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HATAY MUSTAFA KEMAL UNIVERSITY
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

**(IM)POLITE LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR AND THE
USES OF THE 'APOLOGY' TYPE OF SPEECH
ACT IN THE FEMALE WORLD OF
JANE AUSTEN'S *EMMA***

MASTER'S THESIS

Submitted by
Levize ABACI

Advisor
Dr. Fırat KARADAŞ

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TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ
MUSTAFA KEMAL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

Bu belge ile bu tezde yer alan bilgilerin tamamının akademik kurallara ve etik ilkelerine uygun olarak toplanıp sunulduğunu beyan ederim. Söz konusu kural ve ilkelerin gereği olarak tezde yararlandığım eserlerin tamamına uygun bir şekilde atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi ayrıca beyan ederim. (28.06.2018)

Levize ABACI

**JANE AUSTEN’IN *EMMA* ADLI ROMANINDAKİ
KADIN DÜNYASINDA KİBARLIK DAVRANIŞI VE
“ÖZÜR” SÖZ EDİMİ KULLANIMI**

Levize ABACI

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ÖZET

Kadın ve erkeklerin kibarlık/kabalık davranışlarını inceleyen çeşitli sosyal dilbilim çalışmaları vardır. Buna rağmen az sayıda çalışma bu davranışı disiplinler arası bir bakış açısı ile ‘özür’ söz edimi açısından analiz etmiştir. Bildiğim kadarı ile bu konuyu edebiyat, özellikle de roman çerçevesinde ele alan hiçbir çalışma yapılmamıştır ki bu tarz çalışmaların gerçek yaşam durumlarını ve dil davranışlarını doğru bir şekilde tasvir ettiği söylenebilir. Bu tez, Jane Austen’ın *Emma* adlı romanında özellikle özür söz edimine odaklanarak kibarlık/kabalık durumları incelemek adına disiplinler arası bir yaklaşım sunar. Tez, farklı özür türleri içeren karakterler arası diyalog örneklerini analiz ederek romanın kadın egemen dünyasında kullanılan özür türlerini ele alır. Diyalog örneklerinin seçiminde ve özür türlerinin analizinde karakterlerin cinsiyet, yaş ve sosyal statü gibi sosyal değişkenleri göz önünde bulundurulmuştur.

Veriler Cohen ve Olshtain’ın taksonomisine (1983) göre sınıflandırılmış ve sınıflandırma sürecinden sonra, her tür özür stratejisinin sıklığı ve yüzdesi belirtilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, cinsiyet, yaş ve sosyal statü gibi sosyal değişkenlerin özür dileme şeklini nasıl etkilediği ve kadın ve erkeklerin aynı cinsiyete mi yoksa karşı cinsiyete mi daha çok özür dilediği ortaya konulmuştur.

Çalışmanın sonucu ‘bağışlanma talebi’nin erkekler arasındaki en yaygın strateji olduğunu gösterirken, bunun kadınlar için ‘suçunu kabul etme’ olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca, sosyal değişkenlerin özür dileme davranışını etkilediği ve kadınların her iki cinsiyete de erkeklerden daha çok özür dilediği belirtilmektedir.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER

Özür, Söz Edimleri, Cinsiyet, Kibarlık

**(IM)POLITE LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR AND THE USES OF THE
'APOLOGY' TYPE OF SPEECH ACT IN THE FEMALE WORLD OF JANE
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ABSTRACT

There are various sociolinguistic studies of gender that examine polite/impolite behaviors of the two types of gender. However, few studies have analyzed this behavior in terms of the speech act of 'apology' with an interdisciplinary perspective. To the best of my knowledge, no studies have been done handling the issue within the framework of literature, particularly the novel, which could be said to be an authentic representation of real-life situations and language behaviors. This thesis offers an interdisciplinary approach for studying polite/impolite situations focusing particularly on the speech act of apology in a novel, Jane Austen's *Emma*. The thesis deals with the apology styles used in the female world of the novel by analyzing conversation samples between the characters that include different apology types. Such social variables as gender, age and social status of the characters are considered in the choice of samples and in the analysis of the types of apology.

The data is categorized according to the taxonomy of Cohen and Olshtain (1983) and after the categorization process, the frequency and percentage of all types of apology strategies are displayed. Furthermore, how such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology and whether men and women apologize more to same-gender or to opposite-gender are revealed.

Findings of the study demonstrate that while 'request for forgiveness' is the most common strategy among men, it is 'accepting the blame' for women. It is also indicated that social variables affect the speech of apology and women apologize to both genders more than men.

KEYWORDS

Apology, Speech Act, Gender, Politeness



Dedicated to my son, Giray.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Bibliographic Information
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Acts Realization Project
D	Dialogue
DCT	Discourse Completion Test
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
EM	Emma
ESL	English as a Second Language
F	Frequency
FTA	Face-Threatening Acts
H	Hearer
IFID	Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
L1	First Language
P	Power
R	Rank
S	Speaker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Speech acts have a significant role in our daily life since they enable us to perform a large number of different functions. They allow us to apologize, compliment, promise, request, and so on. When we communicate with each other, we usually do something wrong intentionally or unintentionally to offend other people and this may ruin our interpersonal relationships. In these cases, it is necessary to display apologetic behavior to maintain social equilibrium.

Apology, one of the sub-categories of speech acts, belongs to the category of expressives in Speech Act Theory and it is “one of the essential social acts related to the politeness.” (Deutschmann, 2006) Since the Politeness Theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) was first introduced, the concept im(politeness) has always been an argumentative issue; Watts argues that “(im)politeness is a term that is struggled over at present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability, continue to be struggled over in the future.” (2003: 9).

Politeness can be shown in a variety of ways: linguistically, which is concerned with verbal communication; non-linguistically, which is concerned with other aspects of communication such as body language; or a variety of both (Lakoff, 2004: 2). After Brown and Levinson’s (1987) contributions to pragmatics, some theorists began to analyze speech acts within the framework of politeness in literary texts and everyday speech events (Al-Qahtani, 2015; Hatipoglu, 2012; Macaulay, 2001). In addition to these, some other linguists have discussed the subject analyzing the differences and similarities between men and women in language use (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995; Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983; Mills, 2003; Tannen, 1996). However hardly any studies have analyzed polite behavior across genders in literary works (Aydinoğlu, 2013). The present study intends to explore politeness behavior in terms of the speech act of ‘apology’ and the effects of gender, age, and social status on the use of apology in Jane Austen’s

Emma. Findings of this study may contribute to the existing theories about (im)politeness, the speech act of apology, and gender.

1.2. Background and Purpose of the Study

The term “speech act” has its origin in the works of Austin (1962) and Searle (1985). According to their theory of speech act, our speech is not a combination of meaning and sound; it produces acts as well. Apology, complaint, claim, compliment, order, request, and promise are some of the most common speech acts. Searle classified speech acts into five different groups: representatives (assertives) such as suggesting, commissives such as promising, directives such as requesting, declaratives (performatives) such as passing sentence on someone and expressives such as apologizing.

Together with request, apology is the most frequently investigated speech act. The reason of this may be that it plays a significant social function for restoring harmony among people. According to Norrick (1978:284):

It is essential to the smooth working of society that there be standard means of admitting responsibility, implicating remorse, and forgiving. Without these we would probably be at one another's throats much of the time. In this sense, acts of apologizing and forgiving are more basic and important to society than such acts as thanking and congratulating, which by comparison are its pleasant by products rather than functional principles.

The largest study of speech acts up to date is The Cross-Cultural Speech Acts Realization Project (CCSARP) by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984). The authors focus on ‘apology’ and ‘request’ in eight languages not only to compare speech acts across languages but also establish the similarities and differences between native and non-native speakers.

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), apologies are social or affective speech acts which are primarily oriented to support the relationship between participants rather than to the expression of referential information or propositional meaning. To apologize is to act politely, both in the vernacular sense and in the more technical sense of paying attention to the addressee's face needs (as cited in Weihua, 2015:2).

As Brown and Levinson (1987) defined, face is a public self-image consisting of a positive face and a negative face. Positive face is defined as "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others". Negative face, on the

other hand, is conceptualized as “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions are unimpeded by others.” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:62).

Since face-threatening acts (FTA) are regarded as acts which run contrary to the addressee’s and/or the speaker’s positive and/or negative ‘face’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 65), the participants will either avoid FTAs or use some strategies to minimize the threat for the mutual vulnerability of face. These certain strategies are placed on a continuum of doing or abstaining from doing FTAs which are called positive politeness, negative politeness, bald on record off-record.

Besides the strategies used while performing FTAs, there are three factors which influence the choice of strategies stated by Brown and Levinson (1987). These factors are: the social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer, the relative power (P) between the participants and the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in a particular culture. For instance the more social distance increases, the more politeness increases. Also, when a speaker (S) with higher power communicates with a hearer (H) with lower power, the degree of politeness will be lower for the S. Lastly, if a S shows greater FTAs in his/her utterances, the imposition of the act gets greater and that’s why the S will be more polite.

There are also many studies about language and gender that try to demonstrate the differences in the speech styles of men and women. Holmes (1995), for example, suggests that women’s speech is more polite than men’s; for her: “women’s utterances show evidence of concern for the feelings of the people they are talking to more often and more explicitly than men’s do”. (Holmes, 1995:6). As women try to establish intimacy and provide solidarity, they generally use more positive politeness strategies than men (Brown, 1980; Mills, 2003).

In the light of previous research, the thesis aims to study Jane Austen’s *Emma* in terms of the speech act of apology and to stress how apology has a significant function in maintaining one’s face. The study will handle the types of apology strategies the characters of the novel use in the pragmatic context in which they occur. From that point, the thesis will point out whether such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology.

1.3. Research Questions

The present study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the types of speech act of apology that characters of the novel use in different situations? What are the differences in apology strategies between men and women?
2. How do such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology? Do men or women apologize more to people of higher, lower, or equal status?
3. Is there a considerable difference between men and women in the frequency of the apologetic acts they perform?
4. Do men and women apologize more to same-gender individuals or to opposite-gender individuals?

1.4. Significance of the Study

The literature has offered many studies investigating (im)politeness and the uses of the speech act of ‘apology’ in various situations; however, to the best of my knowledge, no studies have been done handling the issue within the framework of literature, particularly the novel.

There are also studies analyzing (im)politeness and the uses of the speech act of ‘apology’ in the speeches of EFL and ESL learners; however, the study of just spoken discourse does not present a comprehensive view of the act of apology. The study of the uses of apology in a literary work will give us the opportunity of studying uses of the act both in spoken and unspoken discourse. A novel is chosen because it is seen as the best way of studying linguistic behavior in a supposedly authentic context because the novel presents a simulation of real-life situations when we do not have access to them in reality. Jane Austen’s *Emma* is chosen because it has a predominantly female world and is seen to include various examples of (im)polite linguistic behavior.

1.5. Limitations of the Study

This thesis has some certain limitations in examining (im)polite linguistic behavior and the uses of the speech act of apology. First, it should be noted that this study only analyzes the speech act of apology in a literary work; thus, it is not possible to generalize the results of this research for all situations. In addition to this, this thesis analyzes the speeches of characters of an English novel, *Emma*; therefore,

the results of gender usages cannot be generalized for other cultures and situations in real life.

Another limitation may concern the authenticity of the language of the work. If we define an authentic text as “a stretch of real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort” (Morrow, 1977:13), then *Emma* can be regarded as an authentic text. However, the fact that it has not been produced in the contemporary world but in 1815 makes its authenticity questionable because it portrays the (im)politeness strategies employed about 200 years ago. The novel removes this disadvantage to a certain extent with the standard and near-to-modern language use it includes. These points should also be taken into consideration in the reading of the present study.

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

This study is structured in 5 chapters.

The present chapter is the introduction providing the background, research questions, significance, purposes and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature presents the key theoretical concepts on which the thesis is based, and provides an overview of previous research related to politeness and apology.

Chapter 3: Methodology presents the research questions this thesis tries to answer. The chapter also describes the procedures for collecting the data and explains how the data were analyzed.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis demonstrates the analysis of 15 conversation samples including different apology types. Factors such as gender, age and social status are taken into consideration in the choice of these samples and in the analysis of the types of apology.

Finally, *Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion* presents the discussion based on a qualitative analysis of the data, and summary of the most significant findings of the study. This chapter also presents suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

Politeness and speech acts are popular topics nowadays in researches of pragmatics. Being one of the most common acts of polite linguistic behavior the speech act of apology has drawn the attention of many linguists and been the focal point of many studies up till now. This chapter aims to outline the literature about politeness, speech acts, and the speech act of apology. It begins with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, then goes on with speech act as a significant branch of pragmatics, and afterwards focuses upon the studies that examine the speech act of apology and the social variables that affect apologetic acts.

2.2. Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness

There are several models in the literature which interpret and identify the functions of polite behaviors. However, the theory of politeness is first introduced by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987). Since politeness is one of the crucial concepts of this thesis, politeness theory, face-threatening acts (FTAs), and face-saving strategies, and factors affecting the choice of these strategies will be handled.

2.2.1. Face

According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 61-62), everyone has a face, "the public self-image" that they want to maintain. The term "face" is divided into two aspects: *positive* and *negative* face. While the first one is defined as "the positive consistent self-image of 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants", the second one, *negative* face is "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction." According to Grundy (2000), negative face is "our wish not to be imposed on by others and to be allowed to go about our business unimpeded with our rights to free and self-determined action intact."

2.2.2. Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs)

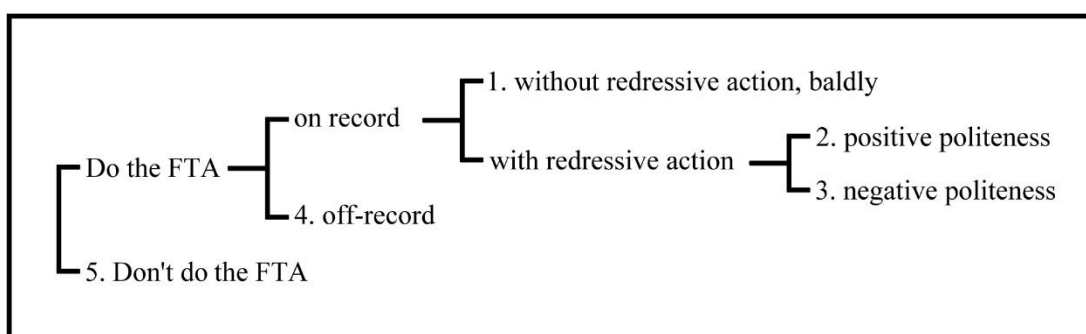
Face of the hearer and/or the speaker are/is threatened in certain situations, and those threats are called face-threatening acts (FTA). Brown and Levinson (1987: 65) regard face-threatening acts as those acts which run contrary to the addressee's and/or the speaker's positive and/or negative 'face.' Accusations, insults, complaints or interruptions can be given as examples for typical FTAs.

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that there are acts that threaten the H's positive face and these consist of interruptions, criticism and also expressions of violent emotions, bad news, taboo topics etc. According to Brown and Levinson, under normal circumstances, all individuals try to avoid FTAs and minimize the face-threat of the acts they use. Therefore, individuals must prioritize such wants: the want to be efficient and the want to maintain the H's face.

2.2.3. Strategies for Politeness

FTAs threaten the H's or S's positive or negative face and in order to soften these acts, Brown and Levinson (1987) outline four types of politeness strategies. These strategies are; bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record (indirect) as shown in Table 1, and each strategy requires a different amount of face-saving effort. The more speakers use higher-numbered politeness strategy, the more polite they are.

Table 1: Brown and Levinson's (1987: 69) model for politeness strategies



According to Brown and Levinson (1978: 74), bald on-record strategy is a direct way of saying things, without any minimization to the imposition, in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way. When the S wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than s/he wants to satisfy H's face, s/he chooses the bald-on record strategy and this might be the main reason for the usage of this strategy. (Brown and Levinson, 1987)

The 'bald on-record' strategy is brief, relevant and does not communicate more than needed, and thus it does nothing to minimize threats to the H's "face." Brown and Levinson (1987) listed two kinds of bald on-record strategies in different situations and these are: 'the cases of non-minimization of the face threat' and 'the cases of FTA-oriented bald on-record usage.'

The second strategy is 'positive politeness' which is a way of showing solidarity towards the addressee. Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that positive politeness is a kind of exaggerated metaphorical show of mutual approval or interest and social accelerator of intimacy that demonstrates H's indication of desire to get closer to addressee(s). This strategy is focused on the positive face of the H and this strategy tries to minimize the threat to the H's face.

The other strategy, 'negative politeness' is directed towards the negative face of the H and the S tries to show that s/he respects the negative face of the H. By showing deference to the addressee, S may use the strategies of hedging, being pessimistic etc. Apology is also regarded as an act of negative politeness in that by using apology interactants express respect, deference and distance, and thus acknowledging the S's face desire not to be offended.

Brown & Levinson (1987:130) suggest that the closer the relationship between the interactants and/or the power differential between them, the more they will use positive politeness strategies, and accordingly the less they will use negative politeness strategies. Because negative politeness strategies are useful for social distancing, positive politeness strategies are used for minimizing social distance.

The fourth strategy is 'off-record' and this strategy includes indirect usage of language. Since the risk of loss of face is great, the S chooses to be indirect and gives the H a clue to interpret the linguistic behavior. In Brown and Levinson's model, this strategy is considered to be the most polite strategy in performing FTAs.

To clarify Brown and Levinson's different politeness strategies, here are some examples with the same meaning. The meaning is; the speaker needs a dictionary.

1. Bald-on record: Give me your dictionary.
2. Positive Politeness: I am sure that you would not mind lending me your dictionary, would you?
3. Negative Politeness: Excuse me, I do not want to disturb you but could you please lend me your dictionary?

4. Off-record: I forgot my dictionary at home!

2.2.4. Factors Influencing the Choice of Politeness Strategies

The strategies used while performing FTAs are mentioned above. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that before performing an FTA, there are three factors that influence the choice of strategies. These factors are as follows;

1. the social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer,
2. the relative power (P) between the participants,
3. the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in a particular culture.

Brown and Levinson stated how these three factors affect the preference of strategies. For instance; the greater the H's power is, the more polite strategies are employed. Also, if the social distance increases, politeness increases. Furthermore, the greater the imposition on the H, the more polite the S is.

2.3. Speech Acts

People usually use language for doing things such as greeting, reporting, asking questions, requesting an answer, ordering, repeating, apologizing and performing many other actions in daily life. People make sentences not only for saying something but also for doing things. For example, when a speaker says "Can you open the window please?" the S performs the act of requesting an action and expects the H to recognize the intention of the S by going to open the window. The theorists of speech acts try to describe what people do when people utter sentences.

2.3.1. Definitions of Speech Acts

One of the most influential definitions of speech act was presented by J.L. Austin who prefers using different terms as "performative sentence" or "performative utterance" instead of "speech act" indicating "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action". Austin (1962) suggests that a speech act looks quite like an utterance as a functional unit in communication. In *How to Do Things with Words*, he states that when producing an utterance, three kinds of acts are performed:

1. A locutionary act involves uttering sounds and words with sense and reference.

2. An illocutionary act is the act performed by the S via utterance or the function of the utterance.
3. A perlocutionary act involves intention for producing an effect on the action of a H. Together with the illocutionary act, the perlocutionary act conveys a more complicated meaning for the H.

Leech (1983:199) defines these acts as follows:

1. Locutionary act: performing an act of saying something
2. Illocutionary act: performing an act in saying something
3. Perlocutionary act: performing an act by saying something

For example,

Jack: "Would you like to go out to the cinema tonight?"

Emily: "I am feeling sick."

Jack: "OK. You rest here and I'll make some herbal tea for you."

As seen in the conversation, Emily does not respond to Jack's question by saying "No, I do not want to go out to the cinema tonight." What she actually says - her *locutionary* act - is "I am feeling sick." In saying she feels ill, she is telling Jack that she does not want to go out and this is an *illocutionary* act which is what a person does in saying something else. Beyond communicating about the state of Emily's health and the answer to the question of Jack, Emily accomplishes one more thing by saying "I am feeling sick." She gets Jack to make some herbal tea for her. A *perlocutionary* act is focused on the response others have to an act and produces a consequent effect on the hearer.

Besides these, some recent studies proposed definitions of the term "speech act" in rather everyday communication. Wee (2004), for example, argued that the definition of speech acts should include other ways of communication as well, not only linguistic ones. In the same vein, Geis (1995) proposes a new approach to speech acts which he calls dynamic speech act theory that defines speech acts as multi-turn interactions that perform requests, invitations, apologies, and other such actions. Glaser (2014) also supposes that a speech act refers to an utterance that serves a function in communication.

Ellis (1999) emphasized that it is not adequate to express a speech act solely by physical qualities; it also needs to be explained by goals, means to reaching goals, effects, and relationships because all types of speech acts are characterized by them.

2.3.2. Types of Speech Acts

Speech acts could be direct or indirect. According to Yule (1996:54);

Whenever there is a direct relationship between a structure and a function, we have a direct speech act. Whenever there is an indirect relationship between a structure and a function, we have an indirect speech act. Thus a declarative used to make a statement is a direct speech act, but a declarative used to make a request is an indirect speech act.

Furthermore, Both Austin and Searle give classification to the illocutionary acts in speech act. The following are Searle's (1985) classification for types of illocutions:

1. Representatives (Assertives)

An illocutionary act that represents a state of affairs and they are seen, for example, in statements, claims and suggestions.

1. a. "About 70% of the earth's surface is covered with water." (claiming)

2. Commissives

A kind of illocutionary act for getting the speaker to do something and they are in the form of, for example, promises, intentions, threats and vows.

2. a. "I will be back soon." (promising)

3. Directives

An illocutionary act for getting the listener to do something and these are invitations, orders, requests, commands, and so on.

3. a. "May I help you?" (ordering)

4. Declaratives (Performatives)

An illocutionary act that brings into existence the state of affairs to which it refers and these are, for example, blessings, weddings, baptizing and passing sentence.

4. a. Judge: "This court sentences you to twenty five years to life imprisonment." (sentencing)

5. Expressives

A kind of illocutionary act, as the name suggests, expresses the speaker's psychological state about an event presumed to be true and they are seen in apologies, greetings, congratulations and expressions of giving thanks.

6. a. "I am really sorry to disturb you." (apologizing)

2.4. The Speech Act of 'Apology'

Apology, under the category of expressives, has importance in politeness as face-saving act. It is also a way of expressing politeness and its use has a pivotal role on a psychological and social level. For Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), apology is a post-event act which refers to an event that has already taken place or that will take place. Leech (1983) defines apology as an attempt to recreate an imbalance between the S and the H because of the fact that the S gives offense to the H for something. He further suggests that it is not enough to make an apology; the apology should be successful in order for the H to forgive the S, and by this way, reestablish the balance between the two of them.

Apology, for Goffman (1967:140), is a type of 'remedy'. According to Holmes (1990), apology is a speech act intended to remedy the offense for which the apology takes responsibility, and by this way, to rebalance interpersonal relations. Accordingly, apologies occur as post-events, like the speech acts of thanking and unlike the speech act of orders that occur as pre-events. As Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) argue, apologies are post-event acts for an event that has already taken place or that is about to take place.

Fraser (1981) asserts that we make apology when the expectation of the offended person is not fulfilled or when there is a behavior violating a social norm. There are two parties in an apologetic behavior: an apologizer and a recipient. The offending person needs to apologize when one of the two parties perceives him/herself as offended by an utterance or a behavior. By apologizing, the S shows his/her willingness to accept responsibility and 'set things right'.

Brown and Levinson (1987) regard apology as a face-threatening act that damages the S's positive face. By making an apology, the S pays the debt created by his/her insult, so s/he restores the balance between the S and the H. Shortly, while apologizing is face-threatening act for the S and it is face-saving act for the H.

For Deutschmann (2003:44), apology includes four basic components: the offender, the offended, the offence and the remedy. The offender is the person who takes responsibility for some offence; the offended is the victim of an offence, but does not necessarily perceive him/herself as offended; the offence is the incident which merits the apology; and the most important component is the remedy, which is

a “recognition of the offence, acceptance of responsibility and a display of regret” (Deutschmann 2003:46).

2.4.1. Apology Strategies

The diversity in the definitions of the speech act of apology brings about diversity in the classification of it. Hence, researchers devised different taxonomies for the types of apology strategies (Bergman and Kasper 1993, Fraser 1981, Cohen and Olshtain 1983, Owen 1983, Trosborg 1987, Deutschmann, 2003, Holmes, 1990). Although there are certain types of apology which are common among different taxonomies, some other types are unique.

Beginning with Fraser (1981:263), one of the first people to attempt to describe a taxonomy for apology, classified it into nine strategies. These strategies are from the most direct to the least one and based on the intent of the speaker. They are as follows:

1. Announcing that you are apologizing,
2. Stating one’s obligation to apologize,
3. Offering to apologize,
4. Requesting the hearer to accept an apology,
5. Expressing regret for the offense,
6. Requesting forgiveness for the offense,
7. Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act,
8. Promising forbearance from a similar offending act,
9. Offering redress.

Fraser (1981:256) also states: “though any of the nine strategies above might be used to make an apology, it is often the case that they are not used alone but combined.”

Cohen & Olshtain (1983) limited the number of apology strategies to five based on Fraser’s work. The first six strategies of Fraser were placed as ‘an expression of apology’. The other categories ‘Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act,’ ‘Promising forbearance from a similar offending act,’ and ‘Offering redress’ remained nearly the same with slight changes. Cohen & Olshtain’s (1983:22) apology set is as in the following:

1. An expression of apology:

- A. An expression of regret,
- B. An offer of apology,
- C. A request for forgiveness,
- 2. An explanation or account of the situation,
- 3. Acknowledgement of responsibility:
 - A. Accepting the blame,
 - B. Expressing self-deficiency,
 - C. Recognizing the other person as deserving apology,
 - D. Expressing lack of intent,
- 4. An offer of repair,
- 5. A promise of forbearance.

The first two (i.e. an expression of apology and an explanation or account of the situation) are general and explicit ways of apology, and the other three (i.e. acknowledgement of responsibility, an offer of repair and a promise of forbearance) are situation-specific and reflect the content of the situation (Olshtain, 1989).

When the apologizer accepts the responsibility for the offense, s/he might use one or more of the five strategies to apologize shown above. However, when the offender does not accept the need to apologize, s/he may refer to the following strategies:

- 1. No verbal reaction,
- 2. Denial of the need to apologize,
- 3. Denial of responsibility,
 - A. Not accepting the blame,
 - B. Blaming others.

The degree of the severity of the offence is one of the factors which influence the offender's decision about apologizing or which apology strategy to use. Cohen and Olshtain (1983) presented a number of different dimensions that influence the apologizer's choice of semantic formulas (as cited in Al-Adaileh, 2007:37):

- 1. The recipient's expectations determined by his/her evaluation of the degree of severity of the offence.
- 2. The offender's apology determined by his/her perception of the degree of severity of the offence.
- 3. The offender's apology controlled by the extent of compunction expected from the recipient.

4. The interactive nature of both the initial apology and the recipient's response.
5. The social status of the two participants.
6. The way the tone of voice may function to convey meaning.

Besides these dimensions, Cohen and Olshtain (1983) state that serious offences cause the apologizer to perform highly intensified apologies as "I am really sorry for..." whereas relatively low offences cause less intensified apologies as "I am sorry for..."

Cohen & Olshtain's (1983) taxonomy was modified by Holmes (1990:18) and she divided apologies into four main strategies with eight sub-categories.

1. An explicit expression of apology
 - A. Offer apology/IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device)
 - B. Express regret
 - C. Request forgiveness
2. An explanation or account, an excuse or justification
3. An acknowledgment of responsibility
 - A. Accept blame
 - B. Express self-deficiency
 - C. Recognize H as entitled to an apology
 - D. Express lack of intent
 - E. Offer repair/redress
4. A promise of forbearance

Deutschmann's (2003:84) taxonomy, on the other hand, includes the strategies and sub-strategies below:

1. Explicit expression of apology
2. Taking on responsibility
 - A. Explicit acknowledgement
 - B. Indirect acknowledgement
 - B1) Self-deprecation
 - B2) Offer of repair
 - C. Promise of forbearance
3. Minimizing responsibility
 - A. Explanations
 - B. Scapegoating

C. Excuses

D. Justifications

E. Claiming lack of intent

Finally, the most wide-scale analysis of apology types was carried out by the Cross-Cultural Speech Acts Realization Project (CCSARP) by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984). According to them, the goals of the project are:

...to compare across languages the realization patterns of two speech acts - requests and apologies - and to establish the similarities and differences between native and non-native speakers' realization patterns in these two acts in each of the languages studied within the project. (p.196)

The CCSARP proposed five different strategies that form the 'apology speech act set' including: 1) illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), 2) accepting responsibility, 3) offering an explanation, 4) offering to repair, and 5) promise of forbearance. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) found that both native and non-native speakers used similar strategies in their requests and apologies.

As this part has shown, there are many ways of classifying apology. As such, in defining apology and classifying speech acts, no taxonomy is considered as the best due to the fact that each of them has advantages and disadvantages.

2.5. Speech Acts and Politeness

Speech acts are closely related to the concept of 'politeness' since all speech acts cannot exist without politeness and face. (Im)politeness is one of the controversial issues in pragmatics and has been defined in many different ways. As Watts argues, "(im)politeness is a term that is struggled over at present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability, continue to be struggled over in the future." (2003: 9). Hill et al. (1986:349) see politeness as consideration for others, stating that the aim of politeness is "to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport". With this definition, they point considerateness as a goal and maintenance of harmony. Similarly, for Lakoff (1990:34), politeness is "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange" and according to her, there are three main rules for politeness, namely "don't impose", "give options", and "make the hearer feel good - be friendly." (1973:298)

Locker argues that politeness should always be identified and evaluated by both the S and the H as norm-based. He presents a definition of politeness considering it from the perspective of both the speaker and the hearer: (2004:91)

Politeness for the speaker:

A polite utterance is a speaker's intended, marked and appropriate behavior which displays face concern; the motivation for it lies in the possibly, but not necessarily, egocentric desire of the speaker to show positive concern for the addressees and/or to respect the addressees' and the speaker's own need for independence.

Politeness for the addressee:

Addressees will interpret an utterance as polite when it is perceived as appropriate and marked; the reason for this is understood as the speaker's intention to show positive concern for the addressees' face and/or the speaker's intention to protect his or her own face needs.

Furthermore, politeness, both as a pragmatic and sociolinguistic concept, has been seen as dependent on such factors as age, gender and social status of the characters. In order to be linguistically polite, communicators should choose some proper expressions and speech acts including functions such as requests, apologies, suggestions, commands and offers, by which way they show the degree of social distance and the status difference.

Brown and Levinson (1987) attributed apology as a negative politeness strategy that indicates speakers' reluctance "to impinge on H's negative face and partially redress that impingement". They also assert that apology is a politeness device expressing attention to the H's face needs when there is offense.

On the other hand, what counts as polite behavior is "culture-specific and language-specific." (Gu, 1990:256). In their analysis of cultural differences, Brown and Levinson (1978:250) claim:

Subcultural differences can be captured: ... dominated groups ... have positive politeness cultures; dominating groups have negative politeness cultures. That is, the world of the upper and middle groups is constructed in a stern and cold architecture of social distance, asymmetry and resentment of impositions, while the world of the lower groups is built on social closeness, symmetrical solidarity and reciprocity.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson claim that England is a society in which high value is placed on social distance, thus the negative politeness and 'off-record' strategies are more common. They further suggest that there may be a preference for not performing the act if the degree of loss of face is great.

The findings of Al-Adaieh (2007) pointed that the role of social variables is crucial in the speech act of apology. In his study, the two cultures - Jordanian and

English - exhibited differences as to which combination of these social variables determines the frequency and choice of apology types. The study also showed that in connection with the recognition of the social power of the addressee, the seriousness of offence is the key factor for the act of apologizing in British English. On the other hand, the interaction between the seriousness of the offence and social distance seems to determine the degree of apology intensity in Jordanian Arabic.

In short, speech acts are closely related with the concept of politeness. Although 'politeness' differs from one culture to another, it is critical for harmonious interpersonal communication of people.

2.6. Politeness and Gender

Linguists have long been interested in gender differences in language. Lakoff (1973), considered as 'the mother of modern politeness theory' (Eelen 2001:2), aroused the interest of researchers in the issue of language and gender. From that time, almost all studies about the differences of gender have come to the same finding (Brown, 1980; Tannen, 1990; Holmes, 1995; Ladegaard, 2000; Mills, 2003). Women and men define conversation differently and this affects their use of language. Emphasizing this difference, Tannen (1990:24) notes that for men, conversations "are negotiations in which people try to achieve and maintain the upper hand", whereas for women, they "are negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus" (25). This may be a reason for why women avoid impolite verbal behaviors. Furthermore, Lakoff (1975:74) asserts the difference between men and women's use of language as follows:

Women will tend to speak with reference to the rules of politeness, conversational implicature, and interpersonal exploration; men will tend to speak with reference to the rules of conversation and straight factual communication. It seems to be true of both men and women, however, that when the crunch comes, the rules of politeness will supersede the rules of conversation: better be unclear than rude.

Women also tend to use and interpret certain types of speech acts differently compared to men. For Holmes (1995:185), "being polite seems more likely to involve an apology for a woman than a man." In the same line, Brown (1980:117) thinks that women are more polite than men because they "are either 1) generally speaking to superiors, 2) generally speaking to socially distant persons, or 3)

involved in more face-threatening acts, or have a higher assessment than men have of what counts as imposition”

2.7. Previous Studies about Apology with Influencing Social Variables

Several studies investigating ‘apology’ demonstrate that there are some social variables such as gender, age and status which affect apologetic behaviors.

The effect of gender on ‘apology’ has been a major concern for many linguists (Fraser, 1981; Blum-Kulka et. al., 1989; Mattson Bean and Johnston, 1994, Tannen, 1994; Aijmer, 1995; Holmes, 1995; Márquez Reiter, 2000; Engel, 2001; Deutschmann, 2003; Lazare, 2004; Hatipoglu, 2012), but there is still little consensus among the researchers on this point.

There has been a great diversity of studies about the role of gender on ‘apology.’ Many of them found that women use more apology forms than men and some others found men apologize more compared to women. Besides, there are some studies showing that gender has no effect on apology.

Holmes’s study (1989) focused on both features of the distribution of apologies and the function they have in remedial exchanges between men and women in different contexts. She found that in 183 remedial interchanges women were inclined to use apology more when compared to men; women apologized to the same gender more than to men, and also they make apology more to each other than men apologize to each other. Furthermore, Gonzales et al. (1990) investigated the effects of gender and status by studying the utterances of 99 American undergraduate students and found that female students performed more acts of apology than male students.

Majeed and Janjua (2014) studied the apology type of speech act in Urdu language and their aim was to find out how different genders express apology in different situations. The results of their study showed that both males and females take age, dominance and distance into consideration in the selection of apology speech acts. Also the study demonstrated that female participants seemed to be more conscious about their face wants while negotiating with their friends.

Walfisch, Van Dijk and Kark (2013) examined the effect of status and gender on the efficiency of apology. The results showed that the efficiency of an apology is more influenced by the status of the individual apologizing than his/her age and an

apology from a man is more efficient than from a woman. Also, the study revealed that the higher the status, the more effective the apology is.

On the other hand, Mattson Bean and Johnstone (1994) investigated the use of ‘apology’ in 62 telephone interviews and stated that men used more apology forms than did females.

Some other studies reveal that gender has no significant effect on the speech act of “apology”. Aijmer (1995), for example, examined apologies in London Lund Corpus but found no considerable differences in apologies given by men and women. Similarly, Fraser (1981) explored apologies in American English and found that the gender of the apologizer had no effect on apology responses. Besides, Chamani (2014) analyzed gender differences in the use of apologies in a corpus of 500 apology exchanges that were collected through observation in Iran and coded the data according to the model of Cohen and Olshtain (1983). The findings of the study showed that there were no considerable gender differences in the use of apology in Persian. About this point, Schumann (2011:2) stated: “despite widespread acceptance of the stereotype that women apologize more than men do, there is little compelling evidence of a gender difference in apology behavior.”

2.8. Previous Studies about Cross-Cultural Comparison of Apologies

The interpretation of speech act is quite different across cultures; as Cutting (2002:21) suggests: “the ways of expressing speech acts vary from country to country, from culture to culture”. Also, Wierzbicka (2003:69) notes these points:

In different societies and different communities, people speak differently. Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

Therefore, EFL learners need to know the certain rules of the foreign language they learn. In the contrary case, learners may have difficulty in understanding individuals from culturally different society. To give an example, apologizing in Japan is considered a virtue and it is more than just uttering the required phrases. The situation cannot be said of the United States, where individuals apologize that are devoid of any sincerity. In addition to apologizing, the act of thanking, for example, in Georgia is not as common as it is in the United Kingdom. People in Georgia say thank you when they are really grateful for the H. A similar idea is presented by Cutting (2002) by using the sentence ‘how fat you are!’ In India,

this sentence expresses the speech act of ‘congratulating’ and ‘praising’ due to the fact that ‘weight’ means health and prosperity. However, in United Kingdom, the same sentence is the speech act of ‘criticizing’ because fashion industry makes people think that “being thin means being beautiful and healthy.”

There are a great number of studies about cross-cultural apologies due to the fact that these studies make contribution for understanding the differences between cultures. As mentioned in the section of ‘apology strategies’ before, CCSARP by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) is regarded as one of the most significant studies on interlanguage pragmatics. CCSARP gives great insight for the study of apologies across cultures and the coding system of the project was applied by many other linguistic studies.

Aydin (2013) carried out a study to compare the apology strategies employed by Turkish speakers, American English speakers and also advanced non-native speakers of English in Turkey. DCT was used to collect the data from 30 Turkish speakers, 29 American English speakers, and 15 advanced non-native speakers of English in Turkey. The results of his study demonstrated that ‘apology’ type of speech act used by Turkish, American and non-native speakers of English living in Turkey differ in many respects. Besides, the study revealed that although advanced non-native speakers achieved proficiency in pragmatics, the effects of the first language (L1) were observed.

The types of apology strategies used by 220 Turkish and 194 British undergraduate university students were compared by Hatipoglu (2012). The data collected via DCT were categorized using the taxonomy of Cohen and Olshtain (1981). According to the results of the study; while Turkish female university students used the strategy of ‘acknowledgement of responsibility’ more than British females, British male students used the strategy of ‘explicit expression of apology’ (i.e. IFID) more than both female groups and Turkish males.

A similar cross-cultural speech acts study was carried out by Istifci (2009). She tried to find out similarities and differences between 40 EFL learners at different levels (i.e. 20 intermediate and 20 advanced) and 5 native English speakers. Categorization of Cohen and Olshtain (1983) was done and the results revealed that there was L1 influence on intermediate level learners and they employed the strategy of ‘blaming’ to deny apologizing. In a car accident, for example, the driver crashes the car and blames the other driver who is not at fault. Furthermore, it was also

concluded that advanced level learners reached the native speaker norms and in some of the situations, both intermediate and advanced level learners employed different strategies from English norms.

Another study about Turkish pragmatics was done by Tuncel (2011). The apology strategies of 68 prep-school students and 61 final year undergraduate students at Anadolu University in comparison with 50 native English speakers from Britain and America living in Turkey. As a result of his study, high L1 influence was observed in learner speech act production and both prep school and final year students used some formulas which are not appropriate for English norms. For example, in a situation where someone insults another in a meeting, Turkish participants preferred not to make an apology. Instead, they used an expression that is acceptable in Turkish sociocultural setting, not in English.

The other study was conducted by Chamani & Zareipour (2010) who investigated 'apology' differences in British English and Persian. They collected the data from real-life situations from two different corpora: British National Corpus and Persian Corpus. The British National Corpus contains the speech of about 4700 Ss in different naturally-occurring situations and the Persian Corpus comprises of 500 apology exchanges. The data were analyzed according to the taxonomy of Deutschmann (2003) and the results showed that both groups used similar apology strategies. Moreover, British English speakers employed a single IFID in most of the situations while Persians used explicit apology with the combination of other apology strategies.

Since this thesis studies the uses of apology, only the studies about cross-cultural 'apology' are handled above. However, it should be noted that there are a great number of speech act studies in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. The use of 'refusal' strategies by Turkish EFL learners in comparison with English and Turkish native speakers (Ciftci, 2016), the speech act of 'congratulation' in British English and Turkish (Can, 2011), the use of 'requests' by speakers of Iranian Persian monolingual and Turkish-Persian bilingual (Shahidi Tabar, 2012), a cross-cultural comparison of the speech act of 'complaining' between English and Turkish native speakers (Bikmen & Marti, 2013) are some of the studies investigating cross-cultural speech acts, not including 'apology.'

In a nutshell, it is indisputable that culture plays a fundamental role in the use of speech acts. If there is less overlap between the Ss' cultural norms, there will be less misunderstandings.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

As noted before, this thesis investigates apologetic polite linguistic behavior in Jane Austen's novel *Emma*. The thesis also attempts to examine whether social variables such as gender, age and social status affect the speech act of apology. In this respect, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the categories of 'apology' type of speech act that characters of the novel use in different situations? What are the differences in apology strategies between men and women?
2. How do such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology? Do men or women apologize more to people of higher, lower, or equal status?
3. Is there a considerable difference between men and women in the frequency of apologizing?
4. Do men and women apologize more to same-gender individuals or to opposite-gender individuals?

This chapter consists of two parts: data description and data analysis. In the first part, the novel and the data collected from the novel are presented. In the second part, the data is categorized by using the taxonomy of Cohen and Olshtain (1983). Olshtain (1989) claims that the taxonomy of Cohen and Olshtain (1983) has been developed empirically and its universal applicability has been successfully tested on various languages (as cited in Shariati & Chamani, 2010:1691). The classification of Cohen and Olshtain (1983) includes the following five main strategies (See Table 2).

Table 2: Strategies for making an apology by Cohen and Olshtain (1983)

A. An expression of apology
. An expression of regret
. An offer of apology
. A request for forgiveness

Table 2: Strategies for making an apology by Cohen and Olshtain (1983) (continued)

B. An explanation or account of the situation

C. An acknowledgement of responsibility

- . Accepting the blame
 - . Expressing self-deficiency
 - . Recognizing the other person as deserving apology
 - . Expressing lack of intent
-

D. An offer of repair

E. A promise of forbearance

3.2. Method

Since the data collected from the novel is in the form of written words and sentences, a qualitative method is carried out in the discourse analysis of the apology utterances of the novel. Qualitative method provides the researcher textual descriptions of how individuals experience a specific research field and it is effective in describing social norms, cultural structure, gender roles, social status, ethnicity, and so on. After identifying a linguistic phenomenon qualitatively, its frequency in the novel is also offered in statistical tables.

McCarthy (1991:5) claims that discourse analysis “is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used.” Furthermore, discourse analysis does not only include the analysis of spoken interaction, but also such printed texts as “newspaper articles, letters, stories, recipes, instructions, notices, comics billboards, leaflets pushed through the door, and so on” (McCarthy,1991:12).

As many qualitative researches try to examine how individuals interact with each other, this study aims to investigate how apology strategies are employed by male and female characters of the novel. Social variables affecting the speech of apology, the difference between men and women in the use of apologetic expression, and the categories of apology that the characters use in different situations are explained and also demonstrated in statistical tables.

3.3. Data Description

The data for this thesis is collected from the utterances by the characters of Jane Austen’s *Emma*. The world of the novel is limited to a small segment of English upper-middle-class community and the characters live in a stable world which is

circumscribed by good manners. The world of the novel provides us with multifarious uses of apologetic acts analyzable within the framework of politeness.

First of all, *Emma* is chosen for many reasons. First, it has plenty of samples of apology. Second, it includes a lot of dialogues that consist apology samples indicating power, distance and gender variables. The author involves different characters, including characters that belonged to upper classes and lower classes and this provides us to find out what kind of apology and politeness strategies the people from different classes prefer to each other. Third, Austen deliberately displayed a realistic portrayal of contemporary English life -upper middle-class community and the novel is based on real-life situations of the nineteenth century England.

Emma, written in 1815, is about a young woman Emma Woodhouse's maturation into adulthood and the trouble she gets herself into along the way. Before beginning to write the novel, Austen tells: "I am going to take a heroine whom no one but myself will much like". In the first sentence of the novel, Austen introduces the protagonist Emma Woodhouse as "... handsome, clever, and rich, with a comfortable home and happy disposition, seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence; ..." Austen is right about her saying because the reader gets warm to Emma despite all her fallibilities.

The novel is basically as follows. Young, beautiful and wealthy Emma Woodhouse interferes in her friends' love lives. Miss Taylor, Emma's governess, marries. After introducing Miss Taylor to her husband, Mr. Weston, she feels quite confident about her match-making skills and thinks herself to be naturally gifted in love matches. She interferes to prevent her much poorer friend Harriet Smith marrying to a farmer, Robert Martin, for whom she clearly has feelings.

Emma herself flirts with Frank Churchill, Mr. Weston's son from his first marriage, who has grown up with relatives elsewhere. Frank is thought to be an ideal suitor for Emma and she agrees that his breeding, age and manners make him a good match for her. Realizing that things are not as good as they might be with Frank, she hints to Harriet that he might be attracted to her; but Harriet confesses that she loves Emma's brother-in-law, Mr. Knightley who is a landowner and gentleman farmer. Mr. Knightley, Emma's good friend, always watches and guides Emma's exploits; but she generally ignores his advice.

Moreover, Frank turns out to have been secretly engaged to a young woman named Jane Fairfax who has just returned to Highbury to live with her relatives.

Besides, shocked by the possibility of Mr. Knightley ending up with Harriet, Emma realized that she is in love with Mr. Knightley. She is certain that Mr. Knightley may be interested in Harriet and expects him to tell her that he loves Harriet. However, Mr. Knightley declares his love for Emma and proposes to her. In the end of the novel, all the romantic muddles are cleared: Emma marries up with Mr. Knightley, and after Robert Martin's second proposal to Harriet, he is accepted. The novel ends with three marriages: Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax, Robert Martin and Harriet, and Mr. Knightley and Emma.

Emma page references in the data analysis are to the 2008 Oxford World's Classics Paperback.

3.4. Data Analysis Procedure

As this thesis uses Cohen & Olshtain's (1983) taxonomy for indicating the uses of apology, this taxonomy is explained here and examples from *Emma* are given for each type of apology.

The first strategy, shown in Table 2 above, is *an expression of apology*. This strategy generally results from the S's use of an expression containing a performative verb, such as *be sorry*, *forgive* and *apologize*. It also consists of three sub-categories: *an expression of regret*, *an offer of apology* and *a request for forgiveness*.

- An expression of regret
 - 'Ah!—Indeed I am very *sorry*.—Come, shake hands with me.' (EM-p. 79)
- An offer of apology
 - '...—but, first of all, I really must, in justice to Jane, *apologise* for her writing so short a letter—only two pages you see— hardly two—and...'
(EM-p. 123)
- A request for forgiveness
 - 'Let us *forgive* each other at once.' (EM-p. 361)

The second strategy, *an explanation or account of the situation*, is an indirect speech act of apologizing.

- An explanation or account of the situation
 - "My dearest papa! You do not think I could mean you, or suppose Mr. Knightley to mean you. What a horrible idea! Oh no! I meant only myself.

Mr. Knightley loves to find fault with me, you know— in a joke—it is all a joke. We always say what we like to one another.” (EM-p. 9)

The third apology strategy, *an acknowledgement of responsibility*, is divided into four sub-categories: *accepting the blame*, *expressing self-deficiency*, *recognizing the other person as deserving apology*, and *expressing lack of intent*. This strategy is used when the S accepts his/her responsibility for the offence.

- Accepting the blame

- ‘... perhaps I have been under a *mistake*.’ (EM-p. 41)

- Expressing self-deficiency

- ‘... *It was all my doing, I know*. I have not forgotten it, I assure you. — Deceived myself, I did very miserably deceive you — and it will be a painful reflection to me for ever. Do not imagine me in danger of forgetting it. ... ’ (EM-p. 209)

- Recognizing the other person as deserving apology

- ‘... *You are right*, Mrs. Weston,’ said Mr. Knightley warmly, ‘Miss Fairfax is as capable as any of us of forming a just opinion of Mrs. Elton. Could she have chosen with whom to associate, she would not have chosen her. ...’ (EM-p. 224)

- Expressing lack of intent

- ‘I *did not mean*, I was not thinking of the slave-trade,’ replied Jane; ‘governess-trade, I assure you, was all that I had in view... (EM-p. 235)

The fourth strategy, *an offer of repair*, is used when the apologizer will carry out an action or provide payment for the damage which results from his/her offense.

- “...Come, my dear Emma, let us be friends, and say no more about it. Tell your aunt, little Emma, that she ought to set you a better example than to be renewing old grievances, and that if she were not wrong before, she is now.” (EM-p. 79)

The last strategy, *a promise of forbearance*, is not common when compared with the other four strategies mentioned above, and by using this strategy, the apologizer promises that the offense will not happen again.

- “Very well; I will not plague you any more...” (EM-p. 32)

Apology samples collected from the dialogues of the novel are analyzed based on five main strategies and seven sub-strategies of Cohen and Olshtain (1983).

Besides these strategies explained above, when the offender does not need to apologize, s/he has a number of options which are classified as *no verbal reaction*, *denial of need to apologize* and *denial of responsibility*. In order to explain all the collected data, a new strategy - *self-apology* - is also identified, and a code is assigned to each strategy to examine the apology strategy easily. All these apology strategies and their codes are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Apology strategies and their codes

Code	Strategy
AEA	An expression of apology
AER	An expression of regret
AOA	An offer of apology
ARF	A request for forgiveness
AEOS	An explanation or account of the situation
AAR	An acknowledgement of responsibility
AB	Accepting the blame
ESD	Expressing self-deficiency
ROPDA	Recognizing the other person as deserving apology
ELI	Expressing lack of intent
AOR	An offer of repair
APF	A promise of forbearance
NVR	No verbal reaction
DNA	Denial of need to apologize
DR	Denial of responsibility
NAB	Not accepting the blame
BO	Blaming others
New Strategy	
SA	Self-apology

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces 15 dialogues from the novel. As already explained, it is assumed that there are some social variables such as gender, age and social status affecting apologetic behaviors; thus, these variables are taken into consideration in the choice of dialogues. The assigned codes presented in data analysis procedure are used to explain the apology strategies used by the characters of *Emma*.

4.2. Data Analysis

4.2.1. Dialogue I (Volume II - Chapter XIII - p. 209-210)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse's home

Situation: Emma is trying to conciliate Harriet.

Participants: Emma Woodhouse and Harriet Smith

D.I. ['Your allowing yourself to be so occupied and so unhappy about Mr. Elton's marrying, Harriet, is the strongest reproach you can make me. You could not give me a greater reproof for the mistake I fell into. It was all my doing, I know. I have not forgotten it, I assure you.— Deceived myself, I did very miserably deceive you— and it will be a painful reflection to me for ever. Do not imagine me in danger of forgetting it.'

Harriet felt this too much to utter more than a few words of eager exclamation. Emma continued,

'I have not said, exert yourself Harriet for my sake; think less, talk less of Mr. Elton for my sake; because for your own sake rather, I would wish it to be done, for the sake of what is more important than my comfort, a habit of self-command in you, a consideration of what is your duty, an attention to propriety, an endeavour to avoid the suspicions of others, to save your health and credit, and restore your tranquillity. These are the motives which I have been pressing on you. They are very important—and sorry I am that you cannot feel them sufficiently to act upon them. My being saved from pain is a very secondary consideration. I want you to save yourself from greater pain. Perhaps I may sometimes have felt that Harriet would not forget what was due—or rather what would be kind by me.]

Emma convinces Harriet to dump Robert Martin who is a young farmer who likes her because a lowly farmer is not at all a good match for her friend Harriet, though he may be kind, sensible, respectable, and in love with Harriet. Then, Emma encourages Harriet to marry the town's clergyman Mr. Elton who is gentlemanlike

and pleasing. Unluckily, he turns out to be in love with Emma, and after being refused by her, he decided to marry Miss Augusta Hawkins. Harriet is very much upset about the situation. The apology type of ‘an acknowledgement of the responsibility’ is employed by Emma when she says “You could not give me a greater reproof for the mistake I fell into. It was all my doing, I know.” [EM-AAR-p.209] After the behavior of Mr. Elton, Emma thinks that she has learnt her lesson in matchmaking and tries to conciliate Harriet. She acknowledges her wrongdoing and says: “...Deceived myself, I did very miserably deceive you— and it will be a painful reflection to me for ever...” [EM-AB-p.209]

By saying “...think less, talk less of Mr. Elton for my sake; because for your own sake rather, I would wish it to be done, for the sake of what is more important than my comfort...”, ‘bald on record strategy’ is also applied by Emma. Without any minimization to the imposition, she is speaking in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way. Emma wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than she wants to protect Harriet’s (H’s) face. ‘Positive politeness strategy’ is also obviously applied by Emma using the sub-strategy of ‘attending to the hearer’ (Harriet). Emma says: “...I want you to save yourself from greater pain...” and she attempts to minimize the distance between them by showing solidarity and expressing friendliness.

4.2.2. Dialogue II (Volume III - Chapter XVI - p. 361)

Setting: The house of Mrs. and Miss. Bates

Situation: Mutual understanding between Emma Woodhouse and Jane Fairfax

Participants: Emma Woodhouse and Jane Fairfax

D.II. [It is as well, perhaps, that I have not had the possibility. Had you not been surrounded by other friends, I might have been tempted to introduce a subject, to ask questions, to speak more openly than might have been strictly correct.—I feel that I should certainly have been impertinent.]

‘Oh!’ cried Jane, with a blush and a hesitation which Emma thought infinitely more becoming to her than all the elegance of all her usual composure—‘there would have been no danger. The danger would have been of my wearying you. You could not have gratified me more than by expressing an interest—. Indeed, Miss Woodhouse, (speaking more collectedly,) with the consciousness which I have of misconduct, very great misconduct, it is particularly consoling to me to know that those of my friends, whose good opinion is most worth preserving, are not disgusted to such a degree as to—I have not time for half that I could wish to say. I long to make apologies, excuses, to urge something for myself. I feel it so very due. But, unfortunately—in short, if your compassion does not stand my friend—’

‘Oh! you are too scrupulous, indeed you are,’ cried Emma warmly, and taking her hand. ‘You owe me no apologies; and every body to whom you might be supposed to owe them, is so perfectly satisfied, so delighted even—’

‘You are very kind, but I know what my manners were to you.— So cold and artificial!—I had always a part to act.—It was a life of deceit!—I know that I must have disgusted you.’

‘Pray say no more. I feel that all the apologies should be on my side. Let us forgive each other at once. We must do whatever is to be done quickest, and I think our feelings will lose no time there. I hope you have pleasant accounts from Windsor?’]

Jane Fairfax is a very beautiful, good-natured and clever woman, and she is also very well-educated and has a talent for singing and playing the piano. Jane is the only person whom Emma envies. Emma is pretty upset to find the whole neighborhood, including Mr. Knightley and her governess Mrs. Weston, praising Jane to the skies, but when Mrs. Elton pities Jane’s situation and makes it her mission to place her with a good quality family to become a governess, Emma begins to feel some sympathy for the bad condition of Jane. After the news of secret engagement of Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax, Emma goes for her reconciliation with Jane Fairfax, but their encounter is seriously impeded by the presence of Mrs. Elton. She says: “...Had you not been surrounded by other friends, I might have been tempted to introduce a subject, to ask questions, to speak more openly than might have been strictly correct.—I feel that I should certainly have been impertinent.” [EM-AB&ESD-p.361] and the sub-categories of ‘accepting the blame’ and ‘expressing self-deficiency’ of the apology type of ‘an acknowledgement of the responsibility’ are employed by Emma.

As an answer to Emma, Jane applies ‘an explanation or account of the situation’ by saying “...with the consciousness which I have of misconduct, very great misconduct, it is particularly consoling to me to know that those of my friends, whose good opinion is most worth preserving, are not disgusted to such a degree as to—I have not time for half that I could wish to say...” [EM-AEOS-p.361] She also employs ‘an expression of apology’ and say “...I long to make apologies, excuses, to urge something for myself. I feel it so very due...” [EM-AEO-p.361]

However, Emma does not accept the need to apologize and she refers to the strategy of ‘denial of need to apologize’ by saying “You owe me no apologies...”, [EM-DNA-p.361] but Jane, ‘accepting her blame’, says: “You are very kind, but I know what my manners were to you.— So cold and artificial!—I had always a part to act.—It was a life of deceit!—I know that I must have disgusted you.” [EM-AB-p.361]

At the end of the dialogue, on the stairs of the house of Bates', Emma applies 'bald on record strategy' and says: "Pray say no more..." She makes an imperative sentence softened with a politeness marker *pray*. She goes on 'accepting the blame' and applies 'an offer of repair' by saying "...I feel that all the apologies should be on my side. Let us forgive each other at once...". [EM-AB&AOR-p.361] Their mutual understanding is now perfect and there will be a different style of communication between them henceforth.

4.2.3. Dialogue III (Volume III - Chapter XIII - p. 334)

Setting: Shrubbery

Situation: Misunderstanding of Mr. Knightley

Participants: Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley

D.III. ['You probably have been less surprized than any of us, for you have had your suspicions.—I have not forgotten that you once tried to give me a caution.—I wish I had attended to it—but—(with a sinking voice and a heavy sigh) I seem to have been doomed to blindness.'

For a moment or two nothing was said, and she was unsuspecting of having excited any particular interest, till she found her arm drawn within his, and pressed against his heart, and heard him thus saying, in a tone of great sensibility, speaking low,

'Time, my dearest Emma, time will heal the wound.— Your own excellent sense—your exertions for your father's sake—I know you will not allow yourself—.' Her arm was pressed again, as he added, in a more broken and subdued accent, 'The feelings of the warmest friendship— Indignation— Abominable scoundrel!'— And in a louder, steadier tone, he concluded with, 'He will soon be gone. They will soon be in Yorkshire. I am sorry for her. She deserves a better fate.'

Emma understood him; and as soon as she could recover from the flutter of pleasure, excited by such tender consideration, replied,

'You are very kind—but you are mistaken—and I must set you right.— I am not in want of that sort of compassion. My blindness to what was going on, led me to act by them in a way that I must always be ashamed of, and I was very foolishly tempted to say and do many things which may well lay me open to unpleasant conjectures, but I have no other reason to regret that I was not in the secret earlier.'

'Emma!' cried he, looking eagerly at her, 'are you, indeed?'— but checking himself—'No, no, I understand you—forgive me—I am pleased that you can say even so much.—He is no object of regret, indeed! and it will not be very long, I hope, before that becomes the acknowledgment of more than your reason...]

Emma takes for a walk in the shrubbery. To her surprise, Mr. Knightley joins her. He has just came back from London. He was in London visiting John and Isabella Knightley when he was apprised of Frank Churchill's clandestine engagement with Jane Fairfax. Emma says: "...I have not forgotten that you once tried to give me a caution.—I wish I had attended to it—but—(with a sinking voice and a heavy sigh) I seem to have been doomed to blindness." [EM-AER&ESD-

p.334] and with this sentence, she refers to the apology strategies of ‘an expression of regret’ and ‘expressing self-deficiency’.

Mr. Knightley believes that Emma is deeply in love with Frank Churchill and tries to offer support to her with such sayings: “...time will heal the wound... He will soon be gone...”. Emma, on the other hand, applies the strategy of ‘an explanation or account for the situation’ and says: “...I am not in want of that sort of compassion. My blindness to what was going on, led me to act by them in a way that I must always be ashamed of, and I was very foolishly tempted to say and do many things which may well lay me open to unpleasant conjectures, but I have no other reason to regret that I was not in the secret earlier.” [EM-AEOS-p.334] Besides, although she does not use expressions like *sorry*, *regret* etc., it is obviously clear that she is deeply regretful. Mr. Knightley refers to the apology strategy of ‘a request of forgiveness’ and says “No, no, I understand you—forgive me—...” [EM-ARF-p.334] to her. But he still tries to comfort Emma although she has never had feelings for Frank.

4.2.4. Dialogue IV (Volume I - Chapter VIII - p. 46)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse’s home

Situation: Mr. Woodhouse’s apologies for going out while Mr. Knightley is at Hartfield

Participants: Mr. Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley

D.IV. [‘Well, I believe, if you will excuse me, Mr. Knightley, if you will not consider me as doing a very rude thing, I shall take Emma’s advice and go out for a quarter of an hour. As the sun is out, I believe I had better take my three turns while I can. I treat you without ceremony, Mr. Knightley. We invalids think we are privileged people.’

‘My dear sir, do not make a stranger of me.’

‘I leave an excellent substitute in my daughter. Emma will be happy to entertain you. And therefore I think I will beg your excuse and take my three turns—my winter walk.’

‘You cannot do better, sir.’

‘I would ask for the pleasure of your company, Mr. Knightley, but I am a very slow walker, and my pace would be tedious to you; and, besides, you have another long walk before you, to Donwell Abbey.]

Mr. Woodhouse is always concerned for his health and comfort and one day he decides to go out for walking while Mr. Knightley is at Hartfield. Since he previously decided to walk out, he applies ‘a request for forgiveness’ for Mr. Knightley saying “Well, I believe, if you will excuse me, Mr. Knightley, if you will not consider me as doing a very rude thing, I shall take Emma’s advice and go out for a quarter of an hour...” [EM-ARF-p.46] Making his excuse, he also applies

‘negative politeness strategy’. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that negative politeness strategy intends to create distance between a speaker and hearers to show respect (p.129).

Although Mr. Knightley comforts Mr. Woodhouse for going out to walk, he again begs his excuse, applying the strategy of ‘a request for forgiveness’, and says: “I leave an excellent substitute in my daughter. Emma will be happy to entertain you. And therefore I think I will beg your excuse and take my three turns—my winter walk.” [EM-ARF-p.46] This is again considered as an example of ‘negative politeness strategy’ and thus Mr. Woodhouse addresses Mr. Knightley’s positive face needs. It is noteworthy that although Mr. Woodhouse is older than Mr. Knightley, the degree of politeness against him is quite high.

At the end of the conversation, Mr. Woodhouse manages to apply ‘positive politeness strategy’ in his utterances towards Mr. Knightley as he wants to please him and ‘attends to the hearer’ (Mr. Knightley). By using this strategy, he also intends to avoid giving offense by highlighting friendliness and says: “I would ask for the pleasure of your company, Mr. Knightley, but I am a very slow walker, and my pace would be tedious to you; and, besides, you have another long walk before you, to Donwell Abbey.”

4.2.5. Dialogue V (Volume I - Chapter XII - p. 79)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse’s home

Situation: Reconciliation between Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley

Participants: Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley

D.V. [‘To be sure—our discordancies must always arise from my being in the wrong.’

‘Yes,’ said he, smiling—‘and reason good. I was sixteen years old when you were born.’

‘A material difference then,’ she replied—‘and no doubt you were much my superior in judgment at that period of our lives; but does not the lapse of one- and twenty years bring our understandings a good deal nearer?’

‘Yes—a good deal nearer.’

‘But still, not near enough to give me a chance of being right, if we think differently.’

‘I have still the advantage of you by sixteen years’ experience, and by not being a pretty young woman and a spoiled child. Come, my dear Emma, let us be friends, and say no more about it. Tell your aunt, little Emma, that she ought to set you a better example than to be renewing old grievances, and that if she were not wrong before, she is now.’

‘That’s true,’ she cried—‘very true. Little Emma, grow up a better woman than your aunt. Be infinitely cleverer and not half so conceited. Now, Mr. Knightley, a word or two more, and I have done. As far as good intentions went, we were both right, and I must say that no effects on my side of the

argument have yet proved wrong. I only want to know that Mr. Martin is not very, very bitterly disappointed.’
‘A man cannot be more so,’ was his short, full answer.
‘Ah!—Indeed I am very sorry.—Come, shake hands with me.’]

Before the conversation above between Emma and Mr. Knightley, a letter from Robert Martin proposing marriage is received by Harriet and she directly seeks advice of Emma. Emma thinks that Harriet should not accept the proposal. Although Harriet has feelings for Mr. Martin, she rejects him as the loss of Emma for her is unthinkable. On the other hand, Mr. Knightley says that Mr. Martin has consulted him about the proposal to Harriet, and he gives support to his idea. Emma tells him that the proposal has already been made and he is rejected, and she insists on saying that Mr. Martin is not equal and suitable for Harriet. Mr. Knightley very nearly loses his head, and contrary to Emma, he insists upon Mr. Martin’s superiority when compared to Harriet. Mr. Knightley is really displeased by Emma’s role in the rejection of Mr. Martin, and he utters: “You have been no friend to Harriet Smith.” They get vexed with one another until the dinner at Hartfield. ‘Accepting her blame’ about the issue, Emma says: “To be sure—our discordancies must always arise from my being in the wrong.” [EM-AB-p.79] and Mr. Knightley confirms her and tells that he is too much older than her.

Although, Mr. Knightley knows that he is quite right, he still applies ‘an offer of repair’ strategy and states: “...Come, my dear Emma, let us be friends, and say no more about it...” [EM-AOR-p.79] In return, Emma does not completely think that she is wrong and says: “...and I must say that no effects on my side of the argument have yet proved wrong. I only want to know that Mr. Martin is not very, very bitterly disappointed.” [EM-DR-p.79] Therefore, she applied ‘denial of responsibility’ for the issue and ‘positive politeness strategy’ for Mr. Martin.

Finally, Emma expresses her regret for Mr. Martin and does not want to dwell on the issue anymore saying “Ah!—Indeed I am very sorry.—Come, shake hands with me.” [EM-AER-p.79]

4.2.6. Dialogue VI (Volume I - Chapter XV- p. 104-105)

Setting: Carriage

Situation: Mr. Elton’s professing his love for Emma

Participants: Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Elton

D.VI. [‘Good Heaven!’ cried Mr. Elton, ‘what can be the meaning of this?—Miss Smith!—I never thought of Miss Smith in the whole course of my existence—never paid her any attentions, but as your friend: never cared whether she were dead or alive, but as your friend. If she has fancied otherwise, her own wishes have misled her, and I am very sorry—extremely sorry—But, Miss Smith, indeed!—Oh! Miss Woodhouse! who can think of Miss Smith, when Miss Woodhouse is near! No, upon my honour, there is no unsteadiness of character. I have thought only of you. I protest against having paid the smallest attention to any one else. Every thing that I have said or done, for many weeks past, has been with the sole view of marking my adoration of yourself. You cannot really, seriously, doubt it. No!—(in an accent meant to be insinuating)—I am sure you have seen and understood me.’

It would be impossible to say what Emma felt, on hearing this— which of all her unpleasant sensations was uppermost. She was too completely overpowered to be immediately able to reply: and two moments of silence being ample encouragement for Mr. Elton’s sanguine state of mind, he tried to take her hand again, as he joyously exclaimed—‘Charming Miss Woodhouse! Allow me to interpret this interesting silence. It confesses that you have long understood me.’

‘No, sir,’ cried Emma, ‘it confesses no such thing. So far from having long understood you, I have been in a most complete error with respect to your views, till this moment. As to myself, I am very sorry that you should have been giving way to any feelings— Nothing could be farther from my wishes—your attachment to my friend Harriet—your pursuit of her, (pursuit, it appeared,) gave me great pleasure, and I have been very earnestly wishing you success: but had I supposed that she were not your attraction to Hartfield, I should certainly have thought you judged ill in making your visits so frequent. Am I to believe that you have never sought to recommend yourself particularly to Miss Smith?—that you have never thought seriously of her?’

‘Never, madam,’ cried he, affronted in his turn: ‘never, I assure you. I think seriously of Miss Smith!—Miss Smith is a very good sort of girl; and I should be happy to see her respectably settled. I wish her extremely well: and, no doubt, there are men who might not object to—Every body has their level: but as for myself, I am not, I think, quite so much at a loss. I need not so totally despair of an equal alliance, as to be addressing myself to Miss Smith! — No, madam, my visits to Hartfield have been for yourself only; and the encouragement I received—

‘Encouragement!—I give you encouragement!—Sir, you have been entirely mistaken in supposing it. I have seen you only as the admirer of my friend. In no other light could you have been more to me than a common acquaintance. I am exceedingly sorry: but it is well that the mistake ends where it does. Had the same behavior continued, Miss Smith might have been led into a misconception of your views; not being aware, probably, any more than myself, of the very great inequality which you are so sensible of. But, as it is, the disappointment is single, and, I trust, will not be lasting. I have no thoughts of matrimony at present.’]

Highbury residents are in Randalls, the house of Westons, and it began to snow. Mr. Woodhouse feels panic that they will be unable to leave Randalls. When the snow slows down, carriages are brought to take the guests to their homes. In the confusion created by the party breaking up due to the weather, Emma somehow finds herself alone in a carriage with Mr. Elton. He suddenly declares his love for Emma and makes a proposal to her. Emma hopes that he is drunk and reminds him that Harriet is the true person of his feelings. He gets confused and tries to make Emma

believe that he has never been interested in Harriet saying: “...I never thought of Miss Smith in the whole course of my existence—never paid her any attentions, but as your friend: never cared whether she were dead or alive, but as your friend. If she has fancied otherwise, her own wishes have misled her, and I am very sorry—extremely sorry—...” [EM-AEA-p.104] This is considered as an example of ‘an expression of apology’.

When Emma subsides into silence in front of the utterances she hears, Mr. Elton takes her hand and applies ‘bald on record strategy’ saying “...allow me to interpret this interesting silence. It confesses that you have long understood me.” In return, Emma applies both ‘an expression of apology’ and ‘an explanation or account of the situation’ and says: “...I have been in a most complete error with respect to your views, till this moment. As to myself, I am very sorry that you should have been giving way to any feelings— Nothing could be farther from my wishes—your attachment to my friend Harriet—your pursuit of her, (pursuit, it appeared,) gave me great pleasure...” [EM-AEA&AEOS-p.104] She also applies ‘positive politeness strategy’ and tries to ‘avoid disagreement’ saying “...Am I to believe that you have never sought to recommend yourself particularly to Miss Smith?—that you have never thought seriously of her?”

Mr. Elton disparages Harriet for her low social status and attempts to remind Emma that he passed the time with Harriet when she existed in the same place with them and claims that Emma encouraged him. She is shocked by his revelation and says: “Encouragement!—I give you encouragement!—Sir, you have been entirely mistaken in supposing it. I have seen you only as the admirer of my friend. In no other light could you have been more to me than a common acquaintance. I am exceedingly sorry: but it is well that the mistake ends where it does...” [EM-AEA&AEOS-p.105] These utterances are again considered as the apology strategies of ‘an expression of apology’ and ‘an explanation or account of the situation’.

4.2.7. Dialogue VII (Volume III - Chapter VIII - p.298)

Setting: The house of Mrs. and Miss. Bates

Situation: Emma’s visit to the Bates’

Participants: Miss. Bates and Emma

D.VII. [... You will excuse her not coming to you—she is not able—she is gone into her own room— I want her to lie down upon the bed. ‘My dear,’ said I, ‘I shall say you are laid down upon the bed:’ but, however, she is not;

she is walking about the room. But, now that she has written her letters, she says she shall soon be well. She will be extremely sorry to miss seeing you, Miss Woodhouse, but your kindness will excuse her. You were kept waiting at the door—I was quite ashamed— but somehow there was a little bustle—for it so happened that we had not heard the knock, and till you were on the stairs, we did not know any body was coming. ‘It is only Mrs. Cole,’ said I, ‘depend upon it. Nobody else would come so early.’ ‘Well,’ said she, ‘it must be borne some time or other, and it may as well be now.’ But then Patty came in, and said it was you. ‘Oh!’ said I, ‘it is Miss Woodhouse: I am sure you will like to see her.’— ‘I can see nobody,’ said she; and up she got, and would go away; and that was what made us keep you waiting—and extremely sorry and ashamed we were. ‘If you must go, my dear,’ said I, ‘you must, and I will say you are laid down upon the bed.]

The day before the conversation above, Highbury residents are in Box Hill for a picnic. Everybody is in low spirits, so Frank Churchill decides to propose a little game: everyone must say one thing very clever to Emma, or else two things moderately clever, or three things very dull indeed. When Miss Bates waffles on about the game, Emma puts her down kindly, saying her: ‘Ah! ma’am, but there may be a difficulty. Pardon me—but you will be limited as to number—only three at once.’ Later, Mr. Knightley draws Emma aside and condemns her for her attitude toward Miss Bates and he further tells her that Miss Bates deserves and needs her kindness and not her insult. Emma has never felt so ashamed and grieved in her life before and she sheds tears a lot all the way back home.

In the following morning, Emma decides to visit Miss Bates to make apology for her behavior on the picnic at Box Hill, because she is ashamed of what she has done. During her visit, Jane stays in her bedroom and Miss Bates ‘requests for forgiveness’ saying “...You will excuse her not coming to you—she is not able—...”. [EM-ARF-p.298] Miss Bates goes on applying the apology strategy of ‘an expression of regret’ and ‘expressing self-deficiency’ and says: “...She will be extremely sorry to miss seeing you, Miss Woodhouse, but your kindness will excuse her... ‘I can see nobody,’ said she; and up she got, and would go away; and that was what made us keep you waiting—and extremely sorry and ashamed we were...” [EM-AER, ESD&AEOS-p.298] Besides, the explanation of Miss Bates for Emma’s being kept waiting at the door is considered as an example of ‘an explanation or account of the situation.’

During her visit, Miss Bates’s kindness and modesty are a further reproach to Emma’s bad behavior. Since Emma is regarded as one of the highest members of Highbury, she has a duty to have pity on people of lesser rank and treat those people

with modesty. This is the first time that she has behaved impolitely to one of her acquaintances; thus, this situation is a milestone in Emma's behavior.

4.2.8. Dialogue VIII (Volume III - Chapter XIV - pp. 344-345-346-347)

Setting: Frank Churchill's letter to Mrs. Weston (no setting)

Situation: Frank Churchill's apologies for his clandestine engagement with Jane Fairfax

Participants: Frank Churchill and Mrs. Weston

D.VIII. [... With the greatest respect, and the warmest friendship, do I mention Miss Woodhouse; my father perhaps will think I ought to add, with the deepest humiliation.— A few words which dropped from him yesterday spoke his opinion, and some censure I acknowledge myself liable to.—My behaviour to Miss Woodhouse indicated, I believe, more than it ought.— In order to assist a concealment so essential to me, I was led on to make more than an allowable use of the sort of intimacy into which we were immediately thrown.—I cannot deny that Miss Woodhouse was my ostensible object—but I am sure you will believe the declaration, that had I not been convinced of her indifference, I would not have been induced by any selfish views to go on.—...”

“... Acquit me here, and procure for me, when it is allowable, the acquittal and good wishes of that said Emma Woodhouse, whom I regard with so much brotherly affection, as to long to have her as deeply and as happily in love as myself...”

“...I behaved shamefully. And here I can admit, that my manners to Miss W., in being unpleasant to Miss F., were highly blamable. She disapproved them, which ought to have been enough. — ”]

This analysis is different from the others, because it is not a dialogue between two speakers. It is a letter written by Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston. When his secret engagement with Jane becomes known, he feels anxious whether he will be forgiven by his stepmother Mrs. Weston. Moreover, instead of apologizing face-to-face, he decides to apologize with a letter, and he expects Mrs. Weston to accept his apologies.

He applies some different kinds of apology strategies for his misbehavior. Beginning with ‘an explanation or account for the situation’, he writes: “...My behaviour to Miss Woodhouse indicated, I believe, more than it ought.— In order to assist a concealment so essential to me, I was led on to make more than an allowable use of the sort of intimacy into which we were immediately thrown.—I cannot deny that Miss Woodhouse was my ostensible object—but I am sure you will believe the declaration, that had I not been convinced of her indifference, I would not have been induced by any selfish views to go on...”[EM-AEOS-p.344] Since he knows that Mrs. Weston, a sensible woman who really loves Emma, acts as a surrogate mother

for her, he makes an explanation about Emma. He goes on his letter as: “...Acquit me here, and procure for me, when it is allowable, the acquittal and good wishes of that said Emma Woodhouse, whom I regard with so much brotherly affection, as to long to have her as deeply and as happily in love as myself...” [EM-AEA-pp.344-345] This can be considered as an example for ‘an expression of apology’.

For ‘expressing his self-deficiency,’ he writes: “...I behaved shamefully. And here I can admit, that my manners to Miss W., in being unpleasant to Miss F., were highly blamable. She disapproved them, which ought to have been enough. —” [EM-ESD-p.346] and this shows that he accepts his responsibility for the offence.

4.2.9. Dialogue IX (Volume III - Chapter XVIII - pp.374-375)

Setting: Randalls, the house of Westons

Situation: Frank Churchill’s apologies for his secret engagement with Jane Fairfax

Participants: Frank Churchill and Emma Woodhouse

D.IX. [I have to thank you, Miss Woodhouse, for a very kind forgiving message in one of Mrs. Weston’s letters. I hope time has not made you less willing to pardon. I hope you do not retract what you then said.]

‘No, indeed,’ cried Emma, most happy to begin, ‘not in the least. I am particularly glad to see and shake hands with you—and to give you joy in person.’

He thanked her with all his heart, and continued some time to speak with serious feeling of his gratitude and happiness.

‘Is not she looking well?’ said he, turning his eyes towards Jane. ‘Better than she ever used to do?—You see how my father and Mrs. Weston doat upon her.’

But his spirits were soon rising again, and with laughing eyes, after mentioning the expected return of the Campbells, he named the name of Dixon.—Emma blushed, and forbade its being pronounced in her hearing.

‘I can never think of it,’ she cried, ‘without extreme shame.’

‘The shame,’ he answered, ‘is all mine, or ought to be. But is it possible that you had no suspicion?—I mean of late. Early, I know, you had none.’

‘I never had the smallest, I assure you.’

‘That appears quite wonderful. I was once very near— and I wish I had— it would have been better. But though I was always doing wrong things, they were very bad wrong things, and such as did me no service. — It would have been a much better transgression had I broken the bond of secrecy and told you every thing.’

‘It is not now worth a regret,’ said Emma.]

Although Emma thinks that Frank has been wrong on several accounts, he has done it because he is so in love with Jane. Emma forgives Frank for his conduct and he thanks her saying: “I have to thank you, Miss Woodhouse, for a very kind forgiving message in one of Mrs. Weston’s letters. I hope time has not made you less willing to pardon. I hope you do not retract what you then said.” and applies ‘a

request for forgiveness'. [EM-ARF-p.374] He hopes that Emma has not changed her mind for excusing him.

Franks says "Is not she looking well?" ... 'Better than she ever used to do?— ..." and this utterance is considered as example for 'avoiding disagreement', a sub-strategy for 'positive politeness'. He wants to hear Jane's looking better than ever before and he also praises her.

Emma suspects that Mr. Dixon, husband to the Campbells' daughter, had a romance with Jane before his marriage. Emma shares her doubts with Frank, who has become acquainted with Jane. Frank agrees with her and continually has fed Emma's suspicious thoughts about Jane and Mr. Dixon, although he knows that they are completely untrue. This situation embarrasses Emma once the actual truth comes out; but Frank says: "The shame," ... 'is all mine, or ought to be..." [EM-AB-p.375] and 'accepts the blame', a sub-strategy for 'an acknowledgment of responsibility.' Another example for the same apology strategy, accepting the blame, is applied by Frank again with his utterance: "...I was always doing wrong things, they were very bad wrong things, and such as did me no service...". [EM-AB-p.375] However, Emma refers to the strategy of 'denial of need to apologize' by saying "It is not now worth a regret." to Frank. [EM-DNA-p.375]

4.2.10. Dialogue X (Volume I - Chapter I - p.9)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse's home

Situation: Just after Miss Weston's marriage

Participants: Emma Woodhouse, Mr. Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley

D.X. [It is very kind of you, Mr. Knightley, to come out at this late hour to call upon us. I am afraid you must have had a shocking walk.]

'Not at all, sir. It is a beautiful moonlight night; and so mild that I must draw back from your great fire.'

'But you must have found it very damp and dirty. I wish you may not catch cold.'

'Dirty, sir! Look at my shoes. Not a speck on them.'

'Well! that is quite surprising, for we have had a vast deal of rain here. It rained dreadfully hard for half an hour while we were at breakfast. I wanted them to put off the wedding.'

'By the bye—I have not wished you joy. Being pretty well aware of what sort of joy you must both be feeling, I have been in no hurry with my congratulations; but I hope it all went off tolerably well. How did you all behave? Who cried most?'

'Ah! poor Miss Taylor! 'Tis a sad business.'

'Poor Mr. and Miss Woodhouse, if you please; but I cannot possibly say 'poor Miss Taylor.' I have a great regard for you and Emma; but when it comes to the question of dependence or independence!—At any rate, it just be better to have only one to please than two.'

‘Especially when one of those two is such a fanciful, troublesome creature!’ said Emma playfully. ‘That is what you have in your head, I know—and what you would certainly say if my father were not by.’
 ‘I believe it is very true, my dear, indeed,’ said Mr. Woodhouse, with a sigh. ‘I am afraid I am sometimes very fanciful and troublesome.’
 ‘My dearest papa! You do not think I could mean you, or suppose Mr. Knightley to mean you. What a horrible idea! Oh no! I meant only myself. Mr. Knightley loves to find fault with me, you know—in a joke—it is all a joke. We always say what we like to one another.’]

As the novel opens, Miss Taylor, Emma’s best friend and former governess, has just married with Mr. Weston and leaves Emma alone. Emma fears that her own life will become boring and dull. After the wedding, Emma is playing backgammon with Mr. Woodhouse when they are joined by Mr. Knightley. Applying a ‘positive politeness strategy’, Mr. Woodhouse says: “It is very kind of you, Mr. Knightley, to come out at this late hour to call upon us. I am afraid you must have had a shocking walk.... I wish you may not catch cold.” He gives Mr. Knightley a compliment and supports his (addressee’s) face.

Then, they begin to discuss Miss Taylor’s marriage and Mr. Knightley utters: “...I have been in no hurry with my congratulations...” [EM-AAR-p.9] This sentence is an example for the apology type of ‘an acknowledgment of responsibility’. Besides, ‘being optimistic’, a kind of ‘positive politeness strategy,’ he also utters: “...but I hope it all went off tolerably well...”

They discuss about Mrs. Weston’s marriage for a while. Mr. Woodhouse pities Mrs. Weston and thinks that she must be very upset to be married and thus separated from them. On the other hand, Mr. Knightley is logical and talks of the advantages of Miss Taylor’s marriage and his views generally show good judgment. He also makes fun of Emma and Mr. Woodhouse and utters: “...Who cried most? ... At any rate, it just be better to have only one to please than two.” A simple misunderstanding occurs and Emma makes an apology for her dad and says: “My dearest papa! You do not think I could mean you, or suppose Mr. Knightley to mean you. What a horrible idea! Oh no! I meant only myself. Mr. Knightley loves to find fault with me, you know—in a joke—it is all a joke. We always say what we like to one another.” [EM-AEOS-p.9] Her utterance is considered as example for the apology type of ‘an explanation or account for the situation.’ Even an interjection of her – “Oh no!” - [EM-AEA-p.9] has an important role in her speech and it takes the place of ‘an expression of apology’.

4.2.11. Dialogue XI (Volume I - Chapter XVI - pp.108-109)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse's home

Situation: Self-apology of Emma

Participants: Emma Woodhouse

D.XI. [The first error and the worst lay at her door. It was foolish, it was wrong, to take so active a part in bringing any two people together. It was adventuring too far, assuming too much, making light of what ought to be serious, a trick of what ought to be simple. She was quite concerned and ashamed, and resolved to do such things no more.

'Here have I,' said she, 'actually talked poor Harriet into being very much attached to this man. She might never have thought of him but for me; and certainly never would have thought of him with hope, if I had not assured her of his attachment, for she is as modest and humble as I used to think him. Oh! that I had been satisfied with persuading her not to accept young Martin. There I was quite right. That was well done of me; but there I should have stopped, and left the rest to time and chance. I was introducing her into good company, and giving her the opportunity of pleasing some one worth having; I ought not to have attempted more. But now, poor girl, her peace is cut up for some time. I have been but half a friend to her; and if she were not to feel this disappointment so very much, I am sure I have not an idea of any body else who would be at all desirable for her;—William Coxe— Oh! no, I could not endure William Coxe— a pert young lawyer.]

Back at Hartfield after her ride in the same carriage with Mr. Elton, Emma plunges into self-recrimination when she looks back over the recent weeks. Her biggest regret is of course for Harriet, whose feelings for Mr. Elton, are due mostly to Emma's encouragement. Employing the apology strategy of 'accepting the blame', a sub-strategy of 'an acknowledgement of responsibility', she says: "...It was foolish, it was wrong, to take so active a part in bringing any two people together..." [EM-AB-p.108] Emma realizes that this situation is truly her fault because she has interfered in the love affairs of Harriet and Mr. Elton. She makes vows to give up matchmaking and realize that Mr. Knightley is right about Mr. Elton and that she has been wrong from the very beginning.

She goes on talking to herself saying "...She might never have thought of him but for me; and certainly never would have thought of him with hope, if I had not assured her of his attachment, for she is as modest and humble as I used to think him..." [EM-AAR-pp.108-109] Her utterance is an another example for the apology strategy of 'an acknowledgement of responsibility'. Nevertheless, she makes no apologies for persuading Harriet not to accept Mr. Martin, an example for the strategy of 'denial of responsibility', and utters: "...Oh! that I had been satisfied with

persuading her not to accept young Martin. There I was quite right. That was well done of me..." [EM-DR-p.109]

Emma is very upset because nothing has gone as she planned and again 'acknowledging her responsibility', she says: "...but there I should have stopped, and left the rest to time and chance. I was introducing her into good company, and giving her the opportunity of pleasing some one worth having; I ought not to have attempted more..." [EM-AB-p.109] She accepts her blame and realizes that she is at fault for the situation.

Although Emma shows some signs of maturity about matchmaking, she cannot stop herself from searching a new one for Harriet.

4.2.12. Dialogue XII (Volume III - Chapter VII - p.291)

Setting: Box Hill

Situation: Emma's impolite behavior towards Miss Bates

Participants: Emma Woodhouse, Miss Bates, Frank Churchill, Mr. & Mrs. Elton, Jane Fairfax, Mrs. Weston, Harriet Smith and Mr. Knightley

D.XII. ['... Ladies and gentlemen—I am ordered by Miss Woodhouse to say, that she waives her right of knowing exactly what you may all be thinking of, and only requires something very entertaining from each of you, in a general way. Here are seven of you, besides myself, (who, she is pleased to say, am very entertaining already,) and she only demands from each of you either one thing very clever, be it prose or verse, original or repeated—or two things moderately clever— or three things very dull indeed, and she engages to laugh heartily at them all.'

'Oh! very well,' exclaimed Miss Bates, 'then I need not be uneasy. 'Three things very dull indeed.' That will just do for me, you know. I shall be sure to say three dull things as soon as ever I open my mouth, shan't I? (looking round with the most good-humoured dependence on every body's assent)—Do not you all think I shall?'

Emma could not resist.

'Ah! ma'am, but there may be a difficulty. Pardon me—but you will be limited as to number—only three at once.'

Miss Bates, deceived by the mock ceremony of her manner, did not immediately catch her meaning; but, when it burst on her, it could not anger, though a slight blush shewed that it could pain her.

'Ah!—well—to be sure. Yes, I see what she means, (turning to Mr. Knightley,) and I will try to hold my tongue. I must make myself very disagreeable, or she would not have said such a thing to an old friend.]

The Highbury neighborhood goes to Box Hill for a picnic. People are divided into groups and intergroup tension is quite visible; so it is clear that the trip to Box Hill is not a success. Both Emma and Frank are bored and that leads them to improper behavior. Frank proposes to play a game: everyone must say one thing very

clever to Emma, or two things moderately clever, or three things very dull indeed and with this game, he tries to amuse Emma.

When Miss Bates waffles on about the game, Emma puts her down kindly, and says: “Ah! ma’am, but there may be a difficulty. Pardon me—but you will be limited as to number—only three at once.” The mood of the party is suddenly disturbed and this improper attitude of her is the rudest behavior in the novel. Emma threatens Miss Bates’ (hearer’s) negative face; therefore, it is an example for ‘negative impoliteness’ because it is a removal of social distance and respect that are required here in her communication with Miss Bates. It is also noticed that this is the first time that Emma has been rude to someone.

The mockery is recognized by Miss Bates and she is deeply hurt by it. She does not know why Emma makes such a harsh remark for her and says: “Ah!—well—to be sure. Yes, I see what she means, (turning to Mr. Knightley,) and I will try to hold my tongue. I must make myself very disagreeable, or she would not have said such a thing to an old friend.” [EM-ESD-p.291] With all her kindness, Miss Bates still seeks the fault in herself and ‘expresses her self-deficiency’. She thinks she made herself very disagreeable that is for her the only reason why she made such a remark.

4.2.13. Dialogue XIII (Volume II - Chapter XVI - p.230)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse’s home

Situation: Mr. Woodhouse expresses concern for Jane Fairfax

Participants: Mr. Woodhouse and Jane Fairfax

D.XIII. [... Mr. Woodhouse, who being, according to his custom on such occasions, making the circle of his guests, and paying his particular compliments to the ladies, was ending with her—and with all his mildest urbanity, said,

‘I am very sorry to hear, Miss Fairfax, of your being out this morning in the rain. Young ladies should take care of themselves.— Young ladies are delicate plants. They should take care of their health and their complexion. My dear, did you change your stockings?’

‘Yes, sir, I did indeed; and I am very much obliged by your kind solicitude about me.’

‘My dear Miss Fairfax, young ladies are very sure to be cared for.— I hope your good grand-mama and aunt are well. They are some of my very old friends. I wish my health allowed me to be a better neighbour. You do us a great deal of honour to-day, I am sure. My daughter and I are both highly sensible of your goodness, and have the greatest satisfaction in seeing you at Hartfield.’]

Emma decides to have a dinner party for Mrs. Elton at Hartfield. Besides the Eltons, Mr. Knightley, Jane Fairfax, Mr. & Mrs. Weston are invited to the party. Mr. John Knightley politely expostulate on Jane for getting her letters from the post office that morning in rainy weather; after John, Mr. Woodhouse utters: “I am very sorry to hear, Miss Fairfax, of your being out this morning in the rain. Young ladies should take care of themselves.— Young ladies are delicate plants. They should take care of their health and their complexion. My dear, did you change your stockings?” He employs ‘positive politeness strategy’ in his utterances towards Jane as he pays compliments to her and ‘attends to Jane (hearer)’.

Kind-hearted and polite Mr. Woodhouse goes on talking to Jane and he inquires after her aunt’s and grandmother’s health. This can be considered as an example of ‘positive politeness strategy’. Besides, ‘expressing his self-deficiency’, a sub-strategy of ‘acknowledgment of responsibility’, he says: “...I wish my health allowed me to be a better neighbor..” [EM-ESD-p.230] At the end of the dialogue, he adds that he is very pleased to see her at Hartfield.

4.2.14. Dialogue XIV (Volume II - Chapter XVII - p.235)

Setting: Hartfield, Emma and Mr. Woodhouse’s home

Situation: Jane’s coming out of her shell

Participants: Mrs. Elton and Jane Fairfax

D.XIV. [But, my dear child, the time is drawing near; here is April, and June, or say even July, is very near, with such business to accomplish before us. Your inexperience really amuses me! A situation such as you deserve, and your friends would require for you, is no everyday occurrence, is not obtained at a moment’s notice; indeed, indeed, we must begin inquiring directly.]

‘Excuse me, ma’am, but this is by no means my intention; I make no inquiry myself, and should be sorry to have any made by my friends. When I am quite determined as to the time, I am not at all afraid of being long unemployed. There are places in town, offices, where inquiry would soon produce something—Offices for the sale— not quite of human flesh—but of human intellect.’

‘Oh! my dear, human flesh! You quite shock me; if you mean a fling at the slave-trade, I assure you Mr. Suckling was always rather a friend to the abolition.’

‘I did not mean, I was not thinking of the slave-trade,’ replied Jane; ‘governess-trade, I assure you, was all that I had in view; widely different certainly as to the guilt of those who carry it on; but as to the greater misery of the victims, I do not know where it lies. But I only mean to say that there are advertising offices, and that by applying to them I should have no doubt of very soon meeting with something that would do.]

Mrs. Elton persists in helping Jane to find a governess position; however, Jane gently refuses her saying: “Excuse me, ma’am, but this is by no means my intention; I make no inquiry myself, and should be sorry to have any made by my friends. When I am quite determined as to the time, I am not at all afraid of being long unemployed. There are places in town, offices, where inquiry would soon produce something—Offices for the sale— not quite of human flesh—but of human intellect.” [EM-ARF-p.235] Her utterance is an example both for ‘a negative politeness strategy’ and the apology strategy of ‘a request for forgiveness.’

Mrs. Elton still goes on her offers of assistance, but Jane firmly resists her and utters: “...governess-trade, I assure you, was all that I had in view; widely different certainly as to the guilt of those who carry it on; but as to the greater misery of the victims, I do not know where it lies. But I only mean to say that there are advertising offices, and that by applying to them I should have no doubt of very soon meeting with something that would do.” [EM-ELI-p.235] With her sentence beginning with “...But I only mean to say...,” she ‘expresses her lack of intent’ that is a sub-strategy of ‘acknowledgment of responsibility’. With the help of this dialogue between Jane and Mrs. Elton, it is realized that silence of Jane does not mean that she is passive.

4.2.15. Dialogue XV (Volume I - Chapter V - p.32)

Setting: Randalls, the house of Westons

Situation: Mr. Knightley and Mrs. Weston discuss Emma’s friendship with Harriet Smith.

Participants: Mr. Knightley and Mrs. Weston

D.XV. [‘Very well; I will not plague you any more. Emma shall be an angel, and I will keep my spleen to myself till Christmas brings John and Isabella. John loves Emma with a reasonable and therefore not a blind affection, and Isabella always thinks as he does; except when he is not quite frightened enough about the children. I am sure of having their opinions with me.’

‘I know that you all love her really too well to be unjust or unkind; but excuse me, Mr. Knightley, if I take the liberty (I consider myself, you know, as having somewhat of the privilege of speech that Emma’s mother might have had) the liberty of hinting that I do not think any possible good can arise from Harriet Smith’s intimacy being made a matter of much discussion among you. Pray excuse me; but supposing any little inconvenience may be apprehended from the intimacy, it cannot be expected that Emma, accountable to nobody but her father, who perfectly approves the acquaintance, should put an end to it, so long as it is a source of pleasure to herself. It has been so many years my province to give advice, that you cannot be surprized, Mr. Knightley, at this little remains of office.’]

Mrs. Weston and Mr. Knightley talk over about Emma's new friendship with Harriet Smith. Mr. Knightley believes that the friendship between them is dangerous for both parties. Mrs. Weston, on the other hand, approves of their new friendship, believing that it will be beneficial to both of them. Mr. Knightley, believing that Harriet will do nothing but flatter Emma, utters: "Very well; I will not plague you any more. Emma shall be an angel, and I will keep my spleen to myself till Christmas brings John and Isabella. John loves Emma with a reasonable and therefore not a blind affection, and Isabella always thinks as he does; except when he is not quite frightened enough about the children. I am sure of having their opinions with me." He employs the apology strategy of 'a promise of forbearance' with his sentence "...I will not plague you any more ... I will keep my spleen to myself till Christmas brings John and Isabella." [EM-APF-p.32] and also he is sure that both John and Isabella will hold opinion with him.

Since Mrs. Weston disagrees with Mr. Knightley, she requests and advises him not to make a point of the friendship between Emma and Harriet. Mrs. Weston uses both 'negative politeness strategy' and the apology strategy of 'a request of forgiveness' in her speech, uttering: "...Pray excuse me; but supposing any little inconvenience may be apprehended from the intimacy, it cannot be expected that Emma, accountable to nobody but her father, who perfectly approves the acquaintance, should put an end to it, so long as it is a source of pleasure to herself. It has been so many years my province to give advice, that you cannot be surprized, Mr. Knightley, at this little remains of office." [EM-ARF-p.32] She apologizes him with a courtesy marker *pray*.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, first discussion of 4 research questions is set forth one by one in light of relevant literature. Next, implications for ELT with regard to speech acts within pragmatic competence of EFL learners are presented. Suggestions for further research are also provided and finally, a general conclusion is summarized.

5.2. Discussion of Findings

5.2.1. Discussion of the Findings of Research Question 1

RQ 1: What are the categories of ‘apology’ type of speech act that characters of the novel use in different situations? What are the differences in apology strategies between men and women?

The following table presents the apology strategies used by the male and female apologizers in the novel:

Table 4: Analysis of apology strategies across gender

Code	Strategy	Male		Female	
		F	%	F	%
AEA	An expression of apology				
AER	An expression of regret	3	2,52	13	10,92
AOA	An offer of apology	3	2,52	9	7,56
ARF	A request for forgiveness	11	9,24	8	6,72
AEOS	An explanation or account of the situation	5	4,21	11	9,24
AAR	An acknowledgement of responsibility				
AB	Accepting the blame	6	5,05	15	12,61
ESD	Expressing self-deficiency	3	2,52	9	7,56
ROPD A	Recognizing the other person as deserving apology	1	0,84	1	0,84
ELI	Expressing lack of intent	2	1,68	3	2,52
AOR	An offer of repair	2	1,68	2	1,68
APF	A promise of forbearance	1	0,84	2	1,68
NVR	No verbal reaction			2	1,68
DNA	Denial of need to apologize			2	1,68
DR	Denial of responsibility				
NAB	Not accepting the blame			5	4,21
BO	Blaming others				
New Strategy					
SA	Self-apology			10	8,40
Sub-total		37	31,1 %	82	68,9 %
TOTAL		119			

Table 4 shows the distribution of apology strategies among men and women in *Emma*. In some cases, the characters use a combination of apology strategies or sub-strategies to perform an apology and the total number of apology strategies is 119 as shown in the table.

There is a significant difference in the number of IFIDs (i.e. AER, AOA and ARF) used by men (14,28%) and women (25,2%). While AER is the most frequent IFID for women (10,92%) it is ARF for men (9,24%). ARF is also the only strategy men used more than women. This indicates that men recognize ARF to be as a beneficial apology strategy.

Handling the strategy of AEOS, it is clear that women provide more explanations than men (9,24% vs. 4,21%); probably because they feel more responsible for convincing the H that they do not mean any offense. This situation also implies that women try to explain to the H the reason behind the offensive behavior. Moreover, since women are more inclined to friendliness, they might use this strategy for solidarity.

While 'ARF' is the most common strategy among men (9,24%), it is 'AB' among women (12,61%). The only similarity between the two genders is that they both used 'ELI, AOR and APF' nearly in equal numbers. Although few in number, this portion indicates that they both try to recompense for the damage resulting from their offenses and promise that the offense will not happen again as the examples below show:

Mr. Weston to Emma: I was wrong in talking of its being broke to you. I should not have used the expression ... [EM-ELI-p.309]

Emma to Jane Fairfax: Let us forgive each other at once. [EM-AOR-p.361]

Mr. Knightley to Mrs. Weston: I will not plague you any more. [EM-APF-p.32]

According to Cohen & Olshtain (1983), an offender may accept responsibility and apologize by using the possible strategies mentioned above or the offender may deny responsibility by 'NVR, DNA, and DR with sub-strategies of NAB and BO.' No men in the novel deny their responsibility, whereas women do not accept the need to apologize with 7,57%. (See the dialogues II, V, IX and XI in the chapter of data analysis).

Apart from the strategies of Cohen & Olshtain (1983), a new strategy - SA - is also identified. Since the strategy of SA includes the other types of apology, it is

not added to the total number and the strategy is again only employed by women with 7,56%. This demonstrates that when compared with men, women are more left with a sense of guilt and shame to assuage their self-inflicted pain. (See dialogue XI in the chapter of data analysis). To give an example, accepting her blame and realizing that she is at fault for the situation, Emma says to herself:

She might never have thought of him but for me; and certainly never would have thought of him with hope, if I had not assured her of his attachment, for she is as modest and humble as I used to think him. [EM-p.108-109]

Overall, it appears that males and females in the novel use different apology strategies with different proportions. As suggested by Holmes (1995), the results show that women make more effort for restoring equilibrium than men do.

5.2.2. Discussion of the Findings of Research Question 2

RQ 2: How do such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology? Do men or women apologize more to people of higher, lower, or equal status?

The following table presents the number of apologetic behavior according to gender and social status. Three categories are used to classify the data:

- Higher to Lower: An apology is made to a lower status person by a higher one,
- Equal: An apology is made to a person of equal social status,
- Lower to Higher: An apology is made to a higher status person by a lower one.

Table 5: Frequency of apology across gender and social status

Social Status	Apologizer					
	Male		Female		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Higher to Lower	4	3,36	28	23,53	32	26,89
Equal	29	24,38	27	22,68	56	47,06
Lower to Higher	4	3,36	17	14,29	21	17,65
Self-apology	-	-	10	8,40	10	8,40
Total	37	100	82	100	119	100

Previous studies in the literature have indicated that the differences in ‘social status’ between the offending and offended people have a great influence on their relations and apology strategies. Kiger (2004), for example, argues that people with high social positions find it difficult to make apology because they are afraid of appearing incompetent if they admit to make a fault. However, the reverse situation

is seen in Table 5. The results indicate that both males and females with high social status employ more apology strategies (26,89%) than those who have lower social status than them. Besides, people with equal social level have the highest percentage of apology (47,06%) to one another. Lower status people, on the other hand, have the least percentage of apology (17,65%) towards higher ones.

Since the class structure is strong in the novel, the responsibilities and behaviors of each class are known and accepted by everyone in the society. The higher classes have responsibility towards the lower classes. Throughout the novel, high class society has always consideration for the feelings of the poor and they have a desire to please them. (See the dialogues I, II, VII, VIII and XIII in the chapter of data analysis) These may be the reasons of why people with high social status apologize more to the lower social status people.

Since the exact age of characters are not known, these three categories shown in Table 6 below are used to classify the data about age:

- Younger to older: The apologizer is younger than the apologizee,
- Older to younger: The apologizer is older than the apologizee,
- Equal: The apologizer is almost the same age with the apologizee.

Table 6: Frequency of apology across gender and age

Apologizer - Apologizee Age Groups	Male		Female	
	F	%	F	%
Younger to older	17	14,28	41	34,44
Older to younger	15	12,61	16	13,45
Equal	5	4,21	15	12,61
Self-apology	-	-	10	8,40
Sub-total	37	31,10	82	68,90
Total	119			

As illustrated in Table 6, age differences are seen in the frequency of apology. As Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984:209) claims “in some cultures the need to apologize to an older person or to a superior may be very pronounced.” Young females in the novel perform the highest rate of apologies (34,44%). This pattern somehow shows social norms of eighteenth century English culture which obligates young people to show respect to older people.

There is nearly no differences between males (12,61%) and females (13,45%) in the use of apologies from older to younger. (See the dialogues IV, V, VII and XIII in the chapter of data analysis).

Handling the category of the apologizers who are nearly at the same age with the apologizees, males perform 4,21% apologies while females give 12,61% of apologies. In general, no matter how old the H is, women apologize more than men.

5.2.3. Discussion of the Findings of Research Question 3

RQ 3: Is there a considerable difference between men and women in the frequency of apologizing?

Table 7: Frequency of apology in terms of gender

Gender	F	%
Male	37	31,10
Female	82	68,90
Total	119	100

Researchers in sociolinguistic areas (e.g. Holmes, 1989; Tannen, 1990) have long been interested in differences in the frequency of apologies employed by men and women and the common assumption is that women are more inclined to make an apology. In Holmes's study, women native speakers of English in New Zealand give 74.5% of all apologies included in the corpus. Furthermore, Holmes (1989:209) claims that "women use significantly more apologies than men" and New Zealand males "avoid apologies where possible". Similarly, Tannen (1990:36) argues that men tend to apologize less frequently compared to women and according to her;

For most women, the language of conversation is primarily a language of rapport: a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships. Emphasis is placed on displaying similarities and matching experiences.

This study is in line with the studies of Holmes (1989) and Tannen (1990) on the frequency of apologies offered by men and women.

The results (Table 7) demonstrates that compared to men with 31,10% of apologies, women offer 68,90% of apologies in the novel. Discussion of the findings of research question 2 explains the factors that may affect this difference. Besides the social variables such as gender, age and social status affecting apology, there is a myth that women tend to talk more and at greater length when compared to men. Since more talk includes more offenses which necessitates more apologies, this may be another possible reason why women apologize more than men.

5.2.4. Discussion of the Findings of Research Question 4

RQ 4: Do men and women apologize more to same-gender individuals or to opposite-gender individuals?

There is no difference in the distribution of apologies when women apologize to same gender and the opposite gender. The frequencies are both the same (30%) as demonstrated in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Distribution of apology in terms of gender relation

Apologizer – Apologizee	F	%
Male – Male	6	5
Female – Female	36	30
Female – Male	36	30
Male – Female	31	26
Self-apology	10	9
TOTAL	119	100

Within 119 apologies examined in *Emma*, women perform 60% of apologetic acts (excluding self-apology) and received 56% of them. On the other hand, men make 31% of apologies and received 35% of them. It is clear that women apologize to both genders (60%) more than men (31%), probably because they are socially disprivileged when compared to men, which may psychologically lead them to hedge and perform polite acts more than men. According to Tannen (1990:116), “there are several dynamics that make women appear to apologize too much. For one thing, women may be more likely to apologize because they do not instinctively balk at risking a one-down position.”

It is also appeared that women use more apology strategies to same-gender individuals (30%) than men use to each other (5%). Similarly, Holmes (1989:209) argues that “women use many apologies to each other than men do each other.”

In general, it is revealed that men apologize much less than women and in line with this, Engel (2001) claims that men refuse to perform apologetic acts because they have difficulty in admitting that they are at fault. She also states: “men generally don’t like feeling vulnerable, and to many men apologizing or admitting they are wrong makes them feel far too vulnerable” (p.49).

The characters, especially women, in the novel sometimes make apology expecting to get one in return from the H as in the dialogue below:

Emma Woodhouse: “It is as well, perhaps, that I have not had the possibility. Had you not been surrounded by other friends, I might have been tempted to introduce a subject, to ask questions, to speak more openly than might have been strictly correct.—I feel that I should certainly have been impertinent.”

Jane Fairfax: “There would have been no danger. The danger would have been of my wearying you. You could not have gratified me more than by expressing an interest—. Indeed, Miss Woodhouse, (speaking more collectedly) with the consciousness which I have of misconduct, very great misconduct, it is particularly consoling to me to know that those of my friends, whose good opinion is most worth preserving, are not disgusted to such a degree as to—I have not time for half that I could wish to say. I long to make apologies, excuses, to urge something for myself. I feel it so very due. But, unfortunately—in short, if your compassion does not stand my friend—” [EM-p.361]

By accepting the blame and expressing her self-deficiency, Emma offers apology to Jane, but she also wants to be apologized. In return, Jane employs the strategy of ‘an explanation or account for the situation’ and apologizes to her. Expecting to get an apology in return may be another reason why women apologize more than men.

5.3. Implications for ELT

It is indisputable that communication provides individuals social relations and brings about cooperation. However, in some cases, these verbal interactions result in misinterpretation and disruption of relations. In order to compensate for the offense, individuals need to conciliate the Hs by apologizing. To be polite enough in apologizing, learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) are required to make apology competently and appropriately.

For effective interaction, EFL learners should be equipped with communicative competence that is defined as “what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community” (Saville-Troike, 1996:362). To express their feelings, to order for something, to apologize, and to perform many other actions in daily life, ‘speech acts’ play a significant role. Therefore, it is crucial to learn how apology strategies are used by different genders and how such social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology.

This study may also provide insight for curriculum developers. Since they are responsible for providing authentic conversation samples for learners in the realization of speech acts, this thesis may provide a considerable amount of activities for them. If EFL learners are not exposed to appropriate conversational situations for the usage of speech acts, L1 influence may be observed; thus, the teaching of speech acts is significant in raising sociolinguistic competence of learners.

The need for raising awareness of EFL learners about the cultural differences between English and their native language is another implication of this study. Studies in literature (Hatipoglu, 2012; Aydin, 2013) demonstrate that the culture of learners has an effect on their speech act productions of target language; thus, this study may help them to comprehend the apology strategies used by native speakers of English.

Finally, the results of the study may hopefully help language teachers develop pragmatics-focused materials. To exemplify, this study might be used with EFL learners when exploring apologetic acts or any other type of speech act employed by the character. This provides EFL students with the opportunity of identifying the type of speech act used in interpersonal and cross-cultural interactions and also factors affecting the performance of the act. By giving the following example, for instance, the learners can be encouraged to think about the way a character apologizes and use similar apologetic acts. (i.e. an explanation or account for the situation and an acknowledgment of the responsibility).

Your allowing yourself to be so occupied and so unhappy about Mr. Elton's marrying, Harriet, is the strongest reproach you can make me. You could not give me a greater reproof for the mistake I fell into. It was all my doing, I know. I have not forgotten it, I assure you.— Deceived myself, I did very miserably deceive you— and it will be a painful reflection to me for ever. Do not imagine me in danger of forgetting it. [EM-p.209]

By trying to give an example, learners will get to learn when to use this type of apology appropriately. Besides, they may be asked to write down an apologetic situation which provides practice for their literary competence.

5.4. Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis has made contribution to our understanding of 'apology' strategies by native English speakers. However, it is still required to handle studies investigating other types of speech acts - rather than *apology*. Besides, polite/impolite situations and 'apology' type of speech act in an ELT classroom atmosphere may also be investigated. By taking into consideration the fact that apologies are face-saving acts, further studies may be conducted analyzing naturally occurring data in real-life contexts.

Finally, since interpretation of speech act of 'apology' is quite different across cultures, studies analyzing the differences of apologetic behaviors between

Turkish-speaking and English-speaking people and their implications for EFL learning may be carried out.

5.5. Conclusion

The present thesis investigates apology strategies used by genders in Jane Austen's *Emma* and whether such social variables as gender, age and social status affect apologetic linguistic behavior of the characters of the novel. In doing so, the data were categorized by using the taxonomy of Cohen and Olshtain (1983).

The findings of the study demonstrates that while 'request for forgiveness' is the most common strategy among men, it is 'accepting the blame' among women. By requesting forgiveness, men put themselves at the mercy of the H and they also threaten the negative face of the H by giving him/her a mission of forgiving. Women, on the other hand, mostly use the strategy of 'accepting the blame' to compensate for the inconvenient situation and make apology for the fault they did. Furthermore, it is clear that males and females in the novel use different apology strategies in different frequencies.

As in most of apology studies, this study found that social variables as gender, age and social status affect the speech of apology. Contrary to common belief, high social status people use more apology strategies to those who have lower levels than them and people with equal levels have the highest percentage of apology to one another. *Emma* and other novels of Jane Austen are regarded as good depictions of the good manners of 'polite' society (Byrne, 2005). As represented in the novel, high class individuals employ apology statements more than lower classes. Austen also tries to show how nineteenth century people comprehended social divisions in *Emma*.

When considering the matter of 'age', age differences are seen in the frequency of apology. Young females in the novel perform the highest percentage of apology; however, there is nearly no differences between males and females in the use of apology from older to younger. Furthermore, handling the category of the apologizers who are nearly at the same age with the apologizees, women apologize more compared to men.

There is no difference found in the frequency of apology when women apologize to same-gender or to opposite-gender. It is concluded that women apologize to both genders (60%) more than men do (31%). Men, on the other hand,

perform 5% of apologetic acts to same-gender individuals and perform 26% of them to opposite-gender. (See Table 8).

In a nutshell, the results of the thesis demonstrate that while men offer 31,10% of apologies, women offer 68,90% of them in *Emma*. This might have two reasons: first, women try minimize the distance with the interlocutor by showing solidarity and expressing friendliness. This pattern is in line with Holmes (1995) who suggests that men and women perceive apology differently. Men consider apology as “admissions of weakness, inadequacy or failure” (p.175), whereas for women, it expresses concern for other individuals. The second reason might be that women are regarded as having lower social status when compared to men and this may lead them to apologize more for their faults.



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APPENDIX

All apologetic behaviors are listed for each volume of the novel *Emma*.

Volume I

Number	Speaker (S) - Hearer (H)	Age Groups of the S - H	Social Status of the S - H	Apology Type(s)	Gender of the S	Gender - Gender Relation	The Number of the Apology Strategy Used
1	Mr. Knightley to Mr. Woodhouse	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Male	Male - Male	
2	Emma to Mr. Woodhouse	Younger to older	Equal	Explanation or account for the situation & An offer of apology	Female	Female - Male	2
3	Mr. Knightley to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Higher to lower	A promise of forbearance	Male	Male - Female	
4	Mrs. Weston to Mr. Knightley	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness & Explanation or account for the situation	Female	Female - Male	2
5	Emma to Mr. Elton	Younger to older	Higher to lower	Explanation or account for the situation	Female	Female - Male	
6	Emma to Harriet	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An offer of apology & An acknowledgment of responsibility- Expressing lack of intent	Female	Female - Female	2
7	Mr. Woodhouse to Mr. Knightley	Older to younger	Equal	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Male	Male - Male	
8	Mr. Woodhouse to Mr. Knightley	Older to younger	Equal	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Male	Male - Male	

9	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	No verbal reaction	Female	Female - Male	
10	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	Denial of responsibility - Not accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
11	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	Denial of responsibility - Not accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
12	Emma to Mr. Elton	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Male	
13	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	Acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
14	Mr. Knightley to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An offer of repair	Male	Male - Female	
15	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	Denial of responsibility - Not accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
16	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - An expression of regret & An offer of repair	Female	Female - Male	2
17	Isabella to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Female	
18	Emma to Mr. Elton	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Male	
19	Emma to Mr. John Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	No verbal reaction	Female	Female - Male	
20	Mr. Elton to Emma	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Male	Male - Female	
21	Emma to Mr. Elton	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret & Explanation or account for the situation	Female	Female - Male	2
22	Emma to Mr. Elton	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret & Explanation or account for the situation	Female	Female - Male	2

23	Emma to herself	-	-	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame (self-apology)	Female	-	
24	Emma to herself	-	-	A promise of forbearance & An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame (self-apology)	Female	-	2
25	Emma to herself	-	-	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame (self-apology)	Female	-	
26	Emma to herself	-	-	Denial of responsibility - Not accepting the blame (self-apology)	Female	-	
27	Emma to herself	-	-	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame & An expression of apology - An expression of regret (self-apology)	Female	-	2
28	Emma to herself	-	-	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness (self-apology)	Female	-	

Volume II

Number	Speaker (S) - Hearer (H)	Age Groups of the S - H	Social Status of the S - H	Apology Type(s)	Gender of the S	Gender-Gender relation	The Number of the Apology Strategy Used
1	Miss. Bates to Emma	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Female	
2	Emma to Miss. Bates	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Female	
3	Emma to Miss. Bates	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Female	
4	Frank Churchill to Emma	Equal	Equal	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Male	Male - Female	
5	Emma to Frank Churchill	Equal	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing lack of intent	Female	Female - Male	
6	Emma to Frank Churchill	Equal	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Male	
7	Mr. Woodhouse to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An explanation or account for the situation & An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	2
8	Mr. Woodhouse to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Male	Male - Female	
9	Miss. Bates to Mrs. Ford	Equal	Equal	An expression of Apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Male	
10	Frank Churchill to Mr. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - An offer of apology & An offer of repair	Male	Male - Male	2
11	Emma to Frank Churchill	Equal	Equal	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Male	
12	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
13	Emma to Harriet	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An explanation or account for the situation & An acknowledgment of	Female	Female - Female	2

				the responsibility - Accepting the blame			
14	Emma to Harriet	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Female	
15	Harriet to Emma	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Female	
16	Mr. Woodhouse to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness & An explanation or account for the situation	Male	Male - Female	2
17	Mr. Knightley to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Recognizing the other person as deserving apology	Male	Male - Female	
18	Mr. Cole to Mr. Knightley	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Male	Male - Male	
19	Emma to herself	-	-	A promise of forbearance & An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	-	2
20	Mr. Woodhouse to Jane Fairfax	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Male	Male - Female	
21	Mr. Woodhouse to Jane Fairfax	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Male	Male - Female	
22	Jane Fairfax to Mrs. Elton	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Female	Female - Female	
23	Jane Fairfax to Mrs. Elton	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Female	Female - Female	
24	Jane Fairfax to Mrs. Elton	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An explanation or account of the situation & An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing lack of intent	Female	Female - Female	2

Volume III

Number	Speaker (S) - Hearer (H)	Age Groups of the S - H	Social Status of the S - H	Apology Type(s)	Gender of the S	Gender -Gender relation	The Number of the Apology Strategy Used
1	Mr. Elton to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness & Acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing lack of intent & An explanation or account of the situation	Male	Male - Female	3
2	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
3	Harriet to Emma	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Female	
4	Emma to Harriet	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Female	
5	Harriet to Emma	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Female	
6	Emma to Harriet	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Female	
7	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Male	
8	Mrs. Elton to Frank Churchill	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Female	Female - Male	
9	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	Denial of responsibility - Not accepting the blame	Female	Female - Male	
10	Miss. Bates to Emma	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - A request for forgiveness	Female	Female - Female	

11	Miss. Bates to Emma	Older to younger	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Female	
12	Miss. Bates to Emma	Older to younger	Higher to lower	Expression of apology - An expression of regret & An explanation or account of the situation	Female	Female - Female	2
13	Mr. Weston to Emma	Older to younger	Lower to higher	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame & Expressing lack of intent	Male	Male - Female	2
14	Jane Fairfax to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Female	
15	Emma to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - An expression of regret	Female	Female - Female	
16	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - An expression of regret & An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Male	2
17	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - An expression of regret & An explanation or account for the situation & Acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Male	3
18	Mr. Knightley to Emma	Older to younger	Equal	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
19	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Male	
20	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An explanation or account for the situation	Male	Male - Female	
21	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology – A request of forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
22	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An explanation or account for the situation	Male	Male - Female	

23	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
24	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Male	Male - Female	
25	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Male	Male - Female	
26	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Male	Male - Female	
27	Frank Churchill to Mrs. Weston	Younger to older	Equal	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
28	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Recognizing the other person as deserving apology	Female	Female - Male	
29	Jane Fairfax to Emma	Equal	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Female	Female - Female	
30	Mrs. Elton to Miss. Bates	Younger to older	Lower to higher	An expression of apology - An offer of apology & An explanation or account for the situation	Female	Female - Female	2
31	Emma to Jane Fairfax	Equal	Higher to lower	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame & Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Female	2
32	Jane Fairfax to Emma	Equal	Lower to higher	An explanation or account for the situation & An expression of apology - An offer of apology	Female	Female - Female	2
33	Emma to Jane Fairfax	Equal	Higher to lower	Denial of need to apologize	Female	Female - Female	
34	Jane Fairfax to Emma	Equal	Lower to higher	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame	Female	Female - Female	
35	Emma to Jane Fairfax	Equal	Higher to lower	An acknowledgment of the responsibility - Accepting the blame & An offer of repair	Female	Female - Female	2

36	Emma to Jane Fairfax	Equal	Higher to lower	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Female	Female - Female	
37	Emma to Mr. Knightley	Younger to older	Equal	An acknowledgment of responsibility - Expressing self-deficiency	Female	Female - Male	
38	Frank Churchill to Emma	Equal	Equal	An expression of apology - A request of forgiveness	Male	Male - Female	
39	Frank Churchill to Emma	Equal	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Male	Male - Female	
40	Frank Churchill to Emma	Equal	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Male	Male - Female	
41	Emma to Frank Churchill	Equal	Equal	Denial of need to apologize	Female	Female - Male	
42	Frank Churchill to Emma	Equal	Equal	An acknowledgement of responsibility - Accepting the blame	Male	Male - Female	