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**Pragmatic Transfer in Requests and Apologies Performed by  
Algerian EFL Learners:  
A Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Pragmatic Study**

*Thesis Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Fulfilment for  
the Requirements of an LMD Doctorate Degree in Applied Language Studies*

**Submitted by:**

Mr Boudjemaa DENDENNE

**Supervised by:**

Prof. Youcef BEGHOUL

**Board of Examiners**

<b>Chairperson:</b> Prof. Salah KAOUACHE	Université des Frères Mentouri, Constantine
<b>Supervisor:</b> Prof. Youcef BEGHOUL	Université des Frères Mentouri, Constantine
<b>Member:</b> Dr. Haouès AHMED SID	Université des Frères Mentouri, Constantine
<b>Member:</b> Dr. Saliha CHELLI	Université de Biskra
<b>Member:</b> Dr. Sara MERROUCHE	Université d'Oum El Bouaghi

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## **Dedications**

I dedicate this work to:

My dearest parents: my father, Mouhammed, and my mother, Fatima;

My brothers and sisters;

My beloved nephews, Abderaouf and Basem, and nieces, Aya and Rou'ya;

My best friend, Mehdi Boughraro;

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## Abstract

This study investigates the performance of the speech acts of request and apology by Algerian EFL learners as part of their interlanguage pragmatics, focusing on the phenomenon of pragmatic transfer. The author attempts to contribute in a research area which is underexplored in the context of EFL in Algeria. Speech acts and politeness realisations differ across languages and cultures. This divergence is likely to result in face-loss or communication breakdowns when learners communicate with native speakers. A Discourse Completion Task is administered to two control groups in Arabic and English and two groups of Algerian learners at two proficiency levels (low and high). The findings reveal many areas of cross-cultural variability in Arabic and English requests and apologies. For example, in Arabic, requesters tend to employ imperatives, terms of address, hearer-oriented expressions, lexical softeners and religious-bound expressions while, in English, they seem to favour modal items, speaker-oriented requests, consultative devices, imposition minimisers and apologies. Moreover, there seems to be no taboo in admitting responsibility in Arabic apologies, but, in English, apologisers favour *repair* and *concern* strategies instead of *responsibility*. Both types of transfer are evident in the learners' performance. Pragmalinguistic transfer is extant in the employment of linguistic items inspired by the mother tongue and word-for-word translation. Sociopragmatic transfer is evidenced in learners' perception of situational variables and the evaluation of contexts which resemble, to a great extent, those of the mother culture. In requests, transfer is evidenced in *HAs*, *modification* and *request perspective*. The last aspect has the least immunity to transfer. Furthermore, interlanguage *IFIDs*, *intensification*, and strategies of *responsibility*, *explanation* and *concern*, in apologies, testify to the mother culture's influence. Linguistic proficiency neither gives a marked advantage to the high-proficient group nor does it trigger more transfer. Other features impact the learners' production such as lack of pragmatic competence and interlanguage-specific features.

**Keywords:** Algerian; apology; discourse completion task; interlanguage; pragmatic transfer; request

## List of Abbreviations

<b>ANSs:</b> Arabic Native Speakers	<b>ILP:</b> Interlanguage Pragmatics
<b>CCP:</b> Cross-Cultural Pragmatics	<b>L1:</b> First Language
<b>CCSARP:</b> Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project	<b>L2:</b> Second Language
<b>DCT:</b> Discourse Completion Task/Test	<b>M:</b> Mean (Average)
<b>EFL:</b> English as a Foreign Language	<b>N:</b> Number
<b>ENSs:</b> English Native Speakers	<b>NL:</b> Native Language
<b>ESL:</b> English as a Second Language	<b>NNS(s):</b> Nonnative Speaker(s)
<b>FTA:</b> Face-Threatening Act	<b>NS(s):</b> Native Speaker(s)
<b>H:</b> Hearer	<b>P:</b> Power
<b>HA:</b> Head Act	<b>R:</b> Ranking of Imposition
<b>I:</b> Infraction	<b>S:</b> Speaker
<b>IFIDS:</b> Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices	<b>SD:</b> Social Distance
<b>IL:</b> Interlanguage	<b>SLA:</b> Second Language Acquisition
	<b>SM(s):</b> Supporting Move(s)
	<b>TL:</b> Target Language

## Transliteration Conventions

Arabic Alphabet	Symbols	Arabic Alphabet	Symbols
ء	ʔ	ض	dh
ب	b	ط	T
ت	t	ظ	DH
ث	TH	ع	3
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	H	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	th	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	S	ي	y

Vowels		Symbols
short	أ/َ	a
	أ/ُ	u
	أ/ِ	i
long	آ	aa
	أو	uu
	اي	ii

## List of Tables

Table 1: Functions of Speech Acts .....	29
Table 2: CP .....	31
Table 3: Salient Features of Individualist and Collectivist Cultures .....	39
Table 4: Nine Request HA Strategies.....	52-3
Table 5: A Sample of Studies Using DCT as Data Collection Method .....	107-8
Table 6: Dataset Contrasts for Pragmatic Transfer .....	112
Table 7: Distribution of Variables across SITUs .....	114
Table 8: Request Structures in Situation 1.....	119
Table 9: HA Strategies in Situation 1.....	121
Table 10: Modals in Situation 1.....	122
Table 11: Request Perspective in Situation 1.....	124
Table 12: Internal Modification in Situation 1.....	126
Table 13: External Modification in Situation 1.....	130
Table 14: Request Structures in Situation 2.....	133
Table 15: HA Strategies in Situation 2.....	135
Table 16: Request Perspective in Situation 2.....	136
Table 17: Internal Modification in Situation 2.....	137
Table 18: External Modification in Situation 2.....	140
Table 19: Request Structures in Situation 3.....	143
Table 20: HA Strategies in Situation 3.....	144
Table 21: Request Perspective in Situation 3.....	145
Table 22: Internal Modification in Situation 3.....	147
Table 23: External Modification in Situation 3.....	148
Table 24: Request Structures in Situation 4.....	150
Table 25: HA Strategies in Situation 4.....	151
Table 26: Request Perspective in Situation 4.....	153
Table 27: Internal Modification in Situation 4.....	154
Table 28: External Modification in Situation 4.....	156
Table 29: Request Structures in Situation 5.....	159
Table 30: HA Strategies in Situation 5.....	161
Table 31: Request Perspective in Situation 5.....	162
Table 32: Internal Modification in Situation 5.....	163
Table 33: External Modification in Situation 5.....	165
Table 34: Request Structures in Situation 6.....	168
Table 35: HA Strategies in Situation 6.....	169
Table 36: Request Perspective in Situation 6.....	170
Table 37: Internal Modification in Situation 6.....	171
Table 38: External Modification in Situation 6.....	173
Table 39: External Modification in Situation 7.....	178
Table 40: Overall Use of Request Structures.....	179
Table 41: Overall Use of HA Strategies .....	180
Table 42: Overall Use of Modal Verbs.....	181
Table 43: Overall Use of Request Perspective.....	182

Table 44: Overall Use of Internal Modification .....	182
Table 45: Overall Use of External Modification.....	184
Table 46: Occurrences of the two Types of Transfer in Requests.....	196
Table 47: Apology Strategies in Situation 8.....	199
Table 48: IFIDs in Situation 8.....	202
Table 49: Intensification in Situation 8.....	205
Table 50: Apology Strategies in Situation 9.....	210
Table 51: IFIDs in Situation 9.....	212
Table 52: Intensification in Situation 9.....	214
Table 53: Apology Strategies in Situation 10.....	217
Table 54: IFIDs in Situation 10.....	218
Table 55: Intensification in Situation 10.....	220
Table 56: Apology Strategies in Situation 11.....	225
Table 57: IFIDs in Situation 11.....	228
Table 58: Intensification in Situation 11.....	230
Table 59: Apology Strategies in Situation 12.....	235
Table 60: IFIDs in Situation 12.....	237
Table 61: Intensification in Situation 12.....	239
Table 62: Apology Strategies in Situation 13.....	242
Table 63: IFIDs in Situation 13.....	243
Table 64: Intensification in Situation 13.....	244
Table 65: IFIDs in Situation 14.....	248
Table 66: Intensification in Situation 14.....	249
Table 67: Overall Use of Apology Strategies.....	251
Table 68: Over all Use of IFIDs.....	252
Table 69: Overall Use of Intensification.....	253
Table 70: Overall Use of Responsibility Sub-Strategies .....	254
Table 71: Occurrences of the two Types of Transfer in Apologies.....	267



## List of Figures

Figure 1: Communicative Competence: An Inclusive Model .....	19
Figure 2: Main Types of Cultural Communication Studies .....	37
Figure 3: Directness Levels .....	53
Figure 4: Strategies for Performing FTAs .....	68
Figure 5: Pragmatic Transfer Continuum: Language-Culture .....	77
Figure 6: Continuum of PT Research Variables .....	87
Figure 7: Four Types of Speech Act Data .....	105
Figure 8: Request Structures in Situation 1 .....	120
Figure 9: Use of HA strategies in Situation 1 .....	122
Figure 10: Use of Modals in Situation 1 .....	123
Figure 11: Request Perspective in Situation 1 .....	124
Figure 12: Internal Modification in Situation 1 .....	126
Figure 13: External Modification in Situation 1 .....	131
Figure 14: Request Structures in Situation 2 .....	134
Figure 15: HA Strategies in Situation 2 .....	135
Figure 16: Request Perspective in Situation 2 .....	136
Figure 17: Internal Modification in Situation 2 .....	137
Figure 18: External Modification in Situation 2 .....	141
Figure 19: Request Structures in Situation 3 .....	143
Figure 20: HA Strategies in Situation 3 .....	144
Figure 21: Request Perspective in Situation 3 .....	146
Figure 22: Internal Modification in Situation 3 .....	147
Figure 23: External Modification in Situation 3 .....	149
Figure 24: Request Structures in Situation 4 .....	150
Figure 25: HA Strategies in Situation 4 .....	151
Figure 26: Request Perspective in Situation 4 .....	153
Figure 27: Internal Modification in Situation 4 .....	155
Figure 28: External Modification in Situation 4 .....	156
Figure 29: Request Structures in Situation 5 .....	160
Figure 30: HA Strategies in Situation 5 .....	162
Figure 31: Request Perspective in Situation 5 .....	162
Figure 32: Internal Modification in Situation 5 .....	163
Figure 33: External Modification in Situation 5 .....	165
Figure 34: Request Structures in Situation 6 .....	168
Figure 35: HA Strategies in Situation 6 .....	169
Figure 36: Request Perspective in Situation 6 .....	170
Figure 37: Internal Modification in Situation 6 .....	171
Figure 38: External Modification in Situation 6 .....	173
Figure 39: External Modification in Situation 7 .....	178
Figure 40: Overall Use of Request Structure .....	180
Figure 41: Overall Use of HA Strategies .....	180
Figure 42: Overall Use of Modal Verbs.....	181
Figure 43: Overall Use of Request Perspective .....	182

Figure 44: Overall Use of Internal Modification .....	183
Figure 45: Overall Use of External Modification .....	184
Figure 46: Apology Strategies in Situation 8 .....	199
Figure 47: IFIDs in Situation 8 .....	202
Figure 48: Intensification in Situation 8 .....	206
Figure 49: Apology Strategies in Situation 9 .....	211
Figure 50: IFIDs in Situation 9 .....	212
Figure 51: Intensification in Situation 9 .....	214
Figure 52: Apology Strategies in Situation 10 .....	218
Figure 53: IFIDs in Situation 10 .....	218
Figure 54: Intensification in Situation 10 .....	221
Figure 55: Apology Strategies in Situation 11 .....	226
Figure 56: IFIDs in Situation 11 .....	228
Figure 57: Intensification in Situation 11 .....	230
Figure 58: Apology Strategies in Situation 12 .....	237
Figure 59: IFIDs in Situation 12 .....	238
Figure 60: Intensification in Situation 12 .....	240
Figure 61: Apology Strategies in Situation 13 .....	242
Figure 62: IFIDs in Situation 13 .....	244
Figure 63: Intensification in Situation 13 .....	245
Figure 64: IFIDs in Situation 14 .....	248
Figure 65: Intensification in Situation 14 .....	249
Figure 66: Overall Use of Apology Strategies .....	251
Figure 67: Overall Use of IFIDs .....	252
Figure 68: Overall Use of Intensification .....	254
Figure 69: Overall Use of Responsibility Sub-Strategies .....	255

## Table of Contents

<b>General Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1. Background of the Study.....	1
2. Statement of the Problem .....	2
3. Aim of the Study .....	3
4. Research Questions .....	4
5. Hypotheses .....	4
6. Research Tools .....	5
7. Structure of the Study .....	5
<b>Chapter I</b>	
<b>Communicative Competence, Speech Act Theory and Cross-cultural Communication</b>	<b>7</b>
Introduction .....	7
I.1 Communicative Competence: The Evolution of the Concept .....	7
I.1.1 Chomsky’s Grammatical Competence .....	8
I.1.2 Hymes’ Communicative Competence .....	8
I.1.3 Saville-Troik’s Interactional Skills .....	10
I.1.4 Gumperz’s Contextualisation Cues .....	12
I.1.5 Canale and Swain’s Strategic Competence .....	13
I.1.6 Bachman’s Communicative Language Ability .....	13
I.1.7 Celce-Murcia’s Interactional Competence .....	14
I.1.8 Intercultural Communicative Competence .....	18
I.1.9 Defining the Term <i>Culture</i> .....	23
I.2 Speech Act Theory (henceforth SAT).....	24
I.2.1 Performatives.....	25
I.2.2 Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts.....	26
I.2.3 Classification of Illocutionary Acts.....	27
I.2.4 Communication and Speech Acts.....	30
I.3 Cross-cultural Communication.....	36
I.3.1 Cross-cultural Communication vs. Intercultural Communication .....	36
I.3.2 Individualism-Collectivism Dichotomy .....	38
I.3.3 Illustrations from Cross-Cultural Literature and Intercultural Experience .....	40
Conclusion.....	46
<b>Chapter II</b>	
<b>Cross-cultural/Interlanguage Pragmatics, Politeness and Pragmatic Transfer</b>	<b>47</b>
Introduction .....	47
II.1 Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Pragmatics .....	47
II.1.1 Objectives of Cross-cultural Pragmatics .....	48
II.1.2 Cross-cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) .....	50
II.1.3 Coding Manual .....	50
II.1.3.1 Requests.....	51
II.1.3.2 Apologies .....	57
II.1.4 Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP) .....	59
II.1.4.1 Branches of ILP .....	60

II.2 Politeness and Face .....	64
II.2.1 Leech (1983) .....	64
II.2.2 Brown and Levinson (1987) .....	65
II.2.3 Scollon and Scollon (2001) .....	69
II.3 Pragmatic Transfer (PT) .....	72
II.3.1 Transfer: Historical Overview .....	72
II.3.2 Defining Pragmatic Transfer .....	74
II.3.3 Types of Pragmatic Transfer and Pragmatic Failure .....	75
II.3.4 Factors Affecting Pragmatic Transfer .....	81
II.3.4.1 Context-External Factors .....	82
II.3.4.2 Context-Internal Factors .....	85
II.3.4.3 Non-Structural Factors .....	86
II.3.5 Pragmatic Transferability .....	88
II.4 Speech Act Research.....	89
II.4.1 Speech Act Research vs. Speech Act Theory .....	89
II.4.2 Requests .....	90
II.4.3 Apologies .....	95
Conclusion .....	103
<b>Chapter III</b>	
<b>Methodological Issues</b>	
Introduction.....	105
III.1 Methods for Collecting Speech Act Data .....	105
III.1.1 Discourse Completion Task .....	106
III.1.2 Naturally Occurring Data .....	109
III.1.3 Role-Plays .....	110
III.1.4 Verbal Report Interviews .....	111
III.2 Statistics .....	112
III.3 Participants .....	112
III.4 Instrument .....	114
III.5 Procedure .....	115
Conclusion .....	118
<b>Chapter IV</b>	
<b>Data Analysis: Requests</b>	
Introduction .....	119
IV.1 Situation 1 .....	119
IV.2 Situation 2 .....	133
IV.3 Situation 3 .....	142
IV.4 Situation 4 .....	150
IV.5 Situation 5 .....	159
IV.6 Situation 6 .....	167
IV.7 Situation 7 .....	176
IV.8 Overall Use of Request Strategies .....	179
IV.9 Summary of the Findings .....	185
IV.9.1 Arabic (L1) vs. English (TL) .....	185
IV.9.1.1 Linguistic Structures .....	186

IV.9.1.2 Sociocultural Assumptions .....	187
IV.9.2 Interlanguage (IL) vs. Arabic (L1) and English (TL) .....	190
IV.9.2.1 Pragmalinguistic Transfer .....	191
IV.9.2.2 Sociopragmatic Transfer .....	192
IV.9.2.3 Other Features .....	194
IV.9.2.4 Proficiency and Pragmatic Performance .....	195
Conclusion .....	197

## **Chapter V**

### **Data Analysis: Apologies**

**198**

Introduction.....	198
V.1 Situation 8 .....	198
V. 2 Situation 9 .....	210
V. 3 Situation 10 .....	217
V.4 Situation 11 .....	225
V.5 Situation 12 .....	235
V. 6 Situation 13 .....	241
V.7 Situation 14 .....	247
V.8 Overall Use of Apology Strategies .....	250
V.9 Summary of the Findings .....	255
V.9.1 Arabic vs. English .....	255
V.9.1.1 Linguistic structures .....	255
V.9.1.2 Sociocultural Assumptions .....	257
V.9.2 Interlanguage vs. Arabic and English .....	260
V.9.2.1 Pragmalinguistic Transfer .....	260
V.9.2.2 Sociopragmatic Transfer .....	262
V.9.2.3 Other Features .....	265
V.9.2.4 Proficiency and Pragmatic Performance .....	266
Conclusion .....	268

## **Chapter VI**

### **Pedagogical Implications**

**269**

Introduction .....	269
VI.1 In EFL Pedagogy .....	269
VI.1.1 Teaching Pragmatics .....	269
VI.1.2 EFL Teaching/Learning Material .....	272
VI.1.3 Suggested Activities for Practicing/Learning Speech Acts .....	276
VI.1.4 Learners' Strategies for Learning and Performing Speech Acts .....	278
VI.2 In intercultural Communication .....	280
VI.3 Limitation and Suggestions for Further Research.....	283
Conclusion .....	284
<b>General Conclusion</b> .....	<b>285</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>288</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	

## General Introduction

### 1. Background of the Study

Speech acts are a cultural-rooted property of language. Though they are a universal phenomenon, their realisation in actual communication settings differs across languages and cultures. The interest in this area has led to the introduction of many disciplines and theories. One of them is cross-cultural communication which deals with speech acts in two or more languages/cultures to uncover differences and similarities regarding the favoured patterns (see Chapter II for further details). Moreover, politeness has been given much attention. Researchers aim at providing taxonomy of politeness strategies employed in face-to-face encounters and the conditions under which they are used, namely when speech acts are performed. Many theories have been introduced to conceptualise speakers' behaviour in a comprehensive way. Dealing with politeness in speech acts research is indispensable (see Chapter II for details). Taking the second and foreign language learner into consideration, another discipline has come to light i.e. interlanguage pragmatics. In interlanguage pragmatics, the interest has always been the production, perception and the learning of speech acts by non-native speakers. Numerous interlanguage studies have investigated the extent to which learners are able to emulate the native behaviour (e.g. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1986; Bergman and Kasper, 1993; Cenoz and Valencia, 1996; Jung, 2004; Al-Zumor, 2011). Additionally, such type of studies attempts to show how learners are likely to fail in face-to-face communication with their native counterparts in the so-called gate-keeping encounters. The aforementioned disciplines also shed light on miscommunication which is the result of the failure to convey and perceive the intended meaning.

The production of speech acts necessitates a tactful choice and combination of linguistic elements that could best convey the utterances' illocutionary force. These strategies mirror cultural-rooted assumptions about the situational variations of a certain speech event

given the age of the participants, their status, their relationship, the formality of the situation and the aim of the speech event, whether interactional or transactional or else. Even among native speakers of a particular language, miscommunication might occur. Any misjudgement of the interlocutors' expectations as regards what is said and how it is said may lead to effects that range from extremely serious to hilarious. For instance, in the Anglo-Saxon culture, a disagreement with a suggestion without modification, whether deliberate or accidental, might sound impolite or insulting. Furthermore, if someone receives a compliment and accepts it, he/she then violates the unwritten rule stating that one should disagree with the complimenter and avoid self-praise and, thus, this person might be perceived as arrogant. As such, miscommunication might happen in encounters among native speakers, who have a complete command on their language and are fully aware of the unwritten rules of their culture, let alone when learners of a given language are a part of the scene.

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

The realisation and perception of speech acts have been proven to differ cross-culturally as shown by the research literature as well as the intercultural experience of individuals. As an example, a direct request in one language/culture may be palatable, but may not be as such in another. In a similar vein, in one language/culture a receiver of a compliment may respond by a non-verbal action like offering the complimented object to the complimenter, in the case of Arabic culture. In a culture like the English one, the receiver of the compliment sees it sufficient to disagree with the complimenter in respect to the modesty value. Such cross-cultural diversity makes the task of the second and foreign language learners a really challenging one. Here, communicative competence becomes essential. In its late versions, interactional skills needed in the production of speech acts and speech act sets along with cross-cultural awareness have been emphasised by many scholars (e.g. Celce-Murcia et al., 1995; Celce-Murcia, 2007). Learners' development and production of the

different aspects of the target language is what came to be known in the history of language acquisition research as *interlanguage*.

In the present research, the area of speech acts is selected since speech acts occupy a considerable place in the pragmatic theory. Additionally, the potential for realising and perceiving speech act has been enormously stressed in the late models of communicative competence. Precedence has been given to requests and apologies based on their frequency in the target language. Though the linguistic materials used for performing requests and apologies may be predictable to a certain degree (*can you...? Could I...? Would you ...? I'm sorry, excuse me* etc.), their employment in a context remains a tall order. The reason is that learners cannot easily avoid *transferring* the mother language/culture's values, communication style, expectations and perceptions to their interlanguage.

### **3. Aim of the Study**

Studies dealing with speech acts cross-culturally and in interlanguage production have been conducted for three decades or so. This study is approached on the assumption that, in Algeria, such studies are still in their infancy. That is to say, there is a dearth in publications tackling this issue in the reviews and journals of language and linguistics in comparison with other Arab countries. Interlanguage studies conducted in the context of the teaching/learning of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Algeria are still bound to the microlinguistic level i.e. dealing with language as a system in itself focusing on grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. In the light of this statement, the present research aims, in the first place, to link research at the level of interlanguage pragmatics in Algeria to the wider research community. Besides, it allows us to spot areas of cross-cultural variation in the mother and target cultures and unveil the place of the mother language/culture in the learners' interlanguage system. Through the present conduct, we identify factors influencing learners' production which are not related to cross-linguistic/cultural differences. Additionally, the



study provides implications and suggests recommendations that would help in the pedagogy of speech acts as well as in intercultural communication, including translation studies.

## **5. Research Questions**

The present study is an attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the points of cross-cultural variability in Arabic and English requests and apologies regarding:
  - a. Linguistic materials used for realising them?
  - b. The sociocultural assumptions underlying their performance?
2. Does pragmatic transfer in the interlanguage of Algerian EFL learners occur at:
  - a. The pragmalinguistic level (linguistic materials)?
  - b. The sociopragmatic level (employment of strategies)?
3. If any, what are the other factors affecting the pragmatic competence of Algerian EFL learners?
4. Does language proficiency improve pragmatic performance or does it hinder it by encouraging the exhibition of more transfer?

## **4. Hypotheses**

There are two hypotheses behind this investigation and both pertain to pragmatic transfer in using the two speech acts under question.

1. Pragmatic transfer correlates positively with language proficiency. That is, the high-proficient learners are likely to exhibit more pragmalinguistic transfer as they acquire the linguistic means necessary for that. The sociopragmatic one is unlikely to be influenced by language proficiency as it is related to learners' experiences instead.

2. Pragmatic transfer is unlikely to happen at the level of the core strategies in requests (head acts) and apologies (expressions of apology), as they are realised with seemingly predictable linguistic structures.

## **6. Research Tools**

To answer the research questions and verify the hypotheses of the study, the requests and apologies produced by Algerian EFL learners are analysed. These learners which represent two proficiency levels: low-proficient (freshmen) and high-proficient (seniors) respond to a Discourse Completion Task/Test. This product-oriented study is meant to be an interlanguage study, in the first place, but it is developed from a cross-cultural perspective. That is to say, the learners' performance (interlanguage, henceforth IL) is compared and contrasted with the performance of two control groups. First, there is a group of Arabic native speakers (henceforth ANSs); data provided by them is labelled as first language (L1). Second, there is a group of Anglo-Americans, English native speakers (henceforth ENSs); data provided by them is referred to as target language (henceforth TL). Similar to interlanguage studies at the microlinguistic level, similarity between the three data sets evidences *positive* transfer, meanwhile the dissimilarity between L1 and TL with IL being similar to L1 and different from TL evidences *negative* transfer.

## **7. Structure of the Study**

This thesis falls into six chapters:

The first chapter deals with general issues related to speech act production. These are the latest versions of communicative competence, speech act theory and how it emerged in the philosophy of language, and cross-cultural and intercultural communication, as a context where speech acts are used.

The second chapter is devoted to the research issues that are directly related to the theory of pragmatic transfer. This chapter consists of four sections. The first one sheds light on the disciplines of cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics. The second deals with the issue of politeness and face and how they are related to speech act production. The third deals with pragmatic transfer, a research sub-area under interlanguage studies which is the focal point in the present study. The chapter is concluded by reviewing early and recent studies on requests and apologies.

The third chapter discusses the methodological issues of the study. These are the different tools used for collecting speech act data, interpretation of statistics, instrument, participants and procedure.

The fourth and the fifth chapters are devoted to the practical side of the study whereby we describe the findings and discuss them. These two chapters include summary sections where we answer the research questions and check the hypotheses of the study.

The sixth and last chapter discusses the implications of the study and makes recommendations for some related practical areas. The implications are, on the whole, pedagogical in nature (the teaching/learning of requests and apologies) and could be extended to intercultural communication and translation studies.

# **Chapter I**

## **Communicative Competence, Speech Acts Theory and Cross-Cultural Communication**

### **Introduction**

This chapter deals with some concepts that bear a close relationship to the issues dealt with in this study. The production of speech acts and speech act sets (i.e. strategies used for the realisation of a particular speech act like admitting responsibility and offering a repair in apologies) is a part of the learner communicative competence. It is, then, indispensable to review a number of models which thoroughly explain what this potential consists in. Equally important, speech act theory needs to be addressed in this chapter. Given the fact that in the next chapter the issue of speech act research will be dealt with, discussing speech act theory here will make it more accessible for the reader to grasp the clear-cut between the two disciplines. In one part of it, the present study is a comparative and contrastive one. This is the reason that cross-cultural and intercultural communication will be addressed in this chapter too. This point is also relevant in predicting the potential areas of communication breakdowns when learners communicate face-to-face with native speakers.

### **I.1 Communicative Competence: Evolution of the Concept**

The concept of communicative competence has gone through a long process of refinement. What follows is an account of how the mere grammatical ability stressed by the structuralists and the transformational generative grammarians is extended to rules of appropriateness and cross-cultural awareness by sociolinguists and ethnographers.

### **I.1.1 Chomsky's Grammatical Competence**

The term communicative competence came into existence as a reaction to Chomsky's (1965) generative perspective in linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965) expressed this in the following quotation:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (p. 3).

Chomsky sets a division between the speaker's knowledge (competence) and the actual use of it in real life (performance). Chomsky limits the scope of investigation to the speaker's grammatical knowledge (syntax, phonology, vocabulary etc.) through which one judges the grammaticality of sentences without reference to the contextual features that require more than grammaticality for an utterance to have a function in context.

### **I.1.2 Hymes' Communicative Competence**

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Hymes was the pioneer to challenge the generative-grammarians' perspective. Hymes attempts to revisit the linguistic theory and replace it with "a [broader] theory within which sociocultural factors have an explicit and constitutive role (1979: 6)." Hymes describes this need using the often-cited quotation: "there are rules of use without which rules of grammar would be useless (ibid: 15)." For this sake (a broader linguistic theory), Hymes introduces the notion of communicative competence as an inclusive one to Chomsky's grammatical competence. He further suggests redefining the notions of *competence* and *performance*. The former is the 'underlying' knowledge, which is far from being just grammar, and includes the speaker-listener's ability to use language. The

latter is the ‘actual’ use of knowledge (ibid: 17). In this respect, Hymes uses the term *performance* more or less in the same way Chomsky did, while adding rules of *appropriateness*, and others, to the rules of grammar. Hymes represents his and Chomsky’s dichotomies of competence-performance, respectively, as shown in 1 and 2 below. He saw his as ‘salient’ and Chomsky’s as ‘obscure’:

1. ([U]nderlying) competence v. (actual) performance;
2. ([U]nderlying) grammatical competence v. (underlying) models/rules of performance (ibid: 18).

To go back to performance, Hymes suggests four components for communicative competence, with the grammatical competence being just one of them (ibid: 19):

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible*;
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible* in virtue of the implementation available;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed*, and what its doing entails.

The first component matches Chomsky’s grammatical competence that allows the speaker to produce grammatically acceptable sentences. The second is related to psycholinguistic factors like memory limitation and perceptual device (ibid: 22), (i.e. the processing power). Something may be grammatically possible, but hardly processable/feasible in one’s mind (ibid: 14). The third is related to the contextual features that should be considered in order for an utterance to be appropriate. That is “the knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate ... competence as to when to

speak, when not to, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where and in what manner (ibid: 15).” The last is concerned with the ‘probabilities of occurrence’. That is, whether a sentence is common or not. Something may be possible, feasible, and appropriate but does not occur. The first three competences are “linked [so as] to produce and interpret actually occurring cultural behaviours.”(ibid: 23).

### **I.1.3 Saville-Troik’s Interactional Skills**

Saville-Troik (1998) worked on communicative competence in the context of first and second language learning from an ethnographic viewpoint. She is in line with Hymes, but seemed to explain appropriateness in some details by considering interactional skills and cultural knowledge as the main components of communicative competence, in addition to the linguistic knowledge.

Linguistic knowledge is almost identical to Chomsky’s grammatical competence. The only difference is that Saville-Troik includes the codes (linguistic) that convey social meanings, as well as referential ones (1998: 363-364). She believes that even if learners are proficient enough, they “seldom develop native intuitions for social meaning of linguistic variation.” To illustrate this point, she cites her experience with a Japanese learner who used the expression *and all that crap* instead of *etc.* in a scholarly paper where the style is formal. This example “illustrates the fact that the social meaning of a variable for a hearer or reader is not the same when it is used by non-native speakers as it is when used by native speakers” (ibid: 364).

Interactional skills are defined by Saville-Troik as “social conventions which regulate the use of language and other communicative devices in particular settings (ibid 365).” That is, the ‘knowledge and expectation’ of who is supposed to talk, listen, remain silent and in what manner one is supposed to talk with reference to social status and roles. Interactional

skills cover also the appropriate non-verbal behaviour and speech acts realisation in various contexts. Here, Saville-Troik acknowledges the occurrence of the phenomenon of *transfer* in learners' attempt to interact in second/foreign language disregarding how linguistically proficient they are:

[I]nteracting in a second and foreign language often involves the transfer of these elements [social conventions and communicative devices of the L1] even after a considerable proficiency in the target linguistic code has been acquired, as language teachers have long recognized (ibid: 365).

For instance, a Chinese may respond to a compliment saying *where? where?* Such an utterance is a direct translation from Chinese. Similarly, a member from an American Indian community might *wait silently for some considerable time* before he manages to take a turn in a conversation. This could be, for English speakers, embarrassing as they expect just short pauses (ibid: 366). Such behaviour may lead to pragmatic failure and, thus, in Saville-Troik's words, to "serious communicative conflicts." The differences are not apparent just in terms of 'forms and patterns.' They are extant in "social relations and status and the identification of individuals and groups for themselves and others – in Goffman's (1967) terms the establishment of face (ibid: 366)." (See Chapter II for the notion of *face*).

The other dimension is cultural knowledge. From Saville-Troik's standpoint, each aspect of culture is a component of communicative competence, but there are some which are salient in the context of language learning:

[T]he ones [aspects] that have the most immediate importance... are the social structure of its speech community and the values and attitudes held about language and ways of speaking. An understanding of social structure is needed in order to use the patterns of address in a language properly, for instance, as well as to know whom to avoid and when to remain silent.... Values and attitudes may also relate to social structure and notions such as what constitute 'speaking well' may vary within speech community from males versus females ... Shared knowledge is also essential to explain shared presuppositions and judgments of truth value (ibid: 367-368).



For example, to interpret *but* in ‘Bill’s a secretary, *but* he’s a man of heart’ requires the knowledge that in the USA it is very rare to have a male-secretary (ibid: 368).

#### **I.1.4 Gumperz’s Contextualisation Cues**

As an interactional sociolinguist, Gumperz’s (1982) focus is on the meaning generation and interpretation among interlocutors and how they conduct conversations through a set of shared conventions for meaning signalling (by speakers) and interpreting (by hearers). He calls the elements used for meaning generation and interpretation *contextualisation cues*.

[A] contextualisation cue is any feature of linguistic forms that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions... The code, dialect and style shifting processes...prosodic phenomenon... as well as choice among lexical and syntactic options, formulaic expressions, conversational openings, closings and sequencing strategies can all have similar contextualising functions (Gumperz, 1982: 131).

The following example illustrates the point:

A: Are you going to be here for ten minutes?  
B: Go ahead and take your break. Take longer, if you want.  
A: I’ll just be outside on the porch. Call me if you need me.  
B: Ok. Don’t worry. (Gumperz 1997: 41)

This piece of interaction contains a set of contextualisation cues used by the interlocutors to establish mutual understanding. If the interlocutors’ knowledge was just limited to grammar, B would not interpret A’s question as a request and, thus, would not comply. That is, B used certain cues to arrive at a correct interpretation with regard to the context (*probability of being here in ten minutes*) (Gumperz, 1997). To put it in Kramsch’s words, A ‘hint[s] at, clarify[ies] or guide[s] [his] listener’s interpretation of what is being said

among the infinite range of potential relevant factors of the context” and, accordingly, B arrives at the ‘relevant situated inferences’ (Kramsch 2009: 27).

### **I.1.5 Canale and Swain’s Strategic Competence**

In second language acquisition (SLA) research, the contribution of Canale and Swain (1980) is often cited. Canale and Swain suggest three components of communicative competence: grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic. The sociolinguistic competence is later divided by Canale (1983) into sociolinguistic and discourse competence. Grammatical and discourse competences relate to the linguistic side of communicative competence and sociolinguistic and strategic competences relate to the functional one. Strategic competence is their real contribution, and it is “the verbal and the nonverbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables or due to insufficient competence” (Canale and Swain 1980: 30). Savignon (1983: 40) defines it as “the strategies that one uses to compensate for imperfect knowledge of rules—or limiting factors in their competence such as fatigue, distraction, and inattention” (as it is cited in Brown 2007: 20). In order to do so, learners may resort to “paraphrase, circumlocution, repetition, hesitation, avoidance, and guessing as well as shifts of register and style” (Swain and Canale 1980: 40-41).

### **I.1.6 Bachman’s Communicative Language Ability**

Bachman’s model (1990) is drawn upon Canale and Swain’s one; he stresses the importance of “the processes by which various components interact with each other and with the context in which language use occurs” (Bachman 1990: 81). He names the phenomenon *communicative language ability*, and represents it in terms of two major components: *organisational* competence and *pragmatic* competence. The former is further divided into *grammatical* competence, which is the knowledge of language system that entails vocabulary

morphology, syntax etc. and *textual* competence that entails the rules of cohesion and rhetorics. The latter is concerned with contextual use of language and is also divided into sub-components: *illocutionary* competence and *sociolinguistic* competence. The first covers the different functions of language like ideational and heuristic functions. The second represents ‘sensitivity’ to sociolinguistic variables like dialect and register (ibid: 87).

### **I.1.7 Celce-Murcia’s Interactional Competence**

In the nineties, Celce-Murcia et al. (1995) and Celce-Murcia (1998) suggested another dimension to the existing model of communicative competence. This dimension is *actional* competence which is defined as “the ability to produce all the significant speech acts and speech act sets [the strategies that are used to realise a given speech act]” (Celce-Murcia 2007: 42). Later, Celce-Murcia (2007) proposed a revision for the 1995 model and, hence, suggested the following components: *sociocultural*, *discourse*, *linguistic*, *formulaic*, *interactional* and *strategic* competences. The contribution of this model lies in the insertion of *formulaic* competence, and more importantly, the *interactional* one (stands for the actional competence in the 1995 model).

*Formulaic* competence is the ‘counterbalance’ of linguistic competence and it “refers to those fixed and prefabricated chunks of language that speakers use heavily in everyday interactions.” (Ibid: 47). It includes routines: fixed phrases (e.g. *how do you do? I’m fine, thanks*), adjectives (e.g. *mutually intelligible*), idioms (e.g. *to kick the bucket*) and lexical frames (e.g. *I’m looking for*) (ibid: 48). *Interactional* competence is the ‘counterpart’ of the wider *sociocultural* competence. It includes three main sub-components (ibid: 48-49). First, *actional competence* is the knowledge of the conventions for the production of speech acts and speech act sets. It involves interactions like information exchange, interpersonal exchanges, expressions of opinion and feeling, problems (e.g. *apologising*), future situations (e.g. *goals*). Second, *conversational competence* is mainly about the *turn-taking* routines. It

can be extended to *how to open and close conversations, establish and change topics, interrupt etc.* Third, *non-verbal/paralinguistic competence* includes *kinesics (body language), gestures, eye contact, proxemics (use of space by interlocutors), habit behaviour (touching), non-linguistic utterances (ahhh!, huh), the role of silence and pauses.*

According to Celce-Murcia, the importance of interactional competence lies in the fact that the realisation of speech acts and speech act sets is often considerably different across languages. So, the communicative success of language learners requires the understanding of the norms governing their realisation along with the routines of turn-taking and the paralinguistic non-verbal habits that accompany them in oral face-to-face interactions. Furthermore, This revised model, as Celce-Murcia herself stated, gives, in pedagogical context, importance to culture, discourse, strikes balance between language as a system and language as formula (communicative means) and focuses on the dynamic aspects of interaction as well as learners' strategies (ibid: 51-54).

The contributions that have been cited are only some among others that pushed forward the evolution of the concept of CC. Each of these adds something to it or emphasises a particular aspect of it in accordance with the perspective from which the phenomenon has been dealt with.

In this respect, communicative competence includes, in line with the objectives of this study, the following components, as defined in Celce-Murcia's (2007).

- *Linguistic Competence*: knowledge of using language as a system in itself and within itself. It includes phonology (e.g. suprasegmentals like, stress and intonation), lexis (e.g. functional words like propositions and auxiliaries), morphology (e.g. parts of speech and grammar inflections) and syntax (e.g. phrase structure and word order).

- *Sociolinguistic Competence*: knowledge of using language in context. That is, how to produce appropriate utterances that respect not only the grammar rules of TL, but also its social norms. What purpose a grammatically well-formed utterance serves if it is a social *faux pas* (e.g. targeted to the wrong interlocutor or it does not fit the formality of a situation). Sociolinguistic competence is all about the control of the social and contextual factors (interlocutors' age, gender, status, social distance and power). It also requires awareness of language varieties, dialects or regional differences.
- *Discourse Competence*: knowledge of how to perform utterances above the sentence level. It pertains to cohesion (e.g. reference and conjunction), coherence (e.g. maintaining temporal continuity), deixis (e.g. using personal pronouns) and generic structure (e.g. identifying the oral discourse like conversation).
- *Strategic Competence*: According to Oxford, strategies are “specific behaviours and thought processes that students use to enhance their L2 learning” (2001: 362, cited in Celce-Murcia 2007: 50). This type of competence is called into action in cases of linguistic emergency. That is, when communicative breakdowns and failures are likely to occur. This potential compensates communication deficiencies and inadequacies. Strategies can be *learning strategies* (the use of logic and analysis, planning one's learning, strategies to recall words etc.,) (Oxford 2001:362, *ibid*: 50) or *communication strategies* (code-switching, appeals for clarification, seeking opportunities to use the TL etc. (Celce-Murcia et al., 1995, *ibid*: 50).
- *Cultural Competence*: knowledge of the target language community i.e. its values and beliefs. It also requires *cross-cultural awareness*. That is, learners should be aware that the way they use language is not the natural way and should be aware that the target community is not just different because it uses different linguistic codes, but rather because of its different values and cultural priorities. Mistakes at this level

and the sociolinguistic/pragmatic one are far more offensive than the grammatical ones; “in fact social or cultural blunder can be far more serious than a linguistic error when one is engaged in oral communication” (Celce-Murcia 2007: 44).

- *Pragmatic Competence*: knowledge of *politeness* strategies, the conventional ways of performing speech acts and speech act sets, conversation routines, turn taking and paralinguistic features in face-to-face interactions.
- *Formulaic competence*: knowledge of ready-made chunks of language like routines, collocations, idioms and lexical frames etc.

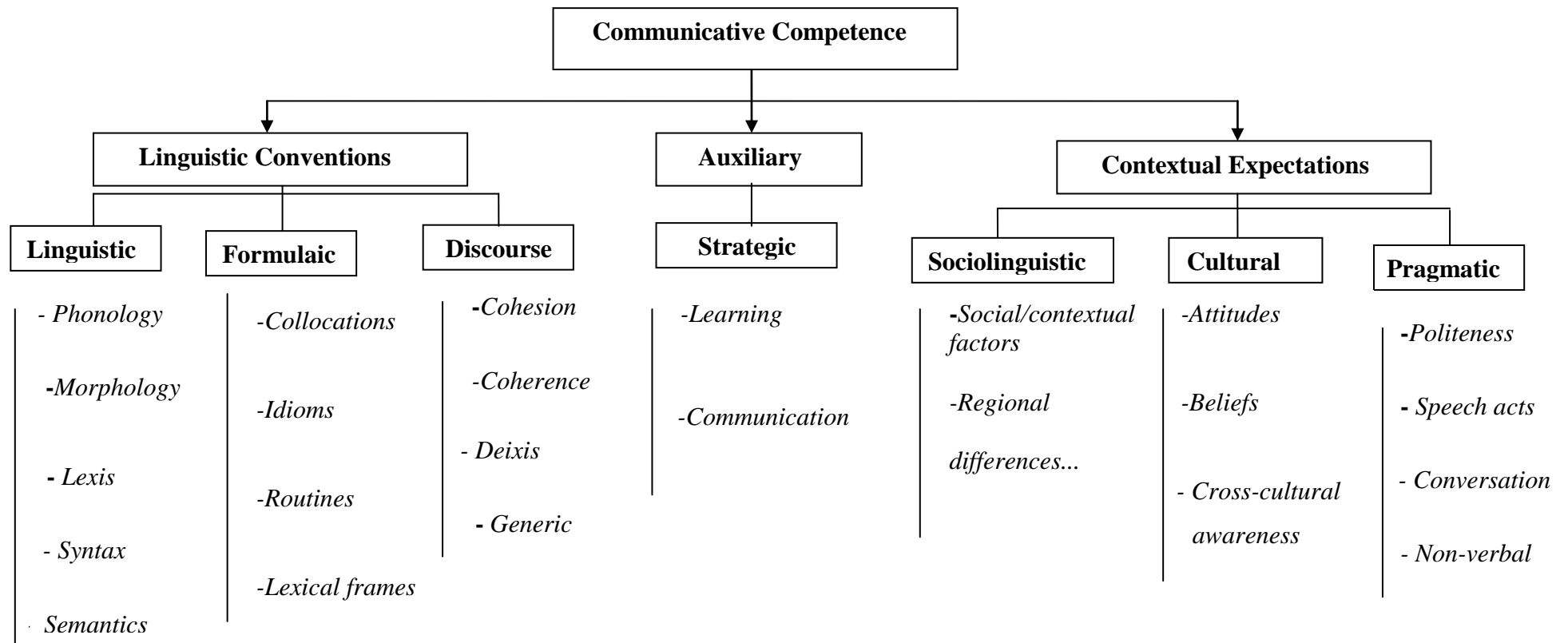
It must go without saying that the above division is not a rigid one. In other words, some components can be brought together under one sub-division. Also, one component can be sub-divided into independent components. It is noteworthy that whatever sub-components might be included under the term CC, they never fail to be considered either components related to (*linguistic*) *conventions* (require the knowledge of language as a system), components related to (*contextual*) *expectations* (require a knowledge beyond language itself) or *auxiliary* components (help learners in their attempt to learn and communicate effectively) (See figure 1).

There is one shared thing among the previous models of communicative competence, which is the focus on the Native Speaker (NS henceforth) as a model and marginalising the learners’ native culture (his attitudes, beliefs, and the way of seeing things and so on). In the 1990’s, this assumption was the focal point upon which scholars based their justification for challenging the concept of communicative competence and, hence, communicative language teaching trying to revisit the concept so as to take the learners’ culture and experience of using their native language into consideration. This came to be called *Intercultural Communicative Competence*.

### **I.1.8 Intercultural Communicative Competence**

In communicative language teaching, the NS is considered as a model that represents the reality of the TL use. This dependency on the NS, for some scholars, makes it a nightmare for the language learner to target the NS, so he often feels frustration (Coperias Aguilar 2007: 61). This is what Cook meant when he wrote “the prominence of the native speaker in language teaching has obscured the distinctive nature of the successful L2 user and created an unattainable goal for L2 learners (1999: 185, in *ibid*: 61). This means, according to Byram (1997:11), that the L2 learner has to forget all about his own language and indulge himself in another language’s reality, hence being ‘linguistically schizophrenic’. (*ibid*: 61). In other words, there is a need for introducing a ‘humanistic’ and ‘cultural’ perspective to second and foreign language teaching/learning, and not be limited to the functional use of language and the acquisition of communication skills, but taking the cultural aspects of the learners’ own native language and not belittling or completely ignoring them (Alptekin 2002: 62, *ibid*: 62).

On the whole, applying this approach in pedagogy means the teaching of culture becomes “more explicit, systematic and more demanding for learners” than the communicative approach has ever tried (Roberts et al. 2001: 26). In doing so, the learner is supposed to deal with the TL and its culture and his own language and culture; this requires, from the learner, the potential *to mediate* between two cultures. To account for this new role of the learner, the term *intercultural speaker* comes to use. In communicative language teaching, the assumption is that the essence of language teaching is developing the learners’ communicative ability so as to prepare them for the potential contact with the NS. However, by experience, learners may use language in communicative situations where among the participants only one or no one of them is an NS, thus, the language is being used as a *lingua franca* (Byram 1997: 22, *ibid*: 63).



**Figure 1: Communicative Competence: An Inclusive Model**



In such encounters, the learner should be able to make sense of the different cultural expectations of the participants and try to *mediate* between his own culture and theirs i.e. to link two or more ways of understanding the world (Byram 1995: 54, cited in Coperias Aguilar 2007: 63). In what follows, Aguilar succinctly expresses what role learners, from an intercultural perspective, should undertake:

Learners have to become mediators who have the ability to manage communication and interaction between people from different cultural identities and languages, coming out from their own perspective and taking up another, able to handle different interpretations of reality, persons who have a privileged position between the home and the target culture; that is to say learners must become intercultural speakers (ibid: 63).

The attempt to replace the NS model by the intercultural speaker one coincides with the replacement of communicative competence by intercultural communicative competence. The latter includes certain factors that exceed the mere knowledge of the language and its culture to *attitudes* toward them and the ability to interpret the relationship between the aspects of each. Such factors should be incorporated within the educational policy to raise the learners' awareness of their culture and the culture of the other (ibid: 64). Byram framed its sub-components in *savoirs* the learner should possess or be aware of.

- *Attitudes (savoir être)*: the openness and readiness to suspend the disbelief about other cultures and the belief about one's own;
- *Knowledge (savoirs)*: of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction;
- *Skills of interpreting and relating (savoir comprendre)*: the ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own;

- *Skills of discovery and interaction (savoir apprendre/faire)*: the ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time interaction;
- *Critical cultural awareness and political education (savoir s'engager)*: the ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and in other cultures and countries (Byram 2000: 9).

It is obvious that no linguistic aspects are mentioned and it is all about culture and the relationship between cultures. This is 'interculturality' (almost in each *savoir*, Byram emphasises *the other and one's own*), but without excluding the linguistic aspects (Coperias Aguilare 2007: 65). In a similar vein, an intercultural speaker is:

[S]omeone who is able to see relationships between different cultures -both internal and external to a society- and is able to mediate, that is interpret each in terms of the other, either for themselves or for other people. It is also someone who has a critical or analytical understanding of (parts of) their own and other cultures—someone who is conscious of their own perspective, of the way in which their thinking is culturally determined, rather than believing that their understanding and perspective is natural. (Byram 2000: 9).

Differentiation is still to be made between intercultural communicative competence and intercultural competence, another term that is often used in the context of intercultural communication. The former comes in use when people from different cultures and countries converse with each other in an FL. It is the kind of competence language teaching/learning aims to achieve. The latter operates when people interact in their own language with others from different countries and cultures. That is, it is needed by people from all backgrounds (ibid: 65). It goes without saying that the involvement of two cultures in the process of learning and teaching might not be as guaranteed as it seems in theory. In practice, it may lead, from the learners' side, to either acceptance (assimilation) or rejection (clash/conflict) of the other culture that differs from their own. English, in the era of globalisation, is likely to be accepted worldwide (Coperias Aguilar, 2007: 62). The process of shifting towards

intercultural communicative competence is what came to be named *the post-communicative era*.

In her attempt to identify what is an intercultural speaker, House (2007) considers what the definitions and connotations of the prefix *inter*, the words *culture* and *speaker* have and, thus, she reaches more or less the same conclusion as that of Byram cited above. What is particular to House is her reference to *interlanguage pragmatic studies* that take the NS as a model considering the implications (shortcomings) from an intercultural point of view where the intercultural speaker replaces NS. This proviso is relevant to research in pragmatic transfer, which is one subject of interlanguage studies. House sees, in agreement with the idea of intercultural speaker, the judgments of non-native speakers' use with reference to NS norms as a kind of 'reductionism' that effects pragmatic and cultural research in SLA (2007: 15). She considers this view a 'tunnel vision' and suggests looking at intercultural competence and performance as independent (ibid: 15).

In addition, she considers the *communication strategies* suggested by Selinker's study of interlanguage (transfer from L1, learning strategies, transfer of training and overgeneralization), and proposes treating them from an intercultural perspective and, thus, dealing with culture-switching, culture-mixing, borrowing items from L1 culture and inserting them into L2 culture (deliberately or strategically, not assisted by competence), (House 2007: 15-16). Accordingly, the performance of intercultural actants should be, according to House, looked upon as a membership to a 'privileged group' that exposes its identity, attitudes, signalling politeness and functions and creating different modes (e.g. humorous) and so on. That is to say, the emphasis on the deviated performance of intercultural speakers, which is rooted in interlanguage literature, should not monopolise intercultural research (ibid: 16). In connection with the phenomenon of transfer, House believes that *transfer* should not be overused to interpret any sign of L1 cultural norms in L2 production. Rather, transferred items

from L1 culture should not be regarded as “ignorance of second culture but as a clear sign of the intercultural competence they possess” (ibid: 16). All in all, House calls for “research in divergent but successful intercultural communication” (ibid: 16).

It should be made clear that researching pragmatic transfer in the interlanguage of Algerian EFL learners, in the present work, is believed to be fruitful if only considered in the context of communicative language teaching. The reason is that our learners are, presumably, unaware of an intercultural role they might play.

Given the fact that *culture* is a key term in this study, it is high time it was dealt with.

### **I.1.9 Defining the Term *Culture***

*Culture* is a problematic term. The consulted references, Baldwin et al. (2006), Roberts et al. (2007) and Nieto (2010), to mention but a few, all agree on the inherent difficulty in defining culture, as it is the interest of many disciplines. Accordingly, to have an accurate definition of culture is not really primary because it is out of reach. It is then sufficient to shed light on the close relationship between culture, communication and language.

Baldwin et al.’s contribution (2006: 139-226) is very interesting as it provides a large list of definitions from various perspectives. Among them, a couple of definitions that explicitly refer to communication and language are chosen. On the whole, the definitions, though they do not agree on what is culture, agree on the *inseparability* of culture, communication and, necessarily, language. Hall (1959: 28) sees culture and communication as identical; he perceives “culture in its entirety as a form of communication.” Applegate and Sypher (1988: 49-50) see culture as “the rules, schemas, scripts, and values used in communication, [and] cultures most basically define the logic of communication itself [i.e.] among all that is social is communication-relevant.” For Barlund (1989: xii-xiii), “cultures

promote the sharing of meanings through creating a broad repertoire of symbolic forms. The most obvious of these is language...” Scheibel (1999: 154) stresses the role of communication in shaping culture: “communication practices serve as the means by which organizational realities [produced by organizational cultures] are situationally constituted.” From a cross-cultural perspective, Ting-Toomey (1999: 10) defines culture as “a complex frame of reference that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community.” Bonvillain (2000:2) writes: “[c]ultural models [created constructions of reality that are shared and transmitted by members of a group] provide frameworks for understanding the physical and social world we live in. These models are implicitly and explicitly transmitted through language.” (p. 48). Brislin (2001: 4) emphasises a *shared-language* in culture: “*Culture* refers to shared values and concepts among people who most often speak the same language and live in proximity to each other [italics original]. House (2007: 10-11) writes on the relation between language and culture:

Language is the most important means of communicating, of transmitting information and providing human bonding has therefore an overridingly important position inside any culture ... language also acts as means of categorising cultural experience. Language and culture are therefore most intimately (and obviously) interrelated at the levels of semantics, where the vocabulary of a language reflects the culture shared by speakers.

Having dealt with communicative competence, we now provide an account on Speech Act Theory: how it emerged in the philosophy of language and its focal points.

## **I.2 Speech Act Theory**

The study of speech acts goes back to Austin’s (1962) which is a collection of lectures that were given at Harvard University in 1955. Austin initiated those lectures by saying:

What shall I have to say here is neither difficult nor contentious; the only merit I shall like to claim is that of being true, at least in parts.

The phenomenon to be discussed is very widespread and obvious and it cannot fail to have been noticed, at least here and there, by others. Yet have not found attention paid to it specifically (1962: 1).

Then he went on to distinguish between *performatives* and *statements*.

### I.2.1 Performatives

Austin wondered how philosophers took for granted that sentences are meant to make statements (he called *constatives*). He used the following examples as a point of departure (ibid: 5):

1. *I do (take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife)*—as uttered at marriage ceremony.
2. *I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth*—as uttered when smashing the bottle against the stem.
3. *I give and I bequeath my watch to my brother*—as accruing in a will.
4. *I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow.*

When uttering such sentences (in appropriate circumstances), it is clear enough that they are not describing, or stating what is being done; they are rather *actually doing it* (ibid: 6). This type of sentences is what is called *performatives* as opposed to *constatives*. The latter might be *true* or *false*. The former, by contrast, cannot be judged using this criterion; they can be *happy* or *unhappy* (when uttered in inappropriate circumstances or by a person not entitled to perform them). If the uttered performative goes wrong for a certain reason, for instance *to announce a bet when a race is over*, then such (*unhappy*) utterances are called *infelicities* (in different contexts, Austin called them *non-plays*, *misplays*, *misexcutions*, *non-fulfilments*, *infractions* etc.) and set under what circumstances they might be considered so (ibid: 14-24). For the performance of a speech act to be recognised as intended, there should be certain appropriate circumstances as a prerequisite. These circumstances are

conventionally known as *felicity conditions* that fall into four types: *essential*, *content*, *sincerity* and *preparatory conditions*. In Searle's analysis, the speech act of request, for instance, is an illocution by which the speaker encourages his hearer to make a certain action (essential condition), represents that action to be fulfilled in the future, regarding the time of speaking (content condition), really wishes that the hearer makes the action (sincerity condition) and believes that the hearer is able to do it (preparatory condition), (cited in Tsohatzidis 2010 343). Austin tried to provide a convincing yardstick from a grammatical point of view so as to differentiate between constatives and performatives, but he failed (ibid: 53-66). In his attempt to distinguish *force* from the traditional term *meaning*, Austin suggests three acts an utterance fulfils: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary.

### **I.2.2 Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts**

Criticising the philosophers' tendency, at that time, for treating language problems as ones of 'locutionary usage' and thus looking at them in terms of 'descriptive fallacy', Austin suggested a distinction between meaning and form in the light of the acts a given utterance may perform. First, *locutionary act* is what the utterance means (in the traditional sense of the word *meaning*). It is simply 'what is said.' Second, *illocutionary act* is the force the utterance has. It is the function the utterance performs like threatening, requesting, apologising. It is 'what is done' by the speaker's utterance.' Third, *perlocutionary act*: the effect (uptake) or the consequence the speaker's utterance may have on the interlocutor (ibid: 108). Austin explains the relation between the three acts:

[W]e perform a *locutionary act*, which is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, which again is roughly equivalent to 'meaning' in the traditional sense. Second, we said that we also perform *illocutionary acts* such as informing, ordering, warning, undertaking (...) i.e. utterances, which have a certain (conventional) force. Thirdly, we may also perform *perlocutionary acts*: what we bring about or achieve *by* saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring ... (Italics

original, *ibid*: 108).

He further illustrates that *you cannot do that* has the following acts (*ibid*: 102):

- Locution: he said to me *you couldn't do that*.
- Illocution: he protests against my doing it.
- Perlocution: a. He pulled me up, checked me.  
b. He stopped me, he brought me to my sense or he annoyed me.

We can set a clear-cut between the three levels of acts: the locutionary act *he said that...*, the illocutionary act *he argued that...* and the perlocutionary act *he convinced me that...* (*ibid*: 102). The illocutionary force of speech acts may be indicated by the so-called *Illocutionary Force Indicating Device* (IFID), which is a verb (performative) that states the speech act being performed like *promise, warn, apologise*, in case the acts are explicit (Yule 1996: 49). We mentioned earlier that Austin failed to provide a distinguishing criterion between constatives and performatives on a grammatical basis; for this reason, a classification based on the illocutionary force (rather than explicit performatives as he had earlier intended) was suggested.

### **I.2.3 Classification of Illocutionary Acts**

Since one may not know how many performative verbs there are in a given language and, besides, identifying all of them may not be a practical task, a classification is usually suggested considering the illocutionary force of particular speech acts (along with what kind of attitudes they express and the intended attitude expected from the hearer). These forces themselves can be set in broad communicative categories. Some typical examples can be provided (Bach 1994: 10):



<i>Illocutionary Act</i>	<i>Attitude Expressed</i>	<i>Intended Hearer Attitude</i>
Statement	Belief that p	Belief that p
Request	Desire for H to D	Intention to D
Promise	Firm Attention to D	Belief that S will D
Apology	Regret to D-ing	Forgiveness of S for D-ing

p [propositional content]; D [to do]; S [Speaker]; H [Hearer].

Take the case of *apology*. An utterance like *I'm sorry I forgot your birthday* when uttered with the intention of *apology* means expressing regret for doing something that is considered an infraction for the hearer. The speaker recognises its communicative force only and only if it is taken to express a given attitude (regret in this case). If such conditions are met, it will be taken as successful (or understood). The use of explicit devices like the performative verb *I apologise*, will, certainly, ensure the understanding/success of the intended message. However, in reality the tendency is not usually toward explicitness (ibid: 9). Explicit speech acts may also be called *primary performatives* (Austin, 1962). The above verbs represent four broad categories: *constatives (representatives)*, *directives*, *commissives*, *acknowledgements (behabitives and expressives)*, in addition to *declarations* (following Searle, 1969). Here, they are represented in the order they appear in Yule (1996: 53-54):

1. *Declarations (Verdictives* in Austin, 1962): those acts that ‘change the world via words’ when uttered by speaker who has a special role in an appropriate context (like judge, umpire, jury etc.). For example, *we find the defendant guilty*, when uttered by a jury foreman.
2. *Representatives/Assertives (constatives* in Bach, 1994; *expositives* in Austin, 1962): those acts whereby the speaker reveals his beliefs i.e. make the ‘words fit the world [of belief]’ like *stating; asserting, describing, illustrating* and son on. For example, saying *it was a warm sunny day*.
3. *Expressives (behabitives* in Austin’s and *acknowledgements* in Bach’s): are

those kinds of acts that are related to the speaker's psychological state like *joy*, *pleasure*, *pain* towards an experience i.e. making the 'words fit the world.' For example, saying *I am sorry*, *congratulations* and alike.

4. *Directives* (*exercitives* in Austin's): kinds of utterances by virtue of which the speaker gets the hearer to do something for his benefit like *ordering*, *requesting*, *commanding*. That is, trying to make 'the world fit the words.' like in *give me a cup of coffee. Make it black; don't touch.*

5. *Commissives*: are those speech acts whereby the speaker commits himself to fulfil certain intentions: *promises*, *threats*, *refusals* etc. That is, the speaker makes 'the world fit the words.' For example, *I'll be back; we will not do that* and so on.

Another way for differentiating the types of illocutionary acts may be, simply, on the basis of their grammatical structure. In English, we can resort to the three basic sentence types: *declarative*, *interrogative* and *imperative* which correspond to the three general communicative functions: *statement*, *question* and *command/request*. For example (ibid: 54):

- *You wear a seat belt.* (declarative)
- *Do you wear a seat belt?* (interrogative)
- *Wear a seat belt!* (imperative)

<i>Speech Act Type</i>	<i>Direction of Fit</i>	<i>S= Speaker; X=Situation</i>
Declarations	words change the world	S believes X
Representatives	make words fit the world	S causes X
Expressives	make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	make the world fit words	S wants X
Commissives	make the world fit words	S intends X

**Table 1: Functions of Speech Acts (after Searle 1979, cited in Yule 1996: 55)**

In this respect, when there is one-to-one correspondence between the form and the function, we have a *direct speech act* and when there is no such correspondence, as is often the case, we have *indirect speech act*. *It's cold inside* is a direct speech act if it is intended as

*a statement* and indirect if intended as *a request* (ibid: 55).

#### **I.2.4 Communication and Speech Acts**

The contribution of Austin (as well as that of Searle) is just one attempt for identifying the relation between an utterance and speaker's meaning as opposed to linguistic meaning. For Austin, the illocutionary act, the central interest of the theory of meaning, is a *conventional* act as he stated in the near end of his lectures: "[w]e must notice that the illocutionary act is a conventional act: an act done as conforming to a convention" (1972: 105). That is, the speaker resorts to the social conventions from which his utterance acquires its force. It is obvious that Austin did not consider the hearer's involvement in the success of a given speech act. That is to say, Austin believed that utterances are performed with an intention to conform to a convention and this, for Strawson (1964), is not the case in, almost, all of the situations where the intention is rather *communicative* (cited in Bach 1994: 149).

This leads us to talk about Grice, who stressed the *reflexive* nature of intentions (mutual recognition by the speaker and the hearer) in communication. According to him, the speaker's utterance is successful only if a certain effect on the hearer is intended and his [the speaker's] intention is recognised by the second party as such (ibid: 8). This resembles certain games that depend on the participants recognition of other's thought through their gestures or body movements. Bach further explains Grice's account:

Grice's account of speaker meaning is that communication is like a game of tacit coordination: the speaker intends the hearer to reason in a certain way partly on the basis of being so intended. That is, the hearer is to take into account that he is intended to figure out the speaker's communicative intention. It is the meaning of the words uttered, of course, that provides the input to this inference, but what they mean does not determine what the speaker means. (1994: 9)

Grice also suggested that interlocutors collaborate with one another for meaning inference and called this the *cooperative principle* (Table 2).

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*The cooperative principle:* Make your conventional contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

The maxims

- Quantity* 1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).  
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

*Quality* Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

*Relation* Be relevant

*Manner* Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity.
2. Avoid ambiguity
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

---

**Table 2: The Cooperative Principle (following Grice 1975, cited in Yule 1996: 37)**

That is, the speaker chooses certain linguistic forms that do not mean what they mean, but they are enough to guide his hearer to infer what is intended. The hearer on his part makes efforts to guess what the speaker might mean beyond the uttered words. The speaker's meaning beyond his uttered words is what Grice called *implicature*. It is worth saying that the reader needs not confuse between Grice's account on speaker's meaning and his doctrine on *implicature*. The latter, according to Tsohatzidis (2010: 345), is 'less ambitious in scope and less determinate in content.', but it is the one that seems to influence more speech act research as we will see. Implicature is generated, according to Grice, whenever one of the conversational *maxims* is violated. To have a concrete example, if someone asks *what do you think of my new car?* And another replies *your car has a terrific stereo*. The answerer here is being non-cooperative, because he violates one of the maxims, at least, (relation i.e. uttering irrelevant piece of information). That is, the talk is about the *car* itself, whereas the answerer is saying something about its *stereo*. Thus, one implicature is that nothing is worth in this car but its *stereo*. Yule writes in commenting on the conversational maxims:

It is important to recognize that these maxims as unstated assumptions we have in conversation. We assume that people are normally going to

provide an appropriate amount of information... We assume that they are telling the truth, being relevant, and trying to be as clear as they can. Because these principles are assumed in normal interaction, speakers rarely mention them (ibid: 37).

However, if the speakers are not sure that they can stick to those maxims, they, then, use certain expressions to indicate that (*hedges*). For quality, if what is being said is not accurate, we have, in English, *as far as I know, I may be mistaken, I guess* etc. For quantity, if what is being said is just a shortened account, we may use *to cut a long story short, I won't bore you with all the details*. For relation, if what is being said is directly relevant to the topic of interest, we may use *by the way, anyway* etc. For manner, if what is being said is not clear enough, we may use *this may be confusing, I'm not sure if this makes sense, I don't know if this is clear at all* and so on (ibid: 38-39).

Searle, who is in line with Austin, criticises Grice's *recognition-based* account of speaker's meaning, in spite of acknowledging its value, in part. He believes that Grice's account lacks a clear relationship between what is said and what might, conventionally, be meant in a language:

However valuable this analysis of meaning [Grice's account] is, it seems to me to be in certain respects defective. ... It fails to account the extent to which meaning is a matter of rules of conventions. That is, this account of meaning does not show the connection between one's meaning something by what one says and what that which one says actually means in the language (1971: 45).

For Searle, the point is that the speaker attempts to produce certain effects, not just by getting the hearer to recognise his attention, but also by virtue of 'devices' —according to language rules— to produce different effects. That is, 'meaning is more than a matter of intention; it is also a matter of convention'. Having provided some counter-examples, he

suggests a reformulation of Grice's account for speaker's meaning so as to include both the speaker's intentions and the language conventions and, more importantly, the relation between them:

In the performance [of a successful speech act] the speaker intends to produce a certain effect by means of getting the hearer to recognize his attention to produce that effect, and ... he intends this recognition to be achieved in virtue of the fact that the rules for using expressions he utters associate the expressions with the production of that effect (ibid: 46).

Always from Grice's viewpoint, it is worth to stop on the concept of implicature. Implicature is the consequence of the violation of one of the conversational maxims and, thus, what a speaker means but does not say. Two types are worth discussing: *conversational* and *conventional implicature*. Consider these examples:

1. *You won't need a car alarm.*
2. *The police are coming.*

The person who utters (1) might mean something more than just a statement i.e. implies that the *car* is not worth stealing. In the second, the speaker is not just informing, but also warning about the police arrival. Most of Grice's cases of conversational implicature are, actually, cases of *indirect* speech acts (Bach 1994: 12-13). As for conventional implicature, it has nothing to do with the cooperative principle, because it concerns certain words that can be context-independent and conversation-free. In English, the conjunctions *but* and *even* are examples of such words:

1. *Marry suggests black, **but** I chose white.*
2. ***Even** john came to the party.* (Yule 1996:45).

In this respect, the interpretation of these utterances is based on the implicature of

*contrast* and *contrary to expectation* signalled by *but* and *even* respectively, without any resort to the context or otherwise. Grice's account, however, does not consider cases of 'expansion and completion' of sentence meaning, as in:

1. *You're not going to die.*
2. *A: I'm not ready*  
*B: We'll be late.*

If (1) is said by a mother to her kid after a minor injury, she does not mean that he is not going to die forever, but just from this injury. What the speaker means is more specific than what the sentence means. Here is a case of an *expansion* of a sentence meaning. In (2), if (A) is uttered by a husband to his wife when going to attend an event and she replies by uttering (B); he means he is not ready for that event and she, likewise, means just late for that event and there is no implicit reference. The two utterances lack 'determinate truth conditions' and the example is a case of a *completion* of the sentence meaning. In both cases, no implicit reference is meant (Bach 1994: 15-16). Recani (1989) suggested including such cases in the notion of speaker's meaning, meanwhile Sperb and Wilson (1986) named this category *explicature*, since what is meant explicates what is said (cited in Bach, 1994). Bach (1994) proposes, for this category, the name *impliciture*, since what is communicated is, in part, implicit (p. 16).

The *difficulty* the reader may face in grasping the above ideas may be due to the philosophical nature inherent to the theory of speaker's meaning. That is, it is an intuition-based non-empirical discipline as opposed to Speech Act Research (Chapter II). Speech act theory as a theory of speaker's meaning is still in an on-going debate. For instance, Yoshitake (2004) criticises Austin's account of speech act theory and calls for the 'decentralisation of speaker-centred meaning' in communication as well as that of Even Strawson and Grice's models. In other words, he emphasises the 'dialogical' nature of communication where the

hearer stands on equal-footing with the speaker, which means that the former is not always meant to fulfil the latter's intentions. Yoshitake, thus, suggests that "the illocutionary act should be identified only in *a posteriori* on the basis of the meaning of the perlocutionary act on each participant in communication" (ibid: 41). For more current options on speech act theory, see Tsohatzidis (2010) and for accounts on Grice's contribution, *relevance theory*, *neo-Gricean*, *post-Gricean pragmatics*, one can see, among others, Dangzer (2010), Wharton (2008), Horn (2005 and 2006), Carston (2005). For Grice's criticism, the reader can see Capone (2009) and Arundale (2008), to mention but a few.

To conclude, we assume it the right place to say something about what place speech acts had in Arabic linguistic traditions. Sahraoui (2005) dealt with speech acts in Arab linguists' contributions. He wrote (pp. 6-7):

'Speech Acts' were investigated in our Arabic (linguistic) heritage within the theory of *al-khabar w al-insha'* [a rough translation would be *information-composition*] by many scientists. To uncover its tenets and application, one should consult works of a number of honourable (pioneer) scientists by whom this phenomenon was grounded and deeply searched. Among the rhetoricians, we find Sibawayh, As-Sakaaki... among the scholars of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, we find Ibn-Rushd, Ar-Razi... The interest in it was also extended to philosophers and logicians [translated by the author of this research].

However, the attention was not always paid to them specifically; they were rather for others purposes i.e. used as means to understand other sciences (often of a non-linguistic nature) (ibid: 7-8). According to Sahroui, *al-insha'* is the counterpart of Austin's performatives and *al-khabar* is the equivalent of statements as the ancient Arab linguists distinguished them, like Austin, by 'fallacy description' (ibid: 58). In this respect, As-Sakaaki wrote: "the consensus to distinguish them [*alkhabar w al'insha'*] is the acceptability of fallacy-truth description (ibid: 59, translated by the author of this research)". Likewise, the philosopher Ibn-Sinah stated that speech never fails to be considered either "*khabar* [statement] that can



be believed [if it is *true*] and disbelieved [if it is *false*] and part of it (intends *speech*) is *insha'* [performative] that does not fit that [truth-fallacy description]. The first as in 'Zayd is a writer' ... and the second like the formulae of (Islamic) invocation, requesting, demanding, restraining and calling (ibid: 60) (Translated by the author of this research).”

These few words show that contributions of Arab ancient linguists can be explained using the conceptual framework of speech act theory.

### **I.3 Cross-Cultural Communication**

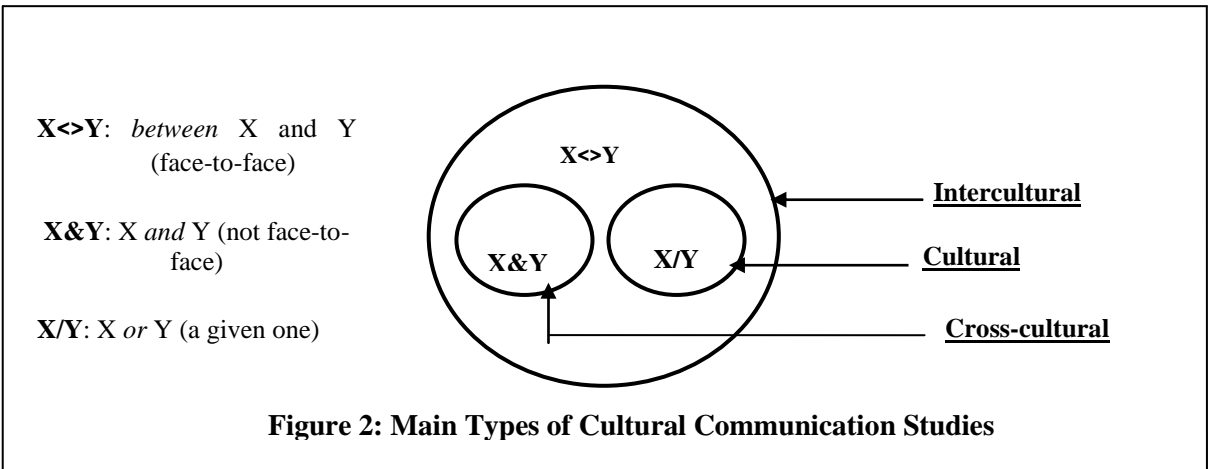
In this section, we are going to tackle cross-cultural communication to see how challenging the task of communicating with people from different cultures, especially at the level of speech acts. The term cross-cultural communication usually appears in the literature with the term intercultural communication. So, we need to, first, set a distinction between them.

#### **I.3.1 Cross-Cultural Communication vs. Intercultural Communication**

Chick (1998) cites Carbaugh's distinction between cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication studies. For him, the former target particular features of communication within and across cultures like speech acts, address terms, turn taking etc. whereas the latter target a number of features in two cultural systems when used in a given *intercultural encounter* (ibid: 331). That is, intercultural communication is wider than cross-cultural communication. This why, according to Gudykunst (2003a: vii), “understanding cross-cultural communication is a pre-requisite to understanding intercultural communication.” Gudykunst provides a more elaborate distinction between them: intercultural communication, which he calls the ‘broad rubric’, is interested in the *face-to-face* interactions between people from *different* national cultures and may be used, according to

Gudykunst, to include all aspects of culture and communication. As for cross-cultural communication, a research area under the broad rubric, is the *comparative* account of face-to-face communication across cultures (2003: vii; 2003: 1).

Typical examples of studies in cross-cultural and intercultural researches would be, for instance, *comparing* speech convergence in initial interactions in Japan and in the United States and the study of speech convergence when Japanese and U.S. Americans *communicate* with each other respectively (ibid: vii). Another type of studies that falls within the broad rubric is the so-called *cultural communication*. That is, the study of communication within one particular culture to uncover the role of communication in maintaining a shared identity of a given speech community i.e. from ‘the insiders’ point of view.’ Yet, this type of research may include comparative studies (ibid vii). Figure 2 shows the interrelationship between the three types of communication and their respective studies. Cultural studies deal with a particular aspect in a given culture to show how cultures maintain a shared identity. Cross-cultural studies deals with the comparison of a particular aspect in two national cultures without a reference to data from face-to-face interactions, meanwhile intercultural studies observe face-to-face encounters among people from different national cultures in authentic settings.



Having distinguished between the different types of communication studies, we presently focus on the type that fits our study i.e. cross-cultural communication. In order to predict and interpret various aspects of communication cross-culturally, many analysis frameworks have been developed; among the most important ones is the *individualism-collectivism* dichotomy.

### **I.3.2 Individualism-Collectivism Dichotomy**

Hofstede's straightforward definition of individualism-collectivism is the point to begin with:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its apposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (Italics removed 1991: 51, cited in Kim 2001: 4)

Table 3 summarises the most salient features of individualist and collectivist cultures. It goes without saying that there is no entirely individualistic or entirely collectivistic culture, but one tendency predominates (Kim, 2001; Trumbull et al, 2000; and Gudykunst and Lee 2003). Besides this cultural-level analysis, there is another analysis at the individual level that explores individuals' attitude, values, behaviours etc. (Kim 2001: 14). Among the mainly collectivistic cultures, we find the African, Arab, Latin, Asian and Southern European cultures and among the mainly individualistic, we find the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Northern Europe (Gudykunst and Lee 2003: 12). Gudykunst and Tingtoomey (1988, following Hall 1976, *ibid*: 18) stated that individualistic cultures are pertinent to the so-called *low-context* communication where information is explicitly coded with less reliance

on the context. Conversely, collectivistic cultures are pertinent to *high-context* communication, where most of the content conveyed through the context and little is expressed in the code.

Individualism	Collectivism
1. Fostering independence and individual Achievements.	1. Fostering interdependence and group success.
2. Prompting self-expression, individual thinking and personal choices.	2. Prompting adherence to norms, respect for authority/elders, group consensus.
3. Associated with egalitarian relationships and flexibility in roles.	3. Associated with stable hierarchical roles (dependent on gender, family background, age).
4. Understanding physical world as knowable apart from its meaning for human life.	4. Understanding the physical world on the context of its meaning for human life.
5. Associated with private property and individual ownership.	5. Associated with shared property, group ownership.

**Table 3: Salient Features of Individualist and Collectivist Cultures (Trumbull et al. 2003:9)**

Our interest is to see how these value systems are reflected in communication, and hence, language across cultures. In this respect, members of mainly collectivistic cultures, according to M. S. Kim (1994), tend to care about others' feelings and avoid imposition on them in communication more than the individualistic counterparts. Members of mainly individualistic cultures, by contrast, tend to seek clarity in conversations and see clarity as an efficient way in communication, according to M.S. Kim (1994); Kim and Wilson (1994) ( in Gudykunst and Lee 2003: 12). For Kim and Wilson, members of individualistic cultures prefer *direct* requests as an efficient way to seek compliance, whereas members of collectivistic ones consider them the least efficient (ibid: 12).

Many empirical/systematic investigations have proven these tendencies in using one of the value systems like that of Gudykunst and Nishida who reported that the Japanese consider ingroup relationships (e.g. classmates) more intimate than that of outgroup members (e.g. strangers), whereas there is no significant difference in U.S Americans' intimacy perception.

Lim (2003) notes the contrast between Asians and Arabs in expressing emotions. The former do not express them overtly as they consider this a lack of self-control, so they prefer to say, for instance, *good* instead of *fantastic* and *not very good* instead of *terrible* (Gudykunst and Kim 1984, *ibid*: 64). On the contrary, Arabs tend to be ‘overtly expressive’. There are certain grammatical forms that express assertion and exaggeration: common-ending words and the doubling of some consonant sounds are often used to create strong effect besides the repetition of pronouns in order to increase assertiveness (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984; Suleiman 1974, *ibid*: 64). In discussing some issues on cross-cultural communication research, Gudykunst (2003c: 156) recommended that cross-cultural studies should not rely on one dimension only (i.e. individualism-collectivism) at the expense of the individual level i.e. the interlocutors status, power, gender etc. to explain the variability of cross-cultural communication (p. 156).

In order to bridge the gap between the theoretical account made and what really happens in reality in communication cross-culturally, illustrations are needed from both cross-cultural literature and intercultural experience.

### **I.3.3 Illustrations from Cross-Cultural Literature and Intercultural Experience**

When examining cross-cultural communication literature, we can have an idea on how cultural values, not only the way of saying things, differ across cultures, then we see how these differences are really a source of miscommunication and shift of expectations in intercultural encounters (Wierzbicka 1991: 67). Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts (1981: 5, cited in Clyn 2006: 101) found that intercultural communication breakdown occurs for three main reasons:

1. Different assumptions about situation-appropriate behavior.
2. Different ways of structuring information or an argument.

### 3. Different conventions for speaking (for example, prosody) and their interpretation.

In the Anglo-American culture, there is the unwritten rule that says avoid self-praise, whereas in Black-American culture, according to Kochman (1981), this norm of *modesty* does not apply and, thus, self-praise does not have negative connotations (cited in Wierzbicka 1991: 68). Similarly, *self-assertion* is viewed differently in English and Japanese cultures. In the former, it is seen from western individualistic viewpoint that suggests values like autonomy and equality. In the latter, it is seen from a collectivistic viewpoint, which suggests interdependence, empathy, self-denial etc. (Libra 1976: 257, *ibid*: 72). Due to such differences, the Japanese face difficulties when communicating with non-Japanese. Therefore, they feel obliged to act against their cultural norms (i.e. be self-assertive) so as to convey their ideas. Suzuki (1986: 157) emphasises that: “we have great difficulty with the idea that so long as our addressee is not Japanese we can’t expect to have our position understood without strong self-assertion.” (*ibid*: 72).

Another notion that has different cultural value is *directness*. Wierzbicka criticised the earlier Anglo/ethnocentric studies that suggested that directness implies impoliteness and vice versa. In Polish culture, it is not the case. That is, Polish may use bare *imperatives* when offering or commanding and this does not signify impoliteness (*ibid*: 27). Other variables that may influence human interactions cross-culturally are *social distance* (intimacy) and *power* (status). Both Wierzbicka (1991: 105) and Lim (2003: 62) cited Hijirada and Sohn’s study (1986: 390) which concluded that westerners (Americans especially) assign a high value to intimacy, whereas Asians (Japanese and Koreans especially) prioritise the former over the latter. This is why Asians, when speaking to superiors or elderly, deploy honorifics no matter how close to their interlocutor they are. Wierzbicka (1991) discusses other variables like *closeness* and *informality* and how they are valued cross-culturally. Based on her own representation of the concept of *closeness* for Polish and Russians, she suggests that if there is

something bad about a person, they are likely to tell it to that person as a sign of interest in him/her, and thus maintaining *closeness*. For Anglo-Americans, on the contrary, they are unlikely to tell it for the fear of offending the other party, and thus caring more about *harmony*. As far as informality is concerned, it is highly valued in Australia to the extent that a student may call a teacher by his first name only (e.g. *Bob* or *Jane*). This signifies friendliness and equality i.e. there is no need to show overt respect. In Polish culture, respect and honorifics are widely and mutually used, so informality is not really valued as is the case in Australia. In Japan and Korea, formality is given more value as it goes with social hierarchy (ibid: 108-113). In Algeria, in correspondence with *closeness*, for instance, people are likely to be direct in dealing with someone close, for the sake of maintaining closeness, most probably (in line with Polish and Russians). Hospitality norms also differ from culture to culture. Polish norms seem to differ tremendously from the English, but they seem to go near the Algerian ones. In Poland, the host does not try to know about the guest's wishes concerning eating and drinking, for instance, but rather tries to get him to eat and drink as much as possible. A typical example would be:

*Please! A little more!*

*But I can't*

*But you must! (Literally, But necessarily).*

This would sound as forcing the guest to eat or drink (ibid: 28). For an English guest, this is likely to be aggressive and embarrassing. Whereas, for an Algerian, it is quite expected since Algerians themselves might insist on guests, almost, in the same manner.

The above mentioned differences in cultural values suggest the likelihood of miscommunication when people from different cultures come into contact.

When she discusses the concept of directness in Polish and English, Wierzbicka cites that a Polish host, in a meeting, offered a distinguished Australian guest a seat of honour by

saying: “*Mrs Vanessa! Please! Sit! Sit!*” This utterance sound like, from an Australian cultural viewpoint, a *command* that is often addressed to *dogs* (ibid: 27). This should have really put the Australian guest in an embarrassing situation and have not made her feels any honour at all. In a similar vein, an Algerian teacher, who was studying in England, told about her experience with an English friend who used to compliment about almost everything: *what a lovely meal, what a nice t-shirt* and alikes. The Algerian felt astonished to hear such frequent compliments about things that do not deserve all that praise in Algerian eyes. So, she asked her why always complimenting about things that are not really worth complimenting. The English friend explained that it is just the English way to be polite with others (personal contact). Here the misunderstanding is due to judging others according to one’s own consensus.

Another case of shift of expectations in complimenting is cited in Tannen (1984: 190-191). She tells about her experience with a Greek cook. While dining in the house of that cook, she compliments the food: *These are delicious* and the host agrees: *Oh, yes*. She further praises the food: *it must have taken hours to prepare* and the host agrees once again: *oh, yes. These take many hours to prepare*. The complimenter feels egoism in the cook’s responses, because she expects him to disagree with her and minimise his efforts based on her western etiquette norms ‘avoid self-praise.’ While leaving, she thanks him again: *thank you for the wonderful meal*. The cook unexpectedly replied, with a ‘dismissing wave’ to the table: *what those little nothing*. She feels surprised again and also hurt as this reply implies that she was making a big deal about something that did not really deserve. This is another instance of cross-cultural misunderstanding that is due to the differences in cultural values. As far as *directness* is concerned, in American-Japanese commerce interactions, according to Tannen, Americans’ frustration is widely reported. The problem is that the ‘polite’ Japanese never say *no*, and, thus, from the way *yes* is said one should infer whether *yes* or *no* is meant. The



Americans, though this fact could be known to them, might not know how to judge what kind of *yes* is meant. This intercultural misunderstanding is the source of Americans' frustration when communicating with Japanese (ibid: 194).

Another example of breakdown in communication is cited in Holiday et al. (2004: 190). It illustrates the different traditions of invitation (and hospitality) in English and Moroccan cultures. An English teacher who joined a school in North of Morocco sought to strengthen his relationship with the local teachers by inviting them for supper. The Moroccans accepted the invitation and both parties agreed to meet at eight-evening that day. However, the Englishman waited till nine and the Moroccans did not show up. The next day, he met them—wondering what excuses they might have— but the Moroccans showed no embarrassment and behaved as if nothing had happened. One of them explained, without an intention to apologise, that in their way to his house, they noticed an interesting football match in the cafeteria, so they sat to watch it. This incident set the Englishman in confusion. In some other occasion, he was invited by Moroccans for drinking *mint tea* and it was just against his English expectations that one leaves as soon as he drinks the tea. In Morocco, the chat around the tea table could take the whole evening. Later on, the English teacher developed the 'tactic' to accept invitations in order to be polite and avoid 'rudeness and discomfort.' In the Algerian society, there is a fair chance for this Englishman to encounter the same incidents as Algerian and Moroccan cultures are very close.

Another case of invitations across cultures is cited in Jia (2007: 38). Mr. Larry (an American) told the Chinese friend that the movie of *The Last Emperor* was on and invited him to see it. Arriving at the cinema, they went to book the tickets and the Chinese offered *let me buy the tickets* just to be polite according to the Chinese norms. However, Larry responded *ok, if you insist*. The Chinese was confused as he never expected that a person who is invited

would buy for the invitation. He said to himself: *did I have to pay for being invited, or should I say that I was not insisting?* He could not say that to his American, of course, so as not to lose his *face*. The following anecdote also shows intercultural misunderstanding when apologising. While Mrs. G, (an Englishwoman) is pushing her shopping cart in the local supermarket bumps, inadvertently, in Mr. Y (a Hebrew resident). The lady says, *I am sorry (in Hebrew)*, but Mr. Y turns to her and says: *lady, you could at least apologise*. Elsewhere, the same person, Mr. Y, arrives late at a meeting in English headed by Mr. W (an Englishman). As Mr. Y gets into the room, he says *the bus was late* and sits down. Mr. W mutters to himself in annoyance *...why [he doesn't] ever apologise!* (Olshtain and Cohen 1989: 53). Each of the two apologisers in this example realises the apology in a way that conforms to their language, which leads the other party not to perceive it as an inadequate apology.

Paralinguistic features can also be a source of miscommunication. Tannen (1984; 2005) shows that the different ways of using paralinguistic features may lead to 'employment discrimination'. She borrowed the following example from Gumperz (1982): in London Heathrow Airport's cafeteria, the staff of the airport complains about the *rudeness* of the hired Indian and Pakistani women employees. These employees, also, complain about *discrimination*. When a customer requests meat, the server should know if he wants or not *gravy* on it. The British server asks *Gravy?* (with rising intonation). The Asians say *Gravy*, but with falling intonation instead. The first pattern of intonation means *would you like gravy?* And the second one suggests saying *this is gravy. Take it or leave it*. The Asians cannot understand the negative reactions they get, though they say the same thing as the British counterparts. In other words, the Indians and the Pakistanis are not aware of the additional meaning conveyed by the intonation in English. Gumperz tapes this talk and gets both employees to listen to it (1984: 192). Another example is found in Chick (1998). In this

example the student (S) is English-speaking Zulu and the professor (P) is an English-speaking South African.

*S: I think one and two were equally difficult.*

*P: Equally difficult*

*(...)*

*S: And not actually difficult but I think... er... not prepared . . .*

The professor puts the stress on the underlined word, *equally*, to show that it is the point he wants the student to focus on. However, the student addresses the *difficulty* of the questions rather than which of them was more difficult. This miscommunication, for Chick, is due to the fact that Zulu is a tone language that employs *intonation* and *stress* in different ways as compared to South African English (ibid: 339).

Miscommunication can also occur at the non-verbal level as well (eye contact, movements, distance between interlocutors, handshaking and so on). For this matter, the reader can see, for instance, Anderson et al. (2003) for a thorough account of non-verbal communication cross-culturally.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter shed light on the wider context of our study. We discussed various contributions that attempt to conceptualise in a comprehensive framework the learner communicative potential in the target language. The second section addressed speech act theory: how it emerged in the philosophy of language along with some basic notions (e.g. illocutionary force, meaning generation/interpretation). The last section tackled types of communication studies with a focus on cross-cultural communication which best fits the present study. The coming chapter will address theoretical and research issues that are directly relevant to pragmatic transfer.

## Chapter II

### Cross-cultural/Interlanguage Pragmatics, Politeness and Pragmatic Transfer

#### Introduction

To begin with, a word about the development of the field of pragmatics needs to be said so as to understand the context where cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics emerged (see section one). Pragmatics evolves thanks to the application of many approaches to it. For instance, the application of the linguistic approach leads to *linguistic pragmatics* (pragmatic features encoded by the linguistic form). The application of the social one gives rise to *social pragmatics* (the socio-cultural aspects of communication and language use). Similarly, the intersection between pragmatics and cognitive science results in cognitive pragmatics (language use via the methodological and theoretical orientations of cognitive science). Such disciplines are developed on a monolingual base (Kecskes 2004: 1-2). Speech act theory is a pragmatic discipline that is developed on a monolingual basis too. By contrast, speech act research (see section four), including cross-cultural pragmatic and interlanguage pragmatics, is meant to introduce a new perspective developed on a multilingual cross-cultural basis.

#### II.1 Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Pragmatics

The present study is meant to be an interlanguage in the first place. It is also, in one portion, cross-cultural comparative and contrast. The current section explores the scope of each discipline and some other input relevant to this study.

Starting with cross-cultural pragmatics (henceforth CCP), it is a major research area in pragmatics. It aims at identifying the preferred patterns for meaning construction by speakers from different cultures through comparing the communicative behaviour of native speakers (NSs) of one culture with that from another culture (Yule 1996: 87-88). Thus, CCP,

sometimes called *contrastive pragmatics*, involves cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison of speech act realisation patterns through identifying similarities and differences between pairs or groups of languages (Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993: 12). According to Wierzbicka (1991), this field of enquiry was developed as a reaction to the universalist (ethno/Anglocentric) view of language use cross-culturally, which had dominated the field earlier. She explains this statement (p. 67):

The extent of the differences between different societies and different language communities in their ways of speaking is often underestimated in the literature dealing with language use. In particular, theories of speech acts and conversational logic associated with, or following from, the works of philosophers such as John Searle ... and Paul Grice ... have tended to assume that the ways of speaking characteristic to the main stream of the white American English represent 'the normal human ways of speaking' ... But this is of course an ethnocentric allusion.

### **II.1.1 Objectives of Cross-cultural Pragmatics**

Accordingly, CCP is meant to fulfil the following objectives:

1. Identifying the differences in speaking in different societies and language communities.
2. Identifying how profound and systematic these differences are.
3. Proving that these differences are a reflection of different cultural values and/or different hierarchies of values.
4. Explaining and making sense of the different ways of speaking, different communicative styles by means of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities. (ibid: 69)

As Kecskes et al. (2005: 363) put it, cross-cultural studies target often speech act production in different cultures, communication breakdowns, pragmatic failure and what makes a linguistic behaviour (im)polite in a given language. When talking about CCP, another term comes into play, which is *Intercultural Pragmatics* (ICP), the discipline that

deals with how language conveys meaning in interaction. So, language of intercultural encounters is its subject (Tannen 2005: 1). Today, though not exclusively, CCP and ICP have a journal of their own: *Intercultural Pragmatics*. The above stated objectives are further rephrased and justified by the editor of the journal in the initiating issue. According to Kecskes, this journal is meant to address the challenges of the new era of globalisation that leads to changes in so many fields of life and the revision of theories, given the fact that the “existing paradigms cannot always accommodate new research” (Kecskes 2004: 1). Particularly, this last proviso is true for pragmatics which is interested in language and communication rather than a given aspect of language (ibid: 1). The importance of this field is noticeable in the ever-smaller growing world, where CCP is supposed to play a critical role to help ensure successful intercultural encounters. Such encounters are likely to undergo ‘dangers of false assumptions (which) stem from both linguistic and pragmatic meaning (Boxer 2002, in Boxer 2010). Boxer states that it is important to make a distinction between CCP and another overlapping research area, which is interlanguage pragmatics (to be considered later, and here we just define it tentatively as the learners’ pragmatic production):

ILP [interlanguage pragmatics] focuses on SLA along an interlanguage continuum which has as a target native-speaker competence. In contrast, CCP does not assume a target insofar as language users’ progress toward an idealized norm. Rather, it views cross-cultural communication from a two-way perspective.... Thus, with CCP, it is incumbent on all participants in a conversation to ensure that they have clearly negotiated jointly-shared meaning. (2010: 51)

The relation between these two areas of research is so tied as they stand on the same theoretical ground. That is, Gricean pragmatics (Chapter I), Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory (Section 2), and the interlanguage hypothesis of Selinker (Section 3) (Kecskes et al. 2005: 363).

So many contributions have been made in CCP with reference to various national cultures. Among the comprehensible studies in this field, are the ones that have been conducted under the so-called Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) by Blum-Kulka and collaborators (1989).

### **II.1.2 Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation/Research Project (CCSARP)**

The bulk of studies that were conducted within CCSARP are published in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). They investigated the realisation of the speech acts of requests and apologies in various national cultures namely: American, Australian, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German and Hebrew. As it was stated in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 12-13), the objectives for which the CCSARP was set up were:

1. Investigating the similarities and the differences in the realisation patterns of request and apology cross-culturally with reference to the same social constraints i.e. cross-cultural variation.
2. To uncover the effect of certain social variables in the realisation of the speech act sets of request and apology in various speech communities i.e. sociopragmatic variation.
3. To compare the production of request and apology by NSs of a given language and the learners of that language with reference to the same social constraints i.e. interlanguage variation.

The project adopted the DCT as a method for data collection (Chapter III). For the sake of data analysis, a Coding Manual was developed and it is the next point to discuss.

### **II.1.3 Coding Manual**

The coding scheme is developed to cope with the various responses researchers in this field elicit from informants representing different linguistic backgrounds. The taxonomy used

in CCSARP is a flexible code. That is, it can be modified to codify responses drawn from languages other than the ones represented in this project.

### II.1.3.1 Requests

Requests are sub-category of *directives* in Searle's division (1979). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) considered them pre-event that express the S's (speaker's) expectation of the H (hearer) with regard to a prospective verbal or non-verbal action. Trosborg (1995) defines a request as the attempt of the requester to get the requestee to do something for his benefit. The requestive action may be for verbal goods and services (information) or non-verbal ones (object, action, service). In this respect, requesting poses a degree of threat for the H's *face* in that the requester impinges on the H's freedom of action and freedom from imposition (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 201). For this reason, requests are typical example of face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 275-277) divided requests into three main chunks:

–*Alert*: “an element whose function is to alert the hearer's attention to the ensuing speech act.”

It can be a title, the H's first name or nickname or any expression of attention-getting like *hey*, *excuse me* etc. The ultimate function of the alert is to introduce the head act.

–*Head Act* [HA]: is the most important chunk of the requestive act, since it contains the propositional content and it is defined as “the minimal unit which can realise a *request*; it is the core of the *request* sequence.” An S can realise a request by the HA only, but due to certain contextual considerations supportive moves may be needed.

–*Supportive Moves* [SMs]: are of two types, mitigating and aggravating SMs. As their names suggest, the first are used to reduce the harm of the negative effect of a face threatening act



and the second, by contrast, are used to increase the effectiveness of the request with less attention paid to the face threatening nature of the act.

A concrete example from this study's TL data would be:

*Excuse me [Alert], do you think it would be possible for me to borrow that book which is on your desk [HA]? It is one that would be very useful to me for my research [SM].*

As far as the organisational relation between the HAs and the SMs, the following patterns are expected (ibid: 276): the minimal unit only (i.e. HA), post-posed (HA+SMs), pre-posed (SM+HA) and multiple HAs. Based on the data they came across, Blum-Kulka and collaborators suggest coding conventions to cope with the different HAs and the SMs strategies used either by NSs or NNSs (non-native speakers) of the languages investigated. For HAs, nine strategies were identified. They are represented in Table 4 from the most to the least explicit, along with examples for illustration. These nine categories represent three levels of *directness* (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 201).

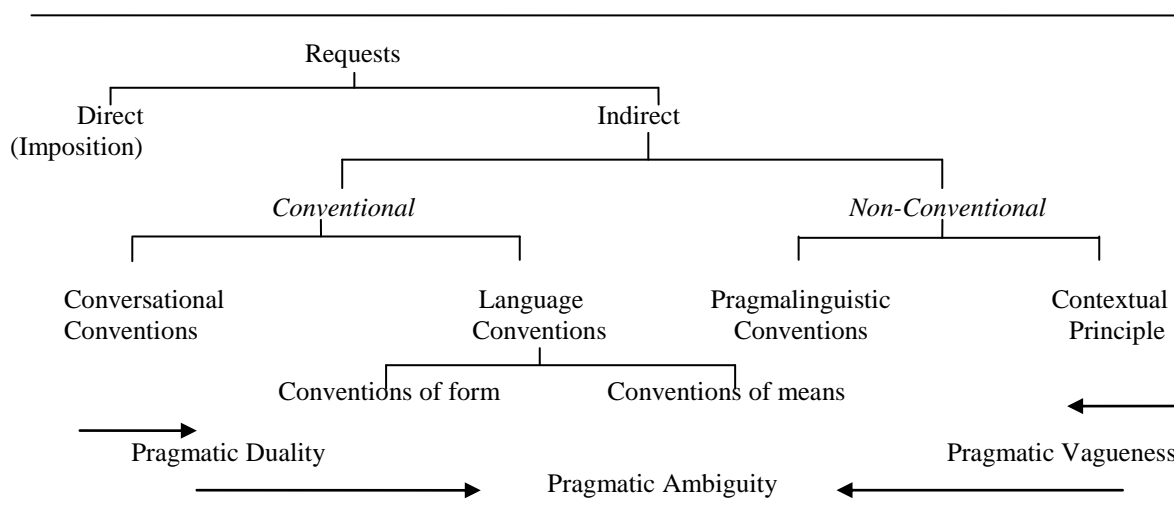
HAs	Definitions	Examples
Mood derivable	The grammatical mood of the locution conventionally determines its illocutionary force as a <i>request</i> .	<i>Leave me alone.</i> <i>Clean up the kitchen.</i>
Explicit performative	The illocutionary intent is explicitly named by the S by using a relevant illocutionary verb.	<i>I am asking you to move your car.</i>
Hedged performative	The illocutionary verb denoting the requestive intent is modified, e.g., by modal verbs or verbs expressing intention.	<i>I <u>must/have to ask</u> you to clean the kitchen right now.</i>
Locution derivable	The illocutionary intent is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution.	<i>Madam you'll <u>have to/should/must/ought to</u> move your car.</i>
Want statement	The utterance expresses the S's desire that the event denoted in the proposition come about.	<i>I'd like to borrow your notes for a little while.</i>
Suggestory formula	The illocutionary intent is phrased as a suggestion by means of a framing routine formula.	<i><u>How about</u> cleaning up the kitchen?</i>
Query preparatory	The utterance contains preparatory condition for the feasibility of the <i>request</i> , typically one of ability, willingness, or possibility, as conventionalised in a given language. Very often, the S questions rather than states the presence of the chosen preparatory condition.	<i><u>Can I</u> borrow your notes? <u>Could</u> you possibly get your assignment done this week? <i>I was wondering if you <u>would</u> give me a lift.</i></i>
Strong hint	The locutionary intent is not immediately derivable from the locution; however, the locution refers to relevant elements of the intended illocutionary and/or propositional act.	<i>Will you be going home now? (Intent: getting a lift home).</i>
Mild hint	The locution contains no elements which are of immediate relevance to the intended illocution or	<i>You have been busy here, haven't you?</i>

	proposition, thus putting increased demand for context analysis and knowledge activation on the interlocutor.	
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**Table 4: Nine Request HA Strategies (according to Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 278-80)**

The CCSARP proposed a universally-applicable taxonomy for categorising request strategies. The taxonomy is as follows:

1. *Direct or bold on record requests*: realised via explicit linguistic devices. This category includes the first five strategies listed in Table 4.
2. *Structural or conventional indirect requests*: realised via linguistic devices that refer to the contextual preconditions required for its performance, as is the convention in a particular language. This category includes *suggestory formula* and *query preparatory*.
3. *Pragmatic or non-conventional indirect requests*: These types are realised via linguistic devices that are needed for the performance of the act or by resorting to contextual cues. This level is realised by hints.



**Figure 3: Directness Levels (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 45)**

*Direct* requests explicitly state the illocutionary force of the utterance and, therefore, suggest an order (Leech, 1983; Trosborg, 1995). As far as indirectness is concerned, for Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), both of its types are pragmatically ambiguous. A *conventional indirect* request is realised through conventionalised semantic units (conventional means) embedded in linguistic ones (conventionalised forms). So, in order for the H to work it out, he has to recognise, in Kasper’s words, both the *linguistic interface* of request and the

*sociological interface* of it i.e. the social conditions for carrying it out appropriately and effectively (2004: 125). This is what *pragmatic duality* in Figure 3 means.

*Non-conventionally indirect* requests are realised through hints. In order to arrive at the intent of hints, one has to rely totally on the contextual factors (ethnography of communication) and the conversational principles (of a given speech community). This type of request lacks transparency as “its utterance meaning does not provide indication of its intended *illocutionary force*; consequently, it carries the potential to perform a number of illocutionary acts” (Weizman 1993: 124, italics original). In other words, this type of requests “bears high deniability potential for both parties: the requester may plausibly deny having made the request ...the requestee may legitimately ignore the request or pretend to have misunderstood its content” (ibid: 125).

Requests could be analysed from another approach; this is based on the reference to the doer of the action i.e. request perspective (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 201-203). Four categories are of interest:

- S-oriented: *would **you** help me carry a few of these bags?*
- H-oriented: *may **I** borrow your book?*
- Impersonal: ***would it be possible** to borrow it for a while?*
- Joint: *could **we**, please, clean up?*

According to Blum-Kulka (1991: 266),

[T]he choice of request perspective is another source of variation for manipulating the request’s degree of coercive force. Choice of perspective is one of the ways in which the native speaker signals his or her estimate of the degree of coerciveness required situationally.

In this respect, avoiding the reference to the H as the bearer of the action, like in the employment of S-perspective, or the joint-perspective can minimise the degree of imposition

(Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1987: 158). Except from some studies, request perspective is not often tackled in request research (Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010). Accordingly, this aspect has acquired the status of the neglected area in request research. We would claim that the present study is unique in dealing with perspective in Arabic requests and also its transfer in IL performance.

HA strategies are usually accompanied by modifiers. The taxonomy presented here has been inspired by many works, namely, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Sifianou (1999), Alcon et al. (2005) and Schauer (2007).

### 1. *Internal Mitigating Devices*

Mitigators can be *syntactic downgraders* like interrogatives (*could you...?*), negation (*I wonder if you wouldn't mind...*), past tense (*I wanted to ask*) or if-clause (*I would appreciate if you...*) or lexical/ phrasal ones (e.g. *kindly*). Only the latter are within the scope of the present study, and they are the ones to discuss presently. For Sifianou (1999), syntactic-lexical-phrasal distinction implies that requesting requires mainly syntactic/linguistic knowledge. However, requesting requires rather the knowledge of contextual factors affecting the employment of linguistic elements. Also, a mitigating-aggravating distinction is not practical, because in English aggravating devices are hardly ever used. As for illustrations, they belong to our English data (TL and IL), unless otherwise notified.

–*Openers (consultative devices)*: elements by means of which S seeks to involve H and bids for his/her cooperation. E.g. *would you mind lending me little change to make copies?* [TL]

– *Understaters*: elements described as ‘diminutives’ or ‘minimisers’ (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) that serve in minimising the level of imposition like *moment, little, second*. E.g. *I just need it for a minute or can I borrow your dictionary for a sec [second]* [TL]

–*Downtoners*: sentential or propositional modifiers like *just, possibly, perhaps maybe, likely* etc. which are used for the modulation of the impact of the requestive act on H. E.g. *could you possibly loan me enough moolah to cover the cost of these copies?* [TL]

–*Intensifiers*: elements used to aggravate the impact of the request like *terribly, really, sure*. E.g. *would you mind terribly if I borrowed this book?* [TL]

–*Hesitators*: type of fillers used when S is uncertain of the impact of his request. E.g. *So...maybe...I thought... you could lend me a book of yours.* [IL]

–*Cajolers*: type of fillers, “conventionalized, addressee-oriented modifiers whose function is to make things clearer for the addressee and invite him/her to metaphorically participate in the speech act” like *you know, you see, I mean* (Sifianou 1992:180).

–*Appealers*: type of fillers whereby S seeks the H’s understanding using linguistic devices like *ok, right, yeah* etc.

–*Attention-getters*: used to alert the requestee before directing the request like *hey Kim; excuse me; hello* etc.

## 2. External Mitigating Devices (SMs):

–*Preparators*: devices used to prepare H for the ensuing of the request. E.g. *Hi sir please, can you do me a favour? Please help me to carry my bags.* [IL]

–*Grounders*: by these mitigating devices, S gives reasons, explanations or justifications for his/her request. E.g. *would you mind terribly if I borrowed this book? It would help me in my research...* [TL]

–*Disarmers*: used to show awareness of the potential offense and remove objections to comply with the request. E.g. *when you have a minute, would you please swing by and help me with a problem?* [TL]

–*Promise of reward*: S offers H something in return of the potential fulfilment of the request. E.g. *would you please spot me a few bucks for the copies. I will pay you back tomorrow.* [TL]

–*Please*: the commonest mitigator in English requests. E.g. *Can I have your dictionary for a moment please?*

- Imposition Minimisers*: via the use of them, S seeks to reduce the *imposition* placed on H that is inherently associated with requests. E.g. *...do you have a couple of bucks I could borrow? This is so embarrassing...I owe you big time.* [TL]
- Sweeteners*: compliments, flattery and exaggerated appreciation of the H's abilities in order to reduce the degree of imposition. E.g. *I know you're really good at this stuff.* [TL]
- Apology*: the requester apologises to H for bearing the cost of the request. E.g. *I'm so sorry to ask this.... Would you please spot me few bucks for the copies?*
- Closing*: various types of closing moves can be employed like a thanking expression, considerator (shows consideration to the H's situation, Schauer, 2007:202), appreciator (used to reinforce the request, *ibid*: 202). E.g. *would you mind if I borrow this book... Is that OK? When you need it back?* (considerator) [TL]; *thank you so much for your help.* (thanking expression) [TL]; *I'd really appreciate it; you'd be a life saver.* (appreciator) [TL]
- Small Talk*: a short utterance at the beginning of the request used for creating a positive atmosphere (*ibid*: 202). E.g. *thank you for taking time to talk to me, would you mind ...* [TL]

### **II.1.3.2 Apologies**

The apologising act is, in Searle's classification, a subcategory of the *expressives* (1979). For Searle (1969: 4), a person who apologises for doing A expresses regret for having done A. The apology act takes place only and only if the S believes that some act A has been performed prior to the time of speaking and has resulted in an infraction which affected another person who is now deserving an apology. Bergman and Kasper (1993: 82) define apology as "compensatory action to an offence in the doing of which S was causally involved and is costly to the H." For them, that definition is in line with Goffman's (1971) view of apologies as: "remedial work serving to re-establish social harmony after a real or virtual offense (*ibid*: 81)." Among the early Arabic attempts to define apologies, though less elaborate, is that of Abdi (1981: 4-5) that sees apologies as utterances or deeds that a person

offers in order to lift punishment or blame due to him for malicious deeds he has committed (as cited in Bataineh and Bataineh 2008: 795).

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) elicited from the different investigated languages almost universal formulae. The Apologetic formula can be divided into three chunks:

1. *Alert*: is identical to that used in requests realisation, like *Sweetie, I am so sorry*
2. *IFID*: illocutionary force indicating device, like *I'm sorry, I apologise.*
3. *Intensification*: it can be *IFID*-internal like adverbials (*so, terribly, truly* etc.), emotional expressions (*oh no! /oh crap! /oh my gosh/oops!!* etc.) or external (like concern for the H *have you been waiting long?*) (ibid, 1989).

Apart from *IFIDs*, many strategies can also be used. A strategy may stand by itself as adequate apology or appear in combination with others. The following coding model outlines the speech act sets of apology. The model is adapted from Cohen and Olshtain (1981: 113-134); Olshtain and Cohen (1983: 22–23); Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984); Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 289). Illustrations are taken from our English data whenever possible.

– **Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs)**: formulaic routinised expressions that are used to explicitly indicate the intent of the apologiser. IFIDs fall into two sub-types:

- a. An expression of regret: *I am sorry, excuse me* and *I apologise*
- b. A request for forgiveness and accepting the apology: *forgive me* and *accept my apology*

– **Explanation or account**: the apologiser may opt for expressing reasons and the circumstances of his violation trying to get H to accept his apology. It can be:

- a. Explicit: *I was in rush this morning and forgot your book at home.*
- b. Implicit: *I had to take care of something.*

– **Taking on responsibility**:

- a. Explicit self-blame: *It is my fault.*
- b. Lack of intent: *I have some many plates spinning right now. It just went right out of my mind.*

- c. Expression of self-deficiency: *I completely forgot.*
- d. Expression of embarrassment: *I feel terrible about this.*
- e. Self-dispraise: *I am an idiot. Forgot the book. Didn't make myself a note.*
- f. Justify H: *It is understandable that you are upset.*
- g. Refusal to acknowledge guilt. This is in turn divided into three sub-types:
  - i. Denial of responsibility: *It wasn't my fault.*
  - ii. Blame H: *You are standing in the way.*
  - iii. Pretend to be offended: *I'm the one to be offended.*

–**Concern for the H:** *Are you alright?*

–**Offer of repair:** *I will definitely bring it to you tomorrow.*

–**Promise of forbearance:** *I promise it won't happen again.*

The following example from our data demonstrates how strategies can be combined:

*Professor.... (Alert), I'm so sorry I did not get this back when I said I would (IFID-a). I apologise for any inconvenience it has caused you! (IFID-a). It won't happen again (Promise of forbearance).*

As mentioned earlier, CCP is a field from which many other disciplines got their theoretical and empirical foundation, interlanguage pragmatics is one of those disciplines (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993) and it is the point to tackle presently.

#### **II.1.4 Interlanguage Pragmatics**

As its name indicates, interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) is a heterogeneous discipline that belongs to two disciplines of SLA research and each of which is itself interdisciplinary in nature i.e. *micro-linguistic* interlanguage (phonology, morphology, semantics etc.) and pragmatics (being sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic in nature). The scope of ILP may be seen differently by different researchers based on how they define pragmatics (Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993: 3). Viewing pragmatics as “the study of people’s input and output of ‘linguistic action’ within a speech community, Kasper (1989) defines ILP as the study of



NNSs' use and acquisition of linguistic action in a second language (L2), (ibid: 3). For Kasper and Blum-Kulka (ibid: 3-4), there is a kind of reductionism in this definition as it fails to capture the phenomenon of 'intercultural style.' That is, the fact that Ss who are competent in two languages, disregarding what language they use, maintain a style that is related and distinct from both codes. Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993) supported empirically the so-called *intercultural style hypothesis* in their study. Kasper and Blum-Kulka have also drawn the attention to the fact that though the area of research that deals with communication strategies is obviously recognised as *pragmatics*, it is not included under the scope of ILP. This has been related to the different 'alignments' adopted by researchers in each area. In the former, they seem to adapt a psycholinguistic approach. In the latter, the focus is directed toward 'the illocutionary and the politeness dimensions related to speech act performance' (ibid: 4).

Based on what has been said and that is to be said, we can formulate the following inclusive definition for the discipline of ILP:

ILP is a property of SLA research that owes to CCP its empirical and theoretical foundation. The focus in ILP is the linguistic action produced by NNSs as it may be extended to bilinguals' intercultural style. Being cross-sectional (single-moment) or longitudinal (observing learners' pragmatic behaviour in authentic settings), ILP studies seek to answer questions related to pragmatic comprehension, speech act production, pragmatic transfer and communicative effects, besides the development of pragmatic competence.

The above definition already highlights the areas constituting ILP research, which will be discussed in further details.

#### **II.1.4.1 Branches of ILP**

ILP scope entails the following subjects: pragmatic comprehension, production and transfer; the communicative effect of the L2-deviated production and the acquisitional process of the pragmatic competence (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

*Pragmatic Comprehension* studies conducted in this area aim at shedding light on learners' potential to infer the illocutionary force and to perceive politeness. For the inference of the S intent, the focus has been on indirect speech acts, factors influencing comprehension (the linguistic means and the contextual factors). The conclusions drawn from several studies go to show that learners are capable to detect conversational implicature through inference of indirect requests. However, they fail when the implicature is cultural-bound. Studies also suggest the influence of learners' cultural background on the comprehension of indirectly-performed utterances like answers. Researchers seek to know whether learners base their comprehension on contextual features or the linguistic ones. As far as politeness is concerned, various empirical studies concluded that learners are able to assign the different degrees of politeness to utterances (relying on conventions of means and forms), but their perception does not always match that of NSs. Learners' perception of politeness has been proved to be effected by L1 transfer. In addition to this pragmalinguistic-oriented assessment (what functions to assign to forms), sociopragmatic-oriented assessments (what social norms related to the performance of speech acts) were investigated. Certain studies investigate whether learners' assumption of sociopragmatic norms that govern speech acts production is *universal* or *culture-specific* and the results suggest the existence of both tendencies (Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993: 4-7).

*Speech act production* studies seem to outnumber studies at other levels. The literature indicates that learners' pragmatic repertoire contains almost the same strategies as those of NSs. It has also been proved that learners are aware of certain contextual factors that influence the production of linguistic actions. The different factors that may influence learners' performance at that level can be summarised in the following: limitation of L2 linguistic knowledge (proficiency), difficulty in approaching it, L1 transfer or non-native

perception in terms of sociopragmatic conventions, or ‘purposeful’ loyalty to L1 culture (ibid: 7-10).

*Development of pragmatic competence* is the once-neglected area of ILP. According to Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), there is shortage in studies investigating how learners acquire the pragmatic knowledge and what different stages they go through. Kasper and Schmidt (1996) focused on the developmental issues related to pragmatic knowledge noticing the tendency toward language use than learning in ILP research and, thus, suggested a research agenda as an incentive for researchers to indulge in developmental studies. They reviewed the existing studies at that time dividing them into cross-sectional and longitudinal. In general, the former type are single-moment studies investigating the learner performance through giving them tasks to perform like the DCT, role-play etc. and comparing it with that of NSs (language-use potential), meanwhile the latter trace the learners’ pragmatic development through observing how they behave over a period of time in authentic contexts (in class-rooms or the TL community) and, thus, language learning. Comparatively, there is a dearth in the last type of studies (ibid: 150-153), as they are much more demanding. One point is that they are time-consuming (observing learners’ development in terms of pragmatic knowledge may take years). Kasper and Schmidt (1996) call for research in this area had noticeable effect on motivating developmental studies in subsequent years.

*Pragmatic transfer* is all about the presence of L1 or other languages norms in the use of TL. The issue is the main focus of our study and will be discussed thoroughly in Section 3.

*Communicative effect* is another area of ILP studies. It investigates the potential effect of learners’ deviated production in ‘gate-keeping encounters’ i.e. encounters with NSs. Such deviation leads to the so-called *pragmatic failure* (Section 3). Three major approaches investigate pragmatic failure. First, miscommunication research that analyses naturally

occurring data from encounters at levels of prosody, pragmatics, syntax, lexis, discourse organisation, conversational management and non-verbal behaviour (micro-sociolinguistic analysis). It further deals with conversational style differences (macro-sociolinguistic analysis) attempting to spot differences that are likely to cause miscommunication. This method requires qualitative data and, sometimes, quantitative data in forms of retrospective interviews. Second, *contrastive pragmatics* (or CCP) compares the realisation of speech act and speech act sets cross-culturally aiming at identifying similarities and differences between pairs/groups of languages. Such research is purely descriptive having no predictive power of what happens in actual communication. So the importance of such method lies in its explanatory power and, hence, it is hypothesis-generating. Third, ILP follows the methodological traditions of IL phonology via the comparison of learners' IL production with data baselines from both L1 and TL so as to know if IL-specific behaviour is really influenced by L1 knowledge. Yet, in ILP, unlike IL phonology, to confirm transfer, we may need recourse to retrospective reports and *transferability* studies. It is also assumed that IL-specific behaviour may be the result of factors other than transfer. The growing tendency towards perceiving negative pragmatic transfer as miscommunication that is derived from the one-day-fashionable contrastive equation *difference = negative = transfer = error* is no longer the dominant in ILP (ibid: 11-13). House (2007) seems to be in line with this view, as it was pinpointed earlier; she regards miscommunication as not necessarily the outcome of pragmatic failure (Chapter I, Section 1).

One of the challenging tasks to language learners when requesting or apologising in TL is how to ensure the conveyance of the polite attitudes. Politeness and its relation with speech acts' realisation are discussed shortly.

## II.2 Politeness and Face

In this section we deal with the issue of politeness and face work citing a couple of outstanding contributions. The term *Politeness* has caused a heated debate since it was discussed in works like that of Leech (Politeness Principle, 1983) and, especially, Brown and Levinson's influential Politeness Theory (1987).

### II.2.1 Leech (1983)

Leech (1983) represents the *social norm view*. For him, there is a need for Politeness Principle that stands as a complimentary principle for Grice's CP i.e. 'rescuing' the latter that accounts for how people create implicature through their violation of the conversational maxims, while the PP accounts for why people opt for that choice. In principle, in case of equality, one should, "minimise the expression of impolite beliefs, maximise the expression of polite beliefs" (Leech 1983: 81). The PP is divided into six maxims each with sub-maxims as follows:

1. *Tact*: Minimise cost to other. Maximise benefit to other.
2. *Generosity*: Minimise benefit to self. Maximise cost to self.
3. *Approbation*: Minimise dispraise of other. Maximise praise of other.
4. *Modesty*: Minimise praise of self. Maximise dispraise of self.
5. *Agreement*: Minimise disagreement between self and other. Maximise agreement between self and other.
6. *Sympathy*: Minimise antipathy between self and other. Maximise sympathy between self and other.

In this respect, Leech considers *tact* as more powerful than *generosity* as it influences more what we say. Likewise, *approbation* is more powerful than *modesty*. It should be pointed that more than one maxim can be adhered to in one utterance with one being the primary and others supportive. Further, Leech argues that politeness should be communicated and if not, then, the absence of the 'polite attitude' is assumed (1983: 123, in *ibid*: 48).

## II.2.2 Brown and Levinson (1987)

The seminal work of Brown and Levinson (1987), usually described as the *face management view* as it was built on the notion of *face*, was first introduced (in its western tradition) by Goffman. Like Leech's model of politeness, this model also attempted to complement that of Grice account on the conversational maxims: "the original essay [the first edition of their book] presumes that Grice's account of conversational implicature and the framework of maxims that give rise to such implicature is essentially correct" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 3). For them, 'the polite ways of talking' are called over as a result of the deviations from efficient communication that is at the heart of Grice's maxims (ibid: 4). However, they did not consider politeness as having maxim-status. They justified this view by the fact that if we create a maxim for any regularity in language usage, we will have infinite number of maxims and the pragmatic theory will not have a limit. Also, politeness (who to be polite to whom) is socially controlled. Another reason is that not every aspect of language use needs a maxim to produce it (pp. 4-5).

Building on the model of *face* needs of Goffman who defines *face* as "...the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact (1967: 5, quoted in Bousfield 2008: 56), Brown and Levinson define *face* as follows: "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself." (1987:61). It consists in two related aspects:

–*Negative face*: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, right to no distraction i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

–*Positive face*: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

The first aspect reflects the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpinged by others. The second is the need of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. (ibid: 62). From this distinction, *negative* and *positive politeness* can be distinguished, likewise. The first seeks to satisfy the negative *face* needs, while positive politeness seeks to satisfy the *positive face* needs (ibid: 70). Thus, negative politeness is more polite than positive politeness (ibid: 60). Here are two examples:

1. *Goodness, you cut your hair! (...) by the way, I came to borrow some flour.*

A request for borrowing some flour is (i) a threat to the requester’s *face*, and (ii) doing such act may need certain redressive action that is manifested in the choice of the positive politeness through (iii) claiming certain ground with the H by, for instance, noticing something he wants to be noticed and approved. The first part of the utterance is (iiii) a violating of one of the conversational maxims (or more) and, hence, implying something that can be portrayed in: “I see that you have cut your hair and I convey this to you because I want to be polite to you” (ibid: 103).

2. *Can you please pass the salt?*

Asking the H to pass the salt is (i) a face threat that (ii) needs some redressive action (choosing negative politeness) that (iii) can be achieved by *conventionally indirect* request that gives the H the option not to comply. This is considered as (iiii) flouting of the manner-maxim and thus implicating: “I request of you to pass the salt and I used that formulation because I want to be polite to you.” (ibid: 133).

In the above discussion, we mentioned that request may cause threat to the face of the S (as well as the H) and, thus, may lead to *face loss*. Such actions that threaten the face of both or either party are what Brown and Levinson named Face Threatening Acts (FTAs);

“acts which run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the requester (ibid: 70). The S may find himself in a dilemma whether to communicate efficiently or to maintain his own *face*. In order to manage this conflict of interests, there are certain strategies, called ‘superstrategies’ that mitigate the effect of FTAs. Since request and apology, the focus of this study, are FTAs, it is plausible to mention them with some details. *Negative politeness* and *positive politeness* are strategies among them in addition to *not doing FTA*, *bold on record* and *off record* strategies:

1. **Bald on record politeness:** the FTA is performed in “the most direct, unambiguous and concise way possible (ibid: 69). In other words, the utterance satisfies the conversational maxims.
2. **Positive Politeness:** FTA is performed using strategies that redress the *face* threat (positive) to the hearer (ibid: 103–129). The linguistic strategies for realising this type of politeness are:

- a. ***Claim common ground***

- *Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)*
- *Intensify interest to H*
- *Use in-group identity markers: in-group language or dialect, jargon, slang, contraction or ellipses*
- *Seek agreement: safe topics, repetition*
- *Presuppose/raise/assert common ground: gossip, small talk, point of view operations, presupposition manipulations*
- *Joke*

- b. ***Convey that S and H are co-operators***

- *Assert or presuppose S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants*
- *Offer, promise*
- *Be optimistic*
- *Include both S and H in the activity*
- *Give (or ask for) reasons*

- c. ***Fulfil H’s want for some X***

- *Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)*

3. **Negative Politeness:** FTA is performed using strategies that redress the *face* threat (negative) to the H (ibid: 129-211):



**a. Be indirect**

– Be conventionally indirect

**b. Don't presume/assume**

– Question, hedge: hedge on illocutionary force, prosodic/kinesic hedges

**c. Don't coerce H**

– Be pessimistic

– Minimise the imposition (R)

– Give deference

**d. Communicate S's want to not impinge on H**

– Apologise: admit the impingement, indicate reluctance, give overwhelming reasons, beg forgiveness.

– Impersonalise S and H: use performatives, imperatives, impersonal verbs, passive and circumstantial voices, replace the pronouns 'I' and 'you' by identifiers, pluralise the 'I' and 'you' pronouns, use point of view distancing.

– State the FTA as a general rule

**e. Redress other wants of H's**

– Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not incurring H

**4. Off record:** the FTA is performed via indirect illocutionary act, which has more than one interpretation. This leaves open, for S, the possibility to deny it if the intended interlocutor takes offence of it (ibid: 211-227). The following strategies are means for its realisation:

**a. Invite conversational implicatures**

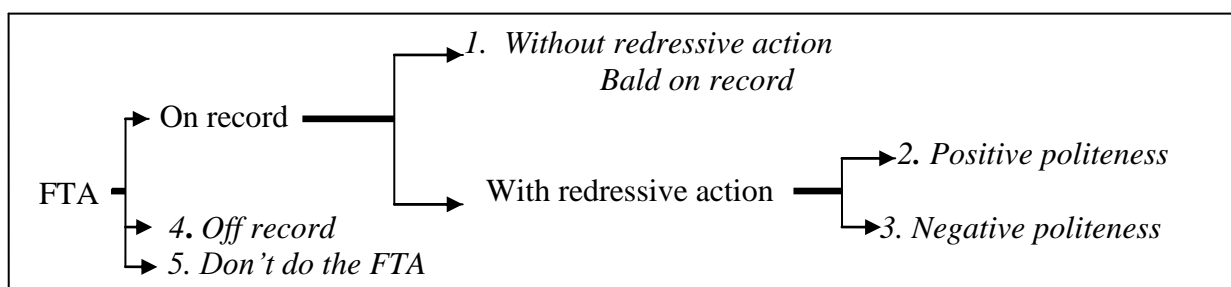
– Give hints – Give association rules – Presuppose – Understate – Overstate

– Use tautologies – Use contradictions – Be ironic – Use metaphors – Use rhetorical questions

**b. Be vague or ambiguous: Violate the manner maxim**

– Be ambiguous – Overgeneralise – Displace H – Be incomplete – Use ellipsis

**5. Don't perform the FTA:** The FTA may be perceived by S as a potential threat to his and/or H's face, so he seizes to perform it in favour of keeping 'social harmony.'



**Figure 4: Strategies for Performing FTAs (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60, format mine)**

It must go without saying that when discussing politeness more reference was made to request than apology. It is worth mentioning that apology is affected by factors within the interest of politeness research. Deutschmann (2003: 36) confirms:

The process of apologising is not a matter of mere routine however. It involves many of the complex social and psychological issues which are at the heart of politeness research. A prototypical apology involves redressive action that 'gives face' to the addressee. At the same time apologising may well result in the apologiser losing face. Deciding whether to apologise or not is thus likely to be affected by such factors as power relationships and social distance.

Leech model of politeness and that of Brown and Levinson are just two among others that attempted to conceptualise the notion of politeness in comprehensive theory. There are other models suggested by Lakoff (1973), Fraser and Nolen (1981), and Watts (1992), to mention but few. It is also worth mentioning that the pioneer contribution of Brown and Levinson is still subject to criticism and efforts of refinement. Among others, O'driscoll (2007) shows that the concept of positive-negative face can be, after revision, applied for intercultural encounters and not only for cross-cultural comparisons. For Pfister (2009), Brown and Levinson's model is inferior to Grice's theory of impoliteness and, thus, suggests the need for 'maxim-based' theory for politeness by showing that politeness can have the status of a maxim. It is noteworthy that these theories, especially the one of Brown and Levinson, are very useful in the present research as explanatory frameworks with respect to our qualitative analysis, despite the criticism they have received.

### **II.2.3 Scollon and Scollon (2001)**

The contribution of Scollon and Scollon (2001) is worth citing as it deals with the issue of *face* and *politeness* from a cross-cultural perspective. Scollon and Scollon made *involvement* and *independence* two aspects of the notion of *face*. For them, the paradoxical nature of *face* is related to the fact that in human interaction there is a need to be involved

with other interactants, on the one hand. On the other hand, we need to maintain our independence from them (2001: 46). *Involvement* and *independence* are parallel to positive and negative face/politeness respectively. *Involvement*, also called *solidarity politeness*, is showed by discourse strategies which indicate that we are paying attention to others, showing strong interest in their affairs, emphasising common in-group membership with them and so on. By contrast, *independence*, also called *deference politeness*, is shown by strategies that imply less attention to others' affairs, giving others wide set of options, addressing them by their formal names and titles and so on. Scollon and Scollon disfavoured the use of the terms *negative* and *positive* to describe politeness as, for them, the difference between them, whether technical or formal, is easily forgotten and readers may think that positive politeness is better than negative politeness. Even the use of *solidarity* and *deference* they opted for in previous works did not seem to work, as it "miss[es] the point that *both* aspects of *face* must be projected simultaneously in any communication (ibid: 48)." They further opted for the terms *involvement* and *independence* and emphasised the paradoxical nature of *face*:

[T]he risk to involvement face and the risk to independence face of both the speaker and the hearer, means, therefore, that communication has to be carefully phrased to respect face, both involve face and independence face . This could be said another way: "*there is no faceless communication.*" (ibid: 48, italics and quotes original)

In this respect, and, in line with the strategies suggested by Brown and Levinson's for FTA realisation, and with the *collectivism-individualism* distinction in mind (Western individualistic 'self' and Asian collectivistic 'self', ibid: 46), Scollon and Scollon (2001) suggest linguistic strategies through which *involvement* and *independence* are manifested. These strategies are more or less the same as Brown and Levinson positive and negative politeness. Note that illustrations are English-based; so, in other languages they likely to differ (ibid: 50-51):

➤ **Involvement Strategies (H=Hearer; S= Speaker):**

1. Notice or attend to H: *I like your jacket/Are you feeling better today?*
2. Exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H: *Please be careful on the steps*
3. Claim in-group membership with H: *All of us here at City Polytechnic . . .*
4. Claim common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy: *I know just how you feel. I had a cold like that last week.*
5. Be optimistic: *I think we should be able to finish that annual report very quickly.*
6. Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account: *I'm sure you will all want to know when this meeting will be over.*
7. Assume or assert reciprocity: *I know you want to do well in sales this year as much as I want you to do well.*
8. Use given names and nicknames: *Bill, can you get that report to me by tomorrow?*
9. Be voluble.
10. Use H's language or dialect.

➤ **Independence Strategies (H=Hearer; S= Speaker):**

1. Make minimal assumptions about H's wants: *I don't know if you will want to send this by air mail or by speed post.*
2. Give H the option not to do the act: *It would be nice to have tea together, but I am sure you are very busy.*
3. Minimise threat: *I just need to borrow a little piece of paper, any scrap will do.*
4. Apologise: *I'm sorry to trouble you; could you tell me the time?*
5. Be pessimistic: *I don't suppose you'd know the time, would you?*
6. Dissociate S, H from the discourse: *This is to inform our employees that . . .*
7. State a general rule: *Company regulations require an examination . . .*
8. Use family names and titles: *Mr Lee, there's a phone call for you.*
9. Be taciturn.
10. Use own language or dialect.

## II.3 Pragmatic Transfer

This section is devoted to the study's main subject, pragmatic transfer. It is meant to deal with research and methodological issues related to it. We start, first, by looking at the term *transfer* from a historical perspective, so that we know how it comes to collocate with the word *pragmatics*.

### II.3.1 Transfer: Historical Overview

Starting with a historical perspective helps us to understand how certain research traditions in the area of pragmatic transfer have been adapted from research on general language transfer. Transfer studies are dated back to the 1940's and the 1950's. The term *transfer* was introduced during the contrastive era (i.e. Contrastive Analysis) that was dominated at that time by the behaviouristic and structural linguistics (Fries 1945; Lado 1957). In the 1960's, the noticeable influence of L1 on L2 especially at the phonological level led to formulating the so-called Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis; it suggested that L1 is likely to influence L2 negatively and positively. It was, at that time, the fashion to believe that features which are similar in L1 and L2 are likely to be transferred positively to L2 and, conversely, those which are different in L1 and L2 are likely to be transferred negatively to L2. The former type of transfer is *positive* that is labelled *facilitation* and, thus, facilitates the learning of those features. The latter is *negative* that is labelled *interference* and, thus, leads to an erroneous use of these features.

In the 1970's, this hypothesis had no theoretical and practical support and due to the influence of Chomsky, a cognitive perspective to SLA emerged. That is, researchers' attention shifted from the study of transfer to the study of learners' mental strategies they resort to in their attempt to overcome the learning barriers. In the existing literature, different labels were employed to describe the learners' intermediate system that differs from both L1

and L2. It was called *approximative system* by Nemser (1971), *idiosyncratic dialect* by Coder (1971) and *interlanguage* by Selinker (1972). This led to approaching the role of L1, as indicated in Bou Franch (1998), from two ways. The dominant is process-oriented led by scholars like Selinker (1972) and James (1974) who saw that L1 is one of the major contributors in learners' IL. The term *interlanguage* gained more popularity and many types of ILs appeared like IL phonology, IL lexis and, more recently, ILP.

In the coming developments, the notion of *transfer* exceeded its behaviouristic connotations as it had been the focus of different accounts. One reason for that is the inadequate explanation of this phenomenon in terms of *habit formation*. Some had casted doubt on its applications as it is not wide enough to account for phenomena, other than transfer, that influence L2 learning like the avoidance phenomenon and third language interference (Bou Franch 1998: 3). In a similar vein, the term *cross-linguistic influence* was introduced by Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman (1986) as an umbrella term that encompasses wide range of effects due to language contact in general. Cross-linguistic influence entails, besides *transfer*, *interference*, *avoidance*, *borrowing*, *L2-related aspects of language loss*. Nevertheless, the term *transfer* was not abandoned and it was still in use, but as an umbrella term that time. Ellis (1994) is among the scholars who argue in favour of using the term *transfer* in a broad sense. She explains:

‘Transfer’ is to be seen as a general cover term for a number of different kinds of influence from languages other than L1. The study of transfer involves the study of errors (negative transfer), facilitation (positive transfer), avoidance of target language forms, and their over-use (Ellis 1994: 341).

If we are to believe in this broad definition which stands for the above mentioned *cross-linguistic influence*, it is plausible that the *backward* transfer (i.e. from L2 to L1) should also be included, following Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman's *L2-related aspects of language loss* (1986); and Kasper and Blum-Kulka's *intercultural style* (1993) referred to above.

ILP, in general, and pragmatic transfer, in particular, have been influenced by IL research traditions at the micro-levels a great deal. This becomes clear enough when considering the various aspects of pragmatic transfer research.

### II.3.2 Defining Pragmatic Transfer

Attempting to provide a sound definition of pragmatic transfer, researchers have faced a couple of difficulties. One is stating the scope of *pragmatics* itself (as mentioned when defining ILP, Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993); the other is the different understandings of transfer, as we have seen above. For instance, pragmatic transfer is *sociolinguistic transfer* for Wolfson (1989) and *cross-linguistic influence* for Takahashi and Beebe (1993). In consistence with the definition of pragmatics cited above, pragmatics is to be understood as:

[A] Particular component of language users' general communicative knowledge, viz. knowledge of how verbal acts are understood and performed in accordance with a speaker's intention under contextual and discourse constraints (Faerch and Kasper 1984: 214, quoted in Bou Franch 1998: 8).

Meanwhile, pragmatic transfer is to be understood as “[t]he influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of language and cultures other than L1 in their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information (Kasper 1992: 207). It goes without saying that in later co-work cited above (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993), the integration of L2 pragmatic features in L1 was included within the scope of pragmatic transfer. For Bou Franch (1996: 8-9), Kasper's definition is process-oriented and comprehensive in the sense it allows the study of transfer in learning and communication; it also refers to 'influence' without overt stating of any type of influence. That is, both Kasper (1992) and Ellis (1994) agree on transfer as synonymous to influence.

### II.3.3 Types of Pragmatic Transfer and Pragmatic Failure

Types of pragmatic transfer are usually discussed with reference to the often-cited term *pragmatic failure* (Thomas, 1983). Generally speaking, pragmatic failure is the failure to conform to the pragmatic norms of L2 and behaving according to one's own norms. It falls into two types: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic. Kasper (1992: 209), following Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983), defines those two components as follows:

[P]ragmalinguistic transfer shall designate the process whereby the illocutionary force of politeness value assigned to particular linguistic material in L1 influences learners' perception and production of form-function mappings in L2. (ibid: 209)

That is, pragmalinguistic failure, in Thomas' words, occurs when "pragmatic force mapped on to a linguistic token or structure systematically different from that normally assigned to it by native speakers" (1983: 101). On the other hand:

Sociopragmatic transfer...is operative when the social perceptions underlying the language users' interpretation and performance of linguistic action in L2 are influenced by their assessment of subjectively L1 contexts. (Kasper 1992: 209)

So, sociopragmatic failure is due to "the cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour" (Thomas 1983: 109). In other words, it is the mismatch between L1 and TL in the evaluation of social-distance, of what constitutes an imposition, when the FTA should not be performed, and in evaluating relative power, rights and obligations (ibid: 104). To have an example, Thomas (1983: 105) noticed the difference in the perception of what constitutes *free goods* cross-culturally. Considering Britain and the Soviet Union, at that time, she states that in Britain *matches* are 'nearly free' so requesting them from a stranger does not require a high degree of politeness strategies. In Russia, *cigarettes* are also conceived as 'free.' As a result, requesting them needs a lower degree of politeness, for instance, *Daite sigaretu (give [me] a cigarette)*. Accordingly, a Russian



requesting a *cigarette* in this way in Britain, is not aware of neither the politeness degree assigned to this form (*grammatical/pragmalinguistic*) nor the miscalculation of the rank of imposition this request in English involves (*sociopragmatic*).

From a pedagogical point of view, the second dimension may be problematic as it requires introducing a set of beliefs and concepts that may be conflicting with those of the learners. Thomas (1983: 101) clarifies:

I suggest that there is one area of pragmatic failure (pragmalinguistic failure) which is fairly easy to overcome. It is simply a question of highly conventionalized usage, which can be taught quite straightforwardly as ‘part of the grammar’. The second area (sociopragmatic failure) is much more difficult to deal with, since it involves the student’s system of beliefs as much as his/her knowledge of the language.

Thomas (1983: 91-94) defines pragmatic failure as “ the inability to understand what is meant by what is said ...i.e. H perceives the force of S’s utterance as other than S intended she or he should perceive it.” It may have the following manifestations:

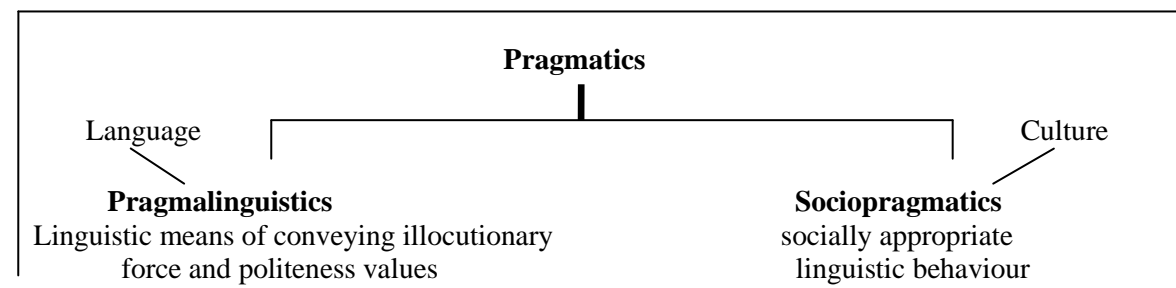
- A. H perceives the force of S’s utterance as stronger as or weaker than S intended she/he should perceive it;
- B. H perceives as an order an utterance which S intended she/he should perceive as a request;
- C. H perceives S’s utterance as ambivalent where S intended no ambivalence;
- D. S expects H to be able to infer the force of his/her utterance, but is relying on the system of knowledge or beliefs which S and H do not share.

Examples 1—4 illustrate A—B respectively.

1. **A:** Do you know who set the fire last night?  
**B:** No, it’s not me.  
**A:** Oh, I don’t mean that.
2. **Boss:** Are you free this evening? Will you come to my house to have a chat?  
**Mike:** I will come, anyway.

3. **A:** There's a football match tonight. Would you please go with me?  
**B:** OK.  
**A:** (later) Are you sure you want to go?  
**B:** OK, let's not go. I've something to read.
4. **A:** Do you like rugby?  
**B:** I am a New Zealander, you know.  
**A:** (confused)

In 1, B received A's question as an accusation, while the S intends genuine question i.e. H perceives the utterance as stronger than the H intends. In 2, Mike was not actually free, but perceives his Boss's utterance as an order; so, he complies accordingly i.e. Mike perceives the utterance as an order, while his Boss intended a question. In 3, B perceives A's invitation as ambivalent, so he changes his mind. In 4, A was confused as he could not understand the relation between being a New Zealander and liking rugby. In other words, he does not share the knowledge system with B that rugby means a lot for New Zealanders.



**Figure 5: Pragmatic Transfer Continuum: Language-Culture**  
 (Based on Leech; 1983 and Thomas 1983, as cited in Bou Franch 1998: 12)

Thomas' account on pragmatic failure has been a subject to criticism. One point is the distinction between the two types of failure which may not always be possible. According to Zamborlin (2007), the reason is that this division must not be considered as 'a clear-cut dichotomy but as a continuum.' Moreover, limits between the two dimensions 'appear to be indistinguishable' (p. 25). Actually, Thomas' contribution on that issue is not the only one, though it is the most cited. Another account on that issue is that of Riley (1989, in Bou Franch 1998: 9) who additionally suggested two other components, which are *inchoative* and *non-*

*linguistic*. The inchoative errors are “the result of a failure to appreciate the ‘true’ value of discourse, in both quantitative and qualitative terms” (p. 273). This type of cross-cultural divergence is manifested in terms of relative status of silence and speech as well as the overall social role of discourse. The non-linguistic errors are related to the non-verbal aspects of communication (ibid: 9).

More recently, Zamborlin (2007) suggested widening the notion of pragmatic failure and, thus, introduced the term *dissonance* in intercultural communication. She defines it as:

[C]ircumstances in which speakers, deliberately or not, organize the linguistic action in such a way that hearers perceive it as conflicting with the harmonious flow of the conversation. Accordingly, dissonances might be said to represent (un)intentional and (at least on the part of the hearer) unexpected occurrences of verbal behavior, resulting from speakers’ intent to alter, or inability to conform to, the norms of linguistic etiquette ... followed in the speech community in which the interaction takes place. (p. 22)

As for the reasons why we need to widen Thomas’ account, Zamborlin (ibid: 23) justifies that, in interactions between NSs and NNSs (especially in languages other than English as she illustrates with Japanese), the distinction between sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic is limited. That is, as already stated, not always easy to say whether the failure is sociopragmatic or pragmalinguistic. Given the connotation of the term *failure*, Zamborlin sees that the meaning of the term *dissonance* is ‘less dramatic’. The effect of dissonance can range from a sense of irritation to a sense of hilarity (i.e. from unpleasant feelings to humour). *Dissonance* is triggered by three factors in intercultural encounters:

- Linguistic*: when speakers transfer from their native language syntactic structures or lexis that generate semantic ambiguity or incongruity.
  
- Sociolinguistic*: when speakers fail to conform to the expected sociolinguistic norms, by transferring from their native language constructions, lexis or formulae which are perceived as unnatural or inappropriate in the L2.

–*Pragmatic*: when speakers operate relying exclusively on the pragmatic knowledge they hold (e.g. vision of the world and culture-specific frames of mind that involve an existing disposition to think and behave in a particular way), (2007: 33).

Zamborlin (2007: 33) repeatedly states the fact that her model is never meant for ‘overturning’ that of Thomas (1983), but is, rather, meant for broadening it into a ‘vibrant’ one that captures the fact that the linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic levels may be involved ‘dynamically’ at the same time.

Based on their investigation of the different accounts on pragmatic failure, Yan and Zhuang (2010) provide a broad definition in which they agree with Zamborlin (2007) in the inclusion of the non-verbal dimension and they additionally suggest a psychological dimension. So, for them pragmatic failure is to be understood as:

[T]he communicative failure committed in the process of interpreting or expressing utterances (both verbal and non-verbal) due to the lack of the capability of accurate interpretation or of effective use of language on different occasions with the participants’ psychological states involved. (p. 5)

This definition is not S-oriented i.e. takes the ‘interpreter’ into consideration. Further, it is inclusive in the sense that it includes non-verbal and psychological dimensions of communication.

The various empirical studies proved the existence of the two main categories of transfer, negative and positive, and, when transfer is considered as cross-linguistic influence, other categories may be considered as well: overuse, underuse, or avoidance of a form or function and interference of L1. Those categories need not be seen as rigid as they can be negative or positive. Furthermore, those categories are to be considered in case of L2 influence over L1. The focus on the negative manifestations of transfer in so many studies

suggests its importance as it directly, according to Bou and Garcés, effects the self-representation and the image (face) we transmit to others (Bou Franch 1998: 10).

Here are some manifestations of negative pragmatic transfer as suggested by various empirical studies (Bou Franch 1998: 14-17, unless otherwise cited):

Based on their study's findings, Richard and Sukwiwat (1983: 116) suggest that an encounter where a Japanese learner (JE) is supposed to express his gratitude to an NS, in English may run as follows:

NS: Look what I've got for you (maybe a gift)

JE: Oh!, I'm sorry (*thank you* does not sound sincere enough in Japanese)

NS: Why sorry?

In the same vein, a Spanish learner of English (SE), according to Garcés (1995), when accepting an invitation to a party from an NS, may behave in the following way:

NS: will you be coming to my party on Saturday?

SE: Well

NS: Well what?

Another example (Kim 1996: 16, as cited in Jung 2004: 99) shows how a Korean learner (K) may perform the apologetic act in an encounter with an American (A).

K: Could you please send this package for me?

A: No problem. I have some errands to do myself at the post office today, anyway.

K: *I'm terribly sorry*. I wouldn't ask you this if I wasn't so busy.

In this example, the Korean learner expresses his gratitude using *I'm terribly sorry* as this expression, in his culture, is used when one feels indebted to another. In the American culture, *thank you very much* could be an appropriate alternative (ibid: 100).

As for the transfer from L2 to L1, Bou Franch (ibid: 17) reports that her Spanish students after a stay in England, they use more frequently the routinised expressions like *Pardon*, *Lo siento* and *Por favor* due to the influence of the use of *sorry* and *please* in English. The use of those expressions in English and Spanish is different in terms of frequency. Accordingly, the Spanish learners in UK are often perceived as ‘brusque and impolite’ as they underuse *please* and *sorry*. When the same learners are back home, they are perceived as ‘extremely and unnaturally polite’ when overusing the Spanish counterparts. Blum-Kulka and Sheffer comment on this phenomenon:

Ironically, while pragmatic competence is the most difficult aspect of language to master in learning a second language, it seems also to be, under certain conditions of bilingualism, the easiest to lose in the first language (1993: 219).

### **II.3.4 Factors Affecting Pragmatic Transfer**

Though no one casts doubt on the existence of transfer at the pragmatic level, some studies failed to really detect its existence. According to Takahashi (2000), this is due to the fact that PT is highly context-dependent. It means there are certain factors that influence it. Those factors can be either context-external (like the interlocutors’ familiarity and their status) or context-internal (like the degree of imposition in request and the obligation to apologise). Moreover, the conditions that lead learners to fall back on their L1 may also interact with pragmatic transfer (p. 7). pragmatic transfer research places less focus on positive transfer as it is hard to claim that learners really resort to their L1, since they might use their pragmatic knowledge, instead of relying on their L1, or make use of other learnt forms (Kasper, 1992; Takahashi, 2000).

Before we discuss the different factors which are likely to influence pragmatic transfer, we need to say something about the kind of data required so as to evidence transfer.

Researchers usually use three data sources (this goes back to Selinker 1969). These are baseline data from NSs of the learners' L1 (in this study, Arabic), IL data from the learners and TL baseline data from NSs of the learners' TL (in this study, English), (Takahashi 2000: 109). Ellis (1994: 162) emphasises this prerequisite:

Ideally, the study of illocutionary acts in learner language should involve the collection of three sets of data: (1) samples of the illocutionary act performed in the target language by L2 learners; (2) samples performed by native speakers of the target language; and (3) samples of the same illocutionary act performed by the learners in their L1. Only in this way it is possible to determine to what extent learner performance differs from native-speaker performance and whether the differences are traceable to transfer from the L1. Relatively few L2 studies, however, have provided such a base of data.

The interrelationship between these kinds of data is interpreted as follows:

Similarity in terms of response frequencies in NL, IL, and TL leads us to claim positive transfer; and similar response frequencies in NL and IL with different response frequencies between NL and TL and between IL and TL evidences the fact of negative transfer (Takahashi 2000: 109).

#### **II.3.4.1 Context-External Factors**

Context-external factors are those related to the relationship which holds between interlocutors. In this study, we are going to deal with two factors that are likely to affect the pragmatic performance; these are *Power (dominance, P)* and *Social Distance (degree of familiarity, SD)*. The definitions adapted here are those of Scollon and Scollon (2001) as they have been developed on cross-cultural grounds in addition to Brown and Levinson's (1987) ones.

As for P, Scollon and Scollon (2001: 52) provide a thorough account of this variable. For them, P refers to "the vertical disparity between the participants in a hierarchical structure." For instance, Mr Hutchins (a boss of a company) is above Bill (an employee in that

company) in the hierarchical structure of the same company. Such relation can be represented by +P, since Mr Huchins has privileges over Bill as well as responsibilities i.e. Bill owes certain duties to Mr Huchins. In governmental and business bodies, for instance, the language used by such participants is ‘relatively predictable.’ The other possibility of dominance relation is –P (egalitarian system): there is no or little hierarchical difference between participants. This type of relation is held between *close* friends as they are equal. However, it is not limited to close friends; it is also found between people having ‘equivalent ranks’ in their working setting. For instance, two workers having the same responsibility in their company may have –P, though may not know each other at all (ibid: 52). For Brown and Levinson (1987: 74), P is the *Relative Power* of S with respect to H (i.e. the degree to which S can impose on H).

The SD variable, according to Scollon and Scollon, needs not be confused with the previous one. ‘Distance can be seen most easily in egalitarian relationships (–P)’. Two *close* friends, for instance, are classified as (–SD), while two governmental officials from different nations are likely to be equal in terms of power (–P), but distant (+SD). The distinction between P and SD becomes clearer if we consider it within the same business body. The head, say, of the personnel office and his staff have +P relationship, but they are supposed to be close (–SD), because they work together daily. The same employees when considering them with reference to, say, the head of quality control department, are likely to have a hierarchical *difference* and a *distance* (+P; +SD) between them because they have less contact with each other. For Brown and Levinson (1987: 74), SD between the interlocutors is the degree of familiarity and solidarity they share, or might be thought to share. It is understood as illustrated in the following (ibid: 85):

1. Excuse me, would you by any chance have the time?
2. Got the time mate?



3. Excuse me, sir, would it be alright if I smoke?
4. Mind if I smoke?

In correspondence with 1 and 2, Brown and Levinson explain with reference to SD:

Our intuitions are that (1) would be used where (in S's perception) S and H were distant (strangers from different parts, say), and (2) where S and H were close (either known to each other, or perceptibly 'similar' in social terms). [S]D; then, is the only variable in our formula changes from (1) to (2) ... (ibid: 85)

In a similar vein, in 3 and 4, SD is held constant. The above variables have interestingly been linked to *politeness* and *face* by Scollon and Scollon. Since *politeness* and *face* are explanatory concepts for the data gathered, it is of such importance to cite this point. Scollon and Scollon (ibid: 54-56) have distinguished between three types of politeness that are *deference*, *solidarity* and *hierarchy*. Any change in the P-SD relationship among interlocutors calls out a particular type of politeness. As for *deference* politeness system (-P, +SD), interactants may be equal, but treat each other as distant through using independence strategies. A typical example of that relation can held between two university professors who, though in the same status, signal their distance by addressing each other formally using *professor* and *last name*. This (*face*) system is characterised by:

1. [S]ymmetrical (-P), that is, the participants see themselves as being at the same social level;
2. [D]istant (+SD), that is, each uses independence strategies speaking to the other.

The second type of politeness is *solidarity* politeness, (-P, -D). In such *face* system the degree of involvement is high as the absence of feeling of P and SD differences. A typical relation that manifests this type of *face* system is the one held between friends. Its characteristics are:

1. [S]ymmetrical (-P), that is, the participants see themselves as being in equal social position;

2. [C]lose (-SD), that is, the participants both use politeness strategies of involvement.

The third type of face system is *hierarchical* (+P, +/-SD). This type of politeness is driven by the respect of social position of the interactants; one is 'superordinate' and the other is 'subordinate'. Such system is typically used in the routinised relation between, for instance, a boss and his employer, say Mr Hutchins and Bill. Accordingly, interlocutors do not use the same *face* strategies; the one in the higher position is likely to use involvement strategies ( Mr Hutchins addresses his employer using first name 'Bill'), while the other expectedly uses independence strategies (Bill addresses his boss by a *title+ last name* 'Mr Hutchins'). This system can be represented as follows:

1. [A]symmetrical (+P), that is, the participants see themselves as being in unequal social position;
2. [A]symmetrical in *face* strategies, that is, the 'higher' uses *involvement face* strategies and the 'lower' uses independence *face* strategies.

It is noteworthy that certain factors give rise to the perception of difference in P and SD in a particular society and at a particular point of time. P differences can arise, in a given society and/or a given point of time, from the divergence in age, gender, wealth, hunting prowess, education, physical strength etc. those same factors may also be the reason for perceiving two parties as distant. For example, members of the same family are close, but distant from members of another (ibid: 57).

#### **II.3.4.2 Context-Internal Factors**

At this level, we are concerned with two factors that may influence strategies of request and apology, which are *ranking of imposition* [R] and *degree of infraction* [I].

Starting with R, the strategies Ss opt for are likely to vary due to the influence of R, even if no P and SD differences are present. For instance, strategies used by Mr Hutchins and

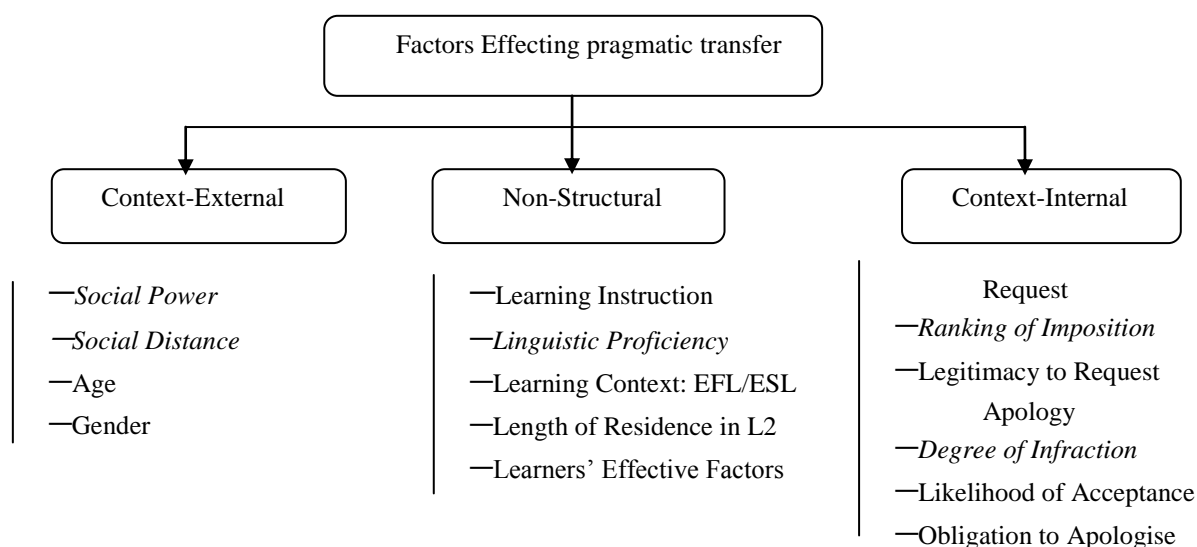
Bill, when discussing daily routine topics, are probably predictable. However, if Bill needs to ask Mr Hutchins for a ‘promotion or a day off’, he, certainly, uses ‘extra-deferential tone’ and higher level of *independent* strategies than he often does. Similarly, if Mr Hutchins were to announce some bad news to Bill, say, that his position is at stake, then, Mr Hutchins is likely to employ more *involvement* strategies than he usually does. All in all, the increase in R entails increase in the independent strategies [negative *face/politeness*], on the one hand; on the other hand, the decrease in R entails increase in involvement strategies [positive *face/politeness*]. In working settings often, P and SD are unlikely to change; it is R that often changes (ibid: 53-54). In Brown and Levinson (1987: 74), R is the *Absolute Ranking* of the imposition in a particular culture in terms of (i) the expenditure of goods and/or services by H, (ii) the right of S to perform the act; and (iii) the degree to which H welcomes the imposition.

As for the degree of infraction (I) or *severity of offence*, it has to do with the *object of regret*. The apologisee feels the need to apologise and select the appropriate linguistic forms with reference to it; the apologisee, from his side, measures the potential of accepting the apology (Coulmas, 1981, in Deutschmann 2003: 62). Severity of offence, as Olshtain (1989: 60, in Bergman and Kasper 1993: 93) states, is “the representative contextual factor in the sociopragmatic set of apology.” That is, the presence of this factor is likely to motivate the elicitation of the full range of linguistic forms used for the realisation of this linguistic act.

#### **II.3.4.3 Non-Structural Factors**

For Takahashi (2000), pragmatic transfer at this level (socio-psychological) is under-explored in comparison with that of structural (psychological). The non-structural factors that are usually addressed are: length of residence in the target community, learning context

(ESL/EFL), linguistic proficiency, teaching instructions, learners' context familiarity and learners' effective factors (e.g. motivation, disidentification).



**Figure 6: Continuum of Pragmatic Transfer Research Variables (italicised items are the variables of concern)**

The variable of interest in the current study is *linguistic proficiency*. LP here refers to the areas of communicative competence we previously included under *language conventions*, especially the linguistic competence. On this account, the linguistically proficient learners are supposed to exercise better control on the use of grammar, syntax, vocabulary, phonology and so on than the less proficient ones. As for transfer, it has been suggested that more proficient learners are likely to transfer aspects of their L1 into TL production (Takahashi and Beebe, 1987). Takahashi and Beebe's hypothesis has been confirmed in many empirical studies and deemed limited in some others; our purpose is to see to what extent it can hold good for Algerian EFL learners' performance.

These same factors are also influential in any research that deals with *pragmatic transferability*, another phenomenon related to pragmatic transfer.

### II.3.5 Pragmatic Transferability

Bou Franch (1998) uses the term '*transferability constraints*' for conditions that prevent or encourage transfer. The attempt to identify those conditions entails, according to her, the use of process-oriented approach that aims at answering these two questions: what is transferred and under what circumstances transfer takes place. She cites a sample of studies that sought to validate certain factors at the three mentioned levels, in addition to learners' perception of their own language and L2 (i.e. whether the performance of a given linguistic action is L1-specific or universal) (ibid: 5-7). Concerning this last proviso, researchers believe that L1-specific-based perception is likely to restrain pragmatic transfer, whereas the universal-based is likely to encourage it. Takahashi (2000) provides more elaborate account of this phenomenon and the state of researching it. For her, researchers just briefly refer to transfer condition for the sake of interpreting data while their main focus is on transfer itself. Furthermore, it has been dealt with in its psycholinguistic dimensions. That is, researchers relied more on the specific-universal perception dichotomy (p. 8).

On the whole, Takahashi argued for dealing with this phenomenon in independent researches that conform to a special design. In an earlier works, Takahashi (1992; 1993, ibid: 10) addressed this issue directly when she dealt with transferability of indirect requests from Japanese into English. This was achieved through giving learners indirectly-performed requests in Japanese and English respective to four situations. The learners were supposed to fill in an 'acceptability judgement task' and their performance in L1 was contrasted with theirs in L2; then, the transferability rate was obtained via statistical measures. This study, at that time, was unique in addressing this issue, despite the shortcomings of the design the author herself acknowledges. The scarcity of research in that area is what led pragmatic transferability to have the status of the 'the neglected area of ILP' (ibid: 14). Among the striking shortcomings of the studies dealing with conditions of transfer is the fact that they

rely on learners' perception of a particular speech act performance whether it is universal or L1-specific (ibid: 14).

Research in the area of transfer and related areas in dealing with speech acts is what conventionally came to be called Speech Act Research, which is the subject of the next section.

## **II.4 Speech Act Research**

This section is devoted to reviewing a sample of studies conducted within the so-called speech act research. But before that, we see it crucial to say something about the relation between speech act research and speech act theory, dealt with in the previous chapter, as it may be confusing.

### **II.4.1 Speech Act Research vs. Speech Act Theory**

Kasper (2004) clearly shows the relation between speech act research and speech act theory. For him, using 'speech act research' would not allow it to be confused with speech act theory: "The label 'speech act research' is chosen deliberately in opposition to the more common designation 'speech act theory.' (p. 131)" The former is empirical discipline whereas the latter is non-empirical i.e. intuition-based. Kasper clarifies further:

Speech act theory has its intellectual home in ordinary language philosophy and is thoroughly nonempirical. It is concerned with the conceptual analysis of speech acts, such as their definition, composition, conditions for production and recognition, classification, and conventional linguistic implementation. Speech act research, by contrast, is an empirical undertaking that focuses on the realization of speech acts in social contexts. (ibid: 131)

As for the interaction between them, speech act theory provides speech act research with its object and unit of analysis. Speech act research is based on and it is insightful to linguistic anthropology, (applied) linguistics, cognitive and social psychology, and microsociology. It, thus, makes use of a wide range of methods belonging to social science at the quantitative and the qualitative levels (ibid: 131). For Cohen (1998: 385), the shift from speech act theory to speech act research is considered a shift from intuitively based approach to speech act to empirical SLA-driven one.

Having set a distinction between speech act research and speech act theory, now we move to consider a sample of contributions from speech act research. The reviewed studies will include some of the early studies and, mostly, more recent ones.

#### **II.4.2 Requests**

Fukushima and Iwata (1987) is among the early studies on requests (reported in Cohen 1998: 405). Fukushima and Iwata compared the requestive strategies used by 18 Japanese and 28 English NSs, in USA and Japan. The results suggested that the semantic formulae used by Japanese and Americans were, on the whole, the same. These sequences were identified: *apology—reason—request*, *address term—request—reason* or *address term and/or apology—reason*. As for the differences, Japanese used sociocultural strategies and sociolinguistic expressions varied in accordance with H's closeness, whereas the expressions and strategies used by the Americans did not vary (in ibid: 405).

Another cross-cultural study that dealt with English and the Japanese cultures is that of Fukushima (1996). The author used written stimulus (written situations) which the informants had to read and respond to them orally. Their oral production was recorded and transcribed. The subjects of the study were 60 British English Ss and 50 Japanese Ss. The results suggest that the higher the R, the more politeness markers and SMs are used in English and Japanese.

The British tend to favour SMs and conventional forms, whereas the Japanese opt for fewer SMs and direct forms. The use of *directness* by the Japanese is, for the author, linked to the fact that among in-group members solidarity is highly valued, thus, *positive politeness* and going on-record are the preferred strategies.

Weizman (1993) investigated the use of requestive *hints*, using DCT, by learners from different language backgrounds, with focus on those of Hebrew, at different proficiency levels and compared them to NSs. The informants of this study were learners of Hebrew from various L1s and learners of English from German and Danish backgrounds as well as NSs of the following languages: Hebrew, Australian English, American English, German, Canadian French and Argentinian Spanish. The comparison was held between Hebrew learners (305) and NSs (173), on the one hand, and between all learners of the previous languages (482) and the respective NSs (621), on the other hand. The two-way analysis allowed the author to treat the data qualitatively with reference to the length of residence in the target community and quantitatively (frequency) respective to the situational variation. Findings show that learners are able to use the requestive hints as regards frequency, situations and preference for opaque hints. Furthermore, learners do not reveal any marked preference in using hints, while their tendency toward redundancy (verbosity) is interpreted, by the author, as a feature of learning situation. The results shed light, too, on the nature of *indirectness*. The fact that the same categories are used by learners and NSs in response to the same situational variation supports the idea that even *conventionally indirectness* is governed by semantic norms.

The study of Rose (2009) deals with requests from a developmental perspective. The population of this study are secondary school learners distributed on three proficiency groups. DCT is used as data collection method. The findings prove pragmatic development as regards the use of varied modals and SMs. As for sociopragmatic development, there is little evidence except from the increase in the use of *please* with high-status interlocutors.



Tagushi (2006) dealt with the appropriateness of the speech act of request in the performance of 59 Japanese learners of English at two proficiency levels, high and low (compared to 20 NSs). Role-plays were used as a data collection means respective to two situations (equal-close interlocutors and low-R) and (non-equal-distant interlocutors and high-R). Learners' performance was analysed as regards appropriateness and linguistic expressions. For appropriateness, six English NSs and experienced instructors rated IL performance following these criteria: appropriate expressions, grammatical and discourse errors and the interference between them (i.e. whether the grammatical and discourse errors affect appropriateness).

The author concluded that, regarding linguistic expressions, low-proficient IL-users used in half requests *please+imperative* while the high-proficient one in 16% and NSs in only 2% of them. NSs and high-proficient learners opted for three times more *would you+verb* than low-proficient ones. As for hints, they increased considerably from the first to second situation in both learner groups. This, for the author, signifies 'sociocultural sensitivity' (of situational factors) respective to style-shifting i.e. they resorted to more extensive politeness than in situation one, though they were not really successful when it came to linguistic appropriateness. Furthermore, the author supported previous studies suggesting that proficiency fosters better quality of speech act in terms of the appropriateness, grammaticality and comprehensibility of linguistic expressions. In general terms, IL-users opt for the same linguistic expressions for HAs as NSs, but differ in appropriateness attributed not only to linguistic forms selected, but also to grammatical and discourse errors that accompany them.

Woodfield and Economidou-Koetsidis (2010) is another study that dealt with the requestive act with a focus on modifications (internal and external) and perspective. Using DCT as a data gathering instrument, informants were given a description of status-unequal (student/tutor) situation, which indicated the setting, the familiarity and the social power

between the interactants. Test-takers had to request an extension for a submission of a paper. The authors obtained data from 187 students (95 ESL learners and 92 British English NSs). Learners were of advanced level as regards *linguistic proficiency*; 83 of the learners were NSs of Greek and 12 of them were Japanese and German.

Regarding internal modification, as compared with NSs, learners seem to overuse zero-marking (not to modify requests internally). The authors explain this in the light of the difficulty inherent in using these modifiers. Additionally, the authors relate the underuse of *consultative devices* to L1 influence, since Greek is a culture that values solidarity, informality and in-group relations. By contrast, British culture emphasises individuality and indirectness as a sign of social distance. The authors interpret the absence of *cajolers* as an instrument-effect as written tests do not capture interactive features of spoken language. Furthermore, the underuse of the *past* tense as a mitigation technique in IL production is related to developmental factors i.e. the dissociation of the form (past) and reference (present) is the last aspect to acquire. Turning to external modification, *grounders* are the most used. For the authors, this mitigator is acquired early and does not require idiomatic (native-like) constructions. It is also reported that IL-users overuse *preparators* and *imposition minimisers* while underusing *apology*. The overuse is an indicator of the lack of confidence which stems from lack of linguistic proficiency in L2 and the underuse is an L1-impact, since Greek is a positive-politeness culture that encourages spontaneity and involvement. As far as the request perspective is concerned, results show that IL-users opt for S-perspective and this tendency is explained by the preponderance of certain HA strategies that introduce this perspective, namely, *query preparatories* and *want/need statements*. As for the impersonal perspective, it is mostly used by L2 NSs using mainly the word *chance* (like in *I was wondering if there's any chance of changing the date?*) since learners are prone to using either H- or S-perspective. The joint perspective is utilised only once in English.

As for requests performed by Arab English learners, Al-Aqra' (2001), Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009a) and Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) are archetypal studies.

Al-Aqra' (2001) addresses the requesting speech act with reference to translation. Using Multiple Choice Test as data collection method, the performance of 80 Palestinian learners (at three proficiency levels) and 20 American English NSs were compared. The results reveal that no one-to-one correspondence between modals (epistemic) in Arabic and English; in the former they convey no pragmatic connotations while in the latter they are part of the politeness system. As for learners and NSs performance, there is disparity between them in the employment of these modals. It means, learners cannot estimate the politeness value inherent in English modals and proficiency is not an influential factor. The author relates this to the difference in the politeness system in the two languages. As a result, the author suggests that learners fall back on their L1 requestive style.

Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009a) gave special attention to the politeness strategies in IL English requests performed by Yemeni EFL learners. Using DCT, the authors elicited requestive responses of 314 Yemeni EFL learners respective to HA strategies. Findings indicate that learners favour *query preparatory* realised oftentimes by the modals *can* and *could* along with *mood derivables* and *want statements*. The overuse of *can* and *could* is seen as an outcome of L1-influence, because Arabic does not pragmatically differentiate between present and past forms of modals. The employment of direct forms, with or without softeners, is interpreted as transfer from L1 too, given solidarity and closeness between interlocutors. Moreover, this is related to the fact that Arabic employs formulae that resemble *please* and *excuse me* in conjunction with bare imperatives. For instance, *Allah yerrdaaleik/May God be pleased with you* and *Allah ykhaliek/May God keep you healthy* are usable to any kind of addressee.

Another study that dealt with Arab learners' requestive performance is that of Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010). The authors, via the DCT, collected data from 45 Jordanian learners of English and 45 American English NSs on using the mitigating devices. The authors conclude that three main factors influenced IL performance: language ability, L2 pragmatic knowledge and L1 cultural norms transfer. Learners use the same strategies as NSs, but with different distributions in terms of content and frequency. The authors interpret this as a lack of pragmatic knowledge. The use of 'long-winded' requests to minimise imposition suggests that Jordanians are less direct (they use more justifications before requesting) than Americans. Also, the authors trace evidence of cross-cultural differences in terms of style; the Americans give a high priority to the propositional content (what the request is about) i.e. opting for egalitarianism in order not to sound 'subservient', whereas Jordanians seem to emphasise the interpersonal relationship with the requestee than the request itself via *apologising* and *denying* requests. Learners' poor language ability is manifested in insufficient language proficiency in the L2. As for the lack of pragmatic knowledge, Jordanian learners lack the ability to use the appropriate devices in the fitting context. For pragmatic transfer, at the pragmalinguistic level, learners over-initiate requests by expressions like *excuse me* (from Arabic *afwan*) and *hello* (from Arabic *marhaba*). Jordanians also transfer certain sociopragmatic expressions like those of *gratitude*, *well-wishing*, *obligation* etc. which are typical to the Jordanian culture. Such tendency in speaking may sound *gushy* to Americans. Nonetheless, the authors suggest that transfer needs not be perceived as a barrier to successful communication.

### **II.4.3 Apologies**

Among the early studies on apology is that of Cohen and Olshtain (1981). Cohen and Olshtain investigated the performance of Hebrew ESL learners comparing it with that of Hebrew and English NSs. Using role-plays as data collection method, the authors conclude

that learners are ignorant of the appropriate L2 linguistic forms used to convey intentions (they often say too little). They are also unaware of the social norms that affect the apologetic behaviour in TL as they, in situations where they have to apologise to the boss for forgetting to attend a meeting with him, they offer to rearrange for another meeting by saying “*I think I can make another meeting with you.*” This is an overt violation of the target sociocultural norms as the boss who is supposed to decide to have or not another meeting. In taking on responsibility, L2 learners use utterances like “*we forgot the meeting*”; the use of *we* (involvement marker) means that they assign a partial responsibility to the *boss* under the influence of L1 transfer of sociopragmatic/pragmalinguistic norms. Learners also ran the risk of pragmatic failure as they use other utterances, in apologising to a friend, like “*I really, very sorry. I just forgot. I fell asleep. Understand.*” The use of *understand* (with rising intonation) is a direct translation from L1. It is used as a call for cooperation (solidarity) between interlocutors, but its use in L2 may bring opposite effect as it sounds impertinent for English sensibilities.

Bergman and Kasper (1993) study is among the well-cited studies. Using data from Thai ESL learners and American English NSs, the authors sought to explore the perception and the performance of NSs and NNSs. The informants were 30 NSs and 423 NNSs; all were university students. The data was collected by means of an Assessment Questionnaire and Discourse Construction Questionnaire. For the assessment test, learners had to use 5-point rating scale to assess four situations in terms of *severity of the offense*, *offender's face loss*, *obligation to apologise* with respect to SD and P variables. The second tool of data collection meant to collect performance data; learners had to fill in the missing line in a dialogue between two interactants so as to produce appropriate apology.

Thai and Americans were congruent in their perception of the relationships between context-internal factors and the lack of interrelation between the context-external factors.

This, for the authors, could not be interpreted as culture similarities in the apology perception because learners who responded to the English version intended to conform to the English norms. This might also be related to learners' intercultural competence, parallel to their IL competence. The authors stressed the fact that any claim of similarity of perception between the two languages could only be confirmed by means of data from both native languages and regretted that they did not have data from Thai culture. Thai and Americans also perceived *obligation*, *likelihood* and *face-loss* as higher than *Severity of offense*. That is, prioritising the interpersonal relationship over 'transactional goals' in remedial exchanges. As for the production of both groups, among other findings, contextual factors seemed to operate differently. Thai ESL learners used *IFIDs* with respect to the *obligation of apology* unlike NSs. Informants were more prone to explicitly express *responsibility* for the offense when the offender and the offended were close. Thai-English IL-users differed from English NSs in the suppliance of *upgrading*, *IFIDs* and *taking on responsibility*. The authors assert: "[m]ore than half of the differences in apology suppliance can tentatively be attributed to pragmatic transfer from Thai apology patterns." (1993: 100).

One phenomenon is worth discussing here: the 'oversuppliance' of certain strategies by Thai learners. This was labelled *gushing* and *waffling* in House's (1988) and Edmondson and House's (1991) respectively (in *ibid*: 100). Edmondson and House provide an elaborate explanation for such phenomenon with reference to role-play and DCT. Learners may have knowledge of certain requestive and apologetic strategies in their IL, but it is not "integrated into learners' discourse production systems" (1991: 285, *ibid*: 100). When learners' planning and realisation of those speech acts is free from the pressure of conversational turn-taking, they compensate the lack of 'pragmatic routines' by overusing 'nonconventionalized' speech act realisation strategies. Bergman and Kasper (1993) partially supported Edmondson and House's (1991) hypothesis. However, for them, Thai learners resorted to *waffling* not for the

sake of compensation; it was rather an instrument-effect i.e. the written test gives “opportunity for knowledge display that is precluded for many learners by the cognitive demands of face-to-face interaction (ibid: 101).”

Jung (2004) investigated IL apologies of Korean ESL learners using the role-play for data collection. The subjects of this study were 10 Korean ESL undergraduate students performing two sets of role-play in English and Korean (providing both IL and L1 data) and 10 American English NSs. The results suggested that proficiency did not positively correlate with L2 performance. Further, English NSs and IL-users differed in the use of lexicogrammatical and pragmatic appropriateness. In other words, Korean learners showed ‘verbose’ transfer of L1 linguistic and pragmatic knowledge and lack of awareness of the social norms as well as language means related to the apologetic behaviour. For instance, they used the *apology* strategy as frequent as NSs, but with inappropriate linguistic forms often. In addition, they were not able to use the *explanation* strategy ‘succinctly and affectively’ in L2 and, thus, fell in ‘verbosity’ (violated the maxim of *quantity*). As for the *acknowledgement* strategy, it was underused; the author related this to the influence of L1 and, more frequently, the uncertainty about L2 sociolinguistic rules.

Sabaté and Curell i Gotor (2007) dealt with apologies with a focus on the developmental issues in terms of *IFIDs* and *intensification*. The informants of this study were three Catalan learner groups (26 proficient ‘P’, 25 advanced ‘A’ and 27 intermediate ‘I’), English NSs (26) and Catalan NSs (26 of the ‘P’ group). The DCT was the instrument used for data collection. The findings suggested that the increase in the proficiency level led to decrease in ‘non-L2-like’ pragmalinguistic performance, but it was not linear/straightforward as (A) group faces difficulties the (P) group did not. NNSs had the same access to strategies as NSs. Additionally, linguistic proficiency leads to overuse of ‘lexical transparent’ *IFIDs* (the overuse of *I’m sorry* and *excuse me*, as they are acquired first). It was noticed that group

(A) move towards more newly acquired formulae, while (P) overused some like *forgive me*. It was only group (A) that marked politeness by *informality* and *register*; they also showed awareness towards intensification. As for pragmatic transfer, (P) learners exhibited more sociopragmatic transfer, while (A) and (I) learners exhibited more pragmalinguistic transfer. For instance, (A) learners transferred *perdona'm/perdoni* (*forgive me*) to English.

The study of Guan et al. (2009) is a cross-cultural study *per se* that was conducted outside SLA. It dealt with the propensities of the apologising speech act in three national cultures: USA, China and Korea with reference to *collectivism-individualism* dichotomy. Taking the interpersonal relationship (friend vs. strange) as a variable, the authors explored the following context-internal factors of the apologising behaviour in the three cultures: *desire*, *obligation*, *intention to apologise* and the perception of the *normative use of apology*. The subjects of the study were 105 US Americans, 100 Chinese and 126 Koreans (all undergraduates). The authors used written instrument for data collection; the informants were given two vignettes that contained two incidents and they were supposed to imagine that the two incidents were happening to them. Then, they filled a questionnaire so as to reveal information about the propensities of apology in each national culture.

Contrary to authors' expectation, individualists (Americans) had strong tendency to apologise than collectivists (Chinese and Koreans). In a similar vein, interpersonal relationship differences did not interact with the cultural ones, since the three cultures had strong *desire* and *obligation* to apologise to a stranger than to a friend. For the authors, such findings cannot be adequately explained by *collectivism-individualism* dimension and, hence, certain situational factors have to be considered. For example, in the situation when one has to apologise for *stepping on a stranger's foot in bus*, the frequency of occurrence of such incident to the average Chinese and Koreans is comparatively higher than for the average US Americans in real life. This leads the Chinese and Koreans to underestimate the *severity* of



offense and, thus, effecting their perception. This may also be due to the difference in *face*-saving routines (the intensity of *face* needs differs from culture to culture). Additionally, this can also be explained by *low-* and *high-context* types of communication. In *high-context* cultures, the understanding of the message is based on the relationship, context or non-verbal cues of communication. By contrast, in *low-context* ones, the message has to be made clear and explicit.

Another study on apologies performance is that of Deutschman (2003) who searched it in British English. Though it is not comparative or IL, this study yielded relevant conclusions, as far as the British culture is concerned. The study is corpus-based. The data is drawn from the spoken part of the British National Corpus (dialogues that involve 1700 Ss). According to Deutschman, the following forms of apology are identified: *prototypical (real)*, *formulaic* and *face attacking*. As for the social variables (*S gender, age* and *social class*), *gender* has the least effect on apology rates, and no overall gender differences are found. As for conversational setting (*formality, group size* and *genre*), the *formality* and *group size*, on the whole, have no marked affect, whereas the *typology* of the apology is influenced by the *formality* of the setting. Concerning the relationship between interlocutors (*gender, age* and *social class*), *gender* does not markedly influence the apology rates and types, but the *age* factor is really influential in terms of frequency and content. Contrary to author's expectation, old Ss apologise more to younger ones in *formal* situations. It is also reported, in opposition to Brown and Levinson (1987), that 'powerful' Ss apologise more to 'powerless' and the apologies of both are relatively similar (especially between adults). As for *social distance*, the more distant Ss are the more 'sincere' and 'challenging' the apologies are and, between friends, apology may be regarded 'sarcastic' than when between intimates or acquaintances.

As far as studies that deal with Arabic and Arab learners, four are worth citing: Ghawi (1993), Hussein and Hammouri (1998), Bataineh and Bataineh (2008) and Al-Zumor (2011).

As for Ghawi (1993), his study directly addresses the issue of pragmatic transfer in the Arab learners' apologies in English. This study aims at identifying the sociopragmatic transfer through exploring the extent to which transfer from L1 can be predicted by knowing about learners' perception of the apologising behaviour (specific or universal). The subjects of this study are 17 English NSs university students and 17 Arab university students of intermediate level (from United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Oman). The data is collected through closed role-plays and interviews for the personal information and language-perception. The findings suggest that Arabs think that Americans apologise differently and more frequently (even to their children) which is not the case for the Arabs. For the author, this language-specific perception leads learners to conform to L2 norms in certain cases as regards *direct apology*. On the whole, learners' language-specific perception does not seem to really discourage transfer of L1 features and norms to L2 production (namely the explanation strategy).

As for Hussein and Hammouri (1998), they dealt with the apologising act in Jordanian Arabic and American English. By means of 18-item DCT, the authors collected data from 100 Jordanians and 40 Americans. Regarding the common similarities, both groups used combination of more than one strategy (IFID+offer of repair/acknowledgement of responsibility). As for the outstanding differences, Arabs used more varied strategies than American; also there were more elaborate apologies as compared with the American concise ones. As for the combinations, Arabs were more prone to using IFID+acknowledgement of responsibility and Americans were prone to using IFID+offer of repair. This, according to the authors, indicated different weighing of the offense. It was, additionally, reported that space offenses (e.g. bumping on someone; taking his seat) were weighed differently in the two cultures. That is, they were more offensive in Arabic. Americans tend to use simple expression of apology whereas Jordanians used varied strategies. The authors shed light on

cultural attitudes in Jordanian apologies which were manifested in the influence of Islamic culture: praising God, using fatalistic expressions and religious concepts, reference to the will of God (reflecting the belief that no one knows the future but God), using interjections like *walla nsiit/by God, I forgot*, resorting to swearing (to be believed and, thus, mitigating the offense), using proverbial expressions and regarding sickness and death as ‘unquestionable’ excuses.

Bataineh and Bataineh (2008) is a cross-cultural comparative study *per se* which investigates apologies in American and Jordanian cultures with reference to gender differences. The subjects were 50 Jordanian and 50 American undergraduate students. The researchers used a 10-item DCT representing situations that deserve apology in the two cultures. For the Americans, the authors stated that females used more *explicit* apologies than males. Long apologies were absent in the performance of both genders and *non-apology* strategy was less attested in both. As for Jordanians, females used more apologies and assign less *responsibility* to themselves than males, to some extent. Females also used fewer *non-apology* strategies than males. Comparing American and Jordanians, Jordanians seem to favour more apology manifestations along with the combination of different strategies and intensifiers. This is interpreted as a way to win the victims sympathy. For instance, Jordanians, unlike Americans, used proverbs and sayings in order “to ease their responsibility and to pacify the victim (2008: 816).” Differences were also reported in terms of frequency and order. Interestingly, Jordanian males and females differed from each other than the American counterparts. The authors interpreted this in the light of the way males and females are raised in the two cultures i.e. in the former, they are raised differently, while in the latter they are raised similarly.

The other study is that of Al-Zumor (2011), which explores the apologising behaviour in Arabic and English as well as ILP system of learners. The subjects of the study were 70

Arab students (from Yemen, Palestine, Jordan, Sudan and Oman) serving as both L1 and IL group, 16 Americans and 16 British. Their performance was elicited through a 3-situation DCT with varied *severity of offense*. Pragmatic transfer was proved in the form of using more than one *IFID*, using different terms of address and avoiding certain semantic formulae. This, for the researcher, is a by-product of transfer from L1 and little exposure to L2. Learners, for instance, used forms like *I am very very/really really/so so sorry*. This resembled their use of the repeated form *jiddan (very/so/really)* in L1. As for the cross-cultural part of the study, the author reports that NSs in Arabic and English performed (linguistically) differently in the three situations due to the different estimation of the *severity of the offense*. Also, Arabs were likely to admit their deficiency to set things right without embarrassment. While in the Anglo-Saxon culture, this was discredited, as they believe in “the immunity of one’s private self” (2011: 28), in the Arab culture “people are more publically available to each other” (p. 28).

## **Conclusion**

The present chapter set the boundaries of the fields of CCP and ILP. In CCP, two (or more) languages/cultures are compared and contrasted. The linguistic action is, then, analysed from two perspectives. By contrast, in ILP, the learner production is interpreted with reference to NSs’ one. The learner here is considered as sub-ordinate who strives to emulate the NSs’ performance and accommodates his native behaviour to the new world view. In practice, this is not taken for granted. The learner may not be able to undertake this role successfully. Hence, transfer of linguistic means and assumption is highly likely in the IL production. Moreover, this chapter shed light on the major research and methodological issues related to pragmatic transfer. It also explored the concepts of *politeness* and *face* which are considered as the main explanatory frameworks for pragmatic behaviour in the current study. The chapter was concluded by reviewing a sample of studies conducted within the fields of CCP and ILP. The selected studies included some early as well as recent ones.

Special attention was given to studies which dealt with Arabic (one of its varieties) and the IL production of learners who speak one of the varieties of Arabic as a mother language.

## Chapter III

### Methodological Issues

#### Introduction

This chapter is meant to discuss the various tools used for collecting data related to speech acts, with a special focus on the instrument employed in this research. The discussion will centre on the merits and the shortcomings of each method. Thanks to the designed tools, researchers can access the learner sociolinguistic and socio-cultural abilities which allow them to plan and perform speech acts. *Sociolinguistic ability* refers to the learners' competence to select the appropriate linguistic forms to perform a particular strategy used for realising a given speech act. Whereas, *socio-cultural ability* refers to the learners' competence to select the speech act strategies that are appropriate in accordance with the culture(s) involved in the interaction, age, gender, social class etc. (Cohen 1996: 22-23; 1998: 383). In addition, the present chapter sheds light on other methodological points (statistics, participants, design of the instrument and procedure).

#### III.1 Methods for Collecting Speech Act Data

With regard to the type of study (product- or perception-oriented), the researcher decides what method(s) fit(s) his objectives. Four methods are widely used: DCT (Discourse Completion Task/Test), naturally occurring data, role-plays and verbal report interviews. These methods yield data of four types (figure 7):

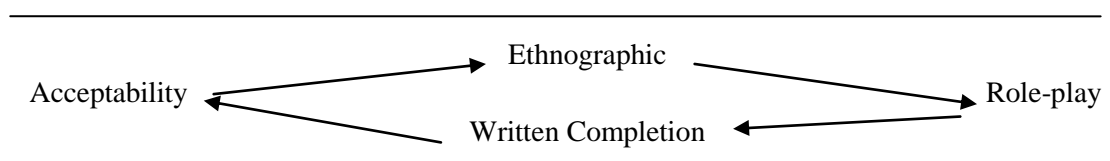


Figure 7: Four Types of Speech Act Data (Cohen 1996: 24)

In this regard, Cohen states that “the complexity of speech act realisation and strategy selection requires careful development of research methods for describing speech act production (ibid: 389-390).

### III.1.1 Discourse Completion Task

DCT can have two forms. One consists of *prompt* (description of the situation) and *space* for response and this is the type used for this study. The other, contains a prompt, space for writing responses (or more than one space) with rejoinder(s). Both types can be represented, respectively, as follows: 1 (from this study) and 2 (used in Blum-Kulka, 1982, as cited in Cohen 1996: 390).

1. You are carrying several bags full of groceries in your way to the car park where you left your car. A stranger (your age) passes by. What would you say to request from that person to carry some of the bags with you?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. You arranged to meet a friend in order to study together for an exam. You arrived half an hour late for the meeting.  
Friend (annoyed): I've been waiting at least half an hour for you!  
You: \_\_\_\_\_  
Friend: Well, I was standing here waiting. I could have been doing something else.  
You: \_\_\_\_\_  
Friend: Still it's pretty annoying. Try to come on time next time.

The usefulness of this method lies in the fact that it is time saving, allows gathering large amount of data (Beebe and Cumming, 1996). It allows the researcher to focus on specific speech act realisations and to manipulate the social and the situational variables like P, SD and R etc. (Cohen 1998: 390). Thus, it makes it easy to statistically compare responses from native and non-native speakers (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). Kasper (2000) shows that DCTs are useful if the objectives entail knowing about people's beliefs or values with respect to culture (ibid: 14), and this is one of our objectives. Eisenstein and Bodman (1993: 70) reported, in one of their earlier work, that an orally conducted questionnaire and a written

one administered for the elicitation of expressions of gratitude revealed almost identical output, though the prosodic features seemed to upgrade the sincerity and effectiveness of the gratitude. Given the fact that in this study we focus on social variables (P and D) and situational ones (mainly R and I), the DCT appears to be the most suitable data collection tool as it achieves the study's objectives.

Cohen is a pioneer in writing about speech act data gathering techniques, and he is also among the defendant of the DCT as a reliable and effective technique. He wrote, with reference to speech act learning, on the merits of the DCT:

... as long as the elicitation yields data that could reflect appropriate native-speaker performance, such data can make a contribution, often more so than the intuitively-derived pragmatic material found in textbooks (2005: 283).

The above mentioned merits have motivated numerous studies to adapt this method for eliciting data. Table 5 includes a sample of studies that target various speech acts.

Year	Author(s)	Brief Description
1983	Blum-Kulka (in Takahashi, 2000)	Investigates the <i>requestive</i> behaviour of English learners of Hebrew (IL) as L2
1988	House	Explores German learners' (IL) <i>apologies</i> and contrasts them with those of NSs of British English (TL)
1992	Robinson (in Takahashi, 2000)	Examines the <i>refusal</i> act in the performance of Japanese learners of English (IL).
1993	Bergman and Kasper	An Assessment Questionnaire is used besides the DCT to elicit data pertaining to the perception and production of <i>apologies</i> in American English (NL) and Thai ESL learners' performance (IL).
1993	Olshtain and Weinbach	Deal with the perception of speech act of <i>complaining</i> from Hebrew (NL), British and American English (TL) and Hebrew learners of English (IL).
1993	Weizman	Investigates the use of <i>requestive hints</i> in native and non-native performance in various languages.
1993	Takahashi and Beebe	Target cross-linguistic influence in performing <i>correction</i> speech act by Japanese speakers of English.



1996	Fukushima	Deals with <i>requests</i> in Japanese and British English from a cross-cultural perspective.
1998	Hussein and Hammouri	A cross-cultural pragmatic study that deals with the apologising act in Jordanian Arabic and American English.
2007	Sabaté and Curelli Gotor	Explore <i>apologies</i> in Catalan learners of English and compare them with data from English and Catalan NSs.
2009	Alfattah and Ravindranath	Investigate IL requests performed by Yemeni EFL learners.
2008	Bataineh and Bataineh	Focus on <i>apologies</i> in Jordanian and American cultures with reference to gender differences.
2010	Woodfield and Economidou-Koetsidis	Deal with request modification by Greek learners of English (IL) and contrasting them with those used by NSs of British English (TL).
2011	Al-Zumor	Investigates <i>apologies</i> gathered from three communities: IL (Arab learners of English), NL (Arabic NSs) and TL (British and American NSs).

**Table 5: A Sample of Studies Using DCT as a Data Collection Method**

However, these advantages should not hide certain shortcomings. The problem with DCTs, and the written elicitation tools in general, is the authenticity of data. That is, they cannot capture the prosodic and the non-verbal features of face-to-face interactions. They free students from time pressure which is not the case in real encounters. Furthermore, responding in writing as if speaking may inhibit respondents from producing long responses as they often do in interactions (Cohen 1996: 25). On the whole, DCTs provide data that reflect ‘what people *think they would say*’ than ‘what people *actually do say*’ in a given speech setting (Golato 2005: 14). The debate concerning the suitability of DCTs for speech act data collection and other purposes is still a current issue among those who support it (e.g. Cohen, 2006) and the ones who have reservations about it (e.g. Garcés-Canejos, 2006). In his response to Garcés-Canejos (2006), who believes that the use of DCTs is one of the weaknesses of ILP, Cohen wrote defending the technique with reference to speech act teaching:

If we accept fully the argument that the only way to get truly authentic data is by means of natural data, we are faced with situations where, say, an apology could extend over numerous turns, interwoven with compliments, requests, and perhaps even complaints also extended over numerous turns. And it may be that none of these speech acts is direct enough to be readily perceptible,

even to the native interlocutor. Pragmatics in natural data often shows up in ways that are largely imperceptible to L2 learners.

The concern about the reliability of data collection means has led to the emergence of speech act studies from a methodological perspective. That is, investigating the quality of a speech act gained by various data collection tools to uncover which one yields native-like responses (e. g. Beebe and Cumming, 1996).

### **III.1.2 Naturally Occurring Data**

This method entails collecting data in authentic settings usually through videotaping the encounters. For collecting apologies using such data, Murillo, Aguilar and Meditz (1991, in Cohen 1998: 392) asked students to crouch just outside faculty members' door and when someone emerged from his office, he would inadvertently bump into the respondent and, thus, need to apologise. The striking advantage of this method is that it ensures the spontaneity of the data, reflects what speakers actually say, provides natural situations that have real-world effects of the communicative event and elicits rich pragmatic structures. Yet, opting for this method entails enormous difficulties. For example, the linguistic act under investigation may not really naturally occur; *proficiency* and *gender* may not be easy to control; data collection and analysis are time consuming; and it requires recording equipment which is not always affordable (ibid: 391-392). This method is ruled out in this study, because we cannot urge respondents to perform *severe* act to gain an apology in real settings.

Several studies have been conducted for the sake of comparing this method with DCT. Beebe and Cumming (1996) collected refusals relying on natural data and written ones. They summed up that DCTs are effective way for gathering data as it allows access to large amount of data, classification of semantic formulae and uncovering the structure of refusals. As compared with the naturally collected data, DCT's responses differ in the actual wordings, range of formulae and strategies, length of responses and number of turns. On the positive

side, Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992, *ibid*: 392-393) study showed that DCTs allowed the testing of hypotheses as the natural conversations do not provide the adequate output. They also affirmed that certain situations are not easy to negotiate in authentic contexts like this one: *you dropped a required course last semester and find out now it won't be offered until after you graduate*, and, thus, such situations can best be captured by elicited data. In accordance with our objectives, naturally occurring data cannot be used here as it is unlikely to produce productive results, especially for sensitive acts like apologies. Cohen seems to support such a viewpoint (1996: 24):

When comparing native and non-native apologies, complaints or other complex speech acts across a variety of situations, it would be *exceedingly time-consuming* to gather natural data in all the desired categories. *It would also be virtually impossible* to control all variables that role-play and written completion tasks can build into their design — e.g., severity of the offence, familiarity/age/relative status/ sex of interlocutors, and so forth [italics added].

### **III.1.3 Role-Plays**

Role-plays can have two forms. In the first, the respondents perform a role; for instance, one bumps in another to have a genuine role-play. In the second, the most frequent, is *role-play interview*; respondents are requested to respond the way they do in real life after having read a description of a written situation (i.e. it is semi-oral) (*ibid*: 24). These two types are supposed to be semi-ethnographic (Olshtain and Blum-Kulka, 1985, *ibid*: 28), since they require the task-takers to take on roles that are not actually theirs. For Kasper and Dahl (1991), as compared with other elicitation tasks, role-plays “represent oral production, full operation of the turn-taking mechanism, impromptu planning decisions contingent on interlocutor input, and hence negotiation of global and local goals...” (p. 228, quoted in Golato 2005: 15). Like the other types of data collection, role-plays have their own flaws. According to Kasper (2000), they are motivated by the researcher’s goals rather than those of the interactants themselves; hence, they are less authentic and cannot be considered equal to

naturally occurring conversations as long as the structure of conversations is targeted (p. 228). In addition, though there is face-to-face interaction, the context of their performances is only imagined and, thus, not real (Wildner-Bassett 1989, in Golato 2005: 15). In a word, the problem with this instrument, as Golato put it, is the lack of correspondence between how a particular speech act is realised in the role-play setting and how it is actually realised in real settings (2005: 16). In comparison with role-plays, DCTs can provide the same kind of data (Beebe and Cumming, 1996). For the current study, this technique cannot be used as we did not have the chance to meet all the NSs of the TL. Most of them were reached via internet (e-mails).

#### **III.1.4 Verbal Report Interviews**

Using this technique means collecting retrospective data. It is relatively new in comparison to other methods. As regards production, respondents, after taking on a task, they have to provide insights about the production of a given speech act. A typical study of using this technique is that of Cohen and Olshtain (1993). It aims at uncovering the ways NNSs plan and execute their utterances. Having performed role-plays of six situations (apologies, complaints and requests) with NSs, respondents were, after each speech act, interviewed to obtain verbal report data about 'the cognition processes' during the production of speech acts. The role-plays were also video and audio-taped and played for the respondents when necessary as a memory aid. In an earlier work, Cohen (1996) deals thoroughly with the various IL features of NNSs gained via this study (we will mention a sample of them later).

To sum up, each method for speech act data collection has its own merits as well as its own flaws; this is why researchers are increasingly calling for using several collection methods for more reliable data (Cohen, 1996; 1998; 2005 and 2006). Despite its disadvantages, the DCT is the most appropriate one for the design of this study. It goes

without saying that when certain features are suspected to be the by-product of the instrument rather than learners' actual performance, they will be highlighted.

### III.2 Statistics

We stated earlier that in this study three sets of data are to be used (L1, TL and IL). Our aim is to prove the existence of PT in learners' production through contrasting the three sets of data so as to spot similarities and differences, following Takahashi (2000, Chapter II). In this respect, the three datasets yield three contrasts (Table 6), where 0 indicates the absence of differences and 1 indicates their existence, statistically speaking.

NL/TL	Contrasts		Types of Pragmatic Transfer
	NL/IL	TL/IL	
0	0	0	<i>Positive</i>
1	0	1	<i>Negative</i>

**Table 6: Dataset Contrasts for Pragmatic Transfer**

Given the fact that the four language groups contain unequal sample sizes, we are going to rely on the mean ( $M$ ). The mean is the technical term for *average* in statistical terms. It allows us to know what score is typical to all participants (Larson-Hall 2010: 64).

### III.3 Participants

The informants participating in this study total 116. The sample comprises four groups. The first group consists of 32 informants of Algerian native speakers of Arabic (henceforth ANSs); they are students at the Department of Letters and Arabic Language (University of Constantine I). These informants provide the NL baseline data i.e. Arabic (L1). They are aged between 21-25 years old but two, aged 29 and 34. The second group consists of 20 informants of native speakers of English, 17 Americans and 3 British (henceforth ENSs). The three British informants are officials from the British Council and the British Petroleum

company (1 and 2 respectively). Meanwhile, most of the American informants are from The University of Georgia (Athens, GA, the USA). They were reached through an old teacher via e-mails. The reason for bringing together both American and British is the fact that our informants are much exposed to and influenced by these two varieties of English. The other reason is that we are not interested in knowing what variety is more influential on learners. This group provides the TL baseline data. Unlike the first group, this group is not homogeneous in terms of age and interests of its participants; it includes graduate and post-graduate students in different specialties, teachers, company workers and administration officials. The reason behind this diversity is the fact they were almost all reached through email on different occasions (only one was contacted personally). Accordingly, this group is diverse as regards the factor of age (between 21 to 59 years old). The third group consists of 36 Algerian EFL learners aged between 18-22 years old; they are first year students at the Department of Letters and English Language (University of Constantine I). This group provides the IL baseline data and represents the low-proficiency level. These learners have been studying English, on average, for 7 years. This group of learners will be referred to as *freshmen*. The fourth group consists of 28 Algerian EFL learners aged between 21-26 years old except two who are aged 31 and 42; they are first year Master students at the same department. This group too provides IL baseline data and represents the high-proficiency level. These learners have been studying English, on average, for 11 years. This group of learners will be referred to as *seniors*.

It is noteworthy that none of the EFL learners participating in the present study has ever been in an English speaking country. It means that their exposure to English is mainly in the classroom setting. Furthermore, in all the groups, females outnumber males. This is totally by mere chance as gender is not a variable in this study.

### III.4 Instrument

DTC has been used in this study since, as already mentioned, this instrument serves our objectives. The situations used in this study (see Appendix A and B) have all been previously used in empirical published studies, which means that they have been validated as appropriate for generating adequate requests and apologies. The situations (SITUs) have been designed to test the effect of three variables for each speech act: P (Power or dominance), SD (Social Distance), R (Rank of imposition, for request) and I (degree of Infraction, for apology).

Speech Act	Situations	Brief Description	Variables		
			P(S/H)	SD	R/I
Request	1	Asking a university professor to lend a book	<i>low</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	2	Asking a salesclerk to take out a present for a closer look	<i>high</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>low</i>
	3	Asking a classmate to lend a dictionary	<i>equal</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	4	Asking help from a workmate about computer use	<i>equal</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	5	Asking a strange to help in carrying bags	<i>equal</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>high</i>
	6	Asking a classmate to lend a sum of money	<i>equal</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>high</i>
	7	Asking a stranger about the time	<i>equal</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>low</i>
Apology	8	Apologising to a university professor for forgetting a book	<i>low</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	9	Apologising to young sister for not helping in homework	<i>high</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	10	Apologising to a classmate for forgetting a novel	<i>equal</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>low</i>
	11	Apologising to a close friend for forgetting a get-together	<i>equal</i>	<i>close</i>	<i>high</i>
	12	Apologising for stepping on a lady's foot	<i>equal</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>low</i>
	13	Apologising for bags falling from a rack on a passenger	<i>equal</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>high</i>
	14	Apologising for dialling a wrong number	<i>equal</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>low</i>

**Table 7: Distribution of Variables across SITUs**

Table 7 shows how these variables are distributed across situations. Situations 1/8, 2/9 and 3/10 represent the P factor with the S being *low*, *high* and *equal* to the H respectively. Situations 4/11 and 5/12 indicate *close* and *distant* relationship between the interlocutors respectively. In situations 6/7, we focus mainly on *high/low* degree of imposition contexts; in 8/14, we focus on *high/low* degree of infraction contexts. Nevertheless, these pre-set variables

may not be perceived as such by the informants from the different groups due to cross-cultural differences. In this regard, whenever such a shift of perception is encountered, it will be highlighted.

### **III.5 Procedure**

We prepared first the English version of the DTC, and, then, we translated it into Arabic. We tried to keep the source version as functionally equivalent to the target one as possible. The Arabic version was adapted slightly so as to fit the culture and world view of the audience. As an example, we changed the setting of the movie situation from *a movie ticket queue* into *university corridor* as, we suppose, such scenario is more realistic and more likely to happen to the average Algerian participants as they are most probably unfamiliar with the *movie situation*. As for SITU 2, we replaced *Spanish dictionary* in the English version by *English dictionary* in the Arabic one as in the Department of Letters and Arabic Language students study the module of English not Spanish. The two versions' compatibility was further checked by a translation specialist (the supervisor of this research) before forwarding them to the informants.

The English version once again was written in two styles: British and American so as to suit the ENSs respondents of both varieties. Variables of the study in the English version were highlighted using *italics* to draw the informants' attention to them and written in bold in the Arabic version. We started forwarding the English version of the DTC to the respondents starting from mid-May 2011. Meanwhile the versions intended for the EFL learners and ANSs were administered late in the first semester of the 2011-2012 academic year.

As we did not have the chance to contact most of them personally, we made sure that the instructions for the ENSs were clear enough to guide them to what they had to do. As for the ANSs, we asked them to respond realistically to the situations and we recommended using



a spoken form of Arabic, but we did not impose it. We gave them the choice of the variety so as they feel at ease and produce spontaneous data. The variety used is not an obstacle to us as long as the data obtained reflected the salient features of the Algerian collectivistic culture as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon individualistic one. Though there are as many differences between the high variety (Modern Standard Arabic) and low varieties (spoken dialects) as there are between British and American varieties, there are also considerable similarities between the two sets, from the cultural standpoint as they represent the same 'system of beliefs'. In this regard, Wierzbicka asserts: "the cultural norms reflected in speech acts differ not only from one language to another, but also from one regional and social variety to another ... Nonetheless, there is also a remarkable amount of uniformity" (1991: 26). Therefore, empirical investigation of each language or social variety within both the source and target communities is highly recommended (see VI.3).

The IL baseline data was obtained from two groups of EFL learners, which represent two proficiency groups. As for measuring proficiency, we chose freshmen or students who have just joined university. The participants of this group are supposed to be less competent in controlling the language at the micro-linguistic level than seniors. Seniors are supposed to have better control over the TL in terms of linguistic proficiency as they were pursuing post-graduate studies. It has been proved that the period of formal study can be a reliable yardstick for measuring proficiency (e.g. Taguchi 2006: 517). Having two proficiency groups would allow us to know whether linguistic competence helps in better pragmatic achievement and whether it fosters PT or not. Before doing the task, we, with the help of some colleagues, adequately explained and assisted with the difficult words. We gave enough time for all informants to perform the task. As regards the task submitted on printed copies, they were all printed on a one-sided format and written with clear font size. The informants were allowed to write as much as they wanted.

Despite all that was done to guide the informants, there were some invalid responses across the four groups due to many causes. Some informants *misunderstood the situation* or what they were supposed to do and, thus, they described how they would verbally act instead of actually performing the required act. Additionally, in the dictionary situation, there is a respondent who directed the request to the teacher *instead* of the classmate; another one *perceived* the get-together (SITU 11) as a future event and not past event and, thus, produced a *refusal* instead of an apology. Though descriptions were discarded, they served as *matapragmatic* information i.e. they allowed us to access the assumptions underlying the realisation of the speech acts under investigation. Other respondents *changed the propositional content*. For instance, instead of *groceries* they used *things*. This did not, however, affect the illocutionary force of the requestive act. Furthermore, some informants *left the answer space blank*, most probably mistakenly. In the learners' performance, we spotted many grammatical and spelling mistakes. We also noticed that learners would pile out an answer and rewrite another. It indicated that they might have applied certain strategies or they were unsure about their responses. Appendix C provides a sample of selected representative responses from each group.

The informants were supposed to make 812 requests and 812 apologies. ANSs: 224 each; ENSs: 140 each; freshmen: 252 each; seniors 196 each. However, due to the cases where the answer space was left blank or a description offered in lieu of a response, requests and apologies obtained were fewer than the above statistics in each group. Concerning the valid responses, each was analysed individually applying the coding manuals discussed before. As for the Arabic responses, they will be reported by means of transliteration and/or word-for-word translation into English. Moreover, the English functional equivalent was provided when necessary.

## **Conclusion**

In the fields of CCP and ILP, researchers have developed many data collection methods. Each of them has its own merits as well as shortcomings. For instance, the DCT is time-saving and allows the accumulation of a huge amount of data, though data collected by this means lacks spontaneity in comparison to real encounters. Role-plays put learners under the pressure of face-to-face encounters, but they are guided by the researcher objectives rather than those of the learners. Naturally occurring data has the advantage of being spontaneous and authentic. Nonetheless, it is time consuming and requires the use of special equipment in order to audio- or video-tape the speech event. We have thoroughly explained why the DCT is the most appropriate method to use in the present study. Furthermore, the chapter provided a detailed description of the population, structure of the instrument, the procedure and the interpretation of statistics.

## Chapter IV

### Data Analysis: Requests

#### Introduction

The current chapter is one of two chapters devoted to the practical side of the study. Here, we are going to consider the first speech act under investigation (request). Each situation is going to be analysed individually, then the seven situations will be considered all together so as to uncover the overall propensities of the requestive behaviour across the four groups. We will focus on the strategies which guide us to the sociocultural norms governing their use in social contexts. Meanwhile, the wording of each strategy allows us to access the linguistic materials employed. Five aspects are going to be covered. These are HAs, modal verbs, request perspective, internal mitigators and SMs.

#### IV.1 Situation 1

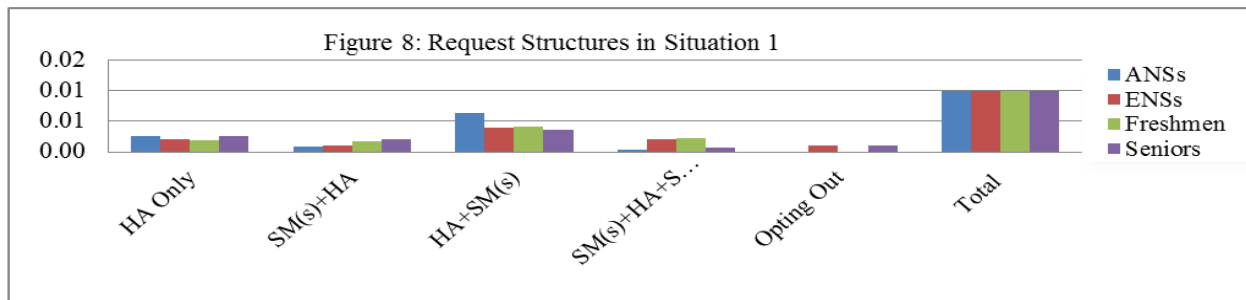
*Asking a professor to lend a book* is a situation coded as [S<H; SD=Close; R=Low].

Table 8 shows how requests have been structured by language users. The control groups seem to favour pronouncing the request first i.e. using HA only and HA+SM categories. ENSs appear to employ more elaborate requests (HA+SM+HA). This might be related to the relationship between interlocutors i.e. P-asymmetric. As for IL-users, freshmen seem to approximate the TL use, meanwhile seniors have relatively overused pre-posed requests (SM+HA) and underused elaborate ones (SM+HA+SM).

N=Number; M=Mean	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	25.00(8)	0.25	20.00(4)	0.20	19.44(7)	0.19	25.00(7)	0.25
SM(s)+HA	9.38(3)	0.09	25.00(2)	0.10	16.67(6)	0.17	21.43(6)	0.21
HA+SM(s)	62.50(20)	0.63	40.00(8)	0.40	41.67(15)	0.42	35.71(10)	0.36
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	3.13(1)	0.03	20.00(4)	0.20	22.22(8)	0.22	7.14(2)	0.07
Opting Out	0.0(0)	0.00	10.00(2)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	10.71(3)	0.11
Total	100( 32)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 8: Request Structures in Situation 1**

As for the *opting out* strategy (i.e. Not Doing the FTA), it has been opted for by ENSs and seniors. Though, in low frequency, the employment of this choice denotes that the request may be deemed socially inappropriate; this strategy has been only used by ENSs and, thus, indicates that TL displays sensitivity to social ranks. It could be said that seniors, unlike freshmen, were aware that performing the request is not always socially palatable.



All in all, the request structure provides us with a preliminary view of how the requestive act is shaped across the groups, in terms of frequency. We need to explore requests strategies used and their wording at the levels of HAs and SMs for firmer conclusions.

As displayed in Table 9, ANSs and ENSs have mostly opted for *query preparatory* and, hence, conventionally indirect requests that express *ability*, *willingness* or *permission*. This tendency towards conventionally indirect requests and, specifically *query preparatories*, is typical in English requests and it is widely reported in the literature (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Fukushima, 1996; Cenoz and Valencia, 1996; Wierzbicka, 1991, to mention but a few). In this respect, informants from both Arabic and Anglo-Saxon cultures seem to perceive P in the same way. For requesting something from a person of an authority, they have used a lower degree of imposition and the most tentative form possible. As for the preference of conventionally indirect requests, Màrquez Reiter (2000:173) explained that “in uttering a conventionally indirect request the speaker is balancing clarity and non-coerciveness, hence ensuring that his/her utterance will have the correct interpretation and the right impact, thus leading to success.” Conventionally indirect requests are also characterised by pragmatic

duality i.e. they can be interpreted as *genuine questions* or as requests (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), and thus, give the H the freedom of compliance.

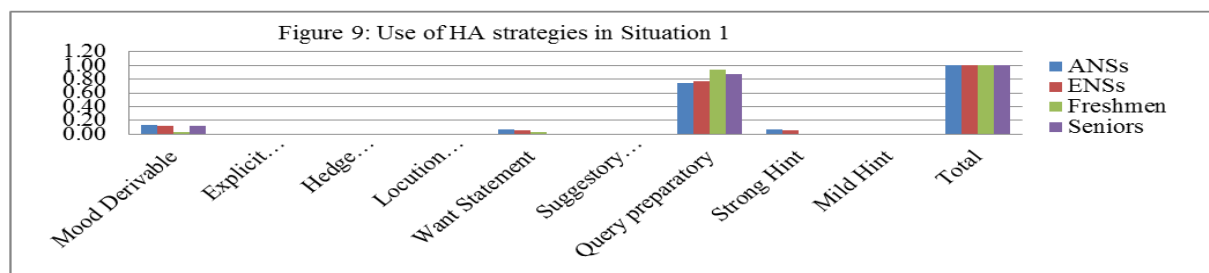
Like ENSs, learners have employed this strategy more than any other; this accords with the finding of previous studies (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Faerch and Kasper, 1989). However, they have noticeably overused it. It could be said, then, that Algerian EFL learners have resorted to avoidance strategy by employing the strategy they find accessible.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Mood derivable	12.90(4)	0.13	11.76(2)	0.12	2.78(1)	0.03	12.00(3)	0.12
Explicit performative	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Hedge performative	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Locution derivable	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Want statement	6.45(2)	0.06	5.88(1)	0.06	2.78(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
Suggestory formula	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Query preparatory	74.19(23)	0.74	76.47(12)	0.71	94.44(34)	0.94	88.00(22)	0.88
Strong hint	6.45(2)	0.06	5.88(1)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Mild hint	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(31)	1.00	100(17)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(25)	1.00

**Table 9: HA Strategies in Situation 1**

Concerning the bold on record forms (direct ones), the subjects have used both *mood derivable* and *want statement*. For *mood derivables*, they have been employed equally across three groups: ANSs, ENSs and seniors. The use of this strategy in Algerian Arabic is commonplace, as in Arabic directness is not a sign of impoliteness as is the case in English, but rather a sign of spontaneity and connectedness. It is worth noting that in TL direct forms have been internally modified by means of *openers*. Seniors have also modified them, but not necessarily in a native-like manner. As regards *want statement*, this strategy is also commonplace in Arabic (Abdul Wahid, 2003); however its use with such low frequency can be related to the employment of *hierarchical* politeness system. In English, it has been less frequent too. The wording of this semantic formula indicates that freshmen, probably, have literally translated from L1 (ANSs: *I need this book* and *I want to borrow it from you*; ENSs: *I*

was wondering using it.....I just wanted your take on it.....I would love to borrow it;  
 Freshmen: *I want to borrow it*).



ANSSs and ENSs have opted for very few Hints (strong). It is worth mentioning that the use of hints in Arabic culture is disfavoured (Alfattah and Ravindranath, 2009a), as, we assume, they suggest that the other party is not that approachable.

Another important aspect of the non-conventionally indirect requests is modality. There is divergence in Arabic and English as regards the grammatical form and the pragmatic function of modals. According to Al-Aqra' (2001), modal verbs in Arabic are employed more or less the same way in standard and colloquial Arabic. Also, English modal verbs represent degrees of formality and politeness (*will/would*, *can/could* and *may/might*). However, there is no difference between Arabic modal items from the pragmatic point of view. English past forms of modal verbs are more polite than their present counterparts and some modal verbs are more polite than others: *could* more polite than *would* (pp.7-8). Unlike English modals, Arabic ones have no past forms. This is why conditional verbal modals are often employed like *law taqdir/if you can* or *min fadhlik/if you do me a favour* (pp.53/58).

	ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
<i>Can</i>	0.00(0)	0.00	14.71(5)	0.15	30.43(7)	0.30
<i>Could</i>	17.65(3)	0.18	26.47(9)	0.26	34.78(8)	0.35
<i>Would</i>	52.94(9)	0.53	35.29(12)	0.35	21.74(5)	0.22
<i>May</i>	29.41(5)	0.29	23.53(8)	0.24	13.04(3)	0.13
Total	100(17)	1.00	100(34)	1.00	100(23)	1.00

**Table 10: Modals in Situation 1**

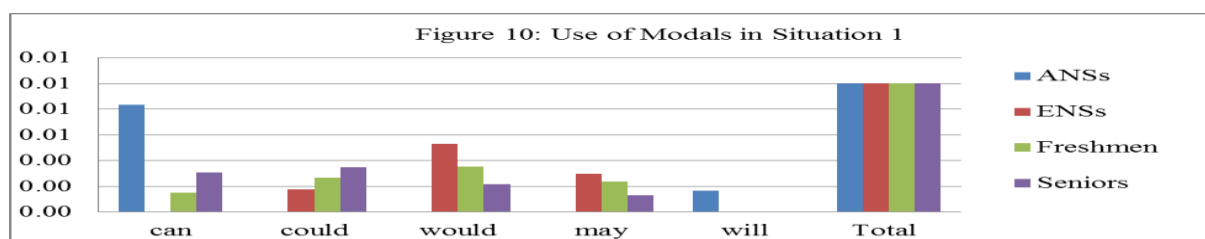
ANSSs have used *hal yumkinunii/hal bi?imkaanii ?isti3aarat/halli bisti3aarat/hal yumkinlii ?isti3aarat /hal yumkin ?an ?asta3iir = can I borrow; hal yumkinuka/hal yumkin*

/hal tastaTii3 ?an tu3iirani= can you lend me; hal tu3iirunii...? = will you lend me....?

English data has shown that *would* is perceived as the most polite modal, then *may* and *could*.

The present forms *can* and *will* have not been traced at all. This suggests that ENSs are substantially sensitive to the higher status of the requestee via selecting the most polite forms.

The so called *mind modals* (*would/do you mind*), according to the taxonomy used here, are to be discussed in internal modifications under *openers*.



As far as IL data is concerned, learners seem to favour *can* and *could*. This can be explained in the light of cross-linguistic influence as L1 often employs the ones of ability. This is consistent with the findings of Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009a) in Yemeni learners IL requests and Iraqi ones (Abdul Sattar et al., 2009). This could be an outcome of induced errors: errors that are caused by the ill-presentation of an item in textbooks (Stenson, 1974). In a previous study, we showed that Algerian secondary school textbooks tend to over-represent modals like *can* and *could*, structures like HA Only, the marker *please* and overlook categories like hints (Dendenne, 2014). Such faulty presentation can lead learners to underlearn or overlearn a given linguistic item. This holds true at least for freshmen. This might also be explained in the light of developmental reasons. For *would*, it has been underemployed in comparison with its employment by NSs. *May* has been employed by freshmen almost as frequent as in TL whereas it has been relatively underused by seniors. The utilisation of the modal *may* has not been often native-like (e.g. *may you give me your book?* when used by freshmen). So, the knowledge of an item does not necessarily mean acquisition of the skill of using it. It is also worth noting that freshmen seem to outdo seniors as regards

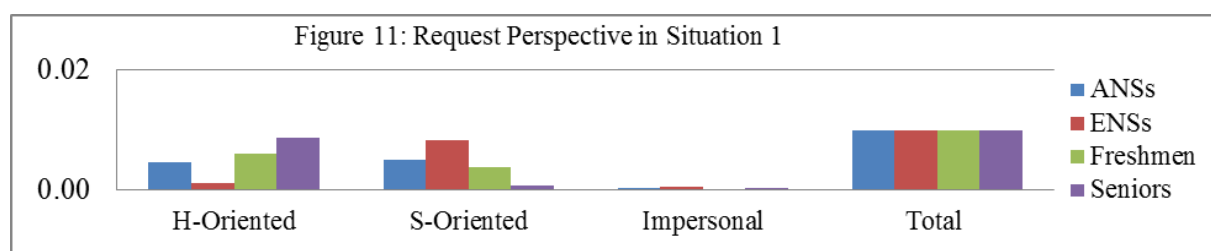


the control they exercise over these important elements for request making in TL, namely, *would* and *may*, as they have approximated TL frequencies.

Another important aspect of the requestive act is the so called request perspective. As it is displayed in Table 11 and visualised in Figure 11, Algerians have almost equally used H- and S-perspective. As compared to Algerians, Anglo-Americans have preferred S-perspective at the expense of H-oriented requests. Algerians have no problem with referring to the H as the performer of the action. Conversely, English avoids this as much as possible in such P-asymmetric encounters. These two styles reflect cultural difference. The Arabic culture emphasises the role of the H in doing the action as a sign of solidarity, involvement and spontaneity which characterise interactions in Arabic. In English, avoiding the reference to the H as the bearer of the action is a typical way to mitigate the imposition.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
H-oriented	46.88(15)	0.47	11.11(2)	0.11	61.11(22)	0.61	88.00(22)	0.88
S-oriented	50.00(16)	0.50	83.33(15)	0.83	38.89(14)	0.39	8.00(2)	0.08
Impersonal	3.13(1)	0.03	5.56(1)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00	4.00(1)	0.04
Total	100(23)	1.00	100(18)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 11: Request Perspective in Situation 1**



Learners have played it safe and opted, mostly, for H-perspective. Though learners have been inclined to using modal verbs, like ENSs, they fail to assign the right perspective to them; this appears to follow L1 orientation. This is in apposition with the findings of Trosborg (1995) and Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010). For Trosborg (1995), the increase of the S-oriented perspective is in parallel with educational level. Additionally, Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) related this to the type of the HA employed especially *query preparatory* and *want/need statements*. Therefore, the use of H-perspective in our IL

data, though *query preparatory* and *want statement* are widely employed, is to be understood as sociopragmatic transfer. It is worth mentioning that ENSs have extensively employed the verb *to borrow* with S-perspective (e.g. *I would love to borrow, may I borrow, would you mind if I borrowed...*); learners have used the verb *to borrow* in conjunction with H-perspective in lieu of the verb *to lend* (freshmen: *can you borrow me, could you borrow me, would you please borrow it to me, may I ask you to borrow...*; seniors have used *could you please borrow this book to me, please borrow me this book, if you don't mind borrow me this book*). This reflects deficiency in linguistic proficiency. In comparison with freshmen, seniors have better control over the verb *to lend* which has been, oftentimes, used appropriately. For the Impersonal-perspective, it entails the reference to a neutral agent or the use of passivation (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 203). This strategy has been used few times in three groups (ANSs: *hal yumkin an.../hal bil?imkaan.../is it possible to ....*; ENSs: *would it be possible to...*; seniors: *is it possible to....*). The learners' utterance could be, probably, a literal translation from L1. '

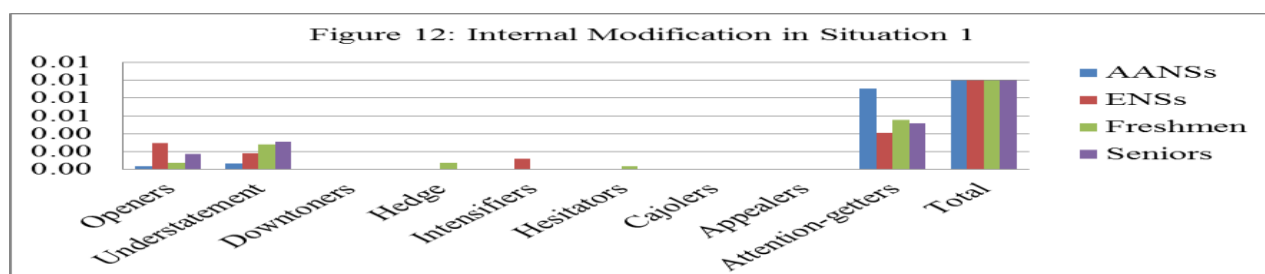
The above HA strategies need not be examined in vacuum as they have been modified internally and externally (by SMs). We presently, shed light on the different modifications employed across the four groups. All in all, ANSs have opted for more internal mitigating devices than ENSs ( $M=0.30$  vs.  $0.16$ ). Learners have also opted for a higher employment of internal mitigators ( $M=0.26$  and  $0.27$  respectively) which are lexical/phrasal in nature. This is in agreement with previous studies: Trosborg (1995), Faerch and Kasper (1989), Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) and Woodfield and Economidou—Kogetsidis (2010). For Faerch and Kasper (1989: 237), learners resort to phrasal/lexical modifiers due to the fact that they are transparent and easy to process than the syntactic ones. It should be born in mind that, unlike the coding conventions used in these studies, the taxonomy we apply here excludes *please* from lexical /phrasal modifiers and injects *attention-getters* instead. However, both

taxonomies are compatible, to a great extent, as in both learners seem to overuse one category (the politeness marker *please* and *attention-getters*).

As it is displayed in table 12, *attention-getters* are the internal modifiers extensively used across the four groups. In Arabic, we have coded and *attention-getter* any occurrence of the discourse marker *min fadhlik* in initial position in a company of an address term. Meanwhile, when it stands by itself it has been coded as equivalent of the marker *please*. Similarly, the occurrence of initial-position *please* in company of an address term in learners' production is to be considered an *attention-getter*. Learners may use *please* twice in one request, as in this example from freshmen data: *professor please, this book on table is on my research. Please, would you borrow it to me for some time?* In this case, it is the second one that we code as an SM, as the first, most probably, has been employed for attention cues.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Openers	3.13(1)	0.03	29.41(5)	0.29	6.90(2)	0.07	17.24(5)	0.17
Understatement	6.25(2)	0.06	17.65(3)	0.18	27.59(8)	0.29	31.03(9)	0.31
Downtoners	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00
Hedge	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	6.90(2)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Intensifiers	0.00(0)	0.00	11.76(2)	0.12	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Hesitators	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	3.45(1)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Cajolers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Appealers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Attention-getters	90.63(29)	0.91	41.18(7)	0.41	55.17(16)	0.57	51.72(15)	0.52
Total	100(32)	1.00	100(17)	1.00	100(29)	1.00	100(25)	1.00

**Table 12: Internal Modification in Situation 1**



In terms of content, ANNs' alerts have been, mostly, of the form *min fadhlik* + term of address: *min fadhlik (ya) ?ustaath/?ustaathii=(hey) please (my) teacher* (12 occurrences); *?ustaath min fadhlik=teacher, please* (9); *?ustaath=teacher* (3); *3afwan (ya) ?ustaath/Pardon*

*me, teacher=excuse me sir* (3); *ba3da ?ithnik/after your permission=excuse me* (1); *?ustaathii ?alkariim=my good teacher* (1). It is worth noting that the use of the possessive case is a typical way in Arabic to soften the impact of one's words on the H. As for the word *?ustaath*, it has been used as a honorific word as much as an address term. As for ENSs, they have used the title: *professor* (2); title+name: *professor Waters* (2); *excuse me (Dr)* (2) or *sir* (1). Alerts in L1 and TL seem to differ tremendously in terms of both frequency and content. In TL, requesters signal distance from the requestee. In learners' production, pragmalinguistic transfer is obviously attested; it is, mainly, extant in the form *please* followed or preceded by an address term and one instance of the possessive case. Freshmen have used *please Mr/sir/professor* (3); *sir/professor please* (4); *sir* (4); *excuse me sir/professor* (3); *sorry sir* (1) *oh sir!* (1). seniors have used *sir/ (my) professor please* (3); *please sir/teacher* (7); *excuse me* (2); *sir* (2); *oh sorry* (1). Presumably, the IL *attention-getter, oh sorry*, indicates confusion with the counterpart form *excuse me*.

Concerning *openers*, ENSs have employed more *openers* in comparison with ANSs. It is no wonder as such devices are conventionalised speech routines in TL and *consultative devices* which are more polite and considerate (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Trosborg, 1995) as far as the H authority is concerned. In terms of content, they have been of the form *would you mind....* (4 instances) and *do you mind...* (one instance). In L1, the only one used is *halla samaht/do you allow*, which is the equivalent of the above English ones. Such scarcity in L1 data may be explained by the presence of *attention-getters* which may function in Arabic as *openers* in softening the coerciveness of the request as, unlike the English alerts, they function as politeness markers. Freshmen have opted for as few openers as in L1 and seniors appear to approximate TL as regards frequency. In terms of content, on the whole, both groups have not used them in a native-like way (freshmen: *I was wondering if I can..., if you would like... may you...;* seniors: *would you mind, I will be very grateful if you would..., if you don't mind..., I*

*should be grateful...*). Probably, expressing one's appreciation of the requestee in such a way evidences that seniors are falling back on their L1, pragmalinguistically speaking.

Few *understaters* have been used in L1, as compared to TL. Learners have oversupplied them. Bardovi-Harlig (1999: 690-691) states that the use of *understaters* and *hedges* requires enough syntax to properly position them in a sentence. It is evidenced from learners' production that they have this competence as regards *understaters*. Several studies report that learners often overuse *understaters*, in addition to the politeness marker *please* (Faerch and Kasper, 1989; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010 and Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010, to mention but a few). Yet, *understaters* have not been often native-like (ANSs: *limuddah/for a period of time*; *qaliilal/for little time*; ENSs: *for a while* (3); freshmen: *for some time* (6 times), *for the weekend* (1) and *for few days* (1); seniors: *for some time* (6); *for (just) few days* (2); and *for a little time* (1). For *some time* and *a little time*, are, perhaps, outcomes of translation from L1.

*Hesitators* have only been used by freshmen (...*so maybe I thought you could borrow [lend] me ...*) and *intensifiers* by ENSs only (*terribly*). The latter category in TL is the least used as the requester is not in a position to intensify the impact of his request, but it is necessary in order to communicate effectively especially with a familiar person.

The absence of certain categories in our data (namely, *hesitators*, *cajolers* and *appealers*) could be an instrument effect as the DTC does not capture certain aspects of spoken language. Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010), likewise, interpreted the absence of *cajolers* in their data as an instrument effect (p. 97). To account for the absence of this feature in IL requests, we add another reason which is the lack of pragmalinguistic competence; these aspects are less transparent for learners in comparison with *understaters*, *openers* and the politeness marker *please*. Additionally, these discourse markers are not part of formal instruction in classroom; so, their acquisition requires exposure to TL.

Having dealt with the internal mitigators, we currently move to the external ones (SMs). External mitigators modify the illocutionary force indirectly i.e. they have no impact on the request itself, but rather on the context on which the request is embedded (Faerch and Kasper, 1989, in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 204).

ANSs, ENSs and seniors have opted for nearly the same amount of external mitigators ( $M=0.023$ ,  $0.20$  and  $0.22$  respectively); freshmen have overused them ( $M=0.35$ ). The overuse of external mitigating devices by freshmen is to be related to verbosity which is a common feature in IL performance (e.g. Jung, 2004, in apologies of Korean IL-users; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010, in requests of Jordanian IL-users). In comparison with ENSs, learners have not used fewer strategies. This is in disagreement with the findings of Schauer (2007).

As expected, *grounders* are the most used mitigators across the four groups. They are a typical type of external modifications and a basic constituent of the requestive act (Trosborg, 1995; Martinez-Flore, 2007; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010). For Faerch and Kasper (1989: 239), “the Grounder stands out as the single most frequent external modifier.” ANSs have opted for more *grounders* than ENSs; here, cross-cultural variability is evidenced. According to Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010), from a cultural standpoint, a university professor in an Arab society is one who has gained much academic knowledge and, hence, occupies a high position in the social and academic hierarchy. ANSs have frequently been inclined to employing *grounders* so as to convince the professor about the importance of the object requested. However, such tendency in English requests might be perceived as wordiness and violation of quantity maxim. Learners, mainly seniors, have controlled the amount of *grounders* respective to TL. The reason is that *grounders* are acquired quite early and they do not need idiomatic (native-like) forms; all they need is a formation of simple clauses (Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010:99). Additionally, they are syntactically less demanding and pragmalinguistically less complex (Hassall 2001: 274). We would further argue that the relative easiness in using this SM may

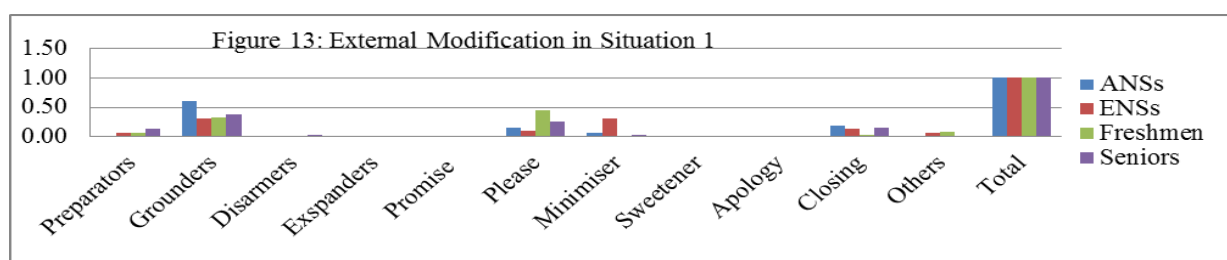
be related to translation from L1 as this feature is quite common in L1 too. *Please* has been used across the four groups with varied frequencies. In Arabic, the following markers *min fadhlik*, *rajaʔan* and *?arjuuka* have been coded as equivalents of *please*. In both languages these markers are freely usable with any interlocutor; so, using them when interacting with a professor may not be an apt choice.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	0.00(0)	0.00	6.90(2)	0.07	5.33(3)	0.06	12.90(4)	0.13
Grounders	60.61(20)	0.61	31.03(9)	0.31	33.33(17)	0.33	38.71(12)	0.39
Disarmers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	3.13(1)	0.03
Expanders	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Promise	00.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Please	15.15(5)	0.15	10.34(3)	0.10	45.10(23)	0.45	25.81(8)	0.26
Minimisers	6.06(2)	0.06	31.03(9)	0.31	0.00(0)	0.00	3.23(1)	0.03
Sweeteners	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	1.96(1)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	1.96(1)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00
Closings	11.76(6)	0.18	13.73(4)	0.14	3.92(2)	0.04	16.13(5)	0.16
Others	0.00(0)	0.00	6.90(2)	0.07	7.84(4)	0.08	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(33)	1.00	100 (29)	1.00	100(51)	1.00	100(32)	1.00

**Table 13: External Modification in Situation 1**

The overuse of this politeness marker in learners' data is widely reported in ILP literature; studies mentioned above, but Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010), all reported this trend. An explanation of this is found in Faerch and Kasper (1989). According to them, it is the nature of this marker which can be both an illocutionary force signal and a transparent mitigator that adds a directive force to utterances, mainly requests. Another reason is the fact that the other alternatives i.e. downtoners like *perhaps*, *possibly* etc. are not always accessible to learners as they require a pragmalinguistic competence; this is why learners avoid the latter choices at the expense of the former. The oversuppliance of an item in compensation of lack of pragmatic knowledge has been labelled *gushing* and *waffling* phenomena by House (1988) and Edmondson and House (1991) respectively. The overuse of a particular item might also be considered an instrument-effect, because performing in writing as if speaking, as opposed to face-to-face interactions, gives learners the opportunity to

oversupply a given strategy (Bergman and Kasper, 1993). As mentioned earlier, IL-users have sub-consciously used *please* twice in one request, once at the beginning and once in medial or final position. These examples bear witness: *excuse me sir, with all my respect to you, would you please borrow me the book of yours for two days till I finish my research and I will [give] it back to you, please* (freshmen); *I beg your pardon sir, please can you lend me this book; it is very important one that will help me in my research, please?* (seniors). The function of the first *please* (alert), we suggest, is transferred from L1; the second is TL-proper. Another reason why this politeness marker is used with such high frequency, especially by freshmen, is the fact that it is, probably, over-learned. We have already referred in a previous paper to this showing that the overuse of this marker in Algerian ELT secondary school textbooks is commonplace (Dendenne, 2014).



Closing is another SM that has been attested, with different frequencies, across the four groups. ANSs and ENSs have employed this SM with almost the same frequency. As regards variety, ANSs have used considirators (*law takaramt=if you are generous; law samaht=if you allow (me); ?in istaTa3t=if you can*), supplications (...*wa baraka lahu fiik=...and may God bless you*), thanking expression (*shukran=thank you*) and thanking in conjunction with supplication (*shukran jaziilan wa baaraka lahu fiik=thanks very much and may God bless you*). ENSs have used a considirator (*would that be okay? When you need it back?*), thanking (*thank you; thank you again*) and appreciator (*I would appreciate being allowed to use this resource*). It is obvious that the difference between the two cultures lies in the use of religious expressions in Arabic emphasising notions of generosity and cooperation which are highly valued in the Arab and Islamic society. Seemingly, these closing moves in



Arabic are directed to the requester (e.g. praying for God to bless him); however, the English ones are phrased around the propositional content (e.g. appreciating the potential compliance with the request). This last proviso cannot yet be considered conclusive at this stage.

As far as learner production is concerned, seniors have opted for more *closings* than freshmen. From the freshmen's data, we have a considerator (*if it does not embarrass you*) and an appreciator (*it will be very kind of you*). From the seniors' data, we have appreciators (*and I will be thankful; I will be very grateful to you sir; it will be very nice if you allow me to borrow it from you...*); and the considerator (*if you don't need it*). Probably, the linguistic structure of some of these moves implies word-for-word translation from L1.

*Preparators* are not attested in the Arabic data. A possible explanation lies in the use of *attention-getters*. We would argue that the extensive use of *attention-getters* makes it unnecessary to resort to *preparators*, because they are usually accompanied by address terms and honorifics which give them politeness weight. Seniors have slightly opted for more *preparators* than NSs, and freshmen have used them, more or less, with the same frequency. As far as variety is concerned, ENSs have used, *this book is relevant to my research..., is it yours?; I've recently been searching ...and I notice that you have this book here*. Freshmen have used *I think I need your help in my research, I saw that you have the book which can help me; I am doing a research about this book; may I check this book?* Seniors have used *I need your book; can you do me a favour? I would like to ask your favour*.

*Minimisers* (or *imposition minimisers*) have been employed in the three groups (except for the freshmen). Statistically, ENSs have opted for more of these than ANSs and seniors; the latter have approximated L1. That is, the Anglo-Americans tend to use devices indicating independence politeness system (Scollon and Scollon, 2001) or negative politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which is characterised by threat minimisation. In terms of type, *minimisers* in all groups have emphasised giving the book back as soon as possible and taking good care of it: ENSs (e.g. *I'll return it to you as soon as possible; I will take good care of it*

and return it as soon as possible); ANSs (*I'll be cautious that not to damage it; I'll give it back as soon as possible if God wills*); seniors (*I will give it back the moment I finish with it*). On the whole, the content of this strategy seems to be identical across the three groups, so the use of this strategy in IL could be related to positive transfer, though the frequency of this strategy across the three groups is not high enough to indicate that with certainty. It has been noted that Algerians refer to *God's will* when mentioning future events because, in the Islamic tradition, it is believed that nothing happens unless God wills.

*Disarmers* have been found once in the seniors' corpus (*excuse me sir, I should not say that*). As for *sweeteners*, we have come across only one instance in the freshmen corpus (*sir, you are a professional professor, so I need your help*); the use of such an expression in TL may be perceived as flattery and hypocrisy especially in +P relationship. *Apology* has been used once by freshmen (*sorry sir about my going out of the subject*).

*Others* category includes certain strategies like *small talk* (ENSs: *thank you for taking time to talk to me; freshmen: with all my respect to you*), in addition to other utterances from the freshmen's corpus (*So could I take it with me; I like it very much; this is really interesting book.*). Obviously, such utterances which express the admiration of the object requested are much L1-like in nature and, thus, may sound unnatural in TL.

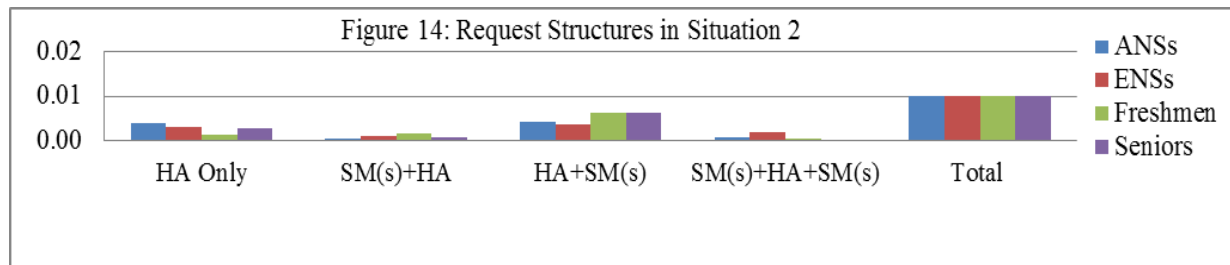
## IV.2 Situation 2

*Asking a salesclerk to take out a present for a closer look* is a situation coded as [S>H; SD=Distant; R=Low]. Table 14 shows the request structures used.

Structures	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	40.63(13)	0.41	31.58(6)	0.32	14.29(5)	0.14	29.63(8)	0.30
SM(s)+HA	6.25(2)	0.06	10.53(2)	0.11	17.14(6)	0.17	7.41(2)	0.07
HA+SM(s)	43.75(14)	0.44	36.84(7)	0.37	62.86(22)	0.63	62.96(17)	0.63
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	9.38(3)	0.09	21.05(4)	0.21	5.71(2)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(32)	1.00	100(19)	1.00	100(35)	1.00	100(27)	1.00

**Table 14: Request Structures in Situation 2**

Statistics from the above table indicate that in Arabic and English the patterns HA Only and HA+SM have been the dominant ones. The two languages have opted for directly pronouncing the requests, then modifying them. ENSs have employed relatively more pre-posed requests (i.e. SM+HA and SM+HA+SM).



As far as IL data are concerned, both freshmen and seniors overused the pattern HA+SM in comparison with the control groups. Moreover, both learner groups have failed to capture the need for more elaborate requests of the form SM+HA+SM.

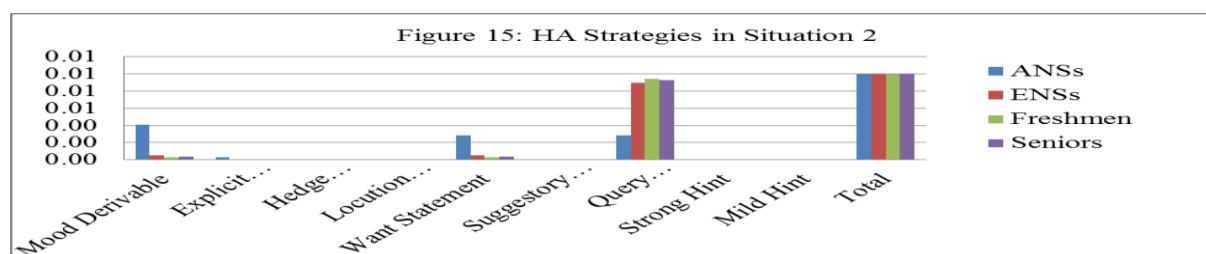
As for the types of HAs employed, Table 15 demonstrates that ANSs have shifted towards direct forms: *mood derivable* (e.g. *?a3Tiinii haathihi./give me this; ?akhrij haathihi/take this out; ?akhrijli haathihi/get this out for me*), *explicit performative* (*?aTlubu minka ?ikhraaj haathihi/I ask you to get this out*) and *want statement* (*?uriidu ru?yat/?uriidu ?an?ara=I want to see*) in comparison with SITU 1. In such informal setting, ANSs have freely employed direct forms and appear less considerate than in SITU 1. The bare imperatives used by this group have not been often internally modified, unlike their employment in English data. Nevertheless, it should be pointed that there is no inherent impoliteness in direct forms in Arabic culture. *Query preparatory* (conventional indirectness) strategy has also been maintained to a certain degree and, in terms of type, it was expressed by the same linguistic forms mentioned in SITU 1 (modals). As for ENSs, they seem to stick to the *query preparatory*. This is in agreement with the findings of Faerch and Kasper (1989) stating that learners vary their strategies across situations; However, NSs stick to *query preparatory*. Learners have also relied heavily on *query preparatories* and have relatively overused them. It means that Algerian EFL learners have immunity against transferring HAs

used in L1 requests. The reason beyond that lies in the fact that forms used for realising this category (i.e. *modal verbs*) are overlearnt, as already pointed out.

Turning to modality, ENSs have used *can* ( $M=0.17$ ), *could* ( $M=0.17$ ), *would* ( $M=0.11$ ) and *may* ( $M=0.56$ ). Freshmen have used *can* ( $M=0.38$ ), *could* ( $M=0.34$ ), *would* ( $M=0.07$ ), *may* ( $M=0.10$ ), *shall* ( $M=0.07$ ) and *do* ( $M=0.03$ ). Seniors have used *can* ( $M=0.38$ ), *could* ( $M=0.038$ ), *would* ( $M=0.21$ ) and *shall* ( $M=0.04$ ). We have noted the injection of *can* by ENSs in the present scenario. Additionally, *may* has been underused by freshmen and avoided by seniors. *Can* and *could* have been employed most by learners, like in SITU1. Turning to proficiency, this factor does not seem to help in proper employment of these linguistic items; however, the less proficient ones, freshmen, have employed the modal item *may* in a relatively native-like manner (ENSs: *may I see that item?*, *may I have a closer look?*, *may I look at that?*; freshmen: *may I have a close look to that?*, *may I take a close look?*).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Mood derivable	40.63(13)	0.41	5.00(1)	0.05	2.78(1)	0.03	3.57(1)	0.04
Explicit performative	3.13(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Hedge performative	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Locution derivable	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Want statement	28.13(9)	0.28	5.00(1)	0.05	2.78(1)	0.03	3.57(1)	0.04
Suggestory formula	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Query preparatory	28.13(9)	0.28	90.00(18)	0.90	94.44(34)	0.94	92.86(26)	0.93
Strong hint	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Mild hint	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(32)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 15: Use of HA Strategies in Situation 2**



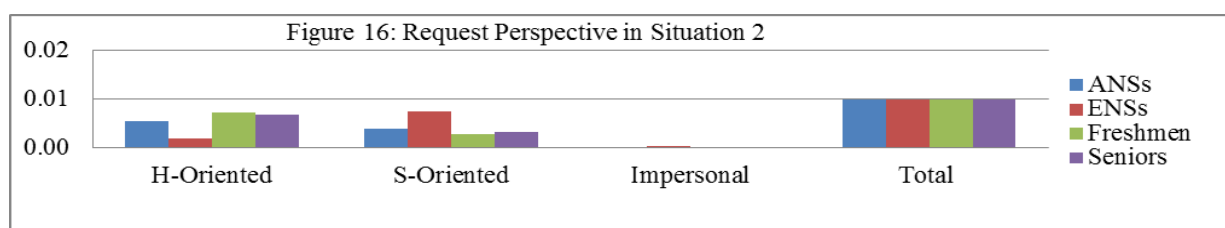
The employment of requests in such a way has a direct impact on another aspect which is perspective. As displayed in Table 16, ANSs opted more frequently for H-perspective which is motivated by the preponderance of HA types that introduce this

perspective (i.e. *mood derivable* and *explicit performative*). Conversely, ENSs have employed S-perspective respective to the employment of *query preparatory* in HAs. That is, they have avoided reference to H as the performer of the request so as to soften the imposition (Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1987: 158).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
H-oriented	56.25(18)	0.56	20.00(4)	0.20	72.22(26)	0.72	67.86(19)	0.68
S-oriented	40.63(13)	0.41	75.00(15)	0.75	27.78(10)	0.28	32.14(9)	0.32
Impersonal	3.13(1)	0.03	5.00(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(32)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 16: Request Perspective in Situation 2**

This trend may be related to the factor of SD as Anglo-Americans conventionally maintain a degree of politeness with strangers. Like in the previous scenario, Algerians appear to strike a balance between the two main perspectives with a relative preference of the H-oriented requests.



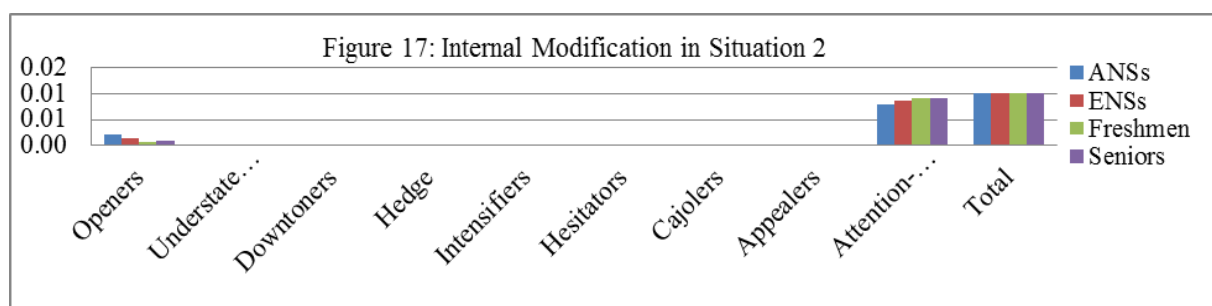
As for learners, though they have acquired *query preparatory* and *want statement* categories, the H-perspective is the dominant in their requests. This is in disagreement with Trosborg (1995), Ellis (1997) and Woodfield and Economidou—Kogetsidis (2010). Ellis (1997: 186) concluded that the acquisition of these two HA strategies strongly evidences the increase of S-perspective in learners' production. Similarly, Economidou—Kogetsidis (2010: 104) explained the predominance of S-perspective in their IL data, in part, by the employment of these HAs. Obviously, these statistics suggest that learners have transferred this tendency from L1 to IL. That is, they have marked their requests by a degree of involvement and spontaneity inspired by the L1 culture's norms. The Impersonal-perspective has been attested in the control groups, one instance each, while the Joint-perspective has been absent. The

study of Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) reported scarcity of the Impersonal-perspective in learners' data and extensive reliance on Impersonal-perspective by NSs while Joint-perspective was evident in only one token. The absence of these two types of request perspective in learner requests is explained in the light of the overuse of S- and H-perspective.

Table 17 displays the internal mitigators used across the four groups. Obviously, fewer internal mitigators have been employed in the present situation in comparison with SITU 1; only *openers* and *attention-getters* have been used. This suggests, in Schauer's (2007) words, 'a shared assessment of the usefulness' (p. 211) of these strategies in the present scenario.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Openers	21.43(6)	0.21	14(1)	0.14	7.69(1)	0.08	10.00(1)	0.10
Attention-getters	78.57(22)	0.79	85.71(6)	0.86	92.31(12)	0.92	90.00(9)	0.90
Total	100(28)	1.00	100(7)	1.00	100(13)	1.00	100(10)	1.00

**Table 17: Internal Modification in Situation 2**



*Attention-getters* are still the dominant strategy. For Schauer (2007), alerts and *grounders* are widely used as they are core elements in requests. Additionally, alerts have received less attention in the preceding studies; Schauer related this to the coding manuals employed that cease considering it as an SM (2007: 208). In Arabic data, *min fadhlik/it will be generous of you/if you can do it as a favour=please* and *law samaht/if you forgive me=excuse me* are the most employed. The marker *min fadhlik* has been, in most instances, positioned sentence-initial (15 instances vs. 5 instances in middle or final position). Due to this tendency and the fact that the context really requires an *attention-getter* (i.e. it is very common that salesclerks may not pay attention to customers), we have coded initial instances

of *min fadhlik* as *attention-getters*. Yet, these markers remain always indicator of politeness. Abdul Wahid stated that *law samaht* and *min fadhlik* are used at the *beginning* to make requests polite. It is noteworthy that address terms are relied on heavily in Arabic requests compared to English ones. Alaoui (2011) observes this tendency in Moroccan Arabic as well. According to her, while modals and questions are favoured in English politeness, in Moroccan Arabic address terms and politeness markers are favoured.

Algerians have used these items to get the attention of their interlocutor *law samaht=excuse me; law samaht sayyidii/if you allow (my) sir; min fadhlik=please; ya ?akhii min fadhlik/hey/my brother please; min fadhlik (ya) akhii/please (hey) my brother; (ya) ?akhii=(hey) my brother; ya ?akh= hey brother; ?astasmihuka [3uthran] sayyidii=I beg your pardon sir; 3ami=my (paternal) uncle.*

We have noticed the heavy use of kinship terms (*brother* and *uncle*). Maalej (2010) tackled ways of addressing non-acquaintances in Tunisian Arabic and, it seems that the conclusions he reached are identical to Standard Arabic, as well as the neighbouring Algerian Arabic. For him (2010: 147), the employment of address terms between non-acquaintances (people who have never met one another before) is not only driven by rank and politeness, as we have been arguing, but also by an attempt to create familiarity and minimise SD with the addressee. He further explains:

[P]ragmatic minimisation of distance is not noticed when TofA [terms of address] are used between acquaintances. Speakers of TA[Tunisian Arabic] inject kinship-related terms in their address to non-acquaintances in view of creating rapprochement between the speaker as a deictic center and the addressee in the periphery (ibid: 147).

As for form, terms of address usually include the vocative *ya (hey)* + kinship-term (like *brother*) + possessive; they may also be accompanied by invocation of divine care like *y3ayysshak=may God make you live long*. Such address terms are typically used with family

members and close relatives. This kinship system is imaginatively or metaphorically extended for addressing non-acquaintances. In the context of speech acts, Maalej (2010) adds that terms of address are central parts that pave the way, through invocation for the well-being of the other and minimisation of SD, to ‘an act of human communication’ (ibid: 150-171); in our case, this act of human communication is the request. In this respect, the actual kinship system (for acquaintances) and that for non-acquaintances are to be perceived as a continuum than as separate (ibid: 171).

Turning to our data, ENSs have used the following *hello*, *hi* and *excuse me*. Note that the Arabic *attention-getters* are more considerate, indicators of group membership (like *my brother*) and of high politeness weight (like *my uncle*, which is used if the male interlocutor is advanced in age). The function of English ones, by contrast, seems to be limited to getting the H’s attention. In learners’ production, the following expressions have been in use: freshmen (*sir please*, *gentleman*, *please sir*, *hey brother*, *please*, *excuse me sir* and *hi sir*); seniors (*please*, *hey please*, *sir please*, *please sir*, *please* and *excuse me*). Once again, *please* has been used for getting the H’s attention in both learner groups; this less frequent function of *please* in TL is, probably, an outcome of pragmalinguistic transfer. Note also the use of the kinship term *brother*.

*Openers* have been most used in the Arabic data. It is worth highlighting that *openers* have been used in half of the instances in the absence of *attention-getters*. This partially supports the claim that the use of *openers* may be limited in the presence of *attention-getters*. They have been all of the form *halla* like in *halla ?a3Taytanii= would you mind giving me*. This form does not have a literal equivalent in English; so, it is unlikely to be transferred to learners’ IL. ENSs, freshmen and seniors have used only one *opener* each: *would you mind+verb-ing* (ENS), *I was wandering if you+v* (freshmen), *would you mind if you+v* (seniors). Here, IL users have, to a large extent, controlled this mitigator.



Several mitigators have not been employed. The absence of *understaters* is related to the nature of the situation. As for *downtoners* and *hedges*, in this situation language users have estimated that *please* is an adequate softener. As for the absence of fillers, again, it has been interpreted as an instrument-effect.

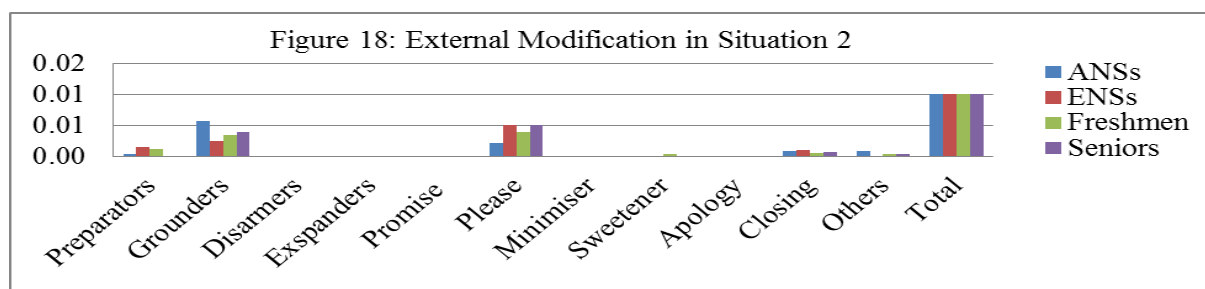
Having dealt with internal mitigators, we move to external mitigating devices. The control groups seem to use almost an equal amount ( $M=0.19$  vs.  $0.17$ ) while learners, especially freshmen, tend to overuse them ( $0.41$  and  $0.23$  respectively). Like in the previous scenario, this could be related to verbosity. As can be observed from Table 18, *grounders* and the politeness marker *please* are the most used.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	4.35(1)	0.04	15.00(3)	0.15	12.00(5)	0.12	0.00(0)	0.00
Grounders	56.52(13)	0.57	25.00(5)	0.25	34.00(17)	0.34	39.29(11)	0.39
Disarmers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Expanders	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Promise	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Please	21.74(5)	0.22	50.00(10)	0.50	40.00(20)	0.40	50.00(14)	0.50
Minimisers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Sweeteners	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.00(2)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Closings	8.70(2)	0.09	10.00(2)	0.10	6.00(3)	0.06	7.14(2)	0.07
Others	8.70(2)	0.09	0.00(0)	0.00	4.00(2)	0.04	3.57(1)	0.04
Total	100(23)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(50)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 18: External Modification in Situation 2**

As regards the former mitigator, its wide employment can be an outcome of the instrument, as in describing the scenario in the DCT, respondents are provided with the reason. ANSs have been more inclined to using this strategy than ENSs. Learners have approximated the ENSs in terms of frequency. Turning to variety, the reasons employed have been almost identical across the four groups (e.g. ANSs: *to see it from a near distance; it pleases me*; ENSs: *I am shopping for a gift for a friend. I'd really like to take a closer look at this ring*). IL-users have used, for example, *I have a birthday of a friend of mine, but I didn't*

buy a gift; so can I have a closer look? (freshmen); I can't see it clearly; I want to take a closer look at this gift (seniors).



*Please* has been the second most used external mitigator. In Arabic, it is the equivalent of *min fadhlik* and *law samaht*, occurring in medial or final positions. There is slight increase in using this mitigator in comparison with SITU 1. Such modifiers in Arabic, according to Abdul Wahid (2003), in addition to others like *allah yardha 3aliik/May God be pleased with you*, *allah yahfdhak/May God preserve you* and *allah ykhalik/May God keep you healthy*, all resemble *please* since all of them are ‘freely usable’ to any kind of interlocutor. These mitigators are widely used across the different varieties of Arabic. In Algerian Arabic, there are some like *rabbi y3aychak/May God keep you alive*, *t3iich/you may live long*, *rabbi yustrak/May God protect you* and so forth. In English, *please* is more frequently used than in the Arabic data and SITU 1. This indicates that speakers are sensitive to the reverse in P-balance as well as the setting. Disregarding the instances that have been coded as *attention-getters*, freshmen have used *please* almost as frequently as in the NSs’ production while, seniors have approximated the native frequency. They have positioned it, in a native-like manner, in medial and final positions. This relative success is explained by the transparency of this marker that can be flexibly placed ‘extrasententially’ and, hence is, syntactically, less demanding of psychological planning potential (Faerch and Kasper, 1989).

*Preparators* have been more supplied in the English data than in the Arabic data. In TL, they are speech routines, while in L1 culture they are not as important, we assume, in the presence of *attention-getters* (e.g. ENSs: *can you help me? I am interested in something in this display case* and *I noticed this item*; ANSs: *I want to see this*). Turning to IL corpus, only

freshmen have utilised *preparators* (e.g. *I'm interested in this T-shirt; I wonder if that ring is made of gold; I'm looking for something for the birthday of my friend*). All in all, learners have approximated ENSs' performance, except for the fact that in the latter group they have shaped their *preparators* around the verb *to be interested* while the former have opted for the verb *to like*.

As far as *closings* are concerned, Algerians and Anglo-Americans have opted for, nearly, the same amount. ANSs have used thanking expression: *shukran=thank you* and a considerator: *if you can*. ENSs have employed thanking expression twice: *thanks*. As for learners, they have opted for confirmation: *I think it's what I am looking for; oh! It's a very, nice gift how much is it?* Thanking expressions: *thank you* (freshmen); appreciator: *I really appreciate your time*; considerator: *if you don't mind of course* (seniors).

*Other* strategies have been attested. ANSs have used expression of relief *oh' I've found what I've been looking for* and, as a *small talk*, and the Islamic greeting *?assalamu 3alaikom wa rahmatul lahi wa barakatuh/may God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you*. In such encounters, buyer-seller, it may also function as an *intention-getter* than a greeting. Freshmen have used *small talk* twice: *good morning* and seniors have used it once.

*Sweeteners* have been only attested in freshmen data (*everything is interesting in your display case* and *I really like that display case*). In TL, such expression may sound fake and unnatural. Though not attested in the Arabic data, they are likely to be a negative transfer from the mother culture as Arabic expresses emotions overtly through assertion and exaggeration (Suleiman 1974, in Lim 2003: 64).

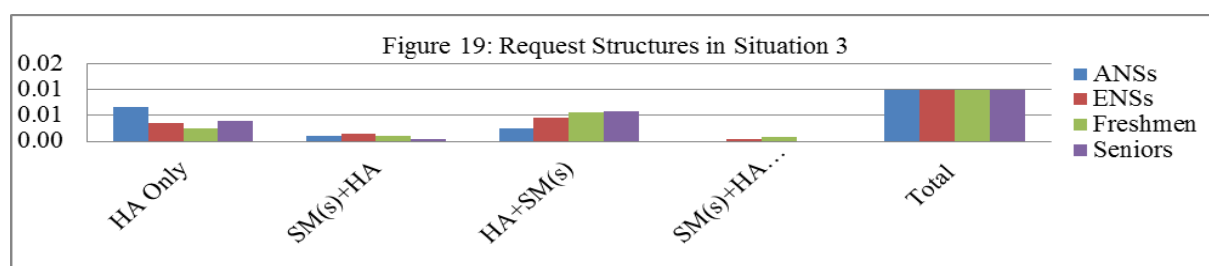
### IV.3 Situation 3

*Asking a classmate for lending a dictionary* is a situation coded as follows: [S=H; SD=Close; R=Low]. Across the four groups, the requestive act has been shaped as indicated in Table 19. Noticeably, in Arabic, the HA Only structure has been more frequent than in the

previous situation. This can best be explained by the close relationship between interlocutors. The structure HA+SM as the second most used one evidences more concern about the propositional content than with modification. As for ENSs, the category HA+SM has been the dominant one. In one third of the cases, the request has been realised by the minimum unit only (HA only). Being close to the H has probably contributed in the comparative easiness in approaching the interlocutor. Turning to IL-users, HA+SM structure is the dominant in both groups, then HA Only one. All in all, they seem to approximate ENSs performance quantitatively.

Structures	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	65.52(19)	0.66	35.00(7)	0.35	25.00(9)	0.25	38.46(10)	0.38
SM(s)+HA	10.34(3)	0.10	15.00(3)	0.15	11.11(4)	0.11	3.85(1)	0.04
HA+SM(s)	24.14(7)	0.24	45.00(9)	0.45	55.56(20)	0.56	57.69(15)	0.58
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	0.00(0)	0.00	5.00(1)	0.05	8.33(3)	0.08	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(29)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 19: Request Structures in Situation 3**



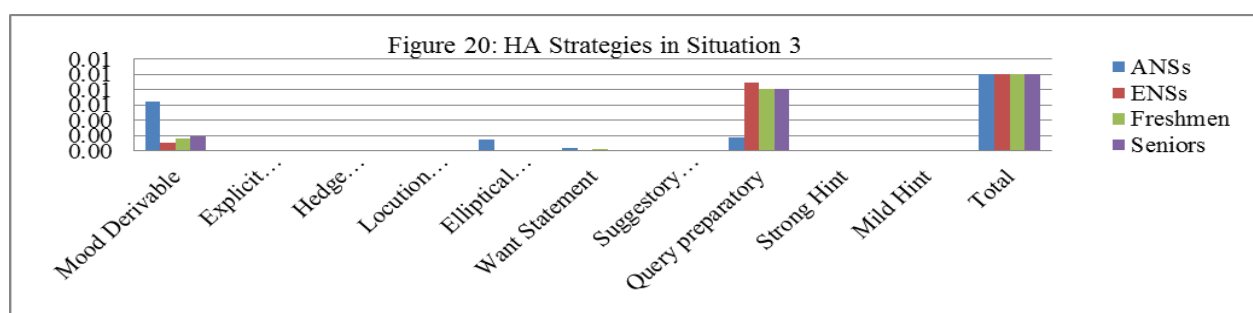
The structure of request only captures the phenomenon on its totality. When the varieties of HAs and modifications will be explored, the above conclusions may either be confirmed or deemed limited.

By way of summary, Table 20 shows the types of HAs used. In L1, it has been expected that direct forms dominate. Bare imperatives (*e.g. ?a3Tiini/give me; ?a3irni/lend me*) are the most used. Direct requests need not be interpreted as signs of impoliteness, as is the case in English (Wierzbicka 1991), since among close interlocutors the indirect forms are the ones which are rather uncommon. Abdul Wahid (2003) observes that imperatives are favoured between friends as using interrogatives between friends can be offensive (p.33),

though classmates are not as close as friends in the Arabic culture, relationship between classmates may be, in certain contexts, perceived as a relationship of camaraderie. This is also in line with the findings of Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009b: 37) suggesting that conventional indirectness is not dominant in all requests in Yemeni Arabic. It is also noticed that in the Arabic data *elliptical phrases* (i.e. a requests that lack performative verbs which can be predicted from the co-text/context) can be used like *qamuusak/[give me] your dictionary; alqamuus min fhadlik=[give me] the dictionary, please*. In English, such requests can be perceived as very rude. *Want statement* has been used once and worded like in previous scenarios. In Japanese, another collectivistic culture, as it is reported by Fukushima (1996: 686), speakers tend to be more direct when interacting with in-group members (like friends) as a sign of solidarity which is highly valued in the Japanese culture. Accordingly, positive politeness and going bold-on-record strategies have been opted for. Nevertheless, indirect requests have been employed too by Arab speakers; *Query preparatories* have been opted for as the second choice. ENSs have stuck to *query preparatories* and only two instances of internally-modified *mood derivables* have been used.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Mood derivable	64.29(18)	0.64	10.00(2)	0.10	16.67(6)	0.17	19.23(5)	0.19
Elliptical phrase	14.29(4)	0.14	0.0(0)	0.00	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	0.00
Want statement	3.57(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	2.87(1)	.03	0.00(0)	0.00
Query preparatory	17.86(5)	0.18	90.00(18)	0.90	90.63(29)	0.81	80.77(21)	0.81
Total	100(28)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 20: HA Strategies in Situation 3**



As far as IL requests are concerned, they have successfully maintained *query preparatories* as the dominant, but they have failed to note that the *mood derivable* strategy,

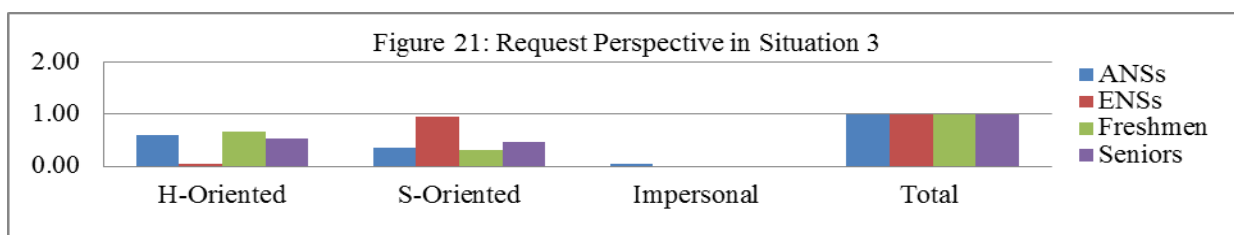
unless it is modified, is deemed inappropriate. Accordingly, they have employed bare imperatives under the influence of L1 and, perhaps, *want statements* as well. There is an increase in using the *mood drivable* strategy as compared with SITU 2 ( $M=0.17/0.05$  and  $0.19/0.04$  respectively), since they share a close relationship with the H. This may sound to speakers of English aggressive and less tentative. It is always assumed that *query preparatories* are extensively employed by learners as they are realised by transparent well-learnt linguistic elements.

As for modals, ENSs have employed *may* ( $M=0.55$ ), *can* ( $M=0.30$ ), *could* ( $M=0.05$ ) and *would* ( $M=0.10$ ). Freshmen have used *may* ( $M=0.14$ ), *can* ( $M=0.46$ ), *could* ( $M=0.25$ ), *would* ( $M=0.11$ ) and *shall* ( $M=0.04$ ). Seniors have employed *can* ( $M=0.71$ ), *could* ( $M=0.19$ ) and *may* ( $M=0.10$ ). Obviously, the less polite modal *can* has been increased, by half, in the English data, in comparison with SITU 2; *may* has been the dominant one. Learners seem to overuse *can* and *could* and less frequently employ *would* and *may*. A reason behind that is again the fact that learners are using forms they have learnt well or the ones inspired by L1. This conclusion is in line with that of Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009a) who stated that Yemeni learners tend to use *can* and *could* more than *may* and *would*. The authors related this to transfer since L1 does not differentiate pragmatically between modal items.

Table 21 demonstrates the four groups' behaviour regarding the employment of request perspective.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
H-oriented	60.71(17)	0.61	5.00(1)	0.05	66.67(24)	0.67	53.85(14)	0.54
S-oriented	35.71(10)	0.36	95.00(19)	0.95	30.56(11)	0.31	46.15(12)	0.46
Impersonal	3.57(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(28)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 21: Request Perspective in Situation 3**



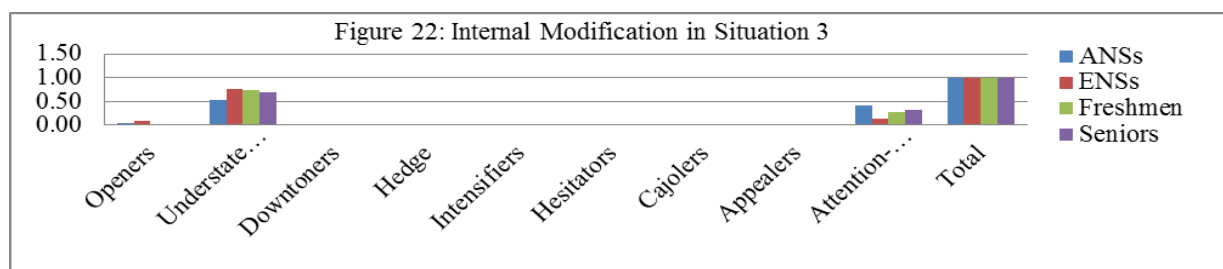
As it is clearly shown, ANSs are again in favour of H-oriented requests; the ones that demonstrate solidarity and spontaneity driven by the Arabic collectivistic culture as well as the close relation between S and H. Comparing this to SITU 2, the increase in H-perspective has been evidenced. On the other hand, in English, S-perspective is always favoured. That is emphasising the H's autonomy i.e. freedom of action and freedom from imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987). H-perspective has been hardly ever used and the Impersonal-perspective has been totally absent. Sociopragmatic transfer is clearly evidenced in learners' production. Though, like ENSs, they have used *query preparatories* oftentimes, they have failed to assign the right perspective to them. The use of *mood derivable* has also contributed in the dominance of H-oriented requests. Deviations have been noticed in the employment of certain modals, which reflect a limited linguistic proficiency (e.g. *may you borrow me your dictionary...?; shall you borrow me your dictionary...?; if you could please give me your dictionary*). Note, further, that these examples, from freshmen, show the inability to differentiate between the verbs *to borrow* and *to lend*. As compared with freshmen, seniors seem to outdo freshmen in that they have utilised more S-oriented requests and exercised more control over modals.

Turning to mitigating moves, Table 22 displays the internal mitigators displayed by the informants. *Understaters* are the internal mitigators that have been mostly employed across the four groups, because they are situation-specific. Concerning variety, ANSs have mostly used *lilahdha(faqaT)/for a moment (only); lilahdha wahida (faqaT)/for one moment (only); lidaqiiqa/ for a minute*. A word of caution needs to be said here; an *understater* in Arabic may replace the core request itself. In cases where the S is confident that his request

will be granted, he may opt for such short *elliptical* requests (*just a moment Ahmed*). In a scenario like this one, he may even spell the request out while he is already halfway stretching his hand to get the dictionary. ENSs have used *for a moment, for (just) a second (sec)*. Freshmen have mostly used *for (just) a moment, for five (few) minutes, some a little bit*. Seniors have mostly used *for (one/just) a moment, for a while, for a second and for little time*. To a certain degree, learners have approximated NSs performance, but some forms like *for five/few minutes* and *for little time* are, perhaps, L1-driven and others like *some little bit* indicate lack of linguistic means. All in all, learners are deemed competent in using this internal mitigator, but still lack some idiomatic combinations like *for quick/hot sec* or reduced forms like *sec (for second)*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Openers	5.00(2)	0.05	9.52(2)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Understatement	52.50(22)	0.53	76.19(16)	0.76	73.08(19)	0.73	68.97(20)	0.69
Attention-getters	42.50(17)	0.43	14.29(3)	0.19	26.92(7)	0.27	31.03(9)	0.31
Total	100(40)	1.00	100(21)	1.00	100(26)	1.00	100(25)	1.00

**Table 22: Internal Modification in Situation 3**



*Attention-getters* have been mostly supplied by ANSs. The amount of *attention-getters* in IL could be L1-driven. ANSs have used, mostly, *min fadhlik/please; ?ayuhaz zamiil/hey classmate; law samaht/if you allow; zamilii/my classmate; law takaramt/if you are generous*. In Arabic, address terms may well be used in medial position; in such cases they function as softeners, since they indicate in-group membership and solidarity. ENSs have used *hey* and *hey there*. Freshmen have opted for *sorry; hi Sarah; please Sara; X please; please; hey friend; friend* and *excuse me Bati*. Seniors have used *excuse me; please; sir; excuse me my*



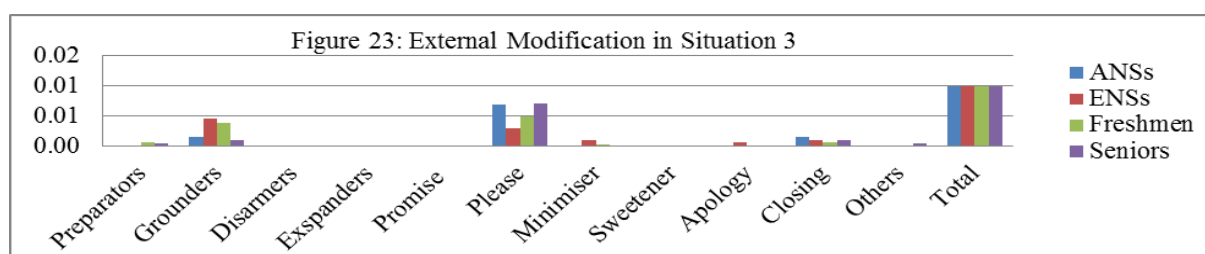
*friend* and *sorry*. The use of *please* and *please*+address term in learner data is to be understood, like in previous situations, as pragmalinguistic transfer besides the possessive case which is meant to signal in-group membership. *Openers* as the least used mitigators have appeared just in the control groups using the same forms mentioned earlier.

Turning to external modification, Table 23 shows the strategies employed. As usual, *please* and its equivalents are the dominant strategies. ANSs have considerably employed lexical softeners more than ENSs and learners seem to approximate L1 performance. In Arabic, the following forms have been coded as equivalent of *please*: *min fadhlik/if you do it as a favour*; *law samaht/if you forgive (me)*; *?arjuuk/?arajaa?/hoping (from you)*. We have come across an instance of a repetitive use of *please* in IL (*please, please*). This, possibly, has occurred under the influence of L1. In a similar way, Al-Zumor (2011: 23) attributed the repetitive use of *so* (i.e. *so so*) in apology intensification to transfer from Arabic in which repetition is an intensification technique. *Grounders* are the second most used strategy. Cultural variance is evidenced in L1 and TL. ENSs have relied heavily on reasons and justifications; however, ANSs have not felt that providing reasons is often required and, thus, they have utilised forms that are commonly usable to all kind of interlocutors. This, presumably, reflects different perceptions of the SD factor. As far as learners are concerned, freshmen have utilised as many *grounders* as in TL; conversely, seniors have utilised as few *grounders* as in L1.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	5.13(2)	0.05	4.76(1)	0.05
Grounders	15.38(2)	0.15	45.00(9)	0.45	38.46(15)	0.38	9.52(2)	0.10
Please	69.23(9)	0.69	30.00(6)	0.30	48.72(19)	0.49	71.43(15)	0.71
Minimisers	0.00(0)	0.00	10.00(2)	0.10	2.56(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	5.00(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Closings	15.38(2)	0.15	10.00(2)	0.10	5.13(2)	0.05	9.52(2)	0.10
Others	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.76(1)	0.05
Total	100(13)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(39)	1.00	100(21)	1.00

**Table 23: External Modification in Situation 3**

Regarding content, it has been identical across the four language groups. The justifications provided are the ones written in the DCT: forgetting the dictionary and the need to look a word up. As far as *closings* are concerned, ANSs have comparatively used more ones than ENSs. ANSs have used a considerator: *...in lam yakun hunaak maani3/if there nothing that prevents you from=if you don't mind?* And thanking expression *shukran/thank you*. ENSs have used thanking expression twice: *thanks*. Turning to IL data, freshmen have used considerators (*if this doesn't bother you, of course* and *if you want*); seniors have used thanking expression (*thank you*) and a considerator (*if you do not need it*). Obviously, the structure of considerators in learner groups resembles L1 regarding the use of the conditional.



*Preparators* have only been attested in learners' data (freshmen: *can you help me?* And *I need your dictionary*; seniors: *can you do me a favour?*). The low-R context as well as the close relationship between interactants, we would argue, makes it unnecessary to prepare the H before the issuance of the request.

*Imposition minimisers* have been used by ENSs (*I just need it for a moment and would you mind if I just borrowed.....quickly?*) and freshmen (*just for a short time*).

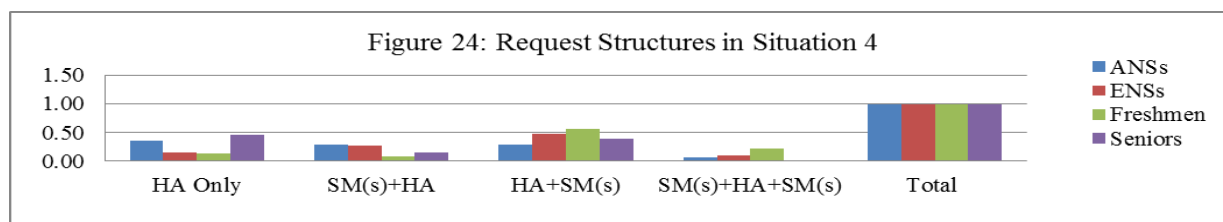
*Apology* has been used once by ENSs (*I'm sorry...I forgot mine*). The *Others* category includes the use of Spanish by one informant. Given the fact that the scenario takes place in a Spanish class, one informant has made the best use of her Spanish via translating her English request into Spanish (*can I have your dictionary, please/Quero este diccionario, por favor?*). As compared with L1, minimising the cost for the H and apologising are typical manifestations of independence politeness system in TL.

#### IV.4 Situation 4

Asking a workmate for help on computer is a scenario coded as: [S=H; SD=Close; R=Low]. Table 24 displays how requests are shaped in the four groups. In L1, language users have opted for simple requests of the form HA Only and HA+SM. In one third of the cases, post-posed requests have been used as well as few cases of SM+HA+SM. Seemingly, TL has opted for similar tendencies using modified requests (HA+SM and SM+HA), besides few cases of HA Only category and SM+HA+SM. As it will be seen, even modifiers have not been as elaborate as in SITU 1.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	35.48(11)	0.35	15.79(3)	0.16	13.89(5)	0.14	46.15(12)	0.46
SM(s)+HA	29.03(9)	0.29	26.32(5)	0.26	8.33(3)	0.08	15.38(4)	0.15
HA+SM(s)	29.03(9)	0.29	47.37(9)	0.47	55.56(20)	0.56	38.46(10)	0.38
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	6.45(2)	0.06	10.53(2)	0.11	22.22(8)	0.22	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(31)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 24: Request Structures in Situation 4**

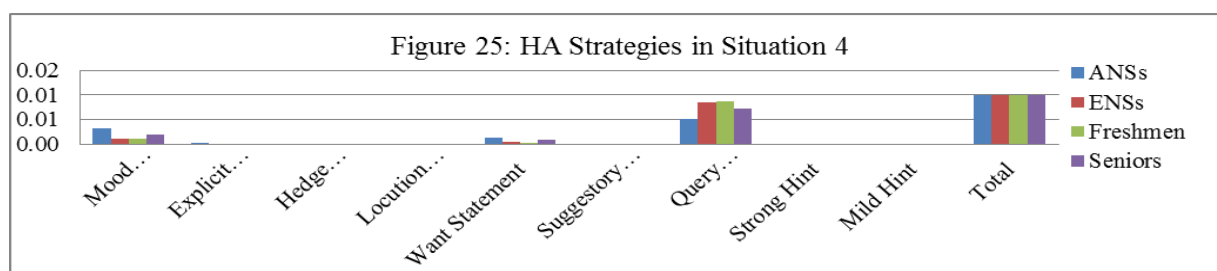


As for IL-users, freshmen have opted for post-posed requests mostly (HA+SM) and, less frequently, SM+HA+SM. The employment of the latter category has often resulted in long-winded requests. Consider this example: *I'm facing a problem in fixing some tables in my computer, and I know that you are excellent in using computers. So, I need your help, can you help me to do that work, if you are not busy, please.* As compared to freshmen, seniors have played it safe using the minimum unit mostly (HA Only) and post-posed requests (HA+SM). When exploring the content of HAs and SMs, we uncover that mitigation in IL data has been centred on the marker *please*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Mood derivable	32.26(10)	0.32	10.00(2)	0.10	11.11(4)	0.11	19.23(5)	0.19
Explicit performative	3.23(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Want statement	12.90(4)	0.13	5.00(1)	0.05	2.78(1)	0.03	7.69(2)	0.08
Query preparatory	51.61(16)	0.52	85.00(17)	0.85	86.11(31)	0.86	73.08(19)	0.73
Total	100(31)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 25: HA Strategies in Situation 4**

Table 25 demonstrates the types of HAs used by the language groups. In Arabic, *query preparatories* have been the most used. Interestingly, *query preparatories* have been more frequent than in SITU 3 ( $M=0.52$  vs. 0.18), though in both situations the interlocutors are equal and the imposition is low. This can be explained by the fact that compliance with the request could be *time* consuming (help) than in the previous one (dictionary). In more than one utterance, Algerians have indicated that they are considerate to the fact that the compliance may take time via understating the required time (*allow me a few time of yours; give me five minutes and give me little time of yours*). Types of *query preparatories* that have been used are *halli biba3dh ?almusaa3ada/can I have some help; hal bistiTaa3atika musaa3adati/can you help me? hal tusaa3iduni /will you help me?; ?ayumkinuka musaa3adati/can you help me?* Nonetheless, direct forms have also been used as they are also common among close interactants. These are *mood derivables* (e.g. *saa3idni/help me*) *want statement* (*?uriidu/?ana fi haajatin limisaa3adatika=I want/I'm in need to your help*) and *explicit performative* (*?aTlub musaa3adataka/I ask your help*). Direct forms, as we have been repeatedly saying, do not convey impolite attitudes. ENSs have maintained *query preparators* as they are tentative and considerate to the H's face wants. *Mood derivables* have been internally modified while a *want statement* has hardly ever been supplied.



As far as IL performance is concerned, freshmen have used *query preparatories* as frequent as ENSs and few *mood derivables* (bare imperatives) as well as a *want statement*. Turning to seniors, they have used *query preparatories* as the most frequent one, but less than ENSs. They have also overused non-internally-modified *mood derivables* under the influence of L1 and relatively overused *want statement*. These findings accord with those of Umar (2004: 79) stating that Arab learners (from Saudi Arabia) tend to use higher levels of impositives than NSs (of British English) in situations when interlocutors are relatively close. In terms of frequency, learners seem to approximate, to a certain extent, the TL use; however, under L1 influence learners have produced utterances that would sound rude and aggressive orders in TL. Consider these examples:

Freshmen: *Hey, come over here. I need your help.*

*Hi Dud [dude], come here for a second. I really need your help.*

Seniors: *Come and help me.*

*Come and see what the hell happened to this computer.*

*Come here and give me a hand.*

As for the use of *want statement* in IL, learners may run the risk of impoliteness, as in TL the use of a *want statement* in unmodified form or modifying it by only *please*, as learners often do, may produce a counter-effect. According to Trosborg (1995: 202), “want-statements are normally impolite in their unmodified form. If they are softened by ‘please’, or some other mitigating devices, they may take the character of pleading.”

The employment of modality displays a disparity between learners and ENSs. The control group has used *can* ( $M=0.047$ ), *could* ( $M=0.11$ ), *would* ( $M=0.32$ ) and *do*, in questions, ( $M=0.11$ ). Freshmen have used *can* ( $M=0.35$ ), *could* ( $M=0.32$ ), *would* ( $M=0.26$ ) and *shall* ( $M=0.06$ ). Seniors have used *can* ( $M=0.53$ ), *could* ( $M=0.29$ ), *would* ( $M=0.12$ ) and *do* ( $M=0.06$ ). It is worth noting that in English *may* has disappeared; the use of *can* and *could* has increased. This indicates that ENSs have opted for less polite modal verbs with close interlocutors. The employment of *can* by learners, though in line with ENSs, does not indicate

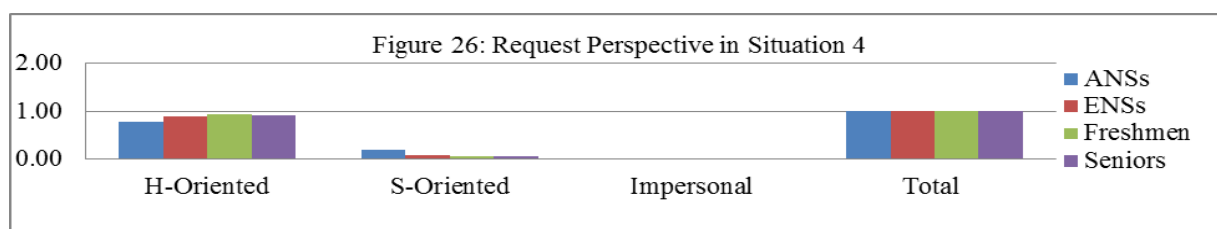
pragmatic potential as this modal has been frequently supplied in the preceding situations too. Again, *can*, *could* and *would*, in order of frequency, have been the preferred modals by IL-users. This trend was noted previously which signals that learners are not making pragmatic choice. Unexpectedly, *may* has not been attested in IL requests too. The use of modals has not necessarily been native-like (e.g. *would you like to help me, please?* as used by freshmen).

The modals continuum has a direct influence on another aspect of the requestive phenomenon which is perspective. Acquiring the basic modals in English does not necessarily mean appropriate choice of request perspective. To this point, this aspect appears to have the least immunity to L1 influence. Table 26 summarises the employment of request orientation. Once again, in Arabic, H-perspective is the dominant. This is always explained by the frequent use of direct forms in Arabic, namely, *mood derivables*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
H-oriented	77.42(24)	0.77	90.00(18)	0.90	94.44(34)	0.94	92.31(24)	0.92
S-oriented	19.35(6)	0.12	10.00(2)	0.10	5.56(2)	0.06	7.69(2)	0.08
Impersonal	3.23(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(31)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100()	1.00	100()	1.00

**Table 26: Request Perspective in Situation 4**

Contrary to expectation, ENSs have opted mostly for H-perspective, even more than ANSs. This, we argue, pertains to the familiarity between interlocutors. Turning to learners, they have maintained H-perspective as in the previous situations. This cannot, however, be considered an approximation of TL performance because learners have simply stuck to the patterns they had employed before.



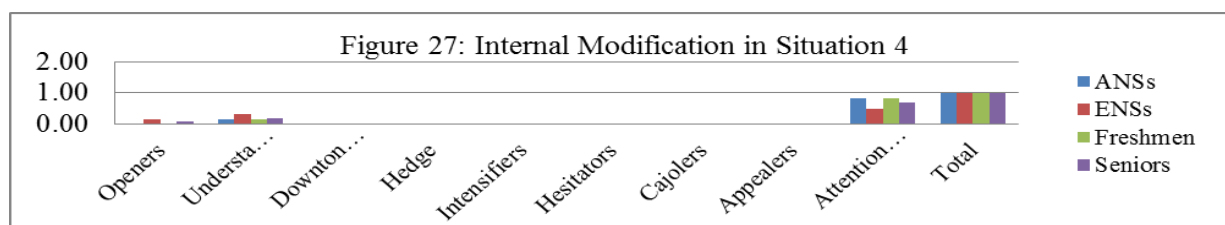
By way of summary, Table 27 displays mitigators employed at the internal level.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Openers	0.00(0)	0.00	16.67(2)	0.17	0.00(0)	0.00	10.00(1)	0.10
Understaters	16.67(3)	0.17	33.33(4)	0.33	16.67(2)	0.15	20.00(2)	0.20
Intensifiers	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.08	0.00(0)	0.00
Attention-getters	83.33(15)	0.83	50.00(6)	0.50	88.33(10)	0.77	70.00(10)	0.70
Total	100(18)	1.00	100(14)	1.00	100(12)	1.00	100(13)	1.00

**Table 27: Internal Modification in Situation 4**

ANSs have nearly opted for more internal mitigating devices than ENSs ( $M=0.34$  vs. 23). To account for this, we suggest that it is the wide use of *attention-getters*. Learners have opted for as many modifiers as in TL ( $M=0.23/0.19$ ). Always, *attention-getters* are the most used as they are a constituent part of the requestive act. ANSs have opted for more *attention-getters* than ENSs. This can be explained by the fact that in Arabic *attention-getters* are a part of the politeness system and, also, a means of SD rapprochement when addressing strangers (Maalej, 2010). As for content, Algerians have used lexical softeners (e.g. *min fadhlik=please, law samaht/if you forgive me=excuse me*); in-group markers (e.g. *ya sadiiqii/hey my friend, ya zamiilii/hey my workmate*); kinship terms (e.g. *ya ?akhii min fadhlik/hey my brother please* and *?akhii/my brother*). In English, the following *attention-getters* have been used: (*hey*) *Gertrund, Kim* and *Fred*. Regarding IL-users, in terms of frequency, they have approximated L1 than TL. As for content, freshmen have utilised: *hey friend please, please partner, hey, please, hi Dud [dude], excuse me friend, oh computer engineer! brother* and *Amir please*; seniors have opted for: *excuse me, sir please, please* and *just a moment Ahmed*. Like in previous situations, the collocation of *please* with terms of address is to be understood as a pragmalinguistic transfer. This tendency toward using *please* as an *attention-getter* has also been noticed in IL internal modifiers by Lwanga-Lumu (2000) in Luganda-English IL production. The author explains this by transfer as, in L1, equivalents of *please* are used in a similar manner. It has also been reported that this marker is influenced by L1's distribution as regards frequency i.e. it has been underused in IL requests of Greek learners (Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010: 96). The authors explained this by

the fact that in L1 it usually co-occurs with direct forms; whereas in English with the conventionally indirect ones. Furthermore, in IL-users' production, the use of an *understater* as an *attention-getter* (in *just a moment Ahmed*) has been spotted. Note also that *brother* is a direct translation from L1.



Once again, *understaters* are the second most used internal mitigator in the control and IL requests. Algerians have used fewer *understaters* than ENSs, like in SITU 1 and 3. As for content, ANSs have employed: *min waqtika lqaliil/a little time of yours*, *qaliilan/for a little time*. An Arab may also request instead of a help an amount of time which pragmatically stands for help as in *hal tu3Tiini ?alqaliil min waqtik/will you give me a little time of yours?*. In English, the following *understatements* have been utilised: *for a minute* (3 times) and *to have a sec* (once). The learners groups have approximated L1 production in terms of frequency. As the wording of this strategy, they have employed these *understatements*: freshmen (*for a second* and *to have a second*); seniors (*just a moment* and *for a moment*).

*Openers* have only been employed by ENSs and seniors: *would you mind...* and *would you be kind enough...* (ENSs); *do you mind ...* (seniors).

Table 28 demonstrates the external modifications employed in the four groups. Three groups tend to use an equal amount of external modifications: ANSs, ENSs and seniors ( $M=0.21$ ,  $0.22$  and  $0.20$  respectively), unlike freshmen who have overdone them ( $M=0.37$ ).

*Grounders* are always among the most frequent external mitigators. Algerians have used as many *grounders* as Anglo-Americans. Regarding variety, speakers from both groups have stated the fact that they are facing a problem or expressed their inability to cope with it (ANSs, e.g., *to help me to fix some things in my computer*; *I'm not skilful in using the*

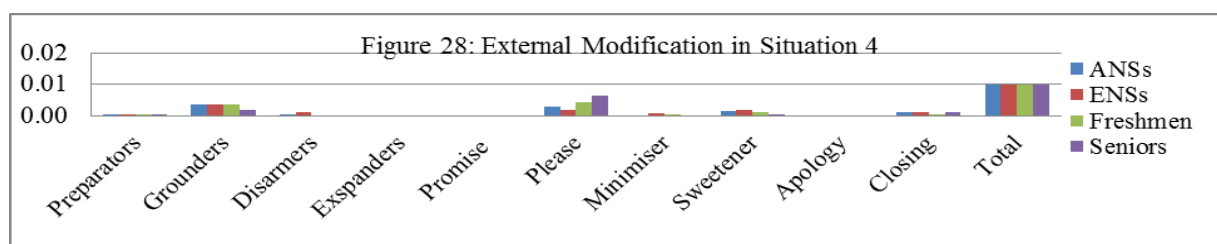


computer; ENSs, e.g., *you know I'm such an idiot about these things; my computer is messing up and I can't get these tables to work; these tables are making me insane*).

Disregarding the marker *please*, *grounders* have been the most frequent SM in learners' mitigation. This aligns with the findings of a number of IL studies (e.g. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1986; Faerch and Kasper, 1989; Trosborg, 1995; Schauer, 2007; Al-Ali and Atawneh, 2010; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010). Algerian learners do not seem to overuse the *grounder* strategy, except from SITU 2, as it is often reported in IL literature. IL-users have used: e.g. *I'm facing a problem in my computer; I'm stuck, I cannot find a way to fix these tables; I need you in some work* (freshmen); *I've found a problem in these tables; I got tired from this problem* (seniors). All in all, language users have provided, to a large extent, identical reasons. This suggests the effect of the instrument. The wording of IL *grounders* has evidenced L1 influence: *I need you in some work* and lack of linguistic proficiency: *I can't do it alone* [i.e. *by myself*].

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	3.70(1)	0.04	3.45(1)	0.03	6.12(3)	0.06	3.57(1)	0.04
Grounders	37.04(10)	0.37	34.48(10)	0.34	36.73(18)	0.37	17.86(5)	0.18
Disarmers	3.70(1)	0.04	10.34(3)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Expanders	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Promise	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Please	29.63(8)	0.30	17.24(5)	0.17	42.86(21)	0.43	64.29(18)	0.64
Minimisers	0.00(0)	0.00	6.90(1)	0.07	2.04(1)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00
Sweeteners	14.81(4)	0.15	17.24(5)	0.17	10.20(5)	0.10	3.57(1)	0.04
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Closings	11.11(3)	0.11	10.34(1)	0.10	2.04(1)	0.02	10.71(3)	0.11
Total	100(29)	1.00	100 (29)	1.00	100(49)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 28: External Modification in Situation 4**



Turning to the marker *please*, it has been more frequently utilised in L1 than TL, because in L1 various markers have been coded as counterparts for *please* (e.g. *min fadhlik* and *law samaht*). In IL requests, this marker has been oversupplied ( $M=0.43$  and  $0.64$  respectively). As we have already mentioned, it functions either as a mitigator or an illocutionary force indicator. It is often used in IL requests as it requires less pragmatic competence unlike other markers; its overrepresentation in learners' requests indicates also a concern about "the conversational principle of clarity, choosing explicit, transparent unambiguous means of expression rather than implicit opaque and ambiguous realizations" (Faerch and Kasper 1989:233). In addition, textbooks' input could have contributed in that. For example, Salazar Campillo (2007) analysed mitigation in ELT textbooks' requests from the discipline of tourism. Her findings suggest the ignorance of a number of mitigators and the focus on a small number of them. As for external modifiers, they "almost exclusively centre on the use of *please* in final and medial position within the request" (p.219).

The next mitigator to discuss is *sweeteners*, which is here a situation-specific; it has been used more than in any previous situation. It has been employed almost equally in the control groups. The close relation between the interlocutors and equality in terms of P allows the use of this modifier as, in some other contexts; it may be perceived as flattery and hypocrisy. ANSs have used: e.g., *is it possible to benefit from your experience?; you are skilful in that*. ENSs have used, e.g., *I know you are really good at this stuff; I know you are good at these things* and *I am not as computer savvy as you*. Turning to IL *sweeteners*, freshmen have approximated TL frequency, unlike seniors. As for content, freshmen have used *you're keen on using computers; I know that you are excellent on using computers; I notice that you have a good experience; I know that you are the one for this* and *I know that you know how to deal with it*. Seniors have used *I am really in need to your experience*. All in all, learners, especially freshmen, seem to control this mitigator, L1 may be a facilitator; this is manifested in word choice (*to know, keen on* and *good*). Nevertheless, they seem to fall

back on their L1 guidelines when using other words, mainly, *experience*, *to notice* or utterances like *I know that you are the one for this* and *I need your experience*. Lack of linguistic proficiency has been manifested in the redundant use of *know* in *I know that you know...*

*Closings* have been spotted in three groups. Regarding type, Algerians have utilised considerators (*?in lam yakun hunaaka maani3/if there is nothing that prevents you; law ?istaTa3t/if you could*) and invocation (*shukran laka wa baaraka lahu fiik/thank you and may God bless you*). ENSs have used thanking expressions (*thanks* and *thank you so much for your help*) and a considerator (*are you busy?*). Learners have employed appreciators (freshmen: *and it will be kind of you*; seniors: *I will be gratitude [grateful]*) and considerators (*if you don't mind* and *would you mind?*), by seniors. Linguistic constraints are manifested in using *gratitude* in lieu of *grateful* and *will be kind of you* in lieu of *it's a very kind of*.

As far as *preparators* are concerned, few ones have been encountered in L1 (e.g. *can you help me?*) and TL (e.g. *I'm working on some tables on the computer*). Learners have used few *preparators* (e.g. *I need your help; come and help me; I'm lost in here*, freshmen; *I have a trouble*, seniors). All in all, IL utterances could be deemed appropriate.

*Disarmers* have only been attested in the control groups, relatively higher in TL. ANSs have used *?ithaa kunta mutafarighan ?alyawm/if you are free today*. ENSs have used *when you have a minute* and *when you have a sec*. Both cultures seem to meet in that questioning the H's time availability; this suggests that *time* is highly valued in both cultures. In L1 culture, it is said that *time is like gold/sword* and, in the TL one, it is said that *time is money*.

ENSs and freshmen have employed *imposition minimisers* (ENSs: *I need help with this table...Got a minute and can you help me...I'll watch so I can learn*; freshmen: *can you help me, Just this time*.

## IV.5 Situation 5

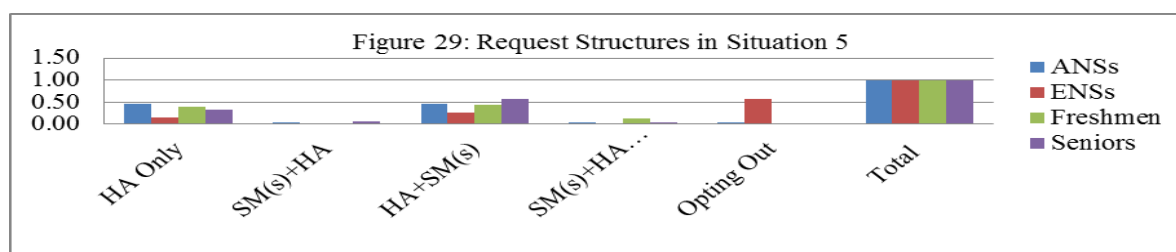
*Asking a stranger to help in carrying bags of groceries* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Distant; R=High]. Requesters across the four groups have opted for the structures presented in Table 29.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	45.16(14)	0.45	15.79(3)	0.16	38.89(14)	0.39	32.14(9)	0.32
SM(s)+HA	3.23(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	2.78(1)	0.03	7.14(2)	0.07
HA+SM(s)	45.16(14)	0.45	26.32(5)	0.26	44.44(16)	0.44	57.14(16)	0.57
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	3.23(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	13.89(5)	0.14	3.57(1)	0.04
Opting Out	3.23(1)	0.03	57.89(11)	0.58	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(31)	1.00	100(19)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100.00	1.00

**Table 29: Request Structures in Situation 5**

Cross-cultural variance in the control groups is evidenced in the employ of the Opting Out strategy. Most ENSs consider requesting help from strangers as socially inappropriate. This reflects an individualistic culture that values individual interests and private self. This is also related to the SD and R factors; interlocutors are distant and the imposition is high. The responses we have got indicate the factors that push them to avoid the FTA (*would not ask for help; I normally wouldn't ask for help from a stranger in this situation; I would never do this. Ever; I would not ask the stranger for help; I wouldn't; I probably wouldn't ask for help at all; I would never ask a stranger to help me carry bags; I wouldn't ask for help*). This result is in line with those of Al-Aqra' (2001) who reported that, in a similar situation, NSs (Americans) opted mostly for Not Doing the FTA. One of the participants explained that "Americans try to be independent and not to ask a stranger for help. It is seen to be rude to do so (p. 86)." However, the Arabic Islamic culture fosters cooperation, collective interests and public self. This explains why asking a stranger for a help needs not be considered self-humiliation, as in the Anglo-Saxon culture. That is to say, Algerians assign a high value to notions of generosity and collaboration driven by Islamic teachings. It is unusual in Arabic culture that a requestee turns down his efforts in complying

with the request when receiving thanks from the requesters. In Algerian Arabic one may say, for instance, *maadart waaluu/I've done nothing* or *bla mzziyya/it's no favour*. In other varieties of Arabic, this is also a commonplace. For example, in Jordanian Arabic, as it is reported by Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010: 329), “it is no wonder to come across responses by Jordanians where they most often deny a compliment for a favour they do and find it suffice to say *haathaa waajibii* ‘this is my obligation.’” This statement makes clear why the Opting Out strategy has hardly ever been used in L1, only one instance.



Turning to learners, they fail to notice the offense in requesting this service from a stranger and, thus, they have never opted for Not Doing the FTA which has led them to commit a sociocultural blunder. This evidences that they have misevaluated the legitimacy to request and the degree of imposition under the influence of L1 cultural guidelines and, thus, transferred the sociopragmatic rules of it into their IL. As far as the request structures are concerned, ANSs and ENSs tend to pronounce the request, then modify it. The employment of this strategy may be related to the context. It means, in requesting a passer-by, it makes more sense to spell the core request first to catch him/her, and then think about the necessary modifications. IL-users have also opted for this trend. For HA Only, it has been mostly used in L1 and IL, as compared with the English one. In Arabic culture where interactions are characterised by involvement and solidarity using just the core request may serve the purpose. The remaining categories, SM+HA and SM+HA+SM have not been frequent in Arabic and IL requests.

Request structures do not always provide firm conclusions but rather preliminary ones. We need to consider types of HAs and SMs.

Table 30 shows that, in Arabic requests, the *mood derivable* strategy is once again the dominant (e.g. *saa3idnii/help me; ?ihmil ma3ii/hold with me*). We have been repeatedly saying that direct forms do not mean impoliteness and, we have further noted, that half of the instances have been internally modified by *openers*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Mood derivable	73.33(22)	0.73	37.50 (3)	0.37	2.78(1)	0.03	14.29(4)	0.4
Want statement	3.33(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Query preparatory	23.33(7)	0.23	62.50 (5)	0.63	97.22 (35)	0.97	85.71(24)	0.96
Total	100(30)	1.00	100(8)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 30: HA Strategies in Situation 5**

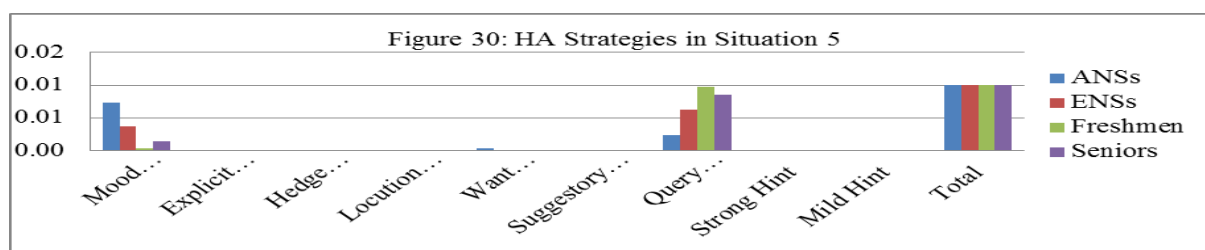
This tendency was also remarkable in the findings of Alfattah and Ravindranath (2009b: 38):

[I]mperative, in conjunction with the use of lexical softeners (law samaht ‘if you allow’, min fadhlak ‘please’, law takarramt ‘if you are generous enough’, etha ma endak manea ‘if you don't mind’ etc.) was in a high frequency in Arabic requests because there is no taboo against using it in Arabic in most circumstances. This suggests that imperative form is not as impolite in Arabic as it is in English or any other language, at least in some informal contexts.

ENSs have also opted for internally-modified *mood derivables*. Learners have opted for few *mood derivables*; most of them bare imperatives: e.g. *would you mind to help [helping] me?* (freshmen); *please, help me, please do me a favour, help me* (seniors). *Want statement* has been utilised once (*?uriidu minka haml/I want from you to hold...*). Obviously, ENSs have used more *query preparatories* than ANSs; ENSs seem, as previously mentioned, to stick to this category no matter how scenarios vary. Learners in both groups have overplayed this strategy.

Concerning the use of modals, remarks that have been drawn from the following statistics are more or less the same as in previous scenarios. ENSs have used *would* ( $M=0.57$ ), and *could* ( $M=0.043$ ). Freshmen have used *can*, *could* and *would* ( $M=0.33$  each). Seniors have used *can* ( $M=0.50$ ), *could* ( $M=0.25$ ), *would* ( $M=0.21$ ) and *will* ( $M=0.04$ ). ENSs have

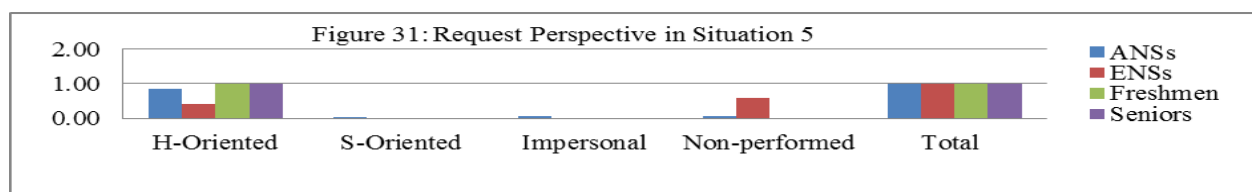
employed the past forms which are more tentative and, thus, more polite. All in all, learners have stuck to *can*, *could* and *would*, the ones that have been overlearned. Freshmen tend to vary the strategies used (e.g. *can't you help me?*). Probably, this is an attempt to modify the request using *negation*, as in native requests (*you couldn't give me a hand, could you?*).



Request perspective is an aspect which is so tied to HA strategies and modality. Table 31 displays the distribution of request perspective. Like the previous situations, Algerians have been in favour of H-perspective, though the scenario entails a high degree of imposition and distant relationship. In Arabic culture, referring to the H as the doer of the Action is not as imposing as in English. This also pertains to language choice i.e. the employment of *mood derivables*. In the performed requested, ENSs have utilised the H-perspective too, but much less than L1. The preponderance of this type could be motivated by the choice of the performative verb (*to help*). IL-users have exclusively employed H-perspective following L1 guidelines. Few instances of S- and Impersonal-perspective have been recorded in L1.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
H-oriented	90.00(27)	0.90	10.00(8)	1.00	10.00(36)	0.01	100.00(28)	1.00
S-oriented	3.33(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Impersonal	6.67(2)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(30)	1.00	100(8)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 31: Request Perspective in Situation 5**



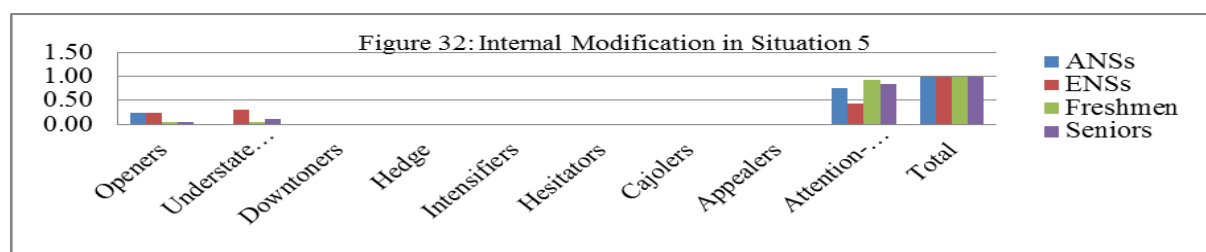
Having dealt with core request and request perspective, we presently precede to modification. Given the fact that alerts are a constituent part of the requestive act, they have

been very often employed as the commonest internal mitigator. In Arabic, they have been heavily supplied; we have explained this in the light of the politeness weight they possess. In English, they have been less employed.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Openers	25.00(8)	0.25	25.00(4)	0.25	4.00(1)	0.04	5.26(1)	0.05
Understaters	0.00(0)	0.00	31.25(5)	0.31	4.00(1)	0.04	10.23(2)	0.11
Attention-getters	75.00(24)	0.75	43.75(7)	0.44	92.00(23)	0.92	84.21(16)	0.84
Total	100(32)	1.00	100(16)	1.00	100(25)	1.00	100(19)	1.00

**Table 32: Internal Modification in Situation 5**

Talking about type, along with the employment of lexical softeners: *min fadhlik=please; law samaht/if you forgive me=excuse me; law takaramt/would you be generous enough=would you mind?* ANSs have heavily used the kinship term (*my*) *brother* almost in all *attention-getters* to signal in-group membership (e.g. *ya ?akhii min fadhlik/ hey my brother, please*). This kinship term is metaphorically extended to address non-acquaintances (strangers) not only to signal politeness but to seek social rapprochement and decrease SD (Maalej 2010: 147). Also, terms of address may be employed, but not as a part of an *attention-getter* (e.g. *halla saa3adtanii fi haml ?al?aghraadh ya Sadiiqi/would you mind helping me to carry the groceries my friend?* ENSs have opted for *excuse me please; hi; excuse me* (4 times); *pardon me*. Note here that *please* is employed as part of the alert for the first time. For Sifianou (1999), *please* in initial position may be considered as an *attention-getter* or *apology* for interruption.



Turning to learners, they have overdone *attention-getters*. Such high occurrence shows that pragmalinguistic transfer has been at play. In three previous situations, SITU 1, 3 and 4, learners seem to approximate L1 frequency. As for content, freshmen have used *sorry, oh, hi!*



*excuse me miss/sir/man; please gentleman; hey boy/brother/sir; please; miss please; hello (sir), sir; brother please; good morning brother.* As for seniors, they have opted for *excuse me sir; please; sorry; hi sir; hey; please sir; sir please; gentleman; hey friend; excuse me* and *I beg your pardon*. Pragmalinguistic transfer is evidenced in the use of *please* as an alert, since ENSs have hardly ever used it so. Also, the use of the kinship term *brother* to signal in-group membership is an attempt to creating a rapprochement, a function that English alerts do not serve. Similarly, the use of *sorry* as an *attention-getter* can be an influence of L1 as certain alerts in L1 have an apologetic force like *law samaht/if you forgive (me)*. This may well also be attributed to lack of proficiency i.e. inability to differentiate between *sorry* and *excuse me/pardon me*. Despite language constraints, learners, to a certain extent, have successfully got the H's attention. Furthermore, learners have employed a set of *attention-getters* that indicate application of communication strategies to cope with the situation they are unfamiliar with as their exposure to TL, often, does not go beyond the classroom setting.

*Openers* or *consultative devices* have been equally employed in L1 and TL. ANSs have used mostly *halla=would you mind*. Among the eight instances of *openers* appearing in Arabic data, half of the instances have appeared in the absence of *attention-getters*; ENSs have used *would you mind verb+ing* and *do you think you could?* Given the fact that they require a relatively high pragmalinguistic competence, *openers* have been less frequent in learners' requests, like in the previous scenarios. Learners have utilised *would you mind to help [helping] me?* (freshmen) and *I will be very grateful if you help me* (seniors).

Comparing it with Arabic, English seems to heavily rely on *understaters* in this situation as well as in the previous (SITU 1, 3 and 4). ENSs have opted for *a few of these bags, a few feet away, one of these bags, for a second* and *for a minute*. Learners have used few ones: *for few meters* (freshmen), *for one moment* and *a little bit* (seniors). Perhaps, L1 plays a role in that. The use of *meters* in a freshmen data may not be well-understood in the target community as most English-speaking countries use different length measurements; *feet*

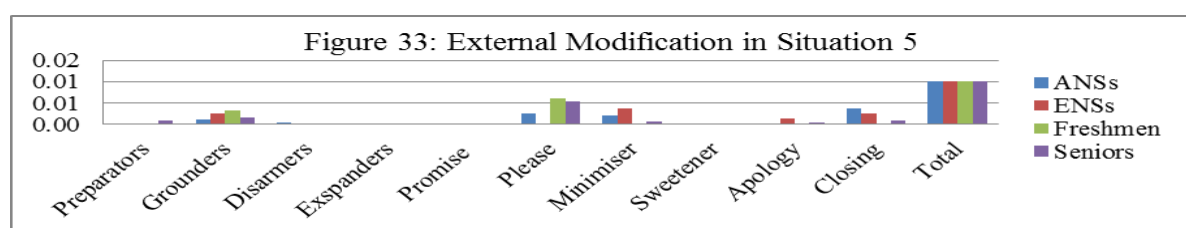
or *yards* are used in lieu of *meters*. In *imposition minimisers*, as we will see, ENSs have used *yards* and *feet*.

Having dealt with internal mitigators, we move to external ones.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Preparators	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.94(1)	0.03	10.00(3)	0.10
Grounders	10.53(2)	0.11	25.00(2)	0.25	32.35(11)	0.32	16.67(5)	0.17
Disarmers	5.26(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(21)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Please	26.32(5)	0.26	0.00(0)	0.00	61.76(1)	0.62	53.33(16)	0.53
Minimisers	21.05(4)	0.21	37.50 (3)	0.38	0.00(0)	0.00	6.67(2)	0.07
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	12.50(1)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00	3.33(1)	0.03
Closings	36.84(7)	0.37	25.00(2)	0.25	2.94(1)	0.03	10.00(3)	0.10
Total	100(19)	1.00	100 (8)	1.00	100(34)	1.00	100(30)	1.00

**Table 33: External Modification in Situation 5**

External mitigators have been less frequent in the English data since ENSs have mostly opted for not performing the requestive act. Learners have oversupplied them ( $M=0.21$ , ANSs;  $0.09$ , ENSs;  $0.37$ , freshmen;  $0.033$ , seniors). As can be seen from the above table, *grounders* have been represented in the four groups. ENSs have opted for more *grounders* than ANSs, probably, due to imposition and distance (e.g. *I can't by myself* and *they are so many*, ANSs; *so I can open my car* and *I'm afraid I might drop something*, ENSs).



Turning to learners, *grounders* have been overrepresented in freshmen's requests and this is always to be related to the *waffle* phenomenon while seniors have underrepresented them. Freshmen have used *I find a difficulty to carry some of the bags to my car; they are really so heavy; I'm carrying many bags and I cannot walk with them more that I did; my shoulders are falling*. As far as seniors are concerned, the following *grounders* have been used: *they are too heavy; my luggage is really heavy; in order to arrive at the car park on time*. These representative *grounders* show that the content of reasons and justifications given

by learner groups is the same as in L1 and TL. When putting them in words, learners have evidenced literal translation like in *my shoulders are falling* and lack of proficiency like in *really so*. As compared with freshmen, seniors seem to provide less varied *grounders*.

*Closings* have been used by the four groups. In Arabic, this strategy is a constituent one in face-to-face interactions. As far as content is concerned, Algerians inject religious expressions of divine care and well-wishing for the H (e.g. *jazaaka lahu khayran/May God increase your bounty* (3 times); *shukran (laka)/and thank (you)* (3 times); a considerator, *in lam yakun hunaaka maani3/if there is nothing prevents you from*. In English, we have come across two appreciators: *I'd really appreciate this...you'd be a lifesaver!* And the formulaic expression *I'd be much obliged*. Learners have opted for very few *closings*. Freshmen have used an appreciator: *I will be grateful*; seniors have used two appreciators: *I will be thankful* and *I will be so thankful* and a considerator *if you want*.

Concerning the politeness marker *please*, it has been represented in the requests of three groups, namely, ANSs, freshmen and seniors. Again, learners have overused this marker as in the other situations, but SITU 2. In the Arabic data, the following markers have been coded as equivalents of *please*: *law samaht/if you forgive/allow (me)*; *law samahtii*, addressed to a female interlocutor; *min fadhlik* and *arjuuk/I hope from you*. In learners data, we have encountered an instance where *please* has been used twice in one request (*hi sir please, can you do me a favour? Please, help me to carry my bags*; seniors).

*Imposition minimisers* have been represented in three groups: ANSs, ENSs and seniors. They have been more frequent in English data than in Arabic. A possible explanation is that Anglo-Americans apply independence politeness system. One of the typical characteristics of this system is sensitivity towards the H's face wants and minimisation of the cost to him; this strategy has been employed as the most favoured (e.g. *it's [my car] just over there; don't you know why I thought I could carry so many on my own? My car is parked just few feet away and my car is just few yards away over there*). In Arabic, this strategy has been

ranked as the third most used. Arabic employs a politeness system that seeks to establish a common ground with the H than to minimise the threat (e.g. *if you are not busy; just for a short distance; if there's no problem in that*). Note that ENSs have used *yard* and *feet* while learners, as previously noted, have used *meters*. Turning to IL data, seniors have used: *it [my car] is just in this park* and *if you are not busy*. It is noteworthy that Arabic and IL *imposition minimisers* often refer to the requestee's situation like *if you are not busy* and *if you are going to the car park*; whereas the English ones seem to avoid the reference to the requestee's situation. This may be related to cultural traits. However, this remark is drawn from only few cases, so it is of exploratory nature.

*Preparators* have been used by learners only. These are the instances encountered: *I think you are going to the car park* (freshmen); *do me a favour; can you do me a favour; may I ask your help sir* (seniors). The use of *preparators* in the learners' data only can be explained by the fact that they seek explicitness and efficiency using long-winded requests that include many chunks before uttering the request. This is in line with the argument of Faerch and Kasper (1989) stating that the excessive use of external mitigators in learners' production signals a concern about propositional explicitness.

As for *disarmers*, ANSs have used one *disarmer* (*if there's nothing prevents you from*). The absence of this category in English requests is, probably, related to the use of *imposition minimisers*, the pragmalinguistic counterparts of *disarmers*; the only difference between them is that the former go ahead to core request and the latter are post-posed.

*Apologies* have been used by ENSs (*sorry for the trouble*) and seniors (*sorry for interrupting you* [intended, *bothering you*]).

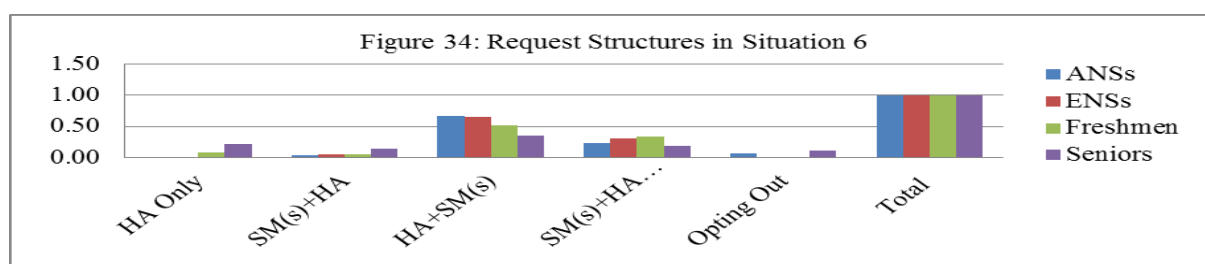
#### **IV.6 Situation 6**

*Asking a classmate to lend some money* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Close; R=High]. As can be seen from Table 34, requesters tend to spell out the request, then modify

it (HA+SM) in L1 and TL. The pattern SM+HA+SM has been employed as the second best in both groups too. Similarly, learners have opted for HA+SM and, less frequently, for SM+HA+SM. IL-users have used the core request only in few cases. On the whole, it could be said that the close relationship between interlocutors allows directing the request, then modifying it. Additionally, the costly object requested has, probably, motivated the use of elaborate requests.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	8.57(3)	0.09	21.43(6)	0.21
SM(s)+HA	3.33(1)	0.03	5.00(1)	0.05	5.71(2)	0.06	14.29(4)	0.14
HA+SM(s)	66.67(20)	0.67	65.00(13)	0.65	51.43(18)	0.51	35.71(10)	0.36
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	23.33(7)	0.23	30.00(6)	0.30	34.29(12)	0.34	17.86(5)	0.18
Opting Out	6.67(2)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	10.71(3)	0.11
Total	100(30)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 34: Request Structures in Situation 6**



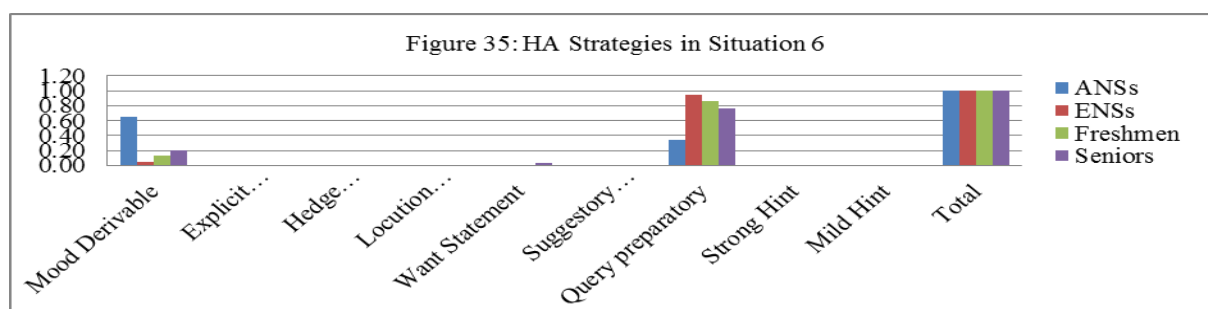
ANSs and seniors have opted for Not Doing the FTA, but it does not necessarily mean that they perceive that requesting money is socially inappropriate. For ENSs, informants stated that they cannot ask a *friend* to lend them money, because each time one pays or the one who has money pays directly (and the recipient makes it up later).

Table 35 reveals the types of HA strategies employed. In Arabic, *mood derivables* have been the most used strategy; most of them are non-internally modified i.e. bare imperatives (e.g. *a3irni/?aqridhni=lend me*). The close relation allows higher levels of directness. As for learners, only one request has been internally modified in the seniors' corpus. As compared with ENSs, the higher frequency of direct forms in the learners' performance goes to show L1 impact. This amounts to saying that learners have not been aware of the pragmatic value of imperatives in TL. This may, in face-to-face interactions, lead

to pragmatic failure (Thomas, 1983). Concerning performative verbs, NSs seem to vary them, unlike learners. Learners have used *to give*, *to lend* and *to borrow* while NSs have further used *to loan*, *be able to lend*, *to have* and *to spot*. As for *query preparatories*, they have been mostly used by ENSs as previously reiterated. In Arabic, this category has been ranked as a second choice. The same as before, in IL requests, this strategy has been the dominant one. This is consistent with the findings of ILP literature. As far as content is concerned, the forms that have been used for realising this strategy in the four groups are the same as the ones we have mentioned earlier respective to each group, except for the use of the linguistic item *anyway* by ENSs to highlight tentativeness like in *is there anyway you could loan me...?* One instances of *want/need statement* has been spotted (*I need some money*, seniors).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Mood derivable	65.52(19)	0.66	5.00(1)	0.05	13.89(5)	0.14	20.00(5)	0.20
Want statement	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.00(1)	0.04
Query preparatory	34.48 (9)	0.34	95.00(19)	0.95	86.11(31)	0.86	76.00(19)	0.76
Total	100(29)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(25)	1.00

**Table 35: HA Strategies in Situation 6**



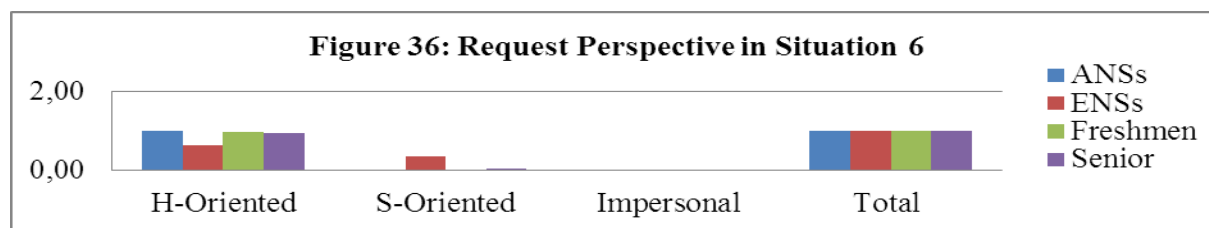
As far as modality is concerned, a cluster of modals have been used by ENSs: *can* ( $M=0.35$ ), *could* ( $M=0.35$ ), *would* ( $M=0.15$ ), *will* ( $M=0.05$ ) and *do* ( $M=0.05$ ). Freshmen have used *can* ( $M=0.61$ ), *could* ( $M=0.10$ ), *would* ( $M=0.23$ ) and *may* ( $M=0.06$ ). Similarly, seniors have used *can* ( $M=0.32$ ), *could* ( $M=0.26$ ), *would* ( $M=0.23$ ), *do* ( $M=0.05$ ) and *may* (once; 0.05). ENSs seem to have balanced the use of the present and the past forms of the ability modals (*can* and *could*). The more polite modal *would* has been ranked as the third best. Learners often stick to *can*, *could* and, with a lesser degree, *would* and seem not to vary their

use in accordance with situational variations. *Can* and *could* have been disproportionately used in the previous situations, but SITU 1. Not many cases of *will*, *do* and *may* have been employed too.

Regarding request perspective, as summarised in Table 36, ANSs have exclusively opted for H-perspective. In Arabic, reference to the H is totally free with equals (SITU 3, 4 and 5).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
H-oriented	10.00(28)	1.00	65.00(13)	0.65	0.65(35)	0.97	96.00(24)	0.96
S-oriented	0.00(0)	0.00	35.00(7)	0.35	0.35(1)	0.03	4.00(1)	0.04
Impersonal	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(28)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 36: Request Perspective in Situation 6**



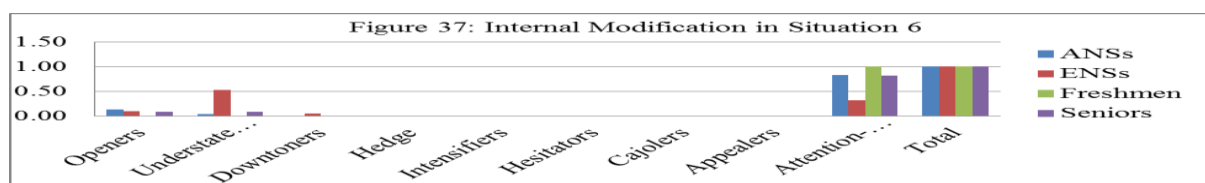
H-oriented requests have been dominant in TL, while S-oriented ones have been represented in one third of cases. Apparently, learners have favoured H-oriented requests following L1 guidelines. As for the Impersonal-perspective, it has not been presented in this situation. Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) also reported scarcity of the Impersonal-perspective in English-native data and the learner data (15.66% and 1.12% respectively). To explain this, the authors related it to the tendency towards the employment of H- and S-perspective. As for content, H-perspective has been often associated with the item *chance* like in *I haven't started the assignment yet. I don't suppose there's any chance of an extension* (p. 105).

Another essential point is the requests' peripheral elements. Table 37 summarises the mitigating devices used internal to the core request. The control groups have opted for almost an equal amount of internal mitigators ( $M=0.39$  and  $0.32$  respectively).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Openers	13.04(3)	0.13	10.53(2)	0.11	0.00(0)	0.00	9.09(1)	0.09
Understatement	4.35(1)	0.04	52.63(10)	0.53	0.00(0)	0.00	9.09(1)	0.09
Downtoners	0.00(0)	0.00	5.26(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Attention-getters	82.61(19)	0.83	31.58(6)	0.32	100.00(7)	1.00	81.82(0)	0.82
Total	100(23)	1.00	100(19)	1.00	100(7)	1.00	100(25)	1.00

**Table 37: Internal Modification in Situation 6**

As compared with ENSs, learners have opted for fewer modifications than NSs ( $M=0.12$  and  $0.18$  respectively). The reason is that ENSs have used a wider range of internal modifications. This tendency is widely reported in the literature (e.g. House and Kasper, 1987 and Sasaki, 1998). *Attention-getters* are the most used internal mitigators. Once again, ANSs have utilised more *attention-getters* than ENSs. Learners too have widely employed them simulating the pragmalinguistic features in L1. As for content, ANSs have used lexical softeners (e.g. *min fadhlik=please*, the most used; *law samaht=excuse me*) and in-group markers (*zamiili/ my classmate*; *?ukhtii* or *?akhii/my sister* or *my brother*) separately or in combination (e.g. *min fadhlik ya ?ukhtii /please my sister*). ENSs have used *darling*, *hey*, *Pssst Hey Kim, Peter, John*.



As for learners, freshmen have used *please*, *hey*, *hi Khaoula*, *sorry*, *hello friend* and *Bouthaina*. Seniors have used *excuse me*, *please* (the most used), *Amel*, *please my friend*. It could be said that learners, to a certain extent, have successfully produced informal *attention-getters*.

As far as *understaters* are concerned, we have to first draw the reader's attention to the fact that the description provided to the informants in the instrument, in both versions, includes *understaters*. In this respect, the use of *understaters* mentioned in the DCT is considered an instrument effect than a reflection of the actual performance. Accordingly, we



have focused on the other items informants provide which we have considered as *true understaters*. ENSs have been more inclined to using *understaters* than Algerians. Learners, from the seniors' group, have opted for as few *understaters* as in L1. As for content, ANSs have used *mablaghan mina lmaal/a sum of money*. Avoiding specifying the amount required, in Arabic, suggests that any amount would suffice and it is a common way of understating and minimising face-threat in L1. ENSs have used a wide range: *some change, couple of quarters, a couple of bucks, a few bucks, a little change, a buck, a dollar, a few dollars and a little money* (*quarter* is a unit of dollar that equals 25 cent and *buck* is an informal word for dollar). The only *understater* used by learners is *for a while time* to understate the period before money would be paid back. It is worth of note that learners have used the Algerian currency when they have to specify the sum needed using *AD* (Algerian Dinar) or *dinar*. Learners have ceased to use the target community currency, which should be known to the majority of them. This is reminiscent of the issue of knowledge integration tackled by Edmondson and House's (1991) suggesting that certain forms may be known to learners but they are not used, since they are not "integrated into learners' discourse production systems" (1991: 285).

As for *openers*, they have been supplied almost equally in the control groups using forms already cited previously. In learners' production, we have come across one *opener* *you would be saving my day if you lend me some money. Would you?* (seniors)

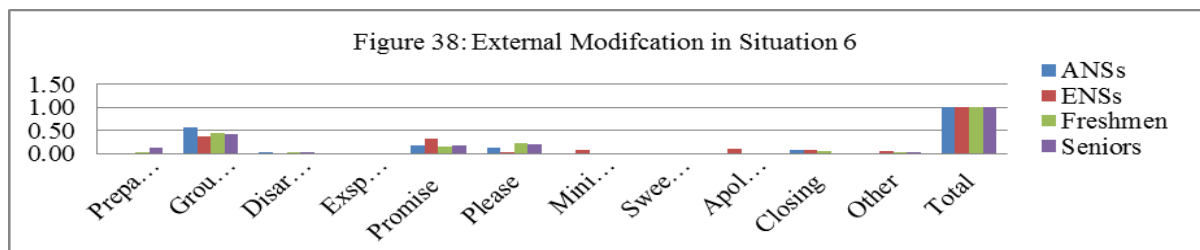
As for *downtoners*, they have been only utilised by ENSs as they are speech routines in TL (*could you possibly loan me enough moolah*).

The external mitigating devices used are summarised in Table 38. Quantitatively, the control groups have opted for almost an equal amount of external modifications ( $M=0.23$  and  $0.22$  respectively). As for learners, while freshmen have overplayed external modifications ( $M=0.35$ ), seniors have opted for relatively fewer ones ( $M=0.18$ ). Given the fact that the description of the present scenario in the DCT includes reasons and justifications of the

requests, the habitual occurrence of *grounders* is, therefore, to be understood as an instrument effect.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	0.00(0)	0.00	.00(0)	0.00	4.55(3)	0.05	12.12(4)	0.12
Grounders	55.81 (24)	0.56	36.59(15)	0.37	45.45(30)	0.45	42.42(14)	0.42
Disarmers	2.33(1)	0.02	.00(0)	0.00	3.03(2)	0.03	3.03(1)	0.03
Promise	18.60(8)	0.19	31.71(13)	0.32	16.67(11)	0.17	18.18(6)	0.18
Please	13.95(6)	0.14	2.44(1)	0.03	22.73(15)	0.23	21.21(7)	0.21
Minimisers	0.00(0)	0.00	7.32(3)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	9.76(4)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Closings	9.30(4)	0.09	7.32(3)	0.07	6.06(4)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00
Others	0.00(0)	0.00	4.88(2)	0.05	1.52(1)	0.02	3.03(1)	0.06
Total	100(43)	1.00	100(41)	1.00	100(66)	1.00	100(34)	1.00

**Table 38: External Modification in Situation 6**



The content of the *grounders* further supports this claim; it has been identical across the four groups (forgetting one's wallet and being in need for money to buy photocopies for the next class). Here are some representative illustrations: *I have forgotten my wallet at home; to photocopy the articles that concern the next lecture* (ANSs); *I do not have time to get my wallet before class; I left my wallet at the dorm and I really need to make some copies before the next class* (ENSs); *to buy some photocopies for the next class; I didn't notice that I have forgotten my wallet till now* (Freshmen); *because I have forgotten my wallet; I need some money I have to buy some photocopies; because I have forgotten my wallet when I was in hurry* (seniors). We have further noticed that learners may provide vague *grounders* like in *I have no money, can you lend me some, please* (freshmen). Presumably, this indicates deficiency in linguistic potential that does not permit the formulation of comprehensible utterances.

*Promise of reward* category seems to be a constituent in this scenario (i.e. situation-specific); it has been the second best choice across the four groups. ENSs have used it more than ANSs while learners tend to approximate L1. The frequency of this strategy in the two control groups is related to cultural traits. That is to say, the individualistic Anglo-Saxon culture is characterised by the materialistic world view, which makes a request of something like money often need compensation in return. Conversely, the Arab Islamic collectivistic culture fosters cooperation and being a lifesaver for others. In line with the same argument, Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010: 228-229) noted that in a scenario when ones has to request a lift, ENSs (Americans) have offered a material compensation like *pitching in on some gas, paying \$20* and so on. However, Jordanian learners just showed their appreciation and indebtedness as a material compensation may be a violation of L1 sociocultural norms. Here are some illustrative utterances: ANSs: *I will return it tomorrow if God wills; I will return it to you as soon as possible, if God wills*; ENSs: *I'll be your best friend...I'll even pay you back; I'll pay you back right away, I promise; I will repay you tomorrow; I owe you big time* As previously noted, in Arabic, when people talk about a future event, they routinely use the expression *?inshaa? allah/ God willing*. Such religious expressions do serve a pragmatic function as they are employed as a face-saving strategy for both H and S. It is worth mentioning that the *promise of reward* category is of much weight in English than in Arabic as it is expected in L1 that the requestee refuses to accept the money when paid back, especially among close people. So, in Arabic the employment of this strategy, in certain cases, may be just a way to be polite. Turning to learners' production, they have opted for, e.g., *I will return it back tomorrow; I promise to bring them back tomorrow; I will give them back to you by afternoon* (freshmen); *I will give them back to you; I shall reimburse by tomorrow* (seniors). It is noted that ENSs have been inclined to signal *immediacy* in their *promises of reward* like using *right away, at the end of the day* and *this evening* while Algerians have exclusively used *tomorrow* or *not* specified the period at all. This may be an outcome of a cultural variability as the

tendency toward non-immediate promises has hardly ever been noted in IL data. Yet, since this claim has only arisen from limited evidence, it needs further exploration.

The politeness marker *please* has been used in both control groups. As for TL, this politeness marker has not been perceived as an apt choice in requesting a costly object. In the IL corpus, this marker has been recurrently oversupplied. The distribution of this marker goes to show that IL-users have not made a pragmatic choice (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002, cited in Vellenga 2004: 12); their pragmatic choices have been limited as they have been taught that *please* is associated with the speech act of request.

As far as *closings* are concerned, we have come across these expressions in L1: *yuqidhukal lah/May God lend you* (invocation), *law ?istaTa3t/if you could* and *?in kaana ladayka/if you have* (considerators), *shukran/thank you* (thanking expression). ENSs have used *thank you so much* and *thanks* (thanking expressions), *thank you; you saved my life* (appreciator). All in all, ENSs tend to employ thanking expressions while ANSs seem to favour invocations and considerators. Turning to IL *closings*, they have been attested just in freshmen's requests: *if you have* (considerator), *I will appreciate that* (appreciator), *is that ok?* (confirmation) and *thank you* (thanking expression).

*Disarmers* have been less frequently used in the three groups. As for the content, requesters employed are: *in lam yakun ladayka maani3/if you have nothing that prevents you from* (ANSs); *if you've got money* and *if you have enough money* (freshmen); *if you don't mind* (seniors). The absence of *disarmers* in English requests can be explained, as in SITU 5, by the presence of *imposition minimisers*.

*Preparators* have been employed by learners only. These are the *preparators* found: *I'm in trouble; I have forgotten my wallet; I have forgotten my wallet at home* (freshmen); *I forgot my wallet; could you do me a favour?; I cannot find my wallet; I need some money*.

*Imposition minimisers* have been exclusively used by ENSs (*This is so embarrassing; few dollars just so I can make these copies; not much, just enough to get some photocopies*).

Probably, the absence of this category in Arabic and IL requests may well be related to the fact that this category is similar to considerators (a sub-category under *closing*) that have been used by ANSs and freshmen (seniors have not used any of them).

In a similar way, *apologies* have only been traced in English requests (*I'm so sorry; I'm so sorry to ask this*). Cross-cultural variability between the control groups has been extant in employing the two latter strategies. In the TL culture, requesting money, though from a close person, may be conceived as a self-humiliation as it violates the social norms of individualistic societies that value autonomy. However, no one from L1 has felt a need for them. In Arabic Islamic societies, cooperation between people is among the Islamic teaching even if people do not know each other let alone close ones. Learners seem to lay back on their L1 regarding this point.

Some other strategies have been encountered which have been used to express surprise or emphasise how difficult is the situation for the requester (*I'm having a day from hell and I left my wallet home and I can't believe I forgot all my money*, ENSs; *how stupid I am! I have forgotten my wallet*, freshmen; *Godness [Goodness]! I have forgotten my wallet*, seniors).

#### **IV.7 Situation 7**

*Asking a stranger about the time* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Distant; R=Low]. Given the fact that the request is directed to a passer-by about a free service (information), the comparative easiness of the scenario has yielded, largely, identical responses across the four groups.

As for the request structure, the control groups have opted for HA Only and HA+SM as the dominant. That is, they have directly spelt the request and delayed the modification. Probably, this tendency can be attributed more to the context itself than to pragmatic considerations i.e. the need to catch the attention of the passer-by. The preponderance of *attention-getters* as the main SMs further supports this claim. As for IL-users, they have

opted for the same categories: HA+SM and HA Only, ordered in terms of frequency. The learners, in certain cases, seem to make a big deal of a situation in which an NS would just spell out a simple request. These two examples bear witness:

ENSs: *excuse me, do you have the time?*

IL (freshmen): *good morning, can you do me a favour? I forgot my watch and I'm a little bit late. Can you tell me the time, please?*

Turning to HA strategies, language users seem to extensively have recourse to genuine questions. These examples bear witness: *what's the time? What's the time now? Or what's the time in yours?* (ANSs; literal translation); *what time is it? What time do you have? Can/could you tell me the time? do you have the time? Do you know what time is it? Have you got the right time?* (ENSs); *what the time? What time is it (now)? What's the time? How [what] time is it?* (freshmen); *what time is it? How time is it? What is the time? And what's the time? Could you please tell me what time is it now?* (seniors). Two points we would highlight in IL questions. First, the lack of linguistic proficiency manifested in the use of *how* in lieu of *what*; second, the questions are of one pattern that conforms to L1 as well as the redundant use of *now* which is a translation from L1.

Due to the preponderance of *genuine questions*, findings regarding the employment of modality have not been deemed of empirical value here. In addition, the orientation of requests has not been always identified. So, the comparison, again, lacks empirical value.

As far as the internal modification is concerned, it has been centred on alerts, since getting the passer-by's attention is inevitable. Concerning content, *attention-getters* in L1, as previously, have been centred on kinship terms (*?akhii/?ukhtii= my brother/sister*) and lexical softeners, mainly, *min fadhlik* besides *3afwan/forgiveness=excuse me; law samaht/if you forgive (me)=excuse me* or combination of them (e.g. *?akhii/?ukhtii min fadhlik=my brother/sister please*). Kinship terms may also be used posterior to core requests in Arabic in medial or final position (e.g. *?asaa3a ya ?akhii min fadhlik/time my brother, please*). ENSs

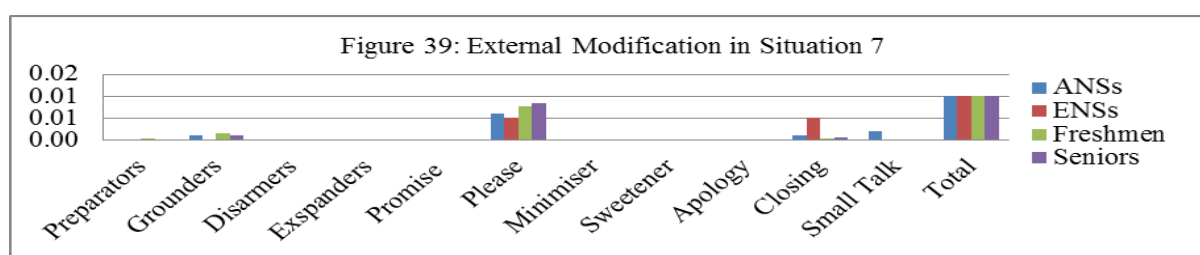
have exclusively employed *excuse me*. As for IL alerts, freshmen have used *sorry*, *good morning (friend)*, *hello*, *excuse me miss*, *hey brother*, *miss*, *sir*, *excuse me*, *hey my brother*, *please*, *hi sister*, *lady* and *sir please*. Seniors have employed *excuse me sir*, *please*, *please sir*, *sir*, *hey*, *excuse me* and *excuse me miss*. It is noticeable, that the use of initial-*please* serves as *attention-getter*. Learners (freshmen) have also used kinship terms as *attention-getters* (*brother*, *my brother* and *sister*). We have also got an instance when *please* has been used twice in one request by freshmen (*please, what time is it, please?*).

Regarding external mitigators, Table 39 summarises the types spotted in our data. All in all, the control groups have opted for almost the same amount of SMs ( $M=0.016$  vs.  $0.013$ ). Learners have overused them ( $M=0.042/0.29$  respectively) due to long-winded requests.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.0	3.85(1)	0.4	0.00(0)	0.00
Grounders	10.00(1)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.0	15.38(4)	0.15	11.11(2)	0.11
Please	60.00(60)	0.60	50.00(4)	0.50	76.92(20)	0.77	83.33(15)	0.83
Closings	10.00(1)	0.10	50.00(4)	0.50	3.85(1)	0.04	5.56(1)	0.06
Small Talk	20.00(2)	0.20	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(10)	1.00	100(8)	1.00	100(26)	1.00	100(18)	1.00

**Table 39: External Modification in Situation 7**

The politeness marker *please* has been the most frequent across the four groups. It seems that the comparative easiness of the situation allows the use of this discourse marker and its equivalents in Arabic. In English data, *please* seems to be employed in easy situations, namely, SITU 2 and 3 and underused or avoided in difficult ones, namely, SITU 1, 5 and 6. As in the previous scenarios, learners have overused it.



*Closings* have been noticeably more used in TL than in L1, unlike most of the previous situations. Looking at the content, they are limited to routine thanking expressions: *thank you* (ANSs); *thanks* and *thanks very much* (ENSs). Learners have used *thank you*, once in each group.

Turning to *grounders*, the situation does not require the use of justification to ask one about time. Only few ones have been utilised in L1 and IL. Concerning content, it has been identical in the three groups: *forgetting watch at home* and *being late for the class*.

*Preparators* have been only utilised by freshmen (*can you do a favour to [for] me? I forgot my watch.... Can you tell me the time, please?*) The use of *grounders* and *preparators* by learners has led to verbosity as already stated.

*Small talks* have been traced in L1 only; ANSs have used Islamic greeting (*?assalamu 3alaikom/peace be upon you* and *?assalamu 3alaikom wa rahmatu lahi wa barakaatuh/May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you*) which is also, in certain contexts, a way to get one's attention.

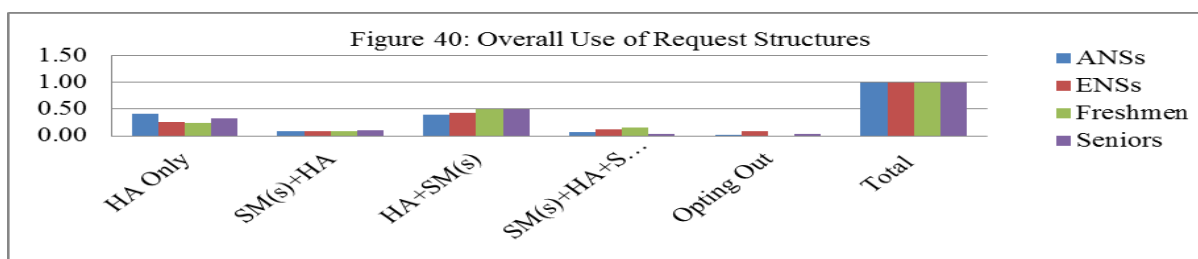
#### IV.8 Overall Use of Request Strategies

Having dealt with each scenario independently, presently, we make an attempt to capture the requestive phenomenon on its totality by considering the overall propensities. As can be seen from Table 40, ANSs, as compared to ENSs, have been inclined to using simple requests realised by HA Only pattern than using elaborate ones (HA+SM+HA) as well as the opting out strategy.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
HA Only	41.36(91)	0.41	25.74(35)	0.26	24.59(60)	0.25	33.51(64)	0.34
SM(s)+HA	9.55(21)	0.10	9.56(13)	0.10	9.02(22)	0.09	9.95(19)	0.10
HA+SM(s)	39.55(87)	0.40	42.65(58)	0.43	50.00(122)	0.50	49.21(94)	0.49
SM(s)+HA+SM(s)	6.82(15)	0.07	12.50(17)	0.13	16.39(40)	0.16	4.19(8)	0.04
Opting Out	2.73(6)	0.03	9.56(13)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	3.14(6)	0.03
Total	100(220)	1.00	100(136)	1.00	100(244)	1.00	100(191)	1.00

**Table 40: Overall Use of Request Structures**



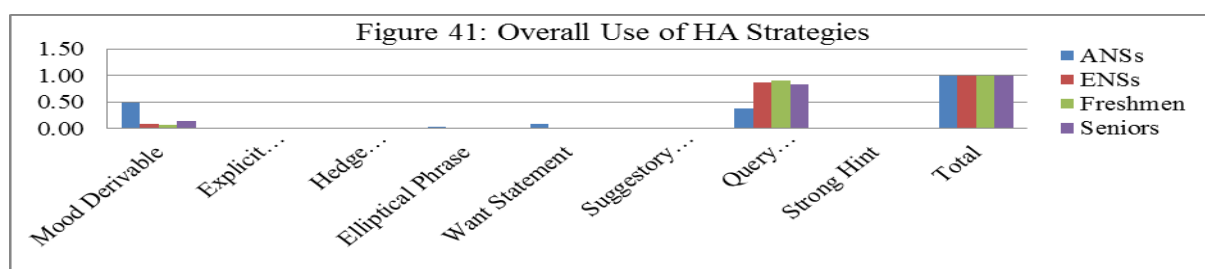


As for learners, they tend to favour the pattern HA+SM which, we assume, is motivated by the extensive use of *please* in final position and SM+HA+SM formula which goes to show the preference of long-winded requests. The opting out strategy appears to be L1-driven. As for seniors, the employment of HA Only, SM+HA and opting out strategies have been in line with L1. Again, the pattern HA+SM aligns with the extensive use of *please* in final position.

As for HA strategies, *query preparatories* have been extensively used in TL. Its use in IL, though approximates TL, it has been understood as overgeneralisation than a sign of pragmatic competence. In L1, direct requests have been widely used. These are *mood derivables*, often in absence of modification, *want statements* and *elliptical phrases*. In L1, they are not a sign of impoliteness, but they rather signal involvement, spontaneity and connectedness.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Mood derivable	48.09(88)	0.48	9.24(11)	0.09	7.76(18)	0.08	14.02(23)	0.14
Explicit performative	1.09(2)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Elliptical phrase	2.73(5)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Want statement	9.29(17)	0.08	2.52(3)	0.02	1.72(4)	0.02	2.42(4)	0.02
Query preparatory	38.25(70)	0.32	87.39(102)	0.87	90.52(210)	0.91	83.54(137)	0.84
Strong hint	0.55(1)	0.01	0.84(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(183)	1.00	100(119)	1.00	100(232)	1.00	100(164)	1.00

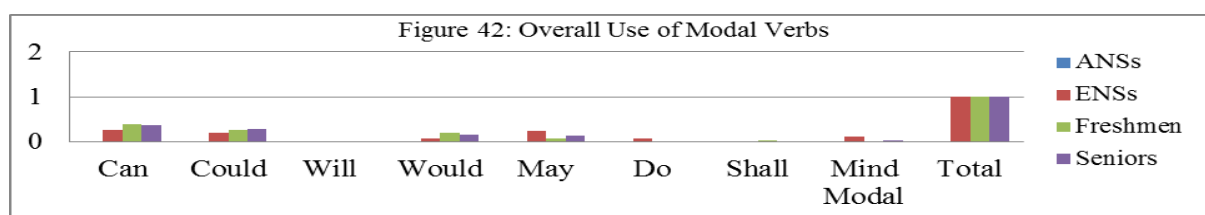
**Table 41: Overall Use of HA Strategies**



The overall use of modality in TL and IL, as can be seen from Table 42, indicates that learners have overused transparent modals: *can*, *could* and *would*. The recurrence of modals of ability (*can* and *could*) could be an influence of learners' L1. The scarcity of *mind modals* and the modal *may* or the non-native-like use of them evidence lack of pragmalinguistic competence.

	ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Can	26.67(28)	0.27	39.49(79)	0.39	36.36(48)	0.36
Could	20.95(22)	0.21	27.49(55)	0.27	28.03(37)	0.28
Will	0.95(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.76(1)	0.01
Would	7.62(8)	0.08	20.99(42)	0.21	15.15(20)	0.15
May	24.76(26)	0.25	7.53(15)	0.08	14.39(19)	0.14
Do	6.67(7)	0.07	1.00(2)	0.01	1.52(2)	0.02
Shall	0.00(0)	0.00	3.00(6)	0.03	0.76(1)	0.01
Mind Modal	12.38(13)	0.12	0.50(1)	0.01	3.03(4)	0.03
Total	100(105)	1.00	100(200)	1.00	100(132)	1.00

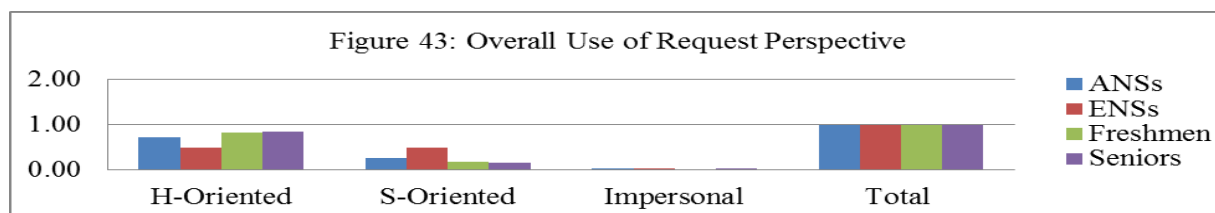
**Table 42: Overall Use of Modal Verbs**



Turning to perspective, Table 43 summarises the overall inclination. Apparently, there is a balance in the employment of the H- and S-perspective in English data. It indicates that ENSs assign equal importance to reference to the H as the doer of the action and the reference to themselves. In Arabic, the dominance of the H-perspective has been evidenced. This explains the preponderance of certain HA strategies, namely, *mood derivables*. The dominance of H-oriented requests in IL goes to show sociopragmatic transfer in the sense that learners have weighed the coerciveness entails in emphasising the role of the H as the bearer of the action as low as in L1. Despite the fact that learners have opted for *query preparatories*, like in TL, their request orientation has followed that of L1. Hence, request perspective is the aspect which has the least immunity to pragmatic transfer.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
H-oriented	71.74(132)	0.72	49.58(49)	0.49	82.35(182)	0.82	83.54(137)	0.84
S-oriented	25.00(46)	0.25	48.74(58)	0.49	17.65(39)	0.18	15.85(26)	0.16
Impersonal	3.26(6)	0.03	1.68(2)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00	0.61(1)	0.01
Total	100(184)	1.00	100(119)	1.00	100(221)	1.00	100(164)	1.00

**Table 43: Overall Use of Request Perspective**

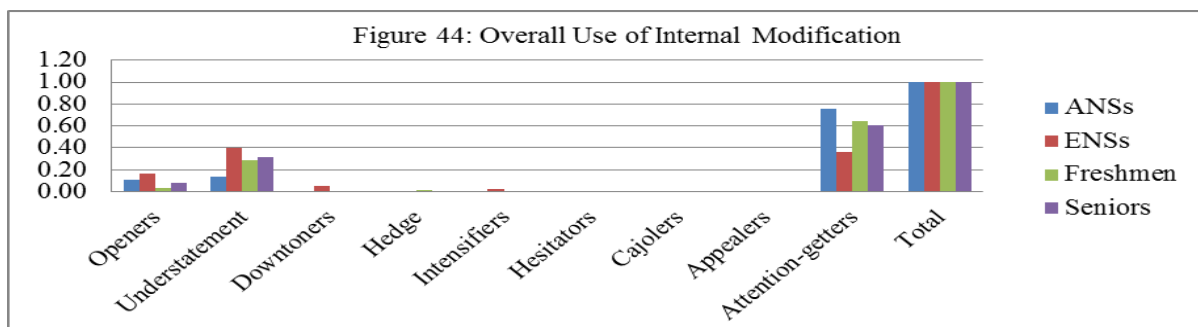


As far as the internal modification is concerned, ENSs tend to use more internal mitigators than external ones in 4 out of 7 situations whereas learners have opted for using external ones instead (7/7 situations for freshmen and 6/7 situation for seniors). Faerch and Kasper (1989: 240) explain this tendency in English requests by means of the conversational maxims i.e. the preference of internally-modified requests conforms to the manner maxim (be brief) as these modifiers are shorter (economical) in comparison with external ones. However, IL-users have opted for the accessible ones (i.e. external). In this respect, the absence of internal modifiers in learners' production may be perceived as offensive.

Table 44 summarises the general tendency in employing internal mitigators.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Openers	10.55(21)	0.11	15.79(15)	0.16	3.77(4)	0.04	8.33(9)	0.08
Understatement	13.57(27)	0.14	40.00(38)	0.40	28.30(30)	0.28	31.48(34)	0.31
Downtoners	0.00(0)	0.00	5.26(5)	0.05	0.94(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Hedge	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	1.89(2)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00
Intensifiers	0.00(0)	0.00	2.11(2)	0.02	0.94(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Attention-getters	75.88(151)	0.76	36.84(35)	0.37	64.15(68)	0.64	60.19(65)	0.60
Total	100(199)	1.00	100(95)	1.00	100(106)	1.00	100(108)	1.00

**Table 44: Overall Use of Internal Modification**



Overall, ANSs have opted for more internal modifiers than ENSs ( $M=0.039$  vs. 0.19). As for learners, they have approximated L1 frequency ( $M=0.21$  each). As for variety, *attention-getters* are the internal modifiers that have been extensively used across the four groups. Apparently, ANSs have used more *attention-getters* than ENSs. To account for this, alerts in L1 can be lexical softeners, kinship terms, in-group markers or honorifics which are a part of the politeness and communicative system in L1. As compared to ENSs, learners have overused this mitigator, and, hence, transfer has been at play.

*Understaters* are the second most used mitigators. Obviously, they have been widely used in TL than in L1. Learners have opted for more *understaters* than ANSs, but they have not reached the target average, because in certain scenarios, they have not been able to use this mitigator (e.g. SITU 5 and 6).

ENSs have been more prone to using *openers* and *downtoners* than L1 and TL. These mitigating devices are speech rituals in TL. For learners, they have used few of them, due to lack of pragmalinguistic competence. To account for the common use of these *consultative devices* in native data, Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010: 96-97) affirm that in English they are negative politeness devices whose role is to minimise impositions and imply SD between interactants. In this respect, their absence in their learners' requests indicates that transfer is at play as they apply positive politeness driven by L1 (Greek) that emphasises solidarity, informality and in-group relations. As for content, we have indicated that forms used in L1 do not seem to be transferable into IL as they do not appear to have a literal equivalence.

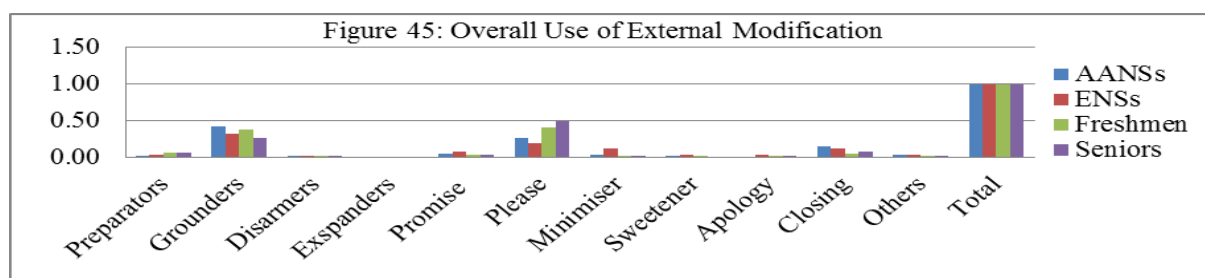
As for the absence of the other types of fillers, namely *cajolers*, *appealer* and *hesitators*, we have looked at it as an instrument effect.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Preparators	1.18(2)	0.01	3.90(6)	0.04	6.42(19)	0.06	6.84	0.07
Grounders	42.60(72)	0.43	32.47(50)	0.32	37.84(119)	0.38	26.84	0.27
Disarmers	1.78(3)	0.02	1.95(3)	0.02	0.68(2)	0.01	1.05	0.01
Expanders	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00	0.00
Promise	4.73(8)	0.05	8.44(13)	0.08	3.72(11)	0.04	3.16	0.03
Please	26.04(44)	0.26	18.83(29)	0.19	40.20(119)	0.40	48.95	0.49
Minimisers	3.55(6)	0.04	12.34(19)	0.12	0.68(2)	0.01	1.58	0.02
Sweeteners	2.37(5)	0.02	3.25(5)	0.03	2.70(8)	0.03	0.00	0.00
Apology	0.00(0)	0.00	3.90(6)	0.04	0.34(1)	0.00	1.05	0.01
Closings	14.79(25)	0.15	11.69(18)	0.12	4.73(14)	0.05	8.42	0.08
Others	2.96(5)	0.03	2.60(4)	0.03	2.70(8)	0.03	2.11	0.02
Total	100(169)	1.00	100 (154)	1.00	100(296)	1.00	100()	1.00

**Table 45: Overall Use of External Modification**

Having dealt with internal mitigators, we presently move to SMs.

ANSs and ENSs have used almost an equal amount of SMs ( $M=0.21$  and  $0.19$  respectively). Freshmen seem to favour a verbose style as they have oversupplied external mitigators while seniors have approximated the TL amount ( $M=0.37$  and  $0.23$  respectively). This is concordant with the findings of Faerch and Kasper (1989) and Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) stating that learners use a considerable amount of SMs of phrasal/lexical type in comparison with NSs of English.



*Grounders* have been frequently supplied across the four groups. It is noteworthy that their content oftentimes has been regarded as instrument effect. ANNs tend to favour them, in comparison to ENSs. Investing on the descriptions provided on the DCT, learners

have approximated the NSs' amount, with varied degrees. The other widely supplied modifier is the politeness marker *please*. It has been relatively higher in L1 than TL, since more than one marker has been coded as an equivalent of *please*. As for learners, they have significantly overused this transparent mitigator in comparison with the other politeness markers. *Closings* have been almost equally supplied in the control groups while in IL learners have opted for fewer ones. Strategies that indicate independence from the requestee, namely, *promises of reward*, *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have been comparatively higher in TL than L1 and IL. This goes to show cultural variability. In Arabic, interactions are characterised by spontaneity and a need to establish a common ground with interactants, unlike in English where requesters strive to decrease threat to their faces and those of others. Turning to IL-users, they seem to fall back on their L1 sensibilities. As for *preparators*, they have been, to a certain extent, equally employed in TL and IL, while relatively underused in L1. We have explained this in the light of the predominance of *attention-getters*.

#### **IV.9 Summary of the Findings**

The present section is a summary account of our findings which appear in the discussion section. We are going to answer the research questions and check the hypotheses.

This section focuses on the main propensities of the requestive act in the control groups and the learner ones.

##### **IV.9.1 Arabic (L1) vs. English (TL) [Research Question 1]**

The cross-cultural comparison of the two control languages/cultures has yielded various points of cross-cultural variability. All in all, Arabic and English tend to employ two different types of politeness systems. That is, a positive-face-based and a negative-face-based respectively. In the former, the S seeks to gain the H's approval and establish a common ground with him. In the latter, the S seeks to free the H from the imposition and impingement.

Politeness in Arabic is achieved through terms of address and lexical softeners mainly. Meanwhile, in English, it depends, basically, on modal items and questions. In TL, questioning, as opposed to stating, serves as a disarming strategy.

#### IV.9.1.1 Linguistic Structures

As for the linguistic devices used, terms of address are part and parcel of the politeness and communicative system in Arabic. They have been extensively used in conjunction with requests. Address terms have been often in-group membership markers (e.g. *my brother, my sister, my uncle, my friend*; they are translations from Arabic). Kinship terms have been employed to address strangers; they do not only serve as politeness indicators but also as a means to seek social rapprochement i.e. minimising distance. The importance of kinship terms is clearly noticed in SITU 2 (*salesclerk*), SITU 5 (*stranger*) and SITU 7 (*passer-by*). Terms of address may also be used in medial and final position to soften the request. In addition, a number of lexical softeners have been utilised (*if you do it as a favour (min fadhlik), if you can, if there is nothing prevents you from, if there is no embarrassment, if you allow, if you are generous enough, I hope/hoping from you*; they are translations from Arabic). Like terms of address, politeness markers could also be positioned medial or final to modulate the directive force. Moreover, ANSs tend to inject religious-bound expressions as they contribute in mitigating the impact of verbal acts on the interlocutor. These are the expressions employed (translation from Arabic): Islamic greeting (*God's peace and mercy be upon you*), invocation of divine care: (*May God bless you*), reference to God's will (*If God wills/ By God's permission*) and swearing (*by God Almighty/ By God = I swear*). Unlike Arabic, English requests depend heavily on modal verbs. This is manifested in the overall employment of *query preparatories* (conventionally indirectness) to balance clarity and non-coerciveness. ENSs have avoided *imperatives* as directness is a sign of impoliteness. However, in Arabic direct requests (*bare imperatives*), especially with close interlocutors, are

rather the norm. Bare imperatives in L1 have appeared in conjunction with lexical softeners oftentimes.

Perspective is an aspect in which cross-cultural variability has been apparently evidenced. As compared with English, Arabic, prefers the H-perspective as there is no offence in making reference to the requestee. However, ENSs have avoided the reference to the hearer as the bearer of the action and, thus, the two main perspectives have been balanced.

As for the internal modifiers, *openers*, *understatements* and *downtoners* have been spotted in TL much more than in L1. In L1, an *understater* may replace the whole request (*just a moment*, SITU 3) and the requester may ask for *time* to metaphorically indicate help (*can you give me little time of yours?*).

Regarding external mitigating devices, ENSs have been more inclined to using strategies relating to independence politeness system (*promise of reward*, *imposition minimiser* and *apology*) than ANSs. Particularly, Algerians have favoured *grounders*. To account for this, we would say that Arabic permits higher levels of verbal production than English and Algerians are less considerate to the quantity maxim. Furthermore, interactions in L1 are characterised by a degree of spontaneity and involvement.

#### **IV.9.1.2 Sociocultural Assumptions**

Requests are a threat to the face of both H and S. In certain situations, Algerians seem to be less reluctant to request than the Anglo-Americans. This is obviously displayed in SITU 5, when most of ENSs have opted for Not Doing the FTA. This reflects an individualistic culture that values individual interest and private self. This is also related to the SD and R factors. Algerians see no problem in requesting such a service as Arabic Islamic culture fosters collectivism, cooperation, and public self.



In order to uncover how the three variables in question have been perceived in the two languages/cultures, we consider the use of strategies at the different levels, looking at the scenarios in pairs.

First, in these pairs SITU 1-SITU 3, SITU 1-SITU 4 and SITU 2-SITU 7, it is only the P-variable that changes. The relation of the S with reference to the H is represented as follows: low-equal, low-equal and high-equal, respectively. The following remarks seem to be in order. ANSs have opted for indirect requests with high-status interlocutors and direct ones with low-status and equal-status ones. On the other hand, ENSs have opted for indirect ones in all contexts. Also, ANSs have balanced S- and H-oriented requests in high-status context, while in low- and equal-status contexts, H-perspective has been the dominant. English requests have been dominated by S-perspective in high-status context, but it has decreased in low-status and equal-status encounters. As for *attention-getters*, they have been employed across all scenarios (softeners and honorifics with high-status requestees; softeners and in-groups markers with low-status and equal-status interlocutors). ANSs have modified requests internally using *openers* and terms of address in a high-status context. Moreover, they have employed *grounders* and *imposition minimisers* in high-status contexts, *lexical softeners* in low-status and equal-status contexts and *sweeteners* in equal-status contexts. ENSs have employed the marker *please* with low- and equal-status, *sweeteners* and *grounders* with equal-status and *imposition minimisers* with high-status interlocutors.

From the above remarks, it is plausible to say that both cultures assign a higher value to P-variables. Noticeably, this variable has influenced requesters' pragmatic choices. Each group has employed strategies of much pragmatic weight respective to the politeness system that applies in each culture.

In the pairs SITU3-SITU7 and SITU5-SITU6, it is only the SD variable that changes. The relationship of S and H is portrayed as follows: clos-distant and distant-close, respectively. Findings are summarised as follows:

ANSs have freely performed the request whether the addressee is close or distant. However, ENSs may cease to request strangers. Direct requests are employed in L1 in interacting with close and distant interlocutors (if the latter are equal). Meanwhile, *query preparatories* are dominant in both contexts in TL. H-oriented requests have been used in Arabic with close and distance people and, in English, they have been more attested with close interlocutors. Additionally, *attention-getters* are heavily relied on in L1 for requesting close and distant people. In the former they are indicators of in-group membership and in the latter they are meant as distance-minimising devices. In TL, fewer *consultative devices* have been employed when interacting with close person. Furthermore, in L1 *grounders* have been often used with close interactants, *imposition minimisers* with distant ones and lexical softeners with both. In TL, *please*, *grounders* and *closings* have been used with close and distant interlocutors. However, *imposition minimisers* have been more supplied with distant ones. Also, *apology* is relatively higher with strangers.

The above remarks suggest that, to a certain degree, performance in L1 remains constant whether interacting with close or stranger addressees. This pertains to the Arabic-Islamic culture that fosters cooperation and being a lifesaver to others even if they are not acquaintances. By contrast, ENSs seem to use certain tactics when interacting with strangers which are absent or less frequently used with close interactants. In this respect, it could be said that TL gives higher value to the SD-variable.

Third, in these pairs, SITU 5-SITU7 and SITU 3-SITU 6, it is only R-variable that changes. R in these pairs is high-low and low-high, respectively. In the first pair (SITU 5-SITU 7), Arab requesters have not seen an offense in performing the requesting in both

situations, unlike requesters in TL who cease to request in high-R context. Direct requests have been employed in high-R scenario in L1, while only indirect ones have been in use in TL. *Attention-getters* have been in use in both high- and low-R contexts. More *openers* have been used, in TL, in high-R context. Additionally, in L1, *imposition minimisers* have been used in high-R encounter; *grounders* have been in use in both contexts. More lexical softeners have been used in low-R situation. In TL, more *grounders*, *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have been attested in high-R scenario, while the marker *please* has been less used in high-R one. In the second pair (SITU 3-SITU 6), Algerians have made use of direct requests in both low- and high-R scenarios. In TL, conventionally indirect ones have been in use in both scenarios. H-perspective has been the dominant in both scenarios in L1, meanwhile, in TL S-perspective has dominated in both. *Attention-getters* have been widely used in low-R and high-R situations by ANSs and, in TL, *openers* and *understaters* have been attested in both, but *downtoners* only in high-R. In addition, more *grounders* have been offered in L1 in high-R situation and more lexical softeners in low-R ones. *Imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have been absent in both. In TL, *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have been almost equally employed in low-R and high-R contexts while *please* and *grounders* have not been considered apt in high-R context as compared to a low-R one.

The above tendencies suggest that, on the whole, English assigns a higher value to R-variable in the first pair (SITU 5-SITU 7). In the second one, the two groups' behaviour appears to be, to a large extent, identical in low-R and high-R contexts, except for the fact that ENSs have opted less frequently for *grounders* and the marker *please* in high-R context.

#### **IV.9.2 Interlanguage (IL) vs. Arabic (L1) and English (TL)**

Regarding the IL performance, the two types of transfer have been extant. In addition to transfer, other features have impacted the learner performance.

#### IV.9.2.1 Pragmalinguistic Transfer [Research Question 2.a]

Transfer in learners' production has been evidenced in HA strategies, modality, perspective and modification.

Transfer of direct requests (*imperatives*) from L1 has been evidenced. In situations where ENSs have employed indirect requests, IL-users have opted for *bare imperatives*. This has been, mainly, extant in scenarios when there is a close relationship between interlocutors: SITU1 (professor), SITU 3 (classmate), SITU 4 (workmate), SITU 5 (stranger) and SITU 6 (classmate). Learners are unaware of the pragmatic value direct forms acquire in TL; they are perceived inconsiderate and rude. Therefore, maintaining them in IL requests may generate pragmalinguistic failure. It is worth of note, however, that learners have successfully opted in most cases for *query preparatories* like ENSs. Yet, this is not necessarily a sign of pragmatic competence, since this strategy is often realised by transparent linguistic structures (modals). Regarding modality, learners have extensively employed the ones of *ability* (*can* and *could*) and *willingness* (*would*). The overuse of such modals can be considered a by-product of textbooks. Also, it might be an outcome of L1 influence, since in Arabic modal items employed are often those of ability.

Moving to the request perspective, it is the aspect that has the least immunity to pragmatic transfer. As in L1, learners in both groups have been inclined to using H-oriented requests disregarding the situational variations, despite the fact that they, as in TL, have employed extensively *query preparatories*, the orientation has followed that of L1. This reflects unawareness of what function perspective plays in minimising coerciveness in the host culture.

Turning to modification, at the internal level, transfer is evidenced in the employment of *please* in initial position in the company of a term of address or by itself as an *attention-getter*. Given the fact that this marker hardly ever fulfils this function in TL, this has been understood as L1-influence, because in Arabic equivalents of *please* (mainly *min fadhlik*) can

be employed for attention cues. It is also noteworthy that IL-users have transferred kinship terms like *(my) brother*, *(my) sister* and *my uncle*. This pragmalinguistic failure arises from the fact that in Arabic such kinship terms are extended to address non-acquaintances as a sign of politeness and a means for minimising SD. Regarding frequency, in all the scenarios, IL-users have employed more *attention-getters* than TL with varied degrees. Here, too, transfer is at play as L1 relies heavily on alerts. Additionally, Learners' overuse of *understatements* (in SITU 1) evidences that they acquire enough syntax, but not necessarily using them in a native-like way: *some a little bit time* (freshmen); *little bit* (seniors). *Understaters* may also be used in medial position as attention-getters *just a moment Ahmed* (freshmen).

As far as external mitigating devices are concerned, learners have translated words, expressions or even whole moves from L1 thinking that they would carry the same illocutionary force in TL. These examples bear witness: words (e.g. *meters*, *dinars*), expressions (e.g. *some time*, *little time*) and moves (e.g., *if it doesn't embarrass you*; *if you do not need it*; *if it doesn't embarrass you of course*; *my shoulders are falling*, freshmen; *if you don't need it*; *if you want*, seniors).

#### **IV.9.2.2 Sociopragmatic Transfer** [Research Question 2.b]

Concerning sociopragmatic transfer, it has been apparently evidenced in SITU 5 (*requesting a stranger to help in carrying bags*). Under the influence of the mother culture, all IL-users perform the request failing to note that requesting costly services from a stranger is considered in TL an invasion of one's territory and autonomy of action and, thus, it is illegitimate to request. Also, using direct requests with close interlocutors, the excessive use of H-oriented requests, underuse of independence strategies, mainly, *imposition minimisers* and *apology*, go to show that learners evaluate contexts in TL by means of social perceptions from L1. In our attempt to measure learners' perception of the situational variables (P, SD and

R), we consider the use of strategies, discarding the ones which do not appear to follow pragmatic variation, namely, *query preparatories* and the politeness marker *please*.

As for the first variable, P, we summarise IL performance as follows: like L1, learners have opted for tokens of direct requests in low- and equal-status contexts. Also, following L1 rules, freshmen balanced S- and H-oriented requests in a high-status context, while seniors have mostly used H-perspective. Also, in low- and equal-status scenarios, learners have used H-oriented requests resembling their distribution in L1. Moreover, *attention-getters* have been extensively used in IL, like in L1, whether in high- or low-status contexts. L1 has also influences types of alerts in IL requests. As for *openers*, unlike TL, they have been either underused or absent in IL in all contexts and their wording has not been often native-like. *Imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have been L1-driven in high-status contexts and *grounders* have been L1-driven in low-status contexts. Similarly, the absence or underuse of *imposition minimisers* in low- and equal- status scenarios as well as the absence of *apology* in equal-status context appears to be L1-motivated. The above remarks make it plausible to claim that learners have assessed the P-variable contexts according to L1 assumptions.

As far as the SD factor is concerned, IL performance can be summarised as follows; unlike TL, learners seem to perform the FTA when interacting with strangers following L1 rules. Cases of direct requests have been attested in IL requests with varied degrees whether with close or distance interlocutors, like in L1. Additionally, H-oriented requests have been dominant in IL request with close and distant interlocutors and, thus, following L1 sensibilities. Again, similar to L1, IL-users have heavily employed *attention-getters* in interacting with close and distant people following L1 frequency and, oftentimes, type too. Unlike TL, *consultative devices* have been either absent or underused in both contexts, while *understaters*, on the whole, have been underused. The amount of *grounders* employed has aligned with their frequency in L1. As for *imposition minimisers* and *apologies*, they have been either underused or totally absent in interacting with close as well as distant interlocutors

and this has agreed with L1 performance. Based on these remarks, once again, it could be said that learners have perceived SD-variable in TL contexts based on L1 conventions.

With regard to the R factor, IL performance can be summarised in these notes: IL-users have not seen an offense in performing the request in high-R context, in agreement with L1, unlike requesters in TL who cease to perform them in high-R context. A number of direct requests have been employed in high-R context by learners, like L1, while only indirect ones have been in use in TL. *Attention-getters* have been in use in both high-R and low-R contexts by IL-users and, thus, following L1 amount (as well as type). More *openers* have been in use in TL in high-R situation, while IL-users have underused or missed them in both contexts. Furthermore, in learners' requests, *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* have either been underused or absent; a tendency that has been noticed in L1 too. Also *promise of reward* has been undersupplied in IL and L1, in one of the high-R encounters, and *grounders* have been in line with L1 distribution in both high- and low-R contexts. Like in SD, IL-users seem to assess R-variable in TL contexts, to a large extent, following L1 sensibilities.

#### **IV.9.2.3 Other Features [Research Question 3]**

Other features amount to transfer in IL-requests performed by Algerian learners. First, due to the lack of pragmatic competence, IL-users have underused *openers*, especially, the *mind modals* in all situations (except SITU 7), *downtoners* and *intensifiers*. Also, the use of non-native like *openers* (e.g. *if you would like*, freshmen; *it will be very grateful*, seniors). The use of *sorry* (by freshmen) as an *attention-getter* is, probably, motivated by the inability to differentiate between this item and its linguistic counterparts *excuse me* and *pardon me*. Equally important, learners have been deemed unable to supply adequate *understaters* in a number of scenarios (SITU 4, 5 and 6).

Second, IL-specific features have been extant in IL requests. For example, there is *the waffle phenomenon* which signifies the oversuppliance of a certain strategy in order to

compensate lack of pragmatic competence like the employment of the marker *please* as the best choice irrespective to situational variation in lieu of *openers* and *downtoners*. The overuse of the politeness marker *please* may also be explained in the light of induced errors, resulting from the faulty presentation of this marker in textbooks as well as its transparency. As compared with ENSs, learners seem to stick to it as the main mitigator irrespective to situational variations, unlike NSs. This choice has been avoided in difficult scenarios, namely SITU 1, SITU 5 and SITU 6. That is to say, learners have not made pragmatic choice. *Please* may also be employed twice in one request: in medial position for attention cues under the influence of L1 or in middle/final position as in TL. Moreover, verbosity characterises learners' performance, especially freshmen, due to overplaying of external mitigators (namely *grounders* and *preparators*). This is regarded as a concern about explicitness by learners.

Third, learners' performance appears to undergo language constraints. For instance, freshmen do not differentiate between the verb *to lend* and *to borrow* (e.g. *can you borrow me this book for some time?*) while they misuse modals like *may* and *shall* (*may you borrow your dictionary please? shall you borrow* (freshmen); *if you could please, give me your dictionary?* (seniors). Also the use of *how* in lieu of *what* in asking about time *how time is it?* Or the redundant use of *know* and *now* in *I know that you know how to deal with it* and *what time is it now?* Probably, such discourse errors can also be an outcome of L1 transfer. Concerning performative verbs, in SITU 6, as an example, learners seem to stick to a couple of verbs *to give, to lend* and *to borrow* while ENSs tend to use a wider range. In addition to these, they have made use of *to loan, be able to lend, to have* and *to spot*. Needless to say, grammatical and word choice errors are involved too.

#### **IV.9.2.4 Proficiency and Pragmatic Performance [Research Question 4]**

Actually, linguistic proficiency has not given a marked advantage to seniors over freshmen. The performance of the two groups has been a good deal identical across the seven



scenarios. That is to say, both of them have laid back on their L1 at the pragmalinguistic and the sociopragmatic levels. In both groups, transfer has been centred on the same strategies: HAs, request perspective and modification (internal and external). Moreover, factors other than transfer listed above have been extant in the production of both groups, with varied degrees. As for the correlation between linguistic proficiency and transfer, Table 46 indicates that this factor has not encouraged the exhibition of pragmatic transfer at both levels. Contrary to expectation, freshmen have, overall, been comparatively more liable to transfer than seniors. Similarly, at the pragmalinguistic level, they have been more liable to transfer than seniors. At the sociopragmatic level, the two language groups have been identical.

	Freshmen	Seniors	Total
	%(N)	%(N)	
Pragmalinguistic	58.82(20)	41.18(14)	100(34)
<i>M</i>	0.59	0.41	1.00
Sociopragmatic	50.00(11)	50.00(11)	100(22)
<i>M</i>	0.50	0.50	1.00
Total	31	25	56
<i>M</i> (both types)	0.55	0.45	1.00

**Table 46: Occurrences of the Two Types of Transfer in Requests**

It is worth mentioning that we have counted as one case of pragmatic transfer any instance(s) that have been reported and discussed at one go, considering both positive and negative. It goes without saying that sometimes there is no clear-cut distinction between the two types. Despite the similarity in performance, we have uncovered some idiosyncrasies as well. Seniors have approximated TL in the employment of *openers*, in SITU 1, 4 and 6, *opting out* strategy, in SITU 1 and 6. Also, they have been, relatively, less affected by verbosity, translation from L1, and grammatical errors. We noted that seniors tend to *play it safe* via the use of linguistic items they know most and, thus, they have been rather tactful. Meanwhile, freshmen have strived to use as many strategies as possible, though unsure about them. In more than one scenario, freshmen opted for an excessive use of external mitigating devices. This has ended them up with long-winded requests. Nonetheless, freshmen have

outperformed seniors regarding the use of the H-perspective in SITU 1, in terms of frequency, but they do not necessarily have a complete command on items realising this strategy (namely the modal *may*).

## **Conclusion**

The analysis of requests showed that pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer was at play. At the pragmalinguistic level, the impact of the mother language was evident in the employment of HAs, namely the modals, *can* and *could*, bare imperatives, kinship terms and word-for-word translation (*my shoulders are falling; it will be nice if you allow me...?*). At the sociopragmatic level, request perspective had the least immunity to pragmatic transfer. In other words, IL-users tended to freely make reference to the interlocutor as the doer of the action as they assumed no taboo in using this, following their mother language guidelines. After analysing requests, we currently proceed to the second speech act under investigation (apology).

## Chapter V

### Data Analysis: Apologies

#### Introduction

This is the second chapter in the practical part of the present thesis. It deals with the analysis of apologies performed in the four language groups in response to seven social situations. Illocutionary force indicating devices (*IFIDs*), explanation or account (*Explanation*), taking on responsibility (*Responsibility*), concern for the hearer (*Concern*), offer of repair (*Repair*) and a promise of forbearance (*Forbearance*) are the speech act sets of the apology. For economy of space, we are going to use the shortened labels between brackets. As for the terms *intensifiers* and *intensification*, they are reserved for the items employed for intensifying *IFIDs* (*IFID*-internal) like in *I'm so sorry* or other strategies (*IFID*-external) like in *please can I bring the book next time?* (Repair strategy). As we have done with requests, analysing apologies will be at two levels: the selection of the strategies in accordance with the situational variables: P, SD and I (sociopragmatic) and the linguistic items used in phrasing these strategies (pragmalinguistic).

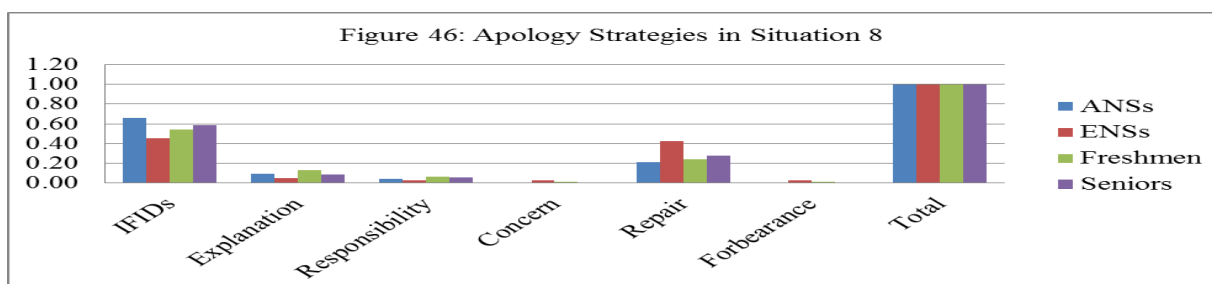
#### V.1 Situation 8

*Apologising to a university professor for forgetting to give back a book* is a situation coded as follows: [S<H; SD=Close; I=Low]. For Bergman and Kasper (1993: 90), borrowing a book from a teacher to Americans is of minor offense as it represents minor impositions on somebody's time, money, physical space, energy or face-wants; they warrant no legal claims to redress. By way of summary, Table 47 shows the employment of the apology semantic formulae.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
IFIDs	66.04(35)	0.66	45.00(18)	0.45	54.43(43)	0.54	58.62(34)	0.59
Explanation	9.43(5)	0.09	5.00(2)	0.05	12.66(10)	0.13	8.62(5)	0.09
Responsibility	3.77(2)	0.04	2.50(1)	0.03	6.33(5)	0.06	5.17(3)	0.05
Concern	0.00(0)	0.00	2.50(1)	0.03	1.27(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Repair	20.75(11)	0.21	42.50(17)	0.43	24.05(19)	0.24	27.59(16)	0.28
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	2.50(1)	0.03	1.27(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(53)	1.00	100(40)	1.00	100(83)	1.00	100(58)	1.00

**Table 47: Apology Strategies in Situation 8**

Overall, ANSs have employed, on average, more strategies than TL ( $M=0.23$  vs. 0.17). This can be explained in the light of the interactional styles in each culture; Arabic often permits higher amount of verbal production than English. In a similar vein, Sabaté i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor (2007: 306) report that NSs of Catalan use one more strategy per situation, as compared to ENSs and relate this to the interactional style. Turning to IL-users, they have been prone to using more semantic formulae than ENSs ( $M=0.034$  and 0.25 respectively). Seniors have approximated L1 amount, while freshmen have, noticeably, opted for more strategies which, like in requests, indicate concern for explicitness and pragmatic intention.



As expected, the four groups have opted for *IFIDs*, and thus, explicit apology. Bergman and Kasper (1993) also report that *IFDs* are the most used across three language groups (L1Thai, IL Thai-English and TL English). Obviously, ANSs have supplied more *IFIDs* than ENSs. This is disagreement with some previous findings (e.g. Ghawi 1993 whose Arabic respondents were from different Arab countries). This may also indicate that ANSs assign more weight to this type of infraction. Learners have been more prone to using them than ENSs; this may be related to L1 transfer.

As for *Repair* strategy, it is a situation-specific; the type of offense committed requires a repair of some kind. This strategy is employed if the offender feels that a verbal apology may not suffice. This semantic formula has been regarded apt in English apologies as in the negative-face cultures, like the Anglo-Saxon, where there is much concern for negative face-saving of both H and S. As for Algerians, they seem less prone to using this strategy following positive-face trends that seek other's approval. Both learner groups have opted for fewer *Repairs* than TL, following L1 guidelines; it is relatively higher in freshmen's production. This is in line with Hussein and Hammouri's findings (1998) which indicate that Jordanian IL-users are less prone to using *Repair* than ENSs. Though it is less frequently used in our corpus, *Explanation* strategy tends to be relatively higher in L1 and IL than TL. This strategy serves as an excuse for committing an offense (Trosborg 1987, cited in Al-Zumor 2011: 27). Ghawi (1993:47) also observes this tendency in his data and, for him, the use of *Explanation* may be motivated by the compensation of *Repair* that is not also frequent in L1 and IL. *Responsibility* strategy might not be insightful as an amount. *Concern* and *Forbearance* strategies have been hardly ever used by ENSs and freshmen.

As for the combination of strategies, English apologies have often included *IFID+Repair*, the same for L1, but in the latter more than one *IFID* may be used: 2 *IFIDs*/3 *IFIDs* have been unusual. In IL, combinations like *IFID+Repair* and *IFID+Repair+IFID* have been frequent. We have also come across one instance in both control groups whereby the apology has been realised by no *IFID*: *hey teacher, I swear by God Almighty that I forgot the book today; it's a promise from me to return it tomorrow* (ANSs) and *I left your book at home. I will bring it tomorrow unless you want me to run back now* (ENS). Seemingly, in Arabic swearing makes it unnecessary to use the *IFID* as religious expressions have more weight than formulaic ordinary ones. In English, as Bergman and Kasper (1993: 95) explain, the 'all-purpose' apologetic expression (i.e. *I'm sorry*) is not felt adequate, so the strategy that is related to this type of offense (in this case *Repair*) may be more sincere. We should further

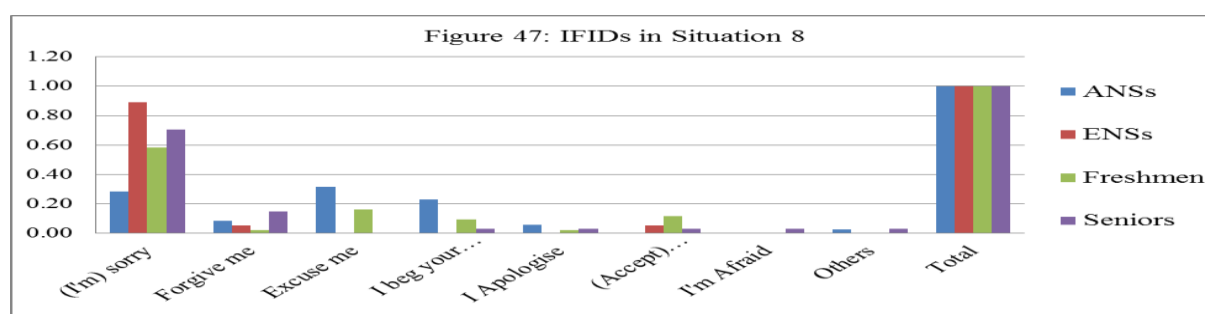
note that in some cases respondents have provided description of what they would say than actually saying it. Such instances, though they have been discarded, serve as metapragmatic information. One informant from ANSs states *I would never have the courage to meet the professor; and if I do I would not have the courage to talk to him*. Another says *I consider the teacher's talk to me as an order, let alone he lends me a book and don't give it back*. These utterances reveal sensitivity to the social rank. A description from ENSs indicates that they care a lot about the *Repair* strategy. This example bears witness: *I would mention that I forgot the book by mistake and offer to return home and deliver on that day if any way possible. If not, I would deliver on the teacher's next available day. If we were unable to meet, I would offer mail, or have courier deliver*. Other strategies have been employed. They do not directly have a relation with the apologising act but with its context. An utterance has been used at the beginning to orient the professor's attention to the propositional content: *I know teacher that I promised you that I would bring it [the book] back today* (ANSs); ENSs have employed two such utterances: *I left your book at home; I know I said I would return the book today, but I forgot*. We assume that such discourse moves function, following Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) arguments in requests, as orientation moves that are "neutral with regard to mitigation" aiming at "shared knowledge management" (p.101).

Table 48 summaries the sub-types of *IFIDs* employed. *IFIDs* in L1 tend to be more varied than in TL. As for learners, they have, unexpectedly, opted for more varied *IFIDs* than ENSs, which is contrary to what is usually reported in ILP literature that learners either employ the same range or lack certain forms. In Sabaté i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor (2007), the high-proficient group seem to have a good command of the range of *IFIDs* available in English and, for the other groups, they lack control over the ones indicating formality. We assume that, though NSs have opted for a smaller range of *IFIDs*, they have compensated at another level which is intensification. However, learners in the present study, like in the one cited above, still use non-native like features, which indicate a difficulty arising out of the

learners' system of beliefs (Thomas, 1983) as well as from their knowledge of the language (Dalmau and Curell i Gotor, 2007).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	28.57(10)	0.29	88.89(16)	0.89	58.14(25)	0.64	70.59(24)	0.71
Forgive me	8.57(3)	0.09	5.56(1)	0.06	2.33(1)	0.03	14.71(5)	0.15
Excuse me	31.43(11)	0.31	0.00(0)	0.00	16.28(7)	0.18	0.00(0)	0.00
I beg your pardon	22.86(8)	0.23	0.00(0)	0.00	9.30(4)	0.10	2.94(1)	0.03
I apologise	5.71(2)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00	2.33(1)	0.03	2.94(1)	0.03
(Accept) my Apologies	0.00(0)	0.00	5.56(1)	0.06	11.63(5)	0.03	2.94(1)	0.03
I'm Afraid	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.94(1)	0.03
Others	2.86(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.94(1)	0.03
Total	100(35)	1.00	100(18)	1.00	100(0)	1.00	1.00(34)	1.00

**Table 48: IFIDs in Situation 8**



The expression of regret (*I'm*) *sorry* has been regarded apt across the four groups, with varied degrees. ENSs have used, considerably, this formulaic ritualistic expression more than any other group. It is a commonplace in English to use a very limited lexical choice to account for the most explicit apologies (Holmes 1990: 175, cited in Sabatè i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor 2007: 298). For this reason, oftentimes, English *IFIDs* run the risk of being less sincere. So as to augment sincerity in English apologies, ENSs make use of intensification (Bergman and Kasper 1993: 23). ANSs have utilised fewer regret strategies; these materials have been coded as equivalents of (*I'm*) *sorry*: *?anaa ?aasifa/?aasif*, as uttered by a female and male S respectively and *3uthran*. Learners have extensively used (*I'm*) *sorry*, but still far from the TL average. Nevertheless, the use of this *IFID* does not necessarily signal pragmalinguistic competence as this item might have been overlearnt (Trosborg 1995). In a paper already referred to in requests (Dendenne, 2014), we show that in

Algerian EFL textbooks at secondary school *IFIDs* are the dominant strategies (around 70% in the three textbooks examined). This can also be related to developmental issues as this *IFID* is among the first acquired ones. As for content, they are not varied (expression of regret *be sorry* has been employed in 80.95% of the cases). Turning to *forgive me*, another *IFID* utilised by the four groups, it is among the typical expressions of apology in Arabic (*saamihni*). In the low variety (Algerian Arabic), this *IFID* is extensively used; it has two forms *saamahni/?asmahlii* and *saamhiinii/?asmhiilii*, addressed to male and female interlocutors respectively. Seniors seem to relatively overuse this *IFID*, as compared to freshmen and ENSs. Linguistic constraints have been evidenced in the production of both learner groups like in *would you forgive me sir?* (freshmen); *I hope you forgive me, I hope to forgive me* and *could you forgive me?* (seniors). Perhaps, the requestive-like construction is an attempt from learners to make the best use of their knowledge in requests. As far as *excuse me* is concerned, another expression of regret, it has been used by ANSs and freshmen, noticeably much higher in the former. This *IFID* has not been attested in the English data, but once as an *attention-getter* not as a real apology as it co-occurs with another *IFID*. We agree with Al-Zumor (2011: 24) that the disparity between L1 and TL in using this lexical item may well be related to the fact that Arabic equivalents (*?a3thurnii*, *?alma3thira*, *ma3thiratan* and *3uthran*) have more apologetic force than *excuse me* in English. As for learners, though they have used it in initial position, it has not been considered an *attention-getter* but a real apology, because, in almost all cases, it stands by itself as the only expression of apology. This is understood as an influence of French, a language which is known to Algerian EFL learner, in which markers like *excusez-moi* and *pardon* can be employed as real apologies in certain situation. In an instance when it has co-occurred with another *IFID*, the learner gives an indication that his initial *excuse me* is meant as an *IFID*. This example bears witness: *excuse me sir, I let your book at home and it is too late to go back to home. Sorry again sir.* The use of *excuse me* by freshmen can be interpreted as transferring its apologetic force from



L1 or French into IL. It can also be interpreted as a confusion between *sorry* and *excuse me*. For Cohen, the selection between these two items requires pragmalinguistic competence (1998: 388). Seniors seem to overcome this difficulty. By means of *I beg your pardon*, the offender requests forgiveness from the victim. It has been employed more in L1 than in IL. The following expressions are the Arabic equivalents: *?arjuu ?alma3thira*, *?a3tathiru minka*, *?astasmihuka 3uthran*. These Arabic *IFIDs* are unlikely to be transferable into IL; so, the use of *I beg your pardon* in learner apologies is to be understood as accommodation to TL norms, though linguistic proficiency does not always allow a native-like implementation. Freshmen have used *beg your pardon sir*; *I beg a pardon*; *I beg your apologies*; seniors have used *I beg your pardon*. This further confirms the conclusions of Sabatè i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor (2007: 299) stating that “learners master the forms and functions of apology realisations without complete command of them.” *I apologise* has been used by L1-users (*?a3tathir*). This is a formal expression of apology that is used in standard Arabic, written and spoken (Al-Zumor 2011: 22). This has also been used once in each learner group. *My apologies* and *accept my apologies* have been apt in L1 and learner apologies. This indicates learners’ awareness of apologies marked for register (formal), and thus, politeness. Nevertheless, learners seem to always struggle to overcome linguistic constraints. These examples bear witness: *I hope that you accept my apology, would you accept my apologise/apologize*, freshmen; *accept my apology*, seniors. Compare this with native use: *sir, my apologies, I forgot to bring your book to return it. I’m afraid* has been used just by seniors, but not necessarily in a native-like way *afraid to tell you I forgot the book you lent me*. *Others* category includes some other forms like *my apology* (in *I repeat my apology*; ANSs) and *thousand apologies* (seniors).

It is worth noting that, like in requests, terms of address (before or after *IFIDs*) and greetings (before *IFIDs*) may be employed in apologies. Especially, ANSs have used terms of address almost in all apologies (e.g. *ya ?ustaath/?ustaathi/(hey) teacher/my teacher*) as

compared to ENSs who employed them in only 6 cases (e.g. *professor Waters, teacher, sir*). In Arabic, *pluralisation* may be also used to indicate formality and politeness; so, *lakom/to you* (plural) may be used in lieu of *laka/to you* (male singular) when addressing the teacher in conjunction with the *possessive*. As it has been pointed out in requests, terms of address are part and parcel of the politeness and communicative system in Arabic. As for learners, they have extensively employed *sir* besides others like *miss, hello mister*.

Having dealt with *IFIDs*, we proceed to another aspect which is intensification.

Table 49 summarises the results obtained.

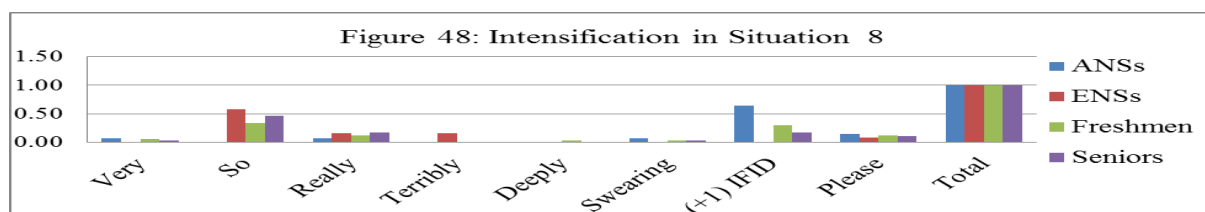
Disregarding intensifiers that are L1 in nature i.e. swearing and more than one (+1) *IFID*, we have found that, unexpectedly, both learner groups have opted for more intensifiers (*IFID*-internal mainly) than ENSs (0.20 vs. 0.37 each). In ILP literature, results have not been conclusive regarding this point. Jung (2004) observed the same tendency in Korean learners i.e. they tend to utilise additional intensity. Trosborg (1995), in Danish learners and Sabaté i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor (2007), in Catalan learners, however, report that their IL-users are less prone to using intensifiers and relate this to the lack of linguistic means.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	7.14(1)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	6.06(2)	0.06	3.57(1)	0.04
So	0.00(0)	0.00	58.33(7)	0.58	33.33(11)	0.33	46.43(13)	0.46
Really	7.14(1)	0.07	16.67(2)	0.17	12.12(4)	0.12	17.86(5)	0.18
Terribly	0.00(0)	0.00	16.67(2)	0.17	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Deeply	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	3.03(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
Swearing	7.14(1)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	3.03(1)	0.03	3.57(1)	0.04
(+1) <i>IFID</i>	64.29(9)	0.64	0.00(0)	0.00	30.30(10)	0.30	17.86(5)	0.18
Please	14.29(2)	0.14	8.33(1)	0.08	12.12(4)	0.12	10.71(3)	0.11
Total	100(14)	1.00	100	1.00	100(33)	1.00	100(28)	1.00

**Table 49: Intensification in Situation 8**

To account for the overuse of intensifiers in our IL data, we would say that learners have oversupplied a couple of them either following L1 guidelines (*very* and *please*) or investing on the ones they know well (mainly *so*). Obviously, ANSs have mostly used +1 *IFID* as a means of intensification; such a tendency is typical in Arabic (Bataneh and

Bataineh, 2008, in Jordanian Arabic; Al-Zumor, 2011, in informants from various Arab countries). It is worth noting that Algerians may use even 3 *IFIDs*; this, we assume, justifies scarcity in other types of intensifiers. Consider these examples: *please forgive me (saamihonii) my teacher. I couldn't bring the book as I promised you. I'm really sorry (haqqan ?aasif), excuse me (?a3thirni); I beg your pardon (?astasmihuka 3uthran) my teacher, I've forgotten to bring you the book, so excuse me (3uthran) once again.* Interestingly, this has not been attested in TL, but only in IL apologies. Learners have fallen back on their L1 assuming that such strategy would be an appropriate intensity. However, transferring this to TL would result in awkward verbose apologies. These examples bear witness: *hello sir, I am really sorry sir, because I forgot the book at home. I hope you forgive me and I promise I'll bring it tomorrow morning (freshmen); Sir, please forgive me, but I promise I will give it to you tomorrow! I [m] so so sorry (seniors).* *So* has been used extensively in IL apologies, but its frequency has not reached the native one. We have also noticed a repetitive use of this intensifier in the seniors' data (*I [m] so so sorry*) and *very* (*I am very very sorry*). This is to be related to L1 transfer as this feature is a commonplace in Arabic, though no instance has been attested in our L1 data. Al-Zumor (2011: 23) encountered repetitive use in both L1 (*jiddan jiddan=so so/very very*) and IL apologies. Repetitive use of intensifiers was also observed in IL apologies by Yemeni EFL learners (Alfattah, 2010). So, it may be said that this IL feature is Arab-speaking learner-specific. Seniors may also oddly bring two intensifiers together (like in *I am really so sorry about the book*).



*Please* and its equivalent in Arabic (mainly *min fadhlik*) have been used as intensifiers in both control groups (e.g. *min fadhlik saamihonii ya ?ustaath/please forgive me my teacher*). In terms of frequency, IL-users have approximated L1 (e.g. *please accept my*

*apologies; please can I bring the book next time; please would you accept my apologise [apologies], freshmen; please accept my apology; please forgive me, seniors). The use of please in IL apologies has also been noticed in previous studies and the reason behind that it is, as Ellis (1997) stated, the transparent and syntactically noncomplex intensifier ‘par excellence’. As for swearing, it has been regarded apt by L1- and IL-users to mitigate the offense and to pacify the offended. In Arabic, swearing is highly valued as it indicates that one is not telling lies and, in Islamic culture, insincere swearing is sinful. This tendency is typical in both high and low varieties of Arabic (e.g. Hussein and Hammouri, 1998, in Jordanian Arabic). This indicates that learners stick to their system of beliefs when interacting in TL. We have come across these examples: I swear by God Almighty (wallahi ?al3athiim) that I forgot the book today (ANSs); I swear to bring it tomorrow (freshmen); I’m really sorry for being late. I swear to bring it tomorrow (seniors). The adverbial very has been only employed in L1 (Jidu ?aasif/ very/so sorry) and IL. Learners have opted for very in I am very sorry. According to Cohen et al. (1986: 96, in Sabaté i Dalmau and Curell i Gotor 2007:304), very is the by-product of text-books preference, though really is by far more common than very in English. As far as really is concerned, it has been used mostly in English data as it is a ritualistic intensifier. In Arabic, haqqan=really has been attested. In learner groups, it has been used in both with seniors approximating the native average. Learners have, on the whole, used it appropriately. Terribly has been once used by ENSs, deeply by freshmen and thousand (in thousand apologies) by seniors.*

It is apparent that intensifiers in L1 are often used to reinforce strategies other than *IFIDs*, unlike in TL where intensification is centred on *IFIDs*. This amounts to saying that Algerians give attention to the apologising formula as a whole. Meanwhile, ENSs give attention to the illocutionary force, given the fact that the ‘all-purpose’ expression of apology (*I’m sorry*) needs intensifiers as a warrant for sincerity (Bergman and Kasper, 1993). In this

respect, learners' use of L1-proper intensifiers shifts intensity from the *IFID* and, thus, effects sincerity.

Having dealt with *IFIDs* and intensification, we move to *Repair* strategy presently. Considering content, it has been almost identical across the four groups; speakers have promised to give back the book the next day or another time. These illustrations bear witness: *I will bring it to you tomorrow by God (Allah)'s permission/if God wills; I will return on another day* (ANSs); *I promise to bring it tomorrow! Can I bring it by your office tomorrow morning? Is there a place I could drop it off to you later that day?* (ENSs). Note that Algerians, as a part of their Islamic culture, tend to refer to the will of God when talking about future events as already noticed in requests. Note, further, that *Repair* strategy in TL may be in form of interrogatives. In TL, questioning (unlike stating) serves as a disarming device (Trosborg, 1995). As for IL-users, they have used: e.g. *but I promise I would take it with me tomorrow; I must go home for bringing the book*, freshmen; *I promise to give it back tomorrow; I will give it as soon as I can*, seniors. Two points are worth emphasising. First, ENSs tend to vary the performative verb in the *Repair* strategy (e.g. *to drop off, to run*); whereas learners stick to *bring, return* and *give*. Second, ENSs tend to signal more immediacy in their compensation than Algerians, though in relatively few cases. So, this claim needs further investigation.

Turning to Explanation strategy, there has been no noticeable disparity among the groups; the provided explanations and accounts have been almost identical. We assume that the construction of the DCT should have contributed in that. The following representative illustrations bear witness; *special circumstances prevented me from returning it back on time; I got out from home quickly and I forgot the book* (ANSs); *I was in a rush this morning and forgot your book at home; but I was in such a rush this morning that I forgot the book* (ANSs). From IL data, we have: *it was too late to come back home; I thought that it was with me but in reality I forgot it at home* (freshmen); *I attempt to bring you back the book, but I*

*forgot it when I left home; I forgot the book at home, but unfortunately I cannot go back home* (seniors).

As far as *Responsibility* semantic formulae are concerned, there is a clear cross-cultural variability among the four groups. ANSs have used explicit self-blame (*the fault is my fault*) and an expression of embarrassment (*I've put myself in an awkward situation*). ENSs have used just one expression of self-deficiency (*I'm the reason why people don't lend books*), but for the informant this is just a *joke* that would be made if the teacher were close “depending on my relation with the teacher I might make a self-deprecating joke like ‘I'm the reason why people don't lend books.’” So, taking this into consideration, it implies that the Anglo-Americans are unlikely to acknowledge responsibility. Considering IL-users, freshmen have used explicit self-blame (*it is my fault*), a lack of intent (*I didn't mean*), an expression of self-deficiency (*I really don't remember that today I should give the book back*) and an expression of embarrassment (*I am so shy for you [intended, I feel embarrassed in front of you]*). We have added another sub-type to account for one utterance (*but I mean no disrespect*); that is *removal of misinterpretation*. Seniors have used two expressions of embarrassment (*I do not know what to say* and *I don't know what to tell you [intended, I regret the offense to the extent that I cannot say anything]*) and an expression of explicit self-blame (*I should give it today*). Obviously, expressions of embarrassment prove that pragmalinguistic transfer is extant in IL production. Overall, L1- and IL-users seem to have no problem in using *self*-strategies (self-deficiency/blame) and expressions of embarrassment in front of their university teacher, unlike TL-users. This agrees with the findings of Al-Zumor (2011: 25) stating that NSs of British and American English opt for less responsibility acknowledgement than L1 and IL-users. Wierzbicka (1985: 168, *ibid*: 25) explains that the Anglo-Saxon culture disapproves any public display of emotions. As a consequence, admitting self-deficiency is “quite embarrassing, discrediting and ultimately unnecessary in a society that values personal preserves and egalitarianism” (*ibid*: 25).

Turning to *Concern* and *Forbearance* strategies, they have been hardly ever used by ENSs and freshmen. As for *Concern* strategy, ENSs have used *I hope that's OK?* And freshmen have used *I hope it does not cause problems*. For *Forbearance*, they have used *it won't happen again* and *It's the last time I do it* respectively.

## V. 2 Situation 9

*Apologising to a young sister for forgetting to help in homework* is a situation coded as: [S>H; SD=Close; I=Low]. Table 50 summarises the strategies employed.

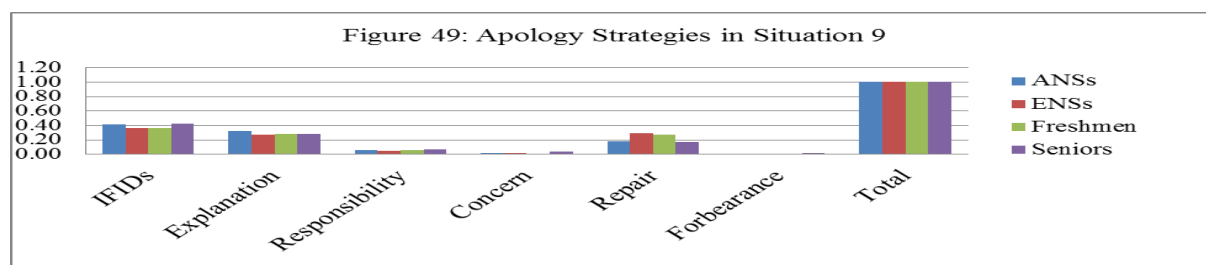
SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
IFIDs	41.43(29)	0.41	36.36(16)	0.36	29.25(31)	0.29	42.11(24)	0.42
Explanation	32.86(23)	0.33	27.27(12)	0.27	22.64(24)	0.23	28.07(16)	0.28
Responsibility	5.71(4)	0.06	4.55(2)	0.05	4.72(5)	0.05	7.02(4)	0.07
Concern	1.43(1)	0.01	2.27(1)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00	3.51(2)	0.04
Repair	18.57(13)	0.19	29.55(13)	0.30	21.70(23)	0.22	17.54(10)	0.18
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	21.70(23)	0.22	1.75(1)	0.02
Total	100(70)	1.00	100(44)	1.00	100(106)	1.00	100(57)	1.00

**Table 50: Apology Strategies in Situation 9**

Overall, there is a difference between number of strategies used by ANSs and ENSs ( $M=0.28$  vs.  $0.17$ ). This can be related again to the interactional styles; Arabic permits higher levels of verbal production than English where verbosity is disfavoured. Freshmen tend to opt for more strategies than any other group, and seniors, to a certain degree, have approximated TL ( $M=0.33$  and  $0.22$  respectively). This tendency, in freshmen's production, has also been noticed in requests. Compared to seniors, this may be explained by the lack of confidence and fear that their intention may not be adequately expressed.

Compared to SITU8, we have noticed a decrease in *IFIDs*; there are fewer instances whereby apology is intensified by two *IFIDs*, in L1, and an increase of cases whereby apology has been realised by no *IFID*, in both L1 and TL. Also, there is a fall in *Repairs* and increase in *Explanations*. The increase in *Explanations* and decrease in *Repairs* across the four groups can be explained by the fact that in the previous situation, speakers, in front of

their professor, seem to focus more on the infraction itself and how to repair it while, in this, on the circumstances of the offense than on the offense itself.



The remaining strategies have been used almost equally across the four groups. We have, however, noted that Anglo-Americans tend to offer more *Repair* than ANSs and IL-users while Algerians tend to use, relatively, more *Explanations*. This last proviso is in line with the findings of Ghawi (1993: 47) stating that *Explanation* strategy is a basic one in Arabic. *Concern* is absent from freshmen's data and *Forbearance* has been attested just in IL data.

As for combinations, ANSs have often used *IFID+Explanation+Repair*, *IFID+Explanation/Repair*. ENSs have extensively combined three basic strategies *IFID+Explanation+Repair*. As for IL-users, they have opted most for the two ones used in L1, in addition to *IFID+Responsibility+Repair*, and *Explanation+Repair*. It is also worth to note that, in the four groups, the apologising act may be realised by *IFID* only or without *IFIDs* at all (see Appendix C for a sample of representative responses).

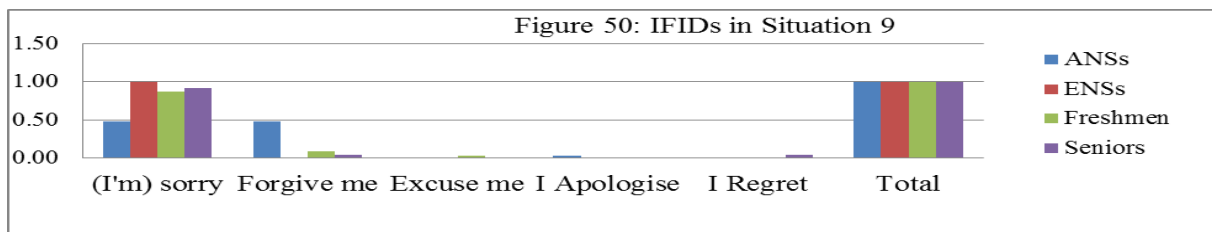
Other strategies do not seem to fit the pre-set taxonomy as they are often not directly related to the apologising act itself. In addition to a *Repair*, ENSs may provide the apologiser with an alternative (e.g. *may be Mom or Dad can help you today; so you will have to ask Mom or Dad to help you*) or use flattery (*you know I love you*). Freshmen have used orientation move *I know that I promised you darling doing your homework, but I do not have enough time* and seniors have offered an alternative *try to find the solution if not come and I try to help you*.



In discussing the content of the semantic formulae, we start with the explicit expression of apology. As can be seen from Table 51, ENSs have exclusively used (*I'm/am*) *sorry* as this formulaic expression of regret can be used across a wide range of settings. So what is likely to change in TL *IFIDs* is intensification. ANSs have expressed regret (e.g. (?*anaa*)?*aasif*/?*aasifa*, uttered by male/female apologise= (*I'm*) *sorry*). Though learners have extensively used (*I'm*) *sorry*, they have not reached the native average. They have used *forgive me* under the influence of L1, *excuse me* in lieu of (*I'm*) *sorry*, by freshmen, and the formal *IFID* *I regret*, by seniors. Apparently, the equivalent of *forgive me* (*saamhiinii*/?*asmhiilii* addressed to a female apologisee) in Arabic have been as frequent as expressions of regret. We attribute this to the fact that this *IFID* is widely used in the low variety (Algerian Arabic; *saamhiinii* or ?*asmhiilii*), given the fact that the situation is informal (unlike in SITU 8). Lack of linguistic means in learner groups has been evidenced (*would you forgive me*, freshmen; *in order to apologise me*, seniors).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	48.28(14)	0.48	100(16)	1.00	87.10(27)	0.87	91.67(22)	0.92
Forgive me	48.28(14)	0.48	0.00(0)	0.00	9.68(3)	0.10	4.17(1)	0.04
Excuse me	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	3.23(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
I apologise	3.45(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
I regret	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.17(1)	0.04
Total	100(29)	1.00	100(16)	1.00	100(31)	1.00	100(24)	1.00

**Table 51: IFIDs in Situation 9**



As in the previous situation, *IFIDs* are often preceded or followed by terms of address; in such a situation they seem to have a major role to play as when interacting with children, they should be selected with care to pacify them as they are more sensitive to infractions than adults. ANSs have used *habiibatii/sweetheart*, (*ya*) ?*ukhtii*/(*hey*) *my sister*,

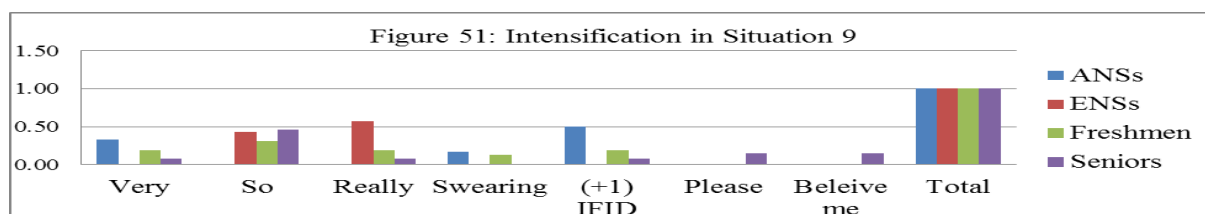
*?ukhtii ?al3aziiza/my dear sister, 3aziizatii/my dear, ya saghiiratii/hey my little one, ya hulwatii/ hey my sweetie and ya jamiilatii/hey my beautiful.* In L1, apologisers sometimes use more than one term of address in one apology, something which may sound unnatural in English. One example bears witness: *hey my dear sister, I'm sorry but I will help you later; I'm very busy, but don't be upset my sweetie as I don't bear seeing you like this my beautiful.* ENSs have used *honey, kid, sis [sister], sweetie, Kimmy and sunshine.* In principle, Arabic and English terms for addressing a young child seem to function similarly; both intend to pacify the child, express sympathy, or, say, deceive her. IL-users have used *(my) sweet sister, oh honey, dear, pretty sweetie, little sister, my dear, dear sister, my beautiful sister, oh my dear, (oh my) darling, baby, oh lovely, sweetie [sweetie], our little princess, sister, my nice girl* (freshmen); *(my) sister, dear, honey and dear sister* (seniors). In Arabic, the apologiser may emphasise his relationship with the apologisee as in this utterance by seniors (*your brother is so sorry*). Overall, IL terms of address tend to either approximate the native use or to be a word-for-word translation from L1. The acquisition of such informal cultural sensitive expressions needs exposure, something which the classroom could ill-afford.

Turning to intensification, Table 52 clearly shows that, in comparison with SITU 8, less intensity has been offered. This is to be related to the shift in P-balance. In L1 and IL, intensification has been centred on strategies other than *IFIDs*. In L1, *+1 IFID* (e.g. *forgive me my little [sister] I had no time; I'm sorry*), swearing (e.g. *O' my sister, by God/I swear (wallahi) I was busy*) and *very* (*jiddan, I'm very busy/very sorry*) are the used ones. Similarly, IL-users have opted for these L1-proper intensifiers (*I was very busy, I swear to help you next time; I am sorry, I have not enough time today. I am sorry, freshmen; I was very busy believe me; I am sorry dear; I could not find my time. I was busy, please forgive me that time).* Transfer of L1-bound cultural elements (like swearing) is what Ellis called 'residual transfer' (1994: 182). As for ENSs, *really* and *so* have been the only intensifiers used; in SITU 8 *terribly* and *please* have been employed.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	33.33(2)	0.67	0.00(0)	0.00	18.75(3)	0.19	7.69(1)	0.08
So	0.00(0)	0.00	42.86(3)	0.43	31.25(5)	0.31	46.15(6)	0.46
Really	0.00(0)	0.00	57.14(4)	0.57	18.75(3)	0.19	7.69(1)	0.08
Swearing	16.67(1)	0.33	0.00(0)	0.00	12.50(2)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00
(+1) IFID	50.00(3)	0.050	0.00(0)	0.00	18.75(3)	0.19	7.69(1)	0.08
Please	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	15.38(2)	0.15
Believe me	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	15.38(2)	0.15
Total	100(6)	1.00	100(7)	1.00	100(16)	1.00	100(13)	1.00

**Table 52: Intensification in Situation 9**

In English, intensity has been totally *IFID*-internal (e.g. *I'm sorry kid, I really am; I'm really sorry; I am so sorry*). That is, ANSs and IL-users tend to focus more on the circumstances of the infraction while ENSs tend to focus on the illocution itself. This tendency has been noticed in other speech acts too. In the context of request, as an example, Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) report that ENSs (Americans) tend to use short requests while Jordanian IL-users tend to use long requests (i.e. more supporting peripheral elements). The authors explain this, in terms of cross-cultural differences, as a concern about propositional content and maintaining interpersonal relationship with the requester respectively.



Turning to learners, they have used almost as many *so*'s as in TL, but seem to underuse *really*. *Please* and *believe me* have been used by seniors, probably, under the influence of L1 (word-for-word translation). These are the spotted examples: *please I regret; please forgive me that time; believe me, I was so busy; I was very busy, believe me*. Seniors have also used another would-be intensifier *you cannot imagine* in *you cannot imagine how much I was busy*. Wordiness is a common feature in IL apologies; a feature which is widely discussed in ILP literatures (e.g. Jung, 2004, dealing with apologies of Korean IL-users; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010, dealing with requests of Jordanian IL-users). Blum-Kulka and

Olshtain (1986) assert that learners use more words as they “feel uncertain of the effectiveness of their communicative interaction” (p. 177).

Having dealt with *IFIDs* and intensifiers, we consider the *Explanation* strategy presently. Respondents stand to provide, mainly, implicit accounts (inability to afford time and being busy). We assume that the phrasing of the DCT has contributed in that. These utterances bear witness: *I was busy; time was not enough for that; I didn't find time for that; doing it in your presence is better than doing it by myself so you know about its content* (ANSs); *I am really in a bind myself; I just have no time to help you out today, this has come up and I want to finish it now; I have to work tonight* (ANSs). IL-users have used *but I do not have enough time; because I was very busy; I am so busy today and I have not enough time* (freshmen); *I could not find time I was too busy; I have a lot of things to do; I am run out of time* (seniors). Syntactically, learners' accounts are awkwardly structured due to literal translation and linguistic constraints.

As far as *Responsibility* strategy is concerned, two points are worth highlighting. First, ENSs, unlike in SITU 8, are less hesitant to using self-strategies as they are interacting with a very close person. Second, opting for justifying H across the four groups as this strategy is situation-specific, given the fact that the offended is a mere child. As for content, ANSs have used explicit self-blame (*I know that I promised you*), self-deficiency (*I completely forgot*) and justifying H twice (*don't be upset, we still have time* and *don't be upset*). ENSs have used self-dispraise (*I'm a shitty sister*) and justifying H (*don't hate me*). As for IL-users, freshmen have opted for self-deficiency (*I forgot it completely*) and justifying the H (*don't be annoyed; don't be angry, twice, and don't cry*). The last expression could be a word-for-word translation from L1. Seniors have used explicit self-blame (*it is my fault* and *I break my promise*), justifying H (*don't be upset*) and denial of responsibility (*depend on yourself*). It has come to the fore that denial of responsibility has co-occurred with explicit apology (*sorry. Depend on yourself!*). This indicates that the apology here is meant to be

sarcastic most probably. In the same vein, Deutschmann (2003: 207) concludes that British apologies can be sarcastic between friends. Obviously, learners seem to have, to a certain extent, a good command in taking on responsibility in front of the young sister; this time, positive transfer is operative.

Turning to *Repair* strategy, it has been, to a large extent, identical across the four language groups. Informants most often offer help, either using unspecified or specified time indicators; informants may also, less often, offer a remedial non-verbal action either concrete or absolute. Consider these examples: *tomorrow I will help you; I'll help you later; but I promise you to compensate what has gone; I'm going to help you now* (ANSs); *will you let me make it up tomorrow? Then will go for a treat; I will not be able to stop and help you until later in this evening; I'll help you out later; if you do your homework, I promise I'll check it for you before you hand it in; can we do some homework now?* (ENSs). As for learner groups, we have got *I swear to help you next time; I will do all your homework at the weekend; I will help you at any subject; buying chocolate and kissing the child* (freshmen); *I will make it up to you next time; I will be helping you later; I promise I will help you for the rest of your homework of the next month and I will take you to the movie on Saturday* (in this last example, one informant seems to accommodate with the target culture as regards the type of *Repair* offered).

As for *Concern* strategy, informants have used *but don't be upset my sweetie, I can't bear seeing you like this* (ANSs); *will you let me make it up to you tomorrow? Then will go for a treat. What do you say?* (ENSs); *I will not be repeated\_\_ok sweetie [sweetie]! And no need to be annoyed honey* (seniors).

Regarding the last strategy, there is paucity in using *Forbearance* strategy. Seniors and freshmen have unnecessarily expressed a sincere bid not to commit the offense again (seniors: *I will not be repeated*; freshmen: *I will never repeat it again*).

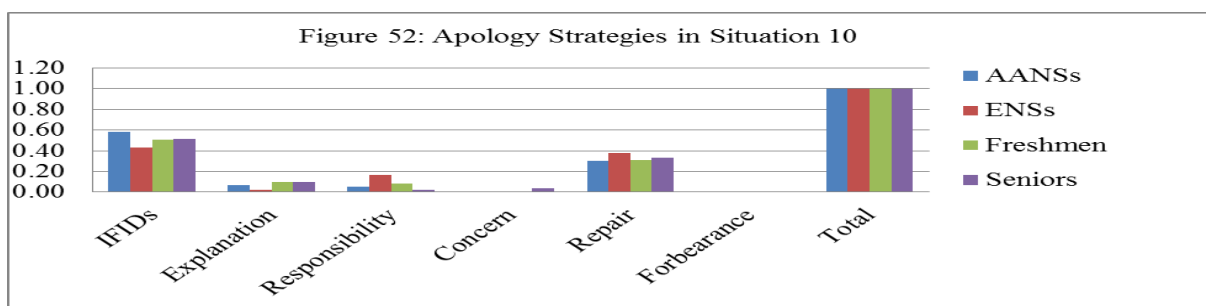
### V. 3 Situation 10

*Apologising to a classmate for forgetting a novel* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Close; I=Low]. All in all, like in SITU 9, ANSs have relatively opted for more apology semantic formulae than ENSs ( $M=0.026$  vs.  $0.19$ ). As for learners, freshmen have been inclined to oversupplying apology strategies while seniors have, to a certain degree, approximated L1 ( $M=0.32/0.23$ ).

*IFIDs* and *Repairs* have remained almost constant while there is a decrease in *Explanations*, as compared with SITU 9. Concerning *IFIDs*, ANSs have opted for more *IFIDs* than ENSs. This is, most probably, motivated by the fact that more than one *IFID* has been used in one utterance. The employment of *IFIDs* by learners can be said to be an L1-driven. Furthermore, ENSs seem to opt for more *Responsibility* and *Repair* strategies than L1- and IL-users, but fewer *Explanation* strategies than them. Two points are to be emphasised. First, we support the claim made earlier stating that *Explanation* is a core strategy in Arabic. Second, in English, taking on responsibility seems to be less face-threatening when interacting with a close person ( $M=0.03$  and  $0.17$  in SITU8 and 10 respectively). As for IL-users, sociopragmatic transfer has been evidenced regarding the distribution of apologising semantic formulae (namely, *IFIDs*, *Explanation*, *Responsibility* and *Repair*). Talking about combinations, the following sets have been mostly used: *IFID+Repair* and *IFID* only (ANSs); *IFID+Responsibility+Repair* and *IFID+Repair* (ENSs); *IFID+Repair* and *IFID+Explanation+Repair* (freshmen); *IFID+Repair* and *IFID* only (seniors).

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
IFIDs	57.89(33)	0.58	42.86(18)	0.43	50.70(36)	0.51	50.98(26)	0.51
Explanation	7.02(4)	0.07	2.38(1)	0.02	9.86(7)	0.10	9.80(5)	0.10
Responsibility	5.26(3)	0.05	16.67(7)	0.17	8.45(6)	0.08	1.96(1)	0.02
Concern	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	3.92(2)	0.04
Repair	29.82(17)	0.30	38.10(16)	0.38	30.99(22)	0.31	33.33(17)	0.33
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(57)	1.00	100(42)	1.00	100(71)	1.00	100(51)	1.00

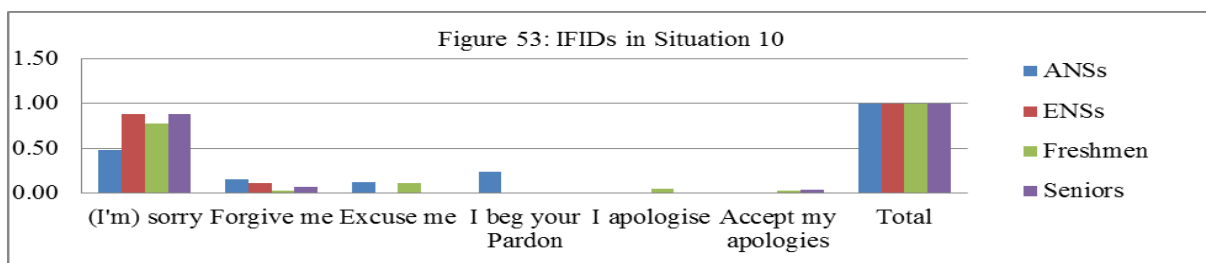
**Table 53: Apology Strategies in Situation 10**



Turning to content, the actual wording of strategies would yield further insights. By way of summary, Table 54 represents types of *IFIDs* employed. Obviously, ANSs have opted mostly for expressing regret using equivalents of (*I'm*) *sorry* (*?aasif/?aasifa* and *3uthran*) and requesting forgiveness using mainly *I beg your pardon* equivalents (e.g. *?a3tathiru minki/lakii*, addressed to a female interlocutor). Equivalents of *forgive me* (*saamihonii* and *?asmahlia*) and equivalents of *excuse me* (*?a3thirni* and *ma3thiratan*) have been used, with a lesser degree. As for ENSs, they have opted almost exclusively for expressing regret through (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* and requesting forgiveness twice via *forgive me*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	48.48(16)	0.48	88.89(16)	0.89	77.78(28)	0.78	88.46(23)	0.88
Forgive me	15.15(5)	0.15	11.11(2)	0.11	2.78(1)	0.03	7.69(2)	0.08
Excuse me	12.12(4)	0.12	0.00(0)	0.00	11.11(4)	0.11	0.00(0)	0.00
I beg your pardon	24.24(8)	0.24	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
I apologise	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	5.56(2)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00
Accept my apologies	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.78(1)	0.03	3.85(1)	0.04
Total	100(33)	1.00	100(18)	1.00	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00

**Table 54: IFIDs in Situation 10**



As far as IL production is concerned, learners have successfully opted for almost as many (*I'm*) *sorry* and *for forgive me* as in TL. For the latter, we assume that, like in SITU 8 and 9, positive pragmlinguistic transfer is at play. As for the use of *excuse me* by freshmen, it

signals deficiency in pragmalinguistic competence; they are unable to differentiate between *sorry* and *excuse me* (e.g. *excuse me I forgot to bring you the novel*). Moreover, freshmen have used a structure that is L1 in nature, which seems to function as an *IFID* (*please, don't blame me*). Learners have also marked politeness by formality via the employment of *accept my apologies* and *I apologise*, which, though in just a few cases, indicates that learners tend to randomly employ *IFIDs* they know than managing them. This casts doubt on the claim made in SITU 8 stating that learners master forms and functions of *IFIDs*. As a consequence, we rather suggest a limited mastery of functions, but confirm the knowledge of forms. These examples bear witness: *I sorry* (freshmen); *please, accept my apologie [apologies]* (seniors).

Having dealt with *IFIDs*, we currently consider terms of address that appear in conjunction with them. On the whole, not many have been used, as compared with SITU 9. In L1, we have encountered these *?akhii* (*my brother*), *ya Sadiiqii/hey my friend* and *ya zamiilii/hey my classmate*. As in requests, terms of address do not change; they are group membership indicators reinforced by possessives. In English apologies, informants have used *man, Kim, dude* and *dear*. Freshmen have employed, *dear* and *Amina*.

Table 55 summarises sub-types of intensifiers made available by informants. All in all, ENSs have opted for more *IFIDs* (*IFID*-internal) than ANSs ( $M=0.19$  vs.  $0.13$ ), like in the two previous scenarios. This can best be interpreted, as already stated, in the light of the ritualistic nature of English *IFIDs* that require intensifiers to ensure sincerity. Furthermore, in TL, *IFIDs* serve a substantive function as a face-saving strategy. Màrquez Reiter clarifies this further: “the use of theses intensifiers in expression of apology seems to be a convention representing a ritualised Anglo-Saxon conflict avoidance strategy aims at redressing the hearer’s negative face” (2000: 167). As for Arabic, we assume that intensity lies external to *IFIDs* through the use of +1 *IFID* or its repetitive use. That is, intensity in Arabic apologies has been equally distributed across the whole apologetic formula and it is not centred on the illocution. As for learners, they tend to overuse intensifiers as they employ both L1-proper

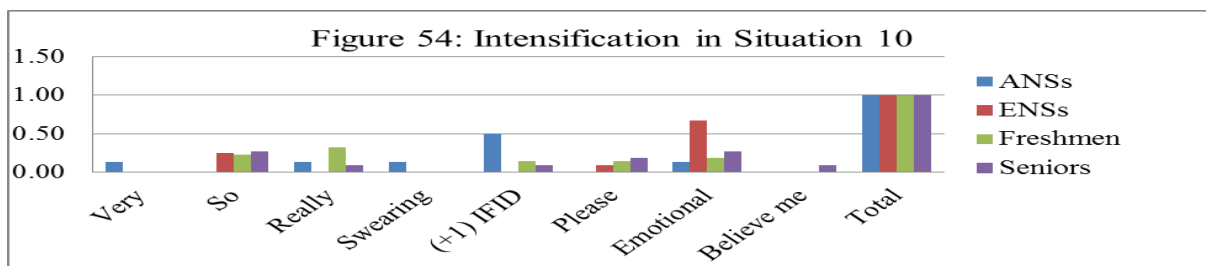


(e.g. swearing) and TL-proper (e.g. so); ( $M=0.34$  each; even when considering just TL-proper ones, they still overuse them;  $M=0.23$  vs.  $0.37/0.38$ ). The use of the former is to be always related to pragmalinguistic transfer while the latter to transparency. Like in L1, learners tend to position intensifiers external to *IFIDs*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	12.50(1)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00	0.00
So	0.00(0)	0.00	25.00(3)	0.25	22.73(5)	0.23	27.27(6)	0.27
Really	12.50(1)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00	31.82(7)	0.32	9.09(2)	0.09
Swearing	12.50(1)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
(+1) IFID	50.00(4)	0.50	0.00(0)	0.00	13.64(3)	0.14	9.09(2)	0.09
Please	0.00(0)	0.00	8.33(1)	0.08	13.64(3)	0.14	18.18(4)	0.18
Emotional	12.50(1)	0.13	66.67(8)	0.67	18.18(4)	0.18	27.27(6)	0.27
Believe me	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	9.09(2)	0.09
Total	100(8)	1.00	100(12)	1.00	100(22)	1.00	100(22)	1.00

**Table 55: Intensification in Situation 10**

Apparently, the use of +1 *IFID* is a typical way for intensifying apologies in L1. This strategy has been employed as the first choice in the two previous situations too, almost with close frequencies ( $M=0.64$ , in SITU 8;  $0.50$ , in SITU 9). This strategy of intensification seems to be more a subject to formulaic use than to situational variation. We need to consider the other situations so as to make sure that it is rather context-independent. An illustration would be: *I'm very sorry (?aasif jiddan) I didn't bring the book. Forgive me (saamihni) I will bring it tomorrow; forgive me I'm sorry I didn't bring you the novel. I forgot it; I'm sorry but I forgot; Oh I forgot it! I'm sorry sorry (?anaa ?aasifa ?aasifa)*. Swearing is another *IFID*-external intensifier (e.g. By *God/I swear (wallahii) I forgot it*. Equivalents of *very* and *really* have been used once each (*?anaa haqqan ?aasif/I'm really sorry* and *?aasif jiddan/I'm very sorry*). By *emotional* (emotional expressions), we mean discourse markers which indicate the apologisee's psychological state like surprise, regret, annoyance etc. (*my gosh; oh! Oh no!*); under this label we include interjections that may appear alone or collocate with other lexemes. In the Arabic data, one instance has been spotted (*?aah nasiituhaa!/Oh I forgot it!*).



Turning to TL, emotional expressions have been heavily relied on as an intensification strategy. The instances employed are *oh man*, *oh my god*, *oh crap*, *oh*, *EEK*, *oh my goodness* and *oh dear*. We have come across an instance when an American informant used signs (≠@%!) to replace the would-be interjection; we assume that he has opted for an unsayable (taboo) word, a feature which is common in American English. Cross-cultural variability in the employment of these elements has been paid a specific attention. Among the thorough accounts on the issue is Wierzbicka (1991) who states:

[E]ven without ... [systematic] investigations we know...that interjections differ considerably from language to language. In fact far from being universal and 'natural' signs which don't have to be learnt, interjections are often among the most characteristic peculiarities of individual cultures (p. 285).

Wierzbicka suggests the following classification of interjections: emotive, volitive, and cognitive (p. 291). Obviously, the ones we encounter in apology are of emotive nature as, for Wierzbicka, they have the component 'I feel something [I regret, in our case]' (p. 291). As mentioned in Oxford Dictionary (Hornby, 2010), *oh*, *EEK* and *goodness* are used to express surprise while *crap* signifies something very bad or of bad quality. Back to other intensifiers, ENSs have used also *so* and *please*. As for IL intensifiers, freshmen have used *so* in almost a native-like frequency, overused *really* and *please* (e.g., *please, do not blame me; please remember [remind] me; please accept my apologies*). As for interjections, they have used few ones (*oh*, *oh God*, *ho*). This language group, like in the two previous scenarios, seems to transfer the employment of +1 IFID (e.g. *I am sorry*, *I apologise for forgetting about you*; *I'm sorry that I forgot to bring you the novel which I promised to give you*. *Please accept my apologies*) following L1 guidelines. Freshmen, in one instance, have tried to intensify their

regret by describing the mistake as *stupid* in *I am really sorry for this stupid forget* and in another they have brought two adverbials together in *I really completely forgot*. As for seniors, they have approximated TL use as regards *so*, overused *please* and underused *really* and *interjections* (*oh, oh no, oh my God, oh, shit!*). This group has also transferred the use of +1 IFID (e.g. *I'm sorry for my mistake. Please forgive me; sorry I forgot to bring it, so please, forgive me). *Believe me* has been used twice (*believe me I was busy; believe me I forgot to bring it, because I loose [lost] it*). We have also come across a repetitive use (*I am really really sorry*). Learners, on the whole, seem to have successfully avoided *very*, invested on the ones they know (*so, really* and *please*), employed basic interjections: *oh* (*my God*) and fallen back on L1 guidelines (+1 IFID and *believe me*).*

*Repair* strategy has been the second best across the four groups. Considering content, the four groups have offered identical repairs using time indicators: giving back the novel *next day, next time* or *next meeting*. These representative examples bear witness: *tomorrow I'll bring it to you; I promise you to bring it tomorrow, if God wills I will bring it to you in afternoon* (ANSs); *I will do better next time. I will bring it tomorrow, I promise; can I bring it tomorrow or you could come over this afternoon and get it?* (ENSs); *tomorrow you will get it; I'll bring it to you next time I see you; I won't forgot next time God willing* (freshmen); *I promise I will bring it; I will bring it to you tomorrow, I promise; but I'll give it to you next time*. Note that an informant from freshmen group has transferred the religious expression *God willing* from L1. Regarding the use of this Qur'anic verse from a pragmatic point of view, Nazzal (2005: 271) analysed its use in spoken discourse and concluded:

Muslims can resort to the use of this communicative strategy [?'insha' allah, (God's willing)] for a host of pragmatic functions. These pragmatic functions range from mitigating one's commitment for carrying out a future action or failing to honor one's commitment, to avoiding the effects and adverse consequences of one's specific action on others.

In context of apology, as well as request, this communicative strategy fulfils the last function i.e. “avoiding the effects and adverse consequences of one’s specific action on others.” Back to *Repair*, due to the lack of linguistic competence, learners, in both groups, have not varied performative verbs as in TL. They have extensively used *to bring, to give* and *not to forget*, ordered by frequency while ENSs have used, in addition, the verbs *to do better, to have, to swing by, to find, to make sure, to pop around, to get and to pick up*. Though this may not affect the illocutionary force of the apology, but the employment of varied performative verbs would help learners sound native-like. The aspect of *Repair* strategy which has reflected a cross-cultural variability is the fact that ENSs tend to give H more than one alternative when repairing the infraction; however, L1- and IL-users tend not to hesitate to involve H in repairing the fraction or assigning partial responsibility to him. Consider these examples: *tomorrow remind me through the phone so as to bring it* (ANSs); *I’ll bring it tomorrow, I promise or you could stop by and pick it up if that works better for you; I’ll have it when I see you tomorrow, I promise! If you need it today I can drive it by your apartment; can I bring it tomorrow or you could come over this afternoon and get it; I can bring it to your home or you can come by to pick it this afternoon; do you want to swing by my place later to pick it up or I can meet you elsewhere to get it to you* (ENSs). IL-users have used: *next time I will bring it to you but please remember [remind] me* (freshmen); *I forgot, why didn’t call me to remind; please, come with me after school to have it. I will pay you transport* (seniors). These two interactional styles reflect two world views; one is characterised by collectivistic values when people are thought to be publically available to each other (assigning responsibility to the H and involving him in actions) and in another people strive to reduce impingement to the least level possible (provision of more than one alternative to suit the H’s circumstances).

As far as *Responsibility* strategy is concerned, cross-cultural variance has been evidenced in the couple of instances encountered. ANSs have employed self-deficiency (e.g. *I*

*totally forgot it; I forgot it*). ENSs have used self-deficiency mostly (e.g. *I totally forgot; I completely forgot that book; I completely forgot to bring it*), explicit self-blame (*I can't believe I forgot to bring it*) and self-dispraise (*I'm an idiot*). Self-deficiency sub-strategy has been the most used in both the control groups and is structured more or less in the same way. This suggests that it is a situation-specific. Moreover, it has been noted that the Anglo-Americans tend to show less reluctance in using self-strategies in equal-status contexts than in high-status ones (SITU 8), unlike Algerians who have been inclined to employing them in both contexts. Turning to learners, they have also employed self-deficiency more than the other sub-categories (seniors have opted for *Responsibility* strategy just once). IL-users seem, on the whole, to have a good command, at least of the usage of adverbials. These examples bear witness: *I really completely forgot; I forget you completely* (this could be word-for-word translation from L1); *I totally confused; I totally forgot it* (freshmen); *I forgot all about it* (seniors). Freshmen have also opted for two non-native-like expressions of embarrassment (*I'm shamed from you [intended, I feel shy in front of you]* and *it is my bad moment*). Apparently, the first is a translation from L1. A previously cited example under intensifiers can also serve as taking on responsibility by means of self-deprecating (*I'm really sorry for this stupid forget*).

Explicit encounters have been oftentimes used in wording the *Explanation* strategy (unlike in SITU 9). To exemplify, ANSs have used *I got out from home nervous and I didn't remember; I was busy; because I was busy*. ENSs have used *I left it on the counter at home*. As for IL explanations, these have been offered: *I didn't go home that's why I didn't remember it; I was in a hurry and forgot the novel; because of a problems that I had yesterday, I forgot even to take money with me; I couldn't find it* (freshmen); *I haven't time to make shopping but I still remember what I've promised; because I loose [lost] it; I was busy; I have some problems*.

As for *Concern* strategy, it has been employed twice by seniors *do not worry and don't be annoyed*.

Before moving to the next scenario, we would mention that Arabic apologies are reinforced by proverbs or idiomatic expressions, a tendency which is documented in apology research (e.g. Hussein and Hammouri's, 1998; Bataineh and Bataineh, 2008, dealing with Jordanian Arabic). These are the instances found *laqad khaanatnii ?athaakira (memory has failed me)*; *kuntu fi haalati laa ?uhsadu 3alayhaa (I was in a situation nobody would really envy= I was in a dreadful situation)* and *?aafatu l3illmi ?annisyaan (Forgetting is the blight of science)*. It goes without saying that the use of such particular examples could be community-specific, given the fact that the Algerian informants are students who major in Arabic language.

#### V.4 Situation 11

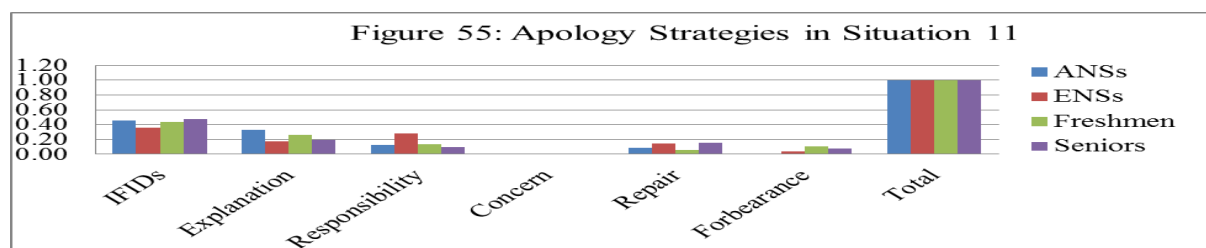
*Apologising to a close friend for forgetting a get-together for a second time* is a situation coded: [S=H; SD=Close; I=High].

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
IFIDs	45.45(30)	0.45	36.17(17)	0.36	44.05(37)	0.44	47.06(24)	0.47
Explanation	33.33(22)	0.33	17.02(8)	0.17	26.19(22)	0.26	19.61(10)	0.20
Responsibility	12.12(8)	0.12	27.66(13)	0.28	13.10(11)	0.13	9.80(5)	0.10
Concern	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Repair	9.09(6)	0.09	14.89(7)	0.15	5.95(5)	0.06	15.69(8)	0.16
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	4.26(2)	0.04	10.71(9)	0.11	7.84(4)	0.08
Total	100(66)	1.00	100(47)	1.00	100(84)	1.00	100(51)	1.00

**Table 56: Apology Strategies in Situation 11**

Like in the previous situations, ANSs have relatively used more apology strategies than ENSs ( $M=0.027$  vs.  $0.19$ ). Similarly, freshmen have overplayed apology strategies and seniors seem to approximate TL ( $M=0.34$  and  $0.21$ ). The distribution of strategies indicates that *IFIDs* have been the most used. ANSs have opted for relatively a higher amount than ENSs and so have done learners. As for *Explanation*, it has been more attested in L1 than in

TL, and learners seem to relatively opt for more *Explanations* too. We have already pointed out that this strategy is typical in L1. Conversely, ENSs have, noticeably, been prone to acknowledging responsibility and offering *Repairs* and, in few cases, *Forbearance* strategies. Such distribution might indicate that both groups have weighed the severity of offense differently. In TL, forgetting a get-together with a close friend is of higher offense that requires elaborate apologies and higher intensification.



These two examples, the most elaborate, from the control groups bear witness:

ANSs: *my dear friend, I'm so sorry because I can't be in your company and I know that is the second time that I'm late to accompany you, but the circumstances overdid it.*

ENSs: *oh my gosh! I can't believe I forgot again. I promise it has nothing to do with you...I'm just so scatter-brained lately. I was out running errands with my family /at study whatever and it totally slipped my mind. I SWEAR I'll be there next time AND I'll pay you meal to make up for it, okay?*

As for learners, they have opted for as fewer *Responsibility* and *Repair* strategies as in L1. No *Concern* has been attested in our data, but we should not miss to say that many instances under *Responsibility* function as a justification for the H. Furthermore, this situation does not really require this strategy as compared with the ones that entail physical offenses. *Forbearance* has been regarded apt by ENSs and learners.

Moreover, we need to consider the instances in which informants, ENSs mainly, have provided descriptions that serve, for us, as matapragmatic information. The ones provided by TL-users appear to support our claim of cross-cultural differences as regards the control groups' perception of this type of infraction. One informant has stated "I should be under a lot

of stress to be so forgetful”. Another affirms that “this could not be a ‘close friend’ I would not forget. The first time ‘maybe,’ but surely not the second.” Anglo-Americans may even resort to lying in order to avoid the face-loss, as one has reported “if it’s the second time I might be tempted to lie to avoid saying I’d forgotten him twice.” This scenario for another informant is unlikely to happen as he does not imagine himself committing this offense twice: “can’t answer this one. This something I could never do.” Interestingly, two informants from the seniors’ group have said that they would lie than to acknowledge responsibility “I would lie to avoid being blamed” and “I would be obliged to lie because it is a very big mistake and I don’t think that my friend will forgive me if I apologise” and another states “It would be very embarrassing situation for me.” These trends go to show native-like perception, probably.

Confusingly, we have come across strategies employed by ENSs we have previously, when encountering them in IL performance, considered as deviations from the TL norms or transfer from L1. These strategies are the use of more than one *IFID*, repetitive use of adverbial intensifiers, swearing and bringing two intensifiers together, asking for forgiveness using a requestive-like structure, the use of the intensifier *very* and the use of *please* to intensify a strategy other than *IFIDs*. Illustrations will be cited under the respective strategies; what is required here is an explanation. Given the fact that the offense has been perceived as high and the apologisee is not facing the apologisee as he has to apologise through phone, we assume, that the apologisee tried to use *unusual* intensifiers so as to convey sincerity through phone since if they were face-to-face, sincerity may be conveyed by other clues (e.g. facial expressions and non-verbal behaviour). Furthermore, the would-be awkward constructions, like the use of two different intensifiers (*so very sorry*) may signal hesitation and lack of control that would soften the infraction and thus, possibly, suggest more sincerity.

Consistence with the strategies displayed in the above table, ANSs have used mostly *IFID+Explanation* and, with a lesser degree, *IFID+Responsibility+Explanation*; ENSs have



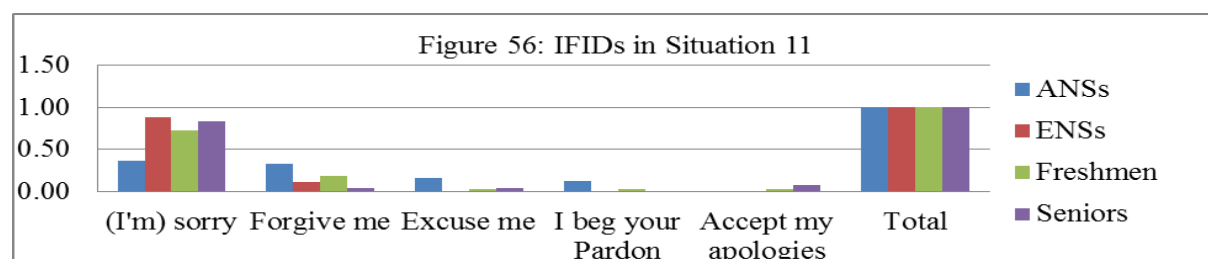
used *IFID+Responsibility/Repair* and, with lesser degree, *IFID+Explanation+Responsibility* and 2 *IFIDs*. As for IL-users, these combinations have been used: *IFID+Explanation* and, less often, *IFID+Responsibility*, *IFID+Forbearance* and *IFID+Repair* (freshmen). As for seniors, they have frequently opted for *IFID+Explanation/Repair* and, less frequently, 2 *IFIDs* and *IFID+Forbearance*.

Having dealt with the distribution of semantic formulae, we presently consider their actual wording.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	36.67(11)	0.37	88.24(15)	0.88	72.97(27)	0.73	83.33(20)	0.83
Forgive me	33.33(10)	0.33	11.76(2)	0.12	18.92(7)	0.19	4.17(1)	0.04
Excuse me	16.67(5)	0.17	0.00(0)	0.00	2.70(1)	0.03	4.17(1)	0.04
I beg your pardon	13.33(4)	0.13	0.00(0)	0.00	2.70(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
Accept my apologies	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.70(1)	0.03	8.33(2)	0.08
Total	100(30)	1.00	100(17)	1.00	100(37)	1.00	100(24)	1.00

**Table 57: IFIDs in Situation 11**

As can be seen from the above table, in Arabic apologies, there has been a balance between expressions of regret (*I'm sorry* = *?anaa ?aasifa/?aasif* and *3uthran*) and the ones for requesting forgiveness: (*forgive me* = *saamihni/?ismahli*). The higher presentation of forgiveness expressions in the Arabic data further supports the claim that asking for forgiveness increases in informal encounters like in Algerian Arabic (SITU 9 and 10). ANSs have also used equivalents of *I beg your pardon* (*?aTlubu ?alma3thira* and *?a3tathiru minka*). The higher use *ma3thiratan* and *?a3thirni* (equivalents of *excuse me*) in Arabic is always interpreted by the fact that they are of more apologetic force than the English counterpart.



ENSs have used the conventionalised expression (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* in most of the cases and *forgive me* in few ones. In TL, *forgive me* seems to have more apologetic force as it has been used in all the previous situations, but SITU 9 (apologising to a young sister). For this particular one, ENSs have used *unusual* structures like *can you forgive me? And I hope that you will forgive me. Excuse me* has never been used as it is reserved for a host of pragmatic functions other than real apologies like getting attention, asking somebody to move in order to get past, disagreeing politely with somebody, telling somebody that you are going to leave etc. (Hornby, 2010). Other expressions have also appeared in the English data that may either function as an *IFID* or reinforce it like in *I have no excuse. Please forgive me...; I am so very sorry, I cannot apologise enough.* Turning to IL *IFIDs*, learners have been inclined to using the transparent expression of regret as the main apologetic strategy approximating ENSs with varied degrees. *Forgive me* has been oversupplied by freshmen and undersupplied by seniors; this evidences positive transfer. As for the presence of *excuse me*, it is to be understood as a lack of pragmalinguistic ability as learners fail to note that this expression serves unreal apologies. Like in the last situation, learners have been more inclined to using formal apologies. This indicates, as already pinpointed, that they know about the forms, but not their functions. Due to lack of linguistic means or L1 transfer, learners have faced difficulty in structuring *IFIDs* (*please excuse me; would you forgive me please, freshmen; please accept my apology; may I have you excuse please; please accept my apology; do not blame me, seniors*).

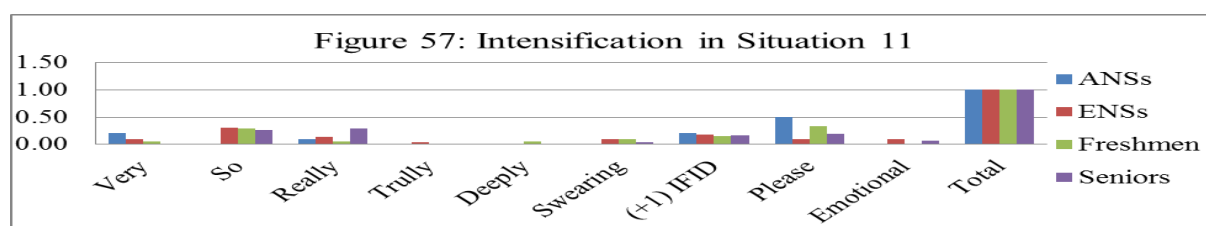
The above *IFIDs* have been, often, employed in the company of address terms (serving as attention-getters, often times (e.g. ANSs: *Sadiiqii/my friend*; ENSs: *man*; freshmen: *my friend, listen, my best friend, Khaoula, bro* and *lovely friend* (freshmen); seniors: *honey, hi my dear friend*).

Intensification is another aspect in which cross-cultural differences have been proved. Like in all the previous scenarios, ENSs have opted for higher intensity ( $M=0.12$  vs.  $0.27$ ).

They have not only opted for more intensifiers, but also varied ones. In L1, intensifiers of a lexical nature are the preferred ones (*please*, swearing, +1 *IFID* etc.), while, in TL, they are of an adverbial nature. As for learners, freshmen have approximated TL and seniors seem to relatively overuse intensifiers ( $M=0.25$  and  $0.36$  respectively). In Arabic, lexical softeners like the ones encountered in requests have been in use (e.g. *min fadhlik*; *?arjuuk=please*). The use of +1 *IFID* is commonplace in Arabic (e.g. *very sorry my friend as I couldn't be in your company for a special reason. very sorry, I will compensate another time*). Two instances of *very* (*jiddan*) and *really* (*haqqan*) have been spotted.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	20.00(2)	0.20	8.70(2)	0.09	4.76(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00
So	0.00(0)	0.00	30.43(7)	0.30	28.57(6)	0.29	25.81(8)	0.26
Really	10.00(1)	0.10	13.04(3)	0.13	4.76(1)	0.05	29.03(9)	0.29
Truly	0.00(0)	0.00	4.35(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Deeply	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.76(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00
Swearing	0.00(0)	0.00	8.70(2)	0.09	9.52(2)	0.10	3.23(1)	0.03
(+1) IFID	20.00(2)	0.20	17.39(4)	0.17	14.29(3)	0.14	16.13(5)	0.16
Please	50.00(5)	0.50	8.70(2)	0.09	33.33(7)	0.33	19.35(6)	0.19
Emotional	0.00(0)	0.00	8.70(2)	0.09	0.00(0)	0.00	6.45(2)	0.06
Total	100(10)	1.00	100(23)	1.00	100(21)	1.00	100(31)	1.00

**Table 58: Intensification in Situation 11**



In English, apologies have been intensified by means of adverbials (*so*, *really*, *very* and *truly*, ordered in terms of frequency), also *please* and interjections (metastatements in Bardovi-Harlig et al., 2008). The use of +1 *IFID*, swearing and the use of *very* has come to the fore in the present scenario. We have already explained this in the light of confusion and concern about sincerity as the interlocutors are not face-to-face. Here are some representative examples: adverbials (*truly sorry*; *I'm very sorry*; *I'm so sorry*; *I'm really sorry*); *please* (*please forgive me*; *please invite me again*); interjections (*oh my gosh*); +1 *IFID* (*I am so so*

sorry, you won't believe this, but I fell asleep. I was so tired this afternoon and I can't believe I did it again, you have no idea, I'm so sorry; I have no excuse, please forgive me I don't know how this has happened again. It is understandable that you're upset. I'm very sorry; I am so sorry. I hope that you will forgive me; I am so very sorry, I cannot apologise enough...can you forgive me?); swearing (I SWEAR I'll be there next time and I swear, It wasn't on purpose). Other expressions like I can't believe; you won't believe this; you have no idea have also been coded as intensifiers. Interestingly, in English, we have come across a repetitive use of an intensifier (*so so*) and bringing two different ones together (*so very*); these instances are underlined in the above cited examples. Turning to IL intensification, in comparison with the previous situation, seniors tend to increase total number of IFIDs following ENSs (ENSs; 21/36 vs. seniors: 19/27). This indicates that seniors have outdone freshmen as regards perception. For freshmen, they have heavily employed adverbials, like ENSs, (*so*, the most used, *very*, *really* and *deeply*, once each). *Really* has been once used to intensify the propositional content (*really I forgot the meeting*). +1 IFID (e.g. I'm sorry I forgot the get-together....I'm sorry again; I'm very sorry about it. Can you forgive me?), *please* (e.g. *please forgive me; please accept my apologies*) and swearing (*this is the last time I swear; I swear I will not repeat it*) have been attested too. Seniors have overused two adverbials, *so* and *really*. Like freshmen, they have frequently used +1 IFID and *please* (e.g. *I am really sorry, please accept my apology; please forgive me; may I have your excuse please*). Seniors have also attempted to use interjections (*ouch* and *oh my God*). For the former, it is inappropriate as it signifies *pain* in English not *regret*; as for the latter, NSs often employ the informal *gosh* instead. Seniors have combined two intensifiers in *really I'm so sorry* and used the would-be intensifiers *believe me*.

Having dealt with IFIDs and intensification, we move to the *Explanation* strategy. As for the control groups, a cross-cultural variability may be claimed in the sense that ANSs have opted exclusively for implicit explanations while ENSs have struck a balance between explicit

and implicit accounts. The point is that ENSs may use explicit accounts to be as convincing and to appease the offended party. Nevertheless, it should be born in mind that this tendency in Arabic apologies may be an instrument effect. In the Arabic version of the DCT, we have provided informants with implicit account stating “you could not accompany a close friend for *one* reason.” These examples clarify the point: *an urgent matter made me late for your company; it was beyond my control not to come* (ANSs); *I was out running errands with my family/study session; but I fell asleep. I was so tired this afternoon; I have so many plates spinning right now; I think I’ve got too many things going on right now and I’m a mess; my life has been really crazy* (ENSs). As far as IL-users are concerned, freshmen tend, like ENSs, to strike balance between explicit and implicit accounts. Representative examples would be: *you know that I’m busy because of my old sister’s wedding, so I forgot. I couldn’t even study today because mum is in the hospital and I need to stay home; all this because of my charged program [timetable]; I’m obliged to miss [the appointment with] you; my sister was very ill and I went with her to school; I faced a problem so that I’m not coming; but be sure I was obliged*. Seniors have opted for almost exclusively implicit accounts (e.g. *I was very busy with the research; I was very sick and I couldn’t come; I have faced some problems; it was an emergency situation that is why I could not come*). Overall, the implicit accounts have been identical, so what remains to be of empirical value are the explicit ones. IL-users seem to favour *illness* as a most convincing excuse, but ENSs do not opt for such excuses. Though in few cases, this can be said to reflect cultural view as matters of *sickness* and *death* are not negotiable excuses in Islamic societies, they are regarded convincing excuses. In a similar vein, Hussein and Hammouri (1998) concluded that Jordanian learners opt mostly for sickness and death as unquestionable excuses while Americans opt for lack of time as a prime excuse.

As for *Responsibility* strategy, Algerians have been more inclined to using self-blame and Anglo-Americans have been more inclined to using self-deficiency. Explicit self-blame

has been used seven times by ANSs (e.g. *I know that it's the second time; I disappointed you for the second time*) and justifying H (*don't be upset. I'm myself upset*). ENSs have used expression of self-deficiency (e.g. *I just went right of my head; I'm just so scatter-brained lately; I've been a little careless about my obligations lately; I have a brain like a sieve*), self-blame (e.g. *I can't believe I forgot again; I can't believe this is the second time*), justifying H (*it is understandable that you are upset*) and self-dispraise (*I'm such a @#%! head*, probably the missing word is a taboo one). There are also two other instances that can be an indicator of responsibility; we have labelled it previously as removal of misinterpretation (*I promise it has nothing to do with you; it is just bad luck that I forgot*). Turning to learner groups, these sub-categories have been identified, in freshmen's corpus: self-blame, most used, (e.g. *I know I did it again; I know this is not the first time I do this; I know this is a lot [intended, so much annoying]*), lack of intent (e.g. *I misjudged the time so I couldn't com; I didn't mean to miss our date [appointment]*), self-deficiency (e.g. *I have totally forgotten; I totally forgot the meeting*), expression of embarrassment (*I am embarrassed from you*) and justifying H (e.g. *I know that you are angry that I missed the meeting*). As for seniors, they have been mostly inclined to using self-deficiency (e.g. *I don't know what's happened to me*), besides lack of intent (e.g. *I did not mean not to come*) and justifying H (e.g. *don't be hard on me, please*).

As far as *Repair* strategy is concerned, it has been almost identical across the four groups. Respondents tend to offer a verbal compensation (promising to be on time next meeting), but ENSs have been more prone to offering concrete compensations (e.g. *let me make it up to you. I'll buy you some beers tomorrow; what are you doing right now? I'll pick you up and were going to the steak bar*) and verbal ones (e.g. *please invite me again. I promise I'll be there; can we reschedule? I really want to see you*). Concrete compensation reflects western societies' materialistic values and also indicates that the infraction committed has been perceived as high. In Arabic, repairs have been of that kind *but I promise you not to*

*be late [in joining] you another time; I'll be in your company next time if God wills; next time I promise to go with you. As for IL Repair, these utterances exemplify repairs offered: but I'll make it up to you next time. I promise; I will be more attention [mindful/careful] next time (freshmen); next time things will go better and we will meet sure; when I will be OK, I'll call you and fix it with you (seniors).*

As for the *Forbearance* strategy, it has been supplied by TL- and IL-users; this indicates that learners have been aware that such kind of offenses may really need a bid not to be repeated. Here are the identified examples: ENSs (*I promise it won't happen again; I promise next time I will not forget*); freshmen (*it will not happen again; I promise this is the last time I forget such meeting; I will not do that again; I will never do it again; I swear, I will not repeat it gain*); seniors (*I promise you it will be the last time; I promise it will no [not] happen again; I promise her not to forgot again; it is the last time*). Overall, learners seem to control the use of this strategy, despite the observed linguistic deviations.

Having dealt with the main strategies, we have to consider some others that may help in the success of the apologising act in one way or another. In the Arabic data, we come across an instance that, we think, functions as a disarmer before the issuance of the apology: *it would have been a great pleasure if I accompanied you, but I'm sorry*. Algerians have also used the Islamic greeting (*?asalaamu 3alaykom*) which, we assume, may help in pacifying the apologise. Supporting this last proviso, Nazzal confirms that:

Muslims use certain linguistic devices not as a mere tool of communication to display their religious identity but rather as a social conduit to perform action, or to exert some influence on each other's attitude and behavior, and thus bringing about some change in the behavior of their interlocutors. (p. 255-256)

From the freshmen's performance, we have come across this expression but *it's not by my hand*. Such fatalistic expression reflects a deep belief by Muslims that one cannot control events or stop them. Such reference to destiny may, however, not work in the perceptive system of the TL. In a similar vein, Hussein and Hammouri (1998) point out that those

fatalistic expressions are a commonplace in the performance of apologies in Jordanian Arabic. A speaker may also use sweeteners in his attempt to appease the offended person like *you know I love you right?* (ENSs); *I'm sorry Khaoula. I forgot you, I love you* (freshmen); *you know how much I love you* (seniors).

To summarise, learners from both groups seem to possess, pragmalinguistically speaking, the adequate competence to apologising to a close friend, despite deviations related to linguistic deficiency.

## V. 5 Situation 12

*Apologising for stepping on a lady's foot while getting a movie ticket/walking in university corridor* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Distant; I=Low].

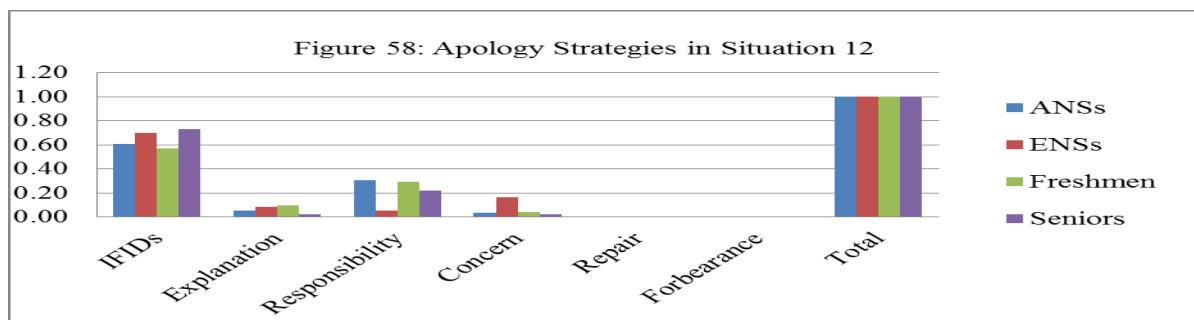
SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
IFIDs	61.02(36)	0.61	70.27(26)	0.70	57.33(43)	0.57	73.17(30)	0.73
Explanation	5.08(3)	0.05	8.11(3)	0.08	9.33(7)	0.09	2.44(1)	0.02
Responsibility	30.51(18)	0.31	5.41(2)	0.05	29.33(22)	0.29	21.95(9)	0.22
Concern	3.39(2)	0.03	16.22(6)	0.16	4.00(3)	0.04	2.44(1)	0.02
Repair	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(59)	1.00	100(37)	1.00	100(75)	1.00	100(41)	1.00

**Table 59: Apology Strategies in Situation 12**

Table 59 summarises the results obtained. All in all, once again, Algerians have opted for more apology semantic formulae than Anglo-Americans ( $M=0.28$  vs.  $0.17$ ). For learners, freshmen seem to oversupply apology strategies ( $M=0.35$  vs.  $0.19$ ). Starting with *IFIDs*, ENSs have supplied more than ANSs. This is due to the nature of the situation; it is one that requires formulaic apologies using conventionalised explicit expressions of apology. Interestingly, ENSs have supplied more *IFIDs* in this situation which is of minor offense, as compared with other scenarios, e.g., SITU 8 and 11 ( $0.70$  vs.  $0.45$  and  $0.36$  respectively). Such a tendency aligns with the findings of Bergman and Kasper (1993) stating that ENSs (Americans) are inclined to use more *IFIDs* in low-severity contexts. This, for the authors,



indicates willingness to repair minor infringements while the ritualistic explicit expressions of apology (*IFIDs*) are perceived inadequate in high-severity contexts. Furthermore, it is the first situation ever when ENSs have employed more *IFIDs* than ANSs. This supports the findings of Alfattah (2010: 241) stating that this offense (stepping on other's toe) in Arabic culture is not as serious as in the English culture. Algerians are more inclined to acknowledging responsibility than ENSs. Conversely, the latter are more inclined to express concern for H. This can best be explained by divergence in interactional styles. In Arabic collectivistic society, there is no problem in admitting one's deficiency something which is discarded in Anglo-Saxon individualistic one and, thus, concern for the H is provided instead. In a similar vein, Guan et al. (2009: 40) report that physical harms, like stepping on other's foot, for westerners (Americans) are considered "invasion of personal territory", but are taken less seriously by collectivistic eastern cultures (Chinese and Korean). *Explanation* has been less frequently used across both groups. As for the *Repair* and *Forbearance* strategies, they have not been attested in our data as the situation does not require them. Additionally, such encounters are of a transactional nature i.e. they do not aim at maintaining relationship between interactants, since the interlocutors are strange to each other. Turning to learners, it has been evidenced that they have fallen back on their L1 guidelines in that opting more for *Responsibility* than *Concern*. As for *IFIDs*, seniors have approximated TL amount and freshmen have utilised as few ones as in L1. As for *Explanation*, it has been employed by freshmen in a native-like frequency while it has been hardly ever used by seniors. In this respect, the frequent recurrence of *Responsibility* in learner apology may be perceived in the target community as overpoliteness; however, underemployment of *Concern* may be perceived as impoliteness.



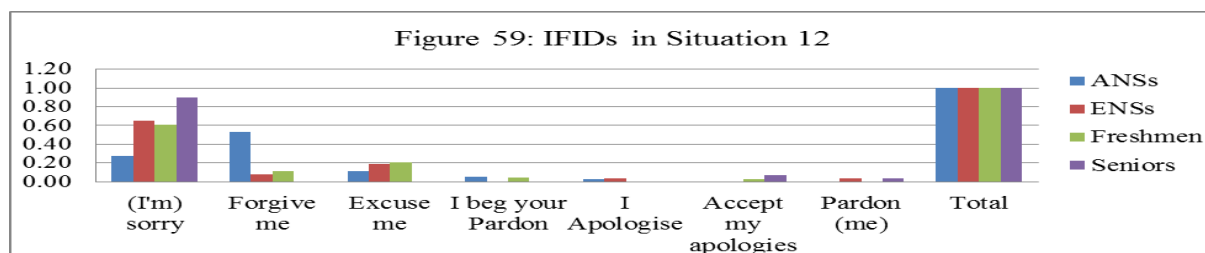
As can be seen from Table 60, *forgive me* is the most frequent *IFID* in the Arabic data. We have already mentioned that it is widely used in Algerian Arabic in informal settings. These forms have been coded as equivalents of *forgive me* (*saamihiinii/?ismahiilii*). Expressions of regret, equivalents of (*I'm*) *sorry*, have been the second best (*?aasif/?aasifa* and *3uthran*). *Excuse me* equivalent has been employed as the third choice (*?a3thiriii*); needless to repeat that in Arabic it acquires more apologetic force. *I beg your pardon* (*?arjuu ?alma3thira*) has been used twice and the formal *IFID* *?a3tathir* (*I apologise*) once. In TL, the expression of regret (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* has been always the dominant one. The high occurrence of *excuse me* has come to the fore. We have already pinpointed above that the present scenario is among the contexts in which *excuse me* is frequently used (to politely ask somebody to move so that you can get past). This type of apology is often included in dictionaries within idiomatic uses (e.g. Hornby, 2010).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	27.78(10)	0.28	65.38(17)	0.65	60.47(26)	0.60	90.00(27)	0.90
Forgive me	52.78(19)	0.53	7.69(2)	0.08	11.63(5)	0.12	0.00(0)	0.00
Excuse me	11.11(4)	0.11	19.23(5)	0.19	20.93(9)	0.21	0.00(0)	0.00
I beg your pardon	5.56(2)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00	4.65(2)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00
I apologise	2.78(1)	0.03	3.85(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Accept my apologies	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	2.33(1)	0.02	6.67(2)	0.07
Pardon (me)	0.00(0)	0.00	3.85(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	3.33(1)	0.03
Total	100(36)	1.00	100(26)	1.00	100(43)	1.00	100(30)	1.00

**Table 60: IFIDs in Situation 12**

For Deutschmann (2003: 46), such apologies are *formulaic*; “uttered in situations ... where apologising is more a matter of routine.” Accordingly, instances of *excuse me* are not likely to be considered *real* apologies. These are the identified examples (*oh, excuse me! I'm*

so sorry; excuse me; oops!! Excuse me. I'm sorry; excuse me. I'm sorry). Note that often *excuse me* co-occurs with another *IFID*; this further proves its formulaic/idiomatic nature. What has been said about *excuse me* is also true for *pardon me* (*pardon me, I'm sorry about that*) which is too employed for attention cues. We have also encountered an instance of formal apology (*oops! I apologise. Was that your foot?*). As regards IL apologies, freshmen have employed (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* almost in a native-like frequency, relatively overused *forgive me*, following L1 rules, probably, and used almost as many instances of *excuse me* as in TL. A word of caution needs to be said here as the employment of *excuse me* by freshmen has not been meant for attention cues, but rather as a *real* apology. These examples bear witness: *excuse me lady, I did not pay attention I'm sorry; excuse me madam, I don't mean that; excuse me madam I don't see your foot; I don't mean that; excuse me lady, this happened inadvertently; excuse me lady, I didn't pay attention; excuse [me] lady*. Not only in the present scenario, but in previous ones too, freshmen have employed *excuse me* most often by itself as an expression of apology. They have also used *I beg your pardon* and *accept my apologies* (*I beg your pardon lady. Forgive me; please, please accept my apology*).



As for seniors, they have oversupplied the expression of regret (*I'm/I am*) *sorry*. We explain this by the waffling phenomenon, oversuppliance of a particular item (Edmondson and House, 1991). House (1988) was the first to tackle this issue in the context of apology. For Edmondson and House, (1991), learners resort to this strategy to compensate for lack of speech routines. It has been noticed that, whether in request or apology, seniors seem to outdo freshmen in that they favour strategies they know most and, thus, tend to play it safe. However, freshmen attempt to vary strategies, even when unsure about them, to cope with the

difficulty of a situation and, thus, go for more deviations. Seniors have also used *accept my apologies* (*request my apologies* [intended, *accept my apologies*] and *please, accept my apology* [*apologies*]) and *pardon* (*pardon. I'm really sorry*).

Oftentimes, *IFIDs*, especially in Arabic, collocate with terms of address (e.g. *?ukhtii/my sister; sayyidatii/lady/madam*). ENSs have used only *ma'am*, once. As for learners, freshmen have used *lady, miss, madam*, very often, and *sister*, once. Seniors have utilised *ma'am* and, mostly, *madam, lady* and *miss*. What can be learnt from this is that the use of kinship terms and possessives is a typical tendency in Arabic, as in requests, to seek rapprochement with the H (Maalej, 2010) in an attempt to appease her. In requests, they are often employed prior to the act while, in apology they are posterior.

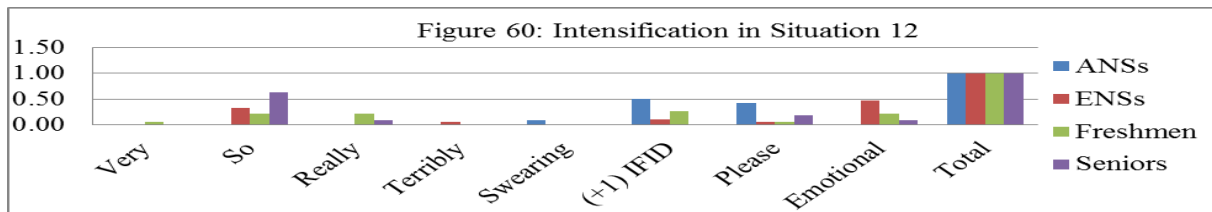
Now, we move to intensification, an aspect in which variability has been evidenced.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	5.26(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00
So	0.00(0)	0.00	33.33(7)	0.33	21.05(4)	0.21	63.64(7)	0.64
Really	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	21.05(4)	0.21	9.09(1)	0.09
Terribly	0.00(0)	0.00	4.76(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Swearing	8.33(1)	0.08	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
(+1) IFID	50.00(6)	0.50	9.52(2)	0.10	26.32(5)	0.26	0.00(0)	0.00
Please	41.67(5)	0.42	4.76(1)	0.05	5.26(1)	0.05	18.18(2)	0.18
Emotional	0.00(0)	0.00	47.62(10)	0.48	21.05(4)	0.21	9.09(1)	0.09
Total	100(12)	1.00	100(21)	1.00	100(19)	1.00	100(11)	1.00

**Table 61: Intensification in Situation 12**

All in all, ENSs have opted for more intensifiers than ANSs ( $M=0.33$  vs.  $0.19$ ). As already noted, this feature in English apologies plays a substantive role as a conflict-avoiding technique. Moreover, this supports the claim that this action is of minor consequences in Arabic compared to English. In terms of frequency, freshmen have employed as many intensifiers as TL while seniors seem to underuse them, in comparison ( $M=0.30/0.17$ ). This signifies that freshmen seem to weigh the infraction in a native-like way. Algerians have used three typical ones, namely, *swearing* (*wallahi lam ?arakii/by God/I swear I didn't see you*),

*please* (e.g. *min fathlik saamihiinii/please forgive me*) and +1 *IFID* (e.g. *sorry (3uthran) ?asmahiilii (forgive me); I'm sorry (?aasifa) my sister. I'm sorry (?aasifa)*).



Turning to English apologies, like in the previous situation, emotional expressions have been heavily relied on to express surprise and regret (*oh (no)*, *oops*, and *oh my goodness*, ordered in terms of frequency) and the adverbial *so*. *Please* has been employed once (*please, forgive me*), +1 *IFID*, twice, (*please forgive me. So sorry; I apologise, was that your foot? forgive me*) and *terribly*, once (*I'm terribly sorry*). +1 *IFID* is the most used intensifier by freshmen (e.g. *I'm really really sorry lady. Forgive me please; sorry sister...forgive me; I'm sorry please, please accept my apologies*). As for adverbials, we have come across *so*, *really*, and *very*. Freshmen have attempted to produce native-like interjections (*ah!* and *Oh!*). *Please* has been used once. Repetitive use of *please* and *really* has been spotted besides the would-be intensifier *believe me* (*believe me; I didn't notice you were behind me*). As for seniors, they have overused *so* and *please* (*please lady request my apology; please accept my apology*). One case of *really*, interjection (*oh sorry*) and *I'm afraid*, as an intensifier (*I'm afraid I hurt you too much*), have been employed

The *Responsibility* strategy is the second most used after *IFIDs*. ANSs have extensively opted for lack of intent (e.g. *I didn't pay attention; it wasn't my intention; it wasn't my attention to step on your foot; I didn't mean*), self-deficiency (*I didn't see you*) and denial of responsibility (*the fault wasn't my fault*). ENSs have acknowledged guilt using self-deficiency, twice, (*I didn't see you there; I am very clumsy, I should have watched were I was putting my feet*). Turning to IL-users, freshmen have mostly used lack of intent (e.g. *I did not pay attention; I don't mean that; I did not want to do that; It's just an accident*) and self-deficiency (e.g. *I didn't see your foot; I do not see your foot*) as well as denial of

responsibility (*you are standing on the way; you know it's a line waiting [queue]*). As for seniors, they have employed explicit self-blame (e.g. *it was my mistake; I should be aware; I don't know why I couldn't be careful*), lack of intent (*I didn't mean to step on your foot; I did not intend to make such an incident*) and self-deficiency (*I didn't see you*).

As for the *Concern* strategies, they have been mostly used by ENSs (e.g. *are you ok? Are you alright? Did I hurt you?*). Not many cases have been spotted in L1 (*are you ok/alright?*). Freshmen have used *are you ok? I hope I didn't hurt you; are you fine? did you get hurt?*). Seniors have opted for *I'm afraid I hurt you too much*. On the whole, learners have been able to express concern in a native-like manner, except for some ill-employed words like *fine* in lieu of *ok/alright*.

As for the *Explanation* formulae, ANSs have blamed the crowd as the main excuse (e.g. *it's the crowd as you see; I didn't pay attention in such crowd*). These utterances exemplify types of justification mentioned by ENS (*I'm moving too fast, guess I'm in a hurry to see the movie; it's very crowded here*). The same reason has been offered by IL-users (e.g. *it's somehow darkness; you see there a lot of people here. I'm still staying and don't have place to sit in; I was pushed by people; I'm very tired and have stayed here for a long time, (freshmen); it is crowded (seniors)*).

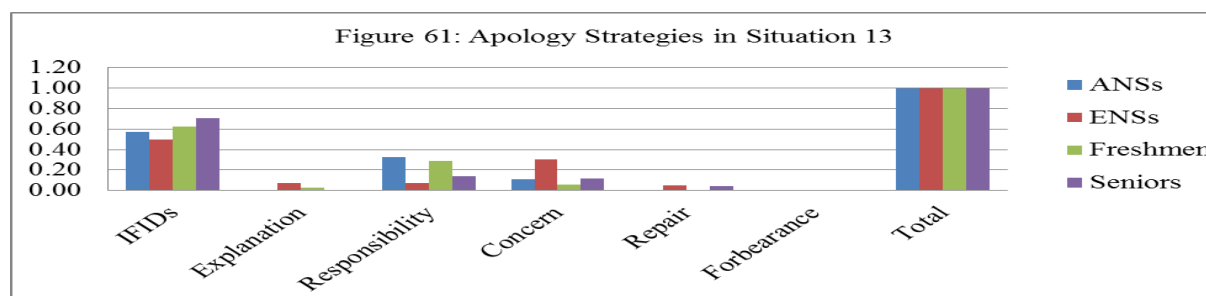
## V.6 Situation 13

*Apologising for having your bag fallen from a rack on a passenger* is a situation coded as: [S=H; SD=Distant; I=High]. Again, ANSs have opted for more semantic formulae than ENSs ( $M=0.29$  vs.  $0.18$ ); freshmen have opted for more semantic formulae and seniors have stood in between L1 and TL ( $M=0.32/0.22$ ). As can be seen from Table 62, *IFIDs*, the canonical strategy, is the most employed across the four groups. We would attribute the high presentation of this strategy in the Arabic data to the frequent employment of two or more

*IFIDs* per one formula of apology. Similarly, in learner groups, the recurrent use of this strategy is attributed to the use of +1 *IFID* and, thus, pragmalinguistic transfer.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
<i>IFIDs</i>	56.92(37)	0.57	50.00(20)	0.50	62.50(45)	0.63	70.59(36)	0.71
<i>Explanation</i>	0.00(0)	0.00	7.50(3)	0.08	2.78(2)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00
<i>Responsibility</i>	32.31(21)	0.32	7.50(3)	0.08	29.17(21)	0.29	13.73(7)	0.14
<i>Concern</i>	10.77(7)	0.11	30.00(12)	0.30	5.56(4)	0.06	11.76(6)	0.12
<i>Repair</i>	0.00(0)	0.00	5.00(2)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	3.92(2)	0.04
<i>Forbearance</i>	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>100(65)</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>100(40)</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>100(0)</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>100(51)</b>	<b>1.00</b>

**Table 62: Apology Strategies in Situation 13**



It is apparent that ANSs and IL-users have been inclined to using more *Responsibility* strategy than *Concern*. By contrast, ENSs have been inclined to using more *Concern* than *Responsibility*. This reflects two cultural views regarding the ‘immunity of one’s self’ in interacting with strangers. Al-Zumor (2011: 28) explains these two views with reference to his study’s overall findings.

It has also been observed from the data that, in the Arab culture, admitting one’s deficiency [acknowledging responsibility] in order to set thing[s] right is not as embarrassing and discrediting as in the Anglo-Saxon culture. The immunity of one’s private self is much less part of the Arab culture. People are more publicly available to each other.

The *Explanation* and *Repair* strategies have been sporadically opted for by ENSs and freshmen, for the former, and ENSs and seniors, for the latter. As for *Forbearance*, the scenario does not require S to forbear not to commit the offense, since the interlocutors are distant.

Consistent with the semantic formulae employed, the following combinations have been identified: *IFID+Responsibility* and, with a lesser degree, 2 *IFIDs* (ANSs); *IFID+Concern* and, with a lesser degree, *IFID+Concern+Responsibility*. As for IL-users, we have come across these combinations: 2 *IFIDs* and *IFID+Responsibility* (freshmen); *IFID Only* and, with a lesser degree, *IFID+Responsibility* (seniors).

Starting with the most frequent strategy, *IFIDs*, Table 63 shows that Algerians tend to strike a balance between expressing regret, requesting for forgiveness or acceptance of apology. The use of *don't blame me (laa tu?aakhithnii)* as an expression of apology in L1 evidences word-for-word translation in using *don't blame me* spotted earlier in freshmen's apologies. As far as English apologies are concerned, they have followed the same regularity i.e. using the formulaic expression (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* as the major *IFID*, besides the formal and distant *IFID I apologise (are you alright? I apologise)*.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	37.84(14)	0.38	95.00(19)	0.95	75.56(34)	0.76	80.56(29)	0.81
Forgive me	29.73(11)	0.30	0.00(0)	0.00	6.67(3)	0.07	11.11(4)	0.11
Excuse me	21.62(8)	0.22	0.00(0)	0.00	11.11(5)	0.11	0.00(0)	0.00
I beg your pardon	2.70(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
I apologise	0.00(0)	0.00	5.00(1)	0.05	2.22(1)	0.02	2.78(1)	0.03
Accept my apologies	2.70(1)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	4.44(2)	0.04	5.56(2)	0.06
Don't blame me	5.41(2)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(37)	1.00	100(20)	1.00	100(45)	1.00	100(36)	1.00

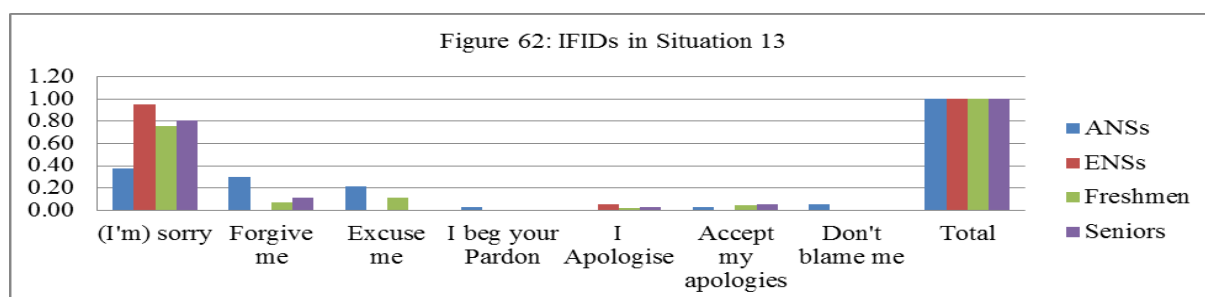
**Table 63: IFIDs in Situation 13**

As compared with the control groups, learner groups seem to heavily use the transparent overlearnt form (*I'm/I am*) *sorry*, though they have not reached TL average. The selection of this item cannot be deemed appropriate unless intensification is considered, because expressing regret does not guarantee sincerity. Learners have also opted for *forgive me*, perhaps, under the influence of L1 (e.g. *would you please forgive me; forgive me for what happened*, freshmen; *forgive me please; you need to forgive me for that lady*, seniors). The use of *you need to forgive me* sounds as an order and, hence, aggressive in TL. Freshmen have



misused *excuse me* due to lack of pragmalinguistic competence or interference of French norms, as has been pinpointed previously (e.g. *I am very sorry it was an accident. Excuse me, please; excuse me sir. I did not put it correctly; excuse me I bad [mis-]placed my bag on the rack. I am sorry gain*). Learners have also employed the two formal *IFIDs* *I apologise* and *accept my apologies*, but not necessarily in a native-like manner (e.g. *please accept my apologized; accept my apologise; I apologise to you* (freshmen); *please accept my apology; I apologise to you* (seniors)).

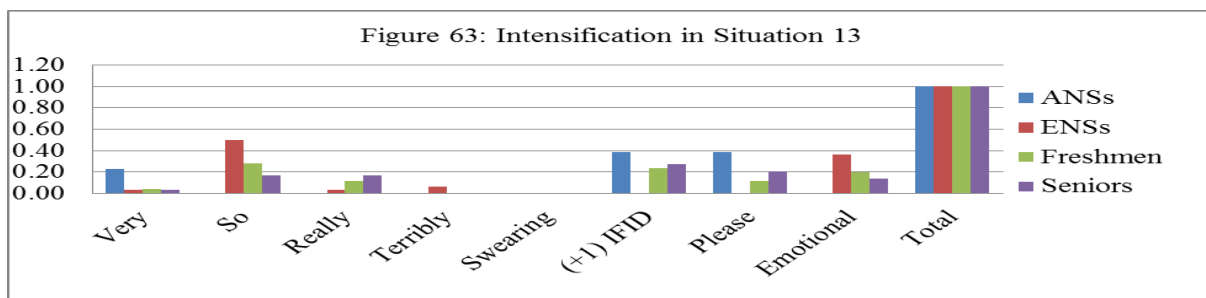
Needless to say, a number of address terms have been used: *ya ?akhii/ my brother; ya sayyidii=sir* (ANSs); *oh dear!* (ENSs); *sir, bad [bud/buddy]* (freshmen); *sir, miss* (seniors).



By way of summary, Table 64 represents the sub-types of intensification employed. Predictably, ENSs have opted for more intensity than ANSs ( $M=0.31$  vs.  $0.13$ ); the type of infraction makes it necessary to redress the offended party's face-loss. As compared with ENSs, the learners' degree of intensification, disregarding +1 *IFID*, is below TL average ( $M=0.39$  vs.  $0.25/0.27$ ).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Very	23.08(3)	0.23	3.33(1)	0.03	4.76(1)	0.05	0.00(0)	0.00
So	0.00(0)	0.00	50.00(15)	0.50	28.57(6)	0.29	25.81(8)	0.26
Really	0.00(0)	0.00	3.33(1)	0.03	4.76(1)	0.05	29.03(9)	0.29
Terribly	0.00(0)	0.00	6.67(2)	0.07	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Swearing	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	9.52(2)	0.10	3.23(1)	0.03
(+1) <i>IFID</i>	38.46(5)	0.38	0.00(0)	0.00	14.29(3)	0.14	16.13(5)	0.16
Please	38.46(5)	0.38	0.00(0)	0.00	33.33(7)	0.33	19.35(6)	0.19
Emotional	0.00(0)	0.00	36.67(11)	0.37	0.00(0)	0.00	6.45(2)	0.06
Total	100(13)	1.00	100(30)	1.00	100(21)	1.00	100(31)	1.00

**Table 64: Intensification in Situation 13**



In Arabic, lexical softeners, (equivalent of *please*) and +1 *IFID*, have been equally employed, in addition to *jiddan/very* and the repetitive use of *IFIDs*. The preponderance of adverbials is remarkable in the TL (*so*, *terribly* and *really*, ordered by frequency) besides emotional expressions (*oh my goodness*, twice; *oh my God*, once; *oh no*; *aah*; *oh my gosh*; *oh*; *oops*; *oh dear*). One instance of *very* has been spotted (*I'm very sorry about that*). Regarding learner groups, they have opted for the adverbials *so*, *really* and *very*, besides +1 *IFID* and *please*, following L1 rules probably. Additionally, few emotional expressions have been employed. Here are representative instances of +1 *IFID*: *I'm sorry sir. Forgive me of what happened to you; excuse me I misplaced my bag on the rack. I am sorry again* (freshmen); *sorry I apologise to you; sorry. This is my fault, sorry again* (seniors). As for *please*, it usually collocates with *forgive me* and *accept my apologies* (e.g. *forgive me please; please accept my apology*, freshmen; *please forgive me; please accept my apology; please take my place*, seniors). As for emotional expressions, these are the elements picked up: *oh, oh my god* (freshmen); *oh, ah, oh my god* and *oh God* (seniors).

Turning to *Responsibility*, ANSs have mostly opted for lack of intent (e.g. *I didn't pay attention very well; I didn't mean that; it fell without my attention*), self-deficiency (e.g. *I didn't expect this to happen; if I knew/expect it would fall, I wouldn't have put it*) and denial of responsibility (*It wasn't my fault; believe me my brother, bags have fallen by themselves*). It is worth noting that denial of responsibility in Arabic apologies has been considered metaphorical/formulaic rather than sincere because in all instances the speaker refuses to acknowledge guilt either after or before explicitly apologising for it (e.g. *don't blame me, it wasn't my fault. Sorry*). ENSs have acknowledged responsibility via explicit self-blame (*it's*

*my fault, I should have made sure that I put my bag on the rack properly*), expression of embarrassment (*I feel terrible about this*) and self-deficiency (*I didn't think my bag would be able to fall down*). As for IL-users, freshmen have mostly opted for explicit self-blame (e.g. *It's my bag I didn't place it well in the rack; it's my entire fault*) and lack of intent (e.g. *I's a [traffic] jam and I didn't mean; I didn't mean it*). Seniors have opted for explicit self-blame (e.g. *it was my fault; I was stupid while placing my bag*), self-deficiency (*I did not expect the fall of the bag*) and lack of intent (e.g. *I didn't mean this; it was a mistake; this is a false [mistake]*).

Another frequently used strategy is *Concern*. It has been mostly attested in TL (e.g. *are you ok? are you alright? are you hurt? I hope you're not hurt*) than L1 (e.g. *are you ok/alright; I hope you're not so much hurt*). In Arabic, one may also use an expression of *concern* with an *appeaser* (words used for making the victim calmer and less angry) like in *are you hurt? Your safety my brother! (Salaamatuka ya ?akhii)*. Learners have opted for *how do you feel? I hope you are fine; are you right? are you okay?* (freshmen); *I wish I did not hurt you; is everything ok? Are you okay? I hope you are well* (seniors). In expressing concern, learners, due to lack of linguistic means, have used *fine* in lieu of *ok/alright* and *right* instead of *alright*. Though pragmatic intent is not affected, the use of the latter choices sounds native-like.

Few *explanations* have been offered, since excuses in such situations may not be perceived as apt, compared with the *Responsibility* and *Concern* strategies, as they aim at reducing accountability. ENSs have used *these rack leave much to be desired; I thought I had put it back far enough that it would not fall; these racks a little bigger*. Freshmen have used *the bag suddenly fell on you; may be it is bad placed [misplaced]*.

*Repair* semantic formulae have rarely been spotted in TL and IL (seniors): *I would offer to help him/her with their bags when their bus came up; let me get some help* (ENSs); *can I do something for you now? if you could [want] sir, please, take my place* (seniors).

## V.7 Situation 14

*Apologising for dialling a wrong number* is a situation coded as: [H=S; SD=Distant; I=Low]. This situation is unique in that the interactants are not face-to-face and are not likely to meet later, unlike in SITU 11. So, presumably, the respondents feel easiness in handling this scenario. It is noteworthy that the strategies, other than *IFIDs*, are not clear-cut i.e. they can be considered either explanation as well as acknowledgment of responsibility. Even the ones coded as *Responsibility* strategies are not always clear-cut whether they express self-blame or self-deficiency. Given the fact that the interactants are not face-to-face and the offense has been committed through the phone, the apologisers' intention has not been easily accessed. Moreover, no cross-cultural variability seems to govern the use of such semantic formulae. In this respect, only *IFIDs* and intensifiers are going to be counted and classified as they are the only strategies that are clearly interpreted. All in all, speakers across the four language groups have apologised for mistakenly dialling the number and for bothering the recipient. We have also come across utterances that may function as excuses. The following representative examples bear witness:

ANSs: *Excuse me; I was mistaken when I dialled the number.*

*Excuse me. May be you are right that I didn't pay attention to that.*

*Forgive me my brother. I have dialled the wrong number.*

*Forgive me my brother I have dialled your number mistakenly. I didn't mean. Forgive me once again \_\_thanks for understanding.*

ENSs: *I'm sorry I must have dialled wrong.*

*Sorry; wrong number. Sorry to have disturbed you \_\_bye*

*I apologise. I dialled the wrong number.*

*I'm sorry I'm dialling without my glasses and must have hit the wrong number. Sorry to bother you.*

Freshmen: *I'm so sorry miss; I made a big mistake in doing the numbers. Would you forgive me?*

*Sorry sir, I have a wrong number. I didn't mean to disturb you.*

*Pardon me \_\_bye*

*Sorry sir, I applied the wrong number. Sorry again \_\_goodbye*

Seniors: *Sorry. O wrong number and hung up the phone [the line].*

*Oh please! I'm sorry for my disturbance.*

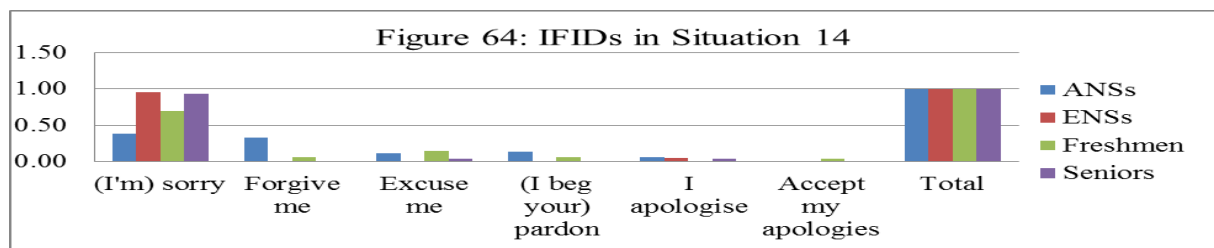
*Sorry sir, I think I formed [dialled] the wrong number. Sorry for disturbing you.*

*Sorry, I dialled the wrong number.*

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
(I'm) sorry	37.84(14)	0.38	95.65(22)	0.96	69.39(34)	0.69	93.55(29)	0.94
Forgive me	32.43(12)	0.32	0.00(0)	0.00	6.12(3)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00
Excuse me	10.81(4)	0.11	0.00(0)	0.00	14.29(7)	0.14	3.23(1)	0.03
(I beg your) pardon	13.51(5)	0.14	0.00(0)	0.00	6.12(3)	0.06	0.00(0)	0.00
I apologise	5.41(2)	0.05	4.35(1)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00	3.23(1)	0.03
Accept my apologies	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	4.08(2)	0.04	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(37)	1.00	100(23)	1.00	100(49)	1.00	100(31)	1.00

**Table 65: IFIDs in Situation 14**

Table 65 summarises the sub-types of *IFIDs* employed. All in all, ANSs and IL-groups have opted for more *IFIDs* like in the previous situations, but SITU 13, (*M*=0.26, ANSs; 0.16, ENSs; 0.35, freshmen; 0.22, seniors). The reason is that +1 *IFID* has been frequently used by L1- and IL-users. Though it has been used by ENSs, it has not been as frequent (freshmen have even used three *IFIDs* at one go). As can be seen from the table, ANSs have been liable to asking for forgiveness (e.g. *forgive me=saamihni*) as often as expressing regret (e.g. *I'm/I am sorry=?anaa ?aasifa/?aasif*). As for English-native data, the conventionalised form (*I'm/ I am*) *sorry* is nearly exclusively used. Additionally, the formal form *I apologise* has been once used.



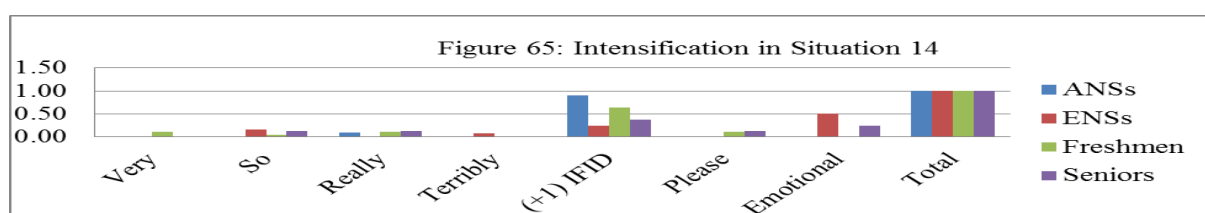
Turning to IL data, freshmen have opted for (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* as the most used, but have not reached the native average. Freshmen, like in all the previous situations, have been liable to using *excuse me* as a *real* apology (e.g. *I thought you are X. Excuse me sir; excuse me sir for disturbing you; excuse me it seems I dial the wrong number*). This group has also used (*I beg your*) *pardon* (e.g. *pardon me \_\_\_goodbye; I beg your sorry. I thought you are Zeineb*) and *accept my apologies* (*sorry. I dial the wrong number accept my apology*). Turning to seniors, they have almost reached the native average in using (*I'm/am*) *sorry* in

addition to *excuse me* (e.g. *excuse me I've confused the numbers*) besides *I apologise* (e.g. *sorry I apologise to you. I dialled the wrong number*).

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
Very	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	10.53(2)	0.11	0.00(0)	0.00
So	0.00(0)	0.00	16.67(2)	0.17	5.26(1)	0.05	12.50(1)	0.13
Really	10.00(1)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	10.53(2)	0.11	12.50(1)	0.13
Terribly	0.00(0)	0.00	8.33(1)	0.08	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
(+1) IFID	90.00(9)	0.90	25.00(3)	0.25	63.16(12)	0.63	37.50(3)	0.38
Please	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	10.53(2)	0.11	12.50(1)	0.13
Emotional	0.00(0)	0.00	50.00(6)	0.50	0.00(0)	0.00	25.00(2)	0.25
Total	100(10)	1.00	100(12)	1.00	100(19)	1.00	100(8)	1.00

**Table 66: Intensification in Situation 14**

Few intensifiers have been recorded as the offense is minor and the interactants are not face-to-face as shown in Table 66. All in all, ENSs have relatively opted for more intensity than ANSs ( $M=0.24$  vs.  $0.20$ ). Freshmen have overused intensifiers while, seniors have approximated L1 amount ( $M=0.39/0.16$ ). Obviously, +1 *IFID* has been frequently employed in L1. The distribution of this intensifier in this situation supports the claim that its use in L1 is ritualistic no matter how difficult or easy the scenario is (e.g., *forgive me (3afwan) may be you're right I haven't paid attention to that; excuse me (ma3thiratan) once again for bothering you*). Turning to intensifiers in English, emotional expressions have been the most used to express surprise (*oh* and *oops*). +1 *IFID* has been also used as a main strategy in TL (e.g. *oh sorry I have the wrong number. So sorry to bother you; I'm sorry I'm dialling without my glasses and must have hit the wrong number. Sorry to bother you*). The second *IFID* could have been intended as a closing move to the phone conversation than an intensifier. Two adverbials have been employed in TL (*so* and *terribly*).



As far as learners are concerned, freshmen have used +1 *IFID* as the main intensification strategy (e.g. *I'm so sorry miss. I made a big mistake in doing the numbers. Would you forgive me? sorry sir, I applied the wrong number. Sorry again \_\_\_goodbye; I'm very sorry, accept my apologies. Please has been used too (*forgive me please; sorry please*). As for adverbials, *very*, *really* and *so* have been attested. In one instance, an informant has, oddly, intensified the expression of apology using *too* (*too sorry again*). Seniors, have recurrently utilised +1 *IFID* (e.g. *Sorry sir, I think I formed [dialled] the wrong number. Sorry for disturbing you; sorry I made a mistake; sorry for bothering you*), few interjections (*sorry. Q wrong number; oh please! I'm sorry*) and one instance of *please* (underlined in the above-cited examples). Moreover, adverbials have been used (*so* and *really*, once each).*

Having dealt with each scenario individually, we presently look at them together so as to know about the overall propensities of the apologising act across the four groups.

## **V.8 Overall Use of Apology Strategies**

Starting with the overall use of apology strategies, ANSs are inclined to using more apology semantic formulae than ENSs ( $M=0.26$  and  $0.17$  respectively). This is in line with the findings of Hussein and Hammouri (1998: 46) indicating that ENSs (Americans) seem to favour concise apologies, with a single expression of apology. Conversely, Arabs (Jordanians) prefer more elaborate apologies, using combinations of three strategies. As for IL-users, freshmen have used more strategies than ENSs and seniors seem to approximate L1 ( $M=0.33$  and  $0.24$  respectively). This tendency in learner performance has been understood as a concern about explicitness.

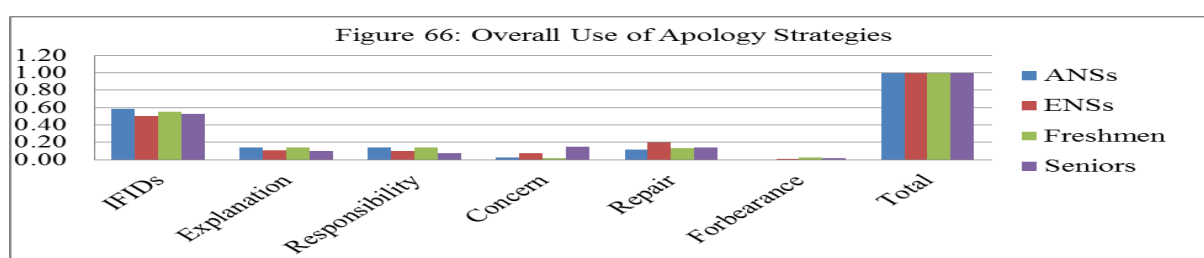
As can be seen from Table 67, *IFIDs* are the most used strategy across; ANSs have opted for more ones than ENSs due to predominance of +1 *IFID*. The relative overuse of this strategy by IL-users has been also attributed to the transfer of this strategy. The *Explanation* strategy has been relatively higher in the Arabic data; this partially supports the claim that this

semantic formula is L1-typical (e.g. Ghawi, 1993). Freshmen have opted for as many explanations as in L1, and seniors have approximated TL.

SMs	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
IFIDs	58.23(237)	0.58	50.55(138)	0.51	55.25(284)	0.55	53.11(205)	0.53
Explanation	14.00(57)	0.14	10.62(29)	0.11	14.01(72)	0.14	9.59(37)	0.10
Responsibility	13.76(56)	0.14	10.26(28)	0.10	13.62(70)	0.14	7.51(29)	0.08
Concern	2.46(10)	0.02	7.33(20)	0.07	1.56(8)	0.02	14.77(57)	0.15
Repair	11.55(47)	0.12	20.15(55)	0.20	13.42(69)	0.13	13.73(53)	0.14
Forbearance	0.00(0)	0.00	1.10(3)	0.01	2.14(11)	0.02	1.30(5)	0.01
Total	100(407)	1.00	100(273)	1.00	100(514)	1.00	100(386)	1.00

**Table 67: Overall Use of Apology Strategies**

Turning to the *Responsibility* strategy, it has been relatively higher in the Arabic data; this partially supports the claim stating that Algerians feel no taboo against acknowledging responsibility as the immunity of one's self is not as highly valued as in the Anglo-Saxon culture (Al-Zumor, 2011). Freshmen have been as liable to admit responsibility as ANSs while seniors have relatively underused this strategy. The *Concern* and *Repair* strategies have been commonly used by ENSs. That is, the Anglo-Saxons have been more supportive to the H's face. As far as IL apologies are concerned, freshmen have fallen back on their L1 guidelines and so have seniors with the exception of the *Concern* semantic formula that has been overrepresented. The influence of L1 on IL is clearly manifested in the *Repair* strategies when learners have underused them. Conversely, as reported by Murphy (2009), American learners of Modern Standard Arabic tend to keep this strategy in their Arabic apologies at higher levels. The *Forbearance* strategy has been the least used.



Having considered the overall use of apology strategies, we currently shed light on type. Not all strategies will be tackled, but only the ones in which variability has been

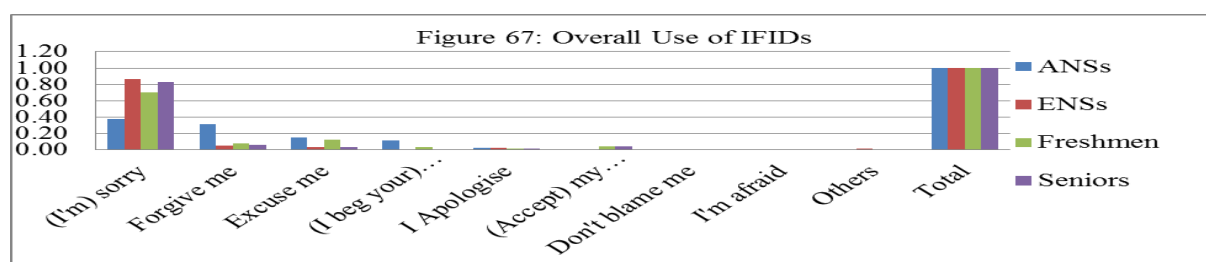


apparently observed i.e. *IFIDs* and *Responsibility*. Bergman and Kasper (1993: 98) have called them canonical strategies. Table 68 displays the *IFIDs* employed. Statistics presented in the table include some *IFIDs* that have been previously only discussed in the text. This applies also to the *Responsibility* strategies.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M	%(N)	M
(I'm) sorry	37.55(89)	0.38	87.68(121)	0.88	70.28(201)	0.70	83.25(174)	0.83
Forgive me	31.22(74)	0.31	5.07(7)	0.05	8.04(23)	0.08	6.22(13)	0.06
Excuse me	15.19(36)	0.15	3.62(5)	0.04	11.89(34)	0.12	2.87(6)	0.03
(I beg your) pardon	11.81(28)	0.12	0.72(1)	0.01	3.50(10)	0.03	0.48(1)	0.00
I apologise	2.53(6)	0.03	2.17(3)	0.02	1.40(4)	0.01	1.44(3)	0.01
(Accept) my apologies	0.42(1)	0.00	0.72(1)	0.01	4.20(12)	0.04	3.83(8)	0.04
Don't blame me	0.84(2)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.70(2)	0.01	0.48(1)	0.00
I'm afraid	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.48(1)	0.00
Others	0.42(1)	0.00	1.45(2)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.96(2)	0.01
Total	100(237)	1.00	100(138)	1.00	100(286)	1.00	100(209)	1.00

**Table 68: Over all Use of IFIDs**

Obviously, ANSs tend to use varied *IFIDs* striking a balance among expressing regret, asking for forgiveness and requesting acceptance of the apology. However, ENSs have extensively opted for expressing regret using the conventionalised formulaic form (*I'm/I am*) *sorry*. Though IL-users have extensively used (*I'm/I am*) *sorry* to express regret, this has not been regarded as a sign of pragmatic competence as this *IFID* has been judged transparent. Moreover, the use of *excuse me* and *pardon me* by freshmen, in particular, has been attributed to deficiency in pragmalinguistic competence i.e. confusion between *sorry* and *excuse me* as well as to transfer from French. In TL, this *IFID* has only been employed for attention cues, not as a *real* apology. It has been also apparent that learners tend to invest in the *IFIDs* they know, whether formal or informal, than to accommodate them.



*IFIDs* have been usually more intensified than any other strategy. Given the ritualistic nature of English *IFIDs*, intensification has been more employed in TL than L1, ( $M=0.25$  vs.  $0.13$ ) as a warrant of sincerity. Learners have overused them as they have employed both L1-proper intensifiers (namely, swearing, +1 *IFID* and *please*) and TL-proper ones (namely, adverbials). Also, L1- and IL-users have been more prone to intensifying strategies other than *IFIDs*. In contrast to L1, intensification in TL has been centred on *IFIDs*. We have explained this as a concern about the circumstances of the offense and the propositional content by Arab apologisers and a concern about the illocutionary force by Anglo-American apologisers.

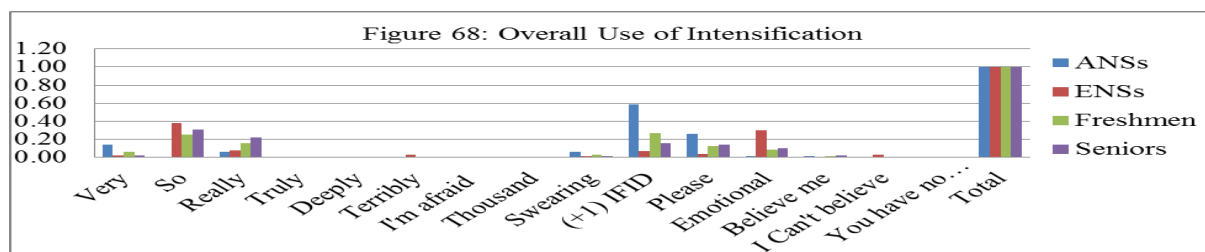
Table 69 summarises users' overall propensity to intensification strategies.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Very	13.85(9)	0.14	2.46(3)	0.02	6.41(10)	0.06	2.00(3)	0.02
So	0.00(0)	0.00	37.70(46)	0.38	25.00(39)	0.25	30.67(46)	0.31
Really	6.15(4)	0.06	8.20(10)	0.08	15.38(24)	0.15	22.00(33)	0.22
Truly	0.00(0)	0.00	0.82(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Deeply	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.64(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Terribly	0.00(0)	0.00	3.28(4)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
I'm afraid	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.66(1)	0.01
Thousand	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00	0.67(1)	0.01
Swearing	6.15(4)	0.06	1.64(2)	0.02	3.21(5)	0.03	1.33(2)	0.01
(+1) IFID	58.46(38)	0.58	7.38(9)	0.07	26.92(42)	0.27	16.00(24)	0.16
Please	26.15(17)	0.26	4.10(5)	0.04	12.82(20)	0.13	14.67(22)	0.15
Emotional	1.54(1)	0.02	30.33(37)	0.30	8.33(13)	0.08	10.00(15)	0.10
Believe me	1.54(1)	0.02	0.00(0)	0.00	1.28(2)	0.01	2.67(4)	0.03
I can't believe	0.00(0)	0.00	3.28(4)	0.03	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
You have no idea	0.00(0)	0.00	0.82(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	1.00(65)	1.00	100.00	1.00	100.00	1.00	100(150)	1.00

**Table 69: Overall Use of Intensification**

The use of +1 *IFID*, lexical softeners (= *please*), adverbials and *swearing* are the main means of intensification in L1. In TL, adverbials (*so*, *really*, *terribly*, *very* and *truly*) and *emotional expressions* are major means for intensification. As for *I can't believe* (or *you can't believe*) and *you have no idea*, they have been considered TL-specific. As for learners, they have favoured accessible ones: adverbials (*so*, *really* and *very*) and the marker *please*. They have also opted for +1 *IFID*, *swearing* and *believe me* under the influence of L1, we assume.

IL-users have also attempted to utilise emotional expressions. Given the fact that IL-intensifiers have not usually modified *IFIDs*, sincerity in IL-*IFIDs* has not always been ensured.



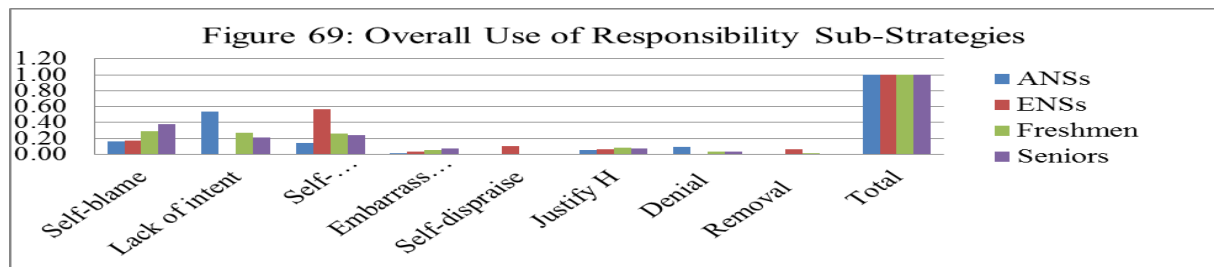
By way of summary, Table 70 shows sub-types of the *Responsibility* strategy employed. ANSs tend to protect their own face through opting mostly for lack of intent and denial of responsibility. Conversely, ENSs seem to be more considerate to the offended party's face through self-deficiency, self-dispraise and removal of misinterpretation. The latter categories are of a stronger apologetic force as they are H-supportive. Regarding the other categories, they have been, to a large extent, equally supplied. Turning to IL groups, they have been more liable to employing self-blame, lack of intent and self-deficiency. We would say that the comparatively higher frequency of these strategies is not motivated by a pragmatic choice.

	ANSs		ENSs		Freshmen		Seniors	
	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>	%(N)	<i>M</i>
Self-blame	16.07(9)	0.16	16.67(5)	0.17	28.57(20)	0.29	37.93(11)	0.38
Lack of intent	53.57(30)	0.54	0.00(0)	0.00	27.14(19)	0.27	20.69(6)	0.21
Self-deficiency	14.29(8)	0.14	56.67(17)	0.57	25.71(18)	0.26	24.14(7)	0.24
Embarrassment	1.79(1)	0.02	3.33(1)	0.03	5.71(4)	0.06	6.90(2)	0.07
Self-dispraise	0.00(0)	0.00	10.00(3)	0.10	0.00(0)	0.00	0.00(0)	0.00
Justify H	5.36(3)	0.05	6.67(2)	0.07	8.57(6)	0.09	6.90(2)	0.07
Denial	8.93(5)	0.09	0.00(0)	0.00	2.86(2)	0.03	3.45(1)	0.03
Removal	0.00(0)	0.00	6.67(2)	0.07	1.43(1)	0.01	0.00(0)	0.00
Total	100(56)	1.00	100(30)	1.00	100(70)	1.00	100(29)	1.00

**Table 70: Overall Use of Responsibility Sub-Strategies**

Seemingly, IL-users have favoured strategies which are less demanding, syntactically speaking. Learners have found it sufficient to use expressions like *it's my fault*, *I didn't pay attention* and *I completely forgot* to realise them respectively. This stands more obvious when

we compare the realisation of these strategies with expressions of embarrassment, justifying the H and self-dispraise. The phrasing of these sub-categories has evidenced that learners lay back on word-for-word translation from L1 (e.g. *I am embarrassed from you; please don't cry*).



## V.9 Summary of the Findings

Like in requests, cross-cultural variability has been evidenced in L1 and TL. As for IL performance, pragmatic transfer has been evidenced at the two levels.

### V.9.1 Arabic vs. English [Research Question 1]

Cross-cultural disparity between the control groups has been extant at the level of linguistic materials and the sociocultural assumptions underlying them.

#### V.9.1.1 Linguistic structures

ANSs have been inclined to using more semantic formulae (strategies) than ENSs overall as well as in each scenario individually (except in SITU 12). We have explained this by the fact that Arabic allows higher levels of verbal production than English. For the expression of apology (*IFID*), it has been more employed in Arabic than in English. The apologetic behaviour in Arabic requires the use of more than one *IFID* in phrasing the apology as a ritualistic intensifier. Unlike L1, in English it is sufficient to use a single intensified context-appropriate *IFID* (Màrquez Reiter, 2000). As for content, Arabic tends to

use varied *IFIDs* for expressing regret, requesting forgiveness or acceptance of apology while English tends to stick to expressing regret using (*I'm sorry*).

Regarding intensifiers, statistically speaking, ENSs have been more prone to employing them whether considering all the scenarios together or individually (except for SITU 8). As already mentioned, TL extensively uses a ritualistic expression of apology (*I'm sorry*) for a host of contexts. This ritualistic 'all-purpose' expression is perceived inadequate in certain contexts and, for this reason, intensifiers are employed as a warrant to sincerity (Kasper and Bergman, 1993). Intensification in both languages differs regarding two points. First, in L1 intensifiers are employed to intensify strategies other than *IFIDs* and in TL they are centred on *IFIDs*. This has been explained by the fact that Algerians give much attention to the context of the apology and Anglo-Americans give attention to the illocution and the propositional content. Furthermore, in L1 intensifiers are of a lexical nature (+1 *IFID*, lexical softeners, swearing etc.), while in TL the most used ones are of an adverbial nature (*so*, *very*, *really* etc.). Concerning the most used intensifier in L1 (+1 *IFID*), it seems to be a matter of routine than to situational variations as it has been employed as the best choice in all scenarios. In TL, this intensification technique has been regarded as apt only in SITU 11. The reason is that interlocutors are not face-to-face and it is used to convey sincerity. For the same reason, ENSs have employed the repetitive use of adverbials (*so so sorry*), brought two different ones together (*so very sorry*), used the adverbial *very* (*very sorry*) and used swearing.

Like in requests, terms of address are a constituent element in Arabic apologies. It is obvious that ANSs have employed more ones than ENSs in all scenarios. It is unusual that one apology in L1 contains more than one term of address and one apology in TL contains none. In Arabic, they are often in-group membership indicators boosted with the use of the possessive case (e.g. *my teacher*, *my sister*, *my sweetie*, *my brother*, *my friend*, translation from L1).

Turning to the *Explanation* strategy, the explanations provided across the two control groups have been a good deal identical, whether explicit or implicit due to the phrasing of the DCT. Nonetheless, ENSs seem to favour explicit accounts in SITU 11 as, we assume, they are more convincing than the implicit ones.

As for the acknowledgment of responsibility, ANSs tend to protect their own face through opting mostly for lack of intent and denial of responsibility (this latter strategy has been considered more metaphorical than sincere). Conversely, ENSs seem to be more considerate to the offended party's face through self-deficiency, self-dispraise and removal of misinterpretation.

In offering *Repair*, in SITU 11, cross-cultural variability has been evidenced in the sense that in L1 the apologiser is likely to involve the victim in repairing the offense. Conversely, in TL the apologiser offers the victim more than one alternative to repair the infraction in order to set him at ease.

Consistent with requests, an Arab apologiser resorts to expressions that reveal their religious identity, presumably, in an attempt to bring some influence on the apologee's attitudes i.e. to pacify him/her. Like in requests, we have come across Islamic greeting (*God's peace and mercy be upon you*) and reference to God's will (*if God wills or by God's permission*) as well as swearing (*by God*). Furthermore, some idioms have been used in L1 too.

#### **V.9.1.2 Sociocultural Assumptions**

In scenarios where ANSs have freely admitted on responsibility, ENSs seem reluctant to doing so, namely, in SITU 8, 11, 12 and 13. We have explained this in the light of cross-cultural differences. In Arabic, admitting responsibility is not as offensive as in TL, since, in Arab societies, people are available to each other and collectivistic values are prioritised. Quite the contrary, admitting guilt in TL contradicts the Anglo-Saxon values of personal

preserves and egalitarianism. For *Repair* and *Concern*, they have been more attested in TL than in L1. This can be explained by the interactional styles in the two languages/cultures. English is a negative-face culture wherein interactants aim at redressing the H's negative-face and Arabic is a positive-face culture wherein interactants seek the H's approval that can be achieved by claiming responsibility.

In our attempt to capture the perception of the three variables under question (P, SD and I), we examine the strategies most sensitive to situational variations. We will overlook *IFIDs*, because they have been recurrently employed as the best choice in both languages whatever the situation is. In SITU 8, 9 and 10, it is only the P variable that changes; the victim is higher, lower and equal in status respectively. We summarise the remarks noted in L1 and TL as follows:

Both in L1 and TL fewer excuses (*Explanation* strategy) have been offered in equal-status (SITU 10) and high-status contexts (SITU 8), unlike in low-status context (SITU 9). The *Responsibility* strategy has remained constant across the three scenarios in L1, whereas in TL apologisers have opted for acknowledging guilt with equal-status than with high- and low-status interlocutors. In Arabic, the *Repair* strategy has been employed across the three scenarios with varied degrees (equal-, high- and low-status, ordered by frequency). In TL, this strategy has been more frequently offered in high-/equal-status contexts. As for intensification, in L1, more intensifiers have been recorded in high-status context than in equal/low-status ones. In TL, the amount of intensifiers employed has varied in accordance with P-differences (high-, equal- and low-status).

To that end, it could be said that both Arabic and English seem to value the P-variable, to a large extent, in the same way with the exception that, in TL, apologisers are unlikely to admit responsibility in high-status contexts.

In these pairs, SITU 10-12 and SITU 11-13, it is the SD-variable that changes (close-distant in each pair). Strategy selection in the control groups can be summarised as follows:

In L1, apologisers have been prone to admit responsibility with distant interlocutors (SITU 12) than with close ones (SITU 10) while *Explanation* remains largely constant in both contexts. Quite the opposite, in TL, *Responsibility* has decreased and more explanations have been provided with close interlocutors (since SITU 12 does not require *Repair*, this strategy is inapt for measuring perception) while Anglo-Americans tend to offer more *Concern* strategies. In both languages, more intensifiers have been offered in apologising to a stranger. In SITU 11-13, for both groups, no or only fewer *Explanation* and *Repair* strategies have been offered in apologising to a stranger (SITU 13). In L1, apologisers have been more inclined to admit responsibility in front of close people (SITU 11) while the *Responsibility* strategy has been less frequently employed with a stranger in TL. In both languages, apologisers have opted for more intensifiers when interacting with strangers. From the descriptions provided by ENSs, it seems that both cultures differ in weighing apologies to a *close* friend. In L1, he/she is someone who is likely to understand our mistakes, but in TL he/she is someone who should not be offended by them.

From the above remarks, it is shown that, with reference to the *Responsibility* and *Explanation* strategies mainly, TL seems to assign higher value to SD-variable since ENSs have avoided taking on responsibility and opted for more excuses with distant interlocutors.

In these pairs: SITU 10-11 and SITU 12-13, the I-variable is represented as low-high in each pair. Strategy selection can be summarised as follows:

As for SITU 10-11, both cultures tend to employ the *Repair* strategies (the offense in SITU 11 does not require repair) and offer more *Explanation* ones, with absence of the *Concern* strategies (the offense in SITU 10 does not require expressing concern) in high-I context (SITU 11). Apologisers in English have employed *Forbearance*, too, in high-I context. In both groups, more intensifiers have been offered in low-I context (SITU 10), because, we assume, the interlocutor is distant. Apologisers in TL have been prone to admitting responsibility in high-I context, because, presumably, the interlocutor is close while



L1 has been prone to admitting responsibility in low-I context (SITU 10) since the interlocutor is distant. Except for the utilisation of the *Responsibility* strategy in which disparity has been apparent, the employment of the other strategies suggests that, to a certain extent, the two languages seem to give the same value to I-variable, considering offense in SITU 11 of higher degree than in SITU 10. As far as the second pair (SITU 12-13) is concerned, ANSs have provided more *Explanations* in high-I context (SITU 12) and relatively fewer *Concern* strategies in high-I context too. As for *Responsibility*, it has remained almost constant, while intensifiers have increased in high-I context. In TL, we have recorded relative increase in *Responsibility*, increase in *Concern*, employment of *Repair* in high-I context. Meanwhile, *Explanation* has remained constant and intensifiers have increased in high-I context. In these two scenarios, on the whole, the perception of the I-variable has been, to a large extent, identical in L1 and TL, except for the fact that L1 seems to favour *Responsibility* and TL seems to favour *Concern*.

### **V.9.2 Interlanguage vs. Arabic and English**

Like in requests, IL performance has been affected by both types of transfer (pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic) and other features which have been categorised as lack of pragmatic competence, IL-specific features and language constraints.

#### **V.9.2.1 Pragmalinguistic Transfer [Research Question 2.a]**

At the level of *IFIDs*, IL-users have, oftentimes, used more than one *IFID* in their apologies or the repetitive use of certain *IFIDs* which is often singled by hedges like *again* (e.g. *sorry again sir*) and the verb *to repeat* (e.g. *I repeat my apology*). Furthermore, the distribution of *excuse me*, *forgive me* and *don't blame me* might be considered L1-driven. Under the influence of L1, most probably, Algerian learners have heavily supplied terms of address, before or after *IFIDs*. This has been related to the fact that terms of address are part

and parcel of the communicative system in L1, and they help in appeasing the offended person and, in case he/she is a distant, they contribute to bringing about a rapprochement. Additionally, learners have transferred kinship terms and the possessive case (e.g. *my sweet sister, my brother, my friend*).

Another related aspect to *IFIDs* is intensification. L1 has affected IL intensifiers in three main ways. First, learners have used L1-proper intensifiers, namely +1 *IFID*, *swearing*, *please* and *believe me*. Second, they tend to intensify strategies other than *IFIDs* i.e. *IFID*-external. Third, they have employed the intensifier *very*, repetitive use of intensifiers (e.g. *so so/very very/really really sorry*) and the marker *please* (e.g. *please accept my apologies*). Using such intensifiers by IL-users means that sincerity is not always conveyed in their expressions of apology taking into consideration that *IFID*-internal intensifiers function as a conflict avoidance strategy in English apologies (Márquez Reiter, 2000). Nevertheless, we should not miss to affirm that they have, in many cases, used some of TL intensifiers appropriately, namely, *so*, *really* and *deeply*.

Turning to the *Explanation* strategy, learners have been liable to providing explicit accounts (mainly, in SITU 11). Also, they seem to use sickness as an unquestionable excuse. There is limited evidence suggesting the influence of L1 conventions.

As far as the *Responsibility* strategy is concerned, the influence of L1 has been apparent in the preference of self-strategies and the embarrassment ones as well as the wording of the latter. Moreover, positive transfer has been claimed in SITU 9 and 13 whereby the IL-users have shown a good command in taking on responsibility of the offense committed. Nevertheless, the same strategy has also been expressed awkwardly by IL-users, especially freshmen, owing to word-for-word translation (e.g. *I am shy for you; I am ashamed from you; I am embarrassed from you*, freshmen; *I don't know what to tell you*, seniors). Learners also show their deep bounds to their religious faith through fatalistic expressions (e.g. *it is not by my hand*, freshmen).

As for the *Concern* strategy, noticeably, learners have well-worded it, but not necessarily as a sign of pragmalinguistic competence. They have employed syntactically transparent utterances (e.g. *are you ok/alright?*) or resorted to direct translation (e.g. *don't cry; I hope that you are fine; I wish I didn't hurt you*).

A little can be said about the *Repair* strategy; we only mention that learners may refer to *God's will* in phrasing the future repairs as in L1. The *Forbearance* strategy is the least used across the four language groups and, thus, its employment does not reveal insightful conclusions at the pragmalinguistic level.

### **V.9.2.2 Sociopragmatic Transfer** [Research question 2.b]

We can detect the sociopragmatic transfer through investigating the distribution of strategies as employed by IL-users across the scenarios.

As for the P-variable (SITU 8, 9 and 10), learners' performance can be summarised as follows:

Freshmen have been influenced by L1 regarding the employment of *Explanation*; they have opted for more *Explanations* in low-status context (SITU 9) more than in high-/equal-status contexts (SITU 8 and 10). Also, *Responsibility* remains constant across the three scenarios. As for intensification, it seems to increase in accordance with the interlocutors' status; it has been more attested in high-, low- then equal-status, once again in agreement with L1 norms. The only strategy that follows TL distribution is that of *Repair*. Since we have claimed that the control groups are, to a large extent, alike in their perception of the P variable, it could be said that positive transfer has been operative in using apology strategies, except for *Responsibility* which has been negatively transferred. As far as seniors are concerned, they have been in line with L1 norms in the employment of *Explanation*, *Responsibility* and *intensification*. Seniors have been inclined to using *Explanation* more in low-status contexts than in high-/equal-status ones. *Responsibility* has almost remained

constant in that only a relative decrease has been noted when apologising to equal- and low-status interlocutors. Like in the control groups, intensity has varied in accordance with the interlocutor's status. The *Repair* strategy has been in agreement with the TL distribution. Like freshmen, the employment of apology strategies appears to agree with the control groups, except for *Responsibility* that has been L1-driven. Thus, it could also be said that positive transfer has been operative in the utilisation of apology strategies and, hence, the perception of the dominance variable, except for *Responsibility* which has been negatively transferred.

As regards the SD-variable (SITU 10, 11, 12 and 13), IL-users performance could be summarised as follows:

In the first pair (SITU 10-12), concerning freshmen, *Explanation* has remained almost constant in apologising to a close interlocutor (SITU 10) or to a stranger (SITU 12). *Responsibility* has increased in apologising to a distant interlocutor while the *Concern* strategy has hardly ever been offered to a stranger. The distribution of the aforementioned strategies is a great deal in line with their employment in L1 rather than in TL. Regarding intensification, it has decreased in apologising to a stranger in disagreement with both control groups. Turning to seniors, *Explanation* strategy has been only relatively increased and *Responsibility* sharply increased in apologising to a distant person. *Concern* has hardly ever been employed in apologising to a distant person, while intensifiers have increased by half in disagreement with both control groups. All in all, the distribution of *Responsibility* and *Concern* strategies seems to be L1-driven while *Explanation* has followed TL distribution.

The two learner groups' performance seems, a good deal, identical in the second pair (SITU 11-13). We have noted a little reliance on *Explanation*, relative increase in *Responsibility*, appearance of *Concern* and less employment of *Repair* in apologising to distance interlocutors (SITU 13). The employment of these strategies, again, seems to follow L1 distribution more than TL. As for the distribution of intensification, it agrees with both

control groups in the sense that more intensified apologies have been offered in apologising to a distant person.

The above discussion, then, suggests that IL-users have evaluated SD-variable in TL contexts by means of social assumptions from L1. As a consequence, negative sociopragmatic transfer has been operative in IL apologies.

As far as the last factor, I-variable (SITU 10, 11, 12 and 13) is concerned, in the first pair (SITU 10-11), performance in the two learner groups seem, to such an extent, identical. IL-users have offered more *Explanation* strategies and, relatively, more *Responsibility* ones in high-I context (SITU 11) whereas they have employed fewer or no *Repair* strategies in low-I context (SITU 10). Strategies of *Forbearance* have appeared in high-I context. As for intensity, we have noted that intensifiers have remained constant in the freshmen's corpus and increased in the seniors' one in high-I context (the latter agrees with L1 and TL). Since we have suggested that the control groups stand to assign the same value to the I-variable in the present pair, it is plausible to say that positive sociopragmatic transfer has been at play. What is remarkable in these two scenarios is that IL-users, in agreement with L1, tend to favour explanations over admitting responsibility.

In the second pair, SITU 12-13, in the freshmen's performance, we have noted a decrease in the *Explanation* strategies and intensifiers in high-I context (SITU 13). Both the *Repair* and *Concern* strategies have almost remained constant in high-I and low-I contexts. These propensities have been in agreement especially with L1, whereas intensification appears in agreement with both the control groups. As for seniors, we have noted a relative increase in *Repair* strategies and a sharp increase in intensifiers in high-I context. Moreover, we have remarked the absence of *Explanation* strategies and a decrease in the *Responsibility* ones in high-I context while *Repair* has only been employed in high-I context. These tendencies agree good deal with L1 regarding *Explanation*, *Responsibility* and *Concern* and with TL regarding *Repair*. As for intensification, it has been in line with both control groups.

Previously, we have concluded that the perception of the I-variable has been, to a large extent, identical in L1 and TL. On the basis of this, it could be claimed here too that positive sociopragmatic transfer has been operative. Still apparent enough, IL-users, like L1, seem to favour *Responsibility* in both contexts, unlike TL that favours *Concern*.

### V.9.2.3 Other Features [Research Question 3]

Apart from transfer, IL production is, additionally, effected by the same factors that have already been cited in requests.

First, lack of pragmatic competence is one factor. At the level of *IFIDs*, we have noted confusion between *I'm sorry* and *excuse me/pardon me*, in freshmen's apologies mainly (e.g. *excuse me sir, I let your book at home and it is too late to go back to home. Sorry again sir*). Also, it has been suggested that learners know a host of English *IFIDs* (e.g. *I regret, I apologise, I beg your pardon, accept my apologies*) but seem to randomly employ them i.e. in informal as well as in formal situations. At the level of intensification, lack of pragmatic competence is manifested in the underuse of certain intensifiers (e.g. *emotional expressions*), the absence of others (e.g. *I can't/you won't believe, you have no idea*) and non-native-like intensifiers (e.g. *too sorry; I am really sorry for this stupid forget*, freshmen). As for *Concern* strategy, a learner from freshmen have, confusingly, employed *how do you feel* used for asking about somebody's health to express concern about the victim.

IL-specific performance is another feature. Learners tend to overuse particular linguistic materials (*waffling*) like the expression of regret (*I'm sorry*). Though the overuse of this *IFID* agrees with its distribution in TL, it has rather been regarded as an outcome of overlearning. The same thing could be said about intensifiers which have been over-presented (e.g. *so, really*). Particularly, freshmen have shown a tendency toward verbosity in the suppliance of apology strategies overall as well as in individual scenarios. Moreover, the employment of some *Responsibility* sub-strategies, namely, self-blame, lack of intent and self-

deficiency is interpreted in the light of accessibility (i.e. syntactically less demanding) than a pragmatic choice.

Language constraints are prominent features in IL production. The number of these errors is proportionate to the decrease in linguistic proficiency i.e. freshmen have committed most of them. Deviations related to the lack of linguistic competence have been encountered in almost the wording of all the strategies: *IFIDs* (e.g. *would you forgive me; I accept my apologised*, freshmen; *in order to apologise me; accept my apology/apologise; may I have your excuse*, seniors), *Explanation* (e.g. *I didn't find time for that; but I didn't get time*, freshmen; *I could not find time*, seniors), *Responsibility* (e.g. *I know this is a lot; I do not see your foot; it is my entire fault*, freshmen; *this is a false; I didn't expect the fall of the bag*, seniors) and *Repair* (e.g. *I will do all your homework, but for today [from that day onward]; please remember [remind] me*, freshmen), *Concern* (*are you fine*, freshmen; *I wish I didn't hurt you*, seniors). It goes without saying that some discourse errors are also an outcome of transfer from L1. Moreover, learners have not attempted to vary the performative verbs as compared to ENSs (e.g. *to give/bring vs. to pop around/to pick up*).

#### **IV.9.2.4 Proficiency and Pragmatic Performance [Research Question 4]**

Globally, linguistic proficiency has not given a marked advantage to seniors over freshmen, since both groups' performance has been almost identical across the seven scenarios. That is to say, both groups have been influenced by transfer at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic levels, besides the other features. Table 71 shows that, all in all, both learner groups have been, almost, identical in the exhibition of transfer. This suggests that linguistic proficiency does not necessarily encourage the exhibition of more PT. At the pragmalinguistic level, freshmen, again, have exhibited more transfer while, at the sociopragmatic one, both learner groups have shown close resemblance. Furthermore, seniors have been judged pragmalinguistically more competent regarding the employment of *IFIDs*

(e.g. *sorry* vs. *excuse me/pardon me*). In a similar vein, they have been less affected by violation of the quantity maxim as well as language barriers. This group has given the impression that they play it safe through using the strategies they know most. In contrast to seniors, freshmen have strived to vary strategies even when unsure about them; this explains the transfer of more linguistic items at the pragmalinguistic level.

	Freshmen	Seniors	Total
	%(N)	%(N)	
Pragmalinguistic <i>M</i>	55.32(26) 0.55	44.68(21) 0.45	100(34) 1.00
Sociopragmatic <i>M</i>	48.65(18) 0.49	51.35(19) 0.51	100(22) 1.00
Total <i>M</i> (both types)	44 0.52	40 0.48	56 1.00

**Table 71: Occurrences of the Two Types of Transfer in Apologies**

Having answered the research questions of the study, we check the above findings against the two hypotheses of the study.

The first hypothesis states that *pragmatic transfer correlates positively with language proficiency. That is, the high-proficient learners are likely to exhibit more pragmalinguistic transfer as they acquire the linguistic means necessary for that. The sociopragmatic one is unlikely to be influenced by language proficiency as it is related to learners' experiences instead.* Our findings are not in line with the first part of this hypothesis. Contrary to expectation, the two learner groups seem both liable to exhibit pragmatic transfer at the pragmalinguistic level. Furthermore, the low-proficient (freshmen) have been more prone to pragmalinguistic transfer than the high-proficient ones (seniors). In agreement with our hypothesis, the two learner groups have been generally considered as similar in the exhibition of sociopragmatic transfer.

The second hypothesis states that *pragmatic transfer is unlikely to happen at the level of core strategies in requests (head act) and apologies (expression of apology), as they*



*are realised with seemingly predictable linguistic structures*, the study's findings rather support it. Despite certain instances when we have claimed transfer regarding the use of HAs (bare imperatives and modals) and *IFIDs* (e.g. *forgive me, don't blame me*), it is suggested that learners have immunity to pragmalinguistic transfer, as they have played it safe by overusing transparent choices.

## **Conclusion**

The present chapter was devoted to the analysis of the apologies obtained regarding the sociocultural assumptions manifested in strategy selection and the wording of the strategies employed. We analysed each single situation individually then all of the situations together to unveil the overall tendencies in the apologising behaviour across the four language groups. This allows us to spot the areas of cross-cultural variation in Arabic and English, types of transfer and the other factors influencing the learner performance as well as the correlation between linguistic proficiency and pragmatic transfer. The chapter was concluded by a summary section in which we have answered the research questions and matched the findings with the hypotheses of the study.

## **Chapter VI**

### **Pedagogical Implications**

#### **Introduction**

This last chapter is devoted to the pedagogical implications of the current study. The practical recommendations of the study are centred on EFL pedagogy and can be extended to intercultural communication as well as translation which is also considered as an intercultural process. More space will be devoted to the teaching and the learning of speech acts. The reason is that foreign language learners lack opportunities of interacting with NSs which allows practicing the language as it is used in communication. These opportunities the classroom could ill-afford. Therefore, face-loss/pragmatic failure when learners interact with NSs highly likely. Hopefully, these recommendations would inspire EFL teaching actors in Algeria, in general, and in the University of “Frères Mentouri”, in particular so as to engage in teaching the pragmatic competence.

#### **VI.1 EFL Pedagogy**

This section attempts to shed light on some contributions related to instructing learners in pragmatics, in general, and in speech acts in particular.

##### **VI.1.1 Teaching Pragmatics**

For Kasper and Schmidt (1996: 160), “there is every reason to expect that pragmatic knowledge should be teachable,” especially in EFL settings where chances of human interaction with NSs are very limited. To test whether pragmatic knowledge is really teachable, many studies have been conducted so as to know the outcomes of instruction on learners. The studies of Billmyer (1990) on the teaching of compliments and compliment responses and that of Bouton (1994) on the comprehension of the different types of implicature are examples from the early attempts, in L2 context. Such studies showed that

certain pragmatic forms could be developed through instruction. As for metapragmatic knowledge, the study of Kasper (1996) indicated that learners who were exposed to metapragmatic information in communication courses had an advantage over those who were not. At the level of speech acts, Olshtain and Cohen (1990, cited in Cohen, 1998) dealt with the effect of explicit teaching on the performance of advanced EFL learners' apologies. Learners were first pretested to determine the state of their pragmatic knowledge; then, they were posttested after exposing them to three 20-minute lessons on the strategies for performing the speech act sets of apology and the different modifications that go with this act. The researchers concluded that aspects like intensification, downgrading, differences between strategies and the situational features could be taught in EFL classroom. More recent studies on the impact of pragmatic instruction are found in Cohen (2005). One of them is that of Takahashi (2001, as cited in Cohen 2005: 284-287) who (i) exposed a group of Japanese EFL learners to explicit requests teaching (ii) gave them the opportunity to compare their production and that of other EFL peers with NSs (iii) had them to read transcriptions of interactions and (iv) had them to answer comprehensive questions about the content. The findings suggested that the kind of input which had the strongest impact on the acquisition of request forms is the explicit teaching over the other types. Eslami-Rasekh et al. (2004) exposed a group of Iranian EFL learners to twelve sessions of metapragmatic instruction that included procedures like teacher-fronted discussion, role-plays of the intended speech acts, discussion of the frequent sociopragmatic or paralinguistic deviations of examples produced by students, then responding to a DCT. The subjects were pretested and posttested as regard their comprehension of three speech acts (request, apology and complaint). The authors concluded that explicit metapragmatic instruction facilitated interlanguage pragmatic development. This, therefore, suggests that pragmatic competence does not seem resistant to explicit metapragmatic instruction. To put it in Cohen's words "[d]espite the studies with

mixed results, it would still appear that learners stand to benefit from explicit focus on pragmatics (2005: 287).”

Among the likely ways to present learners with pragmatic input is through textbooks. Nevertheless, the growing literature of studies assessing the appropriacy and adequacy of the pragmatic input reveal many shortcomings in the teaching/learning material. Alcon and Tricker (2000), Vellenga (2004) and Salazar Campillo (2007), among others, are archetypal of such studies. Alcon and Tricker (2000) analysed the use of the discourse marker *well* in a sample of English course books and compared it with its use in American films. The authors concluded that the learning materials did not include the interactive characteristics of this discourse marker which fosters natural production. Vellenga (2004) analysed eight ESL and EFL textbooks to determine the amount and the quality of the pragmatic information. As her findings indicate, there is a dearth in metapragmatic and metalinguistic information as regards the spoken language; the EFL textbooks include more amounts while the ESL ones have better quality regarding the number of speech acts and the metapragmatic cues. Additionally, the included metapragmatic information is limited in range of options. This leads the author to conclude that the acquisition of pragmatic competence via these materials is ‘highly unlikely’. Salazar Campillo (2007) analysed mitigation in ELT textbooks’ requests from the discipline of tourism. The findings suggested the ignorance of a number of mitigators and the focus on small ones, namely the use of *please* and some other combinations.

On that account, recommendations of empirical studies, like the present one, comes to the vogue. The following section includes practical suggestions for EFL textbook writers and syllabus designers to enhance textbooks content.

### VI.1.2 EFL Teaching/Learning Material

The teaching/learning material should supply appropriate input which is boosted by adequate pragmatic/metapragmatic information. It is necessary that textbooks provide the EFL learner with authentic speech act data rather than intuitively-based ones. The reason is that even NSs (instructors') intuition might not be accurate as they are not conscious when performing speech acts (Boxer and Pickering, 1993: in Cohen 2005: 281). However, it is not guaranteed that naturally-occurring corpora are really available to put in use as a source of speech act information to account for various contexts learners are likely to encounter, especially in the case of sensitive ones like apologies (Golato, 2005). To this end, alternatives like role-plays and written DCTs can supply materials with a research-based 'idealized' data, though they might not reflect how people do things with words in large contextualised discourse (Cohen 2005: 283). The importance of empirically validated input, whether it is corpus-based or gathered through some other creative tools, lies in the fact that it is insightful for syllabus designers and textbook writers in identifying areas of instruction in EFL learners' ILP. In our case, it is strongly recommended that the EFL material directed to Algerian learners, regarding the speech acts of request and apology, emphasise the following points:

1. Levels of directness in requests and the linguistic forms which realise them along with the attitudes they convey.
2. Modal elements are important as they have a pragmatic consequence, and less focus should be on the ones of ability (*can* and *could*) and willingness (*would*) that learners seem to overlearn.
3. *Mind modals* (*would/do you mind*) are used as an appropriate way to open a request.
4. How the requestee's attention can be drawn, especially in informal settings, and showing that the discourse marker *please* is not always an apt choice.
5. Understating is quite important, especially, for *time* and *amount*.
6. Discourse markers should not be over represented to avoid overgeneralisation in IL production, such as in the case with *please* that should appear in a proximity with

*downtoners* (e.g. *possibly, kindly, terribly*) so that the EFL learner would have a chance to make pragmatic choice rather than returning to memory.

7. A request ought to be closed using *thanking expressions* and *appreciators*.
8. Equal importance should be given to the issue of perspective and a balanced presentation of the main perspectives (i.e. H-oriented and S-oriented) should be reached along with the *joint* and *impersonal* ones. Learner's awareness of how the choice of request perspective is pragmatic-driven should be raised.
9. The employment of independent strategies, namely, *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* in power-asymmetric, distance and high-imposition encounters.
10. Emphasis should be laid on *not doing the FTA* as a constituent request strategy.
11. The presentation of apologies formed by means of a context-appropriate single *IFID*.
12. The host of functions *IFIDs* can serve in different contexts; whether offered for real apologies (offenses) in the case of *I'm sorry* or for formulaic ones (attention cues) in the case of *excuse me/pardon me*. Also, how politeness can be marked through formality (*sorry* vs. *accept my apologies*).
13. Learners should learn how appropriate intensifiers can be well-positioned in the apology semantic formulae (*IFID*-internal).
14. How often ENSs are likely to take on responsibility in power-asymmetric, distance and high-imposition encounters is very important.
15. How often ENSs are likely to offer *Explanations* (excuses) and *Concern* in apologising to strangers and in high-infraction contexts should be learnt.
16. There should be emphasis on the impact of situational variables like power, social distance, age, gender, imposition, offense etc. on the pragmatic choice.
17. The notions of private-self vs. public-self and individualism vs. collectivism that characterise the mother and the target cultures should be brought to the consciousness of the learners.

The above-listed points cover both linguistic elements and sociopragmatic factors. The teaching of the sociopragmatic dimension of speech acts to EFL learners is reminiscent of the statement of Thomas (1983) that it could be cultural sensitive as it entails implementing a new 'system of beliefs.' It is not the place, here, to engage in debating this critical issue, but I would invite EFL pedagogy players to look for a learner-friendly way to teach the host culture's beliefs.

The appropriate input does not by itself foster pragmatic development. The relevant pragmatic and metapragmatic information that accompany it also contributes to pragmatic development and awareness.

This kind of information raises awareness about the functions of linguistic items, the impact of sociocultural variables and the cross-cultural/linguistic differences. By pragmatic/metapragmatic information we mean “any information related to culture, context, illocutionary force, politeness, appropriacy and/or register” (Vellenga, 2004: 5). This study can be inspiring with regard to metapragmatic cues related to the realisation of requests and apologies, given the fact that it has dealt with many of their aspects. The following is a sample of the metapragmatic information gained from the current study which might be presented in the teaching/learning materials:

1. The models of analysis adapted here can themselves be used to sharpen the learners’ understanding of how requests and apologies are structured
2. It is recommended that speech acts are presented in conjunction with adequate information, given the participants, their relationship (close, distant, colleagues, friends etc.), relative status (power symmetric/asymmetric), the setting (service encounter, academic place, street etc.) the purpose of the interaction (transmission of information or maintaining social relationship), the mood (serious or humorous).
3. EFL learners should be made aware that these variables affect the requestive and apologetic acts at the level of linguistic materials and semantic formulae (strategies) selection.
4. In English, direct requests are hardly ever used, because they are interpreted as orders and, thus, in +P and +SD encounters, they are perceived as rude. In contrast, there is no taboo against using them in Arabic.
5. Modal verbs in English should be handled with care as they indicate politeness and register. The past forms are more polite and more formal than the present counterparts.
6. ENSs oftentimes avoid the reference to the H as the bearer of the action as a way to mitigate coerciveness in requests.

7. The Anglo-Saxon culture is one that values individualism and self-preservation; this makes it a social faux pas to request, for instance, a *help from a stranger*.
8. When interacting with high-status interlocutor or a stranger, it is recommended to modify requests using independence strategies like *imposition minimisers* and *apologies* to overtly express respect to H's autonomy and keep social harmony.
9. English *IFIDs* should be chosen with care as they can be used for both real apologies and formulaic ones. *Excuse me* and *pardon me* are rather used for getting people's attention; for instance, to open the way to get past; meanwhile *I'm sorry* is used for real apologies.
10. Since *sorry* can be used in a wide range of contexts, sometimes, for certain offenses or in power-asymmetric situations, it might not be perceived as inadequate/insincere. For this reason, NSs inject intensifiers (*IFID*-internal) to convey sincerity.
11. Due to immunity of one's self in the Anglo-Saxon culture, ENSs find it face-threatening to take on responsibility in power-asymmetric, distance and high-imposition encounters. Instead, they are likely to express their concern about the victim or offer him some sort of repair.

It goes without saying that the above metapragmatic cues need not be intended as rules and facts, but rather as a means that, hopefully, guides learners to interpret situations through critical thinking (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996, cited in Evan Davies, 2004), because pragmatic behaviour of the TL-users is not always so predictable. Therefore, learners themselves have to be ethnographers of their own and others' communicative behaviour in real-time interactions (Tyler and Davies, 1990, cited in Evans Davies, 2004). ELT teaching material is often criticised for centring attention on linguistic chunks and decontextualised notions instead of offering opportunities for raising cross-cultural awareness through discussion of cross-cultural differences, analysis of interactions, comparison of pragmatic behaviour in L1 and TL and reflexive comments on them (Evan Davies, 2004).

The above statement has given rise to suggested avenues for tasks that offer such an opportunity for learners.



### VI.1.3 Suggested Activities for Learning/Practicing Speech Acts

Interactive and highly-creative activities could be designed to offer learners an occasion to engage in critical thinking and awareness raising processes. Among others, Usó-Juan (2007) and Martinez-Flor (2007) are archetypal. These two contributions are directly relevant to our study in that both are dealing with requests.

Usó-Juan suggested three-phase ‘alternative’ activities for practising the requests (2007: 238-240). The first phase is *presentation* in which the place of pragmatic competence is emphasised. Here, too, the two relevant dimensions in speech acts production (pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic) are presented and, for the latter one, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) distinction (power-distance-imposition) could be helpful. Furthermore, the analytical taxonomies used in research papers may also be useful for better understanding of the speech acts’ architecture. Besides, authentic data can be implemented at this phase too. The second phase is labelled *recognition* in which a practice of the background knowledge acquired in the first phase is offered. Usó-Juan sees that practice can be achieved by means of activities designed for the recognition of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic dimensions of a given speech act, awareness-raising of cross-cultural/linguistic differences between L1 and TL and learners’ pragmatic awareness-raising. A variety of activities can be designed to meet these objectives. For instance, the author suggests offering learners a well-described situation by means of rich pragmatic information. Then, offering a number of requests that vary in levels of directness and modifications to learners who are supposed to rank them from the most to the least appropriate. Additionally, learners can be asked to collect data from L1 and contrast them to those of TL to spot cross-cultural differences. The aim of the first and the second phase is clear understanding of the issues related to speech acts’ production while the third phase aims at the actual production of them. This can be achieved by means of ‘collaborative practice’ of pragmatic information-rich scenarios that vary regarding

sociopragmatic variables. Of course, teachers' intervention is inescapable. It, most likely, takes the form of 'metapragmatic reflexion' to guide appropriate performance of the speech act under practice.

The other contribution is that of Martinez-Flore (2007). She analysed request modification in a sample of films and concluded that films are a 'powerful pedagogical tool' (p. 274) that allows the possibility of viewing and reviewing for uncovering rich pragmatic details from a single scene (Rose 2001: 283, cited in Martinez-Flor 2007: 274). Accordingly, she suggested taxonomy for integrating film scenes in EFL classroom both from a deductive and inductive point of views. The following points summarise this taxonomy (ibid: 274-276):

1. Selecting two full scenes and writing situations that describe them.
2. Learners write what they would say in response to these situations.
3. Making the scenes transcription at the learners' disposal to compare their responses with.
4. The teacher interacts with learners to describe the speech acts performed and provides metapragmatic information regarding two points:
  - a. The different linguistic realisations of them.
  - b. The sociopragmatic factors of the situation (the scene) relevant in the speech act's performance: do the people in the scene know each another? Is one superior in status over another? Where the scene has taken place? What are the non-verbal behaviour (tones, facial expressions, body language etc.) that accompanies the production?

For the author, the inductive approach is applied when learners find out about the forms used for realising a given speech act and the factors that influence them. Meanwhile, the deductive one is at play during discussion which is a sort of problem-solving game.

Despite the determined efforts to assist EFL/ESL learners in their bid to emulate NSs' performance, it would take them many years to acquire pragmatic competence and their task, however, still appears a "daunting challenge" (Cohen 2005: 280). In this respect, Cohen

(2005) strongly expresses the need to shift to another instruction that emphasises learners' strategies in learning and performing speech acts. These strategies are the subject of the next section.

#### **VI.1.4 Learners' Strategies for Learning and Performing Speech Acts**

We strongly agree with Cohen (2005:287) that explicit pragmatic instruction is never enough if the efforts (strategies) of the learner himself are not considered. He explains:

[I]t would seem that such explicit focus is not sufficient if the learners do not have strategies for both learning this material and for performing speech acts based on this knowledge. One means of enhancing learners' use of strategies in dealing with speech acts is through styles- and strategies-based instruction (ibid: 287).

On that account, styles- and strategic-based instruction aims at developing learners' sense of how to be tactful in dealing with speech acts. These strategies are ones for learning and performing speech acts, added to them metapragmatic considerations (ibid: 287). In the case of the Algerian EFL learners, such a kind of *self-help* instruction is of crucial importance since they have little chance of exposure and involvement in the host culture. Moreover, little time is devoted to teaching and practicing speech acts in the module of oral expression at Algerian universities. It needs to be pointed that Cohen (2005) considers these strategies little else than hypotheses which require empirical validation. So, we would invite researchers for empirically investigating them. In what follows, we provide a summary account of these strategies (ibid: 288-292), which, actually, might include points that have already been highlighted above.

Firstly, to learn speech acts, learners have to select a speech act and seek knowledge relating to it (e.g. how to request someone of higher status) by means of observation, written

tools etc. Furthermore, they can conduct 'lay' cross-cultural investigation to know about semantic formulae and linguistic structures used in L1 and TL. They, then, make mental notes of the similar and the differing points and look for interpreting them by asking the TL members. Learners could observe how and what NSs say, besides their non-verbal behaviour. Also, they should ask about the variations: effects of age, status, distance, role of participants, imposition etc. on performance. Learners are advised to access publications pertaining to speech acts (e.g. websites, corpora, textbooks, research articles).

Secondly, to perform speech acts, learners should find a way to memorise input and retrieve it when needed. What has been learnt needs to be practised by, for instance, taking part in imaginary interactions and role-plays with peers or NSs (whether the latter are or not aware of the learner's purpose). Then, they can ask NSs about feedbacks. Having determined NSs' style, learners choose a delivery way whether thinking before performing (reflection) or performing without pre-thinking (impulsive). There are certain communication strategies at the learners' disposal. They, for example, might alert beforehand that they are not sure how to say and go for repair of the situation in case of failure. In addition, by means of feelings (base on TL knowledge) and expectation (based on what appears reasonable or how it is similar to L1), learners may identify the native tendency. They might as well compensate through translation from L1. It happens that learners might know how to perform a given speech act in TL; however, they remain loyal to L1 instead of seeking to sound native-like.

Thirdly, there are certain metapragmatic aspects to take into consideration. Learners should select an aspect or focus (e.g. production vs. comprehension). Another essential point is the selection of the amount of pre-planning, nature of 'monitoring' during action, and evaluation after it. In their attempt to avoid pragmatic failure, learners could resort, for instance, to checking the appropriateness of a level of directness/indirectness or term of address (e.g. Dr Steven vs. Steve), sociopragmatic appropriateness (of a semantic formula), and the pragmalinguistic appropriateness (of a linguistic form).

What has been said so far goes to focus on the learner and the input while little has been said about the teachers' contribution. Surely, teachers have an essential role to play in all that. According to Wolfson (1989: 31), teachers facilitate the acquisition of the sociolinguistic rules provided that they themselves have the adequate knowledge and 'the sensitivity' so as to guide learners on how to interpret assumptions and forms. It goes without saying that teachers are not required to exercise imposition on learners to acquire the host culture's norms but rather to help them avoid miscommunication in TL. We have already pinpointed that instructing learners in beliefs might be a tall order. On that account, it is advisable that teachers themselves have the opportunity to receive professional training on how to teach communicative competence.

## **VI.2 Intercultural Communication**

Having dealt with the pedagogical implications, we, presently, discuss the ones the study might have on intercultural communication. In intercultural encounters, whether among Algerian EFL learners and ENSs or people from all walks of life from Arabic and Anglo-Saxon cultural backgrounds, communication breakdowns are very likely.

Starting with learners, pragmatic failure is likely to occur due to deviations in IL behaviour. Going bold on record, i.e. employing direct requests, with close interlocutors is likely to be viewed by ENSs as a sign of impoliteness. Also, the underuse of the *mind modals* and the absence of *downtoners* may sound brusque for ENSs. As for the preponderance of the H-perspective by IL-users, it might be interpreted as imposition because it gives a directive force to utterances. At the level of external modification, the overuse of external mitigating devices by learners is commonplace. This tendency leads to verbosity which is considered over informativeness that makes it difficult to grasp the requestive illocutionary force (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) and violates the maxim of quantity too. Additionally, the overuse of *grounders* results in long-winded requests that sounds gushy for ENSs. IL-users could

sound overpolite due to the predominance of the politeness marker *please*. This politeness marker might not be perceived as an adequate mitigator in power-asymmetric, social-distance or high-imposition encounters. Furthermore, learners are likely to fail at the sociopragmatic level as they have shown unawareness that requesting in certain scenarios could be considered an invasion of one's territory and, thus, violates the social rules of the host culture. In a similar vein, the underuse of independence strategies, namely *imposition minimisers* and *apologies*, in IL requests weakens the request and makes it sound less considerate to the interlocutor.

Turning to apologies, IL-users run the risk of pragmatic failure regarding the way they employ *IFIDs* and their intensification. Learners tend to employ *IFID*-external intensity. That is, they, oftentimes, miss to intensify the expression of apology and, thus, weaken the apologetic illocutionary force. For Cohen (1998), "neglecting to intensify the expression of apology dilutes the apology, and hence the apology might not be adequate when interacting with friends and interlocutors who have higher-status" (p. 413). Additionally, the willingness to acknowledge responsibility in power-asymmetric, distance or high-imposition encounters may sound subservience. Again, taking on responsibility and less employment of *Concern* and *Repair* might be interpreted by ENSs as an absence of polite attitudes.

Furthermore, points of divergence in Arabic and English may be a source of miscommunication. Concordant with the findings of the cross-cultural comparison in the present study, these are the areas which, presumably, cause miscommunication in the requestive and apologetic behaviours in encounters among the Arabs and the Anglo-Saxons: politeness system, directness/indirectness, modal verbs, perspective, terms of address and independence strategies, in requests; *IFIDs*, intensification, *Responsibility*, *Concern* and *Repair* strategies, in apologies.

It should be born in mind that the above assumptions are nothing more than hypotheses which require validation. We have already pinpointed in the literature review that cross-cultural studies have explanatory power and, thus, they are hypothesis-generating in nature. Thus, it is imperative to investigate divergence in communicative styles in authentic intercultural settings.

The practical implications of the present study could be extended to translation. Nowadays, there is an increasing interest in translating English and American movies and series, especially, into Standard Arabic or one of its varieties. Therefore, through such studies, we can foresee the areas where translation loss at the pragmatic level is likely to occur in translating from or into one of these languages/cultures. Pinto (2010) investigated translation loss in English subtitles of Spanish films. For the author, the realisation of linguistic politeness in the two languages is a real challenge when it comes to transfer the Spanish politeness to English by means of subtitles (p. 1). He explains that “in Spanish, politeness is often based on enhancing the relationship between interlocutors and not necessarily, as in English, on mitigating the face-threatening act. (ibid: 2010:1)” As a result, the lack of mitigation in the English version can be interpreted as, in Pinto words, “blunt to Anglophone sensibilities (p. 1).” Similarly, Arabic and English employ two differing politeness systems, with Arabic being much similar to Spanish than to English. That is, Arabs seek to establish a common ground and enhance interpersonal relationship with their interlocutors. The above mentioned areas of divergence between Arabic and English are the points which, presumably, constitute a challenge to translators. To illustrate, translation loss is highly likely in the rendition of the modal verbs. Given the fact that Arabic modal items have the same pragmatic value, using them as one-to-one equivalents in English version does not necessarily carry the pragmatic politeness of the source language unless softeners are added to compensate the pragmatic loss (Al-Aqra’, 2001). In addition, maintaining a degree of directness in Arabic requests in the English version may sound impolite and aggressive to the target audience.

Also, if the H- and S-oriented requests are not balanced in translation, Arabic requests may signify imposition, though the source requesters do not intend it. In apology, we assume that if intensity is not redistributed by the translator and made *IFID*-internal, sincerity in Arabic apologies cannot be carried over. Furthermore, the Anglophone audience might think that Arab apologisers are subservient if taking on responsibility is kept as high as in the source culture. It is worth noting that the above illustrations are only predictions and the author recommends to empirically investigating them.

To sum up, we have dealt with the pedagogical implications of the study in EFL pedagogy (teaching/learning of speech acts, the teaching/learning material, explicit instruction and learners' strategies). It has also been shown that the study has implications in cross-cultural communication as well as in translation.

### **VI.3 Limitation and Suggestions for Further Research**

The present study is merely a further step in the study of ILP of Algerian EFL learners. It is, thus, rather limited regarding a couple of aspects. On that account, it can be reduplicated through shifting the focus to other points, as this area of research offers various avenues to explore which we summarise below.

It is strongly recommended in order to collect requestive and apologising illocutionary acts to use other means like role-plays, verbal report interviews or, ideally, naturally occurring data as well as researching them through a discourse-based approach i.e. investigating speech acts through conversation analysis (Kasper, 2004) . In order to have a clearer image of the ILP of Algerian EFL learners, other variables need to be investigated whether context-external like *age* and *gender*, context-internal like *legitimacy to request* or *obligation to apologise* or non-structural like *learning instruction*, *learning context* (ESL or EFL) and *length of residence in the target community*. Also, we recommend exploring other domains which are



the perception and the development of the requestive and apologising strategies in learners' ILP as well as the communicative effects of their deviated production. Moreover, we recommend conducting cross-cultural and interlanguage studies using larger samples of participants from different backgrounds. The present study is cross-sectional in the sense that it deals with learners' 'single-moment' performance, so longitudinal studies which observe the development of learners' pragmatic behaviour in authentic settings would be very insightful and supplementary to our findings. To sharpen our understanding of the interlanguage phenomenon at the pragmatic level, there is a need for comprehensive cross-cultural studies that bring together the L1 and TL cultures. In this respect, we encourage comparative research of requests and apologies in Algerian Arabic vis-à-vis British and American varieties of English, which the Algerian EFL learners are best exposed to.

## **Conclusion**

Concordant with the findings of the research work, we recommended that the teaching material should be enriched with research-based and authentic data as well as adequate metapragmatic information. Moreover, it was recommended that interactive activities would be designed to provide learners with an opportunity to practice speech acts and raise their awareness of factors affecting speech acts' production. More importantly, we supported the transition to styles- and strategies-based instruction for the reasons cited above. In addition, the practical recommendation at the periphery of the present study could be extended to intercultural communication and translation. The cross-cultural comparative portion of the study revealed potential areas that could be a source of miscommunication when Algerian EFL learners communicate in gate-keeping encounters. Moreover, the findings of the present study have implications in translation as it hints potential areas of pragmatic loss in Arabic-to-English/English-to-Arabic translation. The present study underwent limitation regarding a number of points as highlighted above. Based on them, we forwarded suggestions for further research.

## General Conclusion

The present cross-sectional study examined an under-researched area in the teaching/learning of EFL in Algeria. It attempted to investigate the interlanguage performance of Algerian EFL learners in requesting and apologising with a focus on pragmatic transfer. The researcher adopted a cross-cultural perspective which means that the interlanguage production was compared and contrasted to two control groups representing the mother and the host languages/cultures (Arabic and English respectively). The cross-cultural comparison allowed us to spot points of cross-cultural variation in these languages/cultures' production of the two speech acts under question. In addition, through this conduct, we explored factors affecting the learner performance, other than pragmatic transfer, as well as the correlation between linguistic proficiency and pragmatic transfer.

Four research questions were formulated as follows:

1. What are the points of cross-cultural variability in Arabic and English requests and apologies regarding:
  - a. Linguistic materials used for realising them?
  - b. The social assumptions underlying their performance?
2. Does pragmatic transfer in the interlanguage of Algerian EFL learners occur at:
  - a. The pragmalinguistic level (linguistic materials)?
  - b. The sociopragmatic level (employment of strategies)?
3. If any, what are the other factors affecting the pragmatic competence of Algerian EFL learners?
4. Does language proficiency improve pragmatic performance or does it hinder it by encouraging the exhibition of more transfer?

To answer the above research questions, three data sets were gathered; requests and apologies performed by the control groups (Arabic and English) and by learners at two proficiency levels (low and high). We adopted the DCT as a data collection means. This tool is the most used in interlanguage studies par excellence. The striking advantage of this means is that it is time-saving and allows the collection of a large amount of speech act data. The responses gained were analysed regarding the wording of the strategies (i.e. pragmalinguistic level) and the assumptions underlying these strategies' selection (sociopragmatic level). The performance of the learner groups at the two proficiency levels was compared and contrasted with the control ones in order to establish cross-cultural and interlanguage variations.

The findings of the present study revealed many areas of cross-cultural variability regarding the production of the two speech acts under investigation. For example, the mother and the target cultures (Arabic and English) employed two differing types of politeness in requests' production. In Arabic, speakers sought to establish a common ground with their interlocutors resulting in positive politeness. This is manifested in the strategies favoured: imperatives, terms of address, hearer-oriented expressions, lexical softeners and religious-bound expressions. By contrast, in English, speakers strived to signal distance from interlocutors and minimise the face-threatening nature of requests and, thus, negative politeness. Therefore, they opted for modal items, speaker-oriented requests, consultative devices, imposition minimisers and apologies.

As far as the learner production is concerned, both types of pragmatic transfer were evident. At the pragmalinguistic level, learners used linguistic items inspired by the mother language (e.g. *it will be very grateful if you help me*) and word-for-word translation (e.g. *my shoulders are falling*). At the sociopragmatic level, transfer was operative in the evaluation of

situations in the target culture by means of mother culture's sensibilities. As an example, learners tended to freely make reference to the hearer as the doer of the action through the predominance of S-oriented requests (*can you, will you, do you, could you* etc.). In addition to transfer, other factors impacted the learner performance: lack of pragmatic competence (e.g. the inability to differentiate between *excuse me/I beg your pardon* vs. *I am sorry*), IL-specific features (e.g. the use of long-winded requests and apologies) and language constraints (e.g. grammatical errors).

The implications of this study may be in three areas: intercultural communication, EFL pedagogy and translation. In the first area, it highlighted the points of divergence between Arabic and English request and apology which are likely to lead to communication breakdown/pragmatic failure when Algerian EFL learners engage in face-to-face interactions with NSs. In the second area, i.e. the teaching/learning of speech acts, we made a few suggestions regarding the teaching of pragmatics to the Algerian EFL learners. Moreover, this thesis provided empirically-validated data as regards the performance of the two speech acts under investigation, which are particularly essential for textbook developers. We shed light on activities for explicit instruction in speech acts as well as autonomous learning through the learner strategies. In the third area, translation, aspects in which translation loss is highly likely in Arabic-to-English and English-to-Arabic translation were discussed.

The present study is a mere step forward in researching the interlanguage of Algerian EFL learners at the pragmatic level. Limitations of the present study as well as the areas that merit further investigation in future research were addressed.

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## APPENDIX A

### Discourse Completion Task

#### Instructions: Native Speakers

This questionnaire aims at gathering some data concerning the ways of performing the speech acts of request and apology in English. Your contribution will be of great help in a cultural comparative study.

We will greatly appreciate if you could take the time to fill in this questionnaire.

Here are real-life situations/scenarios, and what you are supposed to do is just to read them and respond to them in the way you do in your daily life.

#### Instructions: Learners

Your timely completion of this questionnaire will help to bring a PhD research to fruition. It aims at gathering data concerning the students' knowledge of the appropriate ways to perform the speech acts of request and apology.

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire. Your input is very important and will be greatly appreciated.

Imagine yourself in the scenarios/situations below and try to request and apologise like how you think a speaker of English would request and apologise in the same situations.

#### a. REQUESTS

##### Scenario 1

You are talking to one of your *distinguished professors* about your academic problems. While talking, you notice a book on your professor's desk, which is relevant to the research you are doing. You want to borrow it for some time. What would you say?

##### Scenario 2

You are shopping for your friend's birthday and you see something in a display case. You want to look at it more closely. A *salesclerk* comes over to you. You ask him to take it out to have a closer look. What would you say?

### **Scenario 3**

In a Spanish class you are reading a passage and the teacher wants you to find the meaning of a newly introduced word. But you realise that you forgot your dictionary. Your *classmate*, who is sitting next to you, has one. You want to borrow his/her dictionary for a moment. What would you say?

### **Scenario 4**

You are working in one of the companies sharing the office with a *workmate with whom you have been working for years*. Your workmate is keen on using computers. You are facing a problem in fixing some tables in your computer, so you ask him to come and help you. What would you say?

### **Scenario 5**

You are carrying several bags full of groceries in your way to the car park where you left your car. A *stranger (your age)* passes by. What would you say to request from that person to carry some of the bags with you?

### **Scenario 6**

You have forgotten your wallet, and you need to buy some photocopies for next class. You request your classmate to *lend you some money*. What would you say?

### **Scenario 7**

You are on your way to college and you are a bit late. You realise that you left your watch at home (your mobile clock is unset). A person (your age) wearing a watch passes by. You ask him/her *about the time*. What would you say?

## **b. APOLOGIES**

### **Scenario 8**

You borrow a book from your *university teacher* and you promise you will give it back on a particular day. When it is the day to give it back, you remember that you left it home and it is too late to go back home. How would you apologise to your teacher?

**Scenario 9**

You promise your *young sister* to help her doing her homework, but you cannot afford any time. When she comes back from school and finds out, she is really annoyed. What would you say to her?

**Scenario 10**

*One of your classmates* asks you to bring a novel for her/him. However, you forget to bring it. When your friend asks about it, you apologise; what would you say?

**Scenario 11**

You forget a get-together with *a close friend*. You call him to apologise. This is already the second time you have forgotten such a meeting. Your friend asks over the phone: “what happened to you?” what would you say?

**Scenario 12**

You are in a line waiting to get a movie ticket and you *inadvertently step on a lady's foot*. What would you say to her?

**Scenario 13**

You are a passenger in a bus. You misplace your bag on the rack. *Your bag suddenly falls on one of the passengers and hits him/her*. What would you say to apologise?

**Scenario 14**

You want to call a friend of yours, but *you dial the wrong number*. The answer replies: “I’m not X”. What would you say to apologise?

## APPENDIX B

### اختبار تكميل الحوار

#### أعزائي الطّلبة

يقوم الباحث بدراسة مقارنة ثقافية حول استعمال أفعال الكلام، الطلب و الاعتذار بصفة خاصّة، في اللّغة/الثقافة العربية والانجليزية.

ولهذا يستخدم الباحث أداة "اختبار تكميل الحوار" الذي يحوي مجموعة من المواقف تحاكي الواقع. المطلوب منكم أعزائي الطّلبة هو قراءة هذه المواقف بدقة وملء الفراغات مرةً باستعمال صيغة الطلب ومرةً باستعمال صيغة الاعتذار التي ترونها مناسبة في كل موقف من وجهة نظر الثقافة العربية (الجزائرية).

البيانات المقدّمة من طرفكم ستخدم البحث المذكور كنموذج لاستعمال هذين الفعلين الكلاميين في الثقافة العربية الجزائرية. لذا يرجى الرد على المواقف بواقعية تامة.

شكراً جزيلاً مسبقاً، على تعاونكم.

#### الطلب

##### الموقف الأول:

تتحدث إلى أحد أستاذك في الجامعة عن بعض المسائل الأكاديمية وفجأة تلمح فوق مكتبه كتابا يتحدث عن موضوع البحث الذي أنت بصدد القيام به. تريد أن تستعير الكتاب من أستاذك فتقول:

##### الموقف الثاني:

كنت في أحد المحلات لشراء هدية لصديق، يلفت انتباهك إحدى الهدايا فتريد أن تراها عن كثب فتطلب من البائع إخراجها من خزانة العرض فتقول:

##### الموقف الثالث:

في درس اللّغة الإنجليزية يطلب منك الأستاذ البحث عن مرادف لكلمة ما، لكنك لم تحضر القاموس خاصتك. يوجد قاموس عند زميلك في الطاولة المقابلة، تطلب استعارته للحظة فتقول:

#### الموقف الرابع:

كعامل بأحد الشركات تتشارك المكتب مع أحد زملاء العمل منذ سنوات. يتميز هذا الزميل بمهارته في استعمال الحاسوب. أنت الآن تواجه مشكل في ضبط بعض الجداول في حاسوبك و تحتاج إلى مساعدة زميلك، تطلب منه ذلك فتقول:

#### الموقف الخامس:

كنت تحمل أغراضاً اقتنيتها لتوك من أحد المحلات وأنت متجه إلى موقف السيارات أين تركت سيارتك. يمر بك أحد الأشخاص لا تعرفه فتطلب منه المساعدة في حمل بعض الأغراض فتقول:

#### الموقف السادس:

نسيت حافظة النقود خاصتك و أنت الآن في حاجة لنسخ بعض المقالات التي تخص المحاضرة القادمة. تطلب من أحد الزملاء ليعيرك بعض المال فتقول:

#### الموقف السابع:

أنت في طريقك إلى الجامعة و كنت متأخراً بعض الشيء، تريد معرفة الوقت لكأنك نسيت ساعتك و الوقت بهاتفك النقال غير مضبوط، تمر بشخص لا تعرفه فتسأله عن الوقت فتقول:

### الاعتذار

#### الموقف الثامن:

استعرت كتاباً من أحد أساتذتك بالجامعة وكنت قد وعدت بإرجاعه في يوم معين. لكن لما كان ذلك اليوم نسيت و ليس بالإمكان الرجوع للبيت لإحضاره، تعتذر لأستاذك فتقول:

#### الموقف التاسع:

كنت قد وعدت أختك الصغرى بمساعدتها في إنجاز واجباتها المنزلية، لكنك لم تجد الوقت لذلك. لما رجعت من المدرسة واكتشفت أنك لم تفعل غضبت كثيراً، فتعتذر منها فتقول:

#### الموقف العاشر:

طلب منك أحد زملائك البارحة أن تحضر له إحدى الروايات، فلما كان الغد أقبل إليك ليسألك إذا أحضرت الرواية. عندئذ فقط تذكرت عدم إحضارها. تجدد نفسك مضطراً للاعتذار فتقول:

### الموقف الحادي عشر:

كان يتوجّب عليك مرافقة صديقك المقرب إلى مكان ما، لكنك لم تستطع لسبب ما، وكانت هذه المرة الثانية التي تتأخر فيها عن مرافقة صديقك. اتصلت بصديقك، فتعذرت فتقول:

### الموقف الثاني عشر:

كنت تمشي في رواق الجامعة وكان الرواق شديد الازدحام، من غير انتباه نُسيت على قدم إحدى السيدات. تعذرت إليها فتقول:

### الموقف الثالث عشر:

كنت راكباً في أحد الحافلات ووضعت أغراضك في الرف الموجود فوقك. فجأة سقط أحد هذه الأغراض على راكب لا تعرفه كان يجلس أمامك فأذنته. تعذرت إليه فتقول:

### الموقف الرابع عشر:

أردت الاتصال بأحد أصدقائك فشكّلت رقماً خطأ، يرد صاحب الرقم قائلاً: "إنك مخطئ، ليس هذا رقم فلان." تردّ معتذراً فتقول:

## APPENDIX C

### A Representative Sample of Responses

#### 1. Requests

##### Arabic

–min fadhlik ya ?ustath hal tastaTii3 an tu3iirani hathaa lkitab li?anii bahatthu 3anhu Tawiilan wa lam ?ajidhu \_\_shukran jaziilan wa baaraka lahu fiik.

*Please teacher/professor, can you lend me this book? Because I've been looking for it for a long time, but I didn't find it \_\_thank you very much and may God/Allah bless you.*

–?ustath hal yumkinuka ?i3arati hatha alkitaab?

*Professor, can you lend me this book?*

–?akhi ?a3Tinii hathihi lhadia li?araaha 3an qurb min fadhlik

*Brother, give me this present to look at it from a short distance, please.*

–?asalaamu 3alaykum wa rahmatul lahi wa baarakaatuhu min fadhlik halla ?a3Taytanii tilka lhadiya li?araahaa jayyidan\_\_ shukran

*God's peace and blessings be upon you, please, will you give me that present to have a closer look?\_\_thanks.*

–min fadhlik alqamuus lilahdha

*Please, the dictionary for a moment.*

–lahdha wahida faqaT

*Just one moment.*

–hal yumkinuka musaa3adati fi dhabT ba3dh ljadaawil fa?anta maahir fi thaalik

*Can you help me fixing some tables? You are keen on that.*

–?akhii ... ?uriidu musaa3adatatka law istaTa3t bimaa anaka khabiir fi lhasuub

*My brother ..., I want your help, if you could, since you are expert in computers.*

–?akhii lkariim min fadhlik saa3idni fi haml hathihi al?aghradh lisayyaara fa?inni laa ?astaTii3u wahdi jazaaka lahu khayran

*My honourable brother, please help me carrying these groceries to the car; I can't hold them by myself may God/Allah well-award you.*

–min fadhlik ya ?akhii ?ihmal ma3i hathihi al?aghradh ila asayyaara

*Please my brother, hold these groceries with me to the car park.*

–min fadhlik ya ?ukhtii halla ?a3artinii mablaghan min almal nasaytu mihfadhati fi lmanzil sawfa ?urji3o laki almablagha ghadan

*Please my sister, will you lend me a sum of money; I forgot my wallet at home. I'll return it tomorrow.*

–min fadhlik ?a3irnii ba3dh lmaal nasaytu hafidhat annuquud

*Please, lend me some money; I forgot my wallet.*

–?akhii kam assa3a min fadhlik

*My brother, what's the time, please?*

–min fadhlik, kam asaa3a l?aan

*Please, what's the time now?*

## **English**

–Professor, would you mind if I borrow this book? I may need it for a while\_\_would that be okay?  
When would you need it back?

–I noticed you have book X. Have you read it? (response) What do you think of it? (response)  
Well, I was considering using it for some of the research I am currently working on, I just wanted your take on it. (response) I would love to borrow it\_\_thank you!

–Hi, I'm looking for a birthday present for my friend. Can I see that ... more closely please?  
Excuse me, may I see that piece? \_\_\_Thanks. How much is it?

–May I borrow this (point at dictionary) for a quick sec?

–May I borrow your dictionary for a moment? I neglected to bring mine

–Hey... my computer is messing up and I can't get these tables to work. When you have a minute, can you see if you can help me out? I know you're really good at this stuff.

–Hey, Gertrude, can you help me for a minute? These tables are making me insane. Are you busy?

–I would never ask a stranger to help me carry bags.

–Excuse me, would you help me carry a few of these bags? Don't know why I thought I could carry so many on my own. My car is parked just a few feet away.

–Hey..., I'm so sorry, but can I borrow some change to make some photocopies? I forgot my wallet and I have to do this before my next class... but I'll pay you back right away, I promise!

–Is there any way you could loan me a couple of quarters to make copies? I left my wallet at the dorm and I really need to make some copies before the next class.



-Excuse me...can you tell me the time?

-Excuse me, have you got the time, please?

### **Interlanguage (Freshmen)**

-Sorry sir about my going out of the subject, but I think that I need your help in my research. I saw that you have the book which can help me, so I want to borrow it, if it does not embarrass you?

-Sir, I'm doing a research and I am stuck in the middle because I don't have enough sources to finish my work, so maybe I thought you could borrow me a book of yours, please, and the one on the desk, I think, it will help me a lot.

-Everything is interesting in your display case. I have a birthday of a friend of mine but didn't buy a gift. Can you just take this "X" out to have a closer look? I think it's what I am looking for.

-Good morning, could you give me a helping hand to take it out to have a closer look, please?

-Can I take your Spanish dictionary for a moment?

-Borrow me your dictionary for five minutes please.

I'm in trouble I can't fix these tables in my computer. Salim please, can you help me just this time?

-I need your help, you're keen on using computers, so come and help me, please.

-Can you help me in carrying this [these] bags brother for a few meters? My shoulders are falling.

-Hey brother, could you help me to carry these bags?

-May you lend me some money for some photocopies?

-Please, I'm in trouble. Could you lend me some money to buy some photocopies for the next class? I will return it back tomorrow.

-Good morning. What time is it?

-Good morning, can you do a favour to me, I forgot my watch and I'm a little bit late, can you tell me the time, please?

### **Interlanguage (Seniors)**

-Sir, could you please give me your book, because it is relevant to my research? And I will be thankful.

-I will be very grateful if you would like to borrow me your book.

-Please, can I take it out to have a closer look?

- Please sir can you give me this ... I want to see it more closely, if you don't mind of course?
- Excuse me, can you give me your dictionary for a moment please?
- Give me your dictionary, please.
- Do you mind helping me fixing these tables?
- Come and see what the hell happened to this computer.
- Please do me a favour. Help me with these bags.
- May I ask your help sir? My luggage is really heavy. Can you help me? I will be so thankful.
- Excuse me, I forgot my wallet can you lend me some money to make photocopies?
- Give me some money I need them for that moment and I will give them back to you by afternoon, because I forgot my wallet when I was in a hurry.
- What time is it, please?
- Could you please tell me what time is it?

## 2. Apologies

### Arabic

- ya ?ustaath wallahi l3adhiim nasiitu lkitaab alyawm wa3dun minnii ?an urji3ahuu ghadan  
*O' teacher/professor, I swear (by the Greatest God) that I've forgotten the book today. It's a promise to bring it back tomorrow.*
- min fadhlik saamihonii yaa ?ustaath lam astaTi3 ihdhaar lkitaab kamaa wa3adtuka ?anaa haqan aasifa ?u3thurnii  
*Please, forgive me teacher/professor; I couldn't bring the book as I promised. I'm really sorry, excuse me.*
- habiibati samihiini laqad kuntu munshaghila wa sa'u3awidhuki fi waqtin aakhar  
*My beloved forgive me I was busy; I'll compensate another time.*
- saamihiniini ya saghiira faqad inshaghaltu kaTHiiran wa lam yakfinii lwaqt  
*Forgive me my sister, I was so busy and time wasn't enough.*
- ?aasifa ?a3iduki bi'ihdhaarihi laki ghadan  
*Sorry, I promise to bring it to you tomorrow.*
- ?a3tathiru minka faqad nasiituhaa  
*I apologise to you. I forgot it.*
- saamihonii li ?anii lam astaTi3 alquduum ma3aka

*Forgive me as I couldn't come with you.*

–saamihonii min fadhlik faqad haalat adhuruuf duuna thaalika

*Forgive me, please. The circumstances didn't permit.*

–saamihiini ?ukhtii l3aziiza lam antabih

*Forgive me my dear sister. I didn't pay attention.*

–saamihiini lam aqSid

*Forgive me. I didn't mean.*

–?aasifa aasifa jidan wa law kuntu ?a3rifu ?annahaa tasquT lamaa wadha3tuhaa

*Sorry. So/very sorry. If I knew it falls, I wouldn't have put it.*

–saamihonii lam antabih

*Forgive me. I didn't pay attention.*

–?aasifa 3an al?iz3aaj

*Sorry for disturbance.*

–Saamihonii ?akhTa't

*Forgive me. I've made a mistake.*

## **English**

–Professor ..., I'm so sorry I didn't get this back to you when I said I would. I apologize for any inconvenience it has caused you! It won't happen again.

–I am terribly. Sorry that I left your book at my house today. I will write myself a note to bring it with me tomorrow.

–Honey, I know I promised to help you but I'm really in a bind myself. Will you let me make it up to you tomorrow? Then we'll go for a treat. What do you say?

–I am sorry sis, but this has come up and I need to finish it now. I will not be able to stop and help with your homework until later this evening.

–I'm an idiot. Forgot the book. Didn't make myself a note. Will do better next time. I'll bring it tomorrow, I promise. Or you could stop by and pick it up if that works better for you?

–Oh my god, I am so sorry, I totally forgot, I'll bring it to you tomorrow, for sure.

–Oh my goodness, I am SO sorry

–Oops! I apologize, was that your foot? Forgive me, I moving too fast, guess I'm in a hurry to see the movie.

- I am terribly sorry, are you ok?
- Oh my gosh!! I am so sorry – are you alright?
- Oh, sorry for the interruption.
- oops! Sorry – I have dialed the wrong number

### **Interlanguage (Freshmen)**

- I am so sorry sir. I forgot the book that you gave it to me, and it's too late to come back home, but I promise you, I will take it with me tomorrow.
- I'm deeply sorry sir. I didn't bring you your book. I promise that I will bring it tomorrow.
- I'm sorry my sweet sister, I had to be out, but I promise that I will stay up this night to do your homework.
- Don't cry my dear sister, my beautiful one. I'm sorry to do that, but for today, I will help you in any subject you want.
- Oh I am sorry. I forget you completely. Please, do not blame me. I am disturbed for the exams.
- Sorry for doing this, I won't forget next time God willing.
- Sorry my friend, you know that I'm busy because of my old sister wedding, so I forgot even to go to study yesterday. We will get together soon.
- I'm so sorry. I forgot the get-together. So I go with my mother to hospital when we come back I will call you. I'm sorry again.
- Are you okay? Sorry, I hope I didn't hurt you. Believe me; I didn't notice you were behind me.
- I'm really really sorry, lady, forgive me please!
- Would [you] please forgive me. I misplace my bag.
- I am so sorry, please accept my apologized [apologies].
- I am really sorry if I disturbed you. I think that I dial the wrong number.
- Sorry I'm sorry. I guess I ordered a wrong number.

### **Interlanguage (Seniors)**

- I am really sorry. I forgot the book at home. I'll bring it tomorrow.
- I know that today is the day to give you back the book my dear teacher, but I'm so sorry because I let it at home. I promise to bring it tomorrow.
- So sorry dear, you cannot imagine how much I was busy.

-I am sorry dear. I could not find my time. I was too busy. Please forgive me that time. I will not be repeated \_\_\_ok sweety [sweetie]?

-Please, accept my apologie[s], and I will not forget next time.

-Oh! No, I've forgotten to bring it to you. Oh I am really really sorry. I will bring it to you tomorrow, I promise.

-I'm so sorry my friend. I've forgotten about our meeting. Really I'm so sorry. The next time I promise to be with you.

-Do not blame me I was so busy and I have no time to call you.

-I'm so sorry, please lady request my apologise [apologies].

-I'm so sorry miss. I didn't see you.

-I am so sorry. Please accept my apology.

-Oh God! You need to forgive me for that lady. Sorry.

-I'm sorry. I just tried to call my friend.

-Sorry sir, I think I formed the wrong number. Sorry for disturbing you.

## Résumé

Ce travail de recherche étudie la performance pragmatique des apprenants algériens de l'anglais comme langue étrangère en matière des deux actes de la parole, à savoir la requête et l'excuse, tout en mettant en exergue le phénomène de transfert pragmatique. L'auteur tente d'investiguer un domaine de recherche qui est sous-documenté dans l'apprentissage/l'enseignement d'EFL en Algérie. La réalisation des actes de la parole et les stratégies de politesse varient d'une langue/culture à l'autre. Une telle divergence de styles pourrait provoquer un problème de communication et peuvent être menaçant pour les faces quand les apprenants communiquent avec des locuteurs natifs. Un questionnaire est administré à deux groupes contrôle, Arabe et anglo-saxon, et à deux groupes d'apprenants algériens, l'un à un niveau avancé et l'autre à un niveau bien moins avancé. Les résultats indiquent plusieurs domaines de variabilité transculturelle dans les manières d'exprimer une requête et de s'excuser en anglais et en arabe. Par exemple, d'un côté, les locuteurs algériens tendent à utiliser des formes de l'impératif, des termes d'allocution, des expressions orientées vers l'auditeur, des assouplissants lexicaux et des expressions délimitées par la croyance religieuse. D'un autre côté, les interactants anglo-saxons semblent préférer des éléments modaux, des requêtes orientées vers le locuteur, une approche consultative, des réducteurs d'imposition et des excuses. En outre, Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait de tabou à admettre la responsabilité dans les excuses des interactants algériens. Cependant, les interactants anglo-saxons en s'excusant préfèrent une stratégie de dédommagement et d'expression de souci plutôt qu'une reconnaissance de responsabilité. Les deux types de transfert se manifestent dans la performance des apprenants. Le transfert pragmalinguistique est caractéristique de l'usage linguistique inspiré par la langue maternelle et du à une traduction littérale. Le transfert sociopragmatique est clair dans la perception des apprenants des variables situationnels et dans leur évaluation des contextes qui sont d'une certaine similarité à ceux de la culture maternelle. La maîtrise de la langue cible ne semble ni donner un avantage évident au groupe ayant un niveau avancé ni être la cause de plus de transfert

chez ce groupe. Les autres aspects influant la production des apprenants sont un manque de compétence pragmatique et des contraintes imposées par la nature de toute interlangue.

**Mots Clés :** algériens ; excuses ; questionnaire écrit ; interlangue; transfert pragmatique ; requête

## الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في الكيفية التي يعتد بها الطلبة الجزائريون والكيفية التي يلتزمون بها أمرا باستعمال اللغة الإنجليزية وهما فعلا من أهم أفعال الكلام. ويركز البحث على ظاهرة النقل في مجال التداول من لغة إلى لغة أخرى. ويصبو الباحث إلى تسليط الضوء على نوع من الدراسات لم تلق الاهتمام الكافي في مجال تعليم/تعلم الإنجليزية كلغة أجنبية في الجامعة الجزائرية. فاستعمال أفعال الكلام وإستراتيجيات التأدب يختلف من لغة/ثقافة إلى أخرى. هذا الاختلاف قد يؤدي إلى فشل العملية الاتصالية بين المتعلمين و المتكلمين الاصليين للغة الإنجليزية وتضرر الصورة الاجتماعية لكلا الطرفين. ويتم تقديم اختبار كتابي لمجموعتين تمثل إحداهما اللّغة والثقافة العربية والأخرى اللّغة والثقافة الأنجلوسكسونية، كما نختبر أيضا مجموعتين من طلبة اللّغة الإنجليزية يتميز أفراد إحداهما بمستوى عال وأفراد الأخرى بمستوى منخفض. أظهرت النتائج عدة نقاط تباين ثقافي بين اللغتين في استعمال فعلي الكلام المذكورين آنفا. وعلى سبيل المثال، يعتمد فعل الإلتماس في اللغة العربية على أفعال الأمر وصيغ الخطاب وعبارات تركز على المستمع وعبارات تلطيف للإلتماس وعبارات أخرى تنم عن إلتزام ديني للمتحدث. أما في الإنجليزية فيعتمد الإلتماس على أفعال مساعدة وعبارات تركز على المتحدث وصيغ استشارة وعبارات تخفيف للإلتزام وعبارات إعتذار. وأظهرت النتائج كذلك أنه لا حرج في الإعتراف بالمسؤولية عند الإعتذار في الثقافة العربية. أما في الثقافة الأنجلوسكسونية، فيفضل المعتذر إستراتيجيات الإهتمام بالمستمع المتضرر معنويا بدل الإعتراف بمسؤولية المتحدث. وعلى مستوى اللّغة البيئية، تم رصد النقل أو التحويل بنوعيه: نقل تداولي- لغوي تجلي في توظيف عناصر لغوية من اللغة الأم وفي الترجمة الحرفية، ونقل تداولي- إجتماعي تجلي في تقييم المتعلمين للمتغيرات السياقية تقييما كان، إلى حد بعيد، في إتجاه الثقافة الأم. وقد كان النقل في اللّغة البيئية واضحا على مستوى كل من مركز الإلتماس وإستراتيجيات تعديل أو تلطيف الإلتماس وإتجاهه، وهنا كان تأثير اللّغة الأم تأثيرا بالغا. أما في الإعتذار فقد كان أثر اللّغة الأم جليا في الصيغ الدالة على قوة الإنجاز وتأكيداتها وفي إستراتيجيات الإعتراف بمسؤولية المتحدث والشرح والإهتمام بالمستمع المتضرر. وعلى صعيد الكفاءة اللّغوية في اللّغة الهدف، بيّنت الدراسة أن هذا المتغير لم يعط أفضلية واضحة للمجموعة الأكثر تمكنا من اللغة الهدف كما لم يولد هذا العامل نقلا معتبرا على مستوى اللّغة البيئية. بالإضافة إلى ظاهرة النقل، أثرت عوامل أخرى في أداء المتعلمين أهمها نقص في الكفاءة التداولية وما تفرضه خصائص اللّغة البيئية من إنحراف على أي متعلم.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** جزائريين؛ الاعتذار؛ اختبار كتابي؛ اللغة البيئية؛ النقل/التحويل التداولي؛ الطلب