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Apology Strategies in Central Kurdish with Reference to English: An Empirical Study in Socio-Pragmatics

Hassan, Fareeq

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**Apology Strategies in Central Kurdish with
Reference to English: An Empirical Study in
Socio-Pragmatics**



**A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics**

Fareeq Ali Hassan

School of Linguistics and English Language

University of Wales Bangor, UK

2014

**Right Actions in the future are the best
apologies for bad actions in the past
(Tryon Edwards)**

Dedicated to:

- **The memory of my late father**
- **My mother**
- **My wife and children: Mawa, Haroon, Naba and Muhammed**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the apology strategies in Central Kurdish. It sheds light on analysing the data collected with the discourse completion task (DCT) from 120 Kurdish subjects in the Garmian region in Iraqi Kurdistan, supported by 24 interviews and triangulated by 44 observed real situations. The participants are divided by gender into 60 males and 60 females in the DCT data; 12 males vs 12 females in the interview data and 11 females vs 33 males in the real observed situations. The results show the use of similar apology strategies by both gender groups over the situations, but with proportionally different frequencies, except in certain situations due to gender differences. In addition to gender as a striking social variable in Kurdish culture, the study also explores the significance of age and social status of the subjects in conceptualising apology acts. The study also displays the effect of the apology recipient's social features on the subjects' conceptualisation and their obligation to apology. The clear significance of the apology supporting sub-strategies is also revealed in the study.

The findings of the study are not consistent in many cases to those of other researchers, mainly Western ones, with regard to the effect of gender and the use of responsibility strategy as an essential strategy in English and some other cultures. Importantly, the study shows the collective features of the Kurdish culture which make them apologise differently, in certain situations, from other cultures. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that the diversity of the apology strategies is based on the nature and severity of an offence that can vary according to the social norms prevailing in the Kurdish culture.

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is an examination of the apology strategies used in Central Kurdish. The primary parameters taken into consideration include gender as the main social variable with age and social status as additional variables. By exploring apology speech act presentation and perception in Kurdish culture, the study aims to present the conceptualisation of politeness in Kurdish culture from a socio-pragmatic standpoint. This is also in comparison to the apology strategies in English noted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984).

During the last three decades, the apology speech act has become a significant topic in politeness studies. It has been universally applied to many languages in the West and East although it is only marginally dealt with by Brown & Levinson 1987 in their key treatise on politeness.

Apology might be best described as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon due to the co-occurrence of sociolinguistic and pragmatic issues. Although the phenomenon of apologising is universally applicable in human languages and cultures, it is still described as a culture-specific topic as it is determined by many social factors which vary between cultures.

Like politeness, the obligation to apologise is also different from one culture to another since what is viewed as an offence in one culture might not necessarily be deemed as an offence in another culture due to differing social norms of social transgression. Moreover, social norms also classify the degree of the transgressions according to which the apology strategies differ in a particular culture. According to Kadar and Mills (2011), the notion of social attributes, including such factors as gender, age, social status and rank are relative and debatably significant in influencing the polite conduct in human cultures. In many Eastern cultures, these factors have great effect in politeness performances, meaning that ignoring them (specifically age and status) is regarded as a serious offence and may seriously damage the relationship between interlocutors. Conversely, age and status differences are often

not considered to be significant in Anglo-Saxon cultures (Ibid). For this reason, the current research investigates apology strategies in Kurdish, as a sample of an Eastern culture, influenced by the social factors of gender, age and social status.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The current study is important in the field of socio-pragmatics because it presents a new study in a culture that has not been previously investigated. From a sociolinguistic perspective, apology strategies are important due to their sensitivity towards social factors such as gender, age, and social status/power. From a pragmatic approach, apology strategies are important as they deal with politeness in certain situations, which are in turn determined by the social values prevailing in a specific culture.

There is also motivation to explore certain issues in relation to Kurdish culture, in particular: face, politeness and speech acts when studying apology strategies. With reference to culture, the study will significantly, present new cultural dimensions with regard to collectivism and individualism. In order to offer a cross-cultural comparison, it is important to document the relevant type of Kurdish culture in terms of positive politeness and negative politeness, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), and Scollon and Scollon's (2001) involvement and independence.

With regard to 'face' as a key issue in politeness (see chapter 2), this study investigates how the concept of face, as a controversial topic, is conceptualised in the Kurdish culture as an understudied culture. In relation to politeness, the study is important in revealing what politeness means via investigating apology strategies in Kurdish culture. The significance of the study goes beyond that as it will be dealing with the concept of impoliteness as well through investigating the concept of offence (i.e. impoliteness) in the Kurdish culture.

Investigating the use of apology speech act is also important as it might reveal a new manifestation of apology speech act in the Kurdish culture with regard to directness/indirectness, the strategies used, and obligation to apologise, etc.

The significance of the thesis is reflected in exploring the influence of the contextual variables of gender, age and social status. It is expected that apologising in the tested situations is affected by the three mentioned social factors. Hence, the study might show the perception of apology determined by gender, age and social status. Therefore, the study will be significant for other researchers to understand a Kurdish culture and conduct more cross-cultural studies, by applying the similar twelve adopted situations to other cultures.

Since the topic of the apology speech act is absent from the field of research with regard to the investigation of the Kurdish language, the researcher has found it of linguistic and cultural significance to investigate apology strategies in Kurdish interactions. This work will present new issues in the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics as the Kurdish language has not been previously thoroughly investigated until the last decade as it was not actually used in schools, universities and in official institutions. For this reason, the study of Kurdish apology is considered a new area in the field of socio-pragmatics as it has been left unstudied.

1.3 Rationale of the study

Most of the previous few works (especially MA & PhD dissertations), written on the Kurdish language, have focused on linguistic fields like phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The areas of sociolinguistics and pragmatics have been largely absent.

Apology Strategies in Central Kurdish have been neglected since Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) conducted their studies on apology. The absence of this topic in current research has motivated this investigation to include many socio-pragmatic phenomena in Kurdish interaction.

The current study is intended to contribute to future cross-cultural studies in apology strategies in Middle Eastern languages and cultures such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Turkish. It is intended to stimulate comparative studies in sociolinguistics

and pragmatics in the surrounding areas based on the investigated situations and the adopted research methods. These comparative studies between Kurdish and other languages and cultures would not be possible without a knowledge base about apology strategies in Kurdish.

1.4 Structure and Organisation of the Study

As regards the structure of the content of the work, it falls into **six** chapters including this introductory chapter. **Chapter two** reviews the relevant literature to outline the theoretical framework for the study, dealing with an overview of politeness theories and various concepts of 'face'. In doing so, the chapter focuses on the etic/ emic distinction and first order politeness (politeness1) vs second order politeness (politeness2). The chapter also sheds light on culture as a complex concept, defining the term and explaining the differences between individualist cultures and collectivist cultures. Furthermore, it deals with the speech act theory, particularly the speech act of apologising. The chapter also surveys some cultural related factors that might influence the use of apology speech act, such as offence, remedy, sincerity, conflict avoidance, gender, age, and social status. The last part of the chapter deals with the various definitions and explanations of the apology and its strategies in the light of the previous studies.

Chapter three is devoted to the methodology including the methodological considerations of the discourse completion task (DCT), interviewing and observation. Chapter three also includes the research methods adopted in this thesis. The research methods comprise the data collection tools, participants, coding scheme, pilot study and the materials. Furthermore, the chapter also deals with the ethical considerations required for the study, in addition to the transcription of the collected data.

Chapter four comprises the result analysis of the data elicited from the discourse completion task (DCTs), the interviews and the real observational situations. **Chapter five** covers the discussion of the thesis findings, and finally,

Chapter six covers the conclusions arrived at throughout the study in addition to suggesting some recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the theoretical background of the study. It aims to demonstrate a detailed review of previous studies on apology strategies in other languages. The chapter starts with an overview of politeness and face theories in section 2.2. It presents the distinctive features of each theory, followed by re-approaching ‘face’ in connection with relational work in 2.3. Section 2.4 reviews the concepts and types of culture through addressing the key concepts of individualism and collectivism, with reference to Kurdish culture. Section 2.5 reviews speech act theories by discussing Austin and Searle’s speech act theories, with shedding light on the speech act and felicity conditions of apologising. Section 2.6 explains the position of apology in politeness in relation to factors such as offence, remedy, sincerity and conflict avoidance. Furthermore, it also reviews the standard apology strategies in English and other languages. Section 2.7 discusses the influence of the social variables in apologising, focusing on gender, age and social status. Finally, section 2.8 presents the research questions of the thesis.

2.2 Overview of Politeness and Face Theories

Different theories of politeness and face have been proposed in sociolinguistics. In addition to Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) theory of politeness and face, other researchers have dealt with the topic from different angles. They critiqued Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory for its lack of universal applicability and for its positive and negative face classification. These theories are characterised by their distinctive features and outlines. These theories include Goffman’s work of face (1967, 1971), Lakoff’s theory of Politeness (1973), Brown and Levinson’s politeness model (1978, 1987), Fraser & Nolen’s Conversational-Contract view (1981), Leech’s theory of Interaction (1983), Spencer-Qatey’s framework of rapport management (2000), Scollon and Scollon’s involvement and Independence (2001), Eelen’s Approach

(2001), Watt's Politic Behaviour (2003, 2005), Locher and Watt's relational work (2005), and Haugh's Intercultural (Im)politeness Theory (2010).

2.2.1 Goffman's notion of face

Following Hu's (1944) explanation of the Chinese concept of "face", the notion of 'face' was used by Erving Goffman (1955, 1967) to refer to the positive image presented in interaction. Relatedly, he employed the term "face work" to refer to the behavior shown by interlocutors in order to maintain one's face and respect other's face. Goffman (1967) stressed some collocations with regard to face and face work such as "be in or maintain face", "save face", "to give face", "lose face" (to be in wrong face or out of face), and "threaten face".

According to Goffman (1967), maintaining face is a normal condition of social interaction, not an objective. To investigate face-saving in interaction "is to study the traffic rules of social interaction" (P. 12). Goffman (1971) defines apology as "a gesture through which an individual splits himself into two parts, the part that is guilty of an offence and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule" (1971: 113).

Functionally, apology is viewed by Goffman (1967) as a remedial act that functions to restore the social harmony and concord among the communicators. This implies that the function of remedial act (i.e. apology), is to renovate what is unpleasant to what might be regarded as pleasant.

According to Goffman (1971) two types of compensation (apologies) can be distinguished: ritualistic apologies (produced as a habit in the form of everyday's fixed expressions or routines like: *I am sorry*), and substantive (or restitutive) apologies (produced when the speaker sincerely wants to remedy the offense or harm s/he has committed. This is usually expressed by detailed expressions, which shows taking responsibility or concern about the damage caused). Substantive apologies are more

serious than ritualistic apologies as the former shows more concern and responsibility than the latter which is mostly a habit or routine.

Based on Goffman's view, apologies constitute an essential part of remedial exchange. Due to its intrinsic relation to social interaction, apology speech act should be dealt with in combination with "face" or "face wants". He assumes that each interlocutor adopts a line of behavior in interacting with others. This line of behavior, might be viewed as a distinctive feature, works a social identity in communication with others. This social identity is used as a criterion through which a participant expresses his/ her views and evaluates others' behaviours.

Goffman's concept of "face", therefore, is viewed as rituals, meaning that social interaction is rule-governed, that is governed by moral rules that regulate the flow of events in interaction. The significance of these rules resides in their ability to empower an individual in order to assess self and other during social interchanges (when followed by interlocutors). This suggests that the interlocutor initiates or adopts a line of behaviour from the beginning of the social contact, based on which, s/he designs their practices and involvement in the social circle. When abiding by the initiated line, a good level of ritual equilibrium will be accomplished by the participants involved in a social interaction. This assumes that ritual equilibrium might not occur in certain situations, mainly when the person is "in wrong face" or "out of face" (Goffman 1967: 8). Being "in wrong face" means that the interlocutor does not follow the line that s/he initiated for his/ herself from the beginning of the interaction, but follows a different line. However, when the person is "out of face", it means that an individual gets involved in interaction with a line different from the one adopted by other participants (Ibid, 10).

With regard to face-saving acts, Goffman (1967) presents two types of viewpoints that people have in their interaction. Firstly, "a defensive orientation", meaning the priority of self to other, i.e. own face- saving is the concern of the individual in interaction. Secondly, "a protective orientation" meaning that the person is concerned with saving other's face. This distinction is made by Goffman in relation

to the face-saving rules that are derived from the “traffic rules” of social interaction. Regarding offences, Goffman (1967: 15) distinguished three types of offences: 1) intended offences imply the ones committed intentionally by the offender(s) to cause insult to the offended person(s); 2) unintended offences where the offences are made unintentionally or accidentally, hence the offender is recognised as guiltless by others and 3) unplanned offences, meaning that some offences might happen though they are not planned.

These types of offences(threats) might take different directions as they might be presented by the speaker against his/her own face, or introduced by the speaker against hearer’s face (other’s face), or by the hearer(s) against their own face or by the hearer(s) against him/herself. For these possibilities of face threats, the individual has to have a repertoire of face-saving acts, when s/he wants to handle self and other well in all eventualities (Goffman, 1967: 15).

With regard to face-work, Goffman (1967: 15-20) claims that it represents two key processes: “the avoidance process” and “the corrective process”. The former method refers to the situation when an individual evades contribution in social interaction in order not to take face-threats. The latter (i.e. corrective process) includes the person’s involvement in social interaction where s/he might commit incidents that are not in line with the social line upheld by other social interlocutors. To create “ritual equilibrium” the person concerned attempts to correct such undesirable affairs. According to Goffman (1967: 26) ritual equilibrium should go through a circle of different principal moves, starting with responsibility acknowledgement (shown by the wrongdoer) for the offense committed, followed by an offer of a repair strategy (also initiated by the offender) to correct the offense and reestablish the social equilibrium. The third phase is related to the offended person who might reject or accept the offender’s offering. The corrective interchange is finalised by an expression(s) of gratitude presented by the offering party to the offended person(s) who has forgiven the offender (in the case of accepting the offering).

2.2.2 Lakoff's Theory of Politeness

Lakoff (1990: 34) defines politeness as a system of “interpersonal relations” which functions to facilitate communication by lessening the option of conflict and confrontation that are intrinsic in all human interaction. She is viewed as the founder of Politeness theory as she was the first linguist to explore politeness within the field of Pragmatics (Elen 2001: 2). Influenced by Grice (1975) who laid down “cooperation principles” (i.e. maxims of conversation), Lakoff (1973) stemmed her politeness theory by deriving two pragmatic rules: *be clear* and *be polite*. These rules are known as politeness principles by which interlocutors are required to abide throughout conversation. Lakoff (1973) stresses that the first rule is applied when the interlocutors emphasise the message communication. However, the second rule has priority over the first one when the communicators pay more attention to social subjects, such as the communicators' status. With regard to the first rule (i.e. be clear), Lakoff (1973: 297) believes that it is strongly associated with Grice's maxims of conversation as they might be included under her “be clear” rule since they all request the conversants to be clear in their interaction.

The second pragmatic rule (i.e. be polite) was classified into three sub-rules: 1) don't impose; 2) give options; 3) make your receiver feel good – be friendly) (Ibid). However, these three sub-rules were later revised to include three rules of politeness: formality (keep aloof), deference (give options), and camaraderie (show sympathy) (Lakoff, 1975: 65). In this concern, Ellen (2001: 3) argues that the inclination towards the priority of any of these politeness rules is culturally different. Consequently, it might raise a question about politeness perception arising from cross-cultural discrepancy.

Lakoff's politeness theory was critiqued by linguists such as Brown (1976), Tannen (1984, 1986), and Sifianou (1992). The problem with Lakoff's theory, according to Brown (1976), is non-integrating one with arbitrary rules because they are not set in a framework. According to Tannen (1984: 13), Lakoff's politeness model does not represent communication rules, but certain “stylistic preferences” put on a

scale. She also, denies Lakoff's principles to be rules, but "senses" owned by interactants and used for normal speaking (Tannen, 1986: 36). Sifianou's (1992: 22-26) contends Lakoff's politeness theory with regard to the term definition, which weakens the universality claim for the theory rules. She argues that there is a non-correspondence between formality and politeness in all situations. She also debates that deference might not be related to giving options. This argument was also confirmed by Thomas (1995) who states that a soldier has to show deference to the officer, by using the honorific "sir", without having other options. Thus, the universality claim of the Lakoff's politeness theory was contended by Sifianou (1992: 22) due to the differences of the pragmatic meanings of the term "aloof" across cultures.

2.2.3 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

By developing Goffman's notion of "face", Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) proposed a new concept of politeness which might be regarded as the most comprehensive model. Since then, many studies have been adopting that model for cross-cultural politeness studies on different languages. The main characteristic of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is the claim for universality. They supported their claim by observing parallel linguistic strategies in different languages and across cultures. They justify their interpretation about similarities in language use by presenting a Model Person (MP). According to B & L (1987), the model person is a natural language speaker who is characterised by possessing universal features of face and rationality (see Kadar and Mills, 2011). With regard to face, Brown and Levinson (1987) modified Goffman's original concept of "face" by classifying 'face' as comprising two contrasting facets: "negative face" and "positive face". By negative face, they mean the desire to be unimpeded by others. Positive face indicates the desire to be esteemed by others. The implementation of the former desire is negative politeness, whereas achieving the latter wish (i.e. to be appreciated) is called positive politeness. Based on Brown and Levinson's "negative" and "positive" dichotomy,

cultures are categorised into negative politeness culture and positive politeness culture (see Kadar and Mills, 2011). Brown and Levinson's face classification indicates that each person (i.e. Model Person) has the desire to be unimpeded and liked by others when interacting.

Positive politeness refers to any friendly expression or behaviour that is used to redress and minimise any face threatening act in interaction. It helps to connect the communicators and bring them closer together. It is usually used to imply common goals and wants between the interactants (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 103). Positive politeness is commonly based on solidarity and informality. Solidarity is one of the three politeness systems which indicates that the conversants are of equal power (=Power), but a distant relationship (+Distance) (Felix-Brasdefer, 2006). It bridges the gap between the speaker and hearer for the purpose of making closeness between them and getting their goals. Positive politeness implies how to be connected and involved as a member of the group, and is usually enhanced by using terms such as 'we' and 'let's', nicknames, etc. which clearly show involvement.

Negative politeness refers to any speech acts that keep the hearer unimpeded and independent (Brown and Levinson 1987: 129). It usually requires mitigating devices which serve to soften and to lessen the degree of imposition in requests such as 'I wonder if you would kindly..., would you mind...? Is it ok if.....? etc.

By rationality, Brown and Levinson (1987) mean that the Model Person has the reasoning abilities to select a particular mode of politeness on the basis of individual settings and ends. Accordingly, politeness concept is not an unplanned conduct, but a result of a rational option and a premeditated decision implemented by the speaker as a social member to save face and to avoid conflict (Sony 2012).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 65 - 66) argue that some acts are intrinsically threatening face during interacting (face-threatening act -FTA). To avoid conflict and to have smooth communication, interlocutors need to maintain/ save face (i.e. face-saving act). Brown & Levinson's politeness theory holds that 'face' should be maintained or saved in S/H's interaction. Hence, it is recognised as a face-saving view

of politeness (Fraiser 1990). The interlocutors usually have their own goals which they need to achieve during interaction. How a speaker can achieve what s/he wants without threatening the hearer's face is what politeness is concerned with. This achievement is obtained by performing speech acts, that is, by using utterances for certain purposes based on certain felicity conditions (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), such as offering requests, apologies, invitation, greetings and so on.

Like Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987: 74) submit norms for assessing the degree of politeness and FTA. Accordingly, politeness degree in a certain situation is assessed based on a scale. For assessing the seriousness of FTAs, they suggest socio-cultural variables: social distance (D), power (P) and rating of imposition (R). Assessing the size of FTA and strategy is also emphasised by Thomas (1995: 169), who elucidates that before choosing a strategy, the speaker measures the size of FTA in connection with some culturally determining factors such as distance (D), power (P) and rating of imposition (R). These factors, all together, help to measure the FTA in order to choose which strategy is most appropriate to employ in a given situation.

In addition to positive and negative politeness strategies, Brown and Levinson (1987) present two other strategies: 1) bald-on record strategy and 2) off-record strategy. The former means that a speaker addresses the hearer directly to express his/her needs. The main characteristic of this strategy is the clear message given by the speaker which is mostly represented by imperatives, such as open the door, or lend me some money, etc. This strategy is very common in most languages; where the speaker mainly focuses on what s/he wants to get by using a direct request. Sometimes, some mitigating devices are used with these imperatives.

The reason behind bald-on-record as stated by Brown and Levinson (1987: 95) is the speaker's priority to perform the FTA over the hearer's face satisfaction. Thus, the speaker's wants and desires come first at the expense of the hearer's satisfaction. Based on this idea, it has nothing to do with minimising FTA to the hearer. Thus, the non-redressive speech act here might be featured as (- face saving act) as no imposition is softened. In other cases like emergencies imperatives are usually used.

Moreover, imperatives may indicate offer in some other cases, such as, 'have a chocolate'.

Brown and Levinson(1987:95-96) assert that face threat is not-minimised (the unnecessary act of face redress) in situations where maximum efficiency is very important and both interlocutors are aware of the context, for example: 'help!', or 'watch out!'. etc. They also assert that metaphorical urgency such as orders and entreaties are manifested in imperatives in many languages. It might be argued that this is not completely applicable to Kurdish and Arabic. For instance, unlike the beggars in India who use imperatives such as, "kaa cu ku Tu" meaning "give money", Arabic beggars avoid imperatives as direct commands. They mostly say *الله يا محمد سدين* [lillah ya muhsini:n], meaning 'for God, o good doers' which implies 'for the sake of God, give me money, good doers'. The same is true of Kurdish Beggars who also avoid direct commands, such as 'له ريبی خوا ومه ولووی پيغه مبهه خوشك ويرا موسلمانه كان', meaning 'for the sake of God and his prophet, Muslim brothers and sisters'. By this polite request a speaker implicitly means 'give money for the sake of God and his prophet, brothers and sisters'. The characteristically distinguishable features of Arab and Kurdish beggars, is the avoidance of imperatives or direct commands and using the manifestations of positive politeness, such as 'good doers', 'brothers' and 'sisters' which indicate involvement.

The off-record strategy is one used by a speaker to avoid a direct FTA in order to get what s/he wants. It is employed in situations where the hearer uses indirect request whether vocally (verbally) or non-vocally (non-verbally). What distinguishes this strategy from bald-on-record strategy is the ambiguity of the message indirectly conveyed by a communicator. It is believed that indirectness is a universal phenomenon which occurs in all natural languages (Thomas 1995: 119). As an effective form of communication, indirectness might be used in some situations to serve certain purposes, such as being ironic, joking, giving hints, conflict avoidance, etc. Indirectness is esteemed in many cultures, especially Asian cultures due to the high evaluation of face and harmony. (Lakoff 2005: 176).

Since the message is not as clear as in the case of bald on record, it is not guaranteed for the speaker to get what s/he intends especially in the case of non-vocal off-record strategy. According to Brown & Levinson (1987: 211) an off record utterance should be said either in more general or different ways from what is actually meant. This indicates that the speaker's intended message would be liable to different interpretations. To narrow the scope, Lakoff (2005: 175) states that shared background information is required for the interlocutors to be able to make inferences about their indirect speech acts and to understand each other.

Concerning the vocal off-record strategy, in addition to shared background information, other felicity conditions are considered as important requirements for its success such as:

- a. The hearer's awareness of what the speaker says (as the hearer is not addressed directly) .
- b. The hearer should be close to the speaker.

For example, when in a lecture room, Jane finds out that she has forgotten her pen. She says to herself: "O my God, where did I put my pen?!" The intended message is "who can give me a pen?" A colleague who is sitting beside her can hear her soliloquy and give her a pen, whereas others who are sitting far from her may not hear and would therefore be unaware of her problems.

Regarding the non-verbal off-record strategy, as described by Yule (1997:62) as the 'say nothing' strategy, Jane may say nothing but only checks her bag, then her pockets to seek her pen. This indirect request may not succeed in achieving Jane's goal which is to have a pen. A colleague close and aware of her may give her a pen. The strategy is in front of more than one probability:

1. The strategy fails if no one is aware of her as all are busy (pragmatic failure).

2. A colleague sitting on the left or right or perhaps behind may be aware and offers her a pen (as she is not addressing only one person, but many or none) as the hearer is not an active member in the interaction like the speaker herself.

The success of non-vocal off record strategy denotes that communication, whether vocal or non-vocal, is more than speech. The failure of the non-vocal off-record strategy might occur in such situations as having a blind respondent, having a barrier between the interlocutors and in dark places as well. With regard to the 'say nothing' strategy', it might be used as a new strategy in apology, known as non-verbal strategy.

Since politeness differs from one culture to another, the strategies, whether positive or negative, are also culturally different. It cannot be asserted that some cultures are positive politeness-oriented and others are negative politeness-oriented. What might be argued is that culture orientation is based on situations. Thus, a certain culture is positively orientated in some situations and negatively orientated in other situations. The applicability of this orientation to Kurdish apology strategies will be explained later in the empirical chapters.

Regardless of the situations, certain social factors such as gender, age, social status, social background, etc. should be taken into consideration when discussing politeness. It is generally accepted that manifestations of politeness are culture-specific due to the cultural factors and social values prevailing in a specific culture. Accordingly what is polite in one culture might be considered impolite in another culture. Even in one specific culture what is polite in a certain situation is impolite in other situations, based on a combination of context and social factors. This is clearly applicable to apology as one manifestation of politeness. For instance, with some social groups, a low burp necessitates an apology as it is regarded as a negative social behaviour (Watts 2003). However, not belching after a good meal is regarded as an offence to the cook in some cultures (Ibid). Measuring the FTA in Kurdish culture will be one of the concerns of the current thesis.

Brown and Levinson's claim is that 'face' and 'rationality', as two basic concepts, are two features universally possessed by speakers of all natural languages.

They hold that speech acts which inherently threaten a communicator's face are redressed by politeness strategies: positive strategy, negative and off-record (Eelen, 2001).

Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory has been widely critiqued by Japanese and Chinese linguists in terms of universality, individual-oriented and Anglo-centric or western oriented politeness (Matsumoto 1988). Matsumoto argues that politeness and particularly the notion of 'face' is conceptualised differently in Japanese. According to her, Brown and Levinson's notion of "face" (mainly negative face) is not fitting to elucidate politeness in Japanese culture because this concept of 'face' is strange in Japanese culture and based on individualism and Anglo-Saxon tradition (Cutrone, 2011). Hence, other conceptions of politeness will be explored through examining politeness in other cultures.

A flaw that weakens the ecological validity of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is that their theoretical assumptions are based on examples from only three languages (English, Tamil and Tzeltal) which makes the claim for universality vulnerable to criticism (Vilkkii 2006; Curtone 2011). Brown and Levinson's notion of "face" was critiqued by Gu (1990), Idle (1989, 1993), Mao (1994), Matsumoto (1988), Wierzbicka (2003) as being Western-biased and an individualistic-based theory. According to Chinese and Japanese cultures, social relationships are more important than individual freedom (Matsumoto, 1988). With regard to this, Wierzbicka (1985) and Mao (1994) propose that Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is only a representation of Western individualistic performance, and does not fit collective societies (Watts 2003).

The applicability of Brown and Levinson's universality claim of 'face' was also contended by Nwoye (1989), who defined "face" as "group face" in Igbo culture as an example of collective culture where self-image of the individual is downplayed, compared to that of group collective self-image which is more emphasised. Consequently, one might argue that the notion of 'face' is identified as 'other oriented'

in Japanese, Chinese and Igbo cultures. This notion of 'face' differs from that of Brown and Levinson's concept of face (1987), which is conceptualised as "self-oriented".

The above arguments made Leech (2005) raise the question: politeness: is there an East-West Divide? This question has arisen due to researchers such as Wierzbicka who have stated that politeness is culture-specific, that it is different from one culture to another based on the social values prevailing in that culture. Based on this, 'face' in Chinese culture refers to a group as the group is highly evaluated in Chinese culture due to the Confucianism. This is in contrast to Western culture, particularly the English culture where the individual is more evaluated. It can be argued that 'face' in the Kurdish culture is often expected to refer to the group rather than the individual. Like the Chinese, Kurds might apologise not for the individual, but for the sake of a group, as will be explained in the experimental chapters.

Another criticism of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness was directed by Mills (2003a) in terms of the Model Speaker adopted by Brown & Levinson when describing S/H in interaction. According to Mills, this model focuses on the speaker and ignores the hearer. Therefore, it might be described as a speaker-based model. Based on the idea of Model Person, Mills (2003a) adds that both interlocutors (S/H) should have the same background, which is not applicable in all situations.

Mills (2003a) also critiques Brown and Levinson's classification of social variables into three variables (social power -P-, social distance -D-, and ranking of impositions -R-). Regarding the social power factor, Mills argues that it should be assessed over the interaction as a whole, not in terms of somebody's position in a certain stance. Furthermore, she criticises the social distance variable as being stable. This suggests that the interlocutors are classified into socially distant (stranger) or socially close (familiar), which ignores the dynamic nature of the social relationship between the interactants. Additionally, Mills (2003a) critiques Brown and Levinson's model in terms of absenting the social variable of age as a negotiable factor. With regard to this, she found different perceptions of politeness between older and younger generations. Pecchioni, Ota & Sparks (2004) stress that different views are

recognised between Eastern and Western cultures in showing respect to older people. According to researchers, younger Asian adults show deference to all older people whether they belong to the family or nonfamily based on the more generalised notion of filial piety that the Asian young have. Conversely, younger Western adults have a more specialised concept regarding the filial piety. Therefore, the idea is regarded as a personal choice by the Westerners and essential obligation by the Easterners (see also Gallois et al., 1999; Harris & Long, 2000; Ota et al., 1996). In addition to age, the factors of gender and social status can influence the polite conduct in cultures (Kadar and Mills 2011).

Based on the findings of previous research regarding social variables that have been found to have a significant effect on politeness across cultures, the social variables: gender, age and social status were adopted as determining variables in Kurdish apology strategy for this thesis. Accordingly, differences in gender, age and social status might result in a different perception of politeness in investigating apology strategies in Kurdish.

Mills (2003a) addresses another criticism to Brown and Levinson's politeness model, claiming that it disregards the role of cultural context and discourse in politeness. She attributes this weak point to the absolute dependence on speech act theory. Furthermore, Fraser and Nolen (1981) claimed the role of linguistic context in politeness, which was supported by Watts (2003) who held some polite linguistic expressions might be evaluated as impolite when put in different linguistic contexts. Therefore, linguistic expressions might be classified as being polite or impolite according to their linguistic contexts.

Regardless of the above mentioned criticisms against Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, it is still a seminal work, that has no alternative-contender. It is regarded as the basis for cross-cultural studies on politeness phenomena, particularly in distinguishing positive and negative politeness, based on which cultures are classified accordingly (Kadar and Mills 2011).

2.2.4 Fraser and Nolen's Conversational Contract Approach

In contrast to other theories of politeness, Fraser (1978) and Nolen (1981) present politeness as a "Conversational Contract" which was later expanded (Fraser, 1990). Fraser (1990) defines politeness as "a state that one expects to exist in every conversation" (Fraser 1990: 233); (Eva Ogiermann 2009: 14).

The conversational contract view holds that each S and H, upon starting conversation, realises some initial set of rights and obligations which determine what the interlocutors expect about each other during the course of conversation (at least for the initial phases). However, the interlocutors will re-discuss and re-modify the rights and obligations that they need to hold towards each other, with the passage of time or due to alteration in the context (Fraser, 1990: 232).

According to Fraser and Nolen (1981), producing socially appropriate behaviour is based on adhering to the terms and conditions of conversation. Similarly, the interlocutors' linguistic acts are interpreted as impolite when they fail to follow these terms and conditions (1981: 81). Fraser and Nolen's definition of Politeness (based on terms and conditions) is in line with that of Goffman (1967) who stressed on "traffic rules" of social interaction, which implies the communicators connection with certain ethical rules that regulate the course of events in interaction.

With regard to whether the communicator's act in interaction is polite or impolite, Fraser and Nolen (1981) focus on the significant role of the hearer who can make that distinction. Thus, it might be argued that the addressee might be described as an act sensor in terms of politeness and impoliteness.

Relevant to communication rules, four terms have been identified by Fraser and Nolen (1981): conventional, historical, situational, and institutional terms. Conventional terms refer to the general rules that might be applicable to any social contact such as turn-taking rules and speaking rules in terms of loudness and softness in conversation (Fraser 1990). Historical terms means that present interactions are based on the previous encounters with the similar or same interactants (Fraser 1990).

Situational guidelines embrace the interlocutors' awareness of each other's power status in conversation. Institutional terms refer to the guidelines dictated by social organisations, such as the rules that regulate encounters in court, or using "Mr. President" to address the US president, or whispering when talking to somebody in a library (Fraser, 1990). Among the four mentioned rules, the conventional ones are regarded as the foundation for interaction. It might be argued that linguistically appropriate acts in interaction arise from communicators' adherence to conversation rules which are viewed as an integral part of the social norms that control social encounter. Consequently, they constitute the criteria for classifying the acts as "polite" or "impolite" based on the participants' adherence to the rules of the conversational contract (Fraser 1990).

2.2.5 Leech's politeness principle

Leech takes Grice's conversational maxims as a foundation stone in the development of his politeness principle. Pragmatically, he regards politeness as a controlling factor in social communication. Leech (1983) presents his politeness principle due to the insufficiency of Grice's conversational principles to account for sense-force relation. Based on Leech's claim, Grice's cooperative principles are flouted by interlocutors for the purpose of politeness. This is because what people communicate is more than what they say (Leech 1983). The politeness principle aims "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enables us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech, 1983: 82).

Similar to Grice's Conversational Principle, Leech (1983) presents six maxims required for politeness in interaction. These include: the Maxims of Tact, Maxim of Generosity, Maxim of Approbation, Maxim of Modesty, Maxim of Agreement, and Maxim of Sympathy. According to Leech's politeness theory, the six maxims are weighed by five pragmatic scales as follows:

1. The Cost-Benefit Scale: this scale measures the cost and the benefit an act has on both interlocutors.
2. The Optionality Scale: this evaluates the amount of option given by the addresser's goals to the addressee.
3. The Indirectness Scale: this measures the addressee's hard work to understand the addresser
4. The Authority Scale: this scale assesses the speaker's right to inflict his/her concepts on the hearer due to difference in power and authority.
5. The Social Distance Scale: measures the formality degree between the interlocutors. (Leech,1983: 123; Felix-Brasdefer 2008: 16).

In the light of the speech goal and the social goal implemented in politeness, Leech (1983: 104) categorises four types of politeness: 1) Competitive Politeness (when the speech goal opposes the social goal); 2) Convivial Politeness (both speech and social goal agree with each other); 3) Collaborative Politeness (the speech goal is uninterested about the social goal); and 4) Conflictive Politeness (when there is a conflict between speech and social goals). In relation to these types of politeness, apologising, which is the concern of the current thesis, is viewed as convivial politeness due to the coincidence between its speech goal and social goal to retain concord between the interlocutors by providing some cost to the speaker and some benefit to the hearer (Leech 1983: 125; Márquez-Reiter 2000: 45).

Leech (1983) states that the maxim of tact is the conflict avoidance strategy. Based on this argument, the apologist in some cases expresses his/her apology not only to make remedy, but also to avoid conflict or to stop the conflict from becoming more complicated, which might exacerbate the situation. Therefore, an apology in such situations is like a pain killer, but not a permanent remedy. For example, an employee usually apologises to a manager in order to calm the situation and to avoid being dismissed from his/her job. For that reason, Leech (1983) views politeness as a means of conflict avoidance.

Like Brown and Levinson, Leech (1983) distinguishes between positive politeness and negative politeness. According to him, positive politeness deals with maximising the politeness of polite acts. Whereas, negative politeness is concerned with minimising impoliteness of impolite illocutions.

According to Leech's claim (1983: 79), social interaction is performed as a result of the collaboration between the politeness principle and the cooperative principle. The politeness principle, with its maxims, assists the addressee to recuperate the speech indirect message. However, politeness principle, and its maxims elucidates the motivating reason behind using indirect message. In the case of conflict between the cooperative principle and the politeness principle, the addresser gives priority to the politeness principle over the cooperative principle for the sake of maintaining the social equilibrium between the individuals.

Leech's model of politeness has been critiqued by some scholars, in terms of classifying the illocutionary acts as being intrinsically polite or impolite without considering the cultural and social variables (Fraser 1990, Spencer-Oatey & Jiang 2003). It might be argued that viewing one act as polite or impolite is situationally and culturally different. Situationally, ordering in the class is not taken as an impolite act. Culturally, insistence on inviting and offering is regarded as impolite in English culture, but polite and a sign of hospitality in other cultures such as Chinese, Arabic and Kurdish cultures. Leech's argument was also critiqued by Dillons et al (1985), Lavandera (1988), Fraser (1990) and Turner (1996) for not being decisive in specifying the number of principles required to elucidate politeness phenomena.

2.2.6 Spencer-Oatey's Rapport and Rapport Management

As an attempt to expand the framework of politeness to consider cultural aspects of face, Spencer-Oatey's model adopts rapport and rapport management as alternatives for Brown and Levinson's face and face management (i.e. politeness) respectively. The reason for preferring the term "rapport" to "face" is due to the association of face to

self-concerns. Whereas, the rapport management focuses more neutrally on self and other (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 12). She defines rapport management as “the use of language to promote, maintain or threaten harmonious social relationships in interaction” (2000:3). This theory rejects Brown and Levinson’s negative face which considers the interlocutor as an individual (i.e. independent). Alternatively, group identity is focused on rather than the individual.

According to Spencer-Oatey (2000: 13), negative face matters, recognised by Brown and Levinson (1987), are not face issues. For that reason, she suggests a sociality right instead of negative face. By sociality right she means “the fundamental personal/ social entitlements that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others” (Spencer- Oatey 2000:14). In relation to sociality rights, two other sub-categorisations are identified: ‘equity rights’ and association rights’. The former refers to the personal right to be equally and fairly treated. The latter indicates the social entitlement a person has in order to be appropriately associated and involved with others (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 16).

Furthermore, Spencer-Oatey (2000: 20-21) identifies five domains which play important roles in rapport management: (1) the illocutionary domain (concerned with performing speech acts, such as apologies, compliments, requests, etc.); (2) discourse domain (includes choice of discourse content and structure, topic choice and management, organising information, etc.); (3) the participation domain (concerns the procedural aspects of interaction such as turn taking, inclusions and exclusion of participants, and the use/non-use of listener reactions; (4) the stylistic domain (choice of tone, appropriate lexis and syntax and appropriate honorifics); and (5) the non-verbal domain (concerns non-verbal aspects, such as gestures, proxemics, eye contact, etc.).

Oatey-Spencer (2000) also focuses on three factors that have a significant role in her model and determine the strategy selection in rapport management: 1) people’s rapport management; 2) contextual variables; and 3) pragmatic conventions. All these factors shed light on politeness from the addresser’s side.

Unlike Brown and Levinson (1987), Oatey-Spencer's model rejects the idea of evaluating acts as inherently polite or impolite. With regard to this, Oatey-Spencer relates politeness to societal judgment, which indicates its association with cultural differences. For that reason, she identifies politeness as "a question of appropriateness" (Oatey-Spencer 2000: 3), which involves cultural differences as playing an essential role in determining the appropriateness of a rapport management (2000: 41). It might be argued that Oatey-Spencer's view, in this sense, rejects Brown and Levinson's universality model.

In relating politeness to culture, Oatey-Spencer (2000) views members of same culture as behaving similarly due to her static and predetermined perspective about culture. By viewing members of the same culture in this way, she does not take into account the participants' individual role in interaction.

2.2.7 Scollon and Scollon's face model

According to Scollon and Scollon (2001), politeness is viewed as a social interaction model. Based on their argument, face is a paradoxical notion, meaning that it is of two contrasting sides: involvement and independence. The former focuses on the "person's right and need to be considered a normal, contributing, or supporting member of society" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 46). That is, it denotes the aspect of interaction that connects the interlocutors together and makes the addressee feel as being a member of the group. This is implemented by giving consideration to the others. The latter (i.e. independence aspect of face) stresses "the individuality of the interlocutors as it emphasises their right not to be completely dominated by group or social values, and to be free from the impositions of others" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 47). It displays that the participant behaves within some degree of freedom and at the same time esteems the autonomy of the others, with no imposition (Ibid: 47).

Both involvement and independence face systems can better clarify Brown and Levinson's positive and negative politeness. As regards the ambiguity of positive and

negative terminologies, Scollon and Scollon's (2001) 'involvement' and 'independence' can replace Brown & Levinson's terms 'positive' and 'negative' respectively. It might be argued that the terms 'positive' and 'negative' as antonyms give an impression of having two contrasting ideas or phenomena which they are not. Thus, they might give the wrong impression to the reader from the very beginning. In addition, there is no correspondence between the terms and what they indicate. Scollon and Scollon's 'involvement' and 'independence' better reflect what both definitions indicate and keep the reader away from ambiguity and the wrong impression as Brown & Levinson's terms give. Therefore, Scollon and Scollon's face systems might be viewed as an alternative for investigating cross-cultural interaction.

2.2.8 Eelen's Politeness Approach (Politeness 1 and Politeness 2)

inspired by Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Eelen (2001) interprets politeness as social practice as it refers to what is happening between communicators in building social reality (2001: 246). Eelen's approach is identified by two characteristics: the first feature is habitus, which is acquired through experience of social exchanges. Eelen (2001) believes that each individual has a distinctive habitus in spite of sharing a common part with other persons' ones. He stresses the important role of habitus in his theory as it essentially helps to build social reality and, it is simultaneously, characterised by changeability and individual uniqueness.

Another characteristics of Eelen's (2001) outline is classifying politeness into politeness 1 and politeness 2. This categorisation came after Watt's et al.'s (1992) labeling of politeness into first-order and second order politeness. Eelen (2001) believes that politeness 1 and politeness 2 are matching etic and emic categories respectively. The emic-etic division was first invented by Pike (1967) who derived them from the ending suffixes of *Phonetics* and *phonemics* (Haugh, 2012).

Eelen (2001: 35) defines politeness 1 as "practice of politeness" as it deals with practice of politeness in our everyday communication. In Eelen's theory, politeness 1

comprises three sub-components: 1) expressive politeness 1, which is understood by using honorifics, particular terms of address and speech act formulae such as excuse me, sorry, thank you, etc. 2) Classificatory politeness 1 indicates the use of politeness as a categorising instrument to judge the hearer's actions as being polite or impolite; and 3) Metapragmatic politeness 1 deals with people's views and interpretations regarding politeness in interaction (Eelen 2001; Felix-Brasdefer 2008). According to Eelen (2001: 35 – 43), politeness 1 defined by five characteristics:

1. Evaluativity: politeness and impoliteness in interaction are evaluated by others according to the social norms in a certain culture.
2. Argumentativity: politeness1 happens in situations where there is the possibility for the communicators to lose or gain something.
3. Polite-ness: situations where everyone considers themselves and their social group as being polite and everyone else as impolite.
4. Normativity: politeness is motivated by social norms by which politeness can be labelled as 'appropriate'.
5. Modality and reflexivity: the addresser is open to multiple options of strategies to employ in politeness.

Politeness 2 is identified as a theoretical construct or the scientific conceptualisation of politeness1 (Watts, Idle & Ehlich 1992; Eelen 2001; Watts 2003, 2005). It elucidates the way politeness1 works and what it achieves for individuals (Felix-Brasdefer 2008). First-order politeness (Politenes1) is the concern of the empirical studies conducted in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics (Idle 1993; Eelen 2001).

2.2.9 Watt's Politic Behaviour and Relational work

As a critique to Brown and Levinson's politeness (1987), Watts made a clear distinction between types of politeness: first order politeness (politeness 1) and second order politeness (politeness 2). The former states the common sense or lay notion of politeness. The latter refers to the theoretical understandings of politeness (Watts 2003). Similarly, first order – second order distinction was also underlined by Elen (2001).

In his theory, Watts (2003) presents the difference between politic behaviour and polite behaviour. According to him, politic behaviour is “that behaviour, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction. The construction may have been made prior to entering the interaction, but is always negotiable during interaction, despite the expectations the participants might bring to it (Watts 2003: 20). However, polite behaviour is defined as a “behaviour beyond what is perceived to be appropriate to the ongoing social interaction” (Watts 2003: 21). Thus, non-salient behaviour is identified as politic behaviour and salient as polite or impolite depending on the positive or negative end of the behaviour on the politeness continuum (Watts 2003: 19). According to Watts, politeness is viewed in connection relation work. Relational work denotes the required exertion invested by the interactants in order to negotiate their relationships with others during interaction. Hence, considering other aspects of relational work in studying politeness is essential (Locher and Watts 2005).

In terms of face, Watts (2003) criticises Brown and Levinson (1987) for misinterpreting Goffman's notion of “face” and deviating it from his intention. According to Watts (2003), Goffman's face concept is “not something that the individual somehow builds for her/himself, which then needs to be supported and respected in the course of interaction, but is rather ‘public property’, something which is only realised in social interaction and is dependent on others (2003: 107).

Watts (2003) denies describing some acts as being innately polite, as it depends on the hearer's interpretation of what the speaker says. He adds that even

compliments may not be estimated and viewed by the hearer as supportive and constructive conduct. Therefore, politeness, for Watts, is a discursively vague term, and lends itself to debate among lay society members. He finds no clear borders for what constructs politeness or impoliteness. Hence, they are not necessarily antitheses (Locher and Watts 2005). However, behaviour is evaluated as polite or impolite based on the positive/negative end on the politeness continuum.

In line with Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) denies the idea of universality with regard to politeness. To him, politeness is a culture-specific issue, influenced and generated by the socio-cultural norms, and evaluated according to the politeness spectrum of a certain culture. Based on his argument, politeness is a combination of social and cognitive notions. This means that people develop their own cognitive concept through social interaction which in turn becomes deep-rooted in human cognitive procedures. His idea states that politeness is not something inborn, but learnable and that individuals learn it by perceiving the ways in which people interact in various societal situations (Watts 2003).

2.2.10 Haugh's Intercultural Politeness Theory

Unlike so many researchers who have focused on intracultural politeness (studying politeness phenomena in a single culture) and more extensively on cross-cultural politeness (contrastive study on politeness strategies or perceptions between cultures), Haugh (2010) distinctively sheds light on intercultural politeness where the interacting participants belong to different cultural backgrounds. The concern of this theory is about the intrinsic problems in integrating micro and macro perspectives in intercultural pragmatics. The micro perspective includes "interactions between individuals" (Trosborg 2010: 9), whereas macro perspective focuses on "norms and expectations about language use distributed across social groups and cultures" (Ibid). To Haugh, it is a critical concern for the intercultural pragmatics to develop by integrating the micro perspectives, macro perspectives and culture.

With regard to intercultural politeness, Haugh (2010) argues that no specific theory, with this regard, has been developed yet, explaining that the main politeness theories until now focus on elucidating the politeness strategies in intracultural communication, and then comparing them across cultures (Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983, 2007; Watts 2003).

Studies that investigate intercultural politeness are relatively few in number (less than 20 studies) compared to the thousands of publications on intracultural and cross-cultural politeness studies (Haugh 2010: 140). As regards the constitution of politeness in intercultural interaction, Haugh (2010: 142) believes that “(im)politeness is constituted in interaction in the form of evaluations (micro) and constitutive of interaction in the form of expectations (macro)” (Haugh, 2007, 2009).

Due to the cultural discrepancy of the interactants, (im)politeness in intercultural exchanges requires the ability to understand both the language and cultural backgrounds of each person (Janney and Arndt 1992 [2005]). Otherwise, conflicts and misunderstandings can occur. Research on intercultural impoliteness has revealed that communicators from other cultural backgrounds are perceived as impolite and rude, instances such as these illustrate failure to be polite. Such negative conceptions regarding interlocutors of other cultures can go beyond the feelings of offence, leading to disparity in politeness orientations that subsequently generate interactional and interpersonal asymmetry (Bailey 1997; Haugh 2010). With regard to cultural divergence, Haugh (2010: 143) identifies three types in which cultural discrepancy may result in insights of intercultural impoliteness: “divergent speech practices, divergent in situation-specific expectations, and diverging sociocultural values”. According to the distinctive features of the intercultural politeness theory, it might be argued that it is not a successful approach in a mono-cultural community where the participants belong to same language and culture. Therefore, it is not as practical as intracultural and cross-cultural politeness approaches which are more widely applicable. Hence, the intercultural politeness might be described as a multiculturalism-based theory.

2.3 Re-approaching Face in connection with relational work

Following Brown & Levinson's (1987) notion of face as an individual-based and universal-oriented concept, some authors like Locher & Watts (2005), Spencer-Oatey (2005), Arundale (2006) and Haugh (2009) reviewed the notion of face and politeness. This re-examination was implemented due to the discursive nature of face and politeness and in order to include various aspects of im/politeness in addition to face loss mitigation as the associated concern of politeness. Accordingly, politeness is redefined by Locher & Watts (2005:9) as part of interpersonal work, conducted by the interlocutors to create and to maintain relationships with other participants.

Consequently, the definition of politeness/ impoliteness should not be formulated on the basis of politeness 2 (i.e. scholars' evaluations and expectations), but according to the interlocutors' insights and decisions of the behaviours of their own and others. The reason for this is that cooperative and non-cooperative interaction determines the state of appropriate demeanor in communication. Accordingly, politeness should be reconsidered as part of relational work instead of 'facework' as contended by Locher & Watts (2005: 28). As mentioned earlier, Spencer-Oatey (2005:96) introduced rapport and rapport management as alternatives for face and politeness. Likewise, Arundale (2006:193) describes 'face' as distinct from individuality, and associates it with relational and interactional phenomenon as the interactional achievement of social self is accomplished in association with others . It might be argued that the notion of face is not available with an isolated individual and that face is operationalised in social interaction. With regard to social interaction, it is expected to explore different types of 'face' based of the social features of interlocutors and the type of the social relationships between self and other, due to the dynamic nature of face in interaction. Such concepts reject Brown and Levinson's categorisation of speech acts as being of static nature (i.e. innately polite or impolite).

A different conceptualisation of 'face' was presented which addressed the concern of identity. This approach might be distinguished from the general concept of identity (Haugh (2009)). The general distinction between face and identity rests on

exemplifying 'face' as an individual's instant claims about the people in communication, which contradict many of the personal identity stable characteristics (Heritage 2001: 48). This interpretation is in line with Goffman's claim (1955) that denies an individual's face to be wedged in his/her body. Oppositely, he describes face as something that is verbally situated in the flow of actions in interaction (Goffman 1955: 214). This distinction suggests that identity is conceptualised as embedded in communication that is less firm than was commonly expected (Hecht et al 2005; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini 2010). However, from emic perspective, face is often realised as continuing across communication and as something that is not confronted in certain situations. The debates about conceptualising 'face' motivated researchers to revisit Goffman's notion of face. According to Bargiela-Chiappini (2003), Goffman's notion of face is eventually embedded in societal factors because it was envisioned to scrutinise face in certain situations in a specific culture, namely, North America. In relating face to interaction, Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini (2009) emphasised that face is indisputably communicational/ situational because it is essentially assessed by others. In this sense, interaction alludes to situations that involve two or more communicators. Therefore, one might argue that interaction is determined by interlocutors and to what extent they understand each other in order to assess one another. From a more technical perspective, interaction can be realised as the mutual influence that the communicators have on each other, which results in emerging the non-summative outcomes. This means that the intended meaning of what is said by the speaker is not synonymous to what is understood by the recipient (Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini (2009); Arnudale (2006: 196).

To conceptualise face in relation to interaction, it could be argued that other interpretations are expected. This is because interaction is influenced by social factors such as gender, age and social status in different cultures. Consequently, other views regarding face are expected to explore in other cultures.

2.4 Culture: Individualism vs Collectivism

Different approaches have been adopted by the anthropologists, sociologists and sociolinguists in order to study culture. Due to its complexity, various definitions have been given to culture. Among the earliest definitions, was the one given by the British anthropologist Tyler (1870:1) who defined culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (cited by Avruch 1998: 6).

In 1952, the American anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn collected 164 definitions and concepts for culture. Similarly, Apte (1994 as cited by Spencer-Oatey 2008) stresses non- agreement among anthropologists about the nature of culture in spite of an age of efforts to find a proper definition for culture. According to Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952: 181), “culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the other hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action”.

According to Schwartz (1992) as quoted by Avruch (1998: 17), “culture consists of the derivatives of experience, more or less organised, learned or created by the individuals of a population, including those images or encodements and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves. Similarly, Matsumoto (1996: 16) views culture as “the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but deferent for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next”. However, Hofstede et al (2010: 6) describe culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another”.

Spencer-Oatey (2008: 3), on the other hand, defines culture as “a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour”.

Accordingly, culture includes some main concerns, such as viewing all human beings as cultural groups categorised in terms of gender, ethnicity, generation, nationality, profession and so on. Also, culture is displayed via basic conventions, principles and orientations to life. Linguistically, culture is associated with language use, which either deals with comparing the similarities and differences between the certain cultural/ linguistic groups or analysing the speech of intercultural interaction when interlocutors from different cultural groups converse with each other. This definition also indicates that not all cultural regularities are equally or similarly demonstrated in all cultural group members, that is why culture is described as a fuzzy notion (Spencer-Oatey 2008).

Spencer-Oatey (2012) identifies some key characteristics of culture, such as manifestation in different layers (i.e. basic norms, values and observable artifacts), affecting behaviour and its interpretations, as well as influencing biological processes and association with social groups, individual and social construct. Spencer-Oatey identifies culture as comprising fuzzy features, having universal (etic) and distinctive (emic) elements, learnability, gradual changeability, interrelatedness, and descriptive not evaluative notions.

As regards layers of cultures, Hofstede et al (2010: 18) state that every person is simultaneously affiliated to different categories of people since culture is composed of different levels:

1. National level: related to a person’s country or countries for those who migrated to other countries.

2. Levels of ethnicity, region, religion, linguistic affiliation that are combined in most of the countries.
3. Gender level: girl or boy.
4. Generation level: separating generations from each other (i.e. grandparents, parents and children).
5. Social class level: related to a person's educational background, profession and occupation.
6. Organisational level: is associated with employees whose socialisation is defined/dictated by their work. (Fukushima 2003: 105)

In relation to politeness, as stated earlier in this chapter, Brown and Levinson (1987) classify cultures into positive politeness and negative politeness cultures. This classification was the concern of many cross-cultural studies in politeness in different languages.

According to Fukushima (2003: 107), many cross-cultural communication studies in different languages have adopted the notions of individualistic and collectivistic cultures as two dimensions to frame their research. The terms have received several definitions by researchers. According to Hofstede et al (2010: 91) 'individualist' refers to "societies in which the interests of the individual prevail over the interests of the group". To clarify individualism and as an extreme opposite pole to collectivism, Hofstede et al (2010: 92) state:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.

According to Scollon and Scollon (1995) as reported by Fukushima (2003: 116-117), individualist cultures are characterised by diffused and loose limit conditions between ingroups and outgroups. On the contrary, they are more sharply and distinctively tight and controlled in collectivist cultures. Accordingly, the two different cultures are of two different communicative patterns. Therefore, not numerous dissimilarities are observed in the way individuals speak to other people in individualist cultures. However, the way of speaking in collectivist cultures are different according to the group membership of the addressees.

In spite of the above mentioned differences between individualist and collectivist cultures, it is not easy to make a clear distinction between the features of both cultural dimensions. This is due to the possible commonality of some elements, which make some trends coexist in both types of cultures (Triandis, 1994). Also, because of the possibility of certain sub-cultural groups in all countries, to behave differently, in some events as a minimum, from the generalisations (White, 1994: 60; Brislin 1994: 78; Fukushima 2003: 121).

However, there are some striking features of both individualist cultures and collectivist cultures, displayed by Fukushima (2003: 121-122). Collectivist cultures can be identified as having 'interdependence' which means that 'group' is the concern of people. With regard to this, "Kurdish culture is a communal [i.e. collectivist] culture, in which the interest of a community is more important than that of an individual" (Saarinen 2013: 3). Therefore, collectivistic cultures are characterised as being more clear-cut than individualist cultures in differentiating between in-group and out-group. Hence, interpersonal truth is esteemed due to the significance of good relationships in collectivist cultures. People highly consider the context in collectivist cultures as they try to keep good relational reality by considering, and trying to act according to, the contextual factors of age, social status, gender, etc. People in collectivist cultures can communicate meaning implicitly as they have more shared knowledge than people in individualist cultures.

On the other hand, in individualist cultures, individuals are of significant concerns. Such cultures can be defined as having 'independence', which indicates respect to privacy and independence of individuals. Unlike collectivist cultures, people in individualist cultures communicate explicitly due to the insufficient shared knowledge of the individuals, compared to those in collectivist cultures. It might be argued that individualism and collectivism are associated with modernism and tradition respectively. With regard to this, "Kurdish society is still basically tribal The cohesion of the Kurdish tribe, in turn, is based on a mixture of blood ties and territorial allegiances associated with strong religious loyalties" (Meho and Maglaughlin 2001: 4-5). Therefore, the general social bonds in Kurdish culture are based on the combination of national and religious adherences.

Based on individualism and collectivism taxonomy, human society might be classified, generally not specifically, into: group-oriented culture and individual-oriented culture. Moreover, to argue that politeness is used differently in different cultures as a culture-specific phenomenon is not against the universality of politeness theory as Brown and Levinson (1987: 288) explained the universal principles of the interactional systems and how the application of the principles differs systematically (methodically) across and within cultures, subcultures, and groups (Brown & Levinson as cited by Leech 2005:3). Brown and Levinson (1987: 13) assert that the notion of face might differ culturally due to some cultural specifications such as the priority of some face-threatening acts, which group of persons have more rights than others in face-saving (face-protection) and what kind of styles are more preferred than others. These culturally different notions of 'face' are linked to the basic social values and ideas and sometimes religious thoughts as in the points made in Japanese religion. Therefore, different manifestations of one concept (face) does not contradict the concept of universality as the idea of having the desire to be approved and to be unimpeded in interaction is kept within these various manifestations. However, the claim of absolute universality is untenable as pointed out by Leech (2005: 4).

Concerning the division of culture into group-oriented culture and individual-oriented culture based on the social values and religious concepts as in Chinese

culture (based on Confucianism), other dichotomies and classifications might appear in other cultures based on certain religions and beliefs. Such claims do not necessarily support the notion of high culture and low culture which lack objectivity as one of the properties of Linguistics. Thomas (1995: 150) points out that labelling certain groups as more polite than others as they authentically behave better than other groups do is pragmatically fruitless because there is no access to speaker's motivation for speaking in a certain situation. These things are strongly related to the culturally-distinctive features of the speaking groups. For example, Chinese people pay more attention to the needs of groups than those of individuals. Based on these culturally-distinctive features only, they cannot be described as more selfless than members of other societies.

To link politeness to the structure of language, as in the case of Japanese and Korean, suggests that one language is more polite than another. Therefore, the concept of polite language and non-polite language might be raised. Moreover, in relating politeness to the structure of language or language itself we can shed light on Arabic language which is commonly thought of as more polite than other languages because it is the language of the Quran and Islamic religion.

To allege that a certain language is more polite than others due to the language itself or the structure of language has nothing to do with language use. Pragmatics is concerned with language use, that is, how it is used by an interactant in different situations. The idea of polite language cancels the role of speakers and the situations altogether. It is still polite even if used by a robot!

Classifying cultures into individualism and collectivism and claiming that the latter is more polite than the former, as claimed by some Chinese and Japanese researchers, has been well refuted by a comparative study carried out by Guan, Park and Lee (2009: 41), who investigated cross-cultural differences in apology. They found that American participants (from an "individualistic" culture) were more apologetic than Chinese and Korean participants (from collectivist cultures). This finding which runs counter to the claims that have been raised, reflects the allegation

of superiority of a collectivist culture to an individualist one. Due to the clashing results of this study with those conducted by the Japanese and Chinese, it might be argued that politeness, specifically apology, is used differently by individualist and collectivist cultures due to the different social norms in both cultures that determine the size of offence and the obligation to apologise. Accordingly, one culture might be more apologetic in certain situations than other cultures. Hence, one might argue that it is invalid to describe one culture as more polite than others depending on a handful of comparative situations.

2.5 Speech Act Theory

2.5.1 Austen's Speech Act theory

Speech act means using language to do things, such as using words to perform the acts of promise, order, request, invitations, etc. Speech act theory was first presented by Austin (1962) in his book "How to Do Things with Words". He describes these utterances as performatives. With regard to the performative utterances, Austen stress that it is not a true/ false issue. However, he is concerned with the scope of the work of performative utterance. That is, whether they are successful or not in terms of creating successful acts of requests, apologies, warnings, promises, etc. Austen used the term '*felicitous*' for the successful utterances and '*infelicitous*' for the unsuccessful ones. For the performative utterances to be successful (i.e. to work), they need to meet certain conditions (i.e. social conventions). These conditions are referred to '*felicity conditions*', which are different for each speech act.

Austen (1962: 100-101) distinguished three types of acts performed by utterances: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts refer to the meaningfulness of the produced utterances and the ability of the listeners to understand the utterance. Illocutionary acts (also known as illocutionary force) are defined as the utterances that are used in order to accomplish a function such as 'shut the door' which is understood by the hearer as an order. Perlocutionary acts are the effects and results of the utterances produced. For example, 'shutting the

door' is the perlocutionary act of the illocutionary act 'shut the door'. The psychological effects on the audience such as comforting, angering persuading, etc. are also perlocutionary acts.

Based on illocutionary force, Austen (1962: 150-163) classified speech acts into five basic categories:

1. Verdictives: speech acts by which a verdict is issued by an arbitrator, umpire or a jury. Examples related to this category comprise verbs such as: "acquit, hold, calculate, describe, analyse, estimate, date, rank, assess, and characterise" (Austen 1962: 152; Searle 1999: 6).
2. Exercitives: associated with the exercising of powers, influence or rights. Examples of this category comprise voting, ordering, advising, appointing, urging, warning, etc. (Austen 1962: 51).
3. Commissives: the acts of this category are exemplified by promising or undertaking. It commits the addresser to perform a certain strategy. Examples from this group include: promise, contract, guarantee, embrace, covenant, pledge, and swear.
4. Behabitives: related to attitudes and social behaviour. That is, they include reactions to other people's conduct, fortunes and expressions. Examples of this class include: congratulating, apologising, challenging, cursing, condoling, and commending.
5. Expositives: these acts clarify how a speaker's utterances fit into the course of an exchange or argument. Examples of this category include: emphasise, affirm, deny, report, answer, illustrate, answer, concede, object to, accept, accept, object to, concede, describe, call, class, and identify. (Austen 1962: 150 - 163; Searle 1999: 8-9).

With regard to the above-mentioned classifications, Austen (1962) is not equally satisfied with all of them. Searle (1999) criticises the lists of the verbs introduced in Austen's taxonomy not as lists of speech acts, but as lists of English speech verbs. The reason is that, not all listed verbs are illocutionary verbs, for

example, 'sympathise, intend' and 'mean to', are not clearly performative verbs. Another critique is that the taxonomy was not constructed on the basis of any clear principle. The absence of clear principles of taxonomy and the unclear distinction between illocutionary acts and illocutionary verbs have resulted in a great deal of overlapping between the categories. A clear example of overlapping can be noticed in listing the verb 'describe' as a verdictive and an expositive speech act at the same time. Furthermore, not all the verbs listed under the different categories satisfy the definitions given to the categories even when taking the definitions in a loose or reminiscent manner (Searle 1999: 9-11).

2.5.2 Searles' Speech Act Theory

As a result of the difficulties with Austen's classification of illocutionary acts, Searle (1979, 1999) proposed five alternative categories for speech acts, as follows:

1. Commissive speech acts refer to utterances that commit the speakers to perform something in the future, as in the case of a promise which requires the speaker to accomplish what s/he promised.
2. Declarative speech acts refer to utterances that change the state of relationships, as in performing the act of marriage during the wedding ritual which is accomplished by the utterance 'now I pronounce you as husband and wife'.
3. Directive speech acts: refer to the acts that make the hearer do something, such as, requests ('open the door, please'), commands ('go out'), suggestions ('why don't you switch on the tv'), etc.
4. Expressive speech acts comprise the utterances produced in order to express the speaker's attitudes and feelings about something, such as expressing apologies, thanking, congratulating, or expressing attitude about food (the food was tasty).

5. Representative speech acts: refer to the descriptive utterances for states, or events in the world. This class is characteristically associated with truth conditions, for example, concluding, asserting, etc.

To develop Austin's felicity conditions, Searle (1969: 54-71) laid down four conditions to make his taxonomy of speech acts successful. The four conditions included: preparatory condition, propositional content, sincerity, and essential conditions.

2.5.2.1 The speech Act of Apologising

Apologies are viewed differently in the light of the various categorisations delineated by linguists. For instance, apologies are classified as behabitive speech acts according to Austin's speech act theory, and as expressive speech acts according to Searle's taxonomy of speech acts. However, they are classified as convivial speech acts according to Leech's terminology. Goffman (1971) defined apology as a remedial act that functions to restore the social harmony and concord among the communicators. According to Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 20) this action is performed by any verbal redressing act when an actual or probable offence has occurred due to the violation of the social norms of a certain culture. Apology is not restricted to verbal acts, but relates to any action that helps in saving the hearer's face. This face-saving act might include verbal acts such as 'I am sorry' in addition to the other verbal or non-verbal acts such as kinesics, facial expressions and proxemics and combinations of both verbal and non-verbal acts. Figure 1 illustrates some kinesic forms used in apology. Al-Sobh (2013) defines apology as a means of removing the misunderstandings between the interlocutors. According to Holmes (1995) apology is a polite speech act that follows an offence to reestablish social relations among the communicators. Leech (1983) points out that apology is the expression of regret, performed by the speaker (offender) to the hearer when s/he commits an offence.

Based on these definitions, apology as a speech act is always associated with offence. It might be argued that offence is the most common event that requires an

apology, but still in some situations, a speaker resorts to apology without having made an offence. For example, “X” promises to buy something for “Y” in one week. After one week, “X” apologises to “Y” for not buying him/her the thing s/he promised because it was no longer available in the store. In such a situation, no offence is recognised, but it is only non-achievement of a promise. Furthermore, the above definitions relate apology only to speech by describing apology as a speech act, ignoring any role of non-speech act in the process of apologising.

2.5.2.2 Felicity Conditions of Apologising

As mentioned earlier, Austen (1962) stated different felicity conditions for each speech act. Regarding felicity conditions for the act of apologising, they were not explicitly covered in the rules formulated by Searle (1969). However, the application of the felicity conditions to the act apologising was constructed by Owen (1983: 117-122), who added the ‘sincerity condition’ to the set of rules, as follows:

Preparatory Condition

- Rule (1) The act A specified in the propositional content is an offence against the addressee H.
- Rule (2) H would have preferred S’s not doing A to S’s doing A and S believes H would have preferred S’s not doing A to his doing A.
- Rule (3) A does not benefit H and S believes A does not benefit H.

Sincerity condition: S regrets (is sorry for) having done A.

Essential condition: Counts as an expression of regret by S for having done A.

(See also Trosborg 1995: 375; Ancarno 2011: 38).

With regard to the preparatory condition, Owen (1983) finds it necessary as this rule indicates that a person does not apologise for an action that is not interpreted as an offence. As for the sincerity rule added by Owen (1983), Cunningham (1999) believes

that it is at the heart of public apology as the apology is a successful one when accepted and performed sincerely. It might be argued that Owen's (1983) rules did not explicitly include the propositional rule. In other words, this taxonomy did not differentiate between propositional and preparatory conditions. Therefore, it might fit the apology speech act of English, but not that of Kurdish. In considering cultural differences, the felicity conditions for the act of apologising in Kurdish are suggested as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| Propositional act: | S expresses (communicates) regret for some present or past action. |
| Preparatory condition: | S believes A was not in H's best interest, or that A caused H some distress. |
| Sincerity condition: | S regrets A. |
| Essential condition: | Counts as an apology from S to H for A. |

The reason behind formulating the above felicity conditions is that apologies are expressed (verbally and/or non-verbally) for present and past event. That is why, as a propositional act, Kurds communicate regret for an offence.

In relating apology speech act to society, Norrick (1978: 280) specified the social functions of apologising as follows:

- Admitting responsibility for a state which affected someone in an adverse way (thereby implicating contrition).
- Asking to be forgiven.
- Showing good manners
- Assuaging the addressee's wrath.
- Getting off the hook.

Following Owen's (1983) rules for the act of apologising, speech act of apology was used in cross-cultural studies by Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and

Olshtain (1984). They studied apology speech act on the basis of major strategies that were found as responses to certain situations of apology-requiring offences. By doing so, they established a basis for cross-cultural studies that motivated other researchers to carry out more empirical studies in other cultures, which resulted in exploring other apology strategies in other languages.

2.6 The position of Apology in politeness

Needless to say, apology as a politeness phenomenon has a significant role in our everyday communication. It is a very widespread phenomenon in natural languages. Although Brown & Levinson (1987) only touched upon this topic, it has generated a great deal of interest from many other researchers. These cross-cultural or intracultural investigations were not restricted to particular languages, but to many different languages.

Like other politeness phenomena, apology is expressed by many strategies according to many factors such as the size of the offence, the situation, the social status of S and H, social distance, power, gender, age, etc. Brown & Levinson (1987) state that people usually apologise when they do an FTA. By doing so, they reveal unwillingness to impinge on the hearer's negative face by redressing that impingement. People commonly use many expressions that have the same effects, sometimes accompanied by a respectful performance of hesitation and bumbling. They distinguish at least four ways of communicating apology when expressing a reluctance to do an FTA which include: admitting the impingement, indicating reluctance, giving overwhelming reasons, and begging forgiveness. How Kurds use these ways in their apology strategies will be discussed in further details in the empirical chapters.

After an offender assesses the size of the offence, they decide to select which strategies suit the size of that offense or may yield the most success. An apology might be expressed explicitly (directly) in some situations, and implicitly (indirectly) in

other situations. In some situations when the size of an offence is very large, multiple strategies are usually required, whereas in other situations, one strategy such as the IFID 'sorry' or any other equivalent strategy might be sufficient. The two characteristically distinguished formulaic expressions 'I am sorry' and 'I apologise' are identified as illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) which are commonly used to manifest a polite speech act towards the hearer.

As regards the apology strategies used in conversation, Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) distinguished six strategies: 1) IFIDs; 2) taking responsibility; 3) account/explanation; 4) offer of repair; 5) the promise of forbearance and 6) concern for the hearer. These strategies will be explained in more detail later in this chapter, and how they are used by Kurds will be elaborated in the empirical chapters of the work.

Speakers can use these strategies as elastic and flexible expressions, especially in sincere apologies. These strategies are usually accompanied by intensifiers such as "very", "really", and "extremely". These intensifiers serve to help in modifying apologetic strategies.

Since apology is a culture-specific phenomenon, it is of significance for speakers of another language to be familiar with the target language and culture. Besides language competence, it is pragmatic and communicative competence that gives the second language learner (L2) effective language in communication. This problem is well-reflected in the behaviour of some South Korean students studying in Australia. They apologise by smiling when they step on somebody's toe on a bus, or when they are late to class (Kim 2008), which is quite puzzling in other cultures such as in Australia and in the UK. This example clearly reveals how cultures determine the manifestations of apology strategies. It is of significance to acquire pragmatics of apologising when moving to the target culture, that is, to be acquainted with "who says what to whom, when and why" (Meir 1998: 216). Another example of cultural differences might be observed in comparing English and Chinese cultures regarding sneezing and coughing which are apology requiring behaviours by the English.

However, Chinese do not apologise for sneezing or coughing because they think that they do not have a negative impact on the hearers. Therefore, they speak with more delight when they sneeze (Hua Xiang 2007).

Other cultural differences might be found in Greece, where offensive acts do not require apologies because they (i.e. Greeks) do not think, for instance, that their telephone call will bother anyone as long as they are within the culturally acceptable time allowed for telephone calls. Therefore, they do not need to apologise for the interruption (Sifianou & Antonounou, 2005). Based on cultural differences in obligation, Symeon (2000), Sifianou & Antonounou (2005) reported that found that apology expression in Greek is more infrequent than in English (see also Hirschon, 2001) and that Greek people prefer the strategies that are positive face-oriented. Therefore, the Greek apology is viewed as the politeness of involvement. In contradistinction to British culture, more value is placed on positive (involvement) politeness strategies in the cultures of Greece and Arabic Morocco (Watts 2003). See also Sifianou (1992); Bentahila and Davies (1989).

Regarding apology as one of our everyday speech acts, it is necessary to learn how to apologise appropriately within a speech community as non-native speakers (NNSs) usually face the problem of miscommunication whilst interacting with native speakers (NSs) of the target culture. This happens due to the lack of cultural competence. In many cases NNSs feel embarrassed by their miscommunication, therefore they resort to offering apologies to normalise the situation and save face in embarrassing and difficult situations (Linnell 1992).

Apology as a speech act is not just an everyday expression. The significance of apology goes beyond that, as it has the function of conflict resolution, mitigation, social remedy and equilibrium. The users of these strategies work as social reformers and peace educators. For these reasons it is socio-culturally significant to cover apology strategies in different socio-cultural studies. This significance has been a motivation to investigate this speech act in Kurdish conversation.

In an empirical study, investigating native speakers of English and Russian learning Hebrew, Olshtain (1983) found that English native speakers were considerably less apologetic in Hebrew than in English, whereas Russians were more apologetic in Hebrew than in Russian. This change in the extent of preferring apology is important in the target culture. It is like: 'when in Rome do as the Romans do'.

Adopting the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) project by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), Afghari (2007:181) found that Persian apologetic expressions were as formulaic as English. They used either direct apology "مازرت مخام" [mazəret mi:ɣam], meaning 'I apologise' or indirect apology including strategies such as accepting responsibility, offer of repair and promise of forbearance. Among the Persian IFIDs that reflect the direct apology, both males and females used the formulaic expression "بیخشید" [bibəxʃi:d] as a more frequent strategy to mean 'excuse me'. It has been found that "شرمندم" [ʃərməndəm] 'I'm embarrassed' in Persian can function also as a direct formulaic apologetic strategy rather than an indirect strategy. The strategy of feeling embarrassed is well reflected in Kurdish conversation to show sincere apology. It is more commonly used by ordinary people, more particularly by females when apologising to people of higher social status. Sometimes it might be used by some educated people to show a high level of modesty.

Regarding gender and age as two culturally determining factors in apology, Lakoff (1975) states that females are more polite than males of the same age. This idea was also found by Holmes (1995) that women use more apologies than men. In combining both cultural and gender differences in investigating how Australians and Taiwanese Chinese perceive intercultural apology, Chang (2008) found a slight difference between both sexes in both cultures as far as gender differences are concerned. Regarding cultural differences, it has been found that cultural factors are more significant than gender in the perception of apology.

It is noticeably significant to state that gender is not isolated from culture, but an integral part of it. To study gender in relation to power would possibly bring into existence new findings. Power is more influential than gender in certain cultures as

believed by Thomas. Accordingly, different conclusions would be arrived at when women in power are investigated. The reason is that the obligation to apologise is strongly related to social power as will be discussed later.

To analyse apology under the light of negative and positive politeness, apology can be classified as a manifestation of negative politeness as it mostly expresses deference rather than friendliness (Holmes 1995). Actually committing an offence might be considered an impolite action as it causes loss of face. The situation of causing offence requires an apology in order to minimise the impoliteness, normalise the situation, and to restore the social equilibrium. This coincides with how Leech (1983) describes negative politeness as minimising the impoliteness of impolite illocutions.

Although impoliteness was regarded as pragmatic failure, different views were held by recent researchers as it received various categorisations such as purposeful offensive by Tracy and Tracy (1998: 227); “systematic” by Lackoff (1989: 123); and a deliberately gratuitous act by Bousfield (2008b); Limberg (2009). Hence, impoliteness/offence might be viewed as a strategy intended to assault face, which in turn provokes the employment of a remedy strategy (i.e. apology). However, Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003: 1546) defined impoliteness as “communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony”. For the impoliteness to be considered a successful act, the speakers’s intention must be realised by the hearer (Bousfield 2008).

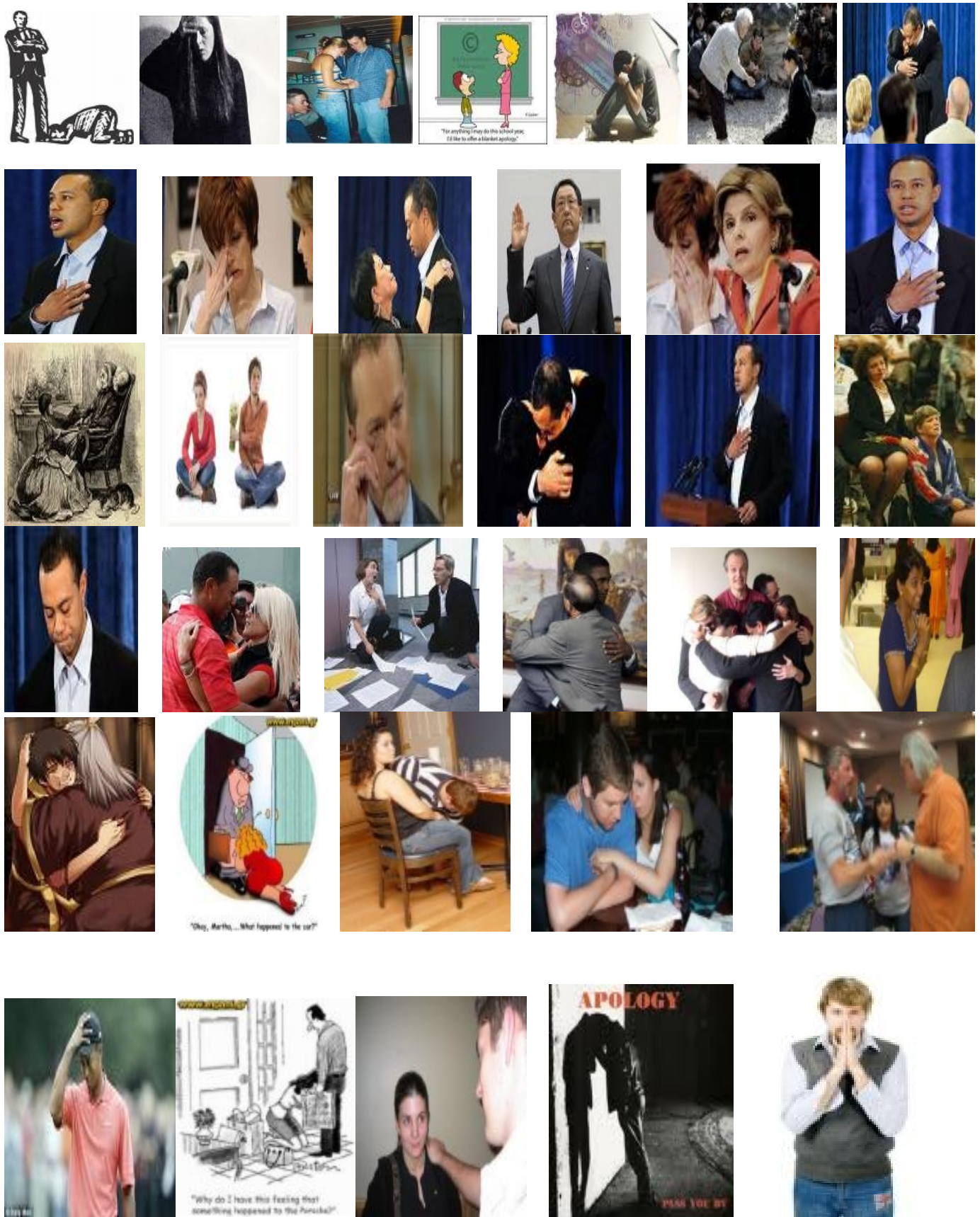


Figure 1: Various Kinesic forms of apology

2.6.1 Apology and Offence

Both offence and apology are strongly associated with each other. They become virtual antonyms. The necessity of apology is based on the existence of offence. This indicates that no apology is observed in the absence of offence. Thus, apology is a serious requirement for an offence in order to make remedy and restore social equilibrium (Holmes 1995).



Based on the severity of the offence and the situation, the obligation to apologise varies from the lowest level of obligation to the highest level of obligation (Volmer and Olshtain, 1989). Apologising depends on the type and severity of an offence which is assigned differently in different cultures. Al-Zumor (2011) found that Arabic and English native speakers have different criteria when allocating the degree of severity of an offence in the same situation due to the cultural differences of both groups.

Some types of offence require immediate apology, such as our everyday “sorry” when obstructing somebody’s way in a public place and so on. This usually occurs when the size of the offence is not big and easily remediable. Other types of offences require an interlude, that is, an apology should be given after a period of time until the offence has cooled. The offender can give their sincere apology after a period of time. In addition, in some other situations, an offender might make an immediate apology followed by a confirmative apology after a period of time.

There is a strong relationship between the sort and size of the offence and the place where the apology is made. This also differs from one culture to another. Kurds pay special attention to place especially in serious cases as will be explained in further details in the chapter on the field work.

According to Scher and Darley (1997: 127) an offence is restricted to the violation of a social norm. This idea suggests what is considered an offence in a specific culture, might not be the same or as equally severe as in another culture.

With regard to the relationship between the size of the offence and the apology strategies, Meir (1998: 219) found that less routine formulae were used in the severe offence, but more routine formulae were used with less severe and medium offences.

Concerning the scope of the offence, that is, to what extent the offence damages the other's face, some offences might affect only one person, whereas other offences may go beyond to offend a group, a family, a tribe, followers of a certain faith and religion or a certain nation, etc. It might be argued that the deeper the damage is the more difficult the remedy would be. It is also noticeable that some offences especially those associated with reputation might bring stigma to both parties. For example, in the case of sexual aggression or stealing which are highly unwanted offences, apologies might renew the damage of somebody's hurting feelings. When the apology is made whether by the offender himself or by other people (mostly members of the family), the critical situation would be extremely embarrassing for both groups. To apologise by saying 'we are sorry for ...' or 'we are sorry for what happened' would confuse the concept of damaging and saving both groups' face. What is apologised for and mentioned after the preposition 'for' makes the apology another sort of offence. Consequently apology works as a face-threatening act for both groups and their families. Still it is preferable to apologise than not to (Obeng, 1999). This kind of apology is a combination of face-saving act and face-threatening act. It is characteristically different from other forms of apology that usually function as face-saving acts.

Concerning the size of an offence and the required apology strategies, offences might be solved by a single or by multiple strategies, some others may require reparation in addition to the apology strategies. Based on this classification some offences are easy to apologise for and others are not as easy, especially when associated with reparation. Based on the degree of the offence, it has been found by Sache (1998: 30) that people of lower social status usually look at the severity of the offence more seriously than others.

Depending on the nature of the offence, it may or may not be appropriate to mention the offence. In some cultures, Kurdish for example, the offenders prefer not to mention the offence at the time of apology. They usually use a vague term or euphemism for the offence, such as, the 'act', 'the act of God' or 'the matter'. Kurds believe that mentioning the offence may renew the suffering of the offended persons as will be explained later in more detail.

Based on human intention, two types of offence might be distinguished: intentional offence and unintentional offence. An offender may accidentally cause offence and it might be solved by an IFID, especially if the consequential damage is not big. The size of the offence is sometimes different from the size of the damage. The former is mostly judged by the offender as s/he knows whether s/he has done it intentionally or unintentionally. The latter is judged by the offended person who can assess the size of the suffering and hurt (psychological or physical). In addition to culture, the type of the social relationship between the offender and the offended person would affect the degree of obligation to apologise in different situations (Guan, Park and Lee, 2009); (Hatfield and Hahn 2011).

It is generally the hearer (offended) who receives damage from the speaker (offender), however, the speaker should appropriately assess the size of the offence. This assessment is determined by the pragmatic and communicative competence in a specific culture. Based on the offender's competence and awareness of the social norms, the offender should try to find a proper apologetic strategy.

As a reaction to an offence, it might be argued that the obligation to apologise depends on how an individual looks at the severity of the offence and the requirement for obligatory apology. Sometimes it is just a feeling of guilt, the offender needs to apologise for their own peace of mind. This idea is well reflected in Islamic thought which holds that a good believer looks at his sins (offences) as a collapsing mountain, about to fall on him/her, whereas others look at their sins (offences) carelessly as a fly in the distance. This feeling, which is relatively different from one person to another, is behind how to assess the offence. This human feeling is strongly related to taking responsibility and the obligation to apologise.

It is a matter of discussion to consider apology as one type of offence. This can be recognised in some situations when the offender does not apologise properly, or apologises in a way that psychologically increases the offended person's hurt. So an offence is any act that hurts the hearer(s), whether intentionally or unintentionally. The previously mentioned associations with offence and remedy might be illustrated in figure 2.

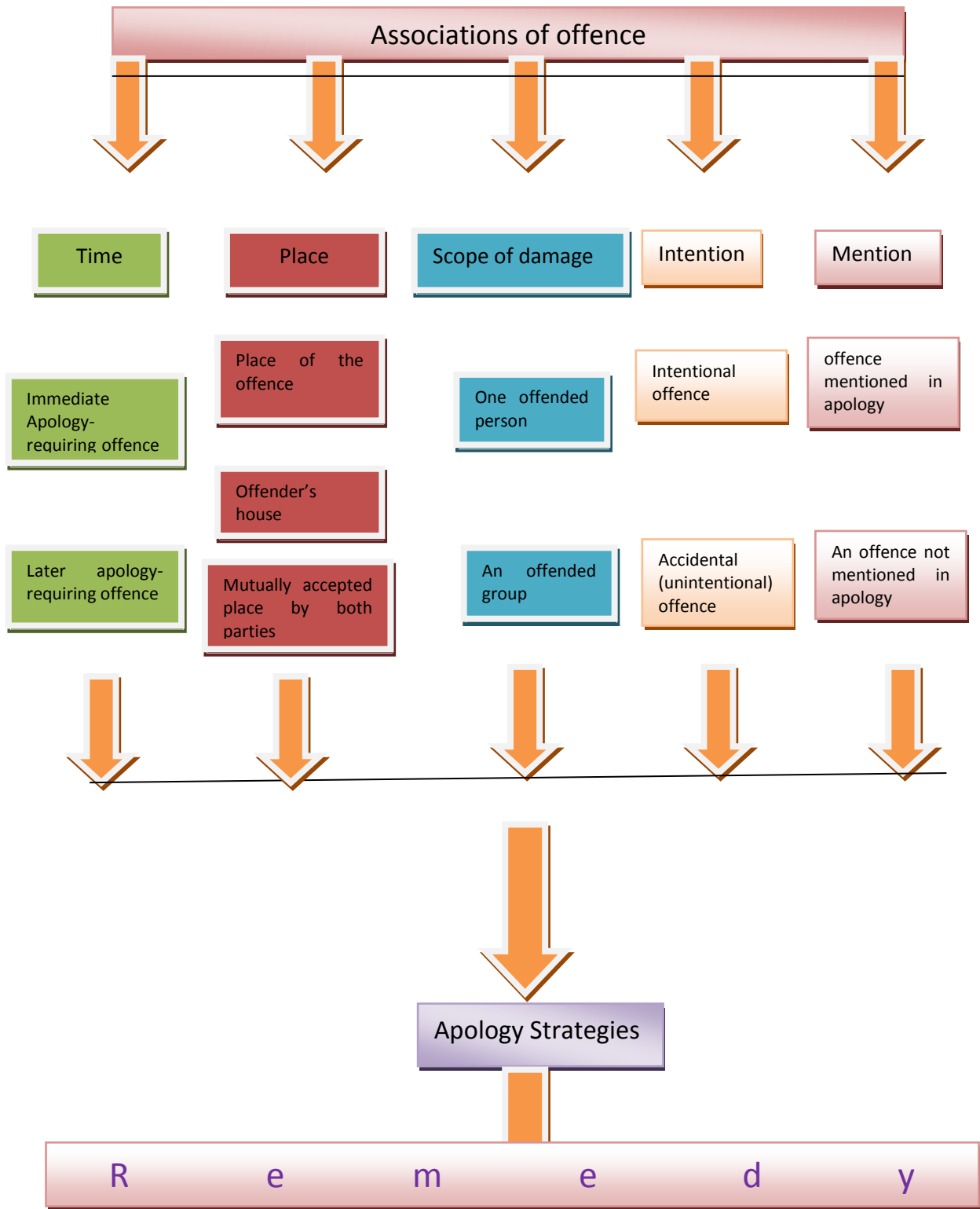


Figure 2: Factors associated with offence and remedy

2.6.2 Apology and Remedy

Generally speaking, the remedy is the main motivation for apology, without which apology is not successful. One of its results is restoring the social equilibrium between the offender and offended persons. It usually appears as a result of sincere apology. The term 'remedy', as a definition of apology, was first used by Goffman (1971). It indicates "a means of counteracting or eliminating something undesirable" (Oxford Concise Dictionary) or redress, that is an "act of correcting an error or a fault or an evil" (WordWeb 5.52, 2008). Apology is a means used for eliminating the undesirable action or offence committed by the offender (speaker) for the purpose of saving the face of the offended person (hearer). According to Leech (1983) the function of apology is either to re-establish the social equilibrium or to lessen disequilibrium between the interlocutors.

Since remedy is mostly (not always) the expected result for sincere apology, it might be stated that apology is a powerful speech act that has the ability to heal the interactants after committing an offence. It can restore the social relationship between the offender and offended persons, calm (relieve) the wounds, heal and soothe damaged pride and dignity of the offended person. In addition, in some situations, it is capable of even rehabilitating one's personality, resolving conflicts, and re-establishing social concord and harmony (Engel, 2001: 12-13).

Remedy as a goal of a successful apology cannot be attained easily without revealing regret and responsibility. For Holmes (1995: 155), the apologisee takes responsibility for the offence s/he made for the purpose of remedy and re-establishing the social relationship between the communicators.

It is worth mentioning that remedy is not determined by apology alone, but also by the acceptance of the apology. Therefore, the role of making remedy is differently distributed between the offender and the offended person. The offender's role is to take responsibility and to initiate conflict resolution by expressing apology, but the decision to forgive and make the apology successful belongs to the offended

person (Takaku, Weiner, Ohunchi, 2001: 145). For the apologiser, it is a case of “you can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make it drink”.

In relating remedy to culture, it would be more difficult and complicated if the two parties belong to two different cultures such as Japanese (an example of collective culture) and North America (an example of individualistic culture). Since the apology strategies are cross-culturally different, it is to be expected that the motivations for forgiving the offender are also different (Ibid: 146). The reason is that the social criteria for realising and assessing offence are culturally different. In addition to other types of knowledge (i.e. linguistic knowledge, speech act knowledge, discourse knowledge, context knowledge, and knowledge of the world) as pointed out by Faerch and Kasper (1984), socio-cultural knowledge is also communicatively required in making amends in apology. Apologising requires socio-cultural knowledge of that culture to realise and to distinguish serious offences from simple ones. One might argue that these types of knowledge are required prior to apologising.

Remedy might be described as the healing power of apology which cannot be attained without responsibility and regret. These three R's: remedy, responsibility and regret are required in order to produce meaningful apology (Engel, 2001: 66). It might be suggested that the number of Rs increases proportionally with the severity of an offence as the three Rs (Reparation, Reconciliation, and Recompense) are required in some serious situations. These situations are calmed down by the six Rs (remedy, regret, responsibility, reparation, reconciliation, and recompense) (see figure 3). In Kurdish and Arabic cultures, these six Rs are required in making apology, especially when there is a victim in an offence. The 6th R (i.e. recompense) is used in a very specific context here, to indicate the amount of money, prescribed by Islamic religion, paid by the offender's family and/or relatives, to the offended party as blood-money for the victim (the Quran: 4: 92) . For example, in the case of having a victim in a car accident, the offender's family, accompanied by some notables, would be obliged to go to the damaged family (offended family) and adopt the six Rs. This will be explained in further details in the empirical part of the study.



Figure 3: Successful Apology and the six R's.

In relating remedy to correcting errors and restoring the situations, it might be argued that restoring the situation (i.e. returning it to how it was) is not possible with all types of offence. The recipient of the offence will not necessarily be the apology recipient in all situations. For instance, in the case of having victims in serious accidents the offended person (the victim) will not be the recipient of the apology. In a situation like this, when the real offended person (victim) is dead in an accident, his/her family will be the apology recipients. Remedy here does not require restoring the situation to the time prior to the offence committed. Therefore, in this situation remedy is healing the broken heart of the family of the real offended person. In a situation like this, when the real offended person is absent, all the Rs are urgently required to make remedy.

With regard to the success of apology in making remedy, Smith (2008: 81) states that apologies, like promises, cannot be judged during the time at which they were performed, it depends on the future behaviour of the interlocutors. At the time of apology we cannot judge whether the apology is successful and whether or not remedy is achieved. With the passage of time, the relationship between both apologiser and apology recipient will determine the success of the apology made. Remedy can be observed later, reflected by words and by the behavior of both groups.

Another earlier sign indicating the success of apology can be observed from the response of the offended person at the time of apologising such as 'I forgive you' or 'you are forgiven'. Kurds sometimes kiss and/or hug each other as a sign of accepting the apology. In some situations, the offended persons say 'there is nothing in my heart' implying that s/he has forgotten the matter completely and that the apology has been accepted. However, remedy will still be observed in the future.

It might be argued that repeating some apologetic expressions indicates insistence which in turn reveals some kind of sincerity. Kurds, for example ordinary people, insist on apologising using a special technique (i.e. forgiveness + begging) "تخوا" [tɣwa ʔəfu:mkə], meaning 'for God's sake forgive me'. This type of strategy

shows a high degree of sincerity and a powerful meaning of apology which expects forgiveness, remedy and social harmony from the offended party.

2.6.3 Apology and Sincerity

As has been mentioned before, the goal behind apology is to make remedy and to restore the social equilibrium. This goal cannot be achieved without belief in the speaker's sincerity. Accordingly, accepted and effective apology is conditioned by sincerity. Therefore, successful apology may be identified as a sincerity-based speech act.

Nuredeen (2008: 282) in her study on apology strategies in Sudanese Arabic, distinguishes two types of apology: ritual and substantive apologies. The former is more related to ritualistic apologies which are usually used as part of everyday routine. In substantive apologies, the offender aims to remedy the committed offence. Substantive apologies comprise more sincerity than ritualistic apologies which might be used as a routine or habit.

Sincerity depends on the degree of offence as the apologiser should exhibit more sincerity with the more severe offence and vice versa. It usually depends on the number of strategies used by the apologiser, more particularly, it depends on acknowledging personal responsibility.

In spite of the multiple strategies required for sincere apology, some paralinguistic features whether verbal or non-verbal are also required to perform sincere apologies. In Arabic nations, for example, speaking loudly is an indication of sincerity by Arab males, but this would be considered aggressive by Westerners (Rogers & Steifatt, 1999: 184). In addition to this cultural difference in expressing sincerity, some other cultural factors such as gender, social status, power, and educational background determine the expression of sincerity. For example, a Saudi Arabian lowers his/her voice when talking to a person of a higher social status to show respect to him/her. Eye contact in the USA is considered another paralinguistic feature to indicate sincerity when talking to another person. In Japanese culture, the

Adam's apple is focused on, especially when talking to a person of a higher social status (Rogers & Steifatt, 1999: 187). Violation of these norms in face-to-face conversation indicates insincerity. Therefore, what is sincere in one culture might be considered insincere in another culture. It might be argued that the idea of sincerity is culturally different. For instance, persisting in offering invitations harms the hearer's face in English culture, whereas, it is polite and a sign of sincerity in Chinese (Gu, 1990: 242) as cited by (Ohashi, 2008: 2154). In Arabic and Kurdish cultures also, insistence is basically a good evidence of sincerity in approximately all speech acts.

The word 'sincerity' is strongly related to honesty as both terms require 'proving what you say'. In relating apology to sincerity, it is easy to apologise, but to prove that your apology is sincere is determined by future actions and behaviour as "actions speak louder than words". Based on this, the strategy of the promise of forbearance is an essential one to be used with taking responsibility, self-blame and other strategies.

In spite of the strategies required for sincere apology, the apologiser's personality has a significant role in making the offended person accept his/her apology. On the basis of Confucian attitudes of sincerity, Chang (2008: 101) argues that words are not as important as the speaker's personality. If the speaker's sincerity is trusted by the people, his/her words would be accepted by others regardless of what s/he says. This argument is basically applicable to people who are very familiar with each other, but might not be applicable to strangers; therefore, trusting each other would be difficult. It is more difficult in apology than in any other speech acts because it comes as a result of an offence which is related to human feelings and normalising abnormal situations.

Among the six Rs discussed previously, two of them are mostly required to accompany the IFIDs in performing a sincere apology which are regret and responsibility without which apology strategies are just empty words. In severe offences, intensifiers such as 'very', 'really', 'so' and 'extremely' are usually used in order to enhance responsibility and to offer more sincerity. In some situations, as

stated by Kim (2008: 273) intensifiers are used when there is a high level of severity and the speaker cannot afford compensation. This is logically applicable in some situations. For example, hurting somebody's feelings is a non-material thing, and cannot be compensated materially. Sometimes the apologise might take responsibility in a vague or insincere way. For example, s/he might say: 'we apologise' instead of 'I apologise' as usually performed by politicians and public figures. So pronouns are different in power in expressing apology.

As regards time, it could be said that sincerity is related to present and future. At the present time the apologise expresses apology to make remedy, but it depends on future actions to prove the sincerity of what has been said. So informing apology at the present time depends on performing it in the future. It is easy to inform, but difficult to perform as a sincere and effective apology requires future proving actions and change in behaviour.

With respect to sincere apology, the offender should express regret, take clear and full (personal) responsibility, express promise of forbearance and self-blame in addition to future behaviour that reflects the apology strategies expressed previously. So the apologise should change his role from offender to healer. Apology usually deviates from sincerity when associated with minimising responsibility in one way or another. Kampf (2009: 8-13) surveys some forms of apologies expressed by public figures which all indicate apology on the surface and insincerity at a deep level:

- The IDF is sorry *if* civilians were injured, *but* not for the successful operation. (Israel Defence Force (IDF) spokesman, p.8)

The apology is made for an unintended result of the act not the act itself, whereas, sincere apology should be made for the act which causes harm to others.

- We have no interest in hurting civilians, and we are sorry for the civilians that were injured, *but* this operation is one of our biggest successes. (Ariel Sharon, p.8)

Sharon apologises for hurting the civilians, but he praises the military operation which was the real cause of harm to the victims to whom he apologises.

Another way to make an insincere apology is represented by a conditional apology in which the offender blames the act he has done not himself. Instead of taking responsibility, politicians usually exculpate from responsibility. The following tactics of apologies by the Belgium ambassador, Shaul Mofaz and Balas are good examples of insincere apology:

- If any harm was done to your reputation, I regret and I am sorry about that (Kampf: 11).
- I am sorry if someone was offended and if my words were formulated and understood in contrast to my attention. (p.12)
- I am sorry if anyone from the Geneva initiators was hurt by the letter or the wrong interpretation it received. (p.13)

In these examples the apologisers deny their responsibility for the offence. The examples show that insincere apologies by the politicians are characterised by lacking or minimising responsibility by using the conjunction “but”, blaming the results not the real actions, the products not the real offender, and conditional “if”. The features mentioned above distinguish what might be called political apology. Thus, apology might be used remorselessly in certain situations as those used by the politicians (Kimoga 2010). As stated by Congressman Tony P. Hall of Ohio “it is not easy to apologise. It is the right thing to do” (Brooks, 1999: 351).

2.6.4 Apology and Conflict Avoidance

With reference to different sociolinguistic and pragmatic attitudes, the goal of apology as making remedy and restoring the social relationship between the interlocutors was discussed. It might also be argued that the goal of apology is not necessarily restricted to remedy, but also to conflict avoidance. This argument depends on the relationship between the conversationalists. Leech (1983) stated that the maxim of tact is the conflict avoidance strategy. Based on this argument, the apologiser in some cases expresses his/her apology not only to make remedy, but to avoid conflict or to stop the conflict from being more complicated, which might exacerbate the situation. Thus, an apology in such situations is like a pain killer, but not a permanent remedy. For example, an employee usually apologises to a manager in order to calm the situation and to avoid being dismissed from his/her job.

It is of significance to distinguish between the two closely-related goals of apology: remedy and conflict avoidance. These two goals are expected to be related to the factor of power and social status. It is generally held that the goal of apology is remedy and restoring social harmony, but in situations when the offender is (- power) and the apology recipient is (+ power), the apology is usually made for conflict avoidance and stopping the conflict from getting worse, which might affect the life of the offender (- power), as in the aforementioned employee/manager situation. Thus, remedy is not as important as conflict avoidance in such situations. Based on such situations, the factor of power mostly lies behind using apology for the goal of conflict avoidance.

The term conflict resolution/avoidance is usually related to mediation, negotiation and arbitration. Conflict resolution /avoidance is used here in a different sense, where the offender usually achieves it by following different strategies according to the size of the offence, culture, social power, the relationship between the interlocutors, age, social distance and so on.

Conflict resolution/avoidance is usually associated with mitigation and softening devices. Caffi (2007: 131) defines mitigation as a whole set of stylistic

phenomena used in interaction to downgrade utterance. The concept of conflict avoidance is comparable to friction reduction and Brown and Levinson's definition of politeness as face-saving act strategy as they all function to mitigate and soften friction in interaction (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 2005)

According to Lakoff (1975a) society develops politeness to reduce friction in interaction. This is highly applicable to apology as one phenomenon of politeness as apologisers, in certain situations, try to give justifications with the multiple strategies to reduce friction and avoid conflict. In some cultures they try to tell "white lies" to develop their apology strategies as will be explained later in the field work chapters on Kurdish apology

Stadler (2006) states that the requirement of mitigation depends on three factors: power, social status and the social distance between the interlocutors. Like other phenomena, the effectiveness of mitigation devices is related to some linguistic and paralinguistic features. A particular pitch as a verbal paralinguistic feature has an effective role in mitigation and conflict avoidance. In addition, rhythm and intonation can also make apology more effective.

Non-verbal paralinguistic features on the other hand can be used as mitigation devices in apology in many cultures. For example, South Koreans smile in some situations where members of some other cultures, such as the Australians, never do. Smiling in South Korea indicates the desire for quick conflict resolution (Kim 2007).

Stadler (2006) included ten mitigation or softening devices which are tag question, impersonalisation, politeness marker, hesitation marker, address form, hedge, gambit, disarmers, modal verb, and verbosity. Whereas, Akbari (2002) in her research on politeness in Persian, identifies some other mitigation - indicating strategies used in Persian conversation which are exaggerating (showing interest approval and sympathy with the listener), intensifying interest of the listener, using in-group identity markers, using address forms, using in-group dialect, safe topics, avoiding disagreement (by telling lies, token agreement and pseudo-agreement), hedging opinions, jokes, giving gifts to listener, and minimising the imposition and so

on. Kurds use some these mitigating devices in their apology strategies to avoid conflict as would be explained in further details in the chapter on the field research. So, maintaining harmony and avoiding conflict with others are the purposes behind using the linguistic devices in politeness which are applied in different settings and more significantly in the workplace as pointed out by Schnurr, Marra, Holmes (2006).

2.6.5 Apology Strategies

During the last three decades the research on apologies has been focused on by many sociolinguists and pragmatists. According to Fraser's 'on apologising' in 1981, the research on apologies was "still in its painful adolescence" as stated by Meier (1998: 215). It can be said that during 2000s apology studies have reached its maturity as much research has been conducted on many languages including many comparative studies, which led to the emergence of Comparative Pragmatics. With regard to the Kurdish language, apology has been exclusively and completely left unstudied.

During the last studies, different definitions have been given to apology. Brown and Levinson (1987:70) defined apology as "acts that express negative politeness". Their definition came under the classification on positive and negative politeness as mentioned earlier. Goffman (1971) viewed apology as a remedy among people. Holmes (1995) emphasised the concept of remedy by taking responsibility for the offence made to restore the social equilibrium. Thus, apology is regarded as taking responsibility with showing remorse for the offence made (Fraser, 1981). According to Olshtain and Cohen (1983), apology is regarded as a social event produced due to the violation of social values. This view was emphasised by Bergman and Kasper (1993) who state that the purpose of apology is to restore social harmony following an offence being made.

All these definitions meet in one point; that is, apology is made when there is an offense and this offense occurs due to the violation of the social norms prevailing in

a specific area. Meyer (1998: 216) related the pragmatics of apologies to “who says what to whom, when and why”.

To realise apology, certain strategies have been adopted to study it as a pragmatic speech act. These strategies worked as flexible criteria to investigate apology as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon in different languages. For instance, Cohen and Olshtain (1981: 119); Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22-23) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 207) studied apology on the basis of five strategies: “an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), an expression of responsibility, an account(explanation) of cause of violation , an offer of repair, and a promise of forbearance .

Two years later, Olshtain and Cohen (1983) added another apology strategy (i.e. semantic formulae), which was concern for the hearer (i.e. apology recipient). In doing so, apology was represented by six apology strategies (semantic formulae). These strategies conducted by Cohen& Olshtain (1981: 119 and Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22-23) came as a modification of Fraser’s Semantic formulae (1979, 1981) with regard to apology speech act.

Later, the apology strategies set were increased by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) as they distinguished seven strategies: IFIDs (e.g. I am sorry), taking responsibility (e.g. It was my fault), the promise of forbearance (e.g., I’ll never do it again”, expressions of embarrassment (e.g. I’m embarrassed), explanation or account (e.g. the traffic was heavy), offer of repair (e.g. I’ll buy you a new one), distracting from the offence (e.g. I hope I am not late?).

The aforementioned apology strategies may vary across cultures. For instance, the Chinese frequently tend to make apologies non-linguistically to restore the social relationship. This happens by doing something for the offended person or taking a redressive action instead of using the historical Chinese routine forms of apology in modern Chinese (Pan and Kadar 2011). In their comparative study on apology strategies with Iranian EFL and Malaysian ESL university students, Farashaiyan and Amirkhis (2011) found some similarities and differences between both groups in

using the apology strategies in responding to the twelve identical apology- provoking situations. Out of fifteen strategies on the DCT, they were similar in using eleven strategies in many of the situations. However, four other strategies were exclusively used by the Iranians which were frequently insignificant.

In her study on apology strategies in Sudanese Arabic, Nureddeen (2008) distinguished 12 strategies: Reporting and other expressions “e.g. I had an accident”, IFID “I am sorry”, Final IFID “I am sorry . I left it at home but I will bring it tomorrow”, Explanation “I thought this was Raa’s office (when entering another room mistakenly)”, Taking responsibility “You have the right to blame me” or “I did not mean it”, Offer of Repair “If God wills, the car will be repaired” It will be fixed if God wills”, Promise of Forbearance “This is the last time (to do so)”, Concern “If God wills you are alright” or “If God wills you are not hurt”, Intensification “ I am very sorry”; “Sorry, excuse me” or “Sorry brother, Wallahi I am very sorry”, Minimisation “a small problem” and Denial of Responsibility, e.g. “I put it properly but the bus stopped suddenly”; “Wallahi, it is fate” and “Wallahi it is not up to me”.

Adopting 12 strategies used by Tunisian university students throughout DTC, Jebahi (2011) found that statement of remorse was the highest occurring strategy (64.9%), followed by account strategy (51.5%), denying responsibility (24.8), intensification (12.2), assuring responsibility (10.20), invoking Allah’s name (9.1%), offer of repair (3.7). Whereas the other four strategies recorded the lowest rate of occurrence, labelled as (0.3%), (0.5%), (0.6%) and (0.7%) for the strategies of humour, blaming the victim, minimisation and self-castigation respectively.

According to Goffman (1971) two types of compensation (apologies) can be distinguished: Ritualistic apologies (produced as a habit in the form of everyday’s fixed expressions or routines like I am sorry), and substantive apologies (produced when the speaker sincerely wants to remedy the offense or harm he has committed, usually expressed by detailed expressions, which shows taking responsibility or concern about the damage caused). Substantive apologies are more serious than ritualistic apologies as the former shows more concern and responsibility that the

latter, which is mostly a habit or routine. For the ritualistic apologies, Kurds mostly request apology by saying: [daway leburdin ʔəkəm], [bibura], or [ʔəfəmkə], meaning “I am requesting your forgiveness” or “forgive me” (See the Kurdish IFIDs). They also use [gərdinim ʔazakə] for requesting apology, meaning “I am requesting your forgiveness”. This form of ritualistic apology is strongly related to religion which is considered the strongest ritualistic apologetic device. That is why, it is very commonly used by Kurds, especially on religious occasions. This indicates that the strategies are different from one study to another as they stretched to seven strategies by Trosborg (1987) and seventeen by Meier (1992).

This flexibility in the apology strategies leaves the gate open to other strategies to come into existence and re-categorise them. This expectedly occurs throughout new empirical studies on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics. The need of new empirical studies on apology speech act in other languages promoted more exploration about the cultural/ social values and beliefs that give more information about the performance and the interpretation of the speech acts in these languages (Wolfson, 1989; Meyer, 1998). Consequently, the current thesis on speech act of apology in the Kurdish language as a new study is expected to provide some contribution to the field of socio-pragmatics. The seven strategies adopted by Olshtain and Cohen (1983) Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), in addition to other speculated strategies by the researcher, will be explained and focused on in this study.

2.6.5.1 Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)

IFID in apology has been used as an acronym to deal with certain ritualistic expressions with some illocutionary force. It might be defined as a mostly formulaic and routinised expression that indicates the interlocutor’s communicative intention such as “I am sorry. I am late” to indicate an apology (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:331). A typical example in English is “sorry”. Explicit IFID represents the most direct realisation of apology. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1983) stated that the IFIDs realisations in languages are indicated differently according to the conventionality

scale of these languages. For instance, in English, the explicit IFIDs are represented by the performative verbs such as (be) sorry, apologise, excuse, forgive, pardon and regret, whereas in Hebrew, the most conventional realisation of apology is represented by the word 'slixá', meaning "forgiveness". However, an IFID might be of multifunctional task as in the case of Japanese 'Sumimasen' to express thanks and apology together according to the situation (Ide 1997).

Based on the size of offence, IFIDs might be divided into flat IFIDs when the apologiser uses only a common ritualistic such as "sorry" as the only apologetic strategy, and compound IFIDs when accompanied by other strategies and sub-strategies. This researcher's own classification will be adopted in the current study with regard to the IFIDs.

The IFID's occurrence usually depends on the size of the offence. For instance, Trosborg's (1987) data showed different results in using of the IFIDs as her data witnessed low occurrence of the formulaic expressions of apology (i.e. IFIDs) due to the severity of offences covered in her study as she explained. Thus, it is expected that the flat IFIDs are usually consistent with small-sized offences, whereas the compound IFIDs are more associated with big-sized offences.

On the basis of the formality, IFIDs are of different types. According to the claims made by Fraser (1981); Holmes (1990), the formulaic expression of 'apologise' is used in formal settings. On the other hand, Brokin and Reinhart (1978); Meier (1998) asserted that the use of other routine apology strategies such as 'excuse me' and 'sorry' depend on the nature of the offence which might be associated with the social values and rules or/and the individual's manner, feelings and rights. They might be regarded as informal IFIDs in many contexts.

In relating IFIDs to gender factor, it was found that gender has a role in using them differently. In this concern, Gonzales et al. (1990) found that women were more interested in using the explicit IFID (I am sorry) and expressing Chagrin (embarrassment and sorrow).

According to the experimental study made by Olshtain (1989) in comparing apology strategies in English, French, German and Hebrew, noticeable similarities have been found especially in selection of IFIDs and responsibility expression. This study shows in one way or another some universal aspects of politeness and more particularly in apology strategies. The idea of universality does not contradict the cultural differences between languages (Sachie, 1998).

Vollmer and Olshtain (1989) studied the apology strategies by Germans in relation to some social factors such as social status, social distance, the hearer's expectation of an apology and the size of the offence. As a result they found that the IFIDs and responsibility were used more than other strategies in different situations. The reason is that IFIDs are more common in most languages than other strategies as they are more formulaic ones (Sachie, 1998).

It is believed by Takaku, Weiner and Ohbuchi (2001) that the success of apology depends on the use of the IFIDs strategy(ies). According to them, starting with explanation (implicit apology) followed by an IFID or IFIDS (explicit apology) becomes like cause and effect, as if you are saying this is what has happened, so apology would be predictable by the offended. This predictability makes your apology strategy too successful and that forgiveness from the injured party is proof of that success.

Although apology strategies are commonly used to make remedy and restore the social equilibrium, it is significantly noticeable that apology might have a good role in lessening the degree of offense or damage made by the speaker. For example, "Sorry Mr. President you are lying" (Here the degree of impoliteness can be lessened when preceded by an apologetic IFID 'sorry') (Thomas, 1986).

One more characteristic of the IFIDs is their gradability that helps in giving more power to the strategy. This is well represented by using the intensifiers. In their study on the apologies development with Japanese speakers learning English, focusing on two groups, Beckwith and Dewaele (2008) found that intensifiers can play a secondary role in apology as they support some strategies to make them more

effective and sincere especially when used with IFIDs such as I am very sorry, really sorry , terribly sorry. So they function as strategy modifiers (i.e. sub-strategies) not independent strategies as they can change the degree of apology, but never used alone as an apology strategy. With regard to this, the English have more intensifiers than Japanese as Japanese native speakers usually use intensifiers in the situations where a high level of formality is required (as in a wrong dish situation in a restaurant) (Ibid). Sachie's (1998) study on apology across culture and gender stated that intensifiers were used more commonly by speakers of lower social status. This is well observed in Kurdish culture where social status factor is a highly distinct phenomenon in interaction, particularly apology strategies.

In connecting the repetition of the IFIDs to the cultural impact, they also found that the English rarely use repeated IFIDs, but both groups of participants were affected by Japanese culture in using that strategy. According to the Japanese, the repeated IFID strategy denotes sincerity. It might be argued that repeating the same expression indicates insistence which in turn reveals a kind of sincerity. Like the Japanese, Kurds, especially common people, insist on apologising using a special technique (forgiveness + begging) (e.g. tu xwa ʃəfumkə) (Please or for God's sake forgive me) as will be explained in the empirical part of the study. This type of strategy shows a high degree of sincerity.

In a study conducted by Warga and Schölmberger (2007) on seven Austrian students who spent 10 months learning French, compared with the Austrian German and native speakers of Quebecois French, it was found that the use of IFIDs and excuses were the two common strategies among the groups. Based on the film of *Ayat Ayat Cinta* (the verses of Love), Akmaludin's (2008) study on the apology in Indonesia revealed that apology is expressed explicitly by the IFIDs such as "sorry" and "forgive me" (Explicit apology) and implicit apology, using explanation and the direct reason for the offence without apology markers. The dominant use of vocative names was also found to close the distance between the interlocutors. The study also found that the people commonly apologised for other people's offences.

In conducting his study on Apology Strategies of Yemeni EFL University Students, Alfattah (2010) found the use of the IFIDs in all the situations which indicated that this strategy is considered as a compulsory part to be used alongside other strategies.

With regard to the frequency of the apology strategies, Farashaiyan and Amirkhis (2011) found that both Iranians and Malaysians garnered the highest percentage for using the IFID “I am sorry” (39% for Malaysians and 34% for Iranians). However, the frequency was different with the other strategies. For instance, an offer of apology ranked second among the Iranian students (13%), whereas an offer of repair has been the second frequently used strategy with the Malaysian students. Thus, the IFIDs are commonly expected to take the priority in occurrence in many languages.

2.6.5.2 Taking responsibility

Taking responsibility is regarded as one of the sincerity markers in apology. It is a culture-specific strategy as it requires admitting the offender’s fault. In relation to cultural differences, House (2005) stated that Germans use more frequent responsibility expressions than English subjects. They usually try to be more wordy in expressing responsibility.

A typical example of responsibility acknowledgement in English is “it was my fault”. Furthermore, responsibility acknowledgement might be expressed implicitly in the form of self-blame. Thus, Nuredeen (2008) classified taking responsibility into: explicit responsibility acknowledgement and implicit responsibility acknowledgement. People resort to responsibility acknowledgement to make a more sincere apology, have an effective and successful apology, receive forgiveness and eventually restore social equilibrium.

According to Blum-kulka and Olshtain (1984) the degrees of the subcategories of responsibility are ranged from “strong self-humbling on S's part to a complete and blunt denial of responsibility” (p.207), including the following:

1. Expressing feature of self-deficiency which indicated accepting responsibility.

- I'm so forgetful (S4, AUE)

- You know me, I'm never on time (S10, AUE)

2. Explicit Self-blame. Example, It is my fault

3. Denial of fault which indicated the refusal of the need to apologise. Example,

- It is not my fault that I fell down

(Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 207-208)

It could be said that these subcategories are changeable as they might include some other sub-categories such as minimising responsibility, blaming a third party or the destiny which might damage the success of apology due to lack of sincerity. These sub-categories of responsibility will be explained in more detail in the empirical chapters on Kurdish apology strategies.

It is commonly argued that there is a strong relationship between severity of offence and the strategy used depending on the cultural values. It might be argued that taking responsibility is an easy strategy for certain offences, whereas the most difficult one is in the case of very severe offence, mainly when the expected consequences are seriously difficult to undertake. Shedding light on the previous studies, Bergman & Kasper (1993) found no taking responsibility strategy consistent with the severity of the offence dealt with in the study.

In a study on court cases, Rothman and Gandossy (1982) found that women were more likely than men to acknowledge responsibility and express regret for their offences. Apology is also affected by interlocutor relationship (i.e. social distance). Fraser (1981) holds that fewer strategies are used with the high degree of familiarity. On the other hand, Baxter (1984) Trosborg (1987), Holmes (1990), and Meier (1992), found that more detailed strategies were used among friends, which was supported by Bergman & Kasper (1993) who found that taking responsibility was greatly used

by socially close interlocutors. Similarly, Shahrokhi and Jan's (study) revealed taking responsibility as the second frequent apology category (18.60%) in their study on 'The realisation of apology strategies among Persian males'. In relating acknowledgement of responsibility to the social power, Trosborg (1987) found that people with less social power/ authority (whether friends or strangers) received fewer apology strategies and responsibility acknowledgement than those with high social power did.

Vollmer and Olshtain (1989) found that the use IFIDs and responsibility by the German speakers got the highest percentages in all the situations. In spite of the size of the offence in determining the use of responsibility acknowledgement, it could be said that this strategy is different from one culture to another. Trosborg (2011) states that Romanian speakers use more responsibility acknowledgement (supported by a justification) than the English and Danish who usually reject taking responsibility in most situations.

2.6.5.3 Explanation or account

It is an important strategy in apologising in which the speaker shows reason(s) or justification for what has happened. It might come as an independent strategy or accompanying the IFIDs or other strategies to make them more effective ones. It is usually described as a detailed strategy, compared to others. According to Gonzales et al.'s (1990) women employed more detailed strategies such as explanations, acknowledgment, justifications and excuses in their apologies. Accordingly, they might be described as gender-based strategies.

It might be argued that without account/explanation, apologies are not as effective and sincere as required in certain contexts. It is often made to clarify the IFIDs. The more explanation is made the more sincere and effective the apology is. This strategy is highly needed in Kurdish culture as will be explained in further details in the empirical part of the study. The significance of it sometimes makes people tell

lies to enhance the offender's situation. "The traffic was heavy" might be regarded as a typical sample.

2.6.5.4 Offer of Repair

This strategy is mostly associated with a materialistic damage that threatens somebody's face depending on the social distance between the offended and the offender. In English apology speech act, it is usually expressed by "I'll buy you a new one". Márquez-Reiter (2000) states that this strategy is only fitting actual damage. Thus, it cannot be used with non-materialistic offences when the hearer's feeling is hurt or damaged.

This strategy indirectly implies acknowledgement of responsibility. Why does the offender hope that the offense has not happened and yet promise to repair what happened? Because he feels that he is responsible for the offense, and to decrease his remorse he would repair it. Offer of repair has been adopted as a main strategy in most of the studies dealing with apology strategies. This strategy is directly connected to the remedial task of the speech act of apology in which the speaker offers to correct the wrong situation and repair the damage done in a way as if it has not happened. In addition to the remedial function, offer of repair is described to be of symbolic function, as it works as a technique of self-punishment (Scher and Darby, 1997). Offer of repair has been named offer of compensation by some researchers such as Faerch and Kasper (1984); Chang (2008).

2.6.5.5 Promise of Forbearance

This strategy is considered as a promise for future correction of the wrong doing that has happened. It is like repentance from a sin where the sinner promises to avoid what s/he has done. Unlike other strategies, the promise of forbearance is not related only to the past, but to the future as well. The success of this strategy is related to the

future behaviour of the offender. As stated by Trosborg (1994), the apologist promises not to repeat the offence in the future or to improve his/her demeanour in one way or another. Therefore, the success of this strategy is conditionally based on the offender's future behaviour.

In English, it is typically expressed by "This won't happen again" (Blum-kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 208). It is sometimes associated with the performative verb "promise", such as "It won't happen again, I promise" (Trosborg, 1994: 383). Scher and Darby (1997) believed that the promise of forbearance makes the apology more effective when the offender assures the offended not to repeat the wrongdoing again.

It might be argued that the promise of forbearance is like repenting for a sin where promises are made not to do it again. This means that s/he is aware of the violation he has made. Therefore, s/he would be keen on correcting that mistake in the future by promising not to repeat it. It is a future behaviour-based strategy.

2.6.5.6 Concern for the Hearer

It is one of the strategies in which the offender attempts to show his/her concern about the offended to decrease the size of the offence. It is mainly represented by "Are you ok?", as a typical example in English. It is worth mentioning that concern for the hearer is not as common as other strategies as it was not included within the five basic apology strategies adopted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981: 119); Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22-23) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 207) which included: "an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), an expression of responsibility, an account(explanation) of cause of violation , an offer of repair, and a promise of forbearance .

Concern for the hearer was used by some researchers as a major strategy. For instance, it was adopted by Nuredeen (2008), in her study of Apology Strategies in Sudanese Arabic conducted on 110 university students of both genders from the university of Khartoum. Chang (2008) also used concern for the hearer as a basic

strategy in his study on Australian and Chinese perceptions of (im)politeness in an intercultural apology. It was also adopted in Beckwith* and Dewaele's (2008) study on the development of apologies in the Japanese L2 of adult English native speakers. According to the three mentioned studies, concern for the hearer might be regarded as a modern strategy (used in 2008) as compared to the other ones. This modern strategy will be dealt with as a major strategy in the Kurdish apology speech act in the empirical part of the study.

2.6.5.7 Expressions of Embarrassment

This strategy is often used when the offender shows more interest in the offended person's hurt feeling. It is basically associated with violation of the social values, and sort of the offence. It is usually expressed by the semantic formula "I'm embarrassed" which is not very common in English as compared to other cultures. In Iran for example, "sharmandam", meaning "embarrassed" is very commonly used.

In Chang's study (2008) on Australians and Taiwanese Chinese perception of (im)politeness in intercultural apology, showed that expression of embarrassment is related to accepting apology, as the Taiwanese accept apology when they feel that the apologiser feels very embarrassed.

With regard to gender, Gonzales et al. (1990) stated that their female respondents were more interested in using the explicit IFID (I am sorry) and expressing chagrin (embarrassment and sorrow). This indicates that embarrassment is more strongly associated with females than males.

Like IFIDs, the embarrassment indicating formula is used with intensifiers in many cases, such as "I am really embarrassed" to show a high degree of responsibility (Beckwith and Dewaele, 2008). The expressions of embarrassment are clearly observed in the semantic formulae of Kurdish apology, as will be explained later in the empirical chapters.

2.7 Apology and the Social Factors

Since language use in general and apology strategies in particular, are used differently according to some social factors prevailing in a certain culture, I would shed light on some of these social factors in this chapter. Like grammar that tells us what sentence or structure is correct and what is not, culture shapes what is appropriate and what is not. Accordingly, politeness (particularly apology speech act) might be described as a culturally prescribed phenomenon in the sense of obligation to apology in certain situations that is culturally different.

Among the most common social factors that determine the use of language and more particularly apology strategies are: age, gender, social status, social background, power, social distance (friend or stranger) and religion and faith. The power of these factors differs from one culture to another, depending on which variable(s) is more evaluated in that culture, as some cultures consider age; others consider gender; some others consider social status and so on. Due to the significance of these social factors in determining the use of language, they have been the concerns of many investigations in the field of sociolinguistics in many cultures. Thus, a human linguistic interaction is urgently a social interaction, as pointed out by Yule (1996).

These variables will be included in this study showing how they affect the use of apology strategies. The study involves specifically three social factors: gender as the main variable as well as age and social status. The influence of these variables, particularly gender will be investigated in further details in the chapter of field work of this study.

2.7.1 Gender

Gender is one of the major social factors that received the concern of many researchers in the academic domain. This factor is dealt with differently among cultures. Some cultures witness higher gender disparity than other ones. Based on this disparity, language use differs. Even in one culture, women make different language

choices from men. In English, for example, women use some words that men tend not to, such as alternative words for “purple” (a lavender, mauve, magenta) and some adjectives like lovely, charming, adorable and divine which are rarely used by men (Lakoff, 1973). This indicates that women and men have some specific differences not only cross-culturally, but also intraculturally.

Since both men and women have different styles of speaking. They may accordingly have different ways of using speech acts. Hogan and Stubbs (2003) describe eye contact as one of the skills of communication and persuasion and stating that “women engage in more eye contact than men do”. This claim is generally acceptable, but relating it to apology speech acts in Kurdish culture is not socially preferable. It is (i.e. eye contact) considered as a socially curbed phenomenon in cross-gender interactions, as it is a sign of respect and politeness for women to lower their eyes when speaking with a non-family man. This is on the contrary to other cultures where eye contact is kept in conversation regardless of the communicators’ gender and social distance. The difference between both genders is not reflected only in the language use and behaviour of both but even in their thinking in some cultures as “it seems to most men that women make the rules and every time men get close to understanding those rules; the rules get changed” (Hogan and Stubbs, 2003: 163). This indicates that both men and women use different communicative styles and patterns.

With respect to gender effect on language use, two differing views are identified: the different-culture theory and the dominance approach. According to the former’s claim, the difference in language use by men and women is attributed to their different cultural memberships. However, the latter claims that both genders behave similarly due to belonging to the same culture. To support the different-culture theory, Wood (2000, 2002) claims that speakers of both genders communicate differently as members of two varied speech communities. With this regard, Fattah (1985: 225) says that since the beginning of life until now, women constituted a particular social group differing from that of men. The difference between men and women extends over speech to other communicative elements. Thus, Hogan and

Stubbs (2003) describe eye contact as one of the skills of communication and persuasion and stating that “women engage in more eye contact than men do”. According to Tannen’s (1991; 1994; 1995), claim, men-women interaction is identified as cross-cultural communication, as men and women are members of two different linguistic communities.

As regards the same-culture approach, it is argued by MacGeorge et al (2004: 171) that more similarities than differences are observed between both genders’ behaviours. According to them, men and women should be observed as members of same linguistic community in spite of the different skills between them. To support same-culture theory, Thorne (1993: 96) argues against the different-culture approach, describing it as unacceptable theory that exaggerates the concept of gender differences as it disregards other variations associated with gender such as ethnicity and social class. The importance of different culture approach was downplayed by Thorne (1993) and Kyratzis (2001) because their hypotheses were based on case studies (i.e. television and/or films), that makes their data and methods inadequate to investigate the behaviours of both genders.

In spite of the differences between both theories, they confirm that both genders are different with relatively different in one way or another. Thus, I would argue that the gap in gender studies might be attributed to the types of culture and the situations adopted as the gender differences might vary according to the cultural values in the societies. Unlike non-hierarchical cultures of English and Western societies, disparity is highly expected in a hierarchical culture in Eastern cultures. For that reason, some of them are described as male-dominant cultures due to the high level of gender discrepancy. Therefore, studying apology as a politeness phenomenon based on gender variable in the Kurdish culture is likely to provide new contributions in the field of socio-pragmatic politeness.

As regards the waves of feminism, the second and third feminist waves have different views about gender. The former wave asserts that women’s language is different from that of men. However, they scrutinise the language of both genders as

homogeneous sets (Lackoff 1975; Spender 1980; Tannen 1991). Conversely, the third wave feminist approach argues against the homogeneity of women's group. This indicates the possibility of studying the language use of both genders on equal basis, i.e. not viewing all men as influential and all women as weak (Mills 2003b: 1). Furthermore, the third wave approach stresses that the competence of individual's behaviour is evaluated, based on the role of social factors and situations. Thus, both approaches are different in terms of analysing women's linguistic behavior. The second wave feminist approach is characterised by describing the women's linguistic behaviour, as the second approach, adopts the global level. The third approach undertakes the local level due to its concern with context.

In relating gender to speech act of apology, many researchers have confirmed gender differences in the domain of socio-pragmatics. Tannen (1999) reported that in the American environment, men are less apologetic than women as they use fewer expressions of remorse than women do. For women to be more apologetic than men, has been stated and supported by many researchers. According to Holmes (1995), some points, characterised women to be different, such as using more apologies than men, considering equal power in most of their apologies, but men considered different status women in their apology. Furthermore, most apologies for female friends were used by women, whereas most apologies were used for socially distant women by men. With regard to the perception of impoliteness in the intercultural apology, Chang (2008) found a slight difference between women and men in both Chinese and Australian cultures which are not statistically important. Abu-Humei (2013) believe that American males and females are different in their apologies as the former individuals try to be more detailed and less direct in their apologies than the latter individuals who prefer short strategies. He, accordingly, argues that American females care less about the feelings of the hearers than the males. On the other hand, the Iraqi males use fewer apology strategies than the Iraqi women. He attributes the difference to the more freedom men have (than women) in the society which made women be more apologetic and more polite. In relating gender to age, Kampf and Blum-Kulka (2007: 34) revealed that Israeli boys and girls apologise differently based on the sorts

of the offences. In the case of violent conflict, boys used more frequent apologies than girls. However, in the case of lack of consideration and talk offences, girls were found to be more apologetic than boys.

Tannen, (1996), Engel, (2001), and Lazare, (2004) argue that men are unsatisfactorily remorseful. The reason for that difference has received many explanations. Some of the researchers might attribute this difference to the way both males and females regard apology. To men, apology is considered a sign of weakness. Belushi (2006) stated that in his book “Real Men Do Not Apologise”. This view was supported by Engel (2001) who states that acknowledging responsibility, for men, is not an easy task as it is like “losing a power struggle” (p.64). In this respect, the Kurdish traditional saying “پیاو پیاو و ژن ژنه” [piaw piawə u zin zinə], meaning “man is man and woman is woman” is very common in the Kurdish culture, mainly in the area involved in the study. In line with gender differentiation, women are viewed, mainly by the old Kurdish generation as a powerless and helpless creature. They are described as “زه عیفه” [zəʔi:fə] from the Arabic word “ضعیفة” [dʕəʔi:fə], meaning “weak”. For that reason, the researcher has taken gender as the main social determining factor in the current study.

Holmes (1989) and Schumann and Ross (2010) could support the common idea that women are more apologetic than men, attributing that difference rate to the extent they regard the severity of the offence. Their interpretation was that men perceived fewer offences than women did. Thus, their disinclination to apologise is attributed to their perception of the severity and frequency of their wrongdoings.

Furthermore, women and men may have different paralinguistic features in conversation as what is possible for men may not be acceptable for women and vice versa. These differences indicate that they express politeness in different ways and use different strategies in apologies. Kurdish culture is among those ones that distinctively differentiate between both sexes as men are different in their style, vocabulary and intonation, in addition to some gestures which are associated with both sexes separately. Politeness is one of the socio-cultural matters that are

expressed somehow differently according to the gender factor. In relating gender to other social factors such as social distance and status, Bourhis (1991) found that women were more deferential to a high-social status person from an outgroup ethnicity. Conversely, men importantly evaluated relationship between ingroup members. Accordingly, apology strategies in Kurdish are expected to show different manifestations with regard to gender difference. The reason for being different in natural feelings is that women are usually more emotional than men. Al-Mufti (1996) stated that feeling of emotionality by describing women as being “easily affected by changes, unexpected news, surprise, etc.”

In relating speech acts to human feelings, Wardhaugh (1977: 22) stated that males and females are different in expressing all types of feelings, whether this expression is natural or artificial. Wardhaugh (2006) believes that both men and women speak differently because both genders often take different roles in society and that girls and boys are brought up differently. Based on these gender differences, many investigations have been conducted on politeness and particularly on apology strategies. The question (who is more polite, man or woman?) has been raised many times. With regard to this, Holmes and other researchers believe that women apologise more than men and this is what is often presumed (Smith, 2008). If we study the purpose of apology as a remedy and restoring the social equilibrium, we come out with the point that women are keener than men on restoring the social relation with the offended person.

Like other social factors, gender role is highly associated with culture. For example, in liberal cultures, sex differentiation is not clearly recognised, whereas in some other countries (conservative cultures), sex differentiation is clearly observed as a social phenomenon. For example, Mexico is described as a man’s world because women always live under the shadow of men (Navinger 2001: 96). Although the traditional machismo has gradually weakened, cultural difference is still available as a North American should be very careful when relating to the sexes in Mexico. For instance, if a Mexican man (male guest) wants to send flowers it is of significance to send them to the family (wife and husband) not the wife alone. “On one occasion, a

Mexican male acquaintance was to send a North American business woman some information about the business that had come up incidentally in conversation in a social setting. He addressed the letter to both the businesswoman and her husband, and the letter was sent using both his name and his wife's (whom the North American business woman had never met)" (Navinger 2001:97). Mexican men consider it an insult to their manhood to accept women's paying for everything. (Navinger 2001:97). This view is applicable to Kurdish and Arabic cultures to a certain extent. For example, Kurdish and Arabic as two male dominated cultures try to associate all positive features to men. For instance a good deed is described as a manly deed even it is done by a woman. Kurds usually say "پیاو پیاوه وژن ژنه" [piaw piawə u ʒn ʒnə], meaning "man is man and woman is woman". This social distinction between the sexes has made the Kurdish culture as a gender-classified one.

This gender distinction indicates that culture determines how to look at men and women everywhere. This difference requires socio-pragmatic competence when moving to the target culture. This difference might cause confusion and misinterpretation in many situations. Sometimes one might get culture shock phenomenon. For this reason, one should avoid pre-conception in a new culture. For instance, walking hand in hand by two Arab men, and arm in arm by two Latin men in the street as signs of friendship will be considered confusing behavior to Northern Europeans and North Americans because these behaviours indicate homosexual tones in these cultures. So it is culture that prescribes what is allowed and what is not for males and females (Novinger 2001:37). Due to that cultural prescription, human behavior is classified in many cultures into: feminine behavior and masculine behavior. On the other hand, other researchers believe that gender differences do not affect apology strategies (Fraser 1981; Aijmer 1995; Schlenker & Darby 1981; Rester 2000; Wouk 2006).

Due to this actual social difference women are usually described as weak compared to men. This general view in Kurdish and Arabic cultures made women develop a special way of speaking as part of their socially acceptable behavior. For this

reason, Kurdish women generally use self-blame strategy and expressions of embarrassment while apologising, which are all viewed as signs of weaknesses.

It might be argued that this common feeling of powerlessness has made women to be more apologetic than men as stated by Holmes and other researchers. Smith (2008: 158) quotes John Wayne "Never apologise. It's a sign of weakness". On the contrary to Wayne's attitude, I believe that apologising is a sign of modesty, which is one of the maxims of politeness without which it would be difficult to apologise in certain situations.

Apology is somehow related to power. In some cultures, as mentioned previously, it is viewed as a sign of weakness. That is why it is difficult for men to apologise in order not to show weaknesses. To juxtapose weakness and gender, it is commonly believed by most of the eastern conservative cultures that women and men are representing the signs of weakness and power respectively. This social dichotomy predicts differences between both sexes, not strictly in language, but in many other aspects in life. It might be argued that the reason behind the dichotomy of the weak and powerful is the improper interpretation of religion, especially in tribal areas in the past. To make a point is that difference between both sexes biologically and psychologically does not mean superiority of one sex to another. For each sex to be characterised by certain features does not indicate social discrimination. For the aforementioned reasons, it is expected that investigating gender in relation to apology speech act in the Kurdish culture will provide new horizons in the field of socio-pragmatics.

2.7.2 Age

Age is another social factor that determines the use of language in a society. Beside other social factors like gender, social status and occupation, age is a concern in the field of Sociolinguistics. In respect with socio-pragmatics, age has been used in Ekaterini Kouletaki's study as a subgroup alongside gender and occupation to investigate the choice of politeness strategies in English and Greek (see Lakoff 2006: 246). Dealing with the effect of age and socio-economic status on the use of refusal forms in Ghana, Sarfo (2011) found that age has affected the strategies of refusals as elder and higher-status subjects mostly used direct refusals with the younger and lower status people, whereas indirect refusals were used with both old and young speakers. Coupland and Gwyn (2003) pointed out that starting from the age of 50 onwards, men's emotions come closer to the surface due to the changes in their socio-economic status, which makes them seek new emotional expression forms when getting older. It is expected that age might affect the use of apology strategies in given situations in the experimental chapters.

As a subset of culture, the significance of age is culturally different. In showing respect to older people, different views are recognised between Eastern and Western cultures as argued by Pecchioni, Ota & Sparks (2004). According to them, younger Asian adults show deference to all older people whether they belong to the family or non-family based on the more generalised notion of filial piety the Asian young have. Conversely, younger Western adults have a more specialised concept regarding the filial piety. Thus, the idea is regarded as a personal choice by the Westerners and essential obligation by the Easterners. (See also Gallois et al., 1999; Harris & Long, 2000; Ota et al., 1996). For that purpose, age was adopted as one of the determining contextual factors in Kurdish apology for this thesis.

Novinger (2001: 13) reported that "age is an important factor in situating a person in the Japanese cultural hierarchy". She added that the same is true in China. However, generation becomes more important during the meeting of the family members. The significance of age is clearly observed in the Kurdish culture. For the

significance of that social position, older people are never called by their given names without using a social title that shows respect for them. The common social titles used with men are مامه [mamə], meaning “uncle” (i.e. father’s brother) or خاله [ɣallə], meaning “uncle” (i.e. mother’s brother). The idea of showing high consideration to age is strongly attributed to religion. In one of his sayings, the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said: ليس منا من لم يوقر كبيرنا, meaning, “s/he is not from us if they do not respect the old people” (Al-Tabarani 1995). See also Al-Bukhari (1981) and Al-Tirmithi (1983). For that reason, showing respect to older people is considered part of their religious obligation. For its influential effect, age has been focused on as one sociolinguistic variable in the current study alongside gender and social status.

2. 7.3 Social status

Social status is one of the determining social factors in investigating many linguistic phenomena, especially in the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. It is a powerful factor alongside some other factors like age, gender, educational background, power, occupation and religion. It might be considered one source of power in human society.

Many studies have used social status as an important variable. It has been dealt with in many studies on politeness and particularly apology strategies. In their research on German, Vollmer and Olshtain (1989) found that the use of intensification in apology was strongly related to social status. They found that the higher the speaker’s social status, the fewer intensifiers they used and vice versa. In an investigation on apology across culture and gender (Sachie, 1998: 31), it has been found that speakers of higher social status used fewer IFIDs in their apology than speakers of lower social status.

On the other hand, the strategy of an offer of repair was used in a high percentage by speakers of lower social status. In comparing the American native speakers to Iraqi EFL learners, Abu-Humei (2013) found that the Iraqi EFL male learners used more strategies to people of higher social status, whereas the American

males were more apologetic to lower social ranks. Conversely, the American female groups were more apologetic to higher social status. Both Iraqi and American groups were less apologetic to the hearers of equal social status.

The idea of “who says what to whom, when and why?” (Meyer, 1998: 216) is essentially associated with social status that constrains the effective function of language. For example, the English sentence “it is time you washed your hair” is acceptable if said by a parent to a child, but not acceptable if said by an employee to his/her boss (Thomas et al, 1999: 9). The Kurds also use some phrases differently according to the social status of the addressee. What is acceptable for a hearer of lower social status is not acceptable for the one of a higher social status. For example, the Kurdish pronoun “تو” [to], meaning “you” would be used differently in a conversation between two speakers of high and low social status. The former would use the pronoun “تو” [to] “you” to address a person of a lower social status, whereas, the latter would use the address form *به‌ڕێزتان یان جەنابت/ جەنابتان*, meaning *reverend or honourable* in their conversation. Pronouns are used distinctively in some other languages such as Persian and French. For example, in Persian the pronoun “شما” [fuma] is equivalent to the French “vous” which indicates the high social status of an addressee. On the contrary, the pronoun “تو” [tu] in Persian which is equivalent to the French “tu” is used to indicate low social status of an addressee or very low social distance (solidarity) between the interlocutors. Thus, pronouns might be described as social status indicators to the addressees in some cultures.

In relating politeness forms to social status, Salgado (2008) found that Mexican Spanish speakers often used the conditional mood to express politeness when making requests to a speaker with a higher social status than with a speaker of equal social status. As regards the personal title, it has been found that Mexicans used title preferably as it denotes the interlocutors’ social status/power which revealed the occupational title such as *Maestero(a)* meaning professor (Salgado, 2008: 86). This phenomenon is clearly reflected in the Kurdish culture as titles are extensively used to indicate the high social status of the addressee. Thus, it could be said that all the

people of high social status are title holders. Similarly, Arabic culture is a well-known one in using titles in interaction.

In his study on “Socio-pragmatic analysis of Korean Requests: Pedagogical settings”, Byon (2004) investigated the effects of social status (power) and social distance (as two social variables) on semantic formulae. The Kurds also use specific vocabulary according to the social status/power of the persons. This distinction in language use makes the vocabulary of high prestige and low prestige although they are semantically synonymous. For example, both Kurdish synonymous verbs “فەرمووی” [fərmu:y] and “وتی”/wti:/ meaning “said” is distinctively different in use according to social status. The verb [fərmu:y] is usually used with the person of higher social status, whereas /wti/ is used with a person of lower social status/power. How social status affects the apology strategies in Kurdish conversation would be dealt with later in the field work part of the study.

To determine the norms of effective and appropriate communication, a number of interacting factors might be indentified such as social status, power, age, gender, geographical position and so on (Stadler, 2006: 35). Which of these variable (factor) is more effective, is culturally different. This would be one aspect of investigation in this study as far as the apology strategies in Kurdish are concerned.

Based on social status, the levels of politeness are moving differently on the scale of politeness according to which, what is considered polite to an addressee of a high social status might be considered as impolite to an addressee of a low social status. For example, it is very normal and polite in English culture to call a professor (high social status) by his/her name without a title in informal interactions. Whereas, it is rude and impolite in the Kurdish and Arabic cultures except for older interlocutors and close social distance, such as mother, father, uncle, aunt, grandfather, grandmother and older brothers and sisters.

The use of apology strategies is culturally different according to many effective factors such as gender, age, cultural background, social status and social distance (Chang, 2008). In Japanese etiquette, for instance, more concern is given to the social

relationship between the interlocutors when an apology is made. Thus, the apologiser must take into account his/her relationship with the hearer when apologising (Kadar and Mills 2011) (see also Sugimoto 1998).

Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou (2001) investigated how social status takes priority over the other social factors in studies on politeness in Turkish and Greek. In this concern, Kashkouli and Eslamirasekh (2013) found that Armenians apologised to the persons regardless of their social status. However, the Iranians were less likely to apologise equally to the people of different social statuses. In doing so, the Armenians were more like the Europeans in being formal in their apologies regardless of the social status and the social distance of the apology - recipient. The resemblance of the Armenians to the Europeans in the likelihood to apologise, according to them, might be attributed to the common religious background (Christianity) of both groups.

Which one of the social factors is important in Kurdish apology strategies, should be explored in this study. It might be argued that these social factors are overlapping to a certain extent. Thus, a speaker's utterance is expressed according to social relationship with the hearer, based on social status, age, kinship and ingroupness and outgroupness concepts (Byon, 2004).

2.8 Research Questions

In summary, the chapter has dealt with a number of theoretical questions dealing with politeness and cultural issues. To fill the gaps regarding these concerns, the current study aims to investigate the realisation of apologies by Kurdish native speakers in Iraqi Kurdistan through addressing the following questions:

1. How is the Kurdish 'face' represented in the investigation of apology speech act?
2. How is the notion of politeness perceived in the Kurdish culture?
3. Does gender affect the realisation and perception of apology speech act? Which gender group is more polite?

4. How does apologising in Kurdish reflect the concept of the apology speech act?
5. What kind of culture does the Kurdish culture constitute in terms of Brown and Levinson's negative politeness and positive politeness?
6. Do the Kurdish apology strategies differ from those of English?
7. How do the factors of age and social status/ power affect the use of apology strategies in the Kurdish culture?

2.9 Chapter Summary

The previous chapter has dealt with the literature, including various theories about politeness and face and explained the distinctive features of each approach. The chapter also focused on the concept of culture, showing the difference between individualism and collectivism. Related to this, it dealt with describing Kurdish culture as the topic in question. Furthermore, the chapter has dealt with speech act theories by Searle and Austin, focusing on speech act and felicity conditions of apologising.

The chapter also embraced the position of apology in politeness and referred to the related issues such as offence, remedy, sincerity and conflict avoidance. Additionally, it explained the apology strategies adopted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) that have been used as standards for cross-cultural studies. The chapter also comprised the effect of social variables such as gender, age and social status in apologising in different cultures, and finally, the chapter ended with the research questions addressed in the thesis.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the parts related to the methodology of the study including methodological considerations, in general, focusing on the discourse completion task (DCT), interviewing and observation of authentic situations in socio-pragmatic studies. This part is regarded as an introduction to the research methods used in the current thesis.

Following the methodological introduction, this chapter will focus on the methods conducted in the current thesis. This will include a detailed description of data eliciting instruments, participants, coding scheme, pilot study, and the materials used in data collection.

3.2 Methodological Considerations

3.2.1 Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

The DCT is a form of questionnaire usually used as a reliable eliciting tool in pragmatics and sociolinguistics. It usually includes various situations where the respondents are required to complete the discourse. It is more reliable than interviews in some respects due to covering some advantages such as keeping the respondents' information anonymous, which in turn promotes trust and encourages them to be more honest in their responses, in addition to having other advantages such as being economical in terms of money and time, and convenient in terms of being able to mail them (Gray 2004; Perry 2005; Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). In addition, a questionnaire is usually used as the best method when a researcher needs to elicit information from a large number of participants in a relatively short time (Perry 2005; Burns 2010).

Like any other questionnaire, it will be easier for the respondents to complete at their convenience, saving money and time, in addition to ensuring the confidentiality of the information provided by the respondents. Being free in time and knowing about information privacy would be helpful for the respondents to take their time to give as much information as possible. A questionnaire should be characterised by having clear wording and being easily understandable. Otherwise, the questions contained could be interpreted in different ways by the participants, which would be difficult to envisage and analyse (Moser & Kalton 2004). Gray (2004) states that some factors can threaten and affect the validity of a questionnaire, such as the wording of the questions, their poor sequencing, their structure, or their confusing design. He further added that asking fake and irrelevant questions would make the questionnaire boringly long and probably lessen the number of responses. The low response rate in turn might affect the possibility of generalising the research findings and consequently the external validity will be affected as well (Gray 2004). A questionnaire should be in clear and understandable wording, avoiding jargon, technical terms, words of double meaning that might be misinterpreted, emotive, and offensive, ambiguous, annoying and embarrassing words. That is, filling the questionnaire should not make anyone feel uncomfortable (Dawson 2009). For this reason, the pilot study was conducted to avoid any form of ambiguity. Since some topics are culture specific, Muijs (2004) argues that cultural differences should be taken into consideration with regard to the questions, as the researcher should avoid wording that might be misinterpreted or offensive to the culture concerned, such as asking about the 'Christian name'. This problematic issue can be addressed by piloting the questionnaire. To avoid this problem and design the most acceptable questionnaire (i.e. DCT), I followed two steps. Firstly, I requested two Kurdish university lecturers' feedback from Iraqi Kurdistan, and secondly, I piloted the DCT with six Kurdish native speakers in Bangor, Gwynedd, UK.

Furthermore, my cultural and linguistic background as a Kurdish informant and the fact that I am well aware of the intricacies of that culture was significantly helpful in tackling any cultural problems faced by researchers, which usually rises

when the researcher investigates a new culture as s/he needs to learn the pragmatic competence of the target culture (i.e. culture 2= C2).

With respect to using DCT, it was first used by Cohen & Olshtain (1981). Levenston (1975), and then Blum-Kulka (1982) developed the DCT to compare the use of the speech act between Hebrew native and non-native speakers. The ones implemented by Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain (1983) and Olshtain and Cohen (1983) were in the form of completing dialogues, preceded by a clear description of the situations which could help the participants understand fully the social relationship between the interlocutors. All these would help the participants give their responses to the given situations. Furthermore, DCTs are preferred by the researchers as the data can be quickly collected, and the context can be easily controlled and varied. For this reason they are adopted by many researchers in the fields of Pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Beebe & Cummings (1985) stated that the DCT saves the researcher's time as in a short period of time it enables them to collect a large amount of data about various speech acts which are not easy to observe in real life. To make use of time, Gillham (2000) suggests that questionnaires should be no longer than six pages, otherwise it affects their return rate. This is because it takes a long time, which makes it boring for the participants to complete them. Muijs (2004) says that the questionnaire should be attractive and short. The shorter the questionnaire the better, as completing it should take no longer than 30 minutes. This allocated time fits in with my DCT as it took no longer than 30 minutes in the pilot study. The evaluation form of the DCT received positive feedback regarding the speed of completion. With regard to the types of DCTs, Parvaresh and Tavakoli (2009) identified six types of DTC:

1. WDCT (written discourse completion task) in which the respondents are required to complete what they would say in some specified situations, which might be either OWDCT (open written discourse completion task) or DWDCT (dramatic written discourse completion task).

2. MDCT (Multiple choice question discourse completion task). The respondents are required to choose what the best is after they have written a description of a situation.
3. ODCCT (oral discourse completion task) in which the respondents are required to say orally what they would say in a certain situation.
4. DRPT (Discourse Role-Play Task) in which the participants are asked to play a particular role in certain situations.
5. DSAT (Discourse Self-Assessed Task) in which respondents are asked to rate a given speech act provided by the tester in certain situations.
6. RPSA (Role-Play Self-Assessment) combining DRPT and DSAT in which the respondents are required to rate their own pragmatic performance based on a previously video-recorded role-play.

It is worth noting that the written DCT is the most common elicitation tool in Pragmatics due to the reasons of low cost in money and time as well as its confidentiality (Gray 2004). However, the oral DCT is considered closer to naturally occurring conversation than the written DCT (Yuan, 2001). It could be argued that both have validity and reliability as both have been successfully employed, mostly the written DCT, for the last three decades. Regarding the oral DCT, it is more similar to interviewing than to the questionnaire, as it could be conducted in face-to-face interaction or by telephone. Therefore using each one depends on the nature of the study and the participants involved in the study. For instance, the oral DCT is the best solution for investigating a particular pragmatic speech act with illiterate participants where the written DCT is inapplicable, as will be explained later in further details.

It is worth noting that the data collected via the DCT was very reliable and valid as it was consistent with the data elicited from naturally occurring speech, particularly the major patterns of speech acts. This reliability was the reason behind the extensive use the DCTs in many socio-pragmatic studies, particularly the speech act studies, such as the work conducted by Blum-kulka et al (1989) to study apologies and requests among several cultures. It was that appropriateness of the DCT that

made it be commonly used by many researchers. According to Nelson, Carson, Al Batal, and El Bakary (2002), DCT is considered a more appropriate tool than natural data in inter-language pragmatics because the former is applicable to participants of different cultural backgrounds, which is not possible with the latter because it is difficult to control some social variables, such as the ethnic background and status of the interlocutors in naturalistic data collection. It might be argued that DCT is the only data eliciting instrument that can be used in cross-cultural studies to show the differences and similarities in using the speech acts investigated between two cultures using the same situations which are not possible in natural data. Houck and Gass (1999); Kown (2004) believe that DCT is the most appropriate instrument used for data production due to the inability of natural data to produce adequate data because of the impossibility of the speech acts to emerge frequently. Thus, it might be argued that DCT is still the most reliable data eliciting instrument, mainly in conducting comparative studies on speech acts in various situations. It could be argued that comparative studies are also applicable for comparison between the groups of participants involved in a mono-cultural study, as in the case with this thesis.

3.2.2 Interviews

Interviews are very commonly used in qualitative studies. They are helpful in getting access to participants' backgrounds, self-reported actions, opinions, thoughts, beliefs, or interpretations (Heigham & Croker 2009). They are considered as traditional techniques used in research as conversation performance methods to explore the researcher's focus area (Burns 2010). Since apology is a culture specific topic and the current topic is related to Kurdish culture, the researcher used interviewing as an integral part of the multi-methodological approach as it is the typical instrument to obtain cultural knowledge from the participants (Hinkel, 2011).

According to Burgess (1982, 102), interviews are "conversation with a purpose". Therefore, they are indispensable data collecting instruments in case

studies and an important supplementary method in survey research alongside questionnaires. (Gillham 2000).

It could be argued that interviewing is more effective at eliciting information than natural conversation because the interviewer has a role in the interview as part of the conversation as s/he can control and guide the interaction towards the objectives of the study. For that reason, they are described as conversations with a purpose. This is well supported by Mishler (1986); Spradley (1979); Hatch (2002) who believed that researchers usually conduct 'qualitative interviews as unique sorts of conversation' to discover knowledge, experiences and perspectives from the interviewees. The researcher is the major research instrument in qualitative studies because s/he is in direct contact with the subjects while interviewing or observing them in data collection processes. This would be helpful in exploring new avenues of the study, getting more in depth information and clarifying the ideas and making them more accurate for interpretation. (Heigham, Jogakuen and Croker, 2009).

Since apology is associated with many social and even personal factors such as gender, educational background, age and even way of thinking, I interviewed many Kurdish participants to explore the objectives of the study, the strategies used, and the effects of the social factors in determining the use of apology strategies. This is applicable to what Gray (2004) reported. According to him, interviewing is considered the most influential (powerful) technique in some situations, particularly in the research of exploratory objectives to reveal implicit feelings, attitudes, and understandings of the subjects investigated.

Interviewing is different from observation of natural speech or events in that the interviewer personally participates in the conversation with the interviewee through a list of questions to elicit information from him/her, that is, s/he is an integral part of the speech event, whereas the observer simply collects data from the interaction contexts without asking questions. On the other hand, the interview is also different from the questionnaire in forming the interpersonal connection between the

interviewee and the interviewer while conversing, which helps in comprehending the questions and clarifying any of them in the case of misunderstanding (Perry 2005).

Comparatively, in natural conversation, the researcher has no role in guiding or controlling the conversation events rather than observing the interaction as it occurs out of the researcher's control and plan. Another priority of interviewing over natural speech (conversation) is that the repetition of the events is guaranteed as the researcher can conduct the interview (i.e. purposeful conversation) many times with different people, whereas it is not possible in natural conversation because they occur by chance. Thus, the frequency of the events is highly guaranteed in interviews, which is not possible in authentic speech. For that reason, it could be stated that interviewing is preferred to natural speech in academic investigation.

Based on their structure, three types of interviews are generally identified: structured interviews, semi-structured (guided) and non-guided (open) interviews. Structured interviews might be described as the most directed form of conversations. They are used to elicit the same information from each subject. The interview questions are usually ordered in a similar way to those surveys or questionnaires. For that reason, they are useful to compare the interviewees' responses because a lot of the results might be represented by numerical data due to the closed and accurate types of responses obtained from these kinds of interviewees.

Guided, or Semi-structured interviews are a type of interview in which the questions are more open when compared to the structured ones, despite still being organised and structured. Such interviews help the researcher to explore a set of topics in his/her mind. The questions are more flexible which help the researcher to get more details about some the interviewees' responses which might lead the researcher into some unexpected and new explorations. They are usually used to compare the interviewees' responses while allowing for revealing some individual flexibility and diversity. For these reasons I have used this sort of interview as a second data collecting tool in my thesis.

Open interviews are characterised by being open and unstructured ones. The questions are not pre-planned ones. This type of interview is used when the researcher wants to get as much information as possible about the participants' beliefs, views, experiences and perspectives. This kind of the interview is directed by the participant rather than the interviewer (Burns 2010); Litosseliti, L. (2010); (Perry 2005) ; (Gray 2004); (Heigham, Jogakuen and Croker, 2009).

A good interviewer needs to be a good listener (Murchison, 2010), because listening with care to the interviewees will encourage them to speak openly and be more interactive within the conversation. Thus, the researcher should demonstrate a high degree of modesty to build a good relationship with participants and prove to them that s/he needs their experience and knowledge. The role of the interviewer was well summarised by Spradley (1979):

“By word and by action, in subtle ways and in direct statements, [researchers] say, “I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain things as you would explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand?”

(Spradley 1979: 34; Hatch 2002: 91; Waites 2003:166 ; Hatch 1990: 253)

The researcher has followed all these details in his interviews to collect abundant information from the interviewees about the apology strategies. It helps the researcher to obtain more and deeper information than is possible where other data collection instruments are used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007: 352). Thus, it is preferred by the researcher to support and expand the information collected via other methods mainly the questionnaires (i.e. DCTs). Preference of interviewing is attributed to enabling and activating multi-sensory channels of the participants to be used including verbal and non-verbal ones. Thus, it is described as a flexible information eliciting instrument (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007).

The flexibility of interviewing is significant in face-to-face interaction as the researcher can elicit some information via the facial expressions which usually give support to what is said by the interviewee. Another advantage of the interview is that the researcher can repeat and clarify the questions in the case of ambiguity. Furthermore, a face-to-face interview, which was followed in this study, was the closest method to naturally occurring situations. In order to get as much information as possible from the participants, the researcher used a semi-structured interview which provides more opportunities for the participants to speak than the structured interview which usually restricts the respondent's answers. The interviews were useful to elicit some other information that was missed by the DCTs. Thus, it is a complementary method of the DCTs. By using the interviews many aspects could be explored about the apology strategies used by Kurds.

3.2.3 Observation

Observation is the third data collecting instrument used in my thesis. It is based on naturally occurring situations. It has a major role in supporting the data collected via the other two instruments. According to Thomas (2009), observation is considered one of the most important tools for data collection. It might be used in some cases such as an exploratory method, an initial stage leading to some other methods, a supplementary technique, a component of a multi - method approach, and as a major method in exploratory descriptive studies (Hinkel 2011). The various usage of observation indicates the indispensability of it as an important data collection instrument. The observation in this study was used as part of the multi-method approach. Furthermore, it helped in supporting what has been collected via the DCT and the semi-structured interviews. It is often triangulated with other techniques such as using questionnaires and interviews (Gray 2004; Heigham, Jogakuen and Croker 2009). Triangulation is a good approach for double checking the collected data. Gray (2004) also states that observation should not be looked at as mere 'seeing'. It is

actually a sophisticated mission as it requires the involvement of all the senses and the explanation of the episodes observed.

According to Hatch (2002 as cited by Patton 1990: 202-05), a number of strong points in observational data have been identified due to the following features:

1. Doing direct observation of any social event helps in making the situations more understandable.
2. The researcher is more open to explore how the participants realise the events.
3. The researcher has more opportunity to explore things that are less likely to be discovered by questionnaires or interviews.
4. Being close to the social context helps the researcher to use his/her own knowledge and understanding in the context to analyse the events.

Moreover, Muijs (2004) reports some main advantages of observational research, such as giving direct contact to social interactions, which helps in exploring what actually occurs in a particular situation, not what is reported by the subjects, adding that observing in naturally occurring situations makes it possible to generalise the results when using experimental techniques. Based on this argument, observation would reveal some hidden parts of the image that are not revealed by other techniques such as questionnaires and interviews.

Finally, I would argue that using three data collecting techniques in the present thesis has given a relatively complete picture of the apology strategies used by the speakers of the central Kurdish in Garmian.

3.3 Research Methods

I used three techniques in conducting the data collection for the current thesis. The main technique is a twelve situation based DCT, that includes the most common offences to which Kurds feel obliged to apologise. The twelve situations are varied according to the social distance, social power, types of offence and severity of offence as shown in table 1-A. These different situations are important to elicit the apology strategies used in Kurdish culture. The DCT data was supported by interview technique, which is important in eliciting information about conceptualising apology, obligation to apology, the role of the social factors (i.e. gender, age, social status/power, and social distance/relationship). However, the technique is also useful to collect some culture-specific features about Kurdish apology act, such as the role of a third party, the use two staged-apology, no-obligation to apologise to certain non-linguistic behaviours (eg coughing, sneezing, burping and yawning) in Kurdish culture, that makes it different from English culture. The interview technique was also important to elicit real data about apologising in Kurdish by presenting real apology events in question 9. I corroborated the data by using a third technique, namely observing 44 real situations where Kurds are obliged to apologise. The 44 real situations included different types of offences which helped in eliciting various apology strategies in Kurdish culture. This triangulation is important for efficacy in generating reliable data for the current thesis.

3.3.1 Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

What distinguished the current DCT from other ones was that it included 12 situations that are associated with Kurdish culture. Thus, the respondents did not face an imaginary situation while completing the DCT. The applicability of the selected situations was confirmed in the pilot study when the respondents filled the evaluation form for the DCT they completed. They all confirmed these situations are very commonly applicable in the Kurdish culture. Having this realistic feature gave the elicited data more reliability as if the respondents were describing real events. Hence,

the data was expected to be closer to actual situations than the DCTs adopted by other researchers, which included questions not applicable or not associated with the real life of the respondents. Regarding the construction of the DCT, it was written in simple and clear Kurdish, and totaled six pages. It was composed of three parts. The first part was devoted to eliciting general information about the respondent's occupation/ educational background, gender and age, based on which the respondents were grouped. It also included another question about the mother tongue which was taken as a necessary precaution to exclude a questionnaire of non-native Kurdish speakers due to the study limitation that is devoted to the Kurdish subjects in the area.

The second part included instruction/ guidelines to the respondent explaining the way they need to complete the DCT. This part worked as basic guide. The third part included 12 apology-requiring situations in the Kurdish culture. Each situation started with describing an event followed by the offended person (i.e. apology recipient) who asked an apology requiring question. In response to that, the hearer (you) was asked to answer twice based on gender difference. In the first reaction, s/he was asked to consider the speaker of the same sex, and of the opposite sex in the second response. The reason for this was that Kurdish culture, like many Arabian and Muslim communities, is gender sensitive due to the influence of religion and the prevailing tradition.

It is commonly believed that apology is situation-oriented. However, the researcher added gender as another affecting social factor alongside the situation. The purpose was to explore how those apology strategies might differ in the same situation due to the factor of gender. Although it is commonly believed that the apology strategies differ according to the size of the offence, the researcher argues that the size of the offence is evaluated differently according to the gender of the apology recipient. The twelve situations dealt with the following apology contexts:

- Situation one: Bumping into somebody.
- Situation two: A friend became angry with you because s/he misinterpreted your words.

- Situation three: Missing calls from a friend or a relative. Later, s/he blamed you for that.
- Situation four: Breaking the promise to your child (or your young brother/sister) to buy him/her a present for Eid.
- Situation five: Being late for an appointment with a high social status/high-powered person.
- Situation Six: Failing to visit a seriously ill friend/ relative who got better afterwards.
- Situation Seven: Blocking somebody's way in the street.
- Situation eight: Stepping on somebody's toe (hurting him) while getting off the bus.
- Situation nine: inability to return the money to your lender on time.
- Situation ten: dropping and damaging your friend's mobile phone by accident.
- Situation eleven: Unable to visit a friend/ relative who was expecting you.
- Situation twelve: Apologising for not being able to accept your friend's invitation for tomorrow.

The adopted DCT is designed in the form of an open questionnaire which is preferred in some cases like this, as the participants can give a wide variety of responses without restrictions as supported by Perry (2005). The advantage of open questions which usually start with 'what', 'why', 'how, and so on is that they can obtain detailed responses about the matter in question (Gary 2004). This would be helpful in exploring different forms of strategies while apologising. Perry (2005) believes that the main disadvantage of questionnaires is that they are not flexible like interviews in modifying the questions after being distributed to the respondents. They also cannot motivate the participant for further information (Perry 2005). I might argue that this is mostly correct with a closed questionnaire in which the participants has to choose from the given options, whereas the matter is different with open questionnaire one

of which type is the current DCT, which leaves the participants free of given options. It might resemble a written interview.

Since Kurdish culture considers gender as one of the determining social factors in conversation, the apologiser was asked, in each situation, to express his/her apology in two ways: firstly considering the apology-recipient from the same gender, and secondly considering the apology-recipient from the opposite gender. By requiring two times of apologising based on gender, in each situation, a gender effect will most likely be evident.

Since apology strategies are determined by types of offence, the selected apology situations, which are the most common ones in the Kurdish culture, are classified according to the social power (P), social distance (SD), the types of the offence and the severity of the offence based on which the apology strategies are varied, according to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness approach, as illustrated in table 1-A. With regard to the severity of the offence, I might argue that one offence is evaluated differently, in some situations (as in situation 1), according to the gender of the communicators. Accordingly, in each DCT situation the participants were asked to apologise to the same gender firstly, and to the opposite gender secondly. Hence, different apology strategies are predicted according to the sort and severity in relation to the social factors, more particularly, gender variable.

The role of social factors in the DCT situations, is also included in the semi-structured interviews. It includes the role of gender, age, social status/ power and social distance. Additionally, a power-based situation was revealed in the interviews when the high social status subjects (i.e. lecturers) were asked about apologising to students, when the lecturers could not finish marking the students' exam papers. Additionally, some of the DCT situations are supported by some of the real observed situations, such as situations 1 - 9 in appendix 15, that is associated to breach of social commitment.

Table 1-A. Classification of apology situations based on social power, social distance (D) between the interlocutors, type of offence, and severity of offence. (A= the apologiser, AR = the apology recipient).

	Social Power	Social Distance	Type of Offence	Severity of Offence
1. Bump into somebody	A = AR	+ D	Space: Physical touch	Low/High: depends on the gender of the offended
2. Offending someone by words	A = AR	- D	Talk: insult	High
3. Missing a friend's phone call	A = AR	- D	Time: inconsideration	High
4. Failing to keep a promise to a child	A > AR	- D	Time: not keeping a promise	Low because of the child's age
5. Failing to be on time in an appointment with a HS/ power	A > AR	+ D	Time: Breach of Socio-religious commitment	High
6. Failing to visit an ill friend	A = AR	- D	Time: Breach of Socio-religious commitment	High
7. Blocking the way	A = AR	- D	Space	Low
8. Pressing on somebody's toe in a bus	A = AR	+ D	Space: physical touch	High
9. Failing to return the loan to a friend on time	A = AR	- D	Breach of social commitment	High
10. Damaging a friend's mobile	A = AR	-D	Possession damage	High
11. Forgetting to visit a friend	A = AR	-D	Breach of socio-religious commitment	High
12. Refusing a friend's invitation	A = AR	-D	Breach of a socio-religious commitment	High

The DCT takes into account also the age of the participants as one of the determining social factors in the area under the influence of religion and tradition. Hence, elderly people are expected to be dealt with a higher respect and politeness, which is expected to be reflected in their apology as a phenomenon of politeness. The social status [HS] vs. low social status [LS]) represented by the educational background of the participants is also another variable of the DCT, as it is expected that educated people (High social status) show different strategies while apologising than the ones with less education (i.e. low social status). All these variables are clearly stated in the first part of the DCT. Mother tongue was also mentioned in the personal information. The reason for that was to exclude the few expected forms from the participants whose first language is not Kurdish because the study strictly deals with the apology strategies in Central Kurdish.

What makes this DCT characteristically distinguishable is the reliability of the situations to all the participants as I have focused on the most common situations that happen to everyone in that culture, regardless of their gender, age and social status. The realistic applicability of the situations in the current DCT was also mentioned in the evaluation form for the pilot study, as the participants involved in the pilot study confirmed the applicability of the selected situations in the Kurdish culture when they filled the evaluation form following the piloted DCT. This gave the instrument validity and reliability.

Consequently, the current DCT is different from the ones used in some other studies whose questions are based on unrealistic (improbable) situations which make the respondents imagine what they would say in certain situations which they have never faced in their lives. This happens many times in role play questions as the respondents can only guess what s/he would say in that improbable situation. For instance, asking a child about what he would say if his wife was hurt by some of his jokes that he made is very far away from real life because the apologisee (i.e. the child) has never married and cannot imagine what kind of husband he would be. The matter is no more than imagining and guessing. Based on the mentioned genuine difference, I can say that the current DCT is closer to the naturally occurring situations.

3.3.1.1 Participants

Only 120 DCTs were perfectly completed and fitting the study as some of the participants could not fill it on time, some forms were incomplete, others did not return the forms, some were not fitting the criteria put with regard to age groups and mother tongue for the participants. They were based on three determining social factors (i.e. variables) in Kurdish culture: gender, age and social status. Since gender is expected to be the main social factor in determining the apology strategies in Kurdish, the researcher took into consideration the gender balance of the participants' numbers (60 males versus 60 females) to compare both genders' conduct in Kurdish culture.

Age was another social factor in classifying the Kurdish subjects of the study. They are divided into two groups: the younger group (aged 20-35) who might be described as the new Kurdish generation and the older group (aged 50+) as the older generation. Thus, there were 60 young and 60 old participants.

Additionally, the social status of the participants was another factor adopted in the study. This factor was represented by the education level of the participants who were divided into academia (i.e. teachers) and non-academia (ordinary people). The academia included lecturers at the University of Garmian, Kalar Technical Institute and various high schools within the Garmian Directorate of Education in the city of Kalar (Garmian). The non-academia included self-employed or/and unemployed people without higher education, some of whom were illiterate. Regarding the male non-academic subjects, they were self-employed as shopkeepers, mechanics, drivers, or unemployed persons, whereas all of the female non-academic participants were housewives. On that basis the academia subjects are dealt with as of high social status (+H) and the non-academia as of low social status (-H). The reason behind considering two groups is of sociolinguistic significance because being a teacher in the Kurdish culture, mainly in the area of the study, is regarded as a high social position. The social title "mamosta", meaning "Sir, Miss or Mrs" gives high prestige to that group of people, which attracts more politeness. On the basis of social status (i.e. education

level), and like the two other social factors, equal number of participants were selected (60 academia [+h]) vs. (60 non-academia [-h]). In this study, I would consider the social factor of gender as the main dominant variable. Hence, the participants were distributed into 60 male and 60 females.

Regarding the educational background of the respondents, an equal number of educated and uneducated participants were taken. 'Educated participants' in this study refers to all those who had completed their undergraduate or postgraduate studies and taught in the educational institutions in Iraqi Kurdistan (i.e. university, Institutes or/and high schools). Thus, they are referred to as a high social status group. On the other hand, 'Uneducated participants' refers to those people who have not entered school at all or have not completed their studies. They are either unemployed or self-employed. Thus, they are referred to as a low social group.

Concerning the uneducated group (i.e. low social status), they were divided into two groups with regard to completing the DCT: those who could read and write could complete the DCT, whereas the illiterate participants could not complete the DCT form. To solve that problem, I used an oral DCT with them which was easier for the participants, but difficult for the researcher as they needed later transcription like the interviews.

Regarding the educated groups (high social status), the participants included lecturers from Garmian University College of Education in Kalar and College of Basic Education, specifically from schools of English, Arabic, Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, Kurdish, Social Sciences and Physical Education. In addition, lecturers from Kalar Technical Institute were involved as participants in the study. Furthermore, the teachers from ten high schools were taken. The schools are geographically distributed to different areas in Garmian. This is significant for covering participants from the whole area rather than focusing on one part or some parts of it. A similar procedure was carried out in selecting low social status people.

As for the uneducated male participants, they were selected from self-employed individuals including shopkeepers, drivers, mechanics, blacksmiths,

electricians etc., in addition to some unemployed persons; whereas, the uneducated female participants were all house wives, as the ordinary female in the region has no profession, unlike their male counterparts.

3.3.1.2 Coding scheme

This thesis adopts the coding scheme utilised by Cohen and Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) in their studies on apology speech act. They are: Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID), explanation/account, taking on responsibility, offer of repair, concern for the hearer, and promise of forbearance. The six codes are combined with three other codes used by the researcher as the outcomes of the pilot study, which are lack of intent, expression of embarrassment, and non-verbal strategy. These nine codes will be the basis in analysing the data of the current thesis. The categories will be elucidated from the Kurdish data collected from the various apology situations. Following are the nine adopted codes with examples from Kurdish:

1. Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID). This semantic formula might be considered as the most ritualised and common one. It is expressed via some forms of requests as follows:

- داواى لێبوردن ئەکەم [dawai leburdin ?əkəm] (Formal IFID)
“I request your forgiveness”.
- ببوورە [bibu:rə] (informal IFID)
“Forgive”
- بـمـبـوـورـە [bimbura] / لێم ببوورە [lem bibu:rə]: (socio-regional IFID)
‘Forgive me’
- عەفوومکە ، عەفون ، عەفوو؛ [ʔəfu:] = [ʔəfuən]; [ʔəfumkə] (Arabic-based IFID)
“Forgiveness”

- بيمهخشه [bimbəʃə] (Persian-based IFID)
“Forgive me”
- گهر ديم نازاكه [gərdinim ʔazakə] (socio-religious IFID)
“Forgive me”.

2. Responsibility/taking responsibility.

- Acknowledging responsibility/ taking personal responsibility
خهتاي من بوو
‘It was my fault’

- Self-blame

دهستم بشكي (situation10)

‘I wish my hands were broken’

- Giving right to the offended person

حەتقی خوڤته، حەقە

‘It is your right’

3. Account/ explanation.

(Situation 5) – مامۆستا سه یاره نه بوو، عه فوومکه ته ئهخیر بووم -

‘There was no bus, sir. Forgive me, I have been late’

(Situation 11) وەللا مېوانم بوو، نەستوانی جیئە بھێلم

‘By Allah (God), I had guests, I could not leave them’

4. Repair (also known as offer of repair).

(Situation 10) دانہیہ کی تازہت بڑدہ کریم.

'I will buy you a new one'

5. Promise of Forbearance.

(Situation 5) - دووبارہی ناگمہوہ

'I will not do it again'

(situation 9, males) ہر ئیسٹا بوٹی تہہینمہوہ

'I will return it to you now'

6. Concern for the hearer.

(situation 2) عاجز مہبہ

'Do not be angry'

(Situation 6) ئیسٹا چوئی؟

'How are you now?'

7. Lack of Intent.

نہمزانی = مہبہسٹم نہبوو = ناگم لی نہبوو

'I did not mean (it)', 'I did not intend it', 'I did not know'.

8. Expression of embarrassment.

خہجالہتم، شہرمہزارم

'I am embarrassed'

9. Non-verbal apology.

- Kissing
- Hugging
- Shaking hands

3.3.1.3 Pilot study

A pilot study (which is also called a feasibility study or pre-testing study) is a test for the data collecting instruments prior to the final data collection. The purpose is to prepare for the main or final study (Teijlingen, E. R; V. Hundley 2001). It can also be considered as trying out or pre-testing of some specific research tools (Baker: 1994). It helps in improving the design of the research and checking the viability (feasibility) of the study. Thus, it is like a warning before the full-scale study, and a researcher should not take the risk before conducting the pilot study (De Vaus 1993).

Three main instruments were used in data collection: a questionnaire in the form of a DCT (discourse completion task), interviews, and observing real engineered situations. The DCT is considered the main data collection instrument. It was piloted with six Kurdish native speakers in Bangor, North Wales before the final data collection. Some significant purposes stood behind the pilot study, which are as follows:

1. To ensure the clarity of the questions asked in the DCT.
2. To ensure the clear language of the form.
3. To find out whether there were any ambiguous questions?
4. To explore the availability of any vague word.

5. To discover the possibility of the occurrence of the 12 suggested situations in the real life of Kurdish people.
6. To explore the inapplicability of any of the 12 situations.
7. To assess the social appropriateness and acceptability of the questions in the Kurdish culture.
8. To estimate the time required for filling the questionnaire.
9. To guarantee the reliability of the questionnaire.
10. Finally, to test it whether it obtains the results required (Dawson 2009).

The DCT was followed by an evaluative questionnaire to be completed by the participants. The results of the evaluation questionnaires required very slight changes in the DCT. The comments of the participants made the DCT more valid and more reliable. Regarding the time required to fill the DCT, I found that the participants could complete the questionnaire in no more than half an hour. It is significant to consider the time required for completing the questionnaire (DCT) because the participants are not objects but subjects of the study (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007).

Another factor that helped me in making my instruments reliable and valid to be used in the Kurdish culture was my personal experience as a Kurdish native speaker. It is of significance for a researcher to be aware of the language and the culture of the participants involved in the study. Being affiliated to the same culture of the participants would help the researcher to work within the cultural guidelines of the subjects involved in the study. In spite of my familiarity and awareness of the Kurdish culture, I made the pilot study for the data eliciting instruments for the purpose of more objectivity and reliability.

3.3.1.4 Materials

A discourse completion task (DCT) was used as the main tool to collect data for my thesis. The DCT is written in the Kurdish language, composed of six pages. It included questions about 12 apology prompting situations.

3.3.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviewing was used as a second data collection instrument. The interviewing included nine questions genuinely applicable to the Kurdish culture. The purpose behind conducting semi-structured interviews was to explore new aspects of apology strategies used by Kurds. The semi-structured interviews were the best type to reach the objectives of my study because of their flexibility and controllability by the researcher (i.e. interviewer) at the same time. Like the DCT, the first part of the interviewing was devoted to elicit general information about the interviewees such as gender, age, educational level/occupation and mother tongue. The second part included nine questions as follows:

Question 1. What do you think about apology? This question helped in revealing the Kurdish respondent's attitude about apology and its position in the Kurdish culture.

Question 2. When and why do you apologise? This question showed the obligation to apology in Kurdish culture in addition to the purpose behind apologising.

Question 3. What do you often say when you apologise? This question helps to reveal the most dominant apology strategies in Kurdish. It is significant to show the effect of participant's gender in apology strategy selections.

Question 4. How do you prefer to apologise? Alone or accompanied by friend(s) or relative(s) as a third party? Why? This question is important to find the preferred ways of apologising and the role of a third party in Kurdish apologies.

Question 5. What is the best way of apologising, in your opinion, and how do you do it?

This question was designed to explore different forms of apologies in terms of sincerity and making remedy.

Question 6. How do you usually apologise - briefly or in detail? Do you use any introduction as a pre-apology before apologising, such as a related short story? A proverb or any other expressions? Why? This question aims to reveal the linguistic structure (length) used in the apology strategies in the Kurdish culture; that is, in what situation Kurds prefer using short apology strategies and in what situations long expressions. In other words, it was useful to realise the relationship between the length of the apology expressions and the size (sort) of offence.

Question 7. What do you say in the following situations?

- When sneezing during speaking?
- When yawning in conversation?
- When you cough while speaking?
- When burping throughout your speech?
- When you interrupt somebody's conversation and need to correct him/her?

This question was designed for the purpose of exploring the obligation to apology with regard to some sorts of non-linguistic behaviour that occasionally accompany daily interaction, such as sneezing, yawning, coughing, and burping. It was also helpful to find out the strategy used to change turn taking in conversation when interrupting a speaker in the course of conversation.

Question 8. Do you think that apologising differs according to the apology recipient or is it same for all? For example, how do you consider the following factors in your apology?

- Gender: men and women
- Social distance: A friend or relative and a stranger.

-Age: same age, younger or older

- Social status: such as a high official, a famous social character or a religious personality.

The aim of question 8 was to elicit the interviewees' view about the difference made in apology based on the apology recipient (i.e. offended person) based on their gender, social distance, age and social status.

Question 9. Could you please state a recent event when you experienced apology in your life? This question was devoted to depicting an authentic event about apology strategy experienced by each interviewee. The outcome of this question might be considered as representation of real situations in the Kurdish culture.

Regarding the language of the Interviews, they were written in Kurdish using a simple and clear language that was understood by all the interviewees, as the interview questions were piloted by two Kurdish subjects before the full data collection to ensure reliability. As regards the time required for the interviewing, the questions could be answered in a convenient time, which ranged between 8:37 to 29:08 minutes (see table 1). The interviews were conducted at convenient times and places for the interviewees.

Concerning the high social status interviewees (university, Institute lecturers, and high school teachers), the interviews were conducted in face-to-face interaction in a suitable room in their departments and schools. However, interviewing the low social status male subjects was conducted at their workplaces (i.e. shops) after making a mutually accepted appointment with them. The interviews with the young housewives (low social status women, aged 20-35) were conducted at my sister's house within her presence. This was a more convenient way of contacting *namāhrām*, meaning "non-family", due to the socially strict tradition specific to the area of the study.

For each interview, I mostly used two USB digital voice recorders to ensure the proper recording and to avoid missing any piece of information. Using more than one

recorder is a greater guarantee for the researcher to be on the safe side. In the case of one recorder being damaged during an interview the information will still be available with the other recorder. Although I had a micro tape recorder (using it only twice with another digital recorder), I preferred the digital ones and the mobile phone because it was easier to download the recorded interviews on to my laptop computer. To avoid the accumulation of the interviews, I transferred them that night to the laptop computer.

In respect of the mechanism of the interviewing, some procedures were taken, starting with making an appointment. After making an appointment by mobile phone calls, the interviews with university lecturers and high school teachers were conducted in their schools for their convenience. The heads of the schools and headmasters of the schools were helpful in devoting a special room for the interviews. Some of the interviews of the uneducated participants were conducted in their workplaces. For instance, I did three interviews with the shop keepers at their shops, that suited them. Two of them were done at night and the other one in the day time. I abided by the time that was convenient for them. Some other interviews took place at their houses.

With respect to interviewing the young uneducated female participants, my sister was of great assistance as she arranged the appointment with some of her friends to have a cup of tea at her house and be interviewed. It was a very social and comfortable situation where the interviewees were satisfied. Some other interviews were made at my brother's house after making an appointment with them.

Before starting each interview, I thanked the interviewee for coming and for their willingness to be interviewed and prayed for them that it be considered a good deed for them with God. Kurdish people, especially the ordinary ones are willing to cooperate when you need them to. They consider cooperation as a charitable deed that will be appreciated by God. For that belief they feel happy if you pray for them such as 'God bless you' and 'He will appreciate your participation as a good deed'. Thus, it would be impolite in the Kurdish culture to offer money or even anything for

their participation. I informed them that the purpose of this interview was academic and nothing else. In addition, I took their permission to record their voice. To mention the purpose of the interview was so significant in that area because of the tense political situation at that time. Before starting the interviews, I explained to them that they should take their own time to answer the questions, and that they could stop the interview at any time they needed and then we could resume talking. Also, I let them know that they were free not to answer any questions they felt unhappy with. Usually, I tried to make a friendly and sociable situation before the interview had started. When they expressed their readiness the interview started. For the psychological comfort of the participant, I put the small digital recorders to the side, not in front of the interviewee and also asked spontaneous questions without using a paper. They were conducted in a friendly way like every-day natural interaction. I always started with safe topics and general questions to pave the way to the other questions. Unlike what is usually expected with the use of recording devices, which can cause discomfort to the participants because of feeling spied on (Wiersma 1986), the interviews were carried out in a friendly atmosphere and always ended with thanks and appreciation.

3.3.2.1 Participants

24 participants of those who completed the DCT were interviewed, taking into consideration the geographical distribution of the participants. They were also balanced by gender (12 males vs 12 females) while considering their age and social status as two other effective factors alongside gender as the main variable. The interview details are illustrated in table 1 below:

Table 1-B. Details about the interviewees and the interviews

No.	Interviewees.	Age	Gender	Social status	Job	Duration
1.	Interviewee 1	65	Male	Low social status	Unemployed	22:24
2.	Interviewee 2	50	Male	Low Social Status	Free job	24:08
3.	Interviewee 3	58	Male	Low social status	Free job	15:50
4.	Interviewee 4	62	Male	High Social Status	Teacher	29:08
5.	Interviewee 5	53	Male	High Social Status	I. Teacher	13:09
6.	Interviewee 6	56	Male	High Social Status	I. Teacher	13:09
7.	Interviewee 7	35	Male	Low Social Status	Free job	27:15
8.	Interviewee 8	34	Male	Low Social Status	Free job	18:48
9.	Interviewee 9	30	Male	Low Social Status	Blacksmith	17:55
10.	Interviewee 10	35	Male	High Social Status	H. Teacher	21:46
11.	Interviewee 11	31	Male	High Social Status	U. Teacher	20:18
12.	Interviewee 12	29	Male	High Social Status	U. Teacher	27:04
13.	Interviewee 13	61	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	15:02
14.	Interviewee 14	68	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	14:00
15.	Interviewee 15	67	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	8:37
16.	Interviewee 16	51	Female	High Social Status	Teacher	13:52
17.	Interviewee 17	57	Female	High Social Status	Teacher	24:06
18.	Interviewee 18	54	Female	High Social Status	Teacher	22:52
19.	Interviewee 19	35	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	17:26
20.	Interviewee 20	30	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	18:47
21.	Interviewee 21	27	Female	Low Social Status	Housewife	12:48
22.	Interviewee 22	34	Female	High Social Status	U. Teacher	13:41
23.	Interviewee 23	30	Female	High Social Status	Teacher	23:01
24.	Interviewee 24	31	Female	High Social Status	Teacher	26:18

3.3.2.2 Pilot Study

The interview questions were piloted with four Kurdish postgraduate students in Bangor (two males and two females) to check the acceptability of the questions contained in the interview in the light of the Kurdish cultural values. I also consulted two university lecturers from Iraqi Kurdistan by email. They both gave me their positive feedback about the interview questions. These procedures made me more satisfied and comfortable about interviewing as a reliable and valid instrument before using it in the final data collection.

3.3.2.3 Materials

For the interviewing, the researcher mostly used a Chinese made grey 2G Sony digital voice recorders (MP3 player), and a black Chinese made Genix digital voice recorder (MP3 player). In some other cases I used a black Nokia 95 mobile (8G, made in Hungary) and a black Sony micro tape recorder (Japanese made). In each interview, I used two of these devices to guarantee not to miss any part of the interviews.

3.3.3 Observation

For observation, different situations prompting apologies were covered in university, schools, Mosques, in cars, at friends' and relatives' houses, public places such as shops, and in the street. The real observed situations are significant to elicit various apology strategies due to the varying types of offence, severity of offence and the social relationship/ distance (D) between the interlocutors as well as the gender of the apologiser, as shown in appendix 15. The most dominant observed situations were concerned with breach of social commitment (situations 1 - 9, 15, 17, 31, 35 & 36), failure to complete a DCT (situations 10 - 14), inconvenience (situations 18, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 33, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43 & 44).

The observations were conducted throughout two visits to Iraq. The first visit was done in October 2009 and the second in February 2011 alongside the final data collection. Regarding the procedure, after each situation, I immediately recorded in detail what was said after each situation, either by pen and paper or by using the digital voice recorder. A great deal of the observation focused on real engineered situations. This happened in different situations, such as visiting and staying with unwell people who had to be visited by people at home. There is usually an obligation to apologise for any late visitors in such situations. Two main situations included:

The first situation happened in my first visit to Iraq in October 2009. By that time, my youngest brother had fractured his leg and was walking on crutches. Failure to visit a patient in such a situation indicates an obligation to apology and prompts apology in the Kurdish culture. How late-coming friends, relatives and acquaintances apologised when they visited him at home constituted a rich source of observation. In the afternoons, I accompanied him to a physiotherapy clinic in the city centre where we came across many of his friends using different apology strategies.

Another apology prompting situation was my visit. According to Kurdish cultural values, a guest or visitor coming from a far place should be visited, welcomed and invited by his friends and relatives. Violation of that requires an apology as late visitors usually apologise with explanation and justifications to save the hearer's face and their own faces as well (self-politeness).

Visiting friends, acquaintances, and relatives sometimes needed to apologise. The sincerity of the apology depends on the social distance between the speaker and the hearer. For instance, a close friend and relative usually need to visit more than once or to visit and invite. Violating that social norm requires apologising. For that reason, I visited some friends and acquaintances who apologised in different ways based on whether they visited me and how many times they did. I also conducted observation in different high schools and departments of Garmian University, when sitting in the teachers' rooms.

The real situations were made during my second visit. Some of the situations were made by my brother who helped in generating some situations which were observed by both of us. In addition to his effort mentioned earlier, he played a great role in making natural situations with ordinary people mainly with young male low social status participants. The main situation was failing to achieve a promise. The promised time to collect the DCT questionnaires from the participants was very significant. My assistant visited some participants on time to collect the questionnaire (DCT), saying "hello, I hope you have completed the questionnaire". It was a real apology prompting situation which helped in recording different styles of apology for not completing the form yet. I accompanied him in most of the situations and recorded the events by pen and paper or reported them as an oral report to my digital voice recorder, describing the events and what expressions were used. The same situation happened repeatedly with the university lecturers and high school teachers, at the time the DCT forms were due to be collected. The repetition of the same engineered situation among the observed participants are important to compare between the males and females.

Another apology provoking situation during my second trip was visiting a close relative of mine who was seriously ill. I could observe many people apologising because of their late visit. I repeated my visit to him as part of the social values there. At each visit I was able to observe different apology strategies made by the late visitors.

Another real situation was represented by my return visit to Kurdistan. I observed many apology strategies when I met friends, neighbours, and some relatives in public places in the street, on the bus, mosque, university and school. I could observe various apology strategies given to me in these contexts. All these situations and strategies will be explained in further detail in the results analysis chapter. The results obtained from observing the real situations will be expected to significantly enhance those acquired via the DCT and interviews.

3.3.3.1 Participants

44 subjects were involved in observing real situations. The participants are distributed over 33 males and 11 females with regard to gender difference. As regards the age factor, the participants, similarly, are classified into the younger generation (20 – 35) and the older generation (50 +). For the social status of the participants, they were divided by their social status into high social status (HS) and low social status (LS). Unlike the participants of DCT and interviews, they are not numerically equal in number due to the nature of observation method that makes it difficult.

There were more male participants than female ones due to the conservative nature of the Kurdish culture, specifically the area of the study where men are more social and open to social life than women. More details about the real situation participants and the apology strategies are illustrated in appendix 15.

3.3.3.2 Pilot study

The pilot study for the certain real situations was conducted by making certain situations that mostly required apologising such as:

- Confronting a friend who missed my phone calls;
- Visiting a seriously sick person to watch the late comers' apologies.
- Visiting friends and relatives who could not visit me during my first visit to Iraq.
- Reminding one participant who was late in filling the DCT in conducting the pilot study for my first study in Bangor.

All these purposefully-made situations were helpful to conduct other similar situations in the main data collection.

3.3.3.3 Materials

For the observations, I used a pen and paper with the Sony digital voice recorder to record the authentic situations observed by the researcher. After observing a real situation, I recorded it on the digital recorder as an oral report about what had happened. Sometimes, I used pen and paper to record some other situations.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

The required ethical issues were taken into consideration in the process of data collection in Iraqi Kurdistan. The first step I followed was taking a letter from my supervisor, Dr. June Luchjenbroirts addressed "To Whom It May Concern" to Iraqi-Kurdistan asking for cooperation in my data collection in the region (see appendix 1). This was very helpful in the area of my study. This was the key to start with in the educational institutions prior to collecting the data; obtaining permission from the deans of the education college and Kalar Technical institute as well as the general director of Garmian Education. This gave me permission to visit all the departments and the schools in the area. Also, a consent form was designed to be signed by each participant prior to data collection.

Regarding the illiterate participants, oral consent was taken three times from each participant. Firstly, when obtaining his/her permission to participate in the study (after explaining the matter and ensuring the confidentiality of their information to all except for the researcher). Secondly, when choosing the time that was convenient for him/her. Thirdly, when asking permission to allow me to record the questions and the answers which were conducted in a very friendly way.

For the ordinary young female participants, the appointments were thankfully arranged by my sister. This was related to the young female strangers due to the prevailing social values that should be followed as an ethical consideration. According to the social and religious restrictions, a female stranger is not allowed to have a face-to-face interaction with a male without a third female present. Another part of the

ethical consideration was that I was accompanied by my sister when I did the interviews to show my respect to the prevailing social values. After welcoming the participants, I would start a general conversation talking about life in general to pave the way to begin the interviews. I asked their permission to record the conversation and I told them from the beginning that these are very common questions related to the routine daily life in Kurdish culture. In addition, I asked them to feel free to stop the conversation at any time they needed to do and then we could resume talking. I also told them that they could ignore any questions they were not happy to answer. I put the digital recorders aside to avoid the formal style. This procedure encouraged them to speak in a relaxed manner.

3.5 Transcription of the data

Following the final data collection in Garmian, Iraqi-Kurdistan, and my return to Bangor, transcribing the data was conducted in three stages:

3.5.1 Transcribing the oral DCT

The oral DCTs were transcribed to the empty DCT forms. There were 39 DCT forms, mainly belonging to the non-academia (i.e. low social status participants) who faced difficulty in writing. These oral DCTs were like some versions of structured interviews.

3.5.1.1 Grouping the DCT data

The second stage was devoted to classifying the DCT data according to the participants gender as a main cultural variable, while considering the age and social status of the participants. For that purpose, I used two records: one for transcribing the data of the female participants and another record for male participants. Each record embraced transcribed data for 60 Kurdish respondents, sub-classified into four groups: Old high social status, young high social status, old low social status and young

low social status. The data was classified at this stage on the basis of participant groups and situations. One table was devoted to the responses of one situation for each group separately. By doing this all the data became organised in tables rather than scattered in separate DCT questionnaires. Transcribing the DCT data in such a way was very helpful in entering the data later into excel, based on the situations and the apology strategies employed.

3.5.1.2 Entering and classifying the data in the worksheet

Classifying the responses according to the apology strategy categories was not an easy task as it required eight detailed tables within both of male and female tables. It took around 20 days. To find and classify the strategies, it required me to go through the 120 participants and double check the response and the number of the occurrences of all strategies. Thus, it required a precise calculation for the occurrence of each strategy used by the 120 respondents distributed over 60 men and 60 women.

3.6 Transcription of the interviews

With respect to transcribing the 24 interviews, I conducted it based on the classified groups adopted in the study. Based on gender classification as in the case with DCT data transcription, I started first by transferring the male groups' interviews in the first half (part) of the record and then the female ones in the second half of the record. The transcription was conducted via my black Japanese made Sony Vaio laptop, and Chinese made white headphones. A long time was required for transcribing each interview as it required repeating some sections several times. The reason behind these difficulties was attributed to the type of the interview conducted as a semi-structured one. For that reason, they were different in length as illustrated in table 1.

3.7 Transcription of the observed real situations

This type of transcription included only some of the real events which were recorded following the events observed. The reason is that I used pen and paper in recording some of the observational events and oral descriptive voice recorded reports after observing some other events using a digital voice recorder.

Regarding time requirement for transcribing these events, they were easier than interviews and DCTs because most of them were already recorded by pen and paper and only few of them were recorded by digital voice recorder. Furthermore, they were very short recorded descriptions about some real events, ranging between 5 and 15 minutes in duration.

2.8 Chapter Summary

In summary, the chapter has dealt with methodology, starting with the methodological considerations that aimed to define and explain the significance of discourse completion task (DCT), interviews and observation in sociolinguistic studies. It mainly focussed on the research methods of the current study. With this regard, it has dealt with description of the three data collection techniques used in the study (i.e. DCT, Interviews and observing real situations), the coding schemes, participants, pilot studies and the materials for the three types of data. The chapter also dealt with the ethical considerations needed and followed in data collection process. The last part of the chapter has dealt with transcribing and organising the three types of data to be ready for analysis in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Results Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with analysing the data of the three utilised instruments. This includes the results analysis of the DCTs, interviews and real situations in three sections. The analysis will be conducted differently based on the three different data collection instruments, and the purpose of each tool. However, the three types of data will, in common, be analysed on the basis of gender differences between the Kurdish participants.

This chapter, in general, aims to explore the apology strategies in Central Kurdish and check how they differ from the English strategies adopted by Cohen and Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). This chapter is also concerned with the effect of gender in Kurdish culture, the conceptualisation of apology in Kurdish and how it is influenced by the social variables of gender, age, social status/ power, and social distance. Finally, this chapter aims to reveal the perceptions of face and politeness in Kurdish culture through analysis of the politeness phenomenon of apology.

The results analysis will be conducted via three sections. The first section (4.2) aims to examine the realisation patterns of Kurdish apology generated from twelve apology requiring situations of the DCT across the Kurdish males and females involved in the study. Section 2 (4.6) aims to shed light on apology conceptualisation and perception in the Kurdish culture, resulting from 24 interviewees, in addition to exploring the influence of some social variables in Kurdish apologies such as gender, social relationship/ distance, age, and social status/power. The third section (4.12) aims to analyse the apology strategies used in the 44 real observed situations based on the severity of the offence, the apologisee, the situation and the apology-recipients in certain cases. Moreover, the analysis will be illustrated by tables and charts to show the differences between the strategies utilised in the given situations.

4.2 Results Analysis: DCT Data

The results of the DCTs will be analysed in details and explained in tables and figures. It will consist of computing the frequencies and percentages of the apology strategies used by Kurdish males and females across the given situations. The analysis will be conducted based on the situation at the first stage and on apology strategy in the second stage.

Regarding the situations, the significance of the determining factors will focus on areas such as the size of the offence, obligation to apologise, the social distance between the apology giver and apology recipient, the social status/power, gender of the offender and offended persons. Also, it significantly shows the influence of the apology recipient's gender in determining the apology strategies used in the 12 situations.

The second part of the analysis will be based on the apology strategies used by the 120 Kurdish participants involved in the study, distributed into 60 Kurdish males and 60 Kurdish females on the basis of the social variable of gender. However, the effect of age and social status variables will be dealt with in analysing the data.

4.2.1 Description of the Kurdish Apology Strategies

The following nine apology strategies have been identified in this data:

4.2.1.1 Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID). This strategy might be considered to be the most common one. It is expressed via some forms of requests as follows:

1. داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم [dawai leburdin ?əkəm] “I request your forgiveness”. This strategy is the most formal IFID in Kurdish.
2. ببورە [biburə] “forgive”. It is the most common informal IFID.
3. بمبورە [bimburə]. It is a socio-regional informal IFID
4. لێم ببورە [lem biburə]. It is similar to the socio-regional informal IFID بمبورە bimburə,

but with more modesty. Hence, it is identified as modest socio-regional IFID

5. عهفوومكه ، عهفوهن ، عهفوو؛ [ʔəfu:] = [ʔəfuən]; [ʔəfumkə] “forgiveness”; “forgive me” respectively. These forms of IFIDs which are of Arabic origin are commonly used by Kurds. Thus, they are known as Arabic-based IFIDs

6. گهردئم نازاکه [gərdinim ʔazakə] “forgive me”. This strategy is used by Kurds as a socio-religious IFID.

7. بمبهخشه [bimbəʔʃə] “forgive me”. This semantic formula is less common than the other forms of IFIDs. It is a Persian-based IFID.

4.2.1.2 Responsibility. The strategy of taking responsibility is expressed by three semantic formulae:

1. Acknowledging responsibility
2. Self-blame
4. Giving right to the offended person

4.2.1.3 Account/ explanation. This strategy includes the justification and explanation the offender gives to his/her wrongdoing whether as a separate strategy or with other strategies. It might be regarded as a sign of sincerity to convince the offended person of his/her apology and justification.

4.2.1.4 Repair (also known as offer of repair). This is used when there is some material damage. As a semantic formula it is similar to the English formula “I will buy you a new one”. It is based on the social distance between the interlocutors as it most probably occurs among strangers and very rarely among friends and relatives.

4.2.1.5 Promise of Forbearance. This strategy is used when the apologiser promises the offended not to carry out that type of wrongdoing again in the future. The success of this strategy is based on the apologiser’s future behaviour.

4.2.1.6 Concern for the hearer. This strategy shows the apologiser’s concern in keeping the social relationship with the offended person. It is basically expressed by

the semantic formula عاجز مەبە [ʔa:dʒis məbə], meaning “do not be angry”. Being angry is an indication of the end of the relationship between the interlocutors.

4.2.1.7 Lack of Intent. This strategy is one of the most commonly used ones in Kurdish apologies. It is commonly represented by the semantic formula نەمزانی [nəmzani:], meaning “I did not know / mean or intend”.

4.2.1.8 Expression of embarrassment. This strategy is used as a sign of sincere apology to restore the affected situation. It is strongly associated with the maxim of modesty.

4.2.1.9 Non-verbal apology. This strategy might be also known as “say nothing strategy”. This strategy might be used as a separate strategy or can be used to accompany other strategies. It is a gender-sensitive strategy in the Kurdish culture as not all the non-verbal forms of strategy are applicable to both genders, with regard to the physical distance between male and female interlocutors.

4.3 Analysis of the Apology Strategies by Situation

The analysis of both gender groups 120 will be presented in tables, and charts. The details of the occurrence of all the nine strategies used by Kurdish males and females will be presented in illustrative charts.

The occurrence of these nine apology strategies across the different genders and situation types is captured in tables 2-A and 2-B. The primary contrast in these tables is to capture when the speakers apologise to the same (2-A) or different genders (2-B). The following sub-sections will deal with these results in terms of the different social situations. Similarly, the results in each situation is identified by (A) for apologising to the same gender and (B) for the opposite gender.

Table 2-A. Apology Strategies produced by the Kurdish men and women to apology recipients of the same gender across the twelve situations

Situation	S1			S2			S3			S4			S5			S6		
Strategy	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
IFIDs	59	55	114	29	33	62	35	36	71	7	14	21	50	37	87	32	27	59
Responsibility							1	0	1	1	0	1				25	11	36
Account				25	18	43	58	45	103	29	32	61	47	53	100	40	49	89
Offer of Repair							2	0	2	42	40	82						
Promise of Forbearance				0	2	2				1	0	1	3	0	3			
Concern for the Hearer				11	7	18	6	5	11				1	0	1	7	6	13
Lack of Intent	6	19	25	46	46	92	8	28	36				1	0	1	2	0	2
Expression of Embarrassment							2	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	14	11	25
Non-Verbal Apology							1	0		1	6	7						

Situation	S7			S8			S9			S10			S11			S12		
Strategy	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
IFIDs	47	26	73	56	57	113	23	24	47	38	38	76	38	33	71	27	25	52
Responsibility	4	2	6	3	1	4	6	4	10	2	5	7	5	0	5			
Account				0	2	2	29	37	66				54	53	107	55	51	106
Offer of Repair										51	44	95						
Promise of Forbearance							48	40	88				16	9	25	27	25	52
Concern for the Hearer				9	4	13				3	4	7	0	2	2	1	2	3
Lack of Intent	7	5	12	37	39	76				16	17	33						
Expression of Embarrassment				0	2	2	9	5	14	4	3	7	0	1	1			
Non-Verbal Apology	0	2	2															

Table 2-B. Apology Strategies produced by the Kurdish men and women to apology recipients of the opposite gender across the twelve investigated situations

Situation	S1			S2			S3			S4			S5			S6		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
IFIDs	54	48	102	24	32	56	33	30	63	9	12	21	52	32	84	31	29	60
Responsibility							1	1	2							17	8	25
Account				28	17	45	59	47	106	29	31	60	39	53	92	40	51	91
Offer of Repair							2	0	2	39	40	79						
Promise of Forbearance				0	2	2				1	0	1	5	1	6			
Concern for the Hearer				12	2	14	5	0	5							8	4	12
Lack of Intent	17	13	30	41	44	85	9	24	33				2	0	2	2	0	2
Expression of Embarrassment	0	2	2										1	1	2	11	5	16
Non-Verbal Apology										2	6	8						

Situation	S7			S8			S9			S10			S11			S12		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
IFIDs	43	29	72	54	49	103	23	28	51	42	40	82	37	36	73	29	22	51
Responsibility	0	1	1	4	1	5	4	2	6	3	5	8	4	0	4			
Account				0	2	2	29	31	60				56	52	108	56	47	103
Offer of Repair										51	41	92						
Promise of Forbearance							48	41	89				14	10	24	24	21	45
Concern for the Hearer	1	0	1	3	3	6	0	2	2	4	3	7	0	2	2	1	3	4
Lack of Intent	6	5	11	39	32	71				16	18	34						
Expression of Embarrassment				0	1	1	8	4	12	4	4	8	1	1	2			
Non-Verbal Apology	0	3	3															

4.3.1 Situation 1: Bumping into somebody in the street.

The data revealed that only two semantic formulae were relatively used in situation 1 (A) by Kurdish males and females to perform an apology. IFIDs and a lack of intent were the only two dominant strategies used by Kurds of both genders. IFIDs have been the most frequently used strategy with a high rate (males= 59; females= 55). A Lack of intent is the second most frequently used strategy although employed with a lower rate by both gender groups (males= 6 vs females=19), as shown in figure 4. These data show no significant difference in the use of IFIDs. However, there is a clear difference in the use of a lack of intent strategy when apologising to the same gender. The reason behind using only two strategies in apologising to the same gender is attributed to the type and nature of the offence dealt with (i.e. bumping into somebody).

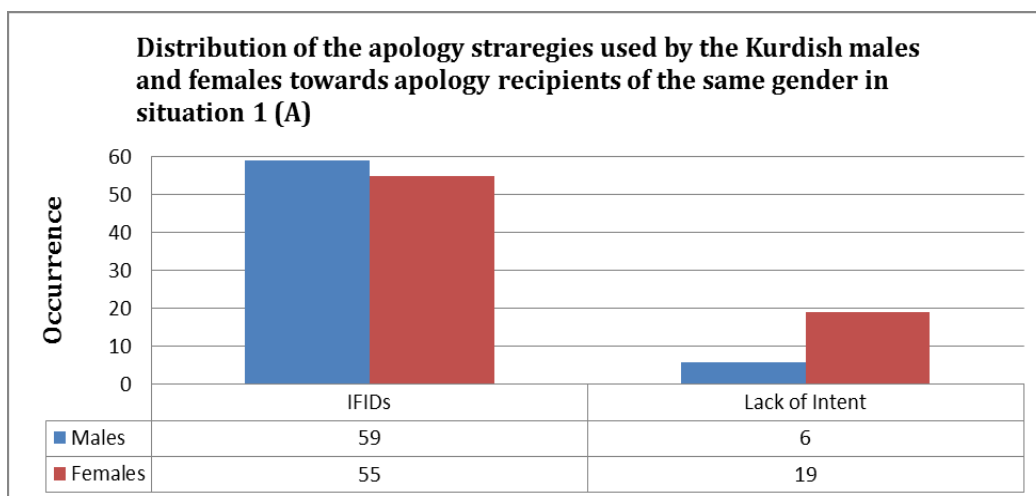


Figure 4. Distribution of the apology strategies with same gender apology recipients in situation 1 (A).

With regard to apologising to the opposite gender while bumping into somebody, three apology strategies were used: IFIDs, lack of intent and expression of embarrassment. The use of the IFIDs was slightly reduced by both gender groups (males = 54 vs females = 48). The data generally displayed more occurrence of lack of intent strategy by the male groups, as it increased to 16 times because of the maximisation of the offence severity in this cross-gender interaction, where physical

touch requires sincerer apologies by males. Thus, lack of intent comes as a proof to show that the offence has occurred by accident. The data also showed the occurrence of the expression of embarrassment strategy twice by the female participants only as illustrated in figure 5.

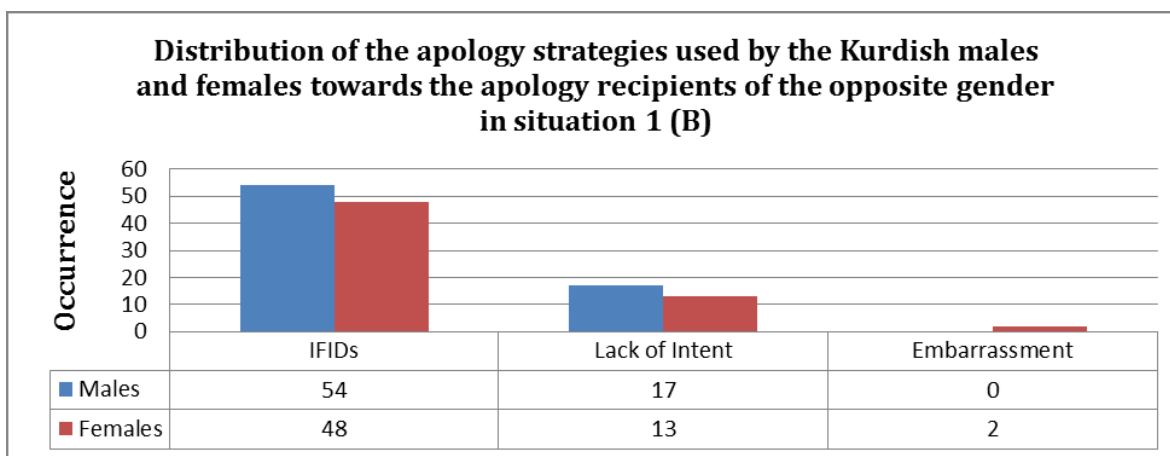


Figure 5. Distribution of the apology strategies with the opposite gender apology recipients in situation 1 (B).

In total, the data analysis demonstrated a slight reduction in using the IFIDs with the opposite gender as they decreased from 114 to 102. Conversely, a slightly higher rate in using the lack of intent strategy was found, rated as 30 times. The results also stated the use of expression of embarrassment twice as a third strategy.

4.3.2 Situation 2: Hurting somebody's feelings with unintentional words.

The data in this situation displayed five semantic formulae in Kurdish apologies: IFIDs, Lack of Intent, Account, Concern for Hearer and Promise of Forbearance (see Figure 6). It was found that lack of intent ranked highest occurring in both cultural communities (males = 46 vs females =46). Other strategies showed a lower occurrence than the lack of intent. They included IFIDs (males = 29 vs female 33); account = (males = 25 vs females = 18); concern for the hearer (males = 11 vs females = 7; Promise of Forbearance (males = 0 vs females = 2). The reason behind using multiple strategies is

attributed to the nature of the offence, which requires healing the broken heart of the hearer and keeping the social relationship between the interlocutors. To achieve that goal, lack of intent is viewed as the best strategy, supported by other strategies.

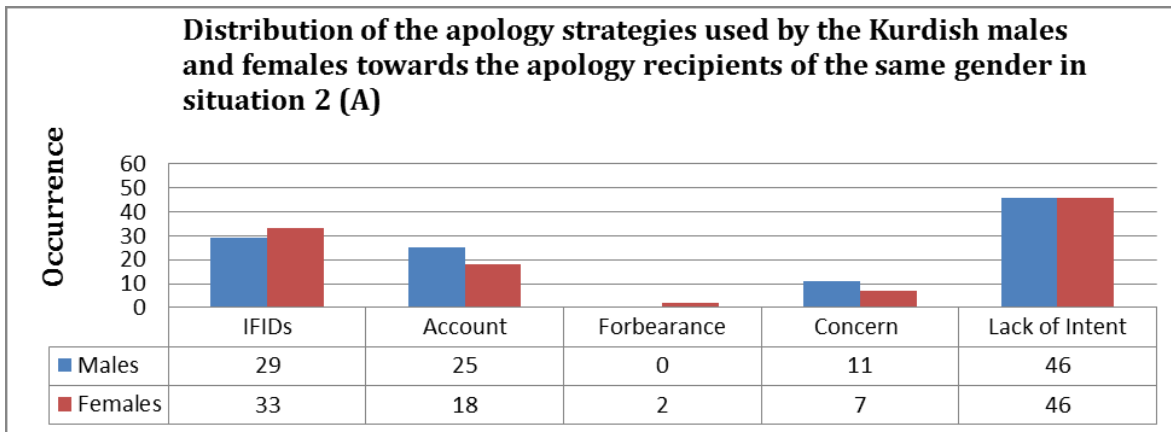


Figure 6. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 2 (A).

Using five strategies in apologising to the same gender did not show a significant difference across both gender participants except in the case of account strategy as shown in figure 6.

In the case of apologising in cross-gender interaction, the results showed the same five strategies with a slight rate of decrease in their occurrence (see figure 7). Lack of intent recorded also the highest occurrence (males = 41 vs females = 44). The other four strategies received fewer occurrences: IFIDs = (males = 24 vs females = 32) 56; account (males = 28 vs females = 17); Concern for the hearer = (males= 12 vs females = 2); promise of forbearance (males= 0 vs females = 1). The reason for the lower rate of concern for the hearer with the female participants might be the social restrictions of the cross-gender situation, in which women are not as open as men, mainly in showing concern for the opposite gender.

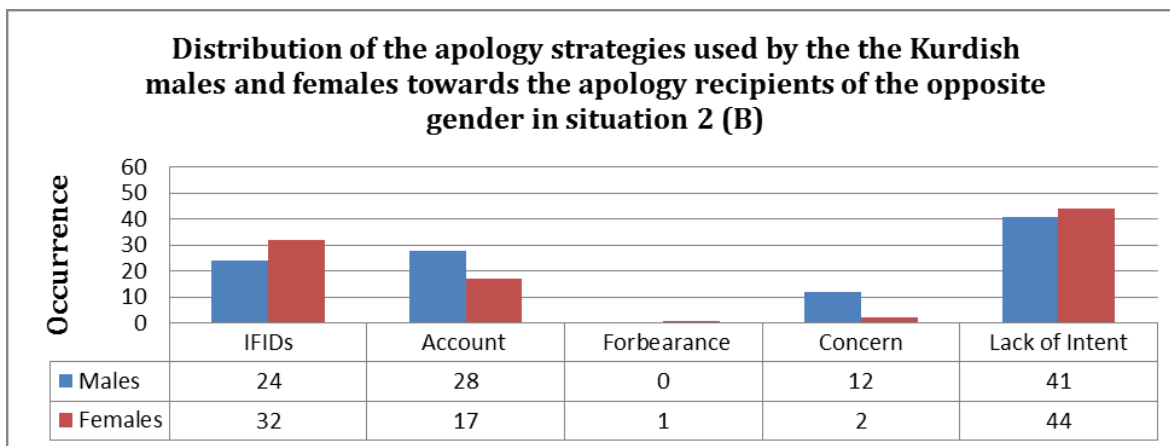


Figure 7. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipient of the opposite gender in situation 2 (B).

4.3.3: Situation 3. Blaming a friend for not taking his/her call the other day.

The data for apologising to the same gender in situation 3 (A) revealed the employment of eight apology strategies in different rates including the IFIDs, account, taking responsibility, lack of intent, concern for the hearer, expression of embarrassment, offer of repair and non-verbal strategy as stated in Figure 8.

The results revealed the highest occurrence of account strategy (males = 58 vs females = 45), and the IFIDs as the second highest used strategy (males = 35 vs females = 36). Lack of intent was found to be the third highest occurring strategy (males = 8 vs females = 28). Conversely, responsibility and non-verbal apology occurred only once by the males only. Repair and embarrassment came as the second lowest occurring strategies (2 times by males). Concern for the hearer appeared as the third lowest occurring strategy (males = 6 vs females = 5).

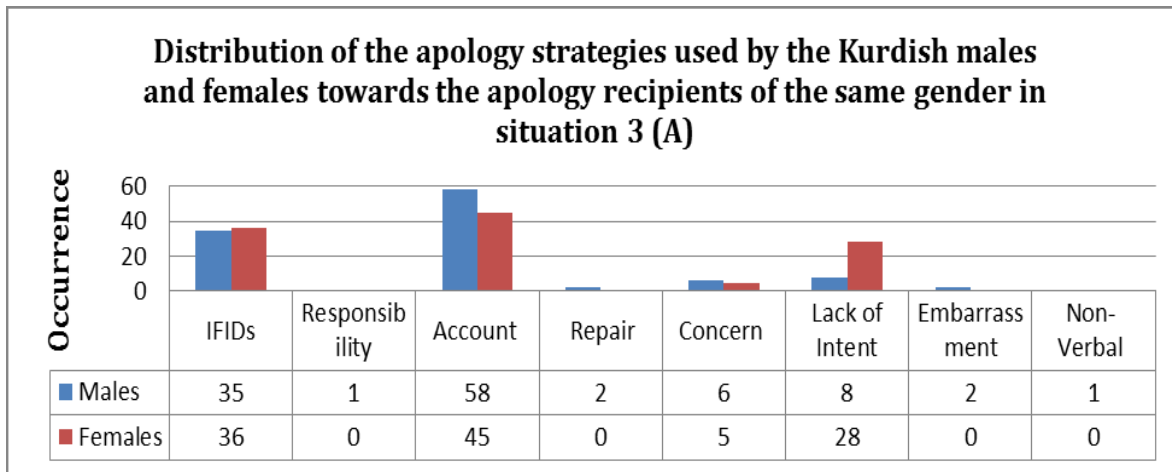


Figure 8. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 3 (A).

In apologising to the offended of the opposite gender in situation 3 (B), the data presented six strategies: IFIDs, account, lack of intent, concern for the hearer and taking responsibility, offer of repair. However, it showed the absence of non-verbal strategy and expression of embarrassment as illustrated in figure 9.

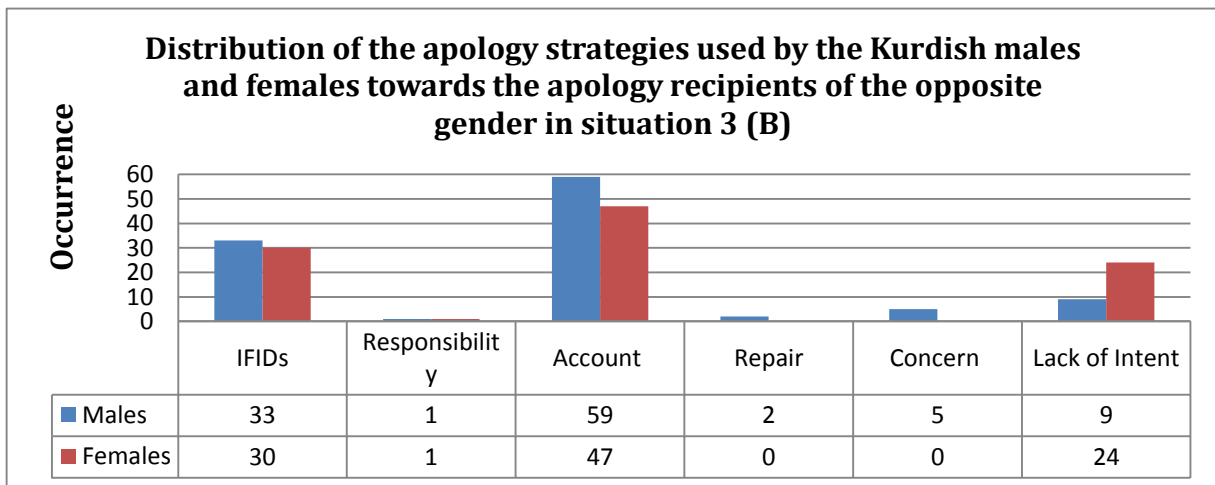


Figure 9. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipient of the opposite gender in situation 3 (B).

4.3.4 Situation 4 (A): Forgetting to buy the promised gift for your child at Eid.

The DCT data presented six semantic formulae of the apology strategies used by the the Kurdish participants in apologising to a child of the same gender. The strategies included the offer of repair, account, IFIDs, non-verbal strategy, taking responsibility and the promise of forbearance (see figure 10). Offer of repair and account recorded the highest rate of the strategies used by the groups: Offer of repair (males = 42 vs females = 40); account= 61), as stated in table 2-A. Account was used as the second highest occurring strategy (males = 29 vs females = 30). Conversely, each of reponsibility, promise of forbearance and embarrassment recorded the lowest strategy as each of them occurred only once. The non-verbal strategy came as the second lowest occurring strategy (males = 1 vs females = 6). The IFIDs distinctively showed low frequency compared to other situations, as it was found to be the third least frequent strategy (males = 7 vs females = 14). The noticeable low occurrence of the IFIDs is related to the apology – recipient’s age and power at the same time. Hence, Kurds usually do not use direct apology with children, as corroborated by interviewees 17, 18 & 20 in appendix 14-I, and triangulated by real situations 21, 22 & 32 in appendix 15.

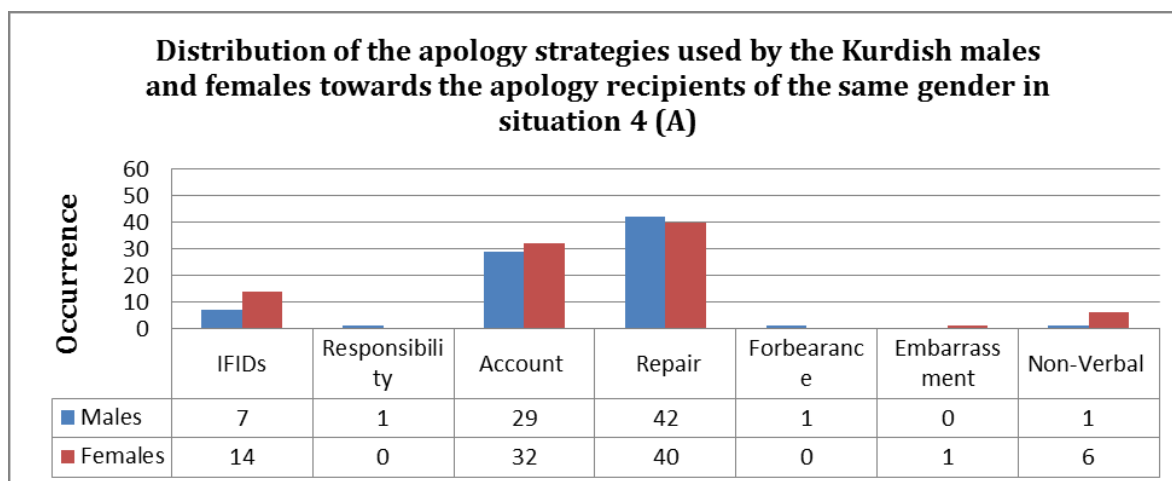


Figure 10. Distribution of apology strategies offered to apology recipients of the same gender in situation 4 (A).

With respect to apologising to a child of the opposite gender, the data of situation 4 (B) revealed the use of five strategies: Offer of repair (recording the first highest occurrence = males = 39 vs females = 40); account (ranking as the second high frequently used strategy (males = 29 vs females = 31); IFIDs (the third highest occurring strategy) (males = 9 vs female = 12). Similar to apologising to the same gender, the promise of forbearance was recorded as having the lowest rate of occurrence which was only once by male participants. The data witnessed the absence of expression of embarrassment unlike situation 4 (A) (See figure 11). The data also revealed the non-verbal strategy as the least frequent one (male = 2 vs females = 6).

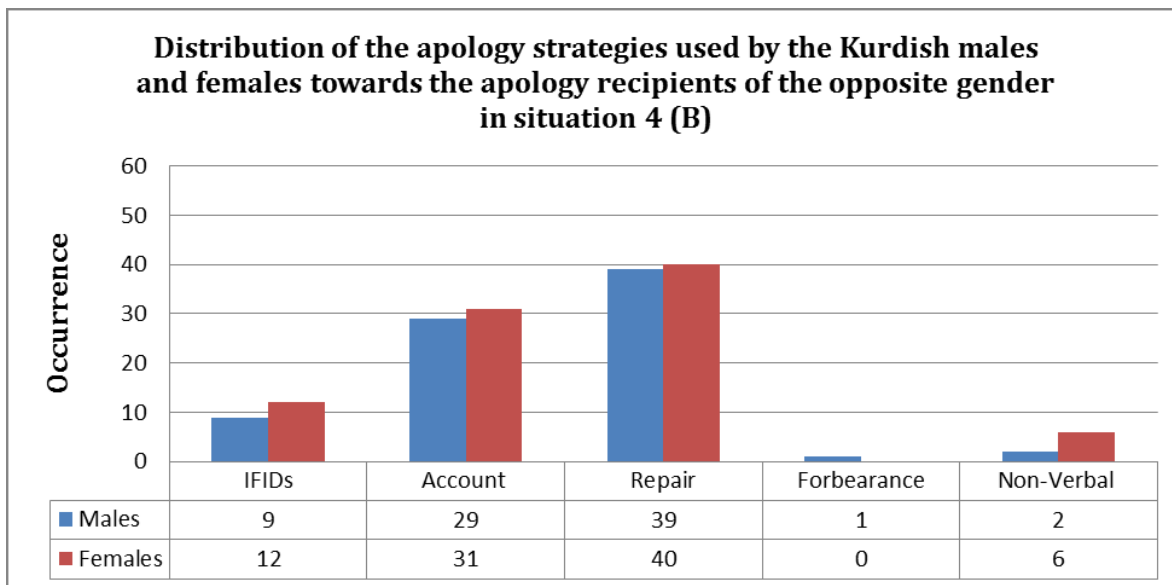


Figure 11. Distribution of apology strategies offered to apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 4 (B)

4.3.5 Situation 5. Being late for an appointment with a person of higher position

The results of this situation presented account and IFIDs as two dominant strategies in apologising to a person of a higher social position. In addition, four other strategies were found with a lower occurrence including the promise of forbearance (3 times); expression of embarrassment (2 times); lack of intent (1 time) and concern for the hearer (1 time), as shown in table 2-A.

It was found that account strategy recorded the highest rate of occurrence (100 out of 120 participants), accompanied by IFIDs as the second most frequently used strategy (87 times). Both genders were found to use different rates of both strategies. As for the IFIDs, it received more employment by the male subjects (50 times) than female participants (37 times). Conversely, the results showed more occurrence of account strategy by women (53 times) than men (47 times). It was found that both strategies were used side by side as multiple strategies by both genders, whereas the four less frequently used strategies were not used both gender groups. It was also found that none of the participants used responsibility strategy in being late to an appointment with a high social status person of the same gender (See figure 12 & table 2-A).

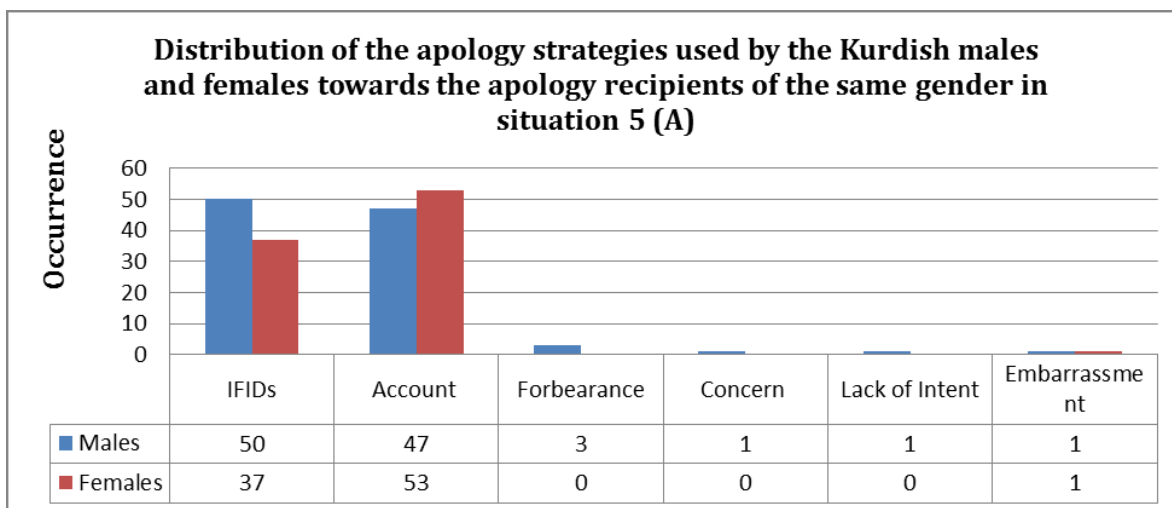


Figure 12. Distribution of apology strategies offered to a high social status person of the same gender in situation 5 (A)

In considering the opposite gender of the high social status apology recipient, the results revealed the same strategies used in apologising with the same gender. Similarly, account and IFIDs were found as the two most frequently used strategies. However, the rate of both strategies relatively decreased as compared to addressing the same gender. The results recorded 92 occurrences of account strategy and 84 occurrences of IFIDs. Similarly, men used more IFIDs (52 times) than women (32).

However, more account strategies were found to be used by women (53 times) than men (39 times) as shown in figure 13 & table 2-B.

Among the other less frequent strategies, the promise of forbearance (5 times) and lack of intent (twice) witnessed a slight increase in their occurrence in apologising to the opposite gender. Similar to apologising to the same gender, expression of embarrassment occurred twice, whereas taking responsibility and concern for the hearer completely disappeared (See figure 13 and table 2-B).

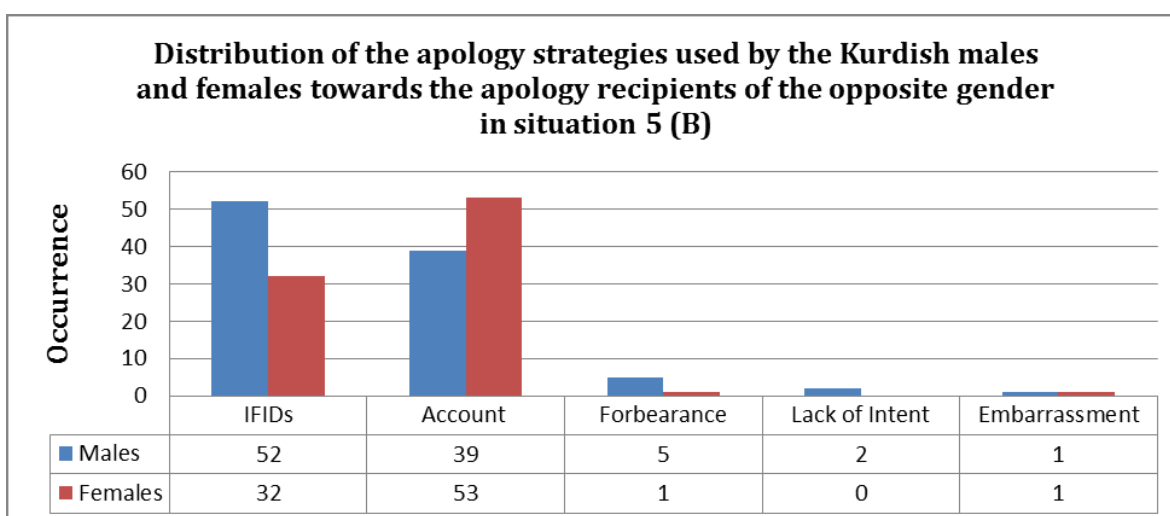


Figure 13. Distribution of apology strategies offered to a high social status person of the opposite gender in situation 5 (B).

4.3.6 Situation 6: failing to visit a seriously ill friend

In analysing the data for apologising to a friend, of the same gender, who was seriously ill, the results exhibited four dominant strategies: Account, IFIDs, taking responsibility, and concern for the hearer, in addition to lack of intent, which appeared as the least frequent strategy (see figure 14). IFIDs, responsibility, expression of embarrassment and account were used by both cultural groups. Account strategy was ranked as the most frequently used strategy (= 89). IFIDs formed the second highest occurrence (= 59 times). Responsibility recorded the third highest

occurring strategy (=36 times). However, expression of embarrassment occurred 23 times, distributed over the over both groups, as the fourth highest occurring strategy. Concern for the hearer occurred 13 times, distributed over both gender groups: men= 7 vs women = 6) as stated in table 2-A and figure 15. As for the distribution of the strategies, they received higher occurrence by men except for account strategy which received higher occurrence by women: (males = 4 vs females = 49). IFIDs (males =32 vs females= 27); responsibility (males = 25 vs females = 11); expression of embarrassment (males = 14 vs females= 9); concern for the hearer (males = 7 vs. females = 6); Lack of intent (males =2 vs females = 0) as shown in figure 14.

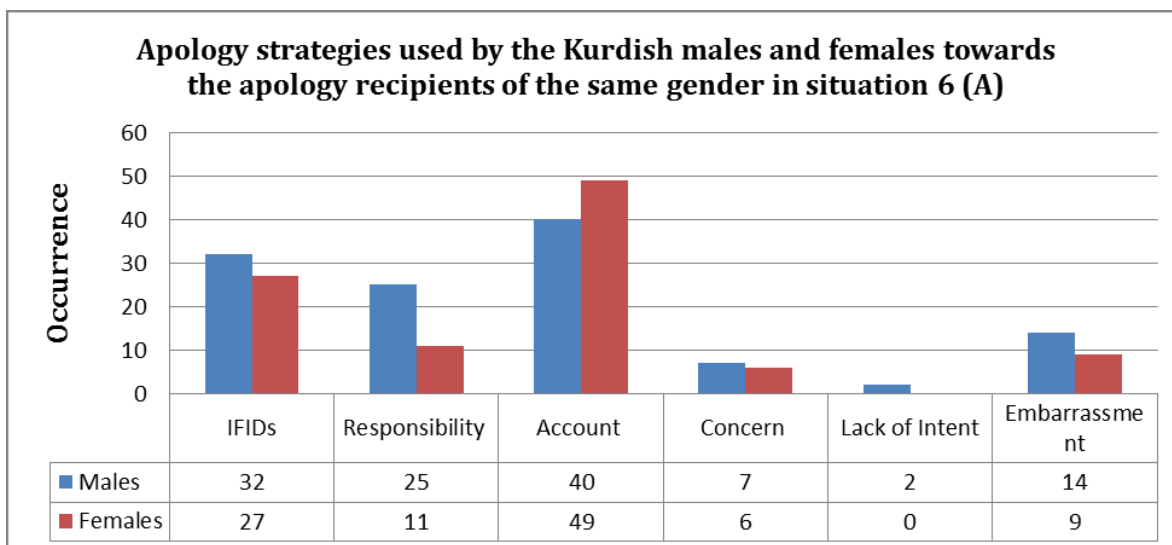


Figure 14. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 6 (A).

With regard to apologising to a friend of the opposite gender in situation 6 (B), the data displayed same strategies: account (91); IFIDs (60) as the two most dominant strategies. Taking responsibility (25) and expression of embarrassment (16) ranked as the third and fourth strategies respectively. Concern for the hearer was the fifth frequently used strategy (12). No change in the lack of intent was displayed (2 times) (see table 2-B).

Regarding taking responsibility in apologising to the opposite gender, the occurrence decreased among all participants from 36 to 25 (table 2-A cf. table 2-B). The falling occurrence was found with all subjects, more specifically with female subjects. The results displayed responsibility 8 times by all female subjects. Whereas, the male groups used it 17 times. (See figure 15). Similar to the female groups, the men used less responsibility with the opposite gender. (Compare figures 14 & 16).

With regard to taking responsibility, the result shows significant difference between genders as illustrated in figure 14. The low occurrence of responsibility in this very situation is related in the nature of the offence, as women are not as free as men to visit people without a family member's permission and accompaniment. For that reason, women used fewer IFIDs and responsibility, but more account to clarify the situation. However, the more decrease in responsibility strategy when apologising to the opposite gender is related to the cross-gender interaction, as Kurds particularly, women do not visit men without being accompanied by their husbands or other family members. It is a good justification for apologising in this situation as stated by some of the women's responses.

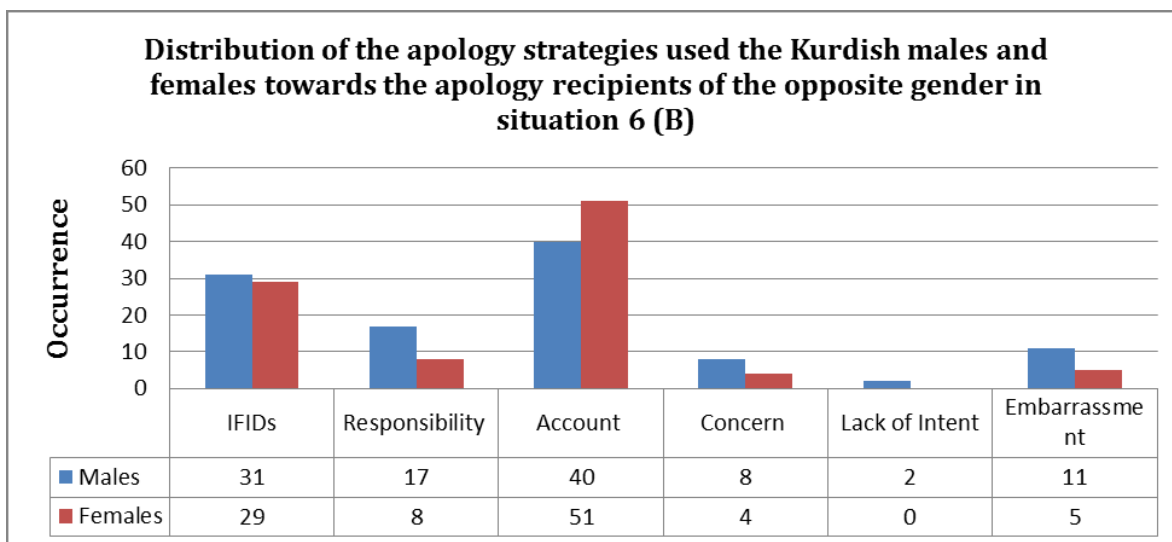


Figure 15. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 6 (B)

4.3.7 Situation 7: Blocking somebody's way.

The data regarding this situation presented the strategies of IFIDs, taking responsibility and lack of intent. The IFIDs recorded the first high frequently used strategy (73 times). Lack of intent ranked as the second frequently used strategy (12 times). Taking responsibility ranked as the third strategy (7 times). The least frequently used strategy is the non-vocal strategy as it was employed only twice by the female subjects, as illustrated in table 2-A and figure 16.

The data displayed a significant difference between both gender groups as it was found that the male groups used IFIDs more than female groups (male to male = 47 vs. female to female =26) (see figure 16) . Other strategies did not show significant differences between both gender groups due to their low occurrences: lack of intent (males = 7 vs females = 5); responsibility (males = 4 vs females = 2). The non-verbal strategy was used only twice by elderly female subjects, as shown in figure 16.

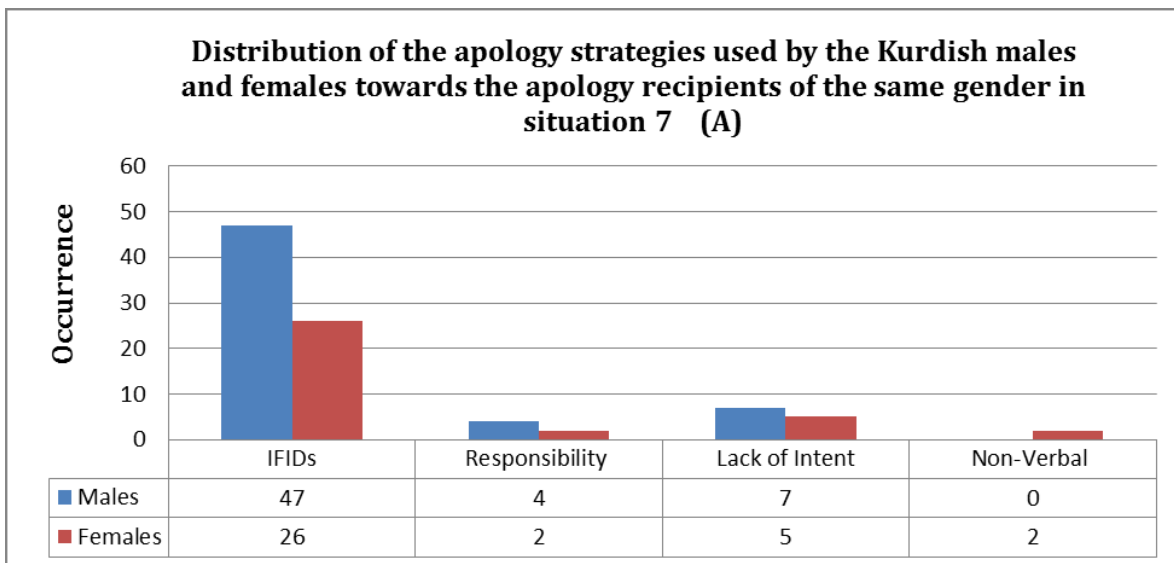


Figure 16. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 7 (A)

With regard to apologising to the opposite gender, the same four strategies were used with one occurrence of concern for the hearer by male subjects. No significant difference was found in the commonly used four strategies in situation 7 (A) and (B) except for the decrease in the occurrence of taking responsibility strategy in apology to the opposite gender, which occurred only once as illustrated in figure 17 and table 2-B (cf. fig.16).

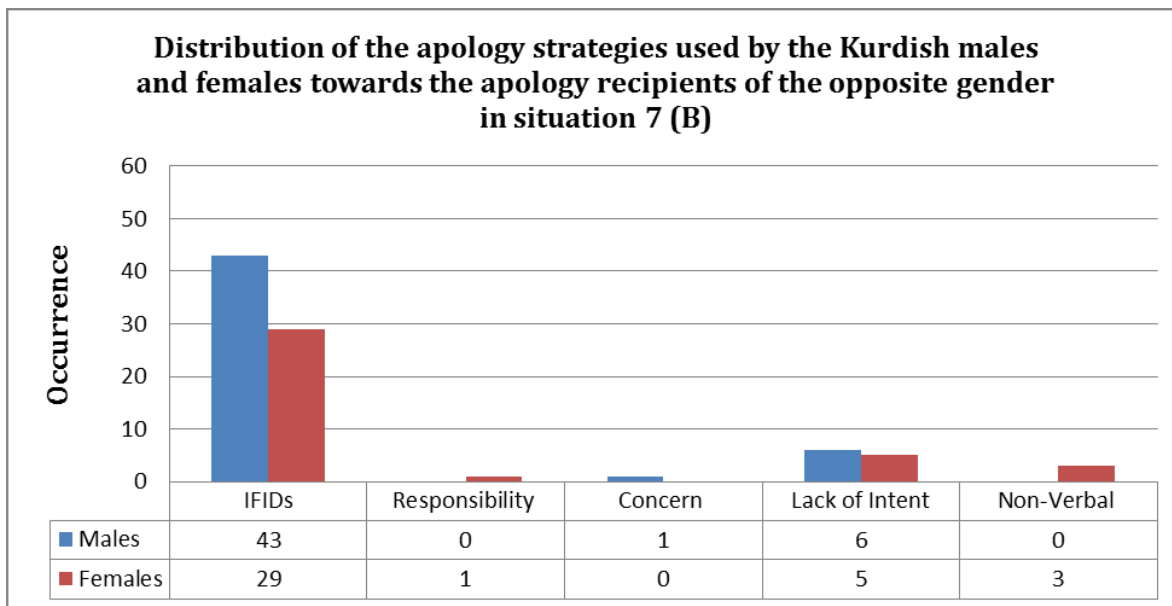


Figure 17. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 7 (B)

4.3.8 Situation 8. Stepping on somebody’s toe on a bus.

The results for situation 8 (A) in apologising to the hearer of the same gender revealed six apology strategies: IFIDs, lack of intent, concern for the hearer, taking responsibility, expression of embarrassment, and account. IFIDs ranked as the most frequently used strategy accompanied by lack of intent as the second. Both strategies were performed by both gender groups as illustrated in figure19.

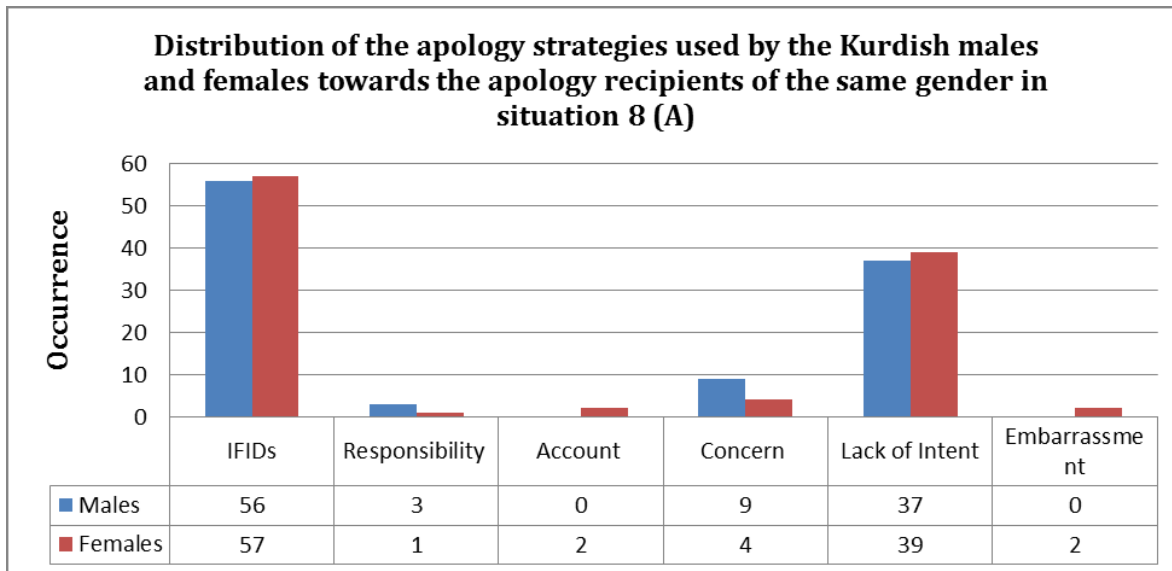


Figure 18. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 8 (A).

As stated in table 2-A, the IFIDs recorded the highest rate in apologising to same gender (113 times, and lack of intent covered the second highest occurrence (76 times).

The other four used strategies showed a lower frequency than the IFIDs and lack of intent: concern for the hearer (13 times); taking responsibility (4 times); account strategy occurred only twice by female participants, as shown in table 2-A.

With regard to the distribution of the produced strategies, the data in figure 18 did not reveal significant differences between both genders: IFIDs (males = 56 vs females = 57); lack of intent (males = 37 vs. females = 39); concern for the hearer (males = 9 vs females =4); responsibility (males = 3 vs females = 1). However the data revealed two occurrences of account and embarrassment by the females, and zero occurrence by male subjects.

In respect of apologising to the hearer of the opposite gender in situation 8 (B), the data showed the same apology strategies used with the same gender as stated in table 2-B and figure 19. IFIDs and lack of intent were the two most dominant strategies used by all groups. The data in table 2-B recorded a relatively lower occurrence of the used strategies: IFIDs (103 times); lack of intent (71 times); concern

for the hearer (6 times); taking responsibility (5 times); account (twice) and expression of embarrassment that occurred only once (cf. table 2-A). Similarly, the results did not show a significant difference between gender participants: IFIDs (males= 54 vs females = 49); lack of intent (males = 39 vs females = 32); responsibility (males = 4 vs females = 1); concern for the hearer (males = 3 vs females = 3); account (males = 0 vs females = 2); embarrassment (males = 0 vs females = 1). The reason behind very low occurrence of account strategy as an essential one in Kurdish apologies in the inappropriateness of the time and place of the offence as it occurs in a bus, which makes account strategy not a practical strategy.

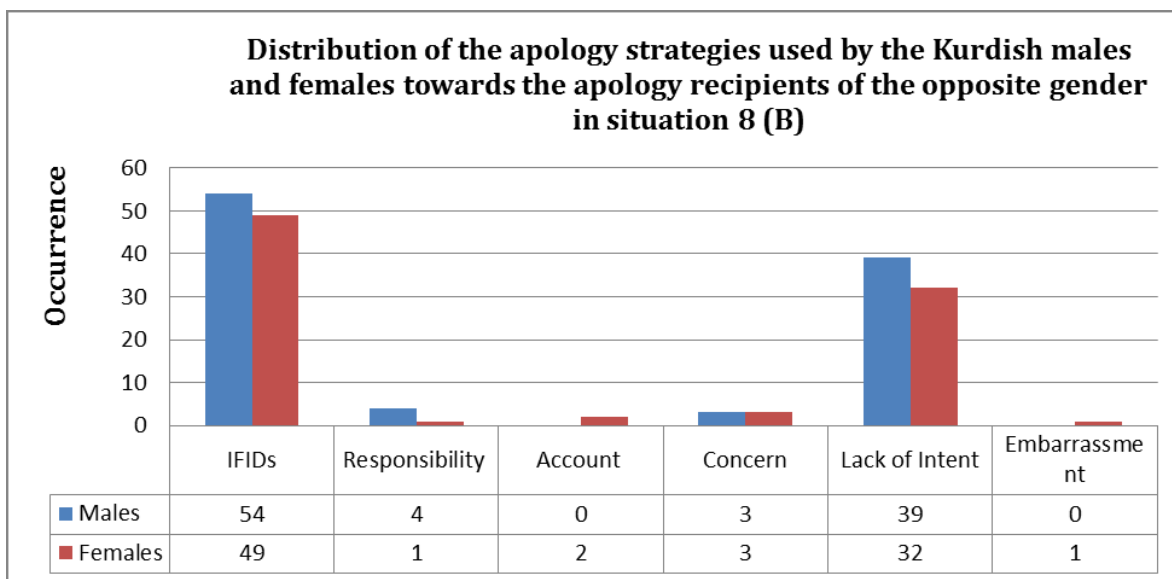


Figure 19. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 8 (B)

4.3.9. Situation 9. Being late in repaying a loan to a friend.

To apologise to a lender of the same gender, the data in situation 9 (A) manifested five apology strategies including four dominant strategies: promise of forbearance (88 times), account (66 times), IFIDs, expression of embarrassment (16 times) and taking responsibility (10 times), as shown in table 2-A.

It was found that these four strategies were used by both gender groups: promise of forbearance : (males = 48 vs females = 40), account (males = 29 vs females = 37)); IFIDs (males = 23 vs females = 24); taking responsibility (males = 6 vs females = 4) (see figure 20).

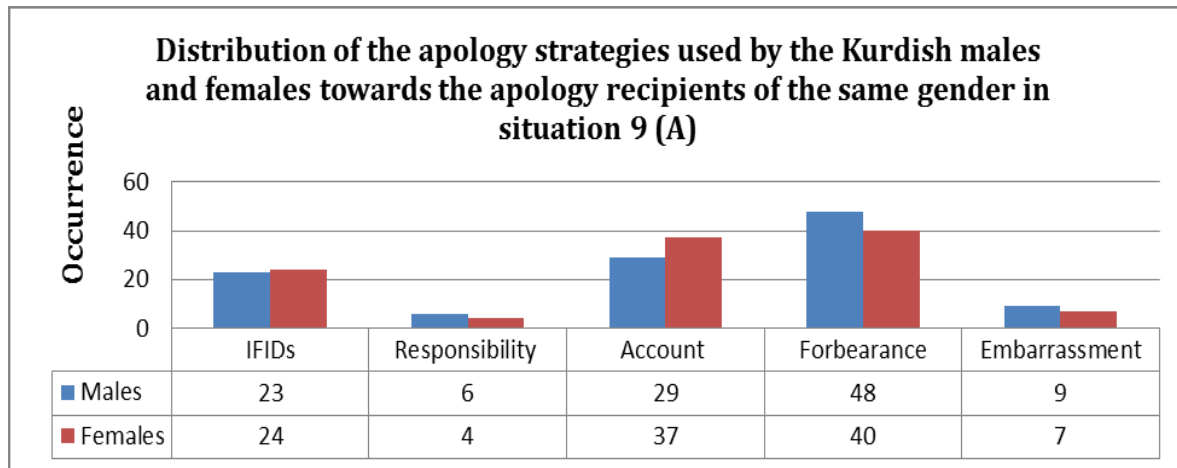


Figure 20. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 9 (A).

In apologising to a lender of the opposite gender, the results revealed the use of six strategies including the same five strategies used in situation 9 (A): promise of forbearance (89 times); account (60 times); IFIDs (51 times); expression of embarrassment (12 times); responsibility (6 times). The results also showed low occurrence of concern for the hearer strategy which occurred only twice.

The data in table 2-B shows that both gender participants used the strategies with no significant difference between them: promise of forbearance (males = 48 vs females = 41); account (males = 29 vs females = 31); IFIDs (males = 23 vs females = 28); embarrassment (males = 8 vs females = 4); responsibility (males = 4 vs females = 2); concern for the hearer (males = 0 vs females = 2) (see figure 21).

It might be argued that the use of multiple strategies in this situation is attributed to the severity of the offence, represented by violating Kurdish cultural values. Also, the various strategies help to maintain the social relationship. The priority of promise of forbearance strategy is viewed as a successful strategy by which the apologisers promise to correct the situation in the near future by giving the money

back and not delaying it again. This strategy was used mostly to support the account strategies which explained why they had not been able to pay the money back on time. The use of embarrassment strategy is due to the embarrassing situation where the apologisers fail to keep their promise to the ones who supported them when they needed help. Similarly, taking responsibility (i.e. giving right to the offended) and is of significance as it assures the hearer about the apologiser's commitment to re-pay the money.

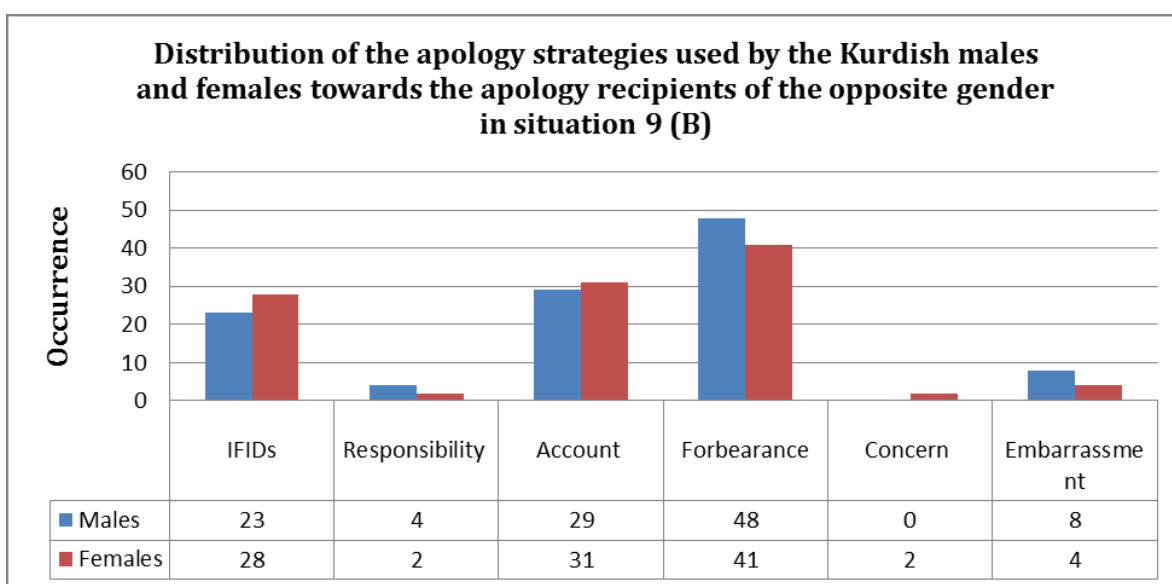


Figure 21. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 9 (B)

4.3.10 Situation 10: Breaking a friend's mobile phone.

As stated in figure 22, the data for this situation presented six apology strategies: Offer of repair, IFIDs, lack of intent, taking responsibility, expression of embarrassment, and concern for the hearer.

Offer of repair was recorded as the most frequently used strategy (95 times). IFIDs ranked as the second most frequently used strategy (76) and lack of intent the

third (33). However, responsibility, concern for the hearer and embarrassment strategies, each recorded the fourth highest occurring ones (7 times each). The results showed the contribution of the both gender groups in using these dominant strategies: Offer of repair (males = 51 vs females = 44); IFIDs (males = 38 vs females = 38); lack of intent (males = 16 vs females = 17); responsibility (males = 2 vs females = 5); Concern for the hearer (males = 3 vs females = 4); embarrassment (males = 4 vs females = 3).

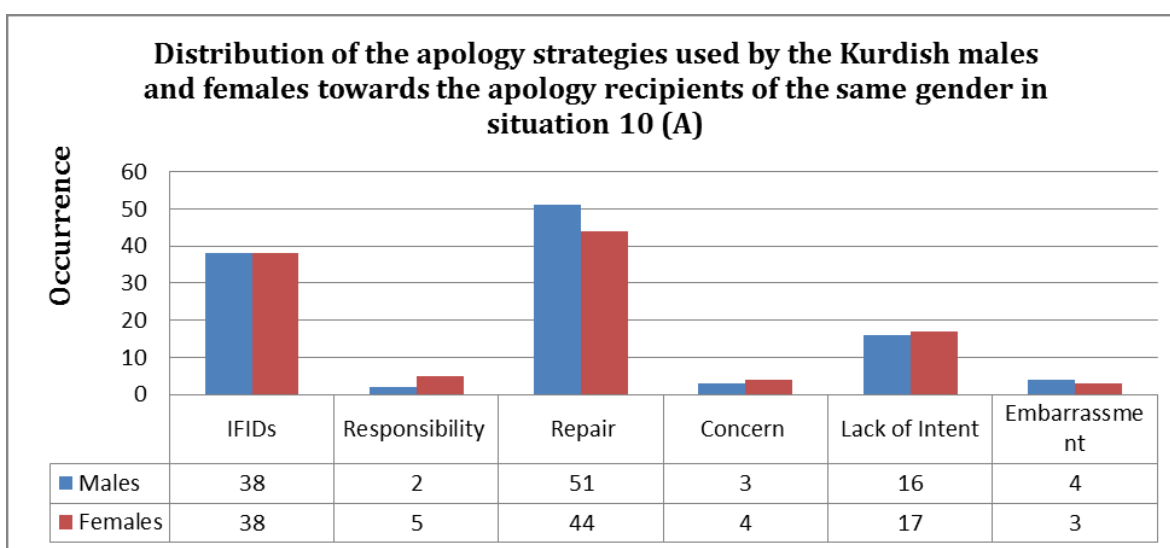


Figure 22. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 10 (A).

The data did not show a significant difference in using the apology strategies in cross-gender interaction. As illustrated in figure 23 and table 2-B, it was found that both Kurdish men and women used the same six strategies when apologising to the opposite gender: Offer of repair (92); IFIDs = (82 times); lack of intent (34 times); taking responsibility (8 times); expression of embarrassment (8 times), and concern for the hearer (7 times).

The occurrences were found to be different between the genders: Repair (males = 51 vs females = 41); IFIDs (males = 42 vs females = 40); lack of intent (males = 16 vs females = 18); responsibility (males = 3 vs females = 5). However, taking

responsibility was found to occur equally with Kurdish men and women (4 times by each group) (See figure 23).

It could be argued that the dominance of offer of repair is due to the greater appropriateness of this strategy than other ones in this situation. The reason is the relationship between the offence (i.e. breaking a mobile phone) and offer of repair strategy. This most dominant strategy was supported by other strategies to make the apology more effective. The higher occurrences of repair strategy used by men than by women might be related to the socio-economic status of both genders. The reason is that the low social status women are mostly house wives and have no jobs. therefore, it would be difficult for them to offer a financial compensation like their high social counterparts. Lack of intent is also of great significance to smoothe the hearer' feelings. The apologisers try to prove that it happended by accident, not on purpose because an intentional damage might be perceived as an insult in some situations in the Kurdish culture that affects the social relationship between the interlocutors. Using concern for the hearer, responsibility and embarrassment strategies are also of significance to share the sincere feelings for what happened unintentionally.

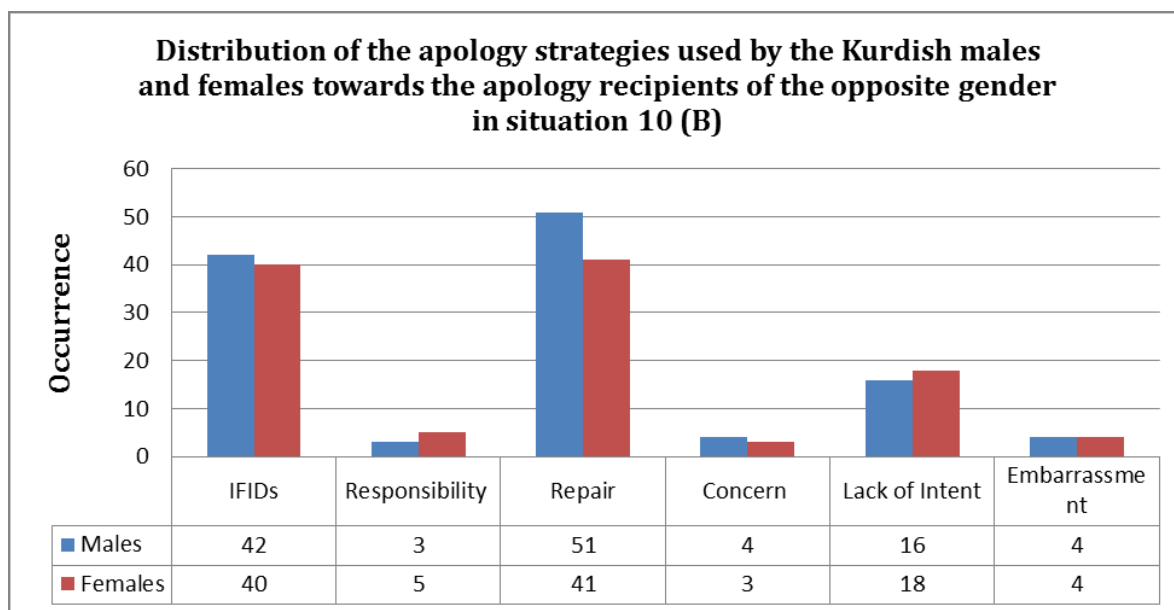


Figure 23. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 10 (B).

4.3.11 Situation 11: Forgetting to visit a friend/ relative who was expecting you the day before.

Based on table 2-A, the data for this situation presented an account strategy as the first dominant strategy (107 times) and the IFIDs as the second strategy (71 times) when apologising to the same gender. In addition, four other strategies were found: promise of forbearance (25 times) as the third dominant strategy, taking responsibility (5 times), concern for the hearer (twice) and expression of embarrassment that occurred only once. Thus, the situation collected six of the strategies as illustrated in figure 22.

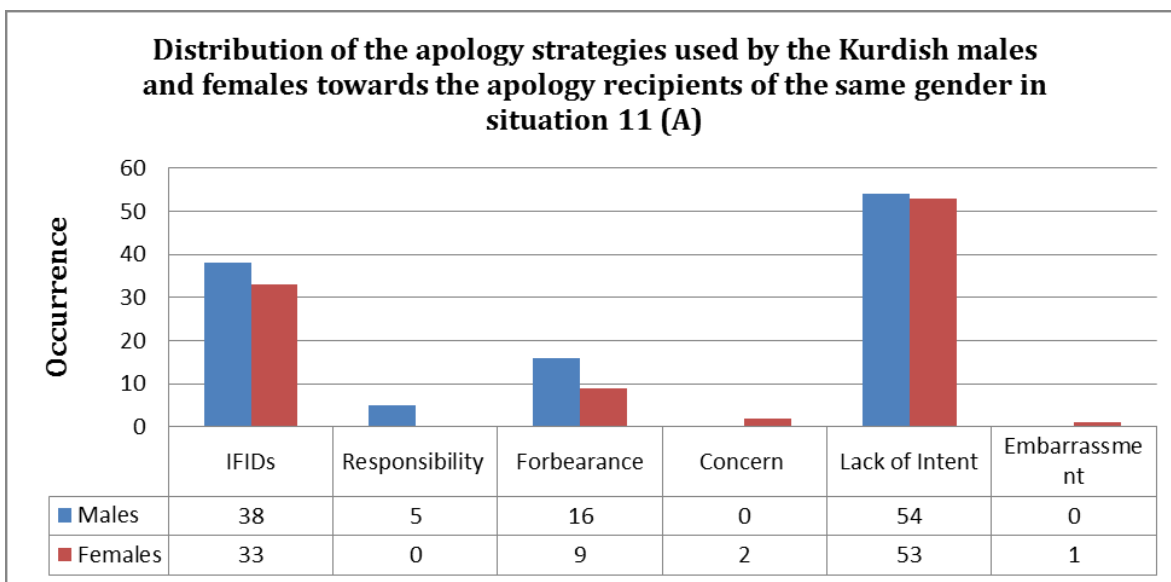


Figure 24. Distribution of apology strategies offered to apology recipients of the same gender in situation 11 (A).

As shown in table 2-A and figure 24, the data showed different frequencies for the strategies used by both gender groups: account (males = 54 vs females = 53), IFIDs (males = 38 vs females = 33), promise of forbearance (males = 16 vs females = 9), taking responsibility (males = 5 vs females = 0), concern for the hearer (males = 0 vs females = 2), expression of embarrassment (males = 0 vs females = 1).

In apologising to the opposite gender, the data similarly showed the occurrence of the account strategy as the most dominant one (108 times), IFIDs (73 times) as the second highest occurring strategy and the promise of forbearance as the third most frequently used strategy (24 times), distributed over both gender groups (see figure 25 and table 2-B). The other three strategies received the lowest occurrences as Responsibility was used 4 times and each of concern for the hearer and embarrassment occurred only twice.

As shown in figure 25, no significant difference was found in the distribution of the apology strategies over both gender groups: Account (males = 56 vs females = 52), IFIDs (males = 37 vs females = 36), forbearance (males = 14 vs females = 10), responsibility (males = 4 vs females = 0), concern for the hearer (males = 0 vs females = 2), and embarrassment (males = 1 vs females = 1).

It might be argued that the priority of the account strategy over other strategies, particularly the IFIDs is the appropriateness of account strategy on the one hand and the insufficiency of the IFIDs to save the hearer's face in this situation on the other hand. The reason is that the hearer feels offended when waiting uselessly for somebody for a long time. Failing to visit in this situation is viewed as a social offence that causes the hearer and their whole family to feel insulted and degraded. To soothe the hurt feelings and heal the broken heart of the hearer(s), the apologisee needs to explain the reasons for not being able to visit in order to convince the apology recipient and save the group's face. This function cannot be achieved by IFIDs and other strategies. However, account strategy was also accompanied by IFIDs and promise of forbearance as two major supporting strategies.

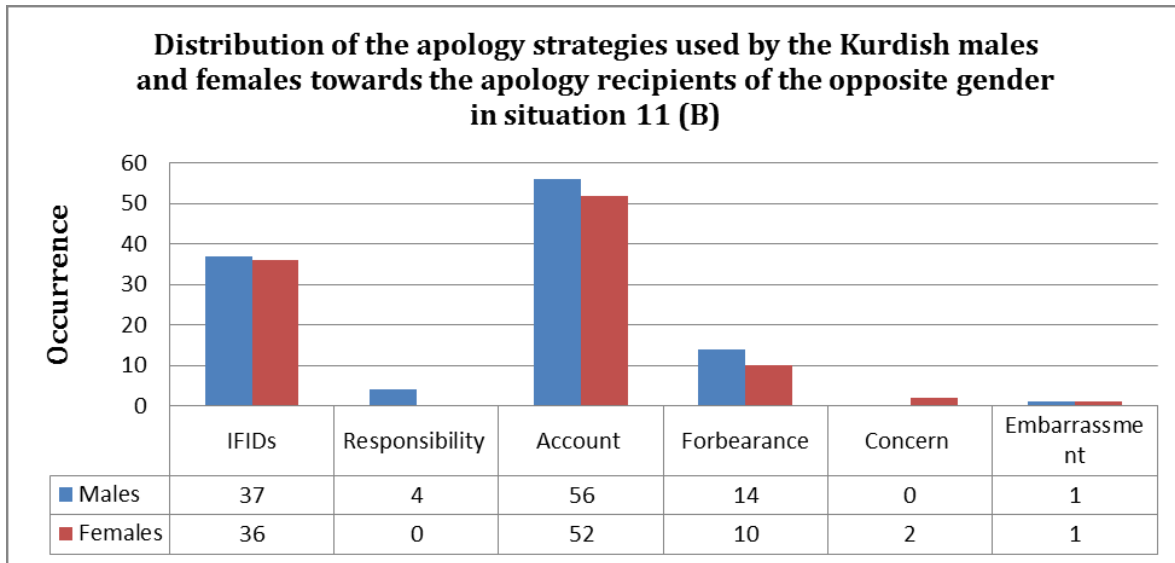


Figure 25. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 11(B).

4.3.12 Situation 12: Not being able to accept a friend’s invitation.

As stated in table 2-A, the results for this data presented four apology strategies: account, IFIDs, the promise of forbearance, and concern for the hearer. The data revealed account as the main dominant strategy (106 times) and both IFIDs and the promise of forbearance which occurred equally, as the second frequently used strategies as each occurred 52 times. Concern for the hearer was the least used strategy out of the four as it happened only 3 times.

It was found that the account, IFIDs and promise of forbearance were distributed over both gender groups: account (males = 55 vs females = 51), whereas IFIDs and promise of forbearance recorded the same occurrences (males = 27 vs females = 25). Furthermore, Concern for the hearer was used only once by men and twice by women, as shown in figure 26.

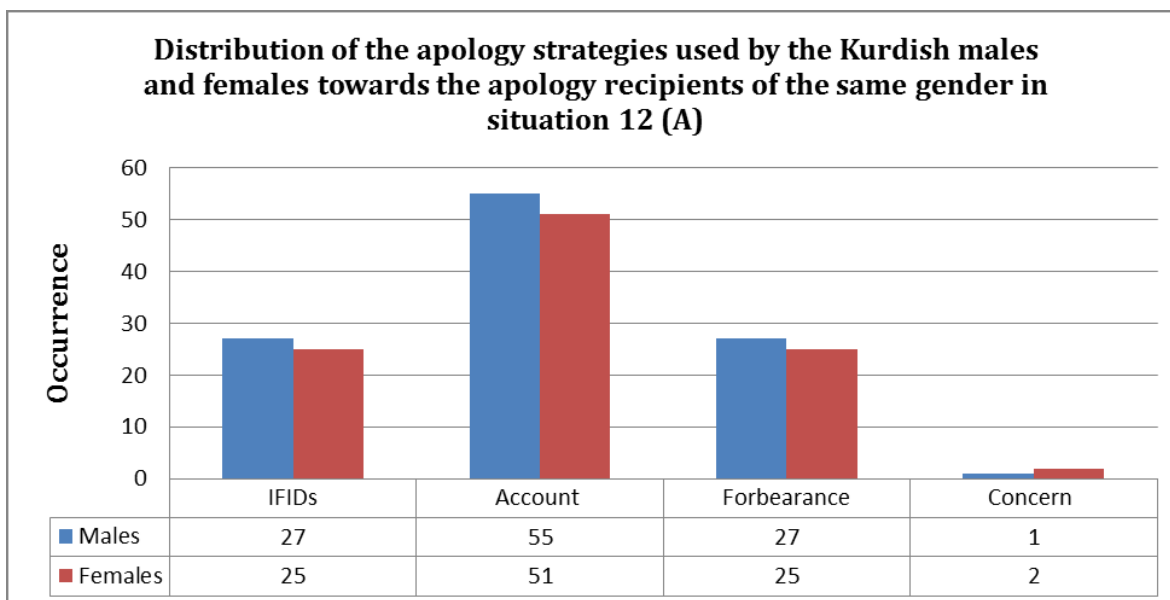


Figure 26. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the same gender in situation 12 (A).

In apologising to the opposite gender, the participants used the same four strategies used in situation 12 (A) with the same gender apology recipients. The strategies were account as the first dominant strategy (103 times), IFIDs as the second most dominant (22 times), the promise of forbearance as the third prevailing strategy (21 times) and concern for the hearer as the least occurring strategy (4 times), based on their appropriateness to the type of offence. Similarly, the strategies were distributed over both Kurdish men and women, as illustrated in table 2-B.

Based on the data in figure 27, the strategies were found to be of different occurrences with both genders: account (males = 56 vs females = 47), IFIDs (males = 29 vs females = 22), promise of forbearance (males = 24 vs females = 21), and concern for the hearer (males = 1 vs females = 3).

Like situation 11, the account strategy was found to be the most dominant one in situation 12. The reason for that, similar to situation 11, is related to the high severity of the offence (i.e. refusing somebody's invitation). Not accepting an invitation is viewed as an insult to the inviter's whole family. Thus, to save and repair the inviter's face (group face), and keep the social relationship, the apologisee needs to explain the reason for not accepting the invitation. This can essentially be done through account strategy, involving the justifications and convincing reasons. To

support their apologies, they used IFIDs and promise of forbearance as extra strategies. The use of promise of forbearance is significant because it shows that they are not refusing the invitation, but it is the time of event that is not convenient for them, and to prove that claim they promise that they will be happy to accept it another time. For that purpose, they request postponing it with expressions of gratitude.

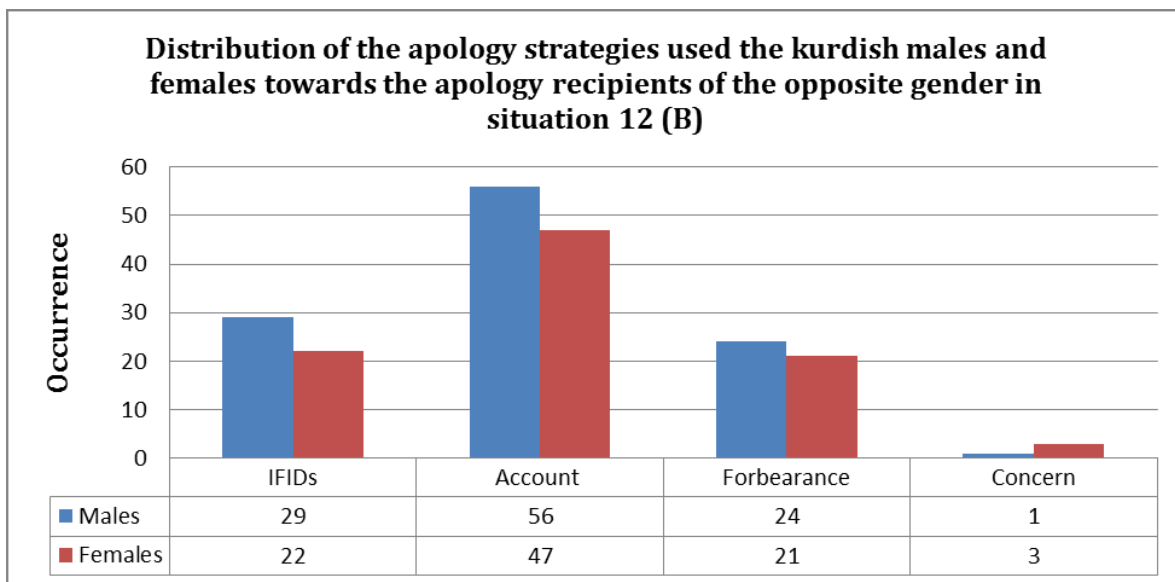


Figure 27. Distribution of apology strategies offered to the apology recipients of the opposite gender in situation 12 (B).

4.4 Data analysis by strategies

As mentioned earlier in the literature review, various apology strategies have been adopted by the researchers in the last three decades. The analysis is based on the six apology strategies categorised by Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Olshtain & Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). The analysis also includes the three newly presented strategies in Kurdish.

4.4.1 Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)

Examining the DCT findings, it was found that IFIDs were the most common strategies in the twelve adopted situations.

As the most frequently occurring strategy, the IFIDs semantic formulae occurred 846 times across the twelve mentioned situations when apologising to same gender hearers. This rate of occurrence constitutes 36% of the total strategies used in the 12 investigated situations, as illustrated in figure 28.

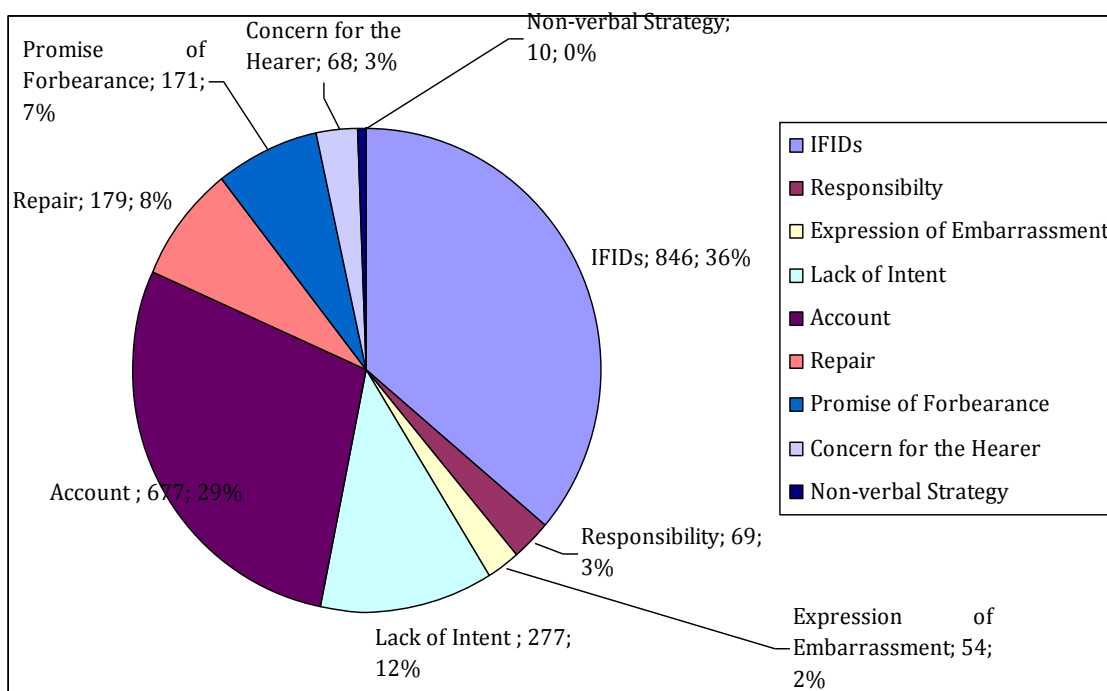


Figure 28. The percentage of the apology strategies used in the whole study with the same gender apology recipients.

Similarly, the IFIDs recorded the highest rate in apologising to the opposite gender as shown in figure 29. Both figures (28 and 29) reveal that the IFIDs are the most common apology strategies in Kurdish interactions, regardless of the gender of the apology recipients.

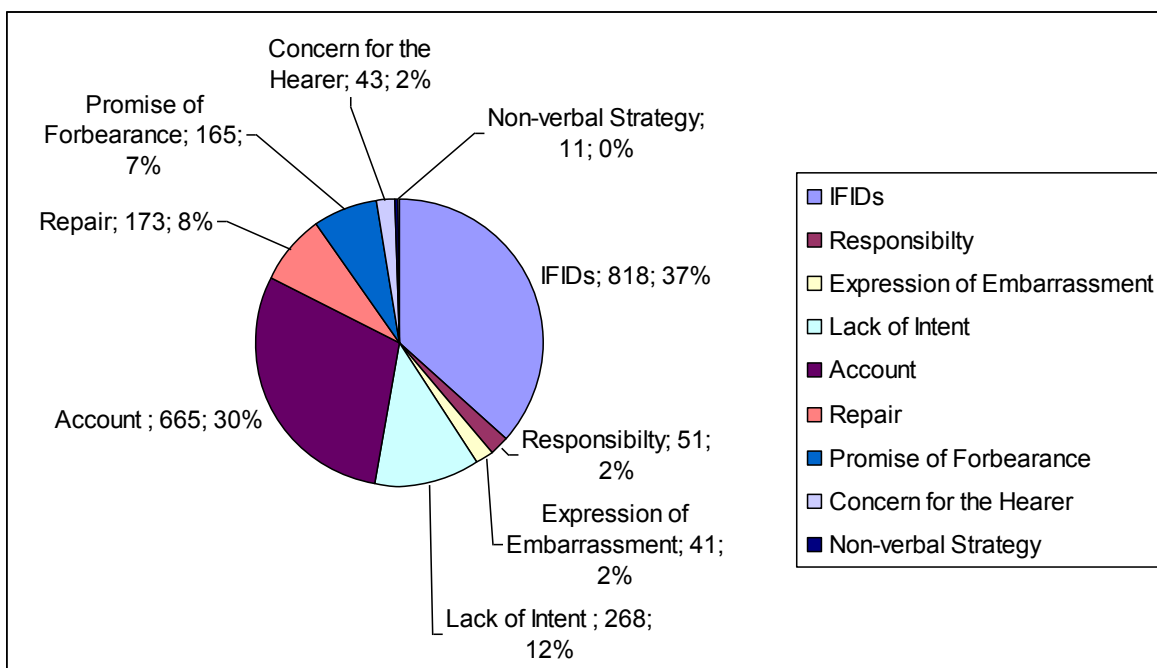


Figure 29. The percentage of the apology strategies used in the whole study with the opposite gender apology recipients.

The IFIDs range from the highest percentage in situation 1 to the lowest frequency in situation 4 when apologising to the same gender. The highest rate of the IFIDs was found in seven situations: situation 1 (114 times), situation 8 (113 times), situations 5 (87 times), situation 10 (76 times), situation 7 (73 times), and situations 3 & 11 (71 times). On the other hand, a lower percentage of the IFIDs was found in situation 2 (62 times), situation 6 (59 times), situation 12 (52 times), situations 9 (47 times) and situation 4 which collected the lowest IFIDs frequency (21 times). Likewise, in cross-gender situations, IFIDs took the highest frequency, with a slightly lower occurrence, as the total rate decreased from 846 to 818 tokens when apologising to the opposite gender (see tables 3 & 4).

Similarly, the frequency of the IFIDs was also distributed differently in the twelve situations. Based on the data presented in table 4, situations 8 (103 times), 1 (102 times), 5 (84 times), 10 (82 times) received the first highest occurrences respectively. Then came situation 11 (73times) and situation 7 (72 times) as the fifth and sixth highest occurring strategy. However, situation 2 exclusively reveals the lowest frequency of the IFIDs due to the young age of the apology recipient who is not apologised to in the Kurdish culture. Situations 8 & 12 received the second lowest frequency (51 times). Situation 2 recorded the third lowest frequency (56 times). However situations 6 & 3 recorded the fourth and fifth lowest occurring IFIDs respectively, as the former occurred 60 times and the latter 63 times, as illustrated in table 4.

The reason for the highest frequency of the IFIDs is due to the ritualistic nature of the IFID formulae in Kurdish apology. However, I can argue that they are still not equally important in all situations. For example, it was found that the IFIDs recorded the lowest rate in situation 4 where the apologisee is a child who is different from the apologisee in age and social power. Differences in such social variables makes direct apologies very rare and not existing in Kurdish culture due to the effective authority of these variables. The results also revealed that the IFIDs in these situations were used by all the Kurdish participants, regardless of their gender, age and social status, as shown in tables 2-A and 2-B.

4.4.1.1 The Semantic Formulae of the Kurdish IFIDs

As mentioned earlier, the speakers of Central Kurdish used seven semantic formulaic expressions to indicate the illocutionary force indicating devices. It is significant to argue that the semantic sub-formulae of Kurdish are different from those of English. This is because all the semantic formulae of Kurdish IFIDs are representations of request for apology, unlike the English IFIDs which include expression of regret, offer of apology and request for apology. That is, they are different from Olshtain and Blum-Kulka's (1983) six English IFID representations: '(be) sorry, apologise, excuse, forgive, pardon and regret'. Thus, the analysis will be dealing with only request for apology (more accurately, request for forgiveness) due to the absence of expression of regret and offer of apology in Kurdish IFIDs. The findings identify Kurdish IFID sub-formulae, including, (1) the formal IFID, (2) informal IFID, (3) Arabic-based IFID, (4) Socio-regional IFID, (5) Modest Socio-regional IFID, (6) Persian-based IFID, and (7) Socio-religious IFID. The results show that the IFIDs were the highest strategy in the twelve investigated situations. In total, 846 apology strategies were recorded in apologising to the same gender (table 3) and 818 strategies in cross-gender apology situations (table 4).

Table 3. Distribution of IFIDs frequency in Central Kurdish according the seven semantic sub-formulas in same gender situations													Total of each Sub-formula
Sub-formulae/ Situations	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	
Formal IFID	53	34	45	8	55	41	19	48	33	40	49	31	456
Informal IFID	27	8	15	7	17	5	29	21	3	12	13	13	170
Arabic-based IFID	26	8	6	3	7	5	18	29	6	12	4	2	126
Socio-regional IFID	4	3	3	1	6	2	4	9	1	9	3	3	48
Modest Socio-regional IFID	1	5	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	14
Persian-based IFID	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	10
Socio-regligious IFID	0	4	1	0	1	5	1	4	3	2	1	0	22
Total per situation	114	62	71	21	87	59	73	113	47	76	71	52	846

Table 4. Distribution of IFIDs frequency in Central Kurdish according the seven semantic sub-formulas in cross- gender situations													Total of each Sub-formula
Sub-formulae/ Situations	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	
Formal IFID	42	38	43	11	55	40	21	44	28	48	50	31	451
Informal IFID	25	8	9	8	14	6	26	19	7	14	13	11	160
Arabic-based IFID	23	6	5	2	9	4	16	25	7	12	4	3	116
Socio-regional IFID	4	0	2	0	4	4	5	10	4	4	3	4	44
Modest Socio-regional IFID	5	1	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	21
Persian-based IFID	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	6
Socio-regligious IFID	2	3	3	0	0	4	2	2	3	1	0	0	20
Total per situation	102	56	63	21	84	60	72	103	51	82	73	51	818

1. داوای لیبوردن ئەکەم *daway leburdin ?akam*, meaning 'I request forgiveness'. This semantic formula is identified as a formal IFID in Kurdish apologies. Based on the data presented in tables 3 & 4, this IFID formula is the most dominant as it occurred 456 times across the same-gender situations (table 3), and 451 times in apologising to the opposite gender (table 4). It was used by all the participants as the most dominant sub-formula in all the situations except situation 7 where it came as the second most dominant sub-formula. The findings also show that this formal IFID, like other IFID sub-formulae are used either alone or in combination with other apology strategies according to the severity of the offence and the situation. This can be seen in most of the situations. The following are samples of the responses presented:

➤ - برام داوای لیبوردن ئەکەم نەمزانی

“Brother, I request forgiveness, I did not mean it” (appendix 12- Situation 1).

➤ - داوای لیبوردن ئەکەم نەمزانی خوشکەکم “ I request forgiveness I did not mean it, my sister”

(appendix 12 – Situation 1).

More examples of formal IFIDs can be found by other groups across the situations in appendices 12 & 13.

2. ببورە *biburə*, meaning 'forgive'. This semantic formula is viewed as a common informal IFID. Like the formal semantic formula, ببورە *biburə* was also used, either individually or accompanied by other strategies, as the second most commonly used IFIDs by the Kurdish subjects. They occurred 170 times in apologising to the same gender and 160 times in apologising to the opposite gender as illustrated in tables 3 & 4.

Below is an example used with an apology-recipient from the same gender:

➤ ببورە دادە گیان ، ناگادار نەبووم، خەنای من نەبوو، قەرەبەلغ بوو

“Forgive me, dear sister, I was unaware, it was not my fault, it was crowded” (appendix 12 –situation 1).

- بپوره کاکه نهمزانی – “forgive me, brother, I did not mean it” (appendix 13,

situation1). More examples of the informal IFIDs can be found in appendices 12 & 13 in apologising to both genders.

Regarding the other five semantic sub-formulae, they are less common than the two mentioned above.

3. عەفوومکە / عەفوو *ʔəfu/ ʔəfumkə*, meaning forgiveness or forgive me. This Semantic formula was literally borrowed from Arabic under the influence of religion and education. Thus, it is identified as an Arabic-based IFID. Regarding religion, Kurds use many Arabic words, mainly those related to rituals and social life, such as the IFID category *ʔəfu* “forgiveness” which reflects toleration in society as one of the messages of religion.

In respect to education, the Arabic language was the language of education in universities and schools for a long time until the 1990s. That’s why many Arabic words are used among Kurds, mostly among the older generation. Another reason for using Arabic words, mainly in the Central Kurdish- speaking people in Garmian is due to the geographic location of the region as it is surrounded by Arabic speaking areas to the south. These factors together have contributed many Arabic words to Kurdish. According to the data in tables 3 & 4, the Arabic-based IFID ranked as the third most frequently used sub-formula across the adopted situations; that is, 126 times in apologising to the same gender and 116 times in apologising to the opposite gender.

Examples:

- عەفوومکە نەمزانی “forgive me, I did not mean it”(appendix 12-situation 8).
- عەفوومکە براكه م “forgive me, my brother” (appendix 13 – situation 1)

Further examples of Arabic-based IFID formula can be found in the twelve situations in appendices 12 & 13.

4. گەردنم نازاکه *gərdinim ʔazakə*, ‘forgive me’. This semantic formula is very common in Kurdish apologies. It is purely a religious expression. Since it is used

commonly in Kurdish society, it can be called a socio-religious formulaic expression. What makes this category different from other categories is its dominance during the Muslim Eid days as it replaces all other IFID formulaic expressions. This phenomenon might be described as an apology strategy shift or IFIDs switching as it is the only used IFID sub-formula in Kurdish culture. Like other semantic sub-formulae, it might be used as a flat or a compound IFID.

The results in total revealed 22 occurrences of the socio-religious IFID sub-formula in apologising to the same gender, and 20 manifestations in apologising to the opposite gender as shown in tables 3 & 4.

Examples:

- وای نهمزانی! گهردتم نازاکه “ Oh! I did not know! Forgive me” (appendix 12 – situation 8). More examples of the socio-regional semantic formulas can be seen in appendix 12 (situations 1, 6, 8, 9 & 10) and appendix 13 (situations 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 & 10).

5. بمبهخشه *bimbəxʃə* ‘forgive me’. This semantic formulaic expression is used less commonly than the others to indicate IFIDs in Kurdish apologies. It is categorised as Persian-based IFID because it is borrowed from Persian. This is because Garmian, the investigated area, is linguistically and culturally affected by Persian as part of Garmian is on the border with Iran. Based on the data presented in tables 3 & 4, the Persian-based IFID sub-formula received the least frequency in same gender situations (10 times in total) and 6 occurrences in cross-gender situations.

The data revealed this semantic sub-formula in different situations by the groups.

Example:

- بمبهخشه بهرئیز، هوشم لئیره نهبوو، ههندی سسرقالم - “forgive me dear, I was distracted as I am busy” (Appendix 12 – Situation 1). For more examples, see situations 4, 11 & 12 in apologising to the same gender. Examples of the Persian-based IFID offered to the opposite gender can be found in appendix 13: situations 1, 8, 11& 12.

6. بمبورره *bimburə*, ‘forgive me’. This semantic formulaic expression might be described as a socio-regional IFID as it is mainly used by the speakers of Central

Kurdish in Garmian. It is less common than the formal and informal IFID formulae. According to the data in tables 3 & 4, the socio-regional IFID *bimburə* ranked the fourth highest occurring semantic sub-formula in the twelve investigated situations, as it received 48 occurrences in same gender situations and 44 incidences in cross-gender apology situations.

Example:

- میوانم هه‌بوو بمبووره "I had guests forgive me" (Appendix 12 - Situation 5).
Further examples can be found in appendix 12: situations 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11 & 12.

Other socio-regional IFID examples offered to the opposite gender are available in appendix 13: situations 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9: 9, 10 & 12.

7. *لیم ببوره* *lem biburə*, 'forgive me'. Like the category mentioned above in (6), this semantic sub-formula is mainly used by the speakers of Central Kurdish. It shows more modesty displayed by the speakers of Central Kurdish. Hence, it is identified as a modest socio-regional IFID formula. According to the data presented in table 3, the modest socio-regional IFID was the second least frequently used sub-formula in apologising to the same gender (14 times). However, it was found to be the third lowest occurring sub-formula in apologising to the opposite gender (21 times) as shown in table 4. The difference between both total frequencies might be related to the gender of the apology-recipients. Accordingly, it could be argued that Kurds use more modesty in apologising to the opposite gender. This is also supported by the higher occurrences of kinship terms in cross-gender apology situations.

Example:

- *لیم ببوره* برای به‌ریز نهمزانی

Translation: "forgive me, dear brother, I did not know" (appendix 12- Situation 8). Other examples can be found in appendix 12 (situations 4, 7, 8 & 9) in apologising to the same gender. Examples on the modest socio-regional IFIDs, offered to the opposite gender apologises, are provided in appendix 13 (situations 4, 7, 8, 9 & 10).

Generally, IFID categories adopted in the study have been classified into flat IFIDs and Compound IFIDs. The former refer to any of the seven mentioned semantic formulae when they are used alone, whereas the latter refer to an IFID accompanied by any of the nine strategies and the four sub-strategies dealt with in the study.

In respect of analysing the IFIDs in relation to the situations, it was found, as illustrated in table 3, that situations 1 & 8 recorded the highest rate of IFID formulae as the groups, in total, used the IFIDs 114 times in situation 1 and 113 in situation 8 when apologising to the hearer of the same gender. Likewise, the two mentioned situations collected the highest occurrence of IFIDs (103 times) in situation 8, and (102 times) in situation 1, when apologising to the opposite gender, as illustrated in table 4. Situation 5 had the third highest occurrence of the IFIDs towards both genders (87 vs. 84). Situation 10 showed the fourth highest number of IFIDs (76 vs. 82) as shown in tables 3 & 4.

On the other hand, the data demonstrated that the lowest occurrence was found in situation 4 (21 times) towards both genders. The reason for this high rate of minimisation of the IFIDs in situation 4 is related to the age of the apology recipient (i.e. a child) who is usually not apologised to in the Kurdish culture. Situations 9 & 12 had the second and third lowest frequencies of the IFIDs respectively as had (47 vs. 51; 52 vs. 51). In apologising to both genders, other situations had various occurrences: situation 2 (62 vs. 56); situation 6 (59 vs. 60); situation 3 (71 vs. 63); situation 11 (71 vs. 73); situation 7 (73 vs. 72).

With regard to considering the gender of the apology recipient across the situations, it was found that apology recipients of the same gender had higher rates of IFIDs in seven situations (1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 & 12). Conversely, apologising to the same gender had a lower occurrence of IFIDs, than to the opposite gender, in four situations (6, 9, 10 & 11). However, situation 4 showed an equal occurrence of IFID formulae in apologising to both genders (21 times) due to the young age of the apology recipient in that situation where gender is not important. In total, apologising to the same gender, over all situations, displayed a higher occurrence of IFIDs (846 times) than to the opposite gender (818 occurrences).

To analyse the IFID formulae in relation to both gender groups, the data in tables 5 & 6 show that Kurdish male subjects use more IFIDs than the female groups whether apologising to the same or opposite genders. Accordingly, the male subjects employed the IFID semantic sub-formulae 441 times in the same gender situations and 431 in cross-gender apology situations. However, the female groups apologised with IFIDs 405 times to the same gender and 387 times to the opposite gender apology-recipients as illustrated in tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on gender taxonomy in the same gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
Kurdish Males	441	47	337	95	95	38	115	30	2	1200
Kurdish Females	405	26	340	84	76	30	154	24	8	1147
Total	846	73	677	179	171	68	269	54	10	2347

Table 6. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on gender taxonomy in cross-gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
Kurdish Males	431	33	336	92	92	34	122	25	2	1167
Kurdish Females	387	18	331	81	74	19	130	18	9	1067
Total	818	51	667	173	166	53	252	43	11	2234

4.4.2 Taking Responsibility

Based on the data presented in tables 7 & 8, taking responsibility in Kurdish apology is expressed by three sub-formulae: acknowledging responsibility (i.e. taking personal responsibility), self-blame, and giving right to the offended person. These sub-formulae, more specifically, acknowledging responsibility do support the apologies and make them more effective and sincere ones. The following are explanations for each category:

1. Taking personal responsibility (or acknowledging responsibility): This semantic formula is used for admitting responsibility in apologising. They include *من غەلەتەم کرد*, meaning 'I made a mistake'. This sub-formula is very rare in Kurdish as shown in the data. It might be regarded as the most effective and powerful formula to express sincere apologies in the form of taking responsibility.

2. Self-blame: Kurds might use various self-blame expressions to imply responsibility and show sincerity in their apologies. This formula was expressed by *دەستم بێشکێ*, meaning 'I wish my hands had been broken' to blame themselves. This is considered one of the most powerful expressions in Kurdish apologies.

3. Giving right to the offended: This expression is the closest equivalent formula to the English taking responsibility 'It was my fault' or 'I was wrong'. It is considered to be the second most powerful semantic formula in responsibility-expressing strategy after acknowledging responsibility with regard to responsibility strategy. It is usually expressed by *حەقەتە* [həqtə] 'you are right' which implies 'I am wrong', but with less sincerity.

Examining the frequency of the responsibility sub-formulae in relation to the gender of the apology recipient, it was found that a higher proportion of responsibility formulae was used towards apology recipients of the same gender, estimated 69 times versus 51 times towards apology recipients of the opposite gender as stated in tables 7 & 8. Among the three responsibility sub-formulae, giving right to the offended was

the highest occurring one as it was used 40 times with the same gender and 29 times with the opposite gender. Self-blame was found to be the second highest occurring responsibility sub-formula (i.e. 17 times with the same gender vs 18 times with opposite gender). However, acknowledging responsibility, received the least frequency as it occurred 12 times in apologising to the same gender and only 4 times with the opposite gender.

In analysing the responsibility formulae by situations, it was found that situation 6 had the highest frequency of taking responsibility formulae, 36 times with the same gender as illustrated in table 7. Situation 9 showed the second highest percentage of responsibility formulae (9 times). Both situations 7 & 10 recorded the third highest position (7 times). On the other hand, situation 1 had the lowest rate of taking responsibility strategy as it appeared only once. Situations 8 & 11 had the second and third lowest occurrence of taking responsibility respectively (situation 8 = 4 times; situation 11 = 5 times), as illustrated in table 7.

In apologising to the opposite gender, the data in table 8 showed that situation 6 had the highest percentage of the taking responsibility strategy (25 times). The second highest percentage was seen in situation 10 (8.15%). Situation 9 recorded the third highest percentage of taking responsibility strategy (8 times). Conversely, situation 7 showed the lowest occurrence of taking responsibility strategy as it had only one responsibility formula. Situations 3 & 11 had the second and third lowest percentages of taking responsibility strategy respectively (2 times vs 4 times). However, situation 8 had 5 occurrences of the taking responsibility formulae.

In relation to the subject groups, it was found, generally, that the male groups took more responsibility in their apologies than the female groups. In total, the male groups used 45 responsibility formulae with the same gender and 33 formulae with

Table 7. Distribution of Responsibility frequency in Central Kurdish according to the three semantic sub-formulas - same gender

Situation/ Participants	Situation 3 (A)		Situation 6 (A)		Situation 7 (A)		Situation 8 (A)		Situation 9 (A)		Situation 10 (A)		Situation 11 (A)		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Acknowledging responsibility				1	1		2		2	1	0	5			12
Self blame			9	4			1	1	1	0			1	0	17
Giving right to the offended	1		16	6	3	3			2	3	2	0	4	0	40
Total	1	0	25	11	4	3	3	1	5	4	2	5	5		69

Table 8. Distribution of Responsibility frequency in Central Kurdish according to the three semantic sub-formulas - Cross- gender situations

Situation/ Participants	Situation 3 (B)		Situation 6 (B)		Situation 7 (B)		Situation 8 (B)		Situation 9 (B)		Situation 10 (B)		Situation 11 (B)		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Acknowledging responsibility			0	1			1	0	1	0	0	1			4
Self blame			5	3			3	1	1	0	0	4	1	0	18
Giving right to the offended	1	1	12	4	0	1			2	2	3	0	3	0	29
Total	1	1	17	8	0	1	4	1	4	2	3	5	4		51

the opposite gender. By contrast, the female groups produced 24 formulae with the same gender and 18 formulae with the opposite gender, as shown in tables 5 & 6.

Finally, it could be argued the low occurrence of taking responsibility across the investigated situations indicate that it is a situation-specific strategy, that is influenced by the social factors of gender, age, and the social status/power of the interlocutors. Unlike the English responsibility sub-formula 'It was my fault', Kurds tend to use the opposite image of the English sub-formula in terms of attributing fault to self. Alternatively, they attach 'right' to the hearer. Accordingly they prefer to say 'you are right' or 'it is your right' than to acknowledge 'I am wrong' or 'it is my fault'.

4.4.2.1 Responsibility Avoidance Sub-formulae

In addition to the low frequency of taking responsibility, the data presented in tables 9 & 10 show the occurrence of responsibility avoidance sub-formulae in seven situations (1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10 & 11) and their complete absence in the other five situations (2, 4, 5, 7 & 12). The tokens in total occurred 19 times with the same gender and 16 times with the opposite gender. In this regard, six sub-formulae have been identified to avoid responsibility, as follows:.

1. Minimising responsibility: This sub-formula is generally used to decrease the level of responsibility in the offender's apologies.

2. Denial of responsibility: This sub-formula is usually used to avoid taking responsibility. It works to deny any sort of responsibility which usually affects the level of sincerity as an important factor required for successful apologies.

3. Minimising the size of the offence: This formula is used to convince the hearer that the offence is not that serious. For that reason, his/her apologies are accompanied by describing the offence as a less serious one. Here, the size of the offence, which determines the selection of apology strategies, is focussed on. Thus, apology strategy is used here based on the reduction level of the degree of the offence.

4. Blaming a third party: This formula is usually used when the speaker apologises to the hearer by passing responsibility to another person/thing other than the offender or the victim. For example, the offender might blame the narrow space (as a third party) in the car when apologising for pressing on somebody's toes.

5. Blaming the victim: this formula is used to accompany any other strategies. In using this method, the apology giver tries to blame the victim as a self-defending strategy and push the responsibility to the offended person. This might be regarded as the least polite apology strategy when it accompanies another strategy and an impolite apology strategy when used alone.

6. Attributing the offence to Destiny: This form of responsibility strategy is associated with the religious belief of the Kurdish people in general. The offender tends to attribute what happened to God's will (i.e. destiny). The typical example was قەزاو قەدەر بوو , meaning "it was an Act of God". To mention God in connection with some actions has a role in soothing the feelings of the victim in many cases. For that reason, an offender tends to use it in his/her apologies.

Situation/ Participants	Situation 1 (A)		Situation 3 (A)		Situation 6 (A)		Situation 8 (A)		Situation 9 (A)		Situation 10 (A)		Situation 11 (A)		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
Minimising responsibility												2		0	2	
Denial of Responsibility			1									2	1		0	4
Minimising the size of offence							1								0	1
Blaming a third Party								2					1		0	3
Blaming the victim	1			1											0	2
Attributing the offence to Destiny						1	1			1	1	2	1	0		7
Total	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	1	3	6	1	0		19

Situation/ Participants	Situation 1 (B)		Situation 3 (B)		Situation 6 (B)		Situation 8 (B)		Situation 9 (B)		Situation 10 (B)		Situation 11 (B)		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Minimising responsibility												2			2
Denial of Responsibility			1									1			2
Minimising the size of offence							1								1
Blaming a third Party								1				1			2
Blaming the victim		2													2
Attributing the offence to Destiny						1	1			1	2	1	1		7
Total	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	2	5	1		16

In analysing the responsibility avoidance sub-formulae by situations, the data for apologising to the same gender in table 9 present the highest occurrences in situation 10 (9 times) and situation 8 (4 times). However, the rate fell to 2 incidents in situation 3 and to one token in situations 1, 6, 9 & 11, as stated in table 9.

In considering cross-gender apology situations, the results in table 10 present the highest percentage of responsibility avoidance in situation 10 (7 times), and the second in situation 8 (3 times). However, the occurrence minimised to two frequencies in situation 1. Situations 3, 6, 9 & 11 had the lowest percentage as each situation received only one occurrence of responsibility avoidance sub-formula.

As regards the total frequency of the six responsibility avoidance sub-formulae, the data for the same gender situations presents *attributing the offence to destiny* as the highest occurring sub-formula (7 times), and *denial of responsibility* as the second highest one (4 times). *Blaming a third party* was found to be the third top sub-formula (3 times). Conversely, *minimising the size of offence* received the lowest frequency (i.e. only once) and both of *minimising responsibility* and *blaming the victim* the second lowest rates (2 times), as shown in table 9.

Similarly, the data for apologising to the opposite gender in table 10 introduces *attributing the offence to destiny* (7 times) as most frequently used sub-formula and *minimising the size of offence* as the least employed one which occurred only once. However, each of the other four sub-formulae received equal rates (2 times) as the second frequently used responsibility avoidance sub-formulae.

In relation to gender, the results show that Kurdish male apologisers use less responsibility avoidance sub-formulae than women whether in apologising to the same or opposite gender. In total, Kurdish male subjects employed responsibility avoidance sub-formulae 8 times in apologising to the same gender and 6 times to the opposite gender. However, the female participants used them 11 times in same gender apology situations and 10 times in cross-gender situations.

It can be argued that the low occurrence of these responsibility avoidance formulae, compared to other strategies, is due to their insignificance in apologising in

terms of sincerity. However, they are used by Kurds, in certain situations, to avoid responsibility.

4.4.3 Account

As a commonly used strategy, the data in table 2-A displayed the distribution of account strategy over nine situations (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11 & 12) and its absence in three situations (1, 7 and 10). Five situations showed the highest proportion of account strategy use: situations 11 received the highest occurrence (107 times) and situation 12 the second highest frequency (106 times); situations 3 and 5 recorded the third and fourth highest frequency respectively, as the former occurred 103 times and the latter 100 times. Situation 6 received the fifth greatest rate in using the account strategy (89 times). A lower proportion was found in the other four situations: 66 occurrences in situation 10; 61 in situation 4; 43 in situation 2 and only twice in situation 8. However, situations 1, 7 and 10 witnessed complete absence of account strategy as none of the participants used it in these situations.

In respect of using account strategy with the opposite gender, the DCT data in table 2-B, showed relatively similar frequency of the strategy in the investigated situations. The highest percentage was recorded in five situations: S11 (108 times) & 3 (106 times); S12 (103 times); S5 (92 times) and S6 (91 times). A lower percentage was found in four situations: S4 & S9 (60 times); S2 (45 times), and S8 (2 times). Whereas, it was not used at all in situations 1, 7 & 10.

With regard to the distribution of the account strategy by both gender groups, the DCT data presented in table 5 records 337 occurrences by Kurdish males in male-to-male situations, and 340 incidents by female participants in apologising to the same gender. Whereas, in apologising to the opposite gender, no significant difference was found from the same gender situations, as the account strategy was used 336 times by men and 331 times by women in apologising to the opposite gender, as illustrated in table 6. Thus, the strategy in total received 677 occurrences in same gender situations and 667 manifestations in cross-gender situations. Thus, account strategy, in total, recorded the second highest occurring strategy after IFIDs, as illustrated in tables 5 & 6. It might be argued that the appearance of account

strategy in 9 situations with different occurrences, and its disappearance in three situations signifies that account strategy is a situation-specific one.

4.4.4 Offer of Repair

As illustrated in table 2-A, the data revealed the occurrence of offer of repair strategy in three situations (3, 4 & 10) and complete absence of it in the other nine situations. The highest percentage of repair strategy was observed in two situations: S10 (95 times) and S4 (82 times). However, S3 received the lowest frequency offer of repair strategy as it occurred only twice. Situations 4 and 10 witnessed the contribution of both gender groups in producing offer of repair strategy, whereas in situation 3, it was presented only twice by male participants. However, in apologising to the offended of the opposite gender, the results similarly revealed the occurrence of offer of repair strategy in the same situations: S10 (92 times); S4 (79 times) and S3 (2 times), as shown in table 2-B.

Regarding the employment of repair strategy by the gender groups, the results show frequency differences between Kurdish men and women in the same and cross-gender situations. According to the data in table 5, offer of repair strategy was used 95 times by Kurdish males and 84 times by Kurdish females in apologising to the same gender. In apologising to the opposite gender on the other hand, the strategy was employed 92 times by male participants and 81 times by females, as shown in table 6. I might argue that the lower occurrence of the offer of repair strategy by the Kurdish women compared to the male apologisers is related to the socio-economic situation of the participants. This is because, this strategy is based on financial compensation and that many Kurdish women are housewives and cannot afford compensation as men can.

In total, offer of repair strategy received 179 occurrences and 173 incidents in apologising to the same and opposite gender respectively. Accordingly, it received the highest fourth position among the strategies used, illustrated in tables 5 & 6. Also, it might be argued that the occurrence of repair strategy only in three out of twelve situations indicates situation-specificity of this strategy.

4.4.5 Promise of Forbearance

The data in table 2-A presented the use of promise of forbearance only in six situations (2, 4, 5, 9, 11 & 12), and the disappearance of it in the other six situations. The occurrence ranged from the highest frequency (88 times) in situation 9 to the lowest rate in situation 4 where it occurred only once. Situations 12 (52 times) & 11 (25 times) were found as the second and third highest positions, respectively, in terms of receiving promise of forbearance strategy. It was found that both gender groups were involved in using promise of forbearance in the three top situations. However, the matter is not true in the three other situations that witnessed a very low occurrence of the strategy: S5 (3 times by males only); S2 (twice); S4 (once).

As regards apologising to the opposite gender, the results in table 2-B were relatively similar to that in table 2-A. The highest percentage was seen in three situations: S9 (89 times); S12 (45 times); S11 (24 times). Whereas, the lowest occurrence was found in three other situations: S4 (1 time); S2 (2 times) and S5 (6 times).

Like account and offer of repair, promise of forbearance can be described as a situation-specific strategy as it happened in six situations, with different occurrences, and disappeared totally in the other six strategies. In relating the strategy to the apologisers' gender, the results show that men use more promise of forbearance than women do in Kurdish culture as they used it 95 times in apologising to the same gender, and 92 times in apologising to the opposite gender. However, female participants used it 84 times in the same gender situations, and 81 times in the cross-gender situations, as shown in tables 5 & 6. In total, same gender situations received 171 occurrences of promise of forbearance. However, it received 166 instances, in total, in apologising to the opposite gender. Thus, it was found to be the fifth highest occurring strategy across all the examined situations.

I might argue that the reason behind the lower frequency of the promise of forbearance by women compared to men is related to some Kurdish cultural issues in the area represented by ability differences in taking decision and promising to do or not to do something in the future. In this concern, Kurdish women, unlike men, are not quite independent. For instance, situation 9 (being late to re-pay a loan) requires

promising not to delay the return of the money any further and sort it out sooner or later, which is not as easy for women as for men because, as mentioned earlier many Kurdish women are not financially independent. This socio-economic difference might be the reason behind the different rates of promise of forbearance in situation 9 in which remedy depends on payment. However, the difference in situation 11 is attributed to the social restrictions on women's authority to make decision in a situation like this. In this situation men have more power than women to promise to visit friends or relatives and that a woman is not socially preferred to promise as she should be permitted and accompanied by a family member in most cases. These cultural issues might have caused disparity in the frequencies of promise of forbearance by both genders.

4.4.6 Concern for the Hearer

As found in table 2-A, concern for the hearer strategy was extended over eight situations (2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 & 12) when apologising to the same gender. The dominant occurrence was presented in five situations: S2 (18 times); situations 6 & 8 (13 times); S3 (11 times); S10 (7 times). However, the lowest percentage was presented in the other three strategies: S12 (3 times); S11 (twice); situation 5 (once).

In relating the distribution of the concern for the hearer strategy to both gender groups, the data revealed that concern for the hearer was extended over both gender groups in all the mentioned situations except situation 5 which received only one occurrence by one male participant.

With regard to apologising to the opposite gender, the data presented in table 2-B showed a relatively similar percentage of concern for the hearer across the situations. The results revealed that the highest percentage of the strategy was in four situations: S2 (14 times); S6 (12 times); S10 (7 times); S8 (11.3%); S3 (5 times) (cf. table 2-A).

Comparatively, it was found that the rate of the occurrence in the four dominant situations witnessed a slight change in using concern for the hearer with the opposite gender. For instance, in situation 3, the strategy occurrence decreased from

11 to 5 occurrences and in situation 8, the rate decreased from 13 to 6 incidents. However, the percentage of the strategy occurrence increased in S6 from 13 to 12 and (Compare tables 2-A & 2-B).

Regarding the involvement of both gender groups, the results revealed the contribution of both gender groups in situations 2, 6, 8, 10 & 12 in producing concern for the hearer strategy in the cross-gender situations. Conversely, situations 3, 7, 9 & 11 did not involve both gender groups as illustrated in table 2-B.

For the total frequency of the concern for the hearer strategy, the data revealed 68 occurrences in apologising to the same gender that minimised to 53 manifestations in apologising to the opposite gender. The reason for that is attributed to the socio-religious obligations that require women to be less communicative to socially-distant men. Hence, for a woman to show concern to a man is expected to occur less.

4.4.7 Newly Utilised Strategies

Based on the findings presented, this study introduced three new apology strategies in the Kurdish culture, alongside the six apology strategies adopted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981); Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) that constituted the foundation for this study. These new strategies include lack of intent, expression of embarrassment and non-verbal strategy.

4.4.7.1 Lack of Intent

The results presented in table 2-A demonstrated the use of lack of intent in eight situations and absence in four situations when apologising to the same gender. The eight situations that covered lack of intent included situations 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 10. On the other hand, situations 4, 9, 11 & 12 witnessed the total disappearance of the lack of intent strategy.

The most dominant occurrence of lack of intent was found in situation 2 (92 times) and situation 8 (76 times) and situation 10 (33 times). The use of lack of intent

in the rest of the situations showed relatively different occurrences, ranging from 36 occurrences in situation 3 to one in situation 5. The other low occurrence was displayed in S1 (25 times); S7 (12 times) and S6 (twice). The results also revealed the contribution of both gender groups in showing lack of intent in situations 2, , 7, 8 & 10. On the other hand, other situations did not receive the involvement of both gender groups.

In expressing lack of intent strategy with the opposite gender, the data in table 2-B displayed the distribution of this strategy over eight situations: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, & 11 and the disappearance of it in four situations which are 4, 9, 11 & 12. The highest percentage of the strategy was seen in five situations: S2 (45 times); S8 (71 times); S10 (34 times); S3 (33 times) & S1 (30 times). By contrast, the lower percentage was found in the other three strategies: S7 which received 11 occurrences; S5 & S6 obtained only 2 frequencies.

The data showed a close similarity in using the lack of intent strategy in considering the gender of the apology recipient. Similarly, the results revealed the involvement of both gender groups in producing lack of intent in six situations: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and 10. However, the strategy did not receive the contribution of both genders in other situations, as shown in table 2-B.

Regarding the total frequency of the strategy by both gender groups, the data in table 5 showed a significant difference between both genders in the sense that Kurdish women used more lack of intent than men (154 vs 115) in same gender situations. The reason might be related to the nature of this very strategy which indicates a call for innocence in the sense that what happened was something accidental and not on purpose. This expression is important to reduce the level of offence and saves the hearer's face by soothing their feelings. Based on the socio-religious values prevailing in Kurdish culture, offence is an intention-based act. Thus, severity of an offence is evaluated by the offender's intention and that lack of intent is expected to minimise the size of the offence. Accordingly, Kurdish females tend to use more lack of intent to show their positive image to the hearer and prove that they are not sources of offence. Therefore, it is more appropriate for women than for men. However, smaller difference between both genders in apologising to the opposite

gender (130 vs 122, as shown in table 6) is attributed to the sensitivity of cross-gender interactions. Based on the previously mentioned total frequency, lack of intent records the third highest position among the strategies used due to its significance in Kurdish apologies.

4.4.7.2 Expression of Embarrassment

The data revealed the occurrence of expression of embarrassment strategy in eight situations (3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 & 11) when apologising to the same gender, and a complete absence in the other four situations.

Situation 6 had the highest percentage of embarrassment strategy (25 times) in which both gender groups were involved in using it. Situation 9 recorded the second highest percentage of the strategy (14 times). However, the third highest percentage was seen in situation 10 (7 occurrences). The other four situations had the lowest percentage in using the expression of embarrassment, including S3 (2 times); S5 (twice); S4 (2%); S8 (2%) & S11(once).

Regarding the contribution of gender groups, the data in table 2-A show the participation of both gender groups expressing embarrassment in situations 5, 6, 9 & 10. However the other four situations (i.e. 3, 4, 8 & 11) did not receive the involvement of both genders in producing embarrassment expression due to the strikingly low occurrence of the strategy in the aforementioned situations.

However, in apologising to the opposite gender, the total frequency fell from 54 to 43. Similarly, table 2-B showed that situations 6 (16 times), 9 (12 times) and 10 (8 times) recorded the highest percentage in using the expression of embarrassment.

Each situation of 1, 5 & 11 received an equally low frequency of expression of embarrassment (2 occurrences). However, situation 8 received only one occurrence of embarrassment strategy. The strategy was utilised by both genders in five situations (5, 6, 9, 10 & 11) and only by female participants in situations 1 & 8.

In general the data presented in tables 5 & 6 reveals expression of embarrassment as the second lowest frequently used strategy by Kurdish participants because of the situation specificity feature of this strategy. In other words, it mostly goes with embarrassing situations. Like responsibility strategy, expression of embarrassment is mostly viewed by Kurds as a sign of sincerity in Kurdish apologies since they are strongly linked to the maxim of modesty presented by Leech (1983).

4.4.7.3 Non-verbal strategy

As is clear from tables 2-A & 2-B, non-verbal apology strategy showed the lowest occurrence in the twelve situations as compared to other strategies, as it occurred only 10 times, across the twelve situations, in apologising to the same gender and 11 times to the opposite gender.

The data in table 2-A, presented the use of non-verbal strategy in only three situations: situation 4 had the first highest frequency (8 times); situation 7 had the second highest (twice). Whereas the lowest rate was found in situation 3 which received only one occurrence. The other nine situations witnessed the absence of the non-verbal strategy.

To use non-verbal apology with the opposite gender, the data in table 2-B presented the occurrence of the strategy only in situation 4 (8 times) and situation 7 (3 times). However, the strategy was not seen in the other ten situations because of its appropriateness in other situations. According to the results, the non-verbal strategy is mostly used with young apologisees as in situation 4, where the apology recipient is a child. The reason is that this strategy is determined by certain cultural restrictions in terms of physical contact among adults, such as shaking hands, kissing or touching, since it is not appropriate to be used in cross-gender situations, as supported by some interviewee's responses.

Relating all apology strategies used by both gender participants, the results show that men, in total, used more strategies than women. In apologising to the same gender, the data presented in table 5 shows that men used 1200 apology strategies, whereas 1147 strategies were employed by the female participants. However, the rate

was lower in apologising to the opposite gender as men used 1167 sub-formulae against 1067 tokens used by women, as shown in table 6. Furthermore, both tables reveal different proportion of the total strategies used by both genders (males = 2347 vs women =2347 occurrences). Gender differences in terms of the strategy occurrences were found in the strategies used. Accordingly, it was found that Kurdish men received a higher rate in 6 strategies (IFIDs, responsibility, repair, promise of forbearance, concern for the hearer and expression of embarrassment. However, women were found to be relatively more dominant in using the other three strategies: lack of intent, non-verbal strategy and account, as illustrated in table 5. However, in apologising to the opposite gender, the same differences were found between men and women in using the apology strategies, with relatively lower occurrences in the strategies used, as shown in table 6.

Based on participants' age differences, the results show that young Kurdish adults used more apology strategies (1244 occurrences) than the older participants who, in total, received 1103 incidents in the same gender apology situations, as shown in table 11. The difference between both age groups were found with all the strategies except the non-verbal strategy which received more occurrences by older subjects than young ones.

Table 11. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on age taxonomy in same gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
Elderly Adults	404	31	325	87	75	33	117	25	6	1103
Young Adults	442	42	352	92	96	35	152	29	4	1244
Total	846	73	677	179	171	68	269	54	10	2347

In apologising to the opposite gender, the data in table 12 similarly demonstrated higher frequency of apology strategies by young adults (1191 occurrences) than the older adults who recorded 1043 frequencies in total. Furthermore, the data in table 12 demonstrated the dominance of young adults in all the strategies except in non-verbal employment, which showed relatively more occurrences by the older adults, as shown in table 12.

Table 12. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on age taxonomy in cross-gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
Elderly Adults	389	17	321	84	77	26	107	16	6	1043
Young Adults	429	34	346	89	89	27	145	27	5	1191
Total	818	51	667	173	166	53	252	43	11	2234

In considering the participants' social status, the data in table 13 shows high social status participants used more strategies than the low social status subjects in the same gender situations. The results demonstrated 1200 occurrences produced by high social subjects vs 1147 incidents by the low social persons. Examining the social status in relation to the strategies used, the data revealed the high social status participants obtained higher frequencies in six strategies (IFIDs, responsibility, repair, promise of forbearance, concern for the hearer, and expression of embarrassment. Conversely, low social status subjects were found to be better users of account and lack of intent strategies than high social status individuals. Both groups gave equal attention to non-verbal strategy as it received 5 occurrences by each group, as stated in table 13.

With regard to apologising to the opposite gender, the data showed that the participants of higher social status, in total, used more strategies than low social

status ones (1147 vs 1087), as shown in table 14. This dominance was found in six strategies (IFIDs, responsibility, repair, promise of forbearance, concern for the hearer, and expression of embarrassment. However, low social status were greater users of the other three strategies (account, lack of intent, non-verbal strategy). Comparatively, the results show that the Kurdish participants, in total, used more apology strategies in apologising to the same gender than to the opposite gender (i.e. 2347 vs 2234 occurrences), as shown in tables 13 & 14, specifically 2234 occurrences, as shown in table 14.

Table 13. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on social status taxonomy in the same gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
High Status	449	44	323	92	86	46	125	30	5	1200
Low Status	397	29	354	87	85	22	144	24	5	1147
Total	846	73	677	179	171	68	269	54	10	2347

Table 14. Total frequency of the apology strategies based on social status taxonomy in cross gender situations

Apology Strategies	IFIDs	Responsibility	Account	Repair	Promise of forbearance	Concern for the hearer	Lack of Intent	Expression of Embarrassment	Non-Verbal strategy	Total
High Status	424	34	321	91	86	38	120	29	4	1147
Low Status	394	17	346	82	80	15	132	14	7	1087
Total	818	51	667	173	166	53	252	43	11	2234

4.5 Analysis of the sub-strategies

The data regarding the sub-strategies presented relatively different occurrences across the situations as explained below:

4.5.1 Intensifiers

The intensifiers in Kurdish were expressed by the semantic formula زۆر [zor] meaning “very”. Based on the data in tables 15-A & 15-B the total occurrence of the intensification was 97 times across the twelve situations in apologising to the same gender and 81 times to the opposite gender. It was found that the intensification sub-strategy occurred in nine situations (1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 & 12) and disappeared in four situations including situations 2, 4, 7 & 11.

The results revealed the highest occurrence in situation 12 (21 times); situations 6 & 8 (16 times); situation 10 (13 times) as well as situation 9 (12 times) & situation 3 (10 times). However, lower occurrence was observed in situation 5 (8 times) and situation 1 which received only one occurrence.

It was found that all the stated situations, except situation 1, had the involvement of both gender groups in performing the intensifiers in their apologies. Additionally, the data revealed that Kurdish men, in total, used more intensifiers than women (men = 66 vs women = 31). Men’s high interest in employing intensifier sub-strategy was revealed in all the eight situations, as illustrated in table 15-A.

Table 15- A. Distribution of intensification of sub-strategy gender taxonomy in same gender situations based on the gender, age and social status taxonomies

Gender Groups	S 1	S 3	S 5	S 6	S 8	S 9	S 10	S 12	Total
Males	1	7	5	11	9	9	7	17	66
Females	0	3	3	5	7	3	6	4	31
Total	1	10	8	16	16	12	13	21	97

With regard to using intensification with the opposite gender, the data in table 15-B revealed a lower occurrence of intensified apologies (81 times), distributed over nine situations. Similar to the data in table 15-A, the highest percentage was found in four

situations: S12 (18 times); S6 (16 times); S10 (15 times); S9 (10 times). However, the other five situations had the lowest percentage of intensification occurrence ranging from one occurrence in S1 to 8 incidences in S5. The other three situations presented 3 frequencies in situations 2 & 3 and 7 occurrences in situation 8. The results also revealed that Kurdish men are exclusively better users of intensifiers than Kurdish women in all the nine situations, and that the disparity in total occurrence of the intensifier sub-strategy by both genders is worth-noting (males = 62 vs females = 19), as shown in table 15-B.

Table 15 -B. Distribution of intensification of sub-strategy based on participants' gender taxonomy in cross gender situations										
Gender Groups	S1	S2	S3	S5	S6	S8	S9	S10	S12	Total
Males	1	2	2	5	11	6	9	11	15	62
Females		1	1	3	5	1	1	4	3	19
Total	1	3	3	8	16	7	10	15	18	81

4.5.2 Swearing

In most Muslim cultures, swearing is generally used by speakers to convince the hearer of his/her sincerity and honesty about what is being said. Similarly, Kurds basically use swearing to support their claims. The semantic formula for the Kurdish swearing is basically represented by به‌خو [bəxwa] and sometimes by the Arabic swearing expression ومَلَّا [wəlla], meaning “by God”.

Regarding the distribution of swearing sub-strategy, the data in table 16-A demonstrated the high occurrence of swearing to support their apologies. The data revealed the distribution of swearing sub-strategy over eleven situations except for situation 12. Hence, it was presented 200 times in the apologies of same gender interlocutors throughout the stated situations

According to the results in table 16-A, swearing appeared predominantly in six situations: S3 (29 times); situations 2 & 11 (27 times); S6 (26 times); S9 (24 times)

and S8 (21 times). However, the lowest frequency of swearing was found in the other five situations covering one occurrence in S1; 3 times in S7; 11 incidences in S5; 14 occurrences in S4 and 17 tokens in situation 10.

Additionally, the results displayed the involvement of both gender groups in ten situations, except situation 1 which revealed only one manifestation of swearing sub-strategy by only one Kurdish man. The participants totally collected 200 frequencies of swearing sub-strategy over the eleven stated situations. Comparatively, the results in total show insignificant difference between both genders (males =103 vs females =97).

Table 16-A. Distribution of swearing sub-strategy with same gender across situations based on participants' gender taxonomy in cross gender situations

Groups	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	Total
Males	1	13	16	8	4	12	2	10	14	10	13	103
Females	0	14	13	6	7	14	1	11	10	7	14	97
Total	1	27	29	14	11	26	3	21	24	17	27	200

On the other hand, the Kurdish subjects used swearing less frequently in apologising to the opposite gender (164 times) as stated in table 16-B. Likewise, the swearing sub-strategy distributed over eleven situations except for situation 12 which witnessed the absence of the sub-strategy. The results presented the dominance of the swearing sub-strategy in six situations, showing 24 occurrences in S11; 23 in S3; 20 in S2; 18 in S9; 17 in S10 and 16 in S8. However the lowest percentage of the sub-strategy was reported in the other four situations ranging from 13 times in S4 to one manifestation in S7, showing low rates in three other situations between the two extremes: 3 occurrences in S1 and 11 in S5.

In relating the sub-strategy to both gender groups, the data revealed the involvement of men and women in all the stated situations except situation 7 which received only one occurrence by one male. The results also did not show a significant

difference between genders in using swearing sub-strategy in their apologies, as it was used 81 times, in total, by men and 83 times by women. It might be argued that the high frequency of the sub-strategy of swearing, with no significant difference between both genders, indicates the significance of this sub-strategy in apologising in Kurdish culture. Furthermore, it reveals the dominance of religion in interaction in the culture.

Table 16-B. Distribution of swearing sub-strategy with opposite gender across situations based on participants' gender taxonomy in cross gender situations

Groups	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	Total
Males	2	12	12	7	5	7	1	7	8	9	11	81
Females	1	8	11	6	6	11	0	9	10	8	13	83
Total	3	20	23	13	11	18	1	16	18	17	24	164

4.5.3 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are very common sociolinguistic phenomena in daily Kurdish interactions. The aim behind using these kinship terms is to show the speaker's affection for the hearer, regarding him/her as a member of the family. It indicates the involvement strategy suggested by Scollon and Scollon. The idea is more supportive of collectivism than individualism.

Kinship terms vary according to the age, gender and social status of the hearer. For age, Kurds use kinship terms such as خالۆ [xalo], meaning "uncle: mother's brother" or مامه [mamə], meaning "uncle: father's brother". For the hearers of opposite gender, خوشکه [xoʃkə], meaning "sister" or خوشکم [xoʃkim] meaning "my sister" to address a woman. To address men, the terms کاک [kak] "brother / sir" is

used in formal and informal situations to address people regardless of the social distance between the interlocutors. The term برا [bra] “brother” or براكهم [brakəm] is also used to mean “my brother”. However, with people of an elevated social position, the term ماموستا [mamosta], meaning “sir” or “Mrs./Miss/Ms” is used to indicate a high social status based on education such as a university lecturer or high school teacher. Sometimes these kinship terms are modified by some polite indicators such as بهريرز [bərrez], meaning “respected” or “dear” to show higher respect for the hearer, mainly when there is a considerable social distance between the interlocutors. The term گيان [gyan], meaning “dear” is also used to show a high degree of respect to the hearer, regardless of the social distance between him/her and the speaker.

In this regard, the data presented in tables 17-A & 17-B showed the highest occurrence of sub-strategy of kinship terms compared to the other three sub-strategies (202 times with the same gender vs. 330 times with opposite gender).

Regarding the use of kinship terms with the same gender, the data in table 17-A revealed their occurrence in all the twelve strategies. It was found that the highest percentage of kinship terms occurred in situations 4 and 7 (31 times). The second highest percentage was recorded in situation 12 (28 times) and the third and fourth highest ones were in situation 1 (20 times) and situation 8 (19 times). Furthermore, the data revealed that the lowest occurrence was found in the other seven situations: S6 (5 times); S3 & S11 (9 times); S5 & S9 (6 times) and S2 & S10 (15 times).

Regarding the group involvement, the data demonstrated the contribution of both gender groups in producing 202 kinship terms over all situations. This high frequency indicates the significance of this sub-strategy in Kurdish culture, which might be viewed as a collectivist sign of Kurdish culture as they connect the interlocutors as members of one family. Comparatively, it was found that Kurdish men, in total, used more kinship terms than women (males=122 vs females=80), as stated in table 17-A.

Table 17-A. Using kinship terms with same gender across situations

Groups	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	Total
Males	10	10	6	14	5	4	17	11	8	11	7	19	122
Females	10	5	3	17	5	1	14	8	2	4	2	9	80
Total	20	15	9	31	10	5	31	19	10	15	9	28	202

In apologising to the opposite gender, the data in table 17-B showed the highest percentage of kinship term sub-strategy in four situations, including S1 (55 times); S7 (51 times); S8 (39 times) and situation 4 (34 times).

Regarding distribution of the kinship term sub-strategy, the data reveals the participation of both gender groups over the twelve investigated situations. As in same gender interaction, the data showed that men used more kinship terms than women in cross-gender situations (males=201 vs females=129). Comparatively, the results show higher occurrence of kinship term sub-strategies in apologising to the opposite gender (i.e. 330 times) than in same gender apology situations (202 times, as stated in tables 17-A & 17-B. This high occurrence by both groups, particularly by male participants in cross-gender situations reveals the fact that Kurdish subjects are socially connected in a collectivist term. On the other hand, the higher occurrence of the kinship terms in apologising to the opposite gender, indicates the gender-specificity of this sub-strategy in all, more particularly, in cross-gender interactions.

Table 17-B. Using kinship terms with the opposite gender across situations

Groups	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S0	S1	S12	Total
Males	36	16	14	17	8	5	34	24	12	10	6	19	201
Females	19	13	7	17	9	4	17	15	10	8	1	9	129
Total	55	29	21	34	17	9	51	39	22	18	7	28	330

4.5.4 Traditional Expressions

Traditional expression sub-strategies usually include some socio-religious expressions to enhance the interaction and give more power to what is being said. Traditional expressions were presented in only three situations: 6, 9 & 12 when apologising to the same gender, as illustrated in table 18-A. The data also revealed that the stated sub-strategies had the highest percentage in situation 12 (31 times). The second most frequently used sub-strategy was found in situation 6 (14 times). However, the lowest percentage was found in situation 9 (6 times). The results demonstrated the involvement of both gender groups over the three situations which, in total, received 51 occurrences of traditional expressions in same gender apology situations (males=25 vs females=26). Thus, the traditional expressions were found to be the less frequent sub-strategies as compared to the others.

Table 18-A. Using traditional expressions with same gender across situations

Groups	S6	S9	S12	Total
Males	11	1	13	25
Females	3	5	18	26
Total	14	6	31	51

In apologising to the opposite gender, the data in table 18-B also presented the occurrence of the traditional expression sub-strategies in the same three situations in table 18-B. The highest percentage was recorded in situation 12 (28 times). The second dominant proportion occurred 6 times in S6. However, the lowest frequency was seen in S9 (5 times).

Regarding the distribution of the traditional expression sub-strategies over the gender groups, the data revealed the involvement of both gender groups in situations 6 & 12 and the absence of any male contribution in situation 9. The data showed the dominance of female participants in situations 9 and 12. Conversely, male participants used more traditional expressions in situation 6 (males =10 vs females=3). The data

reveals a slightly lower total of frequency in apologising to the opposite gender (i.e. 46 times), distributed over both genders (males =22 vs females= 24), as stated in table 18-B.

Table 18-B. Using traditional expressions with the opposite gender across situations

Groups				Total
	S6	S9	S12	
Males	10	0	12	22
Females	3	5	16	24
Total	13	5	28	46

Regarding the overall use of the four sub-strategies in supporting the apology strategies, the data revealed the dominance of kinship term and swearing sub-strategies in apologising to the same gender, they made up 36.66 % and 36.30 % respectively. However, the sub-strategies of intensifiers (17.79%) and traditional expressions (9.26%) comprised a lower percentage as illustrated below in figure 30.

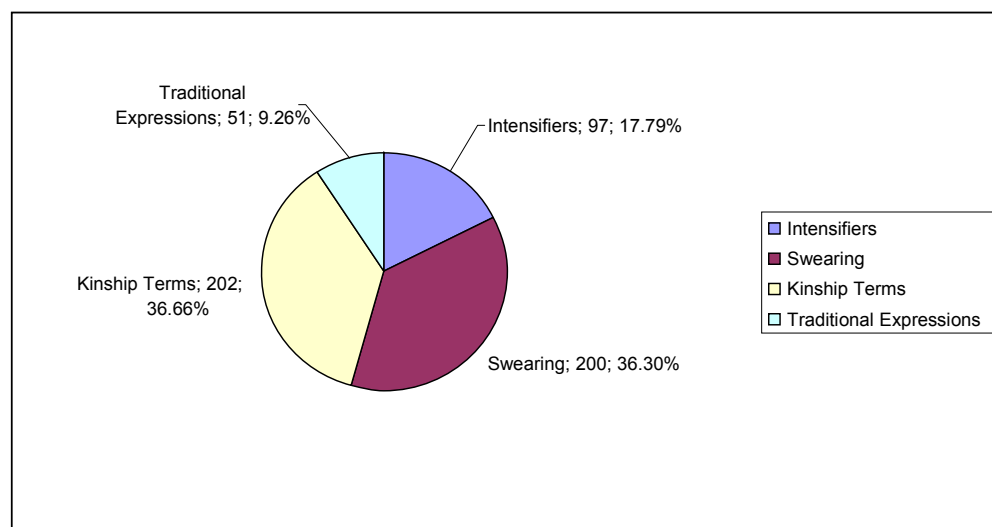


Figure 30. Percentage of sub-strategies in apologising to the same gender

Considering the opposite gender of the apology – recipient, the data in figure 31 showed a different percentage of using the apology sub-strategies. It was found that the kinship terms made up the highest percentage (54%) and the swearing sub-

strategies comprised the second highest percentage (26%). Similarly, intensifiers and traditional expressions showed the lowest percentages which were 13% and 7% respectively, as shown in figure 31. Overall, the data showed that opposite gender hearers had more sub-strategies (621 times in total) than same gender apology recipients who, in total, received 551 occurrences of sub-strategies.

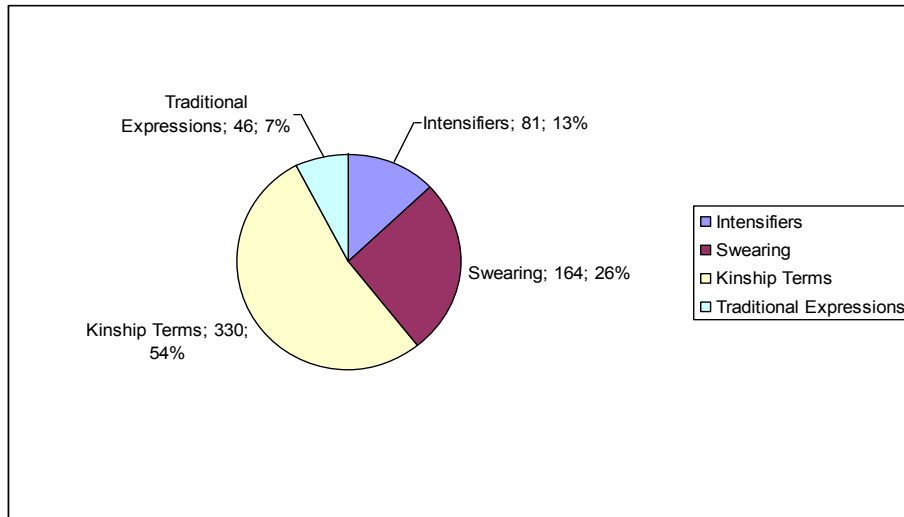


Figure 31. Percentage of sub-strategies in apologising to the opposite gender

4.6 Result Analysis: Interview Data

This section will focus on analysing the data elicited through the interview instrument. It includes the responses for 24 interviewees who completed the DCTs. They include 12 males vs and 12 females, as illustrated earlier in table 1-B. The analysis will be conducted based on gender differences.

The aim of this section is to shed light on apology conceptualisation and perception in the Kurdish culture in addition to some other parts of apology speech act which were not discovered by the DTC. For that purpose, the interviewees were asked about their personal views on the apology speech act including: what is apology, when s/he apologises and why, which apology strategy they usually use, how is it preferable to apologise - to apologise alone or accompanied by some friends; to be brief or detailed and why, what is sincere and insincere apology, what they say to the hearer when doing some non-linguistic behaviours in conversation such as sneezing, yawning, coughing, belching and interrupting the hearer's conversation. How their apologies differ according to the hearer's gender, social relationship, age, and social status/power. The section also aims to verify the responses of some situations obtained via the DCT. It is also of significance to manifest some real images of apology strategies in the Kurdish culture through the real stories narrated by the interviewees.

4.6.1 Conceptualisation of apology

The interview data revealed various concepts about apology which all meet at one point regardless of the differences between the participants. As a reaction to the open question "what do you think about apology?" the responses came out as follows:

- Ex.1. (Interviewee 4):- داوای لیبوردن شتیکی وارده له کومه لگای ئیمه . به حاله تی تهوازوعی ئەزانم نەك زوعف .

داوای لیبوردن پیشاندانی تهوازوعه

'Apologising is a common phenomenon in our society, I do view it as modesty not weakness' (Interviewee 4)

- Ex 2. (Interviewee 12) - من ههست نه کم ئيعتزار فەزىله ته . نه گەر يه کى حالى نه بى ئيعتزارى بى قورسه، حالى نه بى - له هه جى نهو ئيشه ي که کردووه تى که پيوستى به لیبوردنه، هه ر چهند تى بگا له تاوانه کهى ئيتر نه گەر به رانه ره کهى گوره بىت يان بچووک ئو لای ئيمه ئاساييه لیبوردن

'I think that apologising is a virtue. If somebody does not understand the size of the offence, s/he might find it difficult to apologise. If they understand the size of their offence, they will normally apologise.'

- Ex. 3 (Interviewee 1) - 'Apologising is a human feature'
- Ex. 4 (Interviewee 8): - داواى لیبوردن به شتى باش نه زانم به قابليه تى ئينسانه که نه گورى. من خۆم به شتىكى ئينسانى وړپک وپک نه بپينم

'I regard apologising as a good phenomenon, used differently among people. I myself find it a good human feature'

- Ex. 5 (Interviewee 18): - تهوازعه، هيج له شه خصيه تى کم نابيته وه داواى لیبوردن بکات له ئينسانى مسته حق بى

'It is modesty. It does not affect somebody's personality when apologising to somebody who deserves it.'

- Ex. 6 (interviewee 24): - جوانترين صفاته له مروفا -

'It is the most beautiful feature in human beings'

- Ex. 7 (Interviewee 14): 'I see it as a good thing' به شتى باشى نه زانم

- Ex. 8 (Interviewee 20): - داوای لیبوردن چشتی باشه، غەلت ئەکەیت وراستی ئەکەیتەوه

‘Apologising is a good act, you make a mistake and then correct it’

The examples given above describe apology in different ways in the Kurdish culture, such as modesty, human morality, good behaviour, virtue, highest human feature, correction of an error.

On the basis of the various attitudes given in describing apology, the participants are expected to apologise differently. However, the overall image of apology drawn by the Kurdish interviewees shows the high position of apology in the area.

□

4.6.2 When is an apology given?

The reactions manifest that apology comes up when there is an offence and the social relationship is affected. The case is explained differently to mean “when there is an offence which I don’t mean”, “when it is my fault”, “when our relationship is affected”, “when it is my fault”, “when something wrong happens”, “when I have committed an offence towards somebody”. The responses taken together reveal that apology is a reaction of an offence whether intended or unintended. The following are some samples of the interviewees’ responses:

- له کاتی روودانی ههلهیهك که من مهبهستم نهبی (Interviewee 12), ‘In the case of having an accidental mistake’
- کاتی من مقهصرم (Interviewee 1), ‘When it is my fault’
- کاتی شتی روو ئەدا (Interviewee 8) ‘when something wrong happens’
- ئەگەر عاجزی بێت (Interviewee 18) ‘In the case of annoyance’
- ئەگەر خهتای من بی (Interviewee 24), ‘When it is my fault’

- کاتی عاجز بوونی هه بی له بهینمانا (Interviewee 14), 'When there is annoyance'
- کاتیک غه تم کرد بی به رامبه ر به کی somebody' (Interviewee 20), 'When I do something wrong to

4.6.3 Why apologise: Purpose of apologies

Based on the interview data, the subjects involved in the study tend to apologise for multiple purposes. Thus, the question 'why apologise' resulted in several responses as follows:

- داوای لیبوردن زیاتر بو ئیرتیاحی زه میره . هم له بهر خاتر خۆم وهه له بهر خاتر ئه و که سه چونکه داوای لیبوردن شتیکی ناخیه (Interviewee 4) 'به داوای لیبوردن ناحه قی ئه کهم به حه ق

'Apologising is mostly for the satisfaction of conscience. It is for the sake of myself and the hearer as well. Apologising is an internal feeling. With apologies I can switch wrongs to right'

- مه به ستم ئه وه یه که سی به رات به ر دلی پاک بیه وه له ئاسی من بوی بسه لیم که من نیاز کی خرایم نه بووه، و برابیه تیکه مان له بهر خاتری خوای گه وره، وله بهر ئه وه یه ئه و که سه ش دلی لیم نه شکی و عاجز نه بی . بویه ن داوای لیبوردن ئه کهم بو ئه وه ی لیم (Interviewee 12), 'the purpose is to restore the hearer's broken heart and make it clean towards me I apologise to show that I had no bad intention and to keep our brotherhood'
- له بهر خاتری خوای گه وره، وله بهر ئه وه یه ئه و که سه ش دلی لیم نه شکی و عاجز نه بی . بویه ن داوای لیبوردن ئه کهم بو ئه وه ی لیم (Interviewee 1), 'For the sake of Almighty God, and also to heal the hearer's heart and forgive me. That is, Apology is forgiveness'
- ئه گه ر شتیکم کرد بی و خه تای من بی، ئه وه داوای لیبوردنی لی ئه کهم بو ئه وه ی هیچ شتی نه مینی له سه ر (Interviewee 8),

'I apologise when it is my fault for doing something wrong in order keep myself clean of responsibility,

- ئینسان نهفسیهن ئیسراحت ئەکات، له بهر خاتر خوا وله بهر خاتر ئهویش (Interviewee 18), 'A human being becomes psychologically relaxed. It is for the sake of God and the hearer'
- بۆ مانهوهی ئهوه دۆستایه تیهی که له نیوانا ههیه (Interviewee 24), 'To restore the relationship between us'
- بۆ ئهوهی لێم عاجز نهوی (Interviewee 14), 'In order not to be annoyed with me'
- بۆ ئهوهی غهله ته که ی خۆم راست که مه وه (Interviewee 20), 'In order to correct my mistake'

As clear from the given responses, Kurds apologise for various purposes. Hence, apologising is conducted for the sake of the offended person, apologise himself/herself as well as God. They believe that apologising is one way of correcting a wrong, finding serenity of mind, receiving forgiveness, avoiding disagreement and restoring relationships, healing the hearer's hurt feelings, showing goodwill and keeping the social relationship, correcting the offender's fault.

4.6.4 Apology and a Third Party

Regarding the preference for apologising (i.e. to be alone or accompanied by somebody or group), it was found from the interviews that Kurds prefer both ways of apologising, based on the situation and the size of an offence. Here are some examples:

- وهللا حالهت ئه زانی، حالهت ههیه پێویست ناکات کهس له گهله پیت، و حاله تیش ههیه پێویست ئەکات که هه ندی کهس له گهله

پیت

'Actually, it depends on the situation. Some situations do not require any companion and other situations require some accompanying persons'

□ In this concern, a university lecturer (Interviewee 4) asserts that the availability of third party is very common in Kurdish culture.

- ئەو حالەتە زۆر باوە لە کۆمەڵگای خۆمانا و دەوری باشی هەیە بۆ ئاشتبونەوه، بۆ نمونە دوو کەس لەیەک عاجز بوونە، یەکیکیان کەهەست ئەکات خۆی موقەصصرە، ئەگەر بەتەنها پروات بۆ داوای لێبوردن بەرانبەرەکی لێی وەرئەگرتی یان دلتیا نەبێ لێی، بۆیە کۆمەڵیک ئەبات لەگەڵ خۆی بۆ ئەوەی لێی وەرئەگرتی داوای لێبوردنەکی، فە کەسی سێیەم زۆر دەوری هەیە، کەسی سێیەم وەک

(Interviewee 6), "This case (To be accompanied by others) is very common in our society and it has a good role for reconciliation . For instance, if two persons are not on good terms, the offender feels that his apology might not be accepted by the offended person. Therefore, he takes a group of people with him in order to make his apology more effective and accepted. For that reason, the third party has an important role in Kurdish apologies. (See also appendix 14 – D: interviewees 12, 2, 14, 24).

However, the data shows that some of the interviewees prefer face-to-face apology without being accompanied by a third party in the case of being certain of the acceptance of their apologies:

- وەڵلا ئەگەر هەست بکەم شەخسەکی داوای ئیعتزازه که لێ قبوول بکات، من حەز ئەکەم هەر دوو بە دوو بێن

(Interview 12)□

Translation: 'Actually, I prefer to be alone if I am sure that he would accept my apology'. (Other similar answers can be seen in Appendix 14-D: Interviewees 8, 18 and 20.

Intermediate responses were produced by some interviewees who explained that they prefer both ways of apologising, stating that being accompanied by a third party gives more guarantee of their apologies being accepted. Usually a third party is used in the case of having a severe offense when

a face-to-face apology is expectedly unsuccessful. This was revealed by interviewee 3.

- 'وهللا ئەمەل جار حەز ئەكەم بەتەنیاىى برۆم، بەلام ئەگەر زانیم هەر بى' ئاقەتە ئەو برادەرىك لەگەل خۆما ئەبەم تەبەن
- خەلكا ئەرواى بۆ داواى لىبوردن بۆ شتى گەورە، بۆقسە كردن باشە لەبەین دوو كەسە كە . مەسەلەن هەلەبەكى گەورەت بێت، ئەو كەسانەى ئەیبەم دەورى ئىصلاحيان ئەبێت .

“Actually, I prefer to go alone, but if I discover that he is still annoyed, I will take a friend with me. Of course it is good for people to be accompanied by others in apologising for severe offences. They are mediators between both groups in the case of a major offense. The people I take have a role in reconciliation.” This view was also supported by interviewee 24 in appendix 14 -D.□

In terms of significance of using pre-apologies such as Quranic verses, traditions, proverbs, etc., the interview data revealed various responses. Based on these responses the nature of the situations determine whether to use pre-apologies or not. This was clearly revealed in the following response by interviewee 6:

- خۆى ئەو حالتهى كە تووشم ئەبى' ئەو حوكم ئەكات، بەلام خەلك بەعام ئايەت ئەهينبەئەوه وهك پيشهكى بۆ داواى لىبوردنەكەى، يان فرمودەكانى پيغمبەر (د.خ) يان پەندى پيشينانمان هەبە، بۆ ئەوهى رىخۆشكەرەيك بێت بۆ لىبوردنەكە و كوتايى بېت

'It depends on the situation facing me. However, people generally use verses from the Quran as a pre-apology or the prophet's hadiths, or they use proverbs to pave the way to the apology process'. For more responses, see appendix 14 - E: interviewees 12, 1, 2, 3, 8, 18 and 24. However, only two female interviewees preferred to apologise in brief (Appendix 14 - E: Interviewees 14 and 20).

As regards to the possibility of producing both sincere and insincere apologies, it was found from the interviews that not all apologies are sincere in Kurdish culture as stated by the following interviewees:

همه داوای لیبوردن ئەکات وله پشتهوه هه مان کردهوه دووباره ئەکاتهوه . ئەو داوای لیبوردنە راستەقینه نیه . کردار شەرته، ئەوهی به راستی

"بیت دووبارهی ناکاتهوه" (Interviewee 24), 'some people apologise in front of you, but s/he

repeats the same offence again. This apology is not a real one. It is behaviourally conditioned. An honest apologise does not repeat the same offence'. More examples can be found in appendix 14.

4.6.5 The best way of apology

The interview data revealed various responses in regard to the best method of apology. The subjects as a whole believe in using multiple apology strategies, and sub-strategies, supported, sometimes, by non-verbal paralinguistic features such as shaking hands, kissing and hugging, based on the relationship (social distance) between the interlocutors on the one hand and the gender and age of the apology-recipients on the other. Following are some of these reactions:

Interviewee 12 (university lecturer): - له گهڵ ئەو کسه تهوکه بکهیت و بلیی کاکه داوی لیبوردن ئەکم و گهردنم

تازاکه . . . یه عنی باشترین داوای لیبوردن به تهوکه کردنه، ههندی جار باوهشی پیا ئەکهی و ئەملاولای ماچ ئەکهی. ههندی جار ئەگه

"The best way to apologise is to shake hands with that person, saying: dear (brother) I request forgiveness, forgive me (a socio-religious IFID)... I mean the best way of apologising is performed by shaking hands,

sometimes hugging him and kissing him on both sides. Sometimes, when necessary, I would kiss his hands if he is older than me'. Further examples can be seen by other interviewed participants in Appendix -14-G: Interviewees 4, 1, 8, 18, 24, 14, and 20.

4.7 Apology Strategies According to the Hearer's Sociolinguistic Features

In addition to the social factors of the speaker (apologiser), the data also reveal how the social factors of the hearer (i.e. recipient's sociolinguistic features) determine the use of apology strategy selections. Thus, the interview results reveal how the apology strategies are used differently, by the apologisers, according to the hearer's gender, age, social distance, and social status/power.

4.7.1 Gender

Regarding gender, the interview data displayed that all the male participants are more apologetic to women than to men, as made clear in their statements:

Interviewee 4: □ بۆ ئافرهت دوو جا يان سى جار داواي لىنبوردن ئەكەم و ئەلەيم نەمزانی بۆ دۇنيا بونى زياتر:

'To women I apologise (request forgiveness) two or three times, and say I did not intend (mean) it, for more assurance' (Interviewee 4). □

Interviewee 12: □ ھەست ئەكەم لەگەل ئافرهتا گەرم و گورتر بىت بۆ داواوي لىنبوردن لەبەر ئەوەي ئافرهت لایەنى عاطفى زياترە ...

لەگەل پياوا ئەتوانم تەوقە بکەم بەلام ئافرهت ئەتوانم تەعويز بکەمەو بەزمان وھەندى شتى ماددى...

'I think I should be more serious in apologising to women because they are more affected than men. I can shake hands with men, but I can better compensate women by words and some material stuff' (Interviewee 12). See also appendix 14 – H: interviewees 1, 8 and 10.

□ Conversely, the female groups showed relatively different responses depending on the gender of the hearer. The data revealed that they were more apologetic to female than to male hearers. They also show that they are more biased to their gender than to men, as illustrated in the following responses:

– ئافرهت فەرق ئەكەت، ژن جىايە، ئەگەر ژن بېت باوش ئەكەم پىايا و دوو قسەى خوښى بو ئەكەم، بەلام پىاوهكە: Interviewee 18

هەر داواى لىبولادنى لى ئەكەم، و ئەلېم تو بىراى گورەى، و ئەگەر غەلەتم كرووه داواى لىبوردن ئەكەم لىت. . . يان بو ژن تەوقە ئەكەى لىگەلىا

□ و قسە ئەكەى و داواى لىبوردن ئەكەى. ئەگەر پىاو بېت هەم داواى لىبوردن لى ئەكەم بەلام بى تەوقە.

‘Women are different. For women I hug her and have nice words with her, but with men I only apologise to him and say “you are a big brother, if I made any mistake I request forgiveness.... Or with women you can shake hands with her, but with men you only offer apologies with no handshaking.’ (Appendix 14-H: Interviewee 18). Similarly, the data showed that there are some social restrictions on the ways of apologising, depending on the gender of the hearer, as explained by Interviewee 24:

□ فەرقى هەمىه لىگەل پىاو، ئافرهت باوشى پىائەكەى و تەقەى لىگەلا ئەكەى بەلام پىاو نا.

‘Women are different from men as you can hug women and shake their hands, but not with men’. Based on these restrictions, the data also demonstrated that women are less apologetic to men than to women as stated by interviewee 14:

‘I apologise more to women than to men’ (Interviewee 14).

Additionally, it was also found that women, in some situations, do not apologise to men at all, as revealed by Interviewee 20:□

‘to men, I say nothing and go’ (Interviewee 20). (بو پىاو) هېچ نايەژم و ئەچم

4.7.2 Age

In considering the age of the offended person, the interview data revealed that both gender groups, regardless of their age and social status, showed more politeness and deference to the older hearers than younger ones due to the position of age in the Kurdish social hierarchy. These are some of their quoted responses:

Interviewee 5: ئەگەر شەخسەكە بە تەمەن تر بێت ئەبێت زیاتر رێزی لێ بگیری تا بچووك. ئەگەر هەلەكە گەورە بێ ئەبێ زیاتر داوای

□ لێبوردن بکە لە شەخسی گەورە و بە تەمەن .

'If the person is older, more respect should be shown to him/her than to younger ones. When the offence is severe, you have to apologise more to the older people than to younger ones'.

Interviewee 14: □ لە خۆم گەورە تر زیاتر داوای لێبوردنی لێ ئەکەم

'I am more apologetic to people older than me'. (See more responses in appendix 14-I: interviewees 12, 1, 8, 18, and 24.

The data showed that the older the hearer, the greater apologies s/he will receive. Conversely, the younger the hearer, the fewer apologies he or she will receive. For that reason, it was found that Kurdish adults show no apology to young children, as clearly revealed by interviewee 17: □

□ منال ئەونە داوای لێبوردن لێ ناکەم، هەر ماچی ئەکەیت و ئاشتی ئەکەیتەوه

'Children are usually not apologised to. We only kiss them and satisfy them'

4.7.3 Social Distance

Regarding the social distance between the speaker (apologiser) and the hearer (apology-recipient), the interviews demonstrated different results between male and female groups. Regarding the male groups, it was found that socially distant victims usually receive more apology than socially close ones. Following are some of the responses:

Interviewee 2: 'Of تهبعن له بیگانه زیاتر داوای لیږورډنی لئ تهکم تاخزم چونکه خزم ناشناښوون له گڼیا زیاتره.

course I show more apologies to strangers (socially distant) than to relatives (socially close) because I am familiar with relatives'. This was also supported by other male group members as demonstrated in appendix 14 – J: Interviewees 10, 1, 2, and 8. Conversely, the interview data showed that the female groups mostly tended to be more apologetic to relatives (socially close) than to strangers (socially distant) as stated by interviewee 24:

□وهللا بیگانه من نهو حیواره نیه له بهینمانا هه تا زور داوای لیږورډنی لئ بکم . . . له گڼل نزیك تر زیاتر داوای لیږورډن نه کم.

'Actually, there is no that conversation between me and a stranger (socially distant person) to make me be more apologetic to him/her.... I am more apologetic to socially close persons'. See also interviewees 14, 20 and 18 in appendix 14 – J.

However, unlike the other females groups, interviewees 16 & 17 showed that they are more apologetic to strangers than to relatives.

□له بیگانه زیاتر داوای لیږورډن نه کم چونکه غه ربه نایناسم

'I offer more apologies to a stranger because I do not know him/her' (Interviewee 17).

The interview generally revealed that the male groups were more apologetic to the socially distant hearers than female groups. However, the female groups were more apologetic to socially close hearers. □

4.7.4 Social Status/power

As regards apologising to people of high social rank, the interview data revealed that all the interviewees regardless of their gender, age and social status show more polite apologies to people of higher social status. Following are some of the quoted answers:

Interviewee 4: – تەبعەن فەرق ئەكەت، لەوانە يە بچم بۆ مالهوويان بۆ زياتر دلتيا بووني، چونكە ئەوانە مەقامى گورەترە وليبوردي

□ تايپەتى ئەوي.

‘Of course, it does differ, I may go to their house to give them more assurance because they have higher social rank and they need special apologies’ (Interviewee 4). The significance of high social status is also evidenced by interviewees 1, 8, 18, 12, 13, 14, and 20 in appendix 14– K. Thus, the data indicates that the level of the apology strategy depends on the level of the social rank/power of the apology- recipient as clearly stated by interviewee 12:□

□ تەبعەن كەسى چەن ناو كۆمەلگا ديار بىت ئەبى بەو شيوە يە داواى لىبوردي لى بگەيت

‘Of course a famous person in the society (high social rank/power) receives special apologies that suit their high position.

To state the position of power in apology, one question was exclusively directed to the university lecturers and high school teachers (i.e. participants with high social status). The interview data showed no direct apologies to their students in response to what they would say when late in marking exam papers. Below are some quoted responses:

Interviewee 6: □ ئەواوم نەكردوو، نەخىر

‘No, I have not finished yet’ (Interviewee 6)

Interviewee 18: □ بەياني يان دوو بەياني بوتان دىنمەوہ ان شاء اللہ .

'Tomorrow or after tomorrow I will return your exam papers, God willing' (interview 18). This is also supported by other subjects of high social status in interviewees 3, 11, 16, 22 and 24 in appendix 14-L.

4.8 IFIDs and Switching

To show the difference between the formal IFID and the socio-religious IFID, and the priority of each of them, the data showed the use of both of them in the normal apology requiring situations. However, it also revealed the priority of the socio-religious IFID on Eid and religious occasions (IFID switching) as in the examples below:

□- وەللا له كۆمه‌لگای خۆمان زیاتر داوای لیبوردنه، بەلام له جه‌ژنه‌كانا گەردن ئازایی زیاتره.

'Actually, the formal IFID is more common in our society, but at Eid the socio-religious IFID is more common' (Interviewee 12). However, the interviewee explained the difference between both IFIDs by saying: 'به‌لێ من خۆم به‌نسبەت خۆمه‌وه نه‌گورێ، سه‌یر نه‌کە ی داوای لیبوردن'.

'به‌لێ من خۆم به‌نسبەت خۆمه‌وه نه‌گورێ، سه‌یر نه‌کە ی داوای لیبوردن'، meaning 'to me they are different as the formal IFID is somehow effortless'.

This implication shows the power of the socio-religious IFID over the other ones in general, more specifically on Eids. The significance of the socio-religious IFID is also evidenced by Interviewees 3, 4, 8, 10, 17, 18, 24, 13, and 20 in appendix 14-M. The priority of the socio-religious IFID over the other semantic formulae of IFIDs was revealed by interviewee 3 in appendix 14-M:

باشترین شیوازی لیبوردن لای من گەردنم ئازاکه‌یه‌چونکه‌ ئەم دونیا یه‌ هیچه‌ و نامبێتی

'The best way of apologising is the socio-religious IFID because this life is nothing and temporary. Another interviewee also stated a similar reason for using the socio-religious IFID' 'چونکه‌ خۆمان به‌ محەمه‌ع موسڵمانین گەردنم ئازاکه‌ زۆرتره' meaning, 'Because we are a

Muslim society, the socio-religious IFID is more common'. Other supporting examples can be seen in appendix 14.

4.9 Apologies in certain non-linguistic situations

With respect to some non-linguistic behaviours (sneezing, yawning, coughing and burping), the interview data showed that participants did not apologise in the situations of sneezing and coughing. However, only one participant apologised for yawning (i.e. interviewee 6) and three subjects for burping (two males and one female), as illustrated in table 19. The reason might be related to the high social status of the three participants.

Table 19. The Participants' apology and no-apology frequency towards some non-linguistic behaviours

Groups	Sneezing		Yawning		Coughing		Burping	
	Apology	No-apology	Apology	No-apology	Apology	No-apology	Apology	No-apology
Males	0	12	1	11	0	12	2	10
Females	0	12	0	12	0	12	1	11
Total	0	24	1	23	0	24	3	21

It was found that the subjects used other expressions and/or behaviours or none at all. The most common expressions were used for sneezing, yawning and sometimes burping. However coughing was left without an accompanying linguistic expression.

For sneezing, instead of apologising the participants thank God, saying: *نمطمدووليللاه*

'Praise be to Allah (God)' as stated by interviewee 4 and other participants in appendix 14-N. The reason is that sneezing is not regarded as an apology requiring

incident, but is a religious phenomenon and thanking God after sneezing is a preferably-religious commitment in Islam.

With regard to yawning, the interviewees' responses were distributed over a religious prayer, covering the mouth with the hand or saying nothing. The first two types of responses are related to religion, but not the third type. The interview data showed only one response of saying nothing, produced by interviewee 21: هيج نايه ژم meaning 'I say nothing'. However, the majority used the prayer: اُعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم 'I seek refuge in Allah from Satan, the accursed' as stated by interviewees 4, 7, 12, 1, 8, 9, 13, & 19 in appendix 14-0. However, some other interviewees used a behavioral gesture by putting a hand on the mouth, as stated by interviewee 15: دوس نه نه مه سهر دهم 'I put my hand on my mouth'. This is supported by other similar responses with interviewees 5, 12, 2, 3, 18, 24, 14 and 20 in appendix 14-0. According to the interview data, only interviewee 6 used the formal IFID when yawning. For the situation of coughing as a non-linguistic phenomenon, the interview data revealed no apology by any of the interviewees as shown earlier in table 19.

With respect to burping, the interview data showed only three occurrences of apology produced by two males and one female, as in table 19. However, it was found that some of the participants, alternatively, expressed gratitude to God as in the following example:

Interviewee 13: نه لحه مدو و ليله 'Praise be to Allah (God)'. However, the majority used the say nothing strategy accompanied, sometimes, by some behavioural gestures:

Interviewee 20: هيج نايه ژم, meaning 'I say nothing'. □

Interviewee 10: بهر نه كه مه لايه تره وه، نه گهر براده ر خومان نه بي يا خزم بيت ، به نام نه گهر به كي براده ري □

□ زۆر نزيك نه بئيت يان بيگانه بئيت (ره سمميات بئيت له به بنمان) ئەوا من داواي لئيبوردني لي ئەكەم

'I turn my face if the person is a close friend or relative (socially close). However, if he is not a very close friend or he is a stranger (socially distant) in a formal situation, I will apologise'

Interviewee 12: خەلك كه م داواي لئيبوردن ئەكا بۆ قريته 'people rarely apologise for burping'

Interviewee 15: باني دەم ئە دەم 'I cover my mouth with my hand'.

4.10 Apologies and interruption of conversation

With regard to interrupting somebody's conversation and correcting him/her, the interview data revealed, as shown in table 20, that only six participants (2 males and 4 females), used IFIDs while interrupting the hearer. However, four male participants used direct apology in interrupting a person's conversation. Following are some of the apology responses produced by both gender subjects:

Interviewee 6: عهفون شه كه ئەو هايله، بۆ زانين 'forgiveness. The matter is like that for your information'

Interviewee 11: داوي لئيبوردن ئەكەم، هەرچەن دە موقتە عەت ئەكەم 'I request forgiveness, as I have interrupted you'

Interviewee 23: عهفوو مامۆستا مولا حەزەبه 'Forgiveness sir, I have a note'. Other examples are stated in appendix 14-P, by interviewees 3, 7, 8, 17, 15, 16, 20 and 22. The data also demonstrated requesting permission as a common speech act by the group members. It was used seven times by the participants, represented by such expressions as:

'By your leave'. Following are some of the responses:

Interviewee 4: مأموسا به یارمه تیت، نم قسه یه وا نیه نهوهایه، له وانیه تو غملت حالی بو بیت

'Excuse me, sir. The matter is not like that. You have misunderstood it'

Interviewee 10: نیجازمهم بده بو نهوی روونی بگممهوه بوت 'allow me to correct you'

Interviewee 12: به ئیزی جهنابت، منیش موداخهله یه کم هیه 'by your permission, sir. I want to interfere'. Further examples can be found in appendix 14 – P: interviewees 2, 18 & 21. Interrupting somebody's conversation, in total, generated 14 no-apology tokens and 10 apologies, as shown in table 20.

Table 20. Occurrence of apology and non-apology for interruption in conversation

Interrupting somebody's conversation		
Groups	Apology	Non-apology
Males	6	6
Females	4	8
Total	10	14

Regarding the female groups, the interview data resulted in one specific apology strategy which might be called a metaphorical apology, fitting that very situation. This was represented by a highly polite expression describing the hearer's words as sugar to indicate the value of his/her speech which is as sweet as sugar. Thus, they metaphorically apologise for stopping somebody from having his/her sweet as an indication of interrupting somebody's speech.

The metaphorical apology strategy used in this situation is regarded as a distinctive feature for female interlocutors in the area of the study. Based on the interview data, this metaphorical apology occurred six times distinctively by the female groups. A clear example might be seen by interviewee 14: شه که ره کت گیرده 'stop your sugar', which is supported by interviewees 17, 13, 15, 20 & 19 in appendix 14-P. Furthermore, the data also revealed that the three old housewives (i.e. interviewees 14, 15 & 16) received the highest percentage out of the overall metaphorical apology producers (50%), that's 3 out of 6. Two out of the three young housewives (namely, interviewees 19 & 20) received the second highest percentage (33%). Interviewee 17 received the lowest percentage (17%) among the three old female teachers. However, the metaphorical apology witnessed complete absence by the young female teachers (i.e. interviewees 22, 23 & 24), as illustrated in figure 32. Due to the absolute absence of the metaphorical apology by the 12 men, it can be described as a female oriented apology strategy.

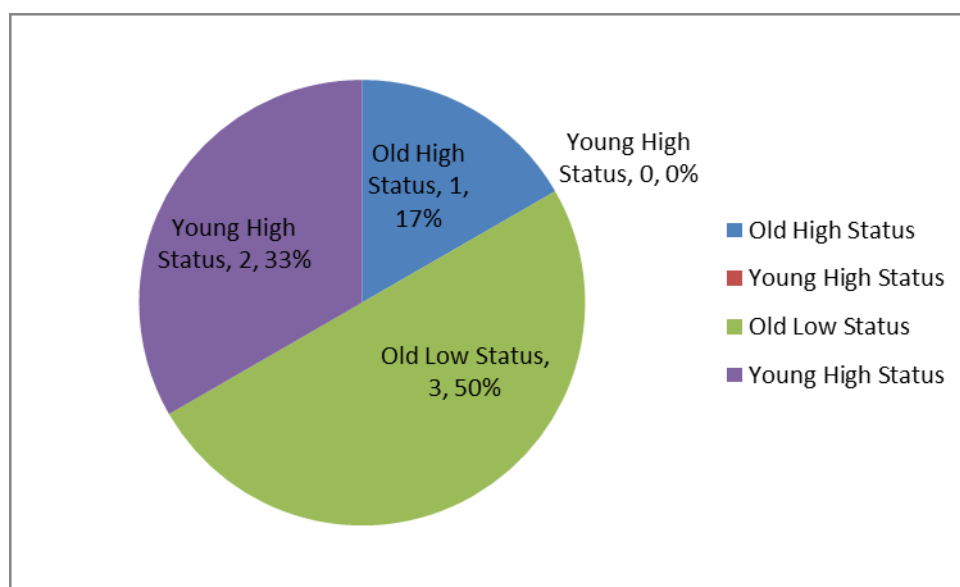


Figure 32. Percentage of metaphorical apology among the female groups

4.11 Analysis of the recently occurring events

Regarding the real apology event narrated by the interviewees, the data showed that Kurds make use of religious occasions (mainly Ramadan month and Eid) to apologise and restore the social equilibrium among themselves, as affirmed by events 4 & 8 in appendix 14-Q. These recorded events show how apology is associated with religion. Within that, it reveals the significance of time and place in apologising.

4.11.1 Apology in relation to Place and Time

As I argued earlier, the success of apology is strongly related to time and place. The offended person's house is the best place to save the victim's face as stated in Event 1 narrated by interviewee 4 in appendix 14 - Q. Regarding the time, it was the post-pilgrimage time (religious occasion) that might be regarded as a suitable time for the apology-recipient to accept the offender's apology. The proper time and place motivated the use of multiple apology strategies: *من بوو کاکه گەردنم ئازاکە من زۆر خەجالتەم خەتای*,

meaning, 'Forgive me (for God), I am very embarrassed. It was my fault'. The multiple strategies included socio-religious IFID + intensified expression of embarrassment followed by taking personal responsibility, which is a very rare strategy among Kurds as shown earlier DCT data.

According to the event, the apology was accepted as it was regarded by the apology-recipient as an Act of God regardless of the size of the offence (car damage). The event showed that the offender repeated his apology to the young driver's father after coming back from pilgrimage, making use of the time, place and occasion. The son did not say anything about his apology in the absence of his father, but left the decision of forgiveness to his father. This reveals the power of age in the family as the apology was not mainly addressed towards the son who received the offence (car damage), but later towards the father who was absent at that time.

Similarly, the role of the offended person's house in apology was also revealed in event 2 by interviewee 12, who went to his friend's house, accompanied by his father

and cousin, to apologise for his father's offence. The data, here, demonstrates that Kurds in some situations apologise for others as the son did for his father in event 2.

Event 3 by interviewee 1 deals with the situation of being late to give condolences to a socially-close (relative) family. This offence is regarded as a violation of the social values. However, unawareness of a related event is the most readily forgiven way to make an apology in Kurdish Culture. In this event, the interviewee's wife soon apologised to her relative who blamed her for not visiting and giving condolences. She apologised and swore by God for being unaware of the sad event. The event data showed the use of IFID supported by the sub-strategy of swearing as well as the lack of intent (i.e. lack of awareness) in the first stage of apology.

The second stage of apology was shown by a family visit to express their apologies using multiple strategies, including the socio-religious IFID supported by the strategy of lack of awareness, showing the involvement politeness strategy as members of one group:

وَهَلَّا نَهَبِيْ گەردنمان ئازابكەن چونكە هەر نەمان زانیبوو ئەگینا ئیمە خزمین هەر واجبه ئەهاتین بۆ لاتان

'By God you should forgive us because we never knew about that. Otherwise, we should have visited you as it is an obligation and we are relatives'.

With respect to event 4 by interviewee 8, the data show the significance of religious occasions such as Ramadan month as motivation for apology and restoring the affected social relationship between the interlocutors. The apologise showed the reason for his apology as follows:

والله من هەر خزمینکی خۆمان کەمی ناخۆشیمان بوو لەتەکیا . منیش مانگی رەمەزان بوو چووم داوای گەردن ئازایی لی بکەم . لەبەر ئەوەی

مانگ رەمەزان بوو ولەیلەتول قدر بوو وتم با نوێژ وتاعەتەکەمان لی قبوول بکەیت

'Actually, we were not on good terms with a relative of ours. When Ramadan came, I went to him to ask forgiveness (using socio-religious IFID). Because it was the month of Ramadan and night of Al Qadr in order to make my prayers and worships accepted (by God)'. The data of this event showed the significance of the religious occasions as

motivation for apologising and the priority of the socio-religious IFID over other IFID semantic formulas.

Regarding a late visit to a close female friend to welcome back her son who had recently returned from abroad, the data of event 5 by interviewee 18, displayed the use of multiple strategies, starting with shy permission to enter her friend's house, followed by a mixture of apology strategies including non-linguistic strategy (hugging and kissing), lack of intent strategy (i.e. being unaware strategy), and sub-strategy of swearing. In addition, the apology was supported by a behavioural strategy represented by visiting and buying a present for her friend who lived far away from her.

وهللا نهگر قاوم نهدهى نهپرؤمهوه ونهگر ئيزنم بدهى تيمه ژووره، ئيتر باوشم پياکرد وماچم کرد وتم: وهللا (س) گيان پروا بکه وهقهصدهوه

نهمکردووه، وهقهصد بهکردايه ئيسنا نهتههاتم بولات بوخانهقين، وهللا ئيتر دانيشتين ههتا نيوهرؤئيتر خواردنى هيتا . ئيتر پينم وت بهخوا (س)

گيان نهمزاني كورهكەت لهخارج هاتوتهوه، عهفوومكه نهوها ونهوها . ئيتر ناشتهوه بووين وتهواو.

“Indeed if you dismiss me, I will go back, but if you allow me, I will come in. Then, I hugged her and kissed her, saying ‘dear (X), believe me I did not do it deliberately. Otherwise, I would not come and visit you in Khanaqin. Then, we sat until noon and had lunch. I told her, by God, dear (X), I did not know that your son was back from abroad, forgive me and so on. Then, we were reconciled”.

Like other events, the data also reveal the significance of the second stage of apology.

Event 6 narrated by interviewee 24, revealed that it is not necessary that apology be conducted by words, but by actions as conducted by a young female teacher to her head mistress who was not on good terms with the interviewee. This indicated the difficulty of apologising to people who treat people unfairly. Therefore, this might be regarded a real apology due to floating the adopted apology strategies. The event here might be regarded as an example of *say nothing* (i.e. non-verbal) strategy. This is because no strategy was used by the interviewee 24.

Event 7 by interviewee 14 displays a combination of some strategies and sub-strategies such minimising the offence, begging forgiveness by using socio-religious

IFID, hugging, concern for the hearer (mainly don't be angry), kinship terms and involvement politeness (ئیمه خوشکین), 'we are sisters'.

ژیڤ دراوسیمان شه‌رمان بوو له‌سه‌ر چلکاو. پیم وت ئیمه خوشکین، چلکاو چیه؟ بوچی عاجز ئه‌وی؟ گه‌ردنم ئازاکه. له‌به‌ر ئه‌وی عاجز بوو چووم بو مالیان وده‌سم له ملی کرد ووتم بوچی عاجز ئه‌وی، ئیمه خوشکین، چلکاو چیه؟ گه‌ردنم ئازاکه ئخوا. ئیمه‌ش ئاوه‌که‌مان گه‌رته‌وووه بو ئه‌وه‌ی عاجز نه‌ویت.

'After a quarrel happened between me and a neighbour woman because of sewage (in front of our houses), I told her: 'we are sisters, what is sewage? Why are you upset? Forgive me [socio-religious IFID]. Because she remained upset, I went to visit her at her home and hugged her and told her why are you annoyed. We are sisters. What is sewage? For God, forgive me. We stopped the water in order not to stay irritated'.

The event showed two stages of apologising, concluded with a visit to the offended person's house to make remedy. The data significantly revealed behavioural action as repair of the offence to authenticate her verbal and non-linguistic apologies.

Event 8 narrated by interviewee 20 displayed the role of Eid as a religious occasion to apologise and restore the social relationship. It showed the transference of IFID as the only socio-religious IFID was used as a substitute for all other IFID formulae. Furthermore, the apology was supported by hugging and kissing sub-strategies. The event demonstrated taking responsibility strategy by a female apologisee to calm down the situation. This apology came to make remedy between two related families.

The event significantly showed the apologisees did not mention the offence they are apologising for as they believe it is not good to repeat old stories, expressed by a Kurdish traditional maxim (حه‌زمان نه‌کرد کای کونه‌ بکه‌ینه‌ با), 'we did not like to spread out old hay', that is they did not like to disturb the situation by mentioning the offence since it dated back to seven months earlier, as stated in appendix 14 – Q: event 8.

4.12 Observation Data: Results Analysis

This section will focus on analysing the findings and the results elicited via situations in which the Kurdish interlocutors use various apology strategies. The analysis will be based on the sort of apology strategies, whether explicit or implicit, the offence and the person offering the apology. Less focus will be placed on the apology recipient in the analysis except for certain situations. The reason for that is that the researcher himself and the researcher's assistant are the apology-recipients and observers as well in many situations. This is because they are true-to-life situations conducted by the researcher and/or his assistant.

The aim of the chapter is to reveal the strategies used according to the severity of the offence, the apologiser, the situation and the apology-recipients in certain cases. Moreover, the analysis will be illustrated by tables and charts to show the difference between the strategies utilised in the given situations. This chapter is of significance in revealing some other aspects of apologising that have not been covered in the two previous studies. Furthermore, it will support the findings of the other two studies.

4.13 Description of authentic Situations

These authentic observed situations stretch over 44 heterogeneous apology-prompting situations. Here are the situations and the total of their occurrences in table 59.

Table 21. Stating types of the observed situations and their occurrences

No.	Situations: types of offence	Occurrence
1.	Failing to visit and welcome back a friend who is back from abroad	9
2.	Failing to complete the DCT form on time	5
3.	Failing to visit his friend who was seriously injured (broken leg)	1
4.	Failing to invite his friend to his engagement party	1
5.	Apologising for hitting his friend by accident while playing a recent football game.	1
6.	Forgetting to keep his promise to buy the sunflower he promised	1
7.	Forgetting to bring his friend the book he promised	1
8.	Forgetting to put the lunch box in her daughter's school bag	1
9.	Not feeding the baby properly which made the baby cry	1
10.	Giving less money to the electrician than he asked for	1
11	Apologising for not providing better food for a guest	1
12	Interrupting researcher's interview with a lecturer by knocking and opening the door	1
13	Missing two calls from his female cousin	1
14	Being late for his friend who was waiting outside	1
15	Failure to return marked exam papers to the students on time	1
16	Phoning a person with a similar name by mistake	1
17	Keeping a customer waiting	1
18	Not accepting his cousin's invitation in the past	1
19	Mother pressing on her daughter's toe	1
20	A lecturer occupying his colleague's classroom that caused him to teach his class in another room	1
21	Forgetting to give change to a passenger	1
22	University lecturer refusing his uncle's invitation for dinner	1
23	Requesting a lecturer to come outside	1
24	Taking up a mobile phone repairer's time so as to check his mobile phone	1
25	Inability to process an application form adopted by the hearer	1
26	Not apologising and refuting his friend's request for his mobile to be turned off	1

27	No being interviewed by the researcher on that day	1
28	Apologising for not adding sugar to a cup of tea	1
29	Food is not properly cooked and prepared for a guest	1
30	A greengrocer's no-apology to a customer who complained about a sour Clementine he had recently bought.	1

As found in the above table, all the apology-prompting situations were observed once except for the first two situations: Failing to visit and welcome back a friend who is back from abroad (9 times); Failing to complete the DCT form on time (5 times). Further details about the apology strategies produced, interlocutors and the relationship between them are illustrated in appendix 15.

4.13.1 Explicit Vs. Implicit Apologies

The observational data for the forty four situations revealed a higher occurrence of implicit (indirect) apology to explicit (direct) apology. The data showed 64% implicit (indirect) apology (i.e. 28 out of 44 situations). On the other hand, direct apology represented by explicit IFIDs comprised only 27% of the strategies (i.e. 12 out of 44 situations). However, the data showed that Kurds may not apologise in certain situations. The no-apology strategy was found in four out of the 44 observed situations which constitutes 9%, as in figure 33.

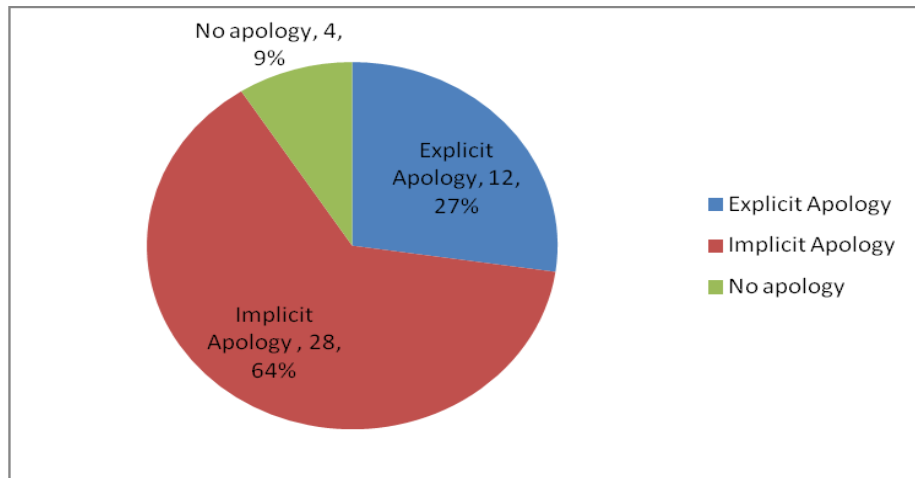


Figure 33. Frequency of ways of apologising over the forty four observed situations

Regarding the participants observed, they belong to both genders (33 males) and (11 females). However, subjects are heterogeneous with regard to the number of the participants observed. The data in table 22 revealed that all the participants prefer indirect/ implicit apologies to direct ones. The 33 male subjects, for instance, used implicit apologies 20 times and the explicit apologies 11 times. However, they preferred no apologies in two situations. Conversely, the 11 female subjects produced only one direct/ explicit apology against 8 indirect/ implicit apology occurrences and 2 manifestations of no-apologies, as illustrated in table 22. All the participants in general preferred implicit apologies to explicit ones as they produced, in total, 28 implicit/ indirect strategies and 12 explicit/ direct strategies in addition to 4 no-apologies in situations 28, 32, 40 & 44 as shown in appendix 15. The reason behind the high occurrence of indirect apology strategy is related to the power of indirectness and the insufficiency of the IFIDs alone (i.e. direct strategy) in Kurdish apologies. However, the no-apology situations are not related to gender at all, but to the situation and the sort of relationship between the interlocutors. For instance, in situation 28 where a female lecturer refuses to apologise to a student for not returning the exam paper on time is similarly applicable to a male lecturer. This argument is evidenced in the interview results, due to difference in power between both interlocutors.

Table 22. Occurrence of direct, indirect and no apology by the groups across observed authentic situations

Groups	Explicit/direct apology	Implicit/indirect apology	No apology	Total
Males	11	20	2	33
Females	1	8	2	11
Total	12	28	4	44

Regarding the female subjects, the observational data demonstrated their inclination to produce indirect apology strategies as in the table above. For the participants to be more indirect in their apologies is in contradiction to the results found in the DCT. This contradiction might be attributed to the nature and severity of the offence in the situations which determine the apology strategies production. In relation to that argument, it was found that the interlocutors in two situations were a mother and her child. Another situation was between a university lecturer who was late in returning the students' exam papers. In such situations, university lecturers never apologise to students. This is well supported by the responses taken from the interviews in which seven university lecturers gave no apology to their students when they forgot the exam papers.

Additionally, the data showed no-apology in four situations by four subjects as mentioned earlier. Following is one of the no-apology recorded situations in which the greengrocer (a male apologiser) does not apologise to his customer who complained about the sour taste of the Clementine recently bought:

Green grocer and a customer (teacher)

Customer: كاكه لالهنگى بهچه نه، لالهنگى ؟

- How much is the Clementine, brother? □

Greengrocer: لالهنگى هزار و بىنگ سه د دیناره، بهس لالهنگى كه خوشه:

- A Clementine costs 1500 dinars, but it is sweet.

Customer: ترش نیه كاكه ؟ □

- It isn't sour?

Greengrocer: نا وئلا

- No, by God.

Customer: جاريك تریش بردم و تان ترش نیه و تریش ده رچوو!

- I bought some the other day, you also said they were not sour, but actually they were.

Greengrocer (stretching his hand and offering the customer a Clementine to eat)

Customer: ناخوم دهست خوش بى □

- No, thank you.

Greengrocer: تو بىگزه برا - Take it, brother.

Customer: نه نه ناخوم، سوپاس ناخوم

- No, no, I'm not going to eat it. Thanks, I'm not going to eat it.

Greengrocer (insisting): ده بېگره برا بېگره

- Take it brother, take it.

Customer: گړنگ نه و په ترش نه بیت

- Hopefully, it is not sour.

Greengrocer: کوره ده بېخو برا بېخو

- Taste it brother, taste it.

4.14 Apology Strategies

The data for the observed real situations demonstrated the use of six apology strategies, extending over account (25 times) that recorded the highest frequently used strategy, to the concern for the hearer that occurred only once, recording the lowest occurring strategy. The IFIDs received the second highest occurring strategy (14 times). The other strategies received lower frequencies: Expression of embarrassment (4 times), lack of intent (3 times) and responsibility (2 times). The data also showed no-apology by two males and 2 female. The strategy occurrences are illustrated in figure 34.

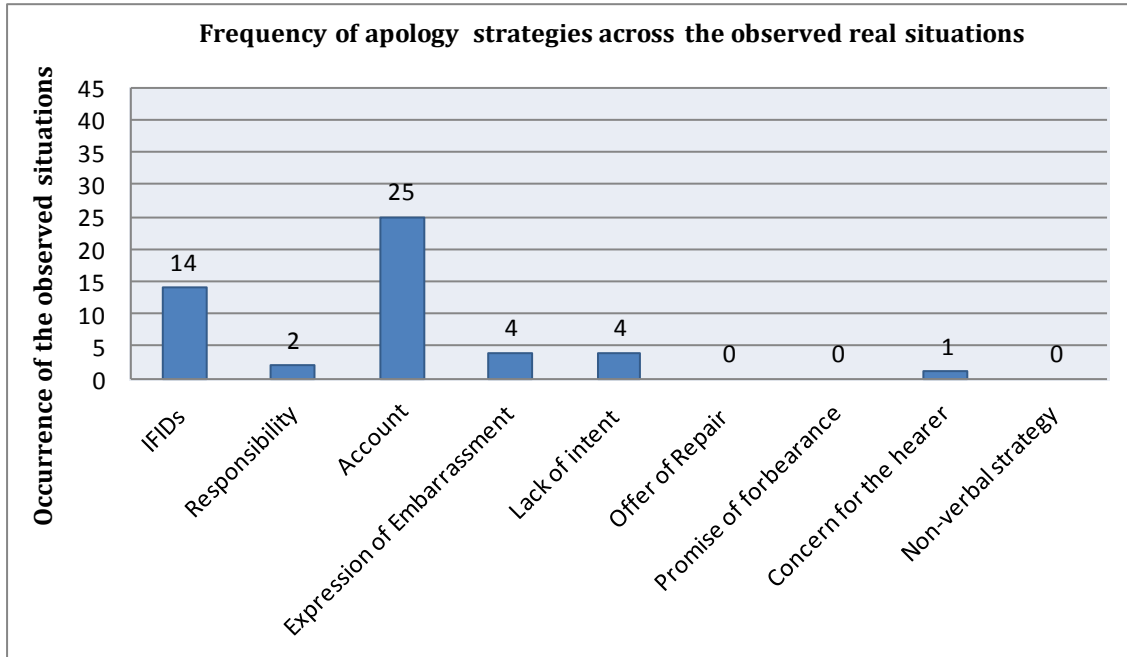


Figure 34. The frequency of the apology strategies used in authentic observed situations

It was also found that the data revealed the absence of other strategies, specifically the offer of repair and a promise of forbearance due to the inappropriateness of these strategies in the situations observed.

The four situations where the offenders preferred no apology are as follows:

- A young female university lecturer: بهیانی , meaning ‘tomorrow’, which came as a one-word answer to a university student who asked whether she had brought back the exam papers.
- An old female housewife : پینکمنین ناهاهاهاها، حدیات گیان! , “laughing, o’ dear Hayat” as a reaction to treading on her daughter’s toe.

- A Young male: نه وٲللا قوقفل نهو , meaning “by God it was not switched off”. This no-apology was produced as a response to his friend who blamed him for not taking his call and accusing him of switching off his mobile.

- A Young male (greengrocer): تو بېگړه برا , meaning ‘take it brother or try this one brother’. The greengrocer showed no-apology when his customer complained about the service he received before, specifically a Clementine which was supposed to be sweet and juicy but was actually sour. The seller insisted on offering the customer a piece of an available Clementine to save face and defend himself.

4.14.1 IFIDs

The IFIDs observed were distributed over four semantic formulae: formal IFID, Arabic based IFID, socio-religious IFID as well as informal IFID. The data showed that the formal IFID received the highest occurring semantic formula (9 times) and the Arabic based IFID the second high occurring semantic formula (3 times). However, each of the informal and socio-religious IFID showed the lowest occurrence as they happened only once. The other three IFID semantic formulae were completely absent.

It was found that the occurring IFIDs were mostly compound IFIDs as they were supported by other strategies and sub-strategies. However, only one flat IFID was observed when an elderly male university lecturer interrupted my interview with a university lecturer using the Arabic based IFID as a flat form.

Following are some of the examples:

- Formal IFIDs: نه وٲللا من زور داواي لېبور دن نه کم، که له بهر مه شغله ت نه هاتمه خز مه ت “By Allah (God), I highly request forgiveness as I could not visit you”. (Appendix 15: situation 6).

-Arabic based IFID: دكتور گيان باشى؟ عهفوو عهفوو مه به ستم دكتور ئوميدى تر بوو ، 'dear doctor, how are you? Forgiveness! Forgiveness! I needed the other doctor Umed] (appendix 25: situation 29).

- Socio-religious IFID: نخوا گهردنم نازا که ، ، 'please (for God's sake) forgive me' (appendix 15: situation 13)

- Informal IFID: له که می و کوور پشمان ببوره ، 'forgive me for any shortcomings' (appendix: situation 14). More related examples about the IFIDS can be found in appendix 15.

4.14.2 Account Strategy

The account strategies received the highest occurrence by the apologisers (25 times). It was produced mostly by all the various groups due to its significance in Kurdish apologies. The data also showed that these account representations in many situations are supported by other strategies and sub-strategies mainly the swearing sub-strategy. The following examples show the variety of the account strategies used.

- به قورئان مه جال نه بوو پری که مو، ئائيسا پری نه که مه وه دانیشه، به قورئان مه جال نه بوو،

"By the Quran, I had no time to fill in the form. I will fill it in now, just sit down. By the Quran I had no time" (Appendix 15: Situation12).

- Two socially close male interlocutors

A: عادل قاچت چونه

- How is your leg, Adil?

B: وهلا الحمد لله توزی باشتم

- Praise be to Allah, a bit better

بەقورئان من بەیانى ئەچم شەو تېمەوہ: A

'By the Quran, I go to work from morning until night' (appendix 15: situation 15). This apology was made to his teacher friend who was recently not well. By using this explanation strategy he wanted to justify his position for not being able to visit him. His justification was supported by swearing by the Quran as an apology supporting sub-strategy. In this situation, this strategy is more powerful than any flat IFID.

In addition to that, some of the apologisers used the account strategy supported by swearing and IFID to produce more effective apologies as in the following:

□ دوینى شەویش ھاتینە دەرى قابى وەللا ئیتر میوانمان ھات، وەللا من دە دوانزە رۆژ ھەر
□ لە خەسەخانە لە ھەولیر بووم بەخوا ، بەخوا من داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم توڑى درەنگ ھاتم

'By God, yesterday evening, we wanted to visit you, but suddenly we had some guests who visited us just at the time we wanted to leave the house. By God I was away in Hawler in hospital. By God I request forgiveness for being a bit late' (appendix 15: situation 7)

However, her wife used the same account strategy and supported her husband's justification, but without IFID as follows:

□ وەللا دوینى شەو میوانەکانمان لە جیى دووریشەوہ ھاتوون -
□ ئەک دواى گەبى بکەى بیژى ئەھاتین بولات، خوا قەزات بجا لیم

'By God our guests, yesterday evening, had travelled a long way. Hope you don't blame us for not visiting you, my dear (Literally, May I sacrifice myself for you) (situation 8). The difference between the two apologisers, who belong to same family, is attributed to gender as 'may I sacrifice myself to you' is mostly associated with females of the older generation.

ئەى شەیتان بەلەعنەت بىت، ديارە لەبیرم چووہ -

'May Satan be cursed. I may have forgotten it' (Appendix 15: situation 21). Forgetting was the only justification for the mother's indirect apology to her child. The reason for forgetting is attributed to Satan (i.e. Devil) who is the source of all wrongdoings, especially in forgetting things.

- من حەز ئەگەم دانیشم

'I wish I could stay for longer' (appendix 15: situation 16). This implicit apology (account) is a very common idiomatic apology in Kurdish culture. It indicates the following apologetic inferences:

1. Sorry for my short visit.
2. Sorry for not staying for a longer time.
3. Sorry, I have to go for some reason. (For other examples of account, see appendix 15).

4.14.3 Expression of Embarrassment

This modesty showing strategy occurred four times. It was accompanied by other strategies. An example might be seen below:

- ئەه باوکه گیان وئاھی خەجالەتم، خۆ پینج هەزاره کەش بە دەسمهوهیه، بەخوا فکرم مەشغوولە

'Oh dear! By God I am embarrassed, the money is in my hand, but by God I am distracted' (situation 34). This apology was offered by a young male driver to a passenger who asked for change of the fare he had given to the driver. The other three embarrassment expressions can be seen in appendix 15.

4.14.4 Lack of Intent

This strategy was expressed by the common semantic formula [nəməzani]. This common strategy might be used alone or accompanied by other strategies and/or sub-strategies. Like IFIDs they might be used as a repeated strategy as in the situation of a mother's apologising to her baby as in the following example:

- (نه‌مزانی به‌خوا نه‌مزانی (ماچی مناله‌کمی کرد) , 'I did not know (mean), by God I did not know (mean), kissing the baby' (Situation 22 in appendix 15). Other examples can be found in appendix 15: situations 3, 5, 10.

4.14.5 Taking Responsibility

It was found the responsibility was expressed by two subjects (one male and one female) including giving right to the offended person and taking personal responsibility by the apologiser respectively. Below are the two examples:

- □ وەللا برا خەجالەتم، حەققی خۆتانە، کاتی خۆی بەسریا رویشت ئیتر
نه‌ئەکریا بێم، چونکه ئەژنوم تەقیبوو نەم ئەتوانی پێ بکەم خۆتان ئەزان

'By God, I am embarrassed, you're right. At that time I could not come because my knee was broken and I could not walk, you know' (appendix 15: situation 31). It was used in company with the strategies of embarrassment expression and account preceded by the sub-strategy of swearing.

- □ راستیەکی غەلەتێکی زۆر گۆره مان کرد، نه‌چووین بۆ تەعزێکی
مال خەزوورت، نەک هەر لەوه، لە زۆر شتدا غەلەتێن

'Honestly, we were really at fault for not attending your father-in-law's funeral. Not only this, we are wrong in many other things' (appendix 15, situation 37). The two responsibility strategies in situations 31 & 37 were used differently as none of them is consistent with the English 'It was my fault'. Unlike the English formula, the pronoun 'I' was not mentioned in the second example. Alternatively, the pronoun 'we' was mentioned. It is one formula of distributing the responsibility over the group. Moreover, the apologisee was apologising for other people (group) as indicated by 'we' and the plural form of 'غەلەتین' [Xəlləti:n] 'wrong+s'

4.14.6 Concern for the Hearer

The observational data revealed only one occurrence of the concern for the hearer strategy produced by a male customer to a car electrician:

کاکە عاجز مەوه من دە هەزارت ئەدەمى , 'Don't be angry brother, I will give you ten thousand' (appendix 15, situation 23). The concern for the hearer was represented in the form of 'don't be angry' formula.

4.14.7 Apologising by Expressions of Regret

The data revealed one occurrence of the very rare occurring semi-strategy in Kurdish apology which is expressing regret. The semantic formula for this semi-strategy was performed in expressing the feeling of regret or unhappiness. Following is the example of regret semi-strategy:

- زۆر پێم ناخۆش بوو زۆر , meaning, 'I felt very very unhappy' (appendix 15: situation 18). The semi-strategy used here came as a response when the offended person reminded the offender about the painful accidental hitting he endured during a recent football match. What makes this strategy different from that used in English 'sorry', it is used

to express regret about an offence which happened in the past. Hence, the sentence was expressed in past form and has nothing to do with the present time. Expressing regret cannot stand as a commonly used independent strategy. It can be classified under implicit strategy . That's why it did not occur in the DCT and interview results as an apology strategy. Below is an interaction between the speaker (A) and the hearer (B):

(A): ئەو رۆژە خراپ دات بە کاجیرەما

'You hit my chin hard the other day'

(B): زۆر پێم ناخۆش بوو زۆر □

'I felt very very unhappy'

(A): ها؟ [ha:] 'what'

(B): ئەمەنە پێم ناخۆش بوو 'I felt very unhappy'

(A): کۆرە سووغبەت ئەکم 'I am joking'

(B): زۆر پێم ناخۆش بوو، چوو مۆهەر پێم ناخۆش بوو، 'I felt very unhappy. Even when I went back home I was still unhappy'

(A): گەردنت ئازای، کۆرە یاریه هەر بەر ئەکمۆین

'You are forgiven (socio-religious IFID). It is a match and it is common to be hit' (appendix 15, situation 18).

4.15 Apology Sub-Strategies

Like the DCT data, the observational data revealed the sub-strategies that are used by Kurds in support of the apology strategies. The sub-strategies were proportionally

distributed across the situations including intensifiers, swearing, kinship terms and traditional expressions.

As illustrated in figure 35, the observational data revealed the proportional varieties of the sub-strategies, stretching over swearing (by God and the Quran) sub-strategy as the receiver of the highest percentage (67%) to the lowest percentage (3%) received by the traditional expressions. Intensifiers received the second highest occurring sub-strategy (17%). However, kinship terms received the third highest percentage (13%) in the observational data.

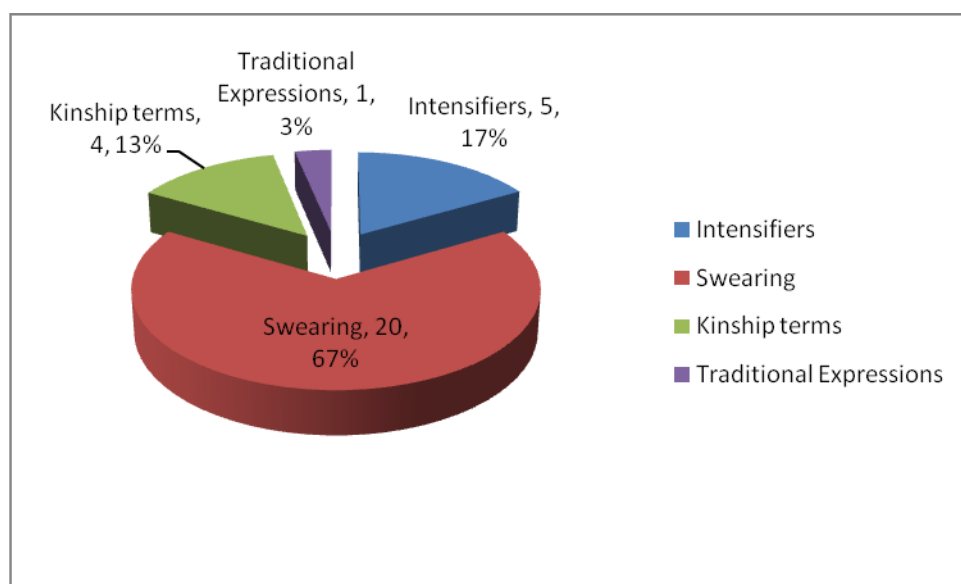


Figure 35. Percentage of the supporting sub-strategies in the observed situations

Like the apology strategies, it was found that multiple sub-strategies were used in certain situations to create more sincere apologies. The examples show that in one situation, four sub-strategies might be used in company with the apology strategies, as in the example below:

□ دوینی شهویش هاتینه ده‌ری قاپی وہللا ئیتر میوانمان هات، وہللا من ده دوازده رۆژ هەر
 له خهسه‌خانه له ههولیر بووم به‌خوا ، به‌خوا من داوای لیبوردن ئەکم تۆزی درهنگ هاتم

(appendix 15: situation 7). Furthermore, a sub-strategy might be used once to indicate sincerity as in: به قرآن له یم چوو , 'by the Quran, I forgot'. (Appendix 15: situation 20).

However, it is still a sincere apology as swearing by the Quran increases the level of sincerity in Kurdish apologies as it makes the apology-recipient believe the offender's apology. More examples can be found in appendix 15.

4.16 Chapter Summary

The chapter focused on analysing the results elicited from of DCTs, interviews and 44 real observed situations. The results in general showed that Kurds use nine apology strategies whose frequencies vary according to their appropriateness with the sort of offences and the situations. Additionally, Kurdish apologisers were found to use four sub-strategies to support their apology strategies.

The results chapter also revealed that Kurdish men use more apology strategies than women as evidenced in DCT and interview results where equal numbers of males and females were involved. In addition to gender as a high determining variable in Kurdish apologies, the results also revealed the effect of age, social status/ power and social relationship/ distance in Kurdish interaction. the chapter also demonstrated the significance of time and place in making successful apologies.

As regards apology strategy selections, Kurds were found to be better users of IFIDs and account as the first two top strategies and less users of responsibility and concern for the hearer strategies. Moreover, the chapter showed that Kurdish apology strategies were situation specific ones and their employment is greatly determined by the social features of the interlocutors.

Chapter Five

Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of thesis will be discussed with reference to the previous studies presented in the literature. It will focus on realisation patterns and perceptions of apologies by Kurdish men and women in the DCT, interview and real observed situations. The chapter aims to answer research questions in relation to the literature review.

The chapter will significantly shed light on the gender differences in Kurdish apologies, the effect of age, social status/ power and social distance the size of the offence which in turn affects the use of the apology strategies and sub-strategies. Based on these arguments, the chapter will discuss the notion of Kurdish face and the concept of politeness in Kurdish culture and the type of culture based on the explored politeness strategy. The argument about collectivistic and individualistic concepts of apology with regard to Kurdish culture will take another room of discussion. Answering the stated issues is expected to make substantial theoretical contribution in the field of socio-pragmatics.

5.2 Realisation Patterns of Apologies

The thesis revealed different apology strategies used by the speakers of the central Kurdish. These varieties are different in the twelve tested situations based on the factors of the apologiser's gender, age and social status, the offence, the apology-recipient (mainly his/her gender). Furthermore, the social distance between the speaker and the hearer is also considered in the study. It was found that different apology strategies were used in the twelve varied situations. In line with Thomas (1995:169) the strategies arose after measuring the size of the

different offences, conducted by the apologisers, in relation to the determining social factors in the Kurdish culture.

Regarding the strategies used in the DCT situations, Kurdish men and women showed similar apology strategies as each of them used nine apology strategies in total and four supporting sub-strategies. However, the frequency of their responses is remarkable. The apology strategies are of proportionally different distribution over the situations according to the sort of the offence as shown in chapter 3. The nine apology strategies received various frequencies, ranging from 846 IFID sub-formulae as the first highest occurring strategies to 10 frequencies of the non-verbal strategy as the least used one as shown in table 5. The high occurrence of account (= 677) and lack of intent (= 269) as the second and third used strategies respectively is significant due to their power in supporting the IFIDs, mainly the account strategy. Conversely, both embarrassment and concern for the hearer received the second and third lowest frequencies respectively due to their inappropriateness in many situations. Both offer of repair and promise of forbearance were moderate due to their situation-specificity features. However, taking responsibility strategy obtained noticeably low occurrence in Kurdish apologies compared to English and other languages. Furthermore, the same strategies were used in apologising to the opposite gender, but with relatively lower occurrences as illustrated earlier in table 6.

I would argue that the reason for the highest occurrence of the IFIDs in apologising to both genders is related to their being more formulaic and ritualistic than other strategies. However, other strategies are restricted by many factors such as the nature and sort of offence, situation, the social variables of the interlocutors, such as gender, age, social status/ power, social distance. On the other hand, the real situations resulted in 6 strategies which indicates that apology in Kurdish is situation specific.

Within the strategies used, the study revealed that Kurds utilised direct and indirect apologetic strategies. The main direct strategies are mainly represented by the IFIDs and somehow the lack of intent (awareness) and

expressing embarrassment. The IFIDs received the highest frequency in the situations, mainly the two common IFID semantic formulae: the formal IFID *daway leburdin ʔəkəm* “I request forgiveness”; and the informal IFID *biburə* “forgive”. Next was the Arabic apology strategy *ʔəfu/ ʔəfumkə*. The study also revealed that lack of intent *nənzani* “I did not mean it” might function as a direct formulaic apologetic strategy rather than indirect strategy. This claim is supported in situation 2 when lack of intent received the highest frequency (see figures 6 & 7). Furthermore, in situation 8 lack of intent was used as the second highest used apologetic strategy (see figures 18 & 19). Also, expression of embarrassment *خهجالتم* [xəɖʒallətɪm] or *شەرمەزارم* [ʃərməzarɪm], meaning “I am embarrassed” can also have the same function, but with lower occurrence than IFIDs and lack of intent in the Kurdish culture. Similar to Persian, this finding matches that was found by Afgari (2007) in which expressing embarrassment can function as a direct formulaic apologetic strategy. In line with Chang’s study (2008), like Taiwanese, Kurds use embarrassment expression as a powerful and trusted strategy which is mostly regarded as an accepted apology by the offended person due to the high modesty shown by the apologisee.

With reference to Meir’s (1998) finding about the lesser use of routine formulae in the severe offence and more routine formulae with less severe and medium offences, the current study goes in line with that claim. Similarly, the current study found that less routine formulae (IFIDs) were used in most situations except in situations 1 & 7 and 8 which embraced the highest occurring IFIDs. The reason is that the offence in these three situations is similar in the sense that they happen as accidental behaviours. That is why, the routinised IFIDs were used as most frequently used formulae, supported by lack of intent as the second most frequently occurring strategy. They are not regarded as a big violation of the social values due to their frequent occurrences. For the commonness of the offence in these situations, Kurds sometimes express lack of intent “I did not mean” or even do not apologise as in situation 7 (when blocking somebody’s way). This claim is also supported by the observations made. This indicates that using IFIDs in a situation like that is somehow equal to say nothing strategy (that is just clearing the way without say anything).

In this concern, the finding in situation 4 (forgetting to buy an Eid present for a child) (i.e. failing to keep a promise to a child) does not go with that of Meir's (1998). The difference in apologising in situations 4 & 5 supports what was mentioned previously by Scher and Darley (1997) about how an offence is restricted to the violation of a social norm. This idea suggests what is considered an offence in a specific culture, might not be the same or equally severe in another culture. I might argue that this is true even within the same culture based on the hearer's age and social power. This lesser use of the routine IFID is attributed to the age of the recipient which reduces the degree of the offence. Otherwise, failing to keep a promise is regarded as a breach of social commitment that requires sincere apologies. They include high use of the routinised strategies supported by other strategies as in situation 5. In this case, a high rate of IFIDs (87 frequencies) supported by 100 account strategies were used to harmonise the situation with the apology recipients of the same age and higher social power. Thus, the frequency of the routine strategies in situations 4 & 5 is different based on the age and power of the apology-recipient, in spite of the similarity of the offences. The lower the age and social status/power the less IFID formulas are used regardless of the size of the offence.

Regarding the structure of the Kurdish IFID semantic sub-formulae, they are different from those used in English, Arabic and Persian (except for the Persian *Bebaxshid* 'Forgive me' as one of the four semantic formulae of IFIDs). See Shahrokhi and Jan (2012). The Kurdish IFIDs do not express the offender's apparent feelings represented by the English adjective 'sorry' or Arabic adjective *أسف* [ʔasif], meaning 'sorry'. Kurdish IFID formulae imply a request for forgiveness in which the apologiser requests forgiveness from the offended person. In relating the Kurdish IFIDs to Olshtain and Blum-Kulka's (1983) six English IFID representations: '(be) sorry, apologise, excuse, forgive, pardon and regret', the Kurdish IFIDs are mostly equivalent to 'forgive' except for one form of the Arabic-based IFID *عفو* [ʔəfu:] that is equivalent to the Hebrew 'slixá', meaning 'forgiveness'. With reference to English, all the Kurdish IFID semantic sub-formulae are representations of request for apology. Thus, they are different from the English IFIDs which include expression of regret, offer of apology and

request for apology. Consequently, they are different from Olshtain and Blum-Kulka's (1983) six English IFID representations: '(be) sorry, apologise, excuse, forgive, pardon and regret'. Thus, the characteristic of the Kurdish IFID semantic formulae is that a decision to forgive is in the hand of the hearer (offended), not the offender. It is just like making a proper application for forgiveness from the hearer who has the authority to do so or not.

Furthermore, the Kurdish IFID sub-formulae are imperative verbs used directly to obtain forgiveness from the apology-recipient. They ranked the highest occurring apology strategy in the study regardless of the severity of the offence, as they are routinised forms that are used in all situations. This is not consistent with Trosborg's (1987) findings about displaying the low occurrence of the formulaic expressions of apology (i.e. IFIDs), attributing it to the severity of offences. However, the lowest occurrence of the IFID was found in situation 4. The reason is attributed to the apology-recipient's young age. Unlike English who often use direct apologies to children, Kurds do not apologise directly to their children. However, only account (justifications) and/or non-verbal strategies are used alternatively. This fact was supported by the interview findings as shown by interviewees 12, 17, 18 & 20 in appendix 14-I and triangulated by the real situations as in the mother's response to her child's complaint for not putting the lunch box in her bag. This argument reveals the influence of age in determining the obligation to apologise and strategy selections in Kurdish culture.

Regarding the formality and informality of the formulaic expressions as raised by Fraser (1981); Holmes (1990), the data of the study showed the priority of the formal IFID *daway leburdin ?akam* to the informal IFID *biburə* in 10 situations (except for situations 7 & 4) which might be attributed to the nature of the offences and the social distance with apology-recipient. This supports Brokin and Reinhart (1978) and Meiers (1998) statement. For instance, in situation 7, to rebuild the social relationship with the seriously ill friend, the informal IFID *bibu:rə* was used and supported by other strategies to heal his/her broken heart. Using informal IFID in this situation is expected to be more successful and more sincere than using a formal IFID to involve the hearer to the friendship circle. Furthermore, regardless of the severe offence, it could be said

that using the two IFID semantic sub-formulae as free variations are not highly restricted to formality and informality.

In contrast to Gonzales et al.'s (1990) claim in relating the embarrassment to gender, the data of the current study showed the opposite as the male groups used more embarrassment expressions than female did in apologising to same gender (male groups vs. male = 30: female groups vs. female = 24). However, the rate came down in apologising to the opposite gender, but still male groups used more embarrassment expressions (male vs. female = 25: female vs. male = 18). This is because Kurdish men in general are more apologetic than women. Hence, expression of embarrassment received more representations by the male subjects. Moreover, Kurdish women in general do not express embarrassment in certain embarrassing situations (mainly with men) due to their shyness. For that reason, they might "say nothing and keep going" as a safer solution. This finding is confirmed by interviewee 20 in appendix 14-H.

Among the 120 participants, the study revealed that women were less users of embarrassment and the older women of low social status were the lowest users of embarrassment, using it only twice with the same gender, and not at all with men. This indicates that the low occurrence of the embarrassment expressions is attributed to the low social status factor among the elderly Kurdish women. The reason for making these female subjects less apologetic is their isolation from contacting people in public as they are mostly at home and not open to the society like other groups.

Like the IFIDs, the embarrassment-indicating sub-formulae in the Kurdish apologies are used with intensifiers to show a greater degree of embarrassment, which supports the statement conducted by Beckwith and Dewaele (2008). Furthermore, noticeable similarities were used among Kurdish men and women which stand in line with Olshtain's (1989) comparing apology strategies in English, French, German and Hebrew in terms of the IFIDs. This reflects the universality of apology speech act as one aspect of politeness regardless of the cultural differences between languages as claimed by Sachie (1998). However, the current study reveals the universality of some apology strategies and the

culture specificity of some others in Kurdish culture. In relating the results to Vollmer and Olshtain's (1989) study which found the priority of IFIDs and responsibility over other strategies in different situations, the study partly supports their claim as it goes with the priority of the IFIDs as they are the most formulaic strategies. However, it is not true with the responsibility acknowledgement strategy in the Kurdish culture as one of the less frequent strategies. The reason is that taking direct responsibility is viewed as a sort of humiliation. However, it is also not in line with Bergman & Kasper's (1993) findings that revealed no taking responsibility strategy was consistent with the severity of the offence in their study. This is because the subjects used responsibility acknowledgment with the high serious offence and avoided it with the less serious ones in spite of the low responsibility occurrence in general as compared to other strategies. The low frequency of responsibility acknowledgement in Kurdish apologies is also inconsistent with Trosborg's (2011) claim of the high frequency of taking responsibility by the Romanians. However, it is close to her statement about the Danish and English who usually reject taking responsibility in most situations. The study is also not consistent with Vollmer and Olshtain (1989) who claimed the highest percentage of responsibility by the German speakers in all the situations. However, it is in line with their statement regarding the highest frequency of the IFIDs.

5.3 The influence of the social variables in Kurdish apologies

The findings of the current study demonstrated noticeable influences of the social variables such as gender, age and social status in Kurdish apologies. Accordingly, it is expected for these findings to fill some gaps in the socio-pragmatic politeness of apology.

5.3.1 Gender Differences

Gender differences can be observed in using the IFIDs as well as the expression of embarrassment as another sincerity showing strategy. As for the IFIDs, the male groups used 441 IFID semantic sub-formulae vs. 405 IFID semantic sub-formulae used by the female groups when apologising to same gender (table 5). The same difference was found when apologising to the opposite gender (see table 6).

With regard to expression of embarrassment, men expressed more embarrassment than women: (men=30 vs. women=24) as in table 5. Similarly, Kurdish men were greater users of embarrassment expression strategy in apologising to the opposite gender in spite of the minimisation of the occurrence: (males=25 vs. females=18) as shown in table 6. This indicates that men are more apologetic than women, in terms of expressing embarrassment, in the Kurdish culture.

Regarding account/ explanation as the second most frequently used strategy, it did not show a significant difference between the male and female groups (compare the tables 5 & 6). This shows that account strategy is one feature of apologies in Kurdish culture regardless of the apologiser's gender. It was found also that male groups used more offers of repair than the female groups which might be attributed to the socio-economic factor in the Kurdish culture, since many women are not economically free as they have no financial income, as in the case of low social status women who have no jobs, and are mostly supported by other family members.

With regard to gender difference in apologising, the study is not in line with Lakoff (1975); Holmes (1995) and Smith (2008) who claimed that women are more polite and apologetic than men. Conversely, the findings of the study showed that Kurdish men were more apologetic than women in the given situations as men used more IFID formulae and taking responsibility strategies than women did as shown in tables 5 & 6.

In relating responsibility acknowledgement strategy to gender factor, the study does not support the claim made by Rothman and Gandossy (1982) who stated that women were more likely to take responsibility than men. Conversely, the current study displayed that male groups used more responsibility sub-categories (47 times by males vs. 26 times by females) in apologising to the same gender as illustrated in 13. However, less responsibility was taken in apologising to the opposite gender, but still men showed more responsibility sub-categories (male: 33 vs. 18) (see table 14). In considering the gender of both interlocutors (apologiser and apology recipient), it was found that both male and female apologisers showed more responsibility to same gender recipients than to the opposite gender apology-recipients. This reveals the significance of the offended person's gender in using responsibility acknowledgement as both male and female might be described as ego-gender biased. The clear decrease in showing responsibility acknowledgement in apologising to the opposite gender is also related to the social relationship rules formulated by the social values in respect of cross-gender communications in the Kurdish culture.

Even within the sub-strategies used, the findings showed that men employed more intensifiers (68 vs. 31), swearing by God (103 vs. 97) and kinship terms (122 vs. 80) as illustrated in tables 15-A; 16-A & 17- A in chapter 4. Similarly, men used more sub-strategies than women in apologising to the opposite gender as shown in tables 15-B; 16-B & 17-B. The notion of gender differences is corroborated by the interviewees who stated that the best way of apology is gender sensitive as what is regarded as a polite apology between interlocutors of the same gender would be an offence when conducted with the opposite gender. More importantly, in the use of some non-verbal paralinguistic features (i.e. non-linguistic strategies) such as shaking hands, kissing and

hugging that might be viewed as signs of sincere apologies between interlocutors of the same sex as specified by the interviewees in appendix 14 –G. The use of the non-verbal strategies are primarily gender sensitive issues due to the social norms related to each gender as indicated by the interviewee 6 in appendix 14 – H, who reported that men and women are different for socio-cultural and religious reasons and that there should be a barrier between both genders. For that reason the size of offence is crucially determined by the hearer's gender. Accordingly, the strategies and sub-strategies might be used differently with both genders. I might argue that an apology might turn into an offence when misconducted, that is, when the social norms are not considered properly while apologising. Thus, in certain situations a person might need to apologise for his apology due to the lack of his/her socio-pragmatic competence.

The gender differences in Kurdish culture can also be evidenced by using the metaphorical apology strategy that is typically a female strategy, that indicates resembling the hearer's conversation with sugar, that is, 'stop your sugar' for politely interrupting somebody's speech as confirmed by interviewees 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 & 20 in appendix 14-P. The reason is related to the nature of women in this confrontation situation as they look more polite in using the metaphorical apology strategy. However, it should be mentioned that this metaphorical language is usually not used with younger hearers. Stop your sugar is one of the forms of request in Kurdish. Using this imperative verb 'stop' is attributed to the absence of 'please' in a Kurdish request which might classify central Kurdish in Garmian as a direct language with respect to requests. The different percentages among the women using this metaphorical strategy is associated with their social status and age differences. For that reason, the old and low social status interviewees showed the highest percentage (50%) usage. Conversely, it was not very preferable by three young high social status participants because they are adhering less to old tradition than the old and/or low social status subjects, as shown earlier by figure 32 in chapter 4. In other words, the young high social status females can be described as the weakest connected group to the tradition in terms of using this old fashioned style of apology.

5.3.2 Age Differences

In considering the age difference, the study showed that young participants were more apologetic than older ones in tested situations except for the non-verbal strategy. This indicates that the young generation uses more apology strategies. This might be attributed to their age that requires them to conceptualise and evaluate the offence more carefully than older people. That is to say, they are less trusted than elderly people in certain situations. For that reason, they might need to be more apologetic in order to make remedy than the elderly people do. Another reason is related to their openness to the society as they are usually more self-expressive and communicative. However, non-verbal strategies are also age sensitive as it is usually people of the same or/and close ages who might kiss and hug each other. They usually kiss the hand of elderly people due to their age. This style of politeness in apologies is restricted to old age as evidenced by interview 12 in appendix 14-G.

For the elderly Kurdish participants to be less apologetic than younger ones is related to the level of reliability and trustworthiness. In other words, elderly people need to produce fewer apology strategies than young apologisers to get remedy due to their fidelity that is associated with their advanced age. This goes in line with Sarfo's (2011) finding about the effect of age on the strategies of refusals in Ghana. This supports Chang's (2008) argument that the speaker's personality is more important than his/her words. If the speaker's sincerity is trusted by the people, his words would be accepted by others, regardless of what he says. This happened due to the sociolinguistic significance of age which is to position a person in the Kurdish cultural hierarchy, like those of Japanese and Chinese, as stated by Novinger (2001). For that reason, they do not need to use a high rate of account, lack of intent and concern for the hearer as younger apologisers do. That is why, they focused on the routinised IFIDs more than strategies.

On the other hand, elderly people in Kurdish culture should receive more apology strategies when they are apologised to. In other words, they offer fewer strategies as apologisers and receive more strategies in the position of apology

recipient. This is because of the elevated position of age in the Kurdish hierarchical society, where old age and high social status requires high respect. Thus, the study clearly demonstrated the significance of the hearer's advanced age and high social status in receiving more polite apologies in the Kurdish culture, which concurs with Kadar and Mill's (2011) argument about the position of age and social status in the Eastern culture. The significance of old age was evidenced by the interviewees who stated that they are more apologetic to old men because they had grey hair (referring to their age). Thus, they are respected by Almighty God.

پیاوی به‌تەمەنیش له‌بەر ئەوەی سەری سپی بووه خۆی گەوره شەرمی ئێ نەکات

It is significant that elder people are never mentioned by just their names without having a social title or kinship term such as uncle for men and aunt or mother for women to indicate involvement politeness. For that reason, elderly people are always involved as part of the society, as confirmed by an interviewee's apology to an old lady: *بو نافرەتی به تەمەنیش نەئیم دایه گیان گەردنم نازاکه* 'for an elderly woman, I would say forgive me, mother (using a kinship term). However, it is quite impolite behaviour to call an elderly man or a woman merely by their names without involving them in society. This idea clearly reflects the collectivistic feature of the Kurdish culture as they are socially regarded as members of one family.

Conversely, It was found that Kurds are less apologetic to younger people and no direct apologies are given at all to children due to their young age as clarified by Interview 12: *ئەگەر کەسەکه به‌تەمەن بیت ئەوه جیاوازه له‌وهی منال تر بیت ،* 'Old men are different from young ones. Both require apologies, but the elderly require more apologies than younger ones. By saying both require apologies, I would argue that he does not mean children, but he means old people and young people who are beyond their teenage years). This argument can be evidenced by making a comparison between the old and the young, but not children as the curve of apologising decreases according to the age of the hearer. This indicates the absence of apologies to children. Alternatively, the adults tend to be satisfied with kissing

the children or by engaging them in a pleasant chat, as seen in interviews 18 & 20 in appendix 14 – I, and supported by the findings of the real situations 22 & 32 in appendix 15.

5.3.3 Social Status/power

In relating the apology strategies to the social status/ power of the participants, the study contrasts Sache's (1998) claim that people of lower social status usually look at the severity of offence more seriously than others. Conversely, people of higher social status in the study are more apologetic than those of low social status. They used more IFIDs (449 frequencies by HS vs. 397 by LS) and more responsibility (75 by HS vs. 49 by LS) in apologising to the same gender (table 13). The proportion is relatively lower in apologising to the opposite gender (IFIDs: 424 times by HS vs. 394 by LS); (responsibility: 34 times by HS vs. 17 times by LS) as illustrated in table 14. However, the high social subjects still use more apology strategies than the lower social ones. The reason might be attributed to the high educational level of the participants representing the high social status (i.e. university lecturers, and school teachers). The sharp difference between both groups in terms of social status is worth-comparing in the study. Furthermore, they showed more concern for the hearer than low status persons (46 vs. 22) with the same gender and 38 vs. 15 with the opposite gender, as shown in tables 13 & 14.

It might be argued also that the low rate of main apology strategies (particularly, the IFIDs and responsibility) with the low social status participants are associated with the factor of gender, as low social status women were the least frequent users of the two mentioned strategies. However, the people of the low social status used more account (354 vs. 323) and more lack of intent (144 vs. 125) in their apologies regardless of the gender of the apology recipients, as illustrated in table 13 for apologising to the same gender and table 14 for apologising to opposite gender.

These findings support the argument conducted by Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou (2001) about the priority of social status over other social factors.

Based on the social status classification of the groups, the study showed the highest frequency of the IFIDs and responsibility with people of high social status (IFIDs = 449: responsibility = 44) versus the low social subjects who recorded the lowest occurrence (IFIDs = 397: Responsibility = 29). It is important to argue that the social status is significantly different among female individuals rather than the male ones in using IFIDs and responsibility strategies. Thus, the study concludes that female subjects of high social status are more apologetic than those of low social status regardless of their age. This finding supports the assumption raised by Thomas about the priority of power to gender. However, it goes in contrast with the claims conducted by Belushi (2006) and Engel (2001) as the former associated real men with no apologising and the latter described taking responsibility by men as a difficult task, resembling it to “losing a power struggle”. Likewise, it importantly contradicts the common concept supported by Schumann and Ross (2010) in considering women as more apologetic than men due to the different perception of the offences by both genders. They indicated that women perceived more offences than men did. Additionally, the finding also contradicts the claim presumed by Smith (2008). Another evidence for considering the high social groups to be viewed as more apologetic is the difference in expression of embarrassment: HS subjects (= 30) vs. LS subjects (= 24) as shown in tables 13 & 14. Furthermore, the current study is consistent with Trosborg (1987) as it was found that, on the whole, participants were more apologetic to high social status people than to ordinary people as reported by interviewee 4 who confirmed the special position of these people, saying that “people of high social status may need to be visited at home”. This statement supports the hierarchical nature of the Kurdish society. According to this claim, people with a high social status/power should receive special apologies that go with their high social position (interview 12).

Additionally, the results in some specific situations support the argument made by Belushi (2006) and Engel (2001) who stated that real men do not apologise in order not to lose power. To support that claim, the subjects of high social status/power (university lecturers and teachers) were not prepared to give a direct apology to their students who asked about the exam papers. The

reason for not apologising to students is essentially attributed to the high social status/power of the lecturers which creates a high level of pride in dealings with their students, so they do not feel obliged to apologise to their students. Hence, it might be argued that the size of an offence depends on how it is viewed by the apologiser. In this way, the situation of university lecturers and teachers, not apologising to their students is due to their feelings of self-importance compared to their students. This argument also might be regarded as evidence of the effect of social status/power in Kurdish apologies.

Examining the collaborative effect of the three social variables, the study will present the young high social status males as most apologetic participants and the old low social status females as least apologetic Kurdish individuals. Thus, the influence of gender, age and social status in generating different results agree with Chang's (2008) determination about the role of these effective cultural factors in using apology strategies.

5.3.4 Social Distance

In agreement with Guan, Park and Lee (2009), the results of the social relationship (distance) between the interlocutors affected the degree of obligation to apologise. That effect divided the subjects into two groups based on their gender. It was found that male groups were more apologetic to the socially distant hearers (strangers) than to the socially-close ones (i.e. relatives), which goes against Sugimoto (1998) and Kadar & Mills' (2011) statement regarding the consideration of the social relationship between the interlocutor in Japanese culture. However, the female participants, regardless of their age and social status were more apologetic to socially close hearers, which is similar to the Japanese apology etiquette in giving more concern to the social relationship between the interlocutors when apologising (Sugimoto 1998); (Kadar & Mills, 2011). The reason behind the gender differences in considering the social relationship (distance) in apologising is attributed to the openness of men to all people whether socially close or distant. For that reason, men use solidarity with friends (socially-close) and more politeness in their apologies with socially

distant people due to formality. This is contrary to women, prescribed by social rules, who are not open to socially distant people, mostly men, as they are only connected with socially close people. Hence, women are less apologetic to socially distant people. Even in that instance, social distance is correlated with the gender of the hearer. Based on that, the close social distance between interlocutors is associated with same gender persons. Accordingly, men and women mostly have interlocutors from the same gender (- D). The opposite is not common. Consequently, the low occurrence of responsibility acknowledgement to the opposite gender is due to the great social distance between both genders (+D) which is attributed to the socio-religious norms in the studied area. This explanation is consistent with the statement conducted by Bergman & Kasper (1993) who found that taking responsibility was greatly used by the socially close interlocutors. Furthermore, it is supported by Baxter (1984) Trosborg (1987), Holmes (1990), and Meier (1992), who found that the use of more detailed strategies among friends.

5.4 Directness and Indirectness in Kurdish Apologies

Linked with the success of the apology, the data supports the statement conducted by Takaku, Weiner and Ohbuchi (2001) about the role of IFIDs (explicit or direct apology) in making a successful apology and mainly when accompanied by account strategy (implicit or indirect apology) like cause and effect. Accordingly, the two given strategies took priorities over the other ones. Similarly the study goes with Warga and Schölmberger's (2007) study in using IFIDs and excuses as two common strategies among groups of Austrian students spending only 10 months to learn French, compared with the Austrian German and native speakers of Quebecois French. Furthermore, the study supports Akmaludin's (2008) study on the apology in Indonesia that came out with the use of explicit apology (IFIDs) and implicit apology by using explanation and direct reason for the apology.

The thesis is partly consistent with Alfattah's (2011) study on the "Apology Strategies of Yemeni EFL University Students" in considering the IFIDs

as a compulsory part to accompany other strategies due to its frequency in all situations. Nevertheless, it was of different frequencies in the Kurdish tested situations as it showed the lowest occurrence in situation 4 and complete absence in the university lecturers and the high school teachers' responses as they refused to apologise to their students when they were late marking the exam papers. This indicates that the use of the IFIDs, as a sign of direct apology, is preferable in Kurdish apologies to accompany other strategies, but not compulsory as apology is expressed by multiple strategies. The main reason for Alfattah's view about the obligatory use of the IFIDs might be related to his participants who were university students. The highest frequency of the IFIDs in Kurdish apologies also goes with Farashaiyan and Amirkhis's (2011) findings with the Iranian and Malaysian students, but different with the frequency of other strategies.

With regard to the intensifiers used with IFIDs, it was found that Kurds used fewer intensifiers in the given situations, compared to the sub-strategies of swearing by God and kinship terms, which are used for emphasis and involvement purpose respectively. Hence, regarding frequency of intensification, Kurdish apology is closer to that of the Japanese than to the English, as Kurds use fewer intensifiers as compared to the English. With reference to social status, the study supports Sachie's (1998) finding in connecting intensifiers to the social status of the apologisers. Similarly, the low social status groups used less intensification (32 times) than high social status groups (72 times) in responding to the same gender apology-recipients and 59 times for (H+) and 22 times for (H-) in apologising to the opposite gender. Within the low social groups, it was found that the low social male groups showed more intensifiers to female apology-recipient than male apology-recipient. Conversely, the female low social groups were more gender-biased in using intensifiers in their apologies.

Regarding the directness and indirectness of apologies in the real observed situations, the indirect apologies took priority over the direct ones (68% vs. 27%). The reason for that might be attributed to the nature of Kurds who generally prefer using indirect strategies in their apologies. In this concern, the study goes with Thomas (1995) with regard to the universality of

indirectness in all natural languages. The results of the study in general are partly consistent with Afghari (2007) who found that Persians use both direct and indirect apologies. Similarly, Kurds use both methods of apology and give priority to the indirect apologies because the indirect strategies were more appropriate to the situations investigated. For instance, in response to failing to visit and welcome back a socially close person (as a violation of the Kurdish social norms), only 2 out of 9 persons used direct apologies. However the other seven apologisers used other indirect strategies, including account/explanation, lack of intent (lack of awareness), and expression of embarrassment strategies. Regarding account strategies, different justifications were given for not being able to visit. Furthermore, they supported their justifications by some apology sub-strategies such as swearing by God and kinship terms as shown in the table in appendix 15.

A significant reason for the high occurrence of the indirect strategy is the insufficiency of the direct apologies (flat IFIDs). Even the two occurrences of the direct apologies were supported by the account and other strategies, which can be regarded as an evidence for the insufficiency of the IFIDs alone in the offences related to violation to social norms as in situations 6 & 7 in appendix 15. The reason is that apologies in such situations are produced to convince the hearer(s) why they failed to visit and welcome him back and that using an IFID alone does not clarify the situation and justify the position. It might be possible in other cultures like English just to say 'sorry'. However, Kurds need to know the reason for being late or failing to make the visit. Otherwise, the apology will not be viewed as a sincere one. That crucial importance of explanation and other strategies made the apologisers, sometimes, tell white lies as justifications to support his/her apologies and convince the apology recipient(s).

As regards failing to keep a promise, that is filling the DCT form on time, the five apologisers in events 10,11,12,13 &14 also preferred indirect apologies, that's why they used three indirect and two direct apologies. Similar to the first situation, even the two direct apology users did not use flat IFIDs for their insufficiency. Explanation is the most used apology strategy in this situation due to its power to justify the apologiser's position and convince the hearer to accept

their apologies. The use of any sub-strategies such as swearing by God and the Quran, and intensifiers are also significant to make the apologies more powerful and more persuasive.

For situation 14 to look less powerful and a bit different among the five similar observed situations can be attributed to the size of the offence in that very situation. This is because the apologiser, unlike the others, has completed the DCT form and apologised as a precaution for any possible shortcomings in the form, that is why he said:

لهکهمی و کوورپشمان ببوره , meaning 'forgive us for our shortcoming' when he handed the DCT form..

These two situations are worth discussing due to their deep root in the Kurdish culture in addition to the religious motivation behind them. For that reason, multiple strategies were used due to the severity of the offence and their link to culture and religion altogether.

The use of no-apology is attributed to the low degree of the offence severity in the Kurdish culture and the social relationship between the interlocutors. It is very common among friends not to apologise in certain situations such as blocking the way, or when the hearer is a child or a less powerful person as in the case of the lecturer – student interaction.

In relating the (in)directness of apologies to the observed subjects, it was found that the both males and females generally preferred indirect apologies over direct apologies. However, it was necessary to use direct apologies in certain situations. More importantly, the situation of interrupting the interview when opening the door for a second, required only a flat IFID as the elderly male lecturer was in a hurry and he did not like to make longer sentences. Thus, giving a detailed explanation in that situation might be viewed as an offence rather than an apology. For the interview to continue, he just used a flat IFID.

Based on the factor of gender, it could be argued that women use less direct apologies than men as the female participants used more indirect apologies than direct strategies (= 8 indirect vs 1 direct). However, the male subjects used direct apologies 11 times and indirect apologies 20 times, as illustrated in table 22. Women's interest in indirect apologies is supported by the DCT findings that showed a relatively high occurrence of account strategies by women as shown in table 5.

5.5 Kurdish culture: Collectivism and individualism

In terms of individual or group-orientation, Kurdish culture is a sample of collectivist culture in which group is more concerned than individuals. It is in agreement with Fukushima (2003: 121- 122) who identified collectivist cultures as "interdependence" because the group is the concern of the people, and the social ties, unlike individualist cultures, are more sharply and distinctively tight and controlled (Ibid: 116 -117). The fact of collectivism features of Kurdish culture is evidenced by Saarinen (2013: 3). For the collectivist features, Kurds consider the contextual factors of gender, age and social status in their interaction to preserve good relational reality as evidenced in the findings of the thesis.,

In line with Hofstede et al, (2010) Kurdish culture is composed of levels of nationality/ethnicity, gender, generation and social class. As regards nationality and ethnicity levels, Kurds are strongly affiliated to Kurdish as a linguistic group and nationality, and to Islam as their religion. In agreement with Meho and Maglaughlin (2001), the combination of nationality/ethnicity (i.e. Kurdish tradition) and religion constitutes the Kurdish social norms that regulate interaction in Kurdish culture. Gender level is a dominant social variable in Kurdish since distinction between male and female is culturally observable. Generation level in Kurdish culture is viewed as young and old, that, is why the study considered the generation level: the young generation (20-35) and old generation (50 +). However, social status level is another distinctive feature of Kurdish culture as they can be classified into high social status and low social

status based on their education level. The reason for these differences is attributed to the hierarchical nature of Kurdish culture that is different from the non-hierarchical English culture.

Based on the results, it could be argued that the concept of collectivism is based on two levels in the Kurdish culture: firstly, the religious level which indicates all Muslims are members of one group, like one family. This concept is supported by the Quranic verse: “وَإِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً”, meaning “And verily this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood” (Quran, 23: 52). The other level is nationalism as Kurds mostly say that the Kurds are all brothers and sisters. Thus, these two levels, specifically the religious level are behind the involvement indicating apology strategies and sub-strategies, such as the kinship terms. Thus, to identify Kurdish culture with reference to Brown and Levinson (1987) and Scollon and Scollon (2001), it can be defined as positive (involvement) politeness culture. Thus, it is different from English culture which is identified as a negative (independence) politeness culture. However, it is similar to other involvement politeness cultures like Greek and Arabic Moroccan, as argued by Watts (2003) and Sifianou and Antonpounou (2005).

Relating this point to the argument about dividing human society into group-oriented culture and individual-oriented culture adopted by Wierzbicka and others, criticised by Thomas (1995) and Leech (2005), is a controversial matter. I would argue that adopting this cultural classification is the characteristic of human society. This cultural difference does not indicate that one culture is more polite than the other. However, cultural differences demonstrate which social factors are more determining in certain situations. To apologise in one culture for a specific situation and not in another does not indicate that the first culture is more polite than the second culture because politeness is a culture-specific phenomenon. The same is true for apology speech act in which offence is the main apology-provoking prerequisite which is in turn determined by the social factors that frame the dominating social values in a certain culture. This argument is relatable to the cross-cultural differences in apology by Guan, Park & Lee (2009) who found that American participants (from an “individualistic” culture) were more apologetic than Chinese and Korean

participants (from collectivist cultures). This finding, which runs counter to the claims which have been raised, reflects the allegation of superiority of a collectivist culture to an individualist one. However, this does not indicate that Americans are more polite than Chinese and Korean participants as the use of apology speech act is determined by the size of the offences that is in turn valued differently according to the social values of the participants' cultures. Thus, to be more apologetic in a certain situation does not necessarily indicate greater politeness than in another culture which is less apologetic, or perhaps not apologetic, in the same situation. This is due to the disparity of the size of the obligation to apologise in both cultures. This goes with the statement that holds that what is polite in one culture might be impolite in another culture, as in the insistence on the acceptance of an invitation, that is viewed as polite in Chinese culture and rude in English culture (See Gu 1990 as cited by Ohashi 2008). For that reason, the interview findings show that Kurds, in general, did not apologise for sneezing, coughing, burping and yawning as they are not viewed as offensive behaviours in Kurdish cultures. Even within one culture, depending on the severity of the offence and the situation, the obligation to apologise varies from the lowest level of obligation to the highest level of obligation (Volmer and Olshtain, 1989). Accordingly, different strategies are used to harmonise the situation and the size of the offence. This idea was confirmed in Kurdish apologies with regard to employing different apology strategies with people of different gender, age and social status/ power. For example, non-verbal strategy (i.e. any physical touching between a socially distant man and woman) is regarded as a more serious offence in the Kurdish culture. Thus, this offence is considered a gender-sensitive offence in Kurdish culture under the influence of Islam as the religion of the highest majority. This concept is in line with the Prophet Mohammad's saying "لأن يطعن في رأس أحدكم بمخيط من حديد خير له من أن يمس امرأة" (Al-Tabarani 1985), meaning "it is better for any of you to be stabbed with a dagger in his head than to touch a woman who is not his". Influenced by such texts and tradition, this religiously gender sensitive offence has become an integral part of Kurdish culture. Due to the differences in other social variables, Kurdish society presents an example of a hierarchical culture. Hence, examining these social variables in apologising in Kurdish was interesting.

5.6 Characteristics of Kurdish Apology

From some perspectives, Kurdish apologies distinctively differ from the strategies adopted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981: 119); Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22-23) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 207). These distinctive features are related to apology strategies, obligation of apology, time and place, the role of third party, IFID shift, how culture shapes some behaviours, etc.

Examining the apology speech behaviour, Kurds use nine apology strategies in total, including the six universal strategies in addition to three culture-specific ones which are lack of intent, expression of embarrassment and non-verbal strategy. The high frequency of lack of intent strategy as the third highest occurring one shows the significance of behaviour in Kurdish culture. In other words, a person's behaviour should not be evaluated separately from his/her intention. Thus, the apologiser's intent should be realised by the apology-recipient to make remedy and calm the situation down. It is in line with Bousfield (2008) in respect of hearer's realisation of the speaker's intention to consider a successful impolite act. Additionally, human's intention in Kurdish culture is strongly associated with his act as it is the parameter by which human behaviours are evaluated. Thus, the apologisers need to express lack of intent strategy to make a successful apology.

The non-verbal strategy used in DCT data, interviews and the real observed situations shapes a apologising in Kurdish as communicative act. Defining Kurdish apology as a communicative act contradicts outlining it as a speech act by Austen (1962), Searle (1979), Leech (1983), Olshtain and Cohen (1983), and Holmes (1995). In relating Kurdish apology to speech act classification by Austen (1962) and Searles (1979), the findings show that the Kurdish apology act is in agreement with Austen's (1962) 'behavatives' and Searles' (1979) 'expressives' in the sense of functioning. Although both mentioned terms are classified under speech act classifications, they are still not restricted to speech and verbal utterances as claimed by Austen (1962) and Searles (1979). This is because relating *behavatives* to attitudes and social behaviour by Austen (1962) implies the inclusion of non-verbal conduct, because

social behaviour can be communicated verbally and/or non-verbally. Similarly, Searles' (1979) expressive speech act should not be restricted to utterances alone since expressing attitudes and feelings can be carried out verbally or non-verbally or through a combination of both, as in the case of Kurdish apologies.

As regards obligation to apology in Kurdish, it is related to the factors of age, social status/power, and social distance. In relation to age, Kurds do not use direct apologies (i.e. IFIDs) with children shown in situation 4 in the DCT when the parents forget to buy their child a promised gift for Eid. This fact was also supported by the interviewees and the real observed situations 21, 22 & 32. The reason for not apologising to children is related to the social values that formulate other strategies to be used with children such as kissing, hugging, and explanation. However, the matter is completely different with old people who receive more apologies than the young. This is quite different from English culture, when the same 'sorry' is used with every one regardless of his/her age.

Regarding the effect of social status/power, the higher the social status/power, the more strategies they receive and vice versa, as shown in the interview findings, where the university lecturers did not show direct apologies to their students when forgetting to return the papers. This argument was also confirmed by a university lecturer who did not apologise to her student who asked about the exam paper. Alternatively, she just said *tomorrow*. (see situation 28 appendix 15).

The social distance was found in Kurdish as a determining factor in the obligation of apology. It is interrelated to the factor of gender as females are less apologetic to the socially distant people than males due to the socio-cultural values prevailing in the Kurdish culture that restrict cross-gender interactions, as stated in the interview findings. One of these restrictions in terms of cross-gender communication is the deactivation of non-verbal strategy like hand shaking, kissing, and hugging between socially distant interlocutors and activating it with socially close apology recipients, as stated in the interview findings.

Regarding time and place influence in Kurdish apologies, the study reveals that Kurds make use of appropriate times and places to make a successful apology. The best time for that are the religious occasions such as Eids and the month Ramadan month to reconfirm their apologies, as confirmed in the interview findings. The appropriate place for reconfirming apologies and restoring the social relationship in the offended person's house. According to the Kurdish tradition, visiting a person at his home is a sign of modesty and showing deference. Thus, Kurds seek forgiveness and make social remedy by making use of the appropriate time and place, as explained in the real events narrated by the interviewees.

Another characteristic of Kurdish apologies is the involvement of a third party in reconfirming apologies. It is described as a common and effective phenomenon in making remedy as stated by interviewee 6. The existence of the third part is related to the severity of the offence. The reason for involving a third party is to guarantee the success of the apology and restore the social equilibrium as it help the apology be more effective and accepted by the offended individual and group, as stated by interviewees 2, 3, 6 &12 in appendix 14-D. The third party in Kurdish culture is also viewed as a sign of sincerity in Kurdish apologies and sometimes it comes after the first apology.

The findings reveal that Kurds in general use a third party in their apologies to make reconciliation and remedy as two of the six proposed R's associated with apology. However, the presence of a third party in Kurdish apology depends on the situation and the sort of offence, mostly when it is difficult to get the hearer's forgiveness as evidenced by interviewees 3, 6 & 12 (Appendix 14-Q). More, importantly, the third party (mediator) should be acceptable and well known to the hearer. This claim is supported by interview 14 in appendix 14-D. The point here is that the mediator is regarded as a sign of deference shown by the apologiser to the offended person. Even the female interviewee 14 who preferred to be alone, in many cases, is regarded as a support for what other interviewees stated, as she did not take into consideration serious situations where the Kurds usually prefer a third party.

The significance of the third party in creating social harmony can be viewed as another indication of a collective culture.

Two-staged apology is another distinctive feature of apologising in Kurdish. The study showed that Kurds may not find it enough to apologise once for certain offences, mainly when they feel that the effect of an offence goes beyond the individuals to groups, specifically families. To keep the social relationship between two families, the Kurds use a two-staged apology. The second stage of apologising is usually carried out by a group visit to the offended person's house. It is usually regarded as a confirmation of the first staged-apology. The second stage of apologising is regarded as sign of sincerity in Kurdish culture and usually conducted to save the hearer's face (which usually signifies a group of people) and guarantee the re-establishment of social harmony between both groups. This distinctive feature was evidenced by real events narrated by the interviewees. The two-staged apologising is evidenced by interviewees 1, 2, 3 & 5 in appendix 14-Q. Compared to English, the above mentioned phenomena are typically culture specific features in Kurdish apologising, produced in response to the Kurdish cultural values in the area.

5.7 Perception of Politeness in Kurdish

To relate the apology speech act to Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive and negative politeness and Scollon and Scollon's (2001) involvement and independence, it might be argued that apologising in Kurdish is a representation of positive politeness in most situations (that is, in the sense of involvement as the interlocutors's purpose is to involve the individual to the groups as evidenced by the study findings). However, the situation is different in the case of power differences as in situation 5 about the apologisee (-P) and apology recipient (+p) that puts the apology at a high level of formality, which makes involvement not possible. This situation is in line with Leech's negative politeness as apologising aims at conflict avoidance due to the high social power of the apology recipient. Accordingly, in most of the situations, the results showed that the apology communicative act in Kurdish culture represents

positive politeness or involvement politeness. The apologisers mostly aim at connecting and involving the apology recipient to the group and bringing them closer together. This goes with Brown and Levinson's positive politeness (1987), and Scollon and Scollon's (2001) involvement politeness. Moreover, the Kurds use kinship term sub-strategies such as brother, sister, uncle, etc. as involvement markers which might be regarded as the features of a collectivist culture.

However, apology speech act might be regarded as negative politeness in formal situations (such as situation 5) due to the social distance and power differences between the interlocutors. In this sense, and in consistence with Leech's (1983) description of negative politeness "minimising the impoliteness of illocutions), it aims at removing the degree of imposition (offence) and avoid conflict that might cause the situation to deteriorate . In such formal situations independence of the interlocutors is more concerned than involvement. In this concern, apology can be classified as a manifestation of negative politeness (as it mostly expresses deference rather than friendliness (Holmes 1995: 154). Actually committing an offence might be considered an impolite action as it makes the hearer lose face. The situation of committing an offence (i.e. impoliteness) requires an apology to minimise that impoliteness, normalise the situation, and restore the social equilibrium. This exactly follows Leech's (1983) description of negative politeness as minimising the impoliteness of impolite illocutions. The reason for that is related to the formality of the situation and the power differences between the apologiser (-P) and the apology recipient (+p). It is in agreement with Leech's negative politeness (1983) because the speaker's want is to focus on conflict avoidance and is more significant than involvement or positive politeness. The priority of negative politeness is shown because of the impossibility of positive/involvement politeness in the case of power disparity between two interlocutors, due to the hierarchical nature of the Kurdish culture.

Unlike Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness as a speaker-oriented model and Mills' (2003) S/H- oriented model, politeness in Kurdish might be described as an intergroup-oriented model as it focuses on speaker, hearer and a third party as evidenced by the interview findings. In this regard, the perception of Kurdish politeness is mostly in agreement with Spencer-Oatey's 'rapport

management' which focuses on self and other neutrally and views face 'i.e. rapport' as group not individual. Additionally, Spence-Oatey's (2000) five rapport management domains are included in Kurdish politeness with regard to apology, including the non-verbal domain as a culture-specific strategy. In relation to Fraser's (1990) "conversational contract" 'a state that one expects to exist in every conversation', Kurdish apologising might be regarded as social remedy contract, that assumes the existence of apology strategies in every wrong behaviour situation. These are consistent with Fraser and Nelson's (1981) conventional rules that determine the appropriateness of the apology acts in situations as they constitute part of the social norms that regulate social communication in Kurdish culture. It is these conventional rules that classify participant's performances as polite or impolite. To be polite or impolite in Kurdish culture depends on the commitment to the Kurdish conversational contract rules.

Examining apology behaviour in the light of Leech's (1983) four types of politeness based on speech goal and social goal categorisation, the Kurdish apology communicative act is consistent with convivial politeness. Accordingly, there is agreement between the communicative goal (not necessarily speech) and the social goal to retain social equilibrium and remedy between the interlocutors. In this concern, the study argues against Brown & Levinson's (1987) and Leech's classification of illocutionary acts as inherently being polite or impolite. However, it supports the argument made by Fraser (1990); Spence-Oatey (2000); Spence-Oatey & Jiang (2003) and Watts (2003) in identifying politeness as a "question of appropriateness" (Spence-Oatey 2000). The agreement comes in the sense of considering the role of the cultural differences in determining the appropriateness of rapport management in Kurdish culture. Additionally, judging apology strategies depends on the hearer's interpretation of apologise's strategies so that they can forgive. On the other hand, I would argue that Leech's and Brown & Levinson's claim of evaluating illocutionary act as being intrinsically polite or impolite might relatively apply to the illocutionary acts of requests and invitations. However, it is not applicable to apology IFIDs as

they are used to save face or repair face, and never work as Face-Threatening Acts.

In line with Eelen (2001), the study disagrees with Brown and Levinson's (1987) universality claim of politeness as apology communicative act can be viewed as a culture specific issue influenced by the socio-cultural norms. However, the use of some universal apology strategies is also undeniable. Additionally, Kurdish politeness 1, is in line with Eelen's (2001) Politeness 1 characteristics in terms of evaluation, normativity, modality and flexibility. Regarding the first two politeness features, Kurdish social norms are the bases for evaluating and motivating the apology strategies. In agreement with the modality and reflexivity, Kurdish apologisers are open to multiple apology strategy selections according to their appropriateness and to the social variables of gender, age and social status.

In relation to social rapport, Kurdish politeness is in line with Locher and Watts (2005) who defined politeness as part of interpersonal work aims to create and retain the relationships with other interlocutors. Creating the social relationships was evidenced by interviewees 12 & 24 in appendix 4-C.

- بۆ مانهوهی ئهوه دۆستایه تیهی که له نینوانا ههیه

‘To keep the relationship between us’ (Interviewee 24)

- مه بهستم ئهوهیه کهسی به راتبهه دلی پاک بتهوه له ئاستی من بۆی بیه لیم که من نیازیکه خراپم نه بووه،

‘the purpose is to restore the hearer’s broken heart and make it clean towards me I apologise to show that I had no bad intention and to keep our brotherhood [relationship]’ (Interviewee 12).

In respect of directness and indirectness, the Kurdish notions of politeness 1 show that Kurds use direct and indirect apology strategies according to the situations and the sorts of the offences. However, they tend to be more indirect in their apologies as evidenced in the real situations that generated 28 indirect strategies and 12 direct apologies as shown in table 22. The priority of indirectness is mostly in agreement with Thomas’ (1995: 119)

claim about the universality of this phenomenon in all natural languages. The reason for indirectness in Kurdish apologies is related to the insufficiency of the direct strategies in many situations if not supported by other strategies, specially the account/ explanation strategy as mentioned earlier. This argument is also supported by the DCT findings as out of the 2347 apology strategies the Kurdish apologiser used only 846 direct illocutionary acts. Priority of the IFIDs over the account strategy in the DCT findings is related to specificity of situation 1 that requires direct apologies more than any other strategy which is in turn attributed to the place of the offence (i.e. in the street). For example, when bumping into somebody in the street, it is not very appropriate to use account strategy and have long conversation. By excluding situation 1 from the DCT, the findings of the other eleven situations show the dominance of the account strategy (i.e. indirect apology) over the direct apologies.

The folk notions of politeness 1 presented by the Kurdish participants reveal that the social variables of gender, age, social status/ power and social distance contribute to theorising about the Kurdish perception of politeness in terms of strategy selections and frequency of the strategies. In response to universality question, the thesis findings demonstrate the universality of the apology strategies adopted by Cohen & Olshtain (1981: 119); Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22-23) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 207). Additionally, the findings reveal three apology strategies as culture-specific ones.

5.8 The Notion of Kurdish Face

The findings of the current thesis bring into existence the concept of Kurdish face that matches and contradicts the different concepts of face presented in the literature. In relation to Brown and Levinson's (1987) "positive and negative face", the study is mostly in line with positive face in terms of the desire to be connected and involved as a member of the groups. This was evidenced by the responses of all the DCT situations except for situation 5. Likewise it is in agreement with Scollon and Scollon's (2001) involvement aspect of face. The positive/involvement face aspect in Kurdish is also evidenced by the high occurrence of kinship terms, like brother, sister, etc., (202 times with the same gender and 330 times with the opposite gender) which all indicate involving the interlocutors, bridging the gap between them, and connecting them as members of the same family. However, situation 5 is partly consistent with Brown and Levinson's (1987) negative face and Scollon and Scollon's (2001) independence face aspect. This difference arises from the difference in power between the apologiser (-P) and the apology recipient (+P), which makes closeness difficult in the Kurdish hierarchical culture.

In relation to individual and group argument, the Kurdish notion of face is mostly in line with the concept of group face in Chinese, Japanese and Igbo cultures stated by Wierzbicka (1985), (Matsumoto, 1988), Nwoye's (1989) and Mao (1994) that are regarded as samples of collective cultures. Thus, Brown and Levinson's face concept does not fit Kurdish face notion in terms of individual-orientation because, unlike English, the group is more important than the individual in Kurdish culture under the influence of religion and Kurdish nationalism which both consider Kurdish individuals as members of the same family. This is evidenced in individual's apologising for a group and to a group.

To compare Kurdish 'face' to B & L's (1987) English self-oriented face on the one hand and to other-oriented face in Japanese, Chinese and Igbo (Nwoye 1989) on the other hand, Kurdish face might be self/ selves and/or other (s). It is consistent with Spencer-Oatey's (2000) 'rapport' that works neutrally between self and other, unlike Brown and Levinson's 'face' that is associated only with

self-concerns. From an individual-group perspective, Kurdish face might be (mostly) the concern of the group and (sometimes) of individuals or both together. Accordingly, Kurdish face might be defined as intergroup face.

On analysis of the reasons for apologising, the data revealed various purposes behind the act of giving an apology. According to the subjects involved in the study, apologies are produced for the sake of the speaker (the offended person), the hearer (offender) or both S & H. More importantly, they are provided for the sake of God, as explained earlier. For that reason, it would be difficult to judge clearly whether an apology is a speaker-oriented or hearer-oriented communicative act. To include the apologisee's self in apologising supports the concept of self-politeness proposed by Chen (2001:89). However, all these together (i.e. self/speaker(s), hearer(s) and third party) contribute to present the Kurdish 'face' as an intergroup face, which is in contrast to English 'face', represented Brown and Levinson (1987) as an example of individuality.

Connecting the apology communicative act to God, demonstrates the effect of religion on the Kurdish culture. Accordingly, the Islamic religion shapes the apology strategies in certain situations, as in making use of Eid and Ramadan (i.e. religious occasions) to apologise and create social harmony. This politeness phenomenon is not applicable to English and other European cultures.

5.9 Chapter Summary

The discussion chapter has dealt with answering the research questions raised in the literature. It covered the realisation patterns of apologies, the influence of the social variables of gender, age and social status in Kurdish apologies. It showed that Kurds use direct and indirect apologies, but they prefer indirect apology strategies, more specifically the account strategy due to the insufficiency of the IFIDs in certain situations. The chapter also shed light on the characteristics of the Kurdish culture as representation of collectivist culture.

Other parts of the chapter have dealt with the unique characteristics of Kurdish apologies that makes it different from English, such as the role of a third party in apologising, a two-staged apology as well as the significance of time and place in making successful apologies. Additionally, the chapter presented the Kurdish apology as a representation of positive (i.e. involvement politeness) and the Kurdish notion of 'face' as 'intergroup' face.

Chapter Six

6.1 Conclusion

The current thesis investigated apology strategies in Central Kurdish in Garmian. There were 120 subjects whose apology responses were elicited in 12 situations via a piloted DCT. The subjects involved in the study were divided into 60 males and 60 females, taking into consideration the factors of age and social status. This classification of the participants aimed at investigating the effect of gender variable in Kurdish apologies in the twelve tested situations. Since apology strategies are varied according to the size of offence, various situations (i.e. offences) were adopted. Similarity and difference of the apology recipient's gender was considered in each situation to show how the perceived seriousness of an offence changes according to the hearer's gender and how that, in turn, affects the use of the apology strategies and sub-strategies. Moreover, the results were supported and triangulated by interviewing 24 participants and observing 44 real situations.

The DCT findings produced nine apology strategies and four supporting apology sub-strategies. The results were characterised by a high occurrence of IFIDs and account/explanation strategies. According to the DCT data, the IFIDs took priority over the account strategy, in contrast to the real observed situations which revealed a higher percentage of account/explanation over the IFIDs due to the differences in situations of both techniques. More importantly, most of the IFIDs were supported by the other strategies, specifically the account/ explanation strategy. The reason is attributed to the ineffective power of the IFIDs in serious situations without explanation or the support of other strategies.

Regarding the IFID categories, the Kurdish interlocutors used seven IFID semantic sub-formulae in their apologies in the forms of requesting apology, imperative verbs and sometimes a noun form. The Formal IFIDs had the highest occurrence in the thesis. However, the socio-religious IFID was the most preferred formula by the interviewees which showed the significance of both

IFID formulae in Kurdish apologies. Additionally, Kurdish interlocutors might use the various IFIDs as free socio-pragmatic variations in certain situations.

In relating apology to time, Kurds make use of certain times to make remedy, such as the religious occasions of Eids and Ramadan. In this concern, the free variations of the IFIDs cease on the days of Eids due to the influence of religion in the Kurdish culture. The socio-religious IFID is the only activated semantic sub-formula on Eid days as all other IFID sub-formulae are deactivated, which is a unique socio-pragmatic phenomenon in Kurdish apologies that does not occur in English and other languages.

For the significance of place in apologising, Kurds select the offended person's house for serious situations to make a sincere apology and social remedy. More importantly, it requires the accompaniment of a third party to make reconciliation and remedy as two important R's in connection with apology. Conversely, an apology might aim to mitigate conflict (i.e. Conflict resolution) in the case of causing physical offence to some people, such as in bumping into somebody.

Regarding the stages of apology, one stage is not sufficient in sincere apologies. In the case of a serious offence, the first stage of apology should be followed by the second stage (as a social requirement) for a sincere apology and saving the hearer's face or/and healing a rift as shown by the real events narrated by the interviewees. Thus, one stage of apology, for serious offences, is a sign of insincerity if not supported by the second stage at the offended person's house.

With respect to gender, men were more apologetic than women, which contradicts the results found by other Western researchers. In considering the gender of the apology recipient, the male groups were more apologetic to women than men. However, women were found to be more apologetic to the persons of their own sex than to men. Hence, women might be described as gender biased groups.

Considering the hearer's age, the subjects were more apologetic to older rather than younger people. More importantly, they do not apologise to children.

No apology was given by parents to their children due to their age and the close social distance between both interlocutors. As for the social relationship (distance), the men were more apologetic to socially-distant persons. This differs from women, who offered more apologies to socially-close persons. This might be attributed to the social restrictions imposed on women that made them less open to non-family male members.

Taking responsibility, as a high occurring strategy in other studies, was found to be less frequently used in Kurdish apologies due to associating apology mainly with assuming personal responsibility for humiliation, as Kurds believe that they should apologise, but not humiliate themselves. Even in taking responsibility, the Kurdish semantic sub-formula is opposite to that of English. In other words, instead of saying 'it was my fault', the Kurdish dominant sub-formula is 'You are right', which might be regarded as the implicit responsibility represented by giving a right to the hearer instead of attributing a fault to him/herself.

The apology sub-strategies (intensifiers, swearing by God or by the Quran, kinship terms, traditional expressions) were integral supportive parts of Kurdish apologies. Additionally, they showed the social characteristics of the Kurdish culture as each sub-strategy reflected one part of the Kurdish cultural image.

The apology strategies supported by the kinship term sub-strategy showed collectivistic features of the Kurdish culture. This feature was reflected also by the group apologies as a result of an individual's offence in certain situations due to the effect of the offence on the group as a whole. The reason is that concept of 'face' in a collectivistic culture is different from that of an individualistic culture, as an offence might extend to causing the group to lose face.

Social status/power appeared as a significant factor in obligation to apology as people in higher position do not apologise to those of lower social status as in the situation of no-apology between the university lecturers and high school teachers to their students, due to the disparity of power between both parties. This goes against the obligation to apology, prevailing in Western

cultures, mainly British culture in which university lecturers often express their apologies to their students.

The use of the strategies was proportionally different according to their appropriateness with the situations and the nature of the offences. This reality showed a high occurrence of some apology strategies and the absence of some others in certain situations and vice versa. In this concern, the study showed that the concept of an offence is a culturally-specific issue, as Kurds, unlike the English and other Western cultures, do not apologise for some non-linguistic forms of behaviour such as coughing, sneezing, yawning and burping due to the different interpretations for these kinds of behavior, based on the social and religious parameters dominating in the society. However, blocking somebody's way is not a serious offence requiring apology in many cases. Furthermore, the strategies were different according to the seriousness of the offence which was, in turn, estimated differently according to the social features of the apology recipients.

The social characteristics of the apology recipients were significant factors in determining the size of the offence and utilising the apology strategies in the same situations. As for gender, men were generally more polite to women than to male apology recipients, more particularly in gender related situations. The non-verbal paralinguistic features (kissing, hugging, shaking hands, or any physical touch) were also determined by the gender of the interlocutors as they were signs of sincerity between interlocutors of same the gender. However, they are regarded as extra offences when used between men and women, due to the prescriptive social norms in the Kurdish culture. Due to gender sensitivity a sincere apology strategy might turn into an offence if used inappropriately. Additionally, gender difference of the apologisers was behind making women use fewer apology strategies to strangers, being more apologetic to socially-close people and using the metaphorical apology strategy that was exclusively a women's strategy. On the contrary, male apologisers were characterised by being more apology strategy users, more users of the apology sub-strategies, specifically kinship terms with women, in addition to non-use of metaphorical apology strategy.

The age of both interlocutors was also focused on. Older apologisers were less apologetic than younger ones due to their high trustworthiness that qualifies their apologies to be accepted, due to their advanced age. On the other hand, younger apologisers were greater users of apology strategies to make remedy due to their young age. The age of the apology recipient was also significant in determining Kurdish apology strategies. All the Kurdish groups are more apologetic to older people than to people of the same age and younger, due to the high position of advanced age in the Kurdish social hierarchy. Kurds might kiss an elderly persons' hands as a non-linguistic act when apologising due to the high socio-religious evaluation of advanced age. Hence, the apology strategies proportionally lessen with the younger age of the apology recipient to the extent that no apology is given to children, as proved in the findings. On the contrary to that, more apologies are given to older people. This result is consistent with the argument made by Pecchioni, Ota & Sparks (2004); Kadar and Mills' (2011); in considering advanced age as an essential obligation in showing politeness to the hearer as part of the eastern culture.

Social status together with age also played a role in Kurdish apologies. Subjects with a high social status were more apologetic than other groups. Hence, the young adults of high social status were found to be more apologetic than others due to the influence of social status factor represented by their level of education. Thus, to be more apologetic, the subjects' social status has priority over the factors of gender and age in Kurdish apologies. On the other hand, the hearer's social status is also significant in receiving more apology strategies, Kurds are more apologetic to people of high social status and regard them as socially prestigious people who might need be visited at home to make the apology.

Social power was also another concern for the study based on which the level of apologising is fluctuating. The more socially powerful the apologiser, the less apologetic s/he is. However, they do not apologise to the less powerful persons in certain specific contexts as in the situations of university and school lecturers to students, and some other situations, like doctors to patients, adults

to children, a high government official to ordinary people due to the egotism built into their social power.

The social distance / relationship between the interlocutors was also the focus of the study as men are more apologetic to socially-distant people. However, women were more apologetic to socially-close people than to socially-distant hearers who are left without apology by women of a low social status in certain embarrassing situations.

Regarding responsibility as one of the prominent apology strategies in other studies, it was a seldom occurring strategy in the current study. Kurds rarely take personal responsibility in their apologies. Instead, they use implicit responsibility acknowledgment represented by giving right to the offended person. They also minimise the offence and avoid responsibility by blaming a third party, the offended person, in addition to attributing the offence to the Act of God. This makes the apology speech act in Kurdish different from that of English where full personal responsibility ,i.e. it was my fault' prevails in their apologies.

Kurds have various positive viewpoints about apologising, but still see it as a humiliation in certain situations, mainly in the case of avoidable offences which might lead to bad consequences. Associating apology with humiliation might be regarded as the reason behind the lesser use of personal responsibility, no apology by those of a high social status to those of a low social standing and not to apologise to anybody unless he/she deserves that apology.

The study argues against Brown and Levinson's (1987) hearer-oriented face saving. The findings showed that Kurds apologise to save not only the hearer's face, but their own and for the sake of God (or a third party). Hence, the Kurdish apology is a multi-dimensional communicative act (i.e. non/speech act).

Regarding the strategies used, the Kurds added some new strategies to those used by Blum-Kulka and others, as they use non-verbal apology and lack of intent as two new strategies that might be adopted by other researchers. Furthermore, the study showed lack of intent strategy as another formulaic strategy rather than the IFIDs.

To show sincerity, Kurds use multiple apology strategies supported by the required sub-strategies that go with the size and type of the offence. In most situations, specifically in the case of deviation from the social norms, they use account/explanation strategy to convince the hearer because it is not enough to apologise without explaining. For that reason, the Kurds might resort to white lies as justifications for the account to convince the hearer and restore their social relationship.

6.2 Suggestions for Further Research

The investigated situations in the DCT are very common in some other cultures as well. They deal with various levels of offences which resulted in different apology strategies and sub-strategies in the Central Kurdish interaction in Garmian. A comparison of these results with data elicited from Kirmanji Kurdish or other sub- dialects would be interesting. Additionally, it would be significant to make a comparison with data collected from the Kurds in the Western diaspora to explore the effect of target culture they have been exposed to.

Furthermore, it would be also interesting and a good foundation for other cross-cultural studies, to make a comparison between the apology strategies in Kurdish with data gathered from other languages such (Iraqi) Arabic, Persian and Turkish, due to the similarity between these cultures and the applicability of the 12 adopted situations to any of the mentioned cultures.

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Appendix 1- Official letter from my supervisor for the consent of data collection

Adran Ieithyddiaeth
Prifysgol Cymru, Bangor

Ysgol y Celfyddydau a'r Dyniaethau
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Ffôn: (01248) 382264
Ffacs: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>



School of Linguistics
University of Wales, Bangor

School of Arts & Humanities
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Tel: (01248) 382264
Fax: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>

Dr June Luchjenbroers,
School of Linguistics & English Language
Bangor University,
Gwynedd, LL57 2DG
Wales, UK.

24th January, 2011

To whom it may concern,

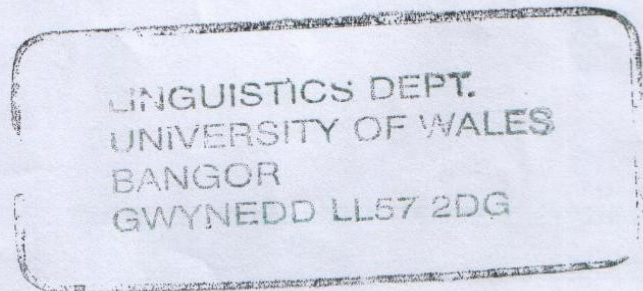
Dear Sir/Madam

This is to certify that Mr. Fareeq Ali Hassan is a PhD student in Linguistics at Bangor University (UK), under my supervision. Mr. Hassan's PhD thesis is on "Politeness in Iraqi Kurdish Conversation: Apology strategies". Currently, he is doing field work on Kurdish apology strategies in the Iraqi-Kurdistan, and he will collect his data from different Kurdish speakers using questionnaires, interviews and observation.

Your assistance with this research is highly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dr. June Luchjenbroers
<june1@bangor.ac.uk>
Bangor University, Wales
+44 (0)1248 388205



Dr Michelle Aldridge
Pennaeth Ieithyddiaeth • Head of Linguistics

Appendix 2- Consent from the Dean of the College of Education to collect data from the college departments, shown at the bottom of the official letter

Adran Ieithyddiaeth
Prifysgol Cymru, Bangor

Ysgol y Celfyddydau a'r Dyniaethau
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Ffôn: (01248) 382264
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School of Linguistics
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School of Arts & Humanities
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Tel: (01248) 382264
Fax: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>

Dr June Luchjenbroers,
School of Linguistics & English Language
Bangor University,
Gwynedd, LL57 2DG
Wales, UK.

24th January, 2011

To whom it may concern,

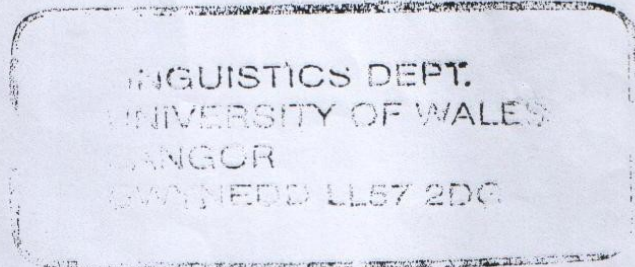
Dear Sir/Madam

This is to certify that Mr. Fareeq Ali Hassan is a PhD student in Linguistics at Bangor University (UK), under my supervision. Mr. Hassan's PhD thesis is on "Politeness in Iraqi Kurdish Conversation: Apology strategies". Currently, he is doing field work on Kurdish apology strategies in the Iraqi-Kurdistan, and he will collect his data from different Kurdish speakers using questionnaires, interviews and observation.

Your assistance with this research is highly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dr. June Luchjenbroers
<junel@bangor.ac.uk>
Bangor University, Wales
+44 (0)1248 388205



Dr Michelle Aldridge
Pennaeth Ieithyddiaeth • Head of Linguistics

— هور به شامان

— پرستگار کامان

تاسا نکاری وهاوکاری به پرستگار کامان
پرستگار کامان

پرستگار کامان
ل. پرستگار
15/1/11

Appendix 3 – Consent from the General Director of Garmian Education Directorate to collect data from the schools in the area, shown at the bottom of the letter.

Adran Ieithyddiaeth
Prifysgol Cymru, Bangor

Ysgol y Celfyddydau a'r Dyniaethau
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Ffôn: (01248) 382264
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School of Linguistics
University of Wales, Bangor

School of Arts & Humanities
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Tel: (01248) 382264
Fax: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>

Dr June Luchjenbroers,
School of Linguistics & English Language
Bangor University,
Gwynedd, LL57 2DG
Wales, UK.

24th January, 2011

To whom it may concern,

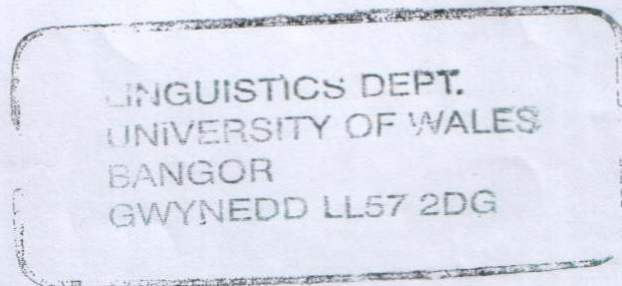
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Your assistance with this research is highly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dr. June Luchjenbroers
<junel@bangor.ac.uk>
Bangor University, Wales
+44 (0)1248 388205



تۆس رەجەتا . س . ه . ئا پرێشێر
هه‌وێکا، ماقۆستقا فریعا ئێلان

Dr Michelle Aldridge
Pennaeth Ieithyddiaeth • Head of Linguistics

Appendix 4 - Consent from the Dean of Kalar Technical Institute to collect data from the departments of the Institute, shown at the bottom of the letter.

Adran Ieithyddiaeth
Prifysgol Cymru, Bangor

Ysgol y Celfyddydau a'r Dyniaethau
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Ffôn: (01248) 382264
Ffacs: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>



School of Linguistics
University of Wales, Bangor

School of Arts & Humanities
Bangor
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

Tel: (01248) 382264
Fax: (01248) 382928
<http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ling/>

Dr June Luchjenbroers,
School of Linguistics & English Language
Bangor University,
Gwynedd, LL57 2DG
Wales, UK.

24th January, 2011

To whom it may concern,

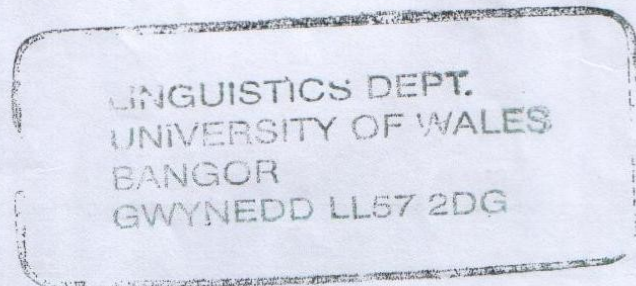
Dear Sir/Madam

This is to certify that Mr. Fareeq Ali Hassan is a PhD student in Linguistics at Bangor University (UK), under my supervision. Mr. Hassan's PhD thesis is on "Politeness in Iraqi Kurdish Conversation: Apology strategies". Currently, he is doing field work on Kurdish apology strategies in the Iraqi-Kurdistan, and he will collect his data from different Kurdish speakers using questionnaires, interviews and observation.

Your assistance with this research is highly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dr. June Luchjenbroers
<junel@bangor.ac.uk>
Bangor University, Wales
+44 (0)1248 388205



لهم صوابه
أنا ما نظرت له وكما به (م. فزيق مدلس)
أبياد فالح شهاب
پاکسر

Dr Michelle Aldridge
Pennaeth Ieithyddiaeth • Head of Linguistics

Appendix 5 - The DCT form in Kurdish

فۆرمی تهاوکردنی گفتوگو

په گهز: نیر می

تەمەن: () سال

پیشه / ناستی خویندن:

زمانی دایک: ()

رینماییه کان

بەشداربووی بەریز

لەم فۆرمەدا (12) حالەتی قسەکردن هەیه لە نێوان تۆ و کەسیکی تردا. لە سەرەتای هەر حالەتیک باسی رووداوێک دەکریت. لە هەر حالەتیک دوو قسەکەر هەیه: یەکەمیان کەسیکە کە شتیک ئەلێت لەسەر رووداوەکە. دووهم قسەکەر تۆی کە چی ئەلێی لەو رووداوەدا. یەکەم جار دواى ووشەى (تۆ) وایزانە ئەو کەسەى بەرامبەرت هەمان پەگەزى خۆتە، بەلام لە دوومین قسەکردندا وایزانە بەرامبەرەکت لە پەگەزى جیاوازه. تکایه به ئەو پەرى راستى و واقیعی و ئەلامەکان بەدەرەوه وەکو ئەوهى لەناو رووداوەکاندا بیت.

لەگەن ریزدا

حالەتی یەکەم

کاتیکی بەناو قەرەبانی بازاردا ئەرووی خۆت بە کەسیکدا ئەدەیت

ئەو کەسە: ناگادار بە!

تۆ:

.....

.....

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جىاواز بوو چى ئەلئيت ؟

.....
.....
.....

حاله تى دووم

لە كاتى قسە كردن لەگەل برادەرە كاتتا ، يەك لە برادەرە كاتت لە ھەندى قسەت عاجز بوو . دواتر پىي وتى .
برادەرە كات: ئەزانى عاجز بووم لە قسە كانى ئەو جارەت ؟ وا تىدە گەم مە بەستت من بوو .

تۆ.....
.....
.....

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جىاواز بوو چى ئەلئيت ؟

.....
.....
.....

حاله تى سىيەم

برادەرە كات چەند جار يەك تەلەفونى بۆت كرد ، تۆش وھلامت نە دا يەو ھە چونكە لەو ماو ھيدا مۇبايلە كەت خراپ بوو . دواتر يە كۆرتان پىني .
برادەرە كات: چەند جار تەلەفونىم بۆت كرد ، وھلامت نە دا يەو ھە .

تۆ.....
.....
.....

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جىاواز بوو چى ئەلئيت ؟

.....
.....
.....

حاله تى چوارەم

وھعدەت دا بوو بە منالە بچووكە كەت (يان خوشك يان برا) بچووكە كەشتىكى بۆ بچكى بە ديارى بۆ جەژن ، بەلام بۆت نە كرى .
منالە كە: چى بوو ديارى بە كەت بۆم كرى ؟

تۆزۈش

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو چى ئەلئيت؟

حاله تى بىنجه م

مەوعىدىكت ھەبوو لەگەل كەسىكى سەرووى خۆت . بەلام ھەندى دواكەوتى لە كاتى خۇزى .

كەسى بەرپرس: چى بوو دواكەوتى؟

تۆزۈش

ئەگەر ئەو كەسى سەرووى خۆت لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو، چى ئەلئيت؟

حاله تى شەشە م

برادەرىكت يان خزمىكت زور نەخوش بوو و توش سەردانت نەكرد لە كاتى خوى . پاش ماوہيەك كەچاك دەبىتەوہ برادەرەكت دەبىنى .

برادەرەكت: بەراستى چاوم لەرى بوو . وامزانى يەكەم كەس دەبىت سەردانم بگەيت .

تۆزۈش

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو چى ئەلئيت؟

حاله تى ھوتە م

كاتىك بەردەمى كەسىك بگرى لە ناو بازار يان ھەر شوئىنىك (واتە بىى بە بەرەست بۇ تىپەربوونى ئەو كەسە)

ئەو كەسەى بەردەمىت گرتووه: بى زەحمەت .

تۆ:

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو چى ئەلئيت؟

.....

حالتى هەشتم

لە ناو پاصدا (سەيارەدا) كاتىك دەتوھى دابەزىت قاچت دەنئيت بە پىي ئەو كەسەى لە تەنئىشت دانئىشئووه وئازارى ئەبئت .

ئەو كەسە: ئاى قاچم!

تۆ:

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو چى ئەلئيت؟

.....

حالتى نۆيەم

پارەت لە برادەرئىكت يان خزمئىكت قەرز كرد بۆ ماوھىكى ديارى كراو، كاتى دانەوھى قەرزەكە بەسەر جووھ، توش ئەو پارەيەت نىھ

بىدەيتەوھ .

برادەرەكەت (خاوھن قەرز): بەراستى خومئىش پئوئىستەم بەو پارە ھەيە چونكە خومئىش قەرزارى كەسئىكى ترم .

تۆ:

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لەرەگەزى جياواز بوو چى ئەلئيت:

.....
.....
.....
حاله تي دهيم

موبايلى برادهره كهت به دسته وه شكا .

برادهره كهت: كوره نهمه مانگيك نابيت كريمه .

توت:

.....
.....
.....
نهگر نهو كهسه له ره گزي جياواز بوو چي نهليت:

.....
.....
.....
حاله تي يازدهيم

مهوعيدت هه بوو بوسهرداني خزميك يان برادهريك، بهلام لهيرت چوو برويت چونكه ميواني له ناكوت هه بوو و سهرقالي ميوانهكانت بوويت .

برادهره كهت يان خزمه كهت: دويني زور چاوهروان بووم كهچي نههاتي، خير بوو؟

توت:

.....
.....
.....
نهگر نهو كهسه له ره گزي جياواز بوو چي نهليت:

.....
.....
.....
حاله تي دوانزهيم

خزميك يان برادهريك دهعوتي كرديت بوان خواردن له مالي خويان، بهلام له بهر نه بووني كات ناتواني برويت .

خزمه كهت يان برادهره كهت: بهياني بوانني ثيواره دهعوتي له مالي من

تۆ:

.....

.....

ئەگەر ئەو كەسە لە پەرەگەزى جىياواز بوو چى ئەلئىت:

.....

.....

.....

زۆر سوپاس بۆ ھاوکارىت

Appendix 6 - The English translated copy of the Kurdish DCT

Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

Gender: Male Female

Age:

Job title / Education level:

Mother tongue:

Instructions for filling out the form

Dear participant,

This form includes twelve conversational situations between somebody and yourself. Each situation deals with an event described at the beginning of each situation. In each situation description two speakers are involved: the first speaker is a person who addresses you about the situation. The second speaker is “you” who needs to reply to the addresser in each situation. Please note that you need to reply twice each time. The first time you reply after the pronoun “You”, considering the hearer to be of the same gender. In the second reply you consider the hearer to be of the opposite gender from you. Please try to be as realistic as possible, as if reacting to real situations. Best regards

Situation 1

While walking in the street or any public place, you bump into somebody.

The offended person: Watch out!

You:.....
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 2

While talking to some friends, one of them was offended by some of your words. Later, s/he told you about that offence.

Your friend: Do you know that I have been offended by your words the other time? I think you meant me.

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 3

Your friend phoned you several times, but you did not respond. Later you meet him/her.

Your friend: I phoned you many times, but you did not respond.

You:.....
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 4

You promised to buy a present for you younger child (or younger brother or sister) for Eid, but you did not do that.

The child: Have you bought me the present?

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 5

You had an appointment with a person of higher social status or higher power, but you were late for a while.

The high status/power person: Why are you late?

You:.....
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 6

Your friend or relative was seriously ill. You did not visit him/her at that time. Later you met him/her after their recovery.

I expected you to be the first comer to visit me:

You:

.....
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 7

You are blocking the way of somebody in a public place.

Somebody: Excuse me.

You:

.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 8

In a car, you press on somebody's toe by accident.

The offended person: Ouch!

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?.....
.....
.....

Situation 9

You borrowed money from your friend/ relative. It is now overdue to pay back the money, but you do not have that money.

Your friend (lender): I really need the money, because I am also indebted to somebody else.

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?.....
.....
.....

Situation 10

You damaged your friend's mobile.

Your friend: Oh my God! I have bought it recently.

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 11

You forgot an appointment to visit a friend or relative yesterday because you had some guests.

Your friend: I waited for you yesterday, but you did not come.

You:.....
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Situation 12

One of your friends/ relatives invites you for dinner for tomorrow, but you can not accept his/her invitation because you have no time.

Your friend: It is our pleasure to invite you to dinner tomorrow?

You:
.....
.....

What would you say if the person you are addressing is from the opposite gender?

.....
.....
.....

Thanks for your cooperation

Appendix 7 – The interview questions in Kurdish

پرسیاره کانی جاوێتکهوتنه کان

1. رات چیه له سهر داوای لیبوردن و بهچی ته زانی؟
2. چ کاتیگ یان له چه حاله تیک داوای لیبوردن ته کهیت و بوچی داوای لیبوردن ته کهیت؟
3. زور بهی جار چه ته لیبی بو داوای لیبوردن؟
4. پیت باشه به ته نیا داوای لیبوردن یکهیت یان یان که سینکت له گه لدا پیت؟ بوچی؟
5. باشترین شینواری داوای لیبوردن چی یه و چون دهیکهیت؟ ئایا داوای لیبوردنی راست و ناراست هه یه؟ چونی ته بینی؟
6. چونت پی باشه به کورتی داوای لیبوردن بکهیت یان درێژهی پیندهیت؟ واته هیچ پینشه کهیک ته لیبی پینش داوای لیبوردن وهک باسی رووداوێک یان چیرۆکیک یان ئایه تیک یان یان فرموده دهیکه یان نوکه دهیکه یان یهک سهر داوای لیبوردن ته کهیت بهی هیچ پینشه کهیک؟ له گه ل کی زیاتر؟
7. لهم حاله تانه دا چی ته لیبیت:
پژمین له کاتی قسه کردندا
بایه شک دان
کوخین له کاتی قسه کردندا
قرقینه دان له کاتی قسه کردندا
کاتیگ قسه به که سینک بریت و خوت ده سبکه یه قسه کردن

8. ئايا داواي لېبوردن لە كەسنىك بۆ كەسنىك ئەگۆزىت يان بەرامبەر بە ھەموو كەسنىك وەكو يەكە؟ بۇ نمونە بەرامبەر بە

رەگەز: پياو وژن

جوۆرى پەيوەندى كۆمەلايەتى: كەسى نزيك وەك برادەر وخزم يان كەسى بىگانە .

تەمەن: ھاوتەمەن منالتر وپىر

ئاستى كۆمەلايەتى: مەسئولنىكى گەورە ، پياوئىكى بەناو بانگى كۆمەلگا وەك سەروكى عەشپىرەت يان پياوئىكى ئاينى .

9. تازە ترين رووداۋ لە ئياتندا لەسەر داواي لېبوردن چى يە؟

Appendix 7.A - The English translated copy of the Kurdish Interview Questions

Gender: Male Female

Age: Job title / Education Level: Mother tongue:

1. What do you think about apology?
2. When and why do you apologise?
3. What do you often say when apologise?
4. How do you prefer to apologise? Alone or accompanied by friend(s) or relative(s) as a third party? Why?
5. What is the best form (way) of apologising in your opinion and how do you do it?
6. How do you usually apologise - briefly or in detail? Do you use any introduction as a pre-apology before apologising, such as a related short story? A proverb or any other expressions? Why?
7. What do you say in the following situations?
 - When sneezing during speaking?
 - When yawning in conversation?
 - When you cough while speaking?
 - When burping throughout your speech?
 - When you interrupt somebody's conversation and need to correct him/her?
8. Do you think that apologising differs according to the apology recipient or it is same for all? For example, how do you consider the following factors in your apology:
 - Gender: men and women
 - Social distance: A friend or relative and a stranger.
 - Age: same age, younger or older
 - Social status: such as a high official, a famous social or religious personality.
9. Could you please state a recent event when you experienced apology in your life?

Appendix 8- Evaluative form for the DCT (in Kurdish)

فۆرمی هه‌سه‌نگاندن

1. ئایا پرسیاره‌کانی نێو فۆرمه‌که ئاسانن بۆ تێگه‌یشتن؟
2. زمانی فۆرمه‌که به‌لاته‌وه‌ چۆنه‌؟
3. هیچ پرسیاره‌که تێدایه‌ زه‌حه‌مه‌ت بێت؟
4. هیچ وشه‌یه‌کی زه‌حه‌مه‌ت هه‌بوو له‌ناو پرسیاره‌کاندا؟
5. نه‌و 12 حاله‌ته‌ی فۆرمه‌که نه‌گه‌ری ڤووداویان هه‌یه‌ له‌ژبانی کۆمه‌لگای کوردیدا؟ واته‌ له‌ واقیعی ژبانه‌دا رووده‌دات؟
6. کام له‌و حاله‌تانه‌دا نه‌گه‌ری ڤوودانی نیه‌ و ناواقعییه‌؟
7. کام پرسیاره‌یان به‌لاته‌وه‌ په‌سه‌ند نیه‌ بکریت له‌ کۆمه‌لگای کوردیدا؟

زۆر سوپاس

Appendix 9 - The English translation for the Kurdish evaluative form.

1. Are the questions in the DCT form are easily understood by you?

2. How is the language of the form?

3. Does it include any difficult questions?

4. Are there any ambiguous words within the questions?

5. Are the 12 situations liable to occur in Kurdish real life?

6. Which of the questions is not realistic and has no possibility of occurring?

7. Which of the questions is not acceptable to be asked in the Kurdish culture?

Thanks

Appendix 10 - Participant's consent form in Kurdish

فۆرمی ره زامهندی به شداربوو



ناوی بابهت: شیوازی داوای لیبۆدن کردن له ئاخاوتنی کوردیدا: لیکۆلینهوهیهکی پراکتیکی له بواری زمانهوانی
کۆمهڵایهتی پراگماتیکی

ناوی توێژه: فریق علی حسن

ناوونیشان: بهشی زمانهوانی وزمانی ئینگلیزی له کۆلیژی ئاداب وزانسته مروڤایهتیهکان زانکۆی ویلز بانگۆر -
بهریتانی

ئیمیل: elp825@bangor.ac.uk

دهربارهی پرۆژه کهم

مه بهست لهم پرۆژهی دکتۆرایه دۆیزینهوه و لیکدانهوهی شیوازی داوای لیبۆدن کردنه له چهند حالهتیکدا له
ئاخاوتنی رۆژانهی کوردهواریدا له دهقهری گهرمیان له کوردستانی عیراق. ئامانج له پرسیارهکانی ناو فۆرم
وچاوپیکهوتنه که تهنها بۆ مه بهستی خویندنه له بواری زمانهوانیدا. زۆر سوپاسی به شداربوون وهاوکاریت
ده کهم.

به شداربوو:

من رازیم به هاوکاریکردنی خوینکاری دکتۆرا (فریق علی حسن) به پیدانی زانیاری راست و درووست له ڕینگای
پرکردنهوهی فۆرمی زانیاری تایبتهت به بابهتی خویندنه کهوه و نه نجامدانی چاوپیکهوتنی تۆمارکراو له گه لهما
به مه رجی پاراستنی و نه دانی به هیچ که سیکێ تر.

..... ئیمزا به شداربوو:

..... بهروار:

زۆر سوپاس

Appendix 11 - English translated copy of the Participant's Consent



Consent Form

Project name: Apology Strategies in Central Kurdish: An Empirical Study in Socio-Pragmatics

Researcher name: Fareeq Ali Hassan

Address: School of Linguistics and English Language/ College of Arts and Humanities, University of Wales Bangor.

Email: elp825@bangor.ac.uk

Information about the project:

The current PhD study is about apology strategies in Kurdish with speakers of Central Kurdish in Garmian/ Kurdistan. The purpose is to find out how Kurds apologise in certain situations in the Kurdish culture.

Participant:

By signing this letter I agree to give information that belongs to this current research through filling out the DCT form and/or by interview. I also agree to be recorded by the researcher, provided everything is confidential.

Signature of participant:

Date:

Appendix 12 – Selected samples of the apology strategies offered by the groups in the twelve situations towards apology recipients of the same gender

Situation 1: Samples of Male's responses -

- برام داوای لیپوردن نه کهم نه مزانی -

- ببوره -

- داوای لیپوردن نه کهم

- ببووره براکهم -

- عه فوهن نه مزانی براکهم -

- باوکه کهم عه فوهن نه مزانی -

- گهر دنم نازاکه -

Situation 1: Samples of Female's Responses

- داوای لیپوردن نه کهم

- عه فوومکه خوشکه -

- عه فوو -

- ببووره نه مزانی -

- عه فوه مکه خوشکم نه مزانی -

- خوشکه گیان ببووره نه مزانی -

- عه فوومکه وگهر دنم نازاکه -

Situation 2: Samples of Male's Responses

- داوای لیپوردن نه کهم برای بهر یزم باوهرم پینکه مه به ستم تو نه بوو -

- ببووره من مه به ستم تو نه بوو، پروا بکه هر په یوه ندی به تووه نه بوو -

- له راستیدا له وانیه قسه که باش تینه گه یشتووی، هیچ کاتیک مه به ستم تو نه -

- نه به خوا مه به ستم تو نه بوو باوهر بکه -

- مه به ستم تو نه بووه، نه گهر تو وانیکه یشتووی نه وا داوای لیپوردن نه کهم -

- به خوا من به تووم نه بوو، من هر له خوومه وه قسه م کردووه، تووم هر له بیر نه بووه -

- برای بهر یزم له گهل تووم نه بوو -

Situation 2: Samples of Female's Responses

- نا عاجز مەبە -
- عەفوومكە، مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو -
- مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو، لەو نەچى تۆ خراب ئىگە يىشتى -
- نەخىر بەخوا هېچ مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو -
- نەخىر مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو، ئەگەر واش بىت داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم
- باسەم لەتۆ نەهاتو، عاجز مەبە و مەيىە سەر خۆت -
- مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو -
- وەللا هېچ مەبەستم تۆ نەبوو، بە دلىكى باكوە قسەم كروو -

Situation 3: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم، ئەو ماوەيە مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو -
- بىرام داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم چونكە مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو -
- داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم، ئاگام لى نەبوو -
- بەخوا تەلەفۇنەكەمان خراب بوو -
- وەللا مۆبايلەكەم داخستبوو ئاگام لى نەبوو -
- كاكە بىبوورە مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو -
- وەللا بىبوورە مۆبايلەكەم ئىك چووبوو -
- داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم بىرام، لەو كاتەدا مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو. بۆ خىر بوو؟ چى ئىشىكت پىم بوو؟ -

Situation 3: Samples of Female's Responses

- داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم چونكە مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو -
- داواى لىيوردن لى ئەكەم، تەلەفۇنەكەم خراب بوو، ئاگام لى نەبوو -
- وەللا ئاگام لى نەبوو -
- زۆر داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم، تەلەفۇنەكەم خراب بوو -
- بەراست؟! داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم مۆبايلەكەم خراب بوو، ئاگام لە تەلەفۇنەكانت نەبوو، مەبەستىكت هەبوو كە تەلەفۇنت كىرد؟ -

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم موبایلله کهم خراب بوو -

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم، به راستی موبایلله کهم خراب

Situation 4: Samples of Male's Responses

- وای نه مزانی به داخهوه -

- نه وه لئا نه مکرې -

- به داخهوه له بیرم چوو -

- نه خیر چاوه کهم له بیرم چوو، نه ک جاره یه که وه عدی بۆت بهینم -

- ریگ نه کهوت، به سه رچاو، به خوا هه ر بۆت نه کرم، یان شتی تری بۆ نه کرم -

- ان شاء الله دوايي بۆت نه سینم -

- پاره م پی نه مابوو -

- نا والله نه مکرې، دوايي بۆت نه سینم (مه گه ر هه ر درۆیه تری بۆ کهم، هه لی خه له تینم به شتی تر) -

Situation 4: Samples of Female's Responses

- له بیرم چوو -

- وه لئا مه جالم نه بوو، سه رم قال بوو -

- نا گوله کهم، به لام دنیا به بۆت نه کرم -

- (پاره ی نه ده می) به خوا له بیرم چوو، نه کهوته بیرم، جاری تر بۆت نه سینم -

- هه ر بۆت نه کرم (ماچی نه کهم) -

- بۆ جاری تر -

- قوربانی بیرم چوو -

Situation 5: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم که تۆزی دوا که و تم -

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم، به هوئی فته ره بالفی ریگاوه دوا که و تم -

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم به ده ست خۆم نه بوو -

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم که دوا که و تم -

- بېووره به رېزم که دواکهوتم، به هوی قهره بالفی ریکاوبانهوه بوو که دواکهوتم.
- هه ندیک ئیشی خیرام بۆ دروست بوو بویه دواکهوتم له کاتی خۆم. بېووره دووباره ی ناکه مهوه.

Situation 5: Samples of Female's Responses

- چاوه ریی نۆیز بووم، بویه دواکهوتم، داوای لیبوردن نه کهم.
- ئیشم بوو.
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم بۆ دواکهوتم.
- مامۆستا سه یاره نه بوو، عه فومکه ته ئخیر بووم.
- میوانم هه بوو به بېووره.
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم چونکه دواکهوتم، به دهستی خۆم نه بوو من زوو ده رچووم له مال، به لام جاده زۆر نيز دیحام بوو، ماوه یه که پاوه ریی ده کهیت؟
- وه لئا مناله کانم به ته نیا بوون، نه متوانی به جئیان به جئیهیلیم بویه ته ئخیر بووم.
- منداله که مان نه خوش بوو.
- وه لئا ئیشم بوو.

Situation 6: Samples of Male's Responses

- بېووره که سه ردانم نه کردی به راستی زۆر ئیشم هه بوو، خوای گه وره شیفات بدات.
- زۆر داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، زۆر چه زم نه کرد له کاتی خۆیدا سه ردانم بکردایه، به لام بروا بکه نه وکاته لیره نه بووم، له سه فەر بووم، هیوادارم ئیستا باشتر بیت؟
- جار ی خوا شفات بدات، که فاره تی گوناخت بیت، باوه ریکه هه ر له یادمابوویت، به لام لو ماوه یه زۆر سه رم قال بوو و بۆم ریک نه کهوت، به لام هه ر دوعای خیرم بۆ کردی، الحمدلله ئیستا باشیت.
- سه لامه تیت، ناکام لی نه بوو، نه ی ئیستا باشی شوکر؟
- زۆر خه جاله تم، نازانم به ج شیوه یه ک ولامت بده مه وه، به راستی زۆر په شیمانم بۆ نه هانتیم.
- راست نه که ی چه تی خۆته، ئیستا چۆنی؟
- به خوا شه رمه زاریه، خۆم به تاوانبار نه زانم.
- گیانه که م مه جال نه بوو، بۆ جاریک تر سه ردانت نه کهم.
- منیش نه خوش بووم، داوای لیبوردن نه کهم که چاوه ریم بووی.
- وه لئا چه قته گله یی نه که ی کاکه، که گله یی له من نه که ی به خۆت نه زانی کاتیک مه جالم نه بوو یان دره نک زانیم.

- خهجاله تم به رانبه رت، داواي ليئوردنت لي ته كه م، خوا شفات بدات -

Situation 6 : Sample of Female's Responses

- به خوا مه جالم نه بوو -

- به خوا مناله كه م نه خووش بوو -

- نه بي عه فوومكه ي چونكه به ته نهام وئيشم زوره -

- نه مزاني كه نه خووشي، ان شاء الله سهر دانيت نه كه م -

- به راستي خه جاله تم، به لام پروام بيكه مه جالم نه بوو، ئيستا چوني؟ باشتر بوويت؟ -

- به خوا نه ركي منال و مي رد و مال و ده وام مه شغوولمي كرد، به لام عاجز مبه، قهت له بيرم ناچي، هر ديم و هه ديه كهت حازره له ماله وه

- خه جالتم، به خوا چهند جار خووم حازر كرد، به س ريك نه كهوت بيم، حه ق خوته گله بيم لي بكه ي

- ئوي! به راستي خه جاله تم، زور هه ولم دا له فرسه نيكا بيم بولات، به لام ريك نه كهوت، ئيستا خوشحالم بويتيه ته وه، ان شاء الله هر ديم نه م جاره به بونه ي چاكبوونه ته وه

- داواي ليئوردن ته كه م له سه فهر بوين نه مپو گه پامه وه بو نه وه ي سهر دانت بكه م

- شهرمه زارم، زور خووم به تاوانبار نه زانم

- نه و كاته كيشه م بوو، عه فوومكه، هر دو عاي خي رت بو ته كرد

Situation 7: Samples of Male's Responses

- ببووره ناكام لي نه بوو

- ليم ببووره براي به ريزم

- براكيان داواي ليئوردن ته كه م

بفهرمه

- ببووره به سه ر چاو

- ببووره فهرموو (ريگاي بو)

- به سه ر چاوو

Situation 7: Samples of Female's Responses

- فەرموو

- داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، بەخوئا نەمزانی

- ئۆ! ببووره، فەرموو

- بەسەر چاوو، فەرموو

- فەرموو دادە

- بەئى فەرموو

- فەرموو

- ببووره نەمزانی فەرموو

Situation 8: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، بەخوئا نەمزانی

- ببووره نەمزانی، شوکر سەلامەتى؟

- زۆر داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، بەخوئا نەمزانی، خو ئیشت پى نەگەبشت، الحمدلله سەلامەتیت، بەخوئا نەمزانی
هیچ نیه إن شاء الله

- لیم ببووره برای بهریز نەمزانی

- داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، خو ئازارت پى نەگەبشت؟

- داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم مەبەستم نەبوو گەردنم ئازاکە

- ببووره، پروابکە نەمبىنى

- ئوى! زۆر داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، ئازارم دای؟

- بەخوئا نەمزانی، داواى لیبوردن دەکەم برای بهپێزم

Situation 8: Samples of Female's Responses

- وای نەمزانی! گەردنم ئازاکە

- عەفوومکە، خو ئیشت پى نەگەبى

- داواى لیبوردن ئەکەم، خو ئیشت پى نەگەبى بهقوربان

- بەخوئا نەمزانی عەفوومکە

- عه فوومکه نه مزانی

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم خوشکم

- تخوا نه مزانی، عه فوومکه

- نه مزانی، نازارت پی گه یشت؟

- وای تخوا! بیووره نه مزانی

Situation 9: Samples of Male's Responses

- لیم بیووره که قهرزه کهم له کاتی خویدا نه داوه پییت. إت شاء الله ههولج نه دم بۆت پهیدا بکهم له ماوه یه کی کهمدا، بهس صه برم لی بکه

- به خوا شهرمه زاری لای تۆم، به خوا دام نابوو له مهوعیدی خوئی بهیتمهوه، به لام جووت نه بوو و قهزیه هاته پیشهوه، خوا که ریمه صه برت بییت، ئیش نیه خوا سه هلی نه کات، هه ریوم جووت بوو بی سی ودوو نه بهیتمهوه

- زۆر داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، به لین بی له ماوه ی دوو رۆژدا پاره کهت ناماده بکهم

- راست نه کهی، مه جالم پی بده بو دوو رۆژی تر بۆت ناماده ی ده کهم

- شهرمه زارم وروونه رد، چاوکراوه یه ودهست کورته

- زۆر مه منوونتم، که ردنم نازاکه دوامخست، نه مپۆ بۆتی نه هینمهوه، خوا له برایه تی کهمت نه کات -

- بروابکه نه زانم و له بیرمه، به لام شک نابهم -

- زۆر شهرمه زارم، ئیستا له دهستما نیه، به لام دلنیا به ههول نه دم له زوو تریت کاتدا ناماده ی کهم بۆت -

- بیووره نه م ماوه یه لیره نه بووم، هه ر ئیستا بۆتی نه هینمهوه -

Situation 9: Samples of Female's Responses

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، ان شاء الله بۆت پهیدا نه کهم

- جاری بده سه مه وه نیه، ان شاء الله پاره م بوو قهرزه کهت نه ده مه وه

- خوا که ریمه، به خوا نه زانم تۆش پیویستت پییه، به لام نه م خانووم تازه ته عمیر کردوه، چاوهری جه معیه نه کهم مانگیکی تر وه ری نه گرم

- به خوا هه رکاتی پاره م دهست کهوت خیرا قهرزه کهت نه ده مه وه، لهوا کهوتنی خه جاله تم

- به خوا زۆر شهرمه زارم چونکه نه متوانی له کاتی دیاریکراو قهرزه کهت بده مه وه، داوای لیبوردن نه کهم

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، بۆت په یاده کهم

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، به راستی پاره م له بهر دهست نیه بویه نه متوانی بۆت بهیتمهوه

- وەدەسەمەو ەنە قەناعەتکە، ەەر بۆت دېنمەو ەنەپرۆ بېت يان بەيانى ەن شا، اللە

- بەلى داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم نېستا ئەينېرم، يان بەيانى

Situation 10: Samples of Male's Responses

- بېبورهگە مۇبايلەگەت بەدەستەمەو ەنەسکا. براى بەرېزم ئەگەر ئەتەوى بۆتى ئەگرمەو

- زۆر داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، خەجالەتم، وەعدىنى دانەيەكى تەرت بۇ بېگرم

- تەنكىدبە بە مەبەستەو ەنەبوو، ئەگەر ئەتەوى بۆت چاك ئەگەم.

- مۇبايلەگەم بىخە لاي خۆت تاوەگو مۇبايلېكت بۇدەگرم ەەر وەگوو خۆى

- نەمزانى، بېبوره، بۆت چاك دەگەم گەر گرا

- عەفوومگە، ئەگەر قەبوول كەيت بۆت چاك دەگەمەو

- داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، دانەيەكى تەرت بۇ دەگرم، گەردنم نازاكە

- بېبوره نەمزانى، دانەيەكى تازەت بۇ دەگرم

- بەخو نەمزانى، داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، بۆت چاك دەگەمەو

- ئەه براگيان! بېبوره وەللا نەمزانى، وەعدىنى دانەيەكت بۇ بېگرم، بەراستى خەجالەتم

Situation 10: Samples of Female's Responses

- عاجز مەبە، ەن شا، اللە بۆت ئەگرم، ئەو ەش قەدەرى خوا بوو

- داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، ئەگەر رازى بېت بۆت چاك ئەگەمەو وەئەگەر چاك نەبوو ئەگەر رازى بېت دانەيەكى تەرت بۇ ئەگرم

- وای چ پەنىكم دا! داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، با مۇبايلېكت بۇ بېسىم

- وای دەستەم بىشكى! نەمزانى، داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم

- خەجالتم زۆر، بەقەصدەو ەنەمگرد، يەكىكى تەرت بۇ ئەگرمەو لەجياتى

- عەفوومگە مۇبايلەگەت بەدەسەمەو ەنەسکا، ەن شا، اللە بەيانى مۇبايلېكت بۇ دېنم

- شەنسى منە! ەەر وەگوو خۆى ئەسىنم بۆت، نېستا ەيچ مەبەستەم نەبوو، ديارە خۆى زۆر ناسكە

- وای! داواى لېبوردن ئەگەم، مۇبايلى تازەت بۇ ئەسىنم، خەجالتم، خۆزگە مۇبايلەگەى خۆم بوایە

Situation 11: Samples of Male's Responses

- بېووره قوربان ميوانمان هه بوو نه متواني بيم، ان شاء الله له داها توويه كي نزيكدا سهر دانتان نه كه م
- براي به ريزم داواي ليئوردن نه كه م چونكه ميوانم هات
- بېووره ميواننكم هاتبوو، ساليكه نه ميينيوه، ان شاء الله نه مړو ديم
- به خوا بيم نه كرا چونكه ميواني ناكومان هات
- بړوا بكه ميوان له بېرمي برده وه، نه كهر وانهبوايه نه وا هر هيج نه بوايه به ته له فون ناكادارتم ده كرديته وه
- داواي ليئوردن نه كه م نه متواني بيم، ميوانمان هه بوو، ان شاء الله كاتيكي تر سهرت لي نه ده م
- زور داواي ليئوردن نه كه م، زور سهرقال بووم، ميوانمان هاتبوو
- بېووره نه متواني بيم
- خير بوو؟ بېه خشه چونكه سهرقال ميوانه كانم بووم، مه وعيده كه ي خومان له بېر چووه وه، خوا پشتيوان بيت له كاتيكي گونجاودا خوم ناكادارت نه كه مه وه وسهر دانه كه ساز ده كه ين و قهره بووي نه مجاره ده كه ينه وه.
- وه لئا ميوانمان هات بويه نه متواني بيم، سهرقال بووم بويه ته له فونم بو نه كرديت

Situation 11: Samples of Female's Responses

- داواي ليئوردن نه كه م، ان شاء الله هر ديم بولات
- وه لئا خوت باش نه زاني خوا نه بېرې، مالي نيمه ميوانمان زوره، منيش فكرم زور خراپه ته له فون بكه م، داواي ليئوردن نه كه م
- وه لئا ميوانم بوو، نه متواني جيني بهيتم
- به خوا ميوانم بوو
- به خوا ميوانم بوو، بوم نه كرا بيم
- به خوا له بېرم چوو چونكه زور سهرقال بووم چونكه ميوانم
- هه ندي نيشم بوو
- ان شاء الله روژي تر ديم بو مالتان، داواي ليئوردن نه كه م

Situation 12: Samples of Male's Responses

- به ريزم گيان داواي ليئوردن نه كه م، كاتم نيه نيه بيم زور چه ز نه كه م بيم
- زور سوپاس و ابزانه خوار دوومه، به لام كاتم نيه بو جاريكي تر

- زۆر زۆر مەمنوونم، مەن دەعوەت و خولگم بۆ چىيە؟ مەن خۆم دەعوەتى خۆم ئەكەم، مالى مالى خۆمە، بەو خوايە بەقەد دونيايە پىم خۆشە، بەلام بەخوا زۆر مەشغوولم و زۆر سەرم قالد، فرە بى وەختىم، لەكاتىكى تردا ان شاء الله دىم بۆ خزمەتتان

- فەرقتى نىيە، بەرپىزى، بەلام كاتم نىيە سوپاس

- مەمنوونم، دەتوانى داوى بخەي؟

- بەبوخشە، كاتى خىزانە كەم گونجاو نىيە

- دەست خۆش بىت، مالت ئاوا بىت، بەلام باوەر بگە كاتم كاتم نىيە، واى دانى هاتووم، زۆر سوپاس بۆ دەعوەتەكەت

- مالت ئاوا بى پىم خۆشە بىم، بەس بەخوا ناتوانم بىم

- زۆ سوپاس، بەراستى زۆر پىخوشحال دەبىم، بەلام تۆزىك سەرفالم، بىخەرە كاتىكى تر، سوپاستان دەكەم

Situation 12: Samples of Female's Responses

- زۆر سوپاست ئەكەم

- بەخوا ناتوانم، داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم، پىويست بە عەزىت ناكات، ئىمە خزمىن پىويست ناكات، هەر كاتى خۆم مەجالم بوو دىم

- بەخوا ناتوانم چونكە ميوانم دىت

- دەستەكانت خۆش بىت، بەخوا پىم ناكرى چونكە مئالگەم نەخۆشە، ناتوانم بەجىي بەپىلم

- ئىشم هەيە بۆيە نايەم، بۆ جارى تر ان شاء الله

- مەجالم نىيە داواى لىيوردن ئەكەم

- مالى خۆمە زۆر سوپاس، منىش حەز ئەكەم بەتوانايە، بەلام زۆر سەرفالى ئىش و كارم و كاتم نىيە

- عەفوومكە، مەجالمان نىيە بىين، تەنجىلى كە بۆ ئىوارەبە تر

- پىم خۆشە بەلام نتوانم لەبەر ئەوئى مئالەم وردە و بى ئەوان دەرخاچم و ناتوانم بىان تىرم تاكو شەرمەزار نەبووم، و ناتوانم بىان تىلم لاي كەسىكى تر.

- دەست

Appendix 13 – Selected samples of the apology strategies offered by the groups in the twelve situations to apology recipients of the opposite gender

Situation 1: Samples of Male's Responses

- عه فوهن خوشکه
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم خوشکه گیان نه مزانی
- خوشکی بهرپژم داوای لیئوردن نه کهم نه مزانی
- دایه گیان داوای لیئوردن نه کهم
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم مه به ستم نه بوو
- ببووره خوشکم
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم نه مزانی
- زور داوای لیئوردن نه کهم

Situation 1: Samples of Female's Responses

- کاکه داوای لیئوردن نه کهم
- عه فوومکه براکهم
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم برای بهرپژم
- ببووره بهرپژم
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم، شهرمه زارم
- عه فووو
- نکایه ببووره نه ههله تیمه گه، ناوچه هه ربانغه، منیش توژی
- کوپم نه مزانی
- داوای لیئوردن نه کهم نه مزانی

Situation 2: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواى لیبوردن نه که م خوشكى به رژيم باوه ږم بپيکه مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- داواى لیبوردن نه که م مه به ستم تو نه بوو و نه و باهه ته ش به هيچ شيويه لک په يوه ندى به تووه نه بوو
- داواکارم باش بير له قسه که بکه يته وه و تپيگه يت لپي
- دلگران مه به له برابى خوټ مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- بږوا بکه مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- بپووره هه له لپم تيگه يشتي
- نا وه لئا مه به ستم تو نه بوو باوه ږ بکه
- بپووره له وانه يه هه له تيگه يشتنيک هه بيت، نه گهر واش بيت داواى لیبوردن نه که م
- خوشکه گيان مه يبه سهر خوټ مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- به خوا خوشکم مه به ستم تو نه بوو

Situation 2: Samples of Female's Responses

- کاکه عاجز مه به
- من مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- عه قومکه، مه به ستم تو نه بوو
- کاکه من مه به ستم تو نه بوو، تو واگومان نه که يت، داواى لیبوردن نه که م
- کاکه گيان بپووره مه ستم تو نه بووه
- نه خپر مه به ستم تو نه بوو، نه گهر واش بيت داواى لیبوردن نه که م
- عه قومکه (فلان که س) من قه صدم تو نه بوو
- نا براهه م، تو خراب حالي بووى، زور دوور ږوويت
- وه لئا من مه به ستم تو نه بووه وله ژيانا جه زم له ته عليق دان نيه
- داواى لیبوردن نه که م مه به ستم تو نه بووه

Situation 3: Samples of Male's Responses

- دلنیا به موبایله کهم خراب بووه، نه گینا بو وه لامت ناده مه وه؟
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم خاتوون، موبایله کهم نهو ماوه یه خراب بوو
- خوشکی به ریژم داوای لیبوردن نه کهم چونکه موبایله کهم خراب بوو
- نه ها!! وایه، موبایله کهم خراب بووه ناگام لی نه بوو، کاریکت بوو به ریژ؟
- وه لئا خه تای خوم نه بوو، موبایله کهم خراب بوو، هیوادارم دلت نه نیشی له من
- زور داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، موبایله کهم خراب بوو، خیره ته له فونت کرد بوو؟
- به خوا موبایله کهم خراب بووه بویه وه لامم نه دایه وه
- نه مزانیوه ته له فونت کردوه چونکه موبایله کهم خراب بووه
- خوشکی نازیژم ته له فونه کهم له کار که وتوووه بویه وه لامم نه دایه وه.

Situation 3: Samples of Female's Responses

- کاکه گیان داوای لیبوردن نه کهم
- داوای لیبوردنت لی نه کهم، ته له فونه کهم خراب بوو، ناگام لی نه بوو
- وه لئا ناگام لی نه بوو
- برای به ریژم ته له فونه کهم خراب بوو
- راست نه کهی، به لام نهو کاته موبایله کهم خراب بوو، داوای لیبوردن نه کهم
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، به خوا موبایله کهم خراب بوو
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، به راستی موبایله کهم خراب بوو
- به خوا موبایله کهم خراب بوو نهو کاتهی ته له فونت کرد، بویه وه لامم نه بوو
- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم چونکه ناگام له ته له فونه کانت نه بوو، چه نکه موبایله کهم خراب بووه، نه گینا بو وه لامت ناده مه وه
- بیوره موبایله کهم خراب بوو
- به خوا موبایله کهم خراب بوو

Situation 4: Samples of Male's Responses

- لىم بىوورە لەبىرم چوو، جارىكى تر بۆت دەكېم يان لەدواي جەژن بۆت ئەكېم كەبازار كرايهو

- بەخو زۆر گەرام شىكت بۆ بهينم بەدلى تو بيت، بەلام بەداخهوه دەستم نەكەوت، إن شاء الله شتى جوانترت بۆ دىنم بەدلى هەردووكمەن بى

- نەوه لئا نەمكېرى

- نەخىر چاوه كەم لەبىرم چوو، ئەك جارە بەك وهعدى بۆت بهينم

- نەخىر بۆتم نەكېرى، بۆم نەكرا، إن شاء الله بۆ كاتىكى تر بۆتى ئەكېم

- هەم دەرفەتم نەبوو، هەم شتى زۆر جوان نەكەوتە بەرچاووم، پىكهوه ئەرۆين هەر شتت بۆ نەكېم.

- بۆت ئەسىنم باپارەم هەبى.

- كاتم نەبوو بچم بۆ بازار

- نا والله نەمكېرى، دوايى بۆت ئەسىنم (مەگەر هەر درۆيه تری بۆكەم، هەلى خەلەتینم بەشتى تر)

Situation 4: Samples of Female's Responses

- لەبىرم چوو

- إن شاء الله دووبارە ئەرۆم و بۆت ئەكېم

- بىوورە سەردانى بازارم نەكردوه، بەلام هەر بۆت ئەكېم

- (پارەى ئەدەمى) بەخو لەبىرم چوو، نەكەوتە بىرم، جارى تر بۆت ئەسىنم

- هەر بۆت ئەكېم (ماچى ئەكەم)

- گيانەكەم كاتم نەبوو سەردانى بازاربکەم، بە دىنياييهوه ئەوهى بەلینم پىت داوه هەر بۆت ئەكېم

- هەر بىرم نەماوه، با ئەمجاره بچم بۆ بازار شتىكى جوانم بينى بۆت ئەسىنم

- بۆ جارى تر

- قوربانى بىرم چوو

Situation 5: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواي لئيوردن نه كه م، به هؤي قهره بالغي ريگاوو دواكهوتم

- وايه، ببوره به ريز، به لام وه كو خوت نه زاني كه جاده و ريگاو بان زور قهره بالغه وبه ناسان لي دهرناچيت

- ببوره به دهستي خوم نه بوو

- داواي لئيوردن نه كه م له سهر دواكهوتم، ترافيك دوامى خست

- ههولمدا له كاتي خويدا بيم به لام به دهستي خوم نه بوو دواكهوتم

- داواي لئيوردن نه كه م، هه نديك نيشم بووم بويه دواكهوتم

زور زور داواي لئيوردن نه كه م، به خوا زور حهزم نه كرد ناماده بيم له كاتي خويدا، به لام به خوا ان شا الله
دوو باره نابيته وه

- درهنگ كه وتمه ري، له خه وه ناگا هاتم.

- له ريگا دواكهوتم ببوره.

- به خوا ريگه كه م دووره بويه دواكهوتم.

Situation 5: Samples of Female's Responses

- داواي لئيوردن نه كه م، به خوا نيشم زوره و ميوانم هه بوو، بويه دواكهوتم

- دواكهوتم له بهر هه ندي حاله تي تايبه ت

- ببوره (كاكه يان ماموستا) له بهر نه وه ي كهس له ماله وه نه بوو له لاي مناله كانم بي بويه درهنگ هاتم، داواي
لئيوردن نه كه م

- داواي لئيوردن نه كه م بو دواكهوتم

- ماموستا سه ياره نه بوو، عه فوومكه ته نخير بووم

- نيشم بوو مي رده كه م له مال نه بوو بگه يه ني

- ببوره نيشم هه بوو دواكهوتم

- وه للا نيشم بوو

Situation 6: Samples of Male's Responses

- لیڻم بیووره که نه متوانی سەردانت بکەم چونکە لەو کاتەدا زۆر سەرفال بووم، خوای گەوره شیفات بدات
- زۆر داوای لیبوردن ئە کەم ، ئەوماوەیە لەسەفەر بووم ولێرە نەبووم، إن شاء الله ئیستا باشتريت و هەر سەلامەت ئەبیت؟
- بەوخوایە هەر وتم سەری لی ئە دەم، بەلام زۆر سەرفال بووم، بەردەوام دۆعای خیرم بۆت ئە کرد، الحمدلله ئیستا زۆر باشیت.
- هیوادارم سەلامەت بیت، بەراستی ناکام لی نەبوو، ئیستا هەست بەباشی ئە کەیت؟
- زۆر پەشیمانم کە نەهاتم بۆ سەردانت، داوای لیبوردن ئە کەم
- راست ئە کە ی حەقی خۆتە، ئیستا چۆنی؟
- بەخوا شەرمەزاربە، خۆم بەئاوانبار ئەزانم
- حەقتە، بەلام باوەر بکە نەمزانی، گەردنم نازاکە
- خوشکە ئەو رۆژە تەعزیمان بوو.
- ئەبوابایە لەگەل خیزانم بەاتایەم سەردانتەم بکردایە، بەلام خیزانم لەمال نەبوو، داوای لیبوردن ئە کەم.
- بەخوا منالە کەم نەخۆش بوو
- خوا شفات بدات، زۆرم حەز دە کرد سەردانت بکەم، بەلام بیووره بیتم نە کرا

Situation 7: Samples of Male's Responses

- داوای لیبوردن ئە کەم خاتوون سەر پینگام گرت
- لیڻم بیووره خوشکی بەرێزم
- خوشکە گیان داوای لیبوردن ئە کەم
- فەرموو بەرێز تێپەرە
- عەفوو بفرمە
- بیووره فەرموو (پینگای بۆ ئە کە مەوه)
- ئۆه بیووره بەرێز
- ئیستا دەپۆم، کەمیک چاوەری بە

- فهرموو خوشکم

- فهرموو داده گیان

- فهرموو خوشکه بهریزه کهم

- عهفوو خوشکم

Situation 8: Samples of Male's Responses

- ببووره خوشکه گیان ، باوهر بکه نه مزانی

- داده گیان، خوشکه بهریزه کهم، دایه گیان زور داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، به خوا ناگام له خوم نه بوو، به خوا پیتم نا وش بوو إن شاء الله هیچ نه بووه

لیتم ببووره خوشکی بهریزم نه مزانی

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، خو نازارت پی نه که بیشت؟

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، نه مزانی

- ده بیتم ببووری، بوخوا مه به ستم نه بوو، ببووره داده

- ئوی! زور داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، نازارم دای؟

- وای تخوا! ببووره نه مزانی

- زور زور داوای لیبوردن نه کهم

- عهفوو برام

- نه مزانی به خوا، گهر دنم نازاکه

- عهفوومکه به په له بووم

- کاکه گیان نه مزانی

- عهفوومکه نه مزانی

- وای ببووره، نه مزانی به خوا

- ببووره نه مزانی

- خوزگه فاجم بشکایه به س فاجم نه که وتایه ته بان فاجت

Situation 9: Samples of Male's Responses

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم که نه متوانی قهرزه کهت قهره بوو بکه مه وه له کاتی خویدا، بهم زوانه له کاتیکی کهمدا بوئی بهیدا نه کهم

- داده گیان خوشکه به پریزه کهم ، به خوا حازرم کردبوو له وه عدی خوئی بیگه پینمه وه، به لام جووت نه بوو، وه زعی هاته پیشه وه بویه دوا کهوت، داواي لیبوردن نه کهم، خوا ناسنی کات هر که بوم جووت بوو نه هیئمه وه

- ببووره نیستا نه و پاره یه له بهر ده ست نیه، نه گهر نه کپی به یانی بوئی بهیدا ده کهم.

- راست نه کهی، مه جالم پی بده بو دوو پوژی تر بوئی ناماده یی ده کهم

- زور شهرمه زارم، ده سم کورته، هول نه دم له فرصتی نیک بوئی دینمه وه

- گهر دنم نازاکه، نه مپو بوئی نه هیئمه وه، زور زور مه منوونم

- وه لئا جه فته، ده بویه له کاتی خویدا به دایه ته وه، به راستی هه ست به شهرمه زاری نه کهم

- زور شهرمه زارم، نیستا له ده ستما نیه، به لام دنیا به هول نه دم له زووتریت کاتدا ناماده یی کهم بوئی

- ببووره خوشکی به پریزم نه م ماویه لیره نه بووم، هر نیستا بوئی نه هیئمه وه

- ببووره پاره م به ده سته وه نیه، ئینشه لئا بوئی بهیدا ده کهم

- خوشکی به پریز سه برم لیکه بو ماویه کی دیاری کراو ده تده مه وه

- داواي لیبوردن نه کهم، نه گهر توانیم بوئی قهرز نه کهم و نه تده مه وه به سوپاسه وه

- نیمه نیستا، نه گهر ده ستم کهوت بوئی نه هیئمه وه، به خوا نایخوم

- تو ته کبیری بو من بکه، له که ره م خوا و تو زیاتر شک نابم، مه گهر من ته نگاو نه کهی مه گهر بچم لای به کی

تر بوئی قهرز بکه م

- تکابه ببووره دووباره نابی

Situation 9: Samples of Female's Responses

- کاکه داواي لیبوردن نه کهم

- قهرزت بو ده کهم له شوینی تر

- خوا لیت رازی بیت، خوا جه زای خیرت بدات چونکه 1000 دینار قهرزه خیری (7000) ه له لای خوا به، ان شا.

الله دلگران مه به هر پاره کهت ده ده مه وه بهم زوانه

- به خوا هەر کاتی پارەم دەست کەوت خێرا قەرزە کەت ئەدەمەوه، لەوا کەوتنی خەجالەتم
- بێوورە بەخوا نەمتوانی پارە کە لە کاتی دیاریکراو بەدەمەوه چونکە پارەم نەبوو، داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم
- هەول دەدەم بیدەمەوه، ئێستا نیمە
- داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم، بۆت پەیادە کەم
- وەدەسمەوه نیه قەناعەتکە، هەر بۆت دینمەوه ئیمپرو بیت یان بەیانی إن شاء الله
- بەدەسمەوه نیه بۆیه دواکەوت، کە ی دەسم کەوت ئەبگەرینمەوه
- یاخوا هەر خاوەن پارەبیت، بەخوا نیمە ئێستا، هەر کاتیک بووم ئەیدەمەوه
- ئەگەر ماوێه کی تر لەسەرم بوەستیت سوپاست ئەکەم، ئێستا پارەم نیه
- بەخوا لێم بێوورە وکەردنم نازاکە، بەخوا بێبوابه ئەمهاوردەوه، گەردنم نازاکە وەعدم وا بوو لە وەختی خۆی بۆت بێنمەوه، نەبوو بەدەسمەوه

Situation 10: Samples of Male's Responses

- بێوورە خوشکی بەرێزم، باوەرێکە نەمزانی، بەلام بۆت ئەکرمەوه ئەگەر رازی بیت
- بەهەر شتیک رازی بیت من رازیم
- زۆر داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم، بەراستی پێم ناخۆش بوو، بەلێنت ئەدەمی مۆبایلێکی نویت بۆ بکرم
- بێوورە ئەگەر رێچگەم بەدی دانەیه کی تەرت بۆ دەکرم
- داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم چی بپار ئەدەمی نامادەم
- دیاریهکت بۆ بێنم لە جیاتی؟
- بێوورە، زۆرم پێ ناخۆشبوو، بەلام بەخوا خۆم بۆت چاک دەکەمەوه
- زۆر داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم، دانەیه کی تەرت بۆ دەکرم
- بێوورە نەمزانی، دانەیه کی تازەت بۆ دەکرم
- بەخوا نەمزانی، داوای لێبوردن ئەکەم، بۆت چاک دەکەمەوه
- خەجالەتم، یه کی تەرت بۆ ئەسینمەوه

Situation 10: Responses of Female's Responses

- کاکه داوای لیبوردن نه کهم

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، نه گهر عاجز نابیت بۆت نه کرم لهوه باشتر

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، نه گهر رازی بیت بۆت چاک نه که مهوه وه نه گهر چاک نه بوو نه گهر رازی بیت دانه یه کی
ترت بۆ نه کرم

- پاره کهی بیت نه دهم

- وای چ په نیکم دا! داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، با موبایلکت بۆ بسینم

- به خوا نه مزانی داوای لیبوردن لی نه کهم

- زۆر داوای لیبوردن له به ریژت نه کهم، شهرمه زارم

- عه فوومکه موبایله کهت به ده سه مه وه شکا، إن شاء الله به یانی موبایلکت بۆ دینم

- نه مزانی ناوا ناسکه و نه لیمه باوکی منالکان ئیواره بۆت بکری

- وای! داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، موبایلی تازهت بۆ نه سینم، خه جالتم، خوزگه موبایله کهی خۆم بوايه

- زۆر داوای لیبوردن نه کهم له ده ستم کهوت ناگام نه بوو، نه گهر لیم قه بوول بکهی چهز نه کهم موبایلکت به دیاری
بۆ بکرم

- به کیکی ترت بۆ نه سینم

- ببووره به ده سستی خۆم نه بوو

Situation 11: Samples of Male's Responses

- ببووره نهوکاتهی به ته مای ده رچوون بووم میوانمان هات، به لاین بی إن شاء الله له داهاتوودا سهر دانتان نه کهم

- خوشکی به ریژم داوای لیبوردن نه کهم چونکه میوانم هات

- إن شاء الله له گهل خیزانم نه مپۆ دیم

- به خوا پیم نه کرا چونکه میوانی ناکاومان هات

- برپوا بکه میوان له بیرمی برده وه، نه گهر وانه بوايه نهوا ههر هیج نه بوايه به ته له فون ناگادارتم ده کردینه وه

- داوای لیبوردن نه کهم نه متوانی بیم، میوانمان هه بوو، إن شاء الله کاتیکه تر سهرت لی نه دهم

- زۆر داوای لیبوردن نه کهم، زۆر سهرتال بووم، میوانمان هاتبوو

- بېووره نەمتوانى بېم

- خېر بوو؟ بېبەخشە چونكە سەرفالى مېوانە كانم بووم، مەوعىدە كەي خۆمان لەبىر چوووه، خوا پشتيوان بېت لە كاتىكى گونجاودا خۆم ئاگادارت ئە كە مەوه وسەردانە كە ساز دە كەين و قەرە بووى ئەمجارە دە كەينەوه.

- وه لئا مېوانمان هات بۆيه نەمتوانى بېم، سەرفال بووم بۆيه تەلەفونم بۆ نە كرديت

- وه لئا كاكە قسەمت وابوو دوينى مېوانمان هەبوو بۆيه نە هاتم

- دوى لېيوردن ئە كەم، دوينى مېوانمان هەبوو، إن شاء الله بۆ كاتى تر.

Situation 11: Samples of Feamle's Responses

- خېر بوو؟ بەلام سەرم قال بوو، لەبىرم چوو، داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم، عاجز نە بېت

- داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم چونكە شتيكمان بۆ هاتە بېش، نەمتوانى سەردانت بگەم

- ئيشيكم بۆ دروست بوو نەمتوانى بېم، هەول دەدم كاتىكى تر بېم

- بە خوا جەزم ئە كرد بەتايە، بەلام مېوانم هات هەتا درەنگ مانەوه، ئىتر كاتم نەما بېم بۆ لات

- داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم مېوانم بوو

- زۆر داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم بە خوا مېوانم هەبوو و لەبىرم چوو

- وه لئا داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم مېوانم هەبوو، إن شاء الله هەر دېم سەردانت ئە كەم

- بېووره مېوانم هەبوو

- داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم، لەناكاوه مېوانمان هات ونەمتوانى بېم

- داواى لېيوردن ئە كەم، زۆر مەشغوول بووم هەر بىرم چوو

- والله دوينى مېوانمان هەبوو، مەجال نەبوو بۆيه نە هاتم

- رېك نە كەوت، پياوه كەم رېنى نە دام، إن شاء الله پياوه كەم رېم پېيدات دېين بۆ مالتان

Situation 12: Samples of Male's Responses

- خوشكە گيان، بېووره لەبەر نەبوونى كات ناتوانم بېم، زۆر بېم خۆشە بېم، دووره بېووره

= دادە گيان مال مالى خوشكى خۆمه، من خولكم بۆ جيه ؟ بە خوا ئەوه نە جەنجال وسەرفالم ناتونم سەرم

بخورينم، هەر كە مەجال بوو دېمە خزمستان، مال مالى خوشكى نازىزى خۆمه

- زۆر سوپاس خۇشحال ئەبووم، بەلام كاتم نيه

- مەمنوونم، لەگەل خيزانم رۆژيكي تر ديم

- كاته كه مان نەگونجاوه، بيووره

- داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم، بەلام كاتم نيه، كاتيكي تر، زۆر سوپاس بۆ دەعوەتەكەت

- مالت ئاوا بى پيم خوشه بيم، بەس بەخوا ناتوانم بيم، داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم

- زۆر سوپاس ئەم زەحمەتەت نادەم، هەندىك سەرفاليم ناتوانم بيم، داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم

- خوا مالتان ئاوهدان بكات، سوپاست دەكەم، لەبەر سەرفاليم ناتوانم نامادە بيم، بۆيه بيمەخشە، ئەو ناني خوت

وماي ومانلەكانت نوشى بگەن، وائەزانم منيش خواردوومە، لەكاتيكي گونجاودا خۆم ئاگادارت ئەكەمەوه

وخۇشحال دەبم پيگەوه بين وييمە خزمەتتان

- بەخوا برا ناتوانم بيم، پيويست بەعەزيت ناكات، وازى لى بينه بۆ جارى تر

- سوپاس مالتان ئاوهدان بى، بەخوا پيم ناكري، هەر كاتي مەجالم هەبوو خۆم ئاگادارت ئەكەمەوه، باشە

خوشكەكەم؟ دلكران مەبە

- والله ناتوانم بيم، زۆر سوپاست دەكەم، بۆ جاريكي تر إن شاء الله

- كاتم نيه بۆ رۆژيكي ترخۆم ئاگادارت دەكەمەوه، زۆر سوپاس دوستەكانت خوش بيت

- كاتم كەمە ئەگينا پيم خوش بوو بەهاتمايه بۆ دەعوەتەكە چونكە دەعوەت سوننەتە

- والله مەجالم نيه، مەمنوون مالت ئاوا بيت، عەزيت مەكيشە بۆ جاريكي تر

Situation 12: Samples of Female's Responses

- كاكە زۆر سوپاست ئەكەم

- داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم، وەعد بيت سەردانت كەم

- بەخوا داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم، پيويست بەو عەزيتە ناكات لەبەر كەمى كات

- بەخوا ناتوانم چونكە ميوانم ديت

- مەمنوون، دەستت خوش بيت پيم ناكري دەوامم هەيه

- ئيشم هەيه بۆيه نايەم، بۆ جارى تر إن شاء الله

- مەجالم نيه داواي ليپوردن ئەكەم

- بېووره بهرېز ناتوانم ناماده بېم چونکه کاتم زور که مه، سهرفالی نیش وکارم، بهلام بو کاتيگی تر ديم وسهردانی مالهوتان نه که م، تهنه نان خواردن شهرت نيه

- داوای ليبوردن نه که م به خوا ناتوانم

- عه فومکه، مه جالم نيه بئين، ته نجیلی که بو نيواره يه تر

- پيم خوشه بهلام ناتوانم له بهر منال

- مه جالم نيه وناتوانم بيم

- نه توانی له ميړده که م پرسی بزانه نه چی نه لیت -

- بومان ناکری بئين، نيشمان هه يه

- خوميش ميوانم دی، بو جاريگی تر

- به دهس پياوه که مه، پرسی پياوه که م بکه نينجا دین -

Appendix 14 – Selected samples from interviewees' responses

Appendix 14 – A: Interviewees' opinions about apology

- Interview 12: من ههست ته كه م ئيعتزار فهچيله ته، گهوره بيه . ته گه ره يه كي حالي نه بي ئيعتزاري بي قورسه، خالي
نه بي له هه جي ته و ئيشه ي كه كر دوويه تي كه پئويستي به لئبورده، هه ر چه ند تي بگا له تاوانه كه ي ئيتر ته گه ر
به رانه ره كه ي گه و ره بيت يان بچووك ئوا لاي ئيمه ئاساييه لئبورده
- Interview 1: داواي لئبورده به ره وشي ئينساني ته زانم نهك ته نازول.
- Interview 8: داواي لئبورده به شي باش ته زانم به قابليه تي ئينسانه كه ته گوري. من خو م به شتيكي ئينساني وريك
ويك ته ببينم
- Interview: ته و اچه، هيج له شه خصيه تي كه م نابته وه داواي لئبورده بكات له ئينساني مسته حق بي.
- Interview 24: جوانترين صفاته له مروفا -
- Interview 23: كه وت داواي لئبورده ته كه م ئيتر يه عني ته بي هه موو شي كو تاي بي بيت. به راستي داواي
لئبورده شي زور موهممه، نازانم هه ندي هه يه به ته نازولي دانه ني.
- Interview 14: به شي باشي ته زانم
- Interview 20: داواي لئبورده چشتي باشه، غه لت ته كه يت وراستي ته كه يته وه

Appendix 14-B: When is apology made?

- Interview 1: كاتي من مقه صرم
- Interview 8: كاتي شي روو ته دا
- Interview 18: ته گه ر عاجزي بيت
- Interview 24: ته گه ر خه تاي من بي
- Interview 14: كاتي عاجز بووني هه بي له به يمانا
- Interview 20: كاتي غه له تم كر دي به رامبه ر يه كي

Appendix 14 – C: The purpose of apologising

- Interview 12: مەبەسەم ئەۋەپە كەسى بەراتبەر دلى پاك بېتەۋە لە ئاستى من، ئەگەر گومانى شىتەك يان ساردىيەك بىكۆيتە : Interview 12: ئەۋەپە ئەۋەپە، يان ئەۋەپە رەقارەى من ئەگەر بېتە مايمى ئەۋەپە لەيەكمان دابرى، بۇيە داۋاي لىبوردن ئەكەم بۇ ئەۋەپە بۇيە بىسەلىنم كەمن نيازىكى خراپم نەبۋە، وبراپە ئىكەمانەر بىتتى
- Interview 1: لەبەر خاترى خۋاي گورە، ولەبەر ئەۋەپە ئەۋەكەسەش دلى لىم نەشكى و عاجز نەبى. بۇيە ن داۋاي لىبوردن : Interview 1: ئەكەم بۇ ئەۋەپە لىم خۆش بېت، يەئنى لىبوردن بۇ لىخوشبۋونە
- Interview 8: ئەگەر شىتەك كىرەبى و خەتاي من بى، ئەۋە داۋاي لىبوردن لى ئەكەم بۇ ئەۋەپە هېچ شى نەمىنى لەسەرم : Interview 8:
- Interview 18: ئىنسان نەفسىيەن ئىسراحت ئەكات، لەبەر خاتر خوا ولەبەر خاتر ئەۋەپەش : Interview 18:
- Interview 24: بۇ مانەۋە ئەۋە دۇستايەتەي كە لەئىۋانا هەپە، چ خزم بېت، چ مألەۋە بېت، چ برادەر بېت : Interview 24:
- Interview 14: بۇ ئەۋەپە لىم عاجز نەۋى : Interview 14:
- Interview 20: بۇ ئەۋەپە غەلەتەكەي خۆم راست كەمەۋە : Interview 20:

Appendix 14 – D: The significance of a third party in apologising

Interview 6: ئەۋەپە زۆر باۋە لە كۆمەلگەي خۇمانا دەۋرى باشى ھەپە بۇ ئاشتبۋونەۋە، بۇ ئۈۋنە دوو كەس لەيەك عاجز بونە، : Interview 6: يەككىيان كەھەست ئەكات خۇي موقەصصرە، ئەگەر بەتەنھا بىرات بۇ داۋاي لىبوردن بەرانبەرەكەي لىي وەرئەگرى يان دلىيا نەبى لىي، بۇيە كۆمەلەك ئەبات لەگەل خۇي بۇ ئەۋەپە لىي وەرئەگرى داۋاي لىبوردنەكەي، فە كەسى سىيەم زۆر دەۋرى ھەپە، كەسى سىيەم وەك

Translation: 'This case (To be accompanied by others) is very common in our society and it has a good role for reconciliation . For instance, persons are no longer in good terms. When the offender feels that his apology might not be accepted by the offended person. Therefore, he takes a group of people with him in order to make his apology accepted. For that reason, third party is has an important role to accompany .

- Interview 6: ھەلە ھەپە گورەپە، فە بەپى ئەۋە ھەلەپەي كىرۋوپەتە داۋاي لىبوردن بىكات، نەۋەك ھەر بەسەر بېيەۋە بىكات. : Interview 6: بابلىن ھەلەكەت بۆتە ئەۋەپە سوممەتە ئەۋە كەسەي بەرامبەر بىشكى، چۆن ھەر ئەۋەپە لىي خۆش ئەبىت، فەتەبى بەرامبەر خەلك داۋاي لىبوردن بىكات.

عاده‌تەن لای خۆمان صۆلجی هەیه پیتی ئەلین صۆلجی عەشائەر، خەلک کۆ ئەبێتەوه عاده‌تەن، لە شوێنێکی فراوانا دانەنیشن لای خۆمان زۆر جار لە مزگەوت خزمی هەردوولا کۆ ئەبێتەوه جگە لەوهی خزمی هەردوولا. ئەو خەلکە ئەکەونە بەینیانەوه ئەبنا ما یەمی ئاشتبونەوهی ئەو دوو کەسە، و هەردووکیان هەل ئەسن بە دەس لەمل یە کۆر و ماچ کردنی یە کۆر. مەسەلەن کابرایە بە سەیارە ئەدا لە یەکی بە قەزا و قەدەر هەر پینویست ئەکات بە صۆلج، و عاده‌تەن وەساتە هەیه بۆ هەردوولا، یەعنی تەرەفی سێیم، و بەی ئەو شەکە ناگاتە ئەنجام، زۆر جار صۆلج بە پارە ئەکری ئەگەر کوشاری تیا بێت.

- Interview 12: . وەللا ئەگەر هەست بکەم شەخسە کە داوای ئیعتزازه کە لێ قبوڵ بکات، من حەز ئەکەم هەر دوو بە دوو: Interview 12: . پین خەلک لە زۆریەکی کۆمەلگای خۆمانا پیتی خۆشە تەرەفی سێچیم هەبێ، چونکە بۆ نمونە دوو برا هەبۆه قەسەیان نەبوووه بە یە کەوه، حەزی کردووه تەرەفی سێیم هەبێ لەبەینا بۆ ئەوهی ئاشتیان کەنەوه
- Interview 2: من پیم خۆشە بەتەنها نەپۆم بۆ داوای لێبوردن، پیم خۆشە لەگەڵ کۆمەلایک بپۆم، و ئەکید ئەو کەسانە ی ئەبیم: Interview 2: دەوری ئاشتی خوازیا نەبێت.
- Interview 3: وەللا ئەوهل جار حەز ئەکەم بەتەنایی بپۆم، بەلام ئەگەر زانیم هەر بێ ئاقەتە ئەوه برادەریک لەگەڵ خۆما ئەبیم. تەبەعن باشە خەلک لەگەڵ خەلکا تەروات بۆ داوای لێبوردن بۆ شتی گەوره، بۆ قەسەکردن باشە لەبەین دوو کەسە کە مەسەلەن هەلە یەکی گەورەت بێت، ئەو کەسانە ی ئەبیم دەوری ئیصلاحیان نەبێت.
- Interview 8: والله خۆم پیم خۆشە هەر بەتەنها بپۆم لەبەر ئەوهی ئەویش شەرم نەکات بەرامبەرم و دلی هیچ نەکات: Interview 8: وەرچی هەبێ پیم بلی. هەر خۆمان پین باشترە دوو بە دوو
- Interview 18: وەللا فرە جار حەز ئەکەم بەتەنها داوای لێبوردن بکەم: Interview 18:
- Interview 24: تاخر پووداوا تا پووداوا هەیه، مەسەلەن ئەگەر من لەگەڵ مامۆستا (س) عاجزیمان بێت ئیعتیادیه هەر خۆم: Interview 24: یان مودیریش دابنیشی داوای لێبوردن بکەم. بەلام ئەگەر بەسە یارە لە یەکی بدم نابێ بەتەنها بپۆم بپۆم داوای لێبوردن بکەم لەو ماله. هەر لێ ئیمە لە موحەممەد دائیمەن عانیله کۆ ئەبێتەوه و پیکهوه نەپۆن بۆ داوای لێبوردن
- Interview 14: حەز ئەکەم یەکی بپۆم وەللا بۆ ئەوهی عاجز نەوی لیم، یەکی ئەوهم پینا سی: Interview 14:
- Interview 20: بەتەنیا خۆشە هەرچی غەلەتت کردووه خۆت دەریکە ی: Interview 20:

Appendix 14 – E: Examples on using pre-apologies such as Quranic verses, proverbs, traditional expressions

- Interview 6: خۇي ئەمۇ خالئەي كەتوشۇم ئەبى ئەمۇە حوكم ئەكات، بەلام خەلك بەعام ئايەت ئەھيئەتموۋە وەك پېشەكى بۇ. داواي لېبوردنەكەي، يان فەرموودەكانى پېنغەمبەر (د.خ) يان پەندى پېشينايمان ھەيە، بۇ ئەمۇە رېخۇشكەرەيك بېت بۇ لېبوردنەكە و كوتايى بېت
- Interview 12: بەلى ھەندى جار كەپتويست بكات مەدەمات ئەھيئەتموۋە بۇ ئەمۇە ھەردوولا دل خۇش ئەكات، تەشويقەيكە بۇ ئەمۇە ئەم زۇر تامادەبى وئەويش قېوولى بكات
- Interview 1: تەبەن خۇي بە مەوزووع كەوتوۋە، خالەت ھەيە پېتويست ئەكات بەلام خالەت ھەيە پېتويست ناكات
- Interview 2: لەكۆمەلگاي خۇمان زياتر قورتانى بۇ ئەلەين (وەك اءفوا واصفحوا) بۇ ئەمۇە دلى نەرم بېت وېزانى قورتان وھەدىسى لەسەرە. ھەر بۇ دلتايى بەرامبەر ھەر پېشەكى بۇ ئەھيئەتموۋە، مەسەلەن نوكەيەك، يان لە رووە دېنېكەمۇە ولەرپووي كۆمەلەيەتېكەمۇە رووداويك يان چېرۇكىك دەلېم.
- Interview 3: خۇي ھەدىس بەكار ئەھيئەتم، خەلك بەعام قورتان وھەدىس ياس ئەكەن بۇ ئەمۇە زەلامە بۇ ئەمۇە دلى نەرم بېت وئېتەزەرەكە قېوول بكات.
- Interview 8: بەكورتى ھەل بېت ئېشەكەم ئەمۇە باشترە. بەپېي تېنگەيشتى كەسى بەرانبەر. جار ھەيە درېژ ئەمخايەنى. ئەگەر ئەمۇە كەسە ھېچ لېت تېنەگا ئەمۇە وا باشە ھەدىس و چېرۇكى بۇ بووتېت تاوەكو ئەگەتە قەتاعەت
- Interview 18: وەللا ئەگەر چىشتى گەورە بوو، ئەمۇە يەژم چى پېنم ئەكەي، ئېمە خوشك وېراين، يان ئېمە خوشكېن، ئەمۇە وئەمۇە، ئېنجا داواي لېبوردنەكەم، يەعنى تەفصېلى ئەدەمى. ئەمۇە ئايەتە كەخوای گەورە ئەلېت: " إِنْ اللَّهُ عَفُوٌ يُحِبُّ الْعَفْوَ عَفُوعْنَا". ئا ئايەت قورتانى بۇي تېنى مەسەلەن، پېي خۇشترە، دەورى ھەيە بۇ عافەكەي
- Interview 24: وەللا ئەمۇە لەناو قسە دەور ئەبېنېت، لەناو قسە بەكارى دېنم
- Interview 14: بەكورتى، ھەر يەژم: "گەردنم نازا كە وەعاجز مەمۇە لېم
- Interview 20: نا نا، ھەر بەكورتى بېرپەتەمۇە وئەمۇە. ئەمۇە ناخۇش ئەمۇەتە.

Appendix 14 – F: Samples showing the occurrence of insincere apologies expressed by the interviewees

- Interview 5: به تەقائعی دەموو چاویەووە دیارە، وێنە بەرات دەنگی ئەزانی (داوای لیبوردنەکی راستە یان نا): Interview 5
- Interview 12: ئەو بە شەخسە کە کوو توو، هەدی جار هەر بۆ بەری کردنە، بەلام هەموو جاری وانیە، چونکە کەسی وا Interview 12: هەیه صادق نیه چونکە ئەیهوی هەر کەسە کە بەری بکات یان مەرامینکی هەیه داوای لیبوردن ئەکا، بۆ ئەوێ ئەگەر ئیشی بێ هەبێ ئیشی تری پێبکات، هەست ئەکەم هەموو کەس راستگۆ نیه لە داوای لیبوردن
- هەندی کەس هەیه ئەگەر ترس نەبێت داوای لیبوردن ناکات، کەسی واش هەیه ترسێش نەبێت نامادەیه داوای لیبوردن بکات و ئەگەر حەقی کەسینکی لایبێت حەقە کەشی ئەگەر پێنێتووە و هەر بە خەجەلەتیووە یان شەرمەزاریووە داوای لیبوردن ئەکات.
- Interview 1: بەلێ بۆ نمونە یی راستی، یەکی خۆی بە یەکیکا ئەکیکا ئەکوێت خەریکە بەری ئەداتووە و ملی ئەشکینێ، Interview 1: زوو راتەکات دەست ئەکاتە ملی و داوای لیبوردنی لێ ئەکات، تەبەن ئەو کەسە لێی ئەبووری .
- بۆ نمونە یی ناراستی: هەیه دلی یەکیک ئەشکینێ یان مەصرە بەرانبەری، بەلالووتیکووە داوای لیبوردنی لێ ئەکات (مەبەستم ئەهەمیەت نادات بە داوای لیبوردن، یەعنی بە راستی نیه). بۆیه بەرانبەرەکی هەست ئەکات کە رووداوێک بە عەمدی بوو، بە قسەکانیووە دیارە بە عەمدی بوو.
- Interview 2: ئەگەر کەسی بە راستی داوای لیبوردن ئەکات ئەوا داوای ماوێک بۆت دەر ئەکوێت کابرا با یەمی چەنە (داها توو Interview 2: کە راست ئەکات یان نا. دەری ئەخات).
- Interview 8: بۆ نمونە یی ناراستی: هەیه دلی یەکیک ئەشکینێ یان مەصرە بەرانبەری، بەلالووتیکووە داوای لیبوردنی لێ Interview 8: ئەکات (مەبەستم ئەهەمیەت نادات بە داوای لیبوردن، یەعنی بە راستی نیه). بۆیه بەرانبەرەکی هەست ئەکات کە رووداوێک بە عەمدی بوو، بە قسەکانیووە دیارە بە عەمدی بوو.
- Interview 18: هەیه هەستی بێ ئەکەم، من خۆم زۆر حەساسم. هەیه غەلەتیش ئەکات بەرانبەرم و بقیەسد دی داوای Interview 18: لیبوردن ئەکات، یەعنی شێوی داوای لیبوردنە کە هیچ نیه
- Interview 23: - بەلێ خۆی زۆریش هەیه، هەر بە قسەکانیووە دیارە و بەتەعیری دەموو چاویەووە دیارە. Interview 23:
- Interview 24: هەیه داوای لیبوردن ئەکات و لەپشتەووە هەمان کردووە دووبارە ئەکاتووە. ئەو داوای لیبوردنە راستە قینە Interview 24: - نیه. کردار شەرته، ئەوێ بە راستی بێت دووبارە ناکاتووە و تەیه کەمان هەیه ئەلێت: "خۆشەویستی بەوشە و زمان مە کە بەلکوو بە کردووە و بە راستی بیکە لەگەڵ بەرامبەرە کە تا
- Interview 14: انا هەیه Interview 14:
- Interview 19: تا هەیه هەر وەدەمە، وەدێ نیه Interview 19:
- Interview 20: ا هەیه بەس بە دەم داوای لیبوردن ئەکات لە دڵووە نیه Interview 20:

Appendix 14 – G: Samples of the best ways of apologising expressed by the interviewees:

- Interview 12: له گڼل، ټولو كېسه ټولو بېكېت وېلئې كاكه داوای لېږدون ته كم وگرددنم تازا كه . . . په عني باشتړين داوای لېږدون بوتوقه كړدنه، هندی جار باوهشی پیا ته كې و ټولولای ماچ ته كې. هندی جار ته گڼر پښوېست بکات كېسه كه به ټممن تر بېت دهسی ماچ ته كم. هندی جار ته گڼر كېسی نزيك بېت ولك دايك، يان هندی كېس هېووه پېلاماری قوندېره كې باوكې داوه و ماچې كړدوه، بې ټووهی دهري پرېم كېمن ټيغزاره كم زور جديبه، ومن زور خهجاله تم وزور قهرزاري ټوم بېه ټووهها به شېوهبه داوای لېږدون ته كم
- Interview 4: - په پای خوم قول بېت باشته' په عني مهسلن من كوتم بهسهر په كېنكا ټوويش كوت وقاچې شكا ټممن - ټووه زور قول داوای لېږدون ته كم وټوليم: نهمزانی بېوره داوای لېږدون ته كم. ټممه پرويدا له ژير دهسلاتي من نه بوو. (ته گڼر بوم كرا ماچيشي ته كم
- Interview 1): - باشتړين شېوازی داوای لېږدون ټووهيه، ته گڼر پياو بېت ټوليم: برا شيرينه كم و ته گڼر ټافره ت بېت ټوليم خوشكه كم ټم شته وها رېنككوت وېدهس خوم نه بوو، ټمې عفووم بکېت، داوای لېږدون ته كم.
- Interview 8: كاكه گيان ليم بېوره جارېكي تر دوو باروی ناكېممهوه . ته گڼر شته كه گوره تر بېت دهست كېته ملي وداوای گڼر دن تازای لېي بکې. كېسېك ته گڼر ټو بهرو پېری پرې ټووه ټوويش ډلي نهرم ټمبېت ولنت خوش ټمبېت.
- Interview 18: - داوای لېږدون ته كم، عفوومكه ته گڼر من غلتم. ته گڼر پياو بوو له خوم بچووكتر ټوليم وېكز كورمې، ته گڼر له ټممن خوم بېت يه ژم برامې.
- Interview 24: - به يه كه وشه ته گڼر ټووهي داوای لېږدون بکړيت، بلام ته گڼر حېجې هله كه گوره بوو، ټووه چون ټووه قهناعت ټكات من مه بېستم ټووه نه بووه ټووهها داوای لېږدون لې ته كم، په عني ته گڼر به خوم بېت، به عانيله بېت، به ماددي بېت يان بههر شې بېت، موهيم ټووهيه ډلي به رامېره كه بېتهوه شوين خوي.
- Interview 14: تخوا عاجز مهوه ليم، ليم بېوره، گرددنم تازا كه
- Interview 20: داوای لېږدون ته كم هله بوومه خه تاي من بوو

Appendix 14 – H: Samples showing the role of hearer's gender in apologising

- Interview 6: باشتين داواي لييبوردن لهگهله شينوازي ههله نهگورپيت، فەرقيشي ههيه لهبهين ئافرهت و پياو. ئەوهش .
ئەگەر پێتەوه بۆ باری کۆمەڵایەتی خۆمان. هەر لەکۆنەوه جیاوازی ههيه لهبهين پياو و ئافرهت. لەپرووی شەری ئیسلامی خۆمانەوه ئەبێ
هەر حاجز هەبێ لەبهين ئافرهت و پياو.
- Interview 10: وەللا (بۆ ئافرهت) ئەبیت زیاتر ئەوا زە بنوینم و خۆم بچووک بکەمەوه بۆ ئەهێ بزانی مەبەستم .
نەبووه.
- Interview 12: ههست ئەکەم لهگهله ئافرهتا گهرم وگورتر پیت بۆ داواوی لیپوردن لەبەر ئەوهی ئافرهت لایەنی عاطفی زیاترە .
لە پیاو نا عەقڵی... لەگهله پیاوا ئەتوانم ئەوقە بکەم بەلام ئافرهت ئەتوانم ئەعوین بکەمەوه بەزمان و هەندێ شتی ماددی
- Interview 1: ئەگەر ئافرهت بوو ئەوا زیاتر داواي لیپوردنی لێ ئەکەم
- Interview 8: بۆ ئافرهت زۆر بەگهرم وگورتر داواي لیپوردن ئەکەم
- Interview 18: ئافرهت فەرق ئەکات، ژن جیا یه، ئەگەر ژن بێت باوش ئەکەم پیاو و دوو قەسە خۆشی بۆ ئەکەم، بەلام
پیاوکه هەر داواي لیپوردنی لێ ئەکەم، و ئەلێم تۆ بۆ گهرمی، و ئەگەر غەلەتم کردووه داواي لیپوردن ئەکەم لیت... یان بۆ ژن ئەوقە
ئەگەر پیاو بێت هەم داواي لیپوردنی لێ ئەکەم بەلام بێ ئەوقە.
- Interview: ئەو فەرقە ههیه لهگهله پياو که ئافرهت باوشی پیاوکهی و ئەقەمی لهگهله ئەکەمی بەلام پياو نا .
- Interview 14: ژنەکه زیاتر، پياو کەمتر
- Interview 20: (بۆ پياو) ههچ نایهژم و نهچم

Appendix 14 – I: Samples showing the role of hearer's age in apologising

- Interview 12: ئەگەر کەسهکه بەتەمەن بێت ئەوه جیاوازه لەوهی منال تر بێت، هەردووکیان پێویستیان بە داواي لیپوردنە،
بەلام بەتەمەنەکه زیاترە.
- Interview 1: ئەگەر گهرتر بوو، ئەلێم تۆ براگهرمی، داواي لیپوردن ئەکەم لێم خۆش بە. ئەگەر بچووک تر
بوو، ئەلێم تۆ برا بچووکمی، داواي لیپوردن ئەکەم
- Interview 8: پياوی گهره ئەبێ زیاتر رێزی لێ بگری لەبەر ئەمەنی
- Interview 17: منال ئەونه داواي لیپوردن لێ ناکەمی، هەر ماچی ئەکەمیت و ئاشتی ئەکەیتەوه.

- Interview 18: گەورە جىيايە تەبەن داواي لىبوردنى زياترى لى ئەكەم، بەلام بچووكتر (مەسەلەن تەلەبە) زۇر جار توپره .
ئەبم بەلام داواي ئەوە دلى ئەدەمەوە بەنەوعى يەرم بچو تەباشير بىنە . (واتە) گەورە زياتر، منال بەشىئوازي جىياوازتر داواي لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم.
- Interview 24: = ومۇللا ھەر مىللەتى عاتىقن پىرەكەمان بەلاوہ موھىمە بۇ داواي لىبوردن، گەنجەكەش ھەمان شت
ئەوانەي تەمەنيان ھەيە زۇر دليان ناسكە . ئەو خۇي ھەست بەھىنى خۇي ئەكات توش دلي عاجز بەكەيت؟! ئەبى بەقسە بىت يان بەدەم وچاو ئەبىت زۇر دلي رابگى، وەك ئەوە نىە لەگەل گەنجىكا كەزياتر لىت تى ئەكات .
- Interview 14: لە خۇم گەورەتر زياتر داواي لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم
- Interview 20: چوويئە ناوسالەوہ گەرم وگوز تر ئەبم لەگەليا . منال ترىش ئەوە ھىچ، ئەوە داواي لىبوردنەكە سارد وىسرتە، بەس بە قسە خۇش ئەتوانى ھىنى بەكى .

Appendix 14 – J: samples showing the role of hearer's social relationship (i.e. social distance) to the apologist:

- Interview 2: تەبەن لە بىگانە زياتر داواي لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم تاخزم چونكە خزم تاشنابون لە گەليا زياترە .
- Interview 10: - ومۇللا ئەبىت زياتر تەوازى بنوئىم وخۇم بچووك بەكەمەوہ بۇ ئەبى بزانى مەبەستەم نەبووہ .
- Interview 12 : ئىنسان ھەر شتى بەكات بەرانبەر كەسى تىتەز خزم بىت يان بىگانە بىت پىئوست ئەكات داواي لىبوردن بەكات - بەپىي تاوانەكەي يان ھەلەكەي .
- Interview 1: پىئوست ئەكات لەگەل دوور يان لەگەل بىگانە زياتر داواي لىبوردن بەكى لەبەر ئەوہى خزمەكە باشترە وئەتناسى
- Interview 2: كەسى دوورتر زياتر داواي لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم تاوہكو نرىك .
- Interview 8: واللە خۇي خزم بىت داواي لىبوردن كەمتر ئەكەم لەبەر ئەوہى وەك بىئىن خزمە داواي لىبەكەم . بەلام ئىنسانى بىگانە ناتناسى يەئنى تەبەعتت شارەزا نىە . تو واتەكەي دۇستايەتى بەكوئە بەبىتان . لەوہىە سەفەرى بەكوئە رىتان بۇ ئەوہى مەرحەباي گەمرت بەكات .
- Interview 18: علاقەي ئىجتىماعى ھەيە، ئەگەر خزم بىت قەناعەتى پى ئەكەم وچشى بۇ ئەسنىم . ئەگەر بىگانە بوو ھەر داواي لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم .

- Interview 24: بۆ عاجزبوون و قۇللۇق بېگانە من ئەمۇ حيوارە نىە لەبەينمانا ھەتا زۆر داواى لىبوردنى لى بکەم . . . لەگەن نزيك تر زياتر داواى لىبوردن ئەکەم.
- Interview 14: بۆ خزمى نزيك تر زياتر
- Interview 20: ئەگەر خزم بىت داواى لىبوردنى لى ئەکەم و ئەمۇ سەم، بەس بۆ بېگانە داواى لىبوردنى لى ئەکەم و ئەمۇ سەم.

Appendix 14 – K: Samples showing the role of hearer’s social status in apologising

- Interview 12: تەبەن كەسى چەن ناو كۆمەلگە ديار بىت ئەبى بەم شىۋە داواى لىبوردنى لى بکەيت چونكە بىي خۇشە، چونكە چەن مەبەستى ئەمۇ بى ئىعتزازی خۆم بىت ئەبى ئەمۇنەش مەبەستى ئەمۇ ھەبى ئەمۇ قەبوولى بکات.
- Interview 1: ئەلیم بېورە وگەردنم تازاکە، ئەگەر مەلا بو ئەلیم بېورە مامە شىخ، ئەگەر ھەرچى بو ئەلیم قەزا وقەدەر بو داواى لىبوردنم ھەبە، يان ئەگەر مامۇستا بىت ئەلیم مامۇستا كەردنم تازاکە
- Interview 8: مامۇستايەكى زانا بىت، ئەلیم: "مامۇستا داواى لىبوردن ئەكەم كەردنم تازاکە، ھەستى ئەمۇ دەرتەبىم كەبزانى" من رېزى لى ئەگرم. بۆ نمۇنە تەبەن مامۇستايەكى ئاينى ئايەتى قورتانى خوندو و قورتان خۇنە، من ئەلیم "مامۇستا گيان كەردنم تازاکە" حورمەتى زياترى ھەبە لە كەسىكى عادى. پياوى بە تەمىنىش لەبەر ئەمۇ سەرى سەبى بووە خواى گەورە شەرمى لى ئەكەت، و ئافرەتى بە تەمىنىش ئەلیم داىە گيان كەردنم تازاکە.
- Interview 18: واجىھەى ئىجتىماعى جىايە، بەگەرمى ئەچى بۆ مالىيان، ئەلیمى تو براگەورەمانى، داواى لىبوردن ئەكەم. بۆ مەلايەك: نەمزانى غەلەتم كەردووە داواى لىبوردن ئەكەم.
- Interview 13: لەوانەبە ئىلوو بو كەت بگورى، يەئنى شىۋە قسە كەردنەكەت، ھەر داواى لىبوردن ئەكەيت.
- Interview 14: داواى لىبوردنى لى ئەكەم وە ئىجتىراممۇ.
- Interview 20: يەئم كەردنم تازاکە، ئەمۇ لە ھەمۇبى بەقووەت ترە

Appendix 14 – L: Samples showing no-apology of the university lecturers and High school teachers to their students (High social status/power vs. Low social status/power)

- Interview 3: ئەوامم نەكەردووە لەبەر ئەمۇ سەرى كات ئەمۇ نىە، كاتمان ھەبە پەلەتان ئەبى
- Interview 6: ئەوامم نەكەردووە، نەخىر
- Interview 11: ئەوامم نەكەردووە، مەشغول بووم بۆيە

- Interview 18: به یانی یان دوو به یانی بۆتان دینمهوه ان شاء الله.
- Interview 16: تهمشهو میوانم هه بوو، به خوا کورم مه جام نه بووه
- Interview 22: مه شغوولم خه ریک ئه و مادهی ترم ته صحیح نه کم
- Interview 24: هه رکتی صحم دا، بۆتان نه ههینمهوه

Appendix 14 – M: Samples showing the difference between the formal IFID and the religious (Socio-religious) IFID and the switching from one to another.

- Interview 4: زیاتر لهجه ژندا گهردم تازاکه به کار دیت
- Interview 10: ئه وه بۆ ئه وه تانی که تاوانیکی به رانه بهر یه کیک کردبی له پر دوودا، زانیبیتی ونه زانیبی داوای گهردن تازایی نه کات، وه شتیکی کومه ئایه تیه خه لک زیاتر (له مونسه بات وجه ژانه) ئه وه به کار نه هیتی.
- Interview 3: باشترین شیوازی لیبوردن لای من گهردم تازاکه یه چونکه ئه م دونیا یه هه چه ونامینی
- Interview 8: والله ههردووکیان به کار دئ، به نام من داوای لیبوردن زۆر به کار نه هینم . . . له جهه ژانا: Interview 8: بۆچی داوای لیبوردن نامینی بهس کهردن تازایی ئهوتری؟
- Interview 17: ئه ویش حاله تیکی جهه ژانه یه، تیر خوی گهوره وای داناوه. چه نه ها حاله ت هه یه، له ویه یه کیک له خویا بلی با داوای گهردن تازایی بکم له بهر ئه وه ی له ویه غه یبه ت ئه و که سه ی کردبی یان ناوی هینابی، ئه نسان به فرصه تی ته زانی که داوای گهردن تازایی لی بکات. تیر بنی ئاده م له جه ژن روژ قیامت نه که ویته پیری، گهردم تازاکه بۆ ئه و دونیا یه، عه فوو مکه وداوای لیبوردن نه کم Interview 17: ئه وه وه قیه، به نام گهردم تازاکه بۆ قیامت ته بۆ ئه وه ی ئه و که سه موحاسه به م نه کات ویه قه م نه گری. خۆتیش ته زانی جه ژن مونسه به ی ئاییه، خه لک گشتی نه که ویته پیری وئو دنیای دیته پیر، بۆیه یه ژی گهردم تازاکه.
- Interview 18: له جه ژن هه ر ئه لیم کهردم تازاکه، له مونسه بات دینی گهردم تازاکه Interview 18:
- Interview 24: چونکه خۆمان به مجتهد مع موسلمانین گهردم تازاکه زۆر تره. Interview 24:
- Interview 13: گهردم تازاکه باشتره بۆ ئه وه ی گونا هه م نه یه ته سه ر له قیامت، خۆ بۆ ئه م دونیا یه نیه Interview 13:

گەردنم ئازاگە (زیاتر بەکار ئەهینم) چونکە باشتریکە . . . خەلک لە جەژنا گەردن ئازایی بەکار ئەهینن لەبەر ئەوەی Interview 20: -
نیەت پاکى خۆیان دەر ئەکەن.

Appendix 14-N: samples of what Kurds say while sneezing:

- Interview 4: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 5: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 10: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه رەبیلعالمین
- Interview 11: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 1: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 2: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 3: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه ، چونکە لەکاتی پزۆمبێن ئینسان دلی ئەوەستى
- Interview 7: دەست ئەکەمە سەر دەمم وتەلیم ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 8: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 9: ئەوە حەدیسی لەسەرە، دەست ئەگرمە سەر دەمما وتەلیم ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه بۆ ئەوەی پزۆمبێن ئەکا
- Interview 17: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 22: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 24: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه
- Interview 13: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه وشوکر
- Interview 14: ئەلمەمدوو وشوکر
- Interview 15: ئەلمەمدوو وشوکر
- Interview 20: ئەلمەمدوو لیللاه

Appendix 14 – O: Samples of the expressions used while yawning:

- Interview 1: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 2: ئەدەبەن بۆ بەراھمبەرەكەم دەس ئەكەمە بان دەم
- Interview 3: دەس لەبان دەم دائەنیم
- Interview 4: دەست ئەخەمە سەر دەم وتەلیم أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 5: دەست لەسەر دەم دائەنیم
- Interview 7: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم، ودەست ئەكەمە سەر دەم
- Interview 8: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 9: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 12: دەم ئەگرم بە دەستم بۆ ئەوێ كەس نەمبێنێ، وتەلیم: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 13: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 14: دەس ئەنەمە بان دەم، بۆ ئەوێ شەیتان پێم نەخەنێ
- Interview 15: دەس ئەنەمە سەر دەم
- Interview 18: دەست ئەخەمە بان دەم
- Interview 19: دەست ئەنیمە بان دەم وتەلیم: أعوز بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
- Interview 20: دەس ئەخەمە بان دەم
- Interview 21: هیچ نایەژم
- Interview 24: دەست ئەكەمە بان دەم

Appendix 14 – P: Samples from apologies used for conversation interruption

- Interview 4: مامۆستا به یارمه تیت، ئەم قسه یه وا نیه ئەوهایه، وله وانیه تو غەلمت حالی بوویت
- Interview 5: قسه کت ئەواو بکه ئیزافه یه کم هیه
- Interview 6: عه فەون شەکه ئەوهایه، بو زانین
- Interview 10: ئیجاز مەم بده بو ئەوهی پروونی بکه مەوه بۆت
- Interview 11: داوی لیبوردن ئەکم، هەرچەندە موقائتە عەت ئەکم
- Interview 12: بەئیزی جنابت، منیش موداخەلە یه کم هیه
- Interview 1: قسه کەتم بێ بری، داوای لیبوردن ئەکم قسه کەتم بێ بری
- Interview 2: به یارمه تیت
- Interview 3: داوای لیبوردن لی ئەکم، ئەو قسه یه وایه، ئەک ئەوها
- Interview 7: داوای لیبوردن ئەکم ئەو شە ئەوها نیه، یەلکو ئەوها یه
- Interview 8: داوای لیبوردن ئەکم، ئەو قسه ت کرد هەلە یه، حەز ئەکم باسی بکم، قسه کەمی من راسته، وحەز ئەکم من پروونی
که مەوه
- Interview 9: سەبرکه جنابت، سەبرکه، قسه حەقیه یه که لای من، چاوه روانکه تا من راستیه که بجمه پیش چاوت
- Interview 18: به یارمه تی خۆت ئەگر مەجام بێ ئەدهی، قسه که وانیه، وایه
- Interview 17: به یارمه تیت، یەک دەققه تا بۆت پروون که مەوه وایه وئاوا نیه، هیه ئەلی شەکر له دەمتا، زۆری ئەم وشه یه نافرهت:
به کاری دینی ئەک پیاو
- Interview 16: عه فوو یەک دەقه بامنیش قسه ی خۆم کم
- Interview 22: قسه کت بەخیتر ئەبم
- Interview 23: عه فوو مامۆستا مولا حەزه یه
- Interview 24: ئەوه ستم تا قسه کەمی ئەواو ئەکات

- Interview 13: قسه کت لی به شه کر بیت، قسه کت تم بری
- Interview 14: شه کره کت گیرده، یان کلام بر نهوی
- Interview 15: جاری عه فومکه، شه کر ها له ده متا
- Interview 20: عه فوو، قسه کتیش پی نه برم، کورد خومان یه ژئی قسه کت و شه کره روی له ده متا، یان قسه کت له پیر نه چی
- Interview 19: کلام بر تم کرد، هه یه یه ژئی شه کره کم له ده مت بری
- Interview 21: به یارمه تیت

Appendix 14 – Q: Recent real events on apologies narrated by the interviewees

Event 1: بۆ نمونه: من له عومره بووم، یه کیک له سه یاره کمی دا. دوا ی نهوی هاتمه وه هاتمه وه له حج هات بۆ مالمان نهو پیاوه، وتی کاکه: من زور خه جالمه تم ده می سه یاره کت کردوه، گره کت ناو سه یاره که هاته ده ره وه یه ک قسه یه کی پیم نه کرد (مع العلم) خه تای منیش بو. من زور سو پاست نه کم بۆ نهو ته ریه ته جوانه و نهو نه خلاقه که کوره کت هه یه تی. کوره کت بهس وتی پیم: "من هیچ نالیم له گه لئا تا کو باوکم له حج دیتمه". "خۆ من لایه کی سه یاره کتشم هینا بووه خواره وه. کاکه گه ردتم تا زا که من زور خه جالمه خه تای من بو".

منیش وتم: نهوه قه زاو قه ده ری خوی گه وره یه بر و گه ردنت تا زای"

(Narrated by Interviewee 4)

Event 2: – له م ماوه یه دا له سه ر سولنه ی عه قار مالی باوکم نه یان کرد چوو بۆلای موه زه فه که وتی بۆت نا که ی، بۆ هه سوو خه لکه که یان کردوه. وتیان کاکه کونه و دووره و شموی ناکات، خانوکه ش کراوه و گه یشتو ته سه قف. تیر باوکم زور نار هت بو. کشف هاته سه ری، یه کم جار نه مه 100 متر دووره له خه ری نه کونه وه، دوا ی وتیان سی مال نه به ی، دوا ی مال هکان تریش بۆ یان کرا هه ر نیمه مایه وه. تیر باوکم زور نار هت بو و چو بۆلای موه زه فه که، نهو ییش وتبووی نایکم. باوکمیش وتبووی به خوا به خوشیش نه بی من هه ر به زور بیت نه کم و داوا ی تیریشی نه کرد بو، هه ر پی وتبوو بۆ من جیا نه که یه وه له وانه.

تیر من نه مزانی نهو موه زه فه من نه ناسی، من کاتی خوی فه قی بووم له مزگه وت، نهو نه هلی مزگه وت بو برادره م بو، خوی روژی نه له قو بی بۆم کرد ووتی باوکت هاتوه بۆلا و نهو های وتوه. تیر من نه مزای چۆن تیر تازی لی بکم. دوا ی قه ناعه تم به باوکم کرد و داوا ی تیر تازی لی بکه ی، کوریکه تاموزاشمان برد له گه ل خومانا، گه بجه تازه حه جی کردوه. وتیان کاکه نهو سووه نه فاهومی بووه له و به یه یا، چیت گه ره گه له خه زه تاین. نهو قسه ی باوکم به توی گردوه پیاو یکه ته سه نی هه یه. حه تمه ن باوکی جه نابتیش بگانه نهو ته سه نه قسه ی وه ها نه کات تو به دل ت نه بی، به لام نیمه

كۆپىن ئەمىش باۋكە، لەھەموو شىئىكا ناتوانىن موحاسەبەى بىكەين. ئىتر الحمدللد باش بو، ئەمىش ئىعززارەكەى پى خوش بو وشەمۇ چووين بۇ مالىان.

(Narrated by interviewee 12)

Event 3: مالى ناسيارمان حادسەى سەيارەيان بەسەر مالى كچەكەى دىت لەرىگى دەۋك، كچەكەيان ومىزدرەكەى وملاصل پىنچ كەس لە: 3: عاىلەكەيان ئەمرن لەو حادسەى، بەلام ئىمە تاگادار نەبووين بەھىچ شىئەپەك. رۇژنىك صودفە لەبازار ئەو ئافرەتە خىزانم ئەبىنى رگەبى لى ئەكات وتەلىت: "ئەو قەزىپە گورەپەمان بەسەر ھات، تەعزىمان بوو دونيا رزا بەسەرمانا، بەس ئىئومان نەبىنى لە تەعزىكەكە". خىزانم وتبوى وئلا تاگامان لى نەبوو و كەس پىمانى نەوتوو و داواى لىبوردنى لى كىردبوو وسوئىدى خواردبوو بوى. كەخىزانم ھاتەو بۇ مان وگىراپەو، ھەر ئەو رۇژە بۇ ئىوارەكەى چووين بۇ مالىان، ئەوانىش زۇريان پى خوش بو چونكە داواى لىبوردنمان كىرد لىيان وداواى گەردن نازايىمان لىيان كىرد. وتمان: "وئلا ئەبى گەردنمان نازايىمان چونكە ھەر نەمان زانىبوو ئەگىنا ئىمە خىزمىن ھەر واجبە ئەھاتىن بۇ لاتان". ئەوانىش باۋەريان كىرد وزۇر پىيان خوش بو وزۇر بەتەقدىرەو لىمان خوش بوون وزۇر دلىان بەرۇشىستەكەمان خوش بوو و خوشحال بوون.

(Narrated by Interviewee 1)

Event 4: والله من ھەر خىمىكى خۇمان كەمى ناخۇشىمان بوو لەتەكيا. منىش مانگى رەمەزان بوو چووم داواى گەردن نازايى لى بىكەم. 4: لەبەر ئەوئەى مانگ رەمەزان بوو ولەپەتول قدر بوو وتم با نويژ وتاعەتەكەمان لى قبولن بىكەيت.

چووم داواى لىبوردنم لىنى كىرد، لەو كاتە ئەو نەھاتە پىرەپەو و خۇى لادا وەگ بىژىن فرە پىنى نارەھەت بوو؟

__ چۇن بوو داواى لىبوردن؟

والله چووم پەلامارم دا دەسكەمە مىلى و ئەملا ولاى ماچكەم، بەلام ئەو وانەبوو، ئىتر منىش وازم لى ھىئا.

__ تەلەبەر خاتر رەمەزان چووى بۇ لاي؟

من يەكەم جار لەبەر خوا و دووم جار لەبەر خاتر رەمەزان. بەزۇرى لەمانگى رەمەزان شەپتان بەستراۋەتەو قبولە وجەئانە ھەروا. خەلك لە سەدا نەوئە (90%) پىر ئەكاتەو و رەمەزان وجەئان بەدەرەفەت ئەزانن بۇ داواى لىبوردن وسرپىنەوئە ھەلەكان، بەلام باشتر وايە ئىنسان داواى لىبوردن بىكات نازانى ئەگاتە رەمەزانى تر يان نا، وتاكوشەكە كون نەبى.

(Narrated by interviewee 8)

Event 5: - ھاورپەكەم، خانووم كىرد ھات بۇلام، پىلوەكەم عەمەلىياتى كىرد ھات بۇلام، كچەكەم تەخەروچى كىرد ھات بۇلام، كورەكەم ژنى ھىئا: 5: ھات بۇلام، بەدم پىمى وت كورەكەم لەخارج ھاتتەو، منبش وتم ئەبى سەر بەدم، ئىتر لەپىرم چوو. ئىتر لە رەمەزان تەلەفۇن بەلاش بوو، لە پىرشىو تەلەفۇنك كىرد بوى، قسەم كىرد لەگەلى سەپىرم كىرد لەگەلى تەبىعى نى بەرانبەرم. رۇژى دانىشتم تەلەفۇنم كىرد، لە تەلەفۇنكە دزۋىنى پىم دا وتى ھەى بەزرات، وەفات نى، منبش پىكەنم، ھەسەم كىرد زۇر دلگەران بوو، منبش ھىچ قسەم نەكرد. دۋىنى چووم بۇ خانەقەن بۇ مالىان، چونكە مالىان

گراسۆتەو بۆ ئەوێ ھەندێ ئیشم ھەبوو لە خانەقین. ئیتر چووم بۆ بازار سەرپۆشینکم بۆی سەند و دێدداشە یەکم بۆ سەنی، چوکلێتیم بۆی سەنی، بایەیی بیست ھەزار شتم بۆ سەند خوا ئەزانێ. بە کۆرەکم وت بچین بۆ مألێان. وەللا منیش بایەیی بیست ھەزار ھەدییم بۆی سەند و چووم دام لە دەرگا، دەرگاگەم کردەو و تێ قات بەدەم؟ چیت لێ بکەم؟ وتم: وەللا ئەگەر قاوم ئەدەیی ئە پۆمەو و ئەگەر ئیزتم بەدەیی تێمە ژوورە، ئیتر باو شتم بیا کرد و ماچم کرد وتم: وەللا (س) گیان پڕوا بکە و قەصدەو نەمکردووە، و قەصد بە کردایە ئیستا نەتەھاتم بۆلات بۆ خانەقینز وەللا ئیتر دانیشین ھەتا نیو پۆئیتەر خواردنی ھێنا ھێنا. ئیتر پێم وت بەخوا (س) گیان نەمزانی کۆرەکەت لەخارج ھا تۆتەو، عەفوومکە ئەوھا و ئەوھا. ئیتر ناستەو بویین و ئەووا.

(Narrated by interviewee 18)

Event 6: یەکم سال تەعین بوم لە تازەدێ مودیریکمان بۆھات لە خانەقینەو زۆر زۆر خراب بوو بۆمان، داوای لێبوردن کرا .
 بە کردەو بەس بەوشە نا.

(Narrated by interviewee 24)

Event 7: – مألێ دراوسیمان ھەییە کاتی ھەوشە ئەشۆرم ناوھە ئەچیتە بەر دەرگاگەیان، ئەویش دوو سی جار پێمی وت: "چۆن ئەوە تان دیتە دەرقابیمان". منیش وتم: "تخا عاجز مەو لێمان، کۆرەکم تەنیا پیاو لە مألەو". ئەویش وتی پێم دوو سی جار: "بۆچی نایکەن بە مەجاری؟" منیش وتم: "عاجز مەو کۆرەکم مەجالی نیە". ئیتر کردمە گالە وەلیا، ئویش عاجز نەوی.
 – ژنی تر شەرمان بوو لەسەر چۆنکاو. پێم وت تێمە خوشکین، چۆنکاو چیە؟ بۆچی عاجز ئەوی؟ گەردنم تازاکە. لەبەر ئەوی عاجز بوو چووم بۆ مألێان و دەسم لە ملی کرد و وتم بۆچی عاجز ئەوی، تێمە خوشکین، چۆنکاو چیە؟ گەردنم تازاکە تخا. تێمەش ناوھەمان گرتەووە بۆ ئەوێ عاجز نەوێت.

(Narrated by interviewee 14)

Event 8: – عاجزی خیزانیمان ھەبوو، ئەم جەژنە خۆم چوومە داوای گەردن تازاییم کردووە. خەتاکەم خستە سەر خۆم، یەعنی خۆم چووم دەسم کردە ملیان، خەتاکەش ھین ئەوان بوو بەس خستە مل خۆم و چووم داوای گەردن تازاییم لێیان کرد. ئیستا لە جارێان باشترین بەیەکەو. . . . من وتم قەیناکە با من خۆم ھین بکەم، ئەوان ئیتر تینکار بوون. ئەوان لەمنیش منالترن.

چۆن داوای لێبوردن؟ شیوازە کەمێ چۆن بوو؟

– وەللا جەژن بوو چوومە مألەو، ئیتر جەژنە پیرۆزم لێیان کرد و دانیشتم لە مألێان زۆریش، بەس ئیستا لە جارێان باشترین.

شیوازی داوای لێبوردنە کە چۆن دروست بوو؟

- وٹلا چووم تیر ژنه که هات ماچ ماچانمان کرد وجه ژنه پیروژه مان کرد وله گمان پیاوه که شا جه ژنه پیروژه مان کرد کرد به قسه . جه زنه چنه پیروژه مان کرد ودانیشتن له مالیانا ، تیر چایمان خوارد وشیرینی جه ژنمان خوارد و تیر هه ستاین خوا حافیزی بوونمان کرد ، بهس تینستا له جارن باشتین .

چون داوای گهردن نازایت کرد؟

- وٹلا وتم گهردم نازاکمن ، نه وانیش وتیان: گهردمت نازاوت .

باسی رووداوه که تان کرد؟

- نا باسمان نه کرد دو باره ی که پینه وه ، پیویستی نانه کرد چونکه رووداوه که کون بوو ، دواپی جهوت مانگ . جه زمان نه کرد کای کونه بکه پینه با .

(Narrated by interviewee 20)

Appendix 15: Detailed Samples of the observed real situations

Situation no.	Apologiser's groups	Apology-recipient	Relationship	Offence type	Strategies used	Strategy type
1	Male (Teacher)	Male teacher	Friends	Failing to re-visit his friend who has come back from abroad	وئلاھی حەز ئەکم حەز ئەکم شەو ورۆژ لە گەڵتا بوايەم، بەلام وئلاھی مەشغوولم	Implicit apology
2	Male (Old LS)	Male teacher	relatives	Failing to visit a close relative who has recently returned from abroad	دوینی شەو خەریک بوو بێن بو مالتان، ئیتەر مەشغوولی ئەم هاومالەمان بووین، تازە لە خەستەخانە دەرچوو، چەناکەو دەم وچاوی شکاوه	Implicit apology
3	Male Teacher (Old)	Male Teacher Old	Colleagues/ friends	Not visiting his friend who is back to the country after several years	نەمزانیە هاتیئەتەوه	Implicit apology
4	Male Teacher (Young)	Young Male	Friends	Not visiting and welcoming back his friend who has returned from pilgrimage	کاک عەزیز حەزم نەکرد بێنیم	Implicit apology
5	Male (old LS)	Male Teacher	Friends	Failing to visit and welcome his friend who is back from abroad	ماموسا، نەمزانی ئەمەنە زوو لە سجن بەر ئەبی	Implicit apology
6	Male Teacher (Young)	Teacher (researcher)	Friends	Apologising for not visiting his friend who is just back in the country	نە وئلا من زۆر داواي لیبوردن ئەکم، کە لەبەر مەشغەلەت نەهاتە خزمەتت	Explicit apology
7	Male (Old LS)	Teacher	Neighbours	Failing to visit and welcome back their neighbour who is back in the country	دوینی شەویش هاتیئە دەری قایی وئلا ئیتەر میوانان هات، وئلا من دە دوازدە رۆژ هەر لە خەستەخانە لە هەولێر بووم بەخوا، بەخوا من داواي لیبوردن ئەکم توژی درەنگ هاتم	Explicit apology

8	Female (Old LS)	Male Teacher	neighbours	failing to visit and welcome back their neighbour who is back in the country	وڤللا دوى شمو ميوانه كانمان له جيئى دوريشموه هاتون - نمك دوايى گلهيى بكهئى بيئى نه هاتين بولات، خوا قه زات بخا ليم	Implicit apology
9	Male (Young HS)	Male Teacher	Friends	Failing to meet his friend (coming back from abroad) on his visit to his house	به راستى من هام و توم نه بينى، من خمه جاله تم	Implicit apology
10	Female (Young HS)	Female (Young HS)	Friends	Failing to fill the DCT form on time	خوزگه زووتر قسه تان بگردايه بوم تهواو نه كردن، جاري وڤللا تهواوم نه كردووه، نه مزاني وا زوو نه تانهوي	Implicit apology
11	Male (Young University Lecturer)	Male Teacher (researcher)	Colleagues	Failing to fill the DCT form on time	نه به خوا له بيرم نه چيئى، نه گينا مه به ستم هه بوو دويئى بيكهم	Implicit apology
12	Male (Young shop keeper)	Male Teacher	Socially close (friends)	Failing to fill the DCT form on time	به قورئان مه جال نه بوو پري كه مو، ئائيسا پري نه كه مموه دانيشه، به قورئان مه جام نه بوو، خوا ئاگاداره له دوانزهو ته قريبهن چارهك يان بيس دهقه لى بوومموه، زوو عه جله فريائى نوئز كه وتم و هاتنهوه وگشتى ده دهقه ناوي دوكانم كردهوه	Implicit apology
13	Male (Young LS)	Male Teacher	Friends	Failing to keep his appointment with his friend to give the DCT form back	زور داواي لبيوردن نه كه م له دويكهمو تهواوم كردهوه، زور چاوه پري نهو براده درم كرد هر نه هاتم، زور داواي لبيوردن نه كه م، تخوا گه ردتم ئازاكه	Explicit apology

14	Male (Young LS)	Male (Young HS)	Socially close (friends)	The possibility of not filling the DCT form properly	له که می و کووریشمان بپوره	Explicit apology
15	Male (Young LS)	Male (Young HS)	Friends	Failing to visit his friend who was seriously sick (broken leg)	به قورتان من به یانی نه چم شهو تېمه وه	Implicit apology
16	Male (Young HS)	Male (Young LS)	Friends	Apologising for his short visit to his friend's house	من حه ز نه که م دانیشم	Implicit apology
17	Male (Young LS)	Male (Young HS)	Friends	Failing to invite his friend to his engagement party	راسی زور کپ کردم قه ستم به خوا	Implicit apology
18	Male (Young LS)	Male (Young HS)	Friends	Apologising for accidentally hitting his friend the other day in a football match	زور پینم ناخوش بوو زور	Implicit apology
19	Male (Young HS)	Male Teacher	Brothers	Forgetting to keep his promise to buy him a sunflower	نه ففف، و طلاهی له بیرم چوو، و طلا له بیرم چوو نیستا بوت نه هینیم	Implicit apology
20	Male (Young LS)	Teacher	Friends	Forgetting to bring his friend the book he promised	به قورتان له بیرم چوو	Implicit apology
21	Female (old mother)	Daughter (child)	Family members	Forgetting to put the lunch box in her daughter's school bag	نه ی شه یان به له عنده ت بیت، دیاره له بیرم چوو	Implicit apology
22	Female (Young Mother)	baby girl	Family members	Not feeding the baby properly which made the baby cry	نهمزانی به خوا نهمزانی (ماچی کرد)	Implicit apology
23	Male (young Customer)	Car electrician	Socially distant	Giving less money to the electrician than he asked for	کاکه عاجز موه من ده هه زارت نه دهمی	Implicit apology
24	Female teacher (Young)	Guest Teacher	Socially close (relatives)	Apologising for not providing better food for the guest	عافیته ت بی و قصورمان عافکه	Explicit apology
25	Male (Old HS)	Teacher	Colleagues (friends)	Interrupting researcher's interview with student by knocking and opening the door	عه فوهن	Explicit apology

26	Male (Young HS)	Female relative	Socially close (relatives)	Missing two calls from his female cousin	داوای لیبوردن نه کم، موبایل کم خستبوه سهر صامت	Explicit apology
27	Male (Young LS)	Male (young LS)	Socially close (friends)	Being late to his friend who was waiting outside	شهرمه ندمم دهسم نه شورد	Implicit apology
28	Female University Lecturer	Student	Academic relationship	Failing to return the exam papers marked to the student on time	به یانی	No apology
29	Male University lecturer (Young)	Male university lecturer	Colleagues	Contacting the wrong person with a similar name	دکتور گیان باشی، عهفوو عهفوو مه به ستم دکتور تومیدی تر بوو	Explicit apology
30	Male (Young Shop keeper)	A male Customer	Socially distant	Keeping customer waiting	مام حاجی تویشم نه خیر کرد	Implicit apology
31	Male (Young HS)	Male (Old LS)	Socially close (cousins)	Not accepting his cousin's invitation in the past	وهلا برا خه جاله تم، حه قعی خوتانه، کاتی خوی به سریا رؤیشت تیر نه ته کریا بیم، چونکه نه ژوم ته قیبوو نم نه توانی ری بکم خوتان نه زان	Implicit apology
32	Female-mother (Old LS)	Female-daughter (young LS)	Family members	Stepping on her daughter's toe	بیکه نین ناهاهاهاها، حه یات گیان	No apology
33	Male- (Young University Lecturer)	Male: Young University Lecturer	socially close (colleagues)	A lecturer occupying his colleague's classroom which made him teach his class in another room	داوای لیبوردن نه کم، قاعه که هی جه نابت بوو، مه وعدی محازه ره که هی جه نابت بوو له بهر نه وهی پرسباره کان دوور ودریژ بوو	Explicit apology
34	Male -driver (Young LS)	Male Passenger	Socially distant	forgetting to give the change back to the passenger	تهه باوکه گیان وهلاهی خه جاله تم، خو پینج هزاره که ش	Implicit apology

					به ده سه مه و به، به خوا فکرم مه شغووله	
35	Male- Young University lecturer	Male- his uncle	Socially close	University lecturer refusing his uncle's invitation to dinner	به خوا مه شغوولم، داواي لیبوردن نه کم	Explicit apology
36	Male (Young HS)	Male (Young Lecturer)	Formal relationship	Requesting a lecturer to come outside	دکتور گیان داواي لیبوردن نه کم ئیشیکم پینه	Explicit apology
37	Female (Old LS)	Male teacher	Close relatives	Failing to attend the condolences to the apology-recipient's father-in-law	پاسیه که ی غله تیکه زور گوره مان کرد، نه چوین بو ته عزیزیکه ی مال خه زوورت، نه که هه له مه، له زور شتدا غله تین	Implicit apology
38	Male Customer (Young LS)	Male (Mobile shop keeper)	Socially distant	Taking the mobile repairer's time to check his mobile phone	میمزا زور تومنتیش عه زیت دا، تو خوا نهو شاحینه بيم ناده تی	Implicit apology
39	Male (Old HS)	Male teachers	Colleagues	Inability to process an application form adopted by the hearer	داواي لیبوردن نه کم، ئیشه که ناوايه، لای من نیه به لکوله په روه ده ی شاره زووره	Explicit apology
40	Male (Young LS)	Male (Young Teacher)	Friends	Not apologising and refuting his friend's claim for his mobile to be off	نه و ملا قوقفل نهو	No apology
41	Female (Old HS)	University lecturer Researcher	Socially distant	Not being able to be interviewed on that day	ده رسم نه ما نه بی بچمو بو مان نان خاسکم میوانمان دیت، به یانی سه عات ده ونبو چه ز نه که ی و ره وه	Implicit apology
42	Female – Sister (Young LS)	Male (Brother)	Socially close	Apologising for not adding sugar to the tea	دیاره له بیرم چووه شه که ری تیکم	Implicit apology

43	Female – Sister (Young LS)	Male (Brother)	Socially close	The food is not cooked and prepared well for the guest	خوابکم خواردنه کت به دل بیت، درهنگ برنجه کم کرد بویه شل ده رچوو، گوشته که پیش ماویه تی بکولی	Implicit apology
44	Male, Green grocer, Young LS)	Male customer (Young HS)	Socially distant	The customer complained about the fruit he bought the other day	تو بیگره برا	No apology