The Speech Act of Apology: A Linguistic and Socio- Cultural
Exploration of Politeness in Selected Universities of Kashmir

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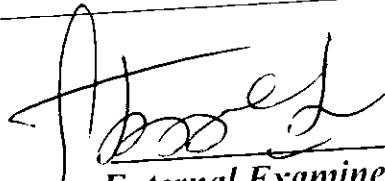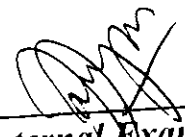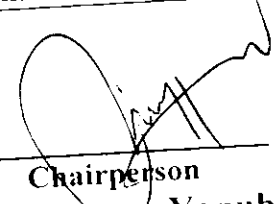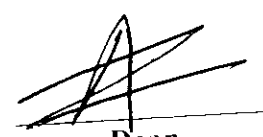# ACCEPTANCE BY THE VIVA VOCE COMMITTEE

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Title of the Thesis: "THE SPEECH ACT OF APOLOGY: A LINGUISTICS AND SOCIOCULTURUAL EXPLORATION OF POLITENESS IN SELECTED UNIVERSITIES OF PAKISTAN"

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Dedication

To My Parents Whose Trust Has Been My Ultimate Strength

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Many thanks to almighty Allah who bestowed me courage to start and end this most significant task of my life. Without His countless blessings I could have never done it. He helped me in multiple ways: blessed me with marvellous parents, teachers, brother, sisters, bahbi and friends who all have been very positive and supportive during my whole career. If I had not been blessed with such a beautiful blend of these relations I could have never been at the place where I am today. I owe much to all of them for beautifully shaping every corner of my life.

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While thinking of this academic journey, many other people come into my mind whose support and contribution I owe to acknowledge: Dr Ghulam Ghous- Vice chancellor University of Kotli deserves lot of my special thanks for accommodating my academic needs and professional responsibilities amicably; Dr Ayaz Afsar, Dr Munnaza Yaqoob, Dr Fouzia Janjua, and Dr Raja Naseem Akhter, are the people from whom I learnt many things during the course of my studies, I cordially acknowledge their supportive role. I am also thankful to Dr. Aysha Sohail; Dr. Ishtiyaq; Dr. Saeed Sheikh; Dr Arshad; and Dr. Naz for assisting me in data collection at their respective universities.

Abstract

Apology is one of the most frequently used speech acts in day-to-day conversation. To maintain harmony and restore pleasing relations between offender / apologizer and the offended / apologizee are among its basic functions. People are expected to apologize in case they have disrupted some social norms. The current research aims to study apology strategies applied by Kashmiri speakers. Urdu is national language of Kashmir while English is enjoying status of official language. So, both languages are spoken and understood especially by educated people, with more application of English in formal settings. The focus of this research is on form and function of different apology strategies applied for apologizing in both these languages; and influence of different socio-cultural factors e.g., social status, social distance, severity of offence and conversational setting on their execution; and to measure effects of change of language on apologetic attitude and expressions of the respondents. To investigate apologies both in formal and informal settings; and to get respondents with equally good command of both the languages the population is selected from universities working in Azad Kashmir. The sample comprises 250 students of MA English. To maintain reliability, data is collected through Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs), observations and interviews. To analyse current data and accommodate indigenous apologizing trends, based on CCSARP model (Blum- Kulka et al., 1989) which has already been replicated in many languages around the globe, a new taxonomy has been devised. The findings reveal that Kashmiris are not explicit in their apologies rather they depend heavily on implicit apologies and application or use of apologies as communication management devises. Socio-cultural factors have considerable effects on respondents' selection and application rate of apology strategies. Change of language - English and /or Urdu – affects use of apology strategies, but not apologetic attitude of the respondents.

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SOME IMPORTANT SIGNPOSTS

In the current work:

- Strategies, apology strategies and apology semantic formulae are used in synonym terms when discussing about the expressions used to apologize.

- Terms model and taxonomy have been used alternatively.

- Names of apology strategies are italicized to differentiate from rest of the text.

- Equals / equal stand for those who owe similar social status.

- Higher /Highers represent participants having higher social status than their interlocutors.

- Lowers / lower indicate those participants who have lower social status than their addressees

- Urdu text is italicised throughout this research work to separate from that of English.

- In the current research study, DCT stands both for discourse completion test and discourse completion task which have been interchangabley used by many researchers like Ahangar etal., 2015; Blum-Kulka, S. 1982; Oheng,1999 etc.

- The transcription key used in the current work is taken from Rasul, S (2006).

- Azad Kashmir, AJ&K and; the state of Kashmir all stands for state of Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1- Introduction of the Chapter

This chapter sets out to shed light on the current research work. For this purpose, firstly it introduces concept of politeness in general, followed by introduction and explanation of different approaches regarding, speech act, definitions of speech acts, speech act of apology, definitions of apologies and the relationship between politeness and speech acts. It also throws light on background of the current research, its aims and objectives, its significance, research design and organizational pattern.

In the fields of pragmatics and sociolinguistics linguistic, politeness has been subject of extensive research since publishing of Brown & Levinson's (B&L) influential article "Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena" in 1978. Their later emerged theory of politeness (B&L: 1987) consists of three basic notions called face, face-threatening acts (FTAs) and politeness strategies. An individual's face consists of two "wants": freedom to act freely without impeded by others which is termed as "negative face", and the desire that others admire and value one's wants is termed as "positive face". Either or both of these face aspects can be threatened while interacting with other social members because of certain inherently face-threatening acts (FTAs) which they recognize at two levels: firstly, which face want is threatened and secondly whose face, speaker's (S's) or hearer's (H's), is at stake. The gravity of an FTA is calculated in view of social variables including social distance, social power, and rank of imposition (p.[76]), and it influences selection and application of politeness strategies in performing an FTA. B&L

model (1987) identifies apologies as "negative politeness strategies" as they convey distance, respect and deference rather than friendliness and involvement. It is an avoidance-based, on-record strategy of self-effacement and restraint. The theory assumes that negative politeness is a universally preferred approach to face work. This assumption, according to Matsumoto (1988) and Gu (1990) do not apply to Asian culture. The society under being unexplored with respect to politeness phenomenon provides an important research area. An application of Brown and Levinson's theory to this society/ culture would help decipher not only its polieteness orientation but will also help to contribute in the ongoing debate about universality of politeness phenomen and or role of culture in this regard.

A threatened face engendered by an FTA leads to emergence of politeness on the scene in the form of either positive or negative politeness strategies. Positive politeness strategies termed as expressions of solidarity, intimacy, informality, and familiarity are addressed to H's positive face wants. For example, use of in-group identity markers, promising, exaggerating interest in H and avoiding disagreement. Conversely, negative politeness strategies categorised as expressions of restraint, formality, and distancing are addressed to H's negative face. B&L (1987) while recognizing relativity among cultures, claim for universality of face to the extent that two face wants are present in every individual (p.[62]). However, what appears as a face threat and to whom, in addition to different strategy preferences, are left open to cultural variation. For example, to insist for something, give invitation, to laugh or to suggest are not perceived as face threatening in the society under consideration wheras they pose face threat to the hearer in many societies (Deutschmann, 2003) According to Goffman (1971) 'interaction practices' equate cultural norms of politeness; and shape and usage of such norms in different cultures keep revealing

in many ways. On macro level, politeness norms of a society can be perceived as an outcome of socio-economic factors (Brown & Gilman 1960). Different forms of linguistic politeness and their practice norms in any culture are a reflection, not merely of the existing societal structure but also of those historical circumstances which lead to the emergence of theses norms.

Indeed, intercultural politeness research, focusing on comparing linguistic politeness of various languages as a reflection of societal differences has been a dominant area of research in the field of pragmatics during last two decades (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984). While on micro level, study of patterns of politeness usage as a product of distribution of status and power within groups becomes one of the major areas of research by many researchers (Brown & Levinson 1987, Holmes 1995). In this context focus has been on studying who is polite to whom, gender differences with regard to application of several politeness formulae have also been investigated with reference to compliments (Wolfson 1983; Holmes 1988; Holmes 1989), and apologies (Holmes 1989, Tannen 1994, Aijmer 1995).

In the present research work, rather than studying politeness in general, use of apology - a speech act which comprises politeness to a considerable extent - would be studied in detail. The process of apologising is not merely a matter of routine, but it involves many of the complex social and psychological issues which are at the heart of politeness research. An apology must involve some redressive action that 'gives face' to the addressee. Apologising, at the same time, may result inapologizer's losing the face. Deciding whether to apologise or not is thus likely to be affected by such factors as power relationships, social distance etc. We can easily predict that an employer will thank his

employee after being presented with a gift. This is a matter of mere routine and involves few face considerations. Whether the same employer would apologise to the employee after making a mistake is less predictable, and thus of academic interest when studying politeness from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Apologies as well as other politeness behaviours/ strategies are influenced by the cultural background of the speakers. People are dictated by their cultures about application of apologies in their daily lives. Sometimes, in case of interaction among individuals of different cultures these differences can result in intercultural miscommunication, for example, as reports Rintell & Mitchell (cited in Wagner 2000) that an American businessman was confused by repeated apologies from his Japanese colleagues for filing a report late, because instead of mere apologies he was expecting explanations for and solutions to the problem.

According to Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), research studies focusing on cultural anthropology, pragmatics, and communication advocate that apology is a cultural phenomenon. Thus, an understanding of what occasions demand an apology as well as what are the most preferred forms and expressions of the apology can be a lens to discover cultural characteristics. Before going into much detail, it seems important to set a background for the current study by discussing speech acts in general as well as speech act of apology- that is focus of the present study- in particular.

1.2- Speech Act

Presence of speech acts is universal (B & L), but their content, forms and frequency are culture-specific matters. When studied, the speech acts reflect cultural norms and social values of any target language revealing particular rules of language usage in that

specific speech community. Knowledge of pragmatic and cultural competence has always been a point of consideration in research studies. An awareness regarding the way these culturally and socially specific features of language function in various languages is indispensable because one must be fully acquainted with the differences prevailing not only between their native language and other languages around the globe but also among different cultures. An understanding of such similarities and differences would not only play a vital role in better understanding of other cultures but also in producing conflict free result-oriented communication. For example, some one who belongs to a culture which prefers an apology by encoding explanations and solutions for the problem s/he had to face would be distressed by receiving an apology having just an *IFID*.

Speech acts are probably more culture specific than any other aspect of language. They are defined in multiple ways, but the most general and common view of speech acts is that of utterances that perform an action (Austin, 1975) when uttered. The focus of the present study is speech act of apology. In general, apology is a speech act that becomes obligatory in case the social norms of politeness require mending of a behaviour or a linguistic expression has offended somebody (Trosborg, 1995) or if a person is offended due to failure in fulfilment of personal expectations, says Fraser,1981 (cited in Deutschmann 2003). This speech act usually requires presence of at least two participants, namely a person who is apologizing and the one who expects apology.

To interpret all these actions taken by the elder as as soothing and apologizing to put the things right need a cultural understanding.

1.2.1.1 Speech acts and politeness

Politeness is closely related to speech act theory. Earlier research studies on politeness claimed for universality of this concept (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973). According to Lakoff (1973) there are three primary rules of politeness: "don't impose," "give options," and "make [the hearer] feel good – be friendly" (p. [298]). Answering the objections raised by many researchers like Sifianou (1992: pp. [22-26]) and Tannen (1986: p.[37]) regarding his claim for universality of politeness he asserted that his theory was not in conflict with undeniable existence of different customs in different cultures. Adding to this point, he claimed that differences in interpretation of politeness across various cultures was due to the order these rules take precedence over each other.

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that members of every society tend to keep certain image of themselves, an image that they call "face". They distinguish between "positive face" and "negative face" - two types of face namely. While the first one indicates that people expect that their needs should be desirable to others and they should get appreciation from other social members; the second implies one's desire that his or her actions should not be impeded by others. With the help of speech acts it is intended either to avoid any potential threat to speaker's or hearer's face by being more polite in case of requesting something or to save or recover the face in case of any need to apologize (Staab, 1983). As far as apologies are concerned, Lubecka (2000) proclaimed that they are face

threatening because apologizing means confessing that one has done something wrong, but they also carry face saving role, as if accepted, it alleviates offence of the apologizer. However, quite a considerable number of scholars still confront that concept of face is universal (Matsumoto, 1988; Gu, 1990). Many research studies have revealed that Brown and Levinson's theory (1987) of face does not relate to Japanese (Matsumoto, 1988) or Chinese (Gu, 1990) speakers which manifest that the notion of face is a culture specific. According to Matsumoto (1988) the Japanese, contrary to Europeans do not like to define themselves as individuals but in relation to a group. Thus, for them saving face, for example, stands for something more than caring for the individual's own well-being.

Gu (1990) also claims the same about Chinese culture. Acording to him, in that culture politeness is more than what Brown and Levinson (1987) claim: it is a social norm which demands social reprimand in case of its violation. It maintains that negative face is never threatened for a Chinese as speech acts, for example, offering or inviting someone, are never perceived as threatening to one's face. For the Chinese, according to Gu, "politeness exercises its normative function in constraining individual speech acts as well as the sequence of talk exchanges" (p.^{242}). Thus, as speech acts are associated with the concept of face it can be concluded that application of wrong speech act can be a reason of differences in perception of face in cross-cultural communication which may lead to misunderstanding and confrontation.

To sum up this section on speech acts, it can be asserted that speech act theory is a largely disputed field and issues such as nature and definition of speech acts and what are the ways to classify them appropriately seem to be not universal but culture specific, as some research studies have claimed. Differences in realization and perception of different

speech acts in different cultures have manifested a need for more research to be carried out in order to purport a theory that may have an integrated approach towards them. Thus, in addition to thoroughly defining all the terms used in research and constructing a comprehensive taxonomy, social, cultural, and pragmatic impacts on the construction and interpretation of meaning, perception, and production of speech acts must be considered. The society under consideration has a rich variety of expressions to execute speech act of apology- the one to be explored in the current research- ranging from non-verbal expressions to long apology expressions involving application of multiple strategies [insider view]. The apologies forwarded accompany swearing to Allah almighty on the one hand and laughter, silence and smile on the other hand. So, there comes a need to explore execution, interpretation and social perception / acceptance of these apology strategies.

1.3-   Speech Act of Apology

As stated above, this research focuses on speech act of apology – one of the most frequently used speech acts in day-to-day conversation. To maintain harmony and restore pleasing relations between offender / apologizer and the offended / apologizee is among the functions of apology. People are expected to apologize according to Olshtain & Cohen (1983) in case it is perceived that they have disrupted some social norms. According to Brown & Levinson (1987) like requests and refusals, apology too is a face-threatening speech act which demands a comprehensive understanding of its application to avoid miscommunication and confrontations.

On the global level apologies differ cross-linguistically. In each society they carry exclusive cultural values thus have different patterns of realization from country to country

and society to society. Apology as a type of speech acts has been a dominant subject of numerous studies which were directed to elucidate nature of apology, its classification system and the ways it is perceived and performed in different languages existing around the globe. As in case of other speech acts, different research scholars have defined apologies in different ways. Also, like existence of different types of speech acts there are many categories and types of apologies as well. Some of these widely discussed categories overlap in different research studies. However, others are exclusive to certain studies mostly according to distinct features of different populations being studied. The following section will give an overview of these issues.

1.3.1- Definitions of Apologies

According to Bergman and Kasper (1993: p.[82]) an apology is a "compensatory action to an offense in the doing of which speaker (S) was casually involved and which is costly to hearer (H)", the cost might be in the form of losing the face or a sheer misunderstanding. Different cultures perceive intensity of severity of an offence differently resulting in a difference in perception regarding obligation to apologize - whether to apologize or not. In their (Bergman and Kasper) view an action considered very offensive, deserving a serious apology in one culture may not be deserving apology at all in another culture. Also, there is a direct relationship between severity of face threatening acts and the expressions of apology chosen for face saving. However, Brown and Levinson (1987) assert that under the same conditions all the speakers employ same strategy. They made an attempt to validate this claim by analysing data collected in three different languages,

namely English, South Indian Tamil and Tzeltal (a Mayan language). However, many researchers criticised this theory claiming that contrary to their view different factors involve both in considering an action as face threatening and in selection of a strategy used to apologize (Trosborg, 1987). These factors, according to Trosborg (1987) are determined in view of cultural values, social patterns and behavioural norms of the speaker which leads to the perception that speakers of different languages not only recognize the need of an apology differently but also realize their apologies in different ways.

Different patterns in application of apology strategies have been associated with cross-cultural differences by the researchers of both interlanguage studies and studies that focused on the way speakers of different languages apologize in their respective languages. Such research studies give a certain view on existence of relationship between speech acts and cultural values (Suszczynska, 1999). The selection of apology strategies is also influenced by social parameters, for example, age, sex, and social status. Holmes (1993) in a study on New Zealanders has revealed significant differences in distribution of apologies among men and women, and that women tend to apologize more than men.

In the view of Holmes (1990), apologies are "social acts conveying affective meaning" (p. [155]), and she believes that on the part of the speaker politeness strategies are supposed to remedy an offense. Holmes, thus, has forwarded an interesting as well as important clarification that has not been considered before that when defining apologies, one must keep under consideration the probability of a speaker to apologize for wrong behaviour of someone else. This point leads to the inference that "the definition refers to the person who takes responsibility for the offense rather than the offender" (p.[161]).

Understanding and producing speech acts (e.g., apology) appears to have been among the most difficult aspects as far as socio-pragmatic competence of speakers or learners of a foreign or second language is concerned. Lacking a good level of understanding with respect to social, cultural, and pragmatic context may lead to misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication, both in realization of appropriate speech act and in comprehension of meaning or message intended by someone else. This is what makes it desirable to know how to produce speech acts in both native and target language of the learners.

Thus, in general, this research work aims to investigate speech act of apology in Urdu and English languages as is used by students of universities in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K). It also intends to explore how this usage varies depending on identity of the speaker, the addressee, severity of offence; and nature of conversational setting. Analysis of apologies exchanged by representative speakers, participating in conversations at different formality levels will shed further light on this phenomenon. Following section sets a comprehensive background of the current study.

1.4- Background of the Current Research

Urdu is a language being spoken in many countries around the globe. It is national language of Pakistan (Rehman, 1996). Pakistan is an independent Muslim state which came into being on 14th August 1947 and Azad Jummu &Kashmir is a part of it.

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica[1] there are 60 to 70 million native speakers of this language throughout the world. According to 2001 census, in India there were 52

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[1] www.britannica.com/

million speakers of this language and, in Pakistan in 2008 number of speakers of this language were 13 million while several hundred thousand reside in different parts of the world like Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, United States and United Kingdom. Though national language of Pakistan, Urdu is mostly learned as second or third language because mother tongue of about 93% Pakistanis is other than this. In Pakistan Urdu is national language whereas English has been enjoying status of second official language since its inception in 1947. Being taught as second official language, importance of English cannot be overemphasized. It enjoys the same status in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K). In past, it was taught in educational institutes from class 6th to graduate level as a compulsory subject but since 1997 it has become a compulsory subject from class one (01) to graduate level. So, it can be said that English is not only second official language of Pakistan but is taught, learnt, and understood at almost all levels of social life in general and in official settings in particular.

Unfortunately, no detailed research has been done on the use of Urdu language in the field of sociolinguistics till date. Likewise, it is not yet among those languages which have been discovered with respect to apologies either alone or in comparison to any other language in general and English language in particular. Thus, still there is a gap/ blank about linguistic behaviour of Kashmiri speakers in general and in terms of how they process apologetic expressions in Urdu and English languages. Thus, current research work intends to fill in this gap by finding out linguistic behaviour of Kashmiri speakers when they apologize both in English and Urdu languages and by exploring socio-cultural aspects which affect this phenomenon. Moreover, this work is going to be an extensive investigation of this phenomenon covering its functions, the variety of expressions or

strategies being used to apologize, their syntactic and semantic structure, as well as some aspects of the sociolinguistic distribution of apologies. The analysis will be made within context of Brown and Levinson's theory (1978, 1987) of politeness. Thus while analysing data in relation to B&L's parameters called R, P, and D, where "R" denotes ranking of imposition, "P" stands for relative power the hearer (H) owes over the speaker (S), and "D" refers to social distance existing between the interlocutors (B & L 1978: p.[79]) I will focus on social factors which seem to affect the manner in which speakers apologize for some offence to find out extent of the effect of those factors on selection and application of various apology strategies. Thus, this research will fill in the existing gap in terms of research in this particular area.

1.5- Objectives of the Current Research

Current research aims to investigate form and function of routine formulae associated with apologising in Urdu and English languages, as well as the sociolinguistic factors that affect frequency and types of apologies produced in different contexts by the students in the universities of AJ&K. However, the objectives can be more specifically summarised as follows:

- To isolate expressions of apology in the selected population of the study and to identify their functions. The relationship between function and form will also be investigated.

- To examine in comparison and contrast the choices of apologies in Urdu and English in terms of their nature, frequency, form and respective function.

- To examine effects of social status on realization pattern of speech act of apology in the society under study.

- To explore how frequency and typology of apologies differ depending on conversational setting. The aspect of conversational setting includes formality level.

- To examine the manner in which relationship between the speaker and the addressee affect frequency and typology of apologies.

- To calculate impact of severity of offence on form and frequency of apologetic expressions of the respondents.

- To find out to what extent and in what ways change in language (Urdu / English) affects apologetic behaviour/ expression of the speakers.

- To explore the most prevalent type of politeness (positive or negative) in the apologies uttered by the subjects under study.

The ultimate goal is to reveal general characteristics of use of politeness formulae in Urdu and English languages by looking at speech act of apology in AJ&K as is used by university students.

1.6- Significance of the Current Study

As speech acts are culture-oriented phenomenon pragmatic failure has attracted much attention in intercultural communication. People belonging to different cultures often fail to attain communicative goals due to lack of understanding with people from other cultures.

Being polite is although a universally appreciated and preferred behaviour connotation of politeness differs across cultures. Therefore, it is pertinent for the purpose of global intelligibility to carry out research on apologies as a speech act among different cultures to trace out differences and similarities in its perception and realization patterns. The significance of current research can be assessed in view of following points:

- In real-life there might be contradictions between Kashmiris (majority of whom goes abroad in search of career. Over 800,000 Kashmiris, at the moment, are living in different foreign countries) and the people of other countries who speak different languages which may lead to failure in effective communication. This research study will make known some differences between Kashmiris and foreigners as it relates to politeness during apologizing.

- This research is going to be very first attempt of its type with respect to the population under study. Till date, no detailed research work in sociolinguistics in general and on the topic of apology in particular has been done in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. So, it will open a door for the researchers to look into this important area which will ultimately contribute towards understanding at national and international level.

- Cultural understanding with respect to this part of the world will enhance as a result of portraying the specific features, strategies etc., involved in the process of apology.

- The researcher aims at developing a model, if necessary, on the bases of collected data which will enhance research methodology in the present field.

1.7- Research Design

For carrying out this research, both qualitative and quantitative paradigms are used to give objectivity and authenticity to the data. For this purpose, a combination of data collection tools i.e. Discourse Completion Task (DCT), observation and interview is used which is believed to be helpful in triangulation of data and thus reaching at objective findings. Apologies forwarded by the respondents are analysed by applying taxonomy (Figures: 3.1 & 3.2) formulated based on the model applied for data analysis in *CCSARP* (1984 &1989), and the particular expressions found in the data collected for the present study. To trace out nature of politeness - either positive or negative- prevailing in the society under study, data is further analysed in the light of Brown & Levinson's model (1987) which according to many linguists like Locher & Watts (2005) and Christie (2005) is still the most wide-ranging, empirical and comprehensive approach to study politeness phenomenon.

1.8- Organization of Thesis

In this thesis there are eight chapters in total. The focus of **Chapter II: Review of Literature** is firstly to bring under discussion significant theoretical concepts on which the current study is based, and secondly to provide an overview of previous research works that have been carried out on apologies in different languages. **Methodology - Chapter III** – primarily focuses on methodological issue of the current work. It also describes procedure and instruments to be used for collection of data, the participants of the study and the taxonomy devised for data analysis. In Chapter **IV: Explicit Apologies: Data**

Presentation and Analysis- data collected for first mega apology category i.e., '*Explicit*

Apologies' (see section 3.6.1-figure, 3.2) through DCTs (appendix 1), observations

(appendix 2) and interviews (appendix 3) is presented and analysed in detail. **Chapter V:**

'Implicit Apologies': Data Presentation and Analysis- deals with the data collected for

second mega apology category i.e., '*Implicit Apologies*' (section 3.6.1-figure, 3.2) with the

help of DCTs (appendix 1), observations (appendix 2) and interviews (appendix 3).

Chapter VI: Apologies as CMDs: Data Presentation and Analysis – brings under

discussion data collected for third mega apology category i.e., '*Apologies as CMDs*'

(section 3.6.1-figure, 3.2) by employing DCTs (appendix 1), observations (appendix 2) and

interviews (appendix 3) is presented and analysed in this chapter. **Chapter VII: Synthesis**

of Data - gives a comprehensive presentation of data analysed and discussed in previous

chapters (4, 5 & 6). In this chapter, data presented in these chapters is discussed in relation

to each other to get a compact picture and answer the objectives set for the current research.

Chapter VIII: Summary and Conclusion - summarizes findings of the current study in

relation to the set objectives.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1- Introduction to Chapter 2

Production and comprehension of speech acts are considered among the most difficult aspects of sociopragmatic competence of second or foreign language learners. Lacking social, cultural, and pragmatic understanding in cross cultural communication can lead to misunderstandings both in producing appropriate speech acts, and in perceiving intended meaning encoded in an utterance. It makes it imperative to know how speech acts are produced in different languages across the globe and how do they work.

The present research work sets out to investigate usage of a specific linguistic form-a speech act- called apology which from sociolinguistic perspective is associated with politeness phenomenon. The methodological approach adopted for the said purpose is mainly empirical; rather than depending merely on the existing theories and taxonomies, conclusions about response of the interlocutors in case of happening of some offence and usage of different apology expressions are based on the data collected through three different modes: discourse completion tasks (DCT), observations and interviews. Corresponding to the collected data, based on CCSARP model (1989) a newly devised taxonomy has been employed for accommodation and analysis of all the major apology strategies found in the society under study. To establish relevant background, this chapter will cover related concepts about nature and functions of politeness in general and the apologies - the object of investigation in present study-in particular.

In every culture, people have unique patterns to communicate intended meaning through verbal and nonverbal expressions. Thus, it becomes imperative to understand variations in communication patterns and the meanings associated with different linguistic and para linguistic expressions in different cultures and languages. A large number of research studies have explored apologies as made in different languages from different perspectives, for example, specific cultural norms and values reflected in the realization of an apology, the factors which affect choice of a certain strategy, politeness strategies employed more frequently, and those exclusive strategies employed by interlocutors of a particular culture. For example, Deutschmann, 2003; Obeng, 1999; Vollmer & Olshtain,1989; Kotani, 1999; Suzuki, 1999 etc. However, before discussing the approaches, findings, and interpretations of these studies, it is necessary to present an overview of different concepts related to of speech act of apology.

2.2. Politeness: An Introduction

The word *polite* drives from the Latin word 'politus' which stands for 'polished' or 'smooth', more or less synonymous to modern terms i.e., elegant, refined, scholarly, correct, or exhibiting a refined and cultured taste (The Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 1993). Thus, being polite is something like being civilized, cultured, cultivated, or well-bred. The primary definitions of the term in contemporary dictionaries include some aspect of 'showing consideration for others', as well as display of 'manners', for example: "having or showing that one has good manners and consideration for other people" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 1995); or "someone who is polite, has good manners and behaves in a way that is socially correct and considerate of other people's feelings" (Collins

English Language Dictionary 1993). These definitions associate politeness with the more universal human trait called consideration on the one hand and on the other hand to personal codes of conduct like manners and socially correct. It is essential to be polite towards others in every culture. However, how to express politeness and what is appropriate way of expressing it differs according to language and culture.

2.2.1- Socio-Cultural and Historical Perspectives on Politeness

Different societies are characterized by different conventional prescriptive rules which define politeness phenomenon in a given situation. When an action is in line with the norms of the society, positive evaluation (politeness) arises and negative evaluation (impoliteness, rudeness) takes place when the action does not match with those norms or standards. According to Márquez Reiter (2000: p.[2])

> In order for an act to be regarded as 'polite' it has to be set upon a standard,
> a standard which lies beyond the act itself, but which is recognised by both
> the actor and the hearer or a third party who might be part of the interaction.
> This standard is based on collective values or norms which have been
> acquired by individual agents usually early in their lives as part of a
> socialisation process.

Generally, different communities associate politeness with certain set formulae and attach moral and ethical values to it. The degree of adherence to the standard formulae can thus become a way of signalling one's position towards its application. Fraser (1999: p[4]) asserts that it would be naive to assume that any such consensus exists in society at large about

inherent polite linguistic markers because there are "no inherently polite markers, lexical items. syntactic structures. sentences, utterances or even speech acts".

Contrary to that approach, many researchers are of the view that socialization process or cultural experience is main source of shaping patterns of behaviour (Tannen 1994a: p.[13]). Lakoff (1975) and Tannen (1991; 1994a; 1994b) claim that differences in the ways boys and girls are brought up explain gender differences in politeness norms. Tannen (1991: p.18) even goes to the extent of saying that "talk between women and men is cross-cultural communication". They have different conversational styles, to which she assigns the labels rapport-talk and report-talk, respectively. According to Tannen, gender differences in conversational styles reflect in the politeness norms of men and women. O'Barr & Atkins 1980. Deuchar 1989, Cameron & Coates 1989, Coates 1993 in their explanations of gender differences in politeness place more emphasis on gender-based power differences in society.

Scollon and Scollon (1995: pp[44-46]) also made remarkable contribution by defining the notion of "face" as "the negotiated public image, mutually granted to each other by participants in a communicative event." According to them three different politeness systems exist: solidarity politeness; the hierarchical politeness and deference politeness. Among these three systems, the difference is primarily due to power difference (-P or +P) and social gap (+D or –D) between interlocutors. In the first one called deference politeness system, the participants are equal or near equal, but they maintain a distance or gap between them. for example. professional colleagues. While solidarity politeness system is characterized by no power difference (-P) nor social distance (-D) among its members. Relationship bearing closeness and frankness prevailing among the colleagues who are

very closely intimate demonstrate solidarity politeness system. Contrary to that in third type known as hierarchical politeness system, participants fall back on various politeness strategies, for example. the people who belong to upper social position employ involvement-based strategies while communicating downword and those belonging to lower social position apply independence-based politeness strategies in upward communication. Speakers owing different positions in some organization are examples of this hierarchical system.

Contrary to Brown & Levinson's (1987) notion of apology as face threatening to positive face of the speaker, according to Davies et al (2007) it might be beneficial to both - the apologiser and the apologizee (P^{53}). Further, it might be employed according to Kampf & Blum-Kulka (2007: p.^{13}) to "save the face of the other or that of the self as well as to threaten them". Such different approaches played significant role in comprehension of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Politeness theories besides focussing on role of politeness in society differ in their definition of politeness phenomenon. The current discussion will revolve round Goffman's conception of face (1967,1971). theory of politeness presented by Lakoff (1973,1975,1990), Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness (1978,1987), conversational contract view forwarded by Fraser & Nolen's principles (1981) and maxims of interaction given by Leech (1983), politic verbal behaviour (Watts: 1989,2003,2005), and Locher & Watts' notion of relational work (2005), Spencer-Oatey (2005), and Arundale (2006). It is worth noting that Goffman's theory of social interaction is included in the discussion because of its relevance to the notion of face. Also, a discussion of Watts et al's (1992) distinction between first-order politeness (politeness 1) and second-order politeness (politeness 2) will lead to a discussion of how Eelen (2001) further develops

such distinction by outlining what politeness 1 and politeness 2 consist of, and by spelling out main characteristics of each. In this chapter further light will be shed on distinguishing features and outlines of the above-mentioned politeness theories to explore politeness phenomenon in detail. It is significant to have a clear understading of all these theories, and other relevant concepts as it will provide a good foundation to study concept of face, face threats and politeness orientation with respect to population under study.

2.3- Overview of Politeness Theories

Different theories related to the current research study will be critically evaluated to trace out their fundamental postulates and contribution towards understanding phenomenon under discussion i.e., politeness.

Different theories related to the current research study will be critically evaluated to trace out their fundamental postulates and contribution to understand fully the phenomenon under discussion i.e., politeness.

2.3.1- Goffman's Concept of Face

Speec act of Apology has attracted much attention in the recent years. According to Goffman (1971: p[109]) apologies are a vital part of remedial work which is concerned with transforming something hostile and unkind to what may appear and can be conceived as something pleasant and appropriate. His idea of remedial work includes not only apologies but also accounts.

Goffman (1971: p[113]) counts apology as a process or gesture in which the speaker

(individual) splits his / her personality in two equal parts. One of which is guilty for being

responsible for the offence and "the part that dissociates itself from it and affirms a belief

in the offended rule". He further states that remedial work includes two processes: one of

which is ritualistic and second is restitutive (p.[116]). The offender, in the former case, focuses

on rules which have been violated and to those whose domains might have been secured

by these rules. While in the latter case, the offended person receives some compensation.

Goffman proposes regarding weightiness of apologies that greater compensation and

elaborated apologies are required for sever insults or in case of other sever offences

whereas slight or negligible violations and offences result in shortened apologies. He

(Goffman, 1967: p[5]) counts apologies an essential constituent of social interaction which

must be viewed in relation to "face" or "face wants." According to him, term face may be

defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others

assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms

of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may. Thus, during social

interactions participants and events are bound by moral rules. However, according to him

(Goffman, 1967: p.[8]) there might be some instances representing the individual in " wrong

face" or "out of face". In the earlier case, the individual while interacting with others,

follows a line quite different from the one s/he has adopted for herself or himself, while in

the later case, the individual gets him/ herself involved in an interaction without having a

line identical to those others are expected to take. Opposing to these cases, an individual

possessing a constant face, or a permanent behaviour remains more confident.

Face-saving acts are rooted in some socially oriented "face-saving rules" every society and individuals possess, says Goffman (1967: pp.[12-14]). In this context, he differentiates between two approaches that every individual will have "a defensive orientation" and "a protective orientation". The individuals, in the first case show primary concern towards their own face saving whereas in the second case main concern of the individuals becomes others' face. While talking about offence he points out its three types: Firstly. "unintended offences"; secondly. "intended offences" (p[14-15] which are planned to insult someone and thirdly, all those offences which though not intentional can be predicted. Anyone can plot them and can be directed towards anybody.

Goffman (1967: pp.[15-20]) further states that "face-work" expresses two types of processes "avoidance process" and "corrective process". The "avoidance" based approach is generally adopted to avoid face threats. The corrective process contrary to it, implies a person's contribution to social encounter and committing of actions different from normal course of action adopted by other social members. "Corrective interchange" according to Goffman (1967: p[20]) must involve a group of various basic steps. It sets off by taking on responsibility for an offence by the offender followed by compensation offered by him to the offended one. For example, when someone says that he is feeling sorry for what has happened and offers to reset the things as they were. This offer of compensation is regarded as an attempt to pay back for the damage resulting in re-establishing the shattered and wrecked social balance and mutual relationship. Probable third step in this regard is related to those enjoying the power either to refuse or approve the offer: if forgiven, offending person is supposed to express a sign of gratitude to them.

2.3.2- Lakoff's Theory of Politeness

According to Eelen (2001: p.[2]) Lakoff is rightly claimed to be the founder of modern politeness as he was the one who brought linguistic politeness under discussion. Politeness, according to him (Lakoff, 1990: p.[34]) stands for a set of "interpersonal relations" intended to reduce clashes and contradictions, to produce smooth communication. His conception of politeness stems out from Grice's cooperative principles which shed light on conversational maxims and language use. Grice's principles reveal four maxims named as quality, quantity, manner, and relation. Application of these principles helps in "the effective exchange of information" (Grice 1989: p.[28]). Lakoff's (1990) maxims can be disrupted or flouted, for example, an individual during communication may intend to convey more than what is being said which indicates a variance existing between utterance meaning and sentence meaning. According to Lakoff (1973), in order to give a comprehensive description of flouting and deviation of leading conversational codes it is prerequisite to have full mastery of grammatical and pragmatic rules. Lakoff (1973: p.[297]) recommends subsuming the whole of Grice's conversational maxims under the first rule called "be clear" because all the remaining rules also insist on this very point i.e., clarity in conversation. Her second rule is then further divided in three sub-rules: 1- Don't impose, 2- Give options, 3- Make A feel good -be friendly. Later Lakoff renamed these maxims as: Formality: Keep aloof; Deference: give options; Camaraderie: show sympathy (1975: 65).

Though all the three sub- rules symbolize different ideas i.e., first one stands for distance, second denotes deference, and third indicates an effort to make addressee feel good/ approved of, they collectively signify not to encroach others' personal zones. Eelen

(2001: p.3) claims that rules of politeness forwarded by Lakoff are valued in every culture, but different societies prioritize them in different orders resulting in intercultural inconsistency in perception of politeness phenomenon.

Many linguists severely criticised Lakoff's concept of politeness. For example, pointing out weaknesses of Lakoff's theory (1973), Brown (1976: p[246]) asserts that "she offers no integrating theory which places these rules of politeness in a framework that makes them non-arbitrary, that explains their form in terms of social relationships and expectations about humans as interactants". Likewise, Tannen (1984) asserts that instead of rules of communication more emphasis is put on elaboration of scale of "stylistic preferences". Tannen (1986: p[36]) further calls her postulates "senses" individuals generally apply during natural speech instead of being "rules". While criticising Lakoff's theory, Sifianou (1992: pp[22-26]) ascribes its flaws to defining the terminology used in theory as according to him it undermines its universality, for example, formality does not equate politeness all the times, as opines Tannen (1986: p[37]), expressing that Americans behave friendly without rendering any imposition and they try to maintain a space or distance avoiding social aloofness. Sifianou (1992: p[24]) further expresses concerns about the claim Lakoff makes for her postulates to be universal saying that her theory may not claim for universality unless his terms, for example, "aloof" enjoy similar connotations and pragmatic implications around the globe.

2.3.3- Fraser & Nolen's Conversational-Contract View

In order to describe politeness, Fraser & Nolen (1981) based on the notion that when participants indulge in conversation they must follow rules set down by social bodies regarding "rights" and "obligations" introduced "conversational-contract view". Fraser & Nolen's theory demands individuals to behave in socially endorsed manner to fulfil expectations of their counterparts. Fraser & Nolen (1981: p^{96}) contend that being polite relates to application of terms of conversation and failure to observe those terms and conditions turn into impoliteness. Their emphasis on rigidly following conversational conditions corresponds to Goffman's (1967) "traffic rules" which bound individuals to some moral obligations which govern different happenings in social life. They (Fraser & Nolen, 1981) acknowledge contribution of listener or the audience who regard speaker either as polite or impolite.

Fraser & Nolen (1981) differentiate four terms in relation to the rules of the interaction called situational, conventional, institutional, and historical. Conventional terms exist in almost all social interaction and are usually termed as general rules including turn-taking, loudness or softness while talking to each other. "Situational rules" stand for individuals' mutual awareness as well as evaluation of social status and power of the interlocutors. Contrary to others, the category called "conventional" is not controversial because it characterizes fundamentals of interaction. On the other hand, "institutional rules" relate to the principles imposed by some institution and historical terms suggest that past happenings work as a foundation for existing interactions. In sum, categorised under

the social norms, Fraser & Nolen's (1981) conversation rules are set to control social

dealings and make individuals yield linguistically suitable behaviour.

2.3.4- Leech's Theory of Interaction

Based on Grice's conversational principles Leech (1983: p[7]) developed a theory

which regarded politeness as an agent or factor to regulate interaction among members of

any society. Politeness principles proposed by Leech closely resemble to cooperative

principles but contain maxims different from those: "tact, generosity, approbation,

modesty, agreement and sympathy" (Leech, 1983: p[123]). Following is a detail of these

maxims:

- The first maxim called *"Tact"* minimizes cost to other and maximizes benefit to

  other.

- *"Generosity maxim"*- the second one, minimizes benefit to self and maximizes cost

  to self.

- The third maxim named as *"approbation maxim"* aims at minimizing dispraise of

  other and maximizing dispraise of self.

- The fourth maxim termed as *"modesty maxim"* results in minimizing praise of self

  and maximizing that of others.

- The fifth maxim classified as *"agreement maxim"* aims at minimizing

  disagreement and differences between individuals. Thus, it maximizes agreement

  between them.

- "*Sympathy maxim*" aims at minimizing hostility among the individuals, thus results in maximization of sympathy.

Leech (1983) also states that each maxim contains sub-maxims and all of them are not of equal importance in social interactions. Thus, participants can rely on more than one maxims of politeness simultaneously. Further, according to him these maxims may be valued differently in different cultures.

Many linguists have raised serious concerns about Leech's theory. It has been point of criticism by many of them. Fraser (1990) and Spencer-Oatey & Jiang (2003) hold that his theory suffers from problem in categorizing "illocutionary acts" as intrinsically either polite or impolite. While in Fraser's (1990) opinion, problem resides in his attempt to classify acts as inherently polite or impolite neglecting cultural and situational variables. Some other researchers like Turner (1996); Lavandera (1988); and Dillons et al., (1985) also criticised arguing that Leech's view is not comprehensive as it is completely silent about the requisite number of principles for explanation of politeness phenomenon.

2.3.5- Brown & Levinson's Model of Politeness

Brown & Levinson's politeness model (1978 &1987) was constructed in an attempt to complement Grice's (1975: pp[41-58]) Cooperative Principles and four associated maxims. The idea of 'face' derived from the everyday terms "losing face" and "saving face" was base of B&L's theory of politeness. The term was first adopted by Goffman (1967 & 1971). He was the first to adopt this term to describe people's need to hold and maintain a positive image of themselves in presence of others. Usually people try to project as positive an

image of themselves as possible, Goffman pointed out that individuals also tend to avoid threats to other people's self-images as an apology can make recipient feel as embarrassed as the apologiser. So, they try to avoid such embarrassing moments. Building on Goffman's theory of 'face needs' B&L formulated their linguistic politeness theory. For them "face" stands for "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction." (1987:61). "Face" refers to favourable public image bearing two types of wants: firstly, a desire to be free from imposition and not to be impeded by others' actions, and secondly to get public approval for one's desires and preferences. B&L notion of face encompasses three basic ideas: face, face threatening acts (FTAs) and politeness strategies. It is claimed that every social member possesses these two face types:

> Negative face- the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions
> be unimpeded by others [and] positive face- the want of every member that
> his wants be desirable to at least some others. (B&L 1987: p ^{62})

Every utterance is potentially face threatening act (FTA) either to the positive or negative face. Some obvious FTAs include negative evaluations of, or disregard for other people's positive 'face'. These may encompass expressions of contradictions, disapproval, or ridicule directed towards another person, as well as impetuous manners such as raising taboo subjects, expressing exaggerated or inappropriate emotions, or being uncooperative by showing lack of interest to what somebody is saying. Less pronounced FTAs include requests, suggestions, advice, reminders, and predictions of future action, since they all infringe on another person's freedom of action. i.e. a person's negative face. Consequently,

individuals depend on different strategies for minimizing effect of potential face threatening acts.

According to B & L (1987) those actions which are potentially a threat to hearer's positive face contain criticism, mentioning of taboo topics, disapproval or disagreement, and the. Further, they maintain that people avoid face threatening acts and try to lessen any face threatening element their acts carry while doing something under normal situations. Any rational speaker not only avoids acts bearing face threats but also adopts some strategies for lessening the threat. B & L's view of applying or avoiding politeness strategies as well as committing face threatening act is represented in figure 2.1:

Circumstances determining choice of strategy:
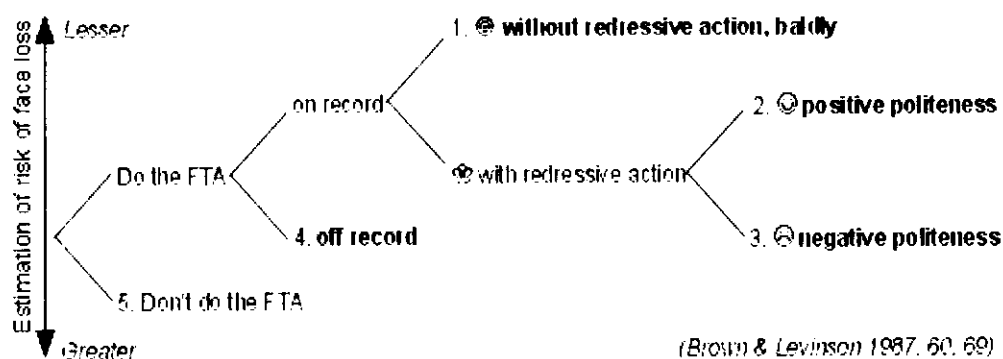
According to the authors, application of politeness strategies is determined by the level of face threat an action bears. When the risk is greater more politeness strategies are employed and low risk calls for nominal strategies.

The first strategy, "without redressive action called baldly" is used in case of no risk of 'face' loss. The remaining strategies called positive and negative politeness strategies take account of those acts which are likely to lessen possible face threat and are directed towards

saving the face. So, in case the speaker appeals to positive face of the hearer, positive

politeness strategies are applied which is stated by B&L (1987: p.[101]) as:

> ... redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that
> his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them) should be
> thought of as desirable. redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by
> communicating that one's own wants (or some of them) are in some respect
> similar to the addressee's wants.

Associated with high solidarity, this kind of politeness entails speaker's desire that the

hearer should feel wanted, appreciated and somehow part of the group, as say Brown &

Levinson:

> ... positive-politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical
> extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a
> limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the
> purposes of the interaction, as somehow similar. (1987: p[103])

Positive politeness strategies include use of in-group markers, complementing, showing an

exaggerated interest in hearer's needs, joking, avoiding disagreement, including hearer in

any activity arranged by group etc. B&L (1987: p[101]) point out that positive politeness

behaviour is very similar to everyday normal communicative behaviour, and the only

distinguishing factor between them is 'an element of exaggeration'.

Third strategy called negative politeness strategy, too, carries redressive action.

While applying it, the speaker entertains hearer's desire not to be impended on or treated

unfairly. It involves application of more formalised behavioural codes and linguistic

formulae to minimise any such threat. The use of negative politeness involves an inherent

conflict: wishing the message to have the desired effect on the hearer and also attempting

to minimise imposition felt by the hearer. It thus acts to redress assumed impact of an FTA. For example, use of negative politeness strategies in case of requests leave the addressee with an option of easily declining the request along with strong desire on part of the speaker to maximise the chance that the intended meaning may take effect. For redressing impact of an FTA, a number of strategies are employed, and apologizing according to B&L is one of them.

With reference to application of these redressive strategies, B&L (1987) proposed three variables to be considered by every rational individual while assessing seriousness of a particular FTA. These variables are: The 'social distance' (D) existing between speaker (S) and hearer (H); the 'relative power' (P) of the speaker (S) and the hearer (H); and 'absolute ranking of imposition' (R) in any culture. B&L describe social distance (D) "as a symmetric social dimension of similarity /difference" (1987: p[76]) and its size diminishes with frequent interaction, and social exchange among interlocutors. "Relative power (P)" stands for "degree to which H can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's plans and self-evaluation" (B&L 1987: p[77]). Two sources of relative power have been identified by the authors i.e., "material control (economic and physical force)" and the "metaphysical control" (B&L. 1987: p.[77]).

The absolute ranking of imposition, (R) is situational and cultural specific. One important factor that influences 'R' is role a participant has in a specific situation: a teacher asking students to put away their books is an expected act and will thus not be regarded as face threatening; a doctor asking someone to take clothes off for a surgery is a similar case. But, a doctor asking a waiting patient to put away his/her book, or a teacher asking a student

to take his/her clothes off is, of course, entirely different. D, P and R together influence how face threatening an act is. B&L propose following formula:

$$Wx = D (S, H) + P (H, S) + Rx$$

Where, Wx stands for the total calculation of "weightiness" or "seriousness" of an FTA, D (S, H) stands for social distance between interlocutors, P (H, S) is measurement of social power which hearer enjoys over speaker, while Rx stands for degree of imposition in a society (B&L 1987: p[76]). The seriousness of an FTA subsequently affects selection of strategy to apologies or to render politeness. They, however, indicate that evaluation of these factors is not objective, but they are intended to serve as "sociologists' ratings of actual power, distance etc." (B&L.1987: p[74]). They are actors' subjective assumptions "assumed to be mutually assumed". However, these assumptions are influenced by many factors including cultural norms of different speech communities, different situations; individual factors and individual differences. Rosaldo (1982: p[230]) contends that impact of variable 'P' is quite different in an egalitarian society as compared to a hierarchical one.

Brown & Levinson's model despite its role with regard to universals of politeness existing in many languages got severe criticism. Some of the prominent critics of this theory are Fraser & Nolen (1981); Wierzbicka (1985); Matsumoto (1988), 1989); Ide (1989); Sifianou (1989, 1992); Gu (1990); Mao (1994); Mills (2003) and Watts (2003). They have raised issues regarding universality of face in addition to raising objections on neglecting some important factors like context and discourse.

Contrary to Goffman's perception of face as a public or interpersonal image according to B & L it is a "self-oriented image" – an approach which according to Wierzbicka (1985) is western oriented which is not suitable for non- western cultures.

Many other linguists and research scholars have contested existence of "negative" and "positive" politeness besides the fact that these notions have extensively being used in exploration of politeness rules and standards in various cultures. For example, Gu (1990), Mao (1994), Matsumoto (1989), and Ide (1989) refuted Brown & Levinson's (1978&1987) theory claiming its insignificance and inappropriateness in the cultures like Japanese and Chinese. For example, Gu (1990: p.^{241}) draws difference between concept of negative politeness in Chinese culture and that of Brown & Levinson's on the basis that speech acts like inviting do not comprise any sort of threat for negative face of hearer in China, even if rejected by the invitee due to any reason. Matsumoto (1988: p.^{405}), too, maintains that in Japan putting emphasis on interpersonal relations does not hurt face. Thus, these non-western cultures - Japanese and Chinese- highlight a different aspect of relationship among members of a community. In these cultures, less importance is given to personal autonomy and more important are considered social relations among their members. According to Watts (2003), existence of such societies and cultures challenges universal application of Brown & Levinson's concept of politeness and at the same time declares its inappropriateness for "collective societies" merely corresponding to "individualistic" western culture (Wierzbicka 1985; Mao 1994). Nwoye (1989), too, claims inapplicability of Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness to Igbo culture where notion of "face" stands for "group face" indicating group image in collective form focussing less on individuals. Thus, based on the aforesaid discussion it seems that Igbo, Japanese, and Chinese communities regard "face" as "other-oriented" contrary to Brown & Levinson's notion of face. i.e.. "self-oriented". The same is true for Kashmiri culture where even the concept of face moves from 'family or caste' to the 'religious identity' and the wrong deed of the one

is assessed in terms of bad name it brings to the whole of his/ her group or family. In case, if someone commits a wrong deed it is very common to here sentences like, *"tmhari vaja sy pora khandan bud nam hog ga* (English translation: the whole family will suffer humiliation and defame because of you".

Other than criticizing claim for universality, Mills (2003a: pp[89-91]) criticises "Model Speaker" proposed by B & L (1978). According to her the model merely focuses on analysing "the speaker" ignoring role of "the hearer". Idea of "Model Speaker", according to her assumes sharing of background by both the speaker and the hearer which rarely happens in real life.

Brown & Levinson's model of politeness has repeatedly been claimed for being oversimplified and lacking account for all the factors which affect politeness. Mills (2003: pp[100-104]), for example, doubts their classification of social variables namely: social power, social distance, and ranking of impositions. As far as first factor i.e., social power is concerned- according to her it is not to be calculated merely in relation to position somebody holds in some particular circumstances rather it might be observed thoroughly in general terms. Social distance, the second variable in Brown & Levinson's model, is defined as something stable categorizing interlocutors as familiar or distant, ignoring its dynamic nature depending on many other factors as Mills (2003) relates it to the "mood" of the interlocutors during a social interaction. Further, Mills (2003: p.[103]) discovers difference of perception older and younger people have about nature of politeness during the interviews she conducted. According to her the elders value politeness more than the youngsters do which raise serious concerns regarding missing of "age" as a social factor in B&L model.

Above discussion makes it obvious that in spite of lot of critique Brown & Levinson's contribution to the formulation and understanding of 'theory of politeness' is remarkable because it sets foundation to undertake cross-cultural comparison of politeness, a phenomenon which is somehow linguistically encoded in the speech act of apology. I will now turn my attention to the specific object of investigation in this study, namely the speech act of apology.

2.4- Speech Acts

Speech acts exist globally but their perception, execution and interpretation remain culture specific. These acts reveal essential values a culture possess; and the societal norms reflected through any language. The central point of concern in current study is apology-most frequently used speech act in daily conversation. It differs cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. In different communities they are realized in different ways following different patterns carrying specific cultural values. The apologies are ultimately directed towards maintaining harmonious relationship among the interlocutors. Olshtain & Cohen (1983) state that generally people "apologize" on apprehension that violation of some societal rules has taken place. Different theories presented from time to time, for example, Austin's (1962) Searle's (1979) Gricean (1975) concept of conversational implicatures contributed heavily in comprehension of speech acts. An analysis of these models is going to be focussed to set necessary base for analysis of multiple issues related to speech act of apology- the specific object of investigation in this study.

Austin (1962) categorizes all those acts which can be executed through mere utterances e.g., making promises or giving orders as speech acts. He recommends

following types of such acts: firstly, "Locutionary act" which according to him stands for physical articulation of a statement. Secondly, "Illocutionary act" which deals with contextual function of the act. Thirdly, he elaborates "Perlocutionary act" which represents effect of the utterance made by first speaker on next speaker.

With the production of an utterance, speakers perform a locutionary act. For example, at dining table the speaker by uttering sentence, 'Can you pass me the sugar?' not only makes an enquiry but wants the hearer to give sugar to him/her. Thus, implied sense is that of a request in fact. Such types of actions taking place through utterances, produced bearing some purpose in mind are commonly called illocutionary act. The communicative purpose is in fact illocutionary act which is attained through utterance. While, speaker's desire to get desired effect of a speech act by uttering a statement result in perlocutionary acts. In pragmatics, Austin's work resulted in commencing this utterly novel field called speech acts.

Searle (1976: 1979) criticizes Austin's work and holds the opinion that his is a categorization of verbs not that of acts. He classifies speech acts in following five categories: first one called representatives are those speech acts which aim at describing different situations prevailing in the world. They represent statements which may be judged true or false. They also include asserting and concluding. Second, named as directives include acts such as commands and requests which make the recipient do something to fit the uttered content or statement, for example, request or order. Commissives- third category- oblige a speaker to something as is proposed by the content being spoken, for example, offers and promises. While fourth category – expressives- refers to psychological condition or behaviour of the speaker, for example, apologizing or thanking. The final

category titled as declaratives when uttered leads to prevailing of certain situations, for example, marrying, appointing, or declaring. This category brings forth a change in others life whenever uttered.

According to Trosborg (1995), Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969b) views have been very valuable frameworks to study interlanguage pragmatics. However, Leech (1983) asserts that it is impracticable to imagine taxonomy of illocutionary acts. He distinguishes these acts with the help of those verbs which specify them. His categorization of speech acts includes assertive verbs, directive verbs, commisive verbs, interrogative verbs, and expressing verbs. On the basis of previously offered classifications, Cohen (1996b) proposed his taxonomy of speech acts which contains fourteen points which have been grouped under following five major categories:

- **Representatives**, dealing with speech acts of claim, assertion, and report;

- **Directives**, containing acts like suggestion, command; and request;

- **Expressives**, dealing with complaints and thanks;

- **Commisives**, those which cover threats, promises, and offers;

- **Declaratives**, dealing with verdicts and declarations.

Different scholars have given different names to the groups of speech acts in their respective classifications. Yet, still none of the taxonomies could be deemed comprehensive and the best with regard to addressing all the related issues because speech acts incorporate multiple interactions take place in real life so it becomes imperative to have not only a good understanding of language but also to know correct use of language in target community (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Hatch, 1992). This lack of consensus leads researchers to construct their own classification of speech acts to meet particular

requirements of their research studies. Having discussed diverse conventional approaches regarding speech acts in general, now there would be a detailed discussion on the speech act of apology in particular by going through available empirical research studies in this field. This detailed review of literature regarding speech act of apology is essential to explore different dimensions of apologies including the way they are perceived, executed, interpreted, and responded in the population under study.

2.5-   Speech Act of Apology

Term 'apology' has been derived from a Greek term ἀπολογία, stands for 'defence', or a 'speech in defence' (OED 1993). The dictionary (1993) describes this meaning of the term as follows:

> 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. (OED 1993)

Gradually the term started to be used in the meaning of defence or justification of a specific action: "Justification, explanation, or excuse, of an incident or course of action" (OED 1993). More current applications of the term entail an expression of 'regret' for any committed act on behalf of the speaker:

> 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. (OED 1993)

Other current dictionary definitions of the term apology include "an act of saying sorry" (*Cambridge International Dictionary of English*, CD-ROM version 2001), "something that

you say or write to show that you are sorry for doing something wrong." (*The Longman Dictionary*, Web version 2001), and "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." (*Collins CoBuild English Language Dictionary* 1993). A very close association between the word *apology* [emphasis mine] and *sorry* [emphasis mine] is obvious in the above definitions.

Apology has been a point of investigation in numerous research studies in the field of linguistic politeness (Aijmer 1995, Holmes 1995 and Márquez Reiter 2000, (just to name few). Goffman (1971) elaborates apologies as "remedial interchanges," which aim at restoring social coordination after happening of some actual or simulated offence or transgression. According to him 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. (p.^{140})

He mentions two categories of apologies: first category helps redress the offences, generally by merely putting forward an apologetic formula, second category includes those expressions which redress a real loss by not only forwarding an apologetic formula but by making some offer of reparation. On a similar note, Holmes (1990: p.^{159}) purports following definition of apology:

> An apology is a speech act addressed to B's face-needs and intended to remedy an offence for which A takes responsibility, and thus to restore equilibrium between A and B (where A is the apologiser, and B is the person offended).

According to Leech (1983) apologies are an attempt to restore balance between the interlocutors lost due to the reason that the speaker did something offensive against the

listener. According to him, this is not sufficient just to express regret, but an apology should be effective by getting forgiveness from the hearer. Olshtain describes apology as, "a speech act which is intended to provide support for the hearer who was actually or potentially mal-affected by a violation" (1989: p.[156-57]). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) consider apologies as 'post-event' acts which indicate that some unpleasant incident has already occurred. By apologizing, the individual acknowledges that breach of a social norm has occurred, and s/he is, at least partially, involved in it. Hence, it is said that apologies bring loss of face for the speaker and saving of face for the listener.

For analysing socio-psychological processes involved in apologising, concept of 'face' becomes a useful tool. Issues involving both – the positive and negative face needs must be considered while trying to explore diverse functions of this speech act. In addition, both hearer's and speaker's perspectives should be considered. Olshtain (1989: pp.[156-7]) asserts in this context that:

> An apology is basically a speech act which is intended to provide support for the H (hearer) who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation X. In the decision to carry out the verbal apology, the S (speaker) is willing to humiliate himself or herself to some extent and to admit to fault and responsibility for X. Hence the act of apologizing is face-saving for the H and face-threatening for the S, in Brown & Levinson's (1978) terms.

Majority of research conducted in this field has focused on hearer benefits (Meier 1995: p.[383]) but the function of apologies as devices for enhancing the speaker's image should not be overlooked. This aspect of apologies has also been discussed by Holmes (1990: p[163]). Norrick (1978: p[281]), also believes that apologies can serve functions as "to evince good manners, to assuage the addressee's wrath, or simply to get off the hook and

be on one's way". Apologising conventionally stands for confession that speaker is at fault and somehow accountable for a transgression. This is arguable why people sometimes feel reluctant to apologise. Apologising in fact needs to be learnt: tremendous efforts are required to learn to say sorry or to apologize. This socialisation process is encouraged by societal norms. According to Aijmer (1995), "A person who does not apologise in situations where it is demanded by the social norm runs the risk of being regarded as impolite and rude and as a less competent member of society". (p.56).

At times adults also find it hard to apologise, especially in public situations. Tannen (1998) describes a similar situation in her article "Apologies: What It Means to Say 'Sorry'" by referring to Clinton Lewinsky affair. President Clinton was severely criticised by the press for not having apologised sufficiently. According to Tannen, this criticism emerged due to the fact that he never explicitly said "I'm sorry" or "I apologise". In her view, such an apology was likely to damage his public image.

The above discussion regarding speech act of apology and its possible functions explain different approaches emerged from time to time regarding concept of face, face-wants, societal norms, and role of politeness in different societies. In relation to it, linguists and researchers have defined apologies in numerous ways. To embrace various potential features of apologies, a study should focus a combination of definitions or take features of all the definitions expressed by research scholars in this field into account. The variety in classification of apologies results in a variety of taxonomies of apology strategies. This speech act – apology- is very complicated and can make use of different strategies. Many researchers have proposed unique classifying schemes to arrange apology strategies in

several ways. For example, Olshtain and Cohen (1983) propose a model containing five apology strategies which are briefly discussed below:

- **'Expression of Apology'**: It contains application of expressions containing relevant performative verb, e.g., "I'm sorry," "I apologize," "Excuse me," or "Please forgive me," "Pardon me."

- **'Acknowledgement of Responsibility'**: It illustrates acknowledgment of responsibility in triggering an offense by the apologizer e.g., "That was my fault," "I admit that I am wrong."

- **'Explanation'**: It includes an explanation of circumstances which made the apologizer to make offense i.e. "I have some family problems," "I'm late for my class due to traffic jam."

- **'Offer of Repair'**: It stands for the situation in which apologizer promises for provision of compensation for any damage committed by him, either specific or nonspecific. e.g., "Tomorrow I will do extra work to finish my task."

- **'Promise of Non-recurrence'**: apologizer makes a commitment for not letting the offense occur in future, e.g., "I assure you, it won't happen again."

Fraser (1981) divides 'apologies' in following nine different types: "announcing that you are apologizing," "stating one's obligation to apologize," "offering to apologize," "requesting the hearer accept an apology," "expressing regret for the offense," " acknowledging responsibility for the offending act," "promising forbearance from a similar offending act," and "offering redress" (p.263) while, according to model proposed by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) apologies can be classified in five kinds having subcategories as follows:

- **Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)**: These are routine formula called formulaic in nature. These expressions are used to manifest speaker's apology overtly and openly. Examples of 'IFIDs' are: an offer of apology, e.g., 'I apologize'; 'an expression of regret' e.g 'I am sorry'; or 'an appeal for forgiveness' e.g., 'kindly forgives me'.

- **Taking on Responsibility**: It is an effort to calm down listener or apologizee. For this purpose, apologizer takes on responsibility for the offence. Speaker admits responsibility of an offence by applying any of the formulae; e.g., accepting the blame; expressing self-deficiency; recognizing the hearer as deserving an apology; or expressing lack of intent.

- **Explanation or Account**: It includes description of the reasons because of which the offensive act took place, by explaining factors which were out of control for the apologizer, e.g., 'I could not get the vehicle on time.'

- **Offer of Repair**: The apologizer makes an offer to compensate the loss, which can be compensated. For example, 'I will pay for your loss.

- **Promise of Forbearance**: It shows a high sense of responsibility and guilt. In a situation where some offence takes place the apologizer prefers to make promise to avoid doing the same thing in the future e.g., 'It will not happen again, I guarantee you'.

Another frequently applied classification of apology strategies is proposed by Holmes (1990). She has classified apology strategies in four super- strategies having eight sub-strategies:

1- An explicit expression of apology

- Offer apology / IFID (i.e., illocutionary force indicating device), e.g., "I apologize"

- Express regret. e.g., "I'm afraid"; "I'm sorry"

- Request forgiveness, e.g., "excuse me"; "forgive me"

2- An explanation or account / an excuse or justification

- e.g., "I wasn't expecting it to be you"; "we're both new to this"

3- An acknowledgment of responsibility

- Accept blame, e.g., "it was my fault"

- Express self-deficiency, e.g., "I was confused"; "I wasn't thinking"; "I didn't see you"

- Recognize H as entitled to an apology, e.g., "you're right"; "you deserve apology"

- Express lack of intent. e.g.. "I didn't mean to"

- Offer repair/redress, e.g., "we'll replace it for you"; "I'll bring you another"

4- A promise of forbearance

- e.g., "I promise it won't happen again"" (p.[167])

In addition to different strategies used for apologizing which have been discussed above. different intensifiers are also used sometimes to enhance apologetic power of the apology statement. According to Reiter (2000) some intensifying devices in English are application of adverbials like very. terribly and awfully. Likewise, apologies can be

downgraded to lessen responsibility for an offense or to lessen its severity e.g., Am I really late for the meeting?

According to taxonomies proposed by different researchers number of apology strategies differs. For example, according to many of them 'explanation' can be employed as a way of apologizing on its own; its effectiveness depends on how successfully and effectively the apologizer shifts allegation to some other source or some third party (Fraser, 1981). However, in Thai culture "to explain" is hardly taken as an instance of 'apologizing' if it is not used along with some explicit apology form as says Thijittang (2010) "If one were to give an explanation without first apologizing, it might sound like an excuse to avoid blame rather than an apology". Butler (2001) reveals that the act of apologizing is a very complicated and multifarious process for second language learners as if the apologizer does not succeed in making a proper apology he might be considered as unapologetic. To make an apology worth getting acceptance from the apologizee, it should be a reflection of true emotions of the apologizer. Unless one reveals his sincere feeling of regret and repents for whatever wrong he has committed he cannot apologize successfully.

2.6- Research into Apologies across Cultures

Apologies have been a matter of discussion in most of the research studies carried out in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics till date. It has often been reported that second language speakers besides having good theoretical knowledge of grammar and vocabulary often fail to communicate effectively due to lack of knowledge about differences in speech act realisation patterns across cultures (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: p[196]). The central theme of such studies has thus been to investigate similarities and dissimilarities in

application of speech act of apology in various languages. In addition to it, an attempt has been made to classify contextual factors like severity of the offence and relationship between interlocutors that influence speakers' choices. Most studies focus on comparison between native and non-native apologising expressions in English to trace out differences in view of linguistic and cultural background of interlocutors.

2.6.1- Inter- Culture / language Studies

Focus of research held in the realm of interlanguage pragmatics has always been to trace out whether norms and usages of second language are universal in nature or unique to some specific target or native language. In this context, to determine impact to first language of the learners an effective way was to compare performance the second language learners yield with that of native speakers. Here, I will focus on those works which valuably contributed in highlighting those primary factors which result in pragmatic failure of non-native speakers whilst apologizing in target language.

Taking the above point under consideration, Borkin & Reinhart (1978) draw differences between "I'm sorry" and "excuse me". They hold the opinion that the former is used as a sign of regret in case of an infringement by the speaker while the latter is applied "to remedy a past or immediately forthcoming breach of etiquette or other minor offense on the part of the speaker" p[57]. Though both these expressions are analogous their application in diverse situations has been point of concern for many researchers. According to whom correct application of these two expressions turns out to be a difficult task especially for non-native speakers of English. They (1978: pp[59-62]) further assert in

Goffman's term these are "remedial interchanges", applied as "remedies". Further, they label "remedy" as initial move in a remedial procedure where the speaker acknowledges his responsibility for any offence and attempts to minimize its gravity by apologizing vividly and explicitly, s/he gives an account of reason by explaining responsible factors which caused that offence to happen to lessen the negative effect of that offence. According to some researchers, alternative application of these two expressions, with slight variation, is possible in certain situations, for instance, "when two people accidentally bump into each other in the aisle of a supermarket". Anyhow, in many situations there are differences regarding their appropriate application, for instance, the expression "excuse me" appears as the most suitable expression prior to the occurrence of offence, as in a situation when somebody attempts to find a way while passing through a crowd, though their alternate application is frequent. Thus, the researchers (1978: pp[60-61]) conclude that "I'm sorry" is applied to express emotions of regret when the speaker perceives something as an infraction whereas "excuse me" is perceived as a manifestation of remedy. According to many researchers the best use of "excuse me" is at the time of breach of a social rule.

Coulmas (1981) while investigating application of thanks and apologies states that belief system, cultural values and societal norms of a speech community establish and govern relationship between "thanks and apologies" p.[69]. She attributes functional breakdowns carried out by second language learners to pragmatic transfer of rules from their native language to foreign or second language. It is substantiated by foreign language speakers' observance of rules shaping apologies in their mother language. Consequently, non-native speakers lack the idea how to match a particular form to its corresponding function in target language.

Coulmas (1981: p.[70]) maintains that the speakers may resort to semantic and communicative tasks these linguistic formulas hold in both the languages but these two attributes i.e., apologies and thanks are largely culture bound. So, they reflect particular cultural values of the society to which the speaker belongs to. Her claim supports Goffman's (1971) notion that 'apologies and thanks' are indispensable constituents of refined and cultured behaviour in each society. She while talking about their nature and position in everyday interactions declares that both these speech acts are reactive in nature following any happening or act which calls for acknowledgement or apology.

Another objective of Coulmas' research (1981: pp.[82-85]) is to explore characteristics found in apologies forwarded in Japan. Her research reveals that there are many differences in forms of apologies and their respective functions. For example, expressions which are used for apologies can be applied for greeting someone, saying thanks or making offers. She discovers "functional failure" in application of this particular speech act in Japanese by non-native speakers. She attributes this failure to their inadequate and insufficient knowledge of distinctive characteristics of Japanese culture. This finding supports her hypothesis that cultures vary with respect to their perceptions regarding interactional practices including apology.

Non-native speakers' proficiency in target language is another most focused research area in interlanguage research carried out with respect to apologies. In this relation Cohen & Olshtain (1981) conducted a study on native Hebrew speakers making apologies in English language. The researchers primarily attempted to trace out the speakers' competence to observe sociocultural norms appropriately while apologizing in English language. For this purpose, the researchers modified Fraser's list of strategies to calculate

differences between non-native and native speakers (p.[119]). The researchers (1981: p[114]) claimed that "developing a measure of sociocultural competence in a second language is not an easy task." Further, in their (1981: pp[120-124]) opinion low grammatical competency and least or no knowledge of sociocultural norms makes them deviate from set social values and pattern of behaviour native English speakers exhibit. Likely, in case of Hebrew learners, there occurs a transfer of socio-cultural patterns they use in their native language to the target language while apologizing in it.

Cohen & Olshtain designed another study (1985) based on Hebrew speakers who were learning English as second language. The study aimed at exploring their proficiency while apologizing in English. On the basis of their study it is claimed that there are many differences in the "socio-cultural" norms influencing realization of apologies across different cultures (p[175]). Thus, for successful communication the learners must possess not only adequate knowledge of linguistic rules but should also be well-versed in societal norms to have "communicative competence" in Hymes' term (1964) which will help them behave in accordance with behaviour pattern of that language.

In the same work, Cohen & Olshtain (1985) recommend that if a research work is directed to compare apologies across different cultures it should select similar situations and participants with similar social status. Moreover, familiarity with the conduct which can lead to some transgression or violation of societal norms is also imperative for smooth communication. It will make it easier to differentiate language specific offences from that of cross-cultural. The researchers (1985: p[177]) claimed that apologies forwarded by Hebrew speakers were deeply grounded in their native language e.g., they intensified apologies by repeating intensifier "very". The collected data was replete with examples like

"Oh. I'm very. very sorry" whereas native English speakers use adverbs like "really very" to intensify their apology expression.

Further, they (1985: p[177]) count this transfer as a strategy through which second language learners use rules and pattern of their native language while using second language whereas Kellerman (1977) labels this 'transfer' as speakers' expectations based on their first language. Transfer also appears as a strategy when the learners lack competence in application of basic language patterns of the target language and need to depend on their equivalents in their first language. Cohen & Olshtain (1985: p[178]) while investigating the factors responsible for second language speakers' failure to effectively apologize in second language refer to several factors including. the situation, knowledge of grammar and lexical items. As regards situation, they believe that the speakers depend largely on their perception how to behave in their first language in identical situation. Grammatical and lexical factors are believed as outcome of non-native speakers' limited linguistic knowledge. Researchers quote following examples to support their point: "I'm very sorry but what can I do? It can't be stopped."

Cohen & Olshtain (1985: p[180]) relate application of "stopped" rather than "avoided" to speaker's poor command of English language. They further present following example to support their point of view: "I really very sorry. I just forgot. I fell asleep. Understand"? They (Cohen & Olshtain, 1985) relate application of "understand" in Hebrew speakers' expressions to transfer of language. In that society, the expression "understand" typically indicates cooperation among the interlocutors. Conversely, in English culture use of this word "understand" is perceived arrogant. These examples reveal cultural differences in

perception of this semantic formula and endorses that pragmatic and connotative meanings are culture specific.

Focusing on Americans and Venezuelans, Garcia (1989: p³) made a comparative study to investigate use of politeness strategies by native and non- native users of English language in an "English language situation" involving apologizing to a friend for missing his invitation to attend a party. She used open-ended role-plays to collect data and her sample consisted on twenty participants. Out of them ten were young native Spanish female while remaining were native English speakers with similar number and proportion. Role play technique was used for data collection. Responses provided by the respondents were recorded and then transcribed followed by an analysis made to discover different apology and politeness strategies applied by the respondents.

Garcia (1989: p⁶) reveals that native speakers prefer to apply "negative politeness strategies" by showing deference whereas non-native speakers favour application of "positive politeness strategies" by displaying familiarity and cooperation. Analysing the data, Garcia (1989) concludes that Venezuelan responses are likely to generate disharmony resulting in communicative breakdown and misunderstanding. But, the researcher recommends that Venezuelans, in the light of these findings should not be charged being impolite because their expressions are rooted in socio-cultural norms of their first language that require the speaker to establish companionship with interlocutors. Likewise, House (1988) studied patterns apologies are carried out by German learners of English language. Data collected through Discourse Completion Task (DCT) exposed a tendency of subjects of the study to transfer their native style of communication to English. Likewise, Trosborg (1987) also carried out a research on Danish subjects who were learning English as second

language. His focus of study was apologies forwarded by Danish speakers in English language. He did not discover negative L1 pragma-linguistic transfer from Danish to English.

Apology strategies of German speakers were investigated by Vollmer and Olshtain (1989). They studied influence of different situational and social factors including social distance, social status and severity of offence. Collection of data was made by employing a DCT containing seven situations requiring apology. Analysis of data demonstrated highest use of "expressions of apology" and "responsibility" in addition to considerable influence of the factors under study.

Another significant research to discover realization of apology phenomenon by Japanese speakers in English language was undertaken by Kondo (1997). He collected data from 45 Japanese students studying in United States (US) by using a DCT (pre-test-post-test). Five broader apology semantic expressions were used for coding of data in manageable units. The researcher found that the Japanese speakers yielded a preference for "expression of apology (e.g. sorry)" or "showing concern for the hearer" whereas Americans most often forwarded "explanations". It was noted that after completion of first year of their stay in US they transformed their apologetic expressions in accordance with American pattern of apologies. For instance, they started preferring "explanations" in their apology statements. Kondo ascribed this linguistic shift to students' acquired linguistic ability to apply that certain apology semantic formula, though, he adds on the basis of his analysis, they could not developed 'sociopragmatic ability' for using it appropriately in English.

Holmes (1989) found out application of a rich variety of strategies used by New Zealanders corresponding to various social factors. She also discovered varying patterns of apologies used by male and female respondents. Her findings are presented in three parts i.e., firstly, both male and female respondents exploit same formulas for apologizing; secondly, female respondents have a tendency to apologize more frequently than male; thirdly, female are more apologetic to female interlocutors than the male and male apologize more frequently to female than the male participants.

Bergman and Kasper (1993) conducted a research to explore the manner apologies are realized by Thai speakers learning English as second language. They used DCT containing 20 apology situations for collection of data. The results exhibited 'negative transfer of L1- based preference' in apology semantic formulae. According to the researchers, Thai speakers showed little deviation in application of "Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)" and "taking on Responsibility" while apologizing in English.

Obeng (1999) worked on realization of apologies in Akan language with reference to different social parameters like social power and solidarity. It was found that the subjects of the study preferred "explicit expression" to apologizing implicitly. Similar to many Asian languages like Korean and Japanese, in Akan language too, certain units or grammatical features symbolize politeness.

Romanian apology strategies were worked out by Demeter (2006). Data was collected by using a DCT containing 10 apology demanding situations based on a TV play (Friends). 158 students studying English in a Romanian university were taken as sample of study. Some of the results of this research correspond to the findings of earlier research carried on regarding various other languages like German, English and Akan, whereas many features of apologizing are found to be specific to Romanian language which are in

opposition to the features discovered in languages like New Zealand English, Lombok and German.

Research into interlanguage apologies illustrates that besides having complete theoretical knowledge of apology strategies, non- native speakers' apologies diverge from that of natives. This discrepancy has been identified as result of causes such as: difference in strategy-orientations, adherence to different postulates of politeness, and quantitative differences in strategy use. In addition to all these factors, speaker might consciously be deviating from set patterns of target language to maintain his / her own identity as a person having distinct cultural values and norms. After having brought some inter-language research on apologies under discussion, now cross-cultural studies will be analysed to trace out people's conception in this regard in different communities around the globe.

2.6.2- Cross-Cultural Studies

Different styles of interaction prevailing in different societies give birth to cross-cultural variations with respect to variety of strategies and their interpretation which may result in communicative breakdown. Most of the research carried out in cross-cultural linguistics deals with proficiency and performance of the speakers, highlighting differences and similarities found in different languages and cultures. As discussed earlier, many researchers while working on speech acts have focussed on related social factors that have a potential effect on selection of language expressions. This tendency conforms to the differences made by Leech (1983: p[11]) i.e., "pragma-linguistics" and "sociopragmatics". The earlier points out "the particular resources that a given language provides for

conveying particular illocutions", while the later sheds light on how situational and societal parameters affect selection of linguistic expressions which leads to differences in perception regarding application of speech acts. In the current section some cross-cultural researches will be examined which focus on realization of speech act of apology in different languages around different cultures and the factors which influence selection and application of different linguistic expressions. Discussion will mainly focus on the studies of Frescura (1993); Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu (2007); Wouk (2006); Reiter (2000); Suszczynska (1999) and Lipson (1994) etc.

Frescura (1993), unlike the prevailing trend of applying DCTs for data collection in cross cultural research dealing with apologies made use of role play for this purpose. In her research she worked on apologies produced by two different groups: one from native English-speaking people and other comprising of native Italian people. For coding of data, she applied two types of semantic formulae i.e., 'self- supportive formula' and 'hearer supportive formula'. The first formula is applied in the case the speaker for saving his or her face refutes the blame or provides explanation which caused the offence to happen while the second formula is applicable to the situations in which the speaker accepts his / her fault and apologizes by acknowledging the hearer's right to be apologized or by merely offering some compensation directly. The results of the study claimed that native Italians mostly go for self-supportive formulas while hearer-supportive formula is preferred by native speakers of English. No exclusive preference was delineated by Native English-speaking learners of Italian whereas Italians residing in Canada supported certain native Italian expressions.

Lipson (1994: p[19]) analysed realization of speech act of apology in American English and Italian. He based his work on coding categories proposed by Owen 1983 and Olshtain & Cohen's model (1983). He (1994) employed a very unusual method for data collection. Ten Italian students were first shown a series of American sitcoms then they were assigned a task to reproduce (in Italian) apologetic expressions occurred in those sitcoms. He, thus, focused on dissimilarities found amongst apologies forwarded in respondents' replies and the actual dialogues of the sitcoms which enabled him to compare speech act of apology and other remedial strategies in both the societies and cultures. Importance of data collection instrument used by Lipson lies in availability of verbal expressions which during examination make it possible to consider prosodic characteristics of communication e.g., tone, paralinguistic features or non-verbal expressions such as laughter, smiles or gestures. Data collected through this instrument is also important as television programmes are usually assumed to be a reflection of socio-cultural values and norms.

After analysing the collected data, he (1994: pp[21-27]) concluded that out of the remedial moves proposed by Owen (1983) strategy number four- "requesting restoration of balance" has been the most frequently applied semantic formula. According to him, high application of this semantic formula favours Owen's claim about the most widespread use of this strategy. This led researcher to conclusion that remedial moves in Italian do not differ much from those being applied in English. He (1994: p[35]) concludes that "request for the restoration of balance"- apology sub-formulas like "asking forgiveness" and "joking to minimize severity of the offence" constitute major part of remedial exchanges in Italian. While discussing differences he points out their existence in application of sub-formulas

(1994). For examples, sub formula- "I am sorry" is most commonly found in English whereas in Italians sub-formula "excuse me" is the most preferred one. He relates these differences to sociocultural variations. Analysis of data also reveals that Italian students' selection of apology strategies is also largely influenced by their sensitivity towards "social status, social role, and authority" the hearer holds (p^{25}).

Another apology study conducted by Sugimoto (1997) compared Japanese language with American English. Sample of the study was consisted of two hundred American and 181 Japanese college students. Data was collected through a questionnaire which they were required to respond in approximately fifteen to twenty minutes during their regular class. The questionnaire was open ended containing some apology deserving situations. The research delineated a preference for compensation by majority of Japanese students. Statement of remorse, accounts, description of damage, and compensation were most frequently applied strategies. Except accounts the other strategies are more used by Japanese students than Americans. Cultural differences were also noted down in case of application of apologies. Japanese respondents applied exaggerated, regretful and detailed statements. They also showed an inclination towards repetition of words for emphasizing apologies whereas American respondents tend to use intensifiers for this purpose. Contrary to Americans, Japanese respondents focused on negative side of apology situations.

Hussein and Hammouri (1998) undertook an empirical research on realization of apology strategies by American and Jordanian speakers of English. According to them Jordanians were found exploiting a host of strategies to apologize whereas Americans were exploiting comparatively limited apology strategies. Common apology semantic formulas used by these two groups were, "the expression of apology, the offer of repair,

acknowledgement of responsibility, and the promise of forbearance". Additional strategies found in Jordanian apologies were strategies like "praising Allah (God), attacking the victim, and minimizing the degree of offense and interjection". Another distinguishing feature was Jordanians' inclination to apply less direct and more elaborated apology strategies. The researchers ascribed such differences to religious orientation, thought patterns, and influence of culture.

Suszczynska (1999: p[1059]) studied effects of cultural differences on selection of linguistic expressions of Hungarian, English, and Polish in realisation of apology strategies. The researcher on the basis of model proposed by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) constituted a DCT containing eight apology demanding situations. She distributed it to 76 Polish, 20 Hungarian and 14 American students. She laid special stress on the situation "bumping into an elderly lady in a supermarket" based on the assumption that it is almost universally shared experience which is supposed to be least effected by social variables like profession and status.

Analysis of her data disclosed presence of apology strategy called Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs) varyingly from expression of regret to plead for forgiveness in all the languages under study. Suszczynska (1999: p[1059]) like Holmes (1990) and Owen (1983) asserts that expression of regret e.g., "I'm sorry" is the most recurrent found apology strategy in English while application rate of other strategies like "forgive me", "I apologise" and "excuse me" remain rare in the collected data. Whereas the strategy called expression of regret appeared less universal in Hungarian and Polish data. Such a distinction led her to the finding that realization of apologies is a culture-specific phenomenon. Recurrent use of expression of regret by native English speakers is not

considered much face-threatening for any of the interlocutors. On the other hand, apology responses provided by Polish and Hungarian respondents are realized to have a sound inclination to make a request to the effected person to control anger or request for forgiveness is made.

Reiter (2000) made research to compare realization of politeness phenomenon in Uruguayan Spanish and British English. The research study focussed on realization of two speech acts – apologies and requests. A part of his research which is related to apologies is going to bring under discussion here. For collection of data open role-play technique was employed both in Great Britain and Uruguayan Spanish. The instrument used for eliciting required data consisted of twelve situations resulting both in apologies and requests. Data was collected from 61 native British English speakers and 64 Uruguayan Spanish native speakers. The respondents were university students who were not studying linguistics or languages as subjects. The data compiled in both the languages were analysed by applying Olshtain & Cohen's (1983) taxonomy. He maintains that the most frequently used semantic expressions in both languages are *"Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)* and *expression of responsibility* across the whole range of situations" (pp[148-159]). His research findings correspond to the findings of Blum-Kulka et al (1989) who also count *IFIDs* and *expression of responsibility* universal in nature and situation free apology formulas. The findings also stress differences between both the languages in terms of application of intensified apologies by stating that British English speakers stress expression like I'm sorry through applying some adverbs, like terribly, dreadfully, really, awfully and so while the speakers from Uruguayan do not normally intensify their apology semantic expressions. He concludes (2000: p[167]) that in Spanish application of exaggerated apology

expression are not considered appropriate. While admission of facts to admit responsibility is commonly found in both the cultures.

Analysing data in terms of the situational parameters proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) i.e., social distance, social power, and severity of the offence, Reiter (2000: p[160]) examined that Britain and Uruguayans have similar perception regarding seriousness of the offences but the British apologise more than the Uruguayans. Both languages require more apologies when the offence is perceived severe. The researcher added that relationship between social power and seriousness of offence is prime combination to decide number of apologies while social distance appears secondary in this regard. Reiter's results in this regard contradict findings of Fraser (1981) and Holmes (1995) according to whom social distance is the most significant factor in context of speech act of apologies. Moreover, the apology patterns found in Uruguayan and British are not according to Brown & Levinson's (1987) model of politeness which relates apologies to the seriousness of offence and social distance existing between interlocutors. Reiter (2000: pp[165-67]) finds no significant variations in apology responses forwarded by Uruguayan males and females during cross-gender and inter- gender interaction in both the cultures.

Wouk (2006) investigated pragma-linguistic features of speech act of apology in Lombok Indonesia in comparison with the studies made in other societies. For collection of data he used a discourse completion test comprising six apology situations; and to classify it he applied coding categories proposed by Trosborg (1995) and Blum-Kulka et al (1989). Wouk (2006: p[293]) concluded that as Olshtain (1989) said direct apology formulae appeared in approximately all the situations with varying frequency of their appearance in different situations. It was also reported that Indonesians yielded an intense

preference for using repeated requests for forgiveness in contrast to English speakers who according to Holmes (1990) and Suszczynska (1999) had an obvious inclination for using apology strategy called expressions of regret. Wouk (2006: p^{293}) relates this inclination to unavailability of any lexis in Indonesian language carrying similar meaning to that of apologies. Further, he confirms Olshtain (1989) saying that the status of participants determines frequency occurrence of explicit apology expressions. Wouk (2006: p^{296}) admits that her results are in a conflict to some already carried out research (Trosborg 1995 and Olshtain 1989) as in her research Indonesians are found employing weak expressions to acknowledge their responsibility which is termed as their unwillingness to openly take responsibility for any wrong happening in comparison to native English speakers who behave otherwise. With respect to relationship between gender and apology strategies, like Fraser (1981) he (2006: p.^{304}) she sdeclares no substantial gender influence in selection of apology strategies.

Another important reseach study related to realisation pattern of the apologies in a South African language of Setswana (Se) in comparison to a "nativised" variety of English (SeE) and a native variety of English (ELI) used by white South Africans as first language was conducted by Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu (2007). Respondents of the study were university students. Two types of data were used i.e., quantitative and qualitative. Former type of data was gathered by applying discourse completion tasks (DCTs) while for collection of qualitative data video-taped role plays were used. Their research combined both types of analysis i.e., quantitative and qualitative. The former was applied to reveal "pragma-linguistic" and sociopragmatic features of apologising while the latter intended to provide an account of deference and politeness strategies. For analysis of data though the

researchers applied Cohen et al. (1986) classification model containing five strategies they confined their discussion to *expression of responsibility* and strategies of *IFIDs* were identified as situation independent general strategies preferred in any situation to apologize (Olshtain 1989).

Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu's (2007: p[74]) research was based on two hypotheses. Firstly, a considerable disparity was expected with respect to *IFIDs* and responsibility between Se and ELI, and between SeE and ELI, but not between Se and SeE. Secondly, the variation will be remarkable between Se and ELI, or SeE and ELI, as compared to Se and SeE with respect to behaviour patterns. They (2007: pp[75-77]) found their first hypothesis confirmed by identifying significant statistical differences in application of *IFIDs* and responsibility together among the speaking groups Se and ELI; and SeE and ELI. As *IFIDs* (taken separately) were found existing in similar manner (without major statistical differences) across all the three languages it partly nullifies their second hypothesis. With regard to its application in Se and SeE no big difference was found. The researchers (2007: p[77]) attributed ELI's inclination to apply responsibility strategy more than Se and SeE to supposition that their (ELI's) culture attributes more value to acknowledgement of responsibility than the Setswana culture. Use of *offer of repair* is, however, found abundant in Se and SeE speakers which according to them is essential feature of apologies in Setswana.

Based on the findings of their research, like Gu (1990); Mao (1994) and Matsumoto (1988), Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu (2007: pp[78-80]) contest Brown & Levinson's (1987) concept about universality of "dualistic" nature of face i.e., positive and negative face. They agree with the notion that "group-based socio-cultural norms" stress "group face" more

than "individual face". The authors believe that the Setswana society is of "collectivist" type and is rigidly graded according to age, gender, and social status. The researchers (2007: p.[79]) assert that Setswana being a "shame culture" has a preference for public face.

During qualitative analysis, the researchers (2007: pp.[78-80]) focused on nonverbal politeness only and traced out two types of non-vocal behaviour. First type is called restricted and the second type is called non-restricted. To differentiate these two non-verbal behaviour patterns, they proposed a situation containing a professor (perceived as having non-restricted form of non-verbal politeness) who needed to apologize to a student (seem as having restricted form of non-verbal politeness) for not marking an assignment to exemplify asymmetrical relations holding two parties; superior (the professor) and the subordinate (a student). They further claim that a particular behaviour in Setswana is marked as polite or impolite on the bases of collective impact produced by eye-gaze, proxemics (distance), posture and prosody. For example, in that particular culture eye-gaze can be interpreted in terms of politeness or impoliteness. According to them the student used "restricted gestures" to demonstrate regard and humility whereas the professor while addressing the student was giving attention to paperwork. This example explains interdependence of pragma-linguistics and paralinguistic in realising act of apologising and politeness/impoliteness in general.

All these research studies by and large have consensus that on the one hand there are similarities in the way speakers of different languages make apologies and on the other hand there are influences of culture; beliefs and religious orientation on selection of apology strategies.

2.6.3- Urdu Language and the Use of Apology Strategies: Some Research References

Current section of this chapters deals with work on politeness and speech act of apology done with reference either to Urdu language or Pakistani population. Before going into detail of such work it seems pertinent to shortly describe general characteristics, concept of social life and belief system prevailing in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K). Kashmir is known to the world as a disputed area- a part of which is occupied by India, which is called Indian occupied Kashmir while its remaining part is administered by Pakistan which is called Azad Kashmir. The current research is based on data collected from Azad Kashmir. It contains moe than 99% Muslim population with the exception of few Qadyani families. People try to follow their religious teachings at any cost. Similarly, adhering to social norms and traditions is believed to be a mark of dignity, respect and social acceptance whereas betrayal of social norms and anti-social actions carry embarrassment, humiliation and disrespect not only for the individual who does so but also to the family and group he belongs to.

With the advent of modern technology and fast interaction at global level individualism has started peeping in Kashmiri society too, however a significant characteristic still prevailing there strongly is deep and siccere concern social members owe for each other. This concern results in close intimacy, friendship and mutual dependence which is marked with beautiful colours of helping each other, exchange of food and gifts on many social occasions, hospitality and sharing of happiness and grief. Responsibilities and obligations are shared not only at family level but even among the

neighbours at the time of need if someone falls in any sort of crises. To help each other and bring good name to the family remains a priority for every individual [insider's view].

As far as concept of an individual's face or public image in the society under consideration is concerned, it is perceived in view of different perspectives like personal character, individual's notion of self- respect, honour, behaviour at personal and public level as well as social standing. These characteristics mark status and position of the individuals in the society. To help protect face needs of the individuals, mutual respect (called *ehtram* in Urdu) is taken as a basic unit. It is maintained in mutual interactions and relationships. If analyzed in view of B&L (1978 & 1987) conception of face and face wants, mutual respect in social relations and interactions help save face needs (both positive and negative) of the individuals. An example of role of *ehtram* and respect as face saving agent in case of apologies is that an elderly person if apologises in case he commits some mistake or does something to anybody, he is just interrupted not to apologize. It is not at all appreciated at social level to make or wait an elderly person to apologize for anything, rather things are just let go without it. Doing so, saves face of both the apologizer and the apologizee otherwise being impolite or disrespectful may bring face loss to both of them.

There are many ways of showing respect to others e.g., using appropriate address terms, avoiding discussion about taboos, not to laugh loudly in front of elders or seniors, unnecessary jokes, etc., even there are socially approved/disapproved ways of sitting, standing and walking in front of others. In short, conformity to those rules decide how much respectful somebody is which gives an idea about how much politeness someone is carrying or is being offered with. It is a very dynamic concept, moving from speaker to

addressee and vice versa. Similarly, in the culture under study disregard to conventional social values is likely to cause face-threatening situation not only for the speaker but also for the addressee and even sometimes for their families and friends as well. Thus, impolite or disrespectful behaviour brings face loss both to the speaker and the addressee at individual level and to the groups and families they belong to, at collective level. Face thus does not remain confined to individual's face wants i.e., positive and negative but primarily depends on one's adherence to traditional norms. So deeply rooted in social values is this concept of face and politeness that it can be called more a public face or what is called "group face" (Nwoye, 1992)- a concept wider in scope than the one presented by B&L (1978 & 1989).

An investigation into communication patterns prevailing in a certain society can help not only to understand value of that society but also promotes intercultural relations and global understanding. Some common helpful human expressions in this regard are: ways of greeting each other, making compliments, requesting favours, making complaints, giving excuses and justifications, and apologizing. Apologies (an area under discussion in the current research), for example, are a regular part of everyday life. Individuals generally apologize if consciously or unconsciously they commit mistake. In the society under study, sometimes people do apologize on behalf of others i.e., some relative, friend or group member to settle down conflicts. In Kashmiri culture, people apologize sometimes even as a social convention, for the factors and/or behaviours which negatively affect others which Kotani (1999, p.[4]) calls "situationally required feel-good apology". He defines it as a kind of apology forwarded "when the situation requires him or her to apologize, even when the speaker does not feel responsible for the offense, to make the other party feel

good" (p.[4]). As people are dictated by their respective cultures when and how to apologize different studies on anthropology, communication and pragmatics suggest that apologies are cultural phenomenon (e.g., Blum-Kulka & House, 1989). Hence, having an understanding of the occasions demanding an apology, along with different forms and expressions used for apologizing can prove a lens through which exclusive cultural characteristics can be examined. Following are the research studies which have been conducted on the basis of either Pakistani population (Azad Kashmir is also a part of Pakistan) or Urdu language.

Majeed & Janjua (2013) conducted a research to trace out structure of speech act of apology in Urdu Punjabi and English languages. They concluded that in English language, ratio of explicit apologies was higher as head act in comparison with Punjabi and Urdu whereas application of implicit apology strategies was found highest in Punjabi. Data was collected from students of English at National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad by using DCT having 9 different situations. Dominance, social distance among the apologizer and apologizee were kept controlled to escape influence of formality level. In another study Majeed & Janjua (2014) brought under discussion application of speech act of apology in Urdu with reference to gender. Their main emphasis was on the way different genders extend apologies in diverse situations. Findings of their study revealed that females were more conscious about their face wants than the males. They preferred application of less dangerous strategies even when apologizing to their friends and relatives. However, while apologizing in formal settings both adopted similar types of strategies. Sample of their study consisted of 25 University students (15 males and 10 females). They used open ended questionnaire for collecting data. The questionnaire

contained ten situations requiring the respondents to apologize for committing the stated offence. To measure effects of social variables like social status, social relation and severity of offence different situations were designed embedding them. For data analysis, Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) model was used.

This study provides an understanding of politeness strategies as used in society and whether their application is systematic and formulaic in Urdu. It also discloses whether the apologizers behave in defensive or authoritative way along with stating that social variables affect respondents. The study also claims use of *IFID* and *Explanation* in almost all the situations which according to writers tend to save positive face wants of the apologizers. While interacting with intimate relations like relatives and close friends the apologizers used *offer of repair* to a considerable extent. According to writers, application of this strategy was not meant to be dangerous for positive face needs, but it was indicative of lack of formality among them. They do so not because they have any threat or fear from the other person but to negotiate the relations with their intimate partners. Urdu apologetic strategies were found non-formulaic. Furthermore, there was noticed a mixing of English apology strategies while apologizing in Urdu languages which also reiterates that Urdu apologetic strategies are non-formulaic. For example, I am sorry, *mjy deir ho gei* (Einglish translation: I am late).

In another research, Yasmeen & Akram (2014) examined politeness as applied by Pakistani politicians during a Privileged Motives session. Communication, according to them, was affected by some external (status social distance, social values, age, and power) and internal factors (degree of imposition and friendliness). For this research work data was collected from documented debates of Punjab Assembly from 2008 to 2013. The

researchers applied Brown & Levinson' (1978, 1987) model of politeness for analysis of data. The researchers analysed different strategies e.g., bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off record. Bald on record was found to have been the most frequently used strategy to demonstrate power and carefree communication. Likewise, social distance is maintained through certain linguistic expressions by paying reverence to those enjoying higher social status or authority. Power difference prevailing among parliamentarians obliged them to behave politely and avoid application of imperatives. Finally, it was also noted that Pakistani politicians mostly used a less formal, mixed language without paying much attention to the formality. As power difference, social distance, formality level are the variables to be assessed in terms of effect they exert on selection of apology strategies in the context of Kashmir, so such research studies are believed to provide a base for research in this context.

Gillani & Mahmood (2014) attempted to explore politeness strategies used in Pakistani business letters. According to their research politeness strategies are culture bound e.g., Pakistanis use such a rich variety of politeness strategies that even B&L's model (1987) could not be proved sufficient for analysis of data. Their study examined differences between Pakistani and American techniques of applying politeness strategies in business letters by combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches. According to the writers, many differences with respect to politeness strategies were noted e.g., Pakistanis preferred salutations along with address form like 'dear sir' while Americans showed a tendency to use definite names of the recipients of letters. Moreover, Pakistanis had a traditional practice of showing submissiveness to the authority, but Americans did not yield submissive attitude readily. Writers ascribed these differences between

Americans and Pakistanis to different cultural norms and social values. Pakistanis appeared politer in their writings than Americans and they displayed unique strategies which crossed boundary of politeness model given by Brown and Levinson (1987). Data of this study consisted of 1000 Pakistani business English letters from government and semi-government institutes and a modified version of B &L (1987) model of politeness strategies was used for analysis of data.

Kousar (2015) investigating the extent to which social status of the interlocutors influence politeness among the speakers of Urdu language. Analysis of data was done within the domain of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). For this purpose, the researcher (p^{oo}) used a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) for collection of data from a sample consisting of 152 respondents. Analysis of data shows "preference for strategies of negative politeness is strikingly higher than the strategies encoding as positive politeness strategies". Pattern of application of apology strategies disclosed a preference for negative politeness strategies to have been applied for apologizing to the recipients having high or low social status while those having equal social status received maximum number of positive politeness strategies when they were apologized. Severity of offense and social distance were found influential. The Urdu speakers were found not only saving negative face needs of the interlocutors by preferring negative politeness strategies but also save their own face by applying less face threatening strategies like "offering compliments, paying thanks and giving suggestion" (p.93). The study also confirms Brown & Levinson's (1978, 1987) claim regarding preference of negative politeness over positive politeness.

Rahman (1998) conducted a comprehensive research to trace out linguistic features of politeness among Pakistanis. For this purpose, data was collected through DCTs,

naturally occurring conversations and interviews of selected respondents. In total three hundred questionnaires were distributed but hundred filled in properly were employed in the study while twenty-five people were interviewed, and hundreds of conversations were analyzed. Data was collected in both formal and informal settings.

Findings of the report (Raman: 1998) suggest that politeness functions in terms of verbal or non-verbal signals which serve to enhance ego and offer pleasure by compensating the offence to the addressee. Further, in Pakistan apologies are carried out differently in formal and informal settings. He (Raman: 1998) adds, "Words, originating from Persian and Arabic and used in Urdu, are used only in the formal contexts and not among family and friends. With the latter, one may use body language and certain less formal words to thank and apologize" (p.[11]). This report is one of the few research studies existing with respect to apologizing in Pakistan. Reliability of data is made sure though application of multiple data collection tools i.e., DCT, observation and interviews but it cannot be generalized because it addresses a small portion of population.

In another research, Saleem (2014) investigated application of speech act of apology and differences among male and female respondents. Data was collected from 106 university students who were doing M.A English. Analysis of data was made on the basis of Holmes' (1990) and Blum-Kulka's (1989) taxonomies. The study revealed that almost all the respondents applied *"explanation or account"* Out of fifteen different apology strategy types, respondents were found focusing on only four strategies i.e., *explanation* or *account*, explicit apology (*IFID*) *expressing self-deficiency* and intensifiers of apology. Whereas, none of them used *"recognizing H as deserving apology"* and *"acknowledgment of responsibility"* strategies. This research also aimed at examining differences among male

and female respondents with respect to application of apology strategies. The writer (Saleem: 2014) concluded that the participants were lacking knowledge about variety of apology strategies which could be used in different contexts. According to her, there were found no significant differences in male and female respondents as far as selection and application of apology strategies are concerned.

Similarities and differences between Urdu and Pashtu speaking students regarding application of apology strategies in varying situations; and effects of gender on selection of these strategies were studied by Sultana & Khan (2014). This research is based on two-culture theory forwarded by Troemel-Ploetz (1991) which purports separate cultures for men and women. Sample of the study containing 32 students (16 male and 16 female) is randomly selected from different undergraduate programs being offered at National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad. For data collection, DCT containing ten situations demanding the respondents to apologize is employed while analysis of data is done by applying *CCSARP* taxonomy proposed by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989). The findings reveal that respondents more often apologized by using *IFID* in majority of the situations which according to the researchers (Sultana & Khan, 2014) helps them save their positive face needs. They also use *"promise of forbearance"* to maintain their relationship with others.

The findings of this study reveal that the respondents are less different in their responses while interacting with members of the same gender while differences in apologetic behaviour are reported while apologizing to the opposite gender. Further, it is claimed that gender effects are quite visible in the situations where respondents are more formal and less caring in offering apologies to the same gender. Further, the researchers

also point out another function of apology i.e., a means of establishing intimacy and connectedness with opposit gender. Thus, it is also claimed that the respondents of the study remain careful while dealing with the opposite gender which suggests that they are socialized to adhere to gender based social structure which formulates their behaviour. In addition to it, relationship between nature of offence and selection of apology strategies is also found. It is also found that Urdu speaking respondents are more liberal and accommodative, while Pashtuns appear rather conservative and formal while interacting with opposite gender. Differences between Urdu-speaking and Pashtu-speaking respondents in this regard highlight radical differences in their respective social structure and cultural legacy they carry. Though helpful in finding out apologetic attitude of Urdu and Pashtu-speakers, these findings are not to generalize owing to its small population size.

Using Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) model proposed by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) Ahangar et al., (2015) examined influence of power and gender on selection of apology strategies. Data is collected from (50) male university students (SBMUS). The findings of the study, according to the writers, support universality of the claimed apology strategies as the strategies used by SBMUS are generally the same used by the respondents of other languages cited in CCSARP. '*IFID*' has been most frequent strategy in the apologies forwarded by the respondents, however respondents have also used some other strategies as '*evoking the name of God (God willing)*', '*swearing*' etc., and special terms of address like 'gohar' and 'bras' which mean 'sister' and 'brother', which did not appear in CCSARP model (1989) which reflect influence of religion and culture. It is thus found that culture, context, religion and the situations in which an apology occurs have significant effect on the type and number of apology strategies. However,

power and gender are not found among those factors which affect application of apology strategies. This study has been conducted not only on the basis of data collected through only one tool i.e., DCT which, according to many critics, if applied in isolation could not generate dependable data but also on a skewed sample of having only fifty male respondents. Thus, both the selection of data collection tool and sample makes it limited in its scope.

Husain & Wahid (2008) applying Cohen & Olshtain (1981) and Cohen, Olshtain and Rosenstein (1986) models conducted a small-scale study on 30 undergraduate students having Urdu/ Hindi as their mother tongue to study role of L1 transfer while performing speech acts of apologizing and thanking. The study revealed that Urdu / Hindi speaking respondents do not encounter any severe problems in giving thanks or apologizing in English except lack of good command on vocabulary and structures of target language. L1 socio-cultural transfer manifests itself in merely a few areas e.g., 'offer of repair' was rarely applied in case of apologies. Little use of this strategy might also be interpreted with reference to Indian socio-cultural values as due to heightened impression of indebtedness it carries it has limited application. The study has many limitations including a small corpus i.e., data is collected by using a written task contained only four situations to be replied while interviews are also conducted on the basis of four situations. Further, data has been elicited through interviews which can be made better by adding other data collection tools e.g., DCT, observations or role plays. Different social variables like formal and informal setting, social status, social distance etc., have also not been observed.

Mousavi1 & Samar (2012) examined commercial emails from four Asian countries i.e., Pakistan, China, India, and Iran applying a mixed-method design. The focus of the

research was to trace out features of politeness and intimacy. For quantitative analysis of the data Brown & Levinson's model (1987) and Coulmas' (2005) were used while for qualitative and descriptive analysis formality level in salutation and opening clause was analyzed. Findings of the study manifest that in business letters, Iranians are the politest whereas Chinese prefer using intimate discourse. Conversely, Indians adopt least polite and intimate style while Pakistanis' style is not as obvious as that of Iranian and Chinese. One of the main objectives of this research was to promote inter-cultural understanding, particularly with reference to written rhetorical characteristics.

All these studies by and large show consensus about influence of culture; belief system and religious orientation in selection of apology strategies made by Urdu speakers.

2.7- Concluding Remarks of Chapter 2

Review of previous studies reveals some important issues about speech act of apology. Several of them demonstrate existence of similarities and differences in realisation patterns of speech act of apology cross-culturally. Further, some studies also insist that kinds of apology strategies on which apologisers resort for apologising are controlled by situational and social factors. Thus, apologisers manage application of apology semantic formulas in accordance with the status of the addressee and the nature of the situations involved. Likewise, non-native users of any language have tendency to use speech act of apology according to sociopragmatic norms of their native language. It results in transfer of socio-cultural rules of first language of the speakers to the target language while making apologies which makes non-native speakers apologize in target language in a different way. This difference can also be ascribed to speakers' poor grammatical and

pragmatic knowledge of target language as well. Speakers' lack of sociopragmatic competence of target language also affect apology realization pattern. Speakers' idea about severity level of the offence and nature of situation in the target culture can entirely be changed from the norms and practices of target culture and language which may also lead to differences in apologizing practices.

Discussion made throughout the current chapter leads to this firm assumption that conception of politeness phenomenon varies across cultures and realization of speech act of apology is immensely influenced by the soceital norms of different speech communities. Apologies are realized in relation to different social variables e.g., social distance, social status, severity of offence as perceived in a culture, and conversational setting. Difference in perceptions regarding these social and cultural variables by members of different societies results in variation of realization patterns of apologies. To address all these varying patterns and types of apology strategies it is pertinent to develop a research methodology that can address them successfully. For this purpose, firstly a comprehensive discussion about relevant taxonomies applied for analysis of data will be made, followed by a detailed discussion about scope and limitations of different tools developed for collection of data leading towards selection / adaptation or formulation of an appropriate research methodology for current research study. Thus, in the next chapter an account of different methodological approaches regarding study of speech act of apologies will be taken.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1- Introduction to Chapter 3

The current research, as stated earlier, aims at analysing realization patterns of speech act of apology in two different languages, English and Urdu, among selected population of Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K). Focus of the study is not only on tracing out similarities and / or dissimilarities in execution of this speech act but also on the factors affecting its application in the society. The rationale behind selection of this speech act as a tool to examine politeness in the culture under study lies in the reliability entrusted by many researchers to apply it in evaluating the way politeness works in different cultures. As apologising imparts breach of some certain social norm it is taken as a vehicle to explore individuals' perception regarding the degree to which remediation is thought necessary. In order to conduct research in applied linguistics one of the primary concerns remains validation of data collection instruments.

In the current study, a comprehensive data collection procedure is required to understand people's perception of whether to apologize or not, and, if yes then how to apologize in a particular situation which would be a step to explore speakers' apologetic preferences. It is intended to explore how linguistic politeness is operating in two languages among the habitants of one culture. As two different languages (English and Urdu) being used in the society under review are selected, a comparison of the apologetic expressions employed by informants in both the languages would be of assistance to uncover

similarities and / or differences the respondents display in application of apology strategies in these two languages; and in their consideration of social and contextual variables. For this purpose, both, qualitative and quantitative paradigms are used to give objectivity and authenticity to the data. So, a combination of data collection tools i.e. Discourse Completion Task (DCT), observation and interview is used. A combination of these tools is believed to be more helpful in triangulation of data resulting in reaching at objective findings.

Following is a detailed discussion on all the related areas e.g., population of study, data collection tools and process; presentation and analysis of data. This discussion is primarily set out to investigate relative strengths and weaknesses of each tool, to justify their selection as research method/ tools for the current study.

3.2-Population and Sample: Selection of Participants

As the current research is directed to investigate realization of speech act of apology by university students in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K), it is indispensable to select university students as population of study. Thus, the population of the study consists of graduate students of all the five universities currently working in AJ&K.

The sample is selected from five universities of AJ&K: University of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad; University of Poonch, Rawlakot; Mirpur University of Science and Technology, Bagh Women University and University of Kotli, AJ&K- which are public secretor universities. Alkheir University and Mohi-ud-Din Islamic University being run in private sector have been excluded from the sample on the basis of unavailability of

MA English classes there. For homogeneity of the sample all the students were selected from the same level i.e., MA English, final year (third and final semester). Students of final year are chosen because of two reasons: firstly, till then they (sample students) would have studied subjects of Pragmatics and Research Methodology, which I (the researcher) believe would help them play their role as respondents of the present research in a better way; and secondly, for observation in informal setting I would be in a need to have co-researchers from among the sample of the study and as they will have studied these two subjects, they would be better able to perform their role and take care of research ethics as co-researchers. Being at the same academic level they (the sample) are almost of the same age and educational background. Fifty (50) students from each of the five universities are randomly selected which makes sample consisting of 250 students / respondents in total. To make sample proportionate and representative of total population the number of respondents is finalized on the basis of total students of MA English, final year in each university. It is worth mentioning that the number of students in selected universities were lacking a balance in terms of male and female ration. So, instead of stratified sampleing technique, simple random sampling technique is used for selection of desired sample for the current study.

3.3- Methodological Considerations

There is a diversity of data collection instruments available for studies in pragmatics, out of which application of observations, role plays, and DCTs are most frequently applied. But, none of the tools has gone without severe criticism from researchers in this field. In the forthcoming sections a thorough discussion is made in this

regard to find out the most appropriate data collection instrument for the current research study. Following is a detailed discussion about three most commonly applied data collection tools:

3.3.1- Observation of Authentic Speech

It has always been debateable among linguists to define 'natural language'. According to Wolfson (1976: p.[202]) the difficulty lies in the fact that any piece of talk can be regarded natural in a context provided it is applicable in that contextual setting for accomplishing some particular goal. Stubbs (1983: p.[225]) believes, "the hunt for pure, natural, or authentic data is chimera," because speakers manipulate their linguistic structures and language choices to meet requirements of the target situations. The changes speakers make in their language to correspond appropriately to some specific situation reduces probability of existence of entirely "natural" speech or language. Wolfson (1976) even considers ethnographic collection of data - by observing and recording naturally occurring apologies unreliable. She adds that if the researcher aims at observing multiple instances of a particular speech act situational and interpersonal context unchanged in the similar context it becomes practically impossible to keep the context including relevant social variables constant in case when the same phenomenon takes place again.

Besides controversies, many research scholars have acknowledged application of 'observation' as a research tool by reckoning it more useful and dependable to collect reliable data when dealing with societal norms and realities. While others alleged it as insufficient to help know the reality entirely and thus appears extremely deficient to offer

comprehensive picture of the target community. The way of conducting observations whether to write notes, use recording tools or to take short notes and transcribe them depends entirely on observer- the one who actually knows purpose of undertaking this data collection exercise.

While discussing different methods of observations, Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (2000: p.[190-191]) emphasize significance of "participant observation method" declaring it "the most direct method" for data collection as the research no more needs to inquire anyone about a particular behaviour. Bums (2000: p.[411]) also argue in this context that the data collected through observations directly represent behaviour of the population under study. In addition to its usefulness due to happening in natural settings Frankfort Nachunias & Nachmias (2000: pp.[190-191]) consider it the most convenient method in situations where the respondents or people under study may not have a tendency to express about themselves. They (2000: p.[196]) identify two kinds of observations, "controlled and non-controlled". The earlier deals with a situation when it is decided prior to starting the process what, how, and when to observe, whereas in the latter category, the researcher has less explicitly defined objectives regarding what to do and how to do. According to them, "non-controlled observational method" is more adaptable and less organized than the other one called "controlled". Anyhow, they assert that research questions to be addressed in a research study and research design planned for that purpose play fundamental role in deciding which of these methods is more appropriate.

Punch (2005: p.[152]) states that participative observation gives the observer more opportunities to become familiar with the group being investigated and to comprehend "shared cultural meanings" that are helpful in understanding behaviour of that particular

societal group. Likewise, May (2001: p.[159]) too, holds the opinion that participant observation is a more flexible method as it provides a chance to the observer to observe participants' behaviour in uncontrolled natural situations and having with them discussion regarding their perceptions, belief system, and inspirations. Observation as a research tool is also significant in the sense that it gives the researcher an access to the areas unknown i.e., which were not predicted in advance and allows gaining "first-hand knowledge" regarding them (Bryman: 1989).He discusses three different types of observations i.e., "covert, full, and indirect participant observation" (1989: pp.[143-147]) and brings out differences among them. According to him, one difference between "covert participant observation" and "full participant observation" is that in the former category, the researcher observes with his/her identity being concealed while during the latter type he holds a work position in particular area or organization under study and is known as a researcher by co-workers. Whereas during "indirect participant observation" the researcher does not occupy any position in the target organization but actively participates in different activities and events like arrangements for parties and working lunches etc. He (1989: p.[143]) declares "covert method" more useful than other methods because by concealing identity, the researcher is assured that his/her presence may not disturb natural course of happenings. However, its shortcoming resides in breaching the ethics by encroaching of the population under study without their prior consent. Walsh (1998: p.[232]) warns about negative implications of this technique by reckoning in threatening and detrimental for the lives of people being investigated without letting them know. It also delimits its scope of integration of other methods like interviews. Similarly, Gomm (2004: p.[223]) also holds similar opinion that veiled identity of observer impedes him/her from writing down notes

quickly resulting in their late writing which has a potential for data loss as a result of forgetting its detail or inaccurate recording. Contrary to that, "indirect participant observations" (Gomm (2004: p.[223]) seldom face such difficulties, however there might be problems in getting contact to the organization and presence of the researcher may influence attitude of the people under study.

Besides varying opinions, the researchers acknowledge use of 'observation' as a research tool to collect reliable data when dealing with societal norms and realities. In view of the above discussion and inline with the nature of current research and its objectves use of 'observarions' as a data collection tool has emerged as a compulsion to crosscheck validaty of data collected through DCTs.

3.3.2- Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs)

The questions used for data collection in the field of pragmatics usually take form of Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) also called Discourse Completion Tasks (by many researchers).It is "a series of short written role-plays based on everyday situations which are designed to elicit a specific speech act by requiring informants to complete a turn of dialogue for each item" (Barron. 2003: p.[83]). DCT originally developed to compare speech act realization patterns of native speakers and learners (Blum-Kulka, 1982) was used by many researchers including Blum-Kulka et al., (1989: p.[13]) who developed a coding scheme based on 'Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project' (CCSARP) to compare speech acts of native and non-native speakers. They claim for appropriateness of this model to investigate similarities and differences in realization patterns of speech acts between

native and non-native speakers of a given language. It has been repeatedly reported for having numerous benefits as data collection tool. Many linguists including Jones (1989) reckon it as the most successful instrument for collecting huge data in a comparatively little time. They are time saving as when applied in comparison to role plays DCTs make possible to easily address considerably more respondents at one time resulting in a more feasible statistical analysis. Rose (1992) prefers DCTs over natural data because they can help to manage a consistent context to study a speech act and thus can help generate large quantity of data quickly. Many linguists including Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain & Cohen (1983); Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984); Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985); Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986); Iwai and Rinnert (2001); Rintell & Mitchell (1989); Wouk (2006) and Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu (2007) applied DCTs in their research projects to compare apology strategies applied in different languages. Data collected through this tool is considered more reliable because all the respondents reply under controlled situations and social variables.

This generalisation is however conditional with respect to type of the questionnaire, main objectives it addresses, and the total responses provided by the respondents. May (2001: p.[91]) maintains that before designing DCTs research hypothesis should be "operationalised into measures" so that based on it some logical and comprehensive questions can be developed which respondents can reply. These responses should be classifiable as well as quantifiable to help researcher find out whether or not the theory or concept under consideration is applicable. Lewin (2005: p.[219]) favours use of questionnaires as a research tool as it can help the researcher gathering structured and unstructured data which is possible to present numerically and can be statistically analysed

by applying different formulae or techniques. Contrasting to observations, DCTs can be duplicated and used by other researchers as many times as required. May (2001) emphasises that to generalize results of a study about some selected population, it is necessary for the researcher to take a representative sample. Moreover, language of DCT ought to be simple and clear without any ambiguity so that different interpretations could be ceased. (Moser & Kalton 2004: pp.[76-77]).

As for as different kinds of questionnaires are concerned, Oppenheim (2003: pp.[102-103]) identifies: "self-administered questionnaires, mail questionnaires, and group-administered questionnaires". Mail questionnaires are posted to the respondents of the study, whereas the rest of the types are personally invigilated by the researcher and got filled in either by individual or group. The only difference between self- administered questionnaires and group-administered questionnaires is that the earlier is circulated to an individual while the latter is circulated to a cluster of people to get their response. May (2001: p.[98]) discredited mail questionnaires for their low response generating ratio and lack of opportunity to amend any misconception. While Bryman (1989: p.[42]) supports self-administered questionnaires considering them economical and time saving than interviews, especially in case of large number of respondents or they are scattered in different areas. Nonetheless, he suspects that respondents might read the whole questionnaire before answering the very first query which might assist them to respond the initial queries under influence of the knowledge delivered through later questions in the questionnaire.

Further, this method is also criticized for lacking complete context (Rintell & Mitchell: 1989) which is often required for collecting desired data. They (1989) suspect production of responses lacking originality which characterize naturally occurring

conversation because for majority of the people writing appears to be a formal activity yielding very ceremonious responses while replying to a questionnaire. While conducting a research on speech act of refusals Beebe and Cummings (1996) made a comparison between DCTs and naturally occurring data. For this purpose, they based their research on the responses produced in DCT and during telephonic conversations by native speakers of American English.They concluded that the responses provided in DCT do not satisfactorily correspond to the language spoken in everyday communication in multiple ways including response length, turn taking, depth of emotions, variety of formulae and strategies applied; number of repetitions and elaborations etc. Rintell and Mitchell also conducted a research study (1989: p.[271]) to explore if employing a role-play technique stimulate different responses from those elicited employing a DCT. They found similarity in the data collected through both the techniques.

Johnston et al (1998: p.[157]) claim that DCTs enable researchers to collect huge amount of quantifiable data quickly from a large number of habitants of diverse speech communities which makes it a commonly applied technique for collection of data in interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. They (1998: pp.[157-58]) further claim that data collected through DCTs is easier to code as compared to conversational data because coding process normally demand written material or data. The data, they add, collected through the first technique is always in the similar form whereas in case of conversational data there remains a need to transcribe the collected data. But, they have shown concerns about validity of the data collected through DCTs with respect to their natural occurrence as they lack in many factors which typically supplement speech acts during naturally occurring interactions like intonation pattern, turn taking etc.

Another similar research cc.... aring responses elicited from DCTs and naturally occurring interactions was carried out by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992). Unlike Beebe and Cumming's work it deals with non-native speakers and asymmetrical power encounters. The researchers compared refusals realized by native and non- native speakers of graduate level. They found that a narrower range of semantic formulas was employed and DCT replies were less polite as the respondents rarely applied face-saving strategies. Negotiation techniques and turn taking which mark natural conversation were absent from the data. Some other research studies (Galato, 2003; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Holmes, 1991) also manifest that data collected through DCT differs significantly from the one collected in natural settings. So, good and bad, positive and negative, advantages and disadvantages- quite a mixed appraisal it has got from the researchers. Thus, it can be assumed that deficiencies of the questionnaires can be overcome by incorporation of some other data collection tool e.g., interviews to help the researcher generate more response which can help him/her amend any misinterpretation. Based on similar perception, May (2001: p.[112]) suggests multiple-method approach integrating interviews with questionnaires which according to Oppenheim (2003: p.[102]) are even more suitable than questionnaires when the respondents are not proficient in reading or language usage in general.

3.3.3- Interviewing

Another useful method of data collection is called interviews. Application of face-to-face interviews prove more advantageous as compared to other methods like questionnaires and observations. By applying this tool, the researcher gets a chance to

collect data exactly describing respondents' notion regarding their actions in accordance with societal norms. Burns (2000: pp.[424-426]) discusses differences found between "structured closed- ended and semi-structured open-ended" interviews. According to him during structured interviews a list of questions place in a particular order is asked to all the respondents which is also beneficial for interviewer in case of making comparison between different groups of the respondents. Specific nature of questions and their closed-ended form suggests that the respondents will produce exact answers. Because of this quality, this category of interview is considered inflexible which can impede the interviewer vision and stop him/her from looking beyond the fixed questionnaire to investigate respondents' opinions, attitudes, belief system etc. Contrary to structured interviews, according to Punch (2005: p.[172]) open-ended interviews are more flexible which makes them more dependable data collection tool for getting effective responses regarding respondents' perception of reality existing around them. Burns (2000: p.[425]) says that it requires the interviewer to spend considerably large time with the interviewee and thus results in high response rate. During this type of interview as there is no pre-decided list of questions so instead of using specific terms natural expressions are used. According to Gomm (2004: p.[220]) some researchers view this approach naturalistic because of being similar to dialogues or everyday talk. However, this method, too, doesn't go without criticism. Denscombe (2007) says that different respondents respond differently depending on their perception of the interviewer, "in particular, the sex, the age, and the ethnic origins of the interviewer have a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal" (p.[184]). Gomm (2004: p.[5]) asserts that interviewee's responses are influenced by his/ her perception of the situation and what s/he believes the situation

demands or what, according to their imagination, the interviewer would like to hear or even they may say something opposite of what they think they want to hear thus, might not be providing accurate interpretations and conceptions of reality. So, responsibility lies with researcher to pull out the data which sounds convincing, credible and reliable.

3.3.4- Selected Data Collection Tools for the Current Study

Review of different data collection instruments indicates that none of them is sufficient to meet objectives of the current research work. So, I have employed a mixture of methods, in order to collect required data to find out apologetic attitude of the population under study. Mere application of participant observation method does not suffice purpose of the current study due to its inability to provide sufficient data. Further, observation of authentic speech may lack presence of variables i.e., social power, social distance, ranking of imposition, and different conversational settings required according to nature of the study. Though it has always been preferred in the research areas related to pragmatics and sociolinguistics to use natural data, sometimes it becomes unfeasible to attain research goal by merely depending on it. Even if applied, participant observation does not promise generating comparable semantic formulae in both languages keeping the social variables constant. Moreover, random selection of respondents may lead to have heterogeneous sample of population which may result in unrepresentative or skewed data.

In view of aforementioned limitations of observations, in the current research study I have applied discourse completion tests (DCTs) along with it which allows to rapidly accumulate huge sum of comparable data. In addition to it, interviews have also been used for data collection believing that addition of interviews to these instruments will render more reliable data and remove shortcomings of DCTs and observations. The significance of interviews is also stressed by Neuman (2003: p.[290]) who has emphasised effective role of interviews by asserting that a skilled interviewer can manipulate diverse questions which may not be included in DCTs. Likewise, Holland & Campbell (2005: p.[59]) also count it a reliable source to get useful data.

It is believed that integration of more than one research methods: using DCT, interviews and observation is beneficial to design a comprehensive research. Numerous researchers like Labov (1972), Wolfson (1976), and Stubbs (1983) stress application of multiple methods in the investigation of languages. Labov (1972: p.[119]) recommends the researchers not to adhere to one research method. Likewise, Brown & Yule (1983: p.[270]) suggest not to highlight importance of a single research method at the cost of others. Recommending "mixed-method approach", Greene et al., (2005: p.[275]) asserts that combining several research techniques together makes the research more valid and credible. Such mixed approach, in their opinion provides the researcher enriched ideas and a better understanding of the meanings and perspectives. But combining different methods

together demands extreme care to attain objectives set out for the research study. As says

Mason (2002: p.[60]) if integration of methods is not carried out carefully research outcomes

might not be as beneficial as expected.

3.3.4.1- Detail of data collection instruments employed in the current study

Analysis of different data collection instruments and a look at their respective

benefits and drawbacks suggest that a researcher must select those instruments which

sound most suitable to the fundamental objectives of his/ her research. Thus, keeping under

consideration objectives of the current study a combination of tools i.e., DCTs,

observations and interviews is used for data collection.

The very first instrument applied for this purpose is observation of real-life

encounters. Observations are made both in formal and informal settings. Participative

observation technique, assuming the best to correspond to the research objectives is chosen

for data collection. I am teaching in one of the universities selected for collection of data,

so my presence could be a hurdle in getting natural data. Therefore, data is collected by

engaging two co-researchers for this purpose. The co-researchers were fully briefed

regarding objectives of the observations and were provided a checklist stating what they

were supposed to note: who is apologizing to whom; relation between apologizer and the

apologizee; status of both of them; conversational setting along with the apology forwarded etc (Appendix 2).

Discourse Completion Tests (DCT) used in the current research study (table 3.1) is devised by adopting some of the apology eliciting situations proposed by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) in addition to some situations respondents are believed to encounter during their everyday life. The justification for addition of more situations in DCTs lies in the fact that for measuring effect of certain variables like social distance social status, severiety of offence and formality level it was pertinent to have a balance in the given situations (table 3.1) which was lacking otherwise. Thus, the DCTs (English and Urdu) finalized for the current research work encompass 15 apology eliciting situations (Appendix-1). Stemming from Brown & Levinson's model of politeness (1978, 1987), the DCTs consist of diverse situations covering varying social status and social distance between participants, different types of offences, time, space, possession damage; and severity level of the offences. Conversational setting of the given offences in terms of formal and informal is also included in contextual parameters. The situations primarily designed to elicit apologetic responses (similar in both DCTs- English & Urdu) are based on such situations which are likely to be commonly known by the respondents/ subjects of current study (table 3.1). Thus, it will become obvious which social factor or combination of

factors influence apologies realized in two different languages (English and Urdu) in the

same culture.

Table: 3.1-Different apology situations corresponding to probable differences in social variables i.e., social power and social distance between the interlocutors; conversational setting and severity of offence. (A= the apologiser, O= the offended)

Situations	Social status	Social Distance	Severity level	Formality Level
1-professor not returning term paper on time	A > O	0	-	Formal
2- student forgets bringing teacher's book back	A < O	0	-	Formal
3-employee got late for meeting with boss, who is his younger brother too	A< O	-	+	Formal
4- One forgets a scheduled meeting with friend	A=O	-	-	Informal
5- One forgets to take his/her son for shopping	A >O	-	-	Informal
6-bumping into a car and breaking its window	A=O	+	+	Informal
7- reaching late to receive elder brother at airport	A<O	-	-	Informal
8-boss visiting employee's father who is hospitalized	A >O	+	-	Informal
9- serving chicken instead of fish to a diet conscious customer	A<O	+	-	
10- Bump into an elderly passenger and hurting his toe	A =O	+	+	Informal
11- Head of a department forgets to intimate junior employee about meeting with dean	A >O	0	+	Formal
12- your comments wrongly interpreted by a colleague	A =O	0	-	Informal
13- An MD forgets meeting with another MD	A =O	0	+	Formal
14- A manager kept a junior colleague, who is his close friend too, waiting for a long time	A >O	-	+	Formal
15- A visitor drops glass of water on the table of Boss	A< O	+	+	Formal

Social status (>= high; < = low; and = = equal)
Social Distance (- = close; + = distant; 0 = neutral)
Severity of offense (+ = severe; - = not severe)

Third tool used for data collection in the present study is interview. The interviews designed for this purpose are semi-structured focused to provide the interviewees with more comfortable feelings. It is presumed that a guided interview with pre-decided list of questions may fail in eliciting the desired data resulting in provision of short and insufficient answers which may fail to explain politeness phenomenon in the languages under study. The interview questions focus on the same situations used in DCT (appendix 1). The main purpose of interviews, as explained earlier, is to provide the interviewees a chance to elaborate or justify the responses they provided in DCTs. Thus, interviews are believed to help attain a more comprehensive illustration of essential societal norms and concepts regarding speech act of apology and their (interviewees) approach towards variables influencing realization of this speech act. During interviews primary focus has been to dig deep into the minds of the respondents to get access to their belief system regarding speech act of apology. They are asked not only about their usual responses but also regarding some of the unusual or expected replies provided by them in response to DCTs. Thus, this instrument i.e., interview is believed to be helpful in knowing interviewees' perception regarding whether to apologize or not and how to apologize in addition to their perception about some social factors counted influential in selection of apology strategies and the way of apologizing. Thus, it can be concluded that exercise of going over the DCTs data with the interviewees is likely to reflect respondents' sensitivity towards weightiness of the offence, regard for social status of the apologizee and formality level of conversational setting.

3.4- The Pilot Study

Pilot study is conducted in order to assess appropriateness and utility of DCTs as a data collection tool though the situations proposed by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) have already been tested several times in different parts of the world in many languages. The situations proposed by them are universal in nature so can also commonly be observed in the society under study. But some new situations have also been included in the DCTs so, it deems essential to pilot test new version of DCTs (both in English and Urdu) to check its suitability to meet research objectives set for the current study.

DCTs are pilot-tested with a group of twenty respondents (students of M.A English) who are well versed in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu, to check validity and reliability of this modified version. Students were also directed to mark the given situations in the DCT with respect to severerity level (severe/not severe); diference in social status of the interlocutors (high, low & equal) and level of intimacy (close, acquainted & distant). In addition to it, another purpose has been to identify unexpected difficulties e.g., whether the DCTs instructions are unambiguously understandable to all respondents and they easily identify the situations provided in DCTs to those they encounter in their routine life. Further, length of DCT questions, required time to respond to them and interest level of the respondents are also kept under consideration during this exercise. Findings of pilot study revealed that no modifications are required as not only the response rate has been satisfactory but also the responses exposed no sign of respondents' misunderstanding or misreading of any situation provided in DCTs. It has also been satisfactory that respondents

have not pointed any situation foreign to them, thus their interest rate during responding the DCTs remained high.

3.5- Data Collection- Use of Observations, DCTs, and Interviews

For the purpose of data collection, I personally visited the selected universities and met heads of the departments of English. I introduced myself to the heads and explained the purpose of my research and requested for their cooperation in this regard. Keeping the nature of the DCTs and the length of the questionnaires in mind I requested them for some extra time than their normal class duration consisting of one hour. They were generous enough to grant relaxation in this regard. So, two days were finalized in alternate weeks to get English and Urdu DCTs filled in. This schedule was finalized firstly to get English and Urdu DCTs filled in on separate days after a break of one week so that respondents might not get influenced by their responses to earlier filled DCT. Secondly, time relaxation was taken so that they might not fall a prey to shortage of time and can reply satisfactorily after grasping the situations fully. It was decided that interviews would be held once analysis of DCTs data was done so that based on that data interviews could be conducted. Regarding observations the researcher was allowed not only to engage co-researchers from the sample students but was also granted permission letter to visit for observations in formal setting. So, the data collection started with observations both in formal and informal settings. In formal setting i.e., during classes, in staff room and admin offices, I made observations myself. Data collected was jotted down simultaneously and promptly along with the required information (e.g., status, social distance, nature of offence etc.) necessary to

answer research questions set for the current study. Observation data from informal conversational settings like cafeteria, playground, gymnasium, library, hostels, homes etc., were collected by the co-researchers. They were also provided with the same framework I applied during observations made in formal settings. The interviews were of particular importance as participants were required to justify their responses provided in the DCTs. For this purpose, in an entirely informal and stress-free setting they were interviewed. The interviews included demographic or warm up questions to find out age, educational background, family background etc., to develop a rapport and put respondents at ease in addition to the questions aimed to find out their opinion regarding various issues relevant to the apology situations given in DCT. Some of the questions were focused to elicit information regarding their view of socio-cultural norms and their influence on apologizing process.

After observations, I visited all the selected universities as per fixed schedule to get DCTs filled. The administration of the respective universities allowed me to use one of the class rooms to get assignment done. Thus, on the decided time and day I visited all the selected universities and got the DCTs filled. I administered the whole process myself describing the purpose of the study briefly and reading out some guidelines which deemed necessary for the respondents to consider while responding to the given situations. Having read instructions the respondents were asked to silently read the given apology situations which were provided to them in typed form in DCT (appendix I). And, the researcher also explained all the situations loudly and clearly to remove any chance of misunderstanding.

Fifty students (25 male and 25 female) participated in the next stage of data collection called interview. From each university five male and five female students were

randomly selectected for interviews. Interviews were also conducted according to mutually agreed schedule between administration of the selected universities and me, the researcher, whereas students were informed by the relevant departments. Students were requested to voluntarily participate in interviews in general, but few students were personally requested for interviews because of the unusual responses they provided in DCTs. Main focus of interviews (appendix 3) was to discover rationality existing behind the responses provided in DCTs. Thus, focus of the interviews was to investigate respondents' sensitivity towards severity of offence and its influence on selection of apology strategies; in addition to their perception of social variables like status and distance which affect their responses. General questions also addressed respondents' consciousness of their religious and cultural values that directly or indirectly control speech act of apology in the society they belong to.

3.6- Theoretical Underpinnings for the Current Research

As discussed in chapter 2 (section, 2.5) different researchers have proposed different taxonomies for analysis of apologies but none of them can be claimed as comprehensive enough to cover variety of apology expressions prevailing in different parts of the world. Thus, while finalizing taxonomy for different research projects it is pertinent to consider objectives these projects aim at entertaining. For linguistic and functuional analysis of apologies in thr current data, initially was selected the taxonomy proposed in the project of Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns (Blum- Kulka et. al., (1989)). This taxonomy is commonly known as *CCSARP* model; and from here onward it would be mentioned likewise. The most obvious reason of selecting this model for analysis of the current data lies in its widespread application in research on speech acts in many languages

around the globe. It also covers main postulates of coding schemes proposed by Cohen & Olshtain (1981: p.[119]) and Olshtain & Cohen (1983: pp.[22-23]). As the current research also aims at explaining, analysing, and interpreting the data in different terms i.e., influence of social variables like social distance (D), social power (P) and degree of imposition (R) on selection of apology strategies leading towards politeness phenomenon, the analysis will also touch upon Brown and Levinson's theory (1978 &1987). Selection of B& L model (1978 &1987) is made on the basis of its wide spread application in different languages across the globe e.g., Demeter (2000), Deutschmann (2003)... chap 7

While examining the collected data it is realized that due to varied and complex attitude of the respondents at occurrence of an offence, this model (*CCSARP*, 1989) is not sufficient to comprehensively elaborate realization of apologies in the society under study. Thus, contrasting to the view of many linguists (e.g. Miles & Huberman, 1994: p.[58]) and a common practice that researchers keep a set of strategies before them and start coding collected data accordingly, it is thought necessary that the model should be adapted in view of collected data to embrace exclusive local trends of apologizing to increase its potential of locating more concepts that might remain unnoticed otherwise. Hence, the modified model includes some newly added postulates on the bases of collected data. Those points can be termed exclusive in nature as they have not been part of previous taxonomies. *CCSARP* model (1989), selected for analysis of data in the present study, is as follows:

1- Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)
2- Explanation or account
3- Taking on responsibility
4- Concern for the hearer
5- Offer of repair/restitution
6- Promise of forbearance

Two of the strategies i.e., *'IFID'* and *'Taking on responsibility'* are further divided into sub strategies. The first apology formula *'IFID'* contains following sub-formulas:

- An expression of regret, e. g., I am sorry;
- An offer of apology e.g., I apologise;
- A request for forgiveness, e. g., Excuse me, please forgive me or pardon me

According to Olshtain & Cohen (1983: p.[22]), these sub-formulas contain direct apology expressions e.g., "apologise, be sorry, forgive, excuse and pardon". They add "the major semantic formulas in a speech act set are non-language specific and that each language has direct expressions of apology using one or more of the apology verbs" (p.[22]). Second apology semantic formula, "an *explanation or account of situation*" according to them is indirect expression used to apologize which can be combined with other expressions. It indicates that apologising could be fulfilled indirectly. According to Bilal (2007) Olshtain & Cohen's idea of indirectness in apologies seems to be an extension of theories forwarded by Searle (1975), Labov & Fanshel (1977) and Blum- Kulka (1982) who emphasise basic notion of indirectness in speech act theory. Next semantic formula "an *acknowledgement of responsibility*" is also "non-language specific". It includes following sub-formulae:

a- Accepting the blame - it is my mistake.
b- Expressing self-deficiency- I got confused.
c- Recognising the other person as deserving apology- you are right, Mr. X.
d- Expressing lack of intent-I didn't mean to. (p[23])

As regards last two formulas, according to Olshtain & Cohen (1983: p.[23]) they are "situation- specific", as *'an offer of repair'* would be applied in case of physical injury or if damage is involved, whereas *"promise of forbearance"* is normally resorted to in situations when the offence could have been avoided but the offender did not try. They

have also suggested two cases when the apologizer may not deem necessary to apologize: "a denial of the need to apologize and a denial of responsibility" p[23]

3.6.1- Presentation and Analysis of Data in the Current Study

Keeping in view insufficiency of above discussed *CCSARP* taxonomy (1989), and to make it appropriate to cater data collected for current study some new strategies and sub strategies are added to it and some are removed i.e., *expressing lack of intent* was removed from the list of sub strategies of '*acknowledging responsibility*' strategy due to the reason that it contradicts essence the main strategy called '*acknowledging responsibility*' carries whereas '*expression of embarrassment*' has been added under '*IFID*' as a sub- strategy due to its considerable application in the current data. *Concern for the hearer* and *denial of offence* proposed in *CCSARP* model (1989) as intensifiers and down graders have been included as independent apology strategies according to the nature of their application in the current data. Some other strategies and sub-strategies have also been added to this model (Fig 3.1), out of which last strategy called *some other apologetic tactics* encompasses many sub-strategies which are repeatedly encountered during observations but some of them are found difficult to be produced in DCTs e.g., offer of eatables (chocolates, tea, meal), application of conjunctions as apology mark, etc., laughter, gaze, smile, bowing head, silence etc., so are not found to that extent in DCTs data. Thus, it can be calculated that the taxonomy applied in the current study has been devised by integrating the *CCSARP* model (1989) and the apologetic expressions emerged out of the data collected for the current study. A complete demonstration of apology strategies included

in the model going to be applied in current study for data analysis is as presented in figures

3.1 and 3.2.

Figure: 3.1

> Apology semantic formulae
> constituting taxonomy for
> current study

CCSARP model (1989)

1-IFID
2- Explanation/ account
3- Acknowledgement of
   responsibility
4- Offer of repair
5- Promise of forbearance
6- Concern for hearer
7- Denial of offence

**newly added apology
semantic formulae:**
1- Minimization of offence
2- Suggestion
3- Counter attack
4- Showing intimacy
5- Some other apology
   tactics

Taxonomy (fig: 3.2) applied

In the current study

Figure 3.1. Distribution of apology strategies encompassing taxonomy for current study.

For the purpose of convenient handling of data, apology strategies presented in Fig:

3.1 are subsumed under three mega apology categories namely: *explicit apologies, implicit*

apologies and *apologies as communication management devices (CMDs)*. While placing

different strategies under these three mega apology categories, their application in different

situations provided in DCTs, their application as encountered during observations and

respondents' opinion during interview have been kept under consideration. Following is

detail of mega apology categories:

Figure: 3.2

- IFID
- Taking on responsibility
- Offer of compensation
- Promise of forbearance

- Explanation
- Minimization of offence
- Suggestions
- Concern for hearer

- Denail of offence
- Counter attack
- Showing intimicy
- Some other apology tactics

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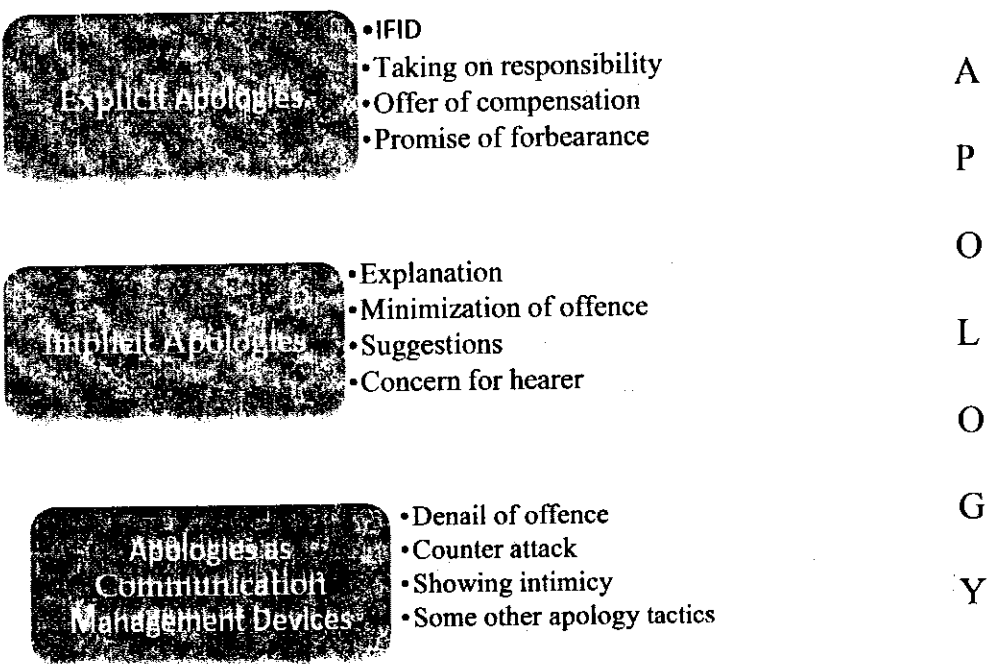
Figure 3.2. Taxonomy applied for analysis of data in the current study

This coding scheme has not only provided units for analysis of data in the current study but also helped me (the researcher) organise such a huge data in manageable units. Further, it has also enabled me to compare distribution of strategies in different situations. This taxonomy is applied for analysis of data collected through DCTs both in English and Urdu languages.

As for as data collected through interviews is concerned, reviewing related literature offers an understanding about process of successfully dealing with qualitative data. Strauss and Corbin (2004: p.[303]), for example, endorse open coding to organise 'raw' data into meaningful categories which can be labelled, scrutinized and then compared which is normally followed by placing similar concepts under appropriate categories to decrease list

of elements. Strauss (1987) proposes three different methods to be applied for coding of qualitative data: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. But, his definition of these methods seems as if they are three stages of coding and categorising data in a single process. As for as open coding is concerned it includes tracking down of concepts, recognition of relevant categories and labelling to convert large data into manageable categories. According to Strauss (1987), during coding and labelling of data one should attempt to draw linkages between different categories. He adds, here the researcher concentrates on primary coding he did at open-coding stage and begins relating causes and conditions. Besides, he can pool related ideas under one theme or split them into sub-categories. Selective coding occupies higher place on data-coding ladder. During this phase/method, data is scanned to draw comparisons. Strauss (1987) concludes it (selective coding) helps researchers reach at certain conclusions.

As stated earlier, in the current research the main objective of interviews is to gain in-depth awareness of respondents' aspirations, their behaviour and ideas of why, when, and how to make an apology or not to apologize at all. During interviews respondents are asked to explain / justify their unusual replies produced in DCTs. Thus, data collected through interviews get labelled and categorised automatically. This data needs not to strictly pass through above mentioned three-stages because of its role to explain the answers respondents have already provided in DCTs. Thus, data collected through interviews and observations is used simply to strengthen the finding of analysis of data collected through DCTs in both the languages. These tools are applied to make up shortcoming and weaknesses of tool called DCT as almost all researchers show unanimity regarding insufficiency of every research tool and recommended integration of tools.

3.7- Concluding Remarks about Present Chapter

This chapter brings under discussion methodology used in the current research study. Firstly, a detailed discussion is made regarding strengths and drawbacks of three most used data collection techniques: observation, discourse completion tests (DCTs) and interviews. The discussion has asserted that application of 'observation' does not seem to address objectives of the current research because getting desired apology situations naturally may not be possible. In addition to it, this method is not perceived appropriate for generating sufficient data because it is rarely possible to have required social parameters naturally available which are indispensable to comprehend realization of apologies. Moved by the necessity to collect data which can be helpful to comprehensively understand opinion of the respondents regarding apologies as well as politeness phenomenon in the society under consideration it is decided to integrate different methods i.e., DCTs, interviews and observations.

The DCT will help to collect huge data from the respondents whereas, the other tool called interview will be a source to uncover their perception regarding speech act of apology and politeness phenomenon. Application of observation – third data collection tool- would help counter apprehension about DCT data for being less reliable due to production in unnatural atmosphere by engaging a limited number of respondents providing them few imaginary situations. Shortly, in this chapter, I (the researcher) have described respondents of the current research work, different instruments being applied for data collection, and taxonomy devised for data analysis. In the light of this discussion data analysis would be made in next chapters.

CHAPTER: 4

EXPLICIT APOLOGIES: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1- Introduction to Chapter 4

As discussed earlier, apologies are verbal and/or non-verbal expressions intended to repair any injury / loss or offence for which the apologizer is believed to be responsible. Once used effectively these formulae lead to yield speech act having high pragmatic influence and significance. As discussed in chapter 3, different researchers have forwarded their own models having different strategies to be used for apologizing. Fraser (1981: p.[263]), for instance, provided a taxonomy having nine-apology strategies. Cohen & Olshtain (1981: pp.[113-134]), and Olshtain & Cohen (1983: pp.[22-23]) also forwarded a model containing five main apology categories and many other sub-categories. Aijmer (1996) refer to thirteen apology strategies and labelled them as explicit or implicit, emotional or non-emotional. The present research, as thoroughly discussed in chapter 3 (section, 3.6), is primarily established on taxonomy proposed by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) for Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP). For the current study data is collected by employing three different tools - DCT, observation and interviews - so that the topic, under discussion, can comprehensively be explored. To get this purpose when data coding is started it is found that the strategies proposed by CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al., (1989)) are not enough to cover the whole range of strategies employed by the respondents for apologizing purpose. Thus, some new strategies emerged from the collected data, a

discussion of which has already been made in chapter 3 (section, 3.6.1), are added to that model resulting in the taxonomy (figure, 3.2) which is applied in the current research study.

In order to address research questions, set out for present research work, the desired data collected by employing DCT (appendix 1), observations (appendix 2) and interviews (appendix 3) is analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Analysis of data shows that realization of the speech act of apology may take one or any combination of these strategies: 1-*Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)*, 2- *Explanation or account*, 3- *Taking on responsibility*, 4- *Concern for the hearer*, 5- *Offer of repair*, 6- *Promise of forbearance*, 7- *Minimization of offence*, 8- *Suggestion*, 9- *Counter attack*, 10- *Denial of offence*, 11- *Showing intimacy*, 12- *Some other apology tactics (religious references, offer of chocolates, tea, meal etc., gestures- smile, laughter, silence etc.,)* discussed thoroughly in section 3.6.1.

For convenient handling of data, these strategies (figure 3.2) are subsumed under three mega apology categories i.e. *explicit apologies*, *implicit apologies* and *apologies as communication management devices (CMDs)*. The present chapter revolves around overall analysis and results concerning use of one of these mega apology categories called *explicit apologies*. This mega apology category (figure, 3.2) encompasses four strategies i.e. *IFID*, *taking on responsibility*, *offer of repair*, and *promise of forbearance*. All these strategies are illustrated below with the help of examples taken from English and Urdu data collected for the current study through DCTs.

4.2- Description of *Explicit Apologises*- First Mega Apology Category

As stated above, apology strategies used by the respondents of current study are

subsumed under three mega apology categories. Out of those three, *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category *includes IFID, taking on responsibility, offer of compensation* and *promise of forbearance* as its constituent strategies. All these four strategies yield vivid, unambiguous, clear, unconditional and explicit acceptance of offence. Following is a discussion of these strategies:

4.2.1- IFID – *An Explicit Apology Strategy*

The very first apology formula called *IFID* contains those expressions which are vivid, clear and direct in nature. While apologizing it is always realized through such linguistic expressions or words which include a performative verb like "forgive, excuse, pardon, or be sorry" Olshtain & Cohen (1983: p.[22]). This strategy further contains following sub-formulas:

4.2.1.1- An expression of regret

As discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.6) this is one of the core semantic formulas constituting *CCSARP* model. This sub-formula has appeared in the apologies made in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu. In English it has appeared through the expressions like regret, regretfully etc., while in Urdu it has been used through expressions like '*afsoos hova ya afsoos hy*' which carry the same sense which word 'regret' carries in English language. So, it can be considered Urdu equivalent of English word *regret*. Though the expression of regret assembles different words that are identical in nature and can be used interchangeably to execute explicit apologies it has no scope to make up the offence and

put the things right. Instead, it merely reflects apologizer's regret without having any potential remedial function. It is perceived less face threatening for the apologizer because of being a meek apologetic expression, according to the interviewees. This might be the main reason that this expression has occupied second highest application from among the sub- strategies of *IFIDs*, in both the languages (English & Urdu). Following are the examples taken from both the DCTs (appendix 1):

- I regret, please ignore my comments. (**English DCT - Situation :12**)

- *mujhay bohat afsoos hai k mai apki* book *wapus lana bhool gia.* (**English translation:** I really regret for not bringing your book back. I know you need that book). - **Urdu DCT- situation: 2(appendix 1).**

4.2.1.2-An offer of apology

In the current study, realization of explicit apologies in the two languages (English & Urdu) is also executed by employing *offer of apology*- a sub- strategy of *IFIDs* that consists of some set lexes, for example, through applying some verbs like *pardon, excuse,* and *apologise* etc., in English and *mahzrut chahna* in Urdu language which carries same meaning to those of aforementioned English apologetic expressions. Following examples have been taken from both the DCTs:

- I am sorry, I got busy in a meeting so got late. - **English DCT, situation: 7(appendix 1)**

- *Mai mazrut chahta hu"n. mai ny a"pko bohat intzar kurwaya.* (**English translation:** I am sorry. I kept you waiting for quite a long time). - **Urdu DCT- Situation: 14 (appendix 1)**

4.2.1.3- Request for forgiveness

This sub- formula taken from Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) makes considerable number of apologies in many research studies but in the current study it has not been employed by the respondents in replies provided in response to DCTs in both the languages. But, during observations it has been encountered occasionally.

4.2.1.4- Expression of embarrassment

This is a newly added sub- strategy in the taxonomy devised for data analysis in the present study (3.6.1). It has emerged from the data collected for this research study in both the languages – English and Urdu. It is found in considerable number in the data appeared in both DCTs.

- I am really embarrassed for what happened during the meeting. But, believe me I was not talking about you. - **English DCT, Situation 12 (appendix 1)**

- *Uncle Mai bohat sharminda hu'n keh a'pko daykhnaey jaldi nuhin a' saka.* (**English translation:** I am ashamed that I could not visit you earlier). - **Urdu DCT – Situation: 8 (appendix 1)**

4.2.2- Taking on Responsibility

Next apology formula under the umbrella of first mega apology category called *explicit apologies* is *taking on responsibility* (section, 3.6.1- figure 3.2). It is applied when the apologizer recognizes him/ herself accountable for the mistake. The offender admits his responsibility by selecting any of the sub-formulae of this strategy, for example, by

accepting the blame, expressing self-deficiency or justifying the hearer. The application of any or combination of these sub-formulas determines the intensity of accountability the apologizer is ready to undertake. This strategy, though included in almost all the existing taxonomies is not found in the data collected for present study through Urdu DCT while in English data, too, it is rarely applied by the respondents. Following is a discussion about its sub-formulae and the way they are being used in English DCT.

4.2.2.1- Accepting the blame

By applying *accepting the blame* sub category, the offender openly confesses his/her mistake. Though application of this semantic formula could help appease the offended, it threatens positive face of the apologiser. This sub- strategy is rarely used by the subjects of the current study in both the languages. Following are examples of its appearance in English DCT:

- It is my fault, I should not have brought that topic under discussion. - **English DCT, Situation 12 (appendix 1)**

4.1.2.2- Expressing self-deficiency

This linguistic expression is used by the respondents to acknowledge their mistake by explicitly accepting responsibility. Being explicit in nature it is more likely than other formulae to bring loss to the apologisers' positive face. It might be a reason of its rare application by the speakers of high social status in the data collected both through observations and DCTs in both the languages. Following are instances of this sub- strategy taken from English DCT (appendix 1)

- I got confused so could not control my car. - **English DCT: Situation, 6 (appendix 1)**

- Today, in the office there was lot of work to do. Just because of that I forgot my promise. - **English DCT, Situation- 5 (appendix 1)**

4.1.2.3- Recognising the hearer as deserving apology

This sub-formula when applied gives an impression of unconditional acceptance of responsibility about the offence by declaring the hearer or the offended deserving an apology. The respondents of the current study are not prone to apply it in any of the two languages i.e., English and Urdu though it has been occasionally heard during observations. During observation its application (Appendix2) was noted as follows:

- **English**: You are right. I agree with your statement I was extremely careless.

- **Urdu**: *A`p theek keh ruhay huin mjy aisa nuin kurna chahiay tha.* (**English translation**- You are right I should not have done that).

4.2.3- Offer of Compensation or Repair

The next semantic formula included under first mega apology category - *explicit apologies* - is *offer of repair*. It is used in such situations where apologizer carries a deep sense of guilt and believes him / herself responsible for some serious damage occurred to the apologizee and makes some offer or provides payment to make up for that damage. Although it is believed to be a "situation-specific" (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983, p.[23]) strategy which is frequently applied in case of physical injury (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), in the current research it is found that the respondents have employed it in in both languages

regardless of any such condition. It suggests that word damage must not be specified merely in context of physical harm, but it should embrace both physical and emotional violations. It has appeared in English and Urdu DCTs in the following way:

- Sorry, I perhaps mixed your order with that of some other customer. Let me change it for you. - **English DCT. Situation 9 (appendix 1)**

- *Mai a~p ka nuqsan poora kur down ga.* (**English translation:** 'I will pay for your loss). — **Urdu DCT, Situation6 (appendix 1)**

4.1.5- Promise of Forbearance

The last semantic formula under first mega apology category - *explicit apologies*- is called *promise of forbearance* (figure 3.2*).* It implies that the offender takes responsibility for what has happened that is why he commits not to do so again. This strategy too, like others, is resorted to for saving positive face of the apologiser and redress negative face of the offended party. For example:

- I promise it won't happen again. - **English DCT, situation 13 (appendix 1)**

- *dobara aysa kabih nuhin ho ga.* (**English translation:** It won't happen again). - **Urdu DCT, situation 3 (appendix 1)**

4.3- Demonstration of Explicit apologies in Data

Frequency and percentage values of different apology strategies grouped under the heading of *explicit apologies* (section, 3.6.1) are listed in table (4.1) to give an overall

snapshot of first mega apology category. Data, presented in this table, is based on responses

provided for both the DCTs (English and Urdu).

Table 4.1. *'Explicit apologies'- first mega apology category (English & Urdu DCTs data)*

STRATEGIES	ENGLISH		URDU	
	No	%	No	%
IFID	1299	48%	812	33.3%
RESPONSIBILITY	181	7%	0	0%
COMPENSATION	1130	41%	1298	53.2%
FORBEARANCE	118	4.3%	328	13.4%
TOTAL	2728	100%	2438	100

The above-mentioned strategies (*IFID, taking on responsibility, offer of repair* and

promise for forbearance) not only provide units of analysis for *explicit apologies* in the

current study but are also helpful to organize the huge data into manageable entities. This

organization is of significance as it has enabled the researcher to compare distribution of

apology strategies used in diverse situations in both the languages. The analysis is thus

based on detecting expressions that contain an *IFID*, the apologizer's *accepting*

accountability for the offence, *offer of repair*, and apologizer's *promise of forbearance*.

For comprehensive analysis, firstly overall results concerning use of apology

strategies defined above under the umbrella of *'explicit apologies'* are going to be

calculated to trace out which strategies are most frequently used. In total, 3750 remedial

exchanges have been provided in response to 15 situations provided in each DCT (English

& Urdu) by 250 respondents. Thus, it becomes clear from application of such an ample

number of apologies that participants of the study strongly prefer application of more than one strategy in their apologies. A detailed analysis of each of the strategies and sub strategies grouped under the heading of *explicit apologies* is given below:

Table 4.4 further highlights differences in application of these strategies in both the DCTs. In English data collected through DCT, *IFID*is the most applied apology strategy (47.6%) while in Urdu DCT data *offer of compensation* has been top most used explicit apology strategy (53%) which makes more than half of the explicit apologies in Urdu DCT. While *IFID* is second highly favoured strategy (33.38%) in Urdu data and *offer of compensation* is second mostly used strategy in English data (41.43%). None of the other strategies could get more than 7% value in English DCT and 13% in Urdu DCT. Another interesting point regarding the strategy *taking on responsibility* which is a part of all the apology taxonomies presented till day is that it has not made even a single application in Urdu DCT data. The interviewees ascribe absence of this apology strategy from Urdu data to its face threatening nature.

4.4- Application of *Explicit Apologies* in Different Situations

Frequency of apology strategies encompassing first mega apology category called *explicit apologies* in each of the given situations (15) in DCTs (appendix1) responses in English and Urdu is given in table 4.2

Table 4.2, *Frequency of apology semantic formulas in first four situations given in DCTs*

Situations / Strategies	Situation 1		Situation 2		Situation 3		Situation 4	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
1-IFID								
a- offer	30	20	115	120	112	145	15	0
b- regret	0	0	123	35	104	50	0	0
c- forgiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d- embarrassment	0	0	0	55	0	0	0	0
sub-total	30	20	238	210	216	195	15	0
2- responsibility								
a- accepting blame	0	0	64	0	20	0	0	0
b- self-deficiency	0	0	76	0	0	0	0	0
c- hearer deserving apology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sub- total	0	0	140	0	20	0	0	0
3- compensation	113	172	181	140	0	0	0	0
4- forbearance	0	0	25	136	91	192	0	0
Total	143	192	584	486	327	387	15	0

Table 4.2-*Frequency of apology semantic formulas in situations from 5 to 8, provided in DCTs*

Situations / Strategies	Situation 5		Situation 6		Situation 7		Situation 8	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
1-IFID								
a- Offer	33	7	101	69	0	0	29	35
b- regret		0	34	11	0	0	0	24
c- forgiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d- embarrassment	0	0	0	29	0	61	0	0
sub-total	33	7	135	80	29	0	90	59
2- Responsibility								
a- accepting blame	0	0	21	0	0	0	0	0
b- self-deficiency	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
c- hearer deserving apology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sub- total	0	0	21	0	0	0	0	0
3- compensation	120	189	154	200	0	0	170	159
4- forbearance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	153	196	310	280	29	0	260	218

Table 4.2 *Frequency of apology semantic formulas in situations from 9 to 12, provided in DCTs*

Situations / Strategies	Situation 9		Situation 10		Situation 11		Situation 12	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
1-IFID								
a- offer	51	23	44	30	43	20	5	0
b- regret	0	0	60	0	0	0	20	0
c- forgiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d- embarrassment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sub-total	51	23	104	30	43	20	25	0
2- responsibility								
a- accepting blame	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b- self-deficiency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c- hearer deserving apology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sub- total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3- compensation	104	111	106	170	0	3	0	0
4- forbearance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	155	134	210	200	43	23	25	0

Table 4.2 *Frequency of apology semantic formulas in situations from 13 to 15, provided in DCTs*

Situations / Strategies	Sitution13		Situation 14		Situation15		Total	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
1-IFID								
a- offer	80	41	40	35	80	40	778	585
b- regret	20	0	0	0	0	0	361	120
c- forgiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d- embarrassment	0	0	0	0	70	52	160	107
sub-total	100	41	40	35	150	92	1299	812
2-Responsibility								
a- accepting blame	0	0	0	0	0	0	105	0
b- self-deficiency	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	0
c- hearer deserving apology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sub- total	0	0	0	0	0	0	181	0
3- compensation	18	0	104	64	60	90	1130	1298
4- forbearance	2	0	0	0	0	0	118	328
Total	120	41	144	99	210	182	2728	2438

4.4.1- IFIDs (Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices)

An investigation of data presented in table 4.2 makes it noticeable that *IFIDs* are used with different ratio across almost all the situations in both languages. In English data it is the most frequently used strategy (n=1299) which supports findings of many researchers like Holmes, Intachakra and Márquez Reiter who claim that *IFID* is the most

regularly used apology semantic formula by English speakers. In English data, application of *IFIDs* ranges from highest (n= 238) in situation no 2 (a student forgets to bring professor's book back) to the lowest (n=15) in situation 4 (forgetting commitment with a friend). The top three situations with highest values of this apology strategy are situation 2 (a student forgets to return professor's book), situation 3 (reaching late in a meeting with boss) and situation 6 (hitting a car and breaking its window). An analysis of these three situations delineates that all these are formal in their conversational setup and are severe in nature. On the other hand, *IFIDs* in Urdu language come out as fourth main strategy (n=812) ranging from highest value (n=210) in situation no 2 to the lowest value (n=07) in situation no 5 (father forgets his promise to take his son for shopping). Here, an important point to note is that in Urdu data four out of the given situations could not earn even single *IFID* (table 4.2) and three situations which have got higher application rate of *IFIDs*, though with different values, are same in both the languages (situation 2 (U: 210, E: 238), situation 3 (U: 195, E: 216) & situation 6 (U: 80, E: 135)). The lowest application of *IFIDs* occurred in situation 5 (forgetting promise with son) which implies that use of explicit apologies in this situation is considered undesirable and inappropriate by the respondents of the study.

A kind of similar practice has been noticed during observations[2] too: many times it is observed that in the situations where some elder happens to be in a situation owing to acknowledge his / her mistake towards a kid, s/he prefers to kiss the kid, hug him/her or offer some sweets etc., in addition to saying some love rendering expressions like, my

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[2] - The data collection tool called 'observation' is discussed in detail in chapter 3: Methodology (sections, 3.3.1, 3.3.4 & 3.3.4.1). Data collected through observations is incorporated in analysis as and when required to support the claims. However, these observations are not numbered as they are incorporated. Detailed summary of all the observations is provided in appendix 2- attached in soft copy.

baby, my love, my darling etc., instead of literally apologizing. When discussed, the respondents express their perception of *IFIDs* as face threatening in some situations on the one hand, and less effective and insufficient in others. Their application is assumed face threatening especially for seniors and elders, so they rarely apologize; and even are not supposed to apologize in the society under consideration. As says one of the respondent in his interview, "Yup, one should apologize for mistake but to apologize explicitly suggests that one is not capable of fulfilling his responsibilities....hmmm... so... so..... there comes a question about capability actually. One who accepts or acknowledges his responsibility for his failure, how could he be trusted for something important .... rrrr... thus it is better not to apologize explicitly and forcefully when you are enjoying a higher social status". Their perception of taking it face threatening is perhaps the reason of confining use of this strategy to official setting or merely to very severe accidents where it is used in combination with other strategies like *'explanation'* or *'offer of repair'* etc.

4.4.1.1- Structure of *IFIDs* in English and Urdu apologies

The first mega apology category called *'explicit apologies'* is realized in both the languages through application of *IFIDs* which contain fixed syntactic expressions like excuse, pardon apologise, and ashamed in English whereas in Urdu, *IFIDs* are manifested via a limited range of verbs e.g., *afsoos* (sorry, pardon, excuse), *ma'afi chahna* (apologise), *ma'af krna* (forgive), *shurminda hona* (embarrassed).

As far as use of sub- strategies of *IFIDs* is concerned, it is found (table, 4.2) that *request for forgiveness* has not been used in either of the languages whereas *offer of*

apology is the most commonly applied one in both English and Urdu data (Eng: 778, Urdu: 585). *Expression of regret* is also applied in both the languages (E: 361, U: 120) along with a newly found sub- strategy named *expression of embarrassment* (E: 160, U: 107). As far as missing of sub strategy called *request for forgiveness* from data collected in both the languages is concerned, its application is perceived as a more intense apology than *expression of regret* and *offer of apology* in the society under study. Thus, it is perceived a threat to cause face loss to the apologizer according to the interviewees as says one of the interviewees, "it questions credibility of the speaker and brings face loss in public eye". Hardly any example of extending this sub-strategy- *request for forgiveness*- could be found during observation as well. This can be due to high formality level which performative verbs like *ma 'afi chahna* (apologise) and *ma 'af krna* (forgive) bear or because of the great potential face loss encoded in them in Urdu language. Thus, the sub strategy *offer of an apology* is the most commonly used *IFID* in the data collected for this study, both in Urdu and English languages, which resembles to the findings of Thijittang (2010) who asserts that native speakers of English prefer using one of the apology routines such as sorry, excuse me and pardon me; and Shariati and Chamani (2010) who reported it as the most frequent strategy in Persian.

An analysis of English *IFIDs* expressions demonstrates that majority of them are different forms of 'sorry' which are applied in different contexts. And, there is no example of application of an *IFID* in isolation; but in combination with different other strategies which goes in line with Owen (1983: p.[86]) who asserts that in many cases the mere expression '*sorry*' may not fulfil purpose of genuine apology and Olshtain & Cohen's (1989: p.[53]) assertion, "I'm sorry' might be viewed as less sufficient to express apology".

Although the sub - strategy *expression of regret* is a repository of various linguistic expressions that could interchangeably be used to make explicit apologies does not amend the real offence. Rather, it merely mirrors offender's regret for the offence without carrying any remedial function. This might be the reason that it never appeared alone in the data but along with one or more of the other apology expressions especially with *offer of compensation*. The reason behind its high ratio in the responses than *request for forgiveness* might be that it is perceived less face threatening than the other *IFIDs*, according to the interviewees. For instance, one of the respondents said in his interview, "Yes... one should have a regret for wrong doing. To say sorry is never enough... hmmmm... but, it is more important to show concern for the sufferer... hmmm, expression of regret or things like showing concern for the hearer can do magic in soothing the anger of the disturbed party without damaging save of the apologizers". High application of this sub-strategy - *expression of regret* - is similar to the findings of many other researchers like Owen, 1983; Blum_Kalka and Olshtain, 1984; Holmes, 1990; Deutschmann, 2003; and, Mattson and Johnstone, 1994. During interviews (appendix 3) majority of the respondents have opined, regarding this sub- strategy, that it is less face threatening for the apologizer than *request for forgiveness* or any other *IFIDs*.

For apologizing, the respondents have also employed sub-formula called *expressing embarrassment* in data collected through observations and DCTs in both the languages. Its application might be linked to the fact that it renders not only confession of offence but is less likely than any other strategy / sub strategy to yield apologizers' positive face loss. An interesting point to note about this sub-strategy is that in most of the cases it is accompanied with swearing to God (both in field data and DCTs) to intensify apology

and make the recipient believe the statement. While discussing apology strategies of Persian speakers, Shariati and Chamani (2010: p.[22]) asserts that swearing, in that society "was used as a device to intensify apology. Thus, swearing has a genuine power to confirm the truth among interlocutors".

4.4.2- Taking on Responsibility

Second strategy under the umbrella of *explicit apologies* called *taking on responsibility* is usually applied when the apologizer accepts responsibility for the mistake or offence. He (the offender) affirms responsibility via applying any sub- formula of this strategy: *accepting the blame, expressing self-deficiency* or *justifying the hearer*. These sub- formulas are seen in the respective culture at different levels of acceptance of the mistake or responsibility of the harm caused to the apologizee. The selection of any one or more of these sub-formulas determines the responsibility level the apologizer intends to undertake. Following is a discussion in this regard:

4.2.2.1- Structure of '*Taking on responsibility*' in English and Urdu DCTs

This apology strategy has not at all been employed by the respondents while replying to Urdu DCT. On the contrary, in the responses yielded to English DCT it has been employed in various ways by resorting on its different sub-strategies. For example, *accepting blame* is the most employed sub-strategy in English data (n: 105= 4%) according to table, 4.2. By opting it the apologiser explicitly admits his / her fault. Whereas *expressing self-deficiency*

is the least used sub-strategy (3%) which the interviewees reckon as extremely face threatening for apologizer. According to many of them it is too difficult to face people in society after accepting the fault openly and unconditionally because it decreases the social position of the person in public eye and raises questions about his potential and abilities with regard to meeting social obligations. But, those who used it in English data support its application on the basis that it can help soothe the offended person as its application implies that the offender is trying to avoid conflict with him / her. An interesting point about its application in English data is that its maximum use has been made in formal situations except situation 6 (hitting a car) which implies that people are more careful and feel threatened toward their face in informal situations.

- That was utterly my fault. In fact, I don't know how to drive perfectly. -**English DCT**
  –Situation: 6 (appendix I)

As for as sub- formula *recognizing hearer as deserving apology* is concerned it has not found any place in the data collected through DCTs though it has been occasionally found in the data gathered through observations i.e, *haan tum theek keh rehy ho mein akser* late *ho jata houn* but *mera ger bee tu buoht door hy na*.[translation in English: yes, you are right but my house/ residence is quite far from here] . When interviewees are asked about this discrepancy, they hold the view that it becomes extremely face threatening for them- the apologizers- to apply it, as it implies that they are totally wrong and incapable of doing good. Saleem (2014) also reports none of the respondents using "recognizing H as deserving apology" among Pakistani EFL university students. Whereas 'expressing self-deficiency' has also appeared in his data in a very small ratio.

4.4.3- Offer of Repair

This strategy is presumed to be "situation specific and is often resorted to in situations when physical damage is involved" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), but in the present study it doesn't confine itself to any such condition. Data collected in both the languages demonstrate that the respondents have employed this semantic formula in all situations except few (3, 7, 11, and 12). Such a wide application of this strategy suggests that the term 'damage' in the society under consideration is not defined only in physical terms but psychological, financial and emotional damage (offences) are also included in that domain. It is found applied in many situations where there is no actual physical loss. As has been mentioned in chapter 3, situation 6 is included in DCTs to set up an appropriate context for *offer of repair* strategy where the loss is severe which is also expected to warrant more offers of repair. This situation, no doubt, has received quite a big number of this strategy (Eng: 154 & Urdu: 200) but there are many other situations which have earned even bigger amount of this strategy though no physical loss or damage is involved there e.g., situation 8 (Eng: 160 & Urdu: 159). To substantiate this point use of this strategy in situations 2, 8 and 10 can also be considered which involve no physical injury or loss and there seems no apparent reason for compensation but respondents offered compensation or repair while apologizing in both the languages. This strategy appears in data (both the languages) with varying values ranging from n=0 to n= 181 in English and from n=0 (situations: 3,7,11 & 12) to n=200 (situation 6), in Urdu data which imply existence of no relationship between the severity of the offence and occurrence of *offer of compensation or repair* strategy. Some of the examples of this strategy among the DCTs data are as follows:

- 1 have a free period at 10'o clock, so I can go home to bring your book sir.
  - **English DCT – Situation, 2 (appendix 1)**

- Sorry, I could not come to see you. I am really embarrassed for that, please take money and buy some fruits for you. **English DCT - Situation, 8(appendix 1)**

- *Ohho, maira chota sa baita, perishan nah ho, mei bohat musroof tha is liay a᷄p kay liay a᷄pka favourite chocolate laya hu᷄n.* (**English Translation-** Ohho my little son, don't worry I was busy, so I have brought your favourite chocolate for you). **Urdu DCT – situation, 5 (appendix 1)**

4.4.4-Promise of Forbearance

This apology semantic formula, like others, is applied to redress the offended party's negative face and to save the apologiser's positive face. It embeds assurance not to repeat such an offence in future so is presumed to have strong soothing effect and healing impact on the apologizee. This strategy, too, has got a low occurrence in both the languages (Eng: n =118, Urdu: n= 328) and is not employed across all the situations which resembles Afghari's findings (2007), according to which *promise of forbearance* is rarely applied by Persian speakers and Thijittang (2010) who discovered same for Thai speakers. In the current study situation 3 has triggered the most frequent use of this strategy in both the languages (Urdu: 192 & English: 91). It might be related to the supposition that the employees will have frequent meetings with their boss and are less bothered and conscious about their face in official or formal settings whereas, there is not even a single instance of using this strategy with strangers. Use of this strategy is frequently observed in formal conversational settings during observations too.

- I will not do so again, promise. - **English DCT, Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

- I won't be late next time. - **English DCT, Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

- I will be more careful next time, sir. - **English DCT, Situation 2 (appendix 1)**

- *Sorry sir, ainda aysa nuhin ho ga.* (**English Translation-** Sorry sir, it will not happen again). - **Urdu DCT, Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

An interesting point about use of this strategy is that it has not been used in informal situations.

To conclude, it can be said on the basis of discussion made above that though *explicit apologies – first mega apology category* has appeared as less used mega category in data collected in both the languages, *IFID*s stand out as the most often used strategy in English language data. This finding correspond to many previous studies, which find out that apologies given are mostly direct making *IFID* the most frequently applied strategy in various languages e.g., in Persian (Shariati and Chamani, 2010; Chamani and Zareipur, 2010); in Russian (Ogiermann,2008); in American English (Banikalef and Marlyna,2013); Norwegian (Awedyk, 2011) and Romanian (Demeter, 2006) etc., (Barnlund & Yoshioka, 1990; Nagano, 1985; Taguchi, 1991; Shariati and Chamani 2010; Oriermann, 2008). *Offer of compensation* has emerged as second most favoured strategy in English DCT. While, analysis of data collected in Urdu language brings out *explanation* as top most preferred apology strategy and *offer of compensation* as second highly preferred strategy for apologizing. This finding corresponds to Afghari (2007) who asserts that '*accounts/ explanations*' and '*reparation*' are the most common strategies among Persian speakers and Suszczyńska (1999) who discovered the same for Hungarian speakers. Strategy *taking on responsibility* has not been used even in a single response in Urdu DCT.

An analysis at macro level brings out some interesting points to be noted. The application of strategies subsumed under mega apology category called '*explicit apologies*' convey an idea about overall aptitude and preferences of the society under consideration. It is important to note that all the explicit apologies made maximum application in formal situations both in the data collected through observations and DCTs, whereas the interviewees also categorized them as more face threatening in informal routine interaction. Thus, it might be calculated that Kashmiri speakers (regardless of the language they use) feel it unnecessary and face threatening to apologize explicitly particularly in informal situations which corresponds to Sori, Yallah (2014): p.[10]) who discussing about apology strategies of Saudi speakers states, "they do not like to apologize outright; consequently, they avoid using terms such as apologize". For the current work, it might be because of the social traditions of this particular society according to which it is deemed less pertinent to explicitly apologize, but more important is to care for each other which is evident from the frequent use of rest of the apology strategies e.g., *concern for the hearer* and many others included under the mega apology categories called *implicit apologies* and *apologies as communication management devices (CMDs)* to be addressed in detail in next chapters.

The high application rate of the apology semantic formula *offer of repair* in data collected in both the languages suggests that the respondents of the study are very conscious about saving face of the offended ones. Following are some very interesting examples of application of this strategy in English DCT:

- Sorry uncle, I was standing, and you should not have jumped into this little place. Anyhow, please take my seat. - **English DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

- Ohhh, sorry uncle I could not come to hospital. Please take this money and buy some food item for you. - **English DCT, Situation 8 (appendix 1)**

- Are you ok? You just suddenly came into my way ... Please take my seat *baba gee* and let me move to some other place. - **English DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

- I am sorry sir for being late. In fact, I was informed about date but about the exact time. - **English DCT, Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

It is quite visible from the above examples that sometimes the respondents forward explicit apologies even in the cases where they believe they are not responsible for any inconvenience or trouble. But, similarly in many examples they apologized explicitly followed by an attempt either to deny obligation or blaming the offended one. So, it can be inferred that in both the cases the purpose is to maintain their image in front of others - thus transforming apologies into a self-image elevator. Such incidents have also been encountered many times during observations when the apologizers are found apologizing unwillingly due to not being on fault but because they are required not to offend somebody because of merely just good relationship (friendship) between the parents of the two parties or due to ones being a part of some noble family. This consideration and importance given to one's face corresponds to Reiter's (2000) findings about British speakers of English and to what Nwoye (1992) calls group face, or Akan speakers' desire to save the face of the entire ethnic group as Obeng (1999) has revealed.

4.5-Apologies and Sociocultural Factors in Kashmir

Sociocultural variables such as social status, social distance, formality level and severity of offence have been described as influential factors to characterize expressions in

different languages. However, the relative importance different languages and societies ascribe to each variable differs from one another. For example, in Kashmir variables called social status and formality level of conversational setting seem more influential. In everyday dealings it is preferred to know personal references so that suitable pronouns and forms of address can be selected during conversation. A change of social stratification necessarily obligates Kashmiri speakers to reconsider and modify their choice of lexical expressions to fulfil requirements of politeness.

In Kashmir, Urdu is national language while English and Urdu both enjoy status of official languages. Concerning use of English over there it is more likely that speakers may transfer their pragmatic norms of Urdu to it because though second official language, at societal level it becomes third language of majority of the speakers which may cause lack of mastery in it resulting in communication breakdown or misunderstanding. So, it may be interesting to find out how people apologize in accordance with changing languages and sociolinguistic factors. A detailed discussion regarding above mentioned factors is as under:

4.5.1-Social Status and Apologies

According to many researchers, role of social status during communication process depends on the ability of the participants to recognize each other's social position (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995; Leech, 1983). In the current research study, respondents have been supplied with different apology eliciting situations (appendix 1) having participants owing different social status i.e., high, low and equal (table, 3.1). The speakers

in the role of a university professor (situation 01), a father (situation 5), a boss (situation 8) head of a department in a university (situation 11), and a manager (situation 14) are constructed having higher status than the hearers either on the basis of age, family relation, or professional status. On the other hand, the speaker in the roles of a student (situation 2), an employee (situation 03), a younger brother (situation 7), waiter (situation 9) and a visitor (situation 15) are in a lower status. Social status between speakers of situations 04 (friends), 06 &, 10 (strangers), 11 & 12 (colleagues) are assumed to be of equal social status. The society under discussion, (Azad Kashmir) is very collective and connected in its structure. People generally know each other, and individuals' social status play very significant role in everyday conversation and dealing. Consequently, in the situations where apologies become desirable the speakers, both in private and professional dealings, render sensitivity towards hearers' social status. For example, sometimes a Kashmiri speaker can even apologize to an elderly relative or person to avoid his anger though he might not have committed any offence. The same happens in official life, too, where employees can be seen apologizing without committing any mistake. Whether private or official it all happens out of respect for seniors (both in age and seniority). On the other hand, elders and seniors besides doing something wrong rarely apologize. Thus, it can be said that in this society social status is a determinant factor about whether to apologize or not; and how to apologize. In general, during observations it has been noticed that for apologizing to a person owing higher social status, apology strategies having more polite and formal expressions are used and in the cases where apologizer owes a social status higher than the apologizee, simple forms of apology i.e., indirect in nature are used or just something is

said or done (e.g., smile, laughter or simply shoulder is pressed etc.) instead of apologizing explicitly or directly to mitigate the effect of the offence.

4.5.1.1- Effect of social status on *explicit apologies*- first mega apology category

This section deals with effects of social status on application of one of the three mega apology categories called '*explicit apologies*' (section, 3.6.1 & figure, 3.2). In table 4.3, a detail of frequency distribution of apology strategies encompassing this mega apology category with reference to social status is given.

Table 4.3. *Frequency and percentage value of explicit apology strategies with eference to Different Social Groups (higher, equal & lower) -Social status factor.*

apology Strategies	Higher (apologizers owe higher social status)		Equal (apologizer and apologizee owe equal status)		Lower (apologizers owe lower social status)		Total number of apologies	
1- IFIDs	Eng: %	Urdu: %	Eng: %	Urdu: %	Eng: %	Urdu: %	Eng: %	Urdu: %
A-Offer of apology (Sorry,afraid, excuse me, pardon).	175 25.2%	117 16%	245 32.7%	140 26.8%	358 28%	328 27.5%	778 29.6%	585 24.1%
B-Expressing regret	0 0%	24 3.2%	134 18%	0 0%	227 17.6%	96 8.05%	361 15.4%	120 2.4%
C-Request of forgiveness	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
D-Expression of embarrassment	61 9%	0 0%	0 0%	11 2.1%	99 7.7%	96 8.05%	160 2.5%	107 6.8%
Sub total	236 34%	141 19.3%	379 50.6%	151 29%	684 53.2%	520 43.6%	1299 47.6%	812 33.3%
2-Taking on responsibility	E: %	U: %	E: %	U: %	E: %	U: %	E: %	U: %
A-Accepting blame	0 0%	0 0%	25 3.3%	0 0%	80 6.2%	0 0%	105 3.8%	0 0 %
B-Expressing self-deficiency	0 0%	0 0%	16 2.1%	0 0%	60 4.6%	0 0%	76 2.7%	0 0%
C-Acknowledging hearer deserving apology	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Sub- total	0 0%	0 0%	41 5.4%	0 0%	140 11.0%	0 0%	181 6.6%	0 0%
3- Offer of Compensation	E %	U %	E %	U %	E %	U %	E	U 0%
	458 66%	587 80.6%	327 43.6%	370 71%	345 27%	341 28.6%	1130 41.4%	1298 53.2%
4-Promise of Forbearance	E:	U:	E:	U:	E: %	U: %	E: %	U: %
	0	0	2 .26%	0 0%	116 9.0%	328 27.5%	118 4.3%	328 13.4%
Total	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 694 \\ = \\ 25.4\% \end{array}\right\}100$	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 728 \\ = \\ 29.8\% \end{array}\right\}100$	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 749 \\ = \\ 27.4\% \end{array}\right\}100$	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 521 \\ = \\ 21.3\% \end{array}\right\}100$	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 1285 \\ = \\ 47\% \end{array}\right\}100$	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 1189 \\ = \\ 48.7\% \end{array}\right\}100$	2728	2438

As shown in table 4.3, the participants have been divided into three groups i.e., the one in which the apologizers are of lower status is called lower, second group, in which recipients are of equal social status to that of the apologizers is called equals or equal and third group containing apologizers owing higher social status is called higher. The analysis of data reveals that in English DCT data *IFID* is the most frequently applied explicit apology strategy (48%) while in Urdu data it turns out to have been the second most frequently applied explicit apology strategy (33.3%). The highest application of this strategy has appeared in the cases of apologizers with low social status (E: 53%, U 44%), and it has touched the least level of application i.e. E: 34%, U: 19.3% in the situations having apologizers with high social status than that of apologizee. An interviewee while discussing general pologetic attitude said, "I always apply apology strategies to match according to status of the apologizee... Hrrrr... I mean I become more formal and explicit in my apologetic expressions when I owe it to someone having higher status in society with respect to age or social position. ... and ... if I have to apologize to a friend I may not apologize at all or would use just few simple expressions to make him feel that I have a concern for his trouble. As for as those who have a lower status are concerned, I will avoid apologizing explicitly or directly..... yes... rather I will try to make them happy through some other ways... hmmm.... like a smile in formal setting or a laughter, a hug or by applying some other loving expressions in informal setting". Further analysis shows application of sub strategies in both the languages also exhibit a variation across different social status. While applying *IFIDs, request for forgiveness* sub- strategy is totally absent from the data collected in both the languages (English and Urdu). Observation data doesn't support this finding because during observation the apologizers belonging to all the three

social status groups have occasionally been found requesting for forgiveness which is totally absent from DCT data. During interview, the respondents have ascribed absence of this sub-strategy from their apologies to its highly face threatening nature as says one of them, "I personally avoid using, *request for forgiveness* strategy as it makes me feel low.... I mean it seems to more face threatening than any other expression".

The second sub-strategy of *IFIDs* which is found present in both the languages across speakers of all the three-social status is *expressing regret*. In lower and equal status, Kashmiri speakers use comparatively higher proportion of this semantic formula in case of English DCT i.e., 18% each while higher status speakers did not use this sub- strategy at all. Whereas in Urdu data it did not appear at all in the cases of equals and got highest value in case of lower group i.e. 8%. On the whole, higher status holders avoid using explicit apologetic expressions, for example, the following responses provided to situation 01 (a professor gets late to return assignments of students) are without any explicit expression of apology.

- I had a meeting yesterday, so I couldn't mark your assignment. Why don't you come tomorrow? - **English DCT, Situation 1(appendix 1)**

- I was busy, so I couldn't check your assignments. Come back tomorrow at this time. - **English DCT, Situation 1 (appendix 1)**

- I haven't seen them yet. Let me return them by tomorrow. - **English DCT, Situation 1 (appendix 1)**

- I didn't have time. I'll try to return soon. - **English DCT, Situation 1 (appendix 1)**

In the above examples where the apologizers are in a higher status than the apologizee, they avoid using explicit expression for apologizing. It might be because of the speakers being conscious about their face value and social status as university professor.

Apologizing to the students might be a serious threat to their social esteem, so they prefer not to use explicit expressions of apology. Similarly, this mega apology category has rarely been applied in other situations, too, with apologizers having high status (table 4.2) e.g., situation 11 where apologizer is head of a department, owing high social status and the offence has been marked severe (E: 43 & U: 23) and, situation no 5, where the apologizer is a father (E: 153 U: 196). In traditional Kashmiri society parents are not supposed or expected to apologize even in the case of extremely sever incidents rather children are generally accused for being a reason of their annoyance. Those few who happened to apologize in this particular situation hold the view that their apology does not spring out of the intention to accept their mistake and apologize for that rather it is to teach this attitude to their children so that they can learn to accept their mistakes and apologize from others if somebody gets annoyed to them. The most commonly used *IFID* in both the languages (English & Urdu) is *offer of an apology* with the value E: 808 and Urdu: 585. Like all other *IFIDs* it is heavily relied upon by the speakers of low and equal social status holders in both the languages i.e. highest level of its application in English E: (33%) is found in speakers of equal group while highest level of it in Urdu (27.5% & 27%) is found in the speakers of lowers and equal groups respectively. Contrary to it, it is least applied by those having higher social status than the apologizee (E: 25%, U: 16%). During observations, application of this sub-strategy in the cases of minor offences is repeatedly observed whereas in serious confrontations it is rarely used. When discussed during interviews, the respondents have categorized this sub- strategy - *offer of apology* - as least effective and more casual in nature. They have also marked it as severely face threatening in nature. So,

the least application of this strategy by the speakers of high social status can be ascribed to its face threatening nature.

Application of the strategy called *taking on responsibility* (3.6.1) has yielded very interesting findings about its application: in English data (collected through DCTs) its application is very low and restricted to formal settings only while in Urdu data it has not been used even a single time in any of the given situations. When this point is discussed with interviewees, one of them said, "application of this strategy renders personality weaknesses so is perceived highly face threatening in our society". According to him, its severity even multiplies when used in Urdu language (due to nature of expressions like *yeh meri galti hei* or *muj sy galti ho gei*)". In English, it has just appeared in the cases where either damage is severe as in situation 6 (informal situation) or the apologizee is higher in status than the apologizer and is enjoying official or formal setting (situations 2 & 3) which has less face threatening potential. Out of limited application of this strategy its maximum use has been noted in situation 2 where the apologizer is a student and apologizee is a university teacher, while it has reached the lowest application level in situation 3 (reaching late to a meeting with boss) & situation 6 (breaking down of a car). Rest of the situations, having apologizers of equal or lower social status don't come up with application of this strategy even in English language data. Thus, the analysis delineates that this strategy is only used by the speakers of lower (n=140) and equal status (n= 41) whereas the third group containing speakers of high social status does not use it at all. Regarding sub-strategies of this particular semantic formula, majority of the speakers of both the groups - lower (n=80) and equal status (n=25) - favoured *accepting the blame*. Some opted the

second sub- strategy *expressing self-deficiency* (low: 60, equal:16) while third sub- strategy called *recognizing hearer (H) as deserving apology* is totally absent from current data.

The next apology strategy under the umbrella of mega apology category called *explicit apologies* (3.6.1) called *offer of compensation* is the most preferred strategy in data collected through DCTs in Urdu language and second main strategy in English data (table, 4.1). It is used mostly by the apologizers of high status in both the languages (E: 66.1%, U: 81%) and is least used by those of lower status in English data (E: 27%, U: 29%).The high frequency of this strategy among the speakers of high social status might be due to the assumption that the society under study holds about ' generous - the giving attitude', according to which those who lend help to others, either financial or physical, are considered people of high morale and values; and thus are showered profound respect and gratitude. So, in the current data maximum of the speakers of high status used this strategy to safeguard their positive face value. Thijittang (2000) points out a similar sort of attitude among Thai speakers belonging to higher social status who often prefer not to offer an explicit expression of apology but as an alternate they use *explanation* and/or *offering repair* strategy.

Promise of forbearance is second least favoured apology semantic formula in the data collected in both the languages (E: 4.3%, U: 13.4%). This strategy is most frequently used by the members of lower group (E: 9.2%, U: 27.5%) and is also used between those of status equals only in English data (E: .26%) while speakers with high social position have not used it in either of the languages. This finding is inline with results of Thijittang (2000: p.145) who states that *promise of forbearance* strategy was used "the most by speakers of lower position and between those of status equals". From this tendency of

application, it might be inferred that apologizers belonging to lower social status who have committed some offence to the apologizee of higher status yield to choose this strategy in order to redress the seriousness of offence and reduce annoyance of the offended one. Contrary to it, the speakers with high social status do not opt it at all which might be because of compromising and meek nature and impact of this strategy. The interview data also support it, according to some respondents generally, those in higher status are not expected to overtly apologize in society. In other words, the interlocutors perceive offenses by speakers having low social status or equal social status as more serious than those by speakers owing high status. Also, application of this strategy has been restricted to a particular type of situation i.e., formal in nature with apologizers of lower or equal social status. Following are the examples:

- Sorry for being late. I was informed well before time about the meeting but got stuck in some personal assignment. It would not happen again. - **English DCT – Situation: 3 (appendix 1)**

- Sorry sir, please forgive me. I will be careful again. - **English DCT –Situation 2 (appendix 1)**

- Ohhooo, I just forgot about it. Be assured, it would not happen again. - **English DCT , Situation 13 (appendix 1)**

- *Hmm, sorry, acinda esa nuhein ho ga.* **(English translation:** sorry, it will not happen again) **Urdu DCT, Situation 3 (Appendix 1)**

- Sorry sir, *mein a pki* book *lana bhool gia. Mein i s key live bht sharminda houn, acinda esa nein ho ga.* (English translation: Sorry sir, I forgot to bring your book. I am really ashamed of it. It would not happen again). **Urdu DCT, Situation 2 (Appendix 1)**

- **Sir,** *mein* busy *tha tu mjy khyal nein raha. Aenida khyal rakhoun ga.* **(English translation:** Sir, I was busy, so I forgot. Next time I will be careful) **Urdu DCT, Situation 13 (Appendix 1)**

From table 4.3, it can be deduced that most apologies by employing *explicit apologies* - first mega apology category are made by apologizers with lower social status (E: 1285, U: 1189) which is contrary to Holmes's (1995) finding that apologies most commonly happen among the interlocutors of status equals who rarely remain much afraid about the potential loss or saving of their positive face among their particular circle. The finding about the lowest apology rate by speakers of high social status goes in line with Brown and Levinson's notion that those who enjoy higher status perceive apology making a more serious face threatening act to their negative face needs than those in status equals and lower position do, so they are less inclined to apologize. According to Holmes (1995), too, people with high social status are more likely to receive courteous behaviour including linguistic deference and negative politeness.

4.3.2- Effect of Social Distance on *Explicit Apologies*

According to many linguists social distance is one of those factors that determine politeness behaviour of interact-ants towards each other (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983). The view of social distance refers to different roles people take in relation to each another in a certain situation; and the degree of intimacy between them which means how closely they know each other (Brown & Levinson, 1987: p.[126]).

In the current study social distance is taken to illustrate level of understanding and closeness among the respondents. The respondents are provided with DCTs containing situations having people belonging to three different groups namely: close, acquaintance or neutral and distant. First group called close consists of closely intimate friends or people who know each other well. The second group called neutral or acquaintance consists of acquaintances or people who know each other but not very deeply. And, the third group called distant consists of strangers who do not know each other. Based on table 3.1, an employee and a boss who are real brothers (situation 3) two friends (situation 4), a father and son (situation 5), two brothers (situation 7) and a manager and subordinate who are best friends (situation 14) are the people who know each other well or are close intimates (close social distance). A university professor and his students (situation 1), a student and university teacher (situation 2), head of department and a junior lecturer (situation 11), two colleagues/MDs of two different departments (situation 13) are acquaintances or those who know each other but not very closely (neutral social distance); and the third group –distant or unfamiliar people- are represented as speaker and driver of a car (situation 6), a boss and employee's father (situation 8), customer and waiter (situation 11), speaker and passenger (situation 10), a visitor and officer (situation 15). These are the characters who have been taken as individuals who do not know each other well or are unfamiliar (distant social distance).

This section deals with effects of social status on application of one of the three mega apology categories called *explicit apologies* (section, 3.6.1& figure, 3.2). In table: 4.4, a detail of frequency distribution of apology strategies encompassing this mega apology categorywith reference to social distance is given.

Table 4.4. *Explicit apology strategies interacting with social distance*

apology Strategies	Close E:	%	U:	%	Neutral E:	%	U	%	Distant E	%	U	%	Total E:	%	U:	%
1- IFIDs a-Offer of apology (Sorry, afraid, excuse me, pardon)	200	30.3%	187	29%	273	29.5%	201	27%	305	33.6%	197	19.4%	778	32.1%	585	23.9%
b-Expressing regret	104	15.7%	50	7.7%	163	17.6%	35	4.7%	94	13.3%	35	3.4%	361	15.4%	120	5.7%
c-Request of forgiveness	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
d-Expression of embarrassment	29	4.4%	0	0%	0	0%	55	7.4%	131	0%	52	5.1%	160	0%	107	3.04%
Sub total	333	50.5%	237	36.6%	436	47.1%	2913	9.2%	530	46.3%	284	28%	1299	47.6%	812	33.6%
2- Taking on responsibility a-Accepting blame	20	3.0%	0	0%	81	8.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	101	3.7%	0	0%
b-Expressing self-deficiency	0	0%	0	0%	60	6.4%	0	0%	20	1.7%	0	0%	80	2.9%	0	0%
c-Acknowledging H deserving apology	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sub-total	20	3.0%	0	0%	141	15.2%	0	0%	20	1.7%	0	0%	181	6.6%	0	0%
3- Offer of Compensation	215	32.6%	253	39.1%	321	34.7%	315	42.4%	594	52%	730	72%	1130	41.4%	1298	53.2%
4-Promise of Forbearance	91	13.8%	192	29.6%	27	3.0%	136	18.3%	0	0%	0	0%	118	4.3%	328	13.4%
Total	$\left(\frac{659}{24\%}\right)$=100		$\left(\frac{682}{28\%}\right)$=100		$\left(\frac{925}{34\%}\right)$=100		$\left(\frac{742}{30.4\%}\right)$=100		$\left(\frac{1144}{42\%}\right)$=100		$\left(\frac{1014}{41.5\%}\right)$=100		2728	100%	2438	100%

With regard to application of strategies encompassing this mega apology category called *explicit apologies* (3.6.1) in relation to social distance variable it is found that maximum apologies are exchanged among the distant interlocutors called- the strangers- in both the languages i.e., English (42.4%) & Urdu (41.5%) while the least apologies are made by the close group of interlocutors (English: 24% & Urdu: 27%), and the number of apologies occurred among the acquaintances is: 34% and 30% in English and Urdu DCTs respectively. It indicates that majority of apologies by Kashmiri speakers are conditioned to increased social distance (among the strangers). The finding confirms Brown and

Levinson's (1987) hypothesis that there exists a direct relationship between social distance and degree of deference which means an increase in social distance (strangers) requires exhibiting more respect (by making apologies) while reduction or decrease in social distance doesn't call for production of such speech acts. This finding is also in line with Intachakra's findings (2001) according to which the highest number of apologies were exchanged among strangers.

Further, a detailed analysis of table 4.4 delineates that in English data *IFIDs* hav eappeared as the most recurring strategy (48%) and in Urdu data it has emerged as the second largely applied strategy (33.3%) employed by Kashmiri speakers. In English data only two i.e., *offer of apology* and *expression of regret* out of four sub - strategies of this semantic formula are used by the respondents while in Urdu data, in addition to these two sub strategies *expression of embarrassment* (2.54%) has also been found. The fourth sub strategy *request for forgiveness* is not used in either of the languages. Talking about reason for not using this sub- strategy, majority of the interviewees have marked it too face threatening to be used. For apologizing in Urdu, *offer of compensation* is top most used strategy which makes 53% of total amount of mega apology category called *explicit apologies* while it is second most favoured strategy (41.4%) in English data as well. This strategy is mostly used in the case of strangers or distant interlocutors in both the languages (Eng: 52%, Urdu: 72%) while lowest use of this strategy has been observed in case of close or intimate speakers while apologizing in both the languages i.e., English (32%) and Urdu (39%). It clearly denotes that application of this strategy depends directly on social distance factor between interlocutors which is clearly high in the cases of distant and acquaintances as compared to the close one. The more distant the speakers are the more frequent use of

this strategy is made. As if some offence occurs in case of distant interlocutors, because of non-intimate relationship people are left with no choice except offering compensation to satisfy the offended party. On the other hand, the closer the interlocutors are the less use of this strategy is made owing the reason that in the case of intimates even a smile or laughter can make up the loss as is observed during observations, and says Holmes (1990: p.[187]), "intimacy evidently permits shortcuts and substitutions."

Analysis of third strategy under the umbrella of *explicit apologies* called *taking on responsibility* brings out a very interesting point about its application: in English data it is used with a very small ratio (6.6%) while in Urdu data it has not been used even once. Its maximum use (15.22%) has been made in the case of apologizing to acquaintances and, that too in the cases of formal interactions (table 4.4) which dictates that in personal or private life the population of this research study doesn't opt this strategy. Deutschmann (2003: p.[87]) also finds about British speakers that in their apologies "explicitly *taking on responsibility* for an offence by accepting the blame was relatively rare."

Among its sub strategies, *accepting blame* has been used more than other sub strategies whereas *acknowledging hearer deserving apology* is not used at all by members of any of the three groups. Total absence of this sub- strategy from the data corresponds to the findings of Thijittang (2010) and Intachakra (2001) who explored absence of this particular sub-strategy in their works on Thai EFL speakers of English.

Table 4.4 further reveals that forth strategy called *promise of forbearance* placed under mega apology category called *explicit apologies* is the least used strategy in both the languages. Rare application of this strategy is also reported by Afghari (2007) in the apologies made by Persian speakers. The table (4.4) gives following detail of distribution

of this strategy among three groups: 14% in English and 27% in Urdu is the highest number of this strategy used among the interlocutors of close group while in distant group or strangers it is not used at all in any of the languages under discussion. It might be because the distant or none familiar interactants are rarely supposed to meet again in life in the same situation whereas the members of first group called close are believed to meet repeatedly so situations and incidents may repeat. A look at the table helps conceive an impression that high rate of this strategy in close group might be a result of some official or formal situations in which the apologizers belonging to this very group have low social status than the apologizee, so they are required to apply this strategy otherwise its application in private life is totally absent from the data. Following is example (situation 3) of close group interacting in formal situation:

- Last night I slept quite late so could not get up early and missed the bus. I will be careful next time". **EnglishDCT, Situation 3(appendix 1)**

- *Mairi sehat khra̅b hy...* I am really sorry. (**English Translation**: I am not feeling good. I am really sorry). **Urdu DCT, Situation 3,(appendix 1)**

While in the following example, the participants (owing close/ intimate relationsh as it is in situation 3) are interacting in informal situation:

- The traffic was bad so I'm late. How about your journey. **English DCT- Situation 7 (appendix 1)**

- *Mai kuch* late *ho gia. Kheir a̅p hataein a̅p ka safar kesa raha.* (**English translation:** I got a bit late. Leave that, tell me how was your journey). **Urdu DCT- Situation 7 (appendix 1B)**

In sum, in both the languages social distance affects not only application of *explicit apologies* as a whole but its constituent units, called strategies and sub-strategies have also shown differences in their application with respect to this factor.

4.5.3 - Effect of Severity of Offence on application of *Explicit Apologies*

Severity of offense is considered among those factors which influence application of speech act of apology. In the current study this factor is classified in two categories: severe and not-severe. The first category called severe, encompasses situation 3 (employee gets late for meeting with boss), situation 6 (hitting a car and breaking its door), situation 10 (bumping into a passenger and hurting his toe), situation 11 (head of a department forgets to inform junior employee about meeting with Dean), situation 13 (An MD forgets official meeting with MD of another department), situation 14 (manager keeps his subordinate waiting for long), and situation 15 (a visitor drops water on an officer's table) while situation 01 (professor does not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgets to bring teacher's book back), situation 4 (speaker forgets meeting with a friend), situation 5 (father forgets to take his son for shopping), situation 7 (speaker reaches late to receive his elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee's father in the hospital), situation 9 (waiter presents wrong meal to the customer) and; situation 12 (a colleague interprets your comments wrongly) are included in 'not severe' situations. This section deals with effects of severity of offence on application of mega apology category called *explicit apologies* (section, 3.6.1 & figure, 3.2). In table: 4.5,

a detail of frequency distribution of apology strategies encompassing this mega apology category with reference to the factor- severity of offence is given.

Table 4.5. *Frequency of explicit apology strategies and severity of offense factor*

apology Strategies	Severe				Not Severe				Total			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1-IFIDs	Eng.	%	Urdu:	%	Eng.	%	Urdu:	%	Eng:	%	Urdu:	%
a-Offer of apology (Sorry ,afraid, excuse me, pardon)	500	36.8 %	380	31.3%	278	20.2%	205	16.72%	778	28.51%	585	24%
b-Expressing regret	218	16 %	61	5%	143	10.4%	59	4.81%	361	13.23%	120	5%
c-Request of forgiveness	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
d-Expression of embarrassment	70	5.1%	52	4.2%	90	6.5%	55	4.48%	160	5.86%	107	4.38%
Sub total	788	58%	493	40.6%	511	37.2%	319	26%	1299	47.61%	812	33.38%
2- Taking on responsibility e-Accepting blame	40	3%	0	0%	81	6%	0	0%	105	3.84%	0	0%
f-Expressing self-deficiency	0	0%	0	0%	60	4.3%	0	0%	76	2.78%	0	0%
g-Acknowledging hearer deserving apology	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sub- total	40	3 %	0	0%	141	10.2%	0	0%	181	6.63%	0	0%
3- Offer of compensation	437	32.1%	527	43.4%	693	50.5%	771	63.00%	1130	41.42%	1298	53%
4-Promise of forbearance	93	6.8%	192	15.8%	25	1.8%	136	11.09%	118	4.32%	328	13.45%
Total	$\begin{Bmatrix}1358\\=\\49.7\%\end{Bmatrix}$100		$\begin{Bmatrix}1212\\=\\49.71\%\end{Bmatrix}$100		$\begin{Bmatrix}1370\\=\\50.2\%\end{Bmatrix}$100		$\begin{Bmatrix}1226\\=\\50.28\%\end{Bmatrix}$100		2728	100	2438	100

An over view of table 4.5 in context of severity of offence factor delineates that in total there is some difference in application of *explicit apologies* in both the languages (English: 2728, Urdu: 2438). A look at macro level shows that the factor i.e., severity of offence, has least influence on the way speakers apologize to the offended ones by using *explicit expressions* but at micro level there are many differences regarding application of strategies and sub – strategies assembled under this mega apology category. In the data collected for

English DCT, the respondents have applied highest number of *IFIDs* in the cases of offences categorized as severe as compared to not severe offences i.e., 57.81%, 37.43% respectively. Similarly, in Urdu data (DCT), too, incidents marked as sever earned more *IFIDs* as compared to not sever marked incidents i.e., 41% and 26% respectively. It shows a direct relationship in application of *IFIDs* (in both the languages) and severity of offence. Observation data, on the other hand doesn't support this finding fully. As application of *IFIDs* has got a strange diversity in the society under study as they are used either in the case of extremely serious offences or in cases of offences of extremely trivial nature along with some other apology strategy e.g., *explanation*. In the collected data, another important point is restriction of application of *IFIDs* mainly to the formal situations, in both the languages.

Offer of compensation highest used strategy in Urdu DCT data and second most used strategy in English DCT data too, has been used without any reference to the severity of the offence. Its application ranges from the situations labelled sever e.g. situation umbers: 3, 6, 10 etc., to the situations marked as not severe e.g., situation numbers: 1, 2, 8 etc. Few examples of its application in both the cases are as under:

In Case of Not Severe Offences

- I couldn't check term paper. I will do it tomorrow. **English DCT, Situation 1 (appendix 1)**

- Sorry sir, I forgot to bring your book. Should I go and bring it during break. - **English DCT - Situation 2 (appendix 1)**

- I got late to see you. Please take this money and buy some fruit for you. - **English DCT, Situation 8 (appendix 1)**

- Sorry my son but look I have brought chocolate for you. - **English DCT, Situation 4**

  (appendix 1)

- Manage the work now and next time you will be given full time to enjoy. I will do

  next assignment, my dear friend. - **English DCT, Situation 4 (appendix 1)**

- Please *Tum* assignment *kr do na, phir tumein* grand *refreshment kurwai jay ge* (

  English translation: Please do this assignment then you will be served grand

  refreshment) **Urdu DCT, Situation 4 (appendix 1)**

- Ohho, *mera piyara beita, meri jan mein bht* busy *tha aj*. Pomise *mein apko* next

  weekend *per outing k liye ly jaon ga*. (**English translation:** Ohho, my dear son, my

  love, today I was very busy. Promise, on next weekend I will take you for outing).

  Urdu DCT, Situation 5 (appendix 1)

In Case of Severe Offences

- I was caught up in many things so could not inform you for meeting. Ok, don't

  worry I will talk to the dean. - **English DCT, Situation 11 (appendix 1)**

- Oh, I am sorry. Don't worry I will pay for it. - **English DCT, Situation 6 (appendix 1)**

- Sorry, sorry uncle, *ap preshan na houn mein apki gari theek krwa doun ga*. (**English**

  translation: Sorry, sorry uncle. Don't worry I will manage to get your car fixed).

  Urdu DCT, Situation 6 (appendix 1)

- Sorry sir, *mein bhool gia. Mein ahi a˙p k office a jaon.* **(English translation: sorry sir,**

I just forgot. Should I come to your office now)? **Urdu DCT, Situation 13 (appendix 1)**

It is interesting to note that this strategy - *offerof compensation*- is used the most in the cases of not severe incidents as compared to severe ones in both the languages. Most of the severe cases which have got highest ratio of this strategy have occurred in formal setting, having the apologizee owing a higher status than that of the apologizer. Contrary to it, the data in both the languages show that all those incidents which have been marked as not severe also carry an *offer of compensation* in which the apologizer is senior in rank or is in a more influential position and the recipient of apology is either lower or equal in status, financial position, social rank or age. So, it can be inferred that rather than just severity of offence factor, apology is made in accordance with some other societal parameters including age, social status and formality level. It might be because in the society under consideration, to give, to help or to compensate others is perceived very generous attitude and is valued high. It is mostly ascribed to the upper-class families and individuals owing high moral values. An example of this attitude can well be taken from a response (stated above) to the situation no 8 (boss could not visit employee's sick father in the hospital). Thus, it can be deduced that application of this strategy has no ultimate relation with severity of offence but depends on formality level and social position of the interlocutors. Because of its potential to build positive image of the speaker/ apologizer it is preferably used by the speakers belonging to high social status.

Next strategy under the umbrella of this category - *explicit apologies* - (3.6.1) called *taking on responsibility* carries some very interesting points about its application in DCTs with reference to severe and not severe offences. Firstly, frequency of this strategy is higher

(10.3%) in the cases of not-severe offences as compared to those labelled as severe (3%). Secondly, it is used even once in any situation in Urdu DCT data (table 4.5). Further, from among its sub- strategies, *accepting the blame* has come out as the most used one in both the cases – severe and not-severe- whereas *expressing self-deficiency* is only used in the cases of not severe offences and *acknowledging hearer deserving apology* is not found at all in the current data. The reason of less use of this strategy in the DCT responses stands out from the responses of the interviewees as its extremely face threatening nature. In their view taking on responsibility of an offence, especially in case of severe offences, may ruin their public image. So, to save their public image as well as to sooth the ruffled feelings of the offended one they mostly relay on some less face threatening strategy. For example, in DCTs, the responses for some severe marked situations are provided as under:

- I'm sorry. Hope it is not too late.

- Oh sorry, I was caught up in many assignments, so I forgot to inform you about meeting with the Dean.

- Ohh...... a'p theek hain na'. mein ny apko nein deikha. (English translation: ohh, are you ok? I did not see you) Urdu DCT- Situation 10(appendix 1)

Moreover, in the situations carrying not severe offense the speakers have used a higher proportion of this strategy - *taking on responsibility* -(10.32%) which might be due to the less potential such situations have to prove them (apologizers) incompetent or careless. In English DCT, one of the situations carrying a not-severe offence (situation 2 - a student forgets to bring teacher's book back) has received highest number of this strategy (n=141). Few examples of its use (English DCT) are as follows:

- I am sorry. I forgot to bring your book; in fact, I was in a hurry in the morning.

- Sorry. I could not bring your book because I didnot go to my home yesterday.

Regarding *promise of forbearance* strategy, it is noted (table 4.5) that the apologizers make its frequent application in case of severe situations (English: 6.82%, Urdu: 15.84%) as compared to not severe situations (English: 1.83%, Urdu: 11.09%) in both the languages. This is second least used apology strategy under the umbrella of *explicit apologies*. And, it too has got a restricted application i.e., only in the formal situations when the offended party belongs to higher status than the apologizers. In Urdu its value ranges from 11.09% to 15.84% and in English from 1.83% to 6.82%. Following examples show use of this strategy in DCTs:

- I am really sorry sir. It will not happen again. -Situation 3 (appendix I)

- I will never do so again. I apologize, sir. - Situation 2 (appendix I)

- Sorry sir, *aenda esa nein ho ga*. (English translation: Sorry sir, it will not happen again). Urdu DCT -Situation 3 (appendix I)

4.5.4- Effects of Conversational Setting on *Explicit Apologies*

B&L's model of politeness (1978, 1987) has been point of criticism by many researchers like Holmes (1995: p.[19-22]) for excluding conversational settings from the list of factors affecting apology strategies of the interlocutors. They assert that formality as determined by the setting affects politeness phenomenon. Generally speaking, it seems

reasonable to assume that the conversation between a student and a teacher in a party will definitely be quite different in content and style from their conversation in classroom. Formality is the only aspect of conversational setting examined in the present work.

In the current research study two formality levels are distinguished: formal and informal (table 3.1). Formal situations are those in which interlocutors act in their professional roles, and the conversational limits are dictated by the situations and surrounding. On the other hand, informal situations take place in informal settings and are characterized high in spontaneity. These are primarily the conversations taking place in the homes of the participants, and or between friends or interlocutors in parties, parks, play grounds etc.

In the current study, according to table, 3.1, the formal situations include: situation 01 (professor did not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgot to bring teacher's book back), situation 3 (employee got late for meeting with boss), situation 11 (head of a department forgot to inform junior employee about meeting with dean), situation 13 (an MD forgot official meeting with MD of another department), situation 14 (manager kept his subordinate waiting for long), and situation 15(a visitor dropped a glass of water on an officer's table). The informal situations on the other hand, encompass following situations: situation 4 (speaker forgot meeting with a friend), situation no 5 (father forgot promise with son for shopping), situation 6 (speaker bumped into a car and broke its window), situation 7 (speaker reached late to receive elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee's father in hospital), situation 9 (waiter presented wrong meal to the customer), situation 10 (speaker bumped into elderly person and hurt his leg) and; situation 12 (a colleague interpreted comments wrongly).

Table 4.6. *Application of Explicit Apology strategies and formality level of conversation setting*

apology Strategies	Formal situations				Informal situations				Total			
	No %	No	%		No %	No	%		No %	No %	
1-IFIDs	Eng: %	Urdu:	%		Eng: %	Urdu:	%		Eng: %	Urdu:	%	
Offer of apology	500 32.1 %	421	29.8%		278 23.7%	164	16%		778 28.5%	585	24%	
Expressing regret	247 15.8 %	85	6%		114 9.7%	35	3.4%		361 13.2%	120	5%	
Request of forgiveness	0 0 %	0	0%		0 0%	0	0%		0 0%	0	0%	
Expression of embarrassment	70 4.4%	107	7.5%		90 7.6%	0	0%		160 5.8%	107	4.3%	
Sub total	817 52.4%	613	43.4%		482 41.1%	199	19.3%		1259 47.6%	812	33.3%	
2-Taking on responsibility												
-Accepting blame	85 5.4%	0	0%		20 1.7%	0	0%		105 3.8%	0	0%	
-Expressing self-deficiency	76 4.8%	0	0%		0 0%	0	0%		76 2.7%	0	0%	
-Acknowledging II deserving apology	0 0%	0	0%		0 0%	0	0%		0 0%	0	0%	
Sub- total	161 10.3%	0	0%		20 1.7%	0	0%		181 6.6%	0	0%	
3- Offer of Compensation	461 29.6%	469	33.2%		669 57.1%	829	80.6%		1130 41.4%	1298	53.2%	
4-Promise of Forbearance	118 7.5%	328	23.2%		0 0%	0	0%		118 4.3%	328	13.4%	
Total	⎰ 1557 = 57.0% ⎱ 100	⎰ 1410 = 53.8% ⎱ 100			⎰ 1171 = 42.9% ⎱ 100	⎰ 1028 = 46.1% ⎱ 100			2728 100	2438	100	

Current section deals with effects of formality level of conversation setting on application of first mega apology category called *explicit apologies* (section 3.6.1 & figure 3.2). In table 4.6, a detail of frequency distribution of apology strategies encompassing this mega apology category with reference to this factor is given. There is a greater average social distance between the participants engaged in formal conversations and consequently it is expected to have more frequent use of apology - a speech act which according to B&L is primarily associated with negative politeness. Table 4.6 demonstrates that the participants apologised considerably more in formal settings in both the languages (English: 58% & Urdu: 54%) than in informal settings (English: 42% & Urdu 46%). It is quite interesting to note that there are more apologies in formal setting for the same type of offences which grabbed less or considerably very low apologies in informal settings e.g.,

situation 3 and 7 deal with the same type of offence - time offence - but the number of

explicit apologies (English: 327, Urdu: 387) in situation 3 which is marked as formal

outrides application of apologies in situation no 7 (English: 29, Urdu: 0) which is marked

as an informal situation (table 4.2). Similarly, in formal conversational settings, many other

offences marked as not severe have also got high ratio of apologies e.g., situation 2

(appendix 1- a student forgets to return his teacher's book). This situation besides being

marked as not severe is one of the top three situations which have grasped highest number

of apology strategies (table 4.2) whereas in informal setting frequent application of *explicit*

apologies (3.6.1) is made only in the cases of severe offences e.g., situation 6.

Parallel to this situation where the same type of offence receives quite different

application ratio of *explicit apologies* with a change in formality level it is also noticed that

the members of same group classified as high show quite different apologetic attitude with

a change in formality level of conversation (table 4.2). In situation 11 (appendix 1- a boss

forgets to inform a junior employee about meeting with Dean) which has been marked as

severe, speaker- the offender- has used less number of *explicit apologies* (Eng: 43, Urdu:

23) as compared to situation no 8 which is marked as not severe (appendix 1- boss could

not visit his employee's sick father in the hospital) where the use of these apology strategies

is 260 & 218 in English and Urdu respectively. Thus, effect of conversational setting is

obvious in the current study. Looking deeply into the differences in application of *explicit*

apologies and the apologetic attitude of the apologizer (owing high social status) clearly

brings out impact of conversational setting on him i.e., in formal setting, being a boss

(situation 11) it is perceived too face threatening to accept mistake and apologize from a

junior whereas in informal situation (8 - visiting an employee's sick father in the hospital)

there is no threat of face loss by apologizing from junior subordinate when the offence is not severe. Rather in such cases where the offence is minor, and apologizer is of high social status, to apologize in fact adds to social standing of apologizer and uplifts his face value. Thus, such instances can abundantly be found in the society under discussion. According to many interviewees, their apologetic attitude must undergo a change with changing conversational setting. So, such examples in data also manifest the social trend and mental aptitude of society under discussion hence proving conversational setting among the factors which influence application of apologetic strategies especially *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category (figure, 3.2).

Further analysis brings out differences in application of different strategies encompassing this mega apology category in case of similar type of offence having different formality levels. For example, number of *IFIDs* in formal situations is 817, whereas in informal situations it is hardly 482 in responses of English DCT. Similarly, in Urdu DCT the use of *IFIDs* in formal situations is 613 whereas in informal ones it is hardly 199. Likewise, *sorry* (Urdu equivalent *Mahzrut*) is mostly favoured in formal speech (table 4.6) both in English and Urdu data which suggests that it is typically formal in style. It supports the claims that *IFID* is typically restricted to formal interactions (Fraser 1981 and Holmes 1990).

Such examples suggest that politeness etiquettes are more strictly observed in formal setting and as a result more apology strategies especially which are grouped under the umbrella of *explicit apologies* - category have been used in formal situations to the extent that application of few of them like *promise of forbearance* and *taking on responsibility* is mainly restricted to formal situations onlyin both the languages (table 4.2).

Further, there is no example of sub-strategy of strategy *taking on responsibility* called *expressing self- deficiency* in informal conversational settings rather its use is delimited merely to formal setting (table 4.6). This difference in application of strategies may be a result of great social distance between the participants in formal settings and less social distance in informal social settings as says one of the interviewees, "Yes a difference is always there.... I mean... hmmmm, the way I will apologize to my friend or my close relative cannot be similar to the way I apologize to my boss or my teacher".

4.6- Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter, focus of study is use of *explicit apologies* -one of the three mega apology categories (figure, 3.2) - being used to apologize. Firstly, overall ratio of strategies encompassing this category is studied in detail then application of strategies and sub-strategies by Kashmiri speakers is investigated in different social contexts following by effects of different social variables like social status, social distance, severity of offence and difference in formality levels. The results of the chapter show effects of these factors on apology strategies of the interlocutors in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu. A summary of the findings of this chapter is as follows:

Social status has proved to be a determinant factor in application of first mega apology category i.e., *explicit apologies*. The results exhibit that speakers of higher social status hesitate to apply this apology category (table, 4.3) as is demonstrated by its lowest application ratio (Eng. 28% & Urdu: 30%) by members of this group among the three groups of respondents i.e. high, low and equal. This finding supports Brown and

Levinson's (1987) claim that people enjoying higher status rarely lean on explicit apologies and perceive giving apologies a face threatening act to their negative face needs.

As for as effect of social distance factor is concerned, in the current study contrary to Wolfson's (1988) study not the apologizers belonging to acquaintance group but the speakers of distant or stranger group have acknowledged and apologized for their offences, the most. This finding of the present study can again be explained by using B&L's (1987) notion that an increase in social distance (strangers) demands a show of deference by forwarding apologies and decrease in social distance doesn't entail provision of such expressions. The ratio of application of apologies in the three groups is as follows: distant group (English: 42.4%, Urdu: 41.5%), neutral or acquaintance group (English: 33.9%, Urdu: 30.4%) and close group (English 23.6%, Urdu: 26.3%). Besides differences in overall application ratio mega apology category there are many differences at micro level in application of strategies and sub- strategies of this category for example there is no example of *taking on responsibility* strategy in Urdu data (table, 4.3).

Turning to the effects of severity of offense factor, data from both the languages i.e., English and Urdu show that Kashmiri speakers tend to apologize using *explicit apologies* regardless of categorizing offences into not- severe and severe. The ratio of overall apologies made by using this apology category is: severe offences (English: 49.9% & Urdu: 49.7%) not severe offences (English: 50% & Urdu: 50.2%). This result, on macro level has an equal proportion of strategies not only used in both types (severe and not severed) of offences but also in both the languages which might render an impression of being manufactured but a look at table 4.6 brings forth the fact that there are lot of differences in application of strategies and sub-strategies in both the languages e.g., *taking*

on responsibility has got this difference to the level of English: 181 and Urdu: 0 (zero). Another attention warranting difference, in English DCT data, is application of *taking on responsibility* strategy in case of 'not- severe' offenses in a higher ratio than in case of severe offenses which implies that in case of not –severe offense the apologizers need not to bother much about their face loss so they are quick to apologize by using this strategy. However, in some severe marked situations (table, 3.1) e.g., situation 6 (speaker bumped his car into another car and damaged it), respondents have used this strategy along with *offer of repair* strategy which helps them save their positive face.

The last factor affecting apologetic attitude of interlocutors is conversational setting. In this study, conversational setting is divided into two kinds i.e., formal and informal. The findings of the research show a difference of approach by the speakers regarding application of first mega apology category called *explicit apologies* with respect to formality level of the conversation. Some important differences encountered in this regard include a difference in overall application of explicit apology strategies: in formal situations, in both the languages, application of explicit apologies is high as compared to informal situations i.e. English: 57%, Urdu: 54% and English 42%, Urdu: 46% respectively.

Hence be concluded that while apologizing Kashmiri speakers get influenced by social variables like social status, social distance and formality level while severity of offence has been traced as having least significant effect on attitude of Kashmiri speakers regarding application of first mega apology category *explicit apologies*. The next chapter will analyse application of second mega apology category called *implicit apologies*.

CHAPTER: 5

IMPLICIT APOLOGIES: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1- Introduction to Chapter 5

Apology can be defined as an attempt by the speaker to make up for a previous action that interfered with the addressee's face-wants (Brown & Levinson, 1978: p.[187]). Thus, the aim of apologizing is to restore equilibrium between speaker and addressee (Leech, 1983: p.[125]). As Blum-Kulka, et al., (1989: p.[12]) assert that apology is an acknowledgement by the speaker that a damage has been done; and a confession that he or she is at least partially responsible for its occurrence. An apology may be considered a "post-event" (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984) for it signals that the incident has already taken place. Apologies counted as remedial work are traditionally viewed as hearer supportive as they provide some advantage to the addressee at the cost of the speaker (Fraser & Nolan, 1981; Goffman, 1972; Leech, 1983; Owen, 1983). However, Holmes (1990: p.[192]) extended the probability of face benefit to the speaker as well by claiming, "apologies may also address aspects of the victim's positive face needs. such as the desire to be appreciated ... remedial interchanges involve a complex interweaving of the face needs of S and H".

Ziesing (2000) asserts that apology is employed to sustain rapport and decrease conflict among the individuals; and according to Cohen (1996: p.[253]) its appropriate application can develop feelings of friendliness, association and harmony among the interlocutors. How to apologize properly and effectively within a society and globally has been an important area of pragmatic research but unfortunately no detailed research work

on speech acts especially apologies in Urdu in the society under consideration could be found among existing research repository. According to Eelen (2001) politeness is a matter of cultural expectations and it arises from social values, cultural patterns and norms. These norms are not individual but are shared by all members of a society. He adds that leading force behind politeness phenomenon in any society is culturally shared norms. While coding the data collected for the current study there emerged many new apology strategies which are unique to this society. As, has been discussed in chapter 3 (figure 3.2) due to newly emerged apology semantic formulas the model selected for analysis of data (*CCSARP*, 1989) became insufficient. And, applying merely that model could have resulted in omission of many exclusive apology expressions being used in the society under study. Consequently, newly emerged apology semantic formulas in the current data have been added to *CCSARP* model (base model for taxonomy used in current study) to device a comprehensive taxonomy for analysis of data to get a complete picture of application of apologies in the society under study. To help manage the data strategies have been divided into three mega apology categories (section 3.6.1 - figures 3.1 & 3.2). First mega apology category called *explicit apologies* has been discussed in chapter 4.

Present chapter deals with a comprehensive study of second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* which includes four apology strategies under its umbrella: *explanation, concern for the hearer, minimization of offence* and *suggestion* (section 3.6.1, figure 3.2). The discussion in the present chapter encompasses presence of these strategies in the data, their value with respect to different situations given in DCTs, (appendix 1) and effect of socio cultural factors like social status of the interlocutors, social distance among interlocutors, severity of offence, and formality level of the interaction. Following is brief

discussion of apology strategies which constitute the second mega apology category called *implicit apologies*:

5.2- Description of Strategies Constituting *Implicit Apologies*

This section presents a general introduction concerning the use of the strategies encompassing apology category called *implicit apologies* (section 3.6, figure 3.2).

5.2.1- *Explanation or Account of Reason* - First implicit apology strategy

This strategy includes statement or description of the situations which has made apologizer to commit offence. A common purpose of apologizing is self-justification which is gained by describing causes responsible for the mistake e.g., some exterior elements over which the apologizer may not have any control. Most of the researchers consider it a way to escape responsibility but in the society under review, according to the respondents of the interviews, it is an important component of apologizing. An *IFID* without it, is considered a 'half-hearted apology' which is considered too weak to meet the purpose. While on the contrary, *explanation or account of reason* can stand alone and attain purpose of satisfying ruffled feelings of the offended party. As says, Fraser (1981) explanations can serve on their own selves the purpose of apologizing; its effectiveness rests upon how successfully the apologizer transfers the responsibility of offence to some other factor. Examples of this strategy from the data (English & Urdu DTC) are as follows:

- There was heavy rain yesterday, so I could not come to see you uncle. - **English DCT, Situation 8 (appendix 1)**

interest in the hearer. The apologizer also shows concern about the suffering of the apologizee due to his/ her misdeed though may not essentially imply any feeling of responsibility. The apologizer expresses embarrassment about the loss caused by his/her accidental act. Following are examples from English and Urdu DCTs:

- I am sorry sir for the trouble I caused to you. Please forgive me. - **English DCT, Situation 2 (appendix 1)**

- *A pko lgi tau nuhin, mai bohat sharminda hu n. Mahzrut chahta hu n.* (**English Translation**: Are you ok? I am really embarrassed for that. I apologize). **Urdu DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

5.2.4- Suggestion

According to figure 3.1 (chapter 3) this is one of those apology strategies which have been added to *CCSARP* model (Blum Kulka et al., 1989) for devising a taxonomy being applied for analysis of data in the current study. As emerged from data collected for the current study, this strategy seems unique to the members of the society under discussion. Though newly included in the taxonomy it has got a value higher than many of the apology strategies proposed by *CCSARP* model (Blum Kulka et al., 1989) which have thoroughly been discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.6.1, figure 3.1). The high ratio of its application in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu indicates that it is one of the most favoured strategies used in the situations where an apology becomes due. It has appeared in the data (DCTs- both English & Urdu) as follows:

- I have guests at home so cannot come to you. Why don't you do the assignment yourself? Yes! Just do it immediately. - **English DCT, Situation 4 (appendix 1)**

- *Oh, a p* try *tau kurain, humaray hotel ki* chicken *krhahi bohat* famous *hai.* (**EnglishTranslation:** Oh, please try it. We are famous for chicken krhahi. (**Urdu DCT, Situation 9) - (appendix 1)**

5.3- Application of *Implicit Apologies*- Second Mega Apology Category

The above mentioned second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* consisting of four strategies (section 3.6.1, figure 3.2) has provided units of analysis for the data collected for this study. Thus, it has proved helpful in managing the huge data into manageable units. Analysis of *implicit apologies* is based on recognizing such responses that hold either *an explanation, concern for hearer, minimization of offence or suggestion.*

First of all, overall results concerning use of above mentioned strategies under the umbrella of *implicit apologies*- second mega apology category (section 3.6.1) are analysed to trace out which is the most commonly used basic implicit apology strategy. In total, as stated in previous chapter, 3750 remedial exchanges have been produced in response to 15 situations provided in both DCTs (appendix 1) by 250 respondents. In those apologies, application rate of this mega apology category is: 3092 in English and 3193 in Urdu. Thus, it becomes obvious from such an ample number of these apology semantic formulae in the data that participants of the current study overwhelmingly prefer using *implicit apologies* over other two categories while apologizing. A detailed analysis of each of the strategies grouped under the heading of this apology category is as follows.

Table 5.1. *Implicit apology strategies and their percentage value in English and Urdu data*

STRATEGIES	ENGLISH		URDU	
Names	No	%	No	%
Explanation	1096	35.4%	1451	45.4%
Concern for Hearer	686	22%	563	17.6%
Minimization	447	14.4%	371	11.6%
Suggestion	863	28%	808	25.3%
TOTAL	3092	100%	3193	100%

Table 5.1 shows total number of occurrences and percentage value of each apology strategy in the data collected through DCTs in English and Urdu languages (appendix 1). The table indicates that out of the strategies encompassing this mega apology category, *explanation* is the most frequently applied strategy by Kashmiri speakers in both the languages (English and Urdu). It has appeared in both the languages with different values i.e. English 35.4% and Urdu 45.4%. Whereas, the lowest applied strategy is *minimization of offence* (English: 14.4 %, Urdu: 11.6%). In Urdu data *explanation* makes almost half of the total *implicit apologies*. According to almost all the interviewees it is the most important component (strategy) of apologies and without it apologies are considered incomplete and sometimes even rude. It suggests that Kashmiri speakers though not very direct and explicit in their apologetic expressions care a lot about the face needs of others and do try to settle the ruffled feelings of the effected ones. This finding is consistent with Intachakra (2001) and Thijittang (2010) who discovered *explanation or account* as highly favoured apology strategy among Thai speakers of English and; and Majeed & Janjua (2014) according to whom it is most favoured strategy in Urdu apologies.

While taking into consideration *implicit apologies*, it becomes evident that *suggestion* is the second most preferred apology strategy constituting 28% of DCT replies

in English and 25.3% in Urdu. This considerable usage justifies its inclusion as an independent apology strategy in the taxonomy devised for analysis of data in the present study. While using this strategy the apologizer though not refuses to take responsibility of the offence, in fact does not admit it openly and unconditionally as well. It appears in the data as follows:

- I just mixed up your order with that of some other customer. But, chicken is not only good for health, but it is also our speciality, so you should try it. You will definitely enjoy it. - **English DCT, Situation 9 (appendix I)**

- *aik* guest *a˘ gia jis ki wajah saey* late *ho gia.. Kia khyal hai kal* meeting *rakh lein.-* **(English Translation:** I had a guest so got late. What do you think should we have it tomorrow). **Urdu DCT -situation 12 (appendix I)**

Fourth strategy under the umbrella of *implicit apologies* called *concern for hearer* appears in the data with the ratio of 22% in English DCT and 18% in Urdu DCT which makes it third most frequently applied apology strategy of this mega category. An interesting observation is that newly added strategy *suggestion'* (English: 28%& Urdu: 25.3%) has got comparatively higher value than the constituent strategy of *CCSARP* model (selected as base of the taxonomy used in the current study) i.e., *concern for hearer* (English: 22% & Urdu: 18%) and in both the languages.

Thus, this mega apology category *-implicit apologies-* does not appear language specific but is deeply rooted in culture as it is employed in both the languages, e.g., in situation 11 (English: 108, Urdu: 191), situation 12 (English: 200, Urdu: 84) and situation 14 (English: 121, Urdu: 230) as is shown in table 5.2. These results demonstrate that Kashmiri speakers abundantly use strategies constituting this mega category (table 5.1).

Even in most of the cases with explicit expression of apology they prefer using an *explanation* (implicit apology strategy). Considerable presence of newly added strategies: *minimization of offence* and *suggestion* along with constituent strategies of *CCSARP* (1989) taxonomy helps assume that apologies are universal in their nature as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987) but their application and preference remain a matter of respective cultures (Wierzbicka, 1985).

5.4- Application of *Implicit Apology Strategies* in Different Situations

Situations provided in DCTs (appendix1) are different from each other on the basis of different factors like social status of the interlocutors, social distance prevailing between participants, severity of offence etc. A detail of applications of different implicit apology strategies (figures, 3.1& 3.2) in response to different situations provided in DCTs is given in table 5.2.

Table 5.2. *Percentage value of Implicit Apologies in first four situations, provided in DCTs (appendix1)*

Situations	situation 1		Situation 2		Situation 3		Situation 4	
Strategies	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
Explanation	88	85	66	147	202	239	0	69
Concern for Hearer	0	0	57	29	22	0	0	0
Minimization of Offence	0	0	0	0	89	63	40	64
Suggestion	0	0	0	0	0	0	159	125
Total	88	85	123	176	313	302	199	258

Table 5.2. *Percentage value of Implicit Apologies in situations 5 to 8, provided in DCTs (appendix1)*

Situations	Situation 5		Situation 6		Situation 7		Situation 8	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
Strategies								
Explanation	0	2	110	97	168	213	103	100
Concern for Hearer	0	0	156	0	186	120	0	54
Minimization f offence	0	0	0	127	0	37	101	55
Suggestion	30	50	58	20	0	0	100	90
Total	30	52	324	244	354	370	304	299

Table 5.2. *Percentage value of Implicit Apologies in situations 9 to 12, provided in DCTs (appendix1)*

Situations	Situation 9		Situation 10		Situation 11		Situation 12	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
Strategies								
Explanation	69	42	55	20	20	67	25	64
Concern for Hearer	0	0	225	180	0	99	40	0
Minimization f offence	0	0	0	0	52	25	85	0
Suggestion	186	158	0	70	36	0	50	20
Total	255	200	280	270	108	191	200	84

Table 5.2. *Percentage value of Implicit Apologies in situations 13 to 15, provided in DCTs (appendix1)*

Situations	Situation 13		Situation 14		Situation 15		Grand Total	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
Strategies								
Explanation	115	186	50	61	25	56	1096	1451
Concern for Hearer	0	0	0	46	0	35	686	563
Minimization of offence	80	0	0	0	0	0	447	371
Suggestion	139	155	71	120	34	0	863	808
Total	334	341	121	230	59	91	3092	3193

5.4.1- Application of *Explanation/ Account of Reason*-An Implicit Apology Strategy

Explanation or *account of reason*, the very first unit of second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* is employed by the respondents in both languages. In the culture under study this strategy is perceived to be of great use in apology process which is evident from its presence in all the situations except situation No= 4 & 5. The peculiar characteristics of these two situations are their informal nature and apologizee being either low or equal in status having low social distance. This strategy is used to illustrate those factors which have caused that offence happen. Thus, it can be said that its application implicitly extends excuses to hook the offender off. This strategy does not appear language specific because it is used in both the languages e.g., in situation 4 (English: 0 & Urdu: 69), situation 11 (English: 20 & Urdu: 67), 12 (English: 25 & Urdu: 64) and 13 (English: 115 & Urdu: 186). Its highest application is made in situation 3 and 7 i.e., $n = 239$ and $n=213$ respectively in Urdu and $n=202$ and $n=168$ in English. While relatively low occurrence of this strategy is made in situations 5 and 10 i.e., $n=02$ & $n=20$ respectively in Urdu language and $n=0$ and $n=55$ in English in addition to situation 11 where its application rate is only $n= 20$ in English (table 5.2). Situation 10 involves physical damage and giving more accounts in that case may signal the apologizer's intention to move responsibility to someone else which may sound more offensive than the original offence to the apologizee. The same applies to situation 5 where the apology is due towards a son, and to forward explanations to a son is not commendable in the society under review. Further, in situation No 11, apologizer – a boss-is holding high social status which might have resulted in refraining him from justifying his position by explaining the responsible factors a lot. In

such cases, thus, responsibility-relocation practice is futile and less likely to get the offence redressed. Few of the examples of this strategy in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) are as follows:

- There was heavy rain and due to that I could not get taxi and thus got late. I am sorry for that. (**English DCT- Situation 3**]

- *Mujey achank apny abu kay* accident *ki* call *a⁻i aur mai forun hi* office *sy chala gia. Jaldi maen apko btana bih bhool gia. kia hum kal mil saktay hain?-* (**English Translation:** I suddenly got a telephone call about my father's accident so I had to leave office quite early and forgot to inform you even. Can we meet tomorrow?) - **Urdu DCT- Situation 13 (appendix 1)**

5.4.2- Application of *Concern for Hearer* - An Implicit Apology Strategy

This semantic formula *Concern for hearer* is third largest applied apology strategy among the *implicit apologies-* second mega apology category. Its ratio remained n=686 in English and n= 563 in Urdu which makes 22% of total implicit apology strategies in English and 18% in Urdu DCT data. In Urdu DTC (appendix 1) it has appeared only in situations 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 and 15 whereas in English DCT (appendix 1) it is found in situations 2, 3, 6, 7, 10 and 12. Though applied in limited situations, the variety of situations shows that it is used in multiple contexts which range from a student's not returning book to the teacher in time (situation 2) to a colleague interpreting speaker's comments wrongly (situation 12) then from situation 7 (younger brother reached late to receive elder brother at airport) to situation 10 (a passenger got hurt) which covers both formal /informal; severe and not-severe incidents. During observations, too, application of this strategy has been

noticed abundantly without any reference either of nature of offence, social status the interlocutors owe or formality level of the offence unlike in the work of Deutschmann (2003: p) who categorizes it "a situation-specific strategy that is resorted to only when a space offence is involved". About the current study, it should also be pointed out that English DCT (appendix 1) data maintained a higher percentage of this strategy than that of Urdu DCT (appendix 1). This strategy appeared in the data collected in both the languages as follows:

- Oh, are you ok? Should I take you to doctor. **English DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

- *Ohh, a͞pko zyda lagi tau nuhin? Rush ki wajah saey mai a͞p saey takra gia.* **(English Translation: Ohh, did I hurt you severely? It happened due to rush). -Urdu DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

5.4.3- Application of *Minimization of Offence* - Implicit Apology Strategy

Minimization of offence is another strategy under the umbrella of second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* (figure 3.2). It is applied by the apologizers to achieve dual purpose: to implicitly acknowledge responsibility for causing the offence and secondly to lessen the severity level of the offence by turning the offended person to look at the incident with less ruffled feelings and believe that much harm has yet not approached him / her. During observations frequent application of this strategy is noticed both in formal and informal settings in the society under study. According to respondents this strategy does not intend to belittle the offence or separate the apologizer from responsibility of the offence, but it needs to be valued as a socially accepted and endorsed traditional linguistic expression intended to lessen the offended party's annoyance and severity of the offence.

According to them, this strategy has marvellous psychological impact on the minds of the offended ones and makes them feel better and satisfied resulting in settling down their ruffled feelings. It appeared in DTCs (appendix 1) in the following way:

- Are you ok? Thank God, nothing serious happened. -**English DCT, Situation 10)**

- Sorry I got a bit late. **English DCT, Situation 3**

- *Sorry mai jaldi maen tha tau a⁓p saey thora sa⁓ takra gia. Shukar hai a⁓p ko lagi nuhuin.* (**English Translation:** Sorry, I was in a hurry so just bumped into you. Thank God, you are not hurt much)- **Urdu DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)**

- *Mai zyda* late *tau nuhuin hova na⁓?* In fact, *gari nuhuin mil ruhi thi.* (**English Translation:** I hope it is not too late to join the meeting. In fact, I could not get a taxi in time). **Urdu DCT - Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

5.4.4 -Application of *Suggestion* - An Implicit Apology Strategy

This is last strategy under umbrella of *implicit apologies* – second mega apology category. This is one of the strategies which, based on the data collected from the society under study, have been included in taxonomy designed for the current study. So, it can be termed as exclusive to Kashmiri society. It is found one of the most frequently applied strategies during observations. This is second most frequently applied implicit apology strategy in the data both in English (863) and Urdu (808) languages (DCTs- appendix 1) which not only shows its wide spread application in society but also justifies its inclusion as a new strategy in the analysis model. As says Lakoff (1984, 1990) different cultures and different languages have different definitions of what it means to be polite, this strategy

might grab different interpretations across different cultures, but it is neither thought face threatening nor impolite in the culture under study. Rather, it, in many instances and contexts, is considered helpful by the offended in understanding the situation thus results in smoothing his/ her anger. According to interviewees in the case of many offences it is very supportive in removing misjudgements and thus proves helpful in settling the issue. Looking at the table 5.2 makes it obvious that maximum use of this strategy has been made in situation 9 - serving chicken instead of fish to a diet conscious customer(186), situation 4 - one forgets a scheduled meeting with friend(159) and situation 13- An MD forgets meeting with another MD-(139) respectively in English language whereas in Urdu DCT it has got maximum value in situation 9 (158), situation 13 (155) and situation 4 (125) respectively. In both the languages the situations with high value of this strategy are same with varying number of occurrences. Conversely, this strategy has not made a single appearance in situations, 1, 2, 3 and 7 in both the languages and there are few situations where this strategy has been used in either of the languages i.e. 10 (English: 0 & Urdu: 70), 11 (English: 36 & Urdu: 0). An analysis of these situations show that only one formal situation could attract high number of this strategy and, that too, is the one which has the interlocutors of equal status (13). Rest of the formal situation have got none or very nominal number of this strategy. Out of three situation which bagged high number of this strategy in both the languages two are informal in nature (situation 4 & 9) having less severe offences. While, in the remaining situations, this strategy is applied in either of the languages. A look at those situations delineate that one of them i.e. situation 10 is informal in setting having serious offence (bumping into a baba gee (old man) and hurting histoe) and second is formal in setting with apologizer of higher social status and offence of serious

nature (situation 11). So, it can be inferred that this strategy is mostly applied in the situations having either apologizer of high or equal social status whereas offence can be of low or high degree of severity and setting can be either formal or informal. This strategy being exclusive to the speakers of the community under study seems one of those elements about which Pandharipande, (1992) states that culturally-based models propose that different cultures encode their peculiar sociopragmatic notions of politeness in language, and the speakers are obligated to stick to them. In this regard, also suggests Lakoff (1984, 1990) that different cultures and different languages have different definitions on what it means to be polite. Few of the examples taken from DCTs (appendix1), in which this strategy has appeared are as follows:

- My dear friend, my mother is not feeling good. I have to take her to hospital. So you prepare assignment yourself. I will see you tomorrow. **English DCT- Situation 4**

- *Yar mai aj bohat* busy *hon. Tum* assignment *khud kur lo na~.* (**English Translation:** My dear friend, I am very busy today. You do the assignment yourself). **Urdu DCT-Situation 4(appendix 1)**

5.5-*Implicit Apologies* and Effects of Sociocultural Factors

As it is discussed earlier, social status, social distance, formality level and severity of offence are among the variables which have been reported as having potential to influence human interaction. These factors vary with respect to importance given to them in different societies. In previous chapter (4), for instance, social status and formality level variables are found more powerful than the other factors, in Kashmiri culture. Personal and professional references and use of pronouns accordingly have a reflection in everyday

communication. It can be said that even choice of vocabulary and pronouns are made according to status of interlocutors. A change of social stratification between interlocutors necessarily obligates Kashmiri speakers to modify and reconsider their choice of linguistic expressions to fulfil necessities of politeness.

Under consideration society is multilingual in its setup. Out of functional languages English and Urdu are two major languages which enjoy official status and importance at national level. Following sections will focus on effects of different social variables on second mega apology category – *implicit apologies*- consisting of strategies: *explanation, concern for hearer, minimization of offence* and *suggestions*. A detailed discussion regarding above mentioned factors and their effect on apology process is as under:

5.5.1- Effects of Social Statuson Application of Implicit Apologies

According to many researchers (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995; Leech, 1983) role of social status depends on the ability of interlocutors to identify each other's social position. In current research study participants, in the situations provided in DCTs for eliciting data, have different social status: high, low and equal. According to table 3.1, the speakers in the role of a university professor (situation 01), a father (situation 5), boss (situation 8) head of a department in a university (situation 11), and a manager in (situation 14) have higher social status than the addressee. Alternatively, the speakers in the roles of a student (situation 2), an employee (situation 03), a younger brother (situation 7), waiter (situation 9) and a visitor in (situation 15) have lower status than the addressee. Speakers in situations 04 (friends), 06 &, 10 (strangers), 11 & 12 (colleagues) are assumed to be of equal social status.

In the society under discussion people are generally acquainted with each other and their social status play very significant role in running everyday affairs; and on the way they talk to each other. Consequently, the interlocutors display sensitivity towards social status of each other. The same happens in the situation where apologies become obligatory. Table 5.2 shows that this mega category *implicit apologies* has been abundantly used in the situations demanding apologies. How does social status of interlocutors affect application of this category is the focus of this section. Based on the table 5.2, it can be said that in Kashmiri society social status is a decisive factor about whether to apologize or not; and how to apologize. In previous chapter strategies under the category of *explicit apologies* have been found louder in the cases of recipient with high social status. A detail of application of *implicit apologies* with respect to social status of the interlocutors is presented in the table 5.3.

Table 5.3. *Frequency distribution of implicit apologies interacting with social status*

Apology Strategies	Higher				Equal				Lower				Total			
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E: %	U:			E: %	U: %		
Explanation	261	40	318	37.1	305 23		436	36	530	48	697	61	1096 35.4	1451 45		
Concern for hearer	0	0	199	23.2	421	31.4	180	15	265	24	184	16	686 22.1	563 18		
Denial of Offence	153	24	80	9.3	205	15.3	191	16	89	8	100	9	447 14.4	371 12		
Suggestion	237	36	260	30.3	406	30.3	390	33	220	20	158	14	863 28	808 25		
Total	651 = 21%		857 = 27%	100	1337 = 43%	100	1197 = 37%	100	1104 = 36%	100	1139 = 36	100	3092 100	3193 100		

Table 5.3 represents individual value of each strategy encompassing second mega apology category-*implicit apologies* - in the data collected both in English and Urdu through DCTs (appendix 1). In this table, the data is placed in accordance with social status

relationship among the participants (table 3.1). As evident, the participants are divided into three groups: one group with apologizer of lower social status called 'lower', second group with apologizer and apologizee of equal social status called 'equals' and the third group containing apologizer with higher social status called 'higher'.

A look at the table (5.3) reveals that overall application ratio of *implicit apologies* is higher in Urdu DCT (3193) as compared to English DCT (3092). Highest number of apologies containing implicit apology strategies have been exchanged between the interlocutors of the group called 'equals' i.e., Eng: 43% and Urdu: 37% whereas the lowest apology exchange rate is 21% in English and 27% in Urdu; among members of 'higher' group. Members of 'lower' group applied this apology category with the ration 36% in English and 36% in Urdu. Further analysis regarding application of strategies subsumed under this mega apology category reveals that *explanation* is the most frequently applied implicit apology strategy in both DCTs (E: 35% & U: 40%) having its maximum application in Urdu DCT where it makes more than half of all the *implicit strategies* in case of apologizers / speakers having low social status (E: 48% & U: 61%). Then comes speakers with higher social status who have applied second highest number of this strategy (E: 40 & U: 37) and it touches the least level of application (E: 23%, U: 36%) in the case of interlocutors with equal social status termed as 'equals'.

Based on the findings (table 5.3) it can, further, be assumed from the highest use of this strategy by the 'lowers' – the group having apologizers with low social status- that in the society under consideration it is mostly used by those having low social status perhaps because they, in the case of any offence, are more obliged to assure the apologizee (having higher social status) that offence is not done intentionally or in other words they need to

satisfy the apologizee by stating some reason which has caused that offence to happen. On the other hand, those having high social status sometimes prefer to use it for saving their face by forwarding some other element as culprit. It elevates their standing in public eye and helps them save their public image e.g. in situation 01 this strategy has been used quite noticeably due to the fact that apologizer- the university professor- is reluctant to offer explicit apology so to save his/her face and to satisfy students s/he has applied this strategy. The same reason of uplifting or maintaining good public self-image is at the back of applying this strategy by speakers of high status. Contrary to that, the third group, having interlocutors of similar status do not bother much about face needs of each other because of their equality-based relationship. Their faces are not easily threatened by each other. And, if some offence even happens they are not supposed to give clarifications as says the interviewees: talking about application of this strategy, most of the respondents hold that explaining too much in the case of any offence or giving too much clarification or justifications in fact sounds worse than the offence in the case of close relationship. It is one of those strategies which are found frequently used by speakers of all the groups during observations. This observation endorses results of the DCTs, according to which, though with varied ratio this strategy is found in the apologies of all the three groups. Also, the interviewees, in reply to the question about their use of different strategies according to the level of recipients, state that they shift their strategies according to social status of the apologizee which justifies difference in application of this strategy among the three groups of respondents. Jebahi (2011) also found *explanation* as one of the most frequently used strategy by Tunisian university students.

Application of second most used implicit apology strategy *concern for hearer* has varying proportions with respect to usage, by three social status groups and the languages of response, in the data (both English and Urdu DCT). In Urdu it has maximum application by the group called 'higher' (23.2%) while as for as its application by the members of the same group in English DCT is concerned it has not at all been used there. The remaining two groups, equal and lower, demonstrate almost equal application of this strategy (15% & 16%) in Urdu language. In English DCT, in the case of higher status speakers this strategy is totally absent from their responses and has got highest application by the speakers of 'equal' group in English language (31.4%) whereas in Urdu its highest application rate is 24% by 'lowers' which implies that this strategy is mostly used by the speakers of two groups: equals and lowers alternatively. Contrary to it, during observation, this strategy is found being used by almost all the groups of the speakers with more preference by speakers of high social status called higher which means that observation data supports DTCs data merely to the extent that this strategy is applied by the speakers of all the three social status groups while its low usage by higher status group is not in line with the results of observation data.

Minimization of offence is the next apology strategy under the umbrella of *implicit apologies*. In English DCT, it is the most preferred strategy (24%) by the apologizers belonging to high social status and is least selected by speakers of lower social status (8%) while by the apologizers of equal social group its application ratio remained 15.3%. In Urdu DCT it is the most used strategy (16%) by the speakers of the group having equal social status and it has got almost equal ratio of application by the remaining groups called higher and lower (higher: 9.3%& Lower: 9%). This strategy is also one among the newly

added apology strategies to the *CCSARP* taxonomy (Blum- Kulka, 1989). Its application in the data (English & Urdu) shows that its maximum use is made either by higher social status group or interlocutors of the group having equal social status. Thus, it can be assumed that restricted application of this strategy is due to the reason that higher status group needs it for saving their face through belittling the offence they committed instead of accepting their mistake which can bring lot of face threat for them; and those belong to equal group apply it to diminish anger of the offended one.

Final strategy under the umbrella of this mega category - *implicit apologies*- called *suggestion* is also an addition to Blum_Kulka et al., (1989), the taxonomy used as based for analysis model applied in the current study). The table (5.3) shows that it is second most frequently applied implicit apology strategy both in English and Urdu DCTs (English: 28% & 25%). This abundant application of the strategy by all the three clusters of speakers shows that it is one of the most favoured strategies by Kashmiri speakers. A detailed look at the table (5.3) manifests that the group with speakers of high social status called 'higher' have made the most frequent application of this strategy (English: 36% & Urdu: 30.3%). Its least application is made by speakers of low social status group called 'lower' (English: 20% & Urdu: 14%). While, it is also frequently used by the speakers of third group having interlocutors of similar social status called, 'equal' (English: 30.3% & Urdu: 33%) in the situations demanding apology. Members of this group are second frequent users of this strategy after the group called 'higher'.

During observations, too, it is commonly noticed that those who are senior either in age or social status make maximum application of this strategy in the situations demanding apology. Similar attitude has been noticed in case of interlocutors of equal

social status (age/ position). No instance of suggestion given by juniors (age/social position) to the seniors or elders during observations could be seen but, in the data, collected through DCTs, though rare, there are few instances of suggestions in the case of speakers with lower social status. In the view of interviewees forwarding suggestions to the elders and seniors (higher in status) itself turns to be an offence so its application is normally restricted to the speakers belonging to either high or equal social status groups. Thus, the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) in both the languages is completely in line with the data gathered through observations and interviews and the cases where speakers of low social status have forwarded suggestions to those of seniors are highly informal with the purpose to quickly propose some solution. From DCTs data, only two situations i.e. situation 9 (waiter served wrong food item to a customer) and situation 15 (a visitor dropped glass of water on table in office of a senior) with speakers having low social status have application of this strategy. Out of these two only situation 9 earned considerable application of this strategy (English: 186& Urdu: 158) while situation 15 received very low number of its application (English: 34 & Urdu: 0).It has appeared in DCTs (appendix 1) data as follows:

- I am busy with guest. Please do it yourself. **English DCT, Situation 4** (appendix 1)

- Oh, in fact I got an emergency and forgot to inform you. Let us have a meeting tomorrow. **English DCT, Situation 12**(appendix 1)

- *Yar, meri tabiyet theek nuhuin hai. Tum khud kur lo na*. (**English Translation:** My dear friend, I am not feeling good. Do it yourself. **Urdu DCT, Situation 4** (appendix 1)

- *Sir mai bhool gia laykin aˉp* chiken *hi kha lein, yeh yahan ki khas dish hai*. (English Translation: Sir, I forgot but it is better to eat chicken because it is our speciality. Urdu DCT, Situation 9 (appendix 1)

Regarding effects of social status on application of second mega apology category- *implicit apologies*- it can be claimed (table 5.3) that most of the apologies bearing strategies included under this category are used in the apologies exchanged among those who belong to the group called 'equal'. This finding is in harmony with Holmes (1995) who claims that apologies are more commonly exchanged among status equals who have to care a lot about their relationship with others: with whom they are neither too close to take the relationship strong enough to bear apologetic situations smoothly nor is their relationship too weak to be ignored. Further, they do not bother much about potential loss in admitting inefficiency. Regarding lowers the table 5.3 reveals that they have made second highest application of this apology category in their apologies. In everyday life they are found not to offend those enjoying high social status and express more reverence towards them which results in this noticeable number of apologies by them. In the current study, those who belong to 'higher' group are found applying this apology the least, which confirms Holmes (1990) that those owing high social positions are more inclined to receive courteous behaviour e.g., linguistic deference and negative politeness. Overall findings of this research regarding application of *implicit apologies* are partially in line with Brown and Levinson's (1978) conception that those who enjoy higher status consider giving apologies face threatening to their negative face needs than status equals and those who belong to a lower position, consequently they show less tendency to apologize. Further, the findings also partially support Holmes (1990) about highest application of apologies by members of 'equal'

group. It is also in line with the findings of Muhammad (2006: p.[35]) who asserts "choice of apology strategy is affected by social status more than social distance".

5.5.2- Effects of Social Distanceon Application of Implicit Apologies

As has been discussed in previous section, for the purpose of measuring effects of social variables on apology behaviour of individuals, DCTs in English and Urdu languages (appendix 1) are designed on the basis of fifteen apology situations. For this purpose, main variables are taken from Brown & Levinson's theory (1987) i.e., social power, social distance, and seriousness of offense, in addition to formality level of the incidents requiring apology. Many linguists including Brown & Levinson, 1987 and Leech, 1983 agree that social distance is among the factors which govern behaviour of interlocutors towards each other. Social distance refers to the degree of intimacy participants share, and different roles people undertake in relation to others in a certain situation (Brown & Levinson, 1987: p.[126]).

In the present study, as discussed in detail in previous chapter too, data was classified into three groups: close, acquaintance or neutral and distant (table 3.1). Following is the division of situations according to speakers belonging to these three groups: an employee and a boss, real brothers (situation 3) two friends (situation 4), a father and son (situation 5), two brothers (situation 7) and manager and his subordinate who are close friends too (situation 14) who know each other well are close acquaintances (close social distance). A university professor and his/her student (situation 1), a student and university teacher (situation 2), head of department and a junior lecturer (situation 11), two

colleagues/MDs of two different departments (situation 13) are acquaintances who know each other but not very well (neutral social distance); and the third group-distant or unfamiliar people- are represented as speaker and driver of a car (situation 6), a boss and employee's father (situation 8). customer and waiter (situation 11), speaker and passenger (situation 10), a visitor and an officer (situation 15). These are the characters who do not know each other well or are unfamiliar constituting distant social distance group (table 3.1). A detailed picture of application of strategies grouped under the umbrella of second mega apology category- *implicit apologies*- with respect to social distance factor is given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. *Implicit apology strategies interacting with social distance factor*

Apology Strategies	Close				Acquaintances				Distant				Total	
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	F:	%	U:	%	E:	U
Explanation	420	41	587	48	314	37	549	63	362	30	315	29	1096	1451
Concern for hearer	208	20	166	14	97	11.3	128	14	381	31	269	24	686	563
Minimization	129	13	164	14	217	25.4	25	3	101	8	182	16	447	371
Suggestion	260	26	295	24.3	225	26.3	175	20	378	31	338	31	863	808
Total	$\left.\begin{array}{c}1017\\=\\(33\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left.\begin{array}{c}1212\\=\\38\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left.\begin{array}{c}853\\=\\27.5\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left.\begin{array}{c}877\\=\\27.4\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left.\begin{array}{c}1222\\=\\39.5\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left.\begin{array}{c}1104\\=\\34.5\end{array}\right\}100$		3092	3193

With respect to application of *implicit apologies* category (figure, 3.2) table 5.4 brings forth quite a mixed tendency. With change of language there is found a change occurring in application of this category by the members of all the three social groups. In response to English DCT, its maximum application is made by members of distant group which is second frequent user of this mega category in Urdu DCT data (E: 39.5% & Urdu: 34.5%). While, most frequent users of this mega apology category in Urdu DCT are the members of close group who are its second frequent users in English DCT (Eng: 33% &

Urdu: 38%). Whereasleast application of this mega apology category (Eng: 27.5% & Urdu: 27.4%) is made by the acquaintance group.

Analysis at micro level with respect to application of different strategies encompassing this mega apology category (table 5.4) further illustrates that *explanation-* the largest used strategy in Urdu data collected through DCT (appendix 1)- is the most favoured strategy by the speakers of acquaintance group and is least used by the speakers of distant group i.e., 63% & 29% respectively. Contrary to that, in English data (table 5.4) it is emerged as the highest used strategy by the apologizers of close group (41%) while acquaintance group is second most frequent user of this strategy in English language (37%) and distant group is least user of this strategy (30%). On the basis of this data it can be said that highest application of *explanation* in close (Eng: 41 Urdu:48) and acquaintance (Eng: 37% & Urdu:63%) groups alternatively with respect to language change i.e. English and Urdu suggests that speakers of the community under study are more concerned about their kinship i.e. the closer the relation is the more use of this strategy is made which is contrary to Brown & Levinson's theory which asserts that an increase in social distance (e.g. among strangers) entails expression of more respect by dint of more apologies and less social distance tends not to oblige frequent application of this speech act. It can be stated here that though not *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category- (chapter 4) *implicit apologies* are increasingly used in close relations (table 5.4).

It can be inferred that members of distant group being not in close interaction and relationship with each other feel no need to explain factors responsible for any offence. During observations it is found as the most frequently applied strategy without any discrimination to the distance level of the interlocutors. The interviewees claim utility of

this strategy to the extent that no strategy, according to them, worth calling a true apology without satisfactorily stating the reasons which caused the offence to happen. According to them, the most important purpose of any apology to satisfy the ruffled feelings of the apologizee is not possible to achieve without presenting him/her a comprehensive explanation. Thus, these remarks of the interviewees, observations and abundant application of this strategy (Eng: 1096 & Urdu: 1451) in DCTs (appendix 1) make it the most applied implicit apology strategy.

When analysed in the same context of social distance factor, second strategy under the umbrella of *implicit apologies* (figure 3.1) called *concern for hearer* is found as third most applied strategy (Eng: n=686 & Urdu: n=563) in data collected through DCTs (appendix 1). It is most frequently used by the speakers of distant group in both the languages (Eng: 31% & 24%), while the group categorized as close has appeared as second largest user of this strategy in English DCT (20%) as compared to third group called acquaintance (11.3%). Conversely, its application in Urdu DCT is similar (14%) in close and acquaintance groups. The highest employment of this strategy is made by the distant group. This finding corresponds to Intachakra's (2001) findings about native English speakers' use of apology strategies. This finding might be a direct result of avoiding application of strategy called *explanation* among this group (table 5.2) and its lowest application by close group may well be ascribed to kinship emotions which make concern an obligatory element and there comes no need to show it off. Its presence (table 5.4) in all the groups endorses its universal application. Though not among the top applied implicit apology strategies, the interviewees ranked it most effective in getting the aim of rectifying offence by making the offended feel that the apologizer has an empathy for him/ her.

According to them, when uttered it raises a pleasant feeling and image in the offended party's mind and helps erase negative image of the offender.

Minimization of offence, the next strategy under the umbrella of *implicit apologies,* is the least applied strategy under this category (Eng: 14% & Urdu: 12%). This strategy, according to interviewees, has a psychological role in lessening the painful effects offended party might be suffering from. Though less, it has been applied by the speakers of all social groups in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu. There is difference in its application rate in both the languages: in English DCT, its maximum use is made by speakers of acquaintance group i.e. 25% while in Urdu DCT distant group has made its highest application (24%). So, it can be calculated that, this strategy is mostly employed by these two groups: acquaintances and distant. During observations, its presence is abundantly noticed among almost all the social groups. Conversely, application of *explanation* strategy remained high among the interlocutors of close and acquaintance groups which asserts that close relationships indirectly and amply provide many options to set the things (offences) right without explicitly apologizing. So, close as well as acquaintances groups do not feel need to minimize the offence for clearing their position in the eyes of the offended party to uplift their positive image.

Last strategy included under second mega apology category - *implicit apologies* called *suggestion* is exclusive to the present study. Included on the bases of data collected through observations, this strategy has made considerable appearance in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1). It is second largest employed implicit apology strategy in both the languages (28% & Urdu: 25%). Micro analysis shows that it is most frequently applied in both the languages (Eng: 31% & Urdu: 31%) by speakers of distant group. Whereas, its

least application is made by the acquaintance group (Eng: 26% & Urdu: 20%). It is one of those strategies which during observations are noticed being used frequently among all the social groups. According to the interviewees, in the society under study it (this strategy) associates positive values and helps remove grievances and alleviate face value and public image of the offender in the eyes of offended one. Thus, it is found used by all the groups with very low difference in application rate which becomes minimal in case of 'close' and 'acquaintance' groups.

To conclude effects of social distance on application of *implicit apologies* it can be asserted that different strategies under the umbrella of this mega apology category have gone through different application patterns e.g., *explanation-* the first strategy under this category has got its maximum application in close group in English language (41%); and highest application in Urdu is made by acquaintance group (63%) while, the least use of this strategy is made by speakers of distant group. Next strategy, *concern for hearer* has made its maximum application in both the languages among speakers of distant group whileits least application has been made by the interlocutors of acquaintance group. *Suggestion*, in both the languages made maximum appearance in the group called distant and its least application has been made by apologizers of close group in English (26%) and by acquaintance groups in Urdu (20%).

In sum, speakers of the society under consideration have made more apologies applying *implicit apologies* while apologizing to either distant interlocutors (English DCT, table:5.4) or to the close one (Urdu DCT, table, 5.4). This finding partially confirms Brown &Levinson (1987) assertion that with increasing social distance there occurs increase in apology strategies because the greater social distance between the participants make an

FTA appear more serious. In general, there can be derived no specific rules about relationship between application of *implicit apologies* and social distance factor.

5.5.3- Effects of Severity of Offense on Application of *Implicit Apologies*

Chapter four (section 4.5.3) demonstrates that seriousness of offence is one of those factors which influence application of speech act of apology. In the current study this factor is classified into two categories: severe and not-severe. The first category called severe includes situation 3 (employee got late for meeting with boss), situation 6 (hitting a car and breaking its door), situation 10 (bumping into a passenger and causing his luggage fall), situation 11 (head of department forgot to inform junior employee about meeting with Dean), situation 13 (An MD forgot official meeting with MD of another department), Situation 14 (manager and subordinate), and situation 15 (a visitor dropped water on table of an officer in boss office) while situation 01 (professor did not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgot to bring teacher's book back), situation 4(speaker forgot meeting with a friend), situation 5 (father forgot to take his son for shopping), situation 7 (speaker reached late to receive his elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee's father in the hospital), situation 9 (waiter presented wrong meal to the customer and; situation 12 (a colleague interpreted your comment wrongly) are included in 'not severe' situations (table 3.1). A detail of frequency of apology strategies and their percentage values encompassing second mega apology category- *implicit apologies*- with reference to severity of offense is presented in the table 5.5.

Table 5.5. *Implicit apology strategies interacting with severity of offence factor*

Apology Strategies	Severe				Not - Severe				Total			
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%
Explanation	577	37.4%	729	43.6 %	519	33.4%	722	47.3%	1096	5.4%	1451	45.4%
Concern for Hearer	403	26.1%	360	21.5 %	283	18.2%	203	13.3%	686	22%	563	17.6%
Minimization	221	14.3%	215	13 %	226	14.5 %	156	10.2%	447	14.4%	371	11.6%
Suggestion	338	22%	365	21.8%	525	33.8 %	443	29%	863	28%	808	25.3%
Total	$\left\{\begin{array}{l}1539\\=\\49.7\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left\{\begin{array}{l}1669\\=\\52.2\%\end{array}\right\}00$		$\left\{\begin{array}{l}1553\\=\\50.2\%\end{array}\right\}100$		$\left\{\begin{array}{l}1524\\=\\47.7\%\end{array}\right\}100$		3092	100	3193	100

While trying to find out the extent to which severity of offence affects apologetic expressions of the apologizers, a detailed examination of table 5.5 delineates that at macro level there is no much difference in the application of *implicit apologies* as their values in both severe and not- severe cases remained almost similar in both the languages (English: 3092, Urdu: 3193) and it seems that severity of offence is not among the factors which affect application of this category- '*implicit apologies*' when speakers apologize. Conversely, at micro level further detailed analysis covering application of all the strategies included under the umbrella of this category demonstrate that selection and application of these strategies differ with respect to severity of offence.

In context of severity of offence and use of apologies, table (5.5) shows *explanation* is the most often used apology semantic formula in both the languages (Eng: 35.4% & Urdu:45.4%) while *minimization of offence* is the least favoured strategy out of *implicit apologies* (Eng: 14.4% & Urdu: 11.6%).To find out influence of severity of offence factor, a further look at table (5.5) exhibits that respondents have applied highest frequency of the strategy called *explanation* in English DCT, in the cases of offences categorized as 'severe' (37.4) as compared to 'not severe' offences (33.4%). Contrary to it in responses of Urdu

DCT higher ratio of *explanation* has been applied in the cases of incidents marked as 'not sever' (47.3%) as compared to incidents marked as 'sever' (43.6%) which gives birth to an assumption that there is no direct relationship in application of this strategy (in both the languages) and severity of offence in the society under discussion. As says Muhammad (2006) that severity of offence slightly affects choice of strategy used for apology purpose. The reason of this discrepancy in application of this strategy without any reference to severity of offence might be related to application of *IFIDs* (top most applied apology strategy in English) which are more frequently used in the case of 'severe offences' in English DCT (36.8 %) than 'not severe'(20%) marked offences whereas in Urdu DCT, *IFIDs* have been a less frequently applied strategy (top 5th strategy) which might have been compensated with more application of *explanation* in Urdu DCT in the case of 'not- severe' offences. This strategy is ranked by the interviewees as the most soothing one because it helps the offended party understand the situation. Observation data confirms a mixed application of this strategy around varying types of offences as it is observed frequently used in almost all types of situations. The table (5.2) shows that in English DCT, the highest application of this strategy (n=202, situation3) is made in the case of sever offence whereas some of the not severe situations do not have even a single application of it (situations 4 & 5). Similarly, in the case of Urdu DCT, though maximum use of this strategy has appeared is in the case of not- severe incidents, its highest application has been made in case of severe incident i.e., situation 3 (n=239) and the least use of it is made in case of not severe situation i.e. situation 5 (n=02). Few examples of its application in both the cases are as under:

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- I could not reach in time. In fact, I could not catch a cab due to heavy rain.

English DCT: Situation 3 (severe) – (appendix 1)

- Ohh, you had to wait for such a long time. Mom was not feeling well so before coming to you I had to go to hospital. **English DCT: Situation 7 (Not- severe) - (appendix 1)**

- Sorry *baita, boss k sath* meeting *thi tau mai u s maen* busy *ho gia*. (**English Translation:** Sorry my son, I got stuck in office because of an important meeting with boss). **Urdu DCT, Situation 5 (not severe) - (appendix 1)**

- *Mujey bohat saey kam kurnaey thay is wajah saey a pko* meeting *kay ba ray maen mutlah nuhuin kur saka.* (**English Translation:** I was caught up in many things so could not inform you for meeting). **Urdu DCT, Situation: 11 (severe) - (appendix 1)**

It is obvious from the above examples that apparently there is no difference in the way this strategy is applied in response to different types of offences (severe and not- severe). In case of 'severe' offences '*explanation*' is the most frequently applied strategy in English DCT, while in Urdu it is second most favoured implicit apology strategy. Moreover, 'severe' offences happened in formal setting (situation 3 & 13) have bagged higher number of this strategy than the sever offences occurred in informal settings. So, it can be assumed that severity of offence in combination with formal setting grabs more explanations.

Analysis of next strategy under the caption of *implicit apologies* called *concern for hearer*, shows that in both the languages its maximum application is made in the case

of offences termed as severe. In English DCT (appendix 1) it has got values, 26% and 18% in severe and not severe cases respectively while in Urdu its values remained 22% and 18% in severe and not- severe cases respectively. It manifests a direct correlation between seriousness of offence and application of this strategy i.e. more severe an offence is the higher the application of strategy *concern for hearer* is. Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Trosberg (1987) also mentioned severity of offence as influential factor in selection of apology strategy. The reason behind this direct relationship might be rooted in the assumption that severe offences result in more ruffled feelings in offended ones. In the opinion of interviewees this strategy being recipient oriented helps a lot in shedding anger of the offended party off. The highest number of its application encountered in situation numbers: 6, 7 and 10 in both the languages (with difference of value). All these situations carry informal background. Thus, it can be inferred that severe offences occur in informal setting result in more frequent application of this strategy.

According to the table 5.5, in context of severity of offence factor, *minimization of offence* has not delineated much difference in its application. In the case of English DCT (appendix 1), its value is similar in both severe and not- severe offences i.e., 14.3% & 14.5% respectively. While in Urdu DCT (appendix 1) in the cases of severe and not-severe offences its application remained 13% and 10.2% respectively. This strategy is a very weak acceptance of mistake or offence. Its rare application in the apologies makes it the least favoured implicit apology strategy. When discussed about low application of this strategy in apologies, according to interviewees though it is not refusal of responsibility, in fact it is a very poor acceptance and instead of lessening the anger it aggravates annoyed feelings in the offended party. So, instead of building positive image of the apologizer it destroys

his / her image in the eyes of the apologizee. Thus, it results in low application of this strategy.

The final strategy under umbrella of *implicit apologies* called *suggestion*, being exclusive to the population of the present study, has ample display in the data collected in both the languages i.e. English (28%) and Urdu (25.3%). It is second largest employed implicit apology strategy in both the languages. A detailed analysis (table, 5.5) about application of this strategy with respect to severe and not severe offences shows that it has made its maximum appearance in the case of not severe cases in English DCT (34%). On the other hand, in case of severe offences it appeared with comparatively very low percentage (22%) and has become third largest apology strategy in English DCT in the case of severe offences. In Urdu DCT, too, this strategy has got maximum application in the cases of not- severe offences (29%) and appeared as the most frequently applied implicit apology strategy. Converse to that in the case of severe offences its application is (22%) and thus is second largest applied apology strategy in this case. During observation, plentiful use of this strategy is noted with very less regard to other related factors like social distance, social status, severity of offence etc., for example, A teacher to university van driver: "I was waiting for you and you did not stop to pick me... I missed my class today". Driver, "ohh, I did not see you madam... why did not you hire a cab then? (English translation)". Similar finding with respect to its application in context of severity of offence in both DCTs (appendix 1) have been found out. So, based on this discussion it could be deduced that in the society under discussion, severity of offence has a relationship inversely proportional to the application of the strategy called *suggestion* i.e., the more severe the offence is, the lesser the number of this strategy are applied and vice a versa.

To sum up discussion about effects of 'severity of offence' on application of second mega apology category – *implicit apologies* - it can be deduced from the aforesaid discussion that on macro level it has no visible influence on overall application of implicit apologies in both the languages, but it influences selection and application of different strategies encompassing this category- *implicit apologies*. No definite pattern of these strategies could be deducted on the bases of the findings of table 5.5 e.g., one of these strategies *explanation* has made maximum application in the case of severe offences in English DCT whereas in Urdu DCT, its maximum use has been made in the case of not severe offences. In case of next strategy called *concern for hearer* severity of offence has made a clear distinction i.e., in the case of severe cases the highest number of this strategy has been employed in both the languages and with not- severe offences it has been used less frequently. *minimization of offence*, another apology strategy, in English DCT has not got any influence from this factor i.e., severity of offence but in Urdu DCT, its maximum application has been made in the case of severe offences whereas final strategy called *suggestion* has been influenced by severity of offence and is mostly applied in the case of not-severe offences. So, based on this discussion it can be calculated that there is not definite pattern found regarding application of constituent strategies of third mega apology category *implicit apologies* with reference to severity of offence, in the community under discussion. Similarly, on macro level too, this factor has slightly effected selection of this mega strategy in the case on Urdu DCT, and no effects of this factor can be found in case of English DCT.

5.5.4- Conversational Setting and Application of *Implicit Apologies*

Brown & Levinson model of politeness (1987& 1987) though claiming for universality lacks in many important components which the other researchers consider influencing apologetic attitude of the apologizers. One of those factors is conversational setting. Holmes (1995:19-22) has also made B&L model point of criticism for missing this point from the list of factors affecting apology strategies of the interlocutors. A general look at the society under discussion clearly demonstrates difference in attitudes of the people according to conversational setting of the incident. Their attitude in formal and informal settings can be clearly differentiated. It is a matter of everyday observation toothat none of the individuals behave in similar way in different situations e.g. the way Mr. A, talks to Mr. B in a pub or playground is always entirely different from the way he talks to him in a classroom; and talk taking place in a marriage ceremony would entirely be different from the one taken place at some funeral. Keeping in view the importance of conversational setting, one of its aspects called formality level is examined in the present research. For the said purpose, two formality levels distinguished are formal and informal. Formal situations are those in which speakers act according to their professional roles, and the conversational limits are dictated by the situation and surrounding. On the other hand, informal situations, based on private roles of the interlocutors, normally take place in the homes of the participants, and or between friends or interlocutors in parties, parks, play grounds etc.

As discussed previously, formal situations in the present study include (table 3.1): situation 01 (professor did not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgot to bring teacher's book back), situation 3 (employee got late for meeting with boss),

situation 11 (head of department forgot to inform junior employee about meeting with Dean), situation 13 (An MD forgot official meeting with MD of another department), Situation 14 (manager kept a junior colleague waiting for long time), and situation 15 (a visitor dropped tea on an officer's table). The informal situations, on the other hand, encompass following situations: situation 4 (speaker forgot meeting with a friend), situation no 5 (father forgot to take his son for shopping), situation 6 (speaker bumped into a car and broke its window), situation 7(speaker reached late to receive his elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee's father in the hospital), situation 9 (waiter presented wrong meal to the customer), situation 10 (speaker bumped into an elderly speaker and hurt his leg) and situation 12 (a colleague interpreted your comment wrongly). A detail of frequency of apology strategies and their percentage values encompassing second mega apology category- implicit apologies- with reference to severity of offense is presented in the table 5.6 (forthcoming).

Table 5.6. *Implicit apology strategies and formality level of conversation setting*

Apology Strategies	Formal				Informal				Total			
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%
Explanation	566	49.3%	844	60%	530	27%	607	34%	1096	35.4%	1451	45%
Concern for hearer	79	7%	209	15%	607	31%	354	20%	686	22%	563	18%
Minimization of Offence	221	19.2%	88	6%	226	11%	283	16%	447	14.4%	371	12%
Suggestion	280	24.4%	275	19%	583	30%	533	30%	863	28%	808	25%
Total	$\begin{bmatrix}1146\\=\\37\%\end{bmatrix}$	100	$\begin{bmatrix}1416\\=\\44\%)\end{bmatrix}$	100	$\begin{bmatrix}1946\\=\\63\%\end{bmatrix}$	100	$\begin{bmatrix}1777\\=\\56\%\end{bmatrix}$	100	3092	100%	3193	100%

According to the data presented in table 5.6, while apologizing in both the languages, the apologizers have employed more implicit apology strategies in informal situations (Eng: 63% & Urdu: 56%) as compared to formal situations (Eng: 37% & Urdu: 44%). Further,

difference in application of strategies grouped under this mega apology category (figure 3.2) can also be noted in these two different formality levels. According to interviewees, they behave differently in different conversational settings as says one of the respondents, "Yea, definitely...I mean... the way I apologize to my colleague / comrade or my relative is never the same as I apologize to my boss or my teacher. Observation data also endorse this attitude. For example, a student getting late for class has always ben noted saying " sorry sir/ madam" but, in an example when a group was waiting for a boy when he reaches and one among the group says, " *yar* ... *itni deir ho gei intazar krtey hovey* (English translation: Buddy, you made us wait for such a long time" and he replies, " *tmhara dost jo hova, time per kesy a skta tha*... hahaha (I am your friend so how could I be punctual.. hahha). This excerpt from observation data clearly manifest effect of formaliy level on behaviour of interlocutors.

In DCTs (appendix 1) data, application of first implicit apology strategy called *explanation* in formal situations is higher (Eng: 49% Urdu: 60%) than the informal situations (Eng: 27% & Urdu: 34%) which means apologizers in formal situations need to be more careful about their position and face value which leads them to forward more explanations to clarify their position. The next strategy *concern for hearer* is most frequently applied in informal situations (Eng: 31% & Urdu: 20%) then formal ones (Eng: 7% & Urdu: 15%). The higher application of *explanation* in formal situation might have resulted in less need to show concern for hearer in formal situations and conversely, less application of *explanation* might have left a room for more application of *concern for hearer* strategy in informal situation to put the ruffled feelings of the offended one right. Further, about the strategy *minimization of offence* it is noted that conversational setting

i.e., formal or informal makes no effect on its use in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) because its application has gone through a change with respect to difference in languages i.e., in English DCT, it has got higher application in formal situation (19%) than informal setting (11%) but in Urdu DCT, its maximum application is in informal situations (16%) than the formal one (6%). Table 5.6 embodies effect of conversational setting on strategy called *suggestion* by asserting that, in both the languages, it has been frequently applied in informal situations (Eng: 583 & Urdu: 533) while its application in formal situations remained very low (Eng: 280 & Urdu: 275). Another interesting finding about application of this strategy (see table5.6) is that in the case of informal situations there is no fixed pattern of its application but in formal situations it is employed mainly in cases where the apologizee is either of equal or lower status.

Overall attitude of respondents regarding application of this apology category called *implicit apologies* undergoes change with occurring change in formality level of conversational setting (Table: 5.2). In situation 11 (a boss forgets to inform a junior employee about meeting with Dean) the apologizer – boss- has made low use of this mega category, (Eng: n=108 & Urdu: n= 191) but in situation No 8 (boss could not visit father of an employee who was hospitalized) apologizer of similar status (boss) made more frequent application of this category in both the languages (Eng: n=304 & Urdu: n=299). Change in apologetic attitude of the apologizers owing to the formality level of conversational setting clearly manifest its impact on them which verifies findings of Deutschmann (2003) about apologetic attitude of British English speakers.

5.6- Summary of Chapter 5

Implicit apologies - second mega apology category (figure 3.2) has been point of discussion in this chapter. This category embraces four strategies as its constituent units i.e. *explanation, concern for hearer, minimization of offence* and *suggestion*. Focus of study has been to explore overall application of this apology category in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) in English and Urdu languages; then, to analyse application of different strategies encompassing it with respect to different situations and lastly to evaluate effect of different factors like social status, social distance, severity of offence and conversational setting on apologetic attitude of the respondents in general and application of *implicit apologies* in specific. The analysis of data shows effects of these factors on apology strategies of the interlocutors in both the languages (English and Urdu). Summary of this chapter is as follows:

Implicit apologieds second mega apology category (figure 3.2) has been abundantly applied by the speakers, in both the languages. Its application rate (table 5.1) in Urdu DCT is higher than English (Eng: 3092 & Urdu: 3193). Following is the attitude of the respondents regarding different strategies grouped under this category:

Explanation, first apology strategy under the umbrella of this category is the most applied apology strategy in both the languages (Eng: 35% & Urdu: 45%). This finding endorses assertion of Majeed & Janjua (2014) who writes about Pakistani English speakers that they mostly use *statements and explanations* for this (apologizing) purpose. Second most favoured apology strategy has been, the newly included one called *suggestion*. It has been second highest (Eng: 28% & Urdu 25 %:) favoured implicit apology strategy which justifies its inclusion in Blum - Kulka et al.. (1989) model resulting in a comprehensive

taxonomy used in current study for data analysis (figure 3.1 & 3.2). *Concern for the hearer* has been second least applied strategy (Eng: 22% & Urdu: 18%) and the least favoured implicit apology strategy has been *minimization of offence*.

When the data is analyzed in order to find out application of different apology strategies constituting this mega apology category with respect to different situations given in DCTs (appendix 1), it is found that the first strategy called *explanation* is mostly applied in situations 3, 7 and 13 whereas its minimum application could be seen in situations 4, 5 and 11. It is perceived on the basis of these situations that maximum application of this strategy is made in the cases where either the apologizee is of higher social status or is having close social relationship. By and large, it is used in all the situation in both the DCTs. Next strategy, *concern for hearer* is appeared the most in the situations 6, 7 & 10, and its least appearance is noted in 9, 4, 5, 8 and 11 which imparts that either the speakers of high social status employ this strategy, or it is applied when the apologizee is senior in age. Next apology strategy, *minimization of offence*, got maximum application in situations 3, 8, 12, 13 and had zero application in many situations like 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8 which represent quite a random application of this strategy. Last apology semantic formula under this mega category called *suggestion* has made maximum appearance in situations 4, 9 and 13 whereas it is totally absent from situations 1,2,3 and 7, in both the languages which communicates its rare use in the cases with apologizee having higher social status.

Social status has proved to be a determinant factor in application of the second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* (table 3.2). The results from the study exhibit that in context of social status, application of this apology category is considerably high among the speakers of equals group. Members of that group have made maximum

application of this apologetic cate₍ ₎ in both the languages (Eng: 43% & Urdu: 37%).

The second group called higher is infrequent user of this apology category in both the

languages (Eng: 21% & Urdu: 27%) while the speakers or apologizers of third group called

lower are second most frequent user of this category of *implicit apologies* (Eng: 36% &

Urdu: 36%). As in the case of *explicit apologies* speakers of higher social status are the least

user of *implicit apology strategies* too which corresponds to Brown and Levinson's (1978

& 1987) notion that those who enjoy high status believe apology giving a face threatening

act to their negative face. According to respondents of interview, apology strategies placed

under *implicit apologies*- second mega apology category- are more empathy based so high

ranked people avoid their application to keep a distance and save their public image. The

finding of this research that social status of interlocutor affects selection of apologies

corresponds to the findings of Muhammad (2006), Al- Adaileh (2006), Deutschmann

(2003), Afghari (2007), Nureddeen (2008) and Ogiermann (2009) who also found social

status of the speakers a dominant factor influencing apologies.

As far as application of *implicit apologies* with respect to social distance factor is

concerned, in the current study social group called distant has been the major user of this

category of apologies in English (39.5%) while in Urdu, its maximum use has been made

by speakers of close group (38%). The ratio of application of apologies in the three groups

has been as follows: distant group (English: 39.5%, Urdu: 34.5%), neutral or acquaintance

group (English: 27.5%, Urdu: 27.4%) and close group (English 33%, Urdu: 38%). Based

on the table 5.4 it can be deduced that social distance does not definitely affect application

pattern of the apology strategies, as in English language DCT high ratio of application

remains with distant group whereas in Urdu it shifted towards close group. Here echoes

the comment of Muhammad (2006) in this regard who said, "Choice of apology strategy is affected by social status more than social distance". Similarly, Olshtain (1989) also denied any direct relationship between social distance and apology strategy which also endorses finding of this study.

Severity of offence has also not been proved a difference making factor in selection of *implicit apologies*. Data from both the DCTs (appendix 1) i.e., English and Urdu shows that the apologizers tend to apologize using this category regardless of categorizing offences into not- severe and severe. The ratio of overall apologies made in context of this category is: severe offences (English: 49.7% & Urdu: 52.2%) 'Not severe' offences (English: 50.2% & Urdu: 47.7%). This result, on mega level, has an almost equal proportion of the category not only used in both types of offences (severe and not severe) but also in both the languages. However, at micro level there are many differences in application of apology strategies constituting this mega category e.g., strategy called *suggestion* has appeared in English data (table: 5.5) with the ratio 22% and 34% in severe and not- sever offences respectively. Similarly, *concern for hearer* has appeared with the ratio 26% and 18% respectively in severe and not- severe offences in English DCT. In Urdu data, on the other hand, *concern for hearer* strategy is applied in case of severe offences more (21.5%) than not- severe offences (13%) and '*suggestion*' is employed more (29%) in not- severe offences than in severe ones (22%). Muhammad (2006) also enlists severity of offence as least affecting factor in selection of apology strategies in the case of Sudanese which goes in line with the findings of this study in choosing apology strategies.

The last factor affecting apologetic attitude of interlocutors is conversational setting. In this study conversational setting has been divided into two kinds: formal and

informal. The findings of the research show difference of approach by the speakers regarding application of *implicit apologies* with respect to formality level of the conversation. Some important differences encountered in this regard include a difference in overall application of implicit apology strategies: in formal situations, in both the languages, application of *implicit apologies* is higher as compared to informal situations i.e. English: 57%, Urdu: 54% and English 42%, Urdu: 46% respectively.

Based on aforesaid discussion, it can be concluded that with respect to application of second mega category of apologies called *implicit apologies* Kashmiri speakers are influenced by social parameters like social status, and formality level while severity of offence has been traced as having no effect; and social distance slightly effects attitude of speakers regarding application of *implicit apologies- second mega apology category* (figure 3.2). The next chapter will analyse and discuss application of final mega category of apology strategies called *apologies as communication management devices (CMDs'*.

CHAPTER 6

APOLOGIES AS COMMUNICATION MANAGEMENT DEVICES:

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

6.1- Introduction to Chapter 6

Apologies are essentially social or affective speech acts; they are primarily oriented to support relationship between interlocutors rather than the expressions of referential information or propositional meaning (Holme: 1990). It is evident from many research studies that concept of linguistic politeness varies from language to language and culture to culture. Different cultures nurture their own system of sociolinguistic politeness which is more pronounced in non-Western studies on speech acts (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, (1989); Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, Wierzbicka (1985). According to Matsumoto (1988 and 1989) in Japan, people are expected to act according to their position or rank with regard to others and to maintain that relative position remains a salient aim during application of apology strategies while interacting with people. Hill et al. (1986), too, claim that selectivity about sociolinguistic systems of politeness prevails in all the cultures but with different value ascribed to different elements. In other words, once factors of addressee, status, and situation are identified a Japanese speaker is limited to specific correct choices, whereas for the American English speaker she/he chooses just how much politeness to use from a broad range of polite usage choices.

In hearer-based collective cultures as the one under study in present research work, the hearers are usually provided with many options for interpreting the responses of the

offenders in the cases of apology demanding situations. For this purpose, ambiguous, indirect or digressive expressions are generally forwarded which results in a common observation of that the speakers of the sample community prefer compound and complex sentences over simple and direct ones. This point goes in line with Ahluwalia et.al. (1990) that in conversation Indian speakers avoid talking straight but indirectly reveal their motives to soothe positive face of hearer that the speakers show both agreement and disagreement in the same string of conversation. All such expressions which don't directly aim at apologizing exactly but intend to provide multiple options to the listener/ apologizee to interpret them as per his / her own choice and to help continue communication resulting in managing the offence and satisfying face needs of both the apologizer and the apologizee are, in current study, termed as *apologies as communication management devices (CMDs)*.

Apologies as communication management devices or (CMDs) have been categorized as third mega apology category in the present study (figure 3.2). It includes *counter attack, denial of offence, showing intimacy* and *some other apology tactics* - further consisting of many sub strategies noticeably found in data collected through DTCs (appendix 1) and observations (appendix 2). According to chapter 3 (figure 3.2) the taxonomy being applied in current study consists of three mega apology categories: *explicit apologies, implicit apologies and, apologies as communication management devices (CMDs)*. First two mega apology categories have been comprehensively discussed in chapter 4 & chapter 5 respectively whereas thecurrent chapter deals with third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs*. A brief discussion of this category - *apologies asCMDs-* is as under:

6.2- Description of Third Mega Apology Category- Apologies as CMDs

As stated in chapter 3 (section 3.6.1) this research study contrary to many researchers' practise of having a list of strategies in front prior to starting data analysis is based on a taxonomy devised on the basis of apology semantic formulas found in data collected for this study. Initially, *CCSARP* model (1989) was selected for analysis; in which later were added some strategies emerged from data collected for the current study (figures, 3.1 & 3.2). Out of newly added strategies four are found lacking any actual apologetic sense or function but they are not only found helpful in handling offensive situations but also help continue communication smoothly. These strategies in the view of their role are subsumed under the third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs*. Following is a detail regarding strategies which make up this mega apology category:

6.2.1- Counter Attack

This is one of the strategies which have been included under the umbrella of *apologies as CMDs*- third mega apology category. It is neither explicit acceptance nor denial of responsibility rather its purpose is primarily of sharing the responsibility between offender and the offended party. Strategies similar to it have also been found in some other research works like, Banikalef and Marlyna (2013) included ' blame the hearer strategy; Abbas (2015) mentioned 'blame the hearer'; Soliman (2003) in his comparative study on Egyptian and American apology styles finds that Egyptians tend to 'attack the offended'; Yallah (2014) also reported limited presence of 'blaming victim' strategy in his data; Jebahi (2011) also discovered 'blaming the victim' strategy in his study on investigation of the use of the speech act of apology by Tunisian university students, and , Hussain and

Hammouri (1998) also found 'attacking the victim' strategy in Jordanian culture. Application of this strategy in the data under study has been noticed in the form of compound and complex sentences. In some of the instances it has appeared along with affirmation in one part of sentence e.g.

- Oh, I am sorry, but you have parked your car at wrong place. It is almost in centre of the road. **English DCT, Situation 6, bumping into a car]**

- Sorry, I just forgot to inform you that I had to go to another meeting. This is what you always do (hahaha...laughter). - **English DCT, Situation 13 (appendix 1)**

- *Yar mai nuhin a˜ sakta. Tumhari galti hai tum naey* seriously *mujey batava hi˜ nuhin tha keh aj hi˜ a˜na hai ka˜m kayliav.* (**English Translation:** I cannot reach now. This is your mistake that you did not confirm me to come today for work). -**Urdu DCT, Situation 3 (appendix 1)**

- *Nuhuin, abi tuk* check *nuhuin kur ski. Is˜ dafa a˜p naey* assignment *bohat* late *kur di˜ thi na˜.* (**English Translation:** No, still I could not check assignments. This time you people submitted your assignments quite late). **Urdu DCT, Situation1:(appendix1)**

6.2.2- Denial of Offence

This is the second strategy grouped under the category of *apology as CMDs*. It is identified as down grader in *CCSARP* model which is used to lessen intensity of offence. But its application is not found restricted as a down grader in the data collected for the current study through DCTs and observations because it isapplied both as an independent strategy and in combination with other strategies. Thus, it helps managing communication though does not carry any true sense of apology. In many taxonomies like that of Holme (1990) it

has been applied as sub strategy under the main apology strategy called *taking on responsibility*. Trosborg (1995) has included it in his taxonomy under the heading "opting out" strategy in which the speaker refuses to take responsibility. Ahangar et al., (2015) also includes *denial of responsibility* under the heading of refusal to acknowledge guilt.

In the current work, keeping its nature i.e., denying responsibility, which is literally in conflict to the idea of acceptance it has been included as an independent strategy rather than as a sub strategy of the formula '*taking on responsibility*'. It acts more as communication management devise than apologizing. An interesting point noted regarding its application in the current data is its application with *offer of compensation*. A similar sort of language attitude has been reported by Ahluwalia et.al. (1990) about Indian English speakers that they employ both agreement and disagreement components within the same turn which might appear to a non-Indian to be a contradiction. The interviewees express their opinion about contradictory use of this semantic formula by saying that most of the times especially in the situations where the offended person is a senior or elder and has him/herself done something wrong, it becomes indispensable not to show contradiction abruptly. So, to save his/her face value this strategy of denial of offence is embedded with half-hearted acceptance. Few instances of its application in data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) are as follows:

- It is not my mistake, you are sitting in the mid-way. **English DCT, situation 10 (appendix 1)**

- I was not talking about you. It was just a general statement. **English DCT, situation 12 – (Appendix 1)**

- *Mai naey tumhari ba`t mahuin ki thi. Tumhein galet fahmi hu`i hai.*(English Translation: I didn't talk about you. You are mistaken). Urdu DCT, Situation 12– (appendix 1)

6.1.3- Showing Intimacy

This is third apology strategy under the umbrella of mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs*. It is one of those strategies which are newly added to *CCSARP*model (Blum Kulka et al., 1989) for devising a comprehensive taxonomy (figures 3.1 & 3.2) to apply for data analysis in the current study. Application of this strategy for apology purpose seems largely exclusive to the people of the society under discussion. A very huge number of its application in both the DCTs (appendix 1) has been noted in addition to the data collected through observations. Its application in data has a vast variety of forms e.g.

- Uncle! Please, please, please .... I did not see you. English DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)

- Uncle! I apologize. English DCT, Situation 10 (appendix 1)

- Oh, my dear, my sweet heart. English DCT- Situation 10 – (appendix 1)

- *Yar*, my dear friend. English DCT, Situation 4 (appendix 1)

- My lovely son. English DCT, Situation 5 (appendix 1)

- This strategy -*showing intimacy*-has appeared in different forms in data collected through Urdu DCT as well. Few examples are as follows:

- *Baita, mu`jhay andaza muhin hu`va* rush *bohat tha aur meri* car *a`pki* car *saey tukra gai.* (English Translation: my son, I could not guess due to heavy rush and bumped my car into yours mistakenly). (Urdu DCT- Situation 6) - appendix 1

- *Mera baita, meri jan.* (English Translation: my son, my life). Urdu DCT, Situation 5) (appendix 1)

- *Meri jan tum khood kur lo na¯, mai muhin a¯ sakta a¯ j.* (EnglishTranslation: My dear you do it yourself. I can't come today). Urdu DCT, Situation 5 (appendix 1)

This is one of the most frequently applied strategies used for apologizing in the current study. According to interviewees it has a considerable psychological impact on the apologizee. When apologizer calls someone uncle, aunt, son, daughter, brother or sister it helps decrease anger and soothe the ruffled feeling of the offended one because of the kinship feelings these terms/ titles encode. It is mostly accompanied with apologetic gestures e.g., silence, bowing the head etc. It is a very common observation in the society under review that even in case of extreme offences people often forgive saying 'it is ok' if someone (especially elders) has employed these kinship titles. And, even it is mentioned as a reason of forgiveness that s/he (offender) was saying uncle, aunt, son, daughter etc., which brings these expressions or titles at the status of apology strategy. Talking about Indian culture Pandharipande (1992) states that address/reference terms and kinship forms are markers that help to establish relationship between interlocutors, to identify fundamental Indian conventions of appropriateness, and to predict social expectations and behaviour associated with them. And, the social expectations associated with these kinship terms or expressions of intimacy in the society under study are a benevolent attitude embellished with *kindness and forgiveness* [emphasis mine] if needed in any situation. Indian kinship terms, he adds, such as chaachii (aunt) and bhaaii (brother) indicate not only different social positions in terms of status, respect, age and gender of each participant but reduce face threats and establish a suitable rapport with in interlocutors. Owing similar role

and position in the society under discussion *showing intimacy* has been included as a separate apology strategy in the taxonomy devised for current study.

6.2.4- Some Other Apology Tactics

Last strategy included under the umbrella of apology category called *apologies as CMDs* is in fact a collection of many sub strategies appeared in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) and observations (appendix 2) to a considerable extent. A vast number of these sub- strategies are found in the data. The reason of not including them as independent strategies is firstly their appearance as compared to other strategies is less and are found in either of the data collected through different tools; secondly their inclusion as independent strategies would have made the model too complex and exhaustive by overburdening with too many strategies and thirdly, they are mostly used as intensifiers. These sub- strategies are: *application of exclamation, religious references, gestures (laughter, smile, and facial expressions),* and repetition of words *sorry and please* many time without applying any other word to make a sentence, *offering meal* instead of apologizing and *offering sweets to kids* to avoid apology and make them please. Some of these sub-strategies are also found in previous research works e.g., *religious references* have been found by Hussein and Hammouri (1998) in Jordanian culture, Ali (2013) discovered *offering of food* to the children instead of apologizing to them in Arabian culture, Al-Zumor (2011: p19) while comparing apology strategies employed by Arab learners of English studying in India with the strategies employed by Indian English, American English, and British English speakers finds that " religious beliefs, concepts and values cause many deviations in the Arab learners' language from that of the native

speakers", Sugimoto (1998) noticed *repetition of same expression* in the same sentence in the apologies made by Japanese, Shariati and Chamani (2010) reported swearing as a routine feature of Arabic apology speech acts. Bataineh (2004) found Jordanians invoking Allah's (God's) name for apologizing and Americans tended to blame others besides using some other strategies when trying to apologize for the committed offence. Following is a discussion to find out how these strategies and sub- strategies subsumed under the third mega apology category called '*apologies as CMDs*' appear in the data collected for the current study.

6.3. - Application of '*Apologies as CMDs*' in DCTs (appendix1)

Apologies as CMDs- third mega apology category (figure 3.2) is very complex in its nature due to rich variety of strategies and sub-strategies it possesses. Particularity of these strategies /sub strategies is their exclusiveness towards culture and their derivationfrom religious basis, as reported by the interviewees. Their inclusion not only helps to analyse apologetic attitude of the people under study but also to probe in the cultural values of that society. The analysis of apologies is based on identifying utterances that contain application of *counter attack, denial of offence, showing intimacy;* and, *application of exclamation mark, swearing, gestures (laughter, smile, facial expressions), repetition of word sorry and please* many times without applying any other word to make a sentence, *offering meal/ sweets* instead of apologizing under the heading of strategy called *Some otherapology tactics.*

First of all, overall results concerning use of above mentioned sub/strategies -under the umbrella of *apologies as CMDs*- (section 6.1) is going to be analysed to explore which

is the most frequently used strategy. In total, 3750 remedial exchanges are given in response to 15 DCTs (appendix 1) by 250 respondents both in English and Urdu. Out of which application rate of this mega apology category is: 2210 in English and 2552 in Urdu. Thus, it becomes obvious from such an ample number of these apology strategies in the data that the participants of the study overwhelmingly prefer to depend on this apology category along with the other two mega categories. A detailed analysis of each of the strategies grouped under the heading of this mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* is given below in table 6.1:

Table 6.1. *Frequency and percentage values of apologies as CMDs – third mega apology category - in English and Urdu data*

Strategies	English	%	Urdu	%
1-Denial of offence	201	9%	167	7%
2-Counter attack	313	14.1%	376	17%
3-Showing intimacy	911	41%	1022	45%
4- Other apology tactics:				
a- Exclamation	210	9 %	150	7%
b- Swearing	230	10.5 %	234	10%
c- Please as apology	261	12 %	200	9%
d- Offering meal or sweets	84	4 %	105	5%
e- Gestures	0	0%	0	0%
Sub- total	785	35.5%	689	31%
TOTAL	2210	100 %	2254	100%

Table 6.1 delineates that out of the third mega apology category - *apologies as CMDs* strategy called *showing intimacy* is the most favoured strategy in both the languages (Eng: 41% & Urdu: 45%). This finding corresponds with its very frequent and common application during observation. It is observed that its application has no boundaries with respect to different factors like age and social distance, severity of offence etc. The strategy called '*some other apology tactics* 'combining many sub-strategies is second most applied strategy in both the languages with the application rate 35.5% in English and 31% in Urdu.

Two strategies named *counter attack* and *denial of offence*, which have also been discussed by many other researchers e.g., Trosborg (1995), Ahangar et al., (2015), Jebahi (2011), Banikalef and Marlyna (2013) etc., getting 14% and 9% application rate in English; and 17% and 7% in Urdu respectively have made less appearance than the newly added strategies i.e., *showing intimacy* (Eng: 41% & Urdu: 45%). Yallah, (2014) also reported presence but extremely low application of the strategy called '*blaming victim*' in his research study on Saudi population. He says, "one can rely on religion to justify the dearth in use. Islam requires absolute certainty before accusing the victim".

The table (6.1) also shows total frequency and percentage value of each strategy combined under the strategy called '*some other apology tactics*' in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) in English and Urdu languages. The table indicates that out of this strategy, application of word '*please*' as an apology expression has been the most frequently occurring (33%) sub-strategy by Kashmiri speakers in English language whereas in Urdu DCT (appendix 1) it has been second highest apology (sub) strategy in Urdu DCT (29%). Second sub- strategy '*to swear*' has been top favoured in Urdu DCT (34%) while second most favoured in English DCT (29%). An interesting point about these sub- strategies encompassing main strategy called '*some other apology tactics*' (section 3.6.1) is that many of them e.g., *swearing* and application of word *please* for apologizing grabbed more application in both the languages than the core postulate *acknowledgement of responsibility* (Eng: 181 & Urdu: 0) of *CCSARP* model (1989). Application of *exclamation* for apologizing has appeared on third position on hierarchy of application of sub strategies in apologizing process in both the languages i.e., English (27%) and Urdu

(22%). Final sub- strategy *offering meal or sweets* has appeared in the data in both the languages with the ratio 11% and 15% in English and Urdu respectively.

Presence of this category *apologies as CMDs* in both English and Urdu makes it a culture rooted, beyond language specificity, apology category. At macro level, its application in both the languages doesn't render much difference (English: 2210 & Urdu: 2252) but a study at micro level brings many differences in application of its sub- strategies e.g., *counter attack* has got appearance value of 14% in English DCT and 17%in Urdu DCT. Similarly, last strategy called *someother apology tactics* has got 30% and 35% value in English and Urdu data respectively. These results demonstrate considerable dependence of Kashmiri speakers on these strategies comprising mega category called *apologies as CMDs* while apologizing which goes in line with the findings of many researchers like Deutchman (2003), Aijmer's (1996), Mattson Bean & Johnstone's (1994), Holmes (1990).

6.4- Application of '*Apology Strategies as CMDs*' in Different Situations Provided in DCTs

As the situations provided in DCTs (appendix1) carry different background, different levels of social relationship, severity of offence and conversational setting it is expected that the respondents will react in varying ways applying different apology strategies. Following is a description about application of different strategies encompassing *apologies as DMDs* - third mega apology category (figure 3.2) – in different situations. Table 6.2 manifests detail of data in this regard.

Table 6.2. *Apologies as CMDs- third mega apology category in first 4 situations (DCTs)*

Situations Strategies	situation 1		situation 2		situation 3		situation 4	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
counter attack	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	23
Denial of offence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Showing intimacy	67	40	0	0	0	0	130	178
Some other apology tactics	0	0	20	45	99	30	83	19
Total	67	40	20	45	99	30	275	220

Table 6.2. *Apologies as CMDs- third mega apology category in situations 5 to 8 (DCTs)*

Situations Strategies	situation 5		situation 6		situation 7		situation 8	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu
counter attack	0	0	51	92	0	0	0	0
Denial of offence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Showing intimacy	150	157	32	76	150	150	70	78
Some others apology tactics	100	100	5	13	59	102	13	0
Total	250	257	88	181	209	252	83	78

Table 6.2. *Apologies as CMDs- third mega apology category in situations 9 to 11 (DCTs)*

Situations Strategies	situation 9		situation 10		situation 11		situation 12	
	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
counter attack	0	11	0	106	0	5	200	139
Denial of offence	0	0	81	0	0	0	100	167
Showing intimacy	41	98	159	90	104	0	8	70
Some others apology tactics	103	26	28	58	42	67	31	3
Total	144	135	268	254		72	339	379

Table 6.2. *Apologies as CMDs- third mega apology category in situations 9 to 11 (DCTs)*

Situations Strategies	situation 13		situation 14		situation 15		Total	
	English	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
Counter attack	0	0	0	0	0	0	313	376
Denial of offence	20	0	0	0	0	0	201	167
Showing intimacy	0	20	0	65	0	0	911	1022
Some others apology tactics	101	76	20	53	81	97	785	689
Total	121	96	20	118		97	2210	2254

6.4.1- Application of *Counter Attack* in Different Situations Provided in DCTs

The first constituent strategy of third mega apology category '*apologies as CMDs*'
called *counter attack* is found in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1) in both the
languages i.e., English and Urdu. Its value differs in both the languages (Eng: 313 & Urdu:
376) and among different situations. In English data it has appeared in only three situations
(4, 6 & 12) and has got maximum application (200) in situation 12 (a colleague interpreted
comment wrongly) and its least application has been made in situation 6 (bumping into a
car and breaking its window) while situation 4 (forgetting meeting with a friend) bagged
62 instances of this strategy. An analysis of the situations delineates that it has been applied
in formal and informal, severe and not- severe cases with the addressees either of equal
level or stranger. In Urdu it has made a wider application in different situations though
with some situations carrying no application of this apology strategy at all. In DCTs data,
its highest application has been made in both the languages in response to situation 12
(Eng: 200 & Urdu:139), while its least use (n=5) is made in situation 11 (head of
department forgot to inform a junior colleague about meeting with Dean) in both the
languages (Eng:0 & Urdu:5. Instances of its application in both the DCTs (appendix1) are
as follows:

- I didn't mean to hit you. I was talking in general terms. You just have a bad habit
  of making fuss out of everything. **English DCT, Situation 12- (appendix 1)**

- You didn't confirm me to come today for assignment. You should have made it
  clear. Now do it yourself. **English DCT, Situation 4- (appendix 1)**

- *Tumhein weisaey hi hur ba t a pni taraf khcinchnaey ki a dat hai warna mai naey*
  tau general ba t ki thi. (**English Translation:** You have a bad habit of taking

everything personally otherwise I was talking in general terms). **Urdu DCT, Situation 12- (Appendix I)**

- *Mai nuhin a° raha dost, a°j tumhari ba°ri hai. Tum bih tu humysha aisa hi° kurtaey ho.* (**English Translation:** I am not coming, this is your turn my friend. This is what you always do). **Urdu DCT, Situation 4 – (appendix I)**

A noticeable point regarding application of this strategy, in both English and Urdu DCTs, is that it has not been employed independently in any situation but in combination with other strategies. An example of use of this strategy taken from observation data is as follows. Three students were waiting for for their fiends to join them for tea. They got late but just at arrival one of them sais, "ohh sorry *yar hmein deir ho gei ... tum log hmysha* wait *krwatey thy aj maza aya* (English translatin: ohh sory we are late ... you people used to make us wait all the times so, did you enjoy the music today)". Though it is a newly added apology strategy to the taxonomy used in this research work for analysis, some other researchers also found its presence in apology expression employed in different parts of the world e.g., Jebahi (2011), Banikalef and Marlyna (2013), Ahangar et al., (2015); Yallah (2014) found only two cases of *counter attack* or *blaming victim* in the corpus of his study.

6.4.2- Application of 'Denial of Responsibility' in Different Apology Situations

Bergman and Kasper (1993) classified *Minimization of offence* and *denial of responsibility* as 'downgrading' strategy whereas in many previous studies expressions that demonstrate avoidance or denial of the responsibility were classified with other strategy groupings e.g., Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) categorized all statements related to

responsibility, ranging from strong self- humbling expression to complete denial of the offense, in one category i.e. However, based on the actual sense this strategy carries i.e., not to take responsibility of the offence, in the present study it has been separated from the strategy called *taking on responsibility*, and is included as an independent strategy under the umbrella of third mega apology category called apologies *as CMDs*. Expressions being applied in carrying explicit acceptance of responsibility (e.g., it is my fault) reflect a different sense from those in which responsibility is avoided or denied (e.g., it is not my fault). Expressions placed under in this strategy are purely those in which respondents avoid acknowledging responsibility. In both the DCTs (appendix 1) and during observation it is noticed that this strategy has been employed in combination with some other strategies especially with *counter attack, explanation* or *account of reason* or *suggestions*. Another interesting finding about this strategy is its application in combination with the strategy called *offer of compensation* which is an explicit apology strategy (figure 3.2). Following are the examples to demonstrate the way it has been employed in the DCTs.

- That is not my fault, you suddenly came into my way. But please don't shout I will pay for your loss. **English DCT, Situation 10- (Appendix 1)**

- Sir, it is not my fault. In fact, boss suddenly called me for an urgent meeting at that very time. **English DCT, Situation 13- (Appendix 1)**

- *Mai naey kisi kay* against *koi ba¯t nuhin ki*. General *ba¯t ki thi a¯p is ko* personal *na¯ lein*. (**English Translation:** I didn't talk about any individual. It was a general statement, don't get it personal). **Urdu DCT, Situation 12 – (Appendix 1)**

- *Mai naey eysa kuch bih nuhin kaha, tum* please *a¯pna damagh theek rakha kro*. (**English Translation:** I didn't say any such thing, you please try to think positive). **Urdu DCT, Situation 12 – (Appendix 1)**

Table 6.2 displays that *denial of responsibility* has not only got very limited application in data collected through both DCTs, but it also appeared in only few situations. Jebahi (2011), while investigating application of speech act of apology by Tunisian university students traced a noticeable percentage of subjects who denied responsibility for the offence and shifted responsibility to others. In the current study, in English data it is employed in only three situations (10, 12 & 13) whereas in Urdu data its application confined only to situation 12. During observation too, its application was observed to have been restricted to only informal and/or not- sever incidents most of the times. In the data -both in English and Urdu DCTs- its highest application in situation 12 (a colleague interpreted comments of the speaker wrongly and got angry) indicates that it is mostly applied in the cases of confrontations.

6.4.3- Application of 'Showing Intimacy' in Different Apology Situations

Next strategy 'Showing Intimacy' is extensively used by the population under study. Its application is frequently noticed during observations (Appendix 2) and in the data collected through DCTs (appendix 1). In English DCT its application ranges from non-application in some formal situations to the value 159 in situation 10 (hitting an elderly passenger and causing his belongings fell down). Besides this, three other situations i.e., situation 5 (n=150), situation 7 (n=150) and situation 3 (130) have received noticeably high application value (130) of this strategy. Application of this strategy touches its lowest level in situation 12 which has been marked as having highest number of application of *counter attack* and *denial of offence* (6.2.1 & 6.2.2) which delineates positive value this strategy (*showing intimacy*) possess in apologizing process. When asked about such an abundant

application of this strategy around almost all the situations, the interviewees claimed for

magical power hidden in this strategy and one of the respondents unveiled its power and

psychological impact by saying that "in our culture one can hope for forgiveness even in

the case of murder by uttering words like, my son, daughter, uncle, aunt or baba gee (a title

which literally means father, given out of respect to an elderly person), *amaan gee* (a title

which stands for mother- commonly given to an elderly woman out of respect)". Thus, it

can be concluded that this strategy besides not bearing any apparent apology expression

helps manage apology process and face saving with positive outcome. De Kadt (1998)

reveals significant role of such practices in Zulu culture saying that face maintenance in

Zulu is achieved through application of a wide range of verbal expressions (deferential

expressions, in-group address markers, and some referential terms e.g., *mgane wami* my

friend [emphasis mine], *mfo* 'brother [emphasis mine]', subservient phrases, and so forth)

in addition to some nonverbal expressions e.g., gestures, postures and gaze etc.

6.4.4- Application of 'Some More Apology Tactics: Further Insights' in Different Apology Situations

This is last strategy under the umbrella of mega apology category called *apologies*

as CMDs. It is collective in nature in terms of encompassing many sub- strategies like *use*

of exclamation for apology purpose, swearing, application of word please *as apology*

marker, offering chocolates or meal and use of facial expressions like smile and laughter.

Out of these sub strategies many have been found existing in some previous studies e.g.,

Bataineh (2004) claimed Jordanians invoking Allah's (God's) name in apologies. Yallah

(2014) has found application of denying responsibility and *blaming the victim* being used

by Saudians as apology strategies. Likewise, Ilknur & Kampusü (2009) included deny and blame in his research on use of apologies by Turkish EFL learners. Trosborg (1987: p.[149]) has also included 'blaming the complainer' as a strategy in her taxonomy. Hussein & Hammouri (1998) noticed some unique strategies in their Jordanian data and assert that "their peculiarity can be attributed to their culture, patterns of thought and religious orientation. These strategies are: minimizing the degree of offense, praising Allah, proverbial expressions, and attacking". Table 6.3 gives a detail regarding distribution of sub- strategies of the strategy called *some other apology tactics* in different situations.

Table 6.3. *Sub-strategies constituting apology strategy called 'some other apology tactics' in all the 15 situations (DCTs- appendix 1)*

Situations / Strategies	Situation 1		situation 2		situation 3		situation 4	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
Exclamation	0	0	0	24	99	30	0	0
Religious reference	0	0	20	21	0	0	30	0
Please	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	0
offering meal/ candy	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	19
Gestures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	20	45	99	30	83	19

Situations / Strategies	situation 5		situation 6		situation 7		situation 8	
	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
Exclamation	0	0	5	0	33	0	0	0
Religious reference	0	0	0	13	26	75	0	0
Please	24	11	0	0	0	27	13	0
Offering meal/candy	76	89	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gestures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	5	13	59	102	13	0

Situations	situation 9		situation 10		situation 11		situation 12	
Strategies	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
Exclamation	61	26	28	28	42	67	0	0
Religious reference	0	0	0	30	0	0	31	3
Please	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
offering meal/ candy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gestures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	103	26	28	58	42	67	31	3

Situations	situation 13		situation 14		situation 15		Total	
Strategies	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
Exclamation	0	0	0	11	64	40	332	226
Religious reference	19	13	20	0	0	0	146	155
Please	41	52	0	42	17	57	182	189
offering meal/ candy	41	11	0	0	0	0	125	119
Gestures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		76	20	53	81	97	785	689

According to English DCT (Appendix I), highest number of this strategy- *some other apology tactics* - (n‑103) has been employed in situation number 9 (waiter delivered wrong food to a customer in a hotel) and lowest in situation 6 (speaker bumped into a car and broke its window) whereas in situation number 1 (professor got late in returning assignments to the students) it has not been applied at all. A look at table 6.3 further delineates that its sub- strategies have randomly been applied in different situations except *offering the meal* which has been applied either in the case of close intimates or equals in status. According to Rizk (1997) Arabs do not apologize to children but try to make the child forgive them by uttering some sentences e.g. do not feel sad, baby. Additionally, they were found to express apology through offering food which according to Muhammad (2006) may seem rude to native English speakers, is culturally accurate since offering food

in some cultures is quite acceptable because it has the power to wipe off a lot of hurt. In many parts of Kashmir (the society under study) it is a well-known tradition to have a family feast after reconciliation of some ruffled tribes which has made reflection in the form of offering sweets to kids and meal/ party to friends and peers in the data collected through DCTs (Appendix 1) and observations (Appendix2).

Different sub strategies discussed in table 6.3 show that there is a wide range of apology expressions available to the speakers of the culture under discussion. According to Suszczynska (1999) apologies are culture specific and can only be understood with reference to cultural beliefs, values and attitudes. Some cultures value explicit expressions of apologies whereas some prefer implicit apologies added with non-verbal expressions. According to Fraser (1981) an apology can be either direct or indirect or it can be verbal or non- verbal. Verbal apologies are the utterances carrying apologetic expressions whereas nonverbal apologies include *mimicry, gestures,* and *facial expressions,* with a special emphasis on eye contact. These nonverbal apologies have abundantly been found during observations (Appendix 2). For example, a boy to his frined on dinning table for dropping food on table saying, "*tmein khaney ki tmeez nein hy ... kia hal kr diya hy table ka*". The other just laughs and continues eating. Likewise, in another case, a teacher scoldes his students for being late saying, "*mein 10 minutes sy apka wait kr rhi houn, kahan thy ap log*" the students silently keep standinding bowing their heads .... Then, comes a voice "sorry madam". These nonverbal expressions are so abundant that a large part of real life apologies is noted to have been done through them especially *smile, laughter* and *silence*. Among the sub- strategies of the strategy *some other apology tactics* are included *gestures/silence / smile or laughter* which have not appeared even a single time in any of

the data collected through DCTs (Appendix 1). Besides earning no value in DCT data, it has been included because of its abundant use noticed during observations (Appendix 1). The reason might be that it is not practically possible for the respondents to embed these items while they are responding to the given situation in written form. The situation might have been reversed if there were an option of role play because it was a very common sight to get the apologizer smiling or even blasting into laughter instead of apologizing for some offence or just standing still quite silently, pitting the eyes on ground in case of offence committed against some senior or elder person. For example, in a class a teacher scolds his student for getting very low marks in a quiz, but in the reply instead of saying anything student just keeps standing silently, bowing his head. This attitude has been observed in multiple situations. When discussed with interviewees about application of smile/ laughter instead of apologizing clearly, they were of the view that it was one of the most common reactions when apologizer doesn't know how to handle the situation. It helps manage the situation, they added. One of the interviewees said, "a laughter or smile can be the best possible move when there is no logical reason to forward as an excuse".

Thus, based on the data presented in table 6.3, and collected through observations (Appendix1) it can be concluded that apologies extended in the culture under review embody quite a considerable number of such strategies (placed under the umbrella of *apologies as DMDs*) which demand an understanding of the value system, religious beliefs and cultural values of that society to understand their role in result-oriented apologies.

6.5-Sociolinguistic Factors and Third Mega Apology Category - *Apologies as CMDs*

As stated previously, some factors like social status, social distance, formality level and severity of offence have a potential to influence human interaction when apologizing to each other (B & L, 1978; Leech, 1983; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981, and Trosberg, 1987). According to many researchers these factors significantly influence speakers' selection of apology strategy. Different societies ascribe different levels of importance to these factors and communication among the interlocutors is directly affected with the importance these factors owe in the society. According to the taxonomy devised for current study different apology strategies are group under three mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies, implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* (section 3.6.6, figure 3.2). In chapter 4, for instance, with respect to application of *explicit apologies* social status and formality level variables are found more powerful in Kashmiri culture whereas application of *implicit apologies* is mainly affected by social status of interlocutors, and formality level of ˋconversational setting (chapter 5). It is found that difference of social status between interlocutors necessarily obligates Kashmiri speakers to adapt their selection of verbal and nonverbal expressions to fulfil requirements of politeness. Under consideration is a multilingual society having English and Urdu as official languages while Urdu acts as lingua franca in the society. Upcoming section will examine application of third mega apology category *apologies as CMDs* by Kashmiri speakers in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu with respect to the effects of different social variables:

6.5.1- Effects of Social Status on Application of *Apologies as CMDs*

According to many researchers (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995; Leech, 1983) role of social status depends on the ability of interlocutors to identify each other's social position. In the current research study participants have been selected owing different social status: high, low or equal (table 3.1).The speakers in the role of a university professor (situation 01), a father (situation 5), boss (situation 8) a head of a department in a university (situation 11), and manager in office (situation 14) have higher social status than the hearers thus are placed in group called 'higher'. On the other hand, the speakers in the roles of a student (situation 2), an employee (situation 03), a younger brother (situation 7), waiter (situation 9) and a guest (situation 15) are in a lower status than the addressee so are placed in group called 'lower'. And, lastly, the social status between speakers of situations 04 (friends), 06 &, 10 (strangers), 11 & 12 (colleagues) is assumed to be of equal social status, thus they make the group called 'equal'.

Regarding application of first two mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies* and *implicit apologies* in the society under discussion it is found that social status of interlocutors greatly influence apologetic behaviour and selection of apology strategies (sections: 4.5.1 & 5.5.1). The extent to which social status of interlocutors influence application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2) is focus of this section. Table 6.2 shows that this mega category has made a plentiful application in the situations demanding apologies. Chapter 4, reveals that *explicit apologies* are much louder in the situations having recipient with high social status. Contrary to that, chapter 5 exposes that *implicit apologies* are most applied by status equals. Focus of present section

is to observe application of *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2) with respect to social status. So, table, 6.4, presents data collected through DCTs- in both the languages (appendix 1) with respect to social status factor:

Table 6.4. *Frequency Distribution of Apologies as CMDsinteracting with Social Status Factor*

Strategies	Higher E:	%	U:	%	Equal E:	%	U:	%	Lower E:	%	U:	%	Total E:	%	U:	%
Counter attack	0	0%	5	.88%	313	29%	360	32%	0	0%	11	2%	313	4.1%	376	17%
Denial of Offence	0	0%	0	0%	201	18%	167	15%	0	0%	0	0%	201	9%	167	7.4%
Showing intimacy	391	69%	340	60%	329	30%	434	38%	19	345%	248	44%	911	1.2%	1022	45%
Other Apology Tactics:																
-Exclamation	42	24%	78	35%	33	13.3%	28	17%	257	71%	120	40%	332	42%	226	33%
-Religious reference	20	11%	0	0%	80	32.2%	59	40%	46	13%	96	32%	146	18.5%	155	22.4%
-please as sorry	37	21%	53	24%	86	35%	52	31%	59	16.2%	84	28%	182	23.1%	189	27.4%
-offering meal	76	43%	89	40%	49	20%	30	18%	0	0%	0	0%	125	16%	119	17.2%
-Gestures	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sub- total	175	31%	220	39%	248	23%	169	15%	362	5.4%	300	54%	785	35.5%	689	30.5%
Total	$\begin{bmatrix} 566 \\ = \\ 25.6\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 565 \\ = \\ 25\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 1091 \\ = \\ 49.3\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 1130 \\ = \\ 50\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 553 \\ = \\ 25\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 559 \\ = \\ 25\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		2210	100%	2254	100%

Table 6.4 throws light on the individual value of strategies encompassing third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* in the data collected through DCTs (Appendix 1) in context of social status of the interlocutors. The data has been placed in this table according to social status relationship among the participants. As stated earlier, the participants are divided into three groups: one group with apologizer of high social status called higher, second group with apologizer and apologizee of equal social status called equals and the third group containing apologizer with lower social status called lower (table 3.1).

The table (6.4) reveals that overall ratio of application of the apology category *apologies as CMDs* is slightly higher in Urdu DCT (2254) as compared to English DCT

(2210). The highest application of the strategies of this apology category is made by the speakers of the group called equal (Eng: 49% & Urdu: 50%) whereas the remaining groups i.e., higher and lower have shown similar tendency (table: 6.4) which goes in line with Bulge theory which claims for similar behaviour of the two extremes at social status continuum. Further analysis reveals about the employment of strategies gathered under the umbrella of the category under discussion i.e., *apologies as CMDs* that out of them *showing intimacy* is the most frequently applied strategy in both DCTs (Appendix 1). In English data it comprises 41% of the overall application of this category and in Urdu data it is 45% of the total volume of strategies applied under this mega apology category. During observation, too, many instances of its application were noticed, for example, in a situation, an elder bumps into a small girl and suddenly said, " *Meri baiti, meri jan... and kissed her* [Eng. translation: My daughter, my love] ". It has made maximum appearance in the case of apologizers of high social status in both the DCTs (Eng: 69% & Urdu: 60%) while lowest application, in both languages, can be observed in case of 'equals' (Eng: 30% & Urdu: 38%). The lower social status group has applied second highest number of this strategy (E: 35% & U: 44%). Though applied by all the three groups of interlocutors, based on application ratio (table 6.4) it can be assumed that in the society under consideration it is mostly used by those having higher social status. A reason for highest application rate of this strategy by the speakers of higher group might be ascribed to their attitude of avoiding application of *explicit apologies* (table 4.3). So, it can be deduced that to make up the offensive situation and satisfy face needs of the apologizee of lower social status (junior either in age or grade) they depend heavily on this strategy which according to majority of interviewee works wonder and heals up situation more effectively than other apology

strategies. Second highest user of this strategy called lower also need to associate them with others which result in high employment of this strategy while the lowest user i.e., equal don't need to stress any such feeling with the interlocutor resulting in lowest application of this strategy.

Second most applied strategy named *some other apology tactics* is in fact a cocktail of different sub- strategies including, *exclamations, swearing, saying word please instead of sorry* and *offering meal or candies, gestures e.g., smile, laughter or silence* etc. Its value is noticeably high in the apologies forwarded by the speakers of group called lower (Eng: 65% & Urdu: 54%) and reached its lowest application level in the group called equal (Eng: 23% & Urdu: 15%) whereas its application rate by the speakers of 'higher' group in English is: 31% and in Urdu: 39%. A further look at table (6.4) delineates a variation in application of different sub- strategies of this strategy with respect to variation in the status of the speakers. The sub- strategy *application of exclamation* instead of apologizing has got maximum application in English DCT (Appendix 1) among the speakers of 'lower' group (71% of the strategy i.e. *some other aology tactics*) whereas in Urdu its maximum use is made by the speakers of 'higher' group (78%). *Swearing,* another sub-strategy is totally absent from the apologies made by the speakers of higher group in Urdu DCT and in English DCT, too, it has got lowest value among the speakers of this group which might be an indication of indifferent attitude of speakers of this group who don't feel much necessity to make others trust them. Another sub- strategy included under this strategy is application of word *please* at the place of *sorry.* It might look strange for many societies in the world, but it makes 23% of the strategy called *someother apology tactics* in English and 27% in Urdu DCT. The speakers in equal group have made highest application of it

(Eng: 35% & Urdu: 31%). Another sub- strategy found in the data collected in both the languages is *offering meal or candies* (English (16%) & Urdu (17%). Its maximum application is made by the speakers of high social status (Eng: 43% & Urdu 40%) while none of the example carrying this sub strategy could be found in case of speakers having low social status. This strategy was also found by Ali et al., (2013) and Alfattah (2009). According to them Arab usually use it when they owe to apologize to children. Instead of apologizing to them they offer sweets to them. But, in case of the society under study, it has been found not restricted to the cases involving apology from children only but ranges to the interlocutors of equal group.

Counter attack is second least applied strategy under the umbrella of *apologies as CMDs*. This strategy has been part of many other taxonomies (Jebahi, 2011, Banikalef and Marlyna 2013 and Abbas et.al 2015). In the current study it makes 14% of the strategy called *someother apologetic tactics* in English DCT and 17% in Urdu DCT. Among the speakers of two groups i.e., higher (Eng: 0% & Urdu: .8%) and lower (Eng: 0% & Urdu: 2%) its application remained quite negligible. The group called equals is the solo chief applicant of this strategy (Eng: 29% & Urdu: 32%). The next strategy called *denial of offence* which has also been part of many previous taxonomies e.g., Banikalef and Marlyna (2013), Soliman (2003) and Hussain and Hammouri (1998) is the least applied one in the data collected for current study in both the languages (Eng: 9% & Urdu: 7%).

To conclude about third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* with respect to social status of the interlocutors it can be asserted, based on the data presented in table 6.4, that speakers of equal group have made maximum use of this strategy (Eng: 49%& Urdu: 50%) whereas the other extremes at the continuum of social status i.e., higher

and lower showed almost similar tendency towards it i.e., higher (English: 25% & Urdu: 25%) and lower (Eng: 25% & Urdu: 25%) which contrary to Brown & Levinson (1978) favours Wolfson's Bulge theory (1988) according to which extreme ends of social status continuum render similar type of attitude. It is also in harmony with Holmes's (1995) assertion that equals have to care a lot about their relationship with others: with whom they are neither too close to take the relationship strong enough to bear apologetic situations smoothly nor is their relationship too weak to be ignored exchange maximum apologies.

6.5.2- Effects of Social Distance on Application of '*Apologies as CMDs*'

In the current study, social distance between the interlocutors is taken to signify the degree of familiarity between them i.e., how well they know each other. Twelve apology situations are designed for measuring apologetic attitude of the respondents (Appendix 1). For this purpose, key variables have been taken from Brown & Levinson's theory (1987) which includes social distance as a dominant factor. Leech, 1983 also agrees that social distance is one of those factors that govern politeness behaviour of interlocutors. It refers to the degree of intimacy participants share and different roles they undertake in relation to each other in a particular situation (Brown & Levinson, 1987: p.126).

In the present study, as discussed in detail in previous chapters (4 & 5) too, respondents with respect to social distance factor, have been classified into three groups: close, acquaintance or neutral and distant (table 3.1). Based on DCTs (Appendix1) following is the division of situations according to speakers belonging to these three groups: an employee and a boss, real brothers (situation 3) two friends (situation 4), a father

and son (situation 5), two brothers (situation 7) and manager and junior employee- a close friend (situation 14) are the people who know each other well or are close acquaintances (close social distance). A university professor and a student (situation 1), a student and a university teacher (situation 2), an head of department and a junior lecturer (situation 11), two colleagues/MDs of two different departments (situation 13) are acquaintances or people who know each other but not very well (neutral social distance); and the third group –distant or unfamiliar people- are represented as speaker and driver of a car (situation 6), a boss and employee (situation 8), customer and waiter (situation 11), speaker and passenger (situation 10), a visitor and officer (situation 15). These are the characters who have been taken as people who do not know each other well or are unfamiliar (distant social distance). Table 6.5 illustrates application of third mega apology category called 'apologies as CMDs' with respect to social distance factor.

Table 6.5 displays application of third mega apology category named 'apologies as CMDs' (figure 3.2) with respect to social distance factor. There is variation in its application through all the three groups i.e., close (Eng: 38.5% & Urdu: 39%), acquaintance (Eng: 31.3% & Urdu: 28%) and distant group (Eng: 30% & Urdu: 33%). It shows that the highest application of this mega category in both the languages is made by close group while it has got its lowest application in English DCT (Appendix 1) in distant group, and in Urdu DCT (Appendix 1) in acquaintance group which signifies no parameters about its application among the speakers of these two groups. This finding is contrary to Brown & Levinson (1987) proposition that an increase in social distance (strangers) requires display of respect by means of apologies and the decrease in social distance tends not to demand for production of these speech acts.

Table 6.5. *Frequency distribution of apology strategies interacting with social distance factor*

Apology Strategies	Close E:	%	U:	%	Acquaintances E:	%	U:	%	Distant E:	%	U:	%	Total E:	%	U:	%
Counter attack	62	7.2%	23	3%	200	29%	144	23%	51	8%	209	28%	313	14.1%	376	17%
Denial of offence	0	0%	0	0%	120	17%	167	26.4%	81	12%	0	0%	201	9%	167	7.4%
Showing intimacy	430	50.4%	550	63%	179	26%	130	20.5%	302	45%	342	46%	911	41.2%	1022	45%
Other apology tactics:																
-Exclamation	132	36.5%	41	13.4%	42	22%	91	48%	158	69%	94	48.4%	332	42%	226	33%
-Swearing	76	21%	75	25%	70	36%	37	19.3%	0	0%	43	22.1%	146	18.5%	155	22.4%
-Please as sorry	69	19.1%	80	26.3%	41	21.1%	52	27.2%	72	31.3%	57	29.3%	182	23.1%	189	27.4%
-Offering meal	84	23.2%	108	35.5%	41	21.1%	11	6%	0	0%	0	0%	125	16%	119	17.2%
-Gestures	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sub-total	361	42.3%	304	34.5%	194	28%	191	30.2%	230	35%	194	26%	785	35.5%	689	30.5%
Total	$\left(\frac{853}{38.5}\right)$100		$\left(\frac{877}{39\%}\right)$100		$\left(\frac{693}{31.3\%}\right)$100		$\left(\frac{632}{28\%}\right)$100		$\left(\frac{664}{30\%}\right)$100		$\left(\frac{745}{33\%}\right)$100		2210	100	2254	100

At micro level, with respect to application of different strategies encompassing this mega category, the analysis shows that *showing intimacy* - the largest employed strategy in DCT data in both the languages, is the most favoured strategy by the speakers of close group (Eng: 50% & Urdu: 63%). Many examples of its application are there in data collected through observations, for example, sitting in liberary, a girl student was calling her friend to come to do a group assignment. The friend was not willing to work, so instead of being apologetic she replied saying, "*Meri jan tum khood kam kur lo na*" [Eng., translation: My dear, you do it yourself]". It is least used by the speakers of distant group i.e., 26% & 20.5% respectively in English and Urdu data. Abundant application of this strategy by the speakers of close group is a reflection of societal norms in which the relationship/ love/ care and affection usually finds its place in conversation to create a positive impact whereas though second highest by quite a countable number of its application by speakers of distant group indicates their need to associate to the interlocutor

in the case of happening of an offence so that a soft feeling can be created in the heart of offended party. It also refers to the feeling of in- groupness among the members of the society under review. Next strategy under this category, called *some other apology tactics* is also mostly applied by speakers of close group in both the languages and its least application ratio varies between the remaining two groups i.e., acquaintance and distant: in English DCT its least application has been made by the speakers of distant group and in Urdu DCT its minimum application has been made by speakers of acquaintance group. Differences also encounter in application of different sub- strategies e.g., *offering meal/ candies* has not been used by the speakers of distant group. As the close and acquaintance groups normally remain in contact so this offer restricts to them only as the strangers having no strong bond or chances of future interaction they hope least for future relations. So, there is not a single application of this strategy.

The next strategy *counter attack* has made nominal appearance in the responses given by the speakers of close group (Eng: 7.2% & Urdu: 3%). On the basis of data presented in table 6.5 it can be said that highest application of this strategy is made by acquaintance (Eng: 29% & Urdu: 23%) and distant (Eng: 8%% & Urdu: 28 %) groups alternatively with respect to language change i.e. English and Urdu. It suggests that speakers of the community under study are more concerned about their kinship so it is least used in close group because according to the interviewees this strategy is blunt in nature and brothers least about the inconvenience suffered by the other party whereas all that apologies need is a care and compensation, which turns out to have been a reason of its minimum application in 'close' group and more application is made in acquaintance and distant groups. Similar is the case with respect to application of the strategy called *denial*

of offence which is not at all used by the speakers of close group in both the languages and in distant group in Urdu DCT and in English DCT of this group too it has got lowest application. Thus, it can be concluded that is not highly favoured strategy among any of the group members. That is why the highest value of application it got among the acquaintance group remained just 29% in English and 23% in Urdu.

In order to conclude effects of social distance on application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* it can be forwarded that different strategies accumulated under this category have gone through different patterns e.g., the first two strategies i.e., *counter attack* and *denial of offence* have got maximum application by speakers of acquaintance group. *Denial of offence* is not at all used by close group in any of the languages whereas the distant group did not use it in Urdu DCT (Appendix1). Apology strategies *Showing intimacy* and *some other apology tactics* have made highest appearance in the apologies forwarded by close group which might be a direct result of societal norms that there comes no need of formal, explicit apologies in close relationships which results in multiplication of application of these strategies subsumed under the umbrella of *apologies as CMDs* - third mega apology category. In general, it can be concluded that though lack definite pattern associated with language change, social distance effects its application.

6.5.3 - Effects of Severity of Offense on Application of 'Apologies as CMDs'

The current section is going to evaluate effects of severity of offensefactor on application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2). In the present study this factor has been classified into two categories: severe and not-severe (table 3.1). The first category called severe included situation 3 (employee got late for

meeting with boss), situation 6 (hitting a car and breaking its door), situation 10 (bumping into a passenger and causing his luggage fall), situation 11 (head of a department forgot to inform junior employee about meeting with Dean), situation 13 (an MD forgot official meeting with MD of another department), Situation 14 (boss keeps junior colleague waiting for long time), and situation 15 (visitor drops a glass of water on officer's table) while situation 01 (professor did not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgot to bring teacher's book back), situation 4 (speaker forgot meeting with a friend), situation 5 (father forgot to take his son for shopping), situation 7 (speaker reached late to receive his elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee in the hospital), situation 9 (waiter presented wrong meal to the customer and; situation 12 (a colleague interpreted your comment wrongly) are included in 'not severe' situations. Table 6 indicates frequency distribution of apology strategies grouped under the heading of *apologies as CMDs*- third mega apology category interacting with severity of offense factor:

Table 6.6. *Frequency distribution of apology strategies interacting with severity of offence factor*

Apology Strategies	Severe				Not- Severe				Total			
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%
Counter attack	51	6.1%	203	24%	262	19%	173	2.3%	313	14.1%	376	17%
Denial of offence	101	12.2%	0	0%	100	7.2%	167	12%	201	9%	167	7.4%
Showing intimacy	295	36%	251	29.5%	616	44.4%	771	55%	911	41.2%	1022	45%
Other apology tactics:												
Exclamation	238	63%	176	45%	94	23%	50	17%	332	42%	226	33%
Religious reference	39	10.3%	56	14.2%	107	26.1%	99	33.5%	146	18.5%	155	22.4%
-please as sorry	58	15.4%	151	38.3%	124	0.3%	38	13%	182	23.1%	189	27.4%
-offering meal	41	11%	11	3%	84	20.5%	108	37%	125	16%	119	17.2%
-Gestures	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sub- total	376	46%	394	46.4%	409	29.4%	295	21%	785	35.5%	689	30.5%
Total	$\begin{bmatrix}823\\=\\37\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix}848\\=\\38\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix}1387\\=\\63\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix}1406\\=\\62\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100		2210	100	2254	100

An examination of table 6.(../s that there is noticeable difference in application of strategies included under the umbrella of third apology category- *apologies as CMDs*- due to impact of severity of the offence. In response to DCTs (appendix1) in both the languages maximum application of this mega category can be noticed in the case of not-severe offences (Eng: 63% & Urdu: 62%) in comparison to the responses forwarded to the severe offences (Eng: 37% & Urdu: 38%). At macro level a close resemblance can be noticed in application of this category in the cases of severe and not- severe offences in both the languages, but at micro level many differences regarding application of different strategies are obvious. In the case of severe offences, for example, the values of different strategies and sub- strategies are as follows: *counter attack* (Eng: 6.1% & Urdu: 24%), *denial of offence* (Eng: 12% & Urdu: 0%), application of word please *as apology* (Eng: 15% & Urdu: 38%). Likewise, in the case of not- severe offences too, such differences are noticeable e.g., *showing intimacy* (Eng: 44%& Urdu: 55%), *please as apology/ sorry* (Eng: 30% & Urdu: 13%) and *offering meal / candy* (Eng: 20% & Urdu: 37%).

While trying to trace out influence of severity of offence on choice of respondents with respect to strategies of this mega apology category (figure 3.2) a further look at table 6.6 reveals that respondents have applied very few strategies in higher percentage in the cases of severe offences e.g., *exclamation* got the application rate 63% and 45% respectively in English and Urdu in the case of sever offences and its value remained 23% and 17% respectively in English and Urdu in the case of not- severe offences. *Counter attack* has got higher application in case of severe offences (24%) in Urdu DCT as compared to not sever (12.2). Similarly, sub- strategies of the strategy some *other apology tactics* have got higher application in case of sever offences in Urdu DCT (38%) as compared to not- sever

offences (13%). An interesting point to note about application of word *please* as an apology semantic formula is that though an English word it has also appeared in Urdu DCT for apologizing purpose.

To sum up discussion about effects of severity of offence on application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* it can be stated on the basis of data presented in the table (6.6) that it has noticeable influence on overall application of this apology category in both the languages. Maximum application of this mega apology category is made in cases of not- severe offences (Eng: 63% & Urdu: 62%) whereas in the cases of severe offences its application is comparatively very low (Eng: 37% & Urdu: 38%). Thus, at macro level, in context of severity of offence there seems similarity in application of apology strategies in both the languages in the similar category of offence but detailed study on micro level brings forth many differences in application of strategies and sub- strategies. Thus, based on the data collected through both the DCTs (Appendix1) it can be calculated that severity of offence is a difference making factor in case of application of third mega apology *apologies as CMDs*. The reason of high application of this apology category in not-severe offences might be due to common attitude of the people under study to apply *explicit apologies* in the cases called severe (table 4.5) and then just to avoid apologizing directly and let the communication go. So, they depend heavily on *apologies as CMDs* in case of not severe offences.

6.5.4- Effect of Conversational Setting on Application of *Apologies as CMDs*

Based on observation of the society under study formality level of the conversational setting has been included in the list of the factors influencing selection of

apologetic expressions. Some other research scholars like Holme (1995) and Deuctschmann (2003) have also included this factor in their research studies and found it considerably influential part of conversational setting. For the said purpose, two formality levels distinguished as 'formal' and 'informal' have been included in the present research. Situations in which participants predominantly behave according to their professional roles; and the conversational limits are dictated by the situation and surrounding are called 'formal'. On the other hand, 'informal situations' are based on private roles of the interlocutors and usually take place in the homes of the participants, and or between friends or interlocutors in parties, parks, play grounds etc.

As discussed in chapter 3 (table 3.1), formal situations in the present study include: situation 01 (professor did not return term paper of the students in time), situation 2 (student forgot to bring teacher's book back), situation 3 (employee got late for meeting with boss), situation 11 (head of a department forgot to inform junior employee about meeting with Dean), situation 13 (an MD forgot official meeting with MD of another department), Situation 14 (two friends as boss and junior), and situation 15 (a visitor dropped water on table of an officer). The informal situations, on the other hand, encompass following situations: situation 4 (speaker forgot meeting with a friend), situation no 5 (father forgot to take his son for shopping), situation 6 (speaker bumped into a car and broke its window), situation 7 (speaker reached late to receive his elder brother at airport), situation 8 (boss couldn't visit employee in the hospital), situation 9 (waiter presented wrong meal to the customer), situation 10 (speaker bumped into an elderly speaker and hurt his leg) and situation 12 (a colleague interpreted your comment wrongly). Table 6.7 demonstrates frequency and percentage value of the strategies encompassing third mega apology

category called *apologies as CMDs* with reference to effect of formality level of conversational setting.

Table 6.7. *Apologies as CMDs 'and effect of formality level of conversational setting*

Apology Strategies	Formal				Informal				Total			
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%
1-counter attack	0	0%	5	1%	313	19%	371	21.1%	313	14.1%	376	17%
2-Denial of offence	20	4%	0	0%	181	11%	167	9.5%	201	9%	167	7.4%
3-showing intimacy	171	31%	125	25%	740	45%	897	51%	911	41.2%	1022	45%
4- Other apologetic tactics:												
-Exclamation	205	56%	172	47%	127	30%	54	17%	332	42%	226	33%
-Religious reference	59	16%	34	9.2%	87	21%	121	38%	146	18.5%	155	22.4%
-please as sorry	58	16%	15	41%	124	29.3%	38	12%	182	23.1%	189	27.4%
-offering meal	41	11%	11	3%	84	20%	108	34%	125	16%	119	17.2%
-Gestures	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0%	0%
Sub- total	363	65%	368	74%	422	25%	321	18.2%	785	35.5%	689	30.5%
Total	[554 = 25%] 100		[498 = 22%] 100		[1656 = 75%)] 100		[1756 = 78%] 100		2210	100	2254	100

The data collected through DCTs (Appendix1) and presented in table 6.7 clearly endorses that formality level of conversational setting influences application of strategies included under apology category called *apologies as CMDs*. The table (6.7) demonstrates that the speakers while apologizing in both the languages, employ this category considerably more in informal settings (English: 75% & Urdu: 78%) than in formal settings (English: 25% & Urdu 22%). Exclamation is the only sub- strategy which has got maximum application (Eng: 56% & Urdu: 47%) in the apologies made in formal setting. Another sub- strategy called. *use of word please instead of sorry* has also made more appearance in Urdu language (41%) in case of formal setting as compared to informal. *Showing intimacy* is strategy which though got higher application rate in informal situations in both the languages (Eng: 45% & Urdu: 51%) has also made a considerable

appearance (Eng: 31% & Urdu: 25%) in formal situations too. But, a noticeable pointed noted in application of *showing intimacy* and *offering meal* in formal setting is that it is restricted to the situations where the apologizee is either equal or lower in status or belongs to close group. All the remaining strategies and sub-strategies have been employed exceedingly in informal situations then the formalones even *counter attack* and *denial of offence* have negligible appearance in formal situation in both the languages i.e., (Eng: 0% & Urdu: 1%) and (Eng: 4% & Urdu: 0%) respectively.

With regard to effects of formality level it is interesting to note that same offence has got different level of application of the strategies consisting this apology category i.e., there are more apologies in formal setting for the same offences which grabbed less or considerably very low apologies in informal settings e.g., situation 3 and 7 (Appendix 1) both deal with 'time offence' but the number of *apologies as CMDs* in situation 7 (Eng: n=209 & Urdu: n=252) which is marked as informal outrides application of apology strategies consisting this apology mega category in situation No 3 (English: n=99 & Urdu: n=30) which is marked as formal situation. Also, further difference in application of different strategies constituting this mega apology category (figure 3.2) in the case of different formality levels can also be noted e.g., number of *religious references* in formal situations is 16% in English and 9% in Urdu, whereas in informal situations it is 21% in responses of English DCTs and 38% in case of Urdu DCTs (table 6.7).

Thus, based on the data presented in table 6.7 it can be calculated that application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* is largely influenced by the formality level of the conversational setting. Only one fourth part of its application is made in formal setting in response to English DCTs whereas in case of Urdu DCT (Appendix 1)

this application ratio even goes be. . ... this level and gets hardly 22% of application of this mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs*.

6.6- Summary of Chapter 6

This chapter deals with application of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs*. At first overall application ratio of strategies encompassing this category has been explored in detail then application of strategies and sub- strategies has been investigated in different situations provided in DCTs (Appendix1). After that, effects of different social factors like social status, social distance, severity of offense and difference in formality levels have been examined. The results of the chapter show effects of these factors on apology strategies of the interlocutors in both the languages i.e., English and Urdu. A summary of the findings of this chapter is as follows:

All the strategies included under this apology category except *denial of offence* are not a part of *CCSARP* model (Blum - Kulka et al., (1989). But, these strategies are included into it (figures, 3.1 & 3.2) due to their considerable presence in the data collected through observations (Appendix2) and DCTs (Appendix1) to device a new taxonomy for analysing current data. These newly added strategies and sub-strategies reflect peculiar social norms of the society under study. Out of these strategies, *swearing* and *offering meal* might well be attributed to religious influence because in Islamic society quoting religion and offering meal are commendable deeds. So, they have a potential to help settle the conflicts.

Regarding influence of social status, based on the data presented in table (6.4) it can be calculated that social status of the interlocutors affect speakers with respect to

application of this mega apology category. Speakers of equal group make maximum use of this category (Eng: 49%& Urdu: 50%) whereas the other extremes on this social status continuum i.e., higher and lower have shown almost similar tendency towards this apology category i.e., higher (English: 25% & Urdu: 25%) and lower (Eng: 25% & Urdu: 25%) which is contrary to Brown & Levinson (1978) and favours Wolfson's Bulge theory (1988) according to which extremes of social continuum render similar type of attitude. Maximum application of this category by members of equal group is also in harmony with Holmes's assertion that equals have to care a lot about their relationship with others. They (equals) are neither too close to take the relationship strong enough to bear apologetic situations smoothly nor is their relationship too weak to be ignored.

As for as effects of social distance factor on application of *apologies as CMDs* – third mega apology category- (figure 3.2) is concerned, a comparatively high ratio of its application by speakers belonging to close group is found in both the languages (English and Urdu). However, there are few differences at micro level, for example, different strategies accumulated under this category have gone through different patterns e.g., the first two strategies i.e., *counter attack* and *denial of offence* havegot maximum application by speakers of acquaintance group. *Denial of offence* has not at all been used by close group in any of the languages whereas the distant group has not used it in Urdu DCT. Strategies *showing intimacy* and *some other apologetic tactics* have made highest appearance in the apologies forwarded by close group which might be a direct result of the societal norms that there comes no need of explicit and formal apologies in close relationships which results in multiplication of application of such strategies like offering meal, smile, laughter, pressing the shoulder etc., (Rahman: p.[11]). In distant group *offering*

meal is not at all employed in any language. During observations (Appendix2), too, it has been noted that this strategy is confined mainly either to the speakers of close group or high social status. In sum, social distance affects application of this mega apology category to a small extent but least definite application pattern of strategies constituting this apology category can be found related to influence of social distance. These findings about social status and social distance endorse the findings of Muhammed (2006) who asserted that the choice of apology strategy is affected by social status more than social distance.

As far as effects of severity of offence are concerned, the data from both the languages show that Kashmiri speakers tend to apologize in informal situations by preferably applying this mega apology category- *apologies as CMDs*. The data presented in table (6.6) shows that its maximum application IS made in the cases of not- severe offences (Eng: 63% & Urdu: 62%) whereas if severe offences happen, its application is comparatively very low (Eng: 37% & Urdu: 38). Further, last factor found effective regarding application of this mega apology strategy (table 6.6) is formality level of the conversational setting. Only one fourth part of its total application has appeared in formal setting in response to English DCT (Appendix1) whereas in case of Urdu DCT (Appendix 2) its application even goes beneath this level and makes hardly 22% of total application of this category. Thus, it can be said that this apology category is not preferred in formal conversational settings and severe offences rather it is more frequentin case of not-severe offences take place in informal situations by the speakers who mostly belong to high social status or enjoy close relationship.

In sum, on the basis of discussion made throughout this chapter it can be concluded that while applying third mega apology strategy called *apologies as CMDs* for apologizing,

Kashmiri speakers get affected by . . . .ai constraints like social status, social distance, and severity of offense and formality level. The apology strategies accumulated under this apology category are not employed primarily with the intension of accepting the mistake or apologizing in anyway but the purpose they carry is that of continuing conversation and reduce communication breakdown. According to researchers such as Grice (1975), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), such non-apology strategies are culture-oriented patterns of social interaction and represent uniqueness of particular culture and language. Likewise, many of the strategies discussed under the umbrella of third mega apology category *apologies as CMDs* seem to be a direct product of exclusive cultural values, patterns of thought and religious orientation of the society under study.

CHAPTER 7

SYNTHESIS OF DATA

7.1. Introduction to Chapter 7

On the basis of analysis carried out in chapters 4, 5 & 6, the current chapter aims to investigate attitude of the people of the society under study towards speech act of apology. Discussion would be made in this regard by focusing on the objectives set for the current study (section, 1.5) including whether change of language affects selection of apology strategies resulting in overall change in apologetic attitude of the speakers. The sample of the study has Urdu as their mother/ national language and English as their second official language. The sample consists of the people who are studying in final year of Master's in English Language and Literature. So, it is not hard to imagine that they have no problem with regard to usage of English language and have got a reasonable awareness towards English culture by having read English literature for many years as literature is presumed to be a reflection of life. Attempts have been made in previous chapters to provide valuable insights regarding how apologies are conceived in this culture, leading towards the way apologies are realized in two different languages assuming the rest of the factors similar. To this end, analysis has been drawn on many inter and intra-language research studies addressing the speech act of apology. Research on speech act of apology in Kashmiri society is an area that has not been explored so far, thus in order to have an understanding of how speech act of apology is realized and politeness operates in this culture, it is pertinent to study apology expression, both linguistic and non-linguistic, being used

because the preferences of the interlocutors in this regard are likely to signpost the course

politeness as being perceived in thus culture.

7.2- Application of Mega Apology Categories

First of all, overall results concerning use of three mega apology categories: *explicit*

apologies, implicit apologies and; *apologies as CMDs* (section: 3.6.1 - figure 3.2) are

analysed to explore the most often used basic apology category because different nature of

these categories demonstrate different apology orientation of the population under study.

In total, 3750 remedial exchanges are provided by 250 respondents, in response to 15

situations provided in DCTs (Appendix 1), both in English and Urdu languages. Table 7.1

embodies value of each of the three apology categories (figure 3.2).

Table 7.1. *Total frequencies and percentage value of three mega apology categories in the data collected through DCTs (Appendix1)*

Apology Categories	Eng.		Urdu	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Explicit Apologies	2728	34%	2438	31%
Implicit Apologies	3092	38%	3193	40%
Apologies as CMDs	2210	28%	2254	29%
Total	8030	100%	7885	100%

The table (7.1) manifests that out of these three mega apology categories *implicit*

apologies exceed in both the languages. In English DCT (Appendix1) it makes 38% of the

total apologies whereas in Urdu DCT (Appendix1) it is 40% of the total apologies extended

by the respondents. *Apologies as CMDs* has been least used category in both the DCTs

bearing the values i.e., 28% in English and 29% in Urdu. Whereas, *'explicit apologies'* is

second highly favoured mega apology category for apologizing in both the languages (Eng: 34 & Urdu: 31). Overall high application rate *of implicit apologies-* second mega apology category implies that the population under study does not yield to apologizing explicitly rather they prefer such expressions which without bearing vivid apology or 'sorry' communicate to the recipient that they are ashamed of what has happened, or they regret it, they deeply apologize for the happening etc.

7.3- Application of Apology Strategies Encompassing Mega Apology Categories

In this section an attempt is made to explore preference given to different apology strategies by the respondents of the study. For this purpose, data (collected through DCTs-appendix1) presented in tables 4.1, 5.1 and 6.1 has been integrated in table (7.2) to find out overall frequency and percentage value of each strategy included in the taxonomy (figure 3.2) applied for analysis of data in the current study.

Table: 7.2. *Values of apology strategies encompassing three mega apology categories*

Strategies	English		Urdu	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
IFID	1299	16.17%	812	10.2%
Explanation	1096	14%	1451	18.4%
Responsivity	181	2.2%	0	0%
Concern for hearer	686	8.5%	563	7.1%
Compensation	1130	14%	1298	16.4%
Forbearance	118	1.5%	328	4.1%
Minimization	447	6%	371	5%
Suggestion	863	11%	808	10.2%
Counter Attack	313	4%	376	5%
Denial	201	2.5%	167	2.1%
Intimacy	911	11.3%	1022	13%
Some other apology tactics	785	10%	689	9%
Total	8030	100	7885	100

While attempting to find out overall apologetic attitude of the population under study, a look at table 7.2 delineates that there occurs a difference in application of individual strategies encompassing three mega apology categories in both the languages. In English DCT (Appendix1), *IFID* is the most frequently applied apology strategy which makes 16% of the total strategies whereas in Urdu *explanation* is the most frequently applied apology strategy (18%). *Offer of compensation* is second highly favoured apology strategy in the data collected both in English and Urdu. In English DCT its value is noted as 14% while in Urdu DCT (Appendix1) it makes 16% of the total apologies. In addition to it (*offer of compensation*), *explanation*, too, is second highly favoured apology strategy in English DCT. According to table 7.2, third most frequently used apology strategy is *showing intimacy* in both the languages (Eng: 11%& Urdu: 13%) whereas fourth main apology strategy in English DCT is *suggestion* while according to Urdu DCT, fourth main apology strategy is *IFID* which is top most applied strategy in English DCT. In English DCT, fifth most applied apology strategy by the members of society under review is a constituent of third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* which is called *some other apology tactics*. In Urdu DCT data, on the contrary, *suggestion* is fifth main apology strategy. *Concern for hearer*, according to the table 7.2 happens to be sixth mainly applied apology strategy in English DCT making 8.5% of the total apology strategies. On the other hand, in Urdu DCT, newly added apology strategy (figure 3.1) called *some other apology tactics* is sixth mainly used apology strategy making 8.7% of the total apologies made by the respondents. *Minimization of offence* stands out as seventh largest applied apology strategy making about 6% of the total apologies extended by respondents in response to English DCT (Appendix1). Whereas in Urdu DCT (Appendix1) *concern for hearer* holds
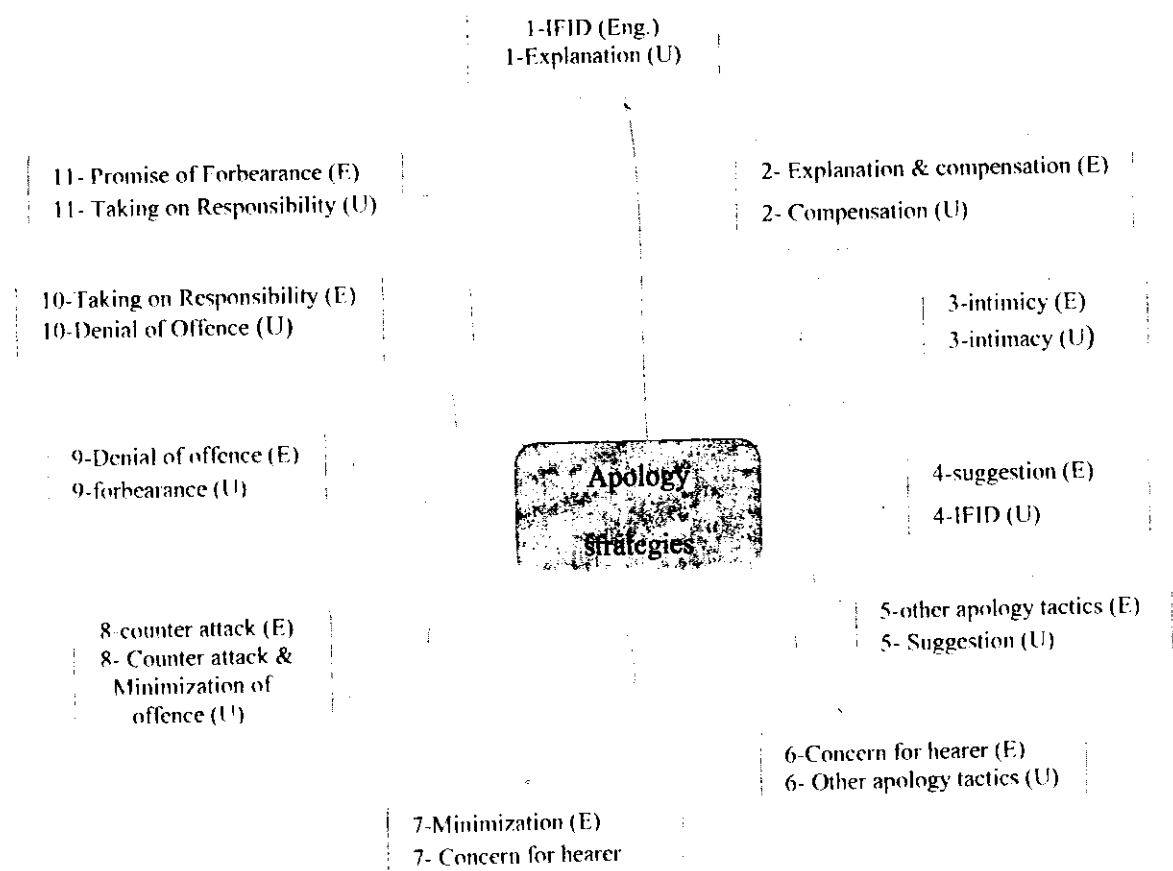
number seven with respect to its application in apology process. It makes 7 % of the total apologies exchanged by the interlocutors. *Counter attack* which appears under the umbrella of *apologies as CMDs* – third mega apology category, occupies eighth position on the hierarchy of usage both in English and Urdu DCTs (appendix1) making 4% and 5% of the total apology exchanges respectively in English and Urdu by the interlocutors. According to Urdu DCT results, along with *counter attack* another strategy called *minimization of offence* from the group included under second mega apology category – *implicit apologies* shares this position making 5% of the total apologies. *Denial of offence*, a newly added apology strategy to the taxonomy being applied in current study (figure 3.2) is at ninth position with respect to its application in English DCT (2.5%) while in Urdu DCT *promise of forbearance* attains ninth position in total apologies exchanged among the interlocutors. It makes merely 1.5% of the total apologies according to table 7.2.

None of the remaining strategies could get more than 2.2% in English DCT and 2.1% in Urdu DCT data. An interesting point regarding *taking on responsibility* - third main strategy of *CCSARP* model (1998) is its total absence from data collected through Urdu DCT (Appendix1) and in English DCT (Appendix1) too, it is one of the lowest applied apology strategies obtaining tenth position on hierarchy of application scale. Least applied strategy in English DCT, too, is one of the fundamental constituent apology strategies (*promise of forbearance*) of *CCSARP* model (fig, 3.1).

The above discussion brings out some important points regarding application of strategies included in the taxonomy being applied for analysis of data in the current study. These strategies are grouped under three main apology categories: *explicit apologies; implicit apologies*; and *apologies as CMDs* (section3.6.1- figure 3.2). There are many

differences with respect to selection of apology strategies by speakers while apologizing in two different languages. A pictorial presentation of hierarchy of choice with respect to selection by the respondents in both the languages is given in figure 7.1.

Figure, 7.1

1-IFID (Eng.)
1-Explanation (U)

11- Promise of Forbearance (E)
11- Taking on Responsibility (U)

2- Explanation & compensation (E)
2- Compensation (U)

10-Taking on Responsibility (E)
10-Denial of Offence (U)

3-intimicy (E)
3-intimacy (U)

9-Denial of offence (E)
9-forbearance (U)

Apology strategies

4-suggestion (E)
4-IFID (U)

8 counter attack (E)
8- Counter attack &
Minimization of
offence (U)

5-other apology tactics (E)
5- Suggestion (U)

6-Concern for hearer (E)
6- Other apology tactics (U)

7-Minimization (E)
7- Concern for hearer

Note: *In the fig 7.1, E = English and U = Urdu strategies*

A detailed look at figure 7.1 demonstrates that: top six common apology strategies applied by the respondents of both the DCTs (Appendix 1) are: *IFIDs, Explanation, offer of compensation, showing intimacy, suggestion* and *some other apologetic tactics* though with variation in their position between no=1 to no= 6. While, in case of rest of the strategies there are huge differences with respect to their position on application rate scale (figure 7.1). Only few strategies are found to have got similar position with respect to their application in the responses provided by respondents of *DCTs* (English and Urdu). These strategies include *offer ofcompensation* which is second highly favoured apology strategy in responses of both the DCTs; *showing intimacy* which is third most applied apology strategy in both the DCTs; and *counter attack* which is comparatively less applied apology strategy owing number eighth based on its application in responses of both the DCTs (figure 7.1).

*IFID*s, the most frequently used apology strategy in English DCT is found rare and restricted in its application, during observation. Its use is mainly noticed in case of formal situations. When, during interviews the respondents are inquired about this discrepancy in application of this strategy, during observation and in English DCT (Appendix1), they ascribed it to the easy to use expressions of *IFID* strategy in English as compared to Urdu expressions which are more face threatening for apologizers. One of the interviewee said, "it is easier to use *IFID* in English as compared to Urdu language ... hmm... as in Urdu, e.g., to apologise becomes more difficult by saying *Mein Maafi chahta houn*" (appendix 3). On the other hand, *Explanation*, highest applied strategy in Urdu DCT which is commonly noticed during observation too, is regarded by the interviewees as the most appropriate and socially endorsed way of apologizing which is evident from its being part

of almost every apology made. Fe·   . discrepancies have also been noticed with respect

to responses supplied to DCTs (Appendix1) and the observations made in real life of the

respondents e.g., *counter attack* and *denial of offence* have abundantly been encountered

during observations but in DCTs data their application rate is comparatively low. It shows

difference in perception and reality. It seems that some of the replies provided in DCTs are

but a reflection of respondents' belief system, while the actual attitude noticed during

observation tells a different story. Another strategy which has made less appearance in

DCTs (Appendix1) replies whereas is noticed excessively present in real life encounters is

'some other apology tactics' which subsumes many sub strategies (table 6.1). The reason

for less application of this strategy in DCTs data might be that some of its sub strategies

like *gestures, smile, laughter, silence, bowing the head* etc., are not possible to be applied

in DCTs, in written form. It is noticed during observations that in the society under

consideration this strategy makes a considerably large rather maximum portion of

apologies and helps settling down differences and offences amicably especially in the case

of closely intimate participants.

Data presented in table 7.1 and 7.2 makes it obvious that selection and application

of apology semantic formulae by the respondents of the current study are not always the

same while apologizing in two different languages. Apology strategies used in English

DCT (8030) exceed the total number of those applied in Urdu DCT (7885). Similarly, the

preference given to different strategies also vary widely: out of twelve apology strategies

used in total, (figure 3.1) top six strategies are same, with variation in their position between

no=1 to no=6, in both the DCTs. A very minimal number of strategies are found occupying

same position in the responses yielded to both the DCTs i.e., *offer of compensation* at number two; *showing intimacy* at number 3 and *counter attack* at number eight.

7.4- Application of Apology Strategies in Different Situations

Situation provided in DCTs (appendix I) are different from each other with respect to social status of the interlocutors, social distance prevailing between participants, severity of offence and; nature of conversational setting i.e., formal or informal etc. Application of different strategies (figure, 3.2) as they appeared in different situations provided in DCTs is given in table 7.3.

Table: 7.3. *Apology strategies as appeared in different situations (DCTs-appendix1)*

Strategies	S1		S2		S3		S4	
	Eng. %	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu	Eng.	Urdu
IFID	30 = 10%	20= 6.3%	238= 33%	210=30%	216=29.2%	195=27%	15=3%	30 = 10%
Explanation	88 = 29.5%	85 = 27%	66 = 9%	147=21%	202=27.3%	239=33.2%	0=0%	88 = 29.5%
Responsibility	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	141=19.3%	0 = 0%	20=3%	0= 0%	0=0%	0 = 0%
Concern	0 = 0%	0= 0%	57 = 8%	29=4.1%	22=3%	0= 0%	0 =0%	0 = 0%
Compensation	113= 38%	172= 54%	181 = 25%	140 =20%	0=0%	0= 0%	0 =0%	113= 38%
forbearance	0 = 0%	0 = 0	25= 3.4%	136=19.2%	91=12.3%	192= 27%	0 = 0%	0 = 0%
Minimization	0 = 0%	0= 0	0= 0%	0= 0%	89=12%	63= 9%	40 8%	0 = 0%
Suggestion	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0=0%	0=0%	159= 32.5%	0 = 0%
Counter attack	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	0=0%	0=0%	62= 13%	0 = 0%
Denial	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	0=0%	0=0%	0 =0%	0 = 0%
Intimacy	67= 0%	40=13%	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	0=0%	0=0%	130= 26.5%	67= 0%
Other Tactics	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	20 =3%	45= 6.3%	99=13.3%	30=4.1%	83= 17%	0 = 0%
Total	298	317	728 100	707 100	739= 100	719 100	489 100	298

Strategies	S5		S6		S7		S8	
	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %
IFID	33 = 7.6%	7= 1.3%	135= 19%	80= 11%	29= 5%	0 = 0%	90=14%	59= 10%
Explanation	0= 0%	2 =.3%	110= 15%	97= 14%	168= 28.3%	213= 34.2%	103=16%	100= 17%
Responsibility	0 = 0%	0 =0%	20 = 5%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Concern	0 = 0%	0= 0%	156= 22%	0= 0%	186= 31.4%	120= 19.2%	0= 0%	54= 9%
Compensation	120 = 27.7%	189= 37%	154 =21%	200= 8%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	170=26%	159= 27%
Forbearance	0 =0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Minimization	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	127= 8%	0= 0%	37= 6%	101=16%	55= 9%
Suggestion	30= 7%	50= 10%	58 = 8%	20= 3%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	100=15%	90= 15%
Counter attack	0= 0%	0= 0%	51= 7%	92= 13%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Denial	0 = 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0 = 0%	0=0%	0= 0%
Showing intimacy	150= 34.5%	157= 31%	32= 4%	76= 11%	150= 25.3%	150 =24.1%	90=14%	59= 10%
Other Tactics	100= 23%	100= 20%	5= .6%	13= 2%	59= 10%	102 16.3%	103=16%	100=17%
Total	433 100	505 100	721 100	705 100	592 100	622 100	100	100

Strategies	S9		S10		S11		S12	
	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu%	Eng.%	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %
IFID	51=9.2%	23=5%	104=14%	30=4%	43=14.4%	20=7%	25=4.4%	0= 0%
Explanation	69=12.4%	42=9%	55=7%	20=3%	20=7%	67=23%	25=4.4%	64=14%
Responsibility	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Concern	0=0%	0=0%	225=30%	180=25%	0=0%	99=35%	40=7%	0= 0%
Compensation	104=19%	111=24%	106=14%	170=23%	0=0%	3=1%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Forbearance	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0= 0%	0= 0%
Minimization	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	52=17.5%	25=9%	85=15%	0= 0%
Suggestion	186=33.5%	158=34%	0=0%	70=10%	36=12.1%	0=0%	50= 9%	20=4.3%
Counter attack	0=0%	11=2%	0=0%	106=15%	0=0%	5=2%	200=35.4%	139=30%
Denial	0= 0%	0=0%	81=10.6%	0=0%	0=0%	0=0%	100=18%	167=36%
Showing intimacy	51=9.2%	23=5%	104=14%	30=4%	43=14.4%	20=7%	8=1.4%	70=15%
Other Tactics	69=12.4%	42=9%	55=7%	20=3%	20=7%	67=23%	31=5.4%	3=6%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Strategies	S13		S14		S15		Total	
	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %
IFID	100=17.3%	41=8.5%	40=14%	35= 8%	150=43%	92=25%	1299= 16%	812=10.2%
Explanation	115= 20%	186=39%	50=17.5%	64=14.3%	25= 7%	56=15.1%	1096= 14%	1451=18.4%
Responsibility	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0=0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	181= 2%	0 = 0%
Concern	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	46=10.2%	0= 0%	35=9.4%	686= 8.5%	563= 7.1%
Compensation	18= 3.1%	0= 0%	104=36.4%	64=14.3%	60=17%	90=24.3%	1130= 14%	1298=16.4%
Forbearance	2= .3%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	118= 1.4%	328=4.1%
Minimization	80= 14%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	447= 5.5%	371= 5%
Suggestion	139=24.1%	155=32.4%	71=25%	120=27%	34=10%	0= 0%	863= 11%	808=10.2%
Counter attack	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	313= 4%	376= 5%
Denial	20= 3.4%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	0= 0%	201= 2.5%	167= 2.1%
Intimacy	0= 0%	20=4.1%	0= 0%	65=14.5%	0= 0%	0= 0%	911= 11%	1022=13%
Other Tactics	101=17.5%	76=16%	20= 7%	53=12%	81=23%	97=26.2%	785= 10%	689= 9%
Total	575 100	478 100	285 100	447 100	350 100	370 100	8030 100	7885 100

On the bases of tables 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2 percentage value of all the apology strategies in each situation (Appendix1) has been calculated and then collectively listed in table 7.3. Based on data presented in this table (7.3) it becomes evident that situation 01 is one of those situations which have earned lowest number of apologies (Eng = 298 & Urdu = 317). By examining data, collected for this particular situation, it is found that *explanation, offer of compensation* and *showing intimacy* are overriding strategies applied in both the languages in this situation. In English data, *offer of compensation* is the most frequently applied strategy followed by *explanation* and *showing intimacy*, while *IFID* has been lowest applied one. Conversely, in Urdu DCT (Appendix1) *explanation* has been second highly applied strategy, followed by *showing intimacy* while *offer of compensation* stands

out as highest applied apology strategy and *IFID* as lowest one. There can be noticed a marked difference in *offer of compensation* (English 38% &Urdu 54%) and *showing intimacy* (Eng: 22% & Urdu: 13%) regarding their application in two languages. Selection of strategy in this situation throws light of societal conception or belief system attached to the status of a university professor, according to which s/he is not supposed or expected to apologize overtly. We may interpret the subjects' recourse to these strategies in the situation having no real damage as a strategic attempt to avoid application of explicit apology, especially *IFIDs* which according to an interviewee "is more likely to bring face loss to apologizer". According to one of the interviewees, "it becomes very difficult to seek forgiveness... hmm... so better is to forward some excuse than to take blame". Thus, all the three most applied strategies give a clear indication of high social status the speaker owe in the society.

Situation 2, in which a student is an apologizer who has forgotten to bring a teacher's book back, grabs second highest number of apologies in the data collected through both the DCTs (Appendix1) besides being marked not severe in nature. It gives an indication of the influence the position and status of the apologizee may create. overall, there is applied a rich variety of expressions ranging from *IFIDs*, the most frequently applied apology strategy in this situation (Eng: 33% & Urdu: 30%) to *offer of compensation* (Eng: 25%, Urdu: 20%). *Offer of compensation* which according to Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) is a situation specific formula to be employed only in those cases where physical loss is involved - issecond highly applied apology strategy (25%) in English DCT. In case of second situation, having a student who forgets to bring back teacher's book which implies a different approach existing in the society with respect to relationship of offence

and application of strategy. Strategy called *taking on responsibility* which is second least applied apology strategy (table, 7.3) in English DCT (Appendix1) and totally absent from Urdu DCT data makes its highest appearance in this situation. While in Urdu DCT, the second highly applied apology semantic formula is *explanation* (21%). *Promise of forbearance* the least applied apology formula which has appeared in only three situations (table 7.3) is also applied in this situation. So, this situation is the one in which apologizers have depended on less favoured apology expressions (*taking on responsibility* and *Promise of forbearance*) too. For example, the interviewees categorize *taking on responsibility* and *promise of forbearance* highly face threatening for apologizers so are less applied in both the DCTs (Appendix 1) but they are employed considerably in situation 2. During observations, hardly any example of these strategies is found in informal situations.

Contrary to the general attitude of not taking seriously the act of getting late for an appointment, situation 3 (appendix 1) involving an employee as an apologizer who gets late for an official meeting has not only been marked 'severe' but has also got third highest number of apologies (Eng: 739 & Urdu: 719. According to interviewees consideration of this situation as being severe is "a result of nature of conversational setting which is formal". With respect to this situation, in English DCT (Appendix 1) data *IFID* is top most favoured apology expression (29%) by the respondents (table 7.3). On the other hand, in case of Urdu DCT (Appendix1) *explanation* is employed by most of the respondents (33%) whereas *IFIDs* and *promise of forbearance* are second most resorted semantic formulae. Two, overall, least applied apology strategies i.e., *promise of forbearance* and *acknowledgement of responsibility* have also made their application in this situation. Out of which *promise of forbearance* has got highest application in this situation (Eng: 12% &

Urdu: 27%). So, the most used apology formulae in this situation in both the languages is *IFIDs* and *explanation*, though with changing order (see table 7.3). *Taking on responsibility* though used in English DCT has not appeared in Urdu DCT at all while some of the strategies e.g., *suggestion, denial of offence* and *showing intimacy* are totally absent from the data collected for this situation in both the languages.

As concerns situation, 4 in which apologizer forgets a scheduled meeting with a friend, analysis of data yields that the subjects under study have not apologized for this situation (Eng: n=389 & Urdu: n=478) as frequently as they do for many other situations provided in DCTs (Appendix1). Maximum application of strategies made here are *suggestion* (Eng:32.5% & Urdu: 26%) and *showing intimacy* (Eng:26.5% & Urdu:37%) whereas the strategy called *some other apology tactics* has also been used in English DCT (Appendix1) to a considerable amount of 17% while in Urdu DCT (Appendix1) its application is restricted to only 4%. *Counter attack* which makes just 5% of the apologies in Urdu DCT makes 13% of apologies for this situation in English DCT (Appendix1). Many of the strategies have not appeared at all in the responses provided for this situation (table 7.3), for example, *taking on responsibility; concern for hearer; offer of compensation; promise of forbearance*. According to majority of the interviewees, as dictated by their respective cultural values and social beliefs, apologies should not be widely exchanged among friends for ordinary matters. Low frequency of apology exchange in this situation which according to Bilal (2007: p.[126]) "could be taken as a friendship-save move" is reflection of a common social saying 'no sorry, no thanks between friends 'in the society under study.

Situation number 5 also falls in the category of those situations in which respondents not only have deployed comparatively less apology semantic formulae but also make less apology exchanges (Eng: n=433 & Urdu: n=505). Two mostly applied apology semantic formulae in this situation are *offer of compensation* (Eng: 28% & Urdu: 37%) and *showing intimacy* (Eng: 35% & Urdu: 31%) with farmer being first in Urdu DCT responses (Appendix 1) and later being first in English DCT. Third recurrently used strategy is *some other apology tactics* which makes 23% and 20% of overall apologies in English and Urdu DCT respectively. None of other semantic formulae could make more than 7% appearance in English and 10% in Urdu whereas many of them have not been employed at all in this situation (table 7.3). This situation carries just one explicit apology expression called *offer of compensation* to considerable number and rest of the strategies used belong either to *apologies as CMDs* or *implicit apologies*. Some other apology tactics strategyis predominantly occupied with offer of some eatables like chocolate or toffee or with an offer to go to market on some other time / day which discloses a societal pattern in which parents do not habitually apologize from kids. Instead, they depend on above mentioned strategies like *offer of compensation* and *some other apology tactics* to console them and make them happy and satisfied.

Situation 6 involving physical damage is particularly included in DCTs (Appendix1) to offer a suitable background for application of *offer of repair* strategy as it is to be used only if physical damage happens (Olshtain & Cohen (1983: p.[23]). However, analysis of data (table, 7.3) related to this situation shows that in both the languages the respondents have resorted to many other strategies including *IFIDs, explanation, taking on responsibility, concern for hearer, showing intimacy* etc. In both DCTs, this is the situation

which has not only triggered out considerably high apology rate (Eng: 712 & Urdu: 705) but also engaged multiple strategies i.e., nine apology formulae have been employed in English DCT and eight in Urdu. The data displays remarkable differences in selection / application of different semantic formulas, for example, the highest applied strategy in English DCT i.e., *concern for hearer* (22%) is not at all used in Urdu DCT whereas in Urdu DCT, maximum respondent opt *offer of compensation* to apologize. *Showing intimacy* has also got a considerable application in Urdu DCT (11%) as compared to English DCT where its application rate is just 4% of the total apologies exchanged in this situation. Thus, application of a wide range of apology strategies in case of happening of some serious offence is in line with the findings of Holmes (1995).

Next apology eliciting situation (7) provided in DCTs (Appendix1) is aimed at measuring influence of social status in informal setting. The respondents have displayed marked differences in selection of apology strategies in two different languages (English & Urdu) under study: *concern for hearer* is the most frequently applied apology formula in this situation in English DCT (31.4%) followed by *explanation* (28%) which in case of Urdu DCT most of the respondents picked as most recurrent option (34%) to apologize and cool down the apologizee. While *showing intimacy*, has been second most employed strategy in Urdu DCT (24%). *IFID* though made a scanty appearance in case of English DCT (5%) has not at all been used in Urdu DCT. Many strategies including *taking on responsibility, offer of compensation; promise of forbearance* etc., are not at all used to apologize in this situation while *minimization of offence* is employed only in Urdu DCT with a ratio of just 6% of the total apologies forwarded. This situation when compared with the responses provided in case of situation no 3, having younger brother as an apologizee

in a formal setting makes clear the   nversational setting plays in selection of apology strategies. For example, the strongest considered apology strategy *IFID* which in case of situation 3, has been top most applied strategy in case of English DCT and second most frequently applied strategy in case of Urdu DCT (table 7.3) has just made a minimal presence (5%) in English and no application at all in Urdu DCT in the data collected for situation 7. Likewise, *showing intimacy* which is second highly frequent apology semantic formula in Urdu data and third highest in case of English (table 7.3) in situation 3 (Appendix1) is totally absent in the case of situation 7. Thus, difference in selection of strategies in these two situations (Appendix1) manifest variation in aptitude of respondents regarding conversational setting.

Situation 8 (Appendix1) is set out in comparison to situation 11 (Appendix1) to find out attitude of the same person owing high social status in two different conversational settings i.e., formal and informal. In the present situation though the offence is not severe the apologizer has resorted to quite a rich variety of strategies in both the languages. Seven different apology semantic formulae have been employed to apologize in this situation in both the languages. The selection of apology strategies does not exhibit much difference in terms of occurrence, for instance, in both the languages *offer of compensation* is the most applied apology strategy (Eng: 26% & Urdu: 27%), second most frequently used strategies in English DCT are *explanation* and *minimization of offence*, making 16% (each) of overall strategies applied in this situation while in Urdu DCT, *explanation* has got second highest application among all the strategies applied in this situation. The current situation (8, appendix 1) is though not severe; in context of the society under consideration it enjoys status of moral obligations due to its being religious duty imposed on every Muslim to visit

the patients. It is a strong part of this culture to visit patients, console them and carry some eatables from them. That is the reason of application of many strategies for apologizing in this situation. *IFID* (Appendix 1) has made no appearance in Urdu DCT (Appendix 1) but in English DCT it makes 14% of the total apologies provided in this situation. Contrary to this, *concern for hearer* has been applied in Urdu DCT (9%) whereas no instance of its application in English DCT could be found. Thus, application of *compensation* which is largely made through offering fruits and giving money to buy some eatable reflects societal norms too. Thus, apologizers have displayed lot of differences in application of apology strategies with respect to situation 11 which is to be discussed later.

Analysis of the data collected for situation 09 involving a waiter as apologizer for serving wrong food to a customer (appendix 1) indicates that for apologizing in both the languages respondents have resorted to, though with different rates, six semantic formulae in English and seven semantic formulae in Urdu. Respondents have displayed marked differences in their use of strategies in two languages e.g., *some other apology tactics* (Eng: 18.5% & Urdu: 5%), *showing intimacy* (Eng: 7% & Urdu: 21%), *IFIDs* (Eng: 9% & Urdu: 5%) etc., and *counter attack* has only been applied in Urdu data to a minimal level i.e., 2%. This situation has not been marked sever in the society under review as changing the dish does not cost much to the waiters or hotel management because a limited variety of dishes normally remain available the whole day through. This is one of the reasons for *offer of compensation* being second highly resorted strategy (Eng: 19% & Urdu: 24%) in this situation because none the else but it could set the anger of the customer at normal level. *Suggestion* has been most frequently applied apology semantic formula in in both the languages bearing no considerable difference (Eng: 33% & Urdu: 34%). Interestingly, this

situation has warranted maximum number of this strategy among all the situations provided in both DCTs (appendix1). Some of the strategies have not entirely been used for apologizing in this situation like *taking on responsibility, concern for hearer, minimization* etc., (table 7.3).

Situation number 10, bumping into an elderly person and hurting him/her is specifically designed to provide an appropriate background for measuring apology expressions of the respondents, in both the languages in case of severe offences. The assumption that this situation is more severe than any other in the DCTs (Appendix1) expected more apologies here. This will also contribute in establishing a view whether or not seriousness of offence affects apologizers in shaping their apologies with respect to selection and frequency of strategies. Examining the data presented in table 7.3 it is found that the subjects have applied very similar strategies - with different frequency rate - in both the languages for apologizing in this situation. *Suggestion* and *counter attack* are the strategies which made appearance in Urdu DCT only. While *Concern for hearer* is mostly applied apology semantic formula in both the languages constituting 30% of the total apologies forwarded in English DCT and 25% of the apologies in Urdu DCT. Second highly preferred strategy in English DCT has been *showing intimacy* making 21% of the total apologies provided in English, while in Urdu *offer of compensation* is second most preferred apology strategy making 23% of total apologies extended in Urdu DCT. Third most favoured apology semantic formulae in English DCT are *IFID* (14%) and *offer of compensation* (14%). Some of the strategies have been applied in either of the languages e.g., *counter attack* which has not been employed in English DCT makes 15% of Urdu apologies and is third most frequently applied apology expression, *Suggestion*, making

10% of apologies in Urdu has not been opted to apologize in English likewise *denial of offence* applied in English apologies is totally absent from apologies forwarded in Urdu. Rest of the strategies have got minimal appearance in this situation. This rich but varying selection of apology semantic formulae, ranging from *offer of compensation* to *denial of offence* and *counter attack*, clearly manifest that there can be traced out no yard stick about which strategy should be employed or left out in a particular situation. While interviewing, the respondents have displayed total consensus that to make an effective and genuine apology apologizer must exercise all potential to make the apologizee realize the real intention of the apologizer to erase problems and inconvenience for which he is responsible, no matter what the strategies are being applied. A reflection of this perception might be noted in standing out of *concern for the hearer* as top most applied strategy for apologizing in this situation in both the languages. Thus, in the local context, mere application of *IFIDs* may be marked as constituting an impolite behaviour and a symbol of the apologizer being indifferent about the feelings and loss happened to the offended/ apologizee in this situation which resulted in higher application of *concern for the hearer* and *offer of compensation* strategies.

Situation 11, as stated during the discussion made for situation 8, has been set in contrast to situation, 08 aiming at measuring attitude of a person owing high social status in two different conversational settings. The setting provided in this situation is formal in nature in contrast to that of situation 8 which is informal (appendix1). Difference in application of apologies made is obvious in both the cases: situation 8 has grabbed higher number of apologies in both the languages (Eng: 647 & Urdu: 595) as compared to situation 11 (Eng: 297 & Urdu: 286). In these two situations there could be observed lot of

differences in selection of individual strategies. For example, in situation 8 the most applied apology strategy is *offer of compensation* (Eng: 26% & Urdu: 27%) whereas in situation 11 it has not been applied at all in English DCT while in Urdu DCT its application is 1% only. Similar sort of differences are found in rest of the strategies too except *minimization of offence* which got almost equal rate of application in both the situations (table7.3). This difference manifests difference of attitude people generally render in response to changing conversational settings. Further, in Urdu DCT *concern for hearer* being most applied strategy (35%), *explanation* (23%) and *some other apology tactics* (23%) are dominant apology strategies, out of which *concern for hearer* is most applied strategy in this situation. Contrary to it, in case of English DCT, *showing intimacy* (35%) has been first choice of the respondents followed by *minimization of offence* (17.5%) while *IFIDs* (14%) and *some other apology tactics* (14%) are third highly applied strategies in this situation (table 7.3).

Situation 12, in which a colleague interprets apologizer's comments wrongly and gets angry has succeeded in arresting employment of maximum apology strategies i.e., nine semantic formulae in English DCT (Appendix1) besides being marked non- severe. This response is contrary to Holmes' (1990) finding that in case of serious offenses numerous categories are used to apologise, whereas in case of slight offences most preferred is application of single strategy. Top two most recurrent apology formulae are *denial of offence* (Eng: 35% & Urdu: 30%) and *showing intimacy* (Eng: 18% & Urdu: 36%) with alternate positions in both the languages (table 7.3) followed by *suggestion* (15%) in English and *explanation* in Urdu (14%). *IFID* (4%) and *offer of compensation* (7%) are part of apologies only in English DCT. In Urdu DCT this situation has got highest

frequency of *counter attack* (30%) *!enial of offence (36%)* respectively, among their application in all the 15 situations provided in DCT (Appendix 1). In case of Urdu DCT, this is the only situation which carries application of strategy called *denial of offence*. A very interesting observation regarding selection of apology strategies in Urdu DCT is combination of *showing intimacy* with these two strategies (*denial of offence* and *counter attack*) which publically have negative connotations. About high frequency rate of these strategies, interviewees say that a professional man should have professional attitude which demands not to be personal about general comments forwarded for professional development of the staff; and if someone does so s/he deserves a harsh attitude not an apology.

As concerned the data collected for situation 13 (appendix 1) involving MDs of two different departments in an organization, its analysis shows that in English DCT it has bagged not only higher number of apologies (n=575) but has also involved more semantic formulas (09) for apologizing as compared to Urdu DCT (frequency=478) and semantic formulae (5). But, none of the strategies other than *suggestion* (Eng: 24% & 32%), *explanation* (Eng: 20% & Urdu: 39%) and *some other apology tactics* (Eng: 17.5% n 16%)) has got considerable high frequency rate in both the languages (table 7.3). Conversely, *IFIDs* (Eng: 17% & Urdu: 8%) and *minimization of offence* (Eng: 14% & Urdu: 0%) have got higher frequency in English DCT as compared to Urdu DCT.

Next situation (14) provided in DCTs (Appendix 1) is also set out in formal setting engaging a boss kept waiting an employee for a long time. Both, boss and the employee are best friends too. This situation, in English DCT has got lowest application of apology strategies (n=285). It has gathered high social distance and close intimacy together which

has resulted in some interesting application of apology strategies like highest application of *offer of compensation* (36%) in English DCT besides the fact that there is neither involved physical harm nor any other type of serious offence. This offer is mostly made in the form of a cup of tea or drink. This strategy stands out as second most frequently applied apology semantic formula (14%) along with two other strategies i.e., *explanation* and *showing intimacy* getting the same frequency rate (14%) in Urdu DCT (table 7.3). *Suggestion* is the most frequently applied strategy making 27% of total apologies made in this situation in Urdu language while in English DCT, *suggestion* (25%) is second most favoured strategy followed by *explanation* (17%). Thus, owing to formal and informal relationship together, there could be found no definite pattern about apologizing as none of the apology strategies has got similar application rate in two languages. In formal setup (table 3.1) high application rate of *IFIDs* (14%) besides higher status of the apologizer might be a result of close intimacy existing between the interlocutors otherwise in situation 01, which also has apologizer of higher social status application of *IFIDs* is very low (table, 7.3)

Last situation (15) in DCTs (Appendix1) is about a visitor in an office who drops a glass of water on the table of the officer. The analysis of data provided for this situation delineates that it is one of those situations which could earn lowest number of apologies (Eng: 350 & Urdu: 370). *IFIDs* is the highest applied apology semantic formula in this situation, in English DCT (43%) followed by *someother apology semantic tactics* including oh, oops etc., (23%) and *offer of compensation* (17%) being second and third frequently employed strategies respectively. Contrary to it in case of Urdu DCT, the strategy called *some other apology tactics* has got highest frequency followed by *IFIDs* (25%) and *offer*

of compensation (24%) as second and third most preferred strategies in this situation. *Explanation* makes 15% of total apologies made in Urdu DCT in this situation, while in English DCT is just 7% of total apologies.

In sum, analysis of data presented in table 7.3 demonstrates that there is very unclear and vague tendency towards selection of apology strategies across different situations. It does not stick to any principle; for example, *offer of compensation* is applied across varying situations with radically different frequencies without any reference to any factor like severity of offence, physical loss, social distance etc., in both the languages. Another example could be considered in this regard is application of *IFID*, which have appeared in many severe marked offences less frequently than the non-severe ones like its application in situation 10- marked as the most severe- is lesser (Eng: 14% & 4%) as compared to not-severe marked situation 2 (Eng:33% & Urdu: 30%). This varying tendency of application of different strategies goes in line with Majeed and Janjua (2013) who claim Urdu apologies to be non-formulaic due to no identifiable pattern in their application with respect to different situations. Different social variables like social status, social distance, and severity of offence and formality level are kept under consideration during formation of DCTs (Appendix1) and have been displayed through different situations. In the following section a detail study regarding effect of these social factors on selection of apology formulas in different situations will be made.

7.5-Sociolinguistic Factors Affecting Application of Apologies

A detailed discussion on social variables including social status, social distance, formality level and severity of offence has been made in sections 4.5, 5.5, 6.5 and their sub

sections. Based on the findings of previous chapters (4, 5 & 6) an attempt is made in the following sections to trace out overall apologetic attitude of the population under study.

7.5.1- Effects of Social Status on Apologies

In the current research, participants are divided in three different groups according to their social status: high, low and equal. Their distribution in these three groups has been thoroughly discussed in section 3.4 (table 3.1) which is later applied in sections 4.3, 5.5 and 6.5 respectively. This section deals with effects of social status on application of three mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies, implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2). Application of different strategies constituting these mega categories (figures 3.1) will also be brought under discussion. In table 7.4 a detail of frequency distribution of mega apology categories with reference to social status is given.

Table: 7.4. *Frequency Distribution of Mega Apology Categories Interacting with Social Status Factor*

Apology Strategies	Higher E: %	U: %	Equal E: %	U: %	Lower E: %	U: %	Total E: %	U:
Explicit apologies	694 36%	728 34%	749 23.5%	521 18%	1285 44%	1189 41.1%	2728 34%	2438 31
Implicit apologies	651 34%	857 40%	1337 42%	1197 42%	1104 37%	1139 39.4%	3092 8.5%	3193 40.4
Apologies as CMDs	566 30%	565 26%	1091 4.3%	1130 40%	553 19%	559 19.3%	2210 27.5%	2254 28.5
Total	[1911 = 24%] 100	[2150 = 27%] 100	[3177 = 39%] 100	[2848 = 36%] 100	[2942 = 37%] 100	[2887 = 37%] 100	8030 100	7885 100

Table 7.4 represents individual value of each of the three mega apology categories (figure 3.2) encompassing apology expressions applied by the respondents of the study in the data collected both in English and Urdu languages through DCTs (Appendix1). In this table, the participants are placed into three different groups: one group having apologizer with lower social status is called lower, second group with apologizer and apologizee of equal social status is called equals and the third group including apologizer with higher social status is called higher (table 3.1).

A look at table (7.4) reveals that second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* (figure 3.2) is the top most frequently applied category in both the languages (Eng: 38.5% & Urdu: 40%) while *apologies as CMDs* – third mega apology category is the least applied one (Eng: 27.5% & Urdu:28.5%). It is noted that *explicit apologies* appear more in English than in Urdu DCT (Eng: 34% & Urdu: 31%) whereas the situation with the rest of the categories (table 3.2) remains opposite: higher frequency rate in Urdu than English i.e., *implicit apologies* (Eng: 38%& Urdu: 40%) and *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 27% & Urdu: 28%).

According to data presented for English DCT (table 7.4) highest number of apologies is exchanged by the equal group i.e., 39% of the total apologies provided by the respondents whereas the lowest are forwarded by the higher group resulting in 24% of the apologies made. The frequency rate of apologies for lower group is 37%. Thus, results of apology exchange are in line with the postulates of Brown & Levinson (1978) that higher status people rarely apologize considering apologies a face threatening act to their negative face more than status equals and lower position holders do. In line with this assertion it is found that the lower status group has made maximum apologies (37%) of total number of

apologies made by respondents in Urdu DCT (appendix1). It is found that very close to it is the frequency of the apologies made by equal group (36%) and the least apologies in Urdu DCT are made by the group called higher.

As for as application of mega apology categories (figure 3.2) at macro level is concerned, the highest application of first category i.e., *explicit apologies* (Figure 3.2) is noted in case of lower status speakers (Eng: 44% & Urdu: 41%) and the lowest use of this category is made by speakers of equal status called equals (Eng: 23.5% & Urdu: 18%). While in case of higher group its frequency is 36% in English and 34% in Urdu DCTs. As has been discussed in section 4.3, most of the strategies constituting this apology category are perceived face threatening and inappropriate to be applied by the speakers of higher social status- both with respect to official position and old age. This perception has resulted in lower application of this category by speakers of higher status group (Eng: 36% & Urdu: 34%) and highest application by the speakers of lower group (Eng: 44% & Urdu: 41%).

This category is, even if, applied by the speakers of higher status group, the most recurring choice has been '*offer of compensation*' which according to an interviewee is "a sign of generosity, dignity and royalty" in the society under study. The lowest application of this mega category by the equal status group may be ascribed to the assumption made by Holmes (1990) that intimacy permits shortcuts and substitutions which has resulted in highest application rate of two other mega apology categories i.e., *implicit apologies* (Eng: 42% & Urdu: 42%) and *apologies as CMDs* in English DCT owing the frequency rate of 34% in English DCT and 40% in Urdu DCT by the speakers of this group (table 7.4).

Third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* (Figure3.2) has made highest appearance in the apologies made by speakers of equal group (Eng: 34% & Urdu:

40%) and least application of this category could be noticed in apologies of lower status group whereas speakers of higher group have emerged as second highest user of this apology category. This considerable dependence on *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 305 & Urdu: 26) by the higher group might be because of the shortcuts it offers (use of exclamation marks for apologizing, e.g., ohhh, oh my God, hmmm etc.,) for apologizing avoiding need to be explicit in expressions.

Frequency rate of apologies found among the three social groups imparts an impression that while apologizing the members of lower group need to be more overt in their apologies, so they heavily depend on *explicit apologies*- first mega category. Equal group applies *explicit apologies* the least and mostly employ *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* categories (figure 3.2) which manifest a sense of mutual understanding and frankness which makes application of *explicit apologies* a potential threat to the essence of spontaneity and genuineness of existing relationship. And, the remaining group called higher has made maximum use of *implicit apologies* in Urdu and *explicit apologies* in English (mostly opting *offer of compensation* strategy). The reason of opting *implicit apologies* especially *explanation* in Urdu DCT may be to save their (apologizers) face by forwarding some element as culprit instead of being marked as cause of offence or overtly accepting the blame by apologizing explicitly. It helps them save their public image and elevates their standing in public eye. For example, application of *explanation*- an implicit apology strategy- in situation 01 has been used quite noticeable due to the fact that apologizer, a university professor owing higher social position, is reluctant to offer explicit apology. The same reason of maintaining and uplifting good public image is at the back of applying *offer of compensation* strategy by speakers of high status. As far as *apologies as*

CMDs- third mega apology category- is concerned it has been their least option in apologizing process.

7.5.2- Effects of Social Distance on Application of Mega Apology Categories

In current research study, based on concept of social distance existing in the society under consideration, the participants are divided into three different groups: close, acquaintance and distant (table 3.1). This distribution of participants has been thoroughly discussed in chapter 3 (table 3.1) which is later carried on in different sections i.e., 4.5.2, 5.5.2 and 6.5.2 respectively. In the current section impact of social distance on overall selection and application of mega apology categories for making apologies (figure 3.2) is presented. Table 7.5 displays frequency of mega apology categories with respect to social status of the interlocutors.

Table 7.5. *Application of mega apology categories and social status of interlocutors*

Apology categories	CLOSE				ACQUAINTANCE				DISTANT				Total	
	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	%	U:	%	E:	U:
Explicit apologies	659	26%	682	24.4%	925	37.4%	742	33%	1144	38%	1014	35.4%	2728	2438
Implicit apologies	1017	40%	1212	43.4%	853	34.5%	877	39%	1222	40%	1104	38.5%	3092	3193
Apologies as CMDs	853	34%	877	31.4%	693	28%	632	28%	664	22%	745	26%	2210	2254
Total	2529 = 31%	100	2791 = 35.3%	100	2471 = 31%	100	2251 = 28.5%	100	3030 = 38%	100	2863 = 36.3%	100	8030	7885

According to the data presented in table 7.5 maximum apologies are forwarded by the members of distantgroup in both the languages (Eng: 38% & Urdu: 36%). Whilein Urdu DCT (Appendix1) least apologies (28.5%) aremade by acquaintance groupand in

English DCT (Appendix1) both, ...e and acquaintancegroups haveexchanged least apologies i.e., 31%. This finding corresponds to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory which claims that increasing social distance (strangers) demands display of respect by applying more apologies and decrease in social distance tends not to necessitate application of this speech acts if an offence happens. This finding also equates to Intachakra's (2001) finding about English native speakers according to which more apologies were exchanged among strangers.

Data presented in table 7.5 is further analysed in order to find out individual frequency value of all the three mega apology categories (figure 3.2) and their application rate by each group. The analysis delineates that out of three mega apology categories (figure 3.2), first category called *explicit apologies* has made maximum appearance in the apology exchanges between the members of distantgroup in both the languages (Eng: 38% & Urdu: 35%) and its minimum application is made by members of close group (Eng: 26% & Urdu: 24%). This finding goes in line with general perception of the interviewees about majority of constituent strategies of this mega apology category (*explicit apologies*) as not only highly face threatening but also insufficient and undesirable in case of close relationships. In contrast to that, as the distant group has no face risk because of being unknown to each other they depend heavily on this category to be explicit and definite in their apologies.

With regard to second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* (figure 3.2), table 7.5 manifests that in English DCT (Appendix1) data it is most frequently employed category by close and distant groups. In both the groups its frequency is similar i.e. 40% of total apologies extended by each group which confirms Bulge theory according to which

extremes of social continuum render similar behaviour. In Urdu DCT, too, close group is the top user of this category with frequency rate of 43% while the remaining two groups have used it almost equally in their apologies i.e., its application rate in responses of neutral group remains 39% and in distant group it is 38.5%. Thus, *implicit apologies* category (figure 3.2) is most frequently applied by members of close group in both the languages. Detailed study of the constituent strategies of this category and their application in three groups is made in section 5.5.2.

Apologies as CMDs (figure 3.2) has also proved to be a social distance conditioned apology category as its frequency of application varies among these three groups. It is least used by the members of distant group in both the languages (Eng: 22% & Urdu: 26%) in comparison to rest of the groups while close group has resorted to this apology category the most (Eng: 34% & Urdu: 31%) which is a direct result of the societal norm according to which a smile, a laughter, or a complete silence can work better than any uttered apology in the case of offence between those enjoying close or intimate relationship. It is a common observation that if some younger or junior commits mistake then in case of scolding or castigation s/he remains quite silent bowing the head. Similarly, in case of offence to some close one of equal age/ position a smile or laughter can work better than verbal apology most of the times.

Further, the data is analysed to trace out preference / application of apology categories (figure 3.2) in the responses yielded by members of these three groups. It is found that close group has heavily resorted on *implicit apologies* which makes 40% of their apologies forwarded in English and 43% of apologies made in Urdu. Second highly preferred apology category by this group in DCTs data is *apologies as CMDs*, in both the

languages (English and Urdu). The ....bers of this group rarely apply *explicit apologies*.

As for as acquaintance group is concerned, members of this group mostly opt *explicit apologies* in English DCT (37%) and *implicit apologies* in Urdu DCT (39%) whereas the least applied category in both the languages by this group is *apologies as CMDs* (28% each). Members of third group of participants called distant heavily depend on application of *implicit apologies* for apologizing in both the languages (Eng: 40% & Urdu: 38%) because of unavoidable need to forward accounts or reasons to clear their position. Second most frequently applied category in their replies is *explicit apologies* while *apologies as CMDs* is least used category by this group – distant. The logic of least application of *apologies as CMDs* seems to be lack of mutual understanding and non-existence of common grounds.

7.5.3- Mega Apology Categories and Impact of Severity of Offence

Severity of offense is also reckoned among those factors which influence application of speech act of apology. In the current study this factor is categorized into two types: severe and not-severe (table 3.1). The situations constituting these two categories are discussed in detail in previous chapters (sections: 4.5.3; 5.5.3, & 6.5.3). Influence of this factor - severity of offence - on application of constituent strategies of mega apology categories i.e., *explicit, implicit* and *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2) has also been discussed in those sections respectively. Based on the findings of those sections following is an all-inclusive discussion on influence of severity of offence on application of all the three mega apology categories (figure 3.2).

Table 7.6. *Frequency of mega apology categories with respect to severity of offence factor*

Apology Strategy	Severe		Not-severe		Total	
	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng. %	Urdu %	Eng.	Urdu
Explicit apologies	1358 36.5%	1212 32%	1370 32%	1226 29%	2728	2438
Implicit apologies	1539 41.3%	1669 45%	1553 36%	1524 37%	3092	3193
Apologies as CMDs	823 22.1%	848 23%	1387 32%	1406 34%	2210	2254
Total	$\begin{bmatrix}3720\\=\\46\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100	$\begin{bmatrix}3729\\=\\47\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100	$\begin{bmatrix}4310\\=\\54\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100	$\begin{bmatrix}4156\\=\\53\%\end{bmatrix}$ 100	8030	7885

Analysis of data presented in table 7.6 brings out some very interesting findings: firstly, in both the languages surprisingly not- severe marked offences have grabbed more apologies (Eng: 54% & Urdu: 53%) than the severe marked ones (Eng: 46% & Urdu: 47%). The finding of having more apologies in not- severe offences is contrary to many previous researches like Holmes (1990: 184), (Olshtain, 1989:160), Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Trosberg (1987), (Owen 1983:67) according to whom the more serious the offense, the more elaborated the apology is likely to be. However, it goes in agreement with the findings of Thijittang (2010), Intachakra (2001), Muhammed (2006) and Demeter (2000) for not determining severity as a factor to accumulate more apologies rather not- severe offences earn more apologies.

Secondly, for each of these categories total apologies forwarded in both languages are almost equal with marginal difference i.e., severe (Eng: 46% Urdu: 47%) and not - severe (Eng: 54% & Urdu: 53%). In case of sever offences *implicit apologies,* first mega apology categoryis the most frequently applied one (table 7.6). The reason of its being highest applied category might fall in the common perception stated by the interviewees

that without *explanation* (an implicit apology strategy- figure, 3.2) hardly any apology can be regarded as true and fruitful. Itis used in the data collected in both languages through DCTs (appendix1) not only as stand-alone apology but also in combination with other strategies which has resulted in highest application of *implicit apologies* in both the cases i.e., severe and not severe. Second frequently applied apology category in case of severe offences is *explicit apologies* in both the languages (Eng: 36% & Urdu: 32%). And, the least applied in case of severe offences is *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 22% & Urdu: 23%). In contrast to it, according to English DCT (appendix1) in case of not-severe offences two apology categories have been employed with similar frequency i.e., *explicit apologies* (32%) and *apologies as CMDs* (32%). While in case of Urdu DCT second highly favoured apology category is*apologies as CMDs* (34%) and least applied is *explicit apologies* (29%).

This finding, having more apologies in not- severe offences is contrary to many previous researches like Holmes (1990: p.[184]) according to whom the more serious the offense, the more elaborated the apology is likely to be which is expected to have an explicit apology along with an *explanation, acknowledgement of responsibility* or *an offer of compensation*. But the data collected for the current research demonstrates that in the society under study, in case of more serious offences people generally don't speak much (may be out of shame and embarrassment) and usually prefer either silence with apologetic expressions e.g., silence or *explanation* to satisfy the offended one. And, if the offence happens to some elder, usually a complete silence with bowing head can be observed instead of forwarding reasons or justifications. However, this finding (less apologies in case of severe offences and vice versa) goes in line with the finding of Thijittang (2010) according to which Thai speakers apologize more in the not- severe offences.

7.5.4- Conversational Setting and Application of Mega Apology Categories

One of those factors which have been identified as influencing apologetic attitude of the speakers is conversational setting. Keeping in view importance of conversational setting, one of its aspects called 'formality level' is examined in the present research. For the said purpose two formality levels i.e., formal and informal (table 3.1) are brought under discussion in the current section which have already been discussed in sections 4.4.4, 5.5.4 & 6.5.4. All the three mega apology categories (figure 3.2) and their constituent strategies and sub strategies have been discussed in above mentioned sections. Based on individual values of mega apology categories a holistic analysis regarding influence of conversational setting on their selection and application is made in the following section.

Table 7.7. *Effects of conversational setting on application of three mega apology categories*

Strategy	Formal				Informal				Total	
	Eng.	%	Urdu	%	Eng.	%	Urdu	%	Eng.	Urdu
Explicit apologies	1557	48%	1410	42.4%	1171	24%	1028	22.5%	2728	2438
Implicit apologies	1146	35%	1416	42.5%	1946	41%	1777	39%	3092	3193
Apologies as CMDs	554	17%	498	15%	1656	35%	1756	38.5%	2210	2254
Total	$\begin{bmatrix} 3257 \\ = \\ 40.5\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 3324 \\ = \\ 42\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 4773 \\ = \\ 59.4\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		$\begin{bmatrix} 4561 \\ = \\ 58\% \end{bmatrix}$ 100		8030	7885

As illustrated in table 7.7, in both the languages more apologies are exchanged in informal situations (Eng: 59% & Urdu: 58%) than in formal (Eng: 40.5% & Urdu: 42%). An interesting observation in this context is that in each situation (formal and informal) almost similar application of mega categories (figure 3.2) is made in both the language. Besides this similarity of frequency in application at mega level, there exist obvious

differences in selection of constituent strategies (figure 3.2) while apologizing in these two languages i.e., English and Urdu (table 7.2).

In order to trace out frequency of each of the three mega categories (figure 3.2) when observed, table 7.7 demonstrates that there are lot of differences in application of these apology categories in these two conversational settings. According to English DCT (appendix I), in formal setting *explicit apology category* (figure 3.2) is most frequently applied (48%) making almost half of the total apologies forwarded. Conversely, when talking about top most choice of respondents in Urdu DCT (appendix I), in case of formal conversational setting there are found two mega apology categories getting the same application ratio i.e., *explicit apologies* and *implicit apologies* (42% each). While third mega apology category i.e., *apologies as CMDs* has got comparatively rare application in case of formal conversational setting in both the languages (Eng: 17% & Urdu: 15%). Besides, table (7.7) also brings out frequency of each of the three mega categories in case of informal conversational setting too. It is found that second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* is top most favoured category in both the languages getting highest application rate (Eng: 41% & Urdu: 39%). Second highly applied apology category is *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 35% & Urdu: 38.5%) while *explicit apologies* which is highest applied apology category in case of apologizing in formal setting is the lowest applied category in informal cases (Eng: 24% & 22%). On the basis of data presented in table (7.7) it can also be calculated that *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category is predominantly a formal expression with a markedly high (almost double) application in formal situation than the informal one while other two categories are remarkably informal due to high application in informal setting.

7.6- Politeness Orientation and Speech Act of Apology

This section (7.6) on the basis of discussion made throughout the previous chapters (4, 5, 6 & 7) aims to explore politeness orientation that operates apologetic attitude of the speakers in the culture under study. It is a general assumption that different societies and cultures differ in relation to their perception regarding face and politeness. This being so, focus of attention in the current research is to explore Kashmiri speakers' idea of face and politeness within the realm of pragmatics - an area yet not addressed in detail. For this purpose, it is pertinent to trace out strategies respondents of the study apply for apologizing because apologetic expressions (verbal and non-verbal) applied by the respondents can be a reliable source to trace out direction of politeness in any culture.

7.6.1 Positive and Negative Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1978 & 1987) distinguished two types of politeness i.e., positive and negative. They termed the strategies that avoid offence by exhibiting deference as negative politeness strategies and those strategies that avoid offence by emphasizing friendliness as positive politeness strategies. They suggested that whether a strategy is polite or impolite depends on how much attention or what kind of attention speakers pay to their own and addressees' face wants.

7.6.2- Positive and Negative Face

Face is public self-image that every adult tries to project. B&L (1987) define positive face in two ways: as "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others", or alternately, "the positive consistent self-image or personality (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants". While negative face was defined as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others", or "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction--i.e. the freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Yule: p.[135]).

Positive politeness is oriented towards positive face of the hearer. Likewise, positive politeness strategies strive to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face; and are used to make the hearer feel good about himself, his possessions or interests (Brown and Levinson, 1987: p.[70]). They identified thirteen positive politeness strategies: claim common ground, exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with the hearer), intensify interest to the hearer, use in-group identity markers, seek agreement, avoid disagreement, presuppose/raise/assert common ground, the speaker may use presupposition manipulations, give (or ask for) reasons, assume or assert reciprocity. Negative politeness is oriented towards negative face of the hearer i.e., one's need to be unimpeded or un-infringed upon. Negative politeness strategies are based on non-interference. The speaker regards privacy of the hearer and respects his / her independence. Some of the negative politeness strategies are: being indirect, being pessimistic, using hedges or questions, giving deference, apologizing, impersonalizing the speaker and the hearer and so on (Brown & Levinson, 1987: p[129]).

7.6.3- Apology Strategy Selection with Reference to Politeness

To meet purpose of this section i.e., to trace out politeness orientation of Kashmiri speakers, an analysis of qualitative and quantitative data is made which clearly manifests that in addition to the strategies purported in *CCSARP* model (1989) many new strategies (figures 3.1 & 3.2) are frequently being used in the culture under study. Interestingly, some of the newly emerged /included strategies have made considerably higher appearance in the data (both English and Urdu) as compared to those proposed by the model (*CCSARP*) selected as base of taxonomy. For example, one of them, *taking on responsibility* has not appeared in Urdu data at all, whereas newly added strategies are applied in both the languages, though with different frequency rate. Based on the data presented in this chapter, and the discussion made throughout this research work (the data collected through DCTs, observations and interviews) it seems that B&L's (1978 & 1987) categorization of apologies primarily as negative politeness strategies does not portray full functional range of this speech act. Further, the basis of categorization of apology strategies as positive or negative politeness strategies configuration provided in figure 7.2 manifests clearly that the apologies forwarded by the respondents of the current study are mainly positive politeness oriented. The strategies mentioned in the boxes of the figure are the strategies constituting three mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies, implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* (section 3.) leading to negative and positive politeness.

Based on the data presented in figure 7.2 , in total 70% of the apologies provided in English and 78% of those provided in Urdu are positive politeness strategies which

indicate that though according to many research studies apology strategies intend to respect

private territory of the offended, by expressing deference, maintenance of distance, and

showing respect. Kashmiri speakers are more inclined to claim common ground with the

apologizee by employing different strategies embracing impression of intimacy /closeness,

collaboration, and in- group identity markers.
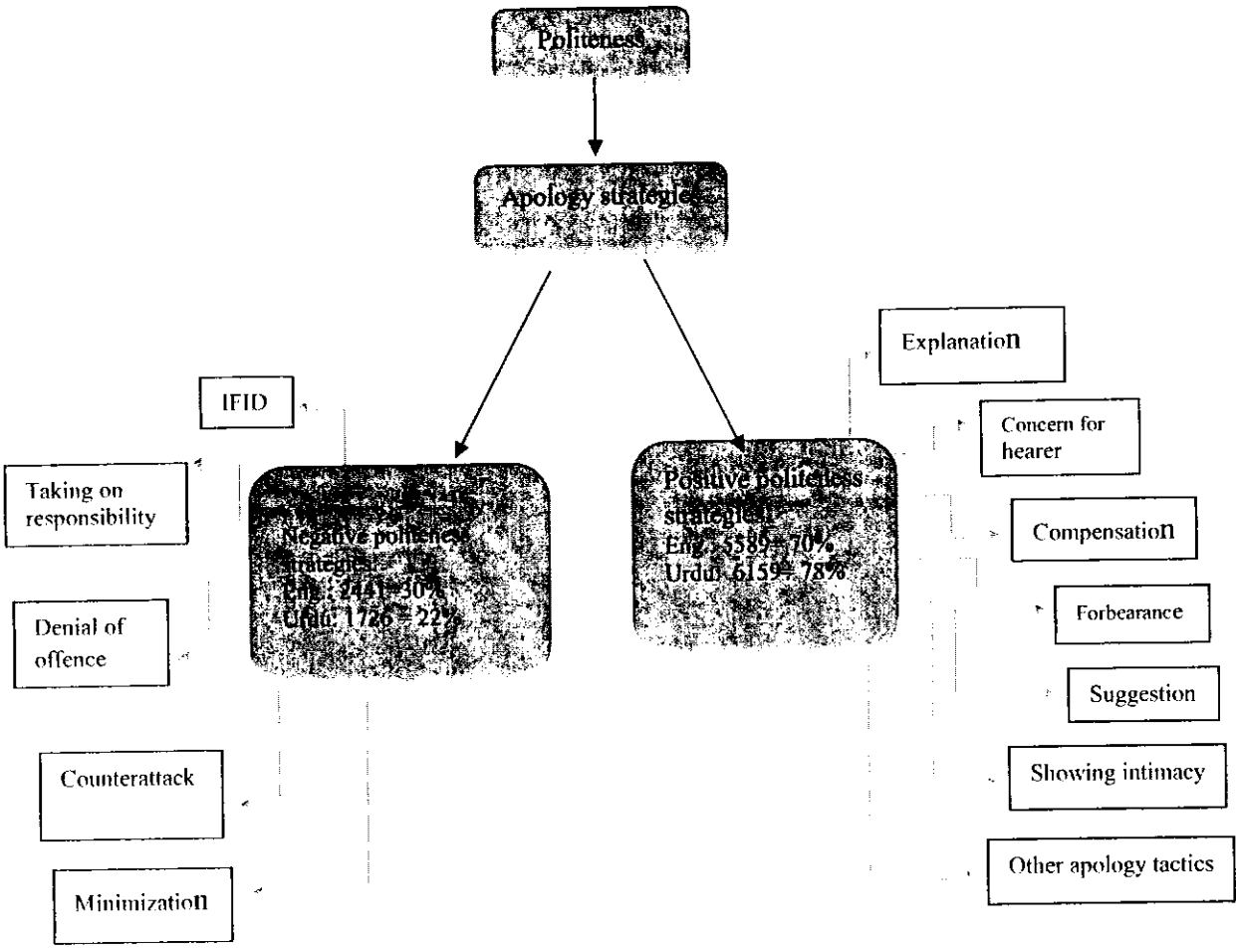
Fig 7.2. *Distribution of apology strategies into positive and negative politeness*

strategies

Discussion made in sections 4.4, 5.4 and 6.4 implies that the way apology strategies are applied in different situations makes speech act of apology to show closeness rather than distance and deference. *IFID*, for example, is found perceived in the society under study not merely as a tool to show indifference and distance but respect to the apologizee and acknowledge his / her high social status (section 4.2) which as a result elevates status of the speaker in the eye of the apologizee too. Likewise, some other strategies associated with negative politeness due to the essence they carry have also been applied in a way that makes them lose that essence and become a part of positive politeness strategies. For example, *denial of offence* and *counter attack* have been used along with *showing concern*, *offer of compensation* and *suggestion* – positive politeness strategies not only in DCTs (appendix1) but have also been noticed during observations (appendix2). Contrary to many researchers who claim apology a face threat for the speaker, in the community under study in total apologies are perceived as face restoring / saving activity for both the apologizee and the apologizer. A very common sentence encountered during observations was "*uffa¯p naey mairay baraey maen kia socha ho ga.... mujey bohat shurmindgi hau ruhai hai*" which can be translated in English as "what would have you thought of me... I am really ashamed of that". This expression, repeatedly made in apologies also renders that face in Kashmiri community is not something personal, it is not merely what the speaker invests but it is something granted by others- the society. The apologizer never imagines himself / herself away or distant from others but a part of them whose perception matters for him/ her a lot. This finding corresponds to what Mao (1994: p.[460]) asserts "Chinese face emphasises not the accommodation of individual 'wants' or 'desires' but the harmony of individual conduct with the views and judgement of the community". It also corresponds

to Sifianou (1992: p.[41]) who st   hat Greeks stress "involvement and in-group relationship". These approaches echo Goffman's (1967: p.[10]) proposition that "face" stands for something assigned to the individuals by their societies. Likewise, imposition seems not to be face threatening in the society under study rather usually it appears as a sign of closeness, frankness and intimacy as during observations apologizers are many times found insisting the apologizee to forgive, to smile, to laugh etc., as a sign of forgiveness. Thus, the concept of face, face threatening acts, face saving, and politeness vary in this community from that proposed by Brown & Levinson (1978 & 1987) and more likely correspond to Gu (1990: pp.[241-242]). This point is also strengthened by the way *offer of repair* strategy is realized by the respondents of this study. It is noted that in many instances apologizee is not left with any choice but to accept the offer. For example, in response to situation 8 (visiting a patient), many of the respondents took fruits or gave money saying that they could not visit the patient in time, which can be taken as an attempt to erase embarrassment. Similarly, in situation 5, different eatables like candies and chocolates are presented to the apologizee- the son to make him happy. In these and many other similar situations, the personal autonomy of the apologizee is readily invaded and is appreciated by the apologizee as well which obviously falls under the rubric of positive politeness.

While categorizing different cultures as being positively or negatively polite, B & L (1987: p .[245]) argue "[...] in complex societies, dominated groups (and sometimes also majority groups) have positive-politeness cultures; dominating groups have negative-politeness cultures" which is not completely projected in the data collected for the current study, as is obvious from examples quoted above and the apologies provided for situation 2, 3 & 8 (table 7.3), where the dominated / low status respondents yielded more on negative

politeness strategies as compared to positive ones and the dominating or higher status owner boss in situation 8 applied positive politeness strategies in higher number. This tendency towards positive over negative politeness is pretty obvious from abundant application of newly included apology strategies, for example, application of religious expressions, offer of meal, suggestion, silence and smile or laughter, which indicate a good deal of understanding and acquaintance with the offended party and tend to reduce existing distance between interlocutors. It indicates that the respondents have applied apology strategies in accordance with their exclusive social expectation which cross boundaries of *CCSARP* model (1989). Though there are lot of differences in occurrence of different strategies constituting three mega apology categories (section 7.3) their overall application is same (section, 7.1) in both the languages (Urdu and English) i.e., highest applied apology category in both the languages is *implicit apologies* followed by *explicit apologies* while *apologies as CMDs* - third mega category makes minimum appearance in the data collected through DCTs (appendix1). This situation is in line with Sifianou 1992, who claims that besides same politeness direction existing in a society the individuals are not expected to exhibit identical inclination towards apology strategies (Sifianou 1992: p.[211]) and Eelen's (2001:p.[165]) point of view that despite "internal differences" individuals display in their behaviour cultures are "inherently homogeneous" and, "no matter how complex the system may be, it is still assumed to be shared throughout the culture". (Eelen, 2001: p.[165]).

This concept of uniform culture makes people conform to social beliefs consequently yielding an appropriate culturally acceptable attitude. According to Ide (1989: p.[225]) too, speakers' selection of semantic expressions must represent standard rules operating in their society. This homogeneity of individuals' behaviour and cultural norms

can better be termed as a result of ...alization and assimilation of socio-cultural rules and norms by the members of any speech community which reflect in their behaviour. According to Eelen, B & L's (1987) Model Person can be taken as an example to elucidate concept of sharedness, because if notions of face, distance, power, and ranking of imposition are not collective then members of any language community may not be capable of recognizing which strategy will be most suitable in a specific situation resulting in rendering politeness phenomena non-predictable. Shardeness, in fact, helps the interlocutors to guess each other's expectations and behave accordingly.

Based on the data presented in the current study it can be assumed that B & L's (1987) taxonomy of speech acts as essentially being face-saving or face-threatening or positive or negative politeness strategies is not applicable to all the languages and cultures. More specifically, this research study demonstrates that apologies are likely to function as positive politeness strategies serving as a means to show intimacy and solidarity among the members of the society under study. Further, they (apologies) do not always appear as a threat for speakers' face but a source of elevation of social stature and moral standing. This finding is supported by less application of *explicit apologies* as compared to rest of the categories i.e., *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs*, none of which include any vivid apology expression and mainly focus on frankness, mutual understanding, in-groupness and shared-ness. Thus, it can be calculated that definitions of polite and impolite behaviours should be re-considered due to difference in their perception in different cultures (Gu 1990; Holmes 1995; Holmes & Schnurr 2005; Mills 2003; Watts 2003; Locher 2004; Locher & Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Arundale 2006).

The finding that apologies employed by Kashmiri speakers are not only mainly face-saving acts, but are also beneficial equally to apologiser and apologizee, is not to challenge importance of B & L's (1978 &1987) theory of politeness which has classified apologizing as a face-threatening act for apologizer as the credit of disclosing of this different dimension of human behaviour in the current work lies on the insight delivered by their model. The exploration of politeness phenomenon in Kashmiri culture might have not been possible without yielding on them (Brown & Levinson). In sum, B & L's (1987) notion of politeness, as commented by Locher & Watts (2005: p9) "provides a breadth of insights into human behaviour which no other theory has yet offered" and "it has a great deal of analytical mileage in that it provides a framework for understanding social behaviour: even when that behaviour goes against their predictions" (Christie 2005: p.[6]).

7.7- Summary of Chapter 7

Based on the analysis made in chapters 4, 5 & 6, this chapter was sets out to draw an holistic picture of application of speech act of apology by looking at application of mega apology categories (figure 3.2). For this purpose, many factors like frequency of different apology strategies and their application ratio with reference to different situations etc., have also been considered. Lastly influence of some social factors like social status, social distance, severity of offence and conversational setting on application of mega apology categories has also been sought out. Lastly, an attempt is made to explore politeness orientation of the respondents of the study to answer research objectives (section 1.5) set

out to assess what sort of politenc .ists in the society under review. On the basis of discussion made throughout this chapter, following are the findings:

First of all in order to find out which mega apology category (figure 3.2) the respondents of this study prefer the most in their apologies, a comparison is made in section 7.1 which delineates that second mega category called *implicit apologies* is the highest applied category in both the languages (Eng: 38% & Urdu: 40%), second highly favoured apology category is *explicit apologies* (Eng:34% & Urdu:31%) while the least applied category in both the languages is *apologies as CMDs* (Eng:28% & Urdu:29%). Based on this finding it can be said that the population under study is primarily indirect and implicit in their apologetic attitude. Further, the discussion made in sections 4.3, 5.3 and 6.3 on the basis of data collected through DCTs (appendix1), observations (appendix2) and interviews (appendix3) asserts that this attitude is socially endorsed, for example, people prefer to have a detailed explanation instead of a 'sorry' not only in case when they are apologizers but also in case of being an apologizee. They usually embed it with *offer of compensation* or some other strategy preferably from the third mega category called *apologies as CMDs*. As concerned lowest application of third mega category- *apologies as CMDs-* in the data collected through DCTs, it is contrary to observation data. During observations non- verbal apologies, constituting this category are abundantly encountered and the interviewees have also endorsed their fruitful conventional application in apologies. The reason of this discrepancy might be difference of these two data collection methods as many strategies / sub-strategies of this mega apology category (*apologies as CMDs),* for example, smile, laughter, silence, and bowing the head are not possible to be applied in data collected through DCTs.

As for as frequency of different strategies placed under the umbrella of three mega apology categories (figure 3.2) is concerned, based on data presented in table 7.1 and 7.2 it is found that preference of the respondents with respect to selection of apology semantic formulae in the two languages (English & Urdu), under study, are not similar. Total apology strategies used in English DCT (8030) exceed total number of strategies applied in Urdu DCT (7885). Similarly, the preference given to different strategies also vary widely: in both the languages out of twelve apology strategies used in total, top six strategies are same, with variation in their position between no=1 to no=6, in DCTs (appendix1) data. A very minimal number of strategies are found occupying same position with respect to their frequency in the data yielded to both the DCTs (appendix1), i.e., *offer of compensation* at number two; *showing intimacy* at number 3 and *counter attack* at number eight.

With respect to application of different strategies constituting mega apology categories, analysis of data presented in table 7.3 demonstrates that there is very unclear, vague and un-formulaic tendency towards selection of apology strategies across different situations. An example in this regard is application of *IFID*s which has appeared less frequently in many severe marked offences than not-severe ones, for example, its application in situation 10- marked as the most severe- is less (Eng: 14% & 4%) as compared to not-severe marked situation 2 (Eng: 33% & Urdu: 30%). Similarly, the strategy *offer of compensation* has been applied in quite varied situations from forgetting to take son for shopping and forgetting to bring teacher's book back to hurting a passenger (involving real physical loss) which implies that severity of offence cannot be measured in isolation from the factors like status of the apologizee and social distance particularly.

Different social variables like social status, social distance, and severity of offence and formality level are observed during formation of DCTs (appendix1) and are displayed through different situations. In the current research study like many previous studies different social factors are found influencingthe selection of apology strategies resulting in affecting application of mega apology categories. Following is the detail in this regard:

First of all, the respondents on the basis of role assigned in DCTs (appendix 1) have been stratified into three groups: higher, equal and lower. Frequency rate found among speakers of these three social status groups communicates that the lower group heavily depends on *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category. Equal group has least applied *explicit apologies* and mostly depended on *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* categories in their responses. Preference for these two categories imparts a sense of mutual understanding and frankness among members of this group which makes application of *explicit apologies* a potential threat to spontaneity and genuineness of their relationship. And, the group called higher prefers *implicit apologies* in Urdu and *explicit apologies* in English (especially *offer of compensation* strategy). *Implicit apologies* in Urdu DCT help them save their public image and elevate their standing in public eye. The same reason of maintaining and uplifting good public self-image is at the back of applying *explicit apologies* by considerably depending on *offer of compensation* strategy which according to interviewees is highly appreciated and valued in their society.

Further, the data is analysed to trace out application of different apology categories with reference to social distance. This social factor is found affecting respondents' selection of apology categories. The analysis reveals that *close* group heavily resorts on *implicit apologies* which makes 40% of their apologies forwarded in English and 43% of

apologies made in Urdu. Second highly preferred apology category by this group is *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2) both in English and Urdu DCTs (appendix 1). The members of this group rarely applied *explicit apology category* in their apologies. As for as *acquaintance* group is concerned, its members mostly opt *explicit apologies* in English DCT (37%), and *implicit apologies* in Urdu DCT (39%) whereas the least applied category in both the languages is *apologies as CMDs* (28% each). Members of third group of participants called *distant* greatly depend on application of *implicit apologies* for apologizing in both the languages (Eng: 40% & Urdu: 38%) which is a direct result of application of *explanation* at large. Second most frequently applied mega apology category in their replies is *explicit apologies* while *apologies as CMDs* has been least used apology category by this group – *distant*. The logic of least application of *apologies as CMDs* is obviously lack of mutual understanding and non-existence of common grounds.

With regard to influence of severity of offence on application of mega apology categories analysis (table 7.6) shows that in both the languages surprisingly not- severe marked offences grabbed more apologies (Eng: 54% & Urdu: 53%) than the severe marked ones (Eng: 46% & Urdu: 47%). Further, for each of these categories apologies forwarded in both languages have almost similar frequency with quite a marginal difference i.e., severe (Eng: 46% Urdu: 47%) and not severe (Eng: 54% & Urdu: 53%). In both sever and not- severe offences, *implicit apologies-* second mega apology category is most frequently applied category in both the languages (table 7.5). While *explicit apologies* category is second most applied apology category in case of severe offences in both the languages. In contrast to it, in case of not-severe offences, both- *apologies as CMDs* and *explicit apologies* (figure3.2) have got equal frequency (32%) in English DCT and are second

highly applied apology category while in Urdu DCT *apologies as CMDs* is second highly preferred apology category (34%). Least applied category in Urdu DCT is *explicit apologies*. Application of less apologies in case of severe offences and vice versa parallels finding of Thijittang (2010) according to which Thai speakers apologize more in the case of not- severe offences.

As illustrated in table 7.7, in both the languages more apologies are exchanged in informal situation (Eng: 59% & Urdu: 58%) than the formal one (Eng: 40.5% & Urdu: 42%). Almost similar frequency of mega apology categories in each of these two settings while apologizing in two different languages confirms strong influence of conversational setting. Based on data presented in table 7.7 it can further be calculated that in context of conversational setting *explicit apology category* has been a predominantly formal expression with a markedly high (almost double) application in formal setting than the informal one while other two categories are remarkably informal due to high application in informal settings.

The last section of this chapter (7.6) which deals with politeness orientation of the subjects of the study demonstrates B & L's (1978 & 1987) claim declaring speech acts inherently face- supporting or face-threatening or negative or positive politeness strategies is not applicable to the culture under study. In this society apologies function as positive politeness strategies rendering intimacy and solidarity among members of society resulting in elevation of their social stature and moral standing instead of being a threat for speakers' face. Thus, it can be calculated that definitions of polite and impolite behaviours should be re-considered due to difference in their perception in different cultures (Gu 1990; Holmes

1995; Holmes & Schnurr 2005; Mills 2003; Watts 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Arundale 2006).

HAPTER: 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction to Chapter 8

In this research work different aspects of realization of speech act of apology in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (generally called Kashmir) are examined based on two languages being used there, in parallel. These two languages are English and Urdu: English due to its status of second official language of the State of Kashmir is taught from class one to Graduate level as a compulsory language whereas Urdu is national language of the State, which besides existence of many local languages is frequently being used by a large part of population in general and educated ones in particular.

To explore politeness phenomenon with reference to speech act of apology in the society under review overall plan of action during this research work has been as under. First of all, an attempt is made to set a background of the current research, its general aims, scope, significance etc., then a comprehensive review of literature covering all the related aspects of speech act of apology and politeness phenomenon is made. On the basis of this literature review, is devised the methodology being applied for data collection and data analysis. Based on a large variety of apologetic expressions in the data collected for the current study *CCSARP* model (1989) is adapted by adding some more apology strategies found in the collected data so that exclusive characteristics found in the society under study can be catered fully. The taxonomy formulated thus, is further divided into three mega apology categories: *implicit apologies*, *explicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs,*

consisting of many apology strategies (figures 3.1 & 3.2). Finally, by applying newly

formulated taxonomy (figure 3.2) data is analysed and triangulated which has led to the

following conclusion:

Discussion made throughout this research reveals some unwritten social traditions,

belief systems and general rules governing use of speech act of apology in the culture under

study. It is hoped that examination of this specific speech act - the one generally associated

with politeness phenomenon - through integration of data collection methods i.e.,

observation, DCTs and interview will shed light on its practical use in society instead of

merely theoretical perception. In order to present results of the study, I will firstly

summarise main findings then, in accordance with various set aims an attempt would be

made to bring to light general outline reflecting different aspects of politeness in the society

under study.

8.2- Form and Function of Speech Act of Apology

First objective of the current research study (expressed in section 1.3 and addressed

in subsequent chapters (4, 5, 6 & 7) aims to isolate expressions of apology and to identify

their functions, in the selected population. The relationship between function and form is

also investigated. For this purpose, firstly the data of the study is categorized according to

different apology strategies discussed thoroughly in section 3.6. Those strategies have been

subsumed under three mega apology categories devised on the basis of functions different

strategies, accumulated under them, play during apologizing. These mega apology

categories elucidated are: *explicit apologies, implicit apologies,* and *apologies as CMDs* (figure 3.2).

It is found that *explicit apologies* - the first mega apology category is primarily focused to remedy a range of offences where the apologiser somehow feels that s/he has really caused some severe damage to the apologizee or the apologizer has to apologize in formal conversational setting. This category, making up 34% of the whole apologies forwarded in response to English DCT and 31% to Urdu DCT, is, even lacking any hard and fast application pattern except *IFIDs* which are mostly restricted to formal setting while apologizing in both the languages in the society under study. Another noteworthy point about one of the constituent strategies of this mega category is total absence of *taking on responsibility* from Urdu data, which according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Thijittang (2010) is one of the most frequently applied apology strategy. Olshtain and Cohen (1983) also claim for universality of this apology formula. But, the interviewees of the current study ascribe absence of this apology strategy from Urdu data to its face threatening nature. Its presence has been quite scanty during observations too and is found merely restricted to either extremely sever offences in informal situation (to just a small extent) or in formal setup- where a more formal apology is deemed necessary.

Second mega apology category called *implicit apologies* has appeared by and large in all the situations provided in both the DCTs (Appendix 1). As for as its constituent strategies (figure 3.2) are concerned, *concern for hearer* has appeared the most in the situations with either the apologizers of high social status (either professionally senior or elder) or in case of severe damage. Next *implicit apology strategy* called *minimization of offence* has made quite a random application while *suggestion* has made maximum

appearance in situations 4, 9 and 13 whereas it has not appeared at all in situation 1,2,3 and 7 (appendix 1) in both the languages which communicates that it is rarely used in the cases with apologizee having higher social status. Overall function of this mega apology category has emerged as to satisfy face needs of the interlocutors- both apologizer and the apologizee- by showing concern, sympathy, solidarity and presenting some third factor as being responsible for the offence thus getting the apologizer off the hook.

The third mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* which is found as the most frequently applied apology category around a vast variety of situations during observations is least applied in the data collected through DCTs i.e., it has made 28% of total apologies in English and 29% of total apologies in Urdu. This category embraces many strategies and sub-strategies under its umbrella, and normally consists of simple expressions functioning primarily as devices to manage conversation resulting in none failure of communication between the participants and helping them settle the differences amicably. The reason of low application of this category in DCT data might be because of the fact that many of its strategies and sub-strategies- for example, smile, laughter, silence etc., - found frequently prevailing in society under studyduring observations are not possible to be applied in DCTs responses. None of the strategies or sub-strategies subsumed under this category is meant to deliver any sense of regret or compensation but it is found exceedingly fruitful in the conditions involving offences. This category is applied predominantly in informal situations without any reference to social status, social distance or severity of offence. Two of its sub-strategies, *counter attack* and *denial of offence* are found normally used during confrontations, in cases of not sever offences,

having status equals or lowers as a; apologizee with a negligible application of *denial of offence* in rest of the situations too (table 6.3).

An investigation of apology strategies further exhibits that *explicit apologies* make just 34% of overall apologies produced in English and 31% of the apologies made in Urdu DCT whereas the remaining two apology categories collectively make 66% and 69% of total apologies in both the languages respectively (table 7.1) which indicates that the society under study is not explicit in the application of speech act of apology. Their (respondents of the study) concern fundamentally remains satisfaction of the apologizee instead of the way how to get it which is obvious from abundant application of strategies like *explanation, offer of compensation* and *showing intimacy* (table 7.2). On the other hand, application of *apologies as CMDs* indicates another function of apologies that is to reduce any existing tension between the interlocutors by letting the communication go resulting to hook off the offender. Collective application of other two mega apology categories (*implicit apologies* & *apologies as CMDs*) in the data is 32% and 38% more frequent in the data in English and Urdu languages respectively than *explicit apologies* - the strategies where speakers acknowledge responsibility of an offence explicitly (table 7.2). Thus, it seems to suggest another important additional function of apologies to ensure loss of face on the part of the speaker being kept to a minimum level resulting in enhancing solidarity, intimacy and in groupness.

Ironically, though not occupying any explicit acceptance of responsibility or apologizing obviously, *implicit apologies*- the highest applied mega apology category- is considered not only politer but also proves fruitful in settling down the ruffled feelings of the offended ones, in the society under study. This finding corresponds to Rahman (1998)

according to whom, "among Pakistanis apologizing and thanking is done differently in formal and informal situations. Words, originating from Persian and Arabic and used in Urdu, are used only in the formal contexts and not among family and friends. With the latter, one may use body language and certain less formal words to thank and apologize, for example, contrite smile; expression of concern; putting hand on the person's shoulder; saying: 'lagi to nahin' (hope you aren't hurt), etc. p[11].

8.3- Differences and Similarities in Realization Pattern of Apologies in English and Urdu Languages

Second objective set for the current study is to examine in comparison and contrast the choices of apologies in Urdu and English in terms of their frequency, form and respective functions. First similarity in this regard is that in both the languages application of mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies, implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* is in the same order though with difference of frequency. As is evident from table 7.1, *implicit apologies* are top most applied mega apology category in both the languages while second highly favoured mega apology category is *explicit apologies* in both the languages followed by *apologies as CMDs*.

Secondly, as for as application of different apology strategies (figure 3.2) is concerned few of them are found to have got similar position with respect to their application in the responses provided by respondents of DCTs (appendix 1). These strategies include *offer of compensation* which is emerged as second highly favoured apology strategy in responses provided to both the DCTs; *showing intimacy* which is third most applied apology strategy in both the DCTs; and counter *attack* which is comparatively

less applied apology strategy has secured number eight on the basis of its application in responses of both the DCTs (table 7.2).

As for as differences are concerned, first difference is noted in frequency rate with which mega apology categories appeared in the data, collected in both the languages: *explicit strategies* in both the languages display a difference of n=290, *implicit apologies*, n = 101, and *apologies as CMDs*, n= 44 (table, 7.1).

Secondly, as has been demonstrated in figure 7.1, top six common apology strategies applied by the respondents of both the DCTs (English and Urdu) are same: *IFIDs*, *explanation or account of reason, offer of compensation, showing intimacy, suggestion* and some *other apologetic tactics*, there is variation in their position between no=1 to no= 6. *IFID*, for example, the top most applied apology strategy in English DCT is fourth largely applied strategy in responses provided for Urdu DCT, likewise *explanation or account of reason*- the most frequently applied strategy in Urdu DCT is second top choice of respondents when replying in English. Same is the case with rest of the strategies as there are huge differences with respect to application (figure 7.2) except the few strategies mentioned above for carrying same position though with different frequency rate.

Thus, in English apologies, *IFID* is found most frequently used semantic formula. This finding conforms to many other research studies in different languages such as Russian (Ogiermann, 2008); Persian (Shariati & Chamani, 2010; Chamani & Zareipur, 2010); American English (Banikalef & Marlyna, 2013a), Norwegian (Awedyk, 2011), Romanian (Demeter, 2006); and Hebrew (Olshtain, 1989); English (Holmes, Intachakra and Márquez Reiter) which claim *IFID* as the most frequently occurring strategy. While in Urdu DCT *explanation* is the most frequently applied apology strategy which corresponds

to Sugimoto (1997); Trosborg (1987) Intachakra (2001) (Thijittang (2010) and (Suszczyńska) 1999 who discovered 'explanation or account' as highly favoured apology strategy in their studies while it contradicts Olshtain and Cohen (1983) who counted explanation one of the rarest strategies.

Regarding *IFIDs*, it is found that their realization in both the languages is made through different expression like *offer of apology*, *regret* and *embarrassment*. In both the languages no instance could be found of *request for forgiveness* which is contrary to Persian (Shariati and Chamani, 2010) and Indonesian (Wouk, 2006), but supports Owen (1983); Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984); Holmes (1990); Mattson and Johnstone (1994); Deutschmann (2003) and Suszczyńska (1999). It elucidates that strategy use is dictated by culture. In the current study, *offer of apology* is distinguished as most frequently used *IFID* semantic formula. Respondents are found inclined to resort on commonly used expressions, 'sorry' in English DCT and 'Mahzret chahna' (sorry) in Urdu. '*Sorry*' has been reported as the most commonly employed formulaic apology expression in English in many other apology studies, for example, Aijmer 1996, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984, Deutschmann 2003, Holmes 1990, Bean and Johnstone 1994, Meier 1992, Owen 1983).

An interesting finding in this regard is abundant application of English expression '*sorry*' not only during observations but also in Urdu DCT data. More than fifty percent of those who have opted *offer of apology* – sub strategy applied English expression sorry instead of Urdu called *mahzret chahna*. These finding echoes assertion made by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) that *IFID*s are applied in every language, but their realization is different in different languages.

8.4- Social Status and Speech Act of Apology

Third objective of the current study is to examine effect of social status on realization pattern of speech act of apology in the society under study. Under discussion is a culture in which social hierarchy, professional seniority, and age play dominant role to shape behaviour of the people and their mutual interaction. Likewise, in case of a situations demanding apology, the speakers must be sensitive about these matters regarding the hearers or apologizee. Not only matters sensitivity about the status and position of the recipient but the speakers also remain conscious about their own social standing, this is what reflects from the responses provided for DCTs in both the languages. Following are the findings:

According to analysis of English DCT (table 7.4) maximum apologies are exchanged by the *equal* group i.e., 39% of the total apologies which have been provided by the respondents whereas *higher group* has extended minimum apologies i.e., 24% of the total apologies made. The frequency rate of the apologies which are forwarded by lower group is 37%. This finding parallels postulates of B & L (1978, 1987) that higher status people rarely apologize considering apologies face threatening to their negative face more than status equals and those belonging to lower position do. The finding also corresponds to Thijittang (2010) and Holmes's (1990) finding that apologies are most common among status equals who do not concern much about their potential face loss.

As for as findings of Urdu DCT are concerned, the lower status group has made maximum apologies resulting in 37% of total apologies. *Equal group* has produced apologies very close to those of *lower group* (36%) and the least apologies are extended

by the group called *higher* (table 7.4). This finding, too, confirms Brown & Levinson's (1987) standpoint about the rare application of apologies by speakers of high social status. While investigating apologetic attitude of English-speaking Hindu Indians migrated from South Africa Bharuthram (2003) states that in their culture anyone enjoying higher social status would hardly apologize to his subordinate, because people may consider him meek and submissive.

As for as application of mega apology categories (figure 3.2) by the speakers of these three groups is concerned (table, 7.4) the highest application of *explicit apologies* is noted in the case of *lower* status speakers in both the languages (Eng: 44% & Urdu: 41%) while speakers of *equal* status have made lowest use of this apology category (Eng: 23.5% & Urdu: 18%) which confirms assumption made by Holmes (1990) that intimacy permits shortcuts and substitutions which has resulted in highest application of *implicit apologies* (Eng: 42% & Urdu: 42%) and *apologies as CMDs*. Mega apology category called *apologies as CMDs* has made highest appearance in the responses yielded by apologizers of equal group (Eng: 34% & Urdu: 40%) and least application of this category could be noticed in apologies of lower status group. Based on frequency rate of apology categories found among all the three social status groups it can be concluded that *lower* group needs to be more explicit in their apologies, so they heavily depend on *explicit apologies*- first mega apology category. Whereas, *equal* group opt *explicit apologies* the least and mostly depend on *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* categories which indicate a sense of mutual understanding and frankness that makes application of *explicit apologies* a potential threat to the essence of spontaneity and genuineness found in their relationship. The *higher*

group, on the other end, prefers ... *it apologies* in Urdu and *explicit apologies* in English.

In sum, maximum apologies have occurred among the interlocutors having equal status. This finding resembles to Holmes's (1990) claim that apologies are most frequent among status equals who do not bother about the potential face loss by admitting their inefficiency. Present data also supports Wolfson's theory (1988) who maintained that those who are neither close friends nor strangers require more articulation of solidarity. Therefore, it can be asserted that participants of the study (Kashmiris), with a change in hearer's social status yield variation in apology patterns both at micro and macro levels, while apologizing in both the languages.

8.5- Conversational Setting and Speech Act of Apology

Fourth objective of the current research study (expressed in section 1.3 and addressed in subsequent chapters) is to examine effects of formality level of conversational setting on application of speech act of apology while apologizing in both the languages under study. Formality is found affecting the total apologies produced in formal and informal setting (table 7.7): in both the languages more, apologies are exchanged in informal setting (Eng: 59% & Urdu: 58%) than the formal one (Eng: 40.5% & Urdu: 42%). Almost equal number of apologies are produced in both the languages in each of the situations, but lot of differences are found with respect to application of mega apology categories.

In formal setting, '*explicit apologies*' is the most frequently applied apology category making almost half (48%) of the total apologies forwarded in English DCT (table

7.7). Conversely, in Urdu DCT, in ..... of formal conversational setting two mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies* and *implicit apologies* go in parallel making highest portion (42% each) of total apologies. While third mega apology category i.e., *apologies as CMDs* has got comparatively rare application in case of formal conversational setting in both the languages (Eng: 17%& Urdu: 15%). Contrary to it in case of informal conversational setting, *implicit apologies*- second mega apology categoryis top most choice of the respondents (Eng: 41% & Urdu: 39%) in both the languages (table, 7.7) followed by *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 35% & Urdu: 38.5%). *Explicit apologies* which is the highest applied apology category in case of formal setting made lowest application (Eng: 24% & 22%) in informal setting. Thus, it can be calculated that in context of conversational setting, first mega apology category called *explicit apologies* is predominantly a formal expression with a markedly high (almost double) application in formal situation than the informal one while other two categories i.e., *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* are remarkably informal due to high application in informal setting.

8.6- Social Distance and Speech Act of Apology

Fifth objective of the current study is to explore the manner in which relationship of the speakers and the addressees affects frequency and typology of apologies. Analysis of data declares social distance as an influencing factor in selection of apology strategies. For measuring effects of social distance on apology process the respondents are divided in three groups called *close* group, *acquaintances* and *distant* group. According to data presented in table 7.5, maximum apologies are forwarded by *distant* group in both the

languages (Eng: 38% & Urdu: 3⸱ ... and in Urdu DCT, least apologies are made by *acquaintance* group i.e., 28.5% while in case of English DCT *close* and *acquaintance* groups forwarded least apologies i.e.,31%. This finding corresponds to Brown and Levinson's theory (1978 & 1987) which claims that an increase in social distance (strangers) demands application of more apologies to impart more respect to the hearer and decrease in social distance does not necessitate provision of this speech act if an offence happens. This finding is parallel to Thijittang (2010) about Thai EFL learners and Intachakra's (2001) findings about English native speakers according to which apology exchange rate was highest among the strangers. While, Olshtain (1989) did not establish any relationship between social distance and selection of apology strategies, Wolfson, Marmor and Jones (1989) and Demeter (2000) found that most expressions accepting responsibility were exchanged between acquaintances. Similarly, Wolfson (1988) also purports that frequent apology exchanges can be observed between those who are neither strangers nor friends whereas Bergman and Kasper (1993) assert that among closer interlocutors the offender is expected to assume explicit responsibility for the offence.

As for as preference for mega apology category is concerned it is found that closegroup heavily resort on *implicit apologies* which makes 40% of their apologies forwarded in English and 43% of apologies made in Urdu while this group gives second preference to *apologies as CMDs* in both the languages and rarely use *explicit apologies-* first mega apology category. *Acquaintance* group mostly opt *explicit apologies* in English DCT (37%), and *implicit apologies* in Urdu DCT (39%) whereas the least applied category by them in both the languages is *apologies as CMDs* (28% each). Members of *distant* group depend heavily on application of *implicit apologies* in both the languages (Eng: 40% &

Urdu: 38%) because of unavoidable need to forward accounts or reasons to clear their situation. Second frequently applied category by them is *explicit apologies* while *apologies as CMDs* is least preferred category by this group – distant. The logic behind least application of *apologies as CMDs* is obviously lack of mutual understanding and existence of common grounds. Thus, in sum, this research study distinguishes social distance as an influencing factor with regard to application of apology strategies.

8.7- Severity of Offense and Speech Act of Apology

Sixth objective laid down for the current study is to calculate impact of severity of offence on form and frequency of apologetic expressions of the respondents in both the languages - English and Urdu. While evaluated in this context, based on the data presented in tables 4.5.3; 5.5.3;6.5.3 and 7.5.3 following are the findings with respect to severity of offence factor. Firstly, in both the languages, Kashmiri speakers surprisingly apologize more for not- severe marked offences (Eng: 54% & Urdu: 53%) than the severe ones (Eng: 46% & Urdu: 47%). Secondly, each of these two categories (severe and not severe) has grabbed almost similar number of apologies in both the languages i.e., severe offences have got a frequency of 46% in English language and 47% in Urdu. On the other hand, apology rate in not severe offences has been noted 54% & 53% in English and Urdu respectively which indicates that change of language does not affect general apologetic attitude of the respondents with regard to severity of offence factor. As far as application of different apology categories is concerned it is found that in case of sever offences, *implicit apology category* is most frequently applied (table 7.6) in both the languages. Second frequently

applied apology category in case of severe offences is *explicit apologies* in both the languages (Eng: 36% & Urdu: 32%) followed by least applied category called *apologies as CMDs* (Eng: 22% & Urdu: 23%). Contrary to that in case of not-severe offences, two apology categories are employed in similar frequency i.e., *explicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* in English. Conversely in case of Urdu DCT data, *implicit apologies* category has got highest application while *apologies as CMDs* (34%) has emerged as second highly favoured apology category and least applied is *explicit apologies* (29%).

The finding of having more apologies in not- severe offences is contrary to many previous researches like Holmes (1990), Olshtain, (1989), Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Trosberg (1987), Owen (1983) according to whom the more serious the offense, the more elaborated the apology is likely to be. However, it goes in agreement with the findings of Thijittang (2010), Intachakra (2001), Muhammed (2006) and Demeter (2000) for not determining severity as a factor to accumulate more apologies rather not- severe offences earn more apologies.

8.8- Change in language and Apologetic Behaviour of Respondents

Seventh objective set for the current study aims to explore to what extent and in what ways change in language (Urdu / English) affects apologetic behaviour/ expression of the speakers. To trace out effect of change of language on apologetic behaviour of the respondents the results of the analysis made in different chapters (4, 5, 6 & 7) have been evaluated from two perspectives: application of mega apology categories i.e., *explicit apologies, implicit apologies and apologies as CMDs* and, individual application of different apology strategies constituting these mega categories (figure 3.2). When

analysed, it is found that change of language has a limited effect on apologetic attitude of the respondents restricted to selection of apology strategies only. Overall apologetic attitude of respondents is measured on the basis of application of mega apology categories which have appeared in same order (*explicit apologies*-highest applied, *implicit apologies*-second highly applied and *apologies as CMDs* - least applied) in both the languages which indicates that no matter what the language is, respondents are not explicit in their apologetic behaviour rather they are implicit.

As for as application of apology strategies which constitute these mega apology categories (figure 3.2) is concerned, lot of differences are noticed with change of language (table 7.3). The respondents while apologizing in these two languages not only apply different strategies for the same situation but the frequency of different strategies also differs. For example, the respondents have applied more *IFIDs* in their apologies in English DCT followed by *explanation* and *offer of compensation* as being second highly applied apology strategies while in Urdu DCT *explanation* is the highest applied apology strategy followed by *offer of compensation* (figure 7.1). In both the languages, more apologies are exchanged in informal setting than the formal one (table 7.7); and not severe offences have grabbed more apologies than the severe ones (table 7.6) but differences with respect to selection of apology strategies are there, in both the cases. These findings communicate that change of language does not affect overall attitude of the respondents regarding production of apologies which corresponds to Sifianou 1992, who claims that besides same politeness direction existing in a society the individuals are not expected to exhibit identical inclination towards apology strategies (Sifianou (1992: p.[211]) and Eelen (2001:p.[165]) who asserts that despite application of internally different expressions individuals display

through their behaviour cultures are "inherently homogeneous" and, "no matter how complex the system may be, it is still assumed to be shared throughout the culture"(Eelen 2001: p.[165]).

8.9- Politeness Orientation

Final objective set for the current study is to find out what type of politeness - positive or negative - is more prevalent in the society under study. To meet this objective a thorough discussion has been made in section 7.6. The analysis of data collected in both the languages through DCTs, observations and interviews lead to the claim that B & L's (1978 & 1987) conception of face as being positive or negative is not applicable to the society under study, hence is a culture dependent notion. Kashmiris define themselves in relation to others, not as individuals but as group members who need to have certain relations with others. Moreover, provision of exaggerated *explanations* or *accounts* in both the languages and frequent application of *offer of repair, concern for the hearer* and *showing intimacy* which leave apologizee with no option but to accept apology substantiate Kashmiris' obvious inclination towards positive politeness. Further, application of some sub-strategies like *offer of meal, religious references, smile, laughter* etc., are also representative of their inclination to create and/or maintain harmony with their addressee. It leads to formulation of claim that the apology semantic formulae most favoured in this culture reveal positive politeness orientations of the society. These strategies have also been counted as positive politeness strategies by Ogiermann (2008) who states that positive

politeness orientation, in Russian, is reflected by extensive use of such strategies as *concern for hearer, offer of repair,* and *promise of forbearance.*

Further, it is found that the way speech act of apology is used in this society makes it a positive politeness strategy instead of negative politeness strategy as proposed by B&L (1987). *IFIDs,* for instance, are not applied merely to cater negative face needs of apologizee or to show indifference; but to acknowledge high social status (either professionally or age wise) of the apologizee and give respect to him / her. Further, less application of *explicit apologies* and maximum application of *implicit apologies* and *apologies as CMDs* (in total) makes it obvious (table 7.1) that primarily this speech act is used as an instrument to balance relationship among the interlocutors without any expense of apologizer's or apologizee's face. Also, contrary to the approaches reckoning apologies a threat to apologizers' face, this study establishes it as face supporting and face restoring agent for them. Hence, emergence of speech act of apology as a positive politeness strategy directed to positive face needs of both the apologizer and the apologizee negates B & L's model (1978 & 1987) in which it was primarily assumed to be a negative politeness strategy intended to address negative face needs of the hearer. It, indicates that their (B & L: 1978, 1987) argument regarding universality of face with two core components i.e., positive and negative is not applicable universally.

Since social expectations vary cross-culturally, people resort to different apology strategies perceived as socially appropriate in their language. Thus, it is irrational to categorize a culture as being more or less polite than any other as propose Locher & Watts (2005); Spencer-Oatey (2005); and Arundale (2006) rather, it should be acknowledged that cultures differ in encoding and realization of politeness phenomenon which should be

respected. So, to understand politeness in a certain culture it is pertinent to understand socio-cultural rules that govern social interaction in that society.

8.10- Further Insights, Practical Implications, and Concluding Remarks

The findings of this research study clearly endorse that apology is a relational phenomenon being employed to maintain good relations with other members of the society (Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Arundale 2006), and at times it appears as a tool to "improve the standing of the speaker in the eyes of the addressee" (Davies et al 2007:p57). Thus, in the community under study apologies less likely appear as essentially face-threatening acts as declared by B & L (1978 & 1987) however, are being perceived as having a relational and interactional function directed towards positive face needs of both the apologizer and the apologizee. Following are the main assertions of the current study:

8.10.1- Further Insights

Apologies in the society under review perform dual function. They are extended to cater face needs of both the apologizer and the apologizee. When speaker or apologizer oriented, they are extended to meet fundamental aim of restoring lost face of the apologizer and to help him / her reinstate respect in the society. In parallel, being apologizee oriented, apologies mostly function as positive politeness strategies for them. This finding parallels Holmes (1995) who extends their face benefit to the speaker as well and claims that apologies are face-supporting acts in general; and contradicts the traditional view of

apologies as hearer supportive for p... .iding some benefit to the addressee / apologizee at the cost to the speaker as asserted by Fraser & Nolan, 1981; Goffman, 1972; Leech, 1983; Owen, 1983).

- Explicitly apologizing is not a common practice in the community under study. People focus more to sooth ruffled feelings of others, to get the apologizer "off the hook", elevate or restore his/her face in the eye of the apologizee and community at large, or to give a better standing to the apologizee than the way how to apologize which results in multiple functions of apology strategies such as a device to help continue communication.

- Saving the face and expressing solidarity has emerged as one of the fundamental functions of speech act of apology which is substantiated even by application of strategies like *showing intimacy, concern for hearer* and *offer of compensation* even with *denial of offence* strategy.

- Instead of imparting impression of distance and deference among the interlocutors apologies in this society become an indication of in-groupness, intimacy and closeness.

- Application of multiple strategies is a common practice regardless of severity of offence – which many researchers regard as a factor to grab multiple strategies. Hardly few cases involving single strategy could be found during this study. It differs from findings about some other languages, for example, according to Holmes (1990) proportion of combinations in English is found almost half, and in Lombok, as says Wouk (2005) combination of strategies were almost non-existent.

Nevertheless, in many other languages combinations are preferred over single strategies, such as German (Vollmer & Olshtain, 1989) and Akan (Obeng, 1999).

- *IFIDs* are not found as standalone strategy but are used in combination with other strategies. The rest of the strategies are used both as standalone and in combination of other strategies.

- *Acknowledgement of responsibility* strategy is not found in data collected through Urdu DCT (appendix 1), and its application during observation (appendix 2) is also found rare.

- Many differences are noted (discussed thoroughly throughout the study) in the data collected through observations (appendix 2), DCTs (appendix1) and interviews (appendix 3) which endorses difference of perception and reality with regard to application of many apology strategies.

- *Hearer deserving an apology* strategy is found in none of the data collected through English and Urdu DCTs.

- Word 'please' is found being used as apology strategy. In many cases there is noted a repetition of this word i.e., please, please, please.

- For emphasising apologies, strategies are repeated. Instances of this repetition occur in different ways. Firstly, repetitive application of sorry – an *IFID*- i.e., sorry, sorry, sorry or sorry, sorry, I am really sorry. Secondly, there are many instances where intensifier "very" is reiterated. The data contain recurrent expressions containing repetition of adverb "very" for instance, 'Oh, I'm very, very sorry'. This type of repetition has also been reported by Cohen & Olshtain (1985: p.[177]) regarding Hebrew speakers.

- Whereas according to many research studies apologies are used to highlight formality, in case of Kashmiri speakers their application is also noticed to promote solidarity.

- English word '*sorry*' is abundantly used in apologies made in Urdu which might be taken as an example of 'code switching' or imperialism of language or cultural invasion as says Rahman (1998).

8.10.2- Implications of the Study

The current research provides an insight into politeness phenomenon with respect to speech act of apology in Kashmiri society. Focusing on its forms and function; perception and execution it embodies many theoretical and practical implications which are of great teaching and learning value. The findings of the study implicitly and explicitly assert:

- A large number of taxonomies have been proposed by linguists to study speech acts especially speech act of apology – the most frequently researched one. Instead on commenting on role of different taxonomies again suffice is to say that those taxonomies/models have provided me with a worthwhile paradigm to structure my investigations and devise taxonomy (figures 3.1 & 3.2) used in the current research. It is not advisable to study apologetic expression used in s particular culture through the foreign lenses i.e., taxonomies formulated on the basis of data relevant to other cultures and societies. In the view of limitations of existing taxonomies and to answer all the questions related to population under study in this regard a new

taxonomy is developed based on *CCSARP* model (1989) and some new strategies found in the data collected for the current study (figures 3.1 & 3.2). The new taxonomy, therefore, has an addition of apology semantic formulae. Thus, the new taxonomy is a commendable contribution in research about apologies in the field of pragmatics.

- Concept of face as proposed by B & L's (1978) is not applicable to every society, as is the case of the society under study. Hence it is not a universal, but culture dependent notion.

- The way speech act of apology is used in the society under study, makes it a positive politeness strategy instead of negative politeness strategy as proposed by B&L (1987). intended to address negative face needs of the hearer Exaggerated application of *explanations, offer of repair, concern for the hearer, showing intimacy* and of some sub-strategies like *offer of meal, religious references, smile, laughter* etc (table,7.2), help maintain harmony among speaker and addressee revealing positive politeness orientations of the society.

- The findings of the current research study endorse that it is indispensable to be fully acquainted with cross-cultural differences for better perception of characteristics and role of apologies around the globe. There also emerges a need to recommend redefining concept of offence because an action considered offensive in one society may not be considered so in another e.g., smile, yelling, laughter, cough, staring even slight bumping do not ask for any apology in the culture under study hence are not considered offensive in nature. So, it is to reiterate that people from one cultures should not honour their social norms and behaviour as culmination of

behaviour or universal as says Wolfson (1989) because every culture is a unique spectrum of peculiar colours of norms, traditions and behaviour which may differ from others to any level and as says Ide (1989: p.[225]) speakers' linguistic choices should be reciprocal to the conventional norms operating in their society.

- Social expectations vary cross-culturally, people resort to different apology strategies perceived as socially appropriate in their language (table, 7.2). Thus, it is irrational to categorize a culture as being more or less polite than any other as propose Locher & Watts (2005); Spencer-Oatey (2005); and Arundale (2006) rather, it should be acknowledged that cultures differ in encoding and realization of politeness phenomenon which should be respected. So, to understand politeness in a certain culture it is pertinent to understand socio-cultural rules that govern social interaction in that society.

- Definitions of actions as offensive and not offensive (e.g., reaching late for meeting); behaviours (smile, laughter, silence etc) as polite and impolite, concept of face as being positive and negative; and stratification of actions as inherently bearing positive or negative politeness need to be re-considered due to difference in their perception in different cultures around the globe as also recommended by many other researchers (Gu 1990; Holmes 1995; Holmes & Schnurr 2005; Mills 2003; Watts 2003; Locher 2004; Locher & Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Arundale 2006); Wierzbicka 1985a & 985b).

- By focusing on above stated intercultural differences with respect to speech act of apology, effective communication can be fostered on international level. If teachers are well aware of existence of such differences, the learners/students can

be taught which sort of apology strategy is appropriate in certain situations. Further, knowledge of how apologies are executed in different cultures / languages is essential for better understanding of how speech acts work across in different cultures.

8.10.3- Concluding Remarks

In the same course of discussion, current research work is a contribution in the existing research repository addressing the debate whether politeness phenomenon and apology strategies are culture specific or universal in application. Another, valuable contribution is to explore many so far rarely addressed areas related to speech act of apology, for instance, the dual role of this speech act as being supportive to both, the apologizer and the apologizee in addition to its role as communication management device. It has also discovered application of apology strategies in such a way as to making them primarily positive politeness oriented. Every culture around the globe has undeniable significance so is the case with the culture under study i.e., Kashmiri- which besides enjoying many peculiar linguistic characteristics has still been unknown to the world of linguists and language. This research study has played a valuable role by attempting to dig out this particular culture which may open door to many new research topics and areas leading towards global understanding of cultural differences. This research work is also unique in dealing with two different languages while the sample of the study is same. The new taxonomy devised for the current work is also a commendable contribution in research

about apologies as it has undermined the significance of the approach to study apologetic expression used in s particular culture through the foreign lenses i.e., taxonomies.

8.11- Limitations of the Current Research and Suggestions for Future Research

The current research, being very first detailed work on the topic, "The Speech Act of Apology: A Linguistic and Socio- cultural Exploration of Politeness in Selected Universities of Kashmir" has many limitations. For example, being an academic requirement, this research is time bound which has resulted to delimit its sample to university students only whereas a sample representing overall Kashmiri population may have given more generalizable results. Secondly, it is focused on use of apologies in general regardless of gender impact which could have given an interesting dimension to this study. Thirdly, role-play is one of the most appropriate tools for data collection in pragmatic research studies but due to some cultural restraints, and time factor it could not be employed in the current study. Besides these limitations, this research opens door of vast opportunities for future researchers to work on apologies in Kashmir from multiple prospects. Out of countless researchable domains some possible areas might be: apologies and interpersonal relationship; investigation of role of variables like gender; age; education; caste etc to explore how different factors affect the use of apology strategies in the society under study. As this study addresses the mere production of apology by the speaker, so it seems interesting to study whether the hearer accepts the apology and what type of apologies get more public acceptance etc.

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Appendix: 1

Discourse Completion Test

The instrument designed for the current study consists of adoption of some apology situations from Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) in addition to the situations based on personal observation of the researcher to provide the informants as real situations as possible. The test consists of incomplete discourse sequences representing socially differentiated situations and covering offences of different types - time, space, possession damage etc. Each discourse sequence presents a short description of the situation, clearly specifying the setting, the social distance between the participants and their status relative to each other, thus providing a context which may be expected to give rise to particular apology strategies. Appendix 1 consists of English version of DCT followed by Urdu version of the same DCT.

Instructions

You are requested to go through 15 given situations calling for an apologetic response. Respond as much as possible as you would in an actual situation. As you will find, the apology situations listed below differ in terms of relative status of the participants (the apologiser and the apologizee), the degree of familiarity between them and the seriousness of the offence involved. You are requested to consider these variables when apologising. Please react as honestly as possible as if you were in such situations.

Situation 1

You are a university teacher. You promised to return a student's term paper that day but didn't finish reading it.

Student: "I hope you are happy with it."

You: ....

Situation 2

You are a student and you borrowed your teacher's book. You promised to return the book that day but forgot to bring it.

Professor: "Have you brought the book?"

You: ....

Situation 3

You reached late in an important official meeting chaired by MD (who in fact is your brother too). When you entered in conference hall, the boss looked at you and then to the wall clock.

Boss: I hope you were informed about the meeting.

You: ......

Situation 4

You forgot meeting with a friend whom you were supposed to meet to work on a combine assignment. The problem is that you are notoriously known for being unpunctual. You call him to apologise. Your friend asks over the phone.

Friend:" What happened"?

You: ....

Situation 5

At the end of the day when you reached home, your kid reminds you that you forgot to take him for shopping, as you had promised.

Kid: "Oh, you forgot your promise"

You: ....

Situation 6

While backing up to park, you hit another car and damaged it. The driver gets out and comes over to you angrily.

Driver: "Can't you look where you're going? See what you've done? "

You: ....

Situation 7

You were supposed to receive your elder brother at airport, but you forgot and reached quite late.

Your brother: "where were you, I have been waiting for almost an hour"

You: ....

Situation 8

You - the boss-couldn't visit an employee's father in the hospital when he was seriously ill. Later on visiting him at his residence what would be your expressions

You: --

Situation 9

At a restaurant you (the waiter) brought fried chicken instead of fried fishto a diet conscious customer which makes him angry.

Customer: what is this? Are you in your senses?

You: ....

Situation 10

You are on a bus with a child. While occupying seat you accidentally bumped into an elderly passenger and hurt his leg.

He: "Hey, look out"

You: ....

Situation 11.

You, being head of a department, forgot to inform a junior employee about meeting with Dean. Later, he becomes upset with the situation. How would you deal him?

You: ....

Situation 12

You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him.

He: "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take an offence."

You: ....

Situation 13:

You, being MD of a department in an organization got a circular about scheduled meeting with another MD of some other department. You forgot the meeting and, in the afternoon,, you receive a call from the respective MD

He: "what happened Mr. X? You kept us waiting for quite a long time"

You...............................

Situation 14:

You being an officer kept your subordinate waiting for long time for a meeting. The subordinate is your close friend, too.

Subordinate: Oh, today I had to wait for quite a long time....

You ....

Situation 15:

You go to meet an officer in his office. A glass of water slips from your hands on his table.

Officer: ohhhhh

You..........................

The End

APPENDIX 1

اردو سوالنامہ

آپ سے گزارش ہے کہ درج ذیل ۵ اسامات کو غور سے پڑھیں ۔ ہر ایک مفروضہ حضرت خواہاں ۔ میرا ہا سے کا تقاضہ ہے ۔ برائے مہربانی کوشش کیجیے جواب رہ عمل لکھتے ۔ وقت آپ اپنے آپ کو ان حقیقی منظر کا حصہ بنا کیں اور وہی لکھیں جو حقیقی صورتحال میں آپ نے لیا ہوتا ۔

آپ یقیناً کئی کہ کی ئی صورتحال میں ، جتگوں میں صرف اگر ، (اپنے اپنے خواہاں ان میں سے مفروضہ لی جائے) نے ہائی مراتب حیثیت رتبی تعلقات نفلطی کی نوعیت شدت اور جنس منظر کے لحاظ سے مختلف ہے ۔ برائے مہربانی ان حالات کا جواب دیتے وقت مدنظر رکھیں اور وہی رہ عمل جواب تجویز کریں جو حقیقی صورتحال میں آپ نے دیا ہوتا ۔

صورتحال نمبر ۱

آپ یونیورسٹی پروفیسر ہیں ۔ آپ نے ایک طالب علم سے اس کا "ٹرم پیپر" اپنے کرنے کا مہ دیا تھا لیکن آپ بروقت ان کو چیپ نہ سکے ۔

طالب علم : مجھے یقین ہے کہ آپ لا میرا "ٹرم پیپر" پڑھ نہ آئے ہوں گا ۔

آپ : ـــ

صورتحال نمبر ۲

آپ ایک طالب علم ہیں ۔ آپ نے اپنے استاد صاحب سے ان کی کتاب لی اور مدہ دلیا کہ آپ ان سے ان کتاب ان دیں گے لیکن آپ کتاب واپس نہ لا سکے ۔

پروفیسر : آپ نے میری کتاب واپس لائی ؟

آپ : ـــ

صورتحال نمبر ۳

آپ ایک میٹنگ (اجلاس) میں دیر سے پہنچے جس کی صدارت آپ کا ایم ڈی (مینجنگ ڈائریکٹر) کر رہا تھا (جو کہ آپ کا بھائی بھی ہے) جب آپ کہ دہ اجلاس میں پہنچو آپ کے ایم ڈی نے آپ کی طرف دیکھا پھر کچھ کہے بغیر کی طرف دیکھا ۔ ایم ڈی : " مجھے یقین ہے کہ آپ کو اجلاس کے بارے میں مطلع کر دیا گیا تھا "

آپ : ـــ

صورتحال نمبر ۴

آپ نے ایک دوست کے ساتھ دو ل پر ایک اپائنمنٹ پر کام کرنا تھا لیکن آپ بھول گئے ۔ مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ آپ بہت غیر منظم مزاج میں مشہور ہیں۔ آپ نے اپنے دوست کو اسی سلسلے میں فون کیا تو آپ کا دوست بولا۔

دوست: "کیا بات ہے؟ کیا ہوا؟"

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۵

آپ نے اپنے بیٹے سے وعدہ کیا تھا کہ آپ اس کو خریداری کرانے بازار لے جائیں گے لیکن آپ بھول گئے ۔ ان کے اصرار پر جب آپ دفتر سے گھر پہنچے تو بیٹا بولا:

بیٹا: "اوہو! آپ وعدہ بھول گئے؟"

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۶

گاڑی پارک کرتے ہوئے آپ نے لاپرواہی کے ساتھ اپنی گاڑی نکالی اور اس کار کا دروازہ توڑ دیا ۔ اس کا ڈرائیور غصے میں آپ کی طرف آتا ہے۔

ڈرائیور: "کیا آپ کو نظر نہیں آتا کہ آپ کہاں جا رہے ہیں؟ دیکھو مجھے! یہ آپ نے کیا کیا؟"

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۷

آپ نے اپنے بھائی کو پینے کے لئے پورٹ جانا تھا لیکن آپ بھول گئے اور دیر سے وہاں پہنچے۔ آپ کو لگا آپ کا بھائی ناراض ہوگا۔

بھائی: "تم کہاں تھے؟ میں ایک گھنٹے سے انتظار کر رہا ہوں۔"

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۸: آپ کے ایک ساتھی کے والد ہسپتال میں داخل تھے۔ آپ ان کی تیمارداری کے لیے ہسپتال نہیں جا سکے ۔ بعد میں جب ان کے والد ان کو گھر لے آئے، تو اس صورتحال میں آپ ان سے کیا کہیں گے۔

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۹

آپ ایک مہنگے ہوٹل میں ویٹر کے طور پر کام کرتے ہیں۔ ایک پرہیزی غذا کھانے والے کا مطلب کہ آپ نے مچھلی کی بجائے۔۔۔ کھانے کے لیے پیش کر دی ۔ جس کو کھانے کے بعد ان کا بہت خراب آیا۔

کلب: "یہ کیا ہے؟ تمہیں یہ نہیں کہا کہ میں نے لیا؟ انہوں نے لیا تھا۔"

آپ: ----------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۰

آپ ایک بچے کے ہمراہ ہیں، ایک بازار میں، اور ان میں سے اپنی سیٹ پر بیٹھنے سے وہ ان نظمی سے ایک بارگی

آدمی نکل گئے۔

آدمی: "اوہ، کیوں نہیں"

آپ: ------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۱

آپ کی حیثیت صدر کی ہے، ایک جونیئر سٹاف ممبر کو ان کے ماتحم میٹنگ سے باہر بے میں بتانا بھول گئے، جب سٹاف ممبر نے اس بارے میں آپ سے پوچھا تو

آپ: ------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۲

ایک اجلاس (میٹنگ) کے دوران آپ نے کچھ کہا، جس پر ایک آدمی نے اپنی بے رخی سے معنی میں لیا اور بولا:

آدمی: "میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ کی آخری بات مجھ پر کئی کئی تھی اور ان سے میری بے رخی ہوئی ہے"

آپ: ------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۳

آپ ایک ادارے میں ایم۔ ڈی (میٹنگ ڈائریکٹر) کے طور پر کام کر رہے ہیں، آپ کو بذریعہ ای میل (مراسلہ) اطلاع دی گئی کہ آپ کی ایک اور ایم۔ ڈی کے ساتھ میٹنگ طے ہے۔ آپ میٹنگ کے لیے جانا بھول گئے، دن کے پچھلے پہر ان کی ایم۔ ڈی نے آپ کو فون ان کیا اور بولا:

ایم۔ ڈی: "کیا ہو امٹ (X) کیس؟ آپ کی وجہ سے ہمیں بہت طویل انتظار کرنا پڑا"

آپ: ------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۴

آپ ایک ادارے میں آفیسر ہیں، آپ نے اپنے ماتحت، جو کہ آپ کا قریبی دوست بھی ہے، ملاقات کے لیے بہت انتظار کروایا۔

ماتحت: اوہ! آن بہت انتظار کرنا پڑا مجھے۔

آپ: ------------------------------

صورتحال نمبر ۱۵

آپ ایک آفیسر سے ملنے ان کے آفس جاتے ہیں، آپ کے ہاتھ سے پانی کا گلاس میز پر گر جاتا ہے۔

<div align="right">**Appendix 2**</div>

<div align="center">**Observations**</div>

Observation Grid

This observation sheet is prepared to observe application of apology sematic formulae by Kashmiri speakers in their routine life. The observation sheet is developed in view of objectives of the study. It is based on the same points which are focus of the questionnaires / Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs) because the basic purpose behind using this data collection tool i.e., observation is to cross check data gathered from DCTs. In view of the objectives of study, it is important to note full detail of who, when, how and to whom is apologizing. What is body language or nonverbal expressions of the apologizer. Additionally, following are the main areas which the researcher / co-researchers have to note down while recording observations: the general format and instruction to be followed are:

How to conduct Observations

The observer is directed to:

- record the apologies / avoiding apologies on paper: notes on meaningful fragments to be summarized in everyday language

- refrain from judgments or slanted recording

- interpret meaning or expressions linked with contextual variables

- select relevant events / examples which can help in understanding realization of apology phenomenon in real life encounters

Where / When

- During classes/seminars in universities, office encounters, play grounds, cafeteria, libraries, hostels etc.

Who is to be Observed

- Anybody involved in an interaction demanding an apology e.g., teachers, students, employees at university etc.

Observation Focus

Factors under consideration during observations	Probable / expected situation and explanation
Social status	According to social status the participants, in the current study, are divided into three groups: higher; lower and equals. The researcher / co researcher notes down the necessary detail to find out effect of social status of the apologizer and the apologize on realization of apologies. **Key to code and decode social status:** >= high < = low = = equal
Social Distance	The relationship between apologizer and the apologizee is also an important factor which is believed to affect realization of apologies. To measure, whether and to what extent it affects apologizing process, relationship among interlocutors is noted down under following three categories during undertaking of observations: close, acquaintance or neutral and distant. **Key to code and decode social distance:** + = close - = distant 0 = neutral
Conversational setting	While talking about conversational setting formality levels are distinguished as: formal and informal. Formal situations are those in which interlocutors act in their professional roles, and the conversational limits are dictated by the situations and surrounding. On the other hand, informal situations take place in informal settings and are characterized high in spontaneity.

Severity of offence	Another factor believed to affect realization of apologies is mentioned to be noted down while conducting observation. It is classified into two categories: severe and not- severe. **Key for coding and decoding:** + = severe - = not severe

APPENDIX 2

OBSERVATIONS

observation of real situation is the second tool used for collection of data (section 3.3.4). data collected through this tool is used either to validate or refute the data collected through DCT. most of the observations collected are in Urdu language. The number used in upper case at the end of the situation represents repetition of similar type of incident.

کوریڈور میں

کلاس میں داخل ہوتے وقت دو طالب علموں کے آپس میں ٹکرانے پر:

ایک طالب علم: تم کیوں نہیں چل سکتے

دوسرا ہنستے ہوئے: تو خود ہی کیوں لیٹا اِنا ہوں ۵

۔ ایک طالب علم (نیچے سے اٹھنے کے بعد) طالبہ سے ٹکرا تے ٹکرا تے بچتے ہوئے ۔۔۔۔۔

طالبہ: تم دیکھ کیوں نہیں چل سکتے ۱۳

دوستانہ انداز میں آپس میں ٹکرانے: آج کا کلاس ریلیڈ ہوا ایسا لیتا ہوں میرے نے لگے تھا اپنی صحت بنا لی ہے۔

. . . .

Two teachers (male) bumped into each other

Both. oh sorry

Two teachers (one female and other male) hardly sparing hitting each other at

the corner of classroom

One of them: Oh My God

Second: ohh.

آفس

۔ اکاؤنٹینٹ کلرک سے معذرت چاہتا ہوں جناب آج کی کی صاحب کے ساتھ میٹنگ ہے اِن لیے آپ کا

کام نہیں ہو سکے گا کل انشاءاللہ ہو جائے گا ۵

۔ ایک بچے ... کے ساتھی بچے سے سوری، سوری، سوری ... آپ پیار دیں، اری، اری ... میں آپ کا پیچھے نہیں کا۔

، اصل کہ میں ان ... برتے مہمان نہیں ہیں۔ بچے کے لیے لی شاید کی ٹاٹ کی ہے ٹاٹا۔

۔ طالب علم، میڈم! ... ابسنٹ کا پیریڈ ناٹ تھا

بچے (خاتون) نہیں، نہیں آپ کل آ جائیں

Fxcuse me madam, may I come in?

Teacher: (while coughing during lecture) excuse me

Dean: Mr. X! Three Teacher: (after sneezin) it is getting cold these days

days have passed and still there is no development in examination plan? Your

team is not working well.

Teacher: keeps sitting silently bowing the head for quite a long time (showing

gestures of embarrassment on face). Then stand up saying sir, it will handle it,

do not worry. 6

Accountant to clerk: just one day is left and you have not completed your

approval seeking procedure for payments... I do not know how to teach you, the

young guys, professionalism.

Clerk: I swear, I went to registrar office two times but the concerned person was

not there. 3

طالب (خاتون) بچے سے ... میڈم! ابسنٹ کا پیریڈ ناٹ تھا۔

بچے : بیٹا، بھئی کی check کریں گی، ٹھیک ... آپ کل آ جائیں ۔ ۱۱

ایک بچے ... سے ... سوری، سوری ... میں آپ کے بچے کی ٹانگ پر ... بان بیٹا، نہیں لی ۔ اچانک بہن سامنے آ رہے تھے ۔ ہم آتا نہیں

گئے ۔ ٹاٹا ۔

کلاس کے طالب علم سے کل میں چھٹی پر تھا اس لیے آپ لوگوں کا ریزلٹ display نہیں ہو سکا۔ ابھی کرتا ہوں۔

ایک کلاس میٹ دوسرے سے یہ type کر رہا ہے سر آنے والے ہیں ان کے پہنچنے سے پہلے ریزلٹ display کر دو۔

دوسرا کلاس میٹ ناراض نہ ہونا لیکن یہ میرے پاس ٹائم نہیں ہے تم سے type کر لے گا۔ میرا اپنا بہت کام رہتا ہے۔

کلاس ٹیچر سے معذرت چاہتا ہوں کل مجھے اچانک چھٹی پر جانا پڑی اس لیے ریزلٹ display نہ کر سکا کل میں کر دیتا ہوں۔

ایک ٹیچر دوسرے سے اوہ پیچھے پری وغیرہ استعمال کرتے ہیں ایک ایک پیریڈ نہ آیا تھا۔

ٹائم میں دیر سے پہنچنے پر

ٹیچر ڈین صاحب سے میری پہ میں پہنچا دیا میری کلاس تھی۔

ٹیچر (خاتون) ڈرائیور سے یہ کیا کیا آپ نے میں لگوا تھی اور آپ نے گاڑی روکی نہیں۔ میری کلاس مس ہو گئی آپ کی وجہ سے۔

ڈرائیور معاف کرنا میں نے آپ نہیں دیکھا اور نہ ہی کہا جاتا ہے کہ میں گاڑی نہ روکتا۔

ڈین P.A کو پوسٹ نوٹ کراتے ہوئے

P.A یہ sentence repeat کریں ڈین نے کہا مجھے آتی نہیں۔

Teacher to dean : sorry sir, i got a bit late due to my class

کلاس روم میں

۔ دو طالب علم اور ان کا سرگوشیاں کرتے ہوئے نیچے کواپنی جانب متوجہ پاکر:

ایک طالبہ: سوری میڈم

دوسری طالبہ: سوری میڈم؟

- - - - -

۔ ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے تم نے میری chair اٹھالی میں سے کیجئے یا تھا۔

دوسرا طالب علم: ہاں سے دوسری اٹھالے تاں؟

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

۹۔ ایک طالب علم پچھتاتا ہے

دوسرا تم جو اس ہاں چاہوں مجھے نہیں سمجھائی

Student to teacher sir, have you checked my assignment?

Teacher (male): no, not yet. you may take it tomorrow.

Teacher to student: I feel you are least concerned about your studies. It is really

shameful for a student like you to behave so.

Student: kept standing silently, bowing the head 21

Teacher: I want to see a see a visible progress in your studies.

Student: yes sir, i will work hard

طالب علم اور ان کا ان باتوں میں مصروف تھے نیچے غصے سے کیجئے دو پڑیا سر ا اج؟

ایک طالب علم سری میڈم

دوسرا سر تبا کا رکا مشی سے نیچے لیجئے آتا ہے۔

- - - - - - -

ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے یا تم نے کتاب پڑھے دی؟

دوسرا ابھی بول یا۔ وابنی پر میرے کمرے لے لینا۔

- - - - -

کلاس میں گروپ وائز کے لئے ان

طالب علم: سر میرے سے میرے سے بات تھے نے کیا تھا تم اندر میرے کی جلدی بیٹھ گے؟

دوسرا طالب علم: تم میری chair پر بیٹھ کیا تا ہاں؟

کلاس کے دوران

نیچے سٹوڈنٹس سے تم کل کہاں تھے؟

ایک طالب علم: سر میں نے اہ سر submit کی تھی کہ application میں نے تفصیص۔ ہا۔

دوسرا طالب علم: سر میں میڈم مجھے اس application کی تھی لیکن تھی میرے کلاس میں آتا تو آپ ہو جاتا بھول کیا ہو؟

سٹوڈنٹ ابھی تک ہمی نتائج display نہیں ہوا

نیچے میں آج دیرے سے پہنچا ہوں ہمی تھوڑی دیر تک display ہو جائے گا۔

Students . I am sorry. i reached late due to traffic jam and you had to wait a bit

for yiour class

Student: pardon sir, i could not listen

Teacher: speak your question again I couldn't listen

تم کل میری اسائنمنٹ میڈم ہوں ہے دی میں نے دی ہے کل جاتا ہر آج ہ جاتا ہے کل یونیورسٹی نہیں آیا کی ہائی کی۔

دوسری طالب: سر کی یار میں ہمی یہاں نہیں ہوں کی کل مجھے اہ اس جاتا ہے تم اشیا سر پاس جاتا ہے میں ہمی دی میں ہے۔

طالب علم: سر میڈم میں اسائنمنٹ ہوا تا ہوا کیا کل submit کر ہوا ۔

ٹیچر لیکچر کے اختتام پر: اور دوسری میں hand outs آفس میں ہی بھول آئی۔ آپ میں سے کوئی آ کر لے لے ۔

ممکل آپ کہاں تھے؟ میں نے نہیں: یا آپ نے ۔

ممد سوری میڈم مگر مجھے گر ضروری کام تھا تو کلاس نہیں لے کلاس ۔ آئندہ ایسا نہیں ہوگا۔

Student to teacher: sorry sir. I couldn't hear. would you please repeat.

Teacher to student: what? repeat your question ... i could not hear

----

کرپ وائس کے دوران

طالب علم دوسرے سے: یار ... بات ہی نہیں سنائی دی۔

دوران لیکچر ٹیچر کا mobile بجتا ہے۔

ٹیچر: اوہ سوری

دوران کلاس سٹوڈنٹ کا mobile بجتا ہے۔

سٹوڈنٹ جلدی سے mobile بند کرنے کے لئے ہوئے: سوری سوری سوری

ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے: میری بات تو لے ہو کیا؟

دوسرا: اوہ سوری، وقت آنے کے پاس ہے۔ سرے پوچھ جا کر لے تے ہیں۔

ٹیچر: میں کچھ لیٹ ہوگئی۔ آج راستے میں بہت رش تھا۔

- - - - -

سٹوڈنٹ: کلاس میں دیر سے پہنچنے پر

sorry sir, for being late. in fact I didn't know about new time table?

- - - - - - - - - -

ٹیچر سٹوڈنٹ سے: (غصے سے) میں ١٠ منٹ سے آپ کا انتظار کر رہی ہوں۔ آپ اگر اپنی کلاس ٹائمنگ کا خیال بھی احساس نہیں
ہے۔

طالب علم کبھی کا خاموشی سے کھڑے ہے۔

کلاس میں گروپ ورک کے دوران علی دیر میں آمد کے پاس بیٹھ جائے؟

ایک سٹوڈنٹ دوسرے سے: تم حسن سے کہو تاں میں یہ topic سمجھا دے۔۔۔ اے طالب علم میں نہیں بتاتا تم خود ہی کہہ دو تاں۔

- -

دوران کلاس۔ ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے: کوئی پٹرول ہوئی تمہارے پاس؟ مجھے۔۔

۔۔۔ طالب علم میرے پاس نہیں ہے یار۔ بلال سے پوچھو۔

- - - - - -

Student to teacher : sir, may I borrow pencil from Bilal? mine is not writing

properly

- - - - -

اقصیٰ: مریم میری پٹرول تمہارے پاس؟

مریم: ۔۔۔۔ تو میں الا یہ رہی ہی تمہارا لائی۔ ۔۔۔۔۔

- - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

۔۔۔ دوران کلاس۔ ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے: کوئی پٹرول ہوئی تمہارے پاس؟ مجھے۔۔

۔۔۔ طالب علم میرے پاس نہیں ہے یار۔ بلال سے پوچھو۔

Student to teacher : sir, may I borrow pencil from Bilal? mine is not writing

properly

نیچے اور ان کا اس گلاس صاف کرتے ہوئے گی تو میں لیٹ رہی تھی۔

....

ایک اور نیچے اور ان کا اس کھانی کرتے ہوئے اف آج بہت کھانی ہے ہو گی ہے مجھے۔

نیچے اور طالب علم بات کر رہے ہیں۔

طالب علم چھینک مارتا ہے اور نیچے پہلے کے بات جاری رکھتا ہے۔

طالب علم نیچے سے سر مجھے کل اس topic کی سمجھ نہیں آئی آپ کیا repeat کر دیں گے؟

نیچے : کام بہت ہم ہے کل اس کے آن کا کورس cover ہو گا اپ اپنے class mate سے discuss کر لیں۔

نیچے اور ان کا اس ان اف ان آپ بہت چھٹیاں کرتے ہیں آپ کو پتا ہے کہ یہ important topic ہم پڑھ رہے ہیں۔

سوری سوری میرے میں کی death کی چھٹی تھی اس لیے مجھے اچانک اس کا اس جانا پڑا آئندہ ایسا نہیں ہو گا۔

Teacher to student: your test was awful. Why didn't you prepare it properly?

Student: i am sorry sir. i know my work was full of mistakes and shamfully

sloppy. In fact i had some problem at hom

....

C.R: Excuse me Madam,

I want to apologize on behalf of the whole class for yesterday's incident which

e you annoyedm a

...

Another student: madam, it will never happen again, please forgive us.

Another student: madam in fact we thought rather some one told that you were on leave so we didn't come to classroom on time.

. . . .

A student being caught read handed while he was copying answer of quiz from near by sitting student's sheet

Student: sorry sir, please forgive me. It will never happen again

. . . .

Student to teacher

Sir, sorry I could not prepare my presentation today, I had been suffering from health problems for two days. Pease allow me for tomorrow.

. . . .

One student to another: give me your book for a minute

Second: I am preparing test. You can share the same pages.

گراؤنڈ میں

،، ۔۔۔۔ لپس میں کرتے نکرتے چلتے جاتے ہیں۔ ان میں سے ایک ۔۔۔۔ ۔ لیے جا چکا ہے

- - - - -

ایک سٹوڈنٹ لیج ۔۔۔ سے لڑتے ۔۔۔ بچے ۔۔۔ کی

- - - - -

،، ۔۔۔ نوٹ ۔۔۔ لڑتے ہیں لیے ۔۔۔ ہے ۔۔ ۔۔۔ کیا ۔۔۔ چاہے ؟

- - - -

ایک طالب علم ۔۔۔ ہے ۔۔ ۔۔ ،، یار نہے چلتے ہیں ۔
،، دوسرا طالب علم نہیں یار ۔۔ میں نہیں جا سکتا کام ہے

- - - - -

،، ان میں ایک طالب علم باقی کی لکھے ۔۔۔ جاتی ۔۔۔ ہے ۔۔۔ ۔ کیا ۔۔۔؟ ایک ۔۔۔ کی ۔۔۔ نہیں آ ۔۔۔ تم لیے ۔۔۔ کا ۔

ایک سٹوڈنٹ نے گزرتے ہوئے دوسرے کی بکس نیچے گرادی اور بولا: یہاں کنارے پر تمہاری بکس یوں کھلی ہوئی تھی! اپنے سامنے کرلو انہیں

ایک طالب علم دوسرے سے: آؤ quiz کی تیاری کریں۔

دوسرا: نہیں، پہلے کینٹین چلو پھر کھا لیتے ہیں۔

ایک لڑکا دوسرے سے: آؤ پیچ کھیلتے ہیں۔

دوسرا: نہیں یار مجھے بہت سردی لگ رہی ہے۔ تم جاؤ باقی لوگ ادھر ہی ہیں ناں۔

سٹوڈنٹ ٹیچر کو کراس کرتے ہوئے: سوری میڈم، میری کلاس مِس ہوئی ہے۔

کرکٹ میچ کے دوران گیند لگنے سے پاس کھڑی گاڑی کا شیشہ ٹوٹ گیا۔

لڑکا مالک سے: آؤ معذرت چاہتا ہوں سر، غلطی سے گیند اس طرف آ گئی۔ ہم آپ کا شیشہ ٹھیک کروا دیتے ہیں۔

لڑکا کینٹین والے سے: یہ پیا ٹھنڈی کی چائے کیوں لائے ہو؟

کینٹین والے:

آپ ناراض نہ ہوں بھائی۔ جب اتنی دور جا کر بیٹھیں گے تو ٹھنڈی ہو ہی جائے گی ناں آتے آتے، اتنی سردی جو ہے آج کل۔

لڑکا اپنے دوست سے: میں اتنی دیر سے انتظار کر رہا تھا، تم کہاں رہ گئے تھے؟

دوست: میرا خیال تمہارا تمام ہمیشہ کی طرح دیر سے ہی پہنچے گے مگر آج تو کمال ہی ہو گیا۔!!!

ایک طالبہ دوسری سے: تم نے وعدہ کیا تھا کہ میرے ساتھ بازار جاؤ گی۔ میں سارا دن انتظار کرتی رہی لیکن تم نہیں آئی۔

دوسری: ہاں یار! مجھے یاد ہی نہیں رہا۔ in fact بہت مہمان تھے گھر پر۔

ایک سٹوڈنٹ: دوسری سے تمہاری وجہ سے میرا موڈ خراب ہوا ہے۔ میں نے بتایا بھی تھا کہ مجھے پڑھانا۔

دوسری سٹوڈنٹ: اچھا چھوڑو اب۔ چلو ہنے بجلمانے پیتے ہیں۔ بہت بھوک لگی ہوئی ہے۔

گراؤنڈ میں کچھ سٹوڈنٹس سے : یہ تم اوپر سے پڑھ کے پہنچ پہنچ ریونیورسٹی آ جاتے ہو۔

سٹوڈنٹ: سوری۔

ایک سٹوڈنٹ: اتنا فیشن کرکے آنے کی ضرورت ہی نہیں ہوتی ہے جو اتنی بے وقت لمبائی پڑے۔

۔۔۔ طالب علم: یار مجھے کیا پتہ فیشن کیا ہے۔

ایک طالب علم: دیکھ طاہر بھائی کل آپ نے بلایا تھا مجھے یاد ہی نہیں رہا۔ بس آج شام آؤ آؤ گا۔

سٹوڈنٹ X: یار تم نے تو حد ہی کردی ۔ سارا دن ہم تمہارا انتظار کرتے رہے اور تم نے ایک منٹ تک نہ بتایا۔

۔۔۔ سٹوڈنٹ: بابا بابا ۔۔۔ کبھی کبھی تم لوگوں کو مجھ کا لگانا چاہیے اور مینے پری ہی چیز ہو جاتے۔ ۔۔۔ ۔م

سٹوڈنٹ: یار سلیم تم نے بائل سے نیا ایک نہیں بتایا تھا۔ اب میں نیا آزرون

سلیم: اوہ تم سے میں بائل ہی بھول ہی گیا۔ تم بہت زیادہ ہوئی تھی نا۔ پلیز ناراض نہ ہونا۔

سٹوڈنٹ: مار یہ میں نے کال تمہیں فون بھی کیا تھا۔ تم نے مجھے لسٹ کا نہیں بتایا

مار یہ: اوہ تم سے مجھے خیال ہی نہیں رہا۔ مار نہ بتایا کیوں نہ بتاتی۔ اپنا بھی ٹھیک کر چلو تمہیں کچھ کھلاتی ہوں۔ ۔۔۔۔ penalty نہیں ملی

دوسرا سٹوڈنٹ: ok بس، چلو آج کی چائے مینو کی طرف سے ۔ مزہ آنے دیں گے۔

سٹوڈنٹ: تم نے تو ہنسے کیوں بہا کاری آئی ہے۔

سٹوڈنٹ: تم سے تمہاری بڑی یاد آ رہی تھی۔۔۔۔۔ بابابا۔

A friend to other: sorry for hard debate. I know you are angry but i just wanted to stop you from committing this mistake.

Sorry for making you cry but believe me i didn't mean that.

A student bumped into another student: "

Student: silently smiling... ohhhhhh, oppps 33

A student to another: You should not have told madam that I did not   " convey her message to you. She got angry with me.

Second student: swear to God. I did not mean to complain. I was taking it very normal. Don't worry: I will talk to her later.

Student X: That is unfair yar... you did not submit my application. My   " attendance is already short.

Student Y: hmmm, I reached late and just forgot.... Leave it yar, it is not a big issue... let us go for tea.... A sort of penalty in fact... (hahaha) 8

Student X: Muhammad, where is my laptop?   "

Student Y: ohhh, I forgot to bring it back...... hmmmm, sorry yar...

Student X: where is my notebook?

Student Y: ohhh, that is in computer lab. Ask Ahmed to bring or you may use my notebook.

Student X: Salma, you just do not talk to me, I am angry with you.

Salma: Why are you angry my dear?

Student X: yesterday was your birth day and you did not invite me in your party

Salma: Ohhhhhh, sorry, sorry sorry..... let us go for tea... yes not only tea but a

full party my

darling. Both laugh loudly and walk towards canteen.

Student X: Ali, yar I have been looking for you for last fifteen minutes. You have

parked your

car wrongly and blocked my way. You killed my time, I was in a hurry.

Ali: Ohhhhh, I am just coming.... showing gestures of embarrassment on

face.9

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کیفے

ایک طالب علم کے گلاس نے سے دوسرے کا drink نیچے گر جاتا ہے۔

یار تم کچھ کر نہیں چل سکتے۔ یہ دیکھو میرے سارے کپڑے گندے کر دیئے۔

دوسرا طالب علم: ارے سوری یار۔ لیکن تو را ۔۔۔ تو میں کھڑا ہوکر کیا کرتا تھا۔ ایک سائیڈ پر جا کر بیٹھ نا یار۔

- - - -

وہ طالب علم (ارے کے) اکڑتے ہوئے

ایک تمہیں مجھ سے اس طرح بات کرنے کی جرأت کیسے ہوئی؟

دوسرا اگر میرا تے تو میں تمہارے سات تو را ۔۔۔ تم جانتے نہیں کہ تم کس سے بات کر رہے ہو؟ تم چھوٹے لوگوں کو ہم سے بات نہیں

اگتے ۔ ملک اور اداروں سے میرا کاٹے ہو۔۔۔ وہ ۔۔۔۔ تمہاری یہ جرأت

- - - - -

ایک وہ دوست سے۔۔۔ یار تم سے آتے ہی میں اتنی دیر کر دی۔ میں ٢٠ منٹ سے تمہارا انتظار کر رہا ہوں۔

دوسرا وہ دوست یار رہنے دے میں نے اپنی کال کے تھے۔ اور تمہیں تو ان کا پیتہ ہی ہے۔ چلائے چائے پیتے ہیں کچھ بیٹھیں گے۔

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ایک لڑکی دوسری سے : سوری یار میں کچھ لیٹ ہوگئی، اچانک ہی کچھ مہمان آگئے تھے۔ ابھی کیک کاٹا تو نہیں نا۔

سٹوڈنٹ: ارے آپ ہمارے ساتھ ٹرپ پر جائیں گے؟

ٹیچر: نہیں۔ سوری، میں بہت busy ہوں آج کل۔ پھر کبھی سہی۔

سٹوڈنٹ: نہیں ٹیچر سر ہم نے ایک get together رکھی ہے۔ ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ بھی شامل ہوں۔

ٹیچر: اس نام میری کلاس ہے۔ آپ سراحمد کو ساتھ لے جائیں۔ you will surely enjoy his company

-----

ٹیچر سٹوڈنٹ علی : آج کل آپ کا میان کہاں ہوتا ہے۔ آپ کا انداز و ہے کہ test کل میں کیا ہو، نہیں تھا اور آپ نے لکھا؟

علی: سوری سر، آئندہ ایسا نہیں ہوگا۔ میں چھٹی پر تھا اور مجھے علم نہیں تھا کہ ٹیسٹ ہوگا۔

کیفے میں : ایک سٹوڈنٹ بات کر رہا تھا۔۔۔ اپنا پاس کا کہتے ہوئے بولا۔۔۔ یہ بات نہیں ہے جسے نہیں سے ہو بولا۔ پہلا میں تم سے ٹھیک نہیں بولا رہا ایسا ہی ہوتا تھا۔ تیرا سٹوڈنٹ تم فون رپ کی میں بتاتا ہوں کیا ہوا تھا۔

ایک طالب علم ۔۔۔ سے کل میری birthday تھی اور تم نے مجھے wish بھی نہیں کیا۔

۔۔۔ طالب علم hmmmmm, sorry, v sorry۔ چلو ناں پھر آج میری طرف سے اسی خوشی میں treat

....

اس میں ایک طالب علم ۔۔۔ سے یار اتنا ہوا بیٹھ میں گرنے لگا ہوں۔

ہاسٹل میں

ایک طالبہ دوسری سے یار تو کد ہرتی تھی؟ ہم سے تمہارا انتظار کرتے رہے اور تو فون آف کر کے سوری تھی۔ کل اسائنمنٹ کا آخری دن ہے، کچھ احساس ہے تجھے؟

دوسری طالبہ : قبلہ ایکا کر، مجھے ڈھونڈنے سے بہتر نہیں تھا جلدی جلدی کام کرتے تم اوگے۔۔۔۔ میرا اپنے نہیں تھیں I just hate

working on assignments

طالبہ اپنی روم میٹ سے: سوری یار، میں بہت شرمندہ ہوں۔ تمہاری طبیعت خراب تھی اور میں کل گھر چلی گئی۔ دراصل میری بہن کی منگنی تھی ورنہ میں نہ جاتی۔ تم ناراض تو نہیں۔

ایک طالبہ ساتھی طالبہ سے: ارے تمہارا گلاس مجھ سے ٹوٹ گیا۔ تم یہ میرا use کر لو۔

طالبہ سے ایک لڑکی کا mobile گر گیا۔

طالبہ: اوہ، سوری، سوری، میری سوری

دو طالبات آپس میں ٹکرانے پر:

ایک طالبہ: اوہ، لگی تو نہیں

ہاسٹل میں، علینا: سلمیٰ تم روم میں نہیں تھی، میں نے تمہارا کارڈ لیا تھا۔

دوران ڈرائیو ایک اسٹوڈنٹ ڈکار لیتا ہے۔ پھر لیتا ہے لگتا ہے آج پھر زیادہ ہی کھایا ہے۔

ہاسٹل میں، بہت سے اسٹوڈنٹس ایک ساتھ بیٹھے ڈنر کر رہے تھے۔ ایک ڈکار لیتا ہے۔ پھر توبہ اکا برا بنایا تم ہی تھا۔

ہاسٹل میں، ایک روم میٹ دوسرے سے: کیا مصیبت ہے تمہاری مہ سے میں نمایا طرح سوبھی نہ لگی۔ ایسے کیوں تھان لی تھی؟

دوسرا روم میٹ: چل آ جا تجھے اپنا شناختی کا دانا ہوں اے لیے پر ے ایسے خوبی تھا تو دزبی کام کرتا ہے ان منتے تجھے ان نہیں تا۔

ایک دوست دوسری دوست سے نادان! میرے ساتھ مارکیٹ چلو گی؟

نائلہ: میں نہیں جا سکتی۔ مجھے کل اسائنمنٹ دینی ہے۔

دوست: اچھا کل چلو گی؟

نائلہ: نہیں یا تم کسی اور کو لے جاؤ

Summary of Observations

Observation is one of the data collection tools used in the current study. Data collected through it has been used either to reinforce or contradict data collected through DCTs. The data collected, is neither numbered nor arranged under specific categories but used when and where needed. Observations are conducted both in formal and informal situations by using the checklist stated above. Data collected through observations can be summarized as under:

- Many apology strategies used by the population under study are those which were not part of any of the apology models proposed till date. The newly emerged apology strategies encountered during observations are: minimization of offence, suggestion; counter attack; showing intimacy etc.

- To reconcile apology demanding situations a large number of apology strategies are used by the population under study. These strategies include none verbal communication to a large extent. Large number of apologies exchanged must embody gestures, smile, laughter, silence etc.

- People normally remain silent in front of elders in case of any offence.

- Explanation is a part of almost every apology

- Suggestion is one of the common apology strategy in case where apologize is either lower in status or younger in age.

- Social status plays vital role in apology process as elders and seniors are rarely found apologizing rather they employ other tactics like smile, laughter, use exclamation marks etc.

- Generally, Juniors and younger apologize explicitly. But, most of the times their apologies contain explanations or concern along with some apologetic gesture.

- Multiple strategies are generally used. People do not prefer applying single strategy or mere application of *IFID*s.

- People apologize more frequently in formal situation whereas in informal situations they avoid apologies and depend on none verbal expressions.

- People don't like to apologize explicitly to their near and dear ones rather they refer to show concern or render love in case of some offence.

- People don't like or expect seniors / elders to apologize.

- Peers and friends seriously apologize just in case of serious offences otherwise they normally use counter attack or just some gesture or laughter etc.

APPENDIX 3

Interview Data: Summary and Some Important Extracts

As has thoroughly been discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.3.4) that in the current research three different tools are used for data collection. These different tools i.e., DCTs, observations and interviews have made triangulation of data possible resulting in more reliable results. The current section deals with data collected through interviews, including summary and some extracts of data collected through interviews. Fifty students have participated in this segment. Students were requested to voluntarily participate in interviews. However, few students were personally requested for interviews because of their unconventional or unusual responses to questions asked in DCTs (Appendix 1). This section (appendix 3) reports how the respondents of current study reflect on different aspects like significance of apology, apology strategies, whether to apologize or not in certain situation; and, effects of different factors on selection of apology strategies. The data included in this appendix is presented under four headings: 1) Background information of participants of the interviews; 2) Significance of apology; 3) Apology strategies; and 4) Effects of different social factors on apologizing process including selection of strategies. For coding and decoding of interview data following transcripton key was used.

Transcription coding scheme:

- "..." : directly reported speech of participants (interviewees).
- [ ] : silence, pause, or other non-verbal expressions,
- rrr : non-verbal expressions used while participants (interviewees) think of what to
- say, ... speaker silently trying to recall something.
- Hmmmm.....: trying to find appropriate expression

Checklist for Interview

	Checklist / items	Detail/ explanation
1-	**Background Information**	• Name • Educational background • Family background • Socio-economical background • Religious and social orientation etc

2-	**Significance of Apology**	• Do you think apology is a social speech act?
		    If yes, Why?
		 • Do you think apology is important?
		    If yes, why?

3-	**Apology Strategies and Social Variables**
	
	 3.1- social status
	
	 3.2- social distance
	
	 3.3- - Severity of offence
	
	 3.4-Conversational setting
		• Do you translate apology from Urdu to English when you apologize in English?
		    If yes, why?
		 • Do you change apology patterns in accordance with hearers' social status i.e., higher, equal or lower?
		    If yes, why? 2.3
		 • Do you think social distance i.e., close, distant or neutral influence your apologies?
		    If yes, what do you think why does it happen so?
		 • Do you use different apology patterns according to situation that it is severe or not severe?
		 • If yes, to what extent does it affect your apologies?
		
		 • Do you apologize in different ways in formal and informal situations?
		 • If yes, how does it affect your apology process?

Summary and statements of the Main Points:

a- Significance of Apology

During interviews, first of all students' views about the significance and role of apology with respect to social interaction and relationship were studied. According to almost all the

interviewees, apologies are social speech acts that serve many important function in the society. An apology might contain just one word, for example, "sorry" or several words or sentences e.g., "I'm sorry. I forgot to bring your book back. I will bring you tomorrow" to help settle the offence. But, according to the respondents of study, just a 'sorry' or application of *IFID*s alone cannot be considered sufficient to sooth ruffled feelings of the offended one. They recommended integration of different apology strategies according to the situations. According to them, an apology cannot be considered effective until it is accompanied by a brief explanation of the situation which lead to that offence or any other strategy.

According to some of the students, apology is a social speech act which aims at maintaining good relations between people by helping them settling down their differences amicably. Also, most of the times, people apologize not only to acknowledge their mistake but primarily to express their regret for putting the other party in an inconvenience or trouble and making them feel that they are special for them as is evident from the examples given below:

- "Yes, [ ] I think apologies are social speech acts. rrr….yes, they are used for running the communication smoothly….. They help unite people and reduce mutual violence and differences."

- "…apologies are social speech acts. [ ] We apologize to show an admission of guilt to the offended person."

- "Yes, apologies are social speech acts. [ ] They are applied to unite people…it might be one word or more than one word rrr… or may contain more than one sentences…hmmm, for example, if I reach late in a pre-scheduled official meeting, I

would say "Sorry" or "I'm sorry, I got late because I missed my bus." I will be careful next time." So, in this case it (apology) has been used to express regret and give an explanation..."

b- Importance of apology

All the respondents of the interviews asserted that apologies have important role in harmonizing social relationship between members of a society. But, majority of them ascribed less importance to *IFIDs*. According to almost all of them *IFID* may appear rather rude if applied alone in some serious situation. So, they recommended inclusion of other strategies for a result-oriented apology. According to one of the respondents, "an apology without sufficiently explaining the causes of offence is just a half apology'. Another marked mere application of *IFIDs* rude saying, "in case of sever offences and apologizee of higher status application of an *IFID* alone is not only insufficient but also seems rude. According to many of them apology helps maintaining harmony between speakers and hearers by minimizing seriousness of offence. Some of the responses are as follows:

- "Yes, once apologized, people can live together happily."

- "Yes, apologies have a significant role in our social lives because they help lessen the strife and redress offenses."

- "Apology of course has a role to play in maintaining good relationship. But, it depends on many other important factors...definitely...but ... I think it is essential to apologize for an offense."

As many scholars (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Olshtain, 1989; Stenström, 1994) agree that apologies are of importance as that they imply the speaker's guilt and thus are face threatening. Also, as Lakoff (2001: 201) points out, "apology, more than most speech acts, places psychological burden both on its maker and, less seriously, on its recipient." Thus, the interview data from this study supports importance of apology. The respondents also value role of apology in maintaining harmony and rectifying offenses. They believe that social harmony is highly important and, people must try to avoid conflicts in their interactions with others by applying appropriate apology strategies. In other words, they recommend serious efforts- whatever suits according to nature of offence and relationship for saving face of both, the apologizer and the apologizee. Saving the face is essential in establishing good relationships and maintaining mutual coordination. It reflects the basic notion of apologies leading towards politeness phenomenon in Kashmiri society.

c- Apology Strategies

In terms of apology strategies, four areas were focused during interview: translating Urdu Apologies into English; applying different strategies to match social status of the apologizee; Using different strategies in accordance with prevailing social distance between interlocutors; and application of different apology semantic formulas according to severity of the situation demanding apology; and, lastly, apologizing in view of formality level of conversational setting. Following is a discussion about these topics:

d- Translation Urdu Apologies into English Apology

Majority of the interviewees claim that they do not translate apologies from Urdu into English while apologizing. Many of them claim that apologizing in fact is a reaction to a situation and has nothing to do with translation process. They claim for having got sufficient vocabulary in English language which can be needed for apologizing in English language. Most of the English apologies, according to them, consists of merely a simple expression like *sorry, excuse me,* or *pardon* which are frequently used during their classes in the University. Some of the excerpts from responses of the respondents are as follows:

- "No. I don't translate apologies from Urdu to English for apologizing in English [ ] because... hmmm .... the words we use for apologizing are pretty simple and are frequently used in our classes"

- "No. I don't think that I translate apologies from Urdu into English. In fact, apologies are our spontaneous reactions which automatically comes into our minds. So, we can say that they reflect our general attitude towards some incident or offence.

- "I always use very simple expressions in if I have to apologize for some mistake. So, there comes no need to translate something from Urdu to English instead these simple expressions come in mind automatically. "

Five interviewees said that though not intentionally, sometimes they translate apologies from Urdu to English when they need to apologize in English. Following are the excerpts, holding this sort of replies:

- "Yes. [ ] I feel sometimes I do so...hmmm... I mean I translate expressions from Urdu to English. But, this exercise is never intentional but in fact the first thought comes in my mind is always in Urdu. So, I have to translate it in English".

- "Yes. For me it is natural to firstly think in Urdu then to translate it in English. And, sometimes, even both the thoughts move simultaneously. . .. hrrrr, however sometimes, I apologize directly in English using simple expressions..."

In most of the cases when the speakers use two languages in a way firstly to think in one language and then to translate it in second language it is believed that the message must lose its essence. As says Dunnet et. al., (1986: 148) "language cannot be translated word-for-word, because forms of any two languages may differ", it is almost impossible that any form of each language will communicate exactly the same messages (Bell, 1991:p.[6]). But according to the respondents, except five, they do not translate their apologies from one language to another. Thus, their reactions or apologies are supposed to be carrying original sense without distortion of message.

Apology Patterns and Socio Linguistic Factors

Respondents' views about application of different apology patterns to match hearer's social status, conversational setting, and social relationships have also been considered. Majority of the respondents agree that these factors play a significant role in their conversation and usually they choose apology strategies in view of the status of the hearer (higher, equal or lower) and their mutual relationship. Few of the respondents are of the view that to apologize in case of an offence is moral obligation so the offender should accept the mistake and apologize unconditionally.

Some of the responses of the interviewees with respect to Social status of the apologize are as under:

- "Yes, I always apply apology strategies to match social status of the apologizee... Hrrrr... I mean I become more formal in my apologetic expressions when I owe it to someone having higher status in society with respect to age or social position. ... and ... if I have to apologize to a friend I may not apologize at all or would use just few simple expressions to make him feel that I have a concern for his trouble. As for as those who have a lower status are concerned, I will avoid apologizing explicitly or directly..... yes... rather I will try to make them happy through some other ways... hmmm.... like a smile in formal setting or a laughter, a hug or by applying some other loving expressions in informal setting.''

- "Yes, a difference is always there.... I mean... hmmmm, the way I will apologize to my friend or my close relative cannot be similar to the way I apologize to my boss or my teacher. Teacher and boss will of course .... get ... a more formal apology while relative and friend will rarely be apologized properly instead what they exactly need to settle their feelings is just a show of love and care.... Feeling that I care for them and do not like to put them in any inconvenience."

- "Yes... [ ] I will.... because social status is always valued high in our society. We are not allowed to talk to elders freely, likewise we have to be reserve in front of our seniors. Which in case of any offence results in a very serious and formal attitude.... like if I commit something wrong, or sometimes even just because my father is in anger and he scolds me.... what the best I can do is standing still without saying anything, nodding my head in affirmation showing that he is right, and I deserve that anger and castigation. But, in case I have made some mistake to my friend, I instead of saying sorry can even refuse about negativity of that attitude of

mine and will try to justify it even by counter attack.... Hmmm... and, similar sort of attitude I will probably display in case of being in need to apologize to some junior or younger."

The interview data collected in this context supports finding of the questionnaire data 'that for apologizing, participants of the study are sensitive to the social status of the apologizee. They vary apology patterns to match status of their recipients. In other words, participants emphasize that they are likely to apologize to hearer having different social status in different ways. Recipients having higher status are normally entitled to more polite and formal forms as is evident from the following examples which are taken from the questionnaire data:

Situation: a student forgot to bring teacher's book back. (DCTs- Situation 2)

- **Apologizer:** Ohhh, I am extremely sorry sir. I forgot to bring your book. In fact, in the morning I left home in a hurry because of heavy rain.

- **Apologizer:** I am so sorry sir, I have not brought your book. In fact, I was in hostel last night and book was at home. Please excuse me, I will be careful next time.

Situation: Employee gets late for an official meeting called by his boss who in fact is his brother too. (DCTs- Situation 3)

- **Apologizer:** "I'm really sorry sir. I could not get vehicle in time. Sorry.

Situation: Speaker gets late in reaching airport to receive his / her elder brother. (DCTs- Situation 07)

Apologizer: Ohhhhoo, you had to wait so long. In fact, there is too much traffic on the road. Are you ok?

In the above examples the participants have used very formal expressions to apologize to someone owing higher social status. They have also used explicit expression of apology with intensifiers in almost all the examples. Sometimes they have even used double explicit apology strategies along with indirect strategies which shows that they are aware of social status of the hearer. On the contrary, the respondents claim that they prefer using simple forms of apology or even prefer not to apologize at all and depend on application of some gesture, smile, laughter, hug, kiss or just a sort of mimicry when they apologize to people of equal or lower status. The following examples are taken from a questionnaire data in this regard:

Situation: a friend forgot meeting with a friend (Situation 4-appendix 1)

"Sorry, yar, I just forgot. You do the assignment yourself it is too late to come now"

Situation: A boss kept a junior colleague waiting for long time. They are close friends as well. (Situation 14- appendix 1)

Apologizer: "ohhhooo...., I was stuck in another meeting. Have a seat please. Let us have tea first."

Situation: a teacher (higher in status) could not grad assignments in time. (Situation: 1-appendix 1)

Apologizer: "hmmm.... I have not checked them yet. Visit me tomorrow."

In the above stated examples, the respondents have used either simple forms of apology 'sorry' or just solidarity marker 'yar- friend' along with some implicit apology strategies. It seems that in these situations when apologizee is either of equal status or belongs to lower social status the apologizers avoid using explicit expressions of apology and prefer to apply some indirect strategy, for example, *explanation*. It might be because of social

belief that giving apologies will make them lose their faces. Thus, it can be inferred from the above discussions that in the cases of status differentials more apologies are forwarded to higher status people than those with equal or lower status. As says one of the respondents:

Student: Yup, one should apologize for mistake but to apologize suggests that one is not capable of fulfilling his responsibilities.... hmmm... so... so..... there comes a question about capability. One who accepts or acknowledges his responsibility for his failure, how could he be trusted for something important .... rrrr... thus it is better not to apologize explicitly and forcefully when you are enjoying a higher social status."

Likewise, respondents are very sensitive towards formality level of the incident. According to them, formal incidents require more formal apology. Majority of them were of the view that even if a close relative or friend occupied an official position higher to them, they must apologize in case of happening of an offence. One of them said, while talking about situation 3 DCTs (appendix 1) in which the interlocutors are two real brothers, "our blood relationship ends once we reach at office gate, so we must apologise, acknowledge, command and obey in professional manner". Another respondent said, "we must learn to behave professionally once we enter into professional life". According to one of them, "Yes a difference is always there.... I mean... hmmmm, the way I will apologize to my friend or my close relative cannot be similar to the way I apologize to my boss or my teacher".

As concerns severity of offence, according to majority of them more severe offences deserve a more serious apology. While according to some of them, every offence needs to be taken seriously because it is not offence which matters but the feelings of the

others. while asked about more explicit apologies extended in response to not- severe offences, they were of the opinion the face lose in case of such offences was minimum so, it was easy and less face threatening to explicitly accept the mistake than in case of serious offences.

Further Insights Regarding Application of Some of the Apology Strategies

The respondents, during interview, had different views with respect to application of different strategies. Some of them were:

- Yes... one should have a regret for wrong doing. To say sorry is never enough... hmmmm... but, it is more important to show concern for the sufferer... hmmm, expression of regret can do magic in soothing the anger of the disturbed.

- Yup, one should apologize for mistake but to apologize suggests that one is not capable of fulfilling his responsibilities.... hmmm... so... so..... there comes a question about capability. One who accepts or acknowledges his responsibility for his failure, how could he be trusted for something important .... rrrr... thus it is better not to apologize explicitly and forcefully when you are enjoying a higher social status.``

- every offence needs to be taken seriously because it is not offence which matters but the feelings of the others. while asked about more explicit apologies extended in response to not- severe offences, they were of the opinion the face lose in case of such offences was minimum so, it was easy and less face threatening to explicitly accept the mistake than in case of serious offences.

- "I personally avoid using, *request for forgiveness* strategy as it makes me feel low.... I mean it seems to more face threatening than any other expression".

- "application of *taking on responsibility* strategy renders personality weaknesses so is perceived highly face threatening in our society". According to him, its severity even multiplies when used in Urdu language (due to nature of expressions like *yeh meri galti hei* or *muj sy galti ho gei)".

- As for as youngers are concerned, I will avoid apologizing explicitly or directly..... yes... rather I may try to make them happy through some other ways... hmmm.... like..., like using a smile, a laughter, a hug or by applying some other loving expressions."

- When discussed about low application of strategy called *counter attack*, according to interviewees though it is not refusal of responsibility, in fact it is a very poor acceptance and instead of lessening the anger it aggravates annoyed feelings in the offended party. So, instead of building positive image of the apologizer it destroys his / her image in the eyes of the apologizee. Thus, it results in low application of this strategy.

- When discussed with interviewees about application of smile, laughter or scilence instead of apologizing clearly, they were of the view, "it is one of the most common reactions when apologizer doesn't know how to handle the situation. It helps manage the situation".

- One of the interviewee said, "a laughter or smile can be the best possible move when there is no logical reason to forward as an excuse".

- Regarding *IFID*s one of the interviewee said, "it is easier to use *IFID* in English as compared to Urdu language ... hmm... as in Urdu, e.g., to apologise becomes more difficult by saying *Mein Maafi chahta houn*"

- One of the interviewee was of the opinion, "it becomes very difficult to seek forgiveness... hmm... so better is to forward some excuse than to take blame". For example, the interviewees further categorized *taking on responsibility* and *promise of forbearance* highly face threatening for apologizers

- "an apology without sufficiently explaining the causes of offence is just a half apology".

- mere application of *IFIDs* rude saying, "in case of sever offences and apologizee of higher status application of an *IFID* alone is not only insufficient but also seems rude.

- IFID is more likely to bring face loss to apologizer, as says one of the interviewee.

- According to one of the interviewees, "it becomes very difficult to seek forgiveness... hmm... so better is to forward some excuse than to take blame".

Concluding Remarks

Thus, interview data reveals that Kashmiri speakers apply different apology patterns in order to match different variables like social status of the apologize; social distance; conversational status etc. This data has been incorporated with DCT data to validate view points of the respondents of the study. A chief reason for changing apology strategies is also to accommodate ans save face needs of both the apologizer ans the apologize.

Appendix 4

Transcription Key

This transcription key is taken from Rasul, S (2006)

- All the Urdu words are italicized in the text to distinguish them from English words. So, for instance **is** refers to the English auxiliary, while *is* refers to the Urdu equivalent of **this**. In the same way the part*sub*in *sub* **equipment,** is not a prefix to English word **equipment,** rather it is the transcribed form of Urdu equivalent of all. But if it is written as **sub** it is an English prefix.

- In the partial and complete transcription provided in Appendix 1, appendix 2 and appendix 3 respectively, '...' indicates that the speaker is interrupted by another speaker. However, ' ...' before and / or after the given part of the utterance shows the continuation of the utterance before and /or after the given part.

- 'a..', 'er..' and '..' show pause and hesitation in speech

- The pronunciation key for certain symbols in the transcription of Urdu words is as follows:

  ❏ *ā* symbol is used in the transcription for the long /a:/ sound as it is produced in 'park'. For instance *gāri*and *ehsās*will take long /a:/ sound like park. Thus in *aman-o-amān* the first 'a' sound before 'n' would be short while the second would be long while in the word *ziādati* first 'a' will be pronounced long and the second short.

  ❏ *ū*symbol stands for two almost alike sounds. One sound is as it is produced in **rule** or **rupee** for instance *pūri, and sūrat.* The other sound is comparatively less longer as is produced in push for instance *ūnko, mūjhay,* and *ūs.* Those who know Urdu,

while reading the transcription, will not find it difficult to identify at what place which of these two sounds is required so to avoid unnecessary complexities in transcription one symbol was used for both the sounds. Basically this symbol is used to differentiate these sounds from another sound as produced for **u** in **us**. This helps in avoiding the confusion in **us** and *ūs*. It also helps in the pronunciation of certain words such as *zurūrat* where in the first place it is pronounced as in 'run' and in the second place as it is in 'rule'.

❑ *ī* symbol is used for a long /i:/ sound such as in **feel**. For instance the word *fīsad* takes a long /i:/ sound. It helps avoiding confusion in words like *kisī* where in the first place it will take a short /i /sound like **fill** and in the second place it will take a long /i:/ sound as in **feel**.

❑ Since in Urdu two types of /k/ sounds are produced, *k* and *q* symbols are used to distinguish between these sounds as produced in *kurna* and *qismat in Urdu*. Thus, *k* stands for the sound that is produced from the front of the mouth while *q* refers to the sound that is produced from the back of the mouth cavity. *k* in English is a plosive sound, and sometimes is produced as glotalized plosive when followed by another consonant sound for example in **actor**. Thus this English sound is nearest to Urdu sound indicated by *q* in Urdu word *qismat* though it has no equivalent in English.