage Pragmatics and Pragmatic competence

The term *Interlanguage* was coined by Selinker (1972) for functions in both second language research and general pragmatics (Trosborg, 2010:11). As a prominent area of second language research *interlanguage pragmatics* (henceforth, ILP) deals with how non-native speakers systematically and progressively realize and produce linguistic speech acts in a target language and how they acquire second language pragmatic knowledge. Second language researchers from the studies of pragmatics are interested from the language learning angle, yet many researchers were attracted to this area for its importance for modern studies of pragmatics (Kasper, 1992:203). However, most scholars have categorized interlanguage pragmatics under the area of second language learning, which studies how particular speech acts are produced and perceived by non-native speakers of a

particular target language. For second language learning purposes, ILP examines how the ability of L2 learners develops in order to understand and produce speech acts appropriately in the target language (Schauer, 2009:15). More specifically, ILP is concerned with the way of comprehending and producing a particular speech act and examining how pragmatic competence develops for a given group of learners learning a particular language.

In terms of the above, important issues about ILP research arise. Firstly, it focuses on both production and perception as important aspects of second language. Second language learners should not only need to be able to produce speech acts that are considered as contextually appropriate by their target listeners; they also should understand and appreciate the elements that form linguistic behaviour in different types of contexts in their target language. This point indicates the relationship between cultural variables and pragmatic competence in a target language. Secondly, if second language learners are regarded as native speakers of another language, they may apply certain rules and strategies and norms that are employed in their native language to achieve certain aims in a translated form in their L2 to achieve the same aims. This can be described as pragmatic transfer. The notion of pragmatic competence and pragmatic transfer will be considered in the next sections in some detail as two of the main components of the present study.

More attention has been paid to the interlanguage pragmatics because second language learners inevitably make mistake even they have high linguistic competence for their unawareness of pragmatic competence. Blum-Kulka (1997) argues that the second language learners' failure are evaluated as more unacceptable than in their linguistic failure by the native speakers of the target language since committing pragmatic failure leads to miscommunication and face threats more than linguistic mistakes.

One major premise of ILP is the awareness of the intended meaning of a certain utterance because L2 learners have incomplete pragmatic competence, but they still in the course of developing their pragmatic competence and acquiring the norms of their first language as well as related cultural backgrounds. Thus, the less overlapping and similarity with the L1

pragmatic norms or rules, the more difficult for the L2 to be aware of the intended meaning of the target language correctly (Schaur, 2009).

The inability to understand the intended meaning and interpreting the message correctly in the target language can lead to communication breakdown between L2 learners and L1 of the target language (Thomas, 1983). This can be labelled as a pragmatic failure which is attributed, according to Thomas (1983) to a variety of reasons:

- a. H[earer] perceives the force of S[peaker]'s utterance as stronger or weaker than S[peaker] intended s/he should perceive it;
- b. H[earer] perceives as an order an utterance which S[peaker] intended s/he should perceive as a request;
- c. H[earer] perceives S[peaker]'s utterance as ambivalent where S[peaker] intended no ambivalence;
- d. S[peaker] expects H[earer] to be able to infer the force of his/her utterance, but is relying on a system of knowledge or beliefs, which S[peaker] and H[earer] do not, in fact, share. For instance, S[peaker] says 'Pigs might fly!' to an H[earer] unaware that they do not, or S[peaker] says, 'He's madder than Keith Joseph', to an H[earer] who believes Joseph to be perfectly sane. (Thomas, 1983, p. 94)

Based on the above, L2 learners' ability to communicate effectively in the target language needs to be addressed in terms of production and perception. Thus, more details about pragmatic transfer will be discussed in section (4.2.1) with reference to previous studies in interlanguage pragmatic in general and apologies in particular.

2.5.1 Pragmatic Competence

The term competence was introduced by Chomsky when he drew up his distinction between competence and performance. Chomsky identifies competence as grammatical "knowledge of language" while performance is the appropriateness of performed speech (Canale and Swain, 1980:3-6). This distinction has been influential, but has been criticized due to a consequent disregard of sociocultural features of language. However, Chomsky's distinction has been famously reformulated into communicative competence. Hymes

(1972) presented the concept of communicative competence, but in the same way of Chomsky's definition, as the speaker's knowledge and his/her ability to use it. Interlanguage pragmatics research, thus, has been influenced by Hymes's (1966 and 1972) view which promoted the concept of communicative competence which set off developments away from second language pedagogy towards the communicative approach of learning a second language. This in turn led to more interest in pragmatic studies particularly in language learning in the last three decades (Schauer,2009:15). Thus, pragmatic competence was set up as a major component of communicative competence. Yet, it is worth noting that the term “pragmatic competence” has been revised and accredited to different types of meaning (Bachman and Palmer 1996; Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, 2001; Liu, 2006). Thus, various definitions for pragmatic competence indicate that this concept involves a wide range of parameters which vary in terms of the elements found in each communicative model. Therefore, in order to accomplish a suitable definition of pragmatic competence that fits the aims of the present study, it is valuable to critically review some models of communicative competence that have been established with their focus on pragmatic competence. Canale and Swain (1980:27) set three major units that constitute communicative competence. These are sociolinguistic, grammatical and strategic competence. A communicative model of interaction basically aims at facilitating the combination of all these components that constitute communicative competence.

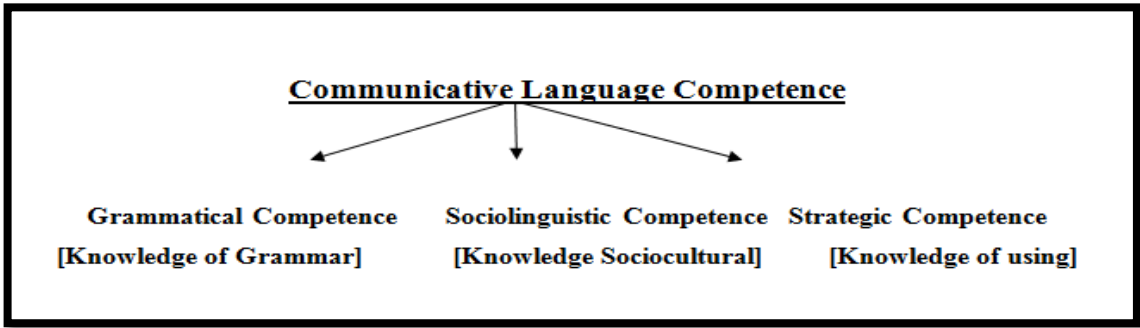


Figure [1]: Types of Communicative Competence Adopted from (Bachman, 1990, 84-(87))

They acknowledge (ibid.) the significance of grammatical competence, but at the same time they argue that without consideration of sociolinguistic competence, "the knowledge of socioculture", it is not enough for successful communication. Canale and Swain (1980) have established a well-developed complementary model for understanding communicative competence. Similarly, Leech (1983) puts more emphasis on the 'sociolinguistic competence' which refers to the interlocutor's ability to choose the right linguistic formula to realize a specific speech act, but this is sometimes difficult to acquire especially for non-native speakers who often have little exposure to the culture of the target language or any possibility to live in such a cultural community. This exposure to gain cultural familiarity is important for pragmatic competence since what is an appropriate topic of conversation in one culture may be unacceptable or inappropriate in another. Consequently, second language learners should be aware of the cultural differences and should be encouraged to study them and relate target culture pragmatics to that of their own culture.

Bachman (1990) differentiates between organizational competence and pragmatic competence. The former, which is not our concern in this study, refers to the grammatical constituents and discourse elements such as cohesion and discourse markers. However, this distinction is questionable because organizational 'textual' competence is a part of discourse competence which can also be seen as a part of pragmatic competence. The latter, which is considered here, includes both illocutionary and sociolinguistic competence (Bachman, 1990).

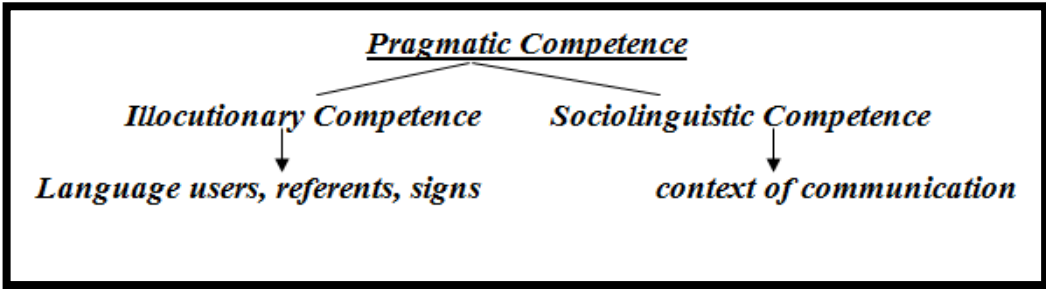


Figure [2]: Types of Pragmatic Competence: Adapted from Bachman (1990:87)

Illocutionary competence refers to the speaker's awareness of conventional rules that are required for the performance of satisfactory speech acts while sociolinguistic competence involves the speaker's knowledge of the sociolinguistic norms for achieving appropriate and understandable acts in particular situations (ibid.).

Thus, from the models of competence mentioned earlier, we can conclude that pragmatic competence refers to pragmatic knowledge as well as the ability to employ that behaviour adequately in a particular situation.

For second language learning, Cohen (1996a) suggests that any learner has pragmatic competence, which in turn, has two interrelated components: *sociocultural* and *sociolinguistic*. Each one of these is concerned with regulating certain abilities. The former refers to the speaker's skill or ability which is used to choose speech act strategies within an appropriate context including the age, sex, social status, degree of imposition, and their role in interaction. In spite of the fact that many studies have been conducted about the effect of sociocultural factors on second language learning, sociocultural competence still represents a challenge for interlanguage pragmatics to incorporate the visions presented by contrastive and cross cultural studies into theories of learning. The latter indicates the respondent's skills or abilities to select appropriate linguistic forms and structures to express the illocution of the speech act. (Cohen,1996; Kasper and Rose, 2002). Thus, both Cohen (1996a) and Bachman (1990) signify the presence of '*sociocultural*' conventions for the performance of appropriate speech acts.

Thus, depending on Canale and Swain 's complementary model (1980), Bachman's (1990) *pragmatic competence*, and Cohen's (1996a) *sociocultural* orientation, it is useful to set an integrated definition for the term pragmatic competence that fits the present study. It can be defined as the native and non-native abilities to produce a speech act appropriate to a given situation in which 'culture' is a significant contextualizing element. Such a pragmatic competence depends on the enactment of familiarity with cultural background including norms, values, habits and perception of the speaker. Thus in this study it is intended that

both "sociocultural and sociolinguistic" will be revealed through examining the production of apologies in both Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language.

In this respect, the term pragmatic competence can be replaced by the term '*adequacy*'. The reason is that the selected participants here are expected to engage with or develop their ability to use suitable linguistic strategies for performing the speech act of apology. It is worth noting that an *adequacy* is not decisive to the extent that competence may be. 'Adequate' may imply 'acceptable', 'satisfactory' or 'good enough' without a requirement of higher levels of, perhaps, idealized competence. 'Adequacy' may allow for some acceptable variation. That is, speakers are different; some may produce an adequate speech act in a given context while others do not because their linguistic choices may be variously affected by different sociocultural issues such as economic status, educational level or background, lifestyle or personal experiences. Further, living abroad and interacting with native speakers of the target language can affect what is adequate; learners with little or no experience of interacting with foreign people can find themselves producing poor or unsuccessful communication. In spite of the various sociocultural factors that lead to problems in communication, some linguistic choices can be seen as the adequate when used in certain contexts. According to the 'rules of conventionality', such language use can be categorized as an adequate for that context and can be usefully employed as instructional and assessment principles.

Thus, *pragmatic competence* is the speaker's ability to perform social functions which have been recognized as a central part of the second language communicative competence (Cohen, 1996; Kasper and Rose, 2002). It can be assumed that the participants of the present study have both sociocultural competence and sociolinguistic competence (none of the participants are known to have linguistic or social special needs). As discussed above, each of these competencies is concerned with regulating certain abilities. The former refers to the speaker's skill or ability to choose speech act strategies within an appropriate context. The latter indicates the respondent's skills or abilities to select appropriate linguistic forms and structures to express the illocution of the speech act. In this study, these two communicative competences; "sociocultural and sociolinguistic" will be tested

through examining the production of apologies by Iraqi EFL learners and how they affect their performance of this act.

2.5.2 Pragmatic transfer

For learning a target language appropriately, it is recognizably necessary for second language learners to develop their awareness of the pragmatic norms that relate to the target language cultures. They are required to understand, recognize and learn to interact in different situations depending upon their communicative aims. In addition, being familiar with cultural norms is a great help in successful communication (Cohen, 1996; Kasper and Rose, 2002). *Pragmatic transfer* can also be defined as the influence of a person's first language on speech acts realized in the target language. Under the scope of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), this concept involves the influence of the second language learners' knowledge of their languages. The popularity of pragmatic transfer as an explanatory concept in research relies on two assumptions. Firstly, the production and comprehension of certain linguistic expressions is largely affected by learners' first language pragmatic knowledge. Secondly, learners' pragmatic transfer is often caused by their resorting or returning to first language pragmatic norms (Kasper, 1992:207). Kasper (ibid.) distinguishes between two types of Pragmatic transfer; *positive pragmatic transfer* and *negative pragmatic transfer*. The first assists language acquisition with language conventions shared between the first language and second language and is thus likely to be appropriate. The second, on the other hand, causes misunderstanding when the conventions in the first language are projected into a second language context where it may turn out to be inappropriate. Due to its risk for communicative success, most scholars have overemphasized the negative transfer. However, communication between people in different cultures is governed by rules. The use of those rules is known as pragmatic transfer and such transfer occurs when there is a mismatch or misuse of cultural norms between native and non-native speakers due to their non-acquaintance with the norms and rules of interaction. Wolfson (1989) explains this term:

“Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech act of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomena. It is these phenomena of speech, and their impact on the norms of either language exposed to, that invite the scholars' attention”(p.141).

As demonstrated by Thao (2006:13), pragmatic failure occurs when people transfer a speech act improperly from L1 to L2. This pragmatic failure that it is not just the transfer or the use of speech act, but it may include the uptake by a hearer of an unintended meaning and, hence, the failure is the responsibility of both speaker and hearer, at least this would be an intercultural perspective.

However, English and Arabic do not share the same language system, as a result, interlanguage and cross-cultural studies like the present one concentrate on the first type of pragmatic transfer which is negative transfer because this transfer is identifiable and is likely to lead to confusing outcomes. So, investigation of speech acts from an interlanguage pragmatic perspective is a key to examine the second language learner's ability depending upon particular theories and rules of communication.

Up to now, it is acknowledged that few kinds of speech acts have been investigated within the field ILP research (Takahashi & Beebe (1993). Such researched speech acts include apologies, thanking, requests, suggestions, refusals, compliments, and most of these interlanguage pragmatics research studies have revealed that interlanguage variation is dominant in the area of the interlanguage pragmatics of non-native speakers (Cohen & Olshtain,1981; Trosborg 1987; House and Kasper,1981, among others). Clearly, all these studies have enriched the area of second language acquisition and second language learning. They have also made an important impact on speech act theory as well as politeness theory. In terms of affecting speech act theory, interlanguage pragmatics has been investigated from a perspective of specific motivations of speech acts, i.e. how second language learners acquire pragma-linguistic strategies and sociocultural norms of producing a specific speech act (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993). Significantly, it has been

found that examining speech acts produced by second language learners reveals that learners have the ability to develop an interlanguage performance of a speech act which is different from the first language performance and strategy. They can also stimulate a non-linguistic pragmatic competence to communicate in the target language (Olshtain and Blum-Kulka, 1985; Linde, 2008:135).

For politeness theory, interlanguage pragmatic investigations have demonstrated how second language learners display motivation to acquire politeness strategies (Cohen, 1996) for 'suggestions' (in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993), and 'apologies' (in Cohen and Olshtain 1984). The theory of politeness has enriched studies in interlanguage research with a starting point of exploring the effects of cultural values on how nonnative speakers communicate in accordance with cultural values of the target language or culture. Although politeness theory was criticised as being ethnocentric, Brown and Levinson (1987) determined that it is an essential for human interaction. Practically, it deals with how learners transfer their rules of politeness in their second language production; and how to manage one's face in the interaction. This perspective has provided a fruitful background for investigating a large number of (im)polite speech act behaviours across interlanguage and across cultural pragmatics (Linde, 2008). In addition, Yates (2010: 288) identifies the consequences of negative pragmatic transfer by pointing out that the speaker who violates "transfer" for some of his norms may be judged negatively as rude rather than simply as errors in proficiency. Further, the greater the apparent competence regarding phonology, grammar, or discourse, the more severe is the negative impression consequent upon any negative transfer and, worse still in interaction. In result, the negative impression is unlikely to be made explicit or discussed with the speaker and hence may not be.

Barron (2003) conducted a longitudinal study that contributed significantly to the research of pragmatic development. She investigated the way in which Irish learners of German developed their pragmatic ability of a speech act while studying abroad (typically in European language learning in university programmes arrangements are made for six-twelve months' residence in a target-speaking country). She concluded that staying for a

longer period abroad in the speech community of the target language can greatly improve and develop the learners' pragmatic competence.

Taguchi (2012) focuses on a multi-method investigation of pragmatic competence. The learners' pragmatic development cannot be observed as a sequential system but rather as a self-motivated one in which elements such as social power and distance and degree of imposition are not dealt with as an isolated issue but rather as a component of a larger set of social variables that constitute a complex system of interactive factors. Also, Siegal's (1996) study examines the speech act production of Hungarian learners and English learners of Japanese as a second language which is highly affected by their proficiency and subjectivity.

As for cross cultural study, the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project is the most prominent project (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). Through this widely cited model, Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, (1984) investigated the speech act of apologies and requests in eight language varieties. With the data elicited from those languages, Blum-Kulka (1989) stated that their research showed how one of the regularly used request strategies was conventional indirectness. This study is discussed in detail in chapter three.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter explained that the term `culture` has been defined differently by scholars, but the definition we can set for the present study is that it includes all values, norms, attitudes and beliefs that language user bring to while communicating. In my own experience, speakers from Arabic background “culture” are affected by their cultural norms and beliefs. For instance when my colleague told me that he has recently graduated, I congratulated him in Arabic “ Oh Masha'allah” which means “God’s will” and “Alif Mabrook” which means “Thousand of congratulations” . On the other hand, when I wanted to respond in the same situation to a British person, I said “That’s nice” and “That’s great, congratulations”. This study draws on the cultural differences portrayed in Hofstede's (2004, 2010) and Hall’s (1995) cultural dimensions. Such dimensions have been largely adopted in cross cultural research. They have been adopted as an interlinked system for

investigating the cultural difference of communication. However, their utilization is based on their relevance to and enactment in a certain culture. Therefore, this chapter focused only on what is expected to occur throughout this investigation. Pertinent for the present data collection are Hofstede's two dimensions of Collectivism vs. Individualism and Masculinity vs. Femininity as well as Hall's (1995) dimension of Low vs. High context.

This study focuses on the pragmatic transfer of Iraqi EFL learners on both pragmalinguistic and sociocultural levels in their uses of English. Generally speaking, pragmalinguistic transfer here refers to interference in the choice or production of strategies for making apologies (Thomas,1985). The measurement and assessment of performing this speech act concentrates on the employment of pragmalinguistic characteristics in line with the contextual variables (i.e., social distance, social status and imposition). Thus, we will follow this principle to establish the occurrence and the absence of pragmatic transfer between the selected participants.

The concept of pragmatic competence as a kind of communicative competence, its definitions, types and models (Canale and Swain, Bachman 1990) has been discussed. It was suggested the term pragmatic competence can be replaced by the term *appropriateness* since EFL learners in general are expected to develop their ability to use appropriate linguistic strategies for performing speech acts. It is worth noting that appropriateness is not decisive to the extent that competence may be because learners have different levels of knowledge and ability. To a gap in the previous studies on apology speech acts (e.g. Trosborg, 1987; Cordella, 1991; Keenan, 1993) which adopted a single traditional method and few number of participants, there is a need to conduct our research using a mixed method approach and recruiting a suitably substantial number participants for different contextualized situations.

Finally, having discussed the theoretical background of interlanguage pragmatics and pragmatic competence with its types, there is a need to review in more detail research in politeness and how the apology speech act has been investigated in relation to pragmatic performance, social norms and politeness, that is to say how second language learners

acquire politeness strategies. The next chapter provides an account for the role of politeness research in the study of speech act production in general and regarding apology in particular.

Chapter Three: Theories of Politeness

As far as apologies are related with linguistic politeness, it is necessary to the theories of politeness to act as a bridge assisting the researcher in answering the following questions:

- 1- How are apologies perceived in the Iraqi Arabic context?
- 2- To what extent those theories are applicable to the Iraqi perception and production of apologies?

Pragmatically speaking, theories of politeness are consistent to a degree that they focus directly or indirectly on the way in which politeness is operationalised as a social phenomenon. However, theories of politeness are different in viewing politeness in relation with human language and social behaviour (Davis, et al. cited in Al-Adaleih, 2007). The argument in this chapter will be about both traditional and modern theories of politeness; traditional theories include those advanced and influential scholars: Lakoff (1973, 1975) Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1983, 1987) and Goffman (1983) while the modern theories are represented by Watts (2001), Eelen (2014) Huagh (2007) Grainger (2011) and Kadar and Haugh (2013). These theories of politeness will be reviewed and analysed to determine the most helpful model(s) to underline the key concerns of this study.

3.1 Traditional Theories of Politeness:

Traditionally, politeness theory comes from the philosophy of language of Grice (1975, 1989a) and Searle (1969) who introduced the concept of politeness through cooperative principle. Politeness, within cross cultural and interlanguage approach, has been assumed as a major motivation for examining the linguistic politeness and politeness orientations of speech acts.

Politeness as a theory was first examined by Lakoff (1973) within the scope of pragmatics. politeness was defined as a set of interpersonal relationships that seeks to establish smooth communication by minimizing the disharmony and conflict that are inherent in human communication. Lakoff (1973), using Grice's cooperative principle, shows that pragmatic

competence lies within two rules: (a) *be clear* and (b) *be polite*. These two rules according to Lakoff should be applied to the pragmatics of the conversation system. The first rule should be applied if there is a need for communicating the message clearly while the second rule may be a prioritized over the first when there is a social matter, social distance or cultural differences. The first rule of being clear is well-matched with Grice's principles of conversation as they both direct the interlocutors to be clear and cooperative in their interaction. The second rule of being polite is sub- classified into three sub rules as shown in the following figure:

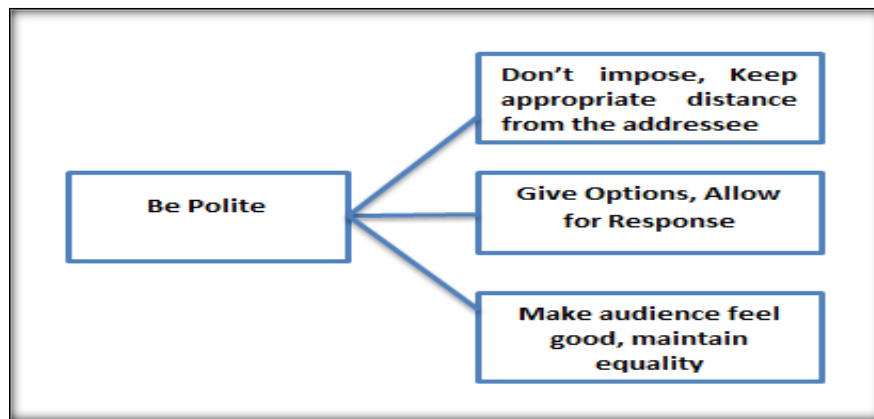


Figure [3]: Adapted from Lakoff's (1973) Rules

Lakoff (1973:298) discusses the universality of this theory emphasizing that it does not refute the view that customs and social norms differ from one culture to another. Further, she stresses the fact that what causes misunderstanding and different interpretations of politeness across cultures is the ways in which rules are realized. So, social functions are expressed by using speech acts which aim to avoid causing impoliteness to the addresser's or addressee's face. Apologies, for instance, imply a face threatening act since they involve acknowledgement that the speaker has committed an offence or something immoral; if it is accepted that the offence has been committed by the speaker, an apology functions to lessen the effect of that offence and also to mitigate the threat to the apologizing speaker's face. In addition, the notion of politeness is not only limited to cultural aspects, but it is also determined by context. According to Lakoff (1990), language functions and behaviours that are believed to be polite under normal conditions may not be polite under

others. For example, individuals who are seen as excessively more polite than the necessary social and cultural norms might be considered as proud or insincere and, ironically, ill-mannered or even rude.

Lakoff's rules of politeness may not include all possible politeness phenomena; however, they set a most useful base for emerging successive politeness theories. Lakoff also has a further contribution to reveal the relationship between language, power and gender. 'Language and Woman's place (1975) was especially dominant while the field of politeness was yet to be established. She alerted scholars to the fact that the rules of politeness are not similarly applicable to all speakers. She asserts that women are likely to be more polite than men since they probably use the so called women's language, which exists in Arabic culture as 'honeyed' words or language. Moreover, Researchers like Holmes (1995) and Mills (2003) were motivated by Lakoff (1975) to examine the politeness phenomena in woman's social behaviour. Many studies showed that gender differences are found in language use to an extent that women sometimes use certain linguistic features – adjectives and qualifiers- for example more than men do and sometimes men use others more than women do. Findings like this might create puzzling anomalies among researchers. The use of such features might be interpreted as a sign of weakness, especially if they are features of women's language, and might be a sign of strength if they are deemed to men's language features (Eliasoph, 2014). As far as the Iraqi Arabic context is concerned, the Arabic communicative style is viewed as *sweet talk* in the sense that people metaphorically communicate easily with each other reflecting concern for pleasant social relationships (Nelson et al., 2002), therefore, women's language in the Arabic domain could be seen in terms of the *politeness* and *tenderness* rather than simply as gender differences. Arabic men, as individuals living in the Bedouin traditions are often seen as powerful and chivalrous. When apologizers use polite words or words indicating tenderness, they might be accused or viewed as effeminate. Thus, a discussion might arise about the question of whether it is gender difference or gender equality. Both gender difference and equality could effect on producing speech act and on how the speech act might be interpreted by the addressees or other parties and identifying the level of politeness in men and women's language. However, the present study did not examine apologies in terms of gender difference nor equality (see **the limitations**, p274) due to the

infeasibility to examine in details the apologies of Iraqi women since they were unwilling to be video-recorded for socio-religious reasons.

Before starting arguing and evaluating Lakoff's account of politeness, it is worth distinguishing between rules, strategies and maxims since they are main debatable issues in his model. `Rules` differs from strategies and maxims in the sense that they cannot be arbitrary. `Rules` instead are explained in terms of rationality due to they offer or creates an imposition to be obeyed. `Strategy` can be defined as the way in which interlocutors choose for communication. The choice of strategies depends on certain factors, such as the relationship between the addresser and the addressee, the social power and distance as well as their gender. It is noted that using strategies is deemed either appropriate or inappropriate. Finally, `maxims` are closer to rules with less degree of imposition. They involve a sense of responsibility and aims at protecting values. Maxims differs from both rules and strategies, they can be found in one's speech and not found in others'. From more social point of view, `maxims` represent the components of interpersonal interaction. Such principles function as regulative elements which socially control or limit behaviours.

It could be argued that there are some problems in Lakoff's approach. The first problem is the notion of 'rules': the coverage or focus of the term 'rules' was not entirely clear in her theory of politeness. She claims that rules are not compatible with pragmatics which is concerned with language use which does not submitted under rules as a scientific formulations claiming that the cooperative principle and its disregard of social context. Lakoff (Cited in Fasold, 1990: 159) laid down her own rules of pragmatic competence, her rules of politeness are criticized as being in combination with Grice's Maxims (Rules of Conversation) since principles have been used in a scientific theory for constructing a well formed sentence in terms of a Chomskyan view. Chomskyan rules include all the information required for generating well-formed sentences in a given language (Cook,1985; Ellis,1994). This universal vision can certainly be generalized but it is not concerned with variation or context (since they are regarded as mere surface variations) whereas pragmatics by definition is speech in action and includes speaker intention and hearer's account and thus is concerned with the effect in context. Hence pragmatic rules must be at a completely

different level to Chomskian universal rules, Lakoff was not satisfied with this use of rules; this is clear when she used 'strategies' and the term 'politeness system' (1990), but this term shows that she has not completely abandoned the concept of 'rules'. Thus, her alternation between rules and strategies indicates some hesitation or ambiguity about her views for politeness. (See the present definitions of key terms on page xiii)

Considering politeness as 'rules' suggests that politeness is submitted under basic rules of a given language system, i.e. having their place in that overall level of language, while to deal with politeness as 'strategies' indicates that politeness is an individual language user's strategy chosen by themselves, i.e. inherited in the human language user or they can represent generic common strategies. In the field of formalist linguistics, researchers seek to establish language as a system through rules whereas; the actual language users are excluded from this kind of framework (Chomsky, 1995). Meanwhile, Lakoff originally adopted this approach and tried to explain politeness as pragmatic rules. But her use of 'strategies' instead of 'rules' (1990) assumes that she had started to be aware of the inadequacy of the approach that regards 'language as system' and considers 'pragmatic rules' as part of that system. Thus, Lakoff claims that a politeness phenomenon is a set of strategies chosen by the 'language users. This indicates that 'strategies' imply variability and choice in context, i.e. there is a repertoire of strategies from which some are selected according to addressee and context. Another weakness in Lakoff's politeness approach according to Mao (1994) and Pikor-Niedzialek (2005) is that the relationship between clarity and politeness is contradicted. In other words, the clarity is the opposite of politeness in the sense that clarity, tends towards directness while politeness tends towards indirectness at the expense of direct clarity. However, this has been modified more than once when Lakoff (Ibid) found that in some languages such as Japanese that there is no big difference between clarity and politeness since both of them are related parts of every communicative act. It could be argued that the reason behind Lakoff's uncertainty lies in her theory construction which was based on (Grice's Cooperative Principle, 1975). She offered idealised rules of pragmatic competence through which she argues that clarity and

politeness are different from each other. Nevertheless, there is no ideal situational context that is actually found, as supposed in Grice's Cooperative principle.

3.1.1 Leech's theory of Politeness

Leech (1983) adopts Grice's principles of conversation in developing his pragmatic approach within which the notion of politeness is viewed as a social factor that regulates the social interaction between people. Due to the perceived insufficiency of Gricean principles of conversation concerning the relation between the sense and force of meaning, Leech presents his politeness principle as depending on the phenomenon of indirectness. According to Leech (1983:37), politeness is a group of maxims which can be more flexible than rules since they can be employed in social interaction as a means of explaining how politeness functions as a social factor in the interaction. And unlike rules, maxims should be adhered to unless there is a reason not to do so. Therefore, the notion of politeness is defined as a group or aspects of behaviour that creates and maintains social relationship. In other words, it is the ability of interlocutors in a social interaction to launch their communication in a way characterized by relative coordination, harmony or agreement. Leech (ibid.) states that some illocutionary acts are naturally impolite, such as orders, while others, such as "offers", are naturally polite. Thus, the main function of politeness as a principle of communication is to reduce the consequences of rude illocutions and to maximize the degree of politeness of polite illocutions. Similar to Grice's principles of conversation, the well-developed approach of Leech's maxims (1983) is summarized in the following maxims:

(a) **The tact maxim** shows minimizing the beliefs that imply cost to the apologizee and maximizing the beliefs that imply benefit to the apologizer. For example, a second language learner could say: *I am sorry, could I take some minutes to talk with you?* The apologizer, in advance, shows his apology to have a benefit. In such example, no offence is committed but the tact maxim is used by the speaker to show a degree of politeness while requesting the addressee.

(b)The generosity maxim implies minimizing benefit to the apologizer and maximize benefit to the apologizee. It is similar to the case of acknowledging responsibility when apologizing. For example, *I am sorry, I spilled the water on your carpet; you relax and let me clean it.*

(c) The Approbation maxim states: maximize approval and esteem to the apologizee (offended) person. The aim of approbation is to make the offended person feel good by showing harmony. For example, *I know you are a famous and respected man, But I didn't mean to do that.* Such types of apologies are expected in the Iraqi Arabic language as being a collectivistic culture.

(d)The Modesty maxim: it is like approbation, minimizes praise of self and maximize it for the apologizee. For example, *Sorry, I am stupid, I didn't mean that.*

(e)The sympathy maxim states: maximize sympathy between the apologizee and the apologizer. This maxim comprises certain speech acts such as congratulation, and expressing condolences by apologizing - all of which is in accordance with Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategy of attending to the hearer's interests, wants, and needs. For example, *I am sorry to hear about your mother. I am sorry for your loss.*

(f)The Agreement maxim: maximizes the expression of agreement between the apologizer and the apologizee. This can be compatible with Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies. It is simply noted that people are much more direct in showing agreement rather than disagreement. For example, *I think you are right, I am sorry for arguing you.*

It is observed that apology performed by depending on such maxims implies showing a degree of politeness rather than remedial purposes. In addition, Leech (2014) states that apology is more than a simple speech act; it rather manifests politeness; and politeness itself is a feature of reaction to apology establishing the negative politeness of the maxim of obligation by the addressee, and by this means, contrasting with the positive politeness of speaker's obligation that is typically found in apologies.

Further, Leech (1983) states that politeness is more important than the cooperative principle for achieving balanced social relationship between the interlocutors:

“It could be argued, however, that the PP has a higher regulative role than this: to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place. To put matters at their most basic: unless you are polite to your neighbour, the channel of communication between you will break down, and you will no longer be able to borrow his mower” (p. 82).

However, Leech (2014) argues that both the cooperative principle and politeness maxims engage together; that is to say, the cooperative principle makes the hearer able to infer the intended meaning of the utterance while the politeness principle explains the reason that underlies the use of an indirect speech act. But, he points out that in certain situations; there is a conflict between cooperative principle and politeness. The speaker in such a case gives up on principle.

Overall, Leech (1983) contributed to systematizing his pragmatic theory within his own pragmatic scale. His theory of politeness has been discussed by employing the notion of principles as one of the components of interpersonal interaction. Such principles function as regulative elements which socially control or limit behaviours. Leech has also demonstrated politeness through his own principles: Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy. Leech's approach is by no means considered as "an elaborated conversational system of politeness". Thomas (1995: 168) claims that Leech's maxims are more than maxims: they are series of social and psychological constraints influencing the choices of linguistic acts within a pragmatic orientation. They could be beneficial to help reveal cultural differences through perceiving and realizing strategies of politeness when performing a particular speech act. And according to O'Driscoll (1996), Leech's maxims lead scholars to identify culture specific maxims:

"The creation of maxims is an attempt to encapsulate a specific set of characteristics which have been identified as being able to shed light on what appears to be essential,

and generalize these to hold over a wide variety of situations in one particular culture”
(*Ibid.*,29).

There are, however, weak points in Leech's approach. Leech maintains that his Politeness Principles (PP) is complementary to the Cooperative Principle. It is debatable whether Leech's PP is of the same order as Grice's Cooperative principle. More clearly, the cooperative principle is of a different order to the PP. Brown & Levinson (1987:455) argue that:

"The CP defines an 'unmarked' or socially neutral presumptive framework for communication; the essential assumption being 'no deviation from rational efficiency without a reason'. Politeness principles are, however, just such principled reasons for deviation".

The second weakness is that Leech adds so many new factors to his taxonomy. This indicates that he is unable to cover every possible principle or maxim of interpersonal communication. Thomas (1995: 167) observed that:

"[i]n theory it would be possible to produce a new maxim to explain every tiny perceived regularity in language use. This makes the theory at best inelegant, at worst virtually unfalsifiable".

Not only are the maxims judged as arbitrary, but also Leech's taxonomy of the politeness scales may be arbitrary. Leech (1983: 123,126) puts all his scales in the same order as if they were in the same set:

"It is not clear whether those scales belong to the Tact maxim or to politeness maxim, but it seems that some of them such as (4) Authority/power and (5) Social distance are relevant to other politeness maxims in Brown and Levinson".

Thus, Leech did his best to organize politeness as a part of his pragmatic theory and this leads to the arbitrary nature of his maxims. He attempts to systemize language as a social

behaviour by providing organized maxims and principles. This poses a basic question of whether politeness can be really systemized or not.

Further problematic issue with Leech's PP is that all the maxims of politeness emerged in different types of speech acts. Leech links his politeness with specific illocutionary acts. He (1983) explains that there is a direct relationship between different maxims of politeness and speech acts; in a way, maxims of politeness are necessary for determining the nature of speech acts. It seems that the need for the maxims is only when people want to perform particular kinds of speech acts. But this is not entirely satisfactory, either, because not all the forms of politeness are needed nor do all people perform the same forms of politeness. Performing polite speech acts or speech acts accompanied with forms of politeness are different according to the situational context.

3.1.2 Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), politeness is viewed as a universal phenomenon; this assertion is supported by their observations of how the linguistic strategies used by speakers of different languages are apparently similar. Brown and Levinson (1987:58) refer to a concept of a Model Person, describing a speaker as an eloquent language user having certain features in his/her speaking such as *face* and *rationality* which are the most significant features in achieving successful communication. The term 'face', according to Brown and Levinson (1978, cited in Pikor-Niedzialek, 2005:108), refers to a Model Person who has two specific wants; the want to be unimpeded and the want to be liked by others. With regard to rationality, this indicates a Model Person's ability for recognizing the rationale behind speaking along with the ways used for achieving that aim.

Brown and Levinson's (1983:15-16) model refers to an interactional activity between two individuals that is well adjusted if the face image generated or maintained in the process of communication is balanced by participants' polite behaviour. The interaction can be seen as over polite if more politeness is involved while it could be rude if less politeness involved. However, Brown and Levinson (1983:74) propose a scale that contributes to

measuring the level of politeness: three social variables can be seen in their scale. These are:

- 1- The *relative power* [P]. Power refers to different relationship between participants. Thus, the more the addressee's power, the more face -threat there will be; and consequently, the more reparation or “redressive behaviour will be necessary to balance that threat. For example, “give me water” might be socially acceptable when addressing a lower state individual in an Arabic community such as little sister or a class mate, but it might be very rude to direct this to an individual with high power and position, such father, teacher or manager.
- 2- *The ranked imposition* [R] is the illocutionary act itself. Simply, some illocutionary acts contain more face threatening potential than others. For example, asking for passing the salt at a dinner table is less threatening than asking for borrowing a car. Thus, minimal politeness behaviours might be employed for asking directly, such as “Can you show me the way?” or “Can you tell me the time?” by employing minimal politeness behaviours, however, the maximum degree of politeness is necessary for communicating about a more socially difficult and larger favour, such as begging for a ride to the train station from a stranger in the street. This is seen in: *I'm really sorry, madam, but I am in a trouble, I'd be so grateful if you could possibly give me a quick ride to the train station.*
- 3- The *social distance* [D] is between S and H. Social distance is also almost the opposite of familiarity. The greater the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, the greater the degree of politeness is required for saving face and restoring the social equilibrium.

However, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness attracted the interest of many researchers, most of whom have attempted developing, criticizing or refuting such theory. In this context, some aspects that made Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1983) influential are highlighted below:

(a) The applicability of face

The notion of *face* has been studied by many researchers (Scollon and Scollon, 1983, 1995; Tannen, 1989; and Hirschon, 2001). The concept of face has played a significant role in the theory of politeness. It has been chosen by Brown and Levinson (1987) as the main standard for their theory of universal politeness in particular, and for language universality in general. They dealt with the notion of face as the public self-image that is engaged which interlocutors want to claim for themselves. The two aspects of interaction can be described as fundamental psychological and social requirements or desires for all human beings.

Scollon and Scollon (2011) describes 'face' as follows:

"On the one hand, in human interactions we have a need to be involved with other participants and to show them our involvement. On the other hand, we need to maintain some degree of independence from other participants and to show them that we respect their independence" (p.48).

In the same vein, Janny and Arndt (1992) argue that the notion of face comprises both "interpersonal face" and "personal face" which represents the human needs for achieving successful communication. Brown and Levinson joined these needs with a technical term "Face-wants". In their analysis, Brown and Levinson divide the concept of face into (a) *negative face* and (b) *positive face* (1978: 66). Both negative and positive face could be explained in terms of wants, i.e., negative face is the want of every competent adult participant that his/ her actions be unimpeded or unrestricted by others, while positive face is the want of every participant that his/her wants be needed and desirable to at least some others. When people are engaged in a social interaction involving a face threatening act, a decision for executing it or not might be taken; and dealing with the face can be directly "on record" or indirectly "off record". It also can be executed "baldly" when the speaker does not pay any consideration to the hearer, while reducing the face-threatening effects requires using either positive politeness or negative politeness. Another problematic issue that speech acts share with politeness is that some speech acts like a command or

order seem to be impolite by nature since they impose on hearers, while some others are polite by nature, such as a request, offer or apology (though they can be impolitely executed).

Brown and Levinson made these two sides of social interaction easily identifiable. Therefore, it is believed that is why their claim of face is popular and influential.

(b) The appropriateness for Cross cultural and empirical studies:

Brown and Levinson's approach (1978) is apparently suitable for empirical studies and cross cultural research (Harris, 2011:102). Brown and Levinson's politeness (1978, 1983) with a succinct format (positive, negative politeness and off records) has been investigated by exploring the social variability. In addition, a large number of cross cultural comparisons of politeness have been conducted by using Brown and Levinson's strategies and others have been made by controlling the social variables (Thomas, 1995). More details about the appropriateness of Brown and Levinson's model for cross cultural applicability will be shown in chapter 4 when we shed light on previous studies on apologies.

(c) The Universality:

The subtitle of Brown and Levinson's book is "*some universal claims in language usage*"; so their model is presented as a universal. This has attracted linguistic researchers to conduct many empirical studies from the perspective of intercultural and intracultural domains. Brown and Levinson may not have intended to make a complete universal theory of politeness in all cultures. They (1987) explain politeness as a redressive action for amending the effect of FTAs, but this definition is not the one which gives the right picture. It can be seen as an attempt to clarify some universal issues of politeness. However, even though Brown and Levinson's politeness theory may only explicate some universal aspects in politeness phenomena, since its universality is "claimed", it attracted researchers to conduct empirical studies.

While scholars and reviewers have enthusiastically adopted Brown and Levinson's model of politeness and carried out many empirical studies, much criticism has been directed to Brown and Levinson's theory especially about the concept of universality, the rigid relation between politeness and sociological variants, the absence of context and the neglect of discourse (Ide,1988; Grainger, 2011, Kiyama1, et. al., 2012; Al-Hindawi, 2016).

According to Brown & Levinson's view (1978), an analysis of the performance of a particular speech act in a particular context needs to identify the goals that a speaker wants to obtain under certain circumstances. However, this rational performance would fail to recognize the values which underlie the act. Thus, in performing a speech act of apology, the researcher is not only concerned with the ends of certain utterances, but also to identify the social values which make the speech act more appropriate(polite) than others under context of situation. In addition, a successful performance of speech act depends on how effectively the speaker brings his/her action to an intended end. However, the more informative action may be interpreted as impolite in certain situations. This leads to a 'critical' relationship between the maxims of politeness. Thus, a focus on one particular maxim could lessen the effectiveness of a specific speech act. For example:

- a) Please, open the window.
- b) Will you open the window?
- c) I think you should open the window.
- d) Would you mind opening the window?

It appears from the above examples that considering the cost and effectiveness does not diminish the list of possible utterances to a particular item and at the same time it gives the speakers more options. Kingwell (1993) observes that utterances like the aforementioned above are compatible with the principle of rationality, while Ide (1988) claims that politeness forms and strategies are not the same in some languages such as Japanese. They might come from the conventionality not the rationality.

Further, the hearer's perception has been neglected in Brown and Levinson's (1987) model. In any social interaction, there should be two salient aspects: the speaker's production of speech acts and the hearer's assessment. Brown and Levinson (1987)

formulated their model of politeness within the speaker's production as the Model Person regarding politeness only from the speaker's perspective. Brown and Levinson's politeness pays no attention to the hearer's attitude towards politeness; therefore, the speaker's intention could be misinterpreted by the addressee because the addressee depends upon his own criteria which may be different from the addresser's (Eelen, 2001: 96). Another way of interpreting this is that Brown and Levinson (1978) can afford to focus only on the speaker if they assume the speaker and hearer come from the same community and therefore; it is enough to consider only the speaker. This may give the speaker an impression that he/she saying to the addressee "you have not understood the situation correctly". Therefore, in any comprehensive research, the addressee's perspective should be placed in a balance with the speaker's perspective in order to achieve an understandable interaction and at least to bridge the gap between the speaker's intentionality and the hearer's perception of the speaker's utterance.

The notion of face argued by Brown and Levinson's (1987) has also been a controversial. Many scholars such as Wierzbicka (1985) and Mao (1994) criticize Brown and Levinson's politeness model for having an Anglocentric bias concentrating on Western individualistic social interaction. Brown and Levinson deal with the notion of face as 'external modifiers'. Mao (1994) argues that the notion of face in Brown and Levinson's politeness has been misused because they could not originally recognize the source of face. They claim that their *Face* comes from the English folk term and Goffman's view of face (1967), but their identification of face seems to be different or deviant from the original view particularly one stemming from the Japanese and the Chinese. It is also worth mentioning that face could also be an original term in the Arabic culture; it refers to the 'self-image' of both people, saving face in the Arabic meaning includes the idea of someone losing his face-water. Brown and Levinson's notion of face (1987) has also been criticized by many researchers whose communities are more collectivistic. Brown and Levinson did not investigate politeness in situations where the behaviour of face threats has already taken place. Consider how someone who wanted to minimize the face threat to someone else (the addressee) would choose a strategy which he/she thinks would be situationally appropriate.

In this case, although the speaker has a polite intention, there may be a situation in which he (the speaker) causes further offence. This might be due to the hearer's wrong interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning. As Brown and Levinson view politeness as a preventive strategy against possibly upsetting a relation caused by losing face, their theory could not deal with situations in which the offence has already happened. However, restoring the hearer's face depends on appropriate utterances of repair. Nwoye (1992) argues that Brown and Levinson overgeneralize the concept of face threatening acts to claim that all utterances are FTAs. The speech act of apology which is generally understood as a remedial action which takes place when violations of relationships happen is interpreted as a FTA. However, Brown and Levinson try to interpret it as FTA and clarify the type of the face threatened, but they unfortunately did not regard it in a remedial perspective. It is argued by Al-Adaleih (2007) that face saving and threat within Brown and Levinson (1987) can be observed as mutually interacting: to meet this end, people follow strategies for maintaining face. Schmidt (1980: 104) states that Brown and Levinson's theory represents "an overly pessimistic, rather paranoid view of human social interaction". Presented as a universal theory, Brown and Levinson's politeness model has been applied to non-western languages and cultures. Takiura et al. (2012) have investigated the notion of politeness in Japanese culture following Brown and Levinson. They conclude that in spite of the cultural differences in the way of realizing the facework behaviour, the motivation behind Japanese facework behaviour is a human universal trait. Mao (1995) and Matsumoto (1988) (cited in Longcope, 1999:67) continued with criticizing Brown and Levinson, noting that the latter's model is western-biased. They argue that Brown and Levinson's model is fruitless, in particular when interlocutors want to minimize the weight of a face-threatening act (FTA) to the addressee by using three factors of politeness namely power, distance and imposition.

This difference of interpretation can be resolved by the fact that when people are engaged within a social interaction, they might consciously or subconsciously consider certain social variables that help shaping the type and form of their speech act. This can be attributed to the relative orientation of face. In the Japanese as compared with the American English,

Hill *et al.* (1986) show that the production of requests differs in terms of agreement, i.e. the agreement of making request in Japanese is very high to the address while in American English, it is very low. This could be attributed to the difference between discernment and volition in the sense of choosing an appropriate strategy of politeness. Not only this, but both discernment and volition are aligned differently on a scale, e.g. discernment in Japanese is the primary consideration when someone wants to choose politeness strategies; and volition is a secondary while the reverse is true in the American English. Such disparity provides an empirical support to Brown and Levinson's (1978) claim that power and distance determine the speakers' choice of politeness strategies when performing FTA.

According to Matsumoto (1994), it is hard to validate Brown and Levinson's face that claims it is not wanting others to disturb you because the Japanese individuals opt for specific linguistic forms at a conventional level of politeness. Hill *et al.* (1988) argue that trying to avoid imposition of others is not found in Japanese culture; therefore, the Japanese speakers try to give statements that could be perceived as an imposition by the non-Japanese in order to acknowledge the high rank of the addressee. This can be attributed to the collectivistic nature of Japanese society and in which persons of lower position depend on people of high position. On the whole, the concept of face in certain collectivistic communities can be seen as the relative face orientation. Mao (1994:471-472) defines the relative face orientation as:

...an underlying direction of face that emulates, though never completely attaining, one of the two interactional ideals that may be salient in a given speech community: the idea social identity, or the ideal individual autonomy. The specific content of face in a given speech community is determined by one of these two interactional ideals sanctioned by the members of the community'

Thus, this identifies two views of face: individual and social. This is not an absolute either-or division in cultures: both of these views can hold sway in every culture, but the orientation towards one view might be more predominant than the other. Thus, by understanding this distinction, it is easier to interpret people's strategies of politeness within different cultures. Finally, Brown and Levinson's model of politeness has been

criticized by some researchers (Ide, 1990; Mao, 1995, Culpeper, 1996) on the ground that their framework does not consider the concept of impoliteness. According to Culpeper (1996), the concept of impoliteness should be considered in order to have a comprehensive theory of politeness. Although Brown and Levinson did not claim to set a formula for impoliteness, they repeatedly claim to look at the polite behaviour. Thus, their theory goes in such a depth of one side of the politeness continuum that it is difficult to understand the scale of politeness without referring to its opposite equivalent side. Culpeper (1996) observes this disparity and constructs his own model to reflect the impoliteness as a counterpart for Brown and Levinson's model. He (ibid.) regards politeness and impoliteness as inseparable. It could be argued that the theory of impoliteness has to be able to explain what is impolite since it helps identifying to what extent the politeness is dominated in certain culture by examining motivation for impoliteness such as power differences, political debates, religious controversies. Culpeper et. al., (2001) focus on mock impoliteness which is seen as a behaviour of untrue impoliteness not understood as an offense, but instead it functions as a means of reinforcing social harmony among people. An example might be the uses of mild impoliteness in a joking or ironic manner, but this is only feasible in a situation of social solidarity, collegiality or friendship. He concentrates on the role of context in determining the kind of impoliteness. If someone is familiar with another person or well-known to him/her the behavior committed could be interpreted as mock impoliteness. Mocking impolite expressions according to Mills (2005, cited in Al-Adaleih, 2007), can be uttered by close friends or family members to express their confidence and closeness. This means that utterances which might seem impolite or rude to the hearer cannot be interpreted or classified as impolite. Thus. Mills (ibid) argues that the concept of face either saving or threatening, may also be used for expressing impoliteness or frustration. In this regard, Cortazzi (2015) believes that it is clearly the case since it is only by looking at impoliteness one can establish the limits of politeness both within and across cultures. Eelen (2001:102) claims that if the face wants were to account for impoliteness in a similar way to politeness, there should be a need not to satisfy one's face want. . Many theoretical frameworks for the concept of

politeness have been introduced by linguists with their focus on the concept of face. The next section focuses on this concept with scholars' views.

3.1.3 Goffman's Model of Face

The concept of face derives from Goffman's (1967) sociologically-oriented theory of politeness, i.e. a traditional English folk term which is associated with concepts such as being uncomfortable or feeling humiliated. Accordingly, for Goffman, 'face' is self-image that each person offers in social interaction with others or is defined as 'socially situated identities people claim or attribute to others' (Tracy, 1990: 210).

Goffman (1967) interlinks face with rituals so that interlocutors in social interaction are constrained by their community's moral rules that shape the flow of events. These rules give both the speaker and the hearer an ability and power to evaluate their own behaviour and to follow other participants in ways that enable the person to contribute to the social interaction. In this case, the speaker achieves within the social interaction a good level of ritual equilibrium. However, face is divided into two types: *wrong face* and *out of face*. Wrong face shows the state in which the speaker during interacting follows a viewpoint or strategy that is different from the one he/she adopted while the latter describes a person embarrassed or ashamed when finding himself interacting with others without being in accordance with the other interlocutors. This could be opposed to a person who finds himself encountered within a social interaction with a self-confident and challenging behaviour having non-changeable face. This is what is called according to Goffman a *face saving act*. Goffman (1967:13-15) shows that face-saving acts depends largely on "traffic rules" that organize the social interaction in co-operative principles. These rules are found in the potential of face-saving acts that each individual or community seems to have. On this base, Goffman states that each person will have two points of view: (a) *defensive face* and (b) *protective face*. In the *defensive face*, the person tries to save his own face while s/he is trying to save others' face in the *protective face*. Both of these are subsumed under 'facework': which is designed to neutralize *face threats* to the self and others; and facework can be preventive or corrective (as in apologies). Moreover, Goffman (1967)

made another distinction between three types of offence: (1) *unintended offence* in which the offender is perceived by other as innocent, (2) *intended offence* in which the offender's intention for committing the fault for insult is clear and (3) *anticipated offence* which are likely to take place in spite of not being planned.

The following figures shows Goffman's classification of face and face saving act:

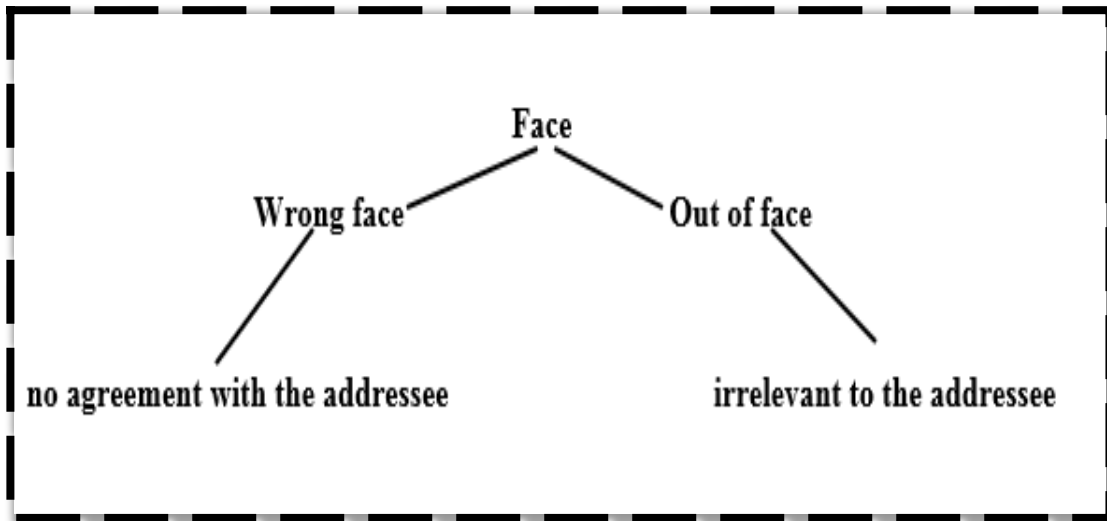


Figure [4] Types of Face

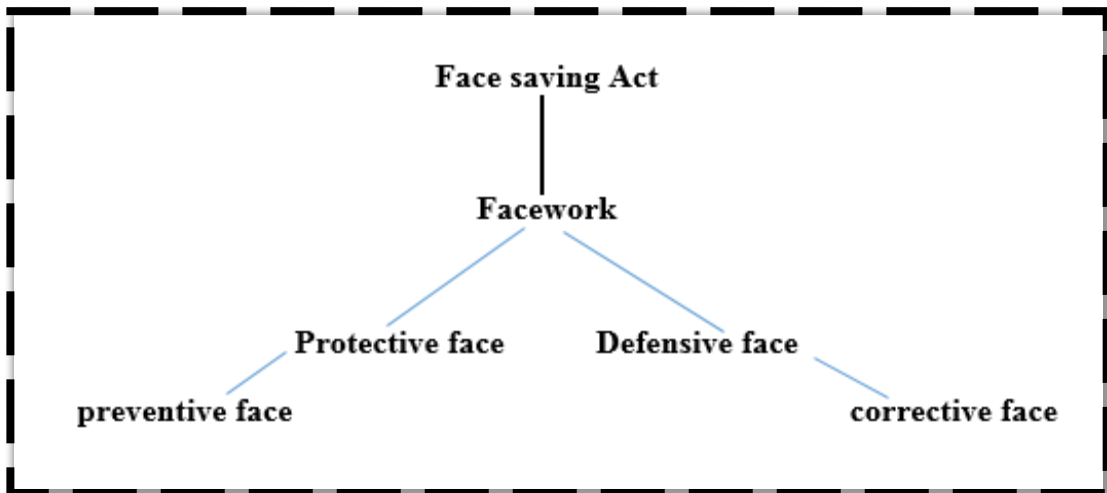


Figure [5] Face saving act

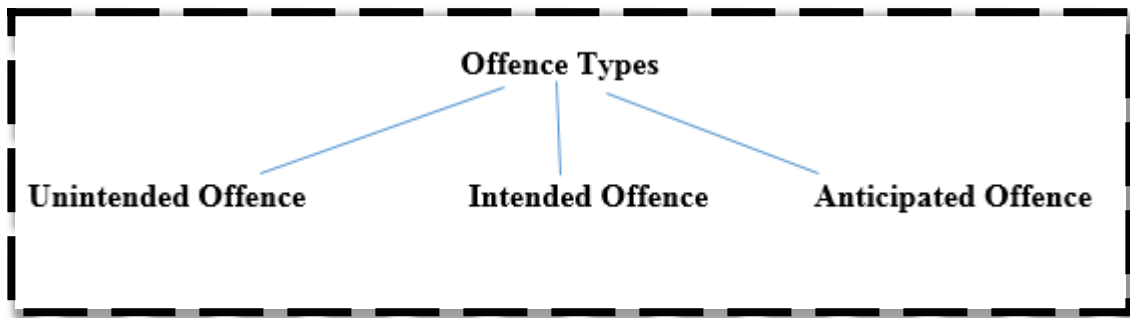


Figure [6] Types of offence

Goffman (1967:15-21) argues that the notion of face comprises two processes. These are: (a) *the avoidance* and (b) *the remedial process*. The avoidance process involves an interlocutor escaping from receiving negative face. In contrast, *remedial process* contains a person who contributes effectively for keeping face in the social interaction. In this way, this person who keeps a saving face image corrects unacceptable behaviours to establish ritual equilibrium. For the sake of keeping the face of others, Goffman (1967) argues that the *remedial process* should pass through some stages: the offender's acknowledgement of his/her responsibility, the offer of repair, the offended reaction, and finally, the reaction of the offender if he is forgiven or not. The remedial process could be defensively offered by the person responsible for creating a face-threatening situation or it may be protectively offered by observers, that is by other people who witness the transgression and the loss of face (as in apologizing for another person's offence on that person's behalf, either then and there, or later). The role of observers should be particularly noted because observers can express empathy and support while mediating (this is difficult for the person who infringed or was originally responsible). Therefore, in some situations, an observer apology may be more significant and more effective than a transgressor apology. This would be particularly noteworthy if several or many bystanders offer apologetic remedial remarks to an offended person on behalf of a (presumably heedless) offender because it would indicate both social solidarity with the offended person and a collective understanding that the offence had been committed and of how it might be remedied (Cortazzi, comment, on Goffman's concept of face, November, 4, 2014).

Following Goffman (1982), *Face* is “the positive social value of a person effectively claims for himself by the lines of others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (1982:5). However, the concept of *face* is still debatable. Many scholars (e.g. Matsumoto 1998; Mao 1994; Ting-Toomey 2005) argue that the notion of face is not universal. Some researchers have found that Grice’s (1975) and Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of politeness cannot be applied to other cultures like Chinese and Japanese ones. This has led to the proposal that the notion of face is culturally specific. Matsumoto (1988) states that unlike Europeans, Japanese speakers tend to define themselves in terms of collectivism rather than as individuals; therefore, individuals do not care for saving face. According to Mao (1994) the concept of *face* was redefined to be acceptable in non-Western cultures, as involving two types of face, (a) social and (b) individual faces. In the same way, Ting-Toomey (2005) states that in Western countries, like UK and USA, people are interested in self-face maintenance (i.e., individual face). However, this argument opens the door for the present study to explicate understanding the notion of face in the Iraqi Arabic culture throughout apologies. One might expect to find a different or and similar view of the Iraqi Arabic *face*.

3.2 Modern Views of Politeness

Politeness, as a theory, is a multifaceted area of research seen in linguistics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. It has been investigated as a subfield of pragmatics that studies meaning in interaction. It has developed rapidly in the last three decades that it has its own devoted journal, called *the Journal of Politeness Research* (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003).

Lately in the 20th century, research in politeness has developed significantly. This development has been represented by scholars’ works (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003). They (ibid.) suggested new perspectives in dealing with politeness, depending on social concepts, particularly the concept of *habitus* “the set of dispositions to behave in a manner which is appropriate to the social structures objectified by an individual through her/his experience of social interaction” (Watts, 2003:274). Politeness theory within this approach was regarded as a social practice. The theoretical foundation upon which the

discursive approach is erected is the assumption that politeness is determined by the speakers' intentions and the addressees' recognition of these intentions successfully or to a certain degree of success.

The following subsections explain the main accounts of politeness within of post-modern approach.

With the publication of Eelen's (2001) *A Critique of Politeness*, a new school of politeness "postmodern or discursive" approach emerged. Eelen (2001) argues that the conceptualization of politeness could be an alternative for evaluativity and discursiveness. This new approach involves taking into account the addressee's position and the evaluative movement which is capable of determining both politeness and impoliteness. It is also capable of providing the opportunity for the dynamic view of social relationship between the speaker and the hearer as well as showing the progress and change as a basis to the politeness itself (Eelen, 2001:240). The main aim behind Eelen's account is to expose the nature of politeness given by a speaker and received by a hearer. Through his '*A Critique of Politeness*', serious problems in traditional politeness theories have been argued by Eelen (2001). These problems are considered as the starting point for establishing new analytical research models of politeness. One of the apparent problems listed by Eelen (2001) is the fact that there was no adequate approach for accounting impoliteness by the same strategies that examine politeness. In addition, other problems were also emphasized such as impoliteness, which was viewed as the absence of politeness, especially when someone fails to redress adequately FTA. Impoliteness is also treated as the opposite of politeness. Eelen (2001) deals with politeness as a social practice influenced by (Bourdieu 1990), who notes that social practice is the interaction of people in the social construction. Depending on this idea of social reality, Eelen (2001) signifies the evaluability of politeness as a representation of reality. Thus, Eelen (2001) emphasizes the interactional activity of politeness noting:

"notions of politeness is not simply the result of a passive learning process in which each individual internalizes 'the' societal/cultural politeness system, but are rather an active expression of that person's social positioning in relation to others and the social world in general" (2001: 224).

Then, it is worth mentioning that the problem of ignoring the account of impoliteness in traditional models cannot be generalized to all other approaches. For example, impoliteness has been analysed by Leech (1983).

It should be argued that the applicability of Eelen's claim that politeness cannot be understood fully without an understanding of its opposite- impoliteness. On the other hand, is his view considered a unique model? He claims that relational framework takes into account both politeness and impoliteness. Yet, it is still an acceptable idea that both politeness and impoliteness are closely interrelated with each other unless the level of politeness may be different on the basis of politeness accepted, whether cross culturally or interculturally. If an Arabic native-speaker were to tell their father to be quiet because they were studying, the father would be more offended than if this were said to a younger brother, for example. Another evidence for the overlapping of politeness and impoliteness is that politeness can be traded off when using sarcastic expressions. For example, uttering 'thank you very much' with an exaggerated tone to an addressee to whom a serious disrespect has been done indicates to that addressee the distance between respect (which is normally met by politeness's 'polite thanks') and the disrespect committed by him/her. However, impoliteness in a relational approach can be evaluated differently, negatively or positively, according to the context of the situation and the speech act performed.

In terms of considering the cultural impact on face, Spencer-Oatey (2000) has adopted a rapport and rapport management model as an aspect to complement Brown and Levinson's face (1987). The term rapport has been used as a substitute for face since face is much more associated with self-concerns. Spencer-Oatey defines rapport management as "the use of language to promote, maintain or threaten harmonious social relationships in interaction" (2000:3). Her theory is not in line with Brown and Levinson's negative face that accounts the speaker and the hearer as individuals whereas considering group is more emphasized rather than individuals. However, she suggests social rights instead of negative face. Social right is defined by Spencer-Oatey as "the fundamental personal / social entitlements that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others" (2000:14). In relation to social right, two other sub-categories are identified: equity rights and association

rights. The former concerns the personal right to be equally and fairly treated whereas the latter indicates the social entitlement a person has in order to appropriately associated and involved with others.

Spencer-Oatey's model suggests that managing the whole process of interaction is more significant than a focus on a single aspect like face would indicate. Yet it could be argued that there is no major change in this model since the term social right refers to face, but social right can be more general than face. Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2005) account of rapport is distinguished by five domains. These domains have a significant contribution in rapport management. These are the:

- (1) Illocutionary domain (performing speech act), such as apologies, compliments, thanking and request, etc.
- (2) Discourse Domain (content and form).
- (3) Participation domain (aspects of interaction such as inclusions and exclusions, turn taking ...etc.).
- (4) Stylistic domain (appropriate honorifics, choice of tone, appropriate syntax)
- (5) Non-verbal domain (gestures, eye contact, body movements)

It can be argued that these domains involve sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects. These domains can be attributed to the context of situation since they include both the linguistic and non-linguistic context that functions as a rapport for the social behaviour in the interaction. Since social behaviour can be realised by cooperative and non-cooperative communication, Spencer – Oatey (2005) argues that politeness can be re-treated in terms of relational work rather than facework, which aims at mitigating face threatening acts. This aim can be achieved by embracing rapport and rapport management. On the grounds of her model, Spencer-Oatey (2005:96) also stresses the participants' role in understanding politeness as “a discursive concept associated with some way with harmonious/ conflictual interpersonal relations”.

In conclusion, an alternative understanding of politeness with reference to new characteristics of evaluative, variability, and discursiveness should be taken into account when dealing with politeness. Throughout this conceptualization of politeness, the hearer's position is fully taken into consideration for understanding both politeness and impoliteness. This view involves dynamic social relationship, evolution, as well as change as basic to the nature of politeness. Thus, the main goal of Eelen's view is to examine the nature of politeness throughout dynamic relation between the speaker and the hearer by his critical evaluation on the hearer's absence.

In the post-modern approach, Watt (2003) as defines politeness:

“linguistic behaviour that carries a value in an emergent network in excess of what is required by the politic behaviour of the overall interaction (2003:162), or linguistic behaviour that “is perceived to be salient or marked behaviour” (Watts 2003).

Watts (2003) claims that the post-modern approach to politeness emerges as a reaction against Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1978). Also, it undeniably represents a challenge to the current sustainability of politeness research itself. Nevertheless, while the post-modern politeness or discursive approach is concerned with epistemological and ontological conventions underlying this approach, certain contradictions appear. Specifically, to what extent im/politeness can be identified by the analysts without imposing their understanding. What Watts believes is that politeness is a matter of evaluation in a subjective way. Perceiving polite behaviour may vary from one person or group to others. In order to remove the ambiguity emerging in perceiving politeness, Watts (2003) suggest different ways of examining politeness.

The main premise of this approach shows that it should be what it means to participants to be polite. This focus on the role of participants in interpreting and evaluating politeness has been promoted by Watts and Locher (2005) to distinguish between two orders of politeness.

They argue:

“We consider it important to take native speakers' assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the basis of a discursive, data-driven, bottom-up

approach to politeness. The discursive dispute over such terms in instances of social practice should represent the locus of attention for politeness research (p.16).

There is a difference between the common-sense notion of politeness and the theoretical notion of impoliteness. Watts (2005) identifies that common-sense notion of politeness refers to first-order im/politeness ((im)politeness1), while the latter indicates the second-order im/politeness ((im)politeness2). The first order of politeness includes common sense notions of politeness. This distinction is undertaken by Watts's account to match with the different ways in which politeness can be perceived, talked about, and argued by members of a community. Watts (2003, 2005a, cited in Culpeper, 2011:3) emphasizes that:

“We take first-order politeness to correspond to the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups. It encompasses, in other words, common sense notions of politeness. Second-order politeness, on the other hand, is a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage.

The second order of politeness (politeness2) is the main concern of discursive approach of politeness. However, (im)polite behaviour is assessed and commented by individuals ‘participants’ and not by the ways set by social scientists ‘researchers’ by which they exclude the term (impoliteness) from the everyday interaction and theoretically evaluated by them (Watts, 2003). Accounting politeness in this way seems to be problematic in terms of defining politeness, i.e. the researchers are incapable of defining politeness accurately because the researcher is guided by participants’ understanding of politeness.

It would be argued that it is still difficult to recognise the participants’ definition (understanding) of politeness where there is no concrete guidance for that. Watts (2003:14) identifies “fundamental aspects of what is understood as 'polite' behaviour in all [...] cultures”. Polite and politeness terms are emphasized so that their meaning may differ from one language to another. The term polite according to him refers to the polite language in which a person avoids being too direct by showing ‘consideration for others’, a view which is seen in the pragmatic perspective to be similar to Goffman’s view of consideration

(1967). The polite use of language could be viewed in two ways. Some people may consider language usage as kind of hypocritical or dishonest especially if over-polite words are used. However, others which belong to the general level of politeness, considers polite behaviour as a sign of cultivation. Thus, in his distinctions, Watts (2003) aims at proving that politeness is intrinsically evaluative due to the fact that it is a position in which social practice is done. For this reason, (im)politeness₂ over (im)politeness₁ should be the main concern in the discursive approach.

(Kasper, Schmidt 1996) comments on Watt's distinction arguing that the first order politeness imposes itself in the area of socio-psychology. Determining what is polite and non-polite, he claimed that politeness is a norm of etiquette: "etiquette manuals, the do's and don'ts in socializing interaction, metapragmatic comments on what is and what is not polite, and so forth." He further explains that this difference between first order politeness and second order politeness determines the relationship between politeness discourses on different degrees of analysis. Kasper (ibid.) attempts to reflect that first order politeness can be distinguished as an observable behaviour that needs social rules to accomplish and realize politeness. However, such types of politeness could also be given the option of explaining it with conceptualizing the second-order politeness.

The second order of politeness seems to be arguable to some extent. Watts and Locher (2005) argue that this order has been put in the wrong place in politeness research due to the fact that it has given the analyst the privilege to interpret and evaluate. But, it is theoretically supposed that the focus should be laid on the hearers' perception of what occurs in natural interactions. This, according to Haugh (2007), conflicts the role of the participant with the analyst and makes the role of the analyst limited to presenting the participants' understanding of interaction.

The distinction between the first order politeness and second order politeness was further developed by post-modern researchers in the last two decades. Thus, the modern update of discursive approach was made by Haugh (2007), Kadar and Haugh (2013) and Grainger (2011).

Haugh (2007) criticized the politeness theory distinction as being challenged in terms of questioning:

“has it succeeded in avoiding continuous uncertainty between the way in which politeness is understood as *common sense* that is usually used in the everyday social interaction and a more *technical notion* that can have a value within an overall theory of social interaction?” (p.20).

Following such criticism, Kadar and Haugh (2013) set a new understanding for studying in/politeness by distinguishing between first order politeness and second order politeness. The first order politeness is represented by the user of language (speaker) whereas the second order is represented by an observer. The first order involves both participants and metaparticipants. Participants are those individuals who are involved in the evaluation moments through which politeness and impoliteness arise. Metaparticipants, on the other hand, include people who are not involved practically in the social activity, but they evaluate relevant politeness at a distance. This means that they do not take part in the evaluation moments, but can only view politeness phenomena in the internet, TV, radio and similar media. In addition, both orders of politeness involve a set of *expectancies*. The first order involves *the insiders* and *the outsiders*. Insiders include the participants based of emic understanding which is contrasted with the outsider that is related to a moral order as an etic perspective. Such expectancies practically inform the very evaluative moments that give rise to politeness. The second order of understanding politeness involves two accounts: an observer account (analyst or/and lay observer) and a theoretical account (theoretical understanding).

Kadar and Haugh (2013) classify participants as individuals or groups of individuals into producer and recipient of politeness instead of speaker and hearer to generalize the communication modes to more than face to face communication. However, the recipient of politeness is identified as ratified participants including addressee and side participants and as unrated participants who are represented by bystander and over-hearer.

The participants in the present study are divided into producer and recipient of (apologies); both are ratified participants because they are engaged directly in the process of producing

and evaluating relevant politeness. Thus, they are producer of politeness represented by the apologizer whereas the recipient is represented by the apologizee.

Kadar and Haugh (2013) depend on Culpeper's (2011) definition of impoliteness to examine the second layer of the first order of understanding politeness. This layer involves emic and etic perspectives. Harris (1990) defines emic perspective as "logical – empirical systems whose phenomenal distinctions or 'things' are built out of contrasts and discrimination, meaningful, real and accurate" (Harris,1990:48), while etic perspective is defined as "phenomenal distinctions judged appropriate by the community of scientific observers" (p.48). Thus, the emic perspective is used to examine topics in which researchers disregard theories focus on the actual data from participants and pay attention to the themes that appear. On the contrary, by being etic, researchers focus on an existing theory and try to apply it to a new setting or population to see if the theory fits or not.

At an emic level, the participants, in their understanding of politeness, depend on internal elements such as the immediate context of situation seen in an objective way while in an etic perspective, participants depend on external elements that make them like an ethnographer who emphasizes what is going on as important in a more subjective way.

Although emic and etic approaches are sometimes regarded as inherently different or in conflict and one may be taken to exclude the other, the combination of these has been widely used in social sciences, particularly in areas which concern the form and function of human social systems. Kadar and Haugh (2015) state the significance of adopting both emic and etic perspectives in the process of evaluating politeness. They emphasize:

"It is important to note, however, that we are not suggesting here that an emic understanding necessarily be privileged over the etic one. Indeed, in some instances interplay between emic and etic understanding lies at the very core of the evaluative moment of politeness itself. This becomes most obvious when one considers the issue of how to analyze evaluations of politeness in intercultural interaction where participants do not share similar insider perceptions on the moral order.

Similarly, we argue that both emic and etic perspectives are necessary to analyze politeness in the social interaction when the participants do not have similar perceptions on the moral order. Thus, the theoretical aims and data of the empirical study might be considerably weaker if the emic and etic perspectives were ignored. We could also note, however, how different and conflicting perceptions on the moral order can also be found within the same culture because of differences arising from religions, social environments and social attitudes as well as psychological states of participants.

Thus, politeness can be perceived/ evaluated not only by participants whether involved or not involved, but also by observers of evaluative moments. Both a lay-observer and analyst can play an important role in evaluating politeness, but their role differs according to how politeness is observed. Lay-observers are individuals who are not specialized in politeness research. This type of observation moves directly from observation to interpretation using commonplace inferences which people make informally in daily life. Such spontaneous evaluations are not based on systematically built-up evidence for accounts of evaluations. For example, if someone shouts angrily when he is upset or disturbed, an observer might interpret such an incident as impoliteness, which is easily generalized to every person who yells or feels anger.

In contrast, the role of analyst seems more practical and logical in evaluating politeness than the lay observer. Previous studies conducted on evaluating politeness show that the analyst's function is formalizing observations from data collected by dependable and recognized methods. Next, those data are analyzed based on evidence linked with a theoretical framework. Finally, the results of analysis are interpreted by the analyst. For pragmatic scholarship, although a lay observer perspective is less important than research analysis, it is still useful, even essential, in social sciences since lay understanding helps an analyst to understand the participants' and metaparticipants' perspectives, e.g. how people think and talk about politeness influences the way in which politeness is evaluated. Thus, Kadar and Haugh (2013) state that both lay the observer's and the analyst's perspectives are necessary in understanding politeness evaluations. Other postmodern scholars like

(Grainger, 2011) have adopted the same methodology for understanding the realization and the conceptualization of politeness.

Grainger (2011) updates the development or changes in viewing politeness in the last three decades as done before by (Eelen 2001 and Watts, 2003), but this time with more focus on the metapragmatic discourse of the naturally occurring data. This update according to Grainger (2011:169) is spotted within three waves of politeness theory. The first wave is Gricean approach or traditional approach from which the politeness theorizing stems; affected by the philosophy of language and meaning. The principal assumption of this approach is that utterances involve more meaning than what the speakers in reality say. Post-modern theorists like Coupland, Grainger and Coupland (1988, cited in Grainger,2011: 169) state that this traditional approach of politeness theory especially Brown and Levinson's (1978) model has been a bridge that "transformed politeness from an apparently peripheral sociolinguistic concern into a distinctive theory of social interaction" (p.169). They (1988: 169) criticised politeness within this wave as being not projecting all kinds of discourse, such as institutional, social and cultural values. It is argued that "any empirical work on politeness needs to confront the sequential realisation of politeness phenomena in discourse". Further, in spite of its coding and decoding model of communication and a speaker based intention, the Gricean traditional approach is criticised on the ground that it is much more concerned with the analyst's interpretation. Therefore, there has been an urgent need for discursive approach that focuses on the participants' evaluability (Mills 2003 and Watts 2003, cited in Grainger, 2011). The second wave, consequently is discursive approach or the post-modern theory of politeness. According to Watts (2003) Locher and Watts (2005) and Grainger (2011), discursive approach comes as a reaction to the traditional approach due its neglecting the participants' role in the interpretation. This new approach is based on the premise that meaning is springy ranging between the speakers' intention along with the participants' assessment or interpretation (Haugh,2007) to have a balanced approach of politeness interpretation rather than judging the interpretation only from the side of the speakers. Locher and Watts (2005,

cited in Grainger, 2011) focus on the significance of discursive approach as an evaluative step for understanding politeness. They argue:

“We consider it important to take native speaker assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the basis of a discursive, data-driven, bottom-up approach to politeness. The discursive dispute over such terms in instances of social practice should represent the locus of attention for politeness research” (p.170).

This focus on the role of the participants in the data interpretations lead the post-modern scholars to distinguish between the first order politeness and second order politeness (Grainger, 2011). However, the debate on politeness as first and second order has been awakened by Grainger (2011) in terms of investigating the intercultural interaction between the British native speakers and Zimbabwean speakers of English. She agreed with Watts (2003) to preserve the notion ‘politeness 1’ as data driven and ‘politeness 2’ as analyst’s and lay- observer metapragmatics. Unlike those researchers who neglected the second order of politeness (politeness 2), such technical term has been argued by Grainger (2011) as a complementary aspect for politeness 1 for achieving better interpretation especially for intercultural communication. Second order of politeness was focused by Haugh (2007; 2013) as a ‘metapragmatic assessment’ and by Grainger (2011:168) as ‘metapragmatic discourse’. Both terms are necessary for achieving satisfactory interpretation of politeness. Grainger (2011:168) argues that “without such ‘insider’ insights off record politeness strategies could go completely unrecognized by both participants and analyst”.

The third wave is called ‘interactional approach’. Grainger (2011:171). Grainger (2011) argues that this approach is not contradicted with the traditional approach and post-modern approach because ‘it overlaps with both’ (p.171). This is because the post-modern theorists focus on the naturalised data and metapragmatics. The interactional account of politeness is based on the philosophical and linguistic considerations for showing the interactional process between people. This approach is characterized by providing empirically interpretation of meaning without taking into account the participants’ role of evaluability.

Returning to the second wave, in spite of the criticism that the discursive approach does not account for the linguistic choices, Grainger (2011) defends the distinction of politeness 1 and politeness 2 that such a preoccupation is not very interesting. Thus, it is argued and determined by the post-modern approach is that the participants as a metapragmatics aspect of the research methodology are helpful in accessing their insights about a social phenomenon by asking post-hoc questions related to what was uttered. The participants' contribution in the data analysis of politeness research could be affective in determining the reasonable understanding of speech act though it reduces the role of the analyst as an observer. Following Kadar and Haugh (2013) and Grainger (2011), the methodological approach adopted in the present study involves combining both the *lay observer* and the *analyst* to examine produce and perceive apologies in Iraqi Arabic and English. The lay observer is represented by the participants recruited in the present study as apologizers and evaluators while the analyst is represented by the researcher. This could be a daring step for the analyst's and the observing participants' post hoc evaluability of the naturalized encounter to offer empirically account of politeness on elicited apologies rather than naturally occurring apologies. Supporting this idea, the current study has been developed in the light that the researcher as a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic that facilitated the interpretation of the participating Iraqi people's perceptions of politeness through apology along with the participants' retrospective evaluations.

3.3 Concluding Remarks

It has been found that theories of politeness agree that any social violation can be well reformed and maintained if the social conditions are met properly; and these conditions include the type of offence, the social status of both the apologizer and apologizee, their age and gender. Another significant condition is to what extent an individual aware of the form of politeness. It has been observed that apology has been classified under different type of politeness forms. In other words, apology speech act has been viewed in various ways. Following Lakoff's (1975) argumentation, speech act performs social functions in order to save the addressee's face. The speech act of apology has been viewed by Lakoff as being a social behaviour implying a face threatening act. In performing an apology, the

apologizer acknowledges his/her responsibility of committing an offense. Whilst, Leech (1983, 1987) puts apology under the maxim of modesty. Thus, when apologizing, the speaker attempt to minimize praise of self and maximize dispraise of self. In the following example: I am terribly sorry, (minimize praise of speaker's self) but could you close the window? (maximize dispraise of hearer's self). Apology in Brown and Levinson's (1983) model is regarded as a *negative politeness* strategy in terms of expressing respect, closeness and deference. Negative politeness depends on avoidance based on the strategy of on-record and self-control and it can be captured in apology strategies such as taking responsibilities. Thus, the apologizer acknowledges the hearer's face- want to avoid possible offence, therefore; apology is a *face threatening act* for the apologizer and *face saving* for the apologizee. Finally, according to Goffman's view of face (1971:143), apology act involves two interactional parts, one for the speaker to express his/her being a guilty and the other for remedial action. In the table (1) below, the speech act of apology is illustrated according to the views of politeness theorists discussed in this chapter:

Politeness Theories	Apology Category	Apology function
Lakoff (1973)	FTAs	S acknowledges responsibilities
Leech (1983, 1987)	Modest behaviour	S minimizes praise of self and maximize dispraise of self
Brown & Levinson's (1987)	Negative politeness	S expresses respect, closeness & taking responsibilities
	FTA	S acknowledges the hearer's face want
	Positive politeness	S supports face want for positive manner
Goffman (1971)	Interactional Act: remedial and non-remedial	S expresses regret and guilt and makes remedial act.
Eelen (2001) Watts (2003) Kadar and Haugh (2013)	Apology 1 Apology 2	Maintain a social relationship The perception of apology depends on the hearer's emic and etic perspective

Table [1]: Apology in Politeness Theories

This chapter has focused on the theories of politeness explaining the unique characteristics for each model. Theoretical arguments dealing with the notion of politeness and culture were explored in this chapter. Those theoretical arguments could be used as a baseline for evaluating the apologies produced in Iraqi Arabic and English either as compatible with those theories of meaning or not. In order to fill the gap of this concern, this theoretical framework represented the backbone for answering the research question “*How apologies are perceived in the Iraqi Arabic culture?* Other minor questions like *to which theory of politeness, the Iraqi Arabic apologies are relevant and can be applied?* Moreover, what does it mean to be polite in the Iraqi Arabic contexts?

The theoretical background of the present study include two main perspectives: etic and emic. , by being etic, researchers focus on an existing theory and try to apply it to a new setting or population to see to what extent the theory fits. Relying heavily on the etic approach means discarding new or cutting-edge concepts. The emic perspective is used to research topics that do not have too much theory attached to them. Researchers disregard theories and concepts and focus on the actual data from participants and pay attention to the themes or patterns that appear. It is impossible for researchers to be completely emic, because they all have preconceived perspectives and ideas. Thus, both traditional and post-modern theories of politeness are etically deals with understanding the speech act of apology across cultures and interculturality. From emic point of view, post-modern theories focus on the role of participants and impoliteness. The present study will examine apologies in the Iraqi Arabic and EFL context by adopting a pragmatic analysis based on traditional and post-modern theories of meaning and politeness.

Chapter Four: The Speech Act of Apology

This chapter briefly reviews speech act theory as a theoretical background for apology speech act. It deals with apologies as speech act behaviour starting with reviewing their pragmatic definitions, empirical studies conducted as well as social variables, which were argued to impact on the perception and realization of apologies.

Speech act theory is a major aspect of pragmatics that deals with the ways by which words do actions rather than only transferring meaning. The speech act theory was introduced by Austin's performativity (1962) and developed by Searle (1969, 1975). In his *How to Do Things with Words*, Austin (1962) moves to the question of validity of utterances as the assumption of the main function of language is to offer either true or false utterances. However, empirical researchers showed that there is actually a large number of utterances that cannot be ascribed as true or false. For example, when one apologizes, he/she does not want to describe a state of affairs but rather aims conventionally to convey an inner feeling and repair a damage either by unerring his words or by practically doing a repair. The successful performance of speech act depends on the social norms prevailed in the language communities.

As developed by Searle (1969, 1979), speech act theory is based on three major levels: (a) locutionary acts, (b) illocutionary acts, and (c) Perlocutionary acts. The performance of certain speech act involves these three level; i.e. locutionary refers to the action of uttering words with certain meaning in the traditional sense, but they do not form a speech act unless the context and the speaker's intention are recognized. Illocutionary acts refers to the performance of action by saying what is meant or intended to convey; and perlocutionary act is the effect of the performed speech act of the addressee's feeling, attitudes, or mind. The study of speech act theory has been more influential and interesting when developed by Searle (1969, 1979) whose most ideas on communication and meaning have cleared the way for researchers in the philosophy of language. According to Searle (1979) speech acts

are classified into five major classes by which the speakers achieve a proposition in certain utterances. These classes are:

- 1- Assertives: an assertive point can be achieved by how the things are represented in the world.
- 2- Commissives: a commissive point is recognized when the speakers commit themselves to certain actions.
- 3- Directives: a directive point is achieved when they make the addressee to do something.
- 4- Declaratives: a declarative point is recognized when the speakers do things in the world at the moment of utterance in terms of saying that they do.
- 5- Expressives: an expressive point is seen when the speakers express their inner feeling and attitudes about certain fact or objects. This classification of illocutionary act has been beneficial in improving the classification of performative verbs by Austin (1962) and is scheduled to a practical categorization of the illocutionary points of utterances which is not as language- dependable as that of Austin

Searle's typology (1969) of speech acts indicates that people follow two types of rules in their social interaction. These rules are constitutive rules that define or create new forms of social behaviour and regulative rules that govern the types of social behaviour in line with the social norms of certain language community. According to these rules, the meaning of a speech act is determined and defined more by conventions than the initiative of the hearer. Thus, the speech act theory is a speaker- orientated rather than a hearer-oriented one. The present study is not concerned with the critiques of speech act theory, but aims to examine the expressive point through apology as a speech act behaviour in terms of a speaker's production and perception. Such examination will be considered approaching traditional politeness theories, which are based on the premises of speech act theory, and post-modern theories of politeness, which depend on the discursiveness and evaluability in understanding speech acts.

4.1 Apology: Definitions and Functions

The term “Apology” is coined from “apologeomai”, a Greek word that means significantly “*to justify or defend oneself*” or “defense”. The Oxford English Dictionary (2017) affirms such an early meaning in English, which is clear in:

“The pleading off from a charge or imputation, whether expressed, implied, or only conceived as possible; defence of a person or vindication of an institution, etc., from accusation or aspersion” (Home : Oxford English Dictionary).

Thus, there has been a gradual shifting of the meaning of apology from the official field to the more informal domain. The term had, simply, at least informally, started by meaning “defense or justification of a particular action: “Justification, acknowledgement or excuse, of an incident or course of action” (OED 1989). The more current practices of using the term apology function as a ‘regret’ offered by the offender or “apologizer” to an offended person about a committed action:

“An explanation offered to a person affected by one's action that no offence was intended, coupled with the expression of regret for any that may have been given; or, a frank acknowledgement of the offence with expression of regret for it, by way of reparation”

Other dictionaries define the term apology as “a written or spoken expression of one’s regret, remorse, or sorrow for having insulted, failed, injured, or wronged another. Another definition is provided by (Collins CoBuild English Language Dictionary, 1993):

“...something that you say or write in order to say that you are sorry that you have hurt them, upset them, or caused them trouble. In formal usage, apology also refers to the meaning of a defence. It is defined as a formal justification or defence of a habit, mistake or system, especially one that is disliked’”.

Like any other communicative speech acts, an apology can serve different pragmatic and social functions. Austin (1962) classifies apology under the category of ‘Behabitives’ along with other illocutionary forces like condoling, congratulating and challenging as a kind of performative concerned roughly with reactions to behaviour and with behaviour towards others and designed to exhibit attitudes and feelings. According to him, when a speaker apologizes, he/she performs:

- a) a locutionary act: uttering the words of apology: ‘I am sorry’ (implicit apology), ‘I apologize’ (explicit apology)
- b) an illocutionary act: the speaker does the act of apology, expresses his/her feeling.
- c) a perlocutionary act: the speaker satisfies the offended person (who accepts and forgives the offender)

Austin believes that those locutions and illocutionary acts are separable. But, this view has been criticized by Searle (1969) who argues that since meaning and force are inseparable, the locutionary and illocutionary acts are inseparable. This indication may be specifically taken as in the case of the explicit one. For example, the explicit utterance "I order you to do it" expresses an order, but the implicit utterance "do it" may be taken as an order, advice, suggestion, urging, daring... etc.

Searle (1979: 15). allocates apology to the class of “expressive” in which the speaker (the apologizer) “expresses the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content.” Apology functions as a tool for releasing tension and expressing regret about something which had happened, or even is going to happen. The speaker expresses in such a state what he/she feels towards others, but it is not possible to ascertain the sincerity of the apologizer’s intention. For example, one can apologize just as a way of escaping from the situation by merely saying “Ok! Sorry”. Such an apology does not amend the situation, and could make it worse. Therefore, this example shows that uttering a speech act of apology does not – simply in itself - mean an apology. The accomplishment of an apology can only be happy or “felicitous” when a speaker believes a certain act has caused some violation which has affected the recipient or other participants.

There are various scholars who focus on appealing to the effects of apologizing. For example, Goffman (1971:141-142) labels apology as a ritual action: "Apology allows the participants to go on their way, if not with satisfaction that matters are closed, then at least with the right to act as if they feel that matters are closed and that ritual equilibrium has been restored". Similarly, Tannen (1995) states that people usually utter expressions or words of apology without thinking of their literal meaning. Apology is thus, a part of ritualised means of communication. People do also apologize to other people even when there is no apparent reason or obvious offence, so saying 'Sorry' does not necessarily mean that the person is apologizing, but it is used as a downtoner, a softener or smoothing way in conversation. Women, for example, frequently use the expression 'I am sorry' to express more regret in order to maintain balance and to address others' feelings (Lakoff, 1975). The use of such expressions by women is sometimes accompanied by emotional behaviour like smiling, using a rising intonation pattern, crying or sighing. From my own experience in the UK, speakers in discussions or debates may use 'Sorry...' simply as a prefacing tag to express the disagreement that follows, perhaps as an apology in advance, but more likely as just a social softener preceding an upcoming negative comment or question. At the same time, Goffman (1976) argues that apology is a speech act performed to establish or re-establish social agreement after the offender has committed an unintended or sometimes intended offence.

Following Goffman (1971), Fraser (1981) categorised apology as a remedial speech act for restoring a social relationship or to change what might have been regarded as an offensive into acceptable action. He (ibid.) argues that the offence might come as a result- of the offender's breaching to the social norms such as not achieve a task required in the manager's office or such as arriving too late for attending a meeting with a supervisor. According to Fraser (1981: cited in Al-Adalieh, 2007), apology is defined in terms of certain conditions that should be available to achieve successful apology speech act. Four conditions were suggested for the apologizer to take into his/her account when apologizing:

- (a) the apologizer should admit that there is an offence,

(b) should believe that the offended is hurt,

(c) should take on the responsibility, and

(d) should express regret for committing the offence.

Commenting on these conditions, Chang (2008), argues that the apologizer's personality and reputation is more important than what he/she actually says. This means that if the apologizer is sincerely trusted by the his/her fellow citizens, his/her apology would be accepted regardless to the strategy of apology used. He (ibid.) argued that such view can be applied to the people from the same community, sharing familiar relationship, but might not be applicable to strangers.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), apology as a communicative act cannot be established as "being sincere" unless it is regarded as being polite; the person who apologizes intends to show his/her behaviours in a light of regret and this depends on his/her social environment, beliefs and educational level. Thus, the person who formulates the apology has to act politely to convey the illocutionary force intended. When someone apologizes to another person, he/she shows respect and politeness even if the social breakdown is not repaired and the offence is not forgiven; not to do so makes matters worse because the absence of expected apology constitutes an additional offence: it leaves the offended person with a lingering mental reproof, such as '... and he didn't even apologize'. From a social point of view, an apology opens the door for communication about an offence; it makes the offender reconnect with the offended person through reference to an actual or perceive transgression. Apology is one of the strategies of politeness that functions as a way for maintaining interpersonal relationships when they have been potentially disrupted. In performing an apology, the opportunity to re-establish confidence is attempted; resolving not to repeat the offending behaviour is an important condition of an apology (Holmes, 1995:217), even if this is not articulated, it is an assumed implication of an act of apology. From this angle, the repeated apology on a particular action or situation, without such assurances of the intention not to let it recur, seems

increasingly insincere and empty and therefore to provoke negative reactions from those offended.

An apology is also an act performed for repairing a mistake or an offence which has already been committed. This retrospective type of apology usually takes place in an academic and workplace domain especially when the offender is in a lower rank or state than the offended person. The offender rushes into apologizing, offering to amend the mistake by using different strategies for example, Edmondson (1981) illustrates an apology as a communicative act whose main role in speech is an attempt made by the speaker to have the offended person reconciled and to have the social harmony restored.

In certain cultures, the speech act of apology sometimes serves the function of thanking to express one's modesty, especially on social occasions. For example, when someone gives a gift to a friend, he/she will say 'Oh, I am sorry', that it is to say, there is no mistake or offense which might potentially accrue if the gift is considered unworthy. Such apology expresses thanks to the addressee. This may also express how the speaker is sorry that he/she has troubled the helper by getting into a situation of needing help, that is, this kind of apology shows consideration for the helper's context and thus the apology is indirect appreciation of the helper's efforts. In certain Middle Eastern cultures, apology expresses the speaker's humility. For example, "I am sorry this gift is not expensive or magnificent but it is just a humble offering of a poor gift on my part". (*The researcher's translation*). Similarly, a person speaking in public, especially on formal occasions, may well close the speech with an apology to show modesty and humility. For example, "I am sorry my poor words do not fully express what I wanted to say but I am just a modest person so please forgive my inadequate expression" (*The researcher's translation*). Such apologies can only be given by the public speaker and can hardly be uttered by the receiver or the hearer or someone who formally thanks the speaker, since this would then be insulting to the speaker as confirmation that the speech was indeed poor.

Leech (1983) argues for the overlapping nature of apology. In this sense, he equally distinguishes between the act of apologizing and thanking:

‘The metaphor whereby deeds make us ‘debtors’ or ‘creditors’ of one another applies not only to good deeds (favours), but also to bad deeds (offences), so that apologizing, like thanking, can be regarded as an acknowledgement of an imbalance in the relation between s and h, and to some extent, as an attempt to restore the equilibrium’ (Leech 1983:124-125).

Clankie (1993) argues that apology expressions can be used for expressing the speech act of gratitude. He states that how the Japanese learners of English transfer their apology for thanking the addressee. It was argued that both apology and thanking are interchangeable under certain situations. Arab native speakers, according to Al-Zubaidi (2012), frequently use apologies to express indebtedness and gratitude since they perceive that an intrusion or imposition were caused, therefore, apology could be applicable as a softener for that intrusion or imposition. In other words, to mitigate the FTA threatening caused to the benefactor, the recipient uses apology strategy instead of expressing thanking.

Thus, it can be argued that the speech act of apology can be regarded as a multi- speech act that functions as expressing inner feeling (Austin 1962, Searle 1979), remedial and non-remedial act (Goffman 1971, Fraser 1981) and a mirror of politeness in the form of principles and maxims, Brown and Levinson 1978,1983; Leech,1973).

However, apology has been the focus of empirical studies: across cultures and interlanguage pragmatics. The main concern of such kind of studies is to examine apologies across cultures and interlanguage pragmatic approach. More focus on apologies within empirical research will be reviewed in the next section 4.2.

4.2 Empirical Studies on Apology

Most studies conducted on apology have followed a sociopragmatic perspective; researchers recently took another more sociolinguistic approach by investigating the effects of social variables such as social distance, social power and gender on the production of apology (Cohen and Olshain, 1981 and Holmes, 1993). The next two sections will

consider relevant findings concluded from studies on the speech act of apology in both interlanguage and cross cultural pragmatics.

4.2.1 Inter-Language studies:

Most researchers in the field of interlanguage pragmatics have focused on whether some uses, 'mistaken or not' in the second language, are universal or not. It is known that the appropriate way for recognizing the influence of the learners of the first language is to compare the learners' performance of the second language with that of the native speakers. This section will concentrate on those studies whose main contribution in interlanguage pragmatics is significant in revealing the main reasons that lead to pragmatic failure for performing the speech act of apology as well as the underlying factors which have an effect on producing apologies. In her research, Coulmas (1981) identifies the common features of apologies produced by non-native speakers of Japanese. She concludes that there is a big difference between the form of the apologies and the functions they realize. She claims that apology forms can be used for expressing thanks, greeting and offers. Thus, non-native speakers of Japanese exhibit a pragmatic failure when producing the speech act of apologies since they are not familiar with the cultural norms and values of the Japanese culture. This supports the validity of Coulmas' claim that people differ in their perceptions of interactional customs of which apology is a part.

Another interlanguage pragmatic study was conducted by Cohen and Olshtain (1981). They examined the production of apologies in English by native speakers of Hebrew. They investigated the extent to which the learners of English are able to make apologies in an acceptable sociocultural way. They found that it was difficult to measure the learners' competence in a second language. Therefore, they selected only eight situations to evaluate the linguistic and cultural competence of the native speakers of Hebrew while producing apologies in English. In situations which involve simple offences, the EFL learners apologized as the native speakers of English frequently while the native speakers of Hebrew apologized less frequently, such as in bumping into an old lady shaking her a bit. (English native 92%, non-native 85% vs, Hebrew 33%). In total, the strategies of apologies

used by the EFL group were relatively different from the target language. Therefore, Cohen and Oshtain (1981) hypothesized that the limited pragmatic competence in the target language results from the non-native speakers' nonconformity with the cultural norms of that language. They (ibid.) indicated that Hebrew learners largely expect to transfer their social and cultural norms and patterns used in their culture while apologizing in English. But although Hebrew and English are quite diverse, sometimes Hebrew learners of English come closer to the English norms in their apologies in particular in simple offences. This could be traced to the nature of simple offence which require not complex apology or a typical apology strategy.

Oshtain (1981) argued that most Hebrew speakers do not prefer to transfer the rules of their mother tongue. In addition, as proposed by Cohen and Oshtain (1981), making a pragmatic transfer could be caused by the poor competence in English language. Thus, even having an excellent grammatical knowledge of the target language, second language learners still fail to communicate successfully due to different cultural variables (Blum-Kulka & Oshtain 1984).

In their analysis, Cohen and Oshtain (1981) state that apology responses performed by Hebrew speakers are highly influenced by their native language. Their responses are characterized by using intensifiers repeatedly; for example, they overused the adverb 'very' such as in 'Oh, I'm very very sorry' whereas English native speakers do not repeat the same adverb but use another intensifier in combination with it, like 'I am really very sorry'.

However, one major drawback in Cohen and Oshtain's (1981) study is that only eight situations for examining apologies were employed. The small number of apology situations used could be deemed as a limitation because yielding sufficient data for measuring pragmatic competence needs more contextualised situations.

The development of apologies in the Japanese EFL learners was conducted by Jean-Marc Dawaele (2008). Apologies produced by the Japanese EFL learners, elicited by DCT, were compared with British native speakers' and Japanese native speakers' apologies. It was

concluded that the Japanese EFL learners' use of IFIDs is significantly different from that of the native speakers of Japanese. Further, the Japanese EFL learners misused the expression of 'Excuse me' as a strategy of apology as if they mean 'I am sorry'. It could be argued by Borkin and Reinhart (1978) that the expressions 'I am sorry' and 'excuse me' are different. They can be freely alternate in certain situations, for example when someone wants clear off the way through a crowd of people in a train or bus; therefore, saying 'excuse me' gives an indication to the other party that there is something which might be violated whereas saying 'I am sorry' indicates the speaker feels regretful. However, Jean-Marc Dawae's study (2008) involved a small number of participants (totally 46) which can be regarded as a limitation. Further, interlanguage analysis was conducted by Sanchez (2016) for examining the pragmatic competence in the Spanish university master students when performing requests and apologies. Collecting the speech act of request and apology in this study was conducted by using a single traditional method which is DCT approaching a group of British native speakers to evaluate the participants' responses to ascertain their request and apologies are appropriate and counterpart for the native speakers' speech. It was suggested by this study that the Spanish speakers offered new strategies which are different from the native speakers' usage. Such differences were claimed to be traced personal traits rather than cultural effects. It could be argued that Sanchez's study (2016) is similar to the present study in terms of the methodological part. Both have followed a procedure by which the researchers did not mention the speech act under investigation. The present study adopted DCT, and open role play by which the researcher did not ask the participants to apologize, but they were asked to react to what is mentioned in the scenario (see Chapter 5).

The realization of apology by Americans compared with Venezuelans in English language situations was investigated by Garcia (1989). He states that misunderstanding and disagreement in 'sociopragmatic failure', in terms of Thomas's (1987) view, are assigned to differences in the conversational styles. The researcher focused on the linguistic choices made by participants in order to examine and correlate the data of the two groups with their strategies used. Garcia concluded that the factor of cultural background is highly

influential on the speakers' linguistic choices of apologies. Garcia (1989) argues that these groups use different strategies in their performance of apology. Native speakers (Americans) adopt negative politeness in their responses, which is evident in the high rate of deference and respect expressions whereas positive politeness strategies, evidenced by expressions of familiarity, cooperation and friendship were embraced by the Venezuelans speaking English. The speech act behaviour of the non-native speakers related to the hypothesis that the Americans embracing of negative politeness as hosting people outcomes to show accord and cooperation between them and the guests whereas the Venezuelan speech act behaviour led to an outcome of disagreement leading to misunderstanding and possible breakdowns in the communication. Garcia maintains that 'sociopragmatic failure' between the Americans and the Venezuelans is attributed to socio-cultural rules; and on the basis of their L1 'Spanish' social value, the Venezuelan speakers apologized with the aim to establish harmony and cooperation in their conversational circle.

Having demonstrated the procedure and findings of Garcia (1989); examining the Venezuelan EFL learners' pragmatic competence as compared with the American native speakers of English without considering a baseline data is questionable. Baseline data from the native language of the EFL learners are essential for measuring the learners' pragmatic competence and to examine whether their speech acts production is closer to their mother tongue or the target language. This could be assigned as a gap that will be filled in the present study by examining apologies produced by Iraqi EFL learners compared with the Iraqi Arabic native speakers as baseline data.

Regarding Arabic studies, Al-Zumor (2009) explored the realization of English apology strategies in different contexts by Arab learners of English, American English native speakers and British English native speakers in India. Three situations involving offences were designed. He stated how, in the production of apology, pragmatic transfer from Arabic occurs due to religious beliefs, ideas or social values including some relating to gender and age. He added that Arabic speakers using English usually take on responsibility in their apology, whereas the English native speakers tend to use offers of maintenance or

verbal compensation. However, there may be a limitation with Al-Zumor's research which is adopting a single traditional data collection method. Only the use of Discourse Completion Questionnaires was adopted, a method which has been widely criticised (see chapter 5). Another EFL study by Al-Tayib Umar (2007) investigated strategies of apology as realized by Sudanese Arabic compared with British English: 100 Sudanese learners of English and 15 British English native speakers. The main aim of this investigation is to reveal if the second language learners employ the same forms and strategies used by the native speakers when apologizing. Their choice of apologies is determined largely by their social distance and social status as well as the severity of the offence. It was also found that the Sudanese learners of English use the same strategies used by the British native speakers, but with more intensified expressions of apology. However, one question that needs to be asked, is whether a big difference in the numbers of participants could be defended? One group involved 100 participants while the other only 15. Choosing the same number in each group or at least a close approximation could be better due to the very small number might not be representative.

Having explored previous interlanguage studies conducted on apology, the next section sheds light on some previous cross cultural empirical studies. By reviewing these studies, we seek to examine how people display apologies in different cultures, to find out which circumstances or variables prevail, and to show people's views about apology.

4.2.2 Cross Cultural Studies

Firstly, communication across cultures can be performed by using different styles and strategies; such different linguistic styles could cause miscommunication. Most cross cultural studies which have been conducted within the field of pragmatics have followed an empirical orientation aimed at understanding linguistic competence by revealing pragmatic failure which may take place from one culture into another (Wierzbicka, 2003).

However, this section examines the research conducted on apologies within a cross cultural perspective examining how apologies are realized from one culture to another. Due to the large number of cross cultural studies on apology, this discussion will be abridged to some

of them such as Reiter (2000), Hussein and Hammouri (1998), Suszczynska (1999) Al-Adaleih (2007) and Chamani and Zareipur (2010) and Aydin 2013. which could be relevant to the present study. These studies are chosen to be reviewed due to they revealed the contextual variables affecting producing and perceiving the speech act of apology in different cultures.

In cross cultural pragmatic study, Reiter (2000) investigated politeness phenomena in British English and Uruguayan Spanish. This study examined the differences and similarities in the realization of request and apology speech acts produced by the native speakers of both cultures. For apologies, the researcher collected the data by using open role plays in Uruguay and the UK. All the participants were university students whose major was neither English nor linguistics. This study found that British native speakers tended to intensify the use of apology by resorting to intensifiers such as 'I am very sorry', 'I am really sorry', 'I am awfully sorry' In contrast, the Uruguayan Spanish native speakers did not intensify their expressions of apology grammatically in this way. Further, in terms of social variables, the British English and Uruguayan Spanish apologies both perceive the seriousness of the offence in the same way, but the British apologized more than the Uruguayans. Accordingly, Reiter (2000) hypothesized that the more severe the offence committed, the more apologies are required. Analysing the apologies in terms of gender across culture, Reiter (2000:167) found no prominent difference between males and females in the two cultures. This conclusion is in line with what Fraser (1981) argued that apologies produced by women are more than those performed by men.

Nevertheless, respondents recruited in this study were limited to the university students and it overlooked people from different fields such as workplace, family place, or general places. As Mackey and Gass (2005) suggest focusing on one domain may invalidate the results.

Another comparative analysis for how apology is realized across different cultures has been conducted by Suszczynska (1999). In this study, English, Hungarian and Polish native speakers were compared in the way they perform apologies. Adopting the Cohen and

Olshtain (1989) taxonomy within the CCSARP model, Suszcynska found that the three types of native speakers produced apologies in both similar and different ways in their own languages. However, differences seem to be more prominent than similarities. For example, Hungarian apologies expressed a high rate of taking responsibility, which is the most highly used strategy after the IFID. Polish speakers, on the other hand, tend to use an intensified expression equivalent to 'I am sorry'. It is noted that only DCT has been adopted in this study rather than multiple methods. The semantic formula IFIDs was used in the form of expressing regret 'I am sorry', I do apologize for asking forgiveness by the three groups of participants. The distribution of IFIDs in the three languages was different. The expressions of regret in English were more frequent than in Hungarian and Polish apologies. It was concluded that apology as a social speech act behaviour is culture – specific. However, it could be argued that triangulation the data collection methods and more contextualized situations requiring apologies would be necessary to corroborate the results obtained from this study.

Hussein and Hammouri (1998), the earliest published study on the realization of Arabic apology, investigated the similarities and differences between the behaviour of carrying out the act of apology by American and Jordanian speakers of Arabic. The data were obtained by employing a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). It was concluded that the strategies used by Arabs were more varied than those of the Americans. The Jordanian interlocutors engaged 12 strategies, while the Americans used only seven. Among the significant outcomes concerning social power, responses from the Jordanian respondents showed that whenever the addressee was more advanced in rank, the apology strategies included honorific address forms.

Another study in an Arabic context is conducted by Al-Adaleih (2007). Apologies in Jordanian Arabic and British English were pragmatically compared. The comparison of apologies in the two languages represents an account of politeness phenomenon in both cultures. It was aimed to examine apologies within the framework of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory of politeness. The methods of collecting apologies adopted are the DCT and semi-structured interview. It was concluded by the author that speakers

from both cultures apologise and perceive the concept of apology differently. The study has designed 12 different situations for eliciting apologies by both groups of participants. Al-Adaleih (2007) investigation seems similar to the present study in terms of using a plenty of different situations and also, both examine the conceptualisation of apology in Arabic and English. But they are different in adopting the methods of perception. This study has adopted only the semi-structured interview whereas the present study has adopted scale response task and semi-structured interview perceiving apology variables and for post-hoc participants' evaluations. It is worth mentioning here that the Jordanian dialects which is classified as Levantine dialect differs from the Iraqi dialect which is categorised as Arab Gulf dialect in terms of speech sounds production, semantics and language use (Toma, 1969, cited in Rakhieh 2011; Abdel, 2011).

Moreover, across cultural pragmatic analysis of apologies in British English and Persian ¹ language was conducted by Chamani and Zareipour (2010). This study aimed to examine the differences and similarities in the realization of apologies in the two different cultures as well as the reasons behind apologizing in Persian and English. The data in this study were collected by adopting the observatory method depending on the already natural data corpus cited in Deutschmann (2003), a corpus which included 3070 examples of apologies, produced by over 1700 speakers whereas the Persian data were from 500 exchanges involving complaints, apologies and apology responses. The authors suggested that data collected via the observatory methods could be more representative of natural apologies. It could be argued here that using the observatory method is a time consuming and could be ethically challenging especially if the participants are unaware of the procedure and the aim whereas if they have been notified about the aim of the study and the speech act under investigation, the data would not be considered as natural. It was found that the nature of the offence determines the apology strategies in both languages. And, the British native speakers opted to a single strategy of apology almost IFIDs with 80% whereas the Persian native speakers used multiple strategies rather than the IFIDs. It was also revealed in this

¹ "Persian" is the official term by which the Iranian language is known to the English-speaking world while "Farsi" is the term by which it is referred to by its native speakers.

study that the Iranian native speakers, unlike the British, do not accept apologies easily, but they keep complaining and questioning the offender.

Further, a study conducted by (Aydin 2013) has compared apology strategies between three groups: American English speakers, Turkish speakers and advanced non-native speakers of English in Turkey. All groups have responded to the same situations for comparing the strategies used by those speakers when apologizing. Both American English speakers and Turkish speakers' data were used as baseline data in order to verify the pragmatic transfer of the advanced non-native speakers of English. DCT method has been used for collecting apologies. It has been found that advanced non-native speakers of English used similar strategies to those used by the American English native speakers in their apology.

It could be seen from the previous empirical studies conducted on apologies that apologies were analysed in terms of adopting the Cohen and Olshtain (1989) model of cross cultural and interlanguage comparison and Brown and Levinson's (1978) model of politeness. It is noted that apologies were performed by using a variety of different strategies; and the EFL learners make a pragmatic failure when apologizing due to cultural effects and personal traits as well. In addition, the choice of those strategies was determined by the nature of offence and other social variables such as the relationship between the offender and the offended person. Having reviewed the general previous empirical studies on apologies, the next section will shed more light on the types of apology strategies as well as apology social variables affection producing apology such as types of offences, social status, social distance and gender.

4.3 Strategies of Apology

In order to perform an apology speech act successfully, there should be certain strategies used by the apologizer. Different classifications have been proposed for apology strategies in the area of cross cultural and interlanguage studies: Cohen and Olshtain (1983), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Holms (1995), Wolfson (1983), Owen (1983), Trosborg (1987), Sugimoto (1997) and Deutschmann (2003). These strategies are discussed below.

These studies represent a good example of the cross cultural and interlanguage pragmatics of apologies. A large number of strategies were identified. The next sub-section will shed light on the nature of those apology strategies:

4.3.1 Direct Strategies

In most situations, the offender uses a direct apology strategy by employing an explicit illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). Harris, Grainger and Mullany (2006, cited in Mullany, 2011) state that the successful performance of an apology speech act should involve explicit IFIDs along with taking on responsibility. This semantic formula adopted to perform the act of apology includes: *expressing regret*, such as: 'I am sorry', *offering apology*, such as: 'I do apologize', *seeking for forgiveness*, such as: 'forgive me', *intensification* (using intensifiers), such as: 'I am really sorry; Oh, I am so sorry', *minimizing the effects of severity or damage*, such as: 'I am only a few minutes late', or *verbal restoration*, such as 'I hope you aren't hurt' (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: cited in Al-Adaleih,2007); Wolfson (1983), Owen (1983), Trosborg (1987), Sugimoto (1997) and Deutschmann (2003).

4.3.2 Indirect Strategies

Indirect Apologies can be performed by employing an acknowledgement of responsibilities. This can be established by the direct acknowledgement and indirect (implicit) acknowledgement. Direct acknowledgment includes the following semantic formula:

(a) **Accepting blame**, such as: 'It was my fault'; 'It was entirely my mistake'. (b) **Expressing self-deficiency**, such as: 'I am not very good at writing poetry'. (c) **Lack of intent**, such as: 'I didn't mean this; sorry! I haven't seen you'; 'Oh, dear! It was a mistake'. (d) **Admitting the offence**, such as: 'I admit, I broke the window' (Al-Adaleih 2007).

On the other hand, indirect acknowledgement can appear in:

a) **Explaining the situation:** when the offender transfers the apology by clarifying the situation by giving justifications for the offense committed. For example, someone shows an explanation for being late by saying: 'There was an accident on the highway; therefore, I arrived late'; or 'I am sorry. The car had a breakdown'.

(b) **An offer of repair:** when the offender may make an offer to provide repair for any specific damage caused by the infraction, which can be specific, such as: 'I will do extra work over the weekend' and non-specific, such as: 'I'll see what I can do'.

(c) **Promise for forbearance** where certain expressions may be resorted to promise the offended for avoiding any similar future behaviour. For example, "It won't happen again".

(d) **Paying a concern:** To relieve an offended person, the apologizer may express concern for their well-being, personal conditions, etc., for example: 'Do you feel well?'; 'Are you OK?' (Hussein and Hammouri 1998; Chamani and Zareipur 2010).

Another types of apology strategies categorized as evasive strategies, used by the person giving an apology include minimizing the degree of offence, by reducing the degree of infraction committed against somebody. This is often done by giving some arguments that indicate the 'nothingness' or 'minimality' of something. For example, by downgrading the offence 'Oh, it does not matter'; or by blaming someone else and shifting responsibility, for example, 'I think that X is also responsible for this problem' (Trosborg 1987; Deutschmann 2003).

4.4 The Strategies Determiners

In fact, there are no stable strategies for apologies, but they vary according to certain factors. Sugimoto (1999) sets four conditions by which apologies can be determined. These conditions are:

4.4.1 The type of offence:

This refers to the type of social damage that is perceived to be committed, such as someone breaking one's glasses, stepping on one's toe or even interrupting. More discussion about the types of offence will be argued in section (4.6).

4.4.2 The relationship between the offender and the offended:

Participants could be from different levels of social status, such as friends, teachers, family members, strangers, romantic partners, male or female. Accordingly, the closer the relationship between the offender and the offended persons, the more easily accepted the apology might be given and accepted, with different types of strategies according to social distance (Sugimoto 1999).

4.4.3 The degree of offence:

The speech act of apology depends also on the severity of the violation committed. The more severe the offence, the more difficult the choice of apology strategy to be used, and the more likely the apology may be elaborated, extended or repeated. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984; Holmes 1995; Deutschmann 2003).

4.4.4 The gender of interlocutors

Many researchers (e.g. Holmes, 1993; Bataineh and Bataineh, 2005; Al-Adaileh, 2007) have found that apology differs according the gender of the person apologising. In some cultures, including many in the Arabic-speaking regions, females apologize more than males, while in other cultures the reverse is true. Holmes (1993), the first scholar who made a systematic research about how apologies are produced and perceived by both males and females, found that females in New Zealand use apologies more than men do. Most of those apologies are directed to females rather than to males. For Arabs, both males and females use the main strategies of a statement of remorse and a promise not to repeat the fault, but females use non-apology strategies in order to avoid further discussion about the offence (Bataineh and Bataineh 2005). This attitude might spring from an Islamic cultural rule that women should not talk or interact with strangers. In addition, unlike males, the female participants did not apparently use the apology strategy of invoking Allah's (God's) name (ibid.). For keeping a good relationship between an offender and an offended person, the offender should employ certain strategies for performing the act of apologizing. These strategies of apologizing are intended to maintain the relationship and at least reduce the effect of the offence on the offended.

4.5 Types of Offence

Generally, an act of apology occurs as a result of a particular offence (Coulmas, 1981:71). It is also claimed that the type of apology is determined by the nature and severity of the offence committed. For example, interrupting someone during their turn in speech will probably result in a type of apology different than one after beating someone and hurting his leg (Deutschmann, 2003: 265).

Studies concerned with the relationship between the pragmatics of apologies and politeness theory have also aimed to emphasize the relationship between the category of apology and the severity of the fault or offence committed by the offender. Thus, the more severe the offence, the stronger and more effective apology should be (or needs to be), since the quantity and maxims of politeness which have been applied to the speech act which determine and govern the formulation of apologies, is reliant on the perceived severity of the offence (Olshtain,1989; Eelen, 2001; (Reiter 2000); Ogiermann,2003). A Taxonomy of offence types was provided by Holmes (1995) in which offences are classified according to the different levels of weightiness at which an offence takes place. These types of offences are:

1. **Light offences:** e.g. stepping on someone's toe unintentionally, forgetting to call your girlfriend or losing someone's pen.
2. **Medium offences:** e.g. being late for the first class, keeping someone waiting unintentionally, forgetting to do homework.
3. **Strong offences:** e.g. breaking someone's leg in a game, insulting someone badly in a public conversation.
4. **Severe offences:** e.g. inflicting damage to someone's property like a car or computer, wrongfully accusing someone of something serious in public.

According to Holmes, the type of apology can be determined by the offence committed; that is to say, each offence has a degree of imposition. The table below shows how those offences work:

Light Offence	Medium Offences	Strong Offences	Strong Offence
Low imposition	Relative imposition	High imposition	Very high imposition
e.g. losing someone's pen ↓	e.g. forgetting to do homework ↓	e.g. insulting someone in a public conversation. ↓	accusing someone in public ↓
Less likely to apologize	More likely to apologize	necessary to apologize	Inevitable to apologize

Figure 4: Types of offences (The researcher's figure)

Through her classification of offences, Holmes tries to identify the type and nature of apology in relation to the level of seriousness of the committed offence. She depended on Brown and Levinson's view (1987) that apology should be performed in line with the social violation. However, Holmes' classification is an attempt to describe and compare types of offences with each other. The offence types identified by Holmes are just a scale which does not elucidate a means of evaluating the level of transgression. Ultimately, the use of this classification relies on the widely prevailing belief in the theory of politeness which argues that the greater the social distance between the interlocutors, the more politeness is necessitated towards the offended person. Thus, the general assumption which can be inferred from Holmes' scales of categorizing offence is that the more severe the offence, the more complex and polite the apology which is performed in consequence. It is worth saying that Holmes' scale of offences in which she classifies the seriousness of transgression as light, medium or heavy, has been supported by certain scholars who examined the speech act of apology (Cohen, 1984; Fraser, 1981; Kasper, 1990 and 1992; Garcia, 1992; Schlender and Darby, 1981). It is commonly believed that the severe violations provoke the most complex nature and form of apology whilst light or medium offence such as dialling the wrong number or interrupting someone in a conversation can be amended with an ordinary, brief or simple form of apology.

4.6 Apology: Social variables

In order to perform any speech act successfully, there should be two bases: sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic; that is to say whether and how to perform it (Thomas, 1983; Bonikowska, 1988). The sociopragmatic basis refers to the contextual factors such as social distance, social status, rights, social imposition, obligations, aims of the speech act to be performed, etc. These elements are necessary for the speaker to consider in deciding what is or is not appropriate to perform the act, whereas the pragmalinguistic basis involves the linguistic choices which relate to the speaker's illocutionary force in an appropriate way. Many studies have revealed the role of social relations between the speaker and the hearer on the speech act performance. Spencer-Oatey (2000) states that social distance involves: a) social familiarity; b) length of acquaintance; c) frequency of contact; d) the degree of familiarity. However, social distance is understood as the level of familiarity between the addresser and the addressee by which the interlocutors converse because it is an important factor in determining the degree of politeness in their interaction. Apologies can be affected by many factors such as social status, social distance, gender and age. The following proposes how these variables affect the production of apologies.

4.6.1 Social Status

Differences in social status between the offending and offended persons in a specific situation of offence have a major influence on their relation and they are expected to mark the effectiveness of an apology produced by one side to the other. For example, Kiger (2004) argues that people who hold a high social position, like managers, find it difficult to apologize since they are afraid of appearing unimpressive if they admit to making a fault. Aquino, *et al.* (2006) suggest that the relative high status of the interlocutors encountered in a conflict affects their will to give an excuse or forgive. Thus, the higher the status of the offender, the less likely an apology. The offended person does not like to seek remediation when the perceived social power evident in the context makes the cost of doing so too high (e.g., anticipating counter revenge from a boss who recalls the offence of forcing the generation of an apology). Thus, an offended lower-status person may feel that it is more beneficial to maintain a relationship with a high status offender without an apology rather

than seek an apology as might be done with a low status offender. It has been found that when a person with high status acknowledges committing a fault, his/her acknowledgement emits a noteworthy image of needing to save his/her face, as perceived by the offended person and any audience or observers, as compared to a person with a lower status who admits a transgression, whose face is much less implicated with threats. According to the above argument, when a person with lower status does apologize to a person with high status for committing a particular offence, the offended person may not necessarily accept that apology and may reject it. In contrast, when a person of high social status apologizes to a lower status person, the offended in this case is not in a strong position to refuse the apology. Thus, it can be concluded that apologies produced by high social status parties are more effective than lower status parties because they are more salient and marked.

4.6.2 Gender

Under the scope of linguistic politeness, differences between the speech of men and women have been substantially well researched, providing rich results (Meyerhoff and Holmes, 1999; Savicki, Lingenfelter & Kelley, 1996). Previous studies on apology have emphasized the main differences between males and females according to the way in which, as offenders, they produce apologies. They have revealed how females apologize more often than males. Gonzales *et al.* (1990) explained that women unlike men, when committing an offence, can be seen to make more effort to apologize. Compared to men, women were shown to be more begging, their apologies were more extensive and more complex, and they made more efforts to reduce the damage caused by their offence. If women are seen to have lower status, such results are in accord with Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), which states that people who have a lower position tend to make more effort to maintain a good relationship with others. Since females in their apologies tend to show themselves more than males, their apologies are more predictable and may be taken as more sincere than those of males. For example, Gonzales *et al.* (1990) argue that women are viewed as more focused on preserving and maintaining relationships than males. It is expected that women would apologize more, compared to men.

Therefore, their apology will be considered an external apology, (i.e. the one affected by social norms) rather than internal which is expected to be affected by feelings, i.e., sincerity motivations. Majeed and Janjua (2014) highlight the effect of gender in producing an apology in Urdu: men adopted a variety of strategies, while women used explicit strategies but the women tended to offer repairs more frequently than men.

It can be concluded that the degree to which the offended person imagines an apology maintains the relationship between the gender of the offender making the apology and the success of uptake of apology; so a male apology is less likely to occur than a female apology, and therefore it is more effective because it is more salient and marked.

4.7 Summary and Research Questions

During the last few decades, a large number of studies have been conducted on apologies in many languages to a degree that enables scholars to claim that research on apologies, like other speech acts, has reached its development; this has led to the emergence of comparative pragmatics. As far as Iraqi Arabic is concerned in the present study, to the best knowledge of the researcher, apology produced by the IANs compared with Iraqi EFL learners has been apparently left uninvestigated.

Previous research has also shown that an apology speech act can be realized by different strategies. These strategies generally differ from one language to another, and they also depend on the degree of offence, the offended person and the social distance and social power prevailing between the apologizer and the apologizee. Apology strategies are a flexible principle for investigating apologies as a pragmatic and cultural phenomenon prevailing in different cultures/languages (Cohen and Olshtain, 1981, 1983; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Fraser, 1979, 1981, and Jebahi, 2011). Although extensive research has been carried out on apologies, no fixed number of strategies has been established. This variability leaves the door open for researchers to establish new strategies or more particularly to re-categorize the previous ones. Consequently, the current study is expected to offer new results for the strategies of apology by the participating IANs and IEFL learners.

Thus, this chapter has focused on apology definitions as well as apology strategies and functions. Although the previous studies have explored the differences and similarities in apologies in terms of interlanguage pragmatics and across culture perspectives, limitations have been spotted by the researcher. These limitations (gaps) are summarized: (a) very little was found in the previous studies on the research question “to what extent speakers are aware of the cultural and social norms when apologizing?”. Therefore, a new approach is offered by designing a meta-pragmatic method (scale-response task, see chapter 5) for measuring and evaluating to what extent the participants are aware of the cultural norms and social variables affecting apologies when they apologize. (b) Numbers of situations requiring apologies were limited, ranging from five to eight in most studies. To fill this gap, the present study has chosen (15) situations involving offences with different degrees, simple, very simple, moderate and severe. (c) Most previous studies depended on a single traditional method, mostly the DCT. Unlike the previous studies, the present study has adopted a mixed method approach, different methods combined in terms of complementary perspective triangulation: DCT followed by Scale Response Task, Open Role Play followed by semi-structured interview. (See chapter 5).

Having reviewed the literature of cross cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, politeness theories and the speech act of apology, the following links what has been reviewed and discussed in the last two chapters with the main research questions of the present study:

(1) What are the apology strategies used by (A) Iraqi native speakers and (B) Iraqi EFL learners? In relation to this question, it has been found that people from different cultures generally differ in their communicative style, values, production and perception. As for the Iraqi Arabic, how Iraqis apologize and what social factors affect their speech behaviour of apology will be examined. To answer this question, apologies in L1 and L2 will be elicited by DCT and ORP, then the elicited apologies will be compared.

(2) To what extent do the Iraqi EFL learners make a pragmatic transfer when apologizing in English? What is the nature of transfer (if any) and what are its underlying factors when apologizing? In relation to this question, the literature of interlanguage pragmatics has

demonstrated that most interlanguage studies have examined pragmatic failure or pragmatic transfer by comparing the speech act in a second language directly to the speech produced by native speakers, without referring to the native language of the learner. In this regard, the study will attempt to fill this gap by choosing Iraqi Arabic native language data as a baseline for investigation. The elicited data (see chapter 6) will be compared to reveal the differences and/or the similarities. In terms of interlanguage investigation, the data elicited by the Iraqi EFL learners will be examined and assessed according to the data of Iraqi Arabic native speakers to see if they are closer to their native language or to the target language. In this case, the interlanguage pragmatic transfer (pragmatic failure) will be distinguished and examined.

(3) What cultural values are involved in Iraqi apologies? Which are more influential and how is apology perceived by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers? It has been discussed in the literature that cultural values and social variables affect producing speech acts. Previous studies have focused on how apology differs according to gender, age, social status but no attention has been drawn on how people perceive or recognize apology as a functional act. More insights and answers to the perception of apology as a functional act will be seen when interviewing the participants by conducting a semi-structured interview.

Having reviewed and discussed the literature review of apologies and theories of politeness, the methods adopted for collecting speech acts in general, and apologies in particular, are examined. As already shown in the literature, the nature of apologies is highly influenced by cultural norms. This makes them difficult to be elicited due to the ethical considerations such as privacy, as well as the fact that these speech acts are rare occurrences. In the next chapter, the data collection methods will be presented with their validation and their limitations.

PART TWO: METHODOLOGY

Chapter Five: Research Methodology

This chapter presents the methodological approach and the methods adopted in the present study. It starts with briefly reviewing research approaches (qualitative and quantitative) and mixed methods. Then, a detailed account for general data collection is presented, focussing on the methods adopted in this study which are: a Discourse Completing Task (DCT), a Scale- response Task (SRT), an Open Role Play (ORP) and a Semi- structured interview (SSI) with the rationale for using each one. Next, the procedures of data collection, pilot study, task validity and task reliability are presented. Then, the procedure of how to answer the research questions by the methods adopted are discussed. Finally, the coding scheme analyses with some samples of the data collected are provided to show how the analysis will be conducted.

5.1 Research Approaches

Up to the early 1990s, the implicit agreement of researchers was to follow the footsteps of ‘scientific’ research; so a large number of studies in applied linguistics dealt with topics related to issues such as research design, participants, procedure, data collection, etc. The trend among some researchers nowadays requires looking at the further end of the continuum of large-small scale studies to deal with individual cases or small groups with less possibility of generalization but paying attention to local contexts. This approach has not been wholly recognized by other researchers: to these, any deviation from the widely accepted scientific method cannot lead to valid and useful investigations (Mackey and Gass 2005). There has been a long-standing debate between quantitative or qualitative researchers. Although it is not the main concern here to focus on that debate, it is important to be familiar with those paradigms.

5.2 Quantitative Approach vs. Qualitative Approach

Quantitative approaches come from the school of positivism based on objectivity and neutrality (Thompson, 1995) that views the world, as researched, as made of measurable, observable and quantified facts. The main goal of quantitative research is to examine natural relationships and to obtain generalized knowledge, often through statistical evidence relating to 'subjects' or 'respondents'. In qualitative approaches, in contrast, researchers generally aim to obtain participants' inside views, experiences and their voices, so a researcher may ask 'participants' for their views or opinions in a structured or semi-structured procedure so that facts can be clarified using interpretations, including participants' interpretations. To conduct recognized quantitative research, a researcher should enquire from respondents in sufficient numbers so that resulting interpretations can be generalized and be reasonably representative for the larger community (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000). Reasonable numbers are needed for qualitative research, too, but investigations tend to favour depth rather than breadth, and as methods are often time-intensive numbers tend to be far smaller but such studies still need to be credible. The choice of a qualitative or quantitative research paradigm depends largely on the aims, procedure, focus and questions of any research study. Choices also include the now common practice of combining methods of analysis within and across the paradigms in mixed method approach.

It would be argued that both quantitative and qualitative research approaches can potentially be pragmatic. Thus, they are simply about researchers' intentions and approach. It is important for linguistic research to link the methods adopted with the aims of research. All methods whether quantitative, qualitative or mixed have advantages and each is appropriate to deal with different problems or questions from different angles. Thus, a mixed method approach may use qualitative and quantitative methods to combine or complement advantages and offset disadvantages. Hence it seems important for pragmatic research to adopt a multiple research method approach instead of a traditional way of simply using a questionnaire or interview to investigate a topic. In section 5.9, I will show how the selected methods are designed to answer the present research questions.

5.3 Mixed Method Approach (MMA)

This study is relevant to social science research as an exploratory pragmatic study on hitherto uninvestigated apologies of Iraqi participants; therefore, it seems appropriate to employ a mixed method approach for collecting apologies in Iraqi Arabic language and apologies in English as a second language. MMA refers to any study in which both qualitative and quantitative direction are employed within or across stages of data collection and analysis. A researcher might use a questionnaire method which includes multiple choice procedures, closed questionnaire items (quantitative data) combined with open ended questionnaire items (qualitative data). In addition, in mixed approach research, a researcher might be able to quantify data within a broadly qualitative method. MMA is defined as "...research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (Johnson, *et. al*, 2007: 123).

The mixed methods should be appropriate for collecting and analysing data to understand a specific phenomenon and the methods should relate in a clear way to each other to corroborate results. Adopting mixed approach is necessary for better and broader insights into research questions and thus brings advantages compared to using a single method. Yet, this issue has been debated for a long time. It was argued that quantitative research is poor in understanding the research context and the participants involved in this research are not present; their voices cannot be heard directly (Jick, 1979; Johnson, *et. al*, 2007). A weakness of qualitative approaches can be caused by the personal interpretations made by the researcher which is said to create bias. Due to the small numbers of participants usually taking part in qualitative research, findings are difficult to generalize. More recent arguments maintain that the quantitative – qualitative divide is artificial because established researchers use whichever methods suit particular projects; apparently obvious quantitative experts are comfortable with qualitative research ideas and are sufficiently informed of them to use qualitative methods themselves (Pilcher and Cortazzi, 2016).

Mixing these two approaches can be held to offset the disadvantages of each. Creswell (2003) concludes that a researcher in a MMA applies assumptions on pragmatic perspectives which are results-oriented and problem-focused. Thus, this type of research uses different ways of investigation that include collecting data with different instruments to have better understanding of research questions. Consequently, it is necessary to shed some light on the rationale of using MMA for collecting data.

The present study will adopt an MMA to collect a substantial number of apologies, which can be generalised, and for analysing them quantitatively and qualitatively. The MMA in the present study will be designed according to sequential explanatory (Cresswell, 2003) which involves collecting and analysing quantitative data and then collecting and analysing qualitative data: the major reason behind this sequence is that qualitative results can be used to explicate and understand the findings of the quantitative investigation.

5.4 Data Collection Methods

Previous research showed that producing speech act is governed by context of situation and specifically the social norms of language community. Data collection methods, which will be adopted in the present study, need to take into account how apologies can be affected by cultural variables, such as human privacy and rights. However, the present study is an empirical study that seeks to examine the nature of speech act of apology in Iraqi Arabic and EFL as an attempt to reveal how the apology strategies used by Native speakers of Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners to show any transfer of the Iraqi learners and to identify the underlying reasons and factors of any occurring transfer when apologizing.

The validation of a data collection method can be a main research consideration; therefore, choosing a particular data collection method can establish the consistency and reliability (or trustworthiness) of those datasets which represent a performed speech act (Kasper and Dahl, 1991, Cohen, 1996). Therefore, it is important to use a reliable empirical design that gives us the opportunity to account for the cultural variability in realizing the apologies in L1 and L2. The realization of apology, among a variety of speech acts, is chosen for

cultural and social reasons. When apologizing, the speaker admits that a social norm has already or is going to be violated and acknowledges the responsibility to a certain extent for causing that violation. Therefore, apology is a multi-act involving support for the addressee and potential loss of face to the speaker at the same time. In addition, in apology we can find the opportunity to judge or evaluate societies or individuals as more or less polite than others (at least, on this particular speech act).

Studies in the field of interlanguage pragmatics have adopted a variety of data collection methods. The choice of data collection methods involves considering their possible advantages (*'strengths'*) and disadvantages (*'weaknesses'*) and deciding which one(s) can achieve the goals of a conducted study (Bardovi-Harlig 1999; Ogiermann, 2009). In order to be able to establish possibly universal patterns in speech act realization or interpret the differences in terms of underlying culturally-specific values, adequate methods are necessary to collect large quantities of data from different situations. Thus, data collection methods are urgently needed that are appropriate to investigate what strategies people use for apologizing and perceiving apologies and thus gain universal or culturally varied insights. Pragmatic and interlanguage pragmatic research studies are based on typical principles of linguistic methods and research design and unbiased and reliable techniques so that other researchers can reproduce cross cultural results and thus more confidence can be placed in such results. These methods are of various kinds, including natural observation, corpus-based research, simulated elicitation, unstructured interviews, telephone interviews, and field notes, discourse completing tasks, scale response tasks, role play and semi-structured interviews. In this study, we will use a mixed approach of four methods types: a Discourse completing task, a Scale response task, Open Role Play and Semi-Structured Interviews as will be discussed below. Other excluded methods are reviewed in the next sub-section with the justification of excluding them in the present study.

5.4.1 Data Collection Methods Excluded

5.4.1.1. Natural observation

Natural observation is a research method widely used by linguists and other social researchers typically in the qualitative research paradigm. A researcher using this technique observes participants in their natural setting. It differs from structured observation in that it involves looking at behaviour as it occurs in the natural environment with no attempts at intervention on the part of the researcher. Thus, collecting data through *natural observation* can yield natural data in context, but is difficult, ethically challenging, and extremely time-consuming to be achieved easily especially for cross cultural and cross linguistic data because the researcher simply waits for the data to crop up. One of the biggest disadvantages of the natural observation is that the researcher cannot determine the exact motivation or cause of certain behaviour and the researcher cannot control for outside variables. In addition, people may behave differently when they know they are being observed and therefore different researchers may draw different conclusions from the same observed behaviour (Ogiermann, 2009). It might also be more challenging for the observer to adjust with people participating in a research due to the danger of ‘going native’ in people’s norms or views. Therefore, it is more difficult for the researcher to set ‘analytic distance’ as a part of his own role. To collect data via natural observation methods is a demanding for the researcher since it typically presents huge and perhaps confusing data, which likely occur intermittently at widely spaced and perhaps unpredictable intervals. One last and important issue is that there is a risk of conflict between one’s role as a researcher and one’s normal interaction as a participant.

5.4.1.2. Corpus-based research

According to Ogiermann (2009), access to huge amounts of data can be achieved by corpus-based research, the way in which speech acts are collected from a corpus focuses on the form rather than the function. For instance, Deutschmann (2003) identified the forms: *I am afraid, I apologise, my apology, forgive me, excuse me, regret and pardon*. Still, “although the identification of apologies is relatively easy in comparison to speech

acts like complaints or compliments, only a small proportion of which can be located by searching for words typically used to perform them, a disadvantage is that the context is lost or is minimally reported” (Ogiermann, 2009:75). Another major weakness in corpus based research is that the researcher cannot identify the context of producing speech act. Holmes (1995:157) notes “the absence of information on when an apology could, or even should have occurred but did not” which is necessary for examining apology and politeness across cultures. In addition, collecting corpus causes problems in the process of analysis. The data collected might not be accurate or might be the same data recorded for specific period or collected in an open corpus ‘which is being constantly expanded in order to keep it up to date’. Leech (1983) argues that a corpus is likely to be insufficient for analysis due to the disappearance of some sentences in editing transcriptions because they are either false or impolite. From the limited contextual information available in a corpus other than utterances, it seems difficult to identify the social status, social relationships and distance between interlocutors. Using Ireland Corpus Data (ICD) for investigation the word “sorry” in spoken English identifies 300 total occurrences of ‘sorry’ samples, with no given information about social distance, social status or social power. We can infer that data collected from a corpus does not validate the cross-cultural comparability for pragmatics since most situational context is lost. The present study deals with spoken and written data whose situational context is identified and described in terms of designing 15 situations involving incidences from the everyday life in the Iraqi Arabic context and EFL context.

5.4.1.3 Unstructured interview

An unstructured interview has some disadvantages: it can be time consuming, expensive, and difficult to ask typically prearranged questions. If there are prearranged questions, they should be open questions that give priority to open-ended responses. Such open ended questions require the researcher to transcribe possibly extensive responses which makes it difficult to control and enforce time for the unstructured interview to be conducted. Probably, it is only possible to include small numbers of participants and data depend on changeable questions across interviews, hence it is criticized as being less reliable. Since it

is impractical for large numbers of participants, this affects the data generalization and representation and variable questions make replicating the study difficult (Gass and Key, 2005). However, although unstructured interviews provide more valid and richer data, they need a trained interviewer who can interview a large number of participants; thus this is time-consuming.

5.4.1.4 Telephone interview:

Telephone interviews have been neglected in the qualitative research domain. Although they are more useful in that they allow the collection of verbal data from a large number of respondents without the need to be physical, they are not as practical as face to face interviews due to the absence of visual cues via calling which lead to the loss of contextual and nonverbal data. Although participants may feel relaxed and disclose sensitive data, there is no guarantee that they cannot use artificial data such as written or prearranged responses which the researcher would not see (Creswell, 1998; Burke and Miller, 2001; Sweet, 2002). The absence of body language is a major drawback in the telephone interview. The researcher cannot view the participants' gesture, eye contact, and body expressions. In such a case, the researcher is unable to identify whether the participants are interested in the role and questions or not. Another disadvantage of telephone interviews is that the participants could terminate the interview without any prior explanation or reason just by terminating the call. Moreover, it is difficult to indicate whether the interviewer and the interviewee have harmony in interaction that would possibly turn into a binding work relationship.

5.4.1.5 Field notes

While making *notes* seems similar to natural observation, they are limited to an immediately small range of available participants such as the researcher's family, colleagues' friends and some relatives. Since the field note data collection is an enormously difficult task, most researchers are assisted by their students (e.g. Manes & Wolfson 1981, Herbert 1990, 1991: cited in Deutschmann, 2003). According to Deutschmann 2003, cited in Ogiermann,2009:57), "the reliance on such second-hand

reporting of incidents is questionable”. Undeniably, collecting a corpus by combining notes taken by several helpers is likely to affect the consistency and uniformity of the collected data. A further drawback is that collecting data by field notes can be significantly subjective; this is due to the researcher’s personal beliefs and research presuppositions. Hamo, et al. (2004) argues that “transcription distances the researcher from the main field in two ways (a) Transcription produces physical distance because it is done in an office and (b) it produces emotional distance by transforming participants into text-broken limited and fragmented” (p.78). Another line of criticism comes from the fact that dialogue is difficult to record by field notes and the researcher frantically writing down utterances may well disturb interaction, with ethical implications. Another weakness lies in the researcher’s short term memory, which often leads to accuracy problems which indicates why field note data may involve prototypical speech act variations than their less, and indirect realizations. It is hard for the researcher to write down everything while observing their behaviours. According to Beebe and Takahashi (1989), the speed of speech is faster as compared with writing, researchers should depend on their own memory and expand observations as soon and as completely as possible in writing later. On the other hand, one of the benefits of transcription is that a researcher can playback the film or the tape and collect all the data required, but this entails a long distance between the researcher and participants.

5.5 Data Collection Methods Adopted

5.5.1 Written Discourse Completing Task (WDCT)

One of the data collection technique that yields sufficiently large quantities of comparable, systematically varied data is the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) which is also known as ‘*production questionnaire*’ (Ogiermann, 2009). The written DCT is a type of questionnaire comprises illustrated situations formed to elicit a particular speech act from recruited participants. The participants are requested to read the given situations carefully and imagine they were in real life interaction and then write down what they would say. The data brought out can then be analysed as speech act realizations of the desired speech act type (Richards and Schmidt, 2013:162).

Although few studies have been made for evaluating the DCT, it has been suggested that this method has a number of drawbacks in that it cannot capture the dynamic discourse features such as conversational structure, turn taking and pragmatic features. Since the respondent is only reacting to a remote DCT author rather than interacting with another person, it is admittedly artificial because it elicits what participants say they WOULD say in the situation. We don't know (without other procedures) what they would ACTUALLY do say in that or similar situations.

Further, responses given to researchers are short and simple and no emotions are involved, unlike natural occurring speech. In spite the fact that a DCT produces experimentally elicited written data, the question that cannot be avoided is whether the data elicited represent natural speech acts or not. Thus, a major drawbacks of written data is that prosodic features such as intonation, pitch) and kinesics features (such as facial expression, posture, or gestures) cannot be offered or conveyed by completing forms in questionnaires. These can be only effective and crucial in the analysis when working on video recorded data (Golato 2003: 111).

5.5.1.1 The Rationale of Using WDCT

Nevertheless, by using a written DCT as an experimental method, large quantities of data can be collected quickly and this is less costly in money or time. The procedure can enable researchers to identify the effect of different social factors on producing and perceiving apologies by designing a sequence of situationally varied scenarios. In addition, data and results elicited by DCT can be generalizable (Barron 2003, cited in Ogiemann, 2009:67).

Moreover, the DCT is seen as an indirect elicitation spoken language method through the written form. This means that data gained by the written form may inaccurately reflect the naturalness of oral data, since as is well known in sociolinguistics people are often unaware of how they actually speak and may give responses related to ideal usage rather than to their actual use. The written mode is also helpful in providing the participants the time and freedom to think and plan their speech acts and even change their answers if they feel they are not compatible with their pragmatic competence as EFL learners or

sociolinguistic competence for native speakers. While the element of reflection time sounds like an advantage, in fact it is a typical of normal language use when there is often little or no time to consider a response one just has to speak practically and immediately (Cohen and Olshtain 1994: 148; Barron 2003: 85).

Following Aston (1995), it is a matter of thinking rather than just uttering or writing down speech. He (ibid.:62) maintains that responses to proposed theoretical situations do not inevitably reflect what the participant would say if they were in such situations, but rather what they think they *would* say. Noticeably, this limitation applies to many or most testing methods in standard questionnaire items and to some types of interview. Certainly, participants would not respond or react to given situations in a similar way every time they participate in a DCT, but their practice in these situations make them socially and culturally practitioners in a proper manner. A point supported by (Barron 2003: 92; Golato 2003: 92), data elicited by a DCT can be regarded as an indirect mirror of participants' natural speech.

Data elicited by employing DCT are relatively similar to naturally occurring data especially in the main formulas and patterns. Both of them share the same semantic formulas and strategies but differ in their structures in response to situations across different languages, as might be expected (Eisenstein & Bodman 1993, Beebe & Cummings 1996, Billmyer & Varghese 2000: 518, Golato 2003). Moreover, using a DCT has been practised as the most prominent method for eliciting large quantities of data from large groups of participants (Johnston et al., 1998:157, Kasper, 2000:325, Barron 2003:85; and Ogiermann, 2009:68). A good example is CCSARP where the original project data included responses to 16 different situations in seven languages and five interlanguages (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Each group consisted of 200 informants and the situations included nearly 40.000 samples of request and apology. This model has been adopted in other studies across languages and in interlanguage studies where the questionnaire distributed was translated into other languages producing large quantities of comparable data.

Finally, since our study is concerned with examining the pragmalinguistic competence which involves the knowledge and the ability of how people realize the speech act of apology, the production of apologies by the participants will be elicited by a DCT which is designed to tap the pragmalinguistic knowledge. Revealing the participants' pragmalinguistic competence requires a cognitive process. Thus, completing a questionnaire form includes a cognitive response since the participants are encouraged or directed by the researcher to recall their pragmatic competence and report it as if they are speaking to someone else. This in effect asserts that the DCT can be easily translated into any language for comparing speech acts produced in different situations (Barron: 2003:85) providing data that can be compared across cultures.

Although a DCT cannot be equated to real life interaction, it can collect appropriate data for second language learners' sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge of the speech act under investigation. According to Kasper (2000:329), a DCT is regarded as an operative method particularly when the goal is to reveal the interlanguage perspective of the speakers' awareness about pragmalinguistic knowledge of the appropriate strategies as well as the sociocultural knowledge of the contextual factors by which they can communicate successfully. Thus, to examine producing and perceiving a speech act across cultures, an evaluative skill such as scale response task could be combined alongside with the DCT. By designing a scale response task here, the researcher can evaluate the Iraqi EFL learners' metapragmatic politeness as discussed in section (5.5.2).

5.5.1.2 Designing the DCT

The DCT has been flexibly developed and modified by many scholars and researchers to be adopted to examine speech act realization across cultures and interlanguages (Blum-Kulka, 1982). Since this method involves describing situations in which the participants should read and imagine they are involved in interaction in order to produce what they think is an appropriate response for that particular situation, scenarios can be designed to investigate specific features of situations.

In this study we adopt the DCT by designing a written questionnaire based on the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) for collecting data which has been used widely in the pragmatics domain: Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1989) for requests and apologies, Banerjee and Carrel (1988) for suggestions and Pham (2006) for refusal and requests. The DCT is suitable for our research questions since (a) any strategy of using speech act can be clearly revealed when cognitive process is involved. (b) The strategies of apologies can be easily compared across L1 and L2. (c) in connection with contextual factors, the participants will be chosen on the basis on different social variables. Here, the method based on the CCSARP is specifically designed for Iraqi Arabic Native, and Iraqi EFL. The written questionnaire consists of different situations in which apologies should or may occur. The design of the DCT form in the present study appears is an open-ended rather than a closed-ended questionnaire (See appendix 1). This gives the participants the chance to respond in writing whatever they feel are expected to say in similar real life situations.

5.5.2 Scale Response Task

A Scale- Response Task (SRT) is an assessment procedure which involves a full description of situations in which relevant information to the speech act under investigation, such as social distance, social status, social power and the degree of imposition. After presenting the contextualized situation, given choices of response to that situation are provided along the rating scale. The rating scale could be divided into six or seven choices depending on the nature of speech act examined. The main goal of this method is to evaluate the learners' metapragmatic assessment and perception. Such data assessment can be conducted by addressing sociolinguistic competence and sociopragmatic competence. Sociolinguistic competence can be addressed by asking learners questions about the linguistic realization used in the given situation which is evaluated in terms of politeness and appropriateness. On the other hand, sociopragmatic competence can be assessed by asking learners to evaluate the contextual factors that affect their choice of a particular speech act realization (Kasper and Rose, 2002).

5.5.2.1 The Rationale of using Scale-Response Task (SRT)

SRT has been used by many researchers for eliciting metapragmatic data. It has been evaluated as a method of complementing other data collected by means of production instruments. Takahashi (2001) used the scale response task with the DCT to elicit the speech act of request produced by the Japanese learners dealing with the learners' response to ascertain their degrees of confidence in making requests. Accordingly, he sets two extra scales: confident - not confident and whether such confidence was affected by other social variables. Consequently, such a method seems to be a worthwhile tool to validate the results of the DCT and role play. In another interlanguage pragmatic study investigating the realization of apologies produced by Japanese EFL learners, Yoshinaga, *et al.* (1992) used a scale response task to complement the data collected by the main instrument (DCT). Their study aims to reveal whether there was a parallel between the learners' production of apologies and their assessment of the contextual factors that presumably affect their apologies in the target language. Findings confirmed that there was positive transfer from the Japanese language into English which correlates with metapragmatic assessment which has been made appropriately.

Following Trosborg's (1995), Kasper & Rose's (2002) and Cohen's (2004) suggestion of adopting methodological triangulation to collect speech act data, the present study will use the SRT as a perceptual method to examine the participants' perceptions of apology particularly based on social distance, social power, severity of the offence and the degree of imposition for apologizing.

5.5.2.2 Designing the Scale- response Task

There has been an increased interest in the second language pragmatics research. Some pragmatic investigations on Iraqi EFL learners have been done. A part of the present study focuses on the interlanguage pragmatics of Iraqi EFL learners. However, little research has been done on the pragmatic assessment of the Iraqi EFL in terms producing linguistic politeness through the prism of apologies. Therefore, in order to assess the pragmatic competence of these Iraqi learners, they will be asked some questions after they apologize

in the DCT and role play. These questions will be displayed on the scale response task. In the present study we develop a scale- response task goes in line with apologies. In SRT, (see appendix 2), the participants will be asked to assess: the degree of regret, the degree of offence, the imposition for apologizing and the degree of accepting apology.

5.5.3 Open Role Play

Using a role play is adopted as a technique for collecting data: the respondents are expected to take a particular role within a given situation to choose the required speech act which is then expressed in their own words. There are two types of relevant *role play*: (a) *open role play* and (b) *close role play*. Both methods involve giving the participants the freedom to say what they like, with choices in the latter case. It also provides them with enough thinking time for interaction (Kasper, 2000; Marquez-Reiter, 2000), which is an important consideration for second or foreign language users. Cortazzi (2015) comments that "*one of the limitations of role plays is that they are not very easy to set up, they require volunteers (presumably), they may be completely or relatively unfamiliar to many participants (hence training or a practice session may be needed), and they are time-consuming to conduct since most likely only one pair of participants can enact a role play at one time (unless research assistants are used)*".

Role Play has also been criticized on the grounds that natural interpersonal speech cannot be reproduced when role play is experienced. Therefore, a role play without genuine social interaction may form an inappropriate influence which might be apparent in such features as meta-discursive nudge, laughter, winks and some other paralinguistic features that are connected with role play activities (Reiter, 2000). However, role play has been broadly employed for eliciting behaviours of native and non-native participants for different classes of speech acts such as apology, refusal, request, compliment and thanking. (See also Garcia, 1993; Aston, 1995; Trosborg, 1995 and Marquez-Reiter, 2000). In the present study, we will also adopt open role play as a complementary method alongside with the DCT and the Scale Response Task.

5.5.3.1 The rationale of Using Role Play

Data elicited through open role play are closer to the naturally occurring data than pencil-and-paper procedures such as questionnaires or DCTs (Houck and Gass, 1996) since some features such as false starts, hesitations and turn taking, and uses of body language make the speech resemble naturally occurring data (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). Kasper and Rose (2002) note how in role play, a more naturalised dataset can be elicited through the interaction between the participants, although responding to the written description of a situation is less natural.

Additionally, the clear specifications of the participants' relationship within the role description and situation enables the researcher to notice and reveal how the social variables influence the production and perception of a specific speech act by comparing a reasonable number of diverse speakers from a speech community and to analyse how such factors are handled in their role play. In addition, if problems occur during interaction between the selected participants, the role playing might be usefully repeated. Brown (2011) finds role play an effective technique for collecting large datasets in the study of the development of strategies of honorifics by Korean EFL learners. He collected more than 120 honorific expressions in both English and Korean. However, he notes that the absence of social effects in the role play setting may relax the degree in which the participants adhere to politeness norms. Open role play has also been considered as a semi ethnographic tool since it requires informants to react to situations which are not always their own, as if they are in real but less familiar situations. This tool has been used extensively in the context of pragmatically oriented second language learning. Further, open role play provides the opportunity for researchers to include some of the contextual factors such as the degree of formality, description of relationships and roles of the participants (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1984; Hudson et al. (1995).Kulka and Olshain, 1989:21).

Open role play can also free the participants from some social constraints which predominate in the real environment: the role plays as designed for research are likely to be

less complex than many real situations because they will have a specific focus. This may relax the extent to which participants adhere to their politeness norms without embarrassment or shyness. As compared with questionnaires, a role play can be closer to naturalized occurring data. Naturalized role play data can be elicited by combining the disadvantages of other methods with the advantages of role play, for example, in DCT, the participants' discourse features such as intonation, turn taking or hesitation are absent or not required in a written answer while they likely occur in oral role play. As a result, the absence of certain elements in one method can be compensated in another (Cohen, 1996; Golato, 2003; Tran, 2006). Therefore, open role play could be appropriate and practical for our study. The participants should find the freedom to express themselves away from social constraints such as shyness or fear and the EFL learners would find the opportunity for developing their pragmatic competence and would be able to avoid their pragmatic transfer. The second side is that a role play will enable the researcher to evaluate the participants' performance.

5.5.3.2 Designing Open Role Play

For this Role Play (RP), the participants will be divided into (a) an apologizer and (b) an apologizee. (see appendix 1). Similar to the DCT, the situations will reflect everyday occurrences of apologies. The participants will be given a card or paper explaining the situation and their role in the situation. The role play is designed to reveal how apologies are performed in different or less familiar situations. In addition, as a researcher, I will clarify the situations very carefully to the participants showing the intended role relationship between them, but the course and outcome of the social interaction are not predestined. For a subsequent analysis, the RP conversations will be recorded and transcribed by using a digital recorder. Thus, role play is seen as a good way to acquire an insight of the function of apology produced by the participants

5.5.4 Semi-Structure Interview (SSI)

Interviewing has been used excessively in the field of cross cultural and interlanguage research (Gillham, 2000). Mey (2001:112-113) suggests that using an interview with other

methods clears the way for the researcher to enquire about the participants' opinions or conceptions of certain social phenomenon as a whole or particular social behaviour in particular situations. For Mey (ibid.), doing an interview is convenient in language learning especially when the second language learners have comprehension and reading problems. Cohen and Olshtain (1994) define a semi-structured interview as "a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the sake of obtaining research relevant data, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of a systematic description or explanation" (ibid.:271).

Interviewing, as a qualitative research method, is helpful for pragmatics research when compared with other methods. The participants' real insights and views could be easily revealed by interview. They might be asked about the likelihood of their replies and for reasons and explanations for their responses. However, interviewing participants by structured interview is challenging since the researcher – and respondent – are constrained by a list of pre-prepared questions, this lack of flexibility likely obstructs them especially the interviewee from declaring his/her real perception and attitude. Such problem might lessen the extent of trust between the researcher and the interviewee. Moreover, a structured interview, for participants, can feel more like an interrogation than a conversation.

5.5.4.1 The Rationale of using Semi-structured interview

A semi-structured interview is between the structured and unstructured interview. This interview is probably the most commonplace of data collection methods. Burns (1997:118) asserts that interviews are popular and widely used means of collecting qualitative data. The researcher aims at eliciting data directly from the participants in order to investigate what they say and, arguably, what is going on the mind of people when apologizing. Unlike in a DCT, the researcher can observe face-to-face the participants' feelings and attitudes when they perform the speech act of apology (if eliciting an apology is a part of the interview). Thus, qualitative interviews offer the researcher data which are

unobtainable from quantitative methods, and such an interview is helpful principally in cases when the subjects taking part are not seen directly to perform speech acts in natural settings (which as explained is methodologically problematic).

In addition, interviewing is a key way for revealing people's knowledge in an expressive way in the form of responses and so it is feasible for pragmatics investigations. The interviewers find themselves in a situation that enables them to establish a general structure for the interviewee. This structure implies asking spontaneous and general questions depending on the interview topic (Drever, 1995). This type is more flexible than a structured interview; questions and examples or instances of reported experience involved can be extended to build extra conversation relating to pre-set matters.

The main objective of a semi-structured interview is getting access into individuals' world to understand, perceive, or interpret a specific social behaviour or experience. Activities such as asking open-ended questions, listening, and recording are involved. The interviewer has to be active and sensitive, show understanding and demonstrate a careful attitude given that such an interview involves different conversational styles. Thus, one disadvantage of a semi-structured interview is that what the participants say could be influenced by previous contributions to the mutually constructed conversation by the interviewer. This discourse construction possibility can be checked by examining the interview discourse in the transcriptions. Further, the possible lack of consistency among interviews could lead to less comparability across interviews since each interview is likely different in parts. There is tension between consistency and naturalness: the more consistent the interviewer, in controlling his interview, the less natural the interview will seem to the participants with a possibly negative effect on the authenticity of responses. Being natural is necessary and valued in research to promote more authentic responses via better rapport which should help to understand how participants perceive pragmatics behaviour or ideas. Naturalness thus seems necessary in interviews designed to elicit data showing how participants perceive or understand certain speech acts. Thus, while these interviews may differ in question and answer patterns they can all be consistent in eliciting naturalness if the same researcher – in every interview - takes to same general approach

and makes an effort to give questions which show human interest and react with natural responses to whatever the participants say. Recognizing that most empirical research interviews for pragmatics are designed by offering different situations concerning specific speech acts which yield different responses that can be relatively closer to naturalness than a questionnaire or DCT (Drever, 1995).

Further, interviewers can focus on two factors which can render more natural the responses elicited by an interview. These factors are: (a) respondents' *willingness*; the researcher has to make sure of the interviewees' willingness to do the interview by requesting them to do so and showing that it is believed to be worthwhile. (b) *Respondents' freedom to answer*; this indicates that the interviewees should not be obliged to answer questions, but they should feel free to answer what they like and as they wish. Thus, to have natural responses elicited by an interview depends largely on the interviewer (Patton, 1990).

We can assume that a semi-structured interview can be used as a complementary research method alongside other methods (ibid.). Further, the semi-structured interviews include prepared questions: they may of course be prepared after piloting a range of likely questions and topics first and then revising them in the light of participants' feedback. Thus, while interviewing the participants, the researcher will have more possibility for asking open questions and discussing related issues since the participants do not have to write down their responses (unlike in a DCT). This helps the interviewer as "the researcher" to be alert and react and respond during the interview. (in this way, it is not only the interviewer who responds) Particularly, interviews also provide participants the freedom to communicate their perceptions in their own terms: this is essential to obtain the qualitative insights from participants' inside views, beliefs, and experiences from their own viewpoints and in their own voices. Semi-structured interviews have been criticized as being more difficult to get voluntary participation since engaging in an interview may be seen as potentially more challenging than completing a DCT. Nevertheless, conducting an interview in the present study will be accomplished with ethical considerations.

5.5.4.2 Designing Semi- Structured Interview:

Finally, a semi-structured interview will be designed by asking the participants about the situation under investigation and the speech act examined, such as (a) *what do you feel when you apologize? Is it important to make an apology? How do people in your culture deal with this situation?* And other relevant questions. (see appendix 3). The participants are encouraged to formulate answers from their own experience in their speech community and thus the researcher can recognize any significant difference between answers which reflect cultural norms, the ideal answers, and the real answers or what actually occurs. Normally, the researcher has a paper-based interview guide that is followed. Since a semi-structured interview includes open-ended questions and conversations may deviate from the main concern, interviews are tape-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. Not all questions work for all interviews: questions may be shaped to take into account the participants' age and cultural background. Researchers pay attention to how responses elicited by interview may be different from data elicited by other methods especially when the participants talk about personal experience and individual perception of a specific social phenomenon (Mackey and Gass, 2005).

5.6 Designing the Situations

Apologies are obviously expected to occur in a range of different situations. For the aims of the present study, the situations designed can be classified into different types: social situations, academic situations, family situations and workplace situations. Contextual variables including age, gender, social distance, social status and imposition are available in the situations of apologies. Such variables have been recognized as influential factors on realizing speech acts in cross cultural research. (Holmes,1995; Cohen,1984; Aston,1980; Garcia,1990, Kasper,1990). Therefore, the situations differ according to the social variables such as familiarity between the apologizer and the apologizee and can be represented by social distance. This can appear for the present purposes in three levels: familiar (=), close (-) and distant (+). Similarly, social status signifies the power of the apologizer with respect to the addressee with its three levels: high (+), low (-) and equal

(=). As for imposition, this depends on the type of speech act. For performing an apology, levels are designated as either high or low depending on the type of the offence, if the offence is severe or (heavy), the degree of imposition is high, it requires the offender to apologize and vice versa. Table (2) shows the levels of each variable.

Contextual Variables	Representation	Levels/types
Social distance	Familiarity	familiar(=)close(-), distant(+),
Social status	The power of speaker	Higher(+) Lower(-) equal(=)
Imposition	Performing out speech acts	High(+) Low(-)
Age	Age	Young, adult, Old
Gender	Gender	Male (M), female (F)

Table [2]: Contextual variables (researcher's work)

5.7 The Participants

The participants recruited in the present study are of two groups: Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners. The first group consists of 100 participants: 100 Iraqi EFL learners will be recruited for the DCT and Scale Response Task and 60 participants for the open role play and semi-structured interview. It is worth mentioning that both groups of participants are living in the UK. For reasons which are obvious to those familiar with the situation of disruption, conflict a civil disorder it was deemed inadvisable and not feasible to get access to participants in Iraq, though this would have been ideal in principle. The participants recruited in this study are all Iraqis who are currently in the UK. They are all Master and PhD students whose their major is not English. They have not been examined in terms of the living period in the UK since their staying in the UK is limited from six months to one year. Their knowledge of English is good, as they were not permitted to start their academic course unless they achieve 6.0, 6.5, or 7.0 in IELTS exam. It is known that the grammar translation method is the most dominant approach in the Iraqi schools, therefore, they were interested with grammar rather than how to use language and politeness norms. The participants were also not investigated in terms of age since most of them did not write down their age in the DCT and were unwilling to show or reveal their age as it is considered as a personal privacy. Thus, their

speech act of apology was measured and evaluated according to the situational variables: the degree of offence, the degree of imposition, the social distance and power. All these variables were included in the contextualised situations designed for eliciting apologies in both Iraqi Arabic and English.

The participants were requested to react to the situations presented or to state what they would prefer to say in each situation or what they think is appropriate to be said. They were provided with information about the general aim of the study before engaging in the research activities.

5.8 Procedure of Data Collection

This section is divided into two sub-sections; the first deals with designing the pilot study and administering the main study while the second is concerned with the task validity and reliability of methodology in the present study.

5.8.1 Pilot Study

The data collection procedure was mainly conducted at De Montfort University and Leicester University. Some Iraqi participants were tested in the researcher's own flat after accepting an invitation for that purpose. All participants signed a consent form confirming their agreement to take part in the pilot and the main study. University ethical procedures for research were followed and ethical approval was obtained (*See Appendix 4*). Detailed instructions were given to the participants to ensure that they completely understood their task. The data collection methods adopted in the present study - DCT, ORP, SRT and SSI - were all administered to the all participants. However, a few Iraqi Arabic females were unwilling to be video-recorded due to of social and religious reasons. Consequently, the small sample size of females was restricted and this limitation did not allow examination of apologies across gender in the present study.

The participants were given written DCT and requested to imagine themselves in those situations and write down what they think they would say. However due to the participants' own daily work and study responsibilities they preferred to take the DCT questionnaire to

home with them and return it completed; either in person or sending it to the researcher's email address. Next, they were directed to be enrolled in a role play task reacting to what they hear from the researcher as he is acting in the role play, too. Each participant, after understanding the situation, should reply orally as natural as possible to the supposed offenses in each situation, meanwhile the conversation was video-recorded. The participants were also requested to assess the social variables found in each situation based on scale- response task from 1-4, such as to what extent they feel regretful, to what extent they likely apologize, how they rate the degree of offence, and what is the probability that their apology will be accepted. In a follow-up semi-structured interview, the participants were also asked some questions about apology such as what does apology mean to them, what difficulties they may encounter when apologizing, what was their latest apology given, how often they apologize... etc. It is worth mentioning that the participants were also questioned about certain responses, in particular when odd or irrelevant responses were noticed especially apologizing in Iraqi Arabic and English language for the same situation.

A pilot study is often necessary for conducting empirical research since it offers new approaches, ideas that might not be observed before conducting the pilot study. That is, such approaches and ideas could enhance the main study by for instance, having penetrating findings and results. The pilot study is also valuable in terms of "avoiding the loss of valuable, potentially useful, and often irreplaceable data" (Gass and Mackey 2000: 57).

Thus, in order to ascertain the reliability of the data collection methods and to develop the practical aspect of the empirical research, a pilot study was conducted so that any difficulties could be identified and ameliorated and the data collection procedure could be checked before it is used for the main data collection. Thus, the pilot study was also steered for avoiding any risk the participants might experience such as incomprehension of situations or cultural disorientation. Ten participants were involved. Most of them are students at De Montfort University and Leicester University. The ten participants' data (Iraqi Arabic and English) were rated by Iraqi Arabic bilingual who are specialised in English linguistics as discussed in the next sub-section. Those data are quoted in *appendix (5)*.

However, the pilot study revealed the need for some linguistic and pragmatic modifications in order to make the methods more applicable in the main study. For instance, while the selected situations were written in Arabic standard style, the researcher has read them in the open role play method in the Iraqi Arabic dialect rather than the Iraqi Arabic standard language (*the language of Holy Qur'an "Fus'ha"*) since the Iraqi Arabic standard language is not often used in everyday life. Pragmatic adjustment has also been made in situation no. (14) Which involves somebody working in the airport “*you are working in the airport and you have accidentally cancelled someone's flight*”. This alteration was made as a result of the participants' advice to change or modify it due to the rarity of such an incident. Thus, to suit the Iraqi Arabic cultural orientation, better it was replaced by a situation involving a workplace offence which is “*you have lost your boss's financial documents*”. Thus, some situations designed for collecting apologies were modified to be fitted with the participant's emotional state, social variables including social power, social distance, and the degree of imposition.

Further, to see if there are any gender differences, the researcher added a new situation (No.13) which assumes an Iraqi individual (male or female) apologizing to his/her mother. The situation involves that “*the participant promised to buy a new scarf for his/her mother, but s/he did not keep the promise.*” The researcher wonders whether apologizing to mother could be different from apologizing to father since a mother in the Iraqi Arabic culture, to some extent, has a closer relationship with her sons than with father. Another alteration: the number of situations was reduced to fifteen situations rather than twenty since some participants seemed to lose concentration or thought the twenty situations consumed much more time.

5.8.2 Data Validity

Methodologies adopted in intercultural and interlanguage research are employed to examine and describe the cultural phenomenon prevailed in certain culture and to test the assumptions that are laid down to explain that phenomenon (Winthrop 1991: 43; Levinson and Ember 1996: 261). Validity and reliability are two fundamental requirements for planning any data collection method and data analysis. Two types of validity were

conducted by previous researchers: *Content validity and face validity*, due to the large amount of data collected in the present study, these types of validity are considered as the most important and relevant methodological aspects that need to be explained. However, *Content validity* refers to the degree in which the research method can sufficiently evaluate and measure pragmatic competence and strategies which are intended to be investigated (Mackey and Gass, 2005:106). *Face validity* refers to the degree of familiarity of research data, in particular whether the research data looks valid or not. Thus, both content and face validity were achieved by offering the data collection methods (DCT, ORP, SRT, and SSI) together with their elicited data transcription to three Iraqi Arabic Native speakers who are professors of English linguistics at the University of Baghdad, Anbar University. Consequently, the raters were completely familiar with carrying out an evaluation task and had no objections or ethical consideration. These external raters could assess both the Iraqi Arabic apologies and Iraqi EFL learners' apologies as being valid data to be examined. More details about the assessors' evaluation and comments, see appendix (5).

Results reliability, on the other hand, is concerned with the degree to which there is consistency in results. Mackey and Gass (2005: 128) simplify this by noting: "If a person takes a written driving test and receives a high score, it would be expected that the individual would also receive a high score if he or she took the same written test again". Therefore, the test is reliable. This differs from validity, which measures the extent to which the test is an indication of what it purports to be...". However, different ways can be used to determine the reliability of the research results. One of these ways is inter-rater reliability which is commonly used in empirical pragmatics research. (Polio, 1997:111:112). Inter-rater reliability is used to measure whether two or more raters evaluate the same set of data results in a similar way. If that measure has a strong reliability, it is possible to assume confidently that the raters are judging the same set of data as representing the same phenomenon in the same way. (Mackey and Gass, 129-130). To get this done and to minimize subjective judgments in our data analysis, some findings and results were double checked by the same assessors of data validity. See appendix (5).

5.9 Interpreting the Data

The phenomenon of im/politeness in general can be perceived/ evaluated not only by participants and metaparticipants, but also by observations of evaluative moments.

Grainger (2011) shows that the post- modern approach should focus on the participants as a metapragmatics aspect of the research methodology that can be supportive in accessing their insights about a social phenomenon by asking post-hoc questions related to what was uttered. The participants' contribution in the data analysis of politeness research could be affective in determining the reasonable understanding of speech act though it reduces the role of the analyst as an observer. Similarly, metaparticipants aspect was also supported by Kadar and Haugh (2015). They state that both lay-observer and analyst can play an important role in evaluating politeness, but their role differs according to what is done by observation of politeness. Lay-observer refers to the individuals who are not specialized in politeness research field. This type of observation moves directly from just being observing to interpretation. Observations in such account, however, results in spontaneous evaluations which are not based on systematically build up evidence for those accounts evaluations, but they are helpful in gaining reliable and/or unreliable results. For example, if someone shouted angrily at me when he is upset or sick, an observer might assign such an incident as impoliteness, which might be generalized to every person yelling or feeling angry.

On the contrary, Kadar and Haugh (2015) show that the role of analyst seems more practical and logical in evaluating politeness than that of the lay observer. Previous studies conducted on evaluating politeness show that the analyst's function is formalizing observations from data collected by dependable and recognizable methods. Next, those data are analyzed based on evidence linked with a theoretical framework. Finally, the results of analysis are interpreted by the analyst. In terms of scholarship, while a lay observer's perspective is less central than the analyst, it is still relevant and necessary in social sciences since the lay understanding gives insights to a researcher for understanding the participants and metaparticipants, i.e. how people think and talk about politeness influences the way in which politeness is evaluated. Thus, Kadar and Haugh (2015) state that both lay the observer and the analyst are necessary in understanding politeness evaluations.

Following Kadar and Haugh (2013) and Grainger (2011), the methodological approach adopted in the present study involves combining both the *lay observer* and the *analyst* to examine produce and perceive apologies in Iraqi Arabic and English. The lay observer is represented by the participants recruited in the present study as apologizers and evaluators while the analyst is represented by the researcher. This could be a daring step for the analyst's and the observing participants' post hoc evaluability of the naturalized encounter to offer empirically account of politeness on elicited apologies rather than naturally occurring apologies. Supporting this idea, the current study has been developed in the light that the researcher as a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic that facilitated the interpretation of the participating Iraqi people's perceptions of politeness through apology along with the participants' retrospective evaluations. (see figure 7).

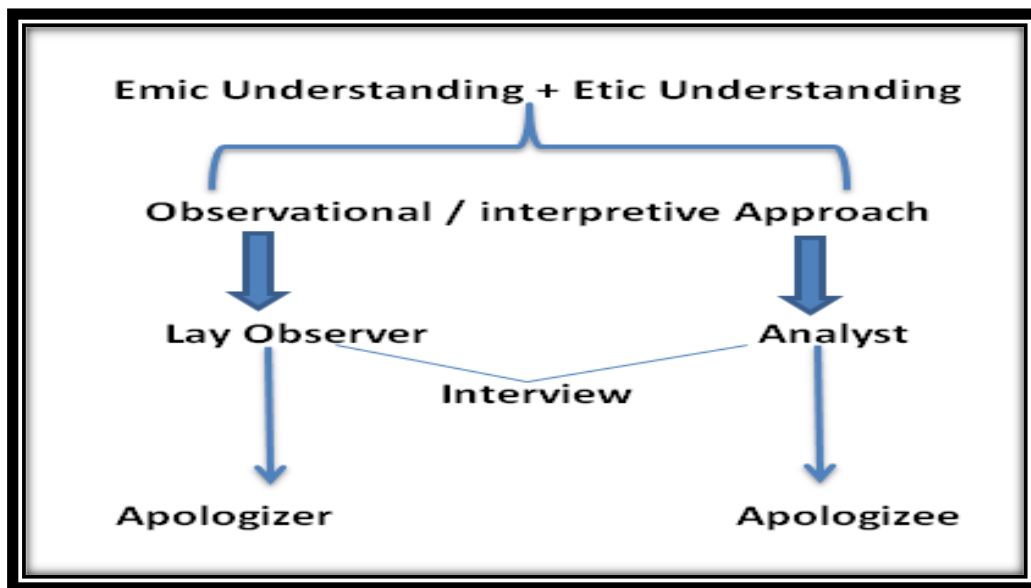


Figure [7]: Interpreting the Data

5.10 The Research Questions and the Methodology

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no empirical study has been conducted to investigate the speech act of apology by Iraqi EFL learners in an intercultural approach. Therefore, the present study is apparently the first that tackles investigating the production

of apologies in Iraqi culture compared with Iraqi users of English as a second language. Through this study, we will show which how social variables can govern the speakers' strategy or strategies used for performing apology and how apologies are viewed and evaluated as a social phenomenon. In addition, we will show which patterns of FTAs are most outstanding and threatening for the speaker and how this perception affects the speakers' choice of his/her strategies for using apology.

Our study aims also to enrich cross cultural pragmatic studies in applied linguistic research in the sense of revealing strategies of apologies in different languages and also exploring how these particular EFL learners produce apologies. Thus, the present study aims at answering the following research questions:

1. What are the apology strategies used by Iraqi native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners, and what functions do they perform?
2. To what extent, do Iraqi EFL learners make a pragmatic transfer when apologizing in English? What is the nature of transfer (if any) and what are its underlying factors when apologizing?
3. What cultural values are involved in Iraqi apologies? And which are more influential and how is apology perceived by Iraqi Arabic native speakers?
4. How do Iraqi Arabic apologies relate to given theories of politeness for the purposes of analysis of these particular apologies? And how is the Iraqi Arabic 'face' represented through the participants' apologies?

Research methods selected for projects, once adopted, are often defended as the only ones that provide dependable and useful results while others are criticized as inappropriate. Researchers often relate their chosen methods specifically to the research questions under investigation that the study is supposed to answer. Although, DCT, SRT, ORP and SSI, reviewed previously each has some limitations, they should not be dismissed out of hand. They rather should be assessed carefully as to what kind of questions they can answer and those which they cannot answer. In relation to the above research questions, *the first research question* "what are the apology strategies used by Iraqi native speakers and Iraqi

EFL learners?” deals with the realization pattern of apologies. DCT and open role play are evaluated as suitable methods to elicit strategies of apologies produced by the different groups when we compare them with each other. In spite of their limitations, they are still successful techniques indicating which particular forms and strategies the native speakers and the learners choose to employ in a given situation. **The second research question:** “*to what extent, the Iraqi EFL learners make pragmatic transfer; and what is the nature of that transfer; and what are its underlying factors when making apologies.*” In order to answer this question, apologies collected by DCT and role play will be examined to assess the communicative competence of the Iraqi EFL learners. This will be accomplished by laying down their data produced on a continuum alongside with the apologies produced by the native speakers of Iraqi Arabic. Supporters of the DCT emphasize how this procedure is able to assess learners' pragmatic awareness. In our procedure in DCT and open role play, the Iraqi EFL learners will be asked to read supposed situations and interact (in open role play) and respond as if they were in a real life situation. For example, a situation requires apology to someone who is older and not close to the offender (learner) on a heavy offence committed, at this point, the supposed offender (learner) is expected to apologize using some religious or emotional expressions from his L1 (Iraqi Arabic) affecting by his/her cultural values. To support this, Thomas (1983), Hudson, *et al.* (1995), Cohen and Olshtain (1984) Kasper (2000) Kasper and Rose (2002) Beebe *et al.* (1986) and some others contend that the DCT and Role play have been approved as valid tests so that they can be used as an affective assessment of the L2 learners' pragmatic competence. The results of their research have generally confirmed that the DCT and Role play are able to reveal the learners' actual pragmatic competence.

Further, in order to apply politeness theories on Iraqi Arabic apologies, we need to answer the research question: “How do Iraqi Arabic apologies relate to given theories of politeness for the purposes of analysis of these particular apologies?”

Answering this question can be clear by examining apology strategies elicited by both role play and DCT. For example, if Iraqi Arabic native speakers are found to place more emphasis of negative politeness strategies for addressing the negative face of the offended

person, Iraqi apologies could be categorized as samples of Brown and Levinson's politeness.

The last two questions: "*How is the Iraqi Arabic face represented through the participants' apologies? And what does it mean to be polite in the Iraqi Arabic culture?*" Can be answered by using the semi-structured interview as they involve how apology is perceived. By interviewing the participants and asking them questions about their motivation for apologizing; this will help the researcher to identify the social and cultural values affecting these apologies.

5.11 Data Coding Scheme

The model of Blum-Kulka (1989) coding scheme is adopted to analyse the data of the present study. This model has been adopted by many researchers to examine the realization of speech acts in many languages and cultures. Within this scheme of speech act classification, five semantic formulas were categorized for the realization of apology. These formulas are:

- 1-Illocutionary force indicating device (IFID)
- 2-Taking on Responsibility
- 3-Explanation
- 4-Offer for repair
- 5- Promise for forbearance (Blum-Kulka, 1989 and Cohen and Olshtain, 1981).

Thus, since the Iraqi Arabic language is culturally and pragmatically different from English the aforementioned strategies of apology are modified by adding some other strategies which emerged in the data analysis of the present study. These strategies are:

- 6-Combination of strategies
- 7- Non-apology strategies
 - 7.1 irony
 - 7.2 blaming
8. Metaphorical Apology
9. Non-verbal behaviours
10. Swearing
11. Endearment

12. Proverbial expressions

However, the illocutionary force of any speech act can be performed by a variety of different strategies; these strategies are conventionally different from each other according to the context of situation (Cohen and Olshtian, 1981). Some strategies of apology are identified in the datasets of the present study. They are explained in some detail with some explanatory examples from the data collected. (See Chapter 6).

5.12 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has focused on the research methodologies relevant in social sciences in general and pragmatics in particular. We have given a rationale for using certain methods for collecting apologies in Arabic and English language: Discourse Completing Task, Scale-Response Task, Open Role Play and Semi-Structured Interview. Employing these techniques seems clearly appropriate for collecting the data of the present study. The use of such methods is complementary, each method compliments the others. The DCT allows the researcher to collect a large quantity of data while open role play can yield semi-natural or naturalized data as involving discourse markers. Finally, a semi-structured interview provides the opportunity for understanding the perception of apology as perceived by the participants. This chapter finally has discussed the data collection procedure, and data coding scheme and pilot study as an introduction for the next chapter which presents results and findings.

The research design of the present study research according to Creswell (2003) should be based on certain sequences. One of these sequences is *Sequential explanatory*: a researcher in this sequence can collect and analyze quantitative data and then collect and analyze qualitative data: the major reason behind this sequence is that qualitative results can be used to explicate and understand the findings of a quantitative investigation.

Participants	Number of participants	Data Collection method	Research Procedure of data <i>collection</i>
--------------	------------------------	------------------------	--

Iraqi Arabic native speakers	100	DCT and SRT	→ Sequential Explanatory – <i>quantitative</i> data collection
Iraqi EFL learners	65	Open-Role Play+ S.S. interview	→ Sequential Explanatory – <i>qualitative</i> data collection
Speech Acts examined	Main Aims		Research Procedure of data <i>analysis</i>
Apology	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What apology strategies are produced? 2. What functions are performed by apologies? 3. How is apology perceived? 		Sequential Explanatory – <i>quantitative</i> followed by <i>qualitative</i> data <i>analysis</i>

Table [3] Research Design

PART THREE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Chapter Six: Apologies via DCT and SRT

6.1 Apology Strategies by DCT

6.1.1 Iraqi Arabic Apologies and Iraqi EFL Apologies

This chapter examines and compares the strategies of apology used by the participating Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners. Those strategies have been examined across situations which have been designed for eliciting apologies. Before presenting these strategies across situations, it is worth showing the nature of the situations designed for that aim: who is the offender, to whom the apology is directed, the nature and degree of offence, what social status, social distance, and social power. Table 3 illustrates all these details. The contextual variables were identified by the researcher's own evaluation, i.e. the participants are not told about them. Hence, they produce and perceive their apology according to their own perceptions and evaluations of the context. The contextual variables shown in Table (3) are the most appropriate within the designed situations within the Discourse Completion task and Scale Response task. Those variables were selected since they have been regarded as the most relevant factors that affect speech act production and perception in different pragmatic approaches (Cohen and Olshtain, 1984; Beebe, 1986).

Situation Number	Situation Setting	Apologizee	Apologizer	Social Status	Social Distance	Offence Degree
1	Social	Friend	Friend	=	+	+
2	Workplace	Colleague	Colleague	=	=	+
3	Academic	Classmate	Classmate	=	=	+
4	Social	Friend	Friend	=	=	-
5	Family	Father	Son	+	=	-
6	Academic	Student	Tutor	+	+	-
7	Family	Wife/husband	Wife/husband	=	=	-
8	Workplace	Employer	Boss	+	+	+
9	Social	Stranger	Stranger	unknown	+	-
10	Social	Stranger	Stranger	=	=	+
11	Family	Elderly brother	Youngest brother/ sister	=	+	-
12	Family	Mother	Son	+	=	-
13	Family	Sister	Brother/ sister	=	+	-
14	Workplace	Boss	Employer	+	+	+
15	Academic	Supervisor	Student	+	+	+

Table [4]: Contextualized Situations of Apology

6.2.1.1 Apologies across situations

In this chapter, the findings of Iraqi Arabic apologies elicited by DCT are compared with the findings of the apologies produced by the Iraqi EFL learners. After this comparison, we move to examine the perception of apologies yielded via SRT in (6.4). What follows is the analysis of apology strategies elicited by DCT in the fifteen situations designed:

6.2.1.1.1 Situation One: offending an ill person

Apology Situation (1)

You have made a cancer joke in front of your friend who is injured with cancer. Later, you have known that your friend is injured with cancer, if you think it is an offensive behaviour, how would you apologize for your friend? What do say for him?

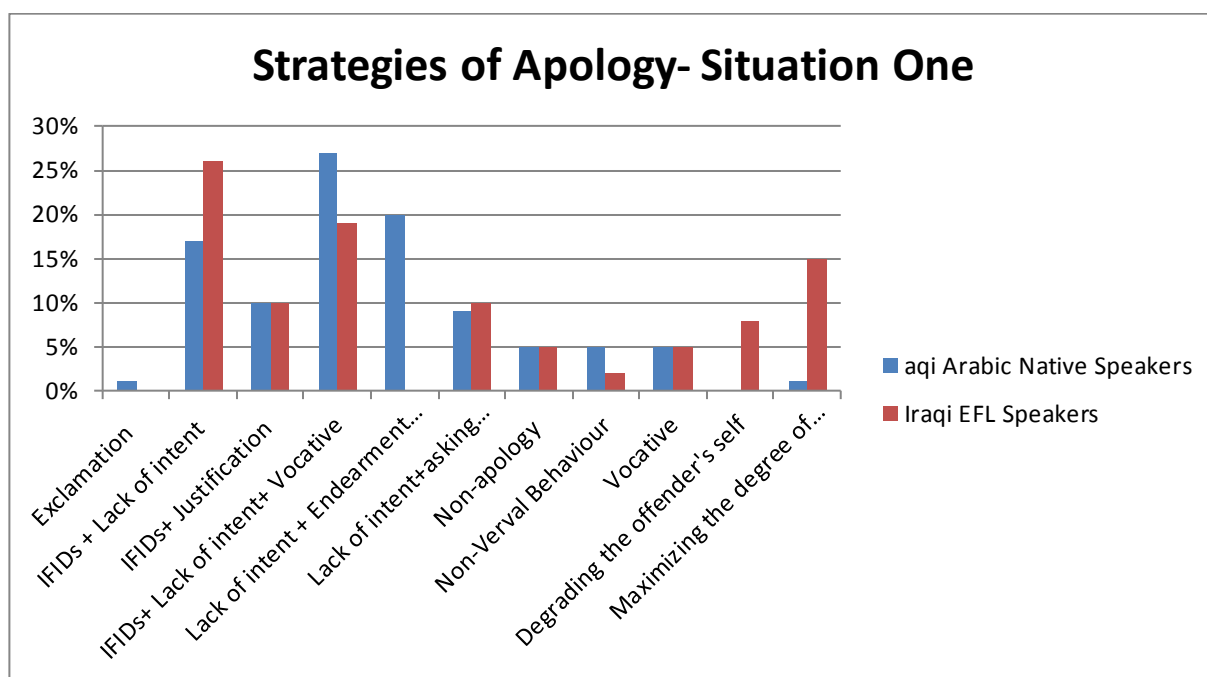


Figure [8]: Apology Strategies for Situation [1]

The bar chart presents the strategies used by the Iraqi Arabic Native speakers and Iraqi EFL speakers respectively for apologizing in the first situation (See appendix:3 and 4). The first situation involves someone making a joke about a third party with cancer. After the joking utterance, the offender realized that one of the addressee's friends has cancer. The social distance between the apologizer and the apologizee is close (=) and there is a low (-) social

power relationship between them. This situation has been designed supposing the apologizee or the offended person is a male, while the apologizer is female or male.

The Iraqi Arabic native speakers (IANs) significantly exhibited the use of an Arabic semantic formula of apology IFIDs (an *Illocutionary Force Indicating Device*) اسف / اعتذر [sorry, I do apologize] followed by *lack of intention* and *invocative (supplication)*.

Although, there is no physical offence involved in situation (1), the IANs have resorted to use an invocative speech act as a sub-strategy of ‘*concern for the offended*’. In addition, since the offence is associated with illness; IANs expressed their regret by using the Iraqi IFID and invocative expression; supplicating to *Almighty Allah* asking Him for the recovery of the offended person. However, we could interpret the IANs’ resorting IFID with vocatives for apologising to non-physical damage offences to the Islamic norms that claims one should ask God to heal an ill person. This issue has been confirmed by the Iraqi Arabic participants when they were interviewed. This will be discussed later in apology strategies collected by Open Role Play followed by semi-structured interview; where the majority of Iraqi Arabic native speakers stressed the significance of apologizing in such situations. The apologizer employed the strategy of expressing regret or sorrow in the form of expressing lack of intent alongside an invocation as a strategy to save the offended person’s face, showing him respect and supplication.

Apologizing in English for the first situation, is not so different from the Iraqi Arabic apology. Ten sub-strategies were used by the Iraqi Arabic EFL speakers. The first strategy which is “*the lack of intent*” was used by the largest number of Iraqi EFL speakers when apologizing to someone whose friend is ill with cancer. Thus, using such strategy can reflect the natural speech act performed because most of the participants confirmed that they would never make such a joke if they are aware that someone has cancer.

The pragmatic transfer encountered in situation 1 which causes no misunderstanding is the use of *invocative and IFID*. But such pragmatic transfer leads to a face threatening act for the offended person. Judging whether politeness or impoliteness is encountered by these two sub-strategies depends on the existence of internal downgraders. It would be impolite

to supplicate for a person suffering from a dangerous disease without showing appropriate respect or regret while apologizing. If an Iraqi participant had apologized by only saying “I hope you will be recovered soon”, the offended person would be offended once more due to the absence of an illocutionary force indicating device. The strategy of ‘*concern for the offended*’ is classified under positive politeness and negative politeness. Regarding positive politeness, it addresses the offended person’s feeling affected undesirably through the offence. In terms of negative politeness, the offender shows his/her concern for the offended person by exhibiting damage to his face in particular when cursing himself/herself as a self-punishment. Iraqi EFL speakers tended to use 8% of negative politeness when they used self-degrading expressions such as “*what a stupid man am I!*” or “*shame on me*”. However, such negative politeness expressions were not used by Iraqi Arabic native speakers in situation 1. Moreover, a strategy of non-verbal behaviour used by both the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and the Iraqi EFL speakers is non-verbal behaviour namely kissing a specific part of the offended person body such as forehead and face. More than 5% of this non-verbal behaviour was used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers while the Iraqi EFL speakers also employed this strategy (3%).

The results found in situation 1 can be validated by the statistical analysis conducted by Mann-Whitney ‘U test’, as shown below:

U- Test	Situation One
Mann-Whitney U	4557.000
Wilcoxon W	9607.000
Z	-1.097
U- Value	.273

Table [5] Statistics for Situation [1]

The statistical means of the apology strategies used in situation 1 showed that the frequency of Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners’ apology is significantly not different [.273]. For both Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL participants, apologizing speech act behaviour to an ill person is necessary in terms of restoring the addressee’s damaged face. The frequency of

apology sequences strengthens the offender's regret sincerity for the injured person's feelings. Therefore, it would be more polite to use the appropriate apology strategy especially one addressing the inner feeling or using religious discourse more than simply expressing their lack of intent or justification. Thus, expressing an account for the hearer can be assessed as a more convincing and face-saving act than simply accounting for the offence as lack of intent or lack of awareness. Thus, the insignificant value can reflect the approximate similarity between the two groups when apologizing for such offences.

6.2.1.1.2 Situation Two: Bumping into an old lady

Apology Situation (2)

You bumped into a well-dressed old lady in a supermarket shaking her up a bit. She said: "Hey, look out!" If you think it is your fault and you should react. What would you say?

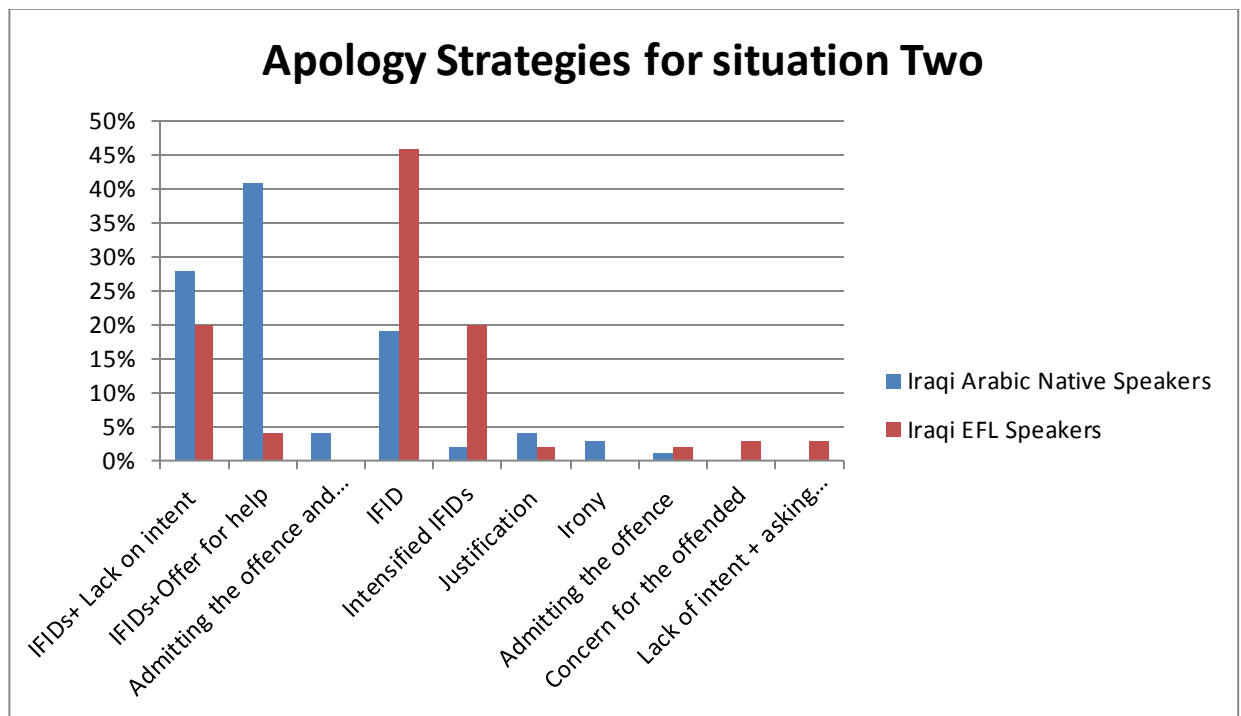


Figure [9]: Apology Strategies for Situation [2]

Figure (6) shows the distribution of apology strategies for a social offence which is represented by bumping into an old lady while doing some shopping in a supermarket. The social distance in this situation seems to be distant because of the old age of the offended person. The offence was assessed as simple by the participants via the SRT as will be discussed in section 6.3. As before, different strategies were used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL speakers.

The most common strategy used by both group is *IFIDs+ Lack of intent and IFIDs*. The Iraqi Arabic *IFIDs* is often used for a sudden mistake like bumping into somebody. The nature of this situation does not necessarily require excessive explanation. But IANs showed a very quick reaction to apologize by using their *IFIDs* followed by an offer for help. Using a bare ‘I am sorry’ or ‘sorry’ in the Arabic context might be judged as impolite. Forms of politeness in Arabic dialects in general admit that persuading the addressee of the speaker’s sincere intention and deference requires a wide range of conventional forms. Therefore, this expression of apology was frequently followed by an offer by help. However, we might argue that apologies collected for apologizing in this situation differ across the two groups. The Iraqi Arabic participants in general did not apologize as frequently as the Iraqi EFL speakers except in the case of using *IFIDs* expressions. The statistical results in this situation showed that there is a significant difference in the variation of apology strategies in Iraqi Arabic and EFL (.000) as in table (5)

U – test	Results values- Situation two
Mann-Whitney U	1296.000
Wilcoxon W	8556.000
Z	-9.017
U- value	.000

Table [6] Statistics for Situation[2]

Such a significant difference in the distribution of apology strategies in this situation between the two groups needs some explanation. We can argue that the variation in

apology strategies is related to the way in which the participants perceive the degree of offence. In this regard, bumping into an old lady shaking her up a bit is very offensive, and stopping to ascertain the offended person's condition is quite necessary, as well as offering her help. The participants stressed the significance of apologizing with help; apologizing alone is not adequate. But for this offence, the EFL apologizers perceived it as more offensive than the Iraqi Arabic speakers do. The different perception of this offence seems to be the reason behind the significant difference in the realization of apology strategies.

6.2.1.1.3 Situation Three: Formatting a female colleague's USB by mistake

Apology Situation (3)

You took your friend's memory card for scanning it for her. But you accidentally clicked format instead of scan! So, all her saved data were deleted! How would you react to react to her.?

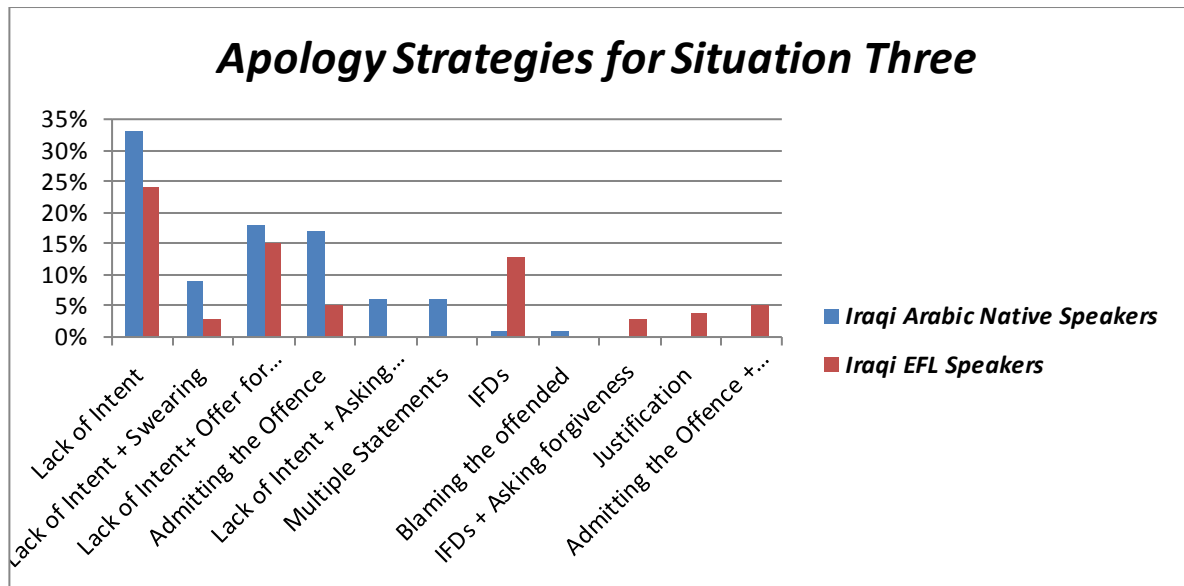


Figure [10]: Apology Strategies for Situation [3]

The findings presented in the chart above indicate both differences and similarities in the strategies used by the two groups of Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL speakers. This is clear with the strategy of “*the lack of intent and offer for help*”; both groups expressed their lack of intent by 18% and 15% respectively as they committed a social offence represented by formatting a female colleague’s USP by mistake. Both groups show a significant difference in the use of new strategies. The Iraqi Arabic group used *multiple- statements* as an evasive strategy of apology containing *expressing regret, justification, lack of intent, self-punishment, swearing, asking forgiveness, and promise*. One participant, for example replied as “*Dear Zina, I don’t know what to say, it is really a crisis happened today, I have formatted your USP unintentionally. Look, I am very very sorry, and I am ready to do whatever you want, I will pay for retrieving the data deleted, I promise I will back them up as soon as possible*”. While the Iraqi EFL apologizers did not use this strategy; instead they admitted the offence which is not relevant in the Iraqi Arabic apologies. Thus, we can argue that the degree of offence in this situation was evaluated as very strong by both Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL speakers; it is an offence which needs an effective, polite or convincing apology at least.

The statistical test conducted for this situation states that there is a significant (U-sig. value .000) difference in the apology strategies used by the two groups as shown below in table (6):

U- test	Results Values / Situation Three
Mann-Whitney U	2109.500
Wilcoxon W	5937.500
Z	-5.595
U- sig. value	.000

Table [7] Statistics for Situation[3]

The absence and the occurrence of strategies in one group rather than the other could be explained by sociocultural norms that influence the selection of apology strategies. Specifically, the Iraqi Arabic context is culturally prepared to have an apology speech act performed by a number of strategies which function to control and moderate the offended person’s feelings and consequently reduces the severity of offence committed. Bearing this in mind, we could argue that in the Iraqi Arabic situations where physical damage and lost

possessions are the offences involved, the single use of only IFIDs in such situations is inappropriate since it might be understood as impoliteness by the offended person. IFIDs, also could be seen as less effective as repairing and remedy. In the data collected, the IANs, and the Iraqi EFL learners in reacting towards severe offences offered help, repair and a promise for repair that are likely to address the offended person's feeling or moderate his/her reaction. Bringing to mind that the participants have achieved the appropriate level of registration as PhD students, which ranges from 6.0 to 7.0 or 7.5 in the IELTS exam. [See methodology]. Although this indicates that the linguistic competence that enable them to communicate successfully in the target language, it is undeniable that they do not have lack of facility in the L2. The differences can be justified in terms of their pragmatic awareness of certain apology strategies and their unfamiliarity of others. However, the participants' inclination to different strategies compatible with the nature of the committed offence indicates they have pragmatic awareness in the L2.

6.2.1.1.4 Situation Four: Breaking a Friend's iPad screen

Apology Situation (4)

You have already visited your classmate at his flat. While chatting with each other, you have requested him to use his iPad. You took the iPad and accidentally it has fell down from your hand, and the screen has been broken. Your friend has been annoyed a little bit. What would you say in such situation?

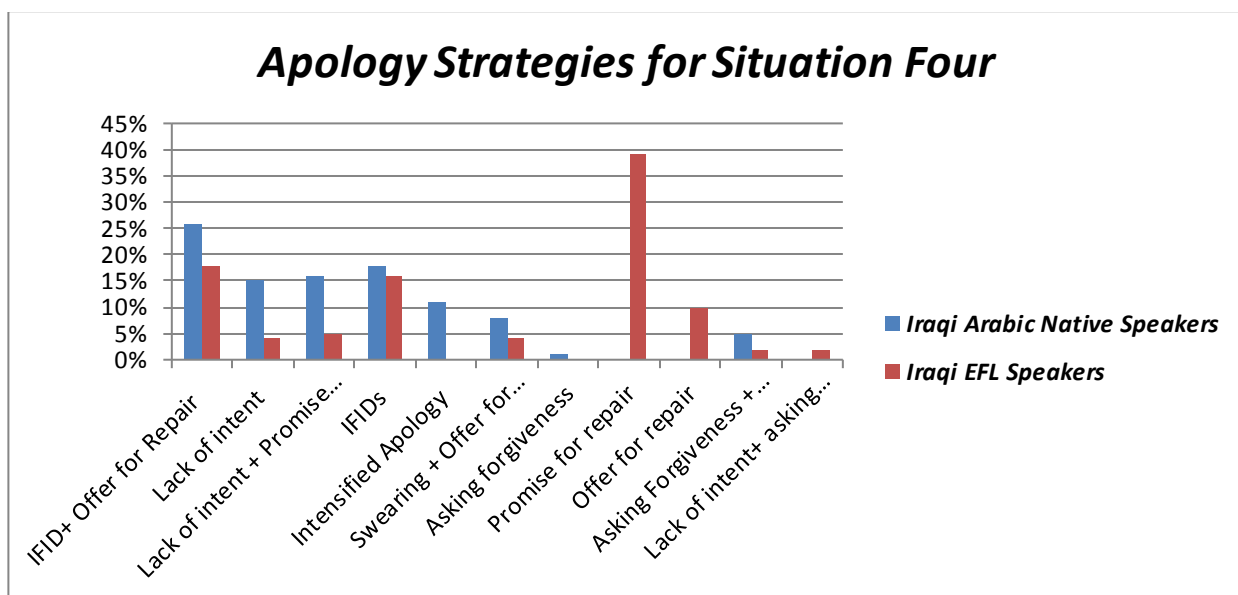


Figure [11]: Apology Strategies for Situation [4]

The bar chart above shows the distribution of apology strategies used by both Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners for a social situation involving someone taking his friend’s iPad and dropping it accidentally which caused some damage. It can be seen that *promise for repair* is the most frequent strategy used by the Iraqi EFL learners as compared with IANs. It has been used with a combination with *lack of intent* and *IFIDs*. As discussed in situation 3, using *IFIDs* is more effective than its usage unaccompanied. *IFIDs plus offer* for repair were used by both the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners (26% and 18% respectively). Although physical damage is involved, the offence has almost been perceived as simple by both Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners.

Some participants stressed the significance of apology in such situations. Although, the relationship between the offender and the offender is close, they explained that the apology is a part of politeness, yet since the offence occurred in the offended person’s flat, it is a must to show him respect by apologizing. In the Iraqi Arabic culture, it is believed that a guest even a relative or friend should behave as modestly as possible when visiting someone. However, the U-test exposed that the Iraqi Arabic and EFL groups exhibited a significant difference (U-sig. value, .000) in the selection of apology strategies as shown in table (7).

Situation (4)	Results Values/ Situation Four
Mann-Whitney U	2921.000
Wilcoxon W	7971.000
Z	-5.146
U-sig. value	.000

Table [8] Statistics for Situation [4]

This significant difference between the strategies in Iraqi Arabic and EFL apologies can be traceable to different factors. First, the closeness between the offender and the offended person in the Iraqi Arabic context yielded unserious apologies. In the following two examples:

سأشتري لك ايباد جديد بس لا تزعل.

[I will buy a new one for you, but don't be upset].

ياالله ماصار شيء، تريد واحد غيره؟ اني اشتريك.

[Come on, nothing happened; do you want a new Pad? I will buy it for you].

In spite of offering or promising repair, such utterances are not real apologies due to the non-occurrence of Iraqi IFID سامحني ، اسف، اعتذر . Thus, there is an extent of impoliteness in such kinds of apologies. Such strategies have not occurred in the EFL apologies, which used instead very polite expressions in terms of intensified apologies, expressing regret and taking on responsibilities.

6.2.1.1.5 Situation Five: Breaking a promise to father

Apology Situation (5)

You promised your father that you will buy a new coat for him, but you forgot it. You broke your promise; what do you say?

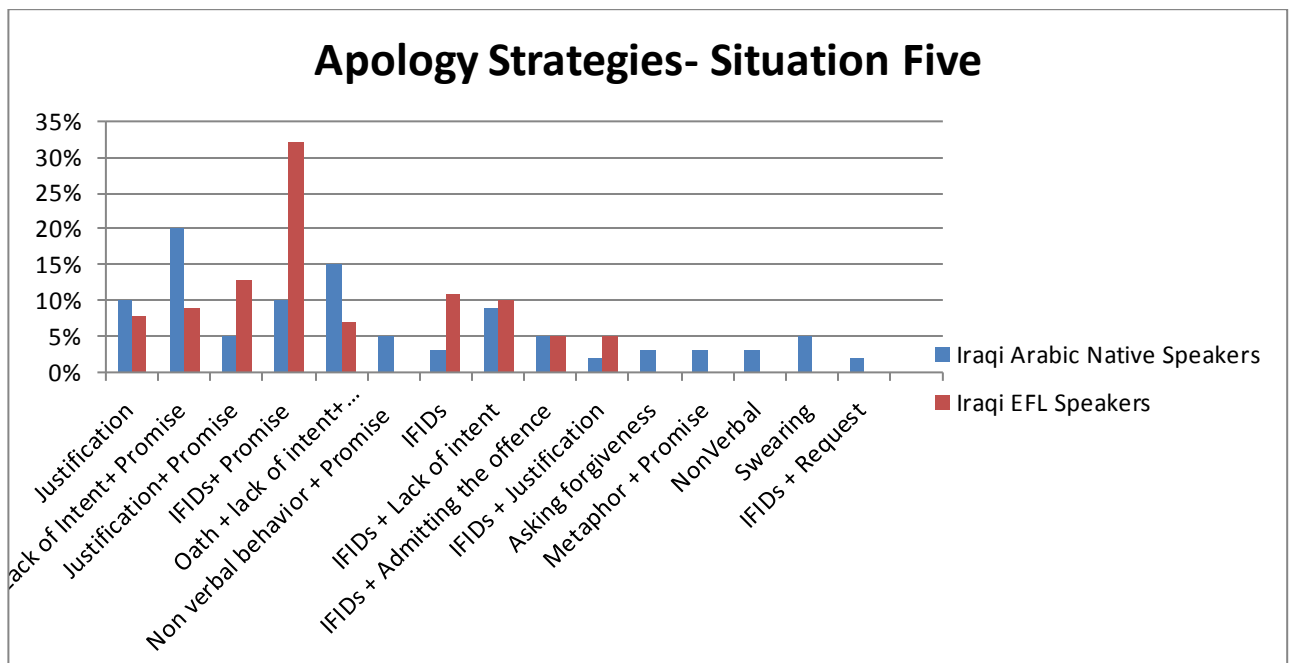


Figure [12]: Apology Strategies for Situation [5]

The fifth situation involves a family offence/ fault, someone promised to buy a new coat for his/her father, but the offender has broken his promise and did not buy it. Again, different strategies were used for apologizing in this situation. However, this situation was designed to provide an appropriate context for eliciting apology strategies. The assumption here is that breaking a promise with a father is viewed by few people as an ordinary thing while many others perceive it as a highly shameful matter that needs an immediate apology. This situation is beneficial in displaying whether or not the degree of offence affects how apologizers shape their apologies. In the presented data in the figure above, we notice that both groups of speakers used a variety of strategies with different percentages. Some strategies like justification, *IFIDs+ lack of intent+promise*, *justification+ promise*, *IFIDs+ Lack of intent+ IFIDs+ admitting the offence*; show almost similar percentages. The most frequent strategy used by the Iraqi EFL learners is *IFIDs+ Promise* while the most commonly used strategy displayed by Iraqi Arabic native speakers is “lack of intent+promise for compensation”. Thus, the similar percentages of using apology strategies come in line with the statistical results obtained by U-test which displayed no significant difference (U- sig. value, .757). See table (8).

U Test	Results Values- Situation Five
Mann-Whitney U	3938.500
Wilcoxon W	7766.500
Z	-.310
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.757

Table [9] Statistics for Situation [5]

Nevertheless, five strategies were used only by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. These strategies are:

(a) Asking forgiveness

اسف يابوي الغالي وهاي بوسة راسك واني اشتريلك ستره باقرب وقت واوفي بوعدني وياك بس لاتزعل مني
[Sorry my dear father, this is a kiss on your head. I will buy the coat as soon as possible, and I will be faithful, but don't be upset.

بابا خليني ابوس ايديك ، باجر هي يمك

[Father, let me kiss your hand, tomorrow, it will be with you].

(b) Metaphor+ promise

أسف بابا تاج راسي والله كنت ناوي اشتري الك ستره بس لكيت المحل معزل أن شاء الله على بأجر اجيبلك
أحلى ستره

Sorry father, my head's crown, I will buy it tomorrow inshallah.

اوو يابا والله انت صاحب القلب الكبير والطيب ، ان شاءالله بكرة اجيبها لك

Oh father, by Allah You are the owner of the kind heart. Inshallah tomorrow I'll bring it.

(c) Non-verbal behaviour

اروح اشتريله وابوسه

[I go immediately to buy it, and kiss him when I deliver it to him].

قد تكون كلمه اعتذار غير كافييه ولكن قد اقوم بجلب هديه افضل اظافيه

[Apology is not fruitless; I should bring the best coat for him].

(d) Swearing

اسف والدي اقسم اني نسيت

Sorry my father, I swear I forgot.

The use of those few strategies did not affect on the overall performance of the two groups. Further, the use of these strategies only by the IANs speakers is traceable to the cultural norms relevant to the Iraqi culture. For example, the tendency to use non-verbal behaviour seems to compatible with the social proverb: “*actions speak louder than words*”. This result has also been found and argued by (Al-Adaleih, 2007 and Hassan, 2014). Thus, carrying out a duty or an action assigned represented by going to the market to buy the coat, and kissing the father's head or hand could be the best way to save the offended person's face.

Another interpretation is that most participants believe that their fathers do not expect them to produce a verbal apology, but they indirectly recognize that non-verbal performance parallels verbal apologies in such family situation.

6.2.1.1.6 Situation Six: Being late for the first lecture in a university

Apology Situation (6)

You are 30 minutes late for the first lecture, you rushed in and your tutor looked at you, you wanted to say something:



Figure [13]: Apology Strategies of Situation [6]

This situation involves an academic offence where the offender is a university student and the offended is a tutor. The student was supposed to be a bit late for the first lecture. It is supposed that the apology here is produced from lower to higher social status and distance, and from male to male. As shown in the figure above, the IANS and Iraqi EFL learners employed different strategies for apologizing. The expression of IFID was used similarly by the two groups while other strategies like IFID with promise were used very differently (25% and 13%) and asking forgiveness (12% and 2%) for the IANS and Iraqi EFL learners

respectively. We found that the IANS used the strategy of (IFIDs with promise for not repeating being late in the next time) more than the Iraqi EFL learners. This stems from the distant relationship between the tutor and the students in the sense that the tutor in the Iraqi Arabic culture has the right to penalize the students who are late. While apologizing in the IA, the researcher did not notice odd apology or non-apology, an issue which does not require him to focus on interviewing them particularly in this situation. But the most interesting and likely attractive finding in this situation is the non-apology behaviour. The Iraqi EFL learners did not apologize in this situation thinking that apology might interrupt the tutor while giving a lecture. A participant stated:

However, the U-test exposed that the Iraqi Arabic and EFL groups exhibited a significant difference (U-sig. value, .000) in the selection of apology strategies as. Sig. (2-tailed)= $p < .001$. This significant difference can be validated or compatible with the results of apology perception, as the severity of offence was perceived differently where offence degree was (IAN **2.87** < **2.36** EFL) ($p < .000$) sig. (see table 9).

U test	Results Values / Situation Six
Mann-Whitney U	3648.000
Wilcoxon W	8698.000
Z	-3.387
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001

Table [9] Statistics for Situation [6]

6.2.1.1.7 Situation Seven: Forgetting to bring a medicine for baby

Apology Situation (7)

While you are out of the house, your wife /husband called to ask you bring some medicine from the pharmacy, but you did not go to do it. How would react for your behaviour?

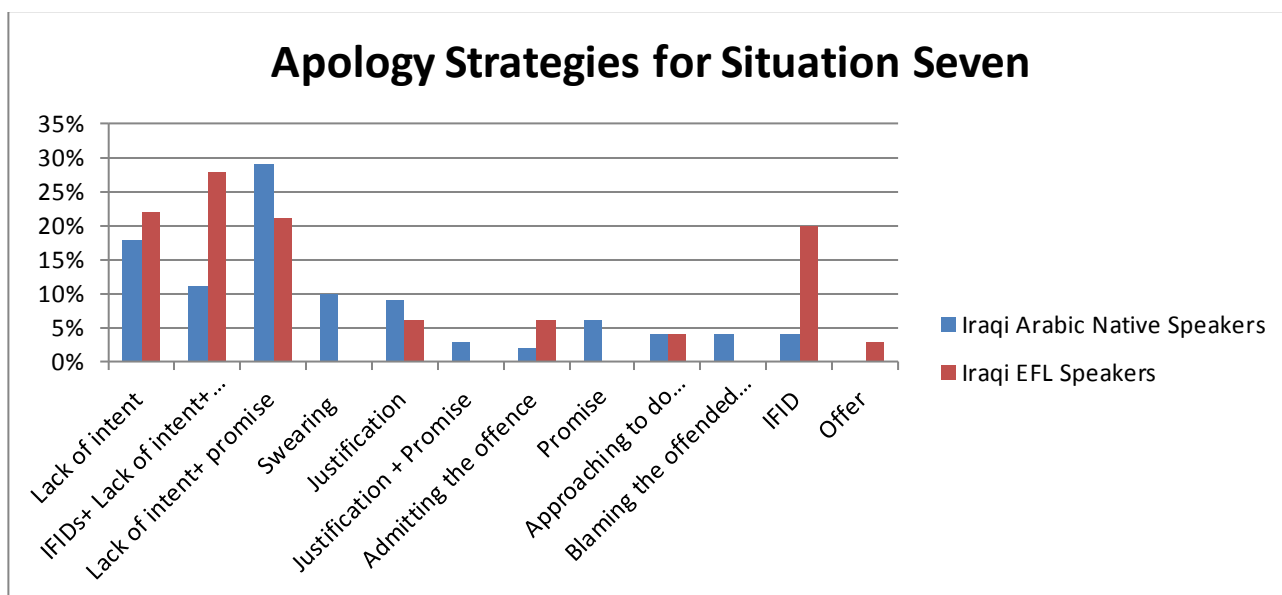


Figure [14]: Apology Strategies for situation [7]

Here we consider another family situation involving a wife asking her husband to bring some medicine from a pharmacy for their baby, but after three hours, he came without bringing it; the situation was formulated to involve contextual factors that could be relevant to informal or less formal apology in particular in a family domain. As presented in the figure above, both Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL speakers used a wide range of sub-strategies of apology. Both used *lack of intent and promise* (29% and 21% respectively). As regards the IFIDs, (expressions of apology) the Iraqi EFL learners used it 28% with *lack of intent + promise* whereas the Iraqi Arabic speakers neglected the use of IFIDs with only 11%. Using such a multiple strategy by the Iraqi EFL learners might be explained by the pragmatic competence they use *I am sorry with lack of intent and promise* for repair is quite effective or glossed as polite behaviour. This is supported by the use of swearing 10% by the IANs. Generally speaking, in Iraqi Arabic conversations', swearing [in the sense of taking a vow before God] is more commonly used as a prelude for many speech acts. It is more effective due to its religious power to confirm truth. It is found in these data that self-deficiency or self-deprecation is expressed by swearing as a linguistic style used by the Iraqis to deepen apologies and confirm the apologizer's sincere intentionality to reform and thus maintain social stability.

As for the sub-strategy of *lack of intent*, however; expressing apology by the sole use of lack of intent might be assigned to less or impolite behaviour. In our data collected, the Iraqi males just expressed their *lack of intent* or *self-deficiency* when their wives asked them about the medicine. The majority of Iraqi males replied that it is not necessary to say or to utter words of apology like “*I am sorry*” to their wives. There is a certain degree of similarity in the percentage of certain apology strategies like *lack of intent and promise* (29% and 21% respectively) by the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners. However, the statistical results showed that the overall performance is significantly different (U-sig. value, .000) as shown in table (10).

U- test	Results Values / Situation Seven
Mann-Whitney U	3050.500
Wilcoxon W	6878.500
Z	-3.590
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [10] Statistics for Situation[7]

The English IFIDs were more used by the Iraqi EFL learners than in Iraqi Arabic. The Iraqi EFL learners used this strategy at 39 % by itself and 28% combined with *lack of intent*, while only 4% of Iraqi *IFIDs* used by the IANs. This result seems a remarkable point to consider: Iraqi Arabic speakers do not often apologize explicitly in their L1 while they do in L2, particularly when the situation involves a family offence. When informally interviewed about this concern, participants confirmed how most Iraqi people have been affected by local British cultural perceptions of politeness realizations especially those for apology and thanking. It is found from these interviews that the Iraqis apologizing in English are trying to enhance their second language competence by acquiring new social norms from the target culture. Thus, participants replied that, for example:

‘It is very interesting to apologize in English language rather than Arabic. Most people here in the UK are used to utter this nice word, ‘sorry’ even when there is no mistake. My children at school have always been saying ‘sorry’, it does not necessarily express feeling regret, but it denotes the respect and etiquette’.
(Participant 15).

‘I am not used to apologize to my wife in Iraqi Arabic, because we are considered as one soul in two bodies, or I consider my wife as myself, so how can I apologize for myself! While in English, when I say sorry to my wife, it is not an expression of regret, but it is just a matter of showing politeness, another reason is that words like sorry, and apologize are widely used in English speaking countries, especially in the UK. Unlike the Arabic culture in general and the Iraqi in particular words like these are no longer used due to the prevalence of being proud, refraining from uttering regret words (Another participant added). This is supported by the fact that most Iraqis use the word sorry as a borrowed word when apologizing in Arabic. (Participant 20)

Bearing in mind the perception of politeness conveyed via the direct quotations above, we could argue that conceptualizing politeness in different languages or contexts functions as politeness in practice. Such a kind of politeness is divided according to Eelen (2001) into three types. The first type is an expressive where people encode their politeness by speech act behaviour, and by which a speaker as ‘*apologizer*’ aims to prove himself/herself as being polite, thus this politeness is seen in in the EFL apologies; the second is a classificatory type by which the hearers can use it as a tool for evaluating the people’s interaction as being either polite, impolite; while the third type of politeness is labelled as *metapragmatic*; this type of politeness involves people taking about politeness as a perception and about what people perceive politeness to be all about. This type of politeness has been captured in our data when the Iraqi Arabic native speakers talked about politeness in their responses throughout the semi-structured interview while no real apologies were given and some of their apologies lack politeness.

6.2.1.1.8 Situation Eight: Breaking an employer’s PC screen

Apology Situation (8)

You are a manager of a company, one day you have taken your employer's computer to look for some data, but accidentally you have broken the screen by falling it down from your hand. How would you react to him?

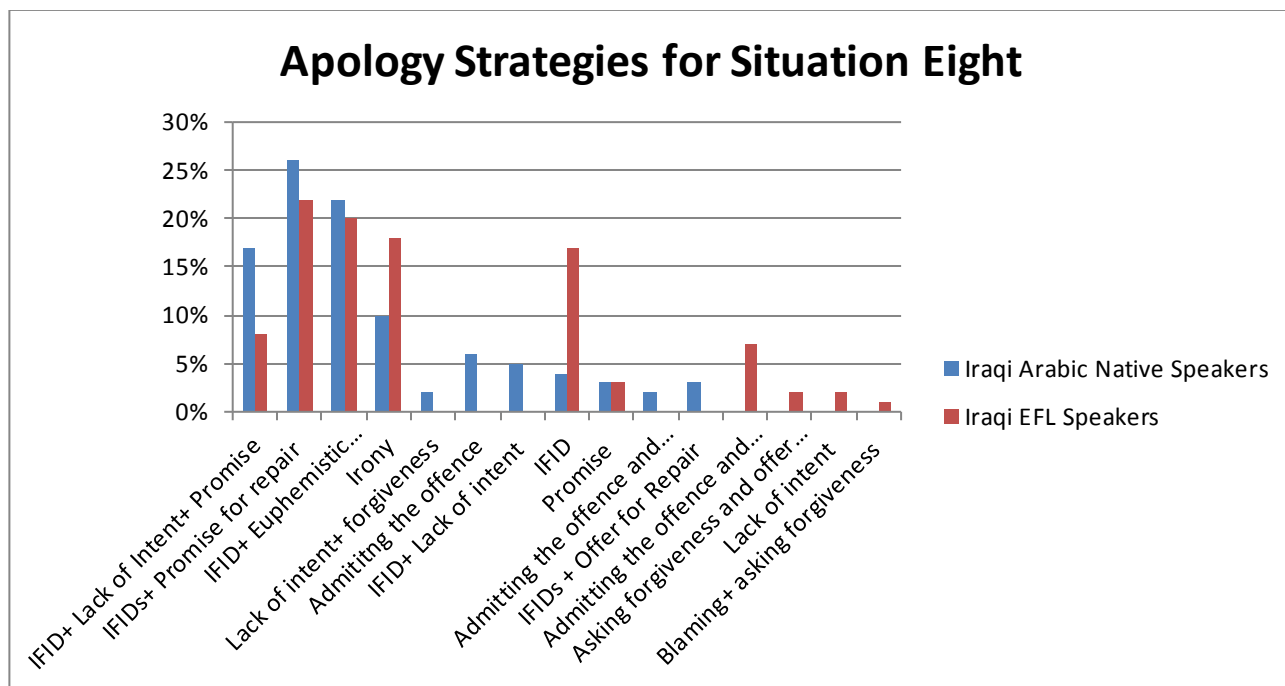


Figure [15]: Apology Strategies for Situation [8]

This situation involves a workplace offence committed by a boss represented by breaking an employer’s PC screen causing some physical damage accidentally. Some people recruited in this study perceived this offence as being simple; others however saw it as strong. This perception could be explained by the cultural and social view that people whose social status is high do not often apologize and even those offended do not seek remedy from such as offender. However, different strategies were used for apologizing and non-apologizing in this situation. The common frequent strategy used by the two groups ‘Iraqi Arabic and EFL

learners” is *IFIDs + promise for repair/compensation* 26% and 22% for each group respectively. Because the situation involves physical damage caused accidentally, it is natural for the offender to express his regret followed by expressing a lack of intent; which might reflect the nature of the speech act opposed to the first strategy mentioned earlier where only IFIDs with promise for repair is not sufficient to minimize the impact of the offence committed. Thus, the IANs expressed their regret and lack of intent more than the Iraqi EFL learners.

Also, euphemistic expressions were elicited in this situation alongside the expressions of IFIDs. A large percentage of such expressions were used similarly by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and the Iraqi EFL learners (22% and 20%). Some examples showing euphemisms are:

- اسف بكل قوتي، تبشر بلايتوب جديد
- [I am sorry with my all strength, and I promise you a new computer].
- أسف عيوني، سوف اقوم باصلاحه
- [Sorry my eyes, I will repair it].
- أسف حبيبي ، ان شاءالله اعوضك
- [Sorry my love, I will compensate you inshallah].

Irony was also used by the participants. But a surprising issue this time is that irony was the focus of Iraqi EFL learners; they were more ironic when apologizing towards a person with lower social status and distance. 18% of Ironic expressions were found in the EFL data while only 10% were recorded by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. For example:

- Ok, don't worry.
- Come on, it is just a Chinese computer!
- Ok, I will buy one for you, just shut your mouth!
- Don't worry [hehehe (laughing)].
- He does not have to be upset because I am the boss (a participant reported).
- It is normal, don't worry.

The approximate parallel between the frequencies of apology strategies used by the two groups can be validated by the statistical results, that there is no significant difference (U-sig. value, .272) in the selection of apology strategies as shown in table (11).

U test	Results Values/ Situation Eight
Mann-Whitney U	3068.000
Wilcoxon W	5414.000
Z	-1.099
U- sig. Value	.272

Table [11] Statistics for Situation[8]

Thus, in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) negative and positive politeness, apology in this situation seems to be more beneficial to the offender and no equity could be established between them due to ironic expressions used. Thus, evaluating in this way, we could argue that the apologies produced for a lower status person is categorized as a relational occurrence.

As discussed in the literature review, people who hold a high social position, like managers, find it difficult to apologize since they are afraid of appearing unimpressive if they admit to making a fault. Arguably when a person with high status acknowledges committing a fault, his/her acknowledgement emits a noteworthy image of needing to save his/her face, as perceived by the offended person and any audience or observers, as compared to a person with lower status who admits a transgression, whose face is much less implicated with threats. Throughout interviewing the participants, we found that the majority said they were ready to apologize for this offence, but the findings show the reverse. Again, this can be in accord with Eelen's (2001) view of politeness: politeness 1 (the actual use of social behaviour) and politeness 2: the perception/evaluation of social behaviour). Based on the findings, we suggest that the relative high status of the interlocutors encountered in this conflict affects their will to give an excuse or forgive. Thus, the higher the status, the less likely an apology.

6.2.1.1.9 Situation Nine : Making a wrong call at mid-night

Apology Situation (9)

You dialled the wrong telephone number; and a voice of an old man replied. What would you say?

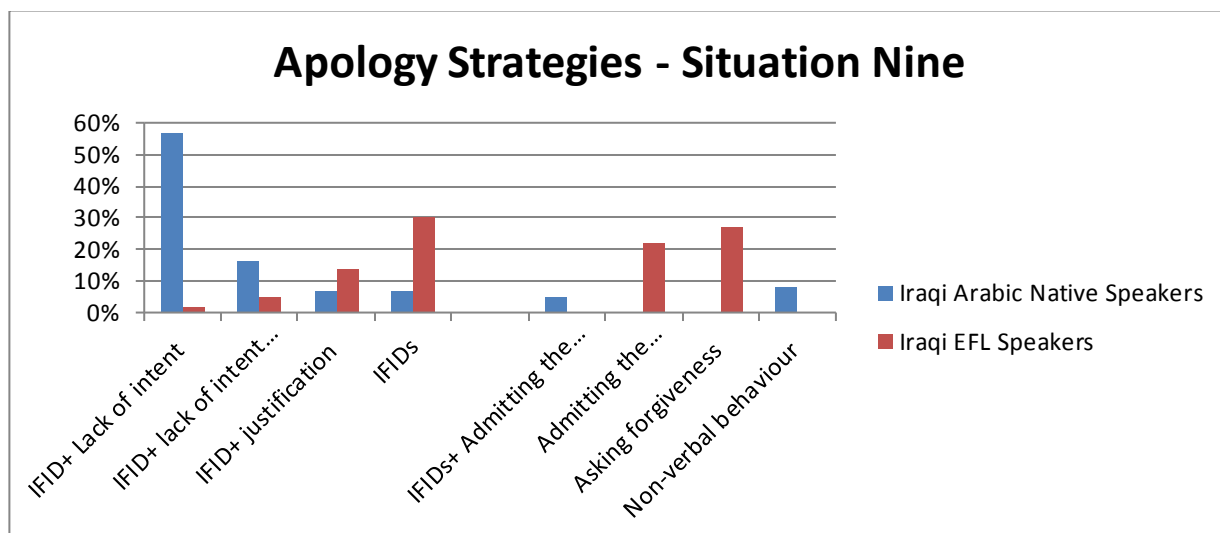


Figure [16]: Apology Strategies for Situation [9]

This situation involves someone making a wrong call at midnight with an old man who answers the phone. In this situation, the offended person is not present in face-to face interaction, but he is only present as audio-calling. However, the data findings in this situation indicate that the participants of both groups resorted to different kinds of strategies with different rates to perform apologies. The situation involves a simple offence as perceived by the largest number of participant of both groups.

It is noted that *IFIDs+Lack of intent* were used differently by the Iraqi NS (57%) and the EFL learners (2%). Similarly, *the IFIDs with lack of intent* and *asking forgiveness* were used in the Iraqi NS more than in the EFLs (16% and 5% respectively). For admitting the offence only 5% of the Iraqi Arabic used this while none of the Iraqi EFL learners did so. While for non-apology, only 8% of the Iraqi Arabic apologies were remarked as this while no nonverbal behaviour was initiated by the Iraqi EFL learners. Thus, the participants of both groups have shown a significant difference in the use of apology strategies. This

significance has been confirmed by applying U-test to exposing the U test significant value, .000) as shown in table (12).

Situation Nine	Results values / Situation Nine
Mann-Whitney U	887.000
Wilcoxon W	8268.000
Z	-9.919
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [10] Statistics for Situation[9]

This significant difference in the selection of apology strategies comes from the frequency of certain strategies in the IANs and non-occurrence in the EFL learners. For example, the prevailing of non-apology behaviour in the Iraqi Arabic data can be assigned to social norms or personal etiquette. When asked during interviewing about the reason behind this non-apologetic behaviour, most replies were as the following (a) *“If the time is too late and I made this call, I could hang up the line without explaining what happened”*. (b) *“As far as he does not see me face to face, I can only switch off the line and no apology required”*. Arguably, the IANs have used non-verbal behaviour instead of apologizing due to the fact that they perceived the offence as simple and therefore, no apology is required in accordance with their social norms.

6.2.1.1.10 Situation Ten: Running into another car causing serious damage

Apology Situation (10)

Backing out of a parking place, you run into the side of another car. It was clearly your fault. You dent in the side door slightly. The driver gets out and comes over to you angrily. Driver: “Can’t you look where you’re going? See what you’ve done!” What can you say or do?



Figure [17]: Apology Strategies for Situation [10]

Situation 10 supposes serious physical damage to a car involved in an accident. The contextual variables were chosen to create an appropriate environment for eliciting apology strategies compatible with the nature of offence. However, we noted that the participants used different types of strategies such as *IFIDs with, admitting the offence, offering and promise of repair*. Based on the statistical findings in the bar chart, it could be argued that in spite of the different strategies used, the degree of offence was perceived as severe by the two groups. The IAN participants were well organized to perform an apology by using a multiple strategy involving metaphoric expressions (29%) and determinism (20%). Previous research by Lakoff (1973) and Mill (2001) showed how a speech act and the concomitant social behaviour can be attached to the relationship between the interlocutors. In this situation, the social status and power between the offended and the offender were presumed to be equal. Therefore, the use of metaphor and determinism comes as apparently natural or spontaneous behaviour towards the seriousness of the offence. Metaphor and determinism were used in a combination with regret expressions like *اسف* (I am sorry) and *اعذرني* (forgive me) as an effective way of apologizing due to their power to moderate and

address the offended person's annoyance and minimize the impression of the serious offence. We can confirm how the speakers' use of metaphor and determinism solves the question posed by previous research whether the metaphorical expressions and their functions contribute to the realizations of politeness strategies or not (Yang, 2008). Thus, the findings in this situation indicate that politeness strategies are realized by metaphorical expressions to express indirect apologies. In contrast, the bare use of an apology expression (IFIDs) in an Iraqi Arabic situation specifically in physical damage offences can be understood as impolite behaviour. The statistical test showed that there is significant difference between the apology strategies used by the two groups ($p < .000$), as shown in table (13).

Situation (10)	Results value / Situation Ten
Mann-Whitney U	2219.000
Wilcoxon W	5874.000
Z	-5.438
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [13] Statistics for Situation [10]

Therefore, most strategies used by the IAN speakers were used differently by the Iraqi EFL learners. This difference can be assigned to the Iraqi cultural perception of such offence which can be seen in the metaphor images (29%), expressing regret (IFIDs) with *lack of intent* (8%) and IFID with *lack of intent* and *offering of repair* (15%). At the same time, the Iraqi EFL sociopragmatic competence was apparently in a stage of development which can be reflected by perceiving the degree of offence and offering of repair when the offence is offering repair - based. In some examples, the participants were well-conditioned to provide polite apology in particular when exhibiting the use of euphemistic expressions and proverbs whereas in some others an impolite apology was involved where the Iraqi Arabic IFIDs *اعتذر* ، *اسف* were employed.

6.2.1.1.11 Situation Eleven: Disturbing an oldest brother

Apology Situation (11)

Your oldest brother had a final exam, he was studying very hard. You were sitting beside him, listening to music. You annoyed him by this. He said come on brother I have an exam tomorrow! What would say or do?

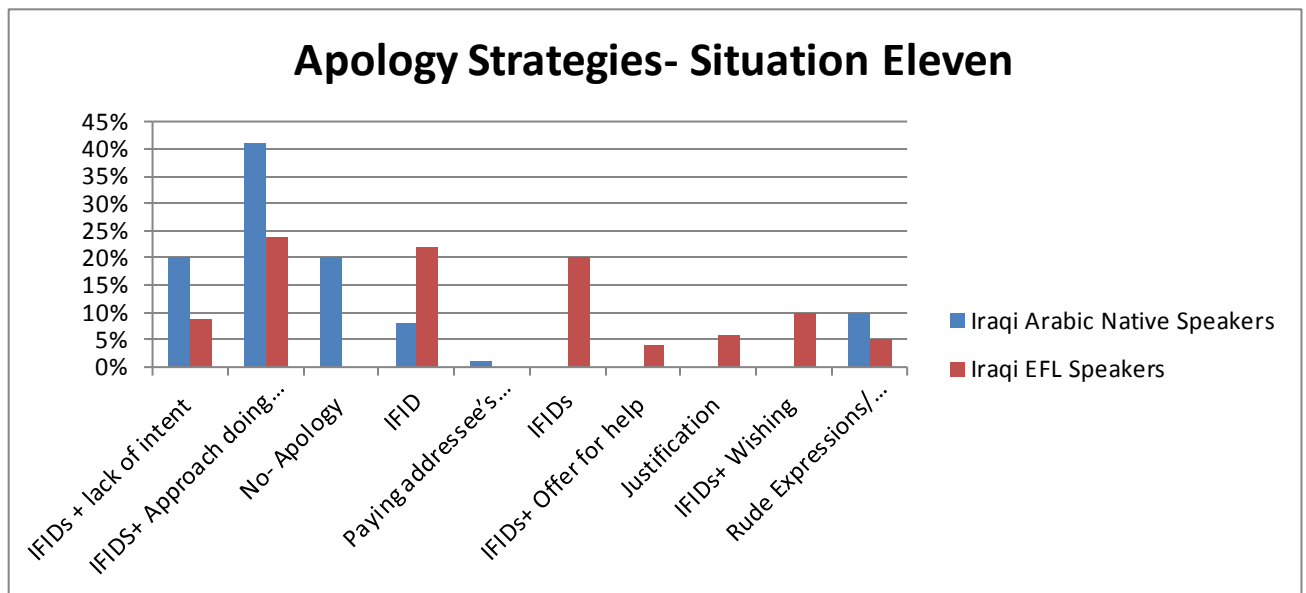


Figure [18]: Apology Strategies for Situation [11]

6.2.1.1.12 Situation Twelve: Disturbing a sister

Apology Situation (12)

Your youngest sister had a final exam and she was studying hard. You were sitting beside her calling your friend in a loud voice, she was annoyed and said come on I cannot study, please! How would you react toward her?

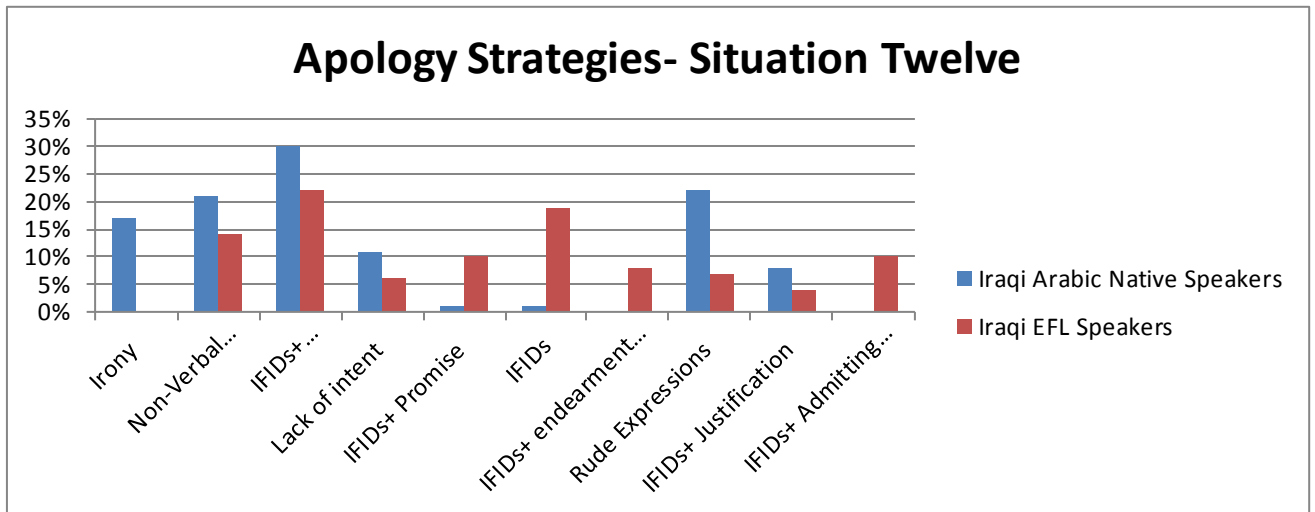


Figure [19]: Apology Strategies for Situation [12]

Situations (11) and (12) were designed to produce an apology in a family domain. In situation (11) the offender disturbs his oldest brother; and a youngest sister in situation (12), by a mobile phone noise while studying. The degree of offence in the two situations was perceived by the majority of participants of the two groups as simple and very simple. The data collected for these situations were divided into apologetic behaviour, non-apologetic behaviour and rude expressions.

The U-test statistical results for situation (11) showed that there is a significant difference in the frequency and types of strategies used by the Iraqi EFL learners and the IAN speakers as shown table (14)

U test	Results values / Situation Eleven
Mann-Whitney U	77.8186
Wilcoxon W	101.8339
Z	-.326
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [14] Statistics for Situation [11]

This significant difference results from the high frequency of “non-apology behaviour” in the IANs (20%) while this is not used by the EFL learners. On the contrary, there are

certain strategies such as Justification, IFIDs (20%), and IFIDs with offer for help (6%), and IFIDs with wishing (10%) which were only used by the EFL learners.

The same thing happened in situation (12) when apologizing to the little sister. The data yielded from this situation was significantly different displaying the significant value $P < .000$. Such significant difference is shown in table (15).

U test	Result Value / Situation Twelve
Mann-Whitney U	2552.500
Wilcoxon W	7602.500
Z	-6.039
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [15] Statistics for Situation [12]

The most frequently used strategies in the Iraqi Arabic were: non-verbal behaviour, irony, IFIDs with approaching to do something, as well as rude expressions.

- ليش ماتستطيعين الدراسه بسببي؟ اكو هوايه مكانات تكدرين تدرسين وتركزين بيها على دراستج
 - [Why you can study? Because of me?! There are other places for studying you can study and focus well! [with rising intonation]
- ليش ماتسكتين!
 - Why don't you shut up?
- غيري مكانج واقري
 - Change your place and study!
- روجي للغرفه الثانيه شنو ماکو بس هالغرفه بالببيت
 - Go to the other room. No rooms in this house just this?
- مشكلنج روجي ليغاد
 - [That's your problem, go away].
- ياالله راح اطفى التلفون على كيفج راح اصيرين دكتور ه علساس
 - [OK, are you going to be a doctor?].

As far as the offence has been perceived by the majority of participants as simple and very simple, *non-apologetic speech act behaviors* were realized in the picture of irony and rude expressions. The majority of speakers replied in interviews - when the researcher drew attention to such non-apologetic speech acts -, that it is not necessary to apologize or say sorry to the youngest sister and even the oldest brother. They perceived that their social

distance is close and they can cooperate and be lighthearted, showing humor with each other. One replied: *“I don’t remember I said sorry, or I am sorry to my youngest sister even if the offence was severe, if I want really to apologize, I would hug or kiss her without saying sorry or apologize”*.

Thus, regarding such responses as polite or impolite is arguable because according to the participants’ answers, they do not intend to offend or to attack face. A third party (like the researcher who heard such responses might judge them as impolite since the speakers’ intentionality is difficult to be attainable. Two main views in the literature can be highlighted; one is cited by Culpeper (2005a) and the other is argued by Terkourafi (2008):

- (a) Impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2). (Culpeper 2005a: 38).
- (b) [...] marked rudeness or proper rudeness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; following recognition of the speaker's face-threatening intention by the hearer, marked rudeness threatens the addressee's face [...] impoliteness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face [...] but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer. (Terkourafi, 2008: 70).

In line with these views, the IAN data above cannot be categorized as impolite since the offender unintentionally communicates his face attack by creating an ironic discourse by his utterance *“Go away, are going to be a doctor”* and *“Go to the other room and study there”*. This is confirmed by the participants’ responses that they did not intend to offend the little sister, but instead they claimed that it is a conventional speech style with the small members of the family. Accordingly, this finding comes in line with Culpeper (2005a) and Terkourafi (2008).

Non-verbal behavior is a new strategy which emerged in situation (11) used by the IAN speakers (20%) whereas it was not used by the EFL learners. In situation (12), non –verbal behavior is used by the two groups Iraqi NS and (Iraqi EFLs) 21% and 14% respectively. Such behavior was captured while the participants were asked to react when their little

sister and older brother were annoyed. The participants did not apologize, instead they have suggested or performed an action doing something like leaving the room or switching the mobile phone off others kept silent; some ignored the offence and pretended to be unaware of it.

Viewed like this, politeness can take a non-verbal form of realization. In terms of positive politeness, the Iraqi Arabic individuals often perform speech act behaviours by non-verbalization. They conceive of a verbal apology as an unpleasant act even when they believe that it is their obligation to be cooperative with each other. As discussed in situation (8) an explicit apology is thought unnecessary in some contexts and individuals refrained from apologizing due to the perceived non-necessity of an apology between individuals within a community of collectivism, in general, and within a family in particular. They claim that only serious conditions require apologies. While in English, an apology can be obligatory as a form of politeness even for simple offences (Reiter, 2003) and within close communities and even among family members. And this is supported in situation (12) by the non-verbal behaviour (non-apologetic) by the IAN individuals and the verbal behaviour (apologetic) by the Iraqi EFL learners for the same offence.

Non-verbal behaviour can thus be considered as a form of politeness strategies, in particular when there is no face threatening act. The Islamic culture in general involves non-verbal politeness which can be realized by eye contact mixed with a kind smiling towards others which communicates full consideration to the addressee, hearer or a third party. In this regard, in the Prophetic sayings, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) said: "*Your smiling for other people is an act of charity*" (Sunan al-Tirmidhî (1879) cited in <http://en.islamtoday.net>). And, at the same time, an over- prolonged and focused smile with eye contact might be deemed as non-verbal impoliteness (Hall, 1993). Accordingly, it is inferred that non-verbal behaviour in our data is more likely to be seen as a kind of non-verbal politeness since the offender avoids conflict with the offended person.

Irony was also used by the IAN speakers as a way of expressing negative emotions particularly towards an offended person whose social distance and social power are seen as low. As far as irony is concerned, it has been shown in the literature review that irony is

used to verbalize emotive states that cannot be expressed verbally (Leech, 1983). Stemming from Leech's (1983) politeness, the *Ironic Principle* (IP) has been regarded as the second order of politeness by Leech (1983); it makes the speaker impolite despite the fact of superficially being polite. The addressee, hence, directly understands the intended meaning of the speaker's intention and is a victim of fun, teasing or attack. And this issue however confirms that in Grice's implicature, ironic language conflicts with the politeness principle.

It is found in situation (11) and (12) that only the IANs used ironic expressions when addressing their family member whereas such expressions were not found in the EFL learners' apologies. Therefore, it could be argued that the non-ironic occurrence in the EFL data indicates that the Iraqi EFL learners deviate from their native norms, and they were approximating the target language, that is, they might be better acquainted with expressions of apology in Western cultures specifically in the UK, where "Please" and "Thank you" are ubiquitous, as confirmed by Murphy (2012). However, the IANs also perceived and confirmed this. Participant (47) replied:

"...Having settled in the UK, I used to say sorry to my wife, children; even my kids when I ask them something, they ask me to say sorry or please, regardless to the sincerity, while in Arabic language, the matter unfortunately is not the same".

Further, both IANs and Iraqi EFL learners were inclined to adopt a new strategy which is *IFIDs+ approaching doing something* as an indirect strategy of apology. This strategy seems to be more polite due to the communication of clear sincere intentions of the apologizer. The apologizer expresses his sorrow and regret and attempts to save the offended person's face. The offender in such a condition is going to recognize the intentionality of his/her brother/sister. However, 41% of IANs in situation (11) expressed their sorrow and did certain actions such as switching off the mobile, or going out of the room while the Iraqi EFL data contained fewer IFIDs expressions and attempting to carry out similar actions.

6.2.1.1.13 Situation Thirteen: Breaking a promise with mother

Apology Situation (13)

While doing some shopping with your wife/husband, you have promised your mother to buy a new scarf for her. But you have forgotten that. When you returned to your house, you remembered that. And your mother was waiting eagerly; she asked you, dear what about the scarf?

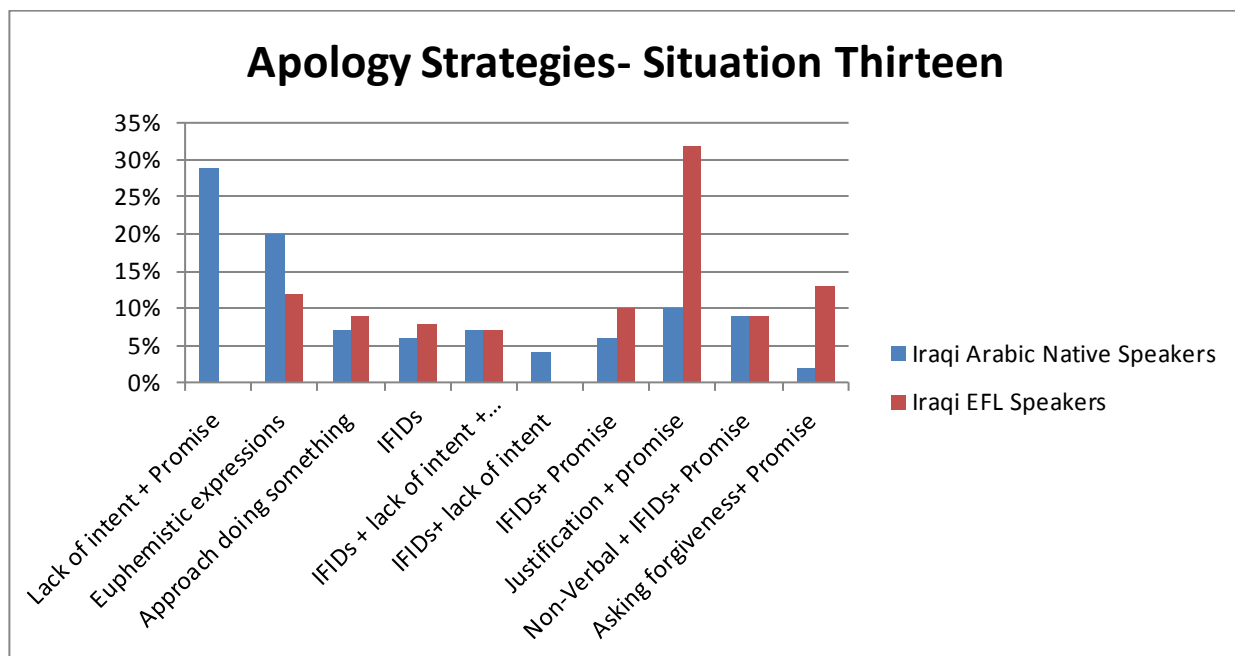


Figure [20]: Apology Strategies for Situation [13]

Another situation involving a family offence is represented in figure (17). The offended person is represented by a mother whose son breaks a promise to buy her a new scarf. The presumed apologizer is requested to respond to her when the mother said “*Oh, I was waiting for the scarf you promised me! But you didn’t bring it*”. The participants who represent Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners did not show a significant difference in apologizing to the mother. The statistical results shown in table (16) showed that there is no significant difference between the frequency and types of apology strategies.

U test	Result values/ Situation Thirteen
Mann-Whitney U	3678.500
Wilcoxon W	8728.500
Z	-3.261
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.0521

Table [16] Statistics for Situation [13]

Out of nine strategies yielded in this situation, only three strategies used noticeably differently by the two groups. These strategies are: justification with promise, the Iraqi EFL learners used more expressions of justifying their behaviour with a promise for compensation than the IAN speakers do (32% and 10%) respectively. The low frequency of justification with promise can be assigned to the cultural fact that justifying the offence is another offence hence the IAN participants were more aware in their mother tongue for dealing with the mother. One participant, for instance explained that “...when I want to apologize to my mother I should be honest with her, even if something prevented me from buying the scarf, I would like not to tell her, but I have to correct my mistake by doing something immediately” participant (36). Such findings can be validated by explaining the cultural necessity to demonstrate esteem to parents. In the Holy Qur’an, Allah says: “Your Lord has ordered you to worship none except Him, and to be good to your parents. If either or both of them attain old age with you, do not say: "Fie on you", nor rebuke them, but speak to them with words of respect” (Holy Qur’an, 17:23).

As a new strategy, euphemistic expressions were also used by both groups. The IAN group used more euphemisms (20%) to express their apology to the mother whereas the Iraqi EFL learners used just (12 %). Euphemism is common in English and Arabic, but the realization of Iraqi Arabic euphemism differs from that of English. Euphemism is used in Arabic and in Iraqi Arabic in particular as a way to soften the style of interaction between speaker and hearer. As regards apologies, the IANs used euphemistic expressions in order to lessen the offended person’s anger or distress and to minimize the distance between the offended and the offender. For example, some participants apologized as “my dear mother, you are the crown of my head, and the eye’s sight....., my dear mother, you are the precious thing I have ever had....., my beloved, you deserve my eyes not a scarf....

It could be argued that the use of such euphemistic expressions by the Iraqi EFL learners is pragmatic *transfer*, i.e. they have communicative competence which is based on their native norms, and this competence requires language proficiency; therefore, they have transferred such expressions to English supposing that these expressions might be successfully used.

Regarding positive politeness, the strategies *approaching to do something*, *euphemistic expressions*, and *non-verbal with IFIDs and promise* were used to express polite apology by intimacy. The two groups both used *approaching to do something* (7% and 9% respectively) as a non-verbal strategy of apology by intending to go immediately to buy the scarf. One of the participants replied “*I think it is better to go at the moment to buy the scarf for her because I would feel shame and keep silent instead of justifying my fault*”. The two groups have also adopted *Non-verbal behaviour with IFIDs and promise* similarly (9%) for each. Using non-verbal behaviour can be assigned to negative pragmatic transfer made by the Iraqi EFL learners since such behaviour involves a physical action like kissing a hand or wrist, or forehead and cheeks which seem rare in the culture of the target language.

To sum up, metaphorical expressions, non-verbal behaviour and *approaching to do certain actions* can be regarded as situation-specific as they are often used with a person very close and familiar in the Iraqi daily interaction. Such kinds of strategies are noted to imply religious values that reflect the effect of Islamic culture on the production and perception of Arabic speech acts. Brown and Levinson’s politeness (1987) showed that some aspect of politeness strategies can be universal, whereas others might be cultural specific. This comes in line with the findings that IAN speakers inclined to use non-verbal strategies of politeness in certain situations when the relationship between the apologizer and the apologizee is close and familiar when communicating in their mother tongue. However, this is not totally the case when communicating in the second language. This might be due to how the L2 learners’ pragmalinguistic competence is developing in stages or they could be affected by the cultural norms of the target language.

6.2.1.1.14 Situations Fourteen: Losing financial documents in workplace

Apology Situation (14)

You are working as an accountant in a company. You have very important documents that belong to the company, but unfortunately, you have lost them. You are supposed to deliver them to the boss next day. The boss asked you about them. What would you do?

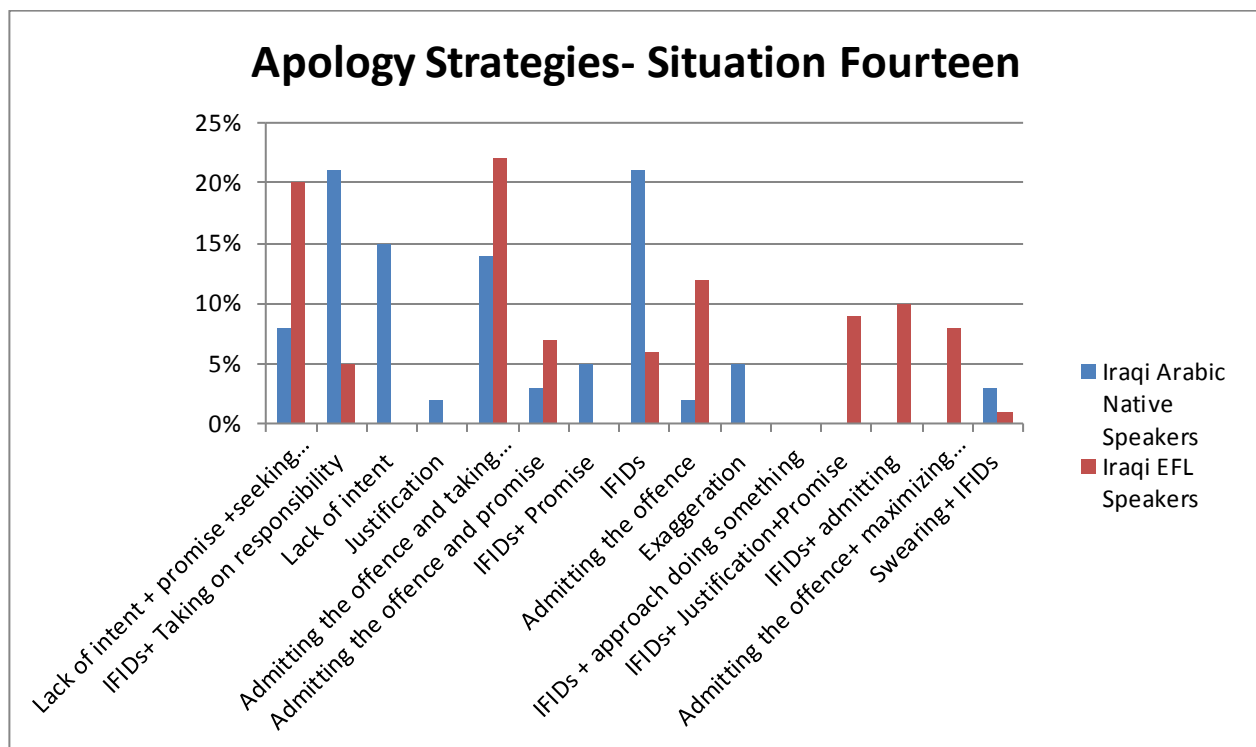


Figure [21]: Apology Strategies for Situation [14]

Situation (14) is devoted to shed light on apology strategies in a workplace domain. An employer was supposed to deliver very important financial documents to the boss, but they were lost. Thus, the offender is in a lower social status and the social distance between him/her and the offended person is distant.

The offence for this situation has been perceived as very strong; therefore, this is an appropriate environment for eliciting strategies of apology. Different strategies for apology were used with different rates. The data presented in the bar chart (18) indicate that both

groups employed different and similar strategies, but the statistical results showed that there is a significant difference (.002) between the performances of apologies in the two groups, as shown in the table below:

U test	Results Value/ Situation Fourteen
Mann-Whitney U	8060.000
Wilcoxon W	3713.000
Z	-2.672
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.002

Table [17] Statistics for Situation [14]

The most prominent strategies used by the two groups include:

- 1- Lack of intent+promise+seeking forgiveness (NS=8%, EFL 20%), for example:
 [NS] ما اعرف وينهم بس اوعدك راح الكاهم، سامحني
 [Translation] *I don't know where they are! I will find them as soon as possible, forgive me.*
 [EFL]
 - I am sorry I do not know how I've lost them... I will try to find a program to bring them back. Forgive me.
- 2- IFIDs+taking responsibility (NS=21%, EFL=5%), for example: [NS] اسف اني اتحمل المسؤولية الكاملة
 [Translation] *Sorry, I do take the full responsibility.*
 [EFL]
 - I am sorry, I will have to find them
- 3- Admitting the offence+taking on responsibility (NS= 14% EFL= 22%), for example: [NS] هذا خطاي واني مستعد لتحمل المسؤولية
 [Translation] *This is my mistake and I am ready to have the full responsibility.*
 [EFL]
 - Sorry, I lost them give me one day I will have to find it and show you tomorrow
- 4- IFIDs (NS= 21%, EFL= 6%), for example:
 [NS] اسف سيادة المدير / اعذرني استاذ / Forgive me sir, sorry sir manager.
 [EFL]
 - I am really sorry.

Although these are relatively different in using the expression of IFIDs for showing regret, it still unconvincing strategy of apology in the Iraqi Arabic and English. It is worth noting that some strategies were used by one group rather than the other. For example, the IAN

speakers exhibited the use of an intensified apology conveyed by exaggeration such as in..... اعذرني استاذ ما اذكر وين خليتهن بس هسه اقلب الدنيا لازم الكيهن [sir, I do apologize. I don't remember where I put them, but now I will turn the world upside down, I should find them]. The rest were used only by the Iraqi EFL learners. These strategies are: *IFIDs+justification+ promise*, thus, the second language learners expressed their regret by (*sorry, I do apologize*), and then provided a justification for what happened followed by promise for repair. Finally, 8% of admitting the offence with maximizing the degree of offence caused by them. It is noted that all strategies used for apologizing indicate how the speaker's responsibility is taken into account. The strategies indicated the seriousness of offence committed except that of bare IFIDs. The offender has, thus, taken into his/her account and admitted the offence, that it has been committed and then attempted to provide a well-organized strategy of apology by indirect expressions.

The strategies used in his situation performed the function of avoidance due to the participants revealed their caution when being involved in workplace and formal situations.

One of the participants noted:

'It is very difficult to do a mistake in such situations. There might be a risk of getting fired or losing my job if I have done like such vital mistake. Anyway, I should apologize to the manager about it, but I believe that my apology will present nothing'.

Thus, according to Leech (1983; cited in Hassan, 2014), the strategy of avoidance can be conflicted with the maxim of tact in terms of expressing apology for remedial and non-remedial purposes. Non-remedial purposes involve in formal and workplace situations avoiding conflict with the addressee taking such a step for moderating the situation from being aggravated.

6.2.1.1.15 Situation Fifteen: Forgetting a meeting with a supervisor

Apology Situation (15)

You had an important appointment with your supervisor (or course leader), but you have missed that appointment and did not turn up to it. He asked you, why you didn't turn up to the meeting?

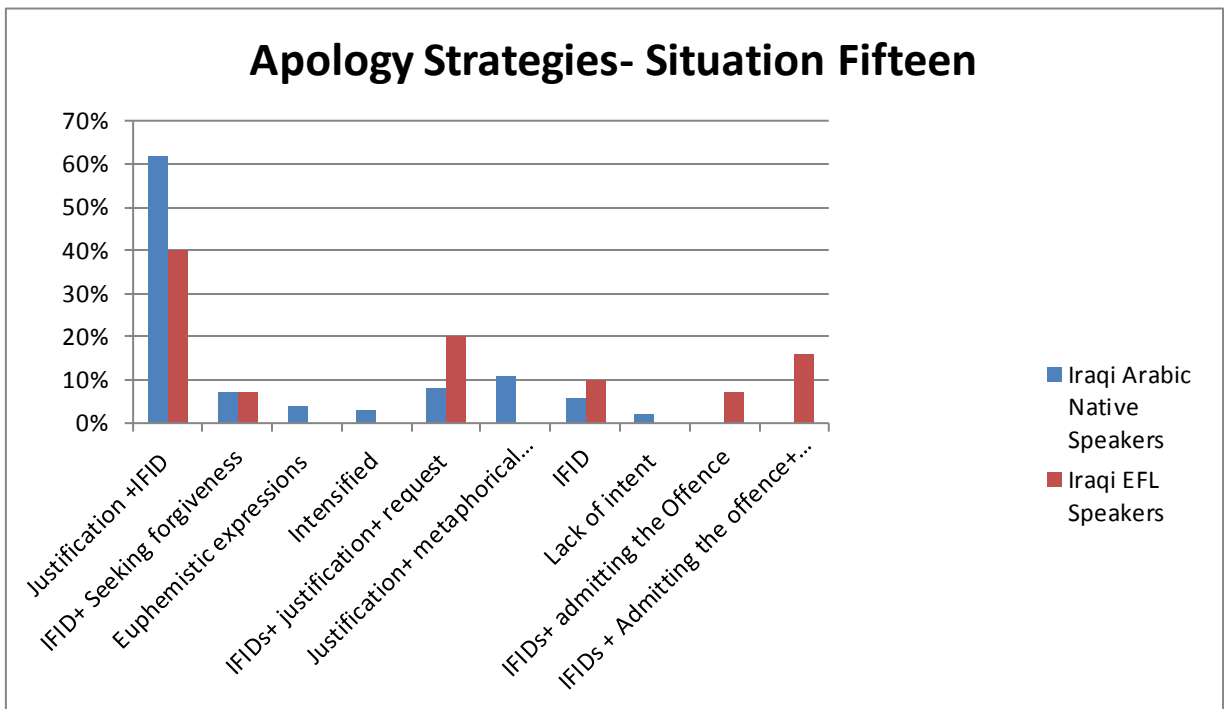


Figure [22]: Apology Strategies for Situation [15]

The offence in this situation was evaluated by the Iraqi NS and EFL learners as very severe. Both groups exhibited a wide range of IFIDs with justification (62% for Iraqi Arabic data) and (38% for EFL data) which seems not satisfactory to that required degree. Admitting the offence with regret expressions and admitting the offence with a promise not to repeat it were only used by the EFL learners (7% and 16%) respectively. This has led to display a significant difference by the two groups as shown in table (18).

U test	Results Values/ Situation Fifteen
Mann-Whitney U	510.000
Wilcoxon W	11388.000
Z	-10.088
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

Table [18] Statistics for Situation [15]

It is noted that the IFIDs explicitly express regret; they are still disputed with justification. Justification could be viewed in the Iraqi Arabic perception as only giving excuses as a way

of escaping from responsibility (Al-Adaileh, 2007). However, the two groups displayed similarity in the first strategy shown in figure (19) which is IFIDs and justification. Using only justification does not show remorse as an equilibrium nor reform the mistake. Let us consider the following examples:

Iraqi Arabic Native speakers	Iraqi Arabic EFL Learners
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • صدقتي دكتور صار عندي ظرف طاريء وماكدت اتي للاجتماع. • <i>Believe me sir, I had an urgent case and I could not come to the meeting.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sorry, but I didn't catch the train.</i> • <i>I do apologize for missing the appointment, but I was too sick to come.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • اني اسف دكتور بس والله صار عندي شغل • I am sorry Dr. But by Allah, I was busy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sorry my supervisor, but I had emergency, now I ready if you wish.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • دكتور اني ماكدت اجي اليوم بس عندي ظرف خاص • Dr. I couldn't come because I had a special case. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I am really sorry my supervisor, I could not attend the meeting since my mother was very sick and I stayed with her.</i>

Table [11]: Some examples for Justification Strategy

In spite of the fact that `but` is a conjunction device and *believe me* is a preface, both were used frequently in the IAN data (18%) and EFL data (11%) alongside justification. The use of such upgraders is not surprising since it does not reduce the severity of offence and at the same time they function as an upgrading element introducing the strategy of an account which corresponds with the expression of IFIDs in order to have responsibility accepted and save face to both the offender and the offended.

It is also clear from the chart that *IFIDs+admitting the offence+ promise for forbearance* was only used by the Iraqi EFL learners (16%). The inclination to use this strategy seems to be a highly apologetic behaviour. We noted that internal modifiers were used such as *extremely, deep sorrow, terribly*. Consider the following examples:

1. I am extremely sorry. I absolutely forget this meeting. I promise to be more responsible.
2. I would like to express my deep sorrow my prof. for not attending the meeting. It won't be repeated.
3. I am terribly sorry. I did not attend. It won't be repeated.

Nonetheless, using euphemism and metaphorical expressions seem to be rare in academic situations in particular in Iraqi contexts when the addressee is of higher social power and status. Thus only 4% of euphemistic expressions were used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. For example, one participant replied

حبيبي وتاج راسي استاذي العزيز، والله صار عندي شغل

My beloved and my head's crown dear teacher, by Allah I have been busy.

“IFIDs +justification and request” is another sub-strategy taken into account by the two groups of speakers as an attempt to achieve positive rapport with the offended person. An apology performed in such a way seems to be less direct especially when it is softened by justification. As for the IFIDs, they can also function as an effective way to lessen the face-threatening act particularly when the apology is directed to an academic staff member or a person of authority in general, or a stranger. Thus, using these two linguistic expressions serves as a pragmatic tool to moderate the severity of offence and to manage face-rapport. IAN and Iraqi EFL learners apologize to their supervisor in the following examples:

IAN Samples:

1. دكتور اعذرني حيل لان صار تلي ظروف ومكدرت اجي اذا ممكن اتاجل الموعد على باجر.

Dr. Excuse me very much since I had circumstances and I couldn't come, if possible could we set another appointment tomorrow?

2. اسف جدا استناد صار عندي ظرف ومكدرت اجي ياريت تحددلي موعد جديد.

So sorry sir, an urgent condition happened; therefore I couldn't attend. I wish if you could provide me with a new appointment.

3. السلام عليكم دكتور والله اعتذر اني لان اليوم ما راح اجي صار عندي شغل مهم شوكت تحب نلتقي.

Peace be upon you Dr. by Allah I do apologize because I didn't attend. I had a very important issue. When would you love to meet you?

EFL samples:

- 1- I am so sorry Dr. I had an urgent case and I couldn't come.
- 2- Forgive me sir, I did not remember the meeting.
- 3- So sorry Dr. can we set up a new meeting?
- 4- I am really sorry Dr. My father was sick and I had to go with him to the hospital. Can I see you again?

6.3 Discussion for the overall findings

6.3.1 Most Frequent Strategies:

An overall look at findings indicates that the most frequent used strategies across the fifteen situations appeared in the FIRST TEN situations. These strategies with their functions are displayed in Table 8:

Situation	Most Frequently used Strategies	IANS	EFL	Functions
1	IFIDs + lack of intent	17%	26%	Religious function
	IFIDs + lack of intent+ vocative	27%	19%	Religious function
2	IFIDs	19%	46%	Expressing regret
	IFIDs+ offer for help	41%	4%	Religious & social function
3	IFID+ lack of intent	33%	24%	Account
4	Promise for repair	0%	39%	Repairing
	IFIDs+ offer for repair	26%	18%	Repairing
5	IFID+ promise for compensation	10%	32%	Religious function
7	Lack of intent+ promise	29%	21%	Social function
	IFIDs+ Lack of intent+ promise	11%	28%	Social function
8	IFIDs+ endearment expressions	22%	20%	Establishing solidarity
	IFIDs+ promise for repair	26%	22%	Repairing& smoothing situation
9	IFID+ lack of intent	57%	0%	Account
	IFIDs	7%	30%	Expressing regret
10	IFIDs+ Promise for repair	17%	25%	Expressing regret & repairing

Table [12]: Most Frequently used Strategies by IANs and EFL Learners

The findings stated in the table answer the research question that apology strategies used by the IANS and IEFL are situationally different. The statistics above show the high frequency of IFIDs and lack of intent. In contrast to other strategies, IFIDs was the most frequent strategy used by both the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners. More significantly, the formula of IFIDs was not used unaccompanied, but was supported by other sub-strategies in particular, making an account and giving explanation. The reason behind using the IFIDs with other strategies is attributed to the unsuccessfulness of IFIDs alone in situations

involving serious offences. However, the findings show that the two most used strategies by both groups in the first situation are *IFIDs with lack of intent* (17% and 26%) and *IFIDs with lack of intent and Vocatives* (27% and 19%) respectively. Lack of intent is classified as a sub-category of taking on responsibility (Olshtain, 1989). In the IAN data, the Iraqis have realized taking on responsibility by expressing their apology by IFIDs with lack of intent. Thus, the reason behind using such strategy might be assigned to the speakers' preference to show responsibility. The IANs speakers have largely used vocative speech act with the Arabic IFIDs (27%). However, such a sub-strategy was plentifully employed in the first situation, where the nature of the offence, *hurting someone feeling by saying a joke about someone with cancer*, permits the apologizer to use such a formula to mitigate the offence. The attribution of using vocatives while apologizing harks back to the religious roots which assert that people should supplicate to God to heal any ill person regardless of the kind of illness. It has been narrated by Abu Dawood (no year, 3106) that *it is a must for a Muslim to do four things for another Muslim: responding to his/her greetings, accepting his/her invitation and visiting and supplicating for ill person and following a funeral*'. Thus, it is essential in an Islamic culture to visit and supplicate for Muslims because this behaviour enhances the ties and consolidates kindness among people. Moreover, one of the main Islamic rules is that one should not make fun of others, Allah (Subhanhu wa ta'alah) says in the Holy Qur'an (O you who believe! Let not a group scoff at another group, it may be that the latter are better than the former...). So, followers of Islam strive to preserve people's feeling and Islam urges people to respect others and apologize for any wrongdoings regardless of the kind of offence committed.

Having examined the strategies of apology in the first situation, lack of intent is the highest used strategy that reveals the significance of apologetic behaviour in Iraqi Arabic culture. The apologizer's behaviour cannot be judged in separation from his intentionality. Therefore, the apologizer's intention should be perceived properly by the offended person or a third party to have the offence resolved so that social equilibrium is re-established. As reported by Bousfield (2008), it is the apologizee's concern to realize the apologizer's intent to achieve a polite apology. Acceptance of lack of intent, in particular in sensitive offences where they are associated with illness, functions as a good way to regulate the

offended person's feeling. This is because the speaker's intention in Arabic culture is highly related with speech act production since the speaker's intention is the parameter by which the apologizer's behaviour is evaluated.

The second type of strategies frequently used was noted in situation (2). The second situation involves someone bumping into an old lady while doing some shopping. Here, the findings indicate that the most commonly used strategies by the two groups in situation (2) are: IFIDs (19% by IAN speakers and 46% by Iraqi EFL), IFIDs+ offer for help (41% and 4%) respectively. The Iraqi EFL learners extensively used a solo IFID: this might be attributable to the nature of the situation in which the offence does not require much time or the production of more than one sentence. This might be positive pragmatic transfer when the speakers apologize in an intercultural context, but the IAN speakers resorted to use *IFIDs* with an *offer help* to the offended person. Offering help when apologizing in the Arabic native language is attributed to the nature of Iraqi Arabic collectivistic culture. It is familiar in all Islamic communities that a person should apologize to old men and women and respect them, too. In the prophetic tradition, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) says: *who does not respect and esteem the old men nor give mercy to children* , *is not from our religion* (At-Tirmidhi, no date: cited in: <http://islam.ru/en/content/story>).

Moreover, uttering only, '*I am sorry, am sorry, sorry*' by the Iraqi EFL learners signifies the apologizer's regret regardless of its sincerity. The Iraqi EFL learners also transferred other expressions from their L1 like *Mum, aunt, hajiyah, eye*. According to Scollon and Scollon (1995) this entails politeness within solidarity. However, using such expressions in their L1, the IAN participants signify the social ties and closeness with the offended persons as way to absorb anger and make them accept the apology performed.

According to Olshtain and Cohen (1983), the sub-strategy of lack of intent would be the most appropriate in cases when the offence is unintentionally committed. *Lack of intent accompanied with the IFIDs* expressions was the most widely used in the third situation in which physical damage was committed. The goal of using this formula can be attributed to acknowledge implicit responsibility. Thus, lack of intent was used by the IAN (33%) and

the Iraqi EFL learners (24%); no significant difference was recorded in using this strategy by the two groups since such a strategy is appropriate for the nature of offence; thus it was used as a way to perform a successful apology and to validate the apologizer's sincere intention to reestablish social stability.

The most frequently used strategy in situation (4) is IFIDs accompanied with a promise for repair. As shown in figure (8), the data for breaking a friend's Ipad screen presented some apology strategies. A promise for repair with IFIDs expressions was recorded as the highest strategy used only by the Iraqi EFL learners (39%) as compared with the IANs which ranked 18%. It could be argued that the high frequency of promise for repair in the EFL data is due to the appropriateness of this formula with the nature of this situation compared with other situations. In other words, the relationship between the type of offence which involved physical damage (i.e. breaking a friend's Ipad screen) and a promise for repair validated the high frequency of this strategy.

In addition, lack of intent was also expressed as a minor strategy of taking responsibility. By showing their lack of intent, participants attempt to prove that the offence has unintentionally happened and not on purpose since causing an intended physical damage might be perceived by the offended person as an insult or carelessness towards the addressee as in the Iraqi Arabic culture.

IFID+ promise for compensation is another widely used strategy. It has been used by both groups of participants for apologizing to a family offence, situation (5). The high frequency of this strategy emerged in the Iraqi EFL data (32%) rather than the IAN data (10%). The great proportion of *IFID+ promise for compensation* used by the Iraqi EFL learners could be attributed to the nature of offence that "breaking a promise with someone" determines the use of promise. It could also be argued that the Iraqi L2 learners showed cultural awareness when apologizing in English. On the contrary, The IAN data revealed that apologizing to a family member who is the father and mother is more significant than others. In order to have an effective apology by the IAN speakers, other strategies, rather than *IFID* with a promise for compensation, were used as an attempt to heal the father's broken heart. Therefore, justification, lack of intent, swearing, euphemisms...etc. function

as a way to convince the offended father to accept the apology and save his face since this rationale cannot be achieved by only IFIDs with a promise for compensation.

Further, since the father is seen to occupy a position at the top of the social pyramid in the family in Arabic culture, an apology should be achieved effectively rather than just a mere promise to buy a new coat in the next day. Sincere feeling is required in such situations rather than merely apologizing as an outlet for the apologizer's own peace of mind. Arguably, the Islamic principles indicate that it is essential for virtuous believers in Islam to be concerned about their sins (wrongdoings or offences) committed with other people. Their offences should be treated as a subsiding mountain about to fall on them rather than looking at their sins carelessly as something insignificant (Hassan, 2014). This cultural norm could be the reason behind the variety of apology strategies used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. It is worth mentioning that new or unusual strategies have occurred in this situation and they are discussed in the next section (6.3.2).

The seventh situation which also involves a simple family offence displays two strategies most frequently used by the participants. These strategies are *Lack of intent+ promise and IFID+ lack of intent+ promise*. *IFIDs supported by lack of intent and promise* was the least strategy used by the IAN speakers (11%). As will be explained in considering the semi-structured interview, uttering IFIDs with a family member in particular to the wife is not common in Iraqi Arabic culture since using such a semantic formula might be a reason for divergent social distances and for increasing the degree of sensitivity in society.

Thus, the strategy of showing lack of intent and giving a promise might be not convincing as an apologetic behavior due the absence of IFIDs formula. Using a strategy of apology like this without IFIDs of apology like "sorry, apologize, forgive me" indicates no sincere apology, but instead it might be just a reaction to that offence. These findings, therefore, show that social distance is less emphasized in Iraqi Arabic culture whereas solidarity and closeness are considered more important than social distance especially when the social encounters involve family members. Based on this, strategies of positive politeness and bald-on-record used by the IAN speakers are presumed to be relevant factors in the collectivistic community when people downgrade social distance and stress solidarity. Taking this into account, it might be argued that Brown and Levinson's (1987) speech act

classification as naturally positive and negative politeness is not permanently clear-cut since apology in our findings was considered as a speech act that threatens the apologizer's positive and establishes social solidarity. Thus, situations which involve interlocutors from the same family indicate that when the power and the distance are moderately perceived as low, apologies should be supported by the social requirements to re-establish the relationship and in this case, apologies are considered successful or sincere.

As for the situation (8), both groups have resorted to use *endearment expressions*. This situation supposed that the offender is a boss of a company breaks his senior clerk computer screen accidentally. In this scenario, the relationship between the offender and the offended person is distant. Different strategies were used for apologizing in this situation, but the most frequently used strategies are (a) *IFIDs* followed by *Endearment* expressions by the IAN speakers (22%) and the Iraqi EFL learners (20%) and (b) *IFIDs* followed by a promise for repair (26% and 22%) respectively. For the first strategy, it is very common for IAN speakers to address others whether relatives or non-relatives with endearment expressions like *my eye, my love, my brother, my dear, my uncle*. These expressions function as linguistic devices to emphasize a high level of intimacy and solidarity. For apology, there is a large number of such expressions in the L1 and L2. They were used, we can conclude, as an attempt to prove that the offence is not intended and also for regulating the offended person's feelings.

In this connection, Wierzbicka (1995) argued for the universality of emotive language, but her argument was boundless, so that not everything in her generalization is clear cut. To support this, the findings in the eighth situation indicate that it is doubtful that a universal understanding of emotive language can provide better understanding of emotive meaning to other people from a different culture or when transferring such emotiveness to intercultural contexts. Therefore, it could be argued that using an emotive apology in one language/culture may be difficult to understand in intercultural communication. For example, apologies involving expressions like *اسف عيوني/asif 'uuni/ [sorry my eyes]*, *اسف قلبي[sorry my heart]*, would cause misunderstanding if uttered in some intercultural contexts.

It could be argued that the reason behind using such expressions is a social cultural norm prevalent in the Iraqi Arabic culture. These social norms impose people in certain contexts to adhere to cultural beliefs and consequently produce socially appropriate behavior. For this aim, people are expected to use different strategies to produce a speech act. Bearing this in mind, the findings can be in line with Ide (1989) and Watts's (2003) view of social norms. According to Ide (1989), linguistic strategies should be chosen in accordance with the social rules used in a given culture. Watts (2005) defines politeness as marked social behavior that reflects the cultural norms in a society, and therefore these norms make people produce different strategies to achieve the same aim. In addition, the appropriateness of social norms was emphasized by Eelen (2001) considering it a component of social norms. Accordingly, in order to act appropriately, a speaker should behave in line with the addressee's social expectations due to the social norms that regulate the appropriateness of interaction are relevant to the culture itself rather than to the members of culture. Consequently, the expectations of the addressee would be easier for the speaker to distinguish. Accordingly, the findings suggest that IAN speakers have complied with the social norms by addressing the offended person with the most intimate and familiar expressions such as *حبيبي* my love, *اخوي* my brother, *عيني* my eye. This supports the notion that politeness is socially connected with socio-cultural norms.

Situation 9 involves someone making a wrong call to an old man at mid-night. The data indicate that the solo IFIDs was extensively used by the Iraqi EFL learners (30%) and was not used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. The reason for this high frequency is attributed to the nature of offence where there is little time to use multiple strategies, but instead, such an offence needs to be repaired immediately and quickly, therefore, the English IFIDs *sorry* was appropriate in such situation. On the contrary, the strategy of lack of intent with IFIDs as a sub-strategy of account was extensively used by the IAN speakers (57%) for situation (9). The extensive use of lack of intent with IFID could be traceable to the fact the Iraqi Arabic people typically show their respect and intimacy to elderly people (Hassan, 2014) and this often done by using multiple utterances. This fact, however, is rooted in the Islamic morality that old men and women should be highly respected and valued.

It has been narrated in the Prophetic traditions by Abdullah ibn Amr ibn Al'as that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: Those who do not show mercy to our young ones and *do not realize the right of our elders are not from us* (Sunan Abu Dawud). Thus, in accordance with this Prophetic saying that one of the essential values for a Muslim is the concern to respect elders. Further explanation for this tradition was elaborated by Al-Tirmidhî (1919) that those elders should be significantly honoured and respected, directly and indirectly. Muslims often engage in delicate manners to show consideration and respect to elders. For example, younger Muslims must rise when an older person enters the room. They also should avoid moving or making eye contact with an older person as an act of deference. When meeting a group of people, the eldest is always greeted first and given the most attention. When speaking to or about an elder Muslim, younger Muslims always use proper titles and names rather than nicknames. [Sunan al-Tirmidhî (1919)]. Consequently, showing respect and esteem to elders cannot be expressed by merely saying *اسف* sorry, or *اعتذر* I apologize, instead an apology is performed by proclaiming lack of intent preceded by the Arabic IFIDs as way to express regret and mitigate the offence.

Moving to the last situation (10) which displayed the most widely used strategy as IFIDs followed by promise for repair. This situation involves an assumed offence that someone had run into another car causing some damages. IFIDs and a promise for repair were used by the Iraqi EFL learners more than in the IAN apologies, (25% and 17%) respectively. The reason behind using this formula could be traceable to the nature of offence which was perceived as very strong by the participants' SRT. However, the high percentage of Iraqi EFL learners of promise for IFID and promise for repair indicate the pragmatic competence of the L2 learners is well-mastered in terms of realizing the nature of offence and its requirement for repair. There could also be a pragmatic transfer from the Iraqi Arabic to English as L2 because the cultural norms and social rules in Arabic societies generally expect that when an offence involving physical damage occurs, there should be a repair, compensation, or financial payment. It could also be argued that there is no decisive reason for less use of IFIDs and a promise for repair by the IAN speakers. It is noted that other percentages of offer for repair were distributed among other strategies such as explanation,

justification. Thus, mixing strategies for apologizing in one situation could be viewed as a signal of the sincerity of the apology for a severe offence.

In conclusion, the most commonly used strategies are proportionally different according to the perceived relationship between the seriousness of offence and the social distance and status of the offended person. This indicates a high occurrence of apology strategies in some situations and their disappearance in other situations. Here, the findings show that the apology differs according to the offence and some offences especially those relating to the family domain are culturally specific issue. For example, the IAN speakers, apparently unlike those the western societies, do not always apologize to a family member with a lower social status like a young sister or brother. Thus, the following table summarizes the most frequently used strategies in both Iraqi Arabic and English. It is noted that using such strategies comes in line with the nature of offence committed whether intentionally and unintentionally. This proves that most of the apology strategies used is situation- specific, e.g. using offer of repair for physical offences and self-deficiency for sudden inconveniences and determinism for severe physical offences.

Situation	Most Frequently used Strategies	Offence Type	Offence Description
1	IFIDs + lack of intent	Social emotional offence	Offending a friend by make fun of him
	IFIDs + lack of intent+ vocative		
2	IFIDs	Social inconvenience offence	Annoying an old women
	IFIDs+ offer for help		
3	IFID+ lack of intent	Social /physical offence	Formatting a colleague USP by mistake
4	Promise for repair	Social /physical Offence	Breaking a friend's Ipad screen
	IFIDs+ offer for repair		
5	IFID+ promise for compensation	Family/inconvenience offence	Breaking a promise with father
7	Lack of intent+ promise	Family/inconvenience offence	Forgetting to do a family task
	IFIDs+ Lack of intent+ promise		
8	IFIDs+ endearment expressions	Workplace/physical offence	Breaking an employer computer screen
	IFIDs+ promise for repair		
9	IFID+ lack of intent	Social inconvenience offence	Dialling a wrong number at mid-night
	IFIDs		
10	IFIDs+ Promise for repair	Social/physical offence	Running to another car causing some damage

Table [13] Most Frequently used Strategies

6.3.2 New and Unusual Strategies

As detailed in the literature review, Cohen and Olshtain (1983) have set up certain categories of apology strategies upon which the present study is based. However, the findings here have added new comparative strategies of apology used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and not surprisingly some of these strategies were transferred when they apologized in English. Iraqi Arabic culture, like other cultures, includes a wide range of strategies. In what follows, new and unusual apology strategies emerged in the findings are highlighted. These new and unusual strategies were not expected to be used, therefore; it could be argued that the data are naturally produced. Interestingly, these new strategies were not found in the previous Arabic studies reviewed in the present study. These strategies are displayed in figure (20) below with the percentage of each strategy use across the fifteen situations. Then, the apparent rationale of using each strategy is clarified.

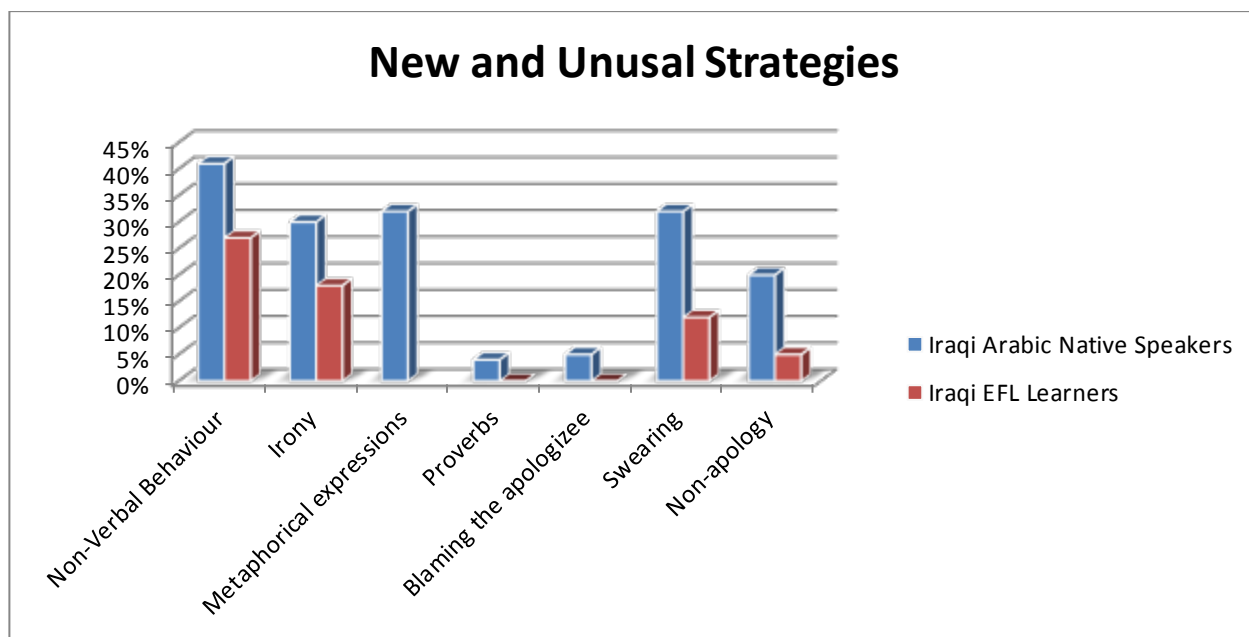


Figure [23]: New and Unusual Strategies

This chart shows the distribution of new and unusual strategies across the fifteen situations. These strategies are explained and discussed below.

6.3.2.1 Non-verbal Behaviour

Non-verbal behavior is a specific situation strategy used by both IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners. This strategy might also be called a *non-apology* strategy or a *hidden apology*. As a 'non-apology', the present participants, have performed actions which cannot immediately be seen as apology such as switching the TV off and changing a room for making a phone call (situation 11 and situation 12). This might be seen as topic changers or behavioural distractions to draw attention away from the requirement to apologize and to avoid an apology. Whereas certain other behaviours were enacted by the participants indicated implicit apology; these behaviours included keeping silent, kissing the offended person's hand, forehead or head. These behaviours particularly kissing is arguably a strong apology without words. It could be argued that these non-apology strategies were found in situations involving simple family offences whereas hidden apology conveyed by non-verbal behaviours indicated consideration to the apologizee especially for very close friends and parents. Although the current datasets show only a small sample of using non-verbal behavior for the function of apology and non-apology, the findings suggest that such non-verbal behaviours imply a high degree of politeness. In terms of Leech's (1983) politeness, the offended person's face can be saved by maximizing benefit and minimizing threat for the apologizee. Thus, implicit apology performed by non-verbal behaviours involves a degree of politeness since the apologizer perceives that verbal behavior would not be fruitful to convince the apologizee to accept the apology. In this sense, the implicit apologies here are arguably stronger than verbal apologies.

It could also be argued that adopting alternative strategies, like non-verbal behavioural ones, shapes apologies as a communicative act. Iraqi Arabic apology as a communicative act challenges speech act terms as defined by Austin (1962), Searle (1979), Cohen and Olshtain (1983) and Leech (1983). Iraqi Arabic apologies in relation to Austin's classification (1962) and Searle's rules (1979) are found to be in line with Austin's *behavatives* and Searle's *expressives* in terms of function. Thus, non-verbal behaviour used by the IANs and not-surprisingly by the Iraqi EFL learners indicates that the two classes of speech act: *behavatives* and *expressives* are still not limited to verbal behaviour since social behaviours are involved with behavatives which imply non-verbal behaviour due to social

behaviours which can be communicated verbally and or non-verbally. Expressives, as defined by Searle's (1979), are similarly shown by our findings not to be restricted to verbal behaviour because expressing feeling and attitudes can be expressed verbally or/ and non-verbally as in the case of Iraqi Arabic apologies. It is noted through the data collected that participating IANs use non- verbal behaviour when apologizing to express respect to highly esteemed persons such as to a speaker's father, mother and other elderly men. However, this behaviour expresses the function of apology by non-verbal behaviour to show regret or sorrow to the offended person by social behaviours involving: kissing the offended person's forehead and hand, doing certain actions, keeping silent, and laughing. These behaviours function as a way for strengthening the social and family bonds among Iraqi Arabs.

6.3.2.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is used as an apology strategy in the present study. It is noted that apology was realized by metaphorical expressions for remedial and non-remedial purposes. As a remedial purpose, the apologizer expressed admission for causing an offence and absolute commitment to getting it repaired to have the social ties and brotherhood with the offended person enhanced. Non-remedially, metaphor was merely involved in the apologizer's refusal to take on responsibilities and belittle the offence, in particular to offended people whose their social status is low. Some samples of remedial and non-remedial metaphors are:

تاج راسي

My head's crown [remedial metaphor] Situation (5).

والله انت علم

By Allah, you are a flag. [Remedial metaphor] situation (4)

والله كنت مشغول وماكدرت احك راسي

By Allah I was busy and I couldn't itch my head [non-remedial metaphor] situation (7)

اكلب الدنيا الا الكاهم

Today, I will turn the world upside down [Remedial metaphor]. Situation (14)

والله ينكص لساني اذا احجي بهذا الامر واني اعرف

Oh, my tongue should have been cut, if I said this. [Remedial metaphor]. Situation (1)

امسحها بلحيتي

Wipe it with my beard. [Remedial metaphor]. Situation (4, 8 and 10).

انت نظر عيني واغلى ما املك

You are my eye's sight and the precious thing I have ever had. [remedial metaphor] situation (13).

Thus, apology involving metaphorical expressions in the current study is a distinctive feature for the IANs by 32%. Metaphorical apology occurred in situation (5) when the participant apologized for the father using the metaphorical expression *انت تاج راسي* [you are my head's crown] and situation (13) when the offended person is the mother where metaphorical apology was used such as *انت نظر عيني واغلى ما املك* [you are my eye's sight, and the dearest thing I have]. The apology performed in situations (4), breaking an Ipad screen, (8), breaking an employer's computer screen, and (10), running into another car, was realized by the metaphorical expression *امسحها بلحيتي* [wipe it with my beard] meaning *I will take on the responsibility*. This type of metaphor was used for offences involving physical damage; hence, it is a strategy of taking responsibility indirectly. Thus, such metaphorical apology was employed as a supportive technique for minimizing a face threatening act and reinforcing the maxim of courtesy and sympathy (Leech, 1983). Finally, an entire absence of metaphorical apology was noted in the Iraqi EFL learners' apologies; therefore, metaphorical apology can be described as a native specific strategy.

It could be noted that this linguistic device is related with flouting Grice's cooperative maxims due to the apologizer wanted indirectly to express his apology. Thus the use of metaphor is assigned to expectations for the apologizee to lose face. Therefore, the apologizers inclined to use metaphor when the more usual strategies of apology seem insufficient to mitigate the offence.

6.3.2.3 Proverbs

Iraqi Arabic people generally believe in the concept of determinism that everything which happens and what has happened is predestinated by Allah (*subhanihu wata'alah*) (Suleiman, 2003). Proverbial expressions are seen in the present datasets to express apology by attributing a committed offence to determinism (rather than to personal responsibility). Thus, the apparent rationale of proverbs is intentionally to express that the offence is out of everybody's control. Importantly, these apologizers use proverbs not for trivializing the offence, but as an attempt to calm the offended person and to have the social situation

controlled. After regulating the offended person's feeling by uttering a proverb, the apologizer often moves to a further strategy to express regret as an attempt to strengthen sympathy.

Only situation (10) where a physical offence was committed involved using proverbs. These two samples are (a) دفع الله ماكان اعظم [meaning: Allah has prohibited the worst] and (b) بالمال ولا بالعيال [meaning: the damage in the possessions is better than in human]. Both proverbs indicate that the apologizer takes account of the apologizee's safety.

Proverbs are often culturally and situation specific. The findings displayed that proverbs in the Iraqi Arabic dataset function as remedial. Proverbial apologies were noted in situation (10) in which an offence of physical damage was committed. Thus, the absence of proverbial apologies in the Iraqi EFL learner's data is attributed to the fact that proverbs are heavy loaded terms that make them difficult to be translated and comprehended in the L2 (Khalid, 2016).

6.3.2.4 Irony

As indicated by (Leech, 1983: 142), irony is a rhetorical device by which the message is conveyed indirectly. In terms of politeness, irony is considered as the second level of politeness as *impoliteness* is indicated. More specifically, irony is understood when the speaker violates the cooperative principle (CP) since the hearer would be able to understand the meaning expressed indirectly. Thus, the politeness principle (PP) conflicts with irony since no degree of politeness is involved.

ياالله عيني قابل تدرسين دكتوراه!

Come one, are you studying for a PhD?

محدث مات واخذ شهادة وياه

No one died and took a certificate with him

هو هسة ايبادك شلونه؟ هو صناعة صينية

What an Ipad is this? It is made in China.

In the few examples above, the speaker who was expected to apologize, produced ironic expressions breaking both the politeness principle and the cooperative principle. In sample (1) there is a complaint by the offended person who is a young sister to her brother: *I have an exam tomorrow, and you are making very loud noise*, the assumed apologizer replied

with an ironic utterance. Although there is breakdown for the CP and PP, the meaning in (1) is still understood by the apologizee that the apologizer devalue what is she doing as not considered important, in other words, she is not doing a PhD, hence irony comes as an offensive response with an implied belittling what she is actually doing where no apology is involved. The second sample involves another ironic expression to the young offended sister that “*no one died and has taken a certificate with her*”. By this expression, the speaker understates the addressee’s work relating his response to the religious idea that everybody will die and hence there is no use for study – qualifications stay in this world while the soul goes to the next world. As for the third sample, the apologizer makes an ironic comment when reacting to offence of physical damage, when breaking someone’s Ipad screen “*what an Ipad is this! It is made in China!*” In this example, the speaker makes fun of his friend’s Ipad quality that it is something not original or expensive and thus does not necessarily require apology. Traditionally, we can relate these ironic verbal behaviours with Leech’s (1983) off- record strategy. Off record indicates that the apologizee loses face when the speaker goes off record in his/her social behavior deviating from the CP and the PP leaving the message vague. It could be argued that this is not always true especially when the apologizer and the apologizee have the same background knowledge. In other words, the meaning is not left for the addressee to infer, but it is simply understood as an irony since common ground is assumed when both the apologizer and the apologizee share the same cultural background. Moreover, losing face in these examples is not an inevitable outcome; instead, the addressee might be happy with the speaker’s irony as sign of social brotherhood in the Iraqi Arabic culture.

From post-modern perspective, such expressions of irony can be related to Haugh (2015). According to him, Iraqi ironic responses in such instances can be classified as mocking politeness which occasionally implies an offence, but such an offence is not serious to an extent which damages the addressee’s face. Many instances were provided by Haugh (2015) about mocking impoliteness implicature and its function within social and workplace interaction. We observe that the function of mocking impoliteness is often given in situations where social relations between interlocutors involve equal social power and distance, so the addresser and the addressee are on a similar scale of social distance and

power. Mocking impoliteness according to Haugh (2015), is used not only to minimize through attempted humour a perceived offence, but can also be used to “accomplish serious interactional business in the guise of normally jocular side sequence”.

The present findings include some situations involving mocking impoliteness specifically in situations (4, 11 and 13), as interpreted by the researcher. Arguably, such expressions would be seen and evaluated as neither mocking nor impolite by others. Therefore, there is no decisive interpretation or evaluation that mocking impoliteness involves an offensive act. Some participants argued that they do not often apologize in such situations but they have behaved as if they were interacting naturally. Some others claimed that they did not really mean to devalue or belittle the addressee, but they aimed to make the situation calmer and softer in order to mollify the offended person’s anger. This was evident in some responses in which the speakers offered help as an apology strategy. Other participants stated that it is not necessary for apology in such simple situations. They argued that if they apologized to her as “the little sister”, she might repeat such complaints asking for apology and it is not familiar in Iraqi culture for a woman or girl to do so, but it is, they said, only ‘the nature of man’ to be ‘superior’ in this culture.

From this, Haugh and Bousfield’s (2012:1103) suggest that mocking impoliteness is something evaluated as neither polite nor impolite, but is potentially open to evaluation as impolite in some respects. On the other hand, Culpeper (2011a:215) puts mocking impoliteness under the positive strategies of politeness by presenting the functions of mocking impoliteness as (a) reinforcing solidarity, (b) disguising coercion, and (c) exploitive entertainment. Let us consider one instance from Haugh’s (2015) discussion of mocking impoliteness implicature, a short chat between two Taiwanese female friends, Chen and Lin who are debating who did more shopping during the last trip to a department store:

Chen: who did the most shopping at the back of the train station?

Li: hahahaha

Chen: When I think of this I think you are amazing.

Lin: I am compelled to do it.

Chen: you should see a doctor

Lin: hahahaha

It is clear that Chen makes fun of her friend Lin accusing her that she has a mental problem since she usually does the most shopping. It is also apparent that casting someone as suffering from a sickness is likely offensive. But here the offence is flavored or coated with exaggeration and also accepted with laughter as humorous. From such contexts, both the reader and the analyst would understand that this is mocking impoliteness which does not involve a face threatening act. However, the issue of evaluation is still open to debate: whether it is mocking impoliteness or impoliteness depending on the linguistic context, the reader's and the analyst's pragmatic competence as well as their ethical stance.

The present findings indicate that mocking apologies occur in a situation where both the offender and the offended person are on the same scale of social distance, social power and the degree of imposition. The motivation behind the performance of mocking apologies in the Iraqi Arabic culture is to establish solidarity, being involved in the social community and to feel socially intimate with the members of community. The evaluation of mocking apologies is, however, debatable and open to evaluation: here, no decisive view was given by the present participants. Some participants argued that it is a kind of mocking politeness in which people communicate with no barriers, claiming that communication flows easily whereas some others claim that such mocking does not function well in situations which involve offensive acts. This kind of *mocking* apology may then be deemed rudeness rather than mocking since the offended person can lose face, instead of giving face, feeling treated in a ridiculous way, with a non-serious speech act when seriousness is warranted. Socially speaking, the Iraqi participants showed that mocking apologies should not be used when there is an offence even when the interlocutors are socially equal.

6.3.2.5 Blaming the offended person:

Another new strategy found in the present study is blaming the offended person. By blaming the apologizee, the apologizer defends him/herself and avoids taking responsibility; moreover, the responsibility is shifted to the apologizee. The most

interesting finding in this regard is that this strategy was not used with any other strategy, but instead was used individually by itself. Therefore, it could be argued that no apology performed or at least impolite apology can be perceived. This strategy was also categorized by Cohen and Olshtain (1989) as denying responsibility, in particular, shifting blame to the offended person for causing of the offence or for not avoiding the likely consequences. Thus, it could be argued that refusing to take on responsibility is not a remedial function of apology, and therefore, it could be classified as a non-apology strategy because it did not form an effective apology and did not address the apologizee's negative face.

However, concerning the seriousness of blame by which the responsibility shifted to the offended person has not been examined for two reasons: first due the least frequency across the contextualised situations. Blaming the offended person has occurred only in the family situations (situation 7 when the addressee is a wife and situation 12 when the addressee is a little sister). Second, the researcher, as an insider did not question the participants about their blaming since blaming is often used in the Arabic family situations as a mock discourse marker for enhancing closeness and intimacy.

6.3.2.6 Swearing:

According to Mey (1999 and 2001), the meaning of swearing differs based on the context in which it verbalized. Iraqi Arabic swearing serves certain pragmatic functions in everyday life. Thus, it can be viewed as a way of expressing positive and negative values. The datasets offered a wide range of swearing expressions that involve positive values in terms of religiously swearing by Allah whereas other swearing expressions involved rudeness when performing a speech act of apology. The usual semantic formula of Iraqi Arabic swearing is often lexically exemplified by **والله** which is literally and is pragmatically translated into *By Allah* or *By God*. However, there are other expressions of swearing like taking an oath on the soul of speaker's mother or father or swearing upon one's honor. These types of swearing are also used for expressing positive values towards the addressee. Negative swearing, from the other hand indicates rudeness and disrespect towards the addressee. As a matter of fact, there is no specific formula for rudeness or disrespect in the

Arabic language in general, i.e. such expressions can be understood from the context in which they are uttered. The latter swearing might involve expressions of threatening, cursing the addressee, cursing a third party, or blasphemy. Both positive and negative swearing were used by the participants in the current study. Some examples of swearing expressions are given below:

(a) Positive Swearing

• **Iraqi Arabic Native Speakers**

1. اللّٰه مو قصدي اغثك [my love by Allah I didn't mean to bother you].
2. اللّٰه مو قصدي اغثك سامحني ارجوك [my love, by Allah I didn't mean to upset you, forgive me please].
3. اللّٰه ماكنت اعرف بهذا الشيء ، اسف كَلْبِي ، [sorry my heart, by Allah I didn't know this issue].
4. العفو واللّٰه مو قصدي اني اعتذر وروح ابويه وروح الغوالي مو قصدي انت طيب وعلى راسي [sorry, by Allah I didn't mean, I do apologize, by my dear father's soul, and other dearest soul I didn't mean to. You are kind and on my head].

• **Iraqi EFL learners**

1. I swear by Allah (situation 4).
2. By Allah (situation 10)
3. Ya Allah (situation 10)
4. Oh my God (situation 10)
5. Ya Allah (situation 3).
6. By my mother's soul (situation 4)
7. By my honour (situation 4)
8. I swear. (situation 3)
9. Oh, God (situation 13)

(b) Negative Swearing

• **Iraqi Arabic Native Speakers**

Not Found

- **Iraqi EFL learners**

1. Oh what a stupid person I am (situation 10)
2. Fuck off (situation 4)
3. Your rubbish Chinese iPad is so cheap. (situation 4).

However, the following table shows the distribution of positive and negative swearing across the fifteen situations by the two groups of participants ‘Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners’:

Situation	Positive Swearing		Negative Swearing	
	Iraqi Arabic	Iraqi EFL	Iraqi Arabic	Iraqi EFL
1	34%	0%	0%	0%
2	17%	0%	0%	0%
3	40%	3%	0%	0%
4	15%	3%	0%	1%
5	28%	2%	0%	0%
6	14%	0%	0%	0%
7	23%	1%	0%	0%
8	3%	3%	0%	0%
9	6%	0%	0%	0%
10	10%	2%	0%	3%
11	5%	0%	0%	0%
12	30%	3%	0%	0%
13	2%	0%	0%	0%
14	14%	1%	0%	0%
15	11	1%	0%	0%
Total	252	19%	0%	4%

Table [14]: Positive and negative swearing across the fifteen situations

Table 6.10 above compares the use of swearing expressions of the two groups of IANs and Iraqi EFL learners. Generally, we can note a significant difference in the use of swearing utterances by these two groups. The great percentage of swearing expressions was used by IANs (total 252) as compared with the Iraqi EFL learner’s positive swearing (total 19).

Most of the IANs tended to use positive swearing to show their responsibility for the offence being committed and show their emotions in performing effective apologies. By positive swearing, the Iraqi Arabic apologizer can affect the apologizee and can also be affected because most Arabic positive swearing is rooted in the religious beliefs that if someone swears by Allah, the speaker should definitely be honest in his behaviour. As for the negative swearing, which employs bad and offensive words, this has only been used by the Iraqi EFL learners (4%). The findings of our study have no form of negative swearing or taboo words used by the IANs. To the researcher's knowledge, the pragmatics of swearing speech acts in Iraqi Arabic as a construct of impoliteness has not been previously investigated. It is also interesting to note that only one instance of negative swearing causes loss of face to the apologizee in situation (4) which involves someone who is assumed to apologize for his/her friend about breaking his Ipad screen, this swearing was realized as "come on, your rubbish Chinese iPad is so cheap. (situation 4). Here, the swearing is directed to the addressee's negative face, whereas in the other three examples, the apologizer was threatening his own positive face by cursing himself saying

1. Oh what a stupid am I. (situation 10)
2. F**k off. (situation 4)

Swearing functions as an expressive speech act that conveys emotional meaning and is connotative (Jay, 2000) either for the speaker or the addressee. It is also worth noting that swearing (positive and negative) is situation-specific. It is noted that situations involving physical damage witnessed the use of swearing words and expressions. With respect to the fourth research question, *to what extent does cultural awareness affect producing apology*, it was found that apology production and perception in some situations has been affected by cultural awareness. It is noted that the Iraqi Arabic apology in certain situations was reasonably different from other situations when apologizing in English. Cultural awareness has been viewed in the literature review as a central aspect when people interact with others from other cultures or interact in the language of those people. Thus, people see, interpret and evaluate things in some different ways. Therefore, what is considered an appropriate behavior in one culture is frequently or rarely inappropriate in other cultures (Remillard & Williams, 2016). Hence, misunderstandings arise when people use their own cultural

behaviour as a framework to make sense of others' reality. Consequently, as shown by previous researchers there is a need for new empirical studies on the apology speech act in other languages to explore cultural and social values and beliefs to promote cultural awareness when apologizing in an intercultural context. One criticism of much of the literature on apologies is the lack of attention was given to the effect of cultural awareness upon apology speech act behaviour. Thus, one objective here is to provide more evidence about the performance and interpretation of apologies in Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language. Cultural awareness was noticed in the datasets in four situations: (1) a family domain: *when one has disturbed his/her youngest sister*, (2) a social domain: *when someone has run into another car causing some damage*, (3) an academic domain: *when someone has been late for the first lecture*, and finally (4) another family domain: *when a husband/ wife has forgotten bringing medicine*. In these four situations, apology was produced and perceived in Iraqi Arabic differently from English. Sometimes, apology was not produced entirely in these four situations due to the different levels of cultural awareness for the participants who encountered different views about apology in Iraqi contexts and English contexts. The Iraqi Arabic participants *who* were interviewed believed that apology in English is compulsory because it is regularly used by people even when no offence is committed whereas in Iraqi Arabic, apology in those situations might be perceived as something superfluous and strange. The effect of religion on using apology strategies was apparent in some situations. The IANs resorted to use swearing by Allah when apologizing for both simple and severe offences.

6.4 The Perception of Apologies by Scale Response Task

This section discusses the results of the sociopragmatic perception of apologies. The perception of apologies elicited by DCT has been evaluated by a Scale Response Task (SRT). Such evaluation has included: (a) the degree of regret, (b) the degree of offence, (c) the degree of imposition to give apology, and (d) the degree of expecting apology to be accepted. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the perception have been achieved by *SRT*. Generally, the IANs have relatively similar pragmatic assessment of the apology internal variables to the assessment which is likely to occur in the second language specifically in intercultural context. A good example of this is that the majority of IANs

perceived the degree of offence as very severe when they are late for class and they should apologize for being late. However, when apologizing in English they perceived it as simple and in fact might not apologize at all. One interviewed participant explained “*I usually don’t apologize for my tutor when I am late in my school in the UK. I used just to open the door and enter*”. However, the sociopragmatic assessments have been categorized by the SRT for each situation as discussed in the methodology chapter. As discussed in the methodology chapter, The SRT is used for examining the sociopragmatic competence for both native speakers and non-native speakers’ of English. In the respect of politeness in general and apology in particular, people have different and comparable degrees of perception of relevant contextual variables, factors which affect their speech act behaviour production. Therefore, the aim of this section is to investigate whether the Iraqi EFL speakers differ from the IANs in their perception of apology related contextual variables. It is worth recalling here that the situations designed for eliciting apologies in both IA and EFL are different according to the certain interpretive factors such as social distance, social power and social status and the degree offence, and the imposition to give apology as well as the probability for accepting apology. Regarding the social status, power and status were evaluated by the researcher (see chapter 5) while the degree of offence and regret degree were not identified by the researcher but they were left to the participants to give their own assessment and accordingly they give their apology. The participants were requested after replying via DCT to assess the contextual variables by the SRT on the basis of a Likert-scale ranging from 1-4, where 1 represents the lowest and 4 refers to the highest; the same procedure was carried out for the Iraqi Arabic by back-translation technique so that the English and Arabic versions were pragma-linguistically comparable. The overall statistical results of the perception of apology variables conducted by U- test is shown in **appendix (8)**.

6.4.1 The Perception of Regret Degree

The statistical measurements shown in figure (21) indicate that the two groups: Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners exhibited a significant difference in their perception of the degree of regret in certain situations. These situations are (1, 2, 4, 9 and 14). The following figure

shows the statistical distribution of the perception of regret degree by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and the EFL learners.

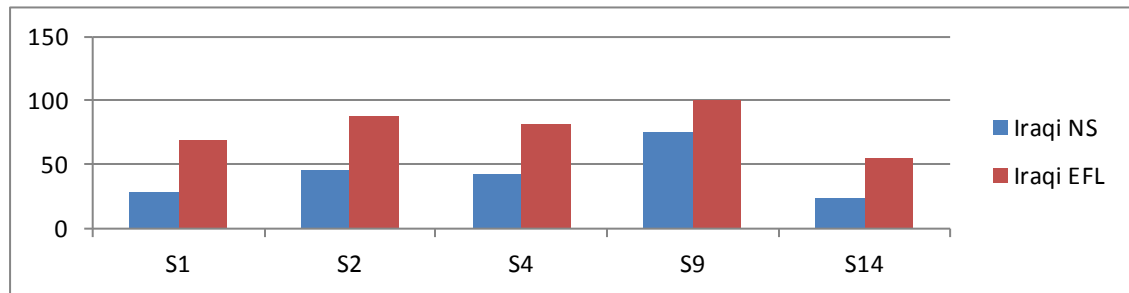


Figure [24]: The perception of Regret Degree

Obviously, the degree of regret has been perceived as significantly different according to the degree of offence, for example in the first situation which involves saying a joke about someone with cancer; the two groups feel very sorry, with a standard deviation of **(68.96)** for the second learners and **(28.24)** for the native speakers, and due to the severity of offence perceived as very strong by the two groups. Thus, the two groups exhibited a significant difference in the perception of regret degree with a value of $(p=.045)$. The other significant differences can be seen in the following situations with a significant value obtained by using T-test.

$$S2=[28.24=\text{Iraqi NS}/68.96=\text{Iraqi EFL}] \rightarrow [P < 045]$$

$$S4=[46.36=\text{Iraqi NS}/88.51=\text{Iraqi EFL}] \rightarrow [P < 000]$$

$$S9=[74.99=\text{Iraqi NS}/100=\text{Iraqi EFL}] \rightarrow [P < 005]$$

$$S14=[24.24=\text{Iraqi NS}/54.96=\text{Iraqi EFL}] \rightarrow [P < 020]$$

Thus, the degree “*very sorry*” which is the far end of the scale, shows a high mean difference for the two groups in evaluating the degree of regret using ‘*regretful*’ in all situations. Both groups feel considerably sorry, but the EFL learners were more regretful to their offended parties than the IANs. This finding, however, relates to the rarity of apologies in the Iraqi Arabic, even when the IANs apologize they do not normally feel sincere in their apology, or not regretful to toward the offended person. This finding is supported by the interview data. One participant, for instance noted that:

“We are not used to apologize in our culture, even when we want to apologize, we may feel it is difficult to do that because nothing can be changed as far as the offence

was committed, instead of showing our regret, we have to repair damage or explaining what has happened” (Participant: 44).

The statistics indicate that for the other situations the degree of regret is not significant at the 0.05 level. The degree of regret was perceived by the EFL learners with a relative similarity to the IANs. This in turn, clearly reveals that on this point the two groups share the same pragmatic awareness; this in turn, is reflected by the EFL learners’ dependence on their first language and social norms in their perceptions for the degree of regret.

Thus, these results reveal two significant findings. First, the higher degree of regret perceived by the IANs can be distinguishable by the cultural values for the Iraqi culture, a common cultural value saying “*admitting an offence is a sign of virtue*” (Sahih Al-Bukhari ,ND: 3826). Thus, the Islamic convention ensures the necessity of apologizing to the offended person, everyone, regardless of the nature of the offence. This tradition, we might argue, is reflected by the degree of regret expressed in the participants’ perception for the first apology-related contextual variable ‘the degree of regret’.

6.4.2 The perception of offence degree

As shown in the literature review, the speech act of apology depends on the severity of the offence committed. The more severe the offence, the more difficult the choice of apology type to be used, and the more likely the apology may be elaborated, extended or repeated. The participants show a significant difference in the perception of offence degree in only four situations: [s2, s8, s10 and s14]. Figure (22) shows the distribution of perceiving the degree of offence in these four situations.

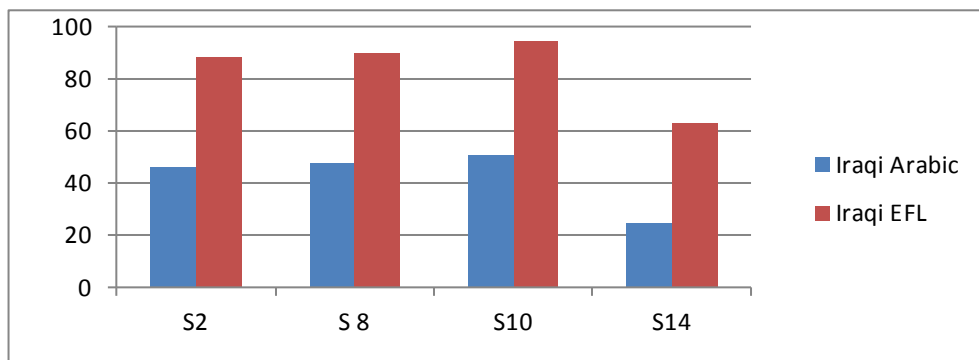


Figure [25]: The Perception of Offence Degree

These results indicate that the two groups displayed a significant difference when perceiving the severity of offence in these four situations. This means that the native speakers and the L2 language learners have followed different patterns in their sociopragmatic competence of the degree of offence. The offences in those situations were perceived as more serious by the Iraqi EFL learners than by the IANs. The statistical calculations showed that all those offences were perceived significantly different with the following means and standard deviations:

S2=Iraqi EFL (88.51) > (46.36) Iraqi NS = (P<000)

S8= Iraqi EFL (78.91) > (67.44) Iraqi NS (P<009)

S10= Iraqi EFL (64.75) > (50.71) Iraqi NS (P<002)

S14= Iraqi EFL (62.84) > (25) Iraqi NS (P<048) (see appendix 8).

It can be concluded that the perception of degree of offence was affected by the type of the offence itself and the social distance and power of the offended person. The offence in situation (2) involves hurting and annoying an old lady, which was perceived as more offensive by the EFL than the native speakers. Interviewees commented how hurting an old lady in an intercultural situation might be a very sensitive or more discriminating than in their own culture due to the social rules or the law regulations so they were very aware of such offence. One of the participants explained that:

‘I am usually very careful when dealing with old people in the UK or other foreign countries due to the non-flexibility of law. Thus, we have to be cautious to reflect our social norms in different countries so it is very offensive to disturb and cause problems with elderly people’ (Participant:15). (More examples are cited in appendix (9).

In situation (8) a workplace offence was committed and results suggest that the EFL learners are more inclined to recognize the social boundaries when speaking and perceiving in English. This also indicates how the Iraqi EFL learners’ interlanguage pragmatic competence depends on their L2 sociopragmatic awareness. Further, the EFL learners’

inclination to the seriousness of the offence could be traceable to their awareness to the significance of apology in the workplace domain in intercultural communication. As shown in the literature, the IANs are not used to apologizing in different domains so that their perception of offences was expected to be low or negative.

In situation (10), the offence involved running into another car while driving away. Both groups perceived the degree of offence as serious, but the EFL learners perceived the offence as more severe than the IANs. This significant difference may be interpreted by considering the nature of Iraqi Arabic society where collectivism is common when everything can be sorted out traditionally without the need to express sincere feeling especially when the offence is severe. Alternatively, such offences might be seen as non-serious due to the Arabs' sense of pride, which can involve not admitting an offence or avoiding doing a repair. The fourth significant difference (in S14) involved an academic offence or fault which is missing a meeting set by a supervisor/tutor. The Iraqi EFL learners perceived that offence as severe or serious more than the IANs. This suggests that the EFL learners are more concerned in the speech act of apology in L2 than in L1. As shown (see literature review), the Arabic culture in general is non-apologetic. The interview comments also showed how the IANs incline to non-verbal behaviour and try to avoid apologizing or deny responsibilities, and deny the offence in general.

In contrast, the perception of offence in the other situations showed a relatively similar pattern by the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners. The degree of offence in situation (1), for instance, showed just a slight difference in the perception of offence. The two groups exhibited (Mean: 59.96=Iraqi NS and 64.04=Iraqi EFL) [$P < .170$] with no significant value in the perception of offence. This result indicates two main inferences. First, the low mean of perceiving saying a joke by the IANs could be located in the discourse of humour which is very popular in Arabic culture, and the severity of such offence stems from religious roots that making a joke about someone who is ill is strictly forbidden regardless of the nature of the illness. Second, a large number of EFL learners perceived saying a joke as stronger than in Iraqi Arabic could be traced to a sensitivity towards cancer disease and discrimination issues in more individualistic societies. Thus, since the offence involves

cancer, this is generally treated sensitively in many western cultures since those affected worry a lot about severe illness and death. Therefore, supporting those people is an inevitable reaction in those societies. Consequently, offending those people by joking about their having cancer is really offensive. Likely, the Iraqi EFL learners are aware of this, and this is shown in their interview responses (discussed further later). One of the responses, for instance, is:

“For me, it very difficult and offensive to say a joke about someone with cancer in the presence of injured people. It is neither unsocial, nor polite behaviour to do. If I did that, I will hurt his feelings, and I will be seen as an ignorant and selfish person. In addition, the law could have certain penalties for such thing”.

6.4.3 The perception of apology imposition

As far as the giving apology is concerned in intercultural and cross cultural contexts, the two groups perceived the significance of giving apology in different contexts. Therefore, the degree of the imposition of giving apologies has been perceived by the two groups similarly in general, with few exceptions in certain situations. The perception of apology imposition was perceived on a scale from *I don't apologize*, to *I may apologize*, *I apologize* and *I should apologize*.

Statistically, only one significant difference emerged, that was in situation (2) with ($P < .038$) a significant value and (38.75. S.D) for the Iraqi NS and (59.16) for the Iraqi EFL learners. (*see appendix 8*) Thus, the slight similarity in the perceived degree of imposition in the other situations leads us to argue that a negative pragmatic transfer is committed by some EFL learners. In situation (13) in which a youngest sister is annoyed by her oldest brother, the speakers assessed the degree of imposition similarly for ‘I don't apologize’ 18% for the IANs with a mean of (2.44) and (84.64) S.D. and 20% for the Iraqi EFL learners, with a mean of (2.58) and 80.36) S.D. Observably confirmed in interviews, a vast majority of Arabs in general and Iraqis in particular do not apologize to people younger than them. Consequently, this sociopragmatic assessment has been transferred to the language of the other culture “English”. It is also noted from that offences involving physical damage, academic mistakes, and workplace mistakes were assessed pragmatically

positive in terms of pragmatic transfer. For example, no participants in either groups chose the degree of “non- apology” (0% as in situation (10) for a physical offence (0% as in situation (14) for a workplace offence, (0% as in situation (15) for an academic offence. This indicates the significance of apology for those types of offences. The relative similarity in the perception of the degree of imposition by the two groups reveals some sociocultural considerations. In the Iraqi Arabic context, it is assumed that apologizing to others could belittle the offender’s face, but on the other hand, people believe that apologizing is religiously and socially necessary. This may interpret the difference in apology imposition in certain situations and not apologizing in other situations. In addition, according to Corder (1971; cited in Al-Zubaidi, 2011), the insignificant difference between the two groups also indicates that the EFL learners followed their L2 sociopragmatic competence in their perceiving the apology imposition: they did not develop their pragmatic competence to be like that of L2. This finding confirms the view that the L2 learner’s competence is a distinctive linguistic system.

6.4.4 The perception of Accepting Apology

As shown in the literature, what makes the offended person accept or refuse an apology is the seriousness of apology and the type of offence committed or the effective strategy of apology. However, the concern here is the offender’s basis to understand the degree of accepting apologies by the offended persons as the offender perceives it. The total percentages of the perception of the likelihood of apology accepted are shown in *appendix (8)*. Significant differences in the perception of expected accepted apology was statistically recorded in six situations: (1, 2, 4, 5, 8 and 9). Figure (24) illustrates the difference in the perception of expected accepted apology by the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners:

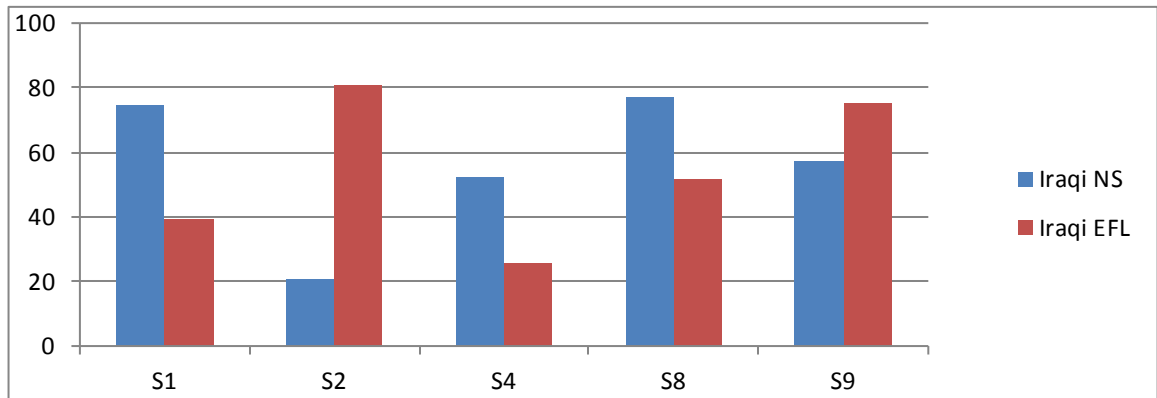


Figure [26]: The perception of accepting Apology

Generally, the IANSs showed greater expectations towards accepting apologies than the EFL learners, and this was based on the type of the offence and the offended person. The most outstanding difference was in situation (2) where the EFL learners expected accepting apology more than the Iraqi NS (Mean 9.89 and 80.59 S.D and Mean: 2.46 and 20.8 S.D.) respectively. These statistical calculations indicate that the Iraqi NS have assumed that offence committed was very severe and not beneficial to the offended person, thus the perception of excepted apology was low. This finding might be seen in the light of the nature of the Arabic characteristic of refraining from accepting apologies. On the other hand, the high frequency of apology to be expected could be attributed to the Islamic principle that those committing mistakes should be forgiven by others. As a sociocultural and religious tradition, when someone has committed an offence, the offended person is recommended to forgive him by finding relevant excuses for the offender. *إذا اخطأ احدكم فالتمسوا له سبع وسبعون عذراً* [if one has committed a mistake, you should find several excuses for him to forgive him]. Thus, forgiving people by accepting excuses represents great psychological strength (www.alukah.net, 2013). The similar degree of accepting offence by the two groups indicates that they have similar sociopragmatic competence determined by the nature and the seriousness of offence. The different frequency displayed could be traced to sociopragmatic competence, i.e. the Iraqi EFL learners follow specific pragmatic competence which is different from the native norms. This is in line with the claim which

admits that the interlanguage pragmatics of the second language learners is a distinctive system (Corder, 1971; Bergman and Kasper, 1993 and Trosborg, 2003).

6.5 Summary of Scale- Response Task Results

This section summarizes the quantitative and the qualitative results of the apology perception perceived by the two groups. The main findings are: overall, the Iraqi EFL learners group perceived the degree of regret, the degree of offence, the apology imposition and accepting apologies significantly higher than the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. This perception was evaluated in relation to social distance and the type of offence committed; for instance, the greater the social distance from the offended person and the more serious the offence, the more regretful the offender is perceived and vice versa. And the more serious offence, the more the apology imposition used, the less likely an apology is to be accepted. Secondly, both groups were used more complex strategies of apology when apologizing to people of higher social status and social distance such as in academic offences (situation 6 and 15). This contradicted other offences within family domains when no apology was produced as in situation (13, when the offended was a little sister). This means that the IANs were not sensitive to or concerned with such types of offences.

Thirdly, when there is a similarity in the perception, a pragmatic transfer is evident in the process in which the Iraqi EFL learners depend on their L1 pragmatic competence in perceiving the apology variables. This means that they have less sociopragmatic competence to apologize in L2. Fourthly, the perception of the two groups was explained and justified in terms of sociocultural and socio-religious values. These values were reflected in both the production and perception of apologies. Finally, as far as the SRT and DCT were used to produce and evaluate apologies, two significant findings emerged. First, the EFL learners had the highest level of perception in the four questions of SRT while they used fewer apology strategies in the DCT. In contrast, the IANs have the lowest level of apology perception in the SRT while they used the largest number of apology strategies in the DCT. Thus, the native speakers used more apology strategies than the EFL learners as an attempt to satisfy or save the offended person's negative face. This indicates that the IANs use apology strategies in a sincere way or, rather, a typical or mechanical way as

compared with the EFL learners. Such findings align with previous research in Arab culture in general. Omar (2007), for instance, states that the Iraqi Arabic native speakers use more extensive expressions of speech acts like greeting in Iraqi Arabic. When greeting an Iraqi person, the greeting expressions could be extended sequentially to all family members and relatives with a wide range of repetition.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented and discussed the results analysis of apologies produced by DCT and perceived by the SRT. Some main remarks can be concluded from this chapter:

- 1- There was a relative and significant difference in the strategies of apology between the two groups. This difference in the apology strategies occurred according to the situational variables which involve: the severity of offence, to whom the apology is given.
- 2- Unlike previous studies, new and unusual strategies were frequent in the apologies of both groups. This could indicate the naturalness of the data collected.
- 3- Producing apology by the Iraqi Arabic was governed by the social and religious norms while the Iraqi EFL learners' apologies come as a typical type of apology, mostly flavoured with expressing regret and sorrow. Overall, the functions of apology strategies were determined by the type and severity of offence (social, academic, workplace, family) and the social status of the offended person.
- 4- Unlike previous studies which argued that offer of repair can only be used for apologizing in physical damage offences, the functions of some apology performed by the Iraqi Arabic Native speakers' strategies were of two dimensions. Offer of repair performed the functions of offering repairing for offences involving physical and non-physical damage as in situation (2,8,11,12).
- 5- The apology variables, which include the degree of regret, the degree of offence, the apology imposition and the likelihood of accepting apologies was significantly perceived by the EFL learners higher than the Iraqi Arabic native speakers. This perception was due to the different social distance and the type of offence

committed; for instance, the greater the social distance from the offended person and the more serious the offence, the more regretful the offender is perceived and vice versa. And the more serious offence, the more the apology imposition used, the less likely an apology is to be accepted.

- 6- The production of simple strategies of apology in certain situations conflicts with the highest rate of apology perception, such as in the perception of offence degree in situations (11,12) as very severe while using the non-apologetic strategies. This contrast could be argued and interpreted in the next chapter when distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2 will be made. Such distinction will be made throughout interviewing the participants.

Chapter Seven

Apologies via Open Role Play and Semi-Structured Interview

7. Data Analysis for Open Role Play Data:

This part of analysis focuses on the findings and the results of apologies obtained via open role play across the fifteen situations. The analysis is also based on the Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1981, 1989) coding scheme (see methodology chapter). This model is adopted to answer the research question “*what strategies and function of apologies produced by Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners?*” This chapter also focuses on the extended apologies elicited by open role play in certain situations. The use of extended apology will be explained in charts to show the discourse functional analysis of its occurrence. Another research question that concerns the perception of apology in Iraqi Arabic context and in intercultural context will be answered in this chapter. Therefore, the data elicited by the semi-structured interview are examined to investigate the conceptualization and perception of apology in the Iraqi Arabic culture and intercultural contexts.

The implementation of open role-play was directly followed-up by the semi-structured interview as a part of the open role-play process. The rationale behind using the semi-structured interview with the open role-play is to enable the researcher ask about what unusual issues observed during the role-play such as ‘*why don’t people apologize in such a situation? Do you think that this is good behaviour? Can you tell me why you didn’t apologize in Arabic while you did in English?*’ Thus, the participants were asked to elaborate or give reasons about certain responses, in particular when odd or irrelevant responses were noticed. Further, general questions were asked such as what apology means to them, what difficulties they may encounter when apologizing, what their most recent

apology was given, how often they apologize... etc. This sequential, as explained by Creswell (2003), helps the researcher collect and analyse quantitative data (open-role play) followed by collecting and analysing qualitative data (semi-structured interview). Thus, by adopting such a methodology, the qualitative data results can be used to explicate and understand the findings of the quantitative investigations.

7.1 Overall Apology Analysis by Strategies

As shown in the literature review, a wide range of apology strategies were identified in research in the last few decades (Cohen and Olshtain, 1984, 1989; Holmes, 1993, Reiter, 2003; Al-Adaleih, 2007; and Hassan, 2014). The analysis is based on the main six strategies of apology classified by Cohen and Olshtain (1981 and 1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) Al-Adaleih, 2007; and Hassan, 2014). The present analysis has revealed new strategies in the Iraqi Arabic and EFL learners.

The following chart shows the overall strategies of apologies used by the two groups:

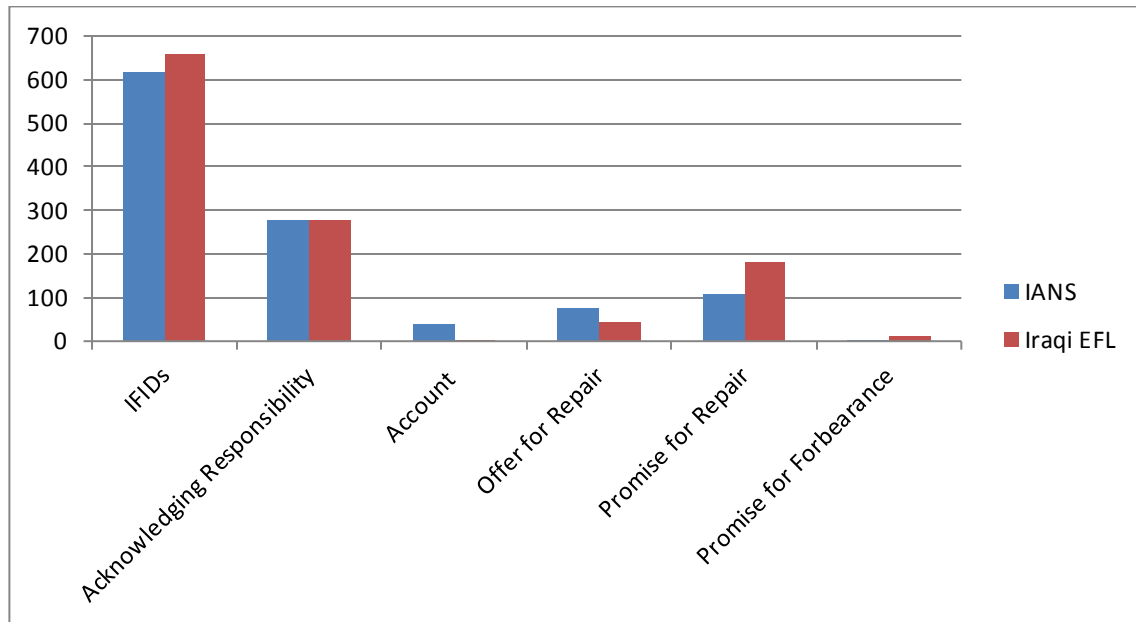


Figure [27]: Apology Strategies via ORP

When all apologies via open role play were analysed to find out differences or similarities across the two groups of speakers, a Mann-Whitney Test shows that there is no significant difference in the distribution of apology strategies in the fifteen situations via open role play by the two groups.

Overall Strategies	Participants	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
U-Test	Iraqi NS	1175.31	1350431.50
	Iraqi EFL	1155.96	1365183.50
	Total		
Results Values			
Mann-Whitney U			667212.500
Wilcoxon W			1365183.500
Z			P<.443

Table [15]: Mann-Whitney Test for apology strategies via ORP

From these results, it is clear that the IANs used the highest number of apology strategies via open role play compared to the EFL learners but the overall statistical mean difference between the two groups is not significant with a rate of assumption value ($P < .443$) which indicates no significant value. Such non-significant difference refers to the relative approximation between the two groups which in turn is an indication of pragmatic/pragmalinguistic transfer. Thus, the IANs have used the largest number of apology strategies in comparison with the EFL learners due to the difference in the linguistic and sociocultural competence. This can be seen in the following descending order:

$$\text{Iraqi NS (1175.31)} > \text{Iraqi EFL (1155.96)} = P < .443$$

The higher number of apology strategies employed by the IANs in comparison to the EFL learners can reflect the cultural norms that Arabic seems more talkative and their language and culture is relatively mutually sensitive.

The Iraqi EFL learners use fewer apology strategies than the IANs use which is inconsistent with previous research. Edmondson and House (1991), for instance, argued the phenomena

of 'waffle' in which the L2 learners are more verbose than the native speakers of English: they produce more than one strategy of speech act which are usually unnecessary. This inconsistency can stem from one of the two reasons. The first is that the nature of apology speech act is not so much predictable in comparison with other speech acts, an issue that might affect its production in L2. In apologizing, the learners are thought to give their apology as directly as possible to express their reaction towards the offence committed, unlike other speech acts which require planning and preparation in advance, like making a request, a complaint, or giving advice, ...etc. The second is that the EFL learners use the formulaic apologetic expressions which are often used for expressing regret. But in this case, such formulaic and typical expressions of apology are insufficient for performing the act of apologizing because apology is an act which does not only involve regret. Thus, the function of language needs to be addressed; it can be inferred that direct apology strategies used in the L2 need to be combined with other indirect strategies. Learners in this case are recommended to recognize the type of offence, the social distance, the social power for using the appropriate strategy.

Another study whether the EFL learners 'waffle' their apologies in the academic context via email communication or not was conducted by Chang *et al.* (2016). It examined Chinese EFL learners' apologies in online communication: these learners were both specific and general in their apologies. The specificity indicated that the language users heavily employ the account strategy whereas their generality was clear in their preference for direct apology. However, using the explicit and direct apology by the Iraqi EFL learners could be a reflection of their immediate sincere intention towards their faults.

In what follows, the strategies of apologies are discussed as shown in figure (25) to reveal the function of each strategy:

7.2 Apology Strategies

7.2.1 IFIDs (expression of apology)

7.2.1.1 The structure of Iraqi Arabic (IFIDs)

The first semantic formula in the Iraqi Arabic data is IFID (illocutionary force indicating device) a linguistic form involving different expressions of apology such as: اسف (*sorry*) , انا آسف (*I am sorry*) , سامحني (*forgive me*) , اعتذر (*I apologize*) , اعذرنني (*excuse me*). These formulas are commonly used for apologizing in Iraqi Arabic contexts; they can be used by themselves or used with other combinations of formulas. By such expressions, the apologizer expresses sorrow and regret. According to the chart above (24), an IFID is the most frequent strategy used in the dataset. The Iraqi EFL learners' data displayed the highest number of such expressions of apology (660) examples), while the IAN respondents used those IFIDs (616) times; this comparison does not show a significant difference. However, it could be argued that the IANs used fewer IFIDs compared to the EFL learners, as confirmed by the interviewees, because they are not used to utter the Arabic IFIDs when apologizing; rather they preferred to use other strategies.

One of the interviewees, among others, confirmed that

"احيانا عندما نعتذر باللغة العربية لا نقول اسف او اعتذر وانما نقول (سوري) ، لاننا نشعر بثقل الكلمة، المشكلة لغتنا لم نسمع بها لغات الاعتذار ، بينما اللغة الانكليزية يستخدم فيها الاعتذار بصورة كبيرة وخاصة في بريطانيا. عند حصول خصام ، ويحصل الصلح ، لا يوجد هناك تعابير اعتذار حقيقية وانما حضوره ، واكله للطعام فهو قبول ، او اعتذار". (مشارك، 49).

Translation: "Sometimes when we apologize in Arabic, we don't often use the Arabic word اسف [sorry] or اعتذر [apologize], but we sometimes use the English word "sorry" because in Arabic we feel it is difficult to utter it since we are not used to hear it in our daily language whereas in English, an apology is extensively used particularly in Britain. In the Arab world in general when a quarrel happens, reconciliation is established, but we hear no expressions indicating a real apology. Instead, the offender invites the offended person for a lunch or dinner which is considered as an indirect apology and accepting this invitation is considered as apology acceptance (Participant: 49).

7.2.1.2 The position of IFIDs in L1 and L2

The interlinguistic comparison focuses not only on the number of Iraqi Arabic IFIDs in the responses yielded by the open role play, but also on their positioning in the utterance. IFIDs not only occurred at the beginning on the utterance as conventionally, but they were also used in the middle or at the end of the utterance within other strategies. It is noted that most utterances start with IFID followed by oath expressions ‘*by Allah*’ or address forms ‘*Sir, Doctor*’ or terms of endearment ‘*beloved, my eye*’. However, the most outstanding finding within the use of Iraqi Arabic IFID strategy is the use of religious terms such as swearing by the name of Allah (God) in order to have the addressee believe that the speaker’s apology is sincere. However, as shown in table (8), the expressions of apology were used similarly in both L1 (Iraqi Arabic, 616 tokens of IFIDs) and L2 (English 660 times) with only slight differences. The following table shows the distribution of IFIDs with their positions in the utterance.

IFIDs Positions	Iraqi Arabic Native Speakers	Iraqi EFL Learners
Beginning	533 (86%)	540 (82%)
Middle	6 (1%)	5 (1%)
End	32 (5%)	44 (7%)
Front + middle	5 (1%)	4 (1%)
Front+ end	19 (3%)	30 (5%)
Middle + end	11 (2%)	4 (1%)
Front +middle+ end	10(2%)	33 (5%)

Table [16]: IFIDs Position in L1 and L2

It is clear from the table above that the highest number of IFIDs in both Iraqi Arabic and EFL learners occurred at the front of apologies. But in general the position of the IFIDs in both groups exhibited a significant difference, $DF = 6$ $p \leq .000$) (see appendix 10). This might be attributed to the speakers’ willingness to show their regret and ask forgiveness first as a way of comforting the offended person or to conventional use of apology expressions (Trosborg, 2003) which is common at the beginning of the apology utterance.

7.2.1.3 Intensified IFIDs

Expressions of apologies which have been labelled as IFIDs display a high level of prototypical apology; however, it is not possible to determine the sincerity of the

apologizer's intention for committing an offence (Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989). Therefore, if the apologizer feels that an apology might be perceived as unsatisfactory or that could be seen as itself another offence, the apology might be upgraded so as to make it as more effective and seemingly sincere as possible. Having discussed the potential semantic formula of IFIDs, now we turn to discuss the intensified apology with adverbial intensifiers: the politeness marker 'please', quantifiers: 'very, sorry, terribly, awfully,' and what matches with their counterpart in the Iraqi Arabic language like ، حيل، كلش، جدا; all these Arabic adverbial quantifiers exactly mean 'very' in English. However, table (9) shows the quantitative distribution of the intensified apology in both Iraqi Arabic and EFL learner's responses across the fifteen situations:

Situation No.	Iraqi Arabic intensifiers	Iraqi EFL learners
1	26%	11%
2	11%	30%
3	25%	18%
4	7%	13%
5	11%	23%
6	24%	18%
7	8%	13%
8	14%	17%
9	15%	12%
10	10%	12%
11	1%	8%
12	3%	10%
13	4%	2%
14	6%	11%
15	24%	28%
Total intensifiers	189	226

Table [17]: Apology Intensifiers in L1 and L2

The statistical results show that the difference in the distribution of the apology intensifiers is not significant. The U-value is 86. The critical value of U at $p < .05$ is 64. Therefore, the result is not significant at $p < .05$. The Z-Score is -1.07843. The p-value is .28014. The result is not significant at $p < .05$.

U test	Intensified Apology
Mann-Whitney U	.28014
Z	1.07843
U. Sig. (2-tailed)	.05

Table [18] U- test of intensifiers

The apology intensifiers in Iraqi Arabic were realized by the semantic formula *جدا ، كلش، حيل* meaning literally “very” whereas the English intensifiers used by the L2 learners were “*very, so, really and terribly*”. It is noted that the total occurrences of intensification in Iraqi EFL learners’ apologies were more than in the Iraqi Arabic apologies (226 and 189 instances respectively). The most commonly used intensifiers were used in situation (1) which involves an emotional offence, and situation (15) which involves an academic offence while the less frequent intensifiers were seen in situations (11, 12, and 13) which involve family offences. It could be argued that using apology intensifiers serves to assure accepting responsibility and show more sincerity. Intensifiers according to Kim (2008) are used when there is a serious offence and the compensation cannot be afforded. This can also be applied to some situations where the offence is associated with someone’s feeling and cannot be repaired materially such as in situation (1) which involves an emotional offence. Occasionally, people might use intensifiers in a vague way such using the first person plural form such *نحن نعتذر* [lit. we apologize...] instead of [I apologize], or repeating the intensifier such as [*I am very very sorry*].

The findings of using intensification align with previous studies which argued that the intensification sub-strategy was used in situations which involve a high level of formality and severe offences (Blum- Kulka, 1989, Ito, 1998 and Kim, 2007 among others). This is well noted in the IANs’ apologies where the social status is distinctively relevant in the social interaction as seen in situation (15) when apologizing to a supervisor. Thus, this indicates that the higher the social status of the offended person, the more intensification is used by the apologizers and vice versa.

7.2.2 Acknowledgment of Responsibility

Acknowledgment of responsibility is considered as one of the signs of sincere apology being performed. This strategy is culturally specific as it requires the apologizer to admit the offence and such admission varies across cultures. Al-Adaileh (2007) showed that Jordanian Arabic native speakers use more frequent admissions for responsibility than for British English. The Jordanians were often more loquacious in their acknowledgment of responsibility. A typical example of Jordanian acknowledgment of responsibility is “this is my fault”, “I am mistaken” or “your right is on my behalf”. Taking on responsibility was classified by Nurdeen (2008) into: explicit and implicit acknowledgment of responsibility: explicitly, the apologizer often uses a performative of responsibility “I hereby take on the responsibility” or “this is my responsibility”.

This strategy is directly connected with the apologizer’s loss of face (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and the apologizer’s cost (Leech, 1987). In terms of loss of *face* and *cost*, the apologizer admits responsibility for committing a specific offence by using different sub-formulations: *expressing lack of intent*, *expressing self-deficiency*, *accepting the blame*, *giving the right to the victim*. Thus, the extent of acknowledging responsibility might be expressed by choosing one of these sub-strategies. Here, the findings revealed four sub-strategies elicited via open role play to taking on responsibility. These sub-strategies are *expressing lack of intent*, *expressing self-deficiency*, *accepting blame* and *denying responsibility*. Figure (25) summarizes the distribution of the realization of acknowledgement of responsibility by both IANs and EFL learners.

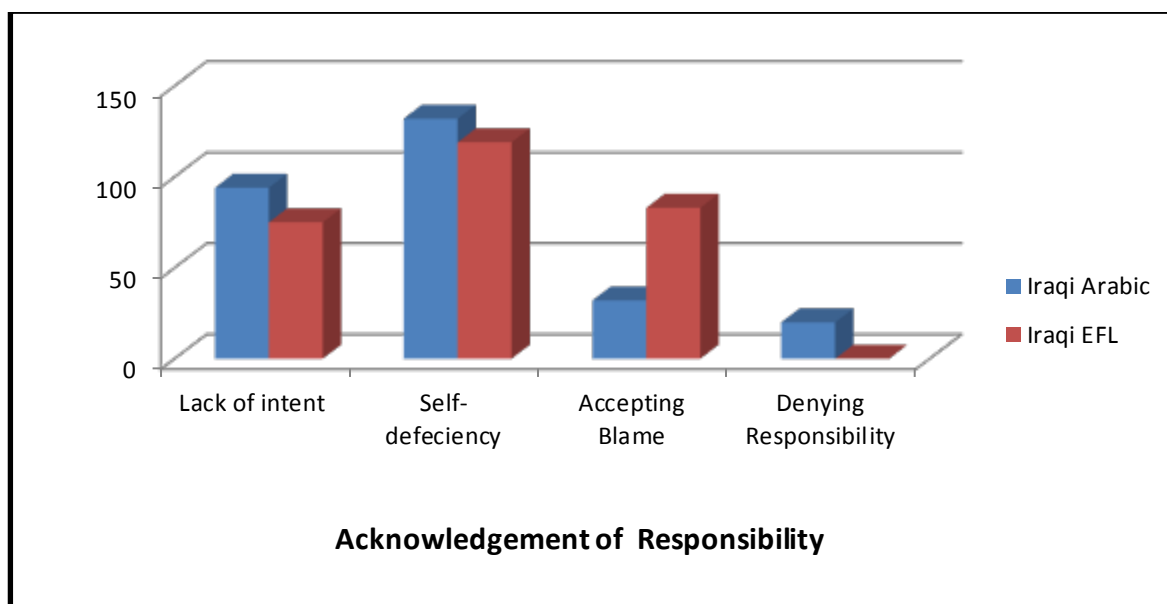


Figure [28]: Acknowledgement of Responsibility

7.2.2.1 Expressing lack of intent

In Figure 25 above, the first sub-strategy of acknowledgment of responsibility is *expressing lack of intent*. It was not significantly differently employed by the IANs, as shown by the U test [sig.092= 9.468 Standard Deviation, (94%) and the Iraqi EFL learners (75%) (*see appendix 10*). This could be attributed to the fact that, implicitly resorting to acknowledging responsibility, the apologizer explicitly shows committing the offence was not intended and accordingly the admitted offence is naturally mitigated. These findings showed that the Iraqi Arabic semantic formula of taking responsibility was often realized by using certain expressions such as *انا لم / ما اقصد* ‘*I didn’t mean to*’ or, *انه لم يكن قصدي*, “*it was not my intention*” or *ماكان مقصود* “*it was unintended to*”. Expressing lack of intent can, to some extent, indicate the implication of an excuse that apparently denies the speaker’s responsibility for committing an offence (Cohen and Olshtain, 1983; Owen, 1985). Nonetheless, it could also be argued when an apologizer expresses his lack of intent of having done X, this actually implies that he/she has done it. Again, an extra perception of politeness is added to acknowledgment of responsibility by the use of vocatives or wishing, by which the apologizer wishes or hopes that the offended person is not hurt to any further extent or wishes the best for him/her. Expressions of vocatives and wishing in the datasets

are attributed to be religiously associated terms such as *الله يشافيك* *May Allah heal you*, *ان شاء الله ماتاذيت* *By the will of Allah, I wish you are not hurt*, *ياريت تقبل اعتذاري* *I wish you accept my apology*. Such expressions could add a religious flavor of politeness to the speaker's positive face trying to please the offended person and get the apology accepted. This can be considered as a way of establishing solidarity and social brotherhood between the interlocutors. This might reflect the image of collectivism relevant in Iraqi Arabic society. In the examples listed below, the apologizers admit their responsibility trying to achieve a sincere apology and receive forgiveness and finally restore social equilibrium:

1. *ماكان قصدي ، الله يشافيك*
I didn't mean it. May Allah recover you
2. *هذا خطأ غير مقصود، ان شاء الله ماتاذيت*
It is unintended fault. I hope you weren't hurt.
3. *اردت ان استخدم الحاسبة بس بالخطأ سقطت من يدي*
I wanted to use the computer, but it fell out.
4. *اسف اتصلت بالخطأ، ماكان قصدي ازعجك*
I dialed by mistake. I didn't mean to disturb you
5. *اسف خطأت بالرقم، اتمنى ما ازعجتك*
I am sorry, I dialed the wrong number. I hope I didn't disturb you.

7.2.2.2 Expressing Self-deficiency

Expressing self-deficiency was the most frequently employed sub-strategy by Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL learners to admit their responsibility. The Iraqi Arabic respondents expressed greater self-deficiency than the Iraqi EFL learners, (132 and 119 respectively). However, there was no significant difference between the two groups in the use of this strategy (U value=1.000). (see appendix 10). This strategy could be considered an indirect admission of responsibility and therefore the apologizer's positive face is less likely to be sustained. However, the higher frequency of self-deficiency used by the IANs was sometimes accompanied with one or more sub-formulas such as swearing and asking forgiveness as a way of strengthening the apology and confirming the apologizer's sincere intention to restore social harmony with the offended person. Below are some examples of the self-deficiency strategy used by the Iraqi Arabic and the Iraqi EFL learners:

- *Iraqi Arabic self-deficiency*

1. *اني اسف ماكنت اعرف عندك هذا المرض* [lit. I am sorry; I didn't know you have this disease]. (Situation 1).

2. اني اسف جدا جدا اخوي ماكنت اعرف انك مصاب بهذا المرض [lit. I am so so sorry my brother, I was not aware you have this disease] (Situation 1).
 3. اعدرني ، ماكنت اعرف ، ياريت تتقبل اعتذاري [lit. Forgive me, I did not know you. I hope you accept my apology] (Situation 1).
- ***Iraqi EFL Learners***
 1. I am really sorry; I didn't know you such a kind of disease.
 2. Really I am so sorry I don't know you have this disease
 3. I am so sorry about that I didn't know you are affected by this disease.

7.2.2.3 Accepting Blame

Accepting the blame indicates a high degree of responsibility with the speaker's acknowledgement of responsibility that he/she has made the offence. By expressing self-blame, the apologizer addresses the victim's negative face and threatens the speaker's positive face. In addition, the apologizer's positive face can be emphasized in terms of avoiding disagreement and therefore, it would be easier to deepen sympathy and solidarity with the offended person (Cohen and Olshtain, 1989 and Kasper, 1990). This strategy was employed by both IANs (with 32 tokens) and Iraqi EFL learners (with 83 tokens): this is a significant difference in the use of this strategy as shown in the U test (22.955 SD.000). The low frequency of accepting blame by the Iraqi Arabic speakers could be attributed to the fact that Arabic individuals often refrain from accepting blame or admitting their faults to others. It has been argued that:

“Although adoption of western-style practises is altering attitudes in some countries, Arabs do not expect to receive or give an apology if they or those whom they are meeting have been kept waiting; rather, the usual response is benign acknowledgment, encapsulated in the term (“never mind” or “it doesn't matter”). The Arab World: An Introduction to Cultural Appreciation (2007:14).

In other words, Arabic speakers might prefer to apologize by choosing other strategies rather than admitting they are wrong. This may relate to the traditional socio-cultural nature of some Arab people affected by the environment of the Bedouin life which in turn influenced their speech act behavior. It is commonly believed in the Arab culture that performing an apology represents a kind of bravery which stresses that Arab people might

be able to perform something that frightens or undervalues them. Some of this seems confirmed by interviewees here, for instance, interviewee (47) commented “The non-apology or inability of apologizing is a wicked issue. The problem lies in the environment in which we lived where no one apologizes to the other and no one admits his/her faults”.

In contrast, the vast majority of Arabs seem to view apology as a virtue since it expresses the acknowledgment of righteousness in spite of its apparent scarcity. Thus, the highest frequency of this sub-strategy used by the IANs was observed in situation (10) where the offence is severe (damaging one’s car). Participants who expressed their responsibility by accepting the blame in this situation claimed when interviewed that apology in this context is unavoidable and one should exert efforts to upgrade the fault being committed: the rationale of apology in such situations is to prompt the apologizee forgive the offender. Therefore, the interviewees stressed that they should blame themselves and accept blame by others so that their apology might represent a call for forgiveness and help. As for L2, the Iraqi EFL learners used more blame tokens (25 tokens) in situation six (being late for a lecture) and (20 tokens) in situation seven (forgetting to bring medicine to a wife). Generally, these learners showed a high self-blame tendency by using the typical utterance of apology in English “*it is my fault*” or “*I have committed a mistake*”. This limited formula use might indicate that these group’s English apologies different from their Arabic ones due to their adequate mastery of English linguistic competence and their poor sociopragmatic competence. In addition, the perception of the degree of offence in Iraqi Arabic contexts and intercultural contexts may lead them to use different strategies for apologizing.

7.2.2.4 Denying responsibility

The last sub-strategy is denying responsibility which was only in the Iraqi Arabic data (20%); it was not used by the L2 learners. Thus, it was significantly different as shown by the U test [Iraqi NS=10.50 mean, U.000]. (*see appendix 10*). It is used when the assumed apologizer entirely refuses responsibility for the fault either by blaming the offended person or by making fun or “irony” as in situations (7), (11) and (13). The offended people in these three situations are a wife, youngest brother and sister respectively. It was noted that the

highest frequency of refusing to be guilty occurred in these situations as in the following instances:

1. تعرفين انه بالي مشغول بالدراسة ، وفوكاها اروح اجيب المسواك ، طلباتك ماتخلص ،
[lit. *oh. I am busy, and you also gave me an endless shopping list so that I could not remember the medicine.*
والله ماجبته لان دايبخ كان ببالي غير امور كان المفروض نت ترسليلي تذكير
2. [lit. *By Allah, I didn't bring it, I have other things in my mind, and you were supposed to send me a reminder.....*].
3. طبعا نسيته لان انتي هواي وصيتي على شغلات وحيل لحيثي
[lit. *By the way, I forgot it because you asked for so many things, and confused me too much*].
4. روح شوفلك غير مكان اقرأ به
[Lit. *Go and find another place for study*].
5. شخبصتينا انت ، قابل عندك دكتوراه؟
[lit. *Oh what's wrong with you? Do you have a PhD?*]

Arguably, no real apologies are involved in the above examples since they are not addressed to restore a social equilibrium. However, a few instances indicated that although the apologizer refused to take responsibility for the offence, he might be relatively responsible for that offence. Consequently, this finding has a significant implication for understanding the nature of Arab people's pride and superiority that prevents them from saying words like *sorry, I do apologize or it is my fault or forgive me*. Some interviewed participants explained that Arabic individuals are not habituated to apologize; they consider an apology as something that reduces one's power or value. IANs were not more willing to display their weakness through apologetic behaviour in Arabic than in English; for them, admitting the responsibility might be humiliating and demeaning and ultimately unnecessary in an Iraqi Arabic context. It could also be argued that previous research has shown that the linguistic realization of taking responsibility is scaled differently ranging from high to low or very low degree of responsibility (Cohen and Olshtain, 1989). Thus, different degrees of taking responsibility could lead to regular differences in the degree of face threatening act on the behalf of the speaker with other extra-strategies such as a promise of repair and self-demeaning. Unlike previous apology strategies, a particular characteristic of acknowledgement of responsibility in the Iraqi Arabic context is that it can

be used with blaming the offended person for different kinds of offence, including eluding the responsibility.

7.2.3 Account/Explanation

Apology can also be expressed indirectly by giving an account or making an explanation which could also be a cultural specific issue. As researchers (Cohen and Olshtain, 1984; Wolfson, et al., 1989; Holmes, 1995) claimed, explanation is a self-justification by which the apologizer attributes the reason behind an offence to external reasons which are out of the speaker's own control. This strategy is assigned to *non-responsibility* because it is only explaining facts that caused the offence. Taking responsibility through explaining with an account seems to be problematic since this involves showing the reason and feeling regretful with an implicit acknowledgment of responsibility. As a less frequently used strategy as shown in figure (26), this account strategy was displayed in certain situations: (S7, not bringing medicine to the wife), (S14, losing important financial documents) and (S15, not turning up to a supervisor's/ tutor's meeting). The existence of the account strategy is shown in figure (26) below:

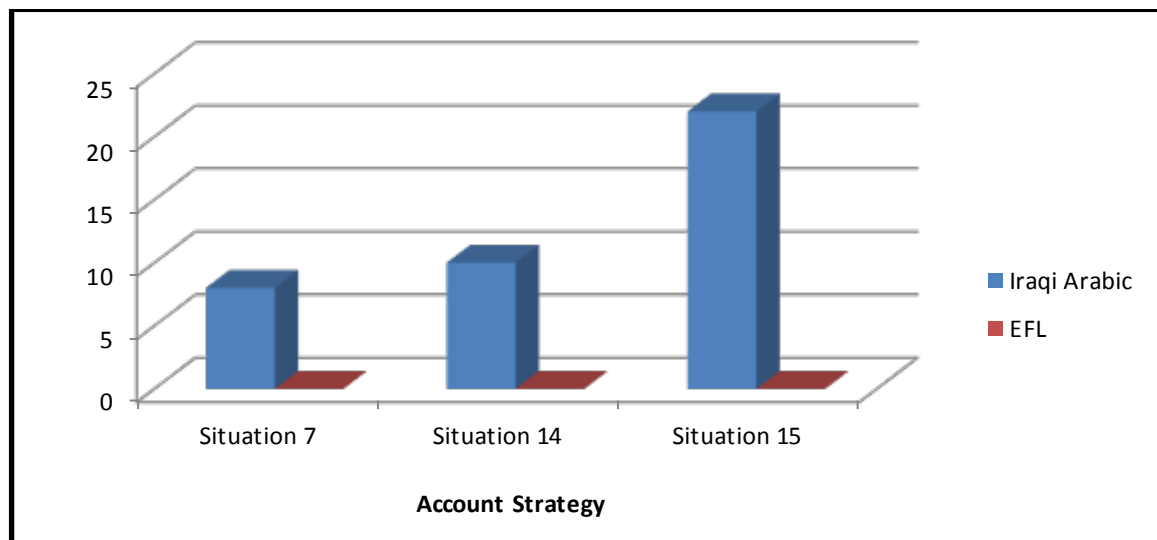


Figure [29]: The distribution of Account Strategy

The highest frequency of using an account was recorded by the IANs with 40 instances. This was observed in only three situations (7, 14, and 15). The highest frequency was found in situation (15) with almost (22) instances of accounts with only 10 in situation (14) and

(8) in situation (7). An account strategy was entirely absent in the EFL apologies. Let us consider the following examples:

1. اعذرني والله رحمت ما قبلوا يعطوني ، انت روجي مادام عندك صديقة عراقية تشتغل بالصيدلية [s7]
Excuse me, they didn't accept to give the medicine. Go by yourself as you have an Iraqi colleague work there in the pharmacy.

2. والله استاذ تعذرني لان صارت شغلة جدا ضرورية ، كان لازم اجي بس والله الامور خرجت عن ارادتي ، ممكن تأجله على وقت ثاني [S14]
By Allah sir, excuse me since I had a very urgent case. I should have come, but by Allah, the conditions were out of my control.

3. العفو استاذي العزيز بخصوص الموعد ، صحيح الموعد مهم جدا ، واحد من اخوتي صار عنده مشكلة ، ووديته للمستشفى وسبحان الله صادفت ويه هذا الموعد وارجو المعذرة... [15]

Sorry dear sir, concerning the appointment, it is true the appointment is very important, but one of my brother had a problem and I took him to the hospital and it coincide with the appointment, I beg your forgiveness.

4. استاذ والله بصرتاحة صارلي يومين ثلاثة ادورلها الكاها ، وردت اخبرك بالموضوع بس كنت خايف منك وماعرف شاكولك .

Sir, frankly, I have been looking for them for two days, I wanted to tell you about the matter, but I was afraid from you, and I don't know what to say.

5. دكتور اعتذر منك البارحة انفجرت يم شارعنا سيارة مفخخة وماكدت اجي .

Dr. I do apologize. Yesterday a car bomb exploded near our house and I could not come.

6. دكتور البارحة انفجرت سيارة مفخخة بشارعنا ، وماكدت اطلع من البيت بسبب حظر التجوال اللي فرضت القوات الامنية.

Dr. Yesterday, a car bomb exploded near our street, and I couldn't get out of the house because of the curfew that the safety forces imposed.

7. استاذنا العزيز ، تعرف اوضاع البلد اني ببالي يم اخوي ، من كد مو بالي مشغول ضاعن مني
“Dear Sir, you know the situations of the country. I am worried about my brother who's in the army. Since I am worried about that, the documents were lost”.

The utterances above might indicate that giving an account as an apology strategy is more frequent in collectivist-oriented communities like Iraqi Arab ones, since speakers seem to place greater value on social brotherhood and intimacy.

Using address forms flavoured with swearing expressions and oaths such as [*lit. Sir, by Allah*] gives the impression of social brotherhood in Arabic community.

Further, respect and courtesy also prevailed in giving an account through the use of certain expressions such as [*lit. I wanted to tell you about the matter, but I was afraid of you*].

In addition, an interesting finding is that the participants tended to give accounts in relation with the current safety situation in their home country, Iraq. It is worth recalling that the safety situation in Iraq has not been established since 2003 when a radical change happened in the political system. However, expressions like “*car bomb*”, “*security forces blocked the road*”, “*curfew*” and “*dangerous to go out*” indicated the effect of violence on their choice of apology strategies. Arguably, in this highly unstable civil context using such accounts might be an effective apology since this account seems to be truly connected with everyday life. Another example also shows that the apology is a current based situation: “*Dear Sir, you know the situations of the country. I am worried about my brother who’s in the army. Since I am worried about that, the documents were lost*”. Thus, some of the Iraqi Arabic apologies can be contextually based on current situations of general import for everyone and accounted as an indirect strategy of apology.

7.2.4 Offer for repair

An offer of repair or compensation can be applied to specific offences that result in physical damage which can be repaired depending on the specific situation. When a severe offence is committed, the offender offers repair by carrying out an action or offers payment for damage (Cohen and Olshtain, 1994). This strategy has been shown as situationally specific by previous research: its applicability is restricted to those situations involving offences which can accept compensation and repair. According to Cohen and Olshtain (1994:144), among others, offering repair requires the offender to make an attempt to carry out an action or provide a payment for some kind of damage caused by the fault”. An offer of repair according to Goffman’s distinction (1967, cited in Ogiemann, 2009:180) between substantive and ritual compensation, is categorized as a substantive strategy of apology. Nevertheless, some offences in our datasets resulted in physical damage such as bumping into an old lady in the street shaking her up (situation 2), causing some damages to

someone's car (situation 10), breaking an employer's computer screen (situation 8), breaking a friend's Ipad screen (situation 4). These situations require repair. But it is found that other situations which do not apparently need repair were responded by offers of repair by both the IANs and the Iraqi EFL learners. In situations (11) and (12), for instance, the speakers apologized and offered repair, but such repair was represented by offering to help the offended person. This could be linked with Goffman's (Ibid.) corrective process of apology which involves a circle of main moves, starting with the acknowledgment of responsibility, an expression of apology, and then an expression of offer of repair (help) to the offended person. The corrective process of achieving successful apologies is naturally based on the degree of offence perceived by the apologizer. The more severe the offence, the more emphatic an offer of repair is. For example, damaging one's car while rushing out of the car park is often labeled as a severe offence (situation:10). It is noted that there is a high level of apology and offer of repair that is compatible with the harshness of the offence as in the following responses:

يا ابا والله مادري شلون صارت ، بس يا ابا ولا يهملك ولا تنزعل ، نروح للصناعة وشتر يد احنا حاضرين.

Translation: "Oh God, I don't know how it happened, but don't worry, don't be upset, we can go to the repairing center and whatever you want I am ready".

There have been arguments against the offer of help as an apology strategy as explored by Fraser (1981), Holmes (1990) and Lubecka (2000). According to Fraser (1981), an offer of repair can be extended without any implication of responsibility". While Holmes (1990, cited in Ogiermann, 2009:135) shows that offer of repair is a sub-strategy of acknowledgement of responsibility, Lubecka (2000) argues that offering repair is often used as a way of reinforcing the sincerity of an already performed apology to show the apologizer's concern to the victim.

Our findings here indicate that an offer of repair accompanied with explicit apology can function differently from an offer of repair on its own, in which case this strategy substitutes for rather than constitutes an apology. In other words, an offer of repair can be an effective way of apologizing when used with a combination of other strategies, in which case the offended person's positive face is addressed while offering only compensation

without explicit apology (IFIDs) is merely a face-saving act rather than apology. Table (11) shows the distribution of offers of repair by both groups across the fifteen situations:

Offer of Repair across situations	S2	S3	S4	S8	S10	S12	S13	Total
Iraqi Arabic	3	8	7	10	32	2	5	76
Iraqi EFL	8	-	9	9	17	-	2	45

Table [19]: The Distribution of Offers of Repair

With a total of 975 instances of apologies via open role play, the offer of repair is a strategy which relatively frequent with 121 by both groups. This frequency was evident in certain situations; three situations involve a physical offence (situations: 3, 4, 8, 10) while others contained inconvenient offences (situations: 12 and 13).

The strategy of offering of repair as used by the two groups was submitted to *U* test, since there are some values for which their weighted variable was zero, therefore, statistically it is not suitable for other statistical tools such as chi². The *U* test showed no significant difference: [$5.00 = DF = 1. p <= .429$].

It is interesting to note that offers of repair in situations whether involving physical or inconvenient offences, co-occur in the data with a combination of other strategies serving as positive politeness strategies with the aim of emphasizing the seriousness of the apology and the apologizer's concern in establishing social equilibrium with the apologizee. However, these findings are not in accord with studies by Cohen and Olshtain (1990), Holmes (1995), Lubecka (2000) and Ogiermann, 2009) which indicate that an offer of repair was used a two-fold strategy serving the function of negative politeness strategies (non-apology) and positive politeness strategy (apology). The use of offers of repair by the Iraqi Arabic and EFL learners could be attributable to the Arabic cultural norms of collectivism and Islamic principles. The Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on him) said *كان الله في عون العبد مادام العبد في عون اخيه* "Allah helps the Muslim as far as the Muslim helps his/her fellow Muslim. This Prophetic saying indicates that it is religiously necessary to give a hand to everyone who needs help and it would be an obligation to offer repair and help to an

offended person. This religious norm reflects the image of the positive strategy of politeness. Ultimately, this approach to speech acts and social norms reveals how people organize their social behavior within particular situations. Thus, apologizing by saying “May I pay for you” is not really apology since there is no acknowledgment of responsibility nor expressions of regret whereas the instances “*I am very sorry, it is my fault; I am ready to repair your car*” and “*I do apologize, it is my big mistake, whatever you want I am ready for*”, are indeed apologies as they address the positive face of the offended person when the apologizer’s choices involve cultural norms and show values of deference, status and politeness.

Having considered the Iraqi Arabic and EFL learners’ preference of offers of repair, the frequency of this strategy in L1 is not significantly different from the L2. However, a comprehensive survey of the linguistic realizations could expose qualitative differences between L1 and L2 showing their positive politeness. Offers of repair, according to (CCSARP), can be performed linguistically in a specific or general manner, either in a conventional way or directly addressing the damage intended to be repaired. Ogiermann (2009) has set a linguistic realization for the offer of repair strategies which included direct and indirect offer of apology. To the best of my knowledge no previous Arabic apology study has devised or employed a classification including the offer of repair. The present study considers linguistic realizations of offers of repair based on the apologizer’s intention and the apologizee’s optionality which results in a distinction between direct and indirect offers of repair.

7.2.4.1 Direct offer of repair

Offers of repair, according to (CCSARP), can be realized directly by the following formulations:

(a) *Want/ desire statements*: in which the apologizer expresses his/her desire to repair the damage. The most frequent Iraqi Arabic expressions of want/desire statements was represented by *انا مستعد / انا مستعدة* [I am ready to....], such as in the following examples *انا جدا*

صديقي اني مستعد [situation:4] *I am very sorry, I am ready to repair it.* ، اني مستعد اصلحه
 اني كلش اسفة ، هذا خطاي ، [situation:10] *My friend, I am ready to buy another one.* اشتريلك واحد
 اسف ماكان قصدي ، *I am so sorry, this is my fault, and I am ready to repair it.* وانى مستعدة اصلحها
Sorry, I didn't mean. It happened by mistake. I am اني مستعد اصلحك السيارة
ready to repair the car. [situation:10]. The form "انا مستعد" [I am ready to] is used to
 express the speaker's intention to repair the damage committed. The most direct way of
 offering compensation was used by the majority of participants. [see Examples above]. An
 offer of repair is realized by want statements emphasizing the sincerity of apology by
 positive strategies combining the IFIDs (apology expressions with intensifiers and
 admitting the offence) and reducing the degree of imposition on the apologizer and giving
 optionality for the apologizee.

(b) **Hedged Performatives**: a second way of performing a direct offer of repair is realized
 linguistically by a hedged performative utterance in which the illocutionary force is
 determined and modified by using conditional hedges by which the apologizer gives
 options to the apologizee. It could be argued that giving optionality (Leech, 1983)
 provides more deference and politeness to the addressee. Consider the following instances:

- **Iraqi Arabic**

(1) اسف جدا وانى راح اعوضك فلوس التصليح واذا تريد اجي وياك للتصليح

I am so sorry, I will compensate you the repair cost, and if you want, I go with you to the
 repair place.

(2) اسف بعد ماسوي صوت، واذا تحتاجين مساعدة انى حاضر

Sorry, I will not make noise, and if you need help, I am ready.

(3) اوكي ، اعتذر صار خطأ، احاول ارجع البيانات

OK I do apology, a mistake happens; I try if there is a way to retrieve your data.

(4) اسف خالة ، ماشفتك وانى مستعد اذا تحتاجين مساعدة

I am sorry aunt, I didn't see you, and I am ready if you need help.

- **Iraqi EFL Learners**

1-I am sorry, I am ready to pay for you.

2-I am ready to fix your car.

3-I am so sorry; I am ready to buy you a new one.

There is a variety of syntactic forms above to offer repair. The use of a present tense indicates the apologizer's high degree of willingness to show that the offence can be readily repaired or compensated. It could also be argued that those linguistic realizations of direct offers of repair can place a high degree of imposition on the apologizer and less optionality for the apologizee since the speaker is making an apparently immediate commitment akin to a promise.

(b) **Imperative and promise:** Some direct realizations of offering repair were formulated in the form of imperatives and promises.

Iraqi Arabic Samples:

- اخوي اني اسف وهذا الايباد مالتني استخدمه الى ان اشتريلك واحد ثاني.
- *My brother, I am sorry, this is my Ipad, take it and use it until I buy one for you.*
- اسف لانه كسرت شاشة الحاسبة مالتك ، اخذ حاسبتني اشتغل عليها وباجر اشتريلك وحدة
- *Sorry because I broke your computer screen. Take my computer and work on and tomorrow I will buy one for you.*
- **Iraqi EFL Samples:**

Not Found

It is argued that using imperatives and promises places a degree of impoliteness although it gives no options to the apologizee, maximizing his/her benefits. The imperative mood has been realised through performative verbs to do something resulting in repairing the damage. As argued by Brown and Levinson (1987), bald-on-record is the offender's orientation to perform a Face threatening act over the offended person's face. Hence, the apologizer's wants come at the expense of the apologizee's face saving. Accordingly, there is nothing to act with minimizing the threats to the offended person. However, a distinguishable feature of using the imperative in Iraqi Arabic apologies is that they are flavoured with promises as a manifestation of positive politeness which might reduce the level of imposition and emphasize the apologizer's intentions to repair the damage committed. However, the use of imperative in the mood of order does not always convey a high level of imposition when apologizing. The performative verbs of order such as [استخدمه /use it],[اخذ/take it] might be used instead of the word *please* which is attributable to the

directness of the speech style and the high to low hierarchical nature of the Iraqi Arabic collectivity.

7.2.4.2 Indirect Offer of repair

Before approaching indirect offers of repair, it should be mentioned that the direct offer of repair was directed towards the offended person's face and stresses the apologizer's intention to restore social equilibrium with the apologizee. The indirect offers of repair noted in these datasets have been formulated in a way directed to both apologizer's and apologizee's face needs. However, the indirect offer of repair was realised by certain linguistic formulations: (interrogatives and expressing ability).

(a) **Interrogatives:** an offer of repair is expressed by questioning the preparatory conditions of an offer which are familiar in every language. There was a very low frequency of interrogatives for the offer of repair. Like other speech acts, interrogatives can serve pragmatic functions and apology is one of them. As far as apology is concerned, posing a question while apologizing provides options for offended persons to accept the offer of repair conveyed by the questions. Concurrently, depending on the offended person's reaction, the apologizer's imposition is lower than for a direct offer of repair.

- **Iraqi Arabic Interrogatives**

1. أووو، حجية والله ماشفتك يمه، اساعدك؟
Oh, Hajiyah, I swear I haven't seen you, help you?
2. اني اسف جدا اسف ممكن اساعدك؟
I am so sorry, sorry. Can I help you?

- **Iraqi EFL interrogatives**

3. *I am so sorry for that I didn't notice; do you need any help?*
4. *Oh, Mr. Ayad this my fault, may I buy a new one?*

Thus, there was no significant difference between interrogative offers of repair in L1 and L2: the apologizer tries to admit the need for repair. But this admission of repair could either divest the speaker from full responsibility for repairing the damage or anticipate the apologizee's refusal of the offer of repair, while the apologizer may hope by expressing the interrogative offer that the matter will be dismissed without any actual repair or particularly without any material compensation.

(b) **Expressions of ability:** Expressing ability is one of the strategies used to offer repair or compensation in an attempt to emphasize the sincerity of apology and assuring the apologizer of the apologizer's ability to reform the damage. However, the lowest frequency of offer of repair was realized by expressing ability which appeared only in the EFL data. This was formulated by using the modal verb (can+ infinitive). Consider the following example:

1. *My bro I am so sorry. I don't what happened. You can fix it and I can pay you.* [s4]
2. *I am sorry I can buy a new Ipad for you.* [s4]
3. *I am sorry I can buy another one for you.* [s4]
4. *I am sorry I can buy another one for you.* [s4]
5. *I am sorry to do this wrong, but I can pay ant amount of money to recover this damage.* [s10]
6. *I am sorry to do this wrong, but I can pay ant amount of money to recover this damage.* [s10]
7. *Sorry sorry, I can fix this problem.* [s10]
8. *I am sorry, I can pay.* [s10]

In spite of the fact that offers of repair as an apology strategy was categorized as a situation specific strategy, it can be applied mostly to offences of physical damage (Cohen and Olshtain, 1984; Holmes, 1995; Al-Adaileh, 2007). The present findings show how situations of both physical and non-physical damage yielded offers of repair. Thus, when dealing with offers of repair as a positive politeness strategy in both Iraqi Arabic and English, it is noted that there is no significant quantitative difference between the L1 and L2. Even the quantitative distribution of direct and indirect offers of repair in both Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language- the former is viewed as connected with positive politeness strategy whereas the latter is associated with negative politeness strategy- exhibited close equivalence across the two languages. As for compensation, both L1 and L2 groups displayed a degree of compensation offering. This might be attributed to the fact that Iraqi people often offer repair in the form of compensation; this is rooted in Islamic culture that if someone causes damage to someone or someone's property or belongings, there should a specific type of compensation or amount of money to pay. One of the Islamic principles that encourages and obliges people to repair the damage is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an (2:178): (*....And for him/her who is partly forgiven by his brother, seek*

compensation with courtesy and make payment in proper manner; this is a relief and a mercy upon you, from your Lord). It is highly recommended by Allah (Glory to him) to provide compensation for the damaged caused by an offence as a way for relieving the offended person's feeling and removing the psychological consequences caused by that offence. In addition, people are aware of certain Islamic principles in the Prophetic tradition. The Prophet Muhammad says: (لا ضرر ولا ضرار)- literary means "There should be no harm and no harming". It is indicated in this prophetic saying that any type of harm should be repaired either spiritually or materially (www.alukah.net, 2013). Even when the damage involves the death of the offended person, an amount of money should be given to his family as an Islamic apology. This compensation is confirmed by the Holy Qur'an when Allah (Glory to him) says: "And never is it for a believer to kill a believer except by mistake. And whoever kills a believer by mistake – then the freeing of a believing slave and a compensation payment presented to the deceased's family [is required] unless they give [up their right as] charity. Thus, to restore social equilibrium in Iraqi contexts where physical damage is committed, compensation should work as a tool to ease anger, restore social dignity: therefore, these formulations implicate an effective and successful apology.

7.2.5 Promise for repair

Another strategy of apology is the use of a promise for repair which is directly related to the remedial intention of the apologizer in which he/she shows his determination to repair damage. This apology is realized by the use of future tense expressions. However, a promise for repair by using a future tense is described as symbolic because it might include merely expressing a promise in a conventionalized way, possibly as an empty routine formula. However, a promise for repair implies the speaker's acknowledgment of responsibility, that is why the apologizer promises that the damage will be repaired. However, few data involving promises in future tenses to express promises for repair were observed in the Iraqi Arabic and EFL data:

- **Iraqi Arabic Promise of repair**

1. اني جدا اسف وكع غصبا عني ، راح اشتريلك واحد او اصلحه شتريد اني حاضر
I am so sorry, it fell down accidentally, I will buy one for you.
2. اني اسف كسرت الشاشلة راح اكرر اصلحها

I am sorry, I broke the screen. I will be able to repair it.

3. بابا اعذرني داخ ،عندي مشكلة كبيرة وراح اصلحك السيارة واي شيء تطلبه اني حاضر
Forgive me, I am confused, I have a problem, I will repair the car....
4. هذا خطأي واني راح اتكلف باي مصاريف واني اسف جدا
This is my mistake, and I will pay any costs, and I am so sorry.

- **Iraqi EFL Promise of repair**

1. *I am really sorry; I will help you.*
2. *I am sorry, I will buy another screen for you*
3. *I am sorry, I will buy another screen for you*
4. *Sorry for that I will buy a new one for you*
5. *Sorry for doing that, I will compensate you*
6. *Oh, I will take you to the maintenance, and will pay all the cost of the damage.*

The illocutionary force of a promise of repair is categorized as a positive politeness strategy. The context in which promises are uttered and the apologizer's intention to get the damage repaired imply sincere apology towards the apologizee. In addition, a promise for repair was used by the participants most frequently for apologizing for two severe offences: situation (4): formatting someone's USB memory card deleting all its data, and situation (10): crashing someone's car causing serious damage. So, promises for repair for these severe offences serve as a device to convey to the offended person that the apologizer cooperates with him/her. And they also acknowledge the responsibility for committing the offence and moving to the speech act of repairing. However, with an overall frequency of 288 occurrences of promises for repair, the Iraqi EFL learners were more frequent promisers for repair than the IANs (181 and 107 respectively).

It could be argued that making promises involves that positive politeness strategies can also be used for making the social distance closer and to emphasize a good relationship by giving promises when apologizing. This is in accordance with Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that the strategies of positive politeness are not only for saving the FTAs but are also used as a social facilitator in which the apologizer intends to come closer. This can be consistent with Scollon and Scollon's (2001) involvement and dependency in which politeness strategies are viewed as a contrastive social model. By involvement, the apologizer intends to be considered as a member of society supporting others. Such

involvement can be achieved by giving consideration and respect to others whereas dependency refers to the person's own behaviour and right and stresses that "their right not to be completely dominated by group or social values, and to be free from the impositions of others" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 47). It is moreover, involving that the interlocutors behave with some degree of freedom and at the same time give consideration to others with no imposition.

7.2.6 Promise for forbearance

This strategy occurred relatively little in both Iraqi Arabic and EFL learners' apologies but it was used in certain situations (6) being late for a lecture, (9) making a wrong call in a midnight, (11) disturbing an elderly brother, (13) disturbing a youngest sister and (15) missing a meeting with a supervisor. There was no significant difference in using such strategy; the IANs used 4 incidences while the EFL learners' promise for forbearance occurred only 7 times where the apologizers express their interest to save their own face by redressing the situation with a promise that a future offence will not reoccur. According to Blum-Kulka, *et al.* (1983), a promise for forbearance is situation-specific strategy which is restricted to offences which the offender could have avoided, but did not. It can be used to acknowledge a feeling of responsibility on the part of the apologizer because of its commissive feature. However, this strategy indicated that the apologizers promised that a committed offence will not be repeated in the future. What categorizes this strategy as a positive politeness strategy is that they are used when the offender-offended social equilibrium is important to the offender who envisages how repetitive aggressive behavior significantly threatens that social equilibrium. However, the total number of promises for forbearance amounts to only 11 incidences; 7 in English and 4 in Iraqi Arabic. Their occurrences are highly limited to convenient offences. The promises for forbearance were realized by certain linguistic formulations which express the denial that the offence won't be repeated in the future. Iraqi Arabic promises for forbearance were realized by the expression *إن شاء الله ماتتكرر* [lit. *If Allah wills, it won't happen again*] and *هذه اول وآخر مرة* [lit. *this is the first and the last time*]. This strategy was used in situations where the speaker feels that the offence is severe and thus asserts that the offence will not happen again

whereas the EFL learners have used the typical form of commissive utterance [Subject+ will not+ infinitive] or [Object+ will not be+ P.P], such as in the following examples:

- **Iraqi Arabic promises for forbearance**

1. [s9] العفو عيني ماقصدي كنت اتصور صديقي ، وان شاءالله بعد ماتكرر واني جدا اسف
[Lit] *Forgive me my eye, I didn't mean, I thought you are my friend. If Allah wills, I won't do it again and I am so sorry.*
2. [s13] العفو حبيبتي بعد ماعيدها وياج ، هسة راح انصي الاغاني واذا تريدن اطفيه الك
[Lit. *Forgive me my beloved, I won't repeat it with you. Now I will slow down the sound volume, and if you want I will turn it off.*

- **EFL learners' promises for forbearance**

3. *I am sorry the traffic was busy, I used to come the first one, I will not do it again. [S6].*
4. *I am so sorry for being late because I have some reasons to late today. And I will not repeat that again. [S6].*
5. *Sorry sir, but you know public transport; it is very limited time table please let me enter and I will not do that again. [S6].*
6. *Sorry doctor, yesterday I was very busy, I will not repeat and I am so sorry because I couldn't send any letter to let you know. [S15]*
7. *Sorry, I had an emergency I could not send an email, I won't do that again, please accept my apology. S15*

In terms of positive politeness strategy, an offer for repair, a promise for repair and promise for balance serve the function of apology more accurately than the IFIDs and explaining an account, assuming that all of them address the speaker's and the hearer's positive face aiming to re-establish social equilibrium. Therefore, in spite of being regarded as direct strategies, it is argued that such strategies can be used effectively when apologizing to situations involving physical damage. Thus, expressing an account in terms of expressing concern functions as a restorative for social harmony between the offender and the offended person while an offer for repair, a promise for repair and promise for forbearance emphasize the future speaker-hearer relationship. It could be argued that by offering a repair or promise for repair the apologizer acknowledges no responsibility for committing the offence whereas a promise for forbearance and promise for repair entail the offender's acknowledgement of responsibility for past and future behaviour.

- *I don't know how this happened! I will buy a new one for you (S4).*

It is therefore, quite difficult to generalize whether offers of repair involve responsibility or not, and it is also not possible to decide whether offers of repair entail the speaker's acceptance of responsibility for the committed offence without considering the context of situation in which the offence happened. Thus, the context of situation should necessarily be included when investigating a positive politeness strategy like an offer of repair. Such a context of situation can also reveal the apologizer's willingness to acknowledge responsibility for committing an offence. Let us consider the following examples:

- *I have lost the documents; I don't know what happened!*
- *My mind was very busy. I will look for them and find them as soon as possible.*

It could be argued, based on the above examples, that offers of repair entail different degrees of responsibility. Some Iraqi participants did not give any justification for losing the documents in situation 14 while some others provided much more information about the offence elaborating that those documents should be found as soon as possible. Thus, the strategy of accounting further reveals that the context of situation in which the offence occur should be considered. This context could include the offended person's awareness of the offence or the apologizer's awareness of the degree of the offence; these two issues are important not only for explaining the nature of the offence, but for reformulating the strategy of repairing the damage caused by the offence as well. Accordingly, the apologizer's willingness to acknowledge responsibility can be reflected in offers of repair. Further, the situational context has a relative influence on understanding and interpreting any offers of repair and promises for forbearance which can be best clarified by their function in situation (14) involving workplace offence and (15) involving academic offence (Cohen and Olshtain, 1996; Al-Adaleih,2007). Offers of repair and promises for forbearance were both employed to avoid the punishments in these situations where the former assumes another form of compensation while the latter minimises the seriousness of the offence by describing it as exceptional; yet both of them function contradictorily with the function of apologies.

7.3 Extended Apologies

Apologies can be seen from a variety of perspectives, formal and functional, interactive and interlinguistic. Any speech act might clarify how points of interdisciplinary perspective on speech acts are needed, but apologies are particularly good examples, theoretically rich as well as practically important in terms of enhancing social relations and restoring a social equilibrium (Lakoff, 1999). Apologies serve functions which range from humiliation for committing an offence, to conventional moderating of the social moves, to expressions of sympathy, and mollification for intended bad behavior. Thus, in terms of form-function relationships, apologies can be viewed as one-to-many and many-to-one. This makes the researcher's task more challenging yet more interesting. The formal expressions of apology [*I am sorry*] whether sincere or not, and the functional perspective of apology via expressing apology by different strategies tend to be ambiguous. Therefore, examining apologies requires new approaches. New approaches for handling apologies can offer insights into what apologies are and what functions they serve. Nonetheless, our data display a variety of apologies in the form of sequences or extended expressions of apologies involving multiple strategies. These instances of apology were analyzed and viewed from a pragmatic discourse approach.

7.3.1 Sequences of Apology Samples:

1- والله يابه هل شهر طلعتلي شغلته دعمت سياره وغرمني ابو المرور او وكع عليه تعمير السيارة الثانيه
وصرفت عليه كل فلوسي وأنطيت الشرطي قرامه سبعةش الف دينار وظليت مطلوب شويه والجاكيت
ما جبتلكياه هل شهر ان شاء الله الشهر الجاي من اخذ الراتب ادلل وتاخذه من عيوني بس اريدك ما
تزعل عليه.

1. [*Literal Translation. By Allah, my father, this month I had a problem, I had hit a car and the police officer has forfeit me and I had to repair the damaged car, therefore I spent all my money and I gave the police officer 17 thousand Dinar, and I remained in debt and I couldn't buy the coat this month. Next month when I get my salary I will buy it, you will take it from my eyes, but I don't want you to be upset*].

[Situation 5].

This situation involves a family offence in which an IAN speaker promised his father to buy a new coat for him for the occasion of the Eid festival, but did not keep this promise. Justification is used in this example as an apology strategy, as the apologizer explains that he has hit a car and paid some money as a fine and also paid for repairing the damaged car. Therefore, he/she could not buy the jacket. Then, the speaker promised a repair as another sub-strategy for addressing the addressee's negative face by re-establishing the social relations and deference by confirming that he will buy it as soon as he/she receives his salary. Finally, a specific type of metaphor was [من عيوني] *from my eyes* employed within the speaker's explanation. This connotes the impression of politeness and that his father will certainly have the coat so as not to make him upset.

It is noted that the apologizer's response was formally initiated with religious swearing with a justification and concluded with a promise for repair flavoured with this polite expression of metaphor. From a functional point of view, the apology has served the function of social courtesy and deference towards the apologizer. To support this argument, Wagner (2003) stated that social courtesy and deference can be regarded as positive politeness functions when the apologizer use deference markers such as forms of address and title and kinship terms. Similarly, Brown and Levinson (1987: 74) assumed that "...negative politeness is the universally preferred approach to facework: "It is safer to assume that H (hearer) prefers his peace and self-determination more than he prefers your expressions of regard, unless you are certain to the contrary".

2- والله يا خيتي زينه اني حيل خجلان منج وما ادري شلون اسولف وياج جيتج والله رجل وره ورجل جدام
اني على اساس ردت انظفها واثاري اني بالغلط توهمت ودست على زر المسح بدال التنظيف ونمسحن كل
ملفاتج والله اني هسه حيل خجلان منج ومستعد اذا ترهم بفلوس بناموس ارجعهن بس والله العظيم مو
بيدي وما ادري شكلج والله اني هسه اسولف ويج وحيل مستحي منج ياخيتي.

2-By Allah my sister, I am very ashamed and I don't know how to speak with you. I come to you and my legs: one forward and the other backward. I was supposed to scan your USB flash-memory card, but accidentally I clicked format by mistake instead of scan and all your data were deleted. By Allah now I am very ashamed

and I am ready if it could be restored by money or something else to back up your data, but by the greatest Allah it is out of my control. I don't know what to say, by Allah I am talking to you and I am very embarrassed my sister.

In this response, the apologizer is a university student apologizing for his colleague who is a female called Zinah. Starting the apology by swearing flavored with kinship terms *والله ياخييتي* [By Allah, my sister] and expressing self-embarrassment *اني حيل خجلان منج* [I am very ashamed] and using a metaphor *جيتج والله رجل وره ورجل جدام* [I come to you and my legs: one forward and the other backward], the speaker then continues to use other strategies of apology such as expressing a lack of intent and a promise to repair and concluding the apology with further swearing, self-embarrassment and kinship terms. It is also noted that the final elements performed with certain expressions of swearing with self-embarrassment and kinship terms expressions are symmetrical with the initial functions and so bring the addressee back to the way in which the apologizer started his apology. Thus, using a variety of politeness markers, such the aforementioned “swearing, address forms, metaphor and self-embarrassment”, works as way to maximize the seriousness of the offence and amplify the concern felt for the offended person and establish the solidarity (Leech, 1983, Cohen and Olshtain 1986). The function of apology observed in this sequence is much more related to expressing self-regret through using self-embarrassment expressions with social amendment of the fault by employing promises and offers of repair. The functions of apologies mentioned above were not transferred or not performed in the intercultural domain when apologizing in English. The same participant apologized by using different strategies performing different functions by uttering: “*I am very sorry sister. Forgive me; I will try to resolve this problem*”. Expressing regret, asking forgiveness and promise for forbearance were used as apology strategies, but the function performed is expressing regret. It is noted that the difference between the Iraqi Arabic and the EFL's apologies in such cases is represented by the use of verbosity of expression, metaphorical terms and swearing – but only in the Iraqi Arabic context. The absence of such strategies in the L2

indicates the apologizers' awareness of how they understand speech acts in the intercultural domain. Further, the reason behind this difference might be an indication for the apologizers' focus on meaning "function". In this aspect, Fahey (2005) notes that "*The recognition of the meaning of a particular speech act in a given cultural setting is at the heart of successful intercultural communication*".

3- والله زينة اني حقيفة اريد اعتذر منك . اني تره مثل اخوك . وارجو ان يوسع صدرك وتتقبلين اعتذاري قبل لا اكلك السبب . احنه اخوة ودائما الاخوة تكون على المحك بالمواقف الصعبة . اني الله شاهد ومثل ما تعرفين وطلبتني مني انو انظفك جهاز الذاكرة بس والله صار خطأ وانحذفت البيانات . لكن مع ذلك اني راح احاول استشير اصدقائي هم حقيفة متخصصين في حفظ البيانات واسترجاعها وان شاء الله يصير خير . واني مع ذلك مستعد لاي شي انتي تطلبه ممكن يصلح المشكلة . لان والله اني حيل مغثوث من اللي صار وضليت طول اليوم بدون نوم ولا راحة.

3-By Allah, in fact I want to apologize for you. I am as your brother. I hope you to be relaxed and accept my apology before I say the reason. We are brother and the brothers always on the edge of difficult situations. Allah witnesses, and as you know, you have requested me to scan your USB, but by Allah, by mistake all the files were deleted. But I will consult my friends, they are actually specialised in restoring the files and back them up. I am further, ready for anything you ask so that the problem could be solved because by Allah I am so upset for what happened and I stayed all the day without sleeping or comfort.'

In this sequence of apology, the offended person is referred to by her proper name (Zinah) supported by using social brotherhood terms as [*we are brothers*]. Next, the apologizer begs the offended person to be relaxed by using a metaphorical expression وارجو ان يوسع صدرك [Literally means: *expand your chest*] whereas pragmatically means [*I beg you to be relaxed...*]. These expressions were used a preface for the apology as an attempt to soften and ease the offended person's anger and annoyance. Then, the idea of social brotherhood is repeated by saying [*we are brothers and the brothers are always on the edge of the hard situations*]. The apologizer later expresses his lack of intent for committing the offence and supports this strategy by using the religious assertion that Allah is witnessing what he says. Further, a promise was employed for repairing the damage, in particular to

back up the deleted files. This promise of repair was emphasized by using yet another implied, apparently open-ended promise expressed by a hedging performativity that “*I am ready for anything you ask*”. This extended sequence of apologetic behavior ended with expressing self-embarrassment and concern for the hearer. Thus, figure (27) shows the sequence of performing apology in this sequence:

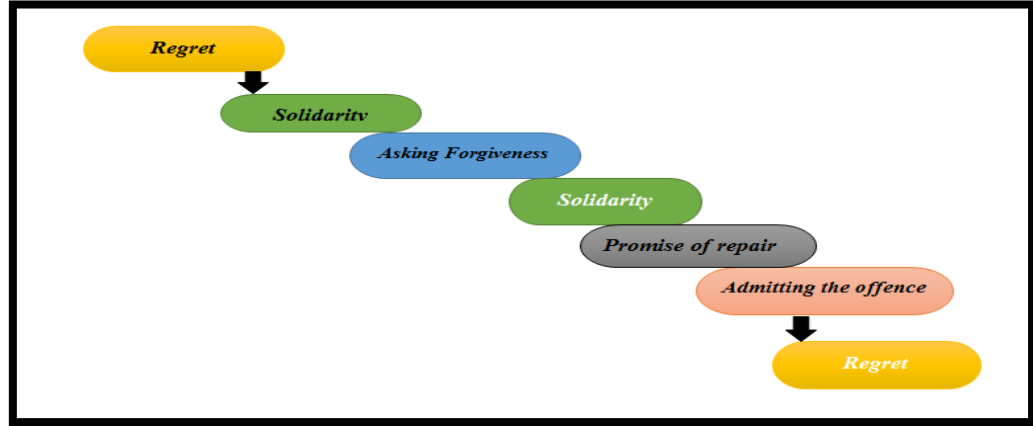


Figure [30]: Apology Sequence in S3

The intercultural apology for the same situation offered a few of the above functions such as expressing regret, admitting the offence and promise for repair, such as in: “*I made a big mistake. I am very sorry. I will do my best to back up your data*”. It is noted that solidarity was only expressed in the Iraqi Apologies and such solidarity was realized by the apologizer’s involvement in the language of in-group or collectivistic by using expressions like “*we are brothers*”; *I am like your brother*”. This finding can be in accord with Holmes’s (1992) claim that the language of solidarity should be collective since it identifies group differences or solidarity between the group members. It is noted that solidarity was well established by Iraqi individuals who know each other well. When apologizing to an Iraqi person who is familiar to the apologizer, an adequate positive politeness can be established throughout using informal language which represents Arabic solidarity that enhances the collectivistic nature of people.

4- والله اني ما جنت اقصد الاستهزاء بالمرضى .. وتدرى هذا امر الله واحنه كليته معرضين
 للامراض بس ستر وحفظ الله حافظنه.. واني اكو واحد كالي تره (زيد) بي سرطان فاني حجيت

هاي النكتة رده نظحك ونضحك ويانه واني ادري ببيك عزيزتك قويه وما تدبير بال وادري ببيك انت
ايمانك قوي بأمر الله وما تدبير بال وله اني شلون اسولف هاي السالفه لو ادريك تزعل او اجرح
شعورك.

3-By Allah, I didn't mean to make fun of a patient. You know this is a fate by Allah, and all of us might be affected with diseases, but Allah protects us. One told me that you have disease so I said this joke just for laughing and I wanted to make you laugh with us. I know you have a strong will and you don't care for that. I know that your faith in Allah and you don't care; how can I say such a joke if I know you may upset or how can I hurt your feeling.'

Here there is a variety of ways by which apology modifiers are presented. First, the apologizer expresses his lack of intent preceded by religious swearing, and attributing the offence to the predestination by Allah (God) claiming that “وتدري هذا امر الله واحنه كليته” [You know this is a fate by Allah, and all of us might be affected with diseases, but Allah protects us]. The apologizer, next, justifies that saying the joke was just for laughing rather than to make fun of diseased people. The offended person is also doubly flattered by praising him as having a strong will and determination over the disease as well as having a strong belief in Allah. The last internal modifiers of apology used in this sequence of apology are exclamations where the apologizer says “how can I say such a joke if I know you have cancer, and how can I hurt your feeling.” However, one of the remarkable things in this situation is that this apology begins with expressed lack of intent and concludes symmetrically with the same sub-strategy flavored with praising the offended person to ease any remaining tension and anger. Apologies in English to the same situation did not include religious concepts nor expresses solidarity, but only express regret and a lack of bad intention. The most frequent strategy used for apologizing to that situation (1) is “I am really sorry. I didn't mean to hurt you”.

Here, it is worth further referring to the relationship between context and apologies. In the sequence stated above, the situational context is constructed as religious where an ill person

in Arabic culture is involved in something which is believed to be predestinated by Allah and people are religiously prohibited to make fun of others. Thus, to perform a relevant apology speech act in such situations requires using religious expressions in Arabic. Thus, this kind of context and apology function are closely interrelated with each other; i.e. the context is at least partly or wholly determined and verbally invoked in terms of an apology function; therefore, the context of situation is realized by communicative functions that are typically realized in that situation (Penzell, 2007). At the same time, the function of apology can be determined by analyzing the kind of context of situation required for performing such apologies by focusing on the strategies of apology. For instance, the expression of IFIDs out of context is useless or does not serve the social function of apology. Rather, the apologizer needs to recognize the effects of the offence and the apologizee also needs to distinguish the apologizer's intention, i.e. the expression of apology [*I am sorry, or sorry*] might be interpreted as a regret, sarcasm, or condolence. The use of extended apologies, however, can be in accordance with Hymes' claim that "speech events and speech situation are cultural constructs and the norms of behavior and attitude associated with them belong within particular speech communities" (Hymes, 1972).

5- العفو ياسيادة المدير ، بخصوص الاوراق ، واني محرج منك ضميتهم بالقاصة وماعرف وين خليتهم

،ماعرف وين راحن اني اسف جدا ، ياريت تنطيني مجال بلكي ادلكاهم فاتطيني مجال بس اليوم الله يخليك

5-Forgive me your majesty manager, concerning the documents, I am so embarrassed. I have kept them in the store and I don't know where are they, I don't know where they disappear, I am so sorry. I hope you give me time therefore, I hope I can find them, so please give me time for today may Allah protect you.

Ostensibly, an apology in a workplace situation does not differ much from other domains. In sequence (5), the apology begins with using address forms since it is directed from a lower to a higher social status speaker so as to show deference to the offended person. Then, the apologizer moves to another strategy which is expressing self-deficiency with expressing regret [*I am so sorry*]. In order to minimize the effect of the offence and to reassure the offended person that the offence will be repaired, the apologizer uses a request asking the apologizee to grant him some time just for one day to look for the documents.

The use of 'just today' gives an impression to the offended person that the documents will certainly be found soon. This request is also modified by using a religious expression [*may Allah protect you*]. Yet despite using religious expressions and expressing self-deficiency, there is no explicit taking of responsibility for committing the offence. This might be traceable to the people's awareness or fear of losing their jobs, i.e. Iraqi Arabic people might prefer to use conventional strategies of apology such as expressing self-deficiency and lack of intent rather than acknowledging responsibilities. Similarly, the intercultural apology in this situation has included an extended apology speech act starting with using address forms followed by apology preface and expressing regret. Next, the apologizer expresses his lack of intent followed by a request for granting him time to look for the documents. Finally, the utterance of apology is finalized with asking forgiveness.

"Dear manager, I would like to tell you something bad about the documents and sorry to say where I put the documents, I didn't know where they are? I know they are very important but give me more time to look for about them, please forgive me".

It is noted that there is some similarity between the Iraqi and English apology in the workplace situation. This similarity can be attributed to the Iraqi people's awareness of the significance of job retention: they might lose their jobs since keeping a job in both the Arabic and English culture is hard and being fired is an employment problem and a social disgrace; therefore, such a problem affects the participants' choice of apology strategy.

6- العفو استاذي العزيز بخصوص الموعد ، صحيح الموعد مهم جدا ، واحد من اخوتي صار عنده مشكلة ،
ووديته للمستشفى وسبحان الله صادفت ويه هذا الموعد وارجو المعذرة .

6-Forgive me my dear teacher, concerning the appointment. It is true the appointment is very important, but one of my brothers had a problem and therefore, I should have taken to the hospital, and glory is to Allah all this coincided with the appointment, I beg your forgiveness.

It can be noted that the IANs' apologies are an ideal context for expressing any unique social ties perceived with the offended person and also to enhance and encourage social brotherhood on the basis of common respect and deference. Like previous extended apologies, the example above also involves a variety of extended strategies of apologies. The apology starts with addressing the offended person using honorific forms flavored with endearment expressions. Then, the apologizer admits committing an offence with justifying that violation to end up with asking for forgiveness. As argued by Harris (2006), language can be used as a robust marker of social reform, capable of restoring social equilibrium. The apologies elicited in the academic and workplace domains are more implicit than explicit due to the excessive use of an accounting strategy. The sincerity of such apologies is realized by using plain linguistic expressions to admit the wrongdoings rather than clouding the fact or avoiding responsibility.

As opposed to some researchers (Blum-Kulka, 1986, Edmonson and House, 1991) who claimed that L2 learners tend to use a large number of linguistic expressions to achieve a communicative aim, but here the Iraqi EFL learners did not tend to such verbosity of expressions. Linguistic verbosity in the Iraqi Arabic apologies are represented by words or expressions expressed well beyond a minimum (that would be required in English). Such linguistic style represents the violation of Grice's maxim of quantity which holds that the speaker's contribution should not be more informative than required. Thus, instead of being more explicit, the use of extended apologies may result in pragmatic failure. This might help interpret the reason behind the absence of extended apologies in the Iraqi EFL learners. The results show how this group predominantly preferred the typical utterance of apology [*I am sorry*] in different situations whereas the IANs used widely different strategies to realize the apology speech act.

However, table (20) shows the overall strategies emerged in certain situations. It is noted that the verbosity of expressions (extended apologies) were used only in the Iraqi Arabic apologies.

Family Context	Social Context	Social Context	Social Context	Workplace context	Academic Context
Strategy	Strategy	Strategy	Strategy	Strategy	Strategy
Oath expressions	Endearment expressions	Swearing with regret	Oath &lack of intent	Honorific terms	Honorific terms
Justification	Oath	Offer of apology	Determinism &justification	Self-deficiency	Admitting offence
Promise of repair	Blaming	Metaphor with request	Praising the victim	Regret	Justification
Metaphorical expressions	Lack of intent	Metaphor with swearing	Exclamation	Request &vocation	Asking forgiveness
-----	Promise of repair	Admitting offence	-----	-----	-----
-----	Endearment expressions	Promise of repair	-----	-----	-----
-----	Self-embarrassment	Swearing with regret	-----	-----	-----
-----	Oath		-----	-----	-----
Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
5	8	11	6	5	4

Table [20]: Frequency of extended strategies of apology

Overall, this table shows how some, at least, elements of Iraqi Arabic apology are not only a sequence of pragmatic moves which interlock with discourse but that, as many previous examples show, some moves are repeatedly interwoven with social and religious elements. These elements seem normal in Arabic and are hardly exaggerated in Iraqi contexts but interculturally, say from a British perspective, some elements are unlikely to occur and are culturally dissonant in British English. The literal translations of the previous examples seem distinctly odd, as English, and a British reaction to receiving these as an apology is likely to be that they are not only culturally flavored but so exaggerated that they are likely to be interpreted as insincere and so seem pragmatic failures which do not realize the Iraqi Arabic speaker's intentions.

7.4 Apology Analysis by Strategies: Summary

One major aim behind the analysis of apologies conducted here is to answer the main research question *what strategies of apology are used by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and the Iraqi EFL learner?* As shown in the literature review the realization of apologies

varies according to certain factors like the seriousness of the offence, social power, social distance and status and the degree of imposition between the apologizer and the apologizee (Brown and Levinson 1987). Related to the research questions, the findings here indicate that both groups of participants used relatively different strategies of apology according to the type of situation and the seriousness of the offence. The motivation behind using strategies of apology in Iraqi Arabic is the severity of offence beside with the participants' awareness of the social distance and power and status of offended person, as seen in (Situation 6: being late for the first lecture, Situation14: losing important financial documents belong to a boss of a company, Situation15: not turning up to a supervisor's meeting). However, the connection between recognition of social power and the seriousness of the offence was not observed in situations involving family offence. This perception has been recognized by the Iraqi Arabic responses which minimize the need for apology between the member of a family with their justification that apologizing in this domain might create a gap or minimize the social intimacy between them. This can be validated by the non-apologetic behaviour and the absence of intensification in such situation (11), presumably apologizing to a little brother and situation 13 when apologizing to a little sister). Yet extended apologies or exaggerated apologies occurred only in the situations of severe offences regardless of social status. Such apologies were observed in apologizing to a friend (situation 1), classmate (situation 4) and to persons of different social status and power, such as, boss/manager (situation 14) and supervisor (situation 15).

7.5 Semi-structured interview Analysis

The aim of this section is to analyze the data elicited by the semi-structured interview (examples have already been used to support previous analyses). This interview yielded a wide range of responses by the participants, who had previously engaged in the open role play. Thus, by examining their responses, the researcher aims at answering the research question "*How is apology perceived in the Iraqi Arabic culture?*" A thematic analysis was conducted by examining the interviewee's responses. The interviewees were asked key questions about apology such as (a) what does an apology mean to them? (b) When do they apologize and why, (c) How can an apology be effective or successful? Does apology differ

according to the apologizee's gender, social status, and age? (e) Do they often apologize? Further, the researcher raised questions when noting certain odd responses that need to be clarified. Thus, the researcher aimed to elicit some detailed images of apology in the Iraqi Arabic which were not evident in open role play and DCT.

7.5.1 The conceptualization of apology

The participants' responses revealed different concepts about apology and all of them meet one aim regardless to their variations. Having interviewed the participants about their view about apology, the conceptualization of apology was viewed differently. First, apology as a speech act and social phenomena is perceived by these IAN as behaviour related to *courage*. They claim that a person who apologizes is courageous. This reflects the social perception that Iraqi Arabic in particular and Arabs in general are among the least apologizing people due to their pride and perception that an apology reduces individual dignity. When this is seen as threatening, courage is required to face and overcome this threat. For examples:

“Frankly, we do consider apology as courage, and the more apologies you make, the lovelier and courageous you will be”. [participant:26]

“Apology is one of the signs of brave and honest man” [participant:3]

Second, an apology is regarded as a part of human *morals*. The participants stated that the more a person apologizes, the more polite and honest they will be. Consider the following examples:

“Of course, apology is very necessary if I am mistaken. I do consider apology as a part of politeness”. [participant: 39]

“Apology is very important because it reflects the politeness of persons” [participant: 41].

This conceptualization comes in line with the previous research about apology. Carranza, et al. (2015) showed that making and accepting apologies is a matter of redressing wrong doings and establishing restorations which is moral. It is indicated that apologies are not

enough as a restoration to the offended person of serious offences. Apologies are valuable in themselves and both physical and moral violation can be redressed.

A third conceptualization of apology was associated with *religion*. Some participants linked their apology with the religious principles that apology is a virtuous necessity and repentance. In terms of virtue, the Prophetic saying that “*a person should not abandon another person more than three days if an offence or social wrongdoing committed by one of them.*” By this religious recommendation, it becomes mandatory to apologize. The Messenger of Allah “*Muhammad*” (Peace be upon him) said, “*It is not lawful for a Muslim to desert (stop talking to) his brother beyond three nights, the one turning one way and the other turning to the other way, when they meet, the better of the two is one who is the first to greet the other*” (Al-Bukhari and Muslim: Book 18, Hadith 1592). As for repentance, apology is also perceived as repentance after offending or making a mistake. Repentance is more associated with religion than social interaction since it is viewed as apology directed to Allah (God). In the Islamic culture people do not say they apologize to Allah, but more accurately and in commonly used expressions they repent to Allah asking forgiveness. Together with vocative expressions (*‘brother’, ‘sister’, ‘my dear teacher’*) expressing fraternity and respect, and religious swearing and invocations to Allah (God), the key notion of the Islamic obligation to apologize and concept of forgiveness reinforce the specifically Islamic framework of apology evident in these datasets. The diagram (28) shows the different conceptualization of apology in the Iraqi Arabic culture:

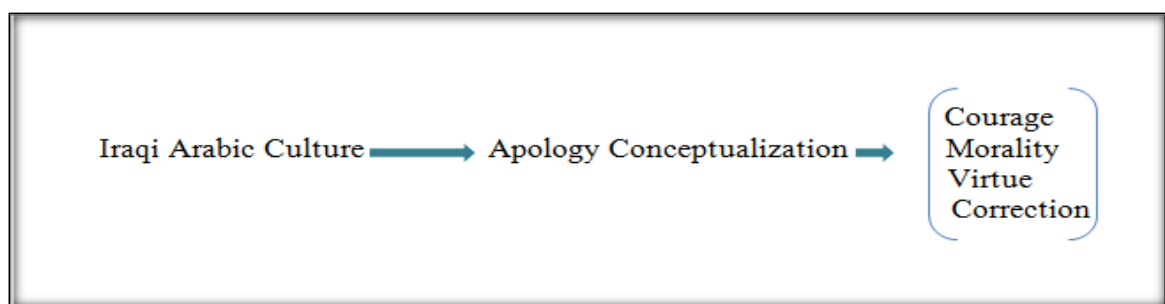


Figure [31]: Apology Conceptualization

Thus, according to the various conceptualizations shown above, the Iraqi Arabic apologies are expected to be produced by using different strategies, singly or in combination, and are aimed to achieve different functions. The overall point of view concluded by the Iraqi Arabic interviewees underlines the necessity of apology in their culture. This is apparently at odds with the perception of the rarity of apologies in Arabic, an issue that seems to depend on how the context and situation may not require an apology in Arabic, but when it does, do so and this is seen as a strong obligation. Thus, establishing social harmony and showing friendliness are prominent components in the Iraqi Apologies; this was not found in the English apologies. In agreement with Haugh's (2006) argument, the findings of apology perception suggest that solidarity and friendliness are significant elements underlying perception of apology in Iraqi context. Thus, IANs tend to enhance solidarity through making apologies in order to avoid negative consequences with the offended person.

Moreover, previous apology studies have shown that Arabic native speakers often produce an apology for different purposes (Hassan, 2014; Al-Adaileh, 2007), for example, apologies could be given in order to ask for forgiveness from humans but also – or even more so - from Allah. Apologies can also be performed in order to avoid disagreement, and to show good manners, for instance when yawning, sneezing, or interrupting others and when starting a speech, but the main apology aim as stressed by the participants here is to restore equilibrium within social relationships.

7.5.2 Apology and Imposition

The second finding is about when an apology should be given. All interviewed participants confirmed they should apologize when they commit an offence or make a mistake. Some argued that an apology could be given even when no offence is committed since they perceive apology as a divine social behaviour that can change gloomy relations into happier ones. For example:

“Apology is a necessary if I did a mistake.....” [participant: 49].

- “Apology is compulsory if I was mistaken, and even if I am not mistaken, apology is lovely thing...” [participant:11].
- I apologize for any mistake...” [participant:22].

It is clear from the given responses, that Iraqi Arabic apologies are produced whether there is mistake or not. Their apologizing is performed to save the offended person's and the apologizer's face. They perceived how apology aims at restoring social relation, showing etiquette and courtesy. An Iraqi individual may say that he is sorry when s/he feels that a mistake is likely to happen as a way for apologizing in advance of a social transgression. In addition, such perception could be consistent with Eelen's view (2000) of politeness orders: politeness 1 in which the Iraqi Arabic perceived the apology as speech act behaviour, and politeness 2 which denoted the actual Iraqi Arabic apology.

7.5.3 Apology and Gender

A gender factor was also noted in the participants' responses as having an impact on their perceptions of apology. It is worth mentioning that apology strategies in the present study were not examined in terms of gender differences due to the difficulty to find an adequate number of Iraqi Arabic females. Most of the Iraqi female participants were unwilling to be video or audio recorded for religious and social considerations. Thus, only Iraqi males were recruited as the main subjects of the study. Thus, as far as the apology perception is concerned, most participants answered that there is no need to apologize to their sister. They justified their responses by claiming that since they are a family member, their social relationship is very close and this kind of intimacy does not necessarily require an apology, i.e. uttering an apology might create a gap between them if it occurred whereas apologizing to their mother or father was highly signified by the participants. As they stated, apologizing to their mother is not like apologizing to their wife. The latter apology is distinct since their parents and mother in particular were highly praised and recommended by Allah and his prophet Muhammad to be respected and treated gently. Consider the following views:

“... while apologizing for the young sister is not compulsory. I sometimes try to apologize for my youngest sister, but not seriously” [participant: 17].

“Apology sometimes is not necessary for the youngest sisters and brothers”
[participant: 37].

“Apology is often rare for the wife. The reason behind this is the closeness with the wife. The wife may be surprised if I apologized”. [participant: 63]

Another prominent perception is the rareness of apology towards the wife. Most participants have confirmed that apologizing to the wife is not necessary. The researcher would expect that such finding could also be confirmed by a female participating. They justified their perception by referring to the social intimacy and ties between them. If an Iraqi individual apologizes to his wife, there might be a negative gap seen between them; therefore, they stressed that such apology is not required. For instance, one participant replied that “*Me and my wife are united as one soul in two bodies, she is myself; how can I apologize to myself!*” In addition, the participants’ perception involved a comparison between apologizing to the mother and wife. Apologizing to a mother is more emphasized than to a wife. Although the Islamic rules recommend apologizing for mother and wife, a mother is perceived by the participants to be the most important person who requires apology. The participants’ responses are shown below:

“Apologizing for the wife is not like apologizing for the mother. I may apologize for my wife or may not, but it is a must to apologize for the mother. The social distance with the wife is very close and sometimes we are by some means big-headed with the wife, but for the mother, Islam significantly urges and recommends us to respect the parents. [participant: 27].

Thus, it can be concluded that the social view of apology in terms of gender varied according to the status of the offended person and this also gives an insight to the politeness strategies in Iraqi contexts and the nature of apology speech acts whether they are formulaic rather than systematic.

7.5.4 Apology and Social Distance and power

Finally, apology was also perceived by interviewees in terms of social distance and power. All participants stressed the significance of apologizing for a person of high social status and power. For example:

"... my apology for my supervisor is very necessary and should be effective".

"... Apology depends on the nature of the offended person. The more social distance from the offended person, the more serious apology is and vice versa".

"...When apologizing for my supervisor, I apologize very formally. It does differ from the brother or friend. Therefore, the speech is from lower to higher social status".

"Apologizing for the stranger should be serious while close person may accept any kind of apology. The apologizer knows his wife and her feelings so that apology is not necessary for her".

"I should apologize for the manager because of the social power between us. Because he is the manager and I am an employer, it is necessary to show my deference since he may burn my film [literary: sacked me] at any time".

Apologizing to the manager and supervisor was considered more serious and effective than apologizing to others. Thus, apologizing from low to high positions of power involved swearing expressions and address titles and admitting the offence more than justifying it. Apology, however, to other people of lower social status was not serious; it involved expressions of irony, chains of laughing and annoyance, and blaming the offended person. Consequently, such linguistic politeness throughout apologies can be perceived as a double-sided phenomenon that involves two major facets: a behavior-based facet and a conceptual-base facet. The former indicates the actual way in which apology is used and viewed as part of a communicative process while the latter refers to the common meaning or ideological meaning of apologies in that through it people reflect their views and opinions about apologies. This aligns with Eelen's (2001) distinction between politeness 1 which is about the actual practice of politeness and politeness 2 which is concerned with politeness as a concept. Apology based on social status was perceived by the participants as a significant feature in the Iraqi Arabic situations. This finding is consistent with the results of Holmes'

(1989) investigation which stated that apologizing to people of a high social status is more systematic and effective than apologizing to people of low social status.

7.6 General perception of Politeness in Iraqi Arabic

The perception of politeness in the Iraqi Arabic context can be established by examining a variety of speech acts such as thanking, offering, request and apologies (Sattar, et al. 2010, Alzubaidy, 2011). As far as apologies are concerned, politeness in the Iraqi Arabic culture can be mirrored throughout them. Thus, it is not possible to discuss the perception of apologies outside a theoretical context of politeness. Therefore, certain traditional and modern theories of politeness are selected to be the theoretical background for perceiving politeness in the Iraqi Arabic context. In order to discuss apologies as speech acts in relation to Brown and Levinson's (1987) classic framework of positive and negative politeness, it could be noted that Iraqi Arabic apologies represent positive politeness in most situations. However, apologies are found to be different according to the situation where an offence is committed. In terms of social distance and power variation as in situation 14 and 15, the apologizer (-social status and -power) and the apologizee (+social status and +power) makes the offender apologize in situations of high formality.

In terms of Leech's (1983, 2014) negative politeness, in which apology speech act functions as a way of avoiding conflict, in particular when the offended person has high social status and power. The findings here showed that Iraqi Arabic apologies aimed at relating with and involving the offended person in the collective community so that offended-offender embraces together. This was supported by the IANs' choice of strategies involving solidarity expressions such as "*we are brothers*", endearment expressions such as "*my dear, my love*", and kinship terms such as "*uncle, mother, father, cousin*", etc. All these politeness markers are attributed to be signals of a collectivist culture. However, Iraqi apologies could be considered as negative politeness strategies in formal situations in terms of minimizing the degree of impoliteness. As argued by Leech (1983), negative politeness can be employed for minimizing impoliteness in social interaction. Apologies aim at removing the degree of imposition which is represented by the offence and at avoiding conflict which might cause the situation to be even more offensive. In this regard, it might

be inferred that the apologizee's independence is more important than involvement (Scollon and Scollon, 2001). Following Scollon and Scollon (2001), the Iraqi Arabic politeness resides in the self-image which is more collectivistic; Iraqi apologizers are more expected to establish solidarity and to seek respect of the society members. This leads to a conclusion that Iraqi apologies can be categorized as indicators of negative politeness since most apologies as in situation 4, 8, 14, and 15 express deference rather than involvement.

In relation to Mills' (2003) speaker-and-hearer oriented model, politeness conveyed via apologies in Iraqi Arabic might be regarded as a within-group oriented model since it concerns the speaker, the addressee and third parties. This was well evidenced by the interview findings. This perception of politeness might also cohere with Spencer-Oatey's rapport management model (2000) which focuses on rapport within groups rather than on individuals: rapport five domains were observed in the Iraqi Arabic apologies - the non-verbal behaviours included in the participants' responses are both a culture specific strategy and a situation specific strategy. The Iraqi Arabic apologies are further compatible with Leech's (1983) social politeness; there is a consistency between the purpose of apology as a social restoration and the general communicative aim. However, in this regard, Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Leech's politeness (1983) are not totally in agreement with the present findings. Specifically, Brown and Levinson, and Leech, viewed speech acts as basically polite or impolite. Nonetheless, the present study accords with Spencer-Oatey (2000; 2003) in which politeness is treated as a matter of appropriateness.

Further, Iraqi Arabic politeness can be seen to be in agreement with Watts' (2003; 2005) model of politeness which focuses on politeness as a means of social restoration means between the interlocutors. However, culturally, the Iraqi Arabic politeness was perceived as a matter of respect and deference more than restoring social equilibrium and showing or keeping respect. This was evident in the interviewees' responses, e.g.:

"الكي ابين احترامى وتقديرى للشخص المقابل لازم اعتذر منه، واذا لم اعتذر سوف ياخذ عليه نظره بانه انى غير مؤدب او غير محترم".

In order to show my respect and appreciation for the offended person, I should apologize. If I don't apologize, he/she will regard me as rude".

7.7 Concluding Remarks

It is worth noting that the findings in this chapter are coherent with the findings of the previous studies such as Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989; Cohen and Olshtain, 1990, Al-Adaleih, 2007, Ogiermann, 2009). For instance, IFIDs expressions of apologies in both L1 and L2 are more conventionalised than others, yet they have been related to the notion of negative politeness strategies. In terms of conventions, we argue that the offended person cannot determine the apologizer's intention if the IFIDs are uttered without supporting strategies. However, such expressions of apologies are viewed as the ostensible means of highlighting the interest in establishing social harmony between the apologizer and the apologizee. On the other hand, other strategies like expressing responsibility are not much more routinized than IFIDs and involve much FTA to the apologizer's negative face, but they place more interest to the apologizee's positive face than IFIDs leading to an efficient way of eliciting forgiveness from the offended person. As for account strategies, they ranked in the middle on a politeness scale, being the strategy most directed to the apologizer's positive face, however; they are also directed to the apologizee's positive face by expressing acknowledgment of responsibility and showing the reasons behind committing an offence. Promises and offers for repair, and promises of forbearance are treated as positive politeness strategies. Establishing social harmony in a more verbalized way was achieved by offers and promises of repair while a promise of forbearance functioned as a way of ascertaining the safe continuation of the interactional relationship between the offended and the offender. These strategies, in sum, contribute to the restoration of the speaker's positive face. The table (21), therefore, summarizes the main apology strategies by showing their orientation of positive and negative face address and their means of establishing the social equilibrium:

Main Apology Strategy	Direction	Function
IFIDs	S's negative face and H's positive face	Expressing regret, asking forgiveness
Acknowledging Responsibility	S's negative face and H's positive face	Admitting offence
Account	S's positive face and H positive face	Explanation/justification
Offer/ promise of Repair	S's positive face and H positive face	Compensation
Promise of forbearance	S's negative face and H positive face	Ensuring non-reoccurrence

Table [21]: Apology Strategies and their functions

The present findings support the claim by previous researchers (Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989; Cohen and Olshtain, 1990) that IFIDs and acknowledging responsibility appeared with different degrees, shown in different situations in both Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language, while other strategies such as offers of repair and promises of forbearance are situation specific strategies. As for the offers of repair, it was found that they can also be used for more convenient offences and not necessarily for offences involving physical damage. The findings also indicated that although the Iraqi Arabic IFIDs were realized by a variety of expressions such as اعذرنى [*excuse me*], سامحنى [*forgive me*], اسف [*sorry*], اعتذر [*I do apologize*], the Iraqi EFL learners have showed a noticeable preference for using a typical semantic formula [*I am sorry*]. This semantic formula of IFIDs was followed in most situations by intensification either by employing adverbial intensifiers or by using religious swearing. The use of intensification by the Iraqi EFL learners was higher than in the Iraqi Arabic native speakers' apologies. This was attributed to the fact that using intensification in the second language could be a conventionalized usage as an avoidance strategy which aims at redressing the apologizee's negative face. On the other hand, the Iraqi Arabic native speakers used less intensified apologies where the most preferred formulas were acknowledging responsibility, giving an account, or promise and offer of repair. As participants showed in interviews, Arab people in general do not intensify their apology due to less pervasiveness of apology, i.e. the use of intensification in Iraqi Arabic might be rare as a direct dimension oriented culture (Hofstede, 2010).

The analysis of apologies shows that the most preferable ways of acknowledging responsibility are expressing *self-deficiency* and *lack of intent* in both Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi EFL apologies. This was traceable to the nature of the offence itself. By expressing self-deficiency, the apologizer acknowledges his fault and ascertains from the offended person that this faulty action is really understood to have been unintended. The high frequency of self-deficiency might be located in the speakers' avoidance of acknowledging responsibility directly. Self-deficiency in Iraqi Arabic culture neither expresses apology nor restores the social equilibrium unless they are followed or preceded with other apology modifiers such as IFIDs or another sub-strategy. However, the expressions of lack of intent and/or self-deficiency might reduce the degree of offence and saves the apologizee's face by comforting their mood. Based on the religious norms prevailing in Arab culture, the offence is viewed as an intention-based behavior. This means that a committed mistake is assessed by offenders and hence their proclaimed self-deficiency and lack of intent was expected to reduce the perceived seriousness of the offence. This was reflected by the high frequency of using lack of intent and self-deficiency by the IANs and the EFL learners for ascertaining from the offended person a positive face and asserting that the offence was out of their control.

Notably, apologies collected by open role play differ from those elicited by the DCT in quantity and quality. More data were elicited by DCT than through role play. This could be attributed to the fact that respondents may feel free to write what they want or what they think should be said whereas in the open role play, they participants were observed to be somewhat more reluctant or feeling embarrassed while speaking; this was apparent in their behavior through silence, laughing or pausing; consequently, no new strategies were observed in the open role play except the main strategies of apology.

Apology was perceived as double-sided social and personal behaviour. It can be seen that Iraqi Arabic people apologize in order to keep social harmony, show recognized morals and courtesy and to establish solidarity; therefore, we can set up an apology definition that comfortably fits the Iraqi Arabic context depending on the social variants affecting how this speech act is produced. Iraqi Arabic apology can be defined as a social and religious interactive behaviour that increases intimacy and solidarity among the members of the

community and removes the likely bad consequences obligatorily by repairing the damage spiritually or materially.

Part Four: Conclusions

Chapter Eight

Theoretical and Empirical Conclusions, Limitations, Pedagogical Implications, Suggestions for further Research and a Reflective Statement

This chapter presents the theoretical and practical conclusions arrived at in the present study. On the basis of the findings and results, this chapter also provides some pedagogical implications and recommendations for further future research.

8.1 Theoretical and General Conclusions

This study examined the realization of apology strategies and functions in the Iraqi Arabic language and English as a foreign language as used by Iraqis. The conclusions arrived at are divided into two types: theoretical and empirical. From the theoretical perspective, the traditional theories of politeness argued that the degree of politeness can be increased by indirectness while performing apologizing speech act behaviour. Here, however, the opposite has been shown; apologizing directly and explicitly enhances social relationships and saves the offended person's face due to directness which is related with positive cultural norms like solidarity, spiritual sympathy rather than being indirect while apologizing. The Iraqi Arabic apologies were more extended and exaggerated than EFL learners' apologies. Such apology strategies involved using strategies of solidarity and deference as an attempt for saving both the apologizer and the apologizee's face. This was incompatible with Grice's (1975) maxims of quantity and quality. The maxim of quantity and quality sometimes cannot be in line with certain speech act behaviour because giving the same quantity of speech act to the addressee might be deemed to impoliteness. For example, if someone greets his friend in Arabic contexts saying: السلام عليكم which [literally: peace be upon you], and the other greeted person responds with the same utterance, s/he might be seen as rude, or the greeter might wonder if there is something wrong. Thus, in

order not to offend the addressee, giving a greeting in the Arabic situations should be scaled upwards and extended with a variety of solidarity expressions, repeating the same greeting with asking about the family members' health and even their neighbours. One might note that transferring the same extended expressions to English might be considered as a failure pragmatic and are unlikely to seem distinctly odd. In this regard, we recommend examining the English native speakers' perception of Arabic speech act behaviour such as those affected by religion such as giving and responding to greetings, apologies, thanking ...etc.

The present study also differed from aspects of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1987) specifically the hearer-oriented face saving act. This was indicated through how Iraqi Arabic apologies aim to save not only the offended person's face, but also to save the speakers' own face or that of third parties which might involve the family's reputation and religiously for the sake of Allah. Therefore, apology in Iraqi Arabic culture is a multi-dimensional communicative act. In relation to modern theories of politeness, apology speech act behaviour in the present study can be viewed in two approaches; it can be double-sided phenomena as stated by Eelen (2001) specifically as *apology 1* and *apology 2*. *Apology 1* referred to the social perception of apology while *apology 2* was the actual use of apology speech acts.

Empirically, apology is a universal speech act function, yet it can be performed differently and serve different functions when contrasted across languages and cultures. The native Arabic speakers here often apologized using strategies whose main content reflects their cultural values and beliefs. This was salient in the frequent use of apology formulas containing words of brotherhood ties and reference to religious principles whereas the learners of English tended to resort to more typical forms of English apology. The common use of apology prefaces such as *by Allah, my eye, my beloved* in Arabic contrasts to apology in English as a second language. The speech act of apology restores the social equilibrium with the offended people: the face of the offended person can be saved. The face-saving act can be accomplished by apology strategies to reform a relationship by combinations of expressing regret, offering repair, promising forbearance, and so on. The excessive use of apology strategies and the increased feeling of regret are within repertoires of an

apologizer's choice for convincing the offended person. Unlike apologizing in English, the Iraqi Arabic native speakers pay greater concern for the addressee's positive face. This concern towards the apologizee was reflected in the demonstrative account which involves the exaggerated expressions of apology (extended apologies). However, using offers and promises of repair in both English and Iraqi Arabic for correcting the offender's own self-image exhibited critical remarks and may be self-humiliating. Thus, both extended apologies and other explicit apologies depict the apologizer as having the intention to restore social relations and both approaches are beneficial to the offended person's face.

The realization of IFIDs in Iraqi Arabic was realized in a number of different forms while the EFL learners exhibit a marked preference for the use of usual apology expressions in English language "*I am sorry*" or the intensified forms of apology *I am really sorry, I am so sorry, I am terribly sorry*". The expressions of regret throughout IFIDs in both English and Arabic data functioned partly as a phatic strategy in particular for expressing sorrow and regret rather than performing an apology function in spite of their high frequency. But in Iraqi Arabic, such IFIDs expressions were used as apology strategies according to the participants' preference and perception. Other strategies like promising and offering repair and forbearance were categorized in our analysis as positive politeness strategies. Offering repair in both Iraqi Arabic and English functions to restore of harmony in a verbalized way; specifically, in Iraqi Arabic, it has been shown that it is religiously compulsory to repair the damage rather than just offering to do so. At the same time, offering repair indicated the less self-private dimension in Iraqi culture; this was evident in the real offer of help in situation (2) when bumping into an old lady. On the other hand, promising forbearance was used as a way to ensure smooth continuation of harmonious communication. Thus, both approaches served the function of apology; in particular, maintaining social relationships. The strategies of apology accompanied with empathy and kinship terms indicated the nature of the collectivistic Iraqi culture, often within an explicitly religious framework. This was apparent in apologies for individual offences regardless of the effect of the offence on wider groups or society as a whole. This is attributed to the fact that the concept of face in the Iraqi Arabic contexts differs from more individualistic cultures.

This study provided new strategies to those categorized by Blum-Kulka (1989) and others. New strategies include (1) non-verbal behaviour, (2) metaphorical expressions, (3) proverbial expressions and (4) demeaning the apologizer's own self/face. Further, lack of intent strategies was categorized in this study as the Arabic formulaic one rather than the IFIDs since it is used for apologizing in different situations.

The perception of apology conducted here shows how apology is viewed by participants as a phenomenon of different conceptualizations including courage, politeness and virtue. Concerning giving apologies participants stressed the significance of apologizing whether there is a mistake or not. Apology was perceived not only as moral but also as aesthetic behaviour which can beautify the moments of social interaction. On the whole, the statistical perception data revealed positive links between the questions raised in the scale response task. Most participants followed the same general perception: the more severe the degree of offence, the greater the likelihood of giving apology.

In terms of social status, apologies were perceived to be significant. Social status and power played a significant role to determine the strategies and function of apologies in both Iraqi Arabic and English. People who are in a lower social status and power apologised more politely and effectively than those who have a higher social status. In contrast, people who are in a high position apologized differently to the offended persons with a lower status such as in situation (8) when the manager apologized to his senior clerk. Thus, the contextual factors such as familiarity, social status, the degree of offence and the imposition to apologize have a great role in producing apologies as well as perceiving apology as speech act behaviour. The effect of social status on the Iraqi Arabic native speakers' performance was subjected to a cultural filter that shows various orders of values: apologies in Iraqi Arabic were influenced mostly by social distance, power and familiarity and the requirement to apologize. On the other hand, the Iraqi EFL learners performed the speech act of apology by depending on their L1 competence and making pragmatic transfer. The Iraqi EFL learners' apologies showed that their choices of apology strategies were influenced by their L1, and also by their perception of the degree of offence in L1 and L2; this was evident by apologizing in L2 and not apologizing in L1 to the same situation.

Hence, the Iraqi EFL learners' apologies in L2 deviate from the target language norms. The findings exposed how the Iraqi Arabic apologies were deeply-rooted in Iraqi cultural values and norms which affected the Iraqi Arabic native speakers' choice of apology strategies.

8.1.1 The Overall differences between apologies in Iraqi Arabic and English:

It is worth recalling that Blum-Kulka's (1989) coding scheme is adopted as a basis for classifying apologies collected in the present study. Many researchers who examined the realization of speech acts in many languages and cultures have adopted this model. This established model has established that there is no constant number of apology strategies across cultures and languages (Cohen and Olshtain, 1981, 1983; Reiter, 2003; Jebahi, 2011, Al-Adaleih, 2007; Hassan, 2014). Thus, the rationale for labelling our data according to this model is to open the door for the present study to re-categorize the apology strategies by revealing new strategies in Iraqi Arabic and in these learners' EFL use. Any new strategies revealed can be set against the established Blum-Kulka framework and therefore easily appreciated, while the uses of strategies found elsewhere but with different nuances in Iraqi Arabic can be better appreciated within the established research. The following diagram shows a big picture about apology strategies in the Iraqi Arabic and English based on Cohen and Olshtain's framework (1989):

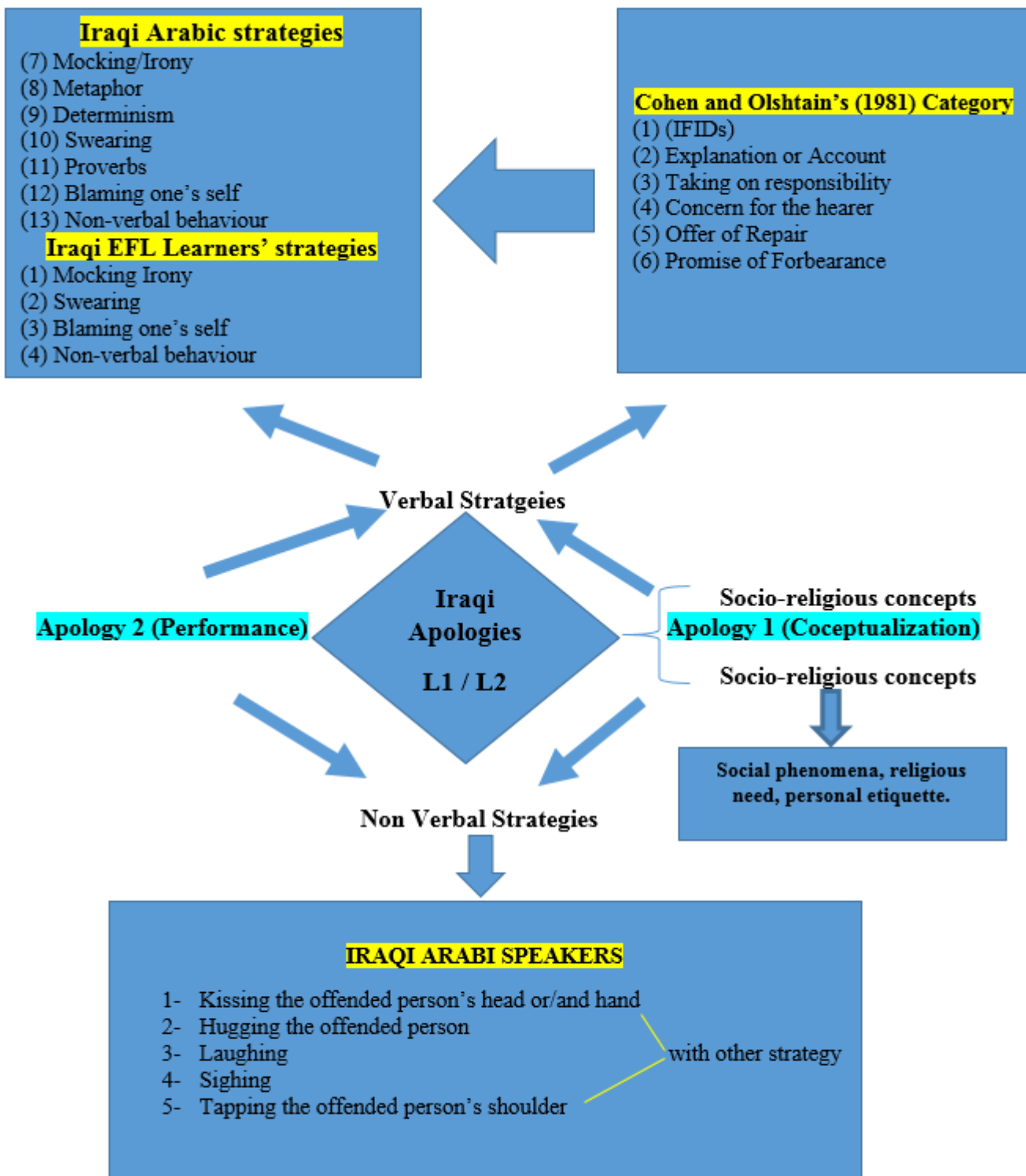


Figure [32]: General view of apology strategies in L1 and L2

The figure above specifically maps the way of selecting apology strategies based on two combined perspectives: emic perspective (conceptualizing apology as a phenomenon `apology 1`) and an etic perspective (producing apology as speech act behaviour `apology

2'). The Iraqi participants used verbal and nonverbal strategies in Arabic and English. However, new strategies appeared in both L1 (Iraqi Arabic) and L2 (English). The use of these strategies was determined by the context of situation, e.g. ironic/ mocking apologies were largely used in the family domain when the offended person is in a lower social status, lower power and when the degree of offence is simple. Further, the use of new strategies such as determinism, proverbs and swearing for severe offences and for formal situations is another indication of the new categorization of apology strategies in the present study. More specifically, the following table shows the main apology strategies of Cohen and Olshtain (1989), the apology strategies of the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and the Iraqi EFL learners' strategies:

Iraqi Arabic apology Strategies	Cohen and Olshtain's (1989)	Iraqi EFL's strategies
(1) Iraqi (IFIDs)	(1) (IFIDs)	(1) English (IFIDs)
(2) Account	(2) Account	(2) Account
(3) Taking on responsibility	(3) Taking on responsibility	(3) Taking on responsibility
(4) Concern for the hearer	(4) Concern for the hearer	(4) Concern for the hearer
(5) Offer of Repair	(5) Offer of Repair	(5) Offer of Repair
(6) Promise of Forbearance	(6) Promise of Forbearance	(6) Promise of Forbearance
(7) Mocking/Irony	L1 L2 Additional Strategies	(7) Mocking / Irony
(8) Metaphor		(10) Swearing
(9) Determinism		(12) Blaming one's self
(10) Swearing		(13) Non-verbal behaviour
(11) Proverbs		
(12) Blaming one's self		
(13) Non-verbal behaviour		

Table [22] A comparison of Cohen and Olshtain's (1989) apology strategies with those used in the present study by Iraqi Arabic speakers in Arabic and in their English

The apology strategies employed by the Iraqi speakers in both Iraqi Arabic and English are in comprehensive agreement with the apology strategies identified by Cohen and Olshtain (1989) in the sense that data labelled within Cohen and Olshtain's framework appeared in all the Iraqi Arabic and EFL contexts. Significantly, the previously unidentified strategies

were used here as situation- specific and language specific apologies (highlighted in table 22). The Seven additional strategies (numbered 7-13 in table 23) were identified in the Iraqi Arabic as contributions to previous knowledge; interestingly, four of these were transferred to English (numbered 7, 10, 12, and 13). To be clear, these newly identified strategies are:

- (1) Mocking/Irony
- (2) Metaphor
- (3) Determinism
- (4) Swearing
- (5) Proverbs
- (6) Blaming one's self
- (7) Non-verbal behaviour

The use of strategies reveals that apologies in the Iraqi Arabic context can be justified as a communicative style followed by these Iraqis for harmonizing the social relationships and reinforcing the social ties. In terms of the commonly-cited positive and negative politeness dichotomy, Brown and Levinson (1987) attributed such strategies to positive politeness and it was referred to as a way of mitigating the potential offence. In terms of post-modern theories, adopting such strategies supports the role of relational politeness and interpersonal politeness (Eelen 2000; Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey2005). Our data analysis showed that it is not always clear-cut for apologies to be a face threatening act as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), but apologies can be viewed as having interactional and interpersonal functions. Spencer-Oatey (2011) has assigned the function of those strategies to the role of emotion in managing the communicative style through exploring the nature of rapport management. She argues that “an implicit thread running through nearly all this relational research is the role of emotions” (2011:6). Our data findings support this argument through many responses in Iraqi Arabic. For example, the Iraqi Arabic native speakers demonstrated a great deal of non-verbal behaviour and ironic expressions in the circle of family and friends, together with metaphor, determinism and blaming one's self in the formal situations and situations involving severe offences. These strategies can be identified as a rapport management strategy when the relationship between the apologizer

and apologize is characterized by adequate or equal power and closeness and higher social status and distance. The use of these strategies is also remedial when revealing the apologizer's sincere intention to set things right. However, transferring apology strategies from Iraqi Arabic as the first language of the participants to their second language is an evidence of a pragmatic transfer. Thus, using strategies like (a) mocking irony, (b) swearing, (c) blaming one's self, and (d) non-verbal behaviour in English is an evident of poor pragmatic competence of the participants in English notwithstanding their linguistic competence. This analysis of transferring apology strategies from Arabic to English suggests that the participants' pragmatic competence allows them to say what they wanted to say in the second language. This might be a specific feature for apology speech acts in face to face interaction, (unlike other speech acts like request, refusal, expressing opinions) as it does not require time to prepare a reaction after committing the offence. In addition, the aforementioned transferred strategies are not necessarily negative as far as the offended person's feelings are reassured and things are set right. It can be argued that using Iraqi Arabic strategies of apology in the EFL domain or by native speakers of English might be seen as positive, negative and rapport management strategies of politeness. The interpretation of each function depends on the context of situation; therefore, transferring social norms, rules and strategies to the target language could be a new approach for the native speakers and expert non-native speakers of that language (presumably English) for learning and realizing speech acts in the non-native speakers' language (presumably Arabic).

The overall production and perception of apologies in the Iraqi Arabic and English language was affected by identified social variables such as social distance, power, the degree of imposition, and the severity of offence. The impact of these social variables comes mostly from the socio-cultural and socio-religious norms or rules. Thus, the difference between apologies (produced and perceived) in the Iraqi Arabic and English can be specifically shown in the following points:

- (a) Apology strategies, categorised by Cohen and Olshtain (1989) are frequent in both Iraqi Arabic and English datasets. However, crucially we noted that these strategies

were *repeated* and *combined* with additional strategies by the Iraqi native participants whereas they were used without combination in EFL situations. This was reflected by using *extended* apologies for formal situations and severe offences. This was attributed to the general collectivistic nature of Iraqi communities in using the Arabic language.

- (b) Although the Iraqi EFL learners resorted to fewer strategies in apologizing in most situations, the functions of their strategies are more emphasized than in Arabic. This was attributed, as revealed by the interviewee's responses, to two main reasons: (1) apology is a salient feature of English language as perceived by these non-native speakers. They consider apology as a significant requirement of learning English and apologies are viewed by Arabic participants as a mirror for reflecting politeness (2) their perception of apology imposition was higher than in Arabic, and this was supported by the absence of ironic expressions and mocking apologies in English as well as the high rank of apology imposition in English. (See chapter 6. The perception of apology via Scale Response Task).
- (c) The Iraqi Arabic apologies were modified by *solidarity*, *conventions*, *religious* and *rappport management* more than in the EFL contexts. Thus, the difference between apology in L1 and L2 in terms of selecting apology strategies evidences our argument that politeness orientation in the Iraqi Arabic native context differs from their second language context (See: chapter six: apology perception and chapter 7: apology conceptualizations). We noted that the Iraqi EFL learners used the IFIDs and intensification more frequently than the Iraqi Arabic native speakers did. Furthermore, the *combined and integrated* nature of apologies, as likely to be perceived by outsiders, other users of English, provided by the Iraqi native participants and *the offer and promise of repair* for both *physical* and *non-physical* offences, which gives options to offended person to accept or refuse apologies, validate the Iraqi Arabic marked preference of positive politeness. In addition, the Iraqi Arabic native speakers showed their preference to establish solidarity by using conventional and religious utterances. Thus, this indicated that the preferred

apology strategies used by Iraqi participants in Arabic and English reflects their different politeness orientation from L1 to L2.

- (d) The production of apology strategies in the Iraqi Arabic was significantly determined by *socio-religious* perception. The participants' responses revealed different concepts about apology. In the Iraqi Arabic, apology is viewed as a social phenomenon to meet *religious needs*, to establish *solidarity* and to show *personal etiquette*. On the other hand, the production of apologies in the EFL context, as perceived by the participants, is attributed to the nature of English language in which apologies are apparently more emphasized as well as the participants' intentions to show their morality and to repair a violation.
- (e) On the whole, there was some relative similarity and difference between the usages of apology strategies in the two groups: Iraqi Arabic and English as a second language. Any inconsistency is based on certain factors: the *perception of apology*, *social distance*, *social power*, *gender* (male to female) and the *degree of offence*. As for the pragmatic transfer from Arabic to English, it was attributed to the effect of *social* and *religious norms/rules* of Arabic culture. In other words, the participants' pragmatic competence determined the type and the function of apology when they were speaking in English. The participants recruited in the present study are clearly able to produce apologies linguistically as they have IELTS scores of 6.0, 6.5, 7.0. These scores indicate that they have an adequate level of linguistic competence but not necessarily of pragmatic competence. However, the evidence provided in the present study is just the tip of the iceberg; therefore, we recommend examining the level of transfer in relation to the level of both the linguistic and pragmatic competence of the participants.

8.1.2 The Model of performing apology speech acts in Arabic and EFL context:

Having examined and discussed the production and the perception of apologies by the Iraqi Arabic native speakers in both Arabic and English, there is a need for systematising the process of apologizing. The results of the present study have re-theorized the strategies of apology and the concept of apology in terms of using new strategies, extended strategies

and revealing different concepts of apologies. This model is presented in several steps as shown in figure (30) below:

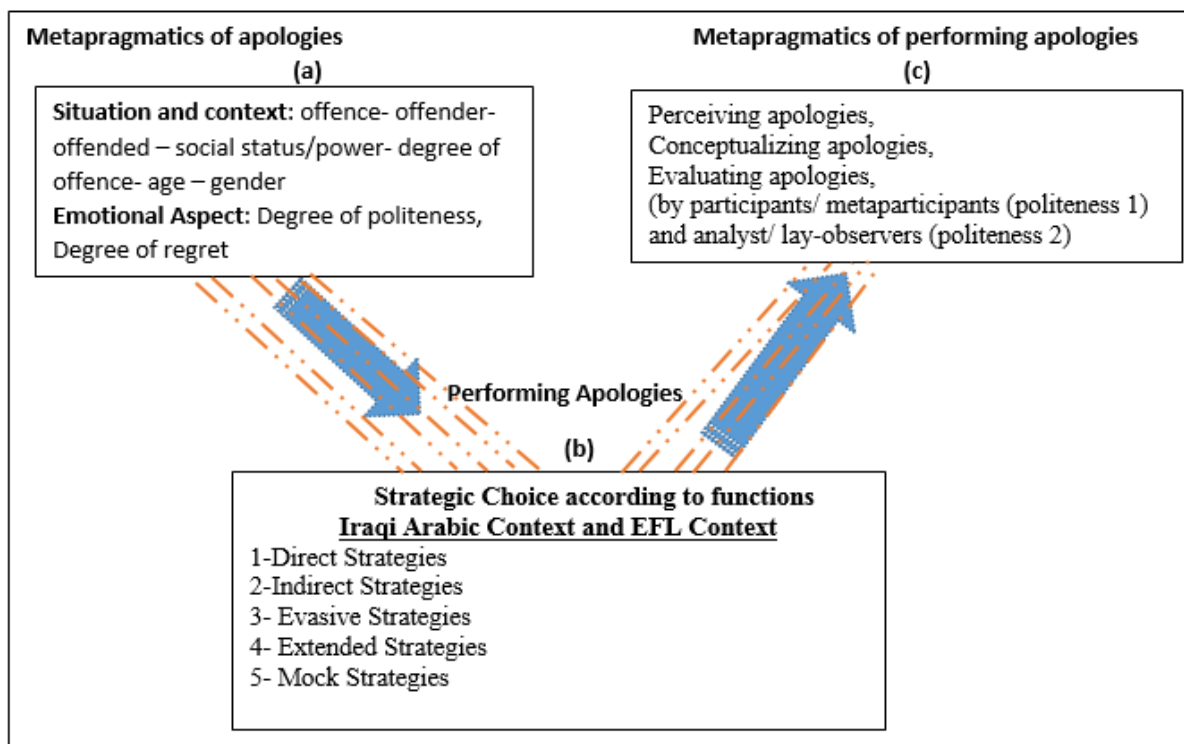


Figure [33] Iraqi Arabic speakers' strategies for apologies seen as levels of interaction between metapragmatic and performing strategies

This model is designed to show the uses of apology strategies and how apologies can be perceived. More generally; interactants can choose among the different strategies depending on the context of situation and the function of apology supposed to be performed, i.e. to whom the offender apologizes, the social distance between the offender and the offended, the degree of the offence and what function the apologizer aims to establish. On the whole (in Fig XX), performing and perceiving appropriate apologizing speech act behaviour in Iraqi Arabic and English, based on the results of the present study can be systematized within three steps: (a) *the metapragmatics of apologies*, (b) *the pragmatics of performing apologies*, and (c) *the metapragmatics of performing apologies*. These steps are explained below:

(a) The metapragmatics of apologies

The metapragmatic level of apology is viewed in terms of apology 1 (politeness 1). It includes the physical context and the emotional wave. The former includes: offence, apologizer, apologizee, the relationship between S and H, their age, gender, social distance and power and the level of imposition while the latter comprises the emotional attitudes of the offender: degree of regret, and offence degree. The following figure shows the components of the metapragmatic components of apologies:

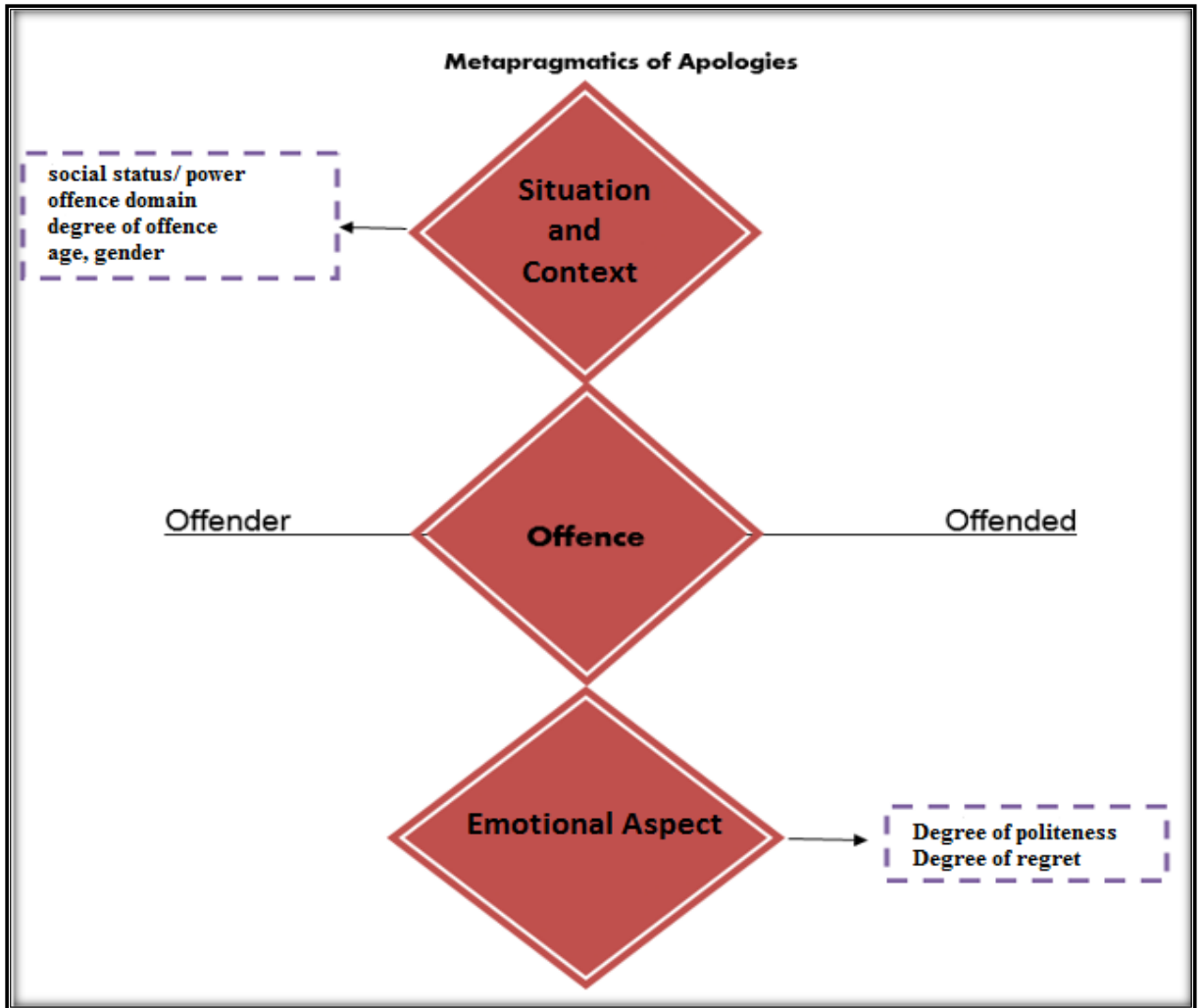


Figure [31] The metapragmatics of apologies

(b) The Pragmatics of performing apologies

The second level of our model is the actual way of producing apologies, which can be labelled as apology 2 (politeness 2). The performance of apologies second is determined by the impact of the first level *the metapragmatics of apologies*. In other words, how speakers use the appropriate way of apologizing depends on the social variables encoded in the physical context. The results of the present study showed that apologies are highly affected by the social status, and distance as well as the degree of the offence. Accordingly, the apology strategies are classified into five categories. These are itemized below with concise descriptions of their functions. We noted that the Iraqi apologizers, on the evidence provided in the present study (see chapters six and seven), will choose between these strategies according to the desired expressions and functions within a given situation and context.

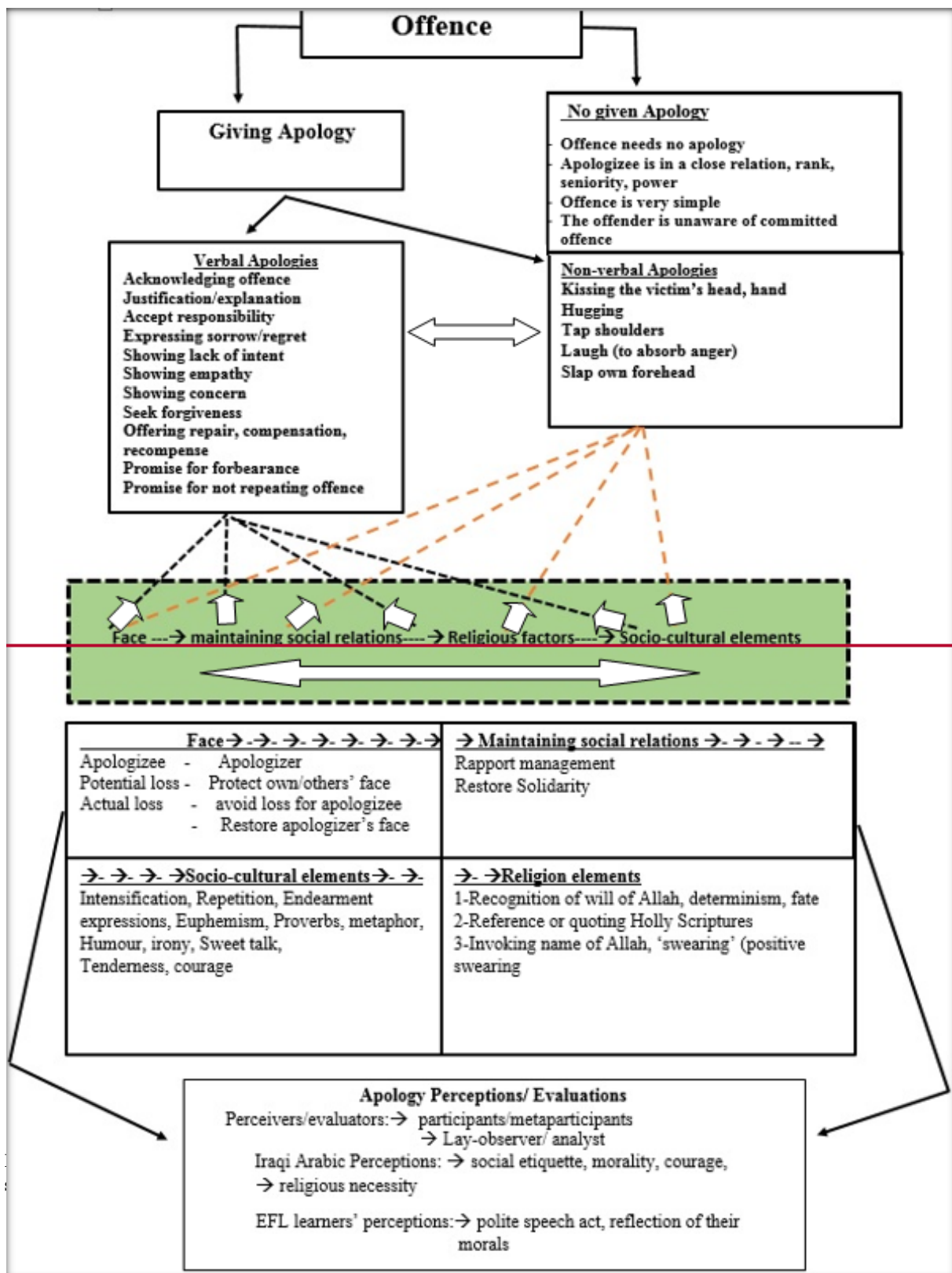
- 1- **Direct Strategies:** refer to (a) the expressions of regret, sorrow such as ‘I am sorry’ انا اسف, (b) offer of apology, ‘I do apologize’ انا اعتذر, and (c) request for forgiveness. ‘Forgive me’ سامحني. Expressing sincere regret in the Iraqi Arabic situations cannot be accomplished unless religious and solidarity expressions are used, which function as positive politeness strategies.
- 2- **Indirect Strategies:** refer to the apology expressions that indirectly show the function of apology. They do not involve linguistic device (IFID) such as أسف in Arabic and ‘Sorry’ in English. Indirect apology strategies include: taking on responsibility, explanation, giving justification, making an offer of repair, promising forbearance and using non-verbal behaviour.
- 3- **Evasive Strategies:** are not necessarily for performing real apologies. Although they might contain expressions of regret and sorrow, they also refer to the denial of taking responsibility, or expressing the needlessness to apologize, blaming the offended person or resorting the cause of the offence to other external causes. The most frequent evasive strategies are used in the *social domain* when the offended person is a friend or relative especially when the offence severity is simple. The function of such strategies is not necessarily to deny responsibility or to cause another offence, but could be used as a linguistic device for enhancing the social solidarity.
- 4- **Extended strategies:** include both direct and indirect strategies in particular in formal situations and for severe offences. These strategies are characterised by being accompanied with *religious* terms and *solidarity* markers. The apology conveyed by such extended or mixed strategies seems to the offender or other parties as sincere.

5- **Mock Strategies:** are often used in the family and friends' domains when the social status, distance are *equal*. It is noted that *parents* are excluded in this case. The parents are being apologized to by using both direct and indirect strategies of apology. However, mock strategies used for apologizing in the sense of positive humour and irony for making the degree of intimacy and familiarity more enhanced.

(c) **Metapragmatics of performing apologies**

The metapragmatics of giving apologies refers to the perception and evaluation of apology by participants who are engaged directly in the process of evaluation or/ and metaparticipants and a lay-observer/analyst. The given apology could be evaluated on a scale from less polite, polite, more polite and less impolite, impolite, more impolite. The metapragmatics of performing apologies could also be raised for examining the degree of accepting and rejecting apologies along with the reason behind accepting or rejecting. Apology perceptions and evaluations are also a part of metapragmatics in terms of revealing the pragmatic meaning of apology; and how people from different cultures perceive it. The present study did not focus on the evaluation of apologies in terms of (im)politeness, because of its limits in design, but more emphasis was put on the conceptualization of apology in both Arabic and English. The conceptualization of apologies in Iraqi Arabic included: *courage, morality, and social etiquette, religious necessity* while they were perceived in English as polite speech act for committing a mistake and for showing people's sorrow for unpleasant actions. This was highlighted when the participants expressed how, in the UK, they were social ambassadors of their country and this included their culture and their politeness.

Further, our model of apologizing speech act behaviour in the Iraqi Arabic and EFL context is now elaborated in its final representation as shown in the diagram below:



Face → maintaining social relations → Religious factors → Socio-cultural elements

Apology Perceptions/ Evaluations

Perceivers/evaluators: → participants/metaparticipants
→ Lay-observer/ analyst

Iraqi Arabic Perceptions: → social etiquette, morality, courage,
→ religious necessity

EFL learners' perceptions: → polite speech act, reflection of their morals

8.2 Limitations

The present study has encountered some limitations that need to be acknowledged and redressed for any follow up research. The first limitation concerns the privacy of the participants. Some of the participants were unwilling to provide answers about questions like “*why didn't you say sorry to your little sister*” or *Do you think that your wife deserves such kind of reaction or behaviour*” while some others have provided their answers. This limitation might have impacted the current study in term of obtaining less responses for certain situations via semi-structured interview. Such limitation can be mitigated by designing follow up questions within the DCT in a way like “*how do you behave in that situation and WHY*”. Thus, participants would be able to acknowledge their attitudes and the motivation behind their behaviour by writing down what they feel rather than declaring publically. This could be traced to cultural norms that Iraqi people do not prefer talking about feeling, especially issues related to their families.

The methodological part of this study concluded that data collection methods were one of the main problems in the research of pragmatics and politeness. Thus, controversies about the kinds of data and the procedure in which the researcher/ analyst handles those data have come to the surface. The advantages of collecting naturally occurring data in controlled contexts in pragmatics have been discussed (see chapter five-5.4.1), showing that it seems ethically challenging to have naturally occurring data collected. Thus, the second limitation concerns the difficulty of collecting naturally occurring apologies. Collecting naturally occurring apologies seems to be ethically challenging when recording others without their prior approval. Even obtaining subsequent approval after, an apology is problematic in daily interaction since it clearly interrupts talk, changes the topic, and renders ordinary talk as a ‘researched situation’ rather than normal conversation, and likely provokes suspicion and mistrust. Thus, natural apologies could not be obtained for the present study since the nature of this speech act behaviour does not appear frequently, i.e. giving apologies is

based on the occurrence of violations, unlike other speech acts like making a request or thanking which can be heavily noticed in our everyday life.

Although, the interaction between the apologizer and the apologizee was not real, arguably it could be a *semi-natural* since the participants were requested to imagine themselves as if they were in a real life situation. Moreover, some participants argued that they have encountered similar situations in their real life and they gave the apology actually performed in those real situations. The data collected in the present study, nonetheless could be regarded as representative of the Iraqi Arabic native speakers and Iraqi EFL learners. An exception, and therefore a third limitation, regards gender aspects which, as explained, proved problematic to investigate when many female participants were reluctant to be interviewed. This illustrates a socio-cultural aspect of the research context as far as Iraqi Arabic is concerned; had the researcher been female some male respondents would probably have similar reluctance to be interviewed alone with the researcher. This might be overcome by employing a female assistant for this aspect of data collection but this was not feasible here.

Further, there was a limitation of being unable to investigate the learners of English in Iraq due to the unstable security situation, i.e. the researcher could not travel there to have the data collected, as well as the unfeasibility of researching English- speaking learners of Iraqi Arabic in the UK which would have made a valuable balanced matrix of research participants in the area of interlanguage-cross cultural pragmatics.

Finally, the unequal number of participants for DCT and ORP could be another limitation since it was easier to collect a larger number of data by DCT than by ORP. Most previous studies conducted in the field of pragmatics showed that it is preferable to have equal numbers of participants to gain reliable data and consistent results. Most previous studies conducted in the social science field showed that, unfortunately, recruiting a large number of participants might always be difficult and unmotivated for the participants to take part since most data collection methods are time-consuming. But the difference in number in the present study did not affect the overall data reliability and results consistency.

8.3 Pedagogical Implications

In spite of the fact that teaching pragmatic competence has been conducted previously by Thomas (1983), Lakoff (1973) and Reiter, (1997) among others less efforts have been made to investigate whether direct or indirect teaching for the realization of speech acts expedites the acquisition of pragmatic competence or not. Although previous studies argued the significance of apologies in different cultures, the present study suggests that it is pedagogically important to encourage and assist both the L1 native speakers and the L2 learners to be exposed to the appropriate pragmatic competence. This also might be insufficient because some cultural issues prove to be non-prominent or indirect for some L2 learners. This could be traced to the L2 learners' poor grammatical competence or because the social behaviour might be viewed as familiar to them, hence they might produce the same strategies deriving from their own language or culture which can be inappropriate in L2. For instance, using conventional apologies in the form of proverbs and metaphors might affect the Iraqi EFL learners to produce a culturally inappropriate apology in English. This might also be a reason that makes the Iraqi EFL learners produce unmodified apologies in English and therefore, they fail to communicate properly in English.

Additionally, while raising the learners' awareness of the target language is of great significance, it seems not sufficient to warrant how their pragmatic competence will be used in actual communicative interaction. What needs to be practically applied is direct or indirect instruction for apology as social behaviour and the cultural differences and other variables that might be encountered while apologizing. L2 learners' attention should be drawn to the contextual factors including the type of offence, and the relationship between the addresser and the addressee, not only in English language but also in the Iraqi Arabic. Consequently, the practical results of this study are valuable for Iraqi EFL teachers, textbook authors and syllabus designers. They are beneficial for teachers to anticipate and minimize situations in which Iraqi EFL learners are expected to experience language and cultural misuse that results in communication breakdown. Pragmatic learning materials can

be designed to be integrated within EFL programs. This can be achieved by improving the inadequately represented pragmatic knowledge of the target culture in the Iraqi EFL/ESL schoolbooks; basically by providing better understanding for the concept of politeness. The Iraqi EFL learners often encounter difficulties and problems in communicating with native speakers of English; therefore, this study is potentially beneficial in terms of submitting a new communicative approach for teaching positive and negative politeness strategies which will be effective for the Iraqi EFL learners who are generally exposed to a limited amount of politeness in the classroom and to even less outside. Role plays similar to those employed here might be used where appropriate in classrooms and therefore the actual results found here would be relevant as part of a teacher's explanation and feedback on students' interaction of what is involved in apologies.

Conversely, English-speaking learners of Iraqi Arabic (or related varieties) as an L2 would need to appreciate the social, cultural and religious elements of apology and relate them to contexts in which social status, power and perceived seriousness of an offence strongly mediate Iraqi apologies and the differing occasions and contexts that warrant apologies in Arabic compared to English. This could be teaching pragmatics or could highlight pragmatic elements while raising cultural and religious aspects of within learning of Arabic as an L2.

8.4 Communicative Approach for teaching apologies in English

It widely accepted that the ultimate aim of English language teaching nowadays is to develop the learners' communicative competence, which will enable them to communicate freely and effectively in the real world using the target language (Swain, 1985). Therefore, to prepare the Iraqi students for achieving this goal and to be communicatively competent, teachers and researcher alike need to develop all these competencies in the students. As far as apologies are concerned, Iraqi EFL learners in certain situations apologize with pragmatic failure, i.e. without considering how their apologizing behaviour might be interpreted in the target language. This pragmatic unawareness leads to misunderstanding and communicating in an inappropriate way in the target language. We therefore, based on the model of apologies in the present study, suggest designing a communicative approach

for teaching apology speech act behaviour for Iraqi EFL learners. This approach could include three waves.

(a) Production of apologies

The first wave is concerned with **raising awareness of pragmatic production of apologies**. In this stage, video-recordings involving real (or simulated) offences in the target language can be displayed for the learners. After an offence is seen to be committed, the teacher can pause the video and ask the learners to imagine themselves in the place of the offender, and ask them to perform (e.g. in pairs or groups) how they would react in this situation or what they would say?

(b) Metapragmatics of apologies

The second wave deals with examining and **raising metapragmatic awareness** of Iraqi EFL learners. After performing their apologies, the Iraqi EFL learners can be guided to discuss which apology might be appropriate and receive the teacher's pragmatic feedback with a focus on both linguistic and pragmatic features. In this case, the learners' grammatical pragmatic competence can be developed. As argued by Swain (1985) in the present study, the communicative competence can be developed by increasing comprehensible output.

(c) Evaluation of apologies

The third wave is about **evaluating apologies**. In this stage, the learners can watch the full video to listen to the real apology produced by the native speakers. In terms of metapragmatic of politeness, the given apology can be evaluated by the Iraqi EFL learners as (impolite, polite, very polite, over polite) or can also be evaluated by metaparticipants (people who are not involved in the learning process). The EFL learners' and metaparticipants' evaluation of the linguistic behaviour conveyed by apologies is a significant because it constitutes a crucial part of the everyday discourse of the target language and it is reasonable to treat the metapragmatic evaluation as a dimension of producing and perceiving speech act as a social phenomenon. This wave could focus on socio-cultural and situational features of apologies.

8.5 Suggestions for further Research

Many cultural and social norms and values are involved in the Iraqi Arabic apologies. Although the apologizees' reaction towards the apologizing speech act has not been examined, both the apologizer and the apologizee cooperate in the execution of a successful apology in terms of illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. Thus, an adequate examination for receiving or responding to apologies and focusing on the active communication between the apologizer and the apologizee would be worth future research in both English and Iraqi Arabic or other related varieties.

Additionally, it would be a fruitful step for intercultural pragmatics research to compare the strategies of the Iraqi Apologies with other ethnic communities in the Iraqi culture such as Kurdish apologies and Turkmen apologies. The Kurdish people are located in the north of Iraq and constitute the country's only autonomous region. It is frequently referred to as Southern Kurdistan whereas the Turkmen represents the largest ethnic group in Iraq, after Arabs and Kurds. They mainly reside in northern Iraq and share close cultural ties with Turkey, particularly the Anatolian region.

8.6 Reflective Statement

From my own experience as a researcher, I acknowledge that conducting an investigation that involves a questionnaire survey with role plays and interviews is challenging because those data collection methods are complex and time-consuming. One of the most interesting issues in this research process is that the participants were largely unaware of the nature of the speech act under investigation: they therefore responded with technically uninformed 'lay' knowledge. Informing them explicitly about apologies would have arguably distorted the data and it is acknowledged that the participants were requested to 'react' rather than specifically being told to 'apologise' towards what they hear. This means that the researcher did not impose on participants to produce the speech act of apology, and

unsurprisingly the data included a few responses which are not real apologies. Yet such responses may reflect the naturalness of their speech act behaviour.

Pragmatically, apologies in this study could be regarded as a part of the cooperative principle where interlocutors should cooperate in order to achieve a better social relationship. Apologies were found to be expressive and behavioural speech acts aiming to achieve remedial and non-remedial purposes depending on perceptions of the type of offence in Iraqi Arabic and English. Apologies in Iraqi Arabic contexts were performed to save the face of the addressee, a third party and the speaker as well as to maintain a positive religious relation with God.

People perceive apology as an important social behaviour that should be performed successfully and effectively since losing face is one of the problems encountered in human communication. If people don't apologize in serious offences, social relationships are less easily maintained or no cooperation is achieved. Yet non-serious offences do not necessarily require apology, in particular those simple family offences due to close social distance and the social intimacy between the offender and the offended. By apologizing in English, the Iraqi EFL learners showed that apologizing is one of the early requirements for learning English. Therefore, apology seemed overall to be more necessary in English than in Arabic regardless of the sincerity of the apologizers and regardless to the severity of the offence. Generally, the perception and performance of apology is culturally specific since both of them differ from one situation to another and from one language to another.

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Appendices

Appendix [1]: DCT and Open Role Play version in Arabic

ملاحظة:- تهدف الدراسة الحالية لمقارنة فعل سلوك الاعتذار في اللهجة العربية العراقية والانكليزية البريطانية).
(عزيزي المشارك ، يرجى التفضل بالموافقة على على قراءة المواقف الآتية ، وكتابة الرد المناسب بالتوافق مع مكانتك الاجتماعية، والجنس، والعلاقة بينك وبين المخاطب، بحيث يكون الرد باللهجة العراقية العربية (العامية).
-عند قراءة المواقف ، من فضلك تخيل انك في موقف حقيقي في حياتك اليومية ، واكتب ماتراه مناسباً ، بعد ذلك اجب عن الاسئلة الثلاثة لكل موقف ، اختر جواباً واحداً.
شكراً جزيلاً لتعاونك معي

1. بينما انت جالس مع اصدقائك ، قلت نكتة عن شخص مصاب بمرض السرطان ، لاحقاً علمت ان احد الاصدقاء لديه سرطان..... ماذا تقول له في حالة اعتذارك لذلك الشخص؟

2. قمت بمضايقة امرأة كبيرة في سوبرماركت، صاحت عليك، هي "انتبه".
ان كنت تعتقد انك مخطئ كيف سيكون اعتذارك؟
3. اخذت بطاقة الذاكرة الخاصة بصديقك لتنظيفها من الفيروسات ، بالصدفة بدلا من ان تنقر على تنظيف ،
نقرت على حذف (فورمات) ، كيف ستكون ردة فعلك واعتذارك لها؟
4. قمت بزيارة زميلك في بيته، بالصدفة سكبتي الماء على الأيادي الخاص به، ماذا تقول لتعتذر له؟
5. وعدت والدك بان تشتري له سترة جديدة، لكنك نسيت الأمر، انت نقضت وعدك كيف يكون اعتذارك له؟
6. انت من الطلاب المجتهدين الذين يأتون مبكرين كالعادة للدرس كل يوم ، في احد الأيام تأخرت عن
المحاضرة الاولى 15 دقيقة، اردت ان تدخل الصف وكنت محرجاً بسبب التأخر ، نظر الاستاذ الى ساعته
وقال لك (مندهشاً) انت متأخر جداً ، ماذا تقول له؟
7. أثناء وجودك خارج المنزل، زوجتك / زوجك ، طلب منك جلب بعض الأدوية من الصيدلية، لكونه بحاجة
ماسة للدواء، ولكنك لم تقم بذلك. كيف يكون موقفك عندما تسألك / يسألك هل جلبت الدواء ؟
8. انت صاحب شركة ، اردت استخدام حاسوب (لابتوب) كاتبك لاجراء بعض المراسلات لان حاسوبك كان
عاطل، عندما حملت حاسوب كاتبك وقع منك وانكسرت شاشته. كيف تتصرف اذا لاحظت ان كاتبك انزعج.
9. اردت ان تتصل بصديقك في منتصف الليل، بحيث قمت بطلب الرقم الخطأ، صوت رجل كبير في السن رد
عليك (الو ، من حضرتك؟)، كيف تكون ردة فعلك ؟
10. عند خروجك من ساحة وقوف السيارات ، واجهت سيارة اخرى ودهست جانب تلك السيارة، وكنت ان
تحطمها ، لقد كانت غلطتك ، سائق السيارة الثانية شاب اتى اليك غاضباً ، وقال : الا تنظر الى اين انت
متجه! ألا ترى ماذا فعلت بسيارتني؟
11. اخوك الكبير كان لديه امتحان ، انت كنت تجلس بالقرب منه إلا انك ازعجته عندما كنت تستمع للأغاني
بهاتفك بدون استخدام هيدفون؟ اخوك الكبير انزعج كثيرا وقال لك، ممكن تستخدم الهيدفون ؟
12. عند ذهابك للتسوق مع زوجك ، وعدت والدتك بان تشتري لها حجاب جديد، لكنك نسيت الأمر، انت نقضت
وعدك كيف يكون اعتذارك من والدتك ؟
13. اختك الصغيرة لديها امتحان وهي تحاول ان تدرس بجد لكنك ازعجتها بصوت الهاتف، كيف تتصرف عندما
تقول لك ، انا لا استطيع الدراسة بسببك؟
14. انت تعمل محاسبا في احدى الشركات المهمة في البلد، لديك وثائق مالية مهمة تخص الشركة، ولكنك اضعت
هذه الوثائق في مكان ما، كيف تعتذر من المدير عندما يسألك عن تلك الوثائق؟
15. كان لديك موعد مهم مع مشرفك (او استاذك) في الجامعة ، إلا انك لم تذهب ، اردت الاتصال بالأستاذ لكي
تعتذر له فماذا تقول؟

Iraqi EFL Learners/ Speakers

Please Say your apology for each situation in your English Language:

1. You have made a cancer joke in front of your friend who is injured with cancer. Later, you have known that your friend is injured with cancer, If you think it is an offensive behaviour, how would you apologize for your friend? What do say for him?
2. You bumped into a well-dressed old lady in a supermarket shaking her up a bit. She said: "Hey, look out!" If you think it is your fault and you should apologize. What would you say?
3. You took your friend's memory card for scanning it for her. But you accidentally clicked format instead of scan! So, all her saved data were deleted! How would you react to apologize for her.?
4. You have already visited your classmate at his flat. while chatting with each other, you have requested him to use his iPad. You took the iPad and

accidentally it has fell down from your hand, and the screen has been broken. Your friend has been annoyed a little bit. What would you say in such situation?

5. You promised your father that you will buy a new coat for him, but you forgot it. You broke your promise, how do you apologize?
6. You are 30 minutes late for the first lecture, you rushed in and your tutor looked at you, you want to apologize, saying:
7. While you are out of the house, your wife /husband called to ask you bring some medicine from the pharmacy, but you did not go to do it. How would apologize for your behaviour?
8. You are a manager of a company, One day you have taken your employer's computer to look for some data, but accidentally you have broken the screen by falling it down from your hand. How would you react to him?
9. You dialled the wrong telephone number; and a voice of an old man replied. How would you apologize?
10. Backing out of a parking place, you run into the side of another car. It was clearly your fault. You dent in the side door slightly. The driver gets out and comes over to you angrily. Driver: "Can't you look where you're going? See what you've done!" How would you apologize?
11. Your oldest brother had a final exam, he was studying very hard. You were sitting beside listening to music. You annoyed him by this. He said come on brother I have an exam tomorrow!
12. While doing some shopping with your wife/husband, you have promised your mother to buy a new scarf for her. But you have forgotten that. When you returned to your house, you remembered that. And your mother was waiting eagerly; she asked you, dear what about the scarf?
13. Your youngest sister had a final exam and she was studying hard. You were sitting besides her calling your friend in a loud voice, she was annoyed and said come on I cannot study, please! How would you react toward her?
14. You are working as an accountant in a company. You have very important documents that belong to the company, but unfortunately you have lost them. You are supposed to deliver them to the boss next day. The boss asked you about them. What would you do?
15. You had an important appointment with your supervisor (or course leader), but you have missed that appointment and did not turn up to it. He asked you, why you didn't turn up to the meeting?

Appendix [2]: Scale Response Task version in Arabic

1-الى اي مدى انت متأسف في هذا الموقف؟

* غير متأسف * متأسف قليلاً * متأسف * متأسف جدا

2-ماهو تقييمك لدرجة الخطأ في هذا الموقف؟

*بسيطة جدا *بسيطة *قوية * قاسية

3-ماهي احتمالية اعتذارك في هذا الموقف؟

*لا اعتذر *ربما اعتذر * اعتذر * يجب الاعتذار

4-ماهي درجة توقعك لقبول الاعتذار منك؟

*غير متوقع *متوقع قليلاً * متوقع *متوقع جد

Scale Response Task version in English

1-To what extent you are regret in such situation?

*not sorry *slightly sorry * sorry, *very sorry

2-How do you rate the degree of offence in such situation?

*Very simple, *Simple, *Strong, Very strong

3-What is the likelihood of your apologizing in such situation?

*don't apologize, *may apologize, *apologize, *should apologize

4-What is the possibility of accepting your apology in such situation?

*Not expected * slightly expected * expected * very expected

Appendix [3]: Some interview questions

1-What does apology mean to you?

2-Have you ever been in such an offensive situation?

3-what makes you non-apologizer?

4-What might affect your apology to (X)?

5-Do you often apologize? Why?

Appendix [4]: Consent Forms



CONSENT FORM

استمارة الموافقة

عنوان البحث ((سلوك الاعتذار في اللغة العربية العراقية والانكليزية : دراسة بركماتية)).

الباحث : اياد حمود احمد

Please initial all boxes if you agree

من فضلك اتقر على المربعات اذا انت موافق

1- انا اؤكد باتي قرأت وفهمت استمارة البيانات للدراسة المذكورة اعلاه. لدي الحق ان اخذ بنظر الاعتبار المعلومات ، والاسئلة والاجابة عليهم بقناعة. () .

2- اظهم ان مشاركتي تطوعية وانا اشعر بحرية في الاتسحاب في اي وقت بدون اعطاء اي سبب.

3- اوافق على بعض الاقتباسات ربما تنشر في مقالة او تستخدم في مؤتمر. () .

4- اوافق على تسجيل المقابلة صوتيا ومرنياً. () .

5- اظهم ان البيانات المجموعة اثناء الدراسة يمكن مشاهدتها فقط من قبل المشرف من جامعة ديمنتفورت واعطيهم اخصة بالاطلاع عليها. ()

(6) اوافق على المشاركة في الدراسة ()

اسم المشارك في الدراسة التاريخ التوقيع

اسم منظم ومستلم الاستمارة التاريخ التوقيع

CONSENT FORM

Title of project: [*Apologizing Speech Acts Behaviour in Iraqi Arabic and English*]

Name of researcher: [Ayad Hammood Ahmed]

Please initial all boxes if you agree

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet [Dec 2015 version 1] for
the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and
have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw
at any time without giving any reason.
3. I agree that non identifiable quotes may be published in articles or used in
conference presentations.
4. I agree to the interview being digitally audio recorded
5. I understand that data collected during the study may be looked at by a
supervisor from De Montfort University. I give permission for the supervisor to have
access to my data.
6. I agree to take part in this study

Print name of participant

Date

Signature

Print name of person taking consent
Consent form date of issue: [

Date
]

Signature

Appendix [5]: Data Assessors and Their comments

The first assessor is Dr. Nassier A. Al-Zubaidi- College of Art- University of Baghdad- Iraq.

“As a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic, and a bilingual speaker of English and Arabic, I can confirm that your data is authentic and natural enough to be examined and analysed”. I authenticate the data validity by asserting”. The majority of them are valid and natural. My focus was mainly concerned with Iraqi Arabic version. As for the English EFL, there are variations due to the competence differences among respondents. To conclude, as a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic, your examples in the data are valid and natural with some over exaggerated expressions of politeness.”

The Second Assessor is Dr. Zaidan K. Omar. College of Education/ Anbar University- Iraq

He validates “both the data and the data collection methods”, he emphasized that “*The data are well –gathered to represent the majority of situations where apology might occur. The data reveal how the relative power, social distance, and age affect the use of apologies.*” Thus, both the practicality of our data collection methods and the collected data were approved by local experts.

The third assessor is Dr. Hazim H. Al-Duleimi / Anbar University/ Iraq.

He indicated that “*the variety of Iraqi Arabic is influenced in one way or another by standard Arabic in terms of male/ female distinctions and some over exaggerated polite apologies. Iraqis, generally speaking, hardly apologize! The results indicated that Iraqi Arabic native speakers are significantly affected by the religious norms when apologizing for causing a physical damage*”. *The majority of strategies are exposed: an expression of regret, an offer of apology, a request for forgiveness, an offer of repair, expressing self-deficiency, where the apologizer may feel the need to promise that the offensive act will never happen again”.*

The last assessor is Prof. Andrew Cohen, University of Minnesota, US.

In any case, findings that an open-ended response produced more than one apology-specific strategy is not new. Olshtain and I found this back in the 1980s. Take the case of the flash drive and losing the files.

1. BY Allah, my sister, I am very ashamed and I don't know how to speak about. - social comment,
2. I come to tell you something and my legs, one forward and another backward. - acknowledging responsibility by indicating s/he screwed up.
3. I was supposed to scan your USB, but accidentally I pressed format instead of scan and all the files were deleted, -- acknowledging responsibility by specifying the actual goof.
4. by Allah I am now very embarrassed, -- social comment.
5. and I am ready if it is possible to solve it by money or by something else just to back up the files, -- offer of repair.
6. but by greatest Allah, I don't know what to say, -- social comment,
7. it is out of my control, it is not in my hand, -- acknowledging responsibility. In this case indicating there is nothing s/he can do.
8. look, now I am speaking and I am very ashamed O sister. -social comment.
9. Olshtain and I called these comments "social comments," often used as a social lubricant to smooth over screw ups.
10. It is perfectly normal to expect more than one apology-specific strategy in an open-ended response. I attach a paper of ours that counted up the % use of each strategy.

Appendix [6]: U test Statistics of Apology perception across 15 situations

Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U –test	P<
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Situation One						
Regret Degree	3.72	28.24	3.52	68.96		.045
Offence Degree	2.98	59.96	3.14	64.04		.170
Apology imposition	3.72	26.16	3.7	31.55		.935
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.46	74.84	2.94	59.64		.000
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		D.F	P<
Situation Two	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.42	46.36	2.43	88.51		.000

Offence Degree	2.71	60.59	2.05	56.7500		.000
Apology imposition	3.45	38.75	3.22	59.1600		.038
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.71	80.59	3.09	80.19		.002
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation Three	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.3	102.11	3.29	70.59		.252
Offence Degree	3.01	66.990	3.11	57.79		.381
Apology imposition	3.54	40.84	3.52	54.96		.850
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.38	53.56	2.61	80.19		.050
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation Four	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.35	42.75	3.04	81.84		.024
Offence Degree	2.81	85.39	2.77	83.71		.838
Apology imposition	3.48	30.96	3.47	52.91		.555
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.67	52.11	3.03	52.91		.000
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation Five	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.16	63.44	3.09	80.190.9		.706
Offence Degree	2.57	98.51	2.63	77.310		.489
Apology imposition	3.43	56.51	3.29	66.590		.211
Accepting Apology likelihood	3.4	54.0	3.2	50.71		.023
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group			P<

Situation Six	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	U test	
Regret Degree	2.87	79.31	2.36	73.040		.000
Offence Degree	2.24	86.24	2.11	69.790		.383
Apology imposition	3.16	67.44	3.01	72.99		.193
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.9	730.85	3.13	49.310		.062
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation Seven	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	2.76	104.241	2.6	940.79		.222
Offence Degree	2.41	106.191	2.37	87.31		.861
Apology imposition	2.9	950	2.71	86.590		.103
Accepting Apology likelihood	3.13	69.310	3.15	70.750		.831
Scale - Response Task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 8	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.16	67.44	2.97	78.91		.126
Offence Degree	2.82	74.76	2.5	710.9		.009
Apology imposition	3.31	55.39	3.07	86.51		.093
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.81	77.39	3.11	51.79		.016
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 9	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	2.99	74.99	2.6	1001.00		.005
Offence Degree	2.15	72.75	2.17	108.11		.834
Apology imposition	3.23	49.71	2.99	78.99		.067
Accepting Apology	2.64	57.04	3.13	75.31		.000

likelihood						
Scale - Response Task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 10	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.52	44.960	3.47	56.91		.821
Offence Degree	3.4	50.71	3.15	64.75		.023
Apology imposition	3.69	29.390	3.55	46.75		.152
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.25	78.75	2.62	75.56		.152
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 11	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	2.45	96.75	2.49	82.99		.723
Offence Degree	2.05	80.75	1.98	73.96		.572
Apology imposition	2.68	99.76	2.82	94.76		.328
Accepting Apology likelihood	3.16	87.44	3.13	73.31		.590
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 12	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.4	700.84	3.39	67.79		.886
Offence Degree	2.99	90.990	2.74	85.24		.065
Apology imposition	3.55	44.75	3.34	98.44		.388
Accepting Apology likelihood	3.4	42	3.26	45.24		.124
	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 13	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	2.52	82.96	2.51	78.99		.921
Offence Degree	1.92	85.36	2	64		.390

Apology imposition	2.44	84.64	2.58	110.36		.309
Accepting Apology likelihood	3.13	93.31	3.19	67.39		.997
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
Situation 14	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Regret Degree	3.76	24.24	3.52	54.96		.020
Offence Degree	3.7	25	3.46	62.84		.048
Apology imposition	3.81	19.39	3.62	53.56		.086
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.11	87.79	2.18	92.76		.604
Scale Response task	Iraqi NS Group		Iraqi EFL Group		U test	P<
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Situation 15						
Regret Degree	3.43	58.51	3.47	52.91		.731
Offence Degree	3.07	62.51	3.09	54.19		.898
Apology imposition	3.52	26.96	3.54	48.84		.281
Accepting Apology likelihood	2.82	60.76	2.73	61.71		.322

Appendix [7]: The interviewees' Responses Transcription

1. (فد شي كلش مهم ، اسلوب الاعتذار شكدي مايكون بيه عطف وادب يكون المقابل هادي وغير عصبي، الاعتذار للشخص الكبير بالعمر لازم يكون اكثر تادياً، الاعتذار ضروري لكن ليس بشكل جدي تماما من الاخت الصغيرة، احوال اعتذر من الاخت الصغير ولكن بصورة غير جدية، بالمناسبة قبل رحت للمعرض وكنا واقفين ، طفل صغير خالف الكيوو ، فالاب كاله اعتذر من طفلي ، وقال لازم يتعلم كيف يتعذر كنت جدا معجب بهذا الاسلوب ، بصفة عامة المجتمع العراقي التعلّم في الصغر النقش على الحجر، يمن الوضع العراقي والجو ، ياثّر على اللغة. (المشارك 17).
2. الاعتذار مهم جدا اذا اني مخطيء ، والشخص المخطيء يجب ان يعتذر، والاعتذار يعكس شخصية الفرد. (المشارك 18).
3. قد يكون لان باللغة الام فاكدر مااعتذر لان هي ختي ومن طبيعة مجتمعنا هو عم او قلة الاعتذار واعذرت باللغة الانكليزية لان الاعتذار شائع ، فماعدنا ثقافة الاعتذار بالعربية مع الصغير وخاصة اخوتي الصغار بالبيت اولادي يعتذرون باللغة الانكليزية وليس العربي، واعتذاري من المشرف هو ضروري ويجب ان يكون مؤثر. (المشارك:20).
4. الاعتذار جدا مهم ، كل الاشخاص اذا اخطات معاهم لازم تعتذر منهم,,, ويتوقف على طبيعة الشخص كلما ابعد يكون الاعتذار اقوى ، الشخص اقرب عليك ، ترفع الكلفة. كلمة اسف لا نستخدمها ونما نعتذر بصورة غير مباشرة ، اذا شخصان متخصصان يجي الشخص اللي يعتذر مايكول ولا كلمة مجرد مجيء يعتبر اعتذار. (المشارك 23).
5. من اعتذر من مشرفي يجب ان اعتذر بصورة رسمية ، تفرق من الاخ او الصديق ، ولهذا الخطاب سيكون من ادنى الى اعلى. (المشارك/25).
6. صراحة نعتبر الاعتذار شجاعة ، كلما كنت معتذر اكثر كلما كنت محبوب اكثر. (المشارك 26).
7. الاعتذار هو واجب اذا كنت اني مخطي وحتى لو كنت غير مخطيء ، فالاعتذار شيء جميل الاعتذار من الزوجة ليس كالاعتذار من الام، قد اعتذر من الزوجة او لا اعتذر ولكن من الام يجب الاعتذار، لان مكنتي من زوجتي قريبة ، ولكن نصرتنا كمجتمع عراقي قد نكون مسلطين بعض الشيء ولكن من ناحية لام التزامتنا تختلف ، دينيا نحن موصيين بان نبرها (المشارك/27)
- اني اي شيء اسوي لازم اعتذر منه ، الانسان يكون خلوق يجب ان يعتذر عن اي خطأ حتى لو كان صغير.....
8. الزوجة لها مكانة عظيمة لدى الزوجة ، مثلما اتأدب مع الغريب لازم اتأدب مع زوجتي (المشارك/29).

9. الاعتذار مهم جداً، اذا من واح الى 5 فالاعتذار يمثل رقم 5 ، اذا الشخص غير غريب احاول اصلح الموقف بدون اعتذار ، ولكن اذا كان الشخص مثل المشرف، او المدير فيجب الاعتذار ، الاعتذار في العائلة يكبر الفجوة بين افراد العائلة.....العلاقات الاجتماعية عندنا تختلف..... (المشارك:31).
10. الاعتذار جدا مهملانه يعكس ادب الشخص المقابل، ممكن الزوجة تفهم الاعتذار من خلال ملامح الوجه ممكن تفهم انه اني متأسف لأنه هي قريبة عليه، وبمجرد اكلها اني راجع اجيب الدواء راح تعرف انه اني متأسف. اما الاعتذار للمشرف او الشخص الغريب بالشارع مافهم انه اني دا اعتذر او لا فلازم ابدي بكلمات الاعتذار مثل ، اسف اعتذر الخ (المشارك:33).
11. الاعتذار ثقافة جدا مهمة وما احب اتكبر عن الاعتذار ، وحيل احب مسالة الاعتذار (المشارك:34). اكيد الاعتذار مهم جدا،،،كلما اعتذر الشخص يكون صورته ايجابية جدا
12. الاعتذار من الزوجة ،،،الشخص الغريب يكون اعتذارك له اكثر ، بينما القريب يتقبل اي نوع من الاعتذار ، الزوجة تعرف نظرتة وتعرف شعورها تجاهك (المشارك:36).
13. الاعتذار يعكس تربية و اخلاق الشخص،،،، نعم اذا كان هناك خطأ يجب الاعتذار حتى لو كان صغيراً لان الصغير سوف يتعلم منها...في بعض الاحيان غير ضروري الاعتذار كما في حالة الاخت الصغيرة او الابن (المشارك:37).
14. الاعتذار من الزوجة يكون قليل ، السبب ميانة زائدة ، ممكن هو يستغرب اذا اعتذرت ، العلاقة قريبة بحيث لما اكون مؤدب جدا تنثير الانتباه..... فارق المركز بسبب هو مدير واني موظف فضروري يعطي اهتمام ممكن باي لحظة او مزاج (بحرك فلمي). (المشارك:40).
15. الاعتذار للزوجة (ماكو رسميات) اذا صار شيء خطأ نحاول نحله بدون اعتذار ، ماعدنا اسف اسف ، الاعتذار موجود بس بطريقة رجوعي للصيدلية اجيب الدواء (المشارك:41).
16. الاعتذار مهم جدا ،،،،الصراحة ما احب اوقع بموقف حتى ما اعتذر ، لان اذا شخص ما قبل اعتذاري راح انقهر وابقى احرك بدمي ، واشعر بالاهانة (المشارك:46).
17. الاشخاص اللي عندي حميمية معاهم الموود ياخذ تاثيره على عكس الاعتذار من الاشخاص اللي لديهم مكانة اجتماعية، العرب مو بالضرورة يستخدمون تعابير لطيفة خاصة اذا كان خطابهم مع الزوجة او احد افراد العائلة.(المشارك:47).
18. ثقافة عدم الاعتذار او اقدرة على عدم الاعتذار ، هي ثقافة لعينة ، المشكلة البينة اللي نشأتها بيها لا يوجد شخص يعتذر من ثاني ولا احد يعترف انه خطأ.....دانما بنتي تقول (سوري، سوري) ، هي ثقافة حلوة.....
19. انا مع الغريب ، ضميري يأتي واعتذر من الشخص حتى لو كان هو المخطيء ، من باب شرعي من الحديث النبوي ((كل الاعمال ترفع الا المتخاصمان لا ترفع اعمالهم))....
20. الاعتذار ، هناك مواقف اجهل بيها الاعتذار من الزوجة ، عدم الاعتذار هو تقريب الاعتذار، اذا اعتذرت منها ممكن تبعد العلاقة بيني وبينها، وحتى لا اعرف الطريقة الي اعتذر بيها ، اذا اعتذرت منها راح تكون ،،،،لا استطيع ان ابررها مع العلم انه اني مع اصغر شخص او غريب يون اعتذاري جدا مؤدب،
21. احد الاشخاص، يقول اذا اعتذرت منها احس بيها شخص غريب !!!!!!

	Apology Positions
Mann-Whitney U	185031.500
Wilcoxon W	375067.500
Z	-4.543
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

a. Grouping Variable: Language_1

Intensified Apologies

	Language_1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Apology intensified	1	189	201.39	38062.50
	2	226	213.53	48257.50
	Total	415		

Test Statistics^a

	Apology intensified
Mann-Whitney U	20107.500
Wilcoxon W	38062.500
Z	-1.038
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.299

a. Grouping Variable: Language_1

Strategy_coded_1

■ 1.000
■ 2.000
■ 3.000
■ 4.000

Node 0		
Category	%	n
■ 1.000	30.5	169
■ 2.000	45.2	251
■ 3.000	20.7	115
■ 4.000	3.6	20
Total	100.0	555

Strategy_1
Adj. P-value=0.000, Chi-square=1110.000, df=6

Lack of intent

Self-defeciency

Accepting Blame; Denying Responsibility

Node 1		
Category	%	n
■ 1.000	100.0	169
■ 2.000	0.0	0
■ 3.000	0.0	0
■ 4.000	0.0	0
Total	30.5	169

Node 2		
Category	%	n
■ 1.000	0.0	0
■ 2.000	100.0	251
■ 3.000	0.0	0
■ 4.000	0.0	0
Total	45.2	251

Node 3		
Category	%	n
■ 1.000	0.0	0
■ 2.000	0.0	0
■ 3.000	85.2	115
■ 4.000	14.8	20
Total	24.3	135