A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE ON APOLOGIES IN ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN DISCOURSE

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Abstract: Apologies are interactional social-cultural discourse rituals rooted in intersubjectivity. Their corrective and preventive cognitive-pragmatic types have different scenarios. As conventional hybrid expressive-and-requestive speech acts, they have pragma-semantic subtypes, which realize negative politeness. English and Ukrainian apologies share common cognitive-pragmatic types but differ in pragma-semantic subtypes and linguistic realization.

Key words: apology, cognitive-pragmatic paradigm, intersubjectivity, frame scenario, English, Ukrainian.

1. Introduction

In a civilized society, apologies play a crucial role in maintaining communication; they correspond to social values and norms, and contribute to their preservation. As a sociocultural phenomenon, apologies are ethnically and culturally specific. Scholars of various disciplines have undertaken extensive research of apologies. In psychology and cultural studies, the nature and forms of apologizing have been of pivotal interest since the 1980s. In psycholinguistics, Enright (2001), Kramer-Moore and Moore (2003), Tangney et al. (2014) studied apology extensively and demarcated its types depending on the psychological state of the speaker.

In linguistics, especially in pragmatics, Owen (1983) initiated the analysis of apologies as an element of remedial exchanges, while Coulmas (1981) treated them as a case of conversational routine. Brown and Levinson (1987) brought a new perspective into the studies of apologies and treated them in terms of politeness principles as a negative politeness strategy.

Following the cross-cultural view of apologies, initiated by Blum-Kulka (1989), researchers experimentally described their striking differences throughout various cultures and languages, and interpreted their specific characteristics in most European languages such as English, German, French, Russian (Ратмайр 2003; Beeching 2019; House 2005; Wierzbicka 1987). Most theoreticians declare that routine patterns such as apologies are inherently social (Goffman 1971). The data and results they obtained provide a basis for our study of apologies in English and Ukrainian.

In cognitive pragmatics, Burenko (Буренко 2008) and Shevchenko (Шевченко 2013) suggested cognitive models of apologies and singled out their main subtypes. Still apologies lack explanation in terms of a shared interpersonal engagement, which is a manifestation of intersubjectivity in discourse. Commonalities, social norms and conventions, common beliefs, and the like all create a core common ground, on which intention- and cooperation-based pragmatics is built. However, this core common ground appears to be missing such theoretic perspectives as shared knowledge and joint attention. So what seems to be necessary here is a shift in emphasis from semantic and pragmatic to a cognitive basis of communication. This is where intersubjectivity explains the process of apologizing.

In this paper, we aim to combine cognitive-pragmatic and intersubjective approaches to apology, and to elaborate the typology of speech acts of apologies: their cognitive-pragmatic types and pragmatic-semantic subtypes in English *vs* Ukrainian discourse.

Theoretically, this mixed approach is rooted in the social-cultural nature of apology, which is equally valid for both cognitive and pragmatic research paradigms.

2. Methods and material

This study is based on the analysis of 1600 utterances of apology found in the discourse of English and Ukrainian fiction, namely drama and novel of the 19th–21st centuries. Methodologically, we take an intersubjective perspective (Martynyuk 2017; Zlatev et al. 2008) on cognitive and pragmatic issues of apology. This paradigm is underpinned by understanding communication against a psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural background, which explicates its difference in various ethnic discourses. Our analysis is underpinned by discourse studies (Карасик 2017; Dijk van 2008), politeness theories (Brown & Levinson 1987), pragmatics (Senft 2014), and cognitively oriented approaches to pragmatics (Carston & Wilson 2019), which postulate the unity of cognitive and pragmatic aspects of discourse. It is within the network of connections between the cognitive and pragmatic aspects that apology reveals its intersubjective nature.

As a starting point, we first provide some basic facts on the universal social-cultural, intentional, and intersubjective properties of apologies. Then with the help of intentional analysis, we establish types and subtypes of apologies, and reveal the pragmatic nature of apologies as hybrid speech acts and as discursive means of negative politeness. Introducing a more recent cognitive-pragmatic vector of analysis and using semantic analysis, cognitive modeling, the method of dictionary definitions, and componential analysis to describe the verbalized concept of APOLOGY, we highlight the conceptualization of apologies, define their cognitive scenarios, and single out their cognitive-pragmatic types and pragmatic-semantic subtypes universal for English and Ukrainian discourses. From a cross-cultural perspective, we engage comparative analysis to identify ethnic, cultural, and linguistic properties of the speech acts of apology in English *vs* Ukrainian and describe specific English *vs* Ukrainian apologies

in fiction discourse. Finally, we draw some tentative conclusions and make suggestions for broadening the cognitive-pragmatic analysis of related problems.

3. Results and discussion

Current investigations of apology from the cognitive-pragmatic perspective are rooted in the Foucaultian idea of discourse as a form of social practice. Schmid gives a survey of various cognitive-pragmatic theories of language (2012: 5-6). In his generalization, cognitive pragmatics aims to identify "the general cognitive-pragmatic principles and processes that underlie and determine the construal of meaning-in-context" (ibid., 4). We argue that discourse is an integral phenomenon, a mental-and-communicative activity, a unity of the process and result. Discourse generates social relations and at the same time is their product. In our analysis, we proceed from an integral understanding of discourse:

Discourse is a multidimensional cognitive–communicative–linguistic gestalt system, which is specified by the unity of three aspects: the construction of ideas and beliefs (a cognitive aspect), the interaction of interlocutors in certain social-cultural contexts/situations (a social-pragmatic aspect), and the use of signs, verbal and para-verbal (a linguistic aspect). Various discourse aspects are inseparable: pragmatic and social-cultural aspects have cognitive-psychological basis, while cognitive ones are rooted in communicative experience, therefore they are divided only for heuristic purposes (Шевченко 2017: 115-116)[1].

The latest behavioural and neurophysiologic evidence stimulated the search for new intersubjective explanation of human communication, the intentional foundations for its cultural conventions. Franc and Trevarthen (2012: 278) call it "a new psychology of human sympathy" – the harmonization between persons' conscious intentional states.

Bourdieu suggested the term 'habitus' for a certain kind of 'embodied attitude' to the affordance of social interaction. As an intricate part of a social structure, 'habitus' serves to sustain social relations. It explains the difference of social practices, shared activities, and communicative roles, which determine the use of apologies: "Life-styles are thus the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations

through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as 'distinguished', 'vulgar' etc.)" (1984: 172).

3.1 Intersubjectivity and intentionality of apologies

Apologies are conventional practices, which belong to the productive forces of a lifestyle.

Individuals engaging in social encounters come with histories, perspectives, moods, affiliations, and so on. They are never neutral when they engage in interactions and participate in each other's sense-making. Meanings span individuals, and are often created and transformed in interactions (Jaegher et al. 2017: 515-516).

In discourse, apologies perform a meta-communicative function, which is aimed at facilitating communication on the whole, at the regulation of the interpersonal and social aspects of speech interaction in accordance with social and cultural norms, communicative politeness and cooperation principles (Шевченко 2015). In stimulating human communication, this function draws on participants' mutual attention and intersubjectivity. Stern (2007: 36) claims that "intersubjectivity is not simply a capacity, it is a condition of humanness from phenomenological point of view".

As Traugott (2003: 124) states, intersubjectification "... is the development of markers that encode the Speaker's (or Writer's) attention to the cognitive stances and social identities of the Addressee". In most general terms, perceptual intersubjectivity can be defined as the phenomenon of two or more subjects focusing their attention on the same external target. Individual perceptual intersubjectivity episodes may be individuated in terms of their targets, present in the immediate context shared by the participants of the interaction. Targets can be objects, events, spatial locations (for example, a certain point to go to), or directions (for example, a way in which to go). The term 'object' should be understood in a wide sense to refer to any animate or inanimate entity that occupies a position in space-time, for example, a toy or a person (Zlatev et al. 2008: 118).

Apologies bear specific intentionality, which depends on what is conceptualized in discourse. Communication involves expressing and recognizing speaker – hearer intentions, but as Haugh (2009: 91) puts it, "… the situation is actually much more complex than the standard conceptualization of communication in pragmatics allows" because a focus on intentions underestimates the complexity of cognition that underpins interaction (ibid.). In particular, the intention of avoiding the feeling of guilt by apologizing is of interactive origin. In auto-communication with one's *alter ego* a person is likely to realize various intentions: to ask and answer questions, produce exclamations, but not to apologize. Gibbs (2004: 19) claims that "intentions need not be viewed only as private mental acts that precede human action, but can profitably be understood as emergent properties of social interactions and thus are not necessarily located in individual minds".

Unlike most intentionally performed speech acts (such as directives, representatives), in ritualistic speech acts, intentions are rather subconscious. The awareness of speech etiquette and politeness principles as a component of communicative competence underlying apologies is acquired in the course of socialization and applied mostly automatically. In apologies, speaker – hearer inter-intentionality, viewed as a major form of intersubjectivity (Roussillon 2014), is realized subconsciously.

In psychology, emotions coordinate mental activity and provide its flexibility. Emotions serve as triggers of apology. Apologizing is preceded by negative emotions such as shame, which is the generic phenomenon, and its subtype guilt, a kind of moral shame (Изард 2002). Guilt is a long-term and more intense feeling than shame, which is temporary and less intense. The emotion of guilt is experienced until the moment of apology, i.e. before the newly acquired tranquility appears.

Apology is successful when certain intersubjective conditions are met. Apologizing, the speaker seeks to achieve changes in the psychological tone of their relationship with the hearer: the speaker aims to reach the goal of returning/maintaining a friendly

tone of communication and verbalizes a request about depriving them (the sender) of guilt, cancelling punishment for their malicious actions, which is recognized as erroneous (Буренко 2008). For example:

(1) *… I returned to my room, and had barely shut the door when a tentative knock sounded at it. "<u>Excuse me, please. I am sorry to disturb.</u>" The voice belonged to a tall, thin foreigner – German, or Swiss, perhaps… "<…> do you maybe know where we can get for ourselves some hashish, without somebody cheating us <…>" I did know, of course.* (G.D. Roberts "Shantaram").

In the situation above (1), the speaker (a foreigner) aims at meeting the supposed expectations of the other (a native British) and transmits his own intentionality with double politeness (*excuse, sorry*) resulting from the lack of his communicative competence in English. Nevertheless, the inter-intentionality, which underlies this exchange, is achieved due to the hearer's life experience (*I did know*); and speech contact, as further dialogue shows, is established.

Izard (Изард 2002) argues that an immediate cause of guilt lies in wrongdoing. But the moral values of speakers of different cultures and epochs are diverse: what is 'wrong' for some of them may be acceptable for others. Accordingly, the feeling of guilt cannot arise without the internalization of social and ethnocultural norms, standards, and traditions of social behavior. Psychological research of externalization of shame and guilt by Tangney et al. (2014) suggests that the pain of shame may have constructive potential, and causing the feeling of guilt at the same time motivates a desire to get rid of its burden. This motivation explains the interaffectivity, which is another side of the intersubjectivity of apologies (alongside interintentionality).

The ethical and psychological content that reflects the subjective factor of apology – feelings of guilt and shame, conscience and norms of politeness – is of sociocultural character. Universally speaking, it is predetermined by the core moral values and

general norms regulating social behavior. Their violation is estimated as conflict behaviour – demonstration of disrespect, authority, or power (Panasenko et al. 2018). In view of their ethno-cultural nature, apologies correspond to the moral norms, behavioural patterns and speech etiquette of a definite culture, which explains their socio-cultural variability. In situation (2), the 19th century upper-class etiquette demands the use of overtly polite apologies, often marked by intensifiers (*pray*):

(2) *Pray excuse me, Lady Bracknell, for interrupting you again,* but it is only fair to tell you that according to the terms of her grandfather's will Miss Cardew does not come legally of age till she is thirty-five. (O. Wilde "The importance of being Earnest")

Apology is a highly conventionalized speech act, specified by extralinguistic social-cultural conventions. Apologies function in situations of violation of etiquette norms as meta-communicative means of regulating the emotional tone of interaction. Apologies are both conventional and non-conventional. The pragmatic convention is based on intersubjectivity; it is situationally aimed at cooperative communication, and depends on the communicants' interactive experience. According to Searle, with the help of such acts a person expresses his feelings and attitudes (1975: 215). In the case of apology, it is a sense of guilt, regret, or shame, as well as attempts to change reality: to avoid conflict, to restore friendly relations between the speaker and the hearer.

In conventional situations of stereotypical communicative behavior, verbal means of apology become ritualized etiquette formulas that perform meta-communicative functions. Speech etiquette includes socially determined and nationally specific rituals regulating rules of speech behaviour in situations of establishing, maintaining and terminating participants' contact in accordance with their status, roles, and personal relationships in official or informal situations (Martínez-Flor & Beltrán-Palanques 2014). In fictional discourse, this is embodied in speech stereotypes (so-called *colloquial formulas, stereotypical sentences,* and *situational clichés*).

Stereotyped utterances exist in the form of ready-made phrases in the assortment of human vocabulary thinking, but pop up in memory in a particular situation <...>. Stereotyped utterances are an involuntary reaction to an external stimulus – the situation. (Матевосян 2018: 201).

The conventional nature of apologies predetermines the use of speech stereotypes, which have fixed lexical and semantic properties, and realize the pragmatic function of apologizing regardless of the context or situation. As Matevosyan puts it, in the structure of linguistic consciousness, these stereotypes belong to a cultural linguistic layer of consciousness, and in a specific stereotypical situation, they reflexively float up in memory and are holistically reproduced in speech. A number of such stereotypical utterances are limited by the volume of human operational memory; and their use is reduced to a set of particular conversational situations (Матевосян 2018: 205).

In speech stereotypes, the intersubjective nature of interaction is best revealed. Linguistic stereotypes are characterized by conventionality, etiquette origin, and idiomaticity; the latter manifests itself in the attachment of a particular stereotype to a particular communicative situation (the corresponding terms are: 'pragmatic idioms' (Матюхина 2004), 'social formulas', 'formulas that structure discourse' (Makkai 1972), 'speech act idioms' (Scollon & Scollon 1983: 27-42).

Speech stereotypes are characterized by stable syntactic structure and lexical meaning, grammatical stability, stereotyped functioning, and situational correlation:

A speech stereotype is a speech idiom, which has a functional potential, being minimized, to reflect the entire formula of a communicative situation, and it is not conceived outside the communicative situation, i.e. it has a grammaticalized communicative meaning and serves a unit of interactional impact. Such units also control the process of perception (Третьякова 2015: 201-208).

Accordingly, speech stereotypes of apology are of meta-communicative, etiquette nature, and correspond to the cultural and psychological stereotypes of the epoch being mental reflection of routine interactional situations. In fictional discourse, speech stereotypes of apology take predicative and non-predicative forms, full and elliptical

sentences; their cross-cultural invariant forms are: imperatives (*Excuse me! Pardon!*); phrases (*By your pardon*); full and elliptical interrogations (*Can/Will you forgive me?*); full or elliptical declarative sentence with lexemes of apology (3), with modal verbs – intensifiers (4):

(3) *I'm <u>sorry</u>, he said, it's nothing. I don't like rats, that's all.* (G.D. Roberts "Shantaram");

(4) *If I am in the wrong, my dear, <u>you must excuse me</u>, for nobody can help the frailty of an overscrupulous conscience.* (J. Gay "The beggar's opera").

Under the influence of guilt or feeling that their behaviour does not correspond to norms, the speaker uses apologies in order to minimize or neutralize the damage, caused or probable, to the hearer. The relative size of damage depends on the participants' social relations, and the response to apology may be zero or typically verbal (Ратмайр 2003: 51-53) depending on their interaffectivity. In the example below the speaker – hearer interaffectivity is marked by the diminutive *dearie:*

(5) *<u>Beg pardon</u>, <u>dearie</u>, she said. I wouldn't 'a sat on you, only the buggers put me there. They dono 'ow to treat a lady, do they? She paused, patted her breast, and belched. <u>Pardon</u>, she said. I <u>ain't meself, quite</u>.* (G. Orwell "Nineteen eighty-four").

In situation (5), the speaker strives to neutralize the awkwardness by shifting the blame onto others (*the buggers*) and by giving mitigating circumstances for the damage (*I ain't meself*).

3.2 Apologies as hybrid speech acts

Speech acts of apology are traditionally defined as behabitives, expressives, satisfactives, performatives, or directives. Rathmayr (Ратмайр 2003) and Aleksenko (Алексенко 2004) first mentioned the combination of two pragmatic functions in

apologies, which are both expressives that reveal the internal state of the speaker and directives, mainly a subclass of requestives.

In Goffman's (1971: 63) parlance, expressives are 'interpersonal rituals' of two kinds: 'supportive interchanges' and 'remedial interchanges'. The former serve to support cooperative relations, which corresponds to preventive apologies. The latter are performed as face redress, they account for the previous act of misbehaviour and ask for apology (as corrective apologies do).

The perlocution of apologies depends upon a number of felicity conditions: 1) the speaker understands the inappropriateness of their deed; 2) the speaker wants to persuade the hearer that their misdeed was unintentional; 3) the speaker is willing to accept the guilt; 4) the speaker attempts to return to the state of affairs which preceded a certain misdeed (Ратмайр 2003: 64-66). Therefore, a further analysis of apologies needs a more detailed instrument. For this end, we use a speech act model introduced in (Шевченко 2013), based on nine aspects united into three blocks. This model is intended for both direct and indirect speech acts; its theoretic principles enable the analyst to take into account both the speaker's and the hearer's intentions, as well as their joint attention to the topic of communication.

The approach to speech act modeling suggested in this paper is based on understanding the speech act as a system of hierarchically organized heuristic levels. On the whole, human communication is a unity of the content, means of its expression, and conditions of realization; each of them finds its correspondence in speech act configuration. The higher and more general speech act level comprises three blocks: anthropocentric, meta-communicative, and central speech act block. At its lower level, each speech act block consists of three aspects (ibid., 310-323), they are:

➢ the anthropocentric block (speaker, hearer, and their intentions);
➢ the meta-communicative block (situation, context, and communicative principles);

> the central speech act block (proposition, locution, and illocution).

All these aspects are interconnected and jointly produce a certain illocution resulting in a definite perlocution, which presents a reaction to this speech act. In this model, speech act aspects are interdependent as shown in Fig. 1 below:
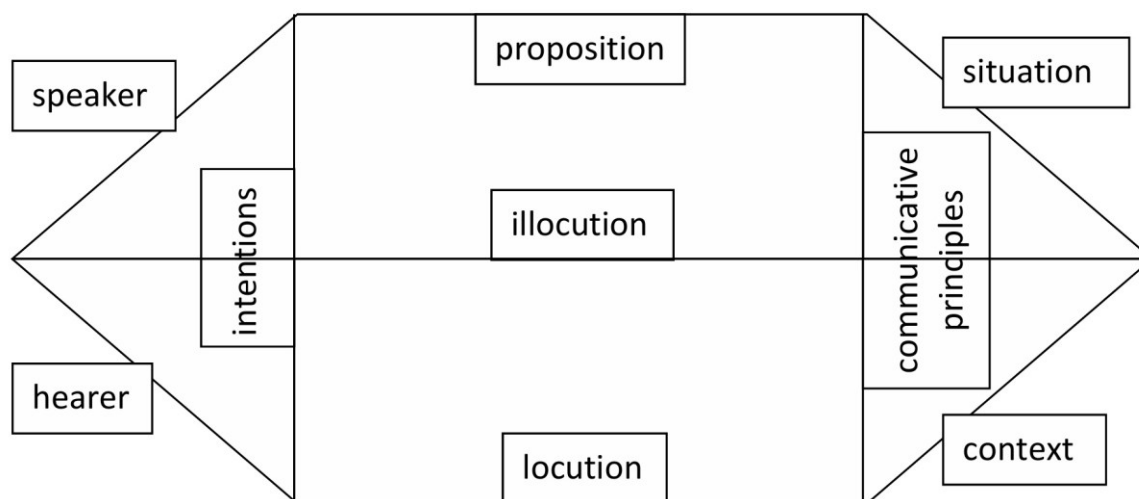

Figure1. Speech act model (Шевченко 2013: 315).

In the following pages, we will apply this model for explicating the speech act of apology.

Apology is an immanent member of politeness category and depends upon the speaker's and hearer's social statuses and situational roles. In English discourse, the speech act of apology is indifferent for the parameter of gender (Meier 1998: 219). Apologies demonstrate both quantitative and qualitative variation by the parameter of interlocutors' status relations: speakers of lower status use more detailed apologies even in case of minor misdeeds, while speakers of higher status use emotional apologies four times fewer (ibid., 220).

Speech act intention is a decisive aspect of apology, an embodiment of the participants' inner state; here it is aimed at smooth communication. The speaker intends both to get

rid of the feeling of guilt or avoid it and to encourage the hearer towards forgiveness. The hearer intends to receive due redress for the damage from the speaker. As Roussillon (2014: 39) puts it, the intention of one interlocutor also aims at exploring the intention of the other: "The intersubjective dialectic is thus a dialectic of inter-intentionality, it being at the level of supposed intentions that exchange is established". In the intentional aspect of apology, the focus on communicative principles and locution of the utterance is more important than its proposition as follows from the ritualized stereotypical nature of apologies.

According to the aspect of situation, Burenko (Буренко 2008) has defined three types of apologies: *meta-communicative* apologies, which function in situations of violation of politeness principles, *conventional* apologies used in situations of minor violations of etiquette, and *essential* apologies used to make amends for causing serious offence.

The aspect of communicative principles in speech acts of apology is determined by ethos, i.e. the emotional character of verbal interaction as the general communicative style, which characterizes the linguistic-cultural community. This aspect of apology reflects mainly politeness principles, since apologizing is one of the speech conventions dictated by courtesy and etiquette typical for a certain society.

In apologies, the aspect of locution is determined by the degree of the speaker's guilt and the official/informal tone of communication (Fraser 1981: 259). According to the classification of predicates based on the relations of verbs and situations speech acts of apology correspond to predicates of state, or static situations (*I am sorry, I am ashamed*), and predicates of achievement, or dynamic situations of change (for example, naming the action: *beg pardon,* or imperative: *excuse me*).

The propositional aspect of apology is the content of an utterance. The propositions of apology fall into a few groups, or 'strategies', and their combinations (Blum-Kulka 1989: 289-291): (a) requesting for or inducing apology by expressing one's feelings of

shame and guilt; (b) explanation of the reason of one's misdeed; (c) offering mitigating circumstances. In the example below, the speaker uses all these strategies to apologize for his untimely visit:

(6) *I am monstrous glad to see you – (a) sorry (b) I could not come before – (a) beg your pardon, (b) but I have been forced to look about me a little, and settle my matters; (c) for it is a long while since I have been at home, and you know one has always a world of little odd things to do after one has been away for any time; ...* (J. Austen "Sense and sensibility").

Further detailed analysis of the propositional aspect of apologies reveals their typical semantic patterns:

➢ requests for apology including means of expression of shame and guilt – formalized expressions, in which the apology is expressed explicitly (*Sorry, Excuse me, I apologize for ...*);
➢ taking responsibility for the misdeed: self-accusation (*My mistake; my fault; I'm to blame*); stating that the harm done to the hearer was involuntary (*I did not mean to offset you*); justifying the hearer's reaction to the speaker's misdeed (*You are right to be angry*); explicit respect of the hearer's feelings (*I hope I did not upset you*);
➢ apologies, which provide an explanation for the causes of guilt or give mitigating circumstances for the speaker's misbehaviour:

(7) *'Hullo!' she said in a deep bass voice, 'how are you? Sorry if we're late. Circumference ran over a fool of a boy'.* (E. Waugh "Decline and fall");

➢ apologies, which offer a remedy or refund for the damage the speaker has done to the hearer:

(8) *'I am very sorry, mother, that I should inherit this unfortunate slowness of apprehension', said Nicholas, kindly; 'but I'll do my best to understand you, if you'll only go straight on'.* (Ch. Dickens "Nicholas Nickleby");

➤ apologies, in which the speaker promises to abandon malicious actions in future since he/she does not want to feel guilty again:

(9) *Forgive me therefore, a little innocent raillery; but I promise you I will never mention his name any more.* (H. Fielding "The history of Tom Jones, a foundling").

The illocution of apology embraces two components – emotional and incentive. It is modified by contexts and situations of discourse. The emotional illocutionary component is intensified by markers-modifiers, such as: adverbs (*terribly, very, awfully so*); emotional expressions/exclamations (*Oh, oh lord*); double intensifiers or repetitions of intensifying adverbs (*I am very dreadfully sorry*). The incentive illocutionary component is intensified by the marker *please* (*Please forgive me*), which is equally typical for directives.

To summarize, in the case of apology, there is a combination of two stereotypical situations: expressing the speaker's emotions and request for apology, which suggests the hybrid expressive-and-directive nature of apologies (Буренко 2008; Шевченко 2013).

The concept of the *hybrid* came to linguistics from biology, where it is defined as a blend, a new offspring resulting from a combination of the qualities of two organisms of different taxonomic groups – breeds, varieties, and species (McCarthy 2006). In hybrid speech acts, within the framework of one proposition, two different speech acts are realized simultaneously (for example, questions and requests), being blended into a new complex speech act with explicit lexicalization. Burenko (Буренко 2008: 4) argues that judging by the parameters of intention, situation, illocution, perlocution, the speech act of apology is

a hybrid speech act, which, according to the psychological grounds of apology, combines two equal dominant illocutions – the expression of the psychological state of guilt and shame (emotional component), and encouragement of the hearer to apologize to the speaker (incentive component).

3.3 Apologies as politeness strategies

In terms of the politeness principle, apologies serve to keep balance of participants' wants in discourse and aim at redressing face threatening acts, which are potentially disruptive to speaker-hearer relations. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), people generally make use of face-redressive strategies to mitigate the degree of face threat imposed by their actions. In situations of apologizing it is the speaker's negative face that is under threat as a result of the feeling of guilt for their misdeed. Apologies belong to negative face-redressive strategies, which focus on hearer's negative face needs, i.e. independence of action and thought. By offering apologies, the speaker minimizes the magnitude of imposition and intends to maintain territory and self-esteem, and to get rid of guilt.

Conventional apologies are politeness formulas. Schlund (2014: 271) defines politeness formulas as recurring linguistic elements stereotypically associated with politeness. Their form is motivated by their function and the major function of politeness lies in the establishment, maintenance, and negotiation of social distance relations (ibid., 272). In discourse, the spatial metaphor of communicative distance underpinned by two basic human needs: 'coming together' *vs 'noli me tangere'* lies in the basis of positive and negative politeness, where the latter aims at social 'estrangement' and the former aims at 'rapprochement' (House 2005: 18). In Brown and Levinson's model (1987), apology occurs in three negative politeness strategies: N2, N5, N6.

Negative politeness strategy "Question, hedge" (N2) is verbalized by two tactics: interrogation and mitigation. Below, the example from Robert Steele combines them both:

(10) *…will you excuse me a moment while I give my necessary orders for your accommodation?* (R. Steele "Conscious lovers").

Negative politeness strategy "Give deference" (N5) is expressed by the tactics of attracting attention (*sir*) and submission, for example:

(11) *Sorry to disturb you, sir, but I've got to take this one to see the Governor*. (E. Waugh "Decline and fall").

Negative politeness strategy 'Apologize' (N6) is most frequently realized by four tactics: recognition of the harm done to the hearer (*I'm awfully sorry for not recognizing you*)*;* recognition of speaker's unwillingness to harm the hearer (*I don't want to bother you*); providing explanations for the speaker's misdeed (*Pardon me, I knew not what I did*)*;* requesting an apology using stylistic means of enhancing an apology (such as repetitions) promising to avoid misbehaviour in the future (*forgive me now, and I'll never do that anymore*). In fictional discourse, the only tactic realized both directly and indirectly is the request for apology. All others are exclusively indirect.

In **non-conventional situations**, apologies' intentions vary from maintaining the interlocutor's face to threatening it, and thus are polite or impolite. In the former case, the indirect utterance of apology lacks corresponding lexemes used explicitly. It serves a negative politeness strategy intensified by indirectness, which Brown and Levinson (1987) treat as a separate negative politeness strategy, and Kravchenko and Pasternak (2018: 152) specify as a 'lack of precision', 'the use of empty signifiers', 'conditional clauses'. In the example below, the indirect apology only contains the explanation of the misdeed (*The word slipped from my lips*) and mitigating circumstances (*I did not mean it indeed*):

(12) *'The word slipped from my lips, I did not mean it indeed,' urged Kate*. (Ch. Dickens "Nicholas Nickleby").

In face threatening situations, apologies are obviously insincere. They realize sarcasm or mock politeness by performing a face-threatening act. As Terkourafi (2008: 70) puts it, "… impoliteness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face <...> but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer". For example, Lord Goring, notorious for his *bon mots*, escapes from a serious talk with his father Lord Caversham by offering a joke as an excuse – the answer, which infuriates his father:

(13) Lord Goring: *Well, the fact is, father, this is not my day for talking seriously.* <u>*I am very sorry, but it is not my day*</u>.
Lord Caversham: *What do you mean, sir?* (O. Wilde "An ideal husband").

Lord Goring's speech in (13) is overtly impolite. In Culpeper's (2009) parlance, this is a bald on-record 'negative impoliteness': the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants (condescend, scorn, or ridicule as well as being contemptuous or not treating the other seriously emphasize the speaker's relative power) (ibid.). Such impolite apologies are mainly style-dependent and typical for certain writers, Oscar Wilde among them.

3.4 Cognitive-pragmatic types of apology
In the process of communication, apologies serve to get rid of guilt in different stages of interaction. They function both as a reaction to the existing feeling of guilt and as a way of preventing the appearance of this feeling.

Using the criterion of chronotope, Burenko (Буренко 2008) singles out two cognitive-pragmatic types of apology: the **corrective type,** i.e. reaction to the previous misdeed or misbehavior, on the one hand, and the **preventive type**, i.e. apologies, which prevent the feeling of guilt in future. These cognitive-pragmatic types of apology are intentionally different: in the former, the speaker expresses regret about the previous

misdeed, and in the latter, aims at preventing the emergence of guilt being guided by their knowledge of socio-cultural norms of etiquette.

Corrective and preventive speech acts are based on the concept of APOLOGY. In the English language, this concept is nominated by *apology (n)* and members of the lexico-semantic group of words of apology with the nucleus consisting of the nouns *apology*, *excuse*, *forgiveness*, *pardon.* According to the semantic analysis in Burenko (Буренко 2008), APOLOGY is construed by meanings, which include a plea for forgiveness, protection/justification of one's misdeed, admission/mitigation of guilt (central for APOLOGY), as well as expressing sympathy, repentance, or regret (peripheral for the concept).

Apologizing takes place between the speaker and the hearer. This highlights the dynamic nature of APOLOGY, conceptualized as a cognitive scenario including both guilt and apologizing. According to Burenko (ibid.), in cognitive scenarios of APOLOGY of corrective and preventive types the slots of guilt and apologizing are connected by different vectors: a prospective one in the former and a retrospective one in the latter. According to the intersubjective perspective used in our study we focus on the speaker – hearer interaffectivity and claim that cognitive scenarios of the two types of apologies have similar final points (relief from the feeling of guilt) but different starting points: in corrective apologies, it is the feeling of actual guilt (Fig. 2):
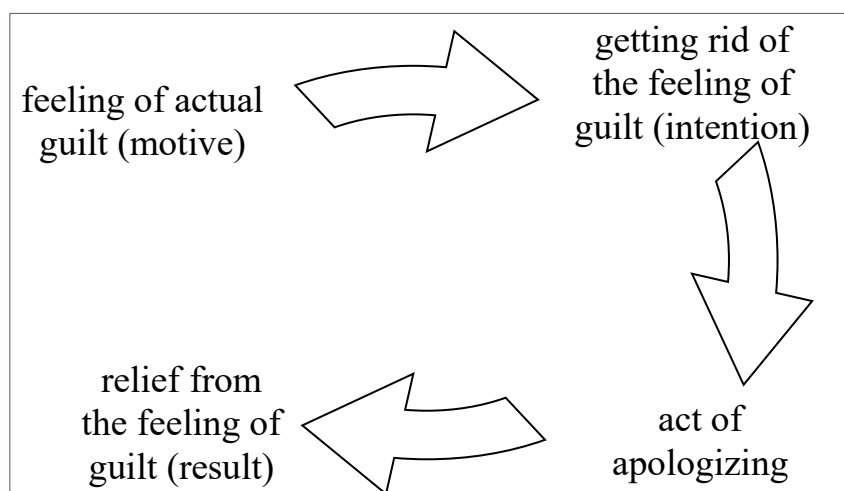

Figure 2. The cognitive scenario of corrective apology

On the contrary, in the cognitive scenario of preventive apologies the feeling of guilt is only potential as presupposed by the speaker's knowledge according to previous social and cultural experience (Fig. 3):
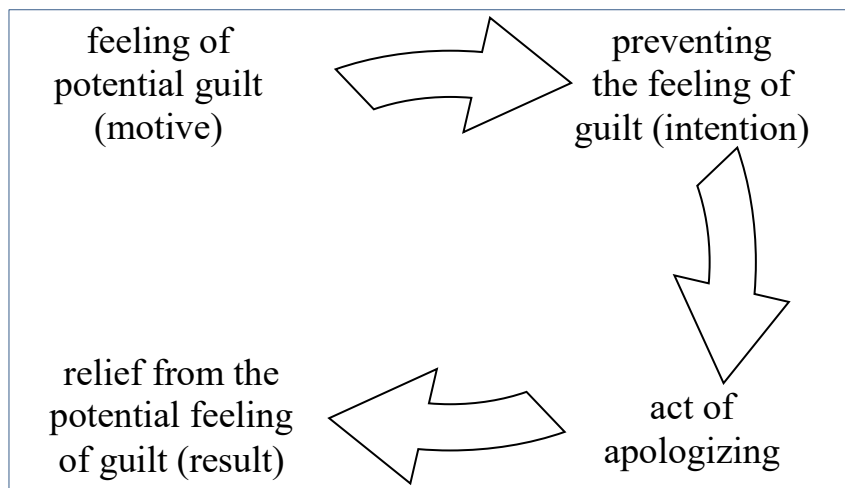

Figure 3. The cognitive scenario of preventive apology

The preventive cognitive-pragmatic type of apology is indivisible while the corrective one has further subtypes (Буренко 2008). Among them, at least three are found both in English and Ukrainian. They are: (a) requesting forgiveness, (b) naming one's emotional state, (c) offering excuses (argumentation).

(a) A request for forgiveness is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of apology corresponding to the performative formula: [*I ask you to forgive my doing smth. bad*], where *smth.* is a previous action. In this hybrid speech act, the incentive illocutionary force prevails.

(b) Naming one's emotional state is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of apology, which displays the speaker's pains about the harm he caused to the hearer. Its performative formula is: [*I feel sorry because I have done smth. bad*], where *smth.* is a previous action. Most such apologies are realized by declarative sentences bearing lexemes of apology. In these hybrid apologies, the expression of the speaker's emotional state prevails.

(c) Offering excuses (argumentation) is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of corrective apologies, which corresponds to the performative formula *[I didn't mean to do smth. bad]*, where *smth.* is a previous misdeed or misbehaviour. In such speech acts, the emotive illocutionary force dominates over the incentive one. They are both realized indirectly. As a rule, the meaning of apology is inferential. It is deduced from the context and situation.

Pragmatically, the two types of apology vary as to their felicity conditions. In the corrective type or apology, the content condition lies in the speaker's expression of their emotional state, i.e. their feeling of guilt resulting from the previous damage done to the hearer. The preparatory condition for a felicitous corrective apology demands that its proposition is true to life. As a sincerity condition, the speaker wants to make up for their guilt and at the same time to induce the hearer to give their pardon. In the corrective type or apology, its essential condition, in accord with its illocutionary aim, is the speaker's intention to be relieved of their feeling of guilt and make the hearer excuse them.

In the preventive type of apology, the content condition lies in the expression of the speaker's emotional state (they are worried by possible negative after-effects of their violation of etiquette norms). The preparatory condition suggests a veritable proposition of the speech act. A sincerity condition lies in the speaker's want to prevent the feeling of guilt for a possible breech of the norms of etiquette. An essential condition is the speaker's intention to verbalize his/her emotional state not to let the feeling of guilt appear.

4. Apologies in cross-cultural perspective

Modern European cultures share certain general discourse practices, apologies included. Viewed as a socio-cultural phenomenon and routine behavior, apologies are universal, but the expression of any cultural universality in various societies may differ dramatically. In the case of apologies, their ritualistic nature in a certain ethnic society

depends on a set of values, formal and informal norms, and 'folkways' governing people's everyday behavior (Schaefer & Lamm 1989: 61-87). Both in English and Ukrainian, apologies function as politeness strategies though their linguistic forms and frequencies in discourse vary. In the following section, we first systematize the main cognitive-pragmatic characteristics of apologies in English and then describe their specific features in Ukrainian as compared to English. In section 3, we explicated the common features, which apologies share in the two discourses, so in section 4.2 below, we shall only exemplify different Ukrainian apologies in their linguistic and ethno-cultural perspectives.

4.1 Apologies in English discourse

In **corrective** cognitive-pragmatic types of English apologies, the most salient are requests for apology, nominations of the speaker's emotional state, excuses, confessions of guilt, promises to correct one's future behaviour.

In English speech acts of apology, the most frequent speech stereotype is *I am sorry.* Among requests for apology utterances with the verbs *beg, ask, apologize,* and the noun *apology* (*I owe you an apology*) dominate. Indirectly requests for apology are mostly implemented by yes-no questions (*Will you do smth.? Do you do smth.? Can you do smth.?*), which serve as a request for the possibility of obtaining pardon.

Speech acts nominating the speaker's emotional state are a pragmatic-semantic variety of apology often intensified by the modal verb-intensifier *should*. A high degree of emotion is achieved through the use of a wide range of adverbial markers (*very, deeply, so, really, awfully*).

The pragmatic-semantic subtype of the admission of guilt corresponds to the performative formula [*I admit I did smth. wrong*], where *smth.* is a previous action. Such speech acts as *"It was my fault"* realize the illocution of an apology indirectly.

Various pragmatic-semantic subtypes form clusters of apologies, which comprise two or three utterances in one speaker's move. Such clusters reach up to one-tenth of all apologies in English discourse.

In **preventive** apologies, their characteristic feature is a substantial prevalence of apologetic lexemes *forgive*, *pardon* with the modal verb *can* in the present or future tense forms (*Will you excuse me for a moment?*). In discourse, such apologies are accompanied by adverbs-intensifiers *very*, *awfully*, and the like.

In present-day English discourse, the use of *pardon* is typical in interrogative sentences (in yes-no questions, in formally declarative sentences with interrogative intonation, in elliptical sentences), in combination with the modal verbs *have* and *ought*: *I have to ask pardon; I ought to beg your pardon*; with a performative verb in the present continuous form: *Begging your pardon*.

4.2 Apologies in Ukrainian discourse

The hybrid expressive-and-directive nature of apologies explains, on the one hand, their cognitive similarity and, on the other, their social and linguistic difference in European languages. As ritualistic speech acts, they all serve to express and maintain the degree of civility prescribed by the cultural norms of a particular society. In modern culture studies, these norms are treated through cultural standards. As Fink et al. claim (2005: 3), cultural standards are "the underlying norms of thinking, sensing, perceiving, judging, and acting that the vast majority of individuals in a given culture is considering as normal for themselves and others". In a broad perspective, cultural standards help reveal specific empirical background of a particular culture and communication based on their historical past and ethnic psychology, and realized in discourse by lexis, grammar, and communicative strategies of a particular language.

According to Culpeper (2009), "Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people,

and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behavior". Gutorov (Гуторов 2010: 113) specifies the role of violations of cultural norms of certain ethnic groups as a trigger for conflicts, which, in their turn, stipulate apologies:

Culture as a way of life organization in its ontological essence is a product of human activity, on the one hand, and on the other, an immanent hypostasis that refracts in its nature conventional, humanitarian categories in their discursive expression. Therefore, a violation of the cultural situation is fraught with conflicts in social and cultural consciousness...

Fink et al. (2008: 12-13) characterize Ukrainian culture as hierarchy oriented, having a flexible attitude to communicative rules, with a high degree of uncertainty. This explains a greater diversity of linguistic forms of apology (due to the system of singular/plural 2nd person verb forms, reflexive verbs) as well as more loose usage of speech formulas and stereotypes, colloquial included, in Ukrainian as compared to English. According to the grammatical nature of Ukrainian as an inflectional language, the most common form of imperative is the 2nd person; the choice of the singular or plural verb form depends not only on how many persons the speaker is addressing but rather on the degree of the speaker's respect to the hearer/s (the plural pronominal and verb forms are more polite, they are used when addressing one's senior or superior). When dealing with more than one person, plural forms of imperative/apology are the only option being neutral in respect to the politeness principle.

In a linguistic perspective, Ukrainian apologies as compared to English ones mainly differ in their forms and functions. Ukrainian apologies vary in the degree of politeness. In **corrective** cognitive-pragmatic type, the most frequent utterances of apologies are realized by the verbs of apologizing *вибачати, пробачати,* and colloquial *звиняти* ('forgive', 'cuse'). They name the misdeed (Ukr. – *ми повелися справді дещо безцеремонно.* Eng. – 'we were really a little bit unceremonious') and are followed by the explanation of reasons for one's guilt (Ukr. – *ми не чекали зустріти тут людину.* Eng. – 'we did not expect to meet a person here'), for example:

(14) Ukr. – _Пробачте, ми повелися справді дещо безцеремонно, але ми не чекали зустріти тут людину_ (О. Тесленко "Дьондюранг").

Eng. – 'Forgive us, we really were somewhat unceremonious but we did not expect to meet a human here.

In a shorter version, the same semantic pattern comes down to an apology and an explanation of reasons for one's guilt. In the example below, the hearer highlights his lower status and his lack of cultural knowledge. In Ukrainian as contrasted to English, colloquial forms of apology contain a reflexive verb form (1st person singular) with the suffix _-ся/сь_ '-self': _звиняюсь_, _вибачаюсь_ '[I] apologize myself':

(15) Ukr. – _Куди кидаєш, там діти купаються! – Вибачаюсь! Дикі ми…_ (О. Гончар "Берег любові").

Eng. – 'Where are you throwing it, children are bathing there! – I'm sorry! Uncouth we are ... '.

Another semantic pattern of apology broadly used in Ukrainian is the utterance of apologizing followed by a mitigating circumstance for the misdeed:

(16) Ukr. – _Ліза скрикнула. 'Вибач, я не хотів. Ходи до мене'. Я притягнув її ближче до себе_ (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", p. 148).

Eng. – 'Lisa screamed. 'Sorry, I did not want to. Come to me'. I drew her closer to me'.

In the Ukrainian category of aspect, as distinct from English verbs of common and continuous aspect, there are two corresponding sets of perfective – imperfective forms. The former ones are stylistically neutral for imperatives, while the latter mark colloquial speech, i.e. Ukr. – _вибач/вибачте – вибачай/вибачайте,_ which are 2nd person singular/plural perfective – singular/plural imperfective verb forms for Eng. – 'excuse'. Schlund (2014: 285-287) claims that in Slavic languages the imperfective

aspect expresses positive politeness and indicates positive effect for the hearer. Such imperfective verb forms are typical for colloquial Ukrainian apologies, for example:

(17) Ukr. – *Вибачайте, пане, – мовила Регіна, стоячи на однім місці, – не моя сила була упередити вас...* (I. Франко "Перехресні стежки").
Eng. – 'Excuse me, sir, said Regina standing in one place, it was not in my power to warn you …'.

In Ukrainian, apologies – mock politeness strategies are less frequent than in English. Morphologically the imperative verb forms in such mock apologies are both singular and plural, though the former prevail as in the example below where the jailer jokes about his attitude to the imprisoned girl:

(18) Ukr. – *Мусив, але не здійнялася рука будити її з такою претензією: перепрошую, подруго Волошко, я забув зодягти вам кайдани* (В. Шкляр "Троща", p. 203).
Eng. – 'I had to, but the arm did not rise to wake her up with such a claim: I apologize, my friend Voloshko, I forgot to put you into the chains.'

Cross-cultural differences also arise from the division of the Ukrainian verbal system into 2nd person singular and plural forms. As Schlund writes, Slavic are speech communities of proximity so number is probably most often associated with linguistic politeness (2014: 287), namely, the plural forms are considered more polite and used when addressing a hearer superior in age or position. In particular, in **preventive** apologies, a specific Ukrainian pragmatic-semantic subtype of apologizing for one's rude or unpleasant utterance, not found in the English language, is a combination of the 2nd person plural or singular form of the verbs *пробачати, дарувати, перепрошувати* inf. ('excuse, ask for pardon') with a lexeme *слово* ('word'), for example, Ukr. – *пробачте на слові, даруйте на слові, перепрошую на слові,* Eng. – 'forgive me for my word'. To some extent it corresponds to Eng. *forgive my saying so*

as in *"I said I'd tell you, only, if you'll <u>forgive my saying so</u>, I shouldn't be too soft with 'im, sir. We know 'im of old. 'E's a sly old devil…"* (E. Waugh "Decline and fall"). The Ukrainian lexeme *слово* 'word' serves an over-explicit marker of a negative politeness strategy. In this case, being in mid-position within the speaker's move or a simple sentence (19), this phrase serves a phatic element not aimed at the hearer's verbal reaction:

(19) Ukr. – *Твій жаль...нагадує дурного – <u>прости на слові</u> – Павлуся історію* (І. Франко "Перехресні стежки").

Eng. – 'Your sorrow ... reminds of a stupid – <u>sorry for the word</u> – Pavlusya's history'.

Preventive apologies are mostly followed by the speaker's reason for hypothetical guilt. They comprise the 2nd person perfective/imperfective plural verb forms: *вибачте/вибачайте* 'forgive [me]':

(20) Ukr. – *<u>Вибачте, я переб'ю</u>: його дівчину звали Альоною?* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 68).

Eng. – <u>Excuse my interrupting</u>, was his girl-friend's name Al'ona?'

(21) Ukr. – *Я давно бажав поговорити з вами по щирості, то вже <u>вибачайте, що скористаю з сеї нагоди</u>* (І. Франко "Перехресні стежки").

Eng. – 'I have long wanted to speak with you sincerely, so <u>I apologize that I will take advantage of this opportunity</u>'.

In preventive speech acts, the speaker often combines apologizing with reasons for the potential misdeed (22) or with the promise to redress for the present inconvenience in future (23):

(22) Ukr. – *Розумію, – протягнула вона й відразу ніби помстилася. – Ну, більше я нічого не зможу вам розповісти. <u>Вибачайте</u>. – Вона встала.* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 157).

Eng. – 'I see, – she drawled languidly as if getting her revenge immediately. – Well, that's all, folks. <u>Sorry</u>, – she got up'.

(22) Ukr. – *<u>Вибач, Стефцю,</u> – сказав я. – Поїдемо влітку. Вже як подружня пара* (В. Шкляр "Троща", р. 397).

Eng. – '<u>Sorry, my dear Stefka</u>, – I said. – We're going there this summer. As a married couple already.

To make preventive apologies more polite the speaker uses indirect speech acts. Among them there is hedging, i.e. omitting utterances or their parts. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) classification, they are negative politeness strategies. In example (23) the speaker apologizes because he has to interrupt the conversation and leave at once but explicitly he only gives the reasons for his immediate leaving:

(23) Ukr. – *У нас починається тренування. Ми отримуємо за це гроші й не можемо спізнюватися, тож <u>вибачте</u>* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 130).

Eng. – Our practice is starting. We're getting paid for that and can't be late, hence, <u>sorry</u>.

Finally, in Ukrainian as contrasted to English, the corrective and preventive subclasses of apologies are able to function as meta-discursive acts, i.e. not aimed at a positive or negative response, but rather serving a polite hedging. Meta-discursive apologies address a virtual hearer –God – by directly naming him, and contain the verb in the 2nd form singular: (Ukr. – *прости нам, Боже; нехай Бог простить.* Eng. – 'Lord, forgive us'; 'let God excuse'). In Ukrainian discourse, such meta-discursive apologies were typical in the 19th–20th centuries but are less frequent in the 21st century:

(24) Ukr. – *Се ще б і нічого, <…> та тільки ж у них усе так, <u>прости господи</u>, без толку.* (Л. Українка "Над морем").

Eng. – 'It would be nothing, <...> but they have everything like that, <u>let the Lord excuse,</u> with no sense'.

Both in English and Ukrainian, apologies function as mock politeness. Such speech acts are non-conventional. Their meaning is context dependent as in example (25), where the murderer uses over-polite forms as a sarcastic apology:

(25) Ukr. – *<u>Я прошу дарувати мені, що не вітаю вас вашою рідною мовою</u>. Але боюся, що моя нечиста вимова вразить вашу любов до рідного слова.* (Ю. Смолич "Господарство доктора Гальванеску", p. 92).
Eng. – '<u>I do beg your pardon for not greeting you in your own language</u>. I'm afraid that my impure pronunciation will be offensive to your love of the mother tongue'.

In example (25), the author renders Doctor Hal'vanesku's exquisite French with equally stylish Ukrainian words stirring up the feeling of evil premonition (Ukr. – *прошу дарувати мені, моя нечиста вимова вразить ...*. Eng. – 'I do beg your pardon, my impure pronunciation will be offensive ...').

The most frequent clusters of apologies both in English and Ukrainian are [nomination of the emotional state + a request for apology] and [confession of guilt + request for apology]. Other subclasses are ethnically and culturally specific according to the meta-discursive nature of these speech acts based on social values, moral norms, and folkways of a particular society, linguistic properties of a particular discourse, and the system of corresponding discourse strategies.

4. Conclusions and perspectives

In this paper, we have addressed the cognitive-pragmatic properties of apologies in English and Ukrainian discourse in terms of intersubjectivity underpinned by the achievements of cognitive, psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural theorists. The methods of speech act modeling, intersubjective meaning construction, establishing

cognitive scenarios of apologies and their cross-cultural description ensure credibility of the results of our analysis.

As for the nature of apologies, they have proved to be interaction rituals rooted in the intersubjectivity of discourse. From a pragmatic point of view, they serve to combine at least two intentions thus forming conventional hybrid expressive-and-requestive speech acts. At the same time, apologies realize negative politeness strategies in discourse, they maintain appropriate speaker-hearer relations, and facilitate communication. Understanding of apology in terms of scenarios revealed its two cognitive-pragmatic types: corrective and preventive ones.

From a cross-cultural perspective, our integral cognitive-pragmatic approach has revealed significant coincidences between apologies' conceptual and pragmatic properties. English and Ukrainian apologies demonstrate common cognitive-pragmatic types but different subtypes and their linguistic realization.

On the whole, we argue that as a form of intersubjective behaviour apologizing depends on social norms and cultural standards, which underlie different strategies and linguistic forms of apology in particular national discourses. It seems promising to broaden the scope of national discourses used for cross-cultural analysis of apologies and deepen the analysis of psychological, social, cultural, and linguistic issues of speech rituals cooperating with international scholars.

List of abbreviations

inf. – infinitive

smth. – something

Notes

[1]All Ukrainian examples and Russian quotations in this article have been translated into English by the authors.

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Résumé

This paper focuses on the cognitive-pragmatic properties of apologies in English and Ukrainian discourse viewed in terms of intersubjectivity. The analysis is underpinned by understanding communication against a psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural background, which reveals the intersubjective nature of apologies and explicates their difference in ethnic discourses. A complex of methods used to study apologies comprises semantic and pragmatic analyses, conceptual modeling, and comparative study to identify ethnic, cultural, and linguistic properties of apology in English versus Ukrainian. First, we analyzed apology in terms of intersubjectivity or experience sharing and revealed the interaffective conditions for successful apologies. Then we described apology as a combination of intentions and illocutions: expressing the speaker's emotion of guilt and requesting forgiveness. We claim that apology is a ritualistic stereotypical conventional speech act of a hybrid expressive-and-directive nature possessing a blend of emotional and incentive illocutions. We model this speech act as a unity of aspects: speaker, hearer, their intentions, locution, illocution, proposition, context, situation, communicative norms. Specific pragmatic-semantic patterns of apologies depending on these aspects are described. A comprehensive analysis of apologies in terms of politeness principles reveals their role as discourse strategies of negative politeness or negative impoliteness. Cognitive-pragmatic properties of these speech acts are rooted in the concepts of GUILT and APOLOGY, and conceptualized in their scenarios; they define corrective and preventive subtypes

of apologies. Finally, in English vs Ukrainian discourse, the corrective and preventive pragmatic-semantic subtypes of apology are singled out. From a cross-cultural perspective, it is argued that English and Ukrainian apologies demonstrate common cognitive-pragmatic types but different linguistic realization. Specific Ukrainian apologies are marked by reflexive and perfective verb forms not found in English.