Apology Strategies Used by Native Speakers of Kabyle

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Abstract—The present study investigates the strategies of apology used by 30 native speakers of Kabyle (15 males and 15 females) living in Bejaia city, Algeria. The data were collected through the use of a written discourse completion task (WDCT) consisting of nine hypothetical scenarios. The results of the study showed that Kabyles used different types of strategies. Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) were the most frequently used strategy. Concern for the hearer, however, was the least frequently used strategy. Moreover, new strategies appeared in the Kabyle data. Examples of these include asking the hearer not to be angry, requests for patience, religious wishes and minimizing the degree of the offense. These semantic formulas are culture-specific. Furthermore, the findings of the study indicated that there were differences in the total number of strategies employed according to the social status of the interlocutor and in the choice of some apology strategies.

Index Terms—native speakers of Kabyle, semantic formulas, strategies of apology

I. INTRODUCTION

The term 'speech act' is defined as the minimal unit of discourse (Searle, 1969). In everyday conversations, people do not just produce utterances but they perform speech acts such as assertions, warnings, requests, promises, predictions, refusals, apologies, and so on. Yule (1996) stated that "In attempting to express themselves, people do not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words, they perform actions via those utterances" (p. 47). To put it simply, every utterance encodes a particular speech act. Searle (1969) stated that "The reason for concentrating on the study of speech acts is simply this: all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" (p. 16). So, by studying speech acts, we simply study how speakers and hearers use language and the communicative intentions behind the utterances they produce such as requesting, ordering, asserting, refusing, thanking and apologizing.

Searle (1976) classified illocutionary acts into five categories: representatives (or assertives), directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Apologies belong to the class of "expressives" through which speakers express their attitudes, psychological states and feelings about something.

Apologising is one of the speech acts that people frequently use in everyday conversations. The word "apology" is defined in the Collins Online Dictionary as: 'something that you say or write in order to tell someone that you are sorry that you have hurt them or caused trouble for them'. Reiter (2000) defined apologies as "compensatory action for an offence committed by S which has affected H" (p. 44). A speaker apologizes to a hearer when he commits an offence that affects the hearer so as to restore relationships between them. Holmes (1990) stated that "An apology is a speech act addressed to B's face-needs and intended to remedy an offense for which A takes responsibility, and thus to restore equilibrium between A and B" (p. 159).

It goes without saying that expressing apology is a universal linguistic phenomenon which plays a crucial role in restoring and maintaining interpersonal relationships between language users, however, the way people express apologies may differ from culture to culture. Although there are researchers who argued that speech acts operate by universal pragmatic principles, which means that they are performed in similar ways in different languages (e.g., Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), others have indicated that different social factors that are culture-specific cause variation in the realization of speech acts, which means that speakers of different languages differ in the way they perform speech acts (e.g. Wierzbicka, 2003). Studies that focus on the realization of speech acts in a single language or culture are known as "Intralingual Studies".

The present study aims to identify the apology strategies used by native speakers of Kabyle. Kabyle is a dialect of the Amazigh language (or Tamazight). It is spoken by the Kabyle people in the northeast of Algeria- particularly in Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou cities. The study also aims to find out whether the social status of the interlocutor (equal, lower or higher) affects the way the subjects perform the speech act of apologizing. In short, the current study attempts to answer the following questions:

1) What are the strategies of apology used by native speakers of Kabyle?
2) What is the influence of social status on the realization of the speech act of apologizing in Kabyle?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies have been conducted to explore the way people realize the speech act of apologizing in different languages, dialects and cultures (e.g., English; Arabic; Persian).

Shariati and Chamani (2010) examined the strategies of apology used by Persian speakers. The study was based on a corpus of 500 naturally-occurring apology exchanges performed in different real-life settings like universities, streets, shops and homes. The exchanges were produced by 1250 interlocutors of different ages and genders in spoken standard Persian. The data were collected by the researchers and two other MA students through an ethnographic approach to observation. The exact words used in the apology exchanges were written down. The findings of the study showed that the Persian speakers used different types of apology strategies, namely, *IFIDs*, *acknowledgment of responsibility, explanation*, *offer of repair* and *promise of forbearance. IFIDs*, followed by *acknowledging responsibility*, were the most frequently used strategy. *Promise of forbearance*, however, was the least frequently used strategy. Moreover, the findings indicated that *a request for forgiveness* (bebaxsˇid meaning forgive me), which belongs to the category of Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs), was the most frequently used strategy and this is attributed to the fact that Iran is a religious country in which people respect the rights of others. In addition, most of the apologies included a combination of strategies rather than a single IFID. The most common combination pattern of strategies included *an explicit expression of apology + an acknowledgment of responsibility*. The results of the study, on one hand are in line with some previous studies which suggest the universality of apology strategies and on the other hand, they support the idea of the researchers who argue that the choice of apology strategies is culture-specific.

Jebahi (2011) examined the strategies of apology used by native speakers of Tunisian Arabic. Data were collected from 100 Tunisian university students (50 males and 50 females) studying different subjects other than English. The ages of the subjects ranged from 19 to 25 years. A written discourse completion task consisting of ten situations was used as a tool to collect data. The situations were written in Tunisian Arabic. The results of the study revealed that *statement of remorse strategy*, which is expressed through the use of *explicit apology expressions*, was the most frequently used strategy by the Tunisian participants. The highest percentages of explicit apologies were reported in the three following situations: the lost package, coming late to meet the supervisor and not helping an elderly woman to cross the street. The second most frequently used strategy was *account or explanation*. Moreover, it was found that kinship terms such as 'xuya' (brother) and 'ummi' (mother) were used with statements of remorse to show that the offence committed by the apologizer was not intentional. In addition, other strategies such as *assuming responsibility*, *self-castigation*, *invoking Allah's name*, *intensification*, *blaming the victim* and *offer of repair* were not frequently used by the Tunisian subjects.

González-Cruz (2012) investigated how speakers of Canarian Spanish perform the speech act of apologizing. The participants of the study were 100 university students (50 males and 50 females) studying English at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Canary Islands, Spain). Their ages ranged from 18 to 26 years. A discourse completion test consisting of eight situations was used as a tool to collect data. The results of the study showed that the Canarian participants employed 8 different apology strategies. *IFIDs* were the most frequently used strategy. The participants used the expression "Lo siento" meaning "I'm sorry". The second most frequently used strategy was *giving an explanation*, followed by *humour strategy*. *Promise of forbearance* was the least frequently used strategy. The Canarian subjects used other strategies, namely, *offering redress*, *minimising the offense*, *acknowledging responsibility* and *denying responsibility*. In addition, the results of the study indicated that there were differences between the male and female subjects with regard to the frequency of use of some strategies; for instance while men opted for *humour strategy*, women favoured *giving explanations*. The female participants also used *promise of forbearance* and *minimizing the offense* more than the male participants did.

Similarly, Sari (2016) investigated the apology strategies used by 30 native speakers of American English living in Kentucky, USA. Their ages ranged from 20 to 40 years. To collect data, the researcher used a discourse completion task consisting of 12 scenarios. The results of the study showed that the American native speakers used different types of strategies which differed in their frequency of occurrence. *Direct apologies (IFIDs)* were the most frequently used strategy which indicates that native speakers of American English use simple strategies to apologize. *Offer of repair*, followed by *taking on responsibility*, was the second most frequently used strategy which shows that Americans always try to correct their mistakes. *Promise of forbearance* was the least frequently used strategy. As for *alerters*, *explanation, concern to the hearer* and *downgrading* strategies, they appeared in small percentages. In addition, it was found that American native speakers do not frequently use greetings even if the status of the speaker is lower than the one of the hearer. Moreover, the results of the study indicated that the degree of the offence, social situation and social status are factors that influence the choice of apology strategies by native speakers of American English.

Alrshoudi (2020) investigated the apology strategies employed by 53 native speakers of Qassimi Arabic (a variety of Najdi Arabic spoken in central Saudi Arabia). Data were collected via direct observation; the researcher observed 34 naturally occurring apology performances during a period of 43 days. The apology exchanges were performed in different real-life settings like malls, university campuses and social media (Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, Snapchat and so on). The results of the study indicated that Qassimi Arabic speakers used different strategies to express apologies. Apologizing by using a combination of *illocutionary force indicating devices* (IFIDs) and *explaining the cause of the fault* was the most common strategy among the participants. This strategy was adopted so as to express the sincerity of

the apology. In addition, the participants tended to use an *explicit expression of apology* (IFID) alone such as saying "I am sorry" because they believe that it is sufficient to remedy the offence they committed. Moreover, the *taking responsibility for committing the offence* strategy was often used when the offended person has authority over the person apologizing like in the case where there is a student and a teacher. The strategies of *offering repair* and *promising that the offence will not happen again*, however, were not commonly used by Qassimi Arabic speakers. Furthermore, a new strategy, which was not reported in the previous literature, appeared in the Qassimi Arabic data where the offended person apologizes to the offender in order to avoid conflict with him.

Farenkia (2022) conducted a study in which he dealt with the realization of the speech act of apologizing in Cameroon French. Two groups of university students participated in the study. In the first group, there were 142 students (97 females and 45 males) studying at the universities of Douala and Yaoundé I. Their ages ranged from 18 to 30 years. As for the second group, it consisted of 80 students studying at the University of Yaoundé I (64 females and 16 males). A discourse completion test consisting of two scenarios was used as a tool to collect data. In the first situation, the participants apologize to a friend. In the second situation, the subjects apologize to a professor. The results of the study showed that the participants used different types of apology strategies depending on the nature of the offence committed and the social status of the speaker and the hearer. The Cameroon French speakers produced more *direct apologies* (*explicit expressions of apologies*) than indirect apologies which include *taking responsibility*, *explanation*, *offer of repair* and *promise of forbearance*. While the participants favoured the use of direct apologies in the friend situation, indirect apologies were the most preferred strategies in the professor situation. In addition, three types of direct apologies were found in the Cameroon data, namely *expression of regret*, *offer of apology* and *request for forgiveness*. *Offer of apology*, followed by *expression of regret*, was the most frequently used type of direct apologies. Contrary to the *expression of regret* strategy that was more frequent in the friend situation, the *offer of apology* strategy had a higher frequency in the professor situation than in the friend situation. With regard to the use of indirect apologies, *taking responsibility*, followed by *explanation*, was the most frequently used type of indirect apologies. *Offer of repair* was the third most common strategy and it mostly appeared in the friend situation. *Promise of forbearance* was the least frequently used strategy. Contrary to the *explanation* and *promise of forbearance* strategies that were more frequent in the professor situation, the *taking of responsibility* strategy had a higher frequency in the friend situation than in the professor situation. Moreover, supportive acts such as greetings and self-introductions were also used by the subjects. Furthermore, the findings of the study showed that the Cameroon French speakers used nominal address terms in the friend situation to show closeness and affection and honorific terms to show respect to superiors. Codeswitching was also used by the Cameroon French speakers as a persuasive strategy.

The way people express apologies in different languages and dialects has been widely investigated in the existing literature. However, in the Algerian context, studies on the speech act of apologizing are scarce. To be more specific, no previous studies have been conducted to investigate the realization of the speech act of apologising in Kabyle. Thus, the present study fills this gap by investigating the strategies of apology used by Kabyle native speakers.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Participants

The subjects of the study were 30 native speakers of Kabyle (15 males and 15 females) living in Bejaia city, Algeria. They ranged in age from 22 to 65 years. The researcher selected the participants who were convenient and accessible.

B. Method of Data Collection

The data of this study were collected through the use of a written discourse completion task (WDCT). A DCT is the most frequently used data collection instrument in interlanguage pragmatics and cross-cultural pragmatics. It is used to elicit particular speech acts. It consists of situations to which respondents are asked to respond as they would do in everyday life.

Based on previous research, the researcher of the present study prepared a DCT consisting of nine hypothetical scenarios. The situations were given in Kabyle. They varied in terms of the social status relationship between the interlocutors, that is, there were scenarios requiring apologies to someone of an equal status (equal-equal), other situations required apologies to someone of a higher status (low-high), and others required apologies to someone of a lower status (high-low). The nine scenarios were adopted from different researchers. Scenarios 1 and 2 were adopted from Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). Scenario 3 was adopted from Nureddeen (2008). Scenarios 4, 5, 7 and 8 were adopted from Hussein and Hammouri (1998). Scenarios 6 and 9 were adopted from Al Ali (2012). A few minor changes were made to some of the scenarios.

C. Procedures

The researcher collected data from the Kabyle participants in Bejaia city, Algeria. A consent form was distributed to each participant. It gives information about the study and explains that the participation in the study is voluntary. The person who agrees to take part in the study fills out the consent form first then responds to the situations given in the questionnaire (the discourse completion task) in Kabyle. The majority of the participants did not use the Amazigh letters when writing their answers and wrote the words as they were pronounced.

D. Method of Data Analysis

The participants' responses were coded according to the model adopted by Al-Zumor (2011) which is based on the schemes proposed by Cohen and Olshtain (1981, pp. 113–134), Olshtain and Cohen (1983, pp. 22–23) and also based on the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns) coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) with the addition of a sub-category of illocutionary force indicating devices which is 'offer of apology' as a separate sub-category. The strategies for the expression of apology are as follows:

1. Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) also known as explicit expressions of apology:

a- An expression of regret, e.g. I'm sorry

b- An offer of apology, e.g. I apologize

c- A request for forgiveness and accepting the apology, e.g., Please forgive me/please accept my apology, excuse me

2. Explanation or account: any external mitigating circumstances, ''objective'' reasons for the violation, e.g.

a. Explicit: the Traffic was terrible.

b. Implicit: traffic is always so heavy in the morning.

3. Taking on responsibility:

a. Explicit self-blame, e.g., It is my fault/my mistake.

b. Lack of intent, e.g., I didn't mean it.

c. Expression of self-deficiency: I was confused/I didn't see you/forgot.

d. Expression of embarrassment, e.g., I feel awful about it.

e. Self-dispraise, e.g., I'm such a dimwit!

f. Justify hearer, e.g., You're right to be angry.

g. Refusal to acknowledge guilt:

– Denial of responsibility, e.g., It wasn't my fault.

– Blame the hearer, e.g., It's your own fault

– Pretend to be offended, e.g. I'm the one to be offended.

4. Concern for the hearer, e.g., I hope I didn't upset you/Are you all right?

5. Offer of repair, e.g. I'll pay for the damage.

6. Promise of Forbearance, e.g., It won't happen again.

In cases where there were different types of IFIDs within the same apology, they were counted individually, whereas the repetition of the same strategy was considered as one occurrence.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Strategies of Apology Used by Native Speakers of Kabyle

Based on the analysis of the participants' responses, we came out with the results shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1
STRATEGIES OF APOLOGY USED BY NATIVE SPEAKERS OF KABYLE AND THEIR FREQUENCY

Apology Strategies		Number	Percentage %
1.	**Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs)**	**217**	**43.4**
a.	An expression of regret	8	1.60
b.	An offer of apology	2	0.40
c.	A request for forgiveness and accepting the apology	207	41.4
2.	**Explanation or account**	**108**	**21.6**
a-	Explicit	102	20.4
b-	Implicit	6	1.20
3.	**Taking on responsibility**	**80**	**16**
a.	Explicit self-blame	6	1.20
b.	Lack of intent	29	5.8
c.	Expression of self-deficiency	29	5.8
d.	Expression of embarrassment	13	2.6
e.	Justify hearer	2	0.40
f.	Refusal to acknowledge guilt:		
	-Denial of Responsibility	1	0.20
4.	**Concern for the hearer**	**2**	**0.4**
5.	**Offer of repair**	**80**	**16**
6.	**Promise of Forbearance**	**13**	**2.6**
Total		**500**	**100**

Table 1 above shows that Kabyle native speakers used six different strategies to perform the speech act of apologizing. IFIDs were the most frequently used strategy accounting for 43.4% of the whole responses. The second most frequently used strategy was explanation. In the third place, taking on responsibility and offer of repair scored the

same percentages (16%). The fourth strategy with respect to the frequency of use was promise of forbearance which accounted for 2.6 % of the responses. Concern for the hearer was the least frequently used strategy (0.4%). This result is consistent with Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) who concluded that the classification of apology strategies may be universal. In other words, the main strategies that were found in other languages also appeared in the Kabyle data.

(a). Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs) or Explicit Expressions of Apology

As it is shown in Table 1 above, the Kabyle subjects employed the three sub-categories of IFIDs. The request for forgiveness 'samḥiyi'/'surfiyi', 'yelha smaḥ' (forgive me) was the most frequent strategy in the Kabyle data accounting for 41.4 % of the whole responses. The second most frequently used strategy was an expression of regret 'ṣhasfeɣ aṭas' (I'm so sorry). However, this expression is not frequently used by Kabyles in everyday conversations as it is used in the Amazigh language (the standard language) not in the dialect. Some of the participants expressed regret by using the French word *'Désolé'*. In cases where the word 'désolé' was used, it was counted as an example of expression of regret since the Kabyle dialect is very influenced by French. The least frequently used strategy was offer of apology. It was also expressed by the use of the French expression *'Je m'excuse'* meaning 'I apologize' as it has no equivalent in Kabyle.

The use of the three sub-categories of IFIDs by the subjects is shown in the following examples:

Surfiyi afla3dil agi i3adlagh aka felak (*Forgive me* for being late). Scenario (2)

Ise3wej Rebbi ifassen-iw. Le vase am wagi briɣ-as ar lqa3a. *Ur zriɣ amek ara ak-d-ṭelbeɣ smaḥ.* (I have very clumsy hands. I dropped such a beautiful vase. *I don't know how to ask for forgiveness*). Scenario (4)

Samhiyi achaf. Tikelt thanegarouth. (*Forgive me* Boss. This is the last time). Scenario (8)

Yelha smah a Madame. TTeɣawaleɣ. (*Forgive me* madam. I am in a hurry). Scenario (9)

Ṣhasfeɣ aṭas. D tidet ɣelteɣ. (*I'm so sorry*. It's true, I made a mistake). Scenario (8)

D ésolé pour le retard. D la réunion importante i nes3a. (*Sorry* for the delay. We had an important meeting). Scenario (2)

Je m'excuse, awid ak-d ssehagh. (*I apologize*. Let me correct this). Scenario (4)

(b). Explanation or Account

The second most frequently used strategy in the Kabyle data was explanation. This is consistent with Jebahi (2011) who found that IFIDs and accounts were the most frequently used strategies by Tunisian Arabic native speakers.

As it is shown in Table 1 above, the majority of the participants opted for explicit explanations, that is, they provided reasons for why they committed the offense to lessen the blame assigned to them. The following are examples of explicit accounts given by the participants:

D ésolé pour le retard. *D la réunion importante i nes3a.* . (Sorry for the delay. *We had an important meeting*). Scenario (2)

Semhiyi, idara3 webrid. (Forgive me, *the road was closed*). Scenario (5)

Azul fellak, zriɣ belli gessvah tet3assaḍ *wellah mmis negma* iwwiɣ *ar lvaccin.* (Hi, I know that you have been waiting for me for a while. *I swear that I took my nephew to the vaccination centre*). Scenario (5)

Semhiyi, *tɣawalaɣ* (Forgive me. *I am in a hurry*). Scenario (9)

As for implicit accounts, the following are examples taken from the data:

Samhiyi ayamdakul af retard agi. *Thattwaliḍ lihala n transport amek.* (Forgive me my friend for the delay. *You know very well that there is always a problem of transport*). Scenario (5)

Semhiyi kan *, lweqt agi n les examens yettzid fellaɣ 3egu.* (Forgive me, *we are so tired during the examination period*). Scenario (3)

(c). Taking on Responsibility

Table 1 shows that the subjects used different strategies to take on responsibility. In the first place, lack of intent and expression of self-deficiency strategies scored the same percentages (5.8%), followed by expression of embarrassment. Explicit self-blame was the third most frequently used strategy to acknowledge responsibility. Justify hearer comes in the fourth place. Denial of responsibility was the least frequently used strategy. The following examples illustrate the use of the different sub-categories of acknowledgment of responsibility.

1. Self-deficiency

The speaker takes on responsibility by admitting his/her inadequacy.

Ttughth (*I forgot your book*). Scenario (1)

Ise3wej Rebbi ifassen-iw (*I have very clumsy hands*). Scenario (4)

Semhiyi, *ur kmidwalagh ara* (Forgive me, *I didn't see you*). Scenario (9)

2. Lack of Intent

The participants resorted to this strategy to show that the offense was not intentional.

Semhiyi *macci met3amed*. (Forgive me, *I didn't do it on purpose*). Scenario (4)

3. Expression of Embarrassment

Alahchoumath!! Machi exprès, semhiyi. (*This is so embarrassing!!* It was not intentional, forgive me). Scenario (4)

Samhiyi melih *welah sethhagh*, welah mazemragh amthendaragh thoura. Saveriyi chitoh ma ma3lich. (Forgive me, *I swear I am embarrassed*. I can't return it now. Please be patient with me). Scenario (6)

4. Explicit self-blame

The strategy was used to show that the speaker explicitly accepts responsibility for the offence.

Samhiyi a l'étudiant. *Alghalta thakad sghori*. (Forgive me, my student. *The error is on my part*). Scenario (3)

Ṣḥasfeɣ aṭas. *D tidet ɣelṭeɣ*. (I'm so sorry. *It's true, I made a mistake*). Scenario (8)

5. Justify hearer

Samḥiyi *tes3iḍ lḥaq attfaq3ath*. (Forgive me, *you are right to be angry*). Scenario (6)

6. Denial of Responsibility

The speaker completely rejects responsibility for what happened.

Machi d la fautiw. (It's not my fault). Scenario (8)

(d). Offer of Repair

Cohen and Olshtain (1985, p. 183) define offer of repair as follows "the apologizer makes a bid to carry out an action or provide payment for some kind of damage which resulted from his/her infraction". This strategy was employed by the subjects in different situations. The following are examples of offer of repair given by the participants:

Azekka sur ak-t-id awiɣ ! (I will surely bring it tomorrow). Scenario (1)

Ma ufigh yiwen am agi am thidghermegh (If I find a similar vase, I will replace it for you). Scenario (4)

(e). Promise of Forbearance

This strategy is generally used in situations where the offence has been committed repeatedly. It was reported in situation 8 only. The apologizer makes a commitment not to let the offense happen again.

Sameḥ iyi, *ur stt3awadeɣ ara ass niḍ-n* (Forgive me, *this will not happen again*)

(f). Concern for the Hearer

The apologizer uses expressions that show concern for the hearer's well-being. This strategy appeared only in the situation where the speaker stepped on the professor's foot.

Samḥiyi, *iniyid ma yella ukemyuɣ wayra* (Forgive me, *tell me if you are okay*). Scenario (9)

B. New Strategies Found in the Data

New strategies appeared in the data. They are not found in the model followed in this study. Even though these strategies appeared in small percentages (There are strategies which appeared only once in the data), they are all shown in Table 2 below as some of them are culture-specific.

TABLE 2
NEW STRATEGIES FOUND IN THE DATA AND THEIR FREQUENCY

Strategy	Number	Percentage %
A request for patience	11	26.82
Asking the hearer not to be angry	8	19.51
Request time to repair	6	14.63
Lying	3	7.31
Religious wishes	2	4.87
Laughing	2	4.87
Minimizing the degree of the offense	2	4.87
Being rude	2	4.87
Proverbs	1	2.43
Determinism	1	2.43
Asking the hearer to understand the apologizer's situation	1	2.43
Asking the hearer not to shout at the offender	1	2.43
Request a chance to repair	1	2.43
Total	**41**	**100**

The use of the new strategies by the subjects is shown in the following examples:

(a). A Request for Patience

This strategy is mainly used in situation 6 where the speaker borrowed money from his colleague a year ago and didn't return the money on time and cannot return it now.

Semhiyi oulach dachou ara khedmagh, *sebriyi* (Forgive me, there is nothing I can do, *be patient with me*).

(b). Asking the Hearer not to Be Angry

This strategy is mainly used in situations 6 and 9. The use of this strategy is linked to the assumption that the speakers already know that the hearers are angry (The scenarios clearly show that the hearers are angry). The use of this

strategy could also be linked to the assumption that the speakers will meet the hearers again and they don't want the offence to affect their relationship. This strategy was found in other studies (e.g., Tahir & Pandian, 2016; Allili, 2016).

Ur feq3ara felli la3nayam (*Please don't be angry with me*). Scenario (6)

(c). Request Time to Repair

This strategy is used in situation 6. The apologizer requested time to return the money.

Semhiyi our s3iɣara idrimen thoura. *Arnouyi chuiya nelwaqth.* (Forgive me, I don't have the money right now. *Give me some time*).

(d). Lying

This strategy was used in the situation where the student lost the book that he borrowed from his professor. This is may be due to the speaker's fear of the professor's reaction if he knows the truth.

Ziɣ telha mlih la literature Américaine, mazal ur tfukeɣ ara (*The American literature is so good. I haven't finished reading it*). Scenario (7)

(e). Religious Wishes

This strategy appeared in scenario 4. One of the participants used the following expression:

Semhiyi kan *nchallah athyefk Rebi dasfel* . Kabyles believe that if something falls and smashes, it means that the bad thing that was coming to someone's life went away. (accidents, for instance).

Semhiyi. *Amdikhlef Rebbi s wayen yelhan* (Forgive me. *May God replace this with good things*). This example shows that the speaker wishes that God will give the hearer something good as a replacement.

(f). Laughing

Two participants used this strategy in situation 4. The use of this strategy might be linked to the way the subjects perceived the offence (not severe) and to their relationship with the hearer (a friend).

Athan tew3iḍ machi expres *hahaha* (You know that it was not on purpose *hahaha*).

HHHH. Matchi bet3emedh itkhedmegh (*HHHH.* I didn't do it on purpose).

(g). Minimizing the Degree of the Offense

This strategy was also employed in situation 4. It is used to say that what happened (dropping a vase) was not a big thing. This strategy was found in other studies (e.g., Hussein & Hammouri, 1998; Al-Adaileh, 2007).

Aha kan normal, semhiyi asid! (*It's nothing*, forgive me, though.)

Iweze3 lxir (This expression is used to say that something good has happened).

(h). Being Rude

The subjects employed this strategy in situation 9. This may be due to the pride that Kabyles have. They don't like when others shout at them even if they are the ones who made a mistake.

Ccah yehwayi !! *(Yeah, I wanted to do it)*

Waa expr ès! (You think it was or purpose or what!)

(i). Proverbs

This strategy occurred once in the data. It was used in situation 3. This strategy was also found in previous studies (e.g., Hussein & Hammouri, 1998; Al-Adaileh, 2007).

Ur yeqris uyeddid ur nɣilen waman (The proverb means that it's not late and the problem can be solved).

(j). Determinism

This strategy occurred once in the data. It was used in situation 4. This can be attributed to the effect that religion has on the way people think. In other words, Kabyles see that everything is controlled by God and everything that happens is linked to fate. The strategy has appeared in previous literature (e.g., Banikalef et al., 2015; Allili, 2016).

Allah ghaleb *d lemektub* semhiyi kan (*It's fate*, forgive me).

(k). Asking the Hearer to Understand the Apologizer's Situation

This strategy occurred once in the data. It was used in situation 6.

Ad seyigh aniddebraɣ le plus vite possible, vraiment semhiyi, *inchallah ayithfahmeḍ* (I will try to get the money as soon as possible, forgive me, *I hope you understand my situation*).

(l). Asking the Hearer not to Shout at the Offender

The strategy was employed in situation 9. This can also be due to the pride that Kabyles have. They don't like when others shout at them even if they know they are at fault.

Sameḥ iyi a madame ce n'est pas exprès! *Ur tt3igiḍ ara felli!* (Forgive me madam, it was not on purpose! *Don't shout at me!*)

(m). Request a Chance to Repair

This strategy was used in situation 8. The apologizer requested a chance to correct his behaviour.

Situation 8: *Ernuyi tikelt agi kan*, je te promets ma eqleɣ as 3awdeɣ (*Give me a last chance*, I promise I will not do it again).

The analysis of the data also revealed that when Kabyles apologize, they tend to swear by using the word 'Wellah' (I swear to God) to show that they are not lying. They also tend to use expressions like 'Allah Ghaleb' to say that what happened was out of their control.

C. Apology Strategy Use According to Social Status

Table 3 below shows that the Kabyle subjects used the highest number of strategies (185) when apologizing to someone of a lower status. This result may be due to how the participants viewed the severity of the scenarios provided in the questionnaire. Mistaking a student's exam paper for another due to the similarity in their names and failing him, for instance, is considered as a serious offense. 167 strategies were used in situations requiring apologies to someone of a higher status (student-professor/ employee-manager). This may be due to the ability of the professor and the manager to exercise power and affect the future of the student/ employee. The lowest number of strategies was reported in the scenarios requiring apologies to someone of an equal status (equal-equal). The subjects may have thought that their relationship with friends or colleagues doesn't call for the use of a great number of strategies.

As far as the choice of strategies in relation to social status is concerned, IFIDs were the most frequently used strategy regardless of the status of the interlocutor. With regard to explanation strategy, it was used more often with high (23.35%) and low (21.62%) status interlocutors compared to equal status interlocutors (19.59%). When it comes to taking on responsibility, Kabyles are found to acknowledge responsibility more when apologizing to low and equal status interlocutors. The offer of repair strategy was used more with low status interlocutors compared to both high and equal interlocutors. Promise of forbearance and concern for the hearer strategies were used only with high status interlocutors.

TABLE 3
APOLOGY STRATEGIES USED BY KABYLE SPEAKERS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STATUS

Apology Strategies		Higher-Lower N/Percentage (%)	Equal-Equal N/Percentage (%)	Lower-Higher N/Percentage (%)
1.	Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs):	72 (38.91%)	72 (48.64%)	73 (43.71%)
a.	An expression of regret	4	/	4
b.	An offer of apology	2	/	/
c.	A request for forgiveness and accepting the apology	66	72	69
2.	Explanation or account	40 (21.62%)	29 (19.59%)	39 (23.35%)
a.	Explicit	37	28	37
b.	Implicit	3	1	2
3.	Taking on responsibility	28 (15.13%)	30 (20.27%)	22 (13.17%)
a.	Explicit self-blame	1	2	3
b.	Lack of intent	1	16	12
c.	Expression of self-deficiency	26	1	2
d.	Expression of embarrassment	/	10	3
e.	Justify hearer	/	1	1
f.	Refusal to acknowledge guilt:			
	-Denial of Responsibility	/	/	1
4.	Concern for the hearer	/	/	2 (1.19%)
5.	Offer of repair	45 (24.32%)	17 (11.48%)	18 (10.77%)
6.	Promise of forbearance	/	/	13 (7.78%)
Total		185 (100%)	148 (100%)	167 (100%)

V. CONCLUSION

The current study investigated the strategies of apology used by Kabyle speakers. To sum up, the answer to our first research question is that Kabyle native speakers used six different strategies which are as follows: IFIDs> explanation or account> taking on responsibility and offer of repair> promise of forbearance> concern for the hearer. All the basic

strategies that are found in other languages appeared in the Kabyle data. In addition, the participants employed new strategies that were not found in the model followed in the present study such as asking the hearer not to be angry, requests for patience, religious wishes, minimizing the degree of the offense and determinism. These strategies are culture-specific.

The answer to our second research question is that the social status of the interlocutor had an influence on the way Kabyle native speakers performed the speech act of apologizing. The analysis of the data showed that there were differences in the total number of strategies employed according to the social status of the interlocutor and in the choice of some apology strategies. The lowest number of strategies was reported in the scenarios requiring apologies to someone of an equal status. In addition, explanation, for instance, was the second most frequently used strategy with high status interlocutors. Offer of repair and taking on responsibility, however, were the second most frequently used strategies with low and equal status interlocutors, respectively. Moreover, it was found that promise of forbearance and concern for the hearer strategies were used only with high status interlocutors. These findings show that the subjects varied their strategies according to the status of the interlocutor.

Overall, the results of the study, on one hand are in line with some previous studies which suggest the universality of apology strategies and on the other hand, they support the idea of the researchers who argue that the choice and use of certain semantic formulas is related to culture.

Future research may examine the speech act of apologizing as performed by Kabyles who live in other cities such as Tizi Ouzou and Bouira, and of course it is preferable to increase the number of subjects.

APPENDIX THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE DCT

Section One: Personal Information:
Sex: Male   ☐   Female   ☐
Age: ……………………………………….
Country of residence: ……………………..…………….
State:…………………….……………..

Section two: Apology situations:
(Imagine yourself in these situations)
Higher-lower

1. You are a university professor. You promised to return the student's term paper that day but you forgot to bring it. Your student asks you about it. What would you say?
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2. You are a staff manager and you have kept a student waiting for an hour for a job interview because you were called to an unexpected meeting. What would you say?
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……………………………………………………………………………………………………
3. You are a university professor. You mistook a student's exam paper for another due to the similarity in their names and failed him. You know that you made a mistake, and the student knows what happened and comes to see you. What would you say?
………………………….…………………………………………………………………………….…………
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……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Equal-equal

4.You are at your friend's house, you ask him to show you his favourite vase. When you hold it, it falls and smashes. What would you say?
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……………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. You were supposed to meet your friend with whom you are working on a joint paper at 12 p.m but you were one hour late. What would you say?
………………………….…………………………………………………………………………….…………
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6. You borrowed 1000 $ from your colleague a year ago, and you didn't return the money on time because you could not afford it and cannot return it now. Your colleague is angry with you. She/He comes to see you and asks you for the money as she/he really needs it to fulfil her/his obligations. What would you say?

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Lower-Higher

7. Your professor lends you a book about American literature, and you lose it. Two weeks later, he asks you about it, what would you say?

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8. 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?

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9. You are a first-year university student and you are late for class. You are running to class and on your way, you step on your professor's foot in the corridor. She says angrily "Hey, watch out!" What would you say?

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