

REMEDIAL WORK IN HUNGARIAN – A CASE STUDY  
Małgorzata Suszczyńska

PhD thesis  
Supervised by  
Dr. Enikő Németh T.

PhD Program in Theoretical Linguistics  
Institute of English and American Studies  
University of Szeged  
2010

## **1. Introduction**

In my thesis I examine retrospective Remedial Work (RW) in Hungarian, defined as a set of strategies, such as apologies, excuses, justifications or self-blame, which are used to manage interpersonal conflict.

In my study (1) I argue that it is possible to (partly) reconcile the traditional approach to RW represented by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Research Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) with some of the recent developments in the discursive approaches in politeness studies (e.g. the Community of Practice perspective, Watts 2003, Mills 2003), and (2) I develop and apply an extended Remedial Work (RW) model, based on Meier's (1992) model of Repair Work. In accordance with the discursive approach my model of RW includes a full range of strategic behaviors (from polite to impolite), and its coding scheme is meant to be an alternative to the CCSARP coding manual, so far widely used in inter- and cross-cultural studies. Last but not least, my study is meant to be a contribution to the studies on Hungarian RW and politeness, as well as to the sociopragmatic analysis of speech acts in their socio-cultural context.

## **2. Theoretical underpinnings**

In section 2 I review a number of theoretical approaches relevant to the topic of my thesis. Thus, I present the speech act theory's perspective on apology (Searle 1976) and its later developments, I discuss the contributions of social psychology, particularly Goffman's concepts of 'face' and 'remedial work' (Goffman 1971), I survey the literature on accounts and self-presentation (Potter and Wetherell 1996, Leary 1995), and I critically review politeness theories.

I classify approaches to linguistic politeness into (1) the 'traditional', predictive (Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) and (2) the 'discursive' (also called postmodern) approaches (Watts 2003; Locher and Watts 2005; Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Kádár 2009), where the former "view (im)politeness as a socially pre-determined set of illocutions" while the latter "argue for involving the evaluating addressee in the examination" (Kádár 2007: 6-7).

I argue against the uncritical applicability of Brown and Levinson's concept of negative and positive politeness to apology studies and for the implementation of the discursive perspective, particularly the concept of 'relational work' (Watts 2005) and Mills' (2003) theorizing on politeness and gender within the framework of Community of Practice (CofP) (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999, 2003). Thus, politeness should be seen as occurring over longer stretches of talk, within the context of CofP (not just as a product of individual speakers) and as subject to gender stereotyping, where members of CofP have certain expectations about what linguistic behavior they expect of men and women.

As the scope of my analysis covers both apologetic and non- or unapologetic behavior, I also review approaches to linguistic impoliteness, defined as face-aggravating behavior in a particular context.

## **3. Apology research**

In section 3 I review the development of apology taxonomies and a number of areas of apology research, such as cross-cultural apology studies, research on apology, politeness and gender, and recent studies on political apologies. The brief overview of cross- intra- and intercultural studies demonstrates that in spite of cross-cultural, often superficial similarities in strategy choice, apology and remedial work remain highly culture-specific phenomena, which often require an in-depth analysis to understand culture-specific aspects of their

functioning. An adequate remedial work model is a much-needed tool to illuminate and partly explain such specificities.

I particularly focus on the CCSARP taxonomy (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) of apology strategies, as for many years it has been the apology speech act model, uncritically used both in earlier and in more recent apology studies. The CCSARP model consists of the following major categories: (1) Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs), e.g. *I'm (very) sorry, I apologize*; (2) Taking on responsibility, which includes a number of strategies, such as explicit self-blame, e.g. *My mistake*, expressions of self-deficiency, e.g. *I'm so forgetful*, but also a refusal to acknowledge guilt, e.g. *It wasn't my fault*; (3) Explanation or account, e.g. *The traffic was terrible*; (4) Offer of repair (connected with the offence), e.g. *I'll pay for the damage*; and (5) Promise of forbearance, e.g. *This won't happen again*. Although some researchers modified the CCSARP taxonomy in a number of ways, the problem of finding good criteria for grouping strategies into higher-order categories remained. Meier (1992, 1998, 2004), in her solitary attempt to critically evaluate the CCSARP model, raised two objections: (1) the lack of connection between the classification system and some underlying theoretical framework, and (2) the problematic nature of the 'Taking on responsibility' category, which is too all-encompassing.

Following Aston's (1988) and Widdowson's (1990) view of communication as the negotiation of social relations which is focused on maintaining rapport, comity and affective convergence, Meier argued that when an individual is perceived to be responsible for a violation of a social norm, his/her self-image gets damaged, which leads to a divergence of S's and the offended party's 'worlds', or to interpersonal disharmony. In order to facilitate image repair within the relevant social group the offender resorts to repair work strategies, which are so designed as to lead to a convergence of the participants' worlds, restoring interpersonal harmony and social equilibrium. Meier's coding scheme arises from this conceptualization and consists of three super-categories, called 'orientations', which represent three ways in which convergence between S and H can be brought about: (1) the S>H orientation, which involves S understanding and accepting H's perspective, who perceives S as the offender and him/herself as the offended (the strategies belonging here are, for instance, acceptance of blame, e.g. *It's my fault*, offer of repair, e.g. *I'll pay for the damage* or concern for the hearer, e.g. *Are you all right?*; (2) the S<H orientation, which involves S's attempts to make H understand S's position and this way weaken the responsibility link between S and his act (the strategies belonging here are all kinds of excuses and justifications); and (3) the S><H orientation, where S and H meet halfway, and the focus is on absolution and on wiping the slate clean (the strategies belonging here are apology routine formulae, e.g. *I'm sorry*, or expressions of hope for the continuation of the status quo, e.g. *I hope we are still friends*).

As Deutschman (2003: 94) commented, "Meier's taxonomy is useful because it provides a framework for analyzing ego/alter aspects of politeness". Importantly, Meier's model, with its focus on rapport, is compatible with many discursive approaches to politeness.

#### **4. The Study**

In section 4 I discuss the methodological aspects of my thesis (the participants, the data-collecting instrument and the procedure) and then I present my extended Remedial Work (RW) model.

While the majority of apology studies examine university students, I decided to examine adults. The data for my study consist of written responses provided by a group of 102 Hungarian school teachers (52 females and 50 males) who participated in a written discourse completion test (DCT). The DCT consisted of a number of situations requiring remedial work across various contexts and relationships, from private to workplace settings, and from intimate and equal to distant and status unequal interactions.

Concerning the data collecting method, I argue that a discourse completion test (DCT), in spite of its limitations concerning, for instance, naturalness, can “inform about speakers’ pragmalinguistic knowledge of the strategies and linguistic forms [...] and about their sociopragmatic knowledge of the context factors under which particular linguistic and strategic choices are appropriate” (Kasper 2000: 329), particularly when collected from adults with the help of an instrument that has been tailored to be compatible with the participants’ life experience.

Also, I agree with Kasper (1999, 2000) who advocates the use of multiple, complementary data collection procedures. Before I distributed the DCT I carried out semi-structured interviews with 9 females and 4 males (all of them volunteers from the participant group) who shared with me their experiences concerning apologizing in private, public and workplace settings. Although the interviews are not part of the data described in this thesis I make occasional references to the contextual information they contain.

Finally, I present my version of RW model. I extend the original Meier’s model of repair work with one more orientation,  $S<>H$ , which covers a range of behaviors challenging the offended party or ignoring repair work (when expected). Also, I propose to split the  $S>H$  category into two. Thus, the extended RW model looks as follows:

RW orientations:

1. The  $S><H$  orientation, where S aims at reconciliation and absolution, e.g. *I apologize*.
2. The  $S>H$  orientation, where S aligns to H’s perspective on the offence and accepts his/her role as an offender, which is done in two ways:
  - a)  $S>H$  (Self-Face Threatening Act/ Self-FTA) orientation, which focuses on S’s blameworthiness, e.g. *It’s my fault*.
  - b)  $S>H$  (Hearer-Face Enhancing Act/ Hearer-FEA) orientation, which focuses on compensating H and managing the problem, e.g. *I’ll pay for the damage*.
3. The  $S<H$  orientation, where S presents his/her perspective on events referring to mitigating circumstances, e.g. *There was a traffic jam*.
4. The  $S<>H$ , where S resists his/her role as the offender and H’s role as the offended party, e.g. *You have no reason to feel offended*.

## 5. Data Analysis

In section 5 I present a detailed analysis of the data. First, I analyze the whole data according to the orientations of the extended Remedial Work Model and then I focus on the selected portion of the data and analyze it using the Community of Practice (CofP) framework. Ideally, it would be advisable to analyze the whole data using the CofP approach, which I am planning to do in the future.

### 5.1 RW strategies in the data

In section 5.1 I focus on the RW orientations in the whole data. First, I discuss the frequency means of the four main RW orientations in the data:

Figure 1: RW orientations in the data

RW ORIENTATIONS	ALL	MALES	THE FEMALES
S><H	16,66	15,26	18,21
S>H (S-FTA)	16,64	14,70	18,50
S>H (H-FEA)	18,87	18,40	19,33
S<H	16,54	15,26	17,77
S><H	2,80	3,42	2,15

The data, on the whole, display the balance between the four major RW orientations: the explicit, routine apology, which is the major strategy of S><H, expressions of S's blameworthiness (S>H (S-FTA)), attempts at H's compensation (S>H (H-FEA)) and S's self-defense (S<H). The low frequency of S><H is understandable as the DCT situations were constructed to elicit RW, and not conflict talk. The presence of S><H in the data was facilitated by the non-constraining character of the data collecting instrument, which allowed the participants the freedom to choose any response they wanted.

Gender-wise, all orientations display gender differences which are significant in all four main orientations, the females choosing more strategies in S>H, S<H and S><H orientations, while the males performing significantly more strategies in S><H.

Concerning the S><H orientation, I distinguished altogether four strategies: Routine Formula (RF) e.g. *Sajnálom*, Status Quo (SQ), e.g. *Ugye nem haragszol?* or *Remélem nincs sértődés!?*, Appeal to Negotiate (AN) e.g. *Üljünk le, beszéljünk meg nyugodtabban*, and Withdrawal (Wth) *De hagyjuk ezt a kellemetlen vitát (Wth)*. Among them, it was RF, the most straightforward and explicit strategy to perform apology, that was by far most frequently used, not only in the S><H orientation, but in the whole data, the females using it significantly more often than the males.

I identified the following RF types in the data: *NE HARAGUDJ*, *ELNÉZÉST*, *BOCS*, *BOCSÁNAT*, *SAJNÁLOM*, *PARDON*, *I'M SORRY*, and *MEGKÖVETLEK*, the last three being very rarely used. The most frequently used apologetic RF types in the data were *ELNÉZÉST* and *NE HARAGUDJ*, the latter being used significantly more often by the females while the former being the first choice of the male participants (cf. Suszczyńska 2005).

The analysis of Hungarian RF and its types in context demonstrated that the choice of apology RF depended on such contextual factors as the offence type and its seriousness, the social role of the interlocutor and the offender's gender. The distribution of *NE HARAGUDJ* and *ELNÉZÉST* as well as the remaining RF types across the examined contexts suggest that they perform distinct jobs in the process of restoring social harmony. *NE HARAGUDJ* was mostly used to remedy infractions with social equals and indicated involvement with the offended party, while *ELNÉZÉST* was employed to restore breaches with strangers and in unequal encounters and it indicated some interpersonal distance.

The females used more RF than the males, which suggested that in the same set of contexts they felt a greater need to apologize explicitly, particularly in the situations of status difference and professional performance. The more frequent use of *NE HARAGUDJ* by the females indicated that on the whole the women were more other- and solidarity oriented.

As for the different 'jobs' Hungarian RF types perform in interaction, my participants

characterized *NE HARAGUDJ* as personal, emotional and ‘other-oriented’, while *ELNÉZÉST* was described as formal, reserved and implying V-form usage. As for *Bocs*, it was described as very informal and familiar, assuming the T-form usage and equal status between the parties, appropriate to use by young people, between familiar social equals and for small offences. *Sajnálom* was described as expressing genuine sorrow, but also as being superficial, expressing indifference and lack of considerateness. Finally, *Bocsánat* was characterized as a strong and unambiguous apology, polite but formal, impersonal and official, and not necessarily sincere.

The S>H (Self-FTA) orientation, expressing S’s blameworthiness, contained fifteen RW strategies, the most frequent being Statement of Violation (SV), defined as S’s acknowledgement that a negative act occurred, for instance *Sajnos elszámoltam a ponthatárokat*. In my data the females used SV significantly more often than the males and its use varied greatly according to offence type, Professional Performance failures having the highest SV strategy means due to the females, who performed much more SV in that context than the males, e.g. F28 *Ne haragudj (RF)*, *de nem tudtam megírni az évszázó programtervet (SV)*.

Other S>H (Self-FTA) include Negative Judgment (NJ), a strategy quite characteristic of my Hungarian RW data (Suszczyńska 1999, 2003), e.g. *Ne haragudj (RF)*, *de ügyetlen vagyok (NJ)*, Emotives (Em), the females using it significantly more often than the males, e.g. *Úristen (Em)*, *otthon felejtettem (SV)!*, Preparatory (Pr), a strategy that projects ‘bad news’, used significantly more often by the females, e.g. *Azt hiszem, nagy baj történt, Self-blame (SB)*, e.g. *Én hibáztam*, Promise of Forbearance (Fb), more often applied by the males, e.g. *Ígérem többet nem fordul elő*, and a few more.

As for S>H (Hearer-FEA) orientation, which focuses on H’s compensation, by far the most frequent strategy was Repair (Rp), particularly in Professional Failure and Property offences, e.g. *Újra kijavítom mindenki dolgozatát*. Among other strategies in this orientation there are Address forms (Ad), e.g., titles (*Igazgató Úr, Főnök*), used more often by the males, and first names and endearments (*cicám, szívem, mamókám*), used more frequently by the females, expressions of Concern (Cr), e.g. *Nem történt semmi baja?*, expressions of Appreciation (AP), e.g. *Köszönöm, hogy csendben vártatok*, Calming H (Ca), e.g. *Nyugodjon meg!* and a few more.

The S<H orientation, concerned with S’s self-defense, was most often performed with the help of Excuses (Ex), used significantly more often by the females, e.g. *Lemerült a telefonom*. The Ex strategy was used most often in the Time, Argument and Broken Promise offences, and between the spouses. Other S<H strategies include Justifications (Jf), e.g. *Igen, elmondtam (SV)*, *mert úgy éreztem nem fair dolog amit csinálsz (Jf)*, used significantly more often by the females in the Argument and Space offences, Joking (Jo), a typically ‘male’ strategy, which via reframing a post-failure situation as less serious, may facilitate RW, e.g. *Szevasz, régóta vársz már rám (Cr)? Az én üdítőmet már megittad (Jo)?*, statements of Good Intentions (GI), e.g. *Akartalak hívni (GI)*, *de a telefonom lemerült (Ex)*, statements of Inconsistency (In), e.g., *Ez nem szokott velem előfordulni*, and a few others.

Finally, The S<>H orientation consists of those strategies which display S’s resentment to accept the role of the offender, and to recognize H as a legitimate offended party. In my data the most frequently used S<>H strategies were Reproaching Hearer (RH), e.g. *Álljon már arrébb (RH)*, *hát nem lehet magától közlekedni (RH)*, Opting out (OO), when the participants indicated they would say nothing, e.g. *Nem mondok semmit*, the latter used significantly more often by the males, and Persistence in one’s opinion (PO), e.g. *Elnézésem kérek (RF)*, *de én úgy érzem, hogy nekem van igazam (PO)*, in many situations used more often by the females.

## 5. 2 Remedial Work in the workplace context

In this section I analyzed ten DCT situations which represent workplace contexts, the assumption being that at least to some extent, their analysis would reveal the participants' 'relational practices', in which they engage as members of their CoFP at work. The diagram below contains the DCT workplace situations (the dark gray area) and three other contexts (Sit.21, 3 and 20, the light gray area), which were analyzed for the sake of comparison as they represented the same type of offence although not in workplace settings. One situation (Sit. 11) shared both the private and the workplace features. The situations were further grouped in offence, predicament or failure categories.

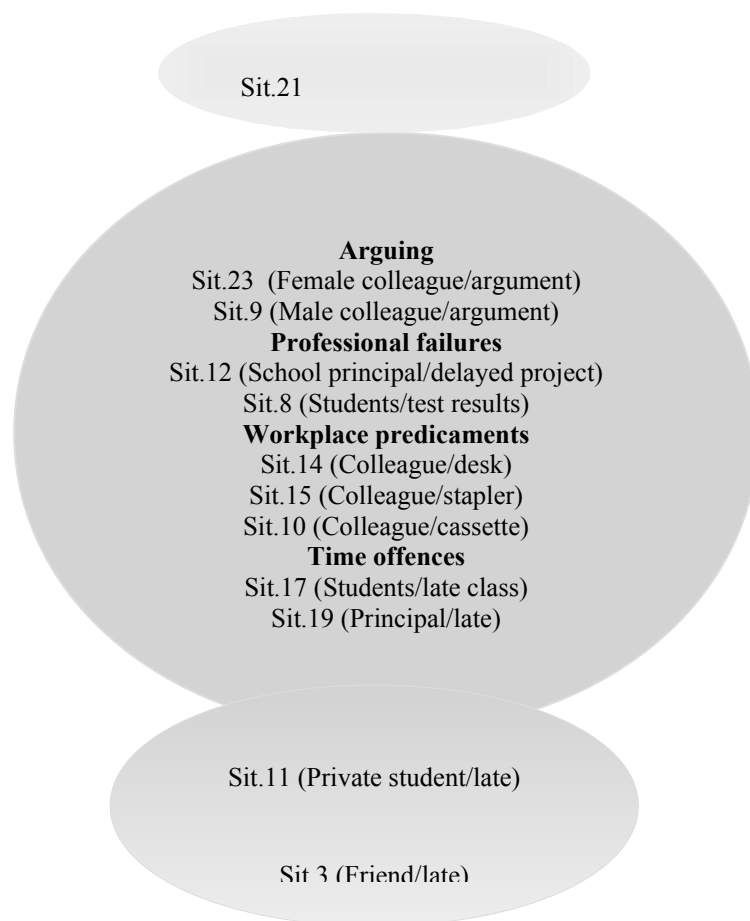


Diagram 1 Remedial Work in workplace context

I analyzed the data starting with time offences, then moving on to professional failures, arguing offences and workplace predicaments. I discussed the assessments of the severity of offence/inconvenience (as assessed by my participants on the 5-point Likert scale) and the mean frequencies of strategy use in particular situations. Then I compared the use of RW orientations and their strategies in the situations.

Time offences represented a relatively homogeneous group of 'being late' events. There were five situations which represented time offences, two of them being located in the 'private' domain of life (friend, spouse), two in the 'professional', workplace setting (students, the school principal), and one (private student) in between the two: the teacher-

student role relation (indicating institutional relationship) was enacted in a private, non-institutional context.

As for offensiveness ranking, Sit.17 (Students/late class) was assessed as least offensive where the offender was in a status-superior position, while Sit.19 (School principal/late) was viewed as the most offensive, where the offender was in a subordinate position to the superior offended party. It is interesting to observe that there was no correlation between severity assessments and strategy use: Sit.19 (Principal/late) was assessed as the most offensive and still, it received roughly as many strategies as the situation with students, revealing one 'practice' aspect of RW determined by the contingencies of the workplace: there are pupils left alone in the classroom, which leaves no time for lengthy apologizing, either to the principal, or to the students when in class, as the problem has to be managed quickly and the lesson has to begin.

Concerning the use of RF, a clear divide emerged between the private and the workplace situations, the workplace settings displaying much lower RF occurrence. As for the use of RF types, one very clear finding was the almost unanimous use of *Elnézést* in Professional Failures, other RF types being hardly present in that context.

Interestingly, Sit.11 (Private student/late) received much higher strategy means and many more compensatory and defensive strategies than Sit.17 (Students/late class), while in the latter there were quite many instances of the non-apologetic  $S \leftrightarrow H$  orientation. Some of the examples displayed the contrast quite strongly: Sit.11 (Private student/late) *Ne haragudj (RF) a késésért (SV), tudnál tovább maradni egy fél órával? (Rp) Természetesen ezért nem kell fizetned semmit (Rp)*; Sit.17 (Students/late class) *Hát nem igaz, hogy nem lehet benneteket egyedül hagyni. Mindenki a helyére, de sürgősen (RH)*.

Concerning Sit.19 (School principal/late), the  $S < H$  orientation of self-defense was most often used. Also, there were quite salient gender differences: the females apologized explicitly and admitted culpability much more often than their male colleagues, e.g. F37 *Tudom, elkéstem (SV). Most sietek órára, utána bemegyek hozzád (Rp)*.

As for Professional Failures, involving Sit.8 (Students/test results) and Sit.12 (School principal/delayed project), the participants assessed Sit.12 (School principal/delayed project) as a much more serious problem than Sit.8 (Students/test results). Both situations displayed low employment of  $S > H$  strategies (here, RF). In Sit.8 (Students/test results) the males used hardly any RF, while the females apologized to students three times more often than the males. The thrust of RW in Professional Failures relied on  $S > H$  (Self-FTA) (S's blameworthiness) and  $S > H$  (H-FEA) (H's compensation), with much less attention paid to  $S < H$  (S's self-defense). While  $S > H$  (Self-FTA) (S's blameworthiness) and  $S > H$  (Hearer-FEA) (H's compensation) were adhered to equally, in Sit.12 (School principal/delayed project), e.g. M24 *A programterv még nincs kész (SV), rengeteg dolgom volt (Ex), de a jövő hétre megcsinálom (Rp)*, in Sit.8 (Students/test results) there were almost twice as many compensatory H-FEA than Self-FTA (S's blameworthiness), although the females displayed blameworthiness more than the males, e.g. F22 *Köszönöm, hogy szóltatok (AP), ez az én hibám volt (SB), sajnos elszámoltam a ponthatárokat (SV). Mindjárt megnézzük még egyszer őket (Rp)*.

In the situations concerning Arguing with colleagues and spouses, the participants, and particularly the males, ranked Sit.21 (Spouse/argument) as the most offensive of all the argument situations. All three argument situations had roughly the same amount of  $S > H$  strategies, although SQ was used most often in Sit.21 (Spouse/argument) e.g. F25 *Na édes (Ad), ne veszekedjünk már! (SQ)*. As for the  $S > H$  (Self-FTA) (S's blameworthiness), both genders (particularly the females) used it most frequently in Sit.9 (Male colleague/argument) F33 *Ne haragudj (RF), egy kicsit elragadtattam magam (SV/NJ), máskor vigyázok, hogy ez ne forduljon elő (FB)*, and definitely less (almost by half) in the spouse situation.



As for S>H (Hearer-FEA) (H's compensation), the highest occurrence was found in Sit.21 (Spouse/argument), particularly in the male responses (e.g. *gyere együnk egy „békefagyit”*). Both genders (particularly the females) used fewer 'compensatory' strategies when responding to the colleague situations, e.g. *Meghívhatlak egy vigasz kapucsinóra?*

As for S<H (S's self defense), excuses were very often employed and played an important role in the argument situations, the highest number of excuses being in Sit.21 (Spouse/argument), e.g. *Fáradt és ideges vagyok*.

Finally, there were many S<H strategies in all three argument situations, particularly in Sit.21 (Spouse/argument), for both genders. The male respondents did not differentiate so much between three situations, while the females used most of S<H strategies in Sit.21 (Spouse/argument), then less in Sit.9 (Male colleague/argument) and very few in Sit.23 (Female colleague/argument). Thus, the females displayed substantially less rapport-challenging behavior towards their (virtual) female colleague than towards their male colleague or their (male) spouse. The main S<H strategy was Opting out, used mostly by the males in Sit.23 (Female colleague/argument), e.g. *Majd megbékül*.

Finally, I analyzed three Workplace Predicament situations representing two minor workplace transgressions (unintentional intruding onto another colleague's space, and not returning a piece of stationery) and one major one (not returning a cassette with teaching materials). In Sit.14 (Colleague/desk) the focus was on S>H (Hearer-FEA) (H's compensation), e.g. *M33 Rögtön rendet csinálok a helyemen (Rp)*; in Sit.15 (Colleague/stapler) the participants performed many S>H (Self-FTA) (S's blameworthiness) and only then compensated H, e.g. *F22 Bocsánat (RF) én voltam a ludas (SB). Tessék, itt a tűzőgép (Rp)*, while in Sit.10 (Colleague/cassette) both orientations (Self-FTA and Hearer-FEA) were very often employed, with some preference for Self-FTA (S's blameworthiness), e.g. *F37 Hát persze, hogy elfelejtettem (SV). Azonnal hazaugrok érte (Rp)*. Importantly, in all three Workplace Predicament situations the confrontational S><H orientation was hardly used.

## 6. Conclusions.

- The extended model of Remedial Work provides a principled basis for data analysis and can be claimed to be an alternative to the existing apology models. The analysis has demonstrated that the strategies identified in the course of analysis can be assigned to the existing orientations without the need to posit other major categories.
- My analysis supports Blum-Kulka's et al. (1989) distinction between more general (e.g. SV, Ex, Rp) and more context-specific (e.g. Fb, Cr, NJ) strategies. What my analysis adds is that each of the RW orientations has its main strategy, which is the most frequent realization of that orientation (e.g. SV for S<H (Self-FTA), Rp for S>H (Hearer-FEA) or Ex for S<H).
- The choice of RW strategies is related to gender in many complex ways. The females used significantly more strategies in all the RW orientations, significantly more RF, showing preference for Hearer-oriented *Ne haragudj*. While Em, Ex, Pr and Su (expressing Surprise) were employed significantly more often by the females, other strategies, namely TR (Taking on Responsibility), Jo, RH, and also Fb, although not significantly, were chosen more often by the males. Such tendencies in the data suggest that many female participants followed a gender stereotype (Mills 2003) in their choice of 'feminine' strategies of emotionality, culpability and accountability; still, many female responses provided counter-examples to such generalizations (e.g. many females chose PO, persisting in their opinion).

- The employment of the notion of CofP provided a different, more meaningful context in which to interpret my data. If we take the CofP perspective, such responses as, for instance, M26 *Mi ez a ricsaj?! Becsöngettek, vagy nem? Hang nélkül, a helyén várja, hogy megérkezzen a tanár* may be interpreted as instances of sanctioned impoliteness practiced by many teachers as their ‘relational practice’ in their interactions with students. More research is needed to clarify how such behaviors are received by students and how they are assessed by teachers themselves.
- The notion of ‘relational practice’ makes relevant Watts’ (1992, 2003) model of relational work, particularly the concept of politic, unmarked behavior. I want to argue that applying the concept of politic behavior to apology or RW is particularly difficult because of the fact that apologies are very often salient and marked behaviors. Unlike greetings, compliments or thanks, apologies do not function as conversational ‘lubricants’, which make interaction flow smoothly, but emerge in marked contexts when social harmony has been disrupted. I have often found it difficult to single out those RW responses in my data, which would count as merely appropriate and unmarked. For instance, in Sit.19 (Principal/late), the diversity of strategic choices made each response unique and salient. Indeed, it would be necessary to consult participants themselves on such issues. Still, I suspect that when the context is salient, it is difficult to provide a non-salient response. I suggest that the categories proposed by Watts may not apply equally well to all speech acts or other ‘relational’ verbal devices.
- The analysis of the DCT data with the help of the extended RW results in a very rich, multidimensional picture. More and various data would be needed to secure findings which would be generalizable to a larger portion of the Hungarian society.

#### Author's publications related to the dissertation

- 2010 On (Im)Politeness Behind the Iron Curtain, Eva Ogiermann and Małgorzata Suszczyńska, In Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini and Daniel Z. Kadar (eds), 2010 *Politeness Across Cultures*. Basingstoke: Palgrave: in preparation.
- 2008 Some Communicative Strategies in Hungary, *Journal for EuroLinguistix* 5 (2008): 58-78, <http://www.eurolinguistix.com>.
- 2007 Helyreállítás-stratégiák nemek szerinti különbségei [Gender differences in repair work]. In: Erzsébet Barát — Klára Sándor (eds.): *A nő helye a magyar nyelvhasználatban, "Nyelv, ideológia, média"*. [A woman's place in language use, "Language, ideology, media"]. Szeged: JATE Press, 195-214.
- 2005 Apology Routine Formulae in Hungarian, *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 52 (1): 1-42.
- 2003 A jóvatevés beszédaktusai a magyarban [Repair work in Hungarian], *Általános nyelvészet tanulmányok* XX: 255-294.
- 1999 Aologizing in English, Polish and Hungarian: Different languages, different strategies, *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 1053-1065.
- 1996 On Spoken Discourse: Remedial Accounts in English and Hungarian. In Rácz István (ed.), *English Studies and the Curriculum*. Proceedings of the First TEMPUS-JEN Mini Conference. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 71-78.
- 1994 A Study in Intercultural Pragmatics: Apology. *Studies in Applied Linguistics* 1: 111-22.
- 1994 Linguistic Politeness and the Speech Act of Apology. *Proceedings from Negyedik Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Konferencia (Budapest)*. *Folia Practico-linguistica* 24: 571-8

## References

- Aston, Guy, 1988. Learning comity. Bologna: Editrice CLUEB.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper (eds), 1989. Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson, 1978. Universals in language usage. Politeness phenomena. In: Esther N. Goody (eds), Questions and politeness. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56-289.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson, 1987. Politeness. Some universals in language use. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deutschmann, Mats, 2003. Apologizing in British English. Umea: Umea University Press.
- Eckert, Penelope and Sally McConnell-Ginet, 1999. New Generalizations and Explanations in Language and Gender Research. *Language in Society* 28: 185-201.
- Eckert, Penelope and Sally McConnell-Ginet, 2003. *Language and Gender*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eelen, Gino, 2001. *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester: St Jerome Press.
- Goffman, Erving, 1967. *Interaction ritual*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Kádár, Dániel Z., 2007. Terms of (im)politeness. A study of the communication properties of traditional Chinese (im)polite terms of address. Budapest: University of Budapest Press.
- Kádár, Dániel Z., 2009. Questions on Discursive Politeness Research – A Research Report. LPRG meeting December 2009. (<http://research.shu.ac.uk/politeness/meetingdec09.html>)
- Kasper, Gabriele, 1999. Data collection in pragmatics. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in English as a Second Language* 18 (1): 71-107.
- Kasper, Gabriele, 2000. Data collection in pragmatic research. In: Helen Spencer-Oatey (ed): *Culturally speaking: managing rapport through talk across cultures*. London: Continuum, 316–341.
- Leary, Mark R., 1995. *Self-presentation: impression management and interpersonal psychology*. Madison, Wisconsin: WCB Brown & Benchmark.
- Leech, Geoffrey, 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. Essex: Longman.
- Locher, Miriam and Richard J. Watts, 2005. Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1 (1): 9-34.
- Meier, Ardith J., 1992. A sociopragmatic contrastive study of repair work in Austrian and American English. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, Austria.
- Meier, Ardith J., 1998. Apologies: What do we know? *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 8 (2): 215-231.
- Meier, Ardith J., 2004. Conflict and the power of apologies. *PhiN (Philologie im Netz)* 30, 1–17. <http://www.fu-berlin.de/phn/phn30/p30t1.htm>.
- Mills, Sara, 2003. *Gender and Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Potter, Jonathan and Margaret Wetherell 1996, *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behavior*. London: Sage.
- Searle, John R., 1976: A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society* 5: 1- 23.
- Suszczyńska, Małgorzata, 1999. Apologizing in English, Polish and Hungarian: Different languages, different strategies. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (8): 1053-1065.
- Suszczyńska, Małgorzata, 2003. A jóvatevés beszédaktusai a magyarban. *Általános nyelvészeti tanulmányok* XX: 255-294.
- Suszczyńska, Małgorzata, 2005. Apology routine formulae in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 52(1): 77-116.
- Watts, Richard J., 1992. Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour: Reconsidering claims for universality. In: Richard J. Watts, Sachiko Ide, and Konrad Ehlich (eds), *Politeness in Language. Studies in its History, Theory and Practice*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 43-69.
- Watts, Richard J., 2003. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, Richard J., 2005. Linguistic politeness research: Quo vadis? In: *Politeness in Language. Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (2nd edition), Richard J. Watts, Sachiko Ide, and Konrad Ehlich (eds). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, xi-xlvii.
- Widdowson, Henry G., 1990. *Aspects of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.