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## STRATEGIES OF APOLOGY IN JORDANIAN ARABIC AND AMERICAN ENGLISH

Like other speech acts, apologizing strategies have attracted the attention of many researchers, particularly those interested in second language teaching and learning. A review of related literature shows that apologies by native speakers of English and other languages as well as those learning English as a foreign language have been widely studied.

One of the most significant developments in speech act studies is the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) which was conducted by Blum-Kulka/Olshtain (1984). This project aimed at investigating the realization patterns of two speech acts-requests and apologies-across a range of languages and cultures in order to establish similarities and differences in these patterns cross linguistically and between native and non native usage to the same social constraints. The languages investigated were English, French, Danish, German, Hebrew and Spanish. It was assumed that the observed diversity of the speech acts in question stems from three different types of variability. These are (i) intra-cultural, situational variability; (ii) cross-cultural variability; and (iii) individual variability.

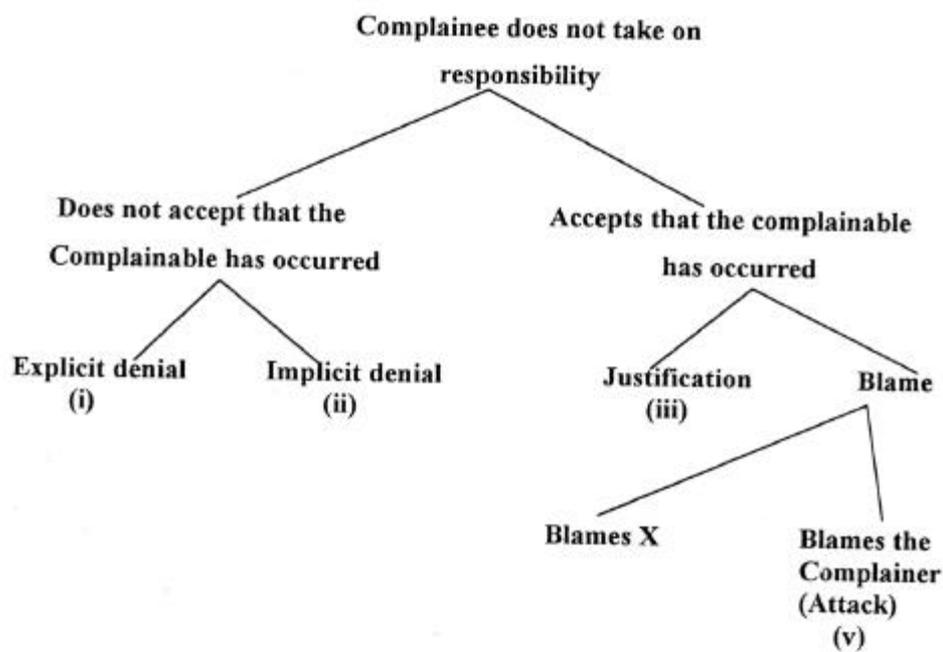
The data were collected through the use of a discourse completion test. The test consisted of eight apology situations that include a number of different social relations, specifying the setting and the social distance between the participants and their relative status to each other.

Analysing the data collected, the researchers found that the linguistic realization patterns of the act of apology can be performed in one of two forms or a combination of both. The first and most direct one is done via explicit Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDS), which are preformative verbs expressing apology. Examples of these expressions include "I'm sorry", "excuse me", "I apologize", "Forgive me", and "Pardon me". The other way for performing an apology is using four potential strategies (with or without IFID). These strategies are (i) expression of responsibility; (ii) explanation or account of the cause brought about by the offense; (iii) an offer or repair, and (iv) a promise of forbearance. The first strategy, expression of responsibility, was categorized to range from responsibility acceptance and explicit self-humbling to placate the complainer to a complete denial of the fault and evasive responses. The other three strategies were related to the type of violation which occurred. According to the researchers, an explanation occurs when X intends to justify the offense which he/she has no control. Such explanation may be expressed explicitly or implicitly.

In situations where the function can be compensated, an offer of repair is used either specified or unspecified. Lastly, the offenses which call for a promise of forbearance, is also a way for admitting responsibility but not necessarily via an explicit apology. Moreover, the researchers noticed that there are some cases where the apologizers opt for intensifying the apology either by using adverbials and repetitions of the (IFID) or by combining the (IFID) with one or more of the apology strategies.

Trosborg (1987) conducted a study on apologizing strategies as realized in the speech of Danish learners of English compared to native speakers' performance. The study was divided into two parts. The first part was concerned with a classification system for apologizing strategies; and the other part was an analysis of native and non-native communicative behavior concerning these strategies. Trosborg posited that face-saving maxims are a fundamental issue in every day face-to-face interaction. According to Trosborg (1987: 147) there are two important attitudes a person holds concerning face-saving: "a defensive attitude", in which one protects his/her own face, and "a protective attitude", in which one protects the other's face. When a person had offended another, he/she may perceive himself as guilty. Consequently, he/she feels the need to apologize or admit his responsibility in an attempt to restore social harmony and set things right. Sometimes, however, the culpable person may not perceive himself as guilty. Consequently, he/she may not feel the need to apologize or may choose to deny his responsibility. This denial may range from an explicit denial to evasive responses depending on different factors.

Trosborg (1987: 149) divided the act in which the "complainee", does not take on responsibility into five categories. These five categories are described in the figure below and found to be relevant to the data obtained in this study.



As can be observed, the offender either denies that the offense has occurred (i) and (ii), or he denies that he himself can be responsible, either by justifying his behavior (iii), or by blaming someone else (iv) and (v).

However, if the offender chooses to apologize or admit his responsibility, the researcher (Trosborg 1987: 150-152) suggested that he/she may do this directly by choosing one of the strategies of apology, e.g., apologize, (be) sorry, excuse, ... etc., or indirectly by choosing one of the strategies which are similar to Fraser's (1981) strategies. These strategies are

- (A) minimizing the degree of offense. To minimize the degree of offense, the offender may (i) query the preconditions or (ii) blame someone else;
- (B) acknowledgment of responsibility. This strategy is classified into six types depending on the degree of the recognition with which the offender accepts the blame. These types are (i) implicit acknowledgment; (ii) explicit acknowledgment; (iii) expression of lack of intent; (iv) expression of self-deficiency; (v) expression of embarrassment; and (vi) explicit acceptance of the blame;
- (C) explanation or account. The offender may try to mitigate his responsibility by giving an explanation or account either (i) implicitly or (ii) explicitly;
- (D) offer of repair. This strategy is classified into two ways; (i) a literal offer in which the offender offers to pay for the damage or (ii) a compensation in which the offender offers to provide something with a balancing effect;

- (E) promise of forbearance. This strategy may be used to assure the offended person that the infraction will never happen again;
- (F) expressing concern for hearer. This strategy is used so as to calm or satisfy the offended person.

The analysis of the results showed that major differences among learners and native speakers occurred with respect to the degree of responsibility they undertook. In situations where native speakers tended to accept responsibility, it was noticed that learners either rejected it, or used it with combinations which were different from those used by native speakers. Moreover, learners tended to minimize the degree of offense, gave an explanation or account and an offer of repair less than native speakers did. However in other cases, namely expression of regret, promise of forbearance, and concern for hearer, it was noticed that learners behaved like native speakers in terms of the frequency of usage.

According to Trosborg learners did not always seem as polite as native speakers when they used the same apology strategy. Native speakers used more modality markers in their responses and consequently achieved a different effect of politeness.

However, the researcher concludes that learners' deviation in the use of apologizing strategies is not only attributed to L1 interference but also to insufficient linguistic proficiency or lack of stylistic competence, overlearning of certain formulas, and the inability to provide the suitable justification for serious offenses.

In another study Al-Hami (1993) investigated the realization patterns of the apology strategies as used by native speakers of English and Arab learners of English. The study aimed at finding the frequency of usage of the strategies of apology among the native speakers of English and the Arab learners of English as well as specifying the types of breakdown Arab learners of English committed in using apology.

After collecting the data, the researcher (Al-Hami 1993: 42-43) categorized the participants' responses into six super strategies of apology and three intensification devices:

- A. Expression of apology.
- B. Explanation or account.
- C. Acknowledgement of responsibility
- D. Repair.
- E. Promise of forbearance.
- F. Expressing concern for hearers.

In addition, the analysis included specifying the devices of apology intensification: (a) adverbials (e.g. "I'm very sorry"), (b) repetition (e.g. "I'm very very sorry") and (c) combination of strategies.

The findings of the study showed big differences in the Arab learner's performance as compared to the performance of the native speakers. They also showed that Arab learners of English and the native speakers of English used nearly the same strategies; nonetheless, the Arab learners expressed less regret than the native speakers; and the English speakers acknowledged lack of intent more than Arab learners. On the other hand, the English speakers appealed to offer a repair, and give a promise of forbearance more than Arab learners who, in turn, paid more attention to explaining the reason behind the offense.

The researcher concluded that differences between the native speakers of English and the Arab learners of English are mainly attributed to negative transfer where cultural patterns differ as well as to the lack of linguistic competence.

#### OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This is a constructive study which attempts to find out the similarities and differences between the way Americans and Jordanian apologize. More specifically it aims at answering the following questions:

1. Which strategies of apology do speakers of Jordanian Arabic and American English use?
2. Can we detect any cultural implications by analyzing the strategies which are used in Jordanian Arabic?

The present study was carried out by the use of a discourse completion test. In its original format the test consisted of 32 items. These items were piloted to a group of 20 students. The aim of the pilot test was to establish the contextual appropriateness of the items in eliciting the speech act under study. Items that proved to be contextually insufficient in eliciting the speech act aimed at were either slightly changed or completely eliminated. The resulting version consisted of 18 items each of which represents a situation which requires the use of a form of apology (See Appendix 1).

An Arabic version of the questionnaire was given to the Jordanian sample. Subsequent to administering the instrument to both the Jordanian and American samples, their responses were identified, categorized and analyzed to find out the types and percentages of the strategies used. The sample of the study consisted of 50 Jordanian male students and 50 female students enrolled at Yarmouk University for the second semester 1996/1997. Forty-one subjects of the Jordanian sample were graduate students. Their age ranged between 18 and 32. The American sample consisted of 40 subjects, ten of whom were working in the American center in Amman and the rest were mainly living in Jordan or on a tour of the country.

## DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Analysis of data has shown some disparity in the use of apologizing strategies amongst the Jordanian and American subjects. The strategies employed by both samples were categorized into 12 strategies. The first eight strategies were developed by a number of researchers (Fraser 1981; Owen 1983; Trosborg 1987) among others. Whereas the American subjects used only 7 strategies, the Jordanian students used 13 strategies, with strategy 1, 8, 11 and 12 occurring only in the Jordanian data. Following is a list of strategies along with examples from both Arabic and English:

*Strategy 1: Minimizing the Degree of Offense.* This strategy appeared only in the Arabic data. It includes responses like:

- (i) /Ma9liš / basitâ hâsâl xeir/
- (ii) /ma sâar shi/ 'it is nothing'
- (iii) /Ma9liš / el-kul bixtâ/ 'everyone errs'

*Strategy 2: Acknowledgment of Responsibility.* When a complainee chooses to take one responsibility he/she can do so in varying degrees of self-blame. The subcategories below are all hearer-supportive.

A. *Explicit acknowledgment of Responsibility.* This strategy includes utterances like :

- (i) /wallah naseit/ 'By God, I forgot'
- (ii) /rahât 9an bâli/ 'it did not attract my attention'

B. *Expression of Lack of Intent.* A typical Arabic utterance of expressing lack of intent is /wallah ma qasâdit ?9mal heik/ for situation 9. A similar American response for the same situation is (I did not mean it).

C. *Expression of Self-deficiency.* This strategy covers Arabic responses like: /wallah el-wâhîd min9mi/ (I did not see, ... etc.) /?a9sâbi mutwattirih/ (I am nervous). Similar American responses are (I did not realize what I was doing) for situation 9, (I have never been good with names) for situation 10, and (I am clumsy) for situation 25.

D. *Expression of Embarrassment.* This strategy was used most for situation 7 in the Arabic sample. It includes utterances like:

/bsârâhâ ana muhfaj min nafsi/ and /walla ana muhraj kèir 9lli sâr/ which are equivalent to: (I am so embarrassed).

E. *Explicit Acceptance of the Blame.* This strategy covers responses like: /el-hag9lai/, /ma9âk hâg/ (my mistake). Similar American responses are (I have nothing to excuse my behavior, I am wrong) and (it is all my fault).

*Strategy 3: Explanation or Account.* After expressing a direct expression of apology, the subject may try to mitigate his offense by giving an explanation or account. In the Arabic data we found utterances like: /ʔâsif laqad ʔxðt zawjati lil mustaš fa/ (I took my wife to the hospital) for situation 11 and /ʔasif 9lat-taʔxîr, lakin el-baas¢ ta9tâl/ (I'm sorry. The bus broke down) for situation 12. Similar American examples are (My kid was sick) for situation 11 and (I am sorry, I could not find your house) for situation 13.

*Strategy 4: Expression of Apology.*

- A. Expression of Regret. E.g., /ʔana ʔâsif/ or (mutaʔsif) 'I'm sorry';
- B. Offer of apology. E.g., (ʔana ʔ9taðer) 'I apologize';
- C. Request for Forgiveness. E.g., /9afawan/ 'Excuse me', /arju ʔn -tasfaha 9ani/ 'Please forgive me' or 'pardon me'.

*Strategy 5: Offer of Repair.* In the Arabic data we found /saufa aš tari laki ghairaha/ (I'll buy you another one) for situation 5 and/ saufa ʔadfa9. lak èamanha/ (I will pay you) for situation 5. Similar American examples of this strategy and for the same situations are (I will replace it for you) (Oh, let us get another one tomorrow).

*Strategy 6: Promise of forbearance.* For situation 9, one Arabic subject said, /maba9idha/ (I will never do it again). A similar American example for the same situation is (father, this won't happen again, I promise).

*Strategy 7: Expressing Concern for Hearer.* A typical Arabic utterance concerning this strategy is /hal ʔinit bxeir/ which is equivalent to the American utterance 'Are you Okay?'

*Strategy 8: Attacking.* If the complainer lacks an adequate defense for his behavior, he may choose to attack the complainant. This strategy appeared only in the Arabic data. In Arabic data, we found (fatteh) (won't you look where you are going) for situation 3, /lâ thki wala kilmi/ (Do not say any word) for situation 8, and /intis sabab/ (your fault) for situation 1.

*Strategy 9: Request.* Responding by a request appeared in the Arabic data in situation 18 /ʔ9tîni masâri badi arûh¢9atâbîb/ (give me money, I want to see a doctor); and in American data in situations 10 (Please, how do you pronounce your name?).

*Strategy 10: Interjections.* The subjects usually show interjection by uttering words or expressions which can not stand alone but are used along other strategies. Typical Arabic interjections are /axx/ (ouch!) and /yailâhi/ (my Goodness). A similar American interjection are (gosh!) (Damn!), (Oops!), and (oh!).

*Strategy 11: Praising Allah.* This strategy was used heavily in the Arabic data and only in situation 17. However, sometimes it was combined with a direct expression of apology. A typical Arabic utterance is /al-hamdu lillâh/ (praise be to God).

*Strategy 12: Proverbial Expressions.* This strategy appeared only in the Arabic data in situations 9 and 18. An example of a proverbial expression is /is-skâfi hâfi wel-hayek 9rian/ (A shoe maker s bare-footed and a weaver is undressed).

#### RESULTS RELATED TO THE JORDANIAN SAMPLE

The Jordanian subjects have provided a total of 1800 responses. As is quite clear from Table (1), the combination of more than one strategy is the most frequent strategy used. This strategy accounts for almost more than two thirds, 67.4% of all strategies used. No other strategy accounts for more than 11% in the data. However the remaining apology exchanges (21.6%) mentioned just a single strategy: explanation or account (6.1%), offer of repair (3.5%), praising Allah (3.5%), attacking (1.3%), acknowledgment of responsibility (1.6%), expressing concern (1.5%), proverbial expression (1%).

Out of 1202 responses which elicited a combination of strategies the most common of which were the following: expression of apology with acknowledgment of responsibility and offer of repair (15.8%), expression of apology with acknowledgment of responsibility (11.5%), expression of apology with explanation or account (9.8%), acknowledgment of responsibility with offer of repair (8.3%), expression of apology with offer of repair (7.2%), expression of apology with explanation (1.5%), promise of forbearance (3.6%), expression of apology with explanation and offer of repair (2.3%), expression of apology with explanation promise of forbearance (1.9%), minimizing the degree of offense with explanation (1.5%), expression of apology with praising Allah (1.2%), minimizing the degree of offense with offer of repair (1.2%), expression of apology with expressing concern (1.1%), interjection with explanation and offer of repair (0.9%), acknowledgment of responsibility with promise of forbearance (0.6%) and interjection with expression of apology (0.3%).

<i>No.</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Combining more than one strategy	1214	67.4%
2.	Strategy 4: Expression of apology (4A, 4B, 4C)	199	11%
3.	Strategy 3: Explanation or account	110	6.1%
4.	Strategy 5: Offer of Repair	63	3.5%
5.	Strategy 11: Praising Allah	64	3.5%
6.	Strategy 8: Attacking	25	1.3%
7.	Strategy 2: Acknowledgment of Responsibility	29	1.6%

8.	Strategy 7: Expressing Concern	27	1.5%
9.	Strategy 12: Proverbial Expression	19	1%
10.	Strategy 9: Request	21	1.16%
11.	Strategy 6: Promise of Forbearance	15	0.83%
12.	Strategy 1: Minimizing the degree of Offense	10	0.55%
13.	Strategy 10: Interjections	04	0.22%

Table (1): Distribution of Strategies According to Frequency and Percentage amongst the Jordanians

RESULT OF THE AMERICAN SAMPLE

Analysis of the American sample responses totaling 720 has shown, as in the case of the Jordanian subjects' responses, that the most frequent strategy is a combination of two or more strategies, which accounted for (66.6%) of all strategies in the data. The next most frequent strategy was an expression of apology which accounted for 22.5%. The other strategies, namely, offer of repair, request, acknowledgment of responsibility, explanation or account and promise of forbearance ranged from (3.6%) to (0.55%) (See Table 2).

Out of 480 responses which indicated the selection of more than one strategy, the following combinations were identified and listed according to their percentages: expression of apology with offer of repair (23.7%), expression of apology with acknowledgment or responsibility and offer of repair (7.6%), interjection with expression of apology and offer of repair (6.8%), expression of apology with promise of forbearance (6.7%), expression of apology with explanation or account (6.6%), expression of apology with acknowledgment of responsibility (4.9%), interjection with expression of apology (4.2%), expression of apology with request (3.9), expression of apology with expression of concern (1.3%), expression of apology with acknowledgment of responsibility and expression of concern (0.4%), and interjection with acknowledgment of responsibility (0.4%).

No.	Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Combining more than one strategy	480	66.6%
2.	Strategy 4: Expression of apology	162	22.5%
3.	Strategy 5: Offer of Repair	26	3.6%
4.	Strategy 9: Request	18	2.5%
5.	Strategy 2: Acknowledgement of Responsibility	18	2.5%
6.	Strategy 3: Explanation or Account	12	1.6%
7.	Strategy 6: Promise of Forbearance	04	0.55%

Table (2): Distribution of Strategies According to Frequency and Percentage amongst the Americans

<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
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	<i>Jordanians</i>	<i>Americans</i>
1. Combining more than one strategy	67.4%	66.6%
2. Expression of Apology	11%	22.5%
3. Explanation or Account	6.1%	1.6%
4. Offer of Repair	3.5%	3.6%
5. Praising Allah	3.5%	-
6. Attacking	1.3%	-
7. Acknowledgment of Responsibility	1.6%	2.5%
8. Expressing Concern	1.5%	-
9. Proverbial expression	1%	-
10. Request	1.16%	2.5%
11. Promise of forbearance	0.83%	0.55%
12. Minimizing the degree of offense	0.55%	-
13. Interjection	0.22%	-

Table (3): Distribution of Strategies According to Frequency and Percentage among Jordanians and Americans

A quick look at Table (3) shows that there are differences and similarities concerning the apology strategies between native speakers of Jordanian Arabic and native speakers of American English. The differences can be summarized in the following points:

- (1) It is obvious that Arabic speakers' strategies were more varied than the American ones. Twenty seven types of responses appeared in the Jordanian data whereas only 17 types of responses appeared in the American data.
- (2) The Jordanian speakers used more elaborated strategies than the American speakers who opted for concise ones. On the one hand, it was noticed that a combination of three strategies in one situation elicited (20.5%) in the Jordanian data compared to (15%) in the American data. On the other hand, a single expression of apology elicited only (11%) in the Jordanian data compared to (22.5%) in the American data.
- (3) Although both the Jordanian and the American speakers employed a combination of more than one strategy in different situations the most frequent combination in the Jordanian data was an expression of apology with an acknowledgment of responsibility and an offer of repair (15.8%) whereas a combination of expression of apology with an offer of repair (23.7%) was the most frequent strategy in the American data.
- (4) Combining an expression of apology with an acknowledgment of responsibility and an offer of repair was the most frequent strategy employed by the Jordanian speakers for possession offenses whereas combining an expression of apology with an offer of repair was observed in the American data for the same type of offenses. By and large, this in-

indicated that the Jordanian speakers and the American speakers weigh offenses differently.

- (5) Strategy 1, i.e., minimizing the degree of offense appeared only in the Jordanian data and only in items 1, 6 and 10 where the conversational parties are of equal status.
- (6) Strategy 10, i.e., interjections was used by both samples. However, it was always combined with other strategies in the American data whereas in the Jordanian data it was used either alone or in combination with other strategies. Strategy 7, i.e., expressing concern however appeared alone in the Jordanian data whereas it was used in combination with other strategies in the American data.
- (7) Social gaffe such as sneezing or coughing elicited only a simple expression of apology in the American data whereas more varied strategies were used in the Jordanian data.
- (8) It was noticed that the Jordanian speakers and the American speakers weigh space offenses differently. In the Jordanian data, space offenses elicited more elaborated apologies than those employed in the American data. Bumping into people, taking their seats, or obstructing their view are among the heavy offenses in the Jordanian culture. The similarities, on the other hand can be summarized in the following points:
  - (1) The investigation of Jordanian and American subjects' responses revealed that the combination of more than one strategy is the most frequent strategy used in both languages.
  - (2) The most frequent combination used in both the American and the Jordanian data was an expression of apology with an offer of repair and/or acknowledgement of responsibility.
  - (3) In both the Jordanian and the American data, it was noticed that the most common pattern of time offenses involved a combination of an expression of apology with an explanation or account. This pattern appeared more frequently when the apologies were directed to people of higher status than to people of equal status. Moreover, the most common pattern of possession offenses was combining an expression of apology with an offer of repair.
  - (4) In both data, an offer of repair was used either alone or in combination with other strategies for the items that involve inconvenience and possession offenses.
  - (5) Strategy 6, i.e., promise of forbearance appeared in both data, and in items 9 all 11 where the apologies were directed to the father and the manager respectively .

The second Question: Can we detect any cultural implications by analyzing the way people in Jordan apologize?

The analysis of the apology strategies employed by speakers of Jordanian Arabic revealed some cultural attitudes of the Jordanian society. As a result of the influence of Is-

Islamic culture on the patterns of thought and speech of Jordanians, responses with religious concepts were all-pervasive in the data. Praising God, using fatalistic expressions, using interjections and other religious concepts were observed. However, these expressions were lacking in the American data. Consider the following illustrative examples in (1), (2), (3), and (4) which bear witness to this:

1) /al-hamdu lillah/ 'Praise be to God'.

Allah is praised under all conditions and at all times. After sneezing, for instance, it is a matter of politeness that the sneezer must praise God by invoking /al-hamdu lillah/ (See situation 18).

2) A. /in š a? Al lah/ 'if God permitted'.

B. /bi?ðnil lâh/ 'By the will of God'.

Jordanians commonly refer to the will of God in their daily undertaking, believing that no one affects the future or knows what is going to happen except God. Thus in items 5, 6, and 7 some apologizers promised to offer a repair only if God permitted it.

3) A. /ya ?ilâhi/ 'Oh, God'.

B. /ya sâtir/ 'Oh, God'.

The above two interjectional phrases were employed for situation (1) and (3). By and large, interjections are routine formulas which are conventionalized and automatically produced. Other interjection formulas do not feature the name of God. These include /?axx/ 'ouch' and /yii/ 'Oh'.

4) /walla naseit/ 'By God, I forgot'.

In order to mitigate the offense and assure that what is said is true, one may resort to swearing by God, which in Islamic community indicates that the speaker does not tell lies. This strategy was used for situations (13), (1) and (7).

Also we notice that some subjects used proverbial expressions especially for items (9) and (17). They also used the most convincing explanation to mitigate offenses. Sickness and death are highly effective and may be unquestionable excuses one can give in Islamic community for time offences. By contrast, having no time or being busy were amongst the most common explanations used by the American subjects.

With regard to strategy 8, attacking the complainant, it was restricted to Jordanian subjects; and it appeared in items 1, 3, 8, and 16 and regardless of the status of the interlocutors. This, however, implies that the saving of one's own face is important. Moreover, the "offender" may view the complainant as partially responsible for his/her behavior and consequently he/she should blame him/her self instead of placing an impinge on the "offender's" face.

Finally, analysis of the Jordanian subjects' responses showed that whenever the addressee was higher in rank as in situation (7), the apology strategies included honorific addressees like /hadfritak/ 'your excellency' and /ustað/ 'sir'. In situation (12) where the speaker is of equal status, less formal expressions were used such as /ya rajul/ 'man', and /ya zalameh/ 'man'.

In situation (6), where the addressee is a lady, expressions such as /xâlti/ 'my aunt', and /ummi/ 'mom' and /uxti/ 'my sister' were used.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

Analysis of data has shown a contrastive use of the strategies of apology amongst Jordanian and American respondents. The Jordanian speaker's strategies were more varied than the American ones. Twenty-seven strategies of apology characterized the Jordanian responses in comparison with only 17 in the American data. The Jordanians were less direct and used more elaborated strategies than their American counterparts who opted for more concise ones.

Although both Jordanians and Americans share a good number of apologizing strategies, there were some unique ones to the Jordanians, and their peculiarity can be attributed to their culture, patterns of thought and religious orientation. These are: minimizing the degree of offense, praising Allah, proverbial expressions, and attacking. Interjections were used in both data. However, they were always combined with other strategies in the American data whereas in the Jordanian data, they were either used alone or in combination with other strategies.

A new trend in foreign language teaching has been to emphasize not only the rules of language, but also the rules of language use. Johnson (1982: 25) states

"that some believe that the rules of use are the same in every language. The way we greet, invite, request information is, they would claim, the same in French, German or any other language. As long as the student is able to translate on a fairly literal level from native into foreign language, he will be able to communicate adequately. Anyone who has lived for any length of time in a foreign language community will know, as an increasing amount of sociolinguistic literature attests, this is just not true."

Also, as has been evidenced by the findings of this research, the strategies of apology in Arabic and English are not necessarily identical, and oftentimes diverge. In teaching apology forms in English, it is imperative, therefore, to teach not only the language forms through which apologies can be expressed but also other cultural insights and patterns of thought which are most of the time culture-specific and help learners to develop the pragmatic competence of the target language.

## APPENDIX

This questionnaire seeks to test the way American people apologize. The data collected will be used to study the differences and similarities concerning apology strategies, among American and Jordanian Arabic speakers.

Please read the following situations. After each situation write what you would actually say, do not tell anyone about what you would say.

Sex ..... Age ..... Nationality ..... Level of Education .....

1. You are running quickly upstairs. There is a woman sitting on the stairs. You can not avoid her. So you step on her foot. If this situation were real, what would you say?
2. You are in the kitchen and your mother is watching TV. When you enter the room where your mother is sitting, you place a bottle of water on a table obstructing your mother's view. If this situation were real, what would you say?
3. You are a headmaster/headmistress of a public school. You are now in a hurry and not looking where you are going. So you run into the school janitor who is carrying a pile of papers. The papers fall down all over the floor. If this situation were real, what would you say?
4. Suppose that you are sitting in a seat which is booked by another passenger. If the passenger comes and tells you that this seat is booked by him, what would you say?
5. While you are at your best friend's home, you ask him to show you his favorite vase. When you hold it, it falls down from your hand and smashes. If this situation were real, what would you say?
6. Your sister invites you to her room to show you her expensive clock she has just got for her birthday. When she hands it to you, it falls down and smashes. If this situation were real, what would you say?
7. Your professor lends you a book about American literature, and you lose it. When you see your professor, what would you say?
8. While your brother is studying, you switch on the radio causing a loud noise. Your brother hates being disturbed while studying. If this situation were real, what would you say?
9. While you are sitting with your father and his guests, you interrupt him a lot. When the guests leave, you father blames you a lot. If this situation were real, what would you say?
10. Suppose that you are meeting some people in a public place. You ask a woman her name. But while talking with her, you mispronounce her name. This makes every one laugh. If this situation were real, what would you say?
11. You go to your work late for the third time. The manager had warned you several times. Now you are face to face with your manager. If this situation were real, what would you say?
12. You were supposed to meet your friend with whom you are working on a joint paper at 12:00 p.m. But you were one hour late. If this situation were real, what would you say?
13. You are a taxi driver. You are supposed to take a person to the airport at 4:00 p.m. when you finally get to the person's home, it is 4:30 p.m. If this situation were real, what would you say?
14. You are a teacher. You promised to return the students' term papers today. But you forgot them. One of your students asks you about them. If this situation were real, what would you say?

15. Your father asked you to wash his car, but you forgot. Now he is angry. If this situation were real, what would you say?
16. You are a cashier in a bank. When you hand some money to a customer, some of it falls down on the floor. If this situation were real, what would you say?
17. You are a doctor with one of your patients in the clinic. While you are speaking, you can not avoid coughing. You cough again and again. If this were real, what would you say?
18. While you are sitting with you father and drinking coffee, you can not avoid sneezing. If this situation were real, what would you say?

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