Russian and Spanish Apologies: A Contrastive Pragmalinguistic Study

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Abstract

The present study offers a pragmalinguistic analysis of Russian and Spanish apologies, both languages associated with positive-politeness cultures and orientation toward the hearer (cf. Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005; Ogiermann, 2009). While apologies are among the most studied speech acts (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Holmes, 1989; Ogiermann, 2008, 2009; Shardakova, 2005), cross-cultural research mostly focuses on opposite-politeness cultures with English often providing the point of comparison (e.g. Ogiermann, 2008; Márquez Reiter, 2000). This study attempts to expand the field of cross-cultural pragmatics by exploring a yet unexamined pair of languages, Russian and Spanish. Nineteen Mexican and nineteen Russian-Ukrainian university students and young professionals completed a written production questionnaire consisting of eight apologies. The analysis of linguistic and social factors, following Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), allows for a description and explanation of the results of the comparison. In general, the two varieties show high pragmalinguistic similarity with a few significant differences due to gender. From the politeness standpoint, the findings suggest that Russian-Ukrainians exhibit a slightly higher index of positive politeness than Mexicans.

Keywords: apologies, Russian, Spanish, politeness, face
1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the realization of the speech act of apology in Russian and Spanish within a modified Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory. Although an apology is one of the most studied speech acts intra- and inter-culturally (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Holmes, 1989; Ogiermann, 2008, 2009; Shardakova, 2005), no contrastive study of Russian and Spanish exists to this date. Although the majority of the existing contrastive studies focus on two or more languages of opposite orientations in terms of positive and negative politeness, the latter is mostly represented by varieties of English (e.g. Márquez Reiter, 2000; Ogiermann, 2008). In order to address this gap, the current study offers an analysis of similarities and differences between two cultures of similar politeness orientation: positive and toward the hearer. While it will be shown that Russian and Spanish have highly similar pragmalinguistic preferences in producing apologies, some differences are found between and within the languages, mostly due to gender.

The present study is organized as follows. The Theoretical Framework section lays the groundwork for the study by discussing the speech act of apology, summarizing previous research findings for Spanish and Russian, and outlining the politeness framework adapted in this study. The Method, describing the participants, data collection, and analysis, is followed by presentation of Results. Their implications with respect to the research questions are addressed in the Discussion section and summarized in Conclusions.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Speech-Act Set of Apology

Searle (1969) and Owen (1983) place apologies into the expressive speech act category. Nevertheless, given that apologies can be made by multiple strategies such as expressing regret (expressive), requesting forgiveness (directive), and offering an apology (commissive/directive), it seems more adequate to adopt Owen’s (1983) essential condition as a definition that covers the entire speech act event. He states that an apology counts as a remedial interchange initiated by the speaker for having done the act. Such a definition admits a variety of linguistic expressions that perform the same function and is particularly useful for cross-linguistic comparison.

Contrastive and intercultural studies of speech acts began in the 1980’s with the *Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns* project (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). The authors’ main goal was to describe speech acts in eight cultures and to establish similarities and differences among native speakers of these cultures as well as among learners. This was done via a specially designed discourse

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1 The term speech-act set was coined by Olshtain and Cohen (1983) to refer to a set of semantic formulas representing a particular speech act.
completion task (DCT) and a thorough analysis of all components of each speech act they outlined (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The speech-act set of apology contains 5 main strategies. The main strategies are the illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs), statement of responsibility, explanation, offer of repair, and promise of forbearance. Table 1 provides a summary of these strategies with equivalent examples in Spanish and Russian adapted from responses collected in this study.

Table 1. Main strategies of the speech-act set of apology (adapted from Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Wagner and Roebuck (2010))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main strategy</th>
<th>Examples (Spanish/Russian)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expression of regret</td>
<td>lo siento/я сожалею ‘I’m sorry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Offer of an apology</td>
<td>te ofrezco mis disculpas/приношу свои извинения ‘I offer you my apologies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Request for forgiveness</td>
<td>perdóname/извини меня ‘forgive me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Statement of responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Speaker admits he/she is guilty:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Explicit self-blame</td>
<td>fue mi culpa/это моя вина ‘I was my fault’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Justification of the hearer</td>
<td>tiene razón/вы правы ‘you are right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Expression of shame</td>
<td>qué pena/как стыдно ‘what a shame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Speaker admits he/she is guilty but justifiably so:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Lack of intention</td>
<td>no quería/я не хотел(а) ‘I didn’t want to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Expression of self-deficiency</td>
<td>no lo vi/я вас не увидела ‘I didn’t see/notice you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Speaker is not guilty but rather a victim of someone or something:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Admission of facts, but not of responsibility</td>
<td>hay manchas/там пятна ‘there are stains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Unplanned occurrence with accidental or reflexive constructions²</td>
<td>se me rompió el vaso/стакан разбился ‘the glass broke (unto me)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o 3rd person plural agent</td>
<td>me dijeron que se puede/мне сказали, что можно ‘they told me I could’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Refusing to recognize the responsibility</td>
<td>no es mi culpa/это не моя вина ‘it’s not my fault’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Speaker is not guilty but rather a victim of hearer:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Blame hearer</td>
<td>me hubiera dicho antes/вам следовало это сказать раньше ‘you should have said that earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Pretend to be offended</td>
<td>¿que no tengo derecho/?разве у меня нет</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² This strategy proposed by Wagner and Roebuck (2010) includes agency as part of the expression of responsibility. It is manifest in the syntax of the phrase: the offender, instead of becoming the subject of the explanation, can avoid the responsibility by becoming an indirect object of a construction with accidental se. Importantly, a similar linguistic resource, namely a reflexive construction, is also available in Russian.
It is generally agreed that the main pragmalinguistic strategy of responsibility presents a continuum of attitudes, from fully accepting it to denying it. This is illustrated by subdividing Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) original responsibility strategies into four subcategories, as done below, and then expanding them with additional strategies found in subsequent research, particularly by Wagner and Roebuck (2010).

The same coding manual also lists and describes three types of additional and optional modifiers: alerters, intensifiers, and downgraders. The function of an alerter is to call the hearer’s attention, which is not restricted to the speech act of apology and is omitted from the analysis of the current study. An intensifier increases the illocutionary force of an apology. Downgraders can either mitigate the offense or distract from it. A speaker may use more than one modifier to enhance the apology. Table 2 summarizes and exemplifies optional apology resources analyzed in this study (see Blum-Kulka et al., 1989 for a full list of optional apology resources).

| Table 2. Optional apology resources (adapted from Blum-Kulka et al. (1989)) |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Modifiers      | Examples (Spanish/Russian)                                          |
| Intensifiers   |                                                                     |
| • Internal     | mil disculpas/тысяча извинений ‘a thousand’                        |
|                | apologies’                                                         |
| • Exclamations | ¡Dios mío!/Боже мой! ‘My God!’                                      |
| • Politeness marker | por favor/пожалуйста ‘please’                                      |
| Downgraders    |                                                                     |
| • Humor        | Si cree que éste es un error, entonces no ha visto.../Если вы думаете, что это ошибка, то вы не видели... ‘If you think this is a mistake, you haven’t seen...’ |
| • Appeaser     | Te invito a un café/Я приглашаю тебя на чашку кофе ‘I invite you to coffee’ [not related to offense] |
| • Lexical and phrasal downgraders or downtoners: | |
| o Underestimator | un poco/немного ‘a little’                                        |
| o Hedge        | de alguna manera/как-нибудь ‘somehow’                              |
| o Subjectiviser | me temo/бояться ‘I’m afraid’                                       |
| o Downtoner    | tal vez/может быть ‘maybe’                                         |
2.2 Previous Studies on Apologies

As a social lubricant, apologies play an important role in all cultures, even if they do differ in the exact strategies for remediying an offense (cf. Mir, 1992; Wierzbicka, 2003). Pragmalinguistic analysis, or the analysis of linguistic resources used in producing speech acts, is the focus of the contrastive studies conducted by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) as well as later researchers. So far, this contrastive methodology has been applied to a variety of languages, including Spanish (e.g. Márquez-Reiter, 2000) and Russian (e.g. Ogiermann, 2008, 2009). Additionally, this methodology has been adopted by second language pragmatics researchers, including studies of the acquisition of apologies by Mexican learners of English (Flores Salgado, 2011), American learners of Russian (Shardakova, 2005), and American learners of Spanish (Cohen & Shively, 2007; Shively & Cohen, 2008), among others. While apologies are among the first speech acts to be investigated cross-culturally, Russian apologies have received very little attention overall and Spanish apologies still present a fertile ground for an in-depth and comparative research. The current study, therefore, contributes to the body of research in cross-cultural inquiry by comparing a pair of languages never previously studied together.

Previous empirical research on apologies has relied heavily on data elicited via discourse completion tasks (DCTs), a method originally developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) (e.g. Ogiermann, 2008, 2009; Overfield, 1994; Shively & Cohen, 2008). Since then, however, other methods have been developed, adding to the diversity of data and robustness of findings contributing to our knowledge of apologies. These include role plays (e.g. Cordella, 1990; Márquez Reiter, 2000), cartoon oral production tasks (Flores Salgado, 2011), and observation of naturally occurring language (e.g. Ružičkova, 1998; Wagner & Roebuck, 2010). Behind these various methods lies an uneasy compromise between the degree of authenticity of language (cf. Félix-Brasdefer, 2010) and the extent of control of multiple situational factors (cf. Kasper, 2000). In spite of the different data collection methods, the elicited data has been consistently analyzed according to the original coding manual developed by Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989) (see section on the speech-act set of apology above). The current study follows the long-established norms out of considerations of reliability and practicality (e.g. Ogiermann, 2008, 2009; Olshtain, 1989; Shardakova, 2005; Shively & Cohen, 2008).

The findings of previous studies suggest that in Spanish as well as in Russian, the most preferred apology element across varieties is the unmodified, direct, and hearer-oriented IFID. The most common formula to form an apology is not the speaker-oriented expression of regret (e.g. lo siento/мне жаль ‘I’m sorry’), as is expected in English (cf. Owen, 1983; Meier, 1998; Trosborg, 1987), but rather requesting forgiveness (e.g. discúlpame/прости меня ‘forgive me’). This tendency has been observed independently in Chileans (Cordella, 1990), Cubans (Ružičkova, 1998), Uruguayans (Márquez Reiter, 2000), and Russians (Ogiermann, 2008, 2009). The reason for Spanish and Russian speakers to avoid intensified IFIDs in their apologies is their classification as hearer-oriented...
directive speech acts instead of speaker-oriented expressives (Rathmayr, 1996), as suggested by Searle (1962). Searle’s (1962, 1969, 1976) original classification was based on the English most common formula ‘I’m sorry’, whose function is to express regret. The same does not apply to Russian and Spanish apologies, as their IFIDs semantically equate to requests for pardon (e.g. *discúlpame/прости меня* ‘forgive me’). Therefore, intensified hearer-oriented IFIDs would only increase the threat to the face of the hearer instead of reducing it as it would for a speaker-oriented IFID (Ogiermann, 2008). Flores Salgado (2011), among others, finds that the second most frequent formula after requests is an offer of an apology (e.g. *te ofrezco mil disculpas* ‘I offer you a thousand apologies’), with expressions of regret (e.g. *lo siento* ‘I’m sorry’) being the third-most frequent.

All previous investigations of Spanish apologies have compared Spanish with some variety of English (e.g. Uruguayan Spanish vs. British English in Márquez Reiter (2000), Chilean Spanish vs. Australian English in Cordella (1990)), with another Spanish variety (e.g. Mexican vs. Panamanian Spanish in Wagner and Roebuck (2010)), or in isolation (e.g. Cuban Spanish in Ružičkova (1998)). Russian apologies have only been compared with British English (Ogiermann, 2008, 2009). The general findings distinguish Spanish and Russian from English due to their preference for direct and hearer-oriented apology strategies with unmodified IFIDs in the form of a request for forgiveness. Furthermore, while explanations are shown to be a common solidarity device in Cuban Spanish (Ružičkova, 1998), Uruguayans use fewer explanations and offers of repair than the British (Márquez Reiter, 2000), indicating variability across varieties. Russian speakers, on the other hand, are characterized by extensive use of strategies such as concern for hearer, offer of repair, and promise of forbearance (Ogiermann, 2008). They also differ from the British in their readiness to accept responsibility and greater use of additional types of intensification, appeasement, and a greater variety of non-routinized phrases. Specifically, Ogiermann (2008) finds more intensification in English apologies, but a somewhat wider variety of them in Russian responses, including surfacing of a frequently omitted direct object *меня* ‘me’ in requests for forgiveness. Additionally, appeasers are found among (female) Russians in a greater number and wider variety than among the British. These address the hearer’s states of being restless, worried, and in a bad mood. Finally, Russians vary considerably in expressing concern for hearer. In comparison to the common English “Are you OK?”, Russians choose more individualized variants such as “is everything all right with you?”, “didn’t you get seriously hurt?”, and “how are you feeling?”.

While pragmalinguistic analysis is by far the most common approach to cross-cultural comparison of speech acts, researchers have also begun to investigate the effect of sociopragmatic factors (e.g. age, gender, and social class) on variation. This is referred to as sociopragmatic type of analysis. Gender is often investigated in sociolinguistic research as a factor underlying numerous variable phenomena. In fact, it has been shown to influence English speakers’ use of apologies. For example, Holmes (1989) observes that New Zealanders, both males and females, apologize more to women than to men and presents evidence that this behavior is due to different perceptions of the function and the necessity of
apologies from one situation to another and different perceptions of the severity of offense by different genders. In line with this previous research, some gender differences are observed between Uruguayan and British apologies (Márquez Reiter, 2000) as well as between Russian and British apologies (Ogiermann, 2008). Most notably, women apologize more than men and differ in other not statistically significant ways. For example, Russian women use more appeasers and intensifiers, particularly intensifying IFIDs and offers of repair more often than men (Ogiermann, 2008). Uruguayan women offer repair more often than Uruguayan men (Márquez Reiter, 2000). British women also offer more repair, but also intensify their IFIDs (Ogiermann, 2008) and offer more explanations than British men (Márquez Reiter, 2000). However, in both of these studies gender differences are not as salient as cultural differences between languages. It therefore remains to be seen what role gender may play in Russian and Spanish pragmatic variation. Importantly, this pair of languages provides an especially favorable methodological environment because of their similar politeness orientation, as explained below.

2.3 Politeness Frameworks

The main theoretical framework informing the design and the interpretation of most cross-cultural speech act studies is politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguish between positive and negative type of politeness. Positive politeness refers to behaviors that serve positive face needs (i.e. the need for acceptance), are involvement-based, and hearer-oriented. Negative politeness, on the other hand, serves the speakers’ negative face needs (i.e. the need for independence) by applying avoidance-based and speaker-oriented strategies.

Politeness norms are based on the need to preserve the hearer’s face at the same time as the face of the speaker, which is achieved by avoiding or reducing the effect of the face-threatening acts (FTAs). The degree of threat is defined in terms of social distance (D) between the interlocutors, their difference in social power (P), and the ranking of imposition (R). While the Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness model has been criticized (e.g. Bravo, 2004; Covarrubias, 2002; Hernández-Flores, 1999; Watts, 2003) and is no longer the most current model, it is the most empirically applied, and many of its elements (e.g. face, power, and distance) still form part of succeeding pragmatic and social theories.

Two such theories are Wolfson’s (1990) “bulge” theory of speech behavior and social distance and Scollon and Scollon’s (2001) classification of politeness systems. The term “bulge” refers to the increased facework between people of middle social distance such as acquaintances and colleagues. For this reason, family relationships, characterized by low social distance, are ignored in this study. Relationships between strangers, in spite of their great social distance, do form part of Scollon and Scollon’s (2001) framework and therefore are taken into account in this study. Scollon and Scollon (2001) classify politeness in three systems according to various power and social distance combinations: solidarity, deference, and hierarchy. The solidarity system includes relationships where there
is no power or social distance between the interlocutors (-P -D), which corresponds to the mid-distance relationships found inside Wolfson’s (1990) “bulge” and refers to acquaintances and colleagues. The deference system is defined by social distance but no power difference (-P +D), which is characteristic of strangers and is also found inside the “bulge”. Finally, the hierarchy system exists between people with both power and social distance difference (+P +D), such as between a boss and an employee or a private citizen and a government official. Of the three systems described by Scollon and Scollon (2001), the offenses committed inside the hierarchy system are the most serious and face-threatening, especially to the positive face of the speaker himself. As such, this type of interaction is of interest for the current study in spite of it being outside of the “bulge”. In summary, I adopt a modified version of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model of linguistic politeness based on a combination of several politeness frameworks and social interaction theory (see Table 3 for an illustration). However, before getting into specific methodological details the following subsection offers a closer look at politeness in Spanish- and Russian-speaking cultures.

2.4 Politeness in Spanish- and Russian-Speaking Cultures

Most studies of Spanish varieties and of Slavic languages describe them as oriented toward positive politeness (e.g. Ogiermann, 2008, 2009; Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005). The choice of pragmalinguistic strategies uncovered in previous research indicates that negative face (i.e. the need for independence) is of more importance to English speakers than to Spanish speakers (Márquez Reiter, 2000) or to Russian speakers, especially when they perform speech acts serving positive face needs (Ogiermann, 2009). Spanish politeness scholars translate these face needs into the culture-specific value of confianza or a sense of deep familiarity, affiliation, and closeness (Bravo, 1998; Covarrubias, 2002; Hernández-Flores, 1999). Meanwhile “directness and honesty are regarded as a proved method of restoring and maintaining relationships in Russian culture” (Ogiermann, 2009, p. 260). For this very reason, the Spanish and Russian speakers’ preference for hearer-oriented IFIDs contrast with English speakers’ reliance on mostly speaker-oriented strategies. Cordella (1990) attributes this difference to the Hispanic, in particular Chilean, cultural value of the collective, which can also be extended to Slavic cultures. Besides the hearer-oriented IFIDs, other solidarity strategies have been found to pervade Cuban Spanish apologies: namely, giving reason or explanations and expressing group membership (Ružičkova, 1998). In Russian, positive politeness orientation is reflected in the extensive use of such strategies as concern for hearer, offer of repair, and promise of forbearance (Ogiermann, 2008).

Nevertheless, some dialectal variation exists with respect to the degree to which these positive-politeness strategies are used. For example, Uruguayans use

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3 This observation has been made by Ogiermann (2009) in relationship to Russian speakers but may as well be applicable to Spanish speakers.
some positive-politeness strategies (specifically, explanations and offers of repair) less than the British (Márquez Reiter, 2000). Furthermore, Mexicans show greater use of negative-politeness strategies than Panamanians, and both employ negative politeness more than previously claimed in Hispanic communities in general (Wagner & Roebuck, 2010). Together, these findings support Márquez Reiter and Placencia’s (2005) proposal of a politeness continuum. According to their suggestion, Spanish-speaking cultures can be located on a positive-politeness continuum, beginning with Argentina and Spain at the positive extreme, Uruguay in the middle, and Mexico and Peru closer to the negative end of the continuum. Still, these varieties have more similarities than differences. While studies that examine Russian apologies are considerably fewer, their findings seem to parallel those for Spanish apologies with the exception that Russians are likely to accept responsibility more than the British (Ogiermann, 2009) and, therefore, potentially more than Uruguayans (Márquez Reiter, 2000). The current study provides more direct evidence of such differences between Russian and Spanish apologies and sheds more light on the notion of a politeness continuum.

2.5 Research Questions

The objective of this study is twofold: to perform a contrastive pragmalinguistic analysis of Spanish and Russian apologies and to further uncover the role of gender in this comparison. These objectives are formulated as the following research questions:

1. How do Mexican Spanish and Ukrainian Russian apologies compare in terms of pragmalinguistic strategies?
2. How does participant gender affect the realization of Mexican Spanish and Ukrainian Russian apologies?

Based on the overview of previous literature and given that Spanish- and Russian-speaking cultures share an orientation toward positive politeness and toward the hearer, it can be expected that the results of the current study will show more similarities than differences in terms of pragmalinguistics. One potential point of contrast is the level of acceptance of responsibility based on previous observations of Russians’ tendency to accept responsibility (Ogiermann, 2009) while Spanish speakers avoid it (Márquez Reiter, 2000; Wagner & Roebuck, 2010). This may, as a consequence, place Russian more towards the positive end of the politeness continuum than Spanish. Gender differences will likely emerge by eliminating the mediating effect of politeness orientation of the two varieties compared.

3. Method

3.1 Participants

The participants in this study are 19 Mexican Spanish speakers (8 men, 11 women) and 19 Ukrainian Russian speakers (6 men, 13 women) between 23-38
years of age. The average age in both groups is 29, and the median age is 29 for the Mexican group and 26 for the Russian-Ukrainian group. The participants were recruited through social media and the link to the online questionnaire (see next section) along with a consent form was distributed to and through the researcher’s personal connections. Ten of the Mexican participants in this study are natives of Mexico City, while the rest come from Merida, Cuernavaca, Cancun, San Blas, Puebla, Valladolid, Tuxtla Gutierrez, and Matamoros. All of the Ukrainian Russian participants come from Nikolaev, located in southeast Ukraine. At the time of participation, most participants in each group were living in their country of origin or a country where their native language is official, with the exception of 9 Mexicans (8 residents of the United States and 1 of France) and 2 Russian-Ukrainians (1 resident of Portugal and 1 of Great Britain). Both participant groups consist of university students or professionals (with the exception of one Mexican construction worker), for which reason all are considered representatives of middle social class. All participants reported having some knowledge of at least one other language, mostly English, with the exception of one monolingual Russian-Ukrainian man.

3.2 Data Collection

Two versions of the questionnaire were used for data collection: one in Russian and one in Spanish. The questionnaire is composed of an online DCT and a demographic form, both in written electronic format. The DCT consists of 10 situations (8 apologies and 2 distractors). The practice example, the distractors, and most of the apology situations were adapted from Ogiermann’s (2009) questionnaire due to their applicability to both cultures under study. Some modification was introduced with one or both of the following goals in mind: to ensure the cultural compatibility and to enrich the content and thus improve the validity of the instrument (Félix-Braxdefer, 2010). The rest of the situations were created inspired by the instruments used by Shardakova (2005) and Márquez Reiter (2000) (see Appendix).

As situational factors have been shown to influence the expression of speech acts (e.g. Márquez Reiter, 2000), a variety of combinations of power (+/- difference in power or authority), social distance (low, middle, or high), and severity of offense (low, medium, or high) inform the DCT design to represent a range of real-world possibilities and to ensure a certain level of control by design. This design is informed by Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory, Wolfson’s (1990) “bulge” theory, and Scollon and Scollon’s (2001) classification of politeness systems. The distribution of situational factors and their theoretical

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4 Eastern and southern regions of Ukraine, and especially large urban cities, are predominantly Russian-speaking (cf. Pavlenko, 2008). The linguistic panorama of the country has been changing in response to recent political developments, which may affect replicability and comparability of this study with future studies. For this reason, to increase validity of the current study, all Russian speakers come from the social network of the researcher, an ethnic Russian born and raised in Nikolaev, Ukraine.
classification can be seen in Table 3. The number in parentheses corresponds to the scenario number in the questionnaire.

Table 3. DCT scenarios according to situational factors distance (D), power (P), and severity of offense (S)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Power, Severity</th>
<th>-D (friends)</th>
<th>=D (acquaintances)</th>
<th>+D (strangers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female interlocutor</td>
<td>Male interlocutor</td>
<td>Female interlocutor</td>
<td>Male interlocutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-P</td>
<td>Stained notes (1)</td>
<td>Solidarity</td>
<td>Stranger, confusion</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friend’s books, fee (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavy door (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+P</td>
<td>Irrelevant in terms of the “bulge” theory (Wolfson, 1990)</td>
<td>Professor’s book (2)</td>
<td>New manager, name (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landlady, party (8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Security guard (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants completed an online questionnaire from their respective countries in their respective language (see Appendix for instructions and scenarios). The task was untimed. The median completion time for Mexican participants was approximately 26 minutes and 22 minutes for Russian-Ukrainian participants.

3.3 Data Analysis

The dual empirical focus of this study, pragmalinguistic variation and influence of social factors, requires that two types of variables be considered. The dependent variables are pragmalinguistic and consist of strategies or linguistic components of apologies. The independent variables, or those that condition the variation of linguistic expression, are language and gender of the participant.

The pragmalinguistic variables are coded according to the CCSARP manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), summarized earlier in Table 1 and Table 2. In terms of modifiers, only three intensifiers (internal, exclamation, and please) and three downgraders (lexical downtoner, appeaser, and humor) are analyzed in the current study (see Table 2) in consideration of cell size as these happen to be the most frequent devices in the data. In order to ensure statistical independence of data, each strategy was counted only once per participant, ignoring repetition and
focusing simply on presence or absence of individual strategies. In terms of the distribution of modifiers, they were similarly counted as applied or not applied by each speaker to each main strategy. This approach facilitates further statistical analysis using a Pearson chi-square test. A chi-square test is one of the best tools to analyze non-normally distributed data, which is the case of context-dependent linguistic strategies used in speech acts with varying frequencies.

Finally, social variables are also considered conditioning factors behind linguistic variation in the expression of apologies (e.g. Holmes, 1989; Ogiermann, 2008). In this study, age, social class, and ethnicity of the participants are controlled by design. The most influential social factor, therefore, is participant gender. This study analyzes gender of the participant, defined in terms of a male/female dichotomy based on participants’ self-report on the demographic questionnaire. Interlocutor gender is included in the DCT design in a balanced distribution, as illustrated in Table 3.

4. Results

4.1 RQ1: Distribution of apology strategies in Spanish and Russian

In order to address the first research question, the relative distribution and frequency of Spanish and Russian apology strategies are compared. A total of 797 apology strategies were produced among both groups of participants. Table 4 presents the distribution of the main strategies and the sub-strategies of IFID and responsibility statements.

Consistent with previous research, the most frequent strategies are IFIDs (30.8%; 136/441 in Spanish and 33.4%; 119/356 in Russian) and comments on responsibility (33.1%; 118/356 in Russian and 33.6%; 148/441 in Spanish). Repair is offered less often by both participant groups (19.5%; 86/441 in Spanish and 20.5%; 73/356 in Russian), with even fewer explanations (9.0%; 32/356 in Russian and 11.6%; 51/441 in Spanish) and promises of forbearance (3.9%; 14/356 in Russian and 4.5%; 20/441 in Spanish). A Pearson chi-square analysis of frequencies indicates no significant differences in the distribution of main apology strategies between Russian and Spanish datasets: $\chi^2(4, N = 797) = 1.95, p = .75$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main strategies</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th></th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Request for forgiveness</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>92.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Expression of regret</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Offer of apology</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Speaker as guilty (full acceptance)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Distribution of main strategies and sub-strategies by language
• Speaker as justified  
   79  53.4  85  72.0  
• Speaker as victim  
   32  21.6  12  10.2  
• Hearer as guilty (full denial)  
   4  2.7  2  1.7  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanation of cause</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>11.6</th>
<th>32</th>
<th>9.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offer of repair</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promise of forbearance</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 441 100.0 356 100.0

Some significant differences do appear in the groups’ preferences for particular IFID types and degree of willingness to accept responsibility. According to previous classifications of Spanish and Russian apologies, these are considered to be largely directive speech acts with the default IFID formula being a request for forgiveness. This is supported by the data where 78.7% of Spanish and 92.4% of Russian IFIDs are requests. The second most frequent IFID type for both groups is the expression of regret, with much lower rates of 7.6% in Russian and 13.2% in Spanish data. Offers of apology form part of the Spanish data only (8.1% all IFIDs) and do not appear in the Russian data. These differences in IFID preferences are statistically significant due to the Russian-Ukrainians’ almost categorical use of request formulas, while Mexicans show greater IFID variation by incorporating offers of apology: $\chi^2(2, N = 255) = 12.97, p = .002$.

The distribution of responsibility statements, from accepting to denying responsibility, follows the same trend in both languages: the speaker self-portrays as justifiably guilty most of the time (53.4% in Spanish and 72.0% in Russian), followed by fully accepting guilt and responsibility (16.1% in Russian and 22.3% in Spanish) and acting as victim of circumstances (10.2% in Russian and 21.6% in Spanish). Blaming the hearer is very infrequent but present in both datasets (1.7% in Russian and 2.7% in Spanish). This distribution is found to be statistically significantly different, but only due to Russian-Ukrainians’ higher rate of accepting responsibility with justification while Mexicans portray themselves as victims of circumstances more often than the other participant group: $\chi^2(3, N = 266) = 10.50, p = .015$. Example 1 provides an illustration of the main apology strategies of IFIDs, responsibility, and explanations used in the scenario of confusing a stranger with a friend (see Appendix for scenario details).

(1) Confusing a stranger with a friend (scenario 6)

a. Russian male apology:

```
Oi, izvinite, ya oboznalsya, no vy tak pohozhi na moego priyatelya.
```

Oh forgive-FORM I mistook-REFL but you-FORM so resemble my friend

‘Oh, forgive me, I made a mistake, but you look so much like my friend.’

(RM2)
b. Spanish male apology:
¡Perdón! Te confundí con un amigo, de verdad fue sin querer.
Forgive! You-ACC confused-1sg with a friend, truly was without intention
‘Pardon! I confused you with a friend, it truly was not on purpose.’ (SM3)

With respect to the use of modifiers, Table 5 reveals that the two participant groups downgrade their apologies in similar ways: appeasers are the most frequent strategy (41.2%; 21/51 in Russian and 52.0%; 26/50 in Spanish), followed by lexical downtoners (36.0%; 18/50 in Spanish and 37.3%; 19/51 in Spanish) and attempts at humor (12.0%; 6/50 in Spanish and 21.6%; 11/51 in Russian). The slight differences between the two datasets are not statistically significant: $\chi^2(2, N = 101) = 2.02, p = .36$. The distribution of intensifiers, however, reveals a significant difference in the use of the politeness marker *por favor/пожалуйста* ‘please,’ which is much higher in the Russian data than in Spanish data: $\chi^2(2, N = 223) = 16.18, p < .001$.

**Table 5.** Distribution of intensifiers (N = 223) and downgraders (N = 101) by language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifiers</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensifiers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Internal modification</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Exclamation</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Please</em></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Downgraders</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lexical downtoner</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Appeaser</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Humor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the pragmalinguistic analysis of Spanish and Russian apologies shows more similarities than differences between the two languages. The few statistically significant differences set Russian apologies apart as almost invariably directive, with higher levels of acceptance of responsibility, and frequent use of the politeness marker *please* to intensify the apology. Contrastively, Spanish apologies allow for higher variation in formulaic apology expressions, particularly admitting offers of apology, and show lesser disposition to accept guilt. Example 2 provides an illustration of the use of intensifiers in the stained notes scenario and example 3 showcases the downtoners in a situation of forgetting to return friend’s books to the library (see Appendix for scenario details).
(2) Staining classmate’s notes (scenario 1)

a. Russian female apology:
Izvini, pozhaluista, diko vinovata. Moi brat razlil kofe.
Forgive please wildly guilty My brother spilled coffee
‘Forgive me please, I’m extremely guilty. My brother spilled coffee.’ (RF3)

b. Spanish female apology:
Me da muchísima pena y de verdad, fue un accidente.
Me gives much-SUPL shame and truly was an accident
‘I am so very much ashamed and truly, it was an accident.’ (SF11)

(3) Forgetting to return friend’s books to the library (scenario 5)

a. Russian female apology:
Izvini, drug!... Ya segodnya ih sdam i zaplachu za prosrochku, ne perezhivaj.
Forgive friend I today them return and pay for expiry not worry
‘Forgive me, friend! I will return them today and pay for expiry, don’t worry.’ (RF12)

b. Spanish female apology:
Lo olvidé por completo. No te preocupes, yo pagaré los cargos por el retraso.
It-ACC forgot-1sg completely. Not worry-2sgREFL I pay the charges for the delay
‘I completely forgot about it. Don’t worry, I will pay the late fees.’ (SF1)

4.2 RQ2: Effect of Gender

In order to answer the second research question and to uncover any patterns that may be masked by the presence of confounding factors, the same analyses of main strategies and modifiers were carried out subdivided by participant gender.

All males irrespective of language group are found to produce fewer apology strategies (N = 276, 35%) than females (N = 521, 65%). Figure 1 summarizes the distribution of main apology strategies for four speaker categories: Spanish-speaking males, Spanish females, Russian males, and Russian females.
Overall, all speakers show very similar apologizing behavior, confirming the findings of the previous analysis. Nevertheless, while no significant differences are observed in the general frequency distribution of main strategies across languages, some gender differences emerge in the distribution of main strategies and modifiers.

First, Russian and Spanish data show striking similarities in gender behavior across all main strategies except for IFIDs. Spanish-speaking males and Russian females are more similar to each other than to their counterparts who speak the same language in their greater reliance on IFIDs. A Pearson chi-square test reveals that this reverse gender pattern is statistically significant: \( \chi^2(1, N = 255) = 3.83, p = .05 \). Second, gender also plays a greater role than language in the number of explanations. A cross-tabulation between gender and main strategy was submitted to a chi-square test and the observation that males in both languages give more explanations than females is statistically significant: \( \chi^2(4, N = 797) = 11.64, p = .02 \).
In terms of modifiers, the distribution of downgrader types shows no significant differences between Russian and Spanish even when gender is taken into account: \( \chi^2(2, N = 101) = 2.17, p = .34 \). On the other hand, the use of intensifiers does reveal gender effects, as presented in Figure 2.

![Figure 2. Intensifier types across speaker categories defined by language and gender (male N = 72, female N = 151)](image)

Particularly notable is the difference in female use of different intensifiers across the two languages. The politeness marker **пожалуйста** ‘please’ was found to be significantly more frequent in Russian apologies in the general analysis. Breaking the data down by gender reveals important social patterns, whereby the politeness markers are more characteristic of females in the Russian data and of males in the Spanish data. A Pearson chi-square test reveals two significant differences in the female intensifying behavior: in addition to the Russian-Ukrainians’ greater use of **пожалуйста** ‘please,’ Mexicans use more internal modification in comparison to the other female group, \( \chi^2(2, N = 151) = 24.02, p < .001 \). Curiously, no significant differences in male behavior across the two languages are identified with respect to intensifiers, \( \chi^2(2, N = 72) = .51, p = .77 \).

The final comparative analysis looks at which main apology strategies tend to be intensified and downgraded by which participants. Before gender is considered, no significant difference is seen in the distribution of either modifier type across apology strategies between the two languages (intensifiers: \( \chi^2(5, N = 255) = 4.27, p = .37 \); downgraders: \( \chi^2(5, N = 61) = 2.21, p = .70 \)). Breaking the data down by gender reveals two significant differences with respect to IFIDs and explanations (Figure 3). The proportion of intensified IFIDs in Russian female data is significantly higher than in Spanish female data at the .05 level, although its significance is overshadowed by the overall similarity in intensifier distribution.
between the two female groups. Explanations show the most significant gender and language difference as they are highly intensified by Russian-Ukrainian males in stark contrast to their female counterparts as well as the entire Spanish-speaking group. In other words, all Spanish speakers and Russian-speaking males use explanations extensively, affecting the more global comparison between the two male groups, $\chi^2(4, N = 75) = 9.71, p = .046$. No other gender differences are identified as statistically significant by the Pearson chi-square test. Nevertheless, these results must be viewed with caution due to low and uneven numbers of intensifiers, especially in the male data, and the nonsignificant but obvious patterns in the data can be revealing as well.

![Figure 3. Distribution of intensified strategies across speaker categories defined by language and gender (male $N = 75$; female $N = 180$)](image)

5. Discussion

This section discusses the main findings for each research question in light of the existing literature: realization of pragmalinguistic strategies in Russian and Spanish apologies, followed by an analysis of the effect of gender. This section ends with a discussion of the meaning and implications of the results for the politeness framework.

5.1 How Do Mexican Spanish and Ukrainian Russian Apologies Compare in Terms of Pragmalinguistic Strategies?

The overall distribution of main strategies and downgraders is not significantly different between the two language datasets. If culture is assumed to play a major role in cross-linguistic differences in general, a comparison of two cultures that
are deemed fairly similar is expected to show this high level of pragmalinguistic similarity. It should be recalled that both Russian and Spanish varieties are associated with positive-politeness culture, which dictates their choices of apology strategies in similar ways: both are largely hearer-oriented and emphasize involvement as a value of collectivist cultures (cf. García & Placencia, 2011; Schneider & Barron, 2008). Nevertheless, some differences do exist and are found in the exact formulation of the IFIDs and in the expression of responsibility as well as in the use of intensifiers. Russian apologies stand out as almost invariably directive, with higher levels of acceptance of responsibility, and frequently intensified by the politeness marker \textit{por favor/пожалуйста} ‘please.’ Contrastively, Spanish apologies allow for higher variation in formulaic apology expressions, particularly including offers of apology, and show a lesser disposition to accept guilt. These results are mostly consistent with previous research on Russian and Spanish apologies in terms of their preference for direct and hearer-oriented IFIDs (Cordella, 1990; Márquez Reiter, 2000; Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005; Ružičkova, 1998) as well as the difference in responsibility acceptance (Márquez Reiter, 2000; Ogiermann, 2009; Wagner & Roebuck, 2000). One deviation from previous literature is that this study finds expressions of regret to be more frequent than offers of apology in Spanish, which is a reverse of the order of IFID types found in Flores Salgado (2011). This may be partially due to differences in data collection methodology and is worth exploring further. Another finding that goes against previous literature is that Russian IFIDs are frequently intensified (cf. Ogiermann, 2008). This may potentially be due to regional differences, since Ogiermann’s (2008) data collection took place in Russia, but more studies are needed before such conclusion can be reached. In general, the observed intra- and inter-cultural pragmalinguistic differences indicate that culture may not be the only explanatory variable. Social factors may also have an impact on variation in apologies, which will be discussed in the next section. Furthermore, culture cannot be accurately defined in binary terms as positive- versus negative-politeness or collectivist versus individualist, but rather as a continuum (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005), as will be discussed further.

5.2 How Does Participant Gender Affect the Realization of Mexican Spanish and Ukrainian Russian Apologies?

The influence of social factors is addressed by the second research question. First, in line with previous research (Holmes, 1989; Márquez Reiter, 2000; Ogiermann, 2008, 2009), females are found to apologize more than men. Additionally, since Russian and Spanish are both associated with positive-politeness culture, the effect of culture as a variable is minimized, revealing several patterns in Russian and Spanish apologies that are lost in the simple pragmalinguistic comparison. Specifically, Russian-Ukrainian females use a higher number of IFIDs that are also quite frequently intensified. The most characteristic intensifier for Russian-speaking females is \textit{пожалуйста} ‘please,’ which is used to intensify requests for forgiveness in particular (see example 2a in Results). This trend is in line with Ogiermann’s (2008) findings regarding both the frequency and application of
intensification to IFIDs by females. What is not confirmed is the females’ lead on intensifying offers of repair nor on their greater use of appeasers.

On the other hand, Spanish female apologies in this study are characterized by more internal intensification (see example 2b in Results). While this trend was previously observed in Uruguayan Spanish, it was not originally tied to gender effects (Márquez Reiter, 2000), although it was noticed in Russian female apologies in a different study (Ogiermann, 2008).

Male speakers of both languages give more explanations than females. This trend is consistent with previous findings on Russian apologies (Ogiermann, 2008), but contrasts with Uruguayan Spanish apologies where gender was not a factor (Márquez Reiter, 2000). Another previously unattested trend is that Russian-Ukrainian males intensify explanations significantly more than anyone else (see example 1 in Results).

As one can see, the few significant gender differences found in this study are mostly consistent with, or at least noncontradictory to, the previous literature. It is reasonable to suppose that the best explanation for the unconfirmed findings is in part regional and in part methodological. While we are aware of inter- and intra-regional pragmatic variation among Spanish varieties (Márquez Reiter & Placencia, 2005), such variation in Russian is an important object of future inquiry. In terms of methodology, the use of role plays in Márquez Reiter (2000) as opposed to this and Ogiermann’s (2008) written DCT elicitation methods is likely to affect the length and authenticity of speakers’ responses (cf. Félix-Brasdefer, 2010). Secondly, different coding of repeated strategies in this and Ogiermann’s (2008) study would likely affect the overall impression of the distribution and hence statistical significance of the results. While each method has its strengths and weaknesses, it is important to keep in mind that the present results cannot be directly compared to previous studies and require further investigation.

Now that pragmalinguistic and social similarities and differences are established between Russian and Spanish apologies, it is important to consider their implications for the politeness theory and future research.

5.3 What Do the Similarities and Differences Between Mexican Spanish and Ukrainian Russian Apologies Say about the Politeness Framework?

In the present study, and based on the modified Brown and Levinson’s (1987) framework, culture is defined in terms of positive- and negative-politeness orientation. Both Russian and Spanish share similar positive-politeness characteristics as evidenced by their high similarity in the use of main apology strategies with predominantly directive IFIDs. However, the fact that speakers of Russian intensify their IFIDs more and are more willing to accept responsibility than speakers of Spanish suggests their higher investment in the hearer’s positive face, even at the risk of losing their own. This echoes Ogiermann’s (2009) observation that “directness and honesty are regarded as a proved method of restoring and maintaining relationships in Russian culture” (p. 260). This higher level of directness and concern with hearer’s positive face places Russian more
toward the extreme end of the positive politeness continuum than Mexican Spanish. The notion of a politeness continuum had been proposed for several Spanish varieties by Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005), placing Mexican Spanish closer to the negative end of the positive politeness continuum (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Politeness continuum, adapted from Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005)

This means that at least some overlap between and within different Spanish and Russian varieties is unavoidable, but that a closer analysis of optional strategies and gender patterns is likely to reveal the subtleties that are defining of a culture or a speech community. For example, the different gender patterns found in Russian apologies may actually serve the same purpose: females’ greater use of intensified IFIDs and males’ greater use of intensified explanations both have the potential to enhance the hearer’s positive face and provide active maintenance of good personal rapport. Therefore, not only is the politeness continuum a useful construct to analyze cross-cultural differences, it can provide analytical tools for inter- and intra-dialectal variation as well.

6. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast Russian and Spanish apologies through an analysis of pragmalinguistic and gender preferences within a modified Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness framework. This study contributes to the growing cross-cultural research on speech acts in general, and on apologies in particular, using the traditional methodology established by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Specifically, it furthers this line of research by looking at a pair of language varieties from similar positive-politeness cultures, as opposed to the mainstream research efforts comparing varieties of opposite-politeness orientations. This methodological decision not only allows a comparison of two languages at the pragmalinguistic level, but also allows for teasing apart subtle cultural and social differences.

The results of this study show more similarities than differences in the use of main apology strategies by both Russian- and Spanish-speaking participants, which are likely due to the general positive-politeness orientation of the respective
cultures. Nevertheless, the levels of directness and acceptance of responsibility were higher in Russian than in Spanish data, suggesting that even positive-politeness cultures present a continuum, on which the Russian variety in this study is more positively oriented than the Mexican Spanish variety. The analysis of gender-specific behavior further supports this claim by showing how males and females perform positive politeness through distinct intensification strategies: Russian females intensify the IFIDs, while Russian males intensify explanations.

This study is not without limitations, however. It must be acknowledged that the data examined in this study is only as valid as the method with which it was collected. While written DCTs have been widely used since Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and therefore enjoy a certain level of instrument validity, they can only elicit responses that the participants think they would produce in a given abstract situation. Other alternatives, such as role plays and oral DCTs, have been shown to produce more valid results than written DCTs (Félix-Brasdefer, 2005, 2010) as they better approximate authentic spoken language. Several practical considerations led to the use of an electronic written DCT in this study, particularly large geographical distance from both participant populations. Nevertheless, it is important that future studies employ greater methodological rigor to validate the preliminary results of this study.

In the future, this line of research should further be expanded to include other dialectal varieties of both Russian and Spanish languages and an analysis of situational factors and gender of the interlocutor as potential influencing variables. A further analysis of other intensifiers and downgraders, in addition to the ones selected for this study, may reveal more gender and cultural differences and contribute to both theory and practice of L1 and L2 pragmatics.
References


Appendix

Discourse Completion Task: Spanish

En este cuestionario se le presentarán 10 situaciones diferentes. Imagínese a sí mism@ dentro de cada una de estas situaciones y escriba exactamente lo que usted diría en cada caso.

*Practiquemos!*  
Situación-ejemplo:

Usted se ha enfermado y llama a un amigo de la universidad para que él le preste sus apuntes.

Usted escribe:

Fíjate que me siento algo enferma y por eso no fui a la uni. ¿Me podrías prestar tus apuntes? Me los copio y te los devuelvo mañana mismo.

Hay muchas respuestas posibles. ¡Puede usar su imaginación!

==================================================================

¿Cómo evaluaría usted la situación de arriba y su relación con su compañero? Escoja la opción que le parezca más adecuada (¡no existen respuestas incorrectas!).

Su relación:

[Pista: seleccione "Amigos" si imagina que su interlocutor es muy amigo suyo o "Conocidos" si no]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amigos</th>
<th>Conocidos</th>
<th>Desconocidos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¿Qué tan difícil es lo que le pide a su compañero?

[Pista: seleccione "No le va a costar nada" o "Le va a costar muy poco" porque su amigo debe de haberle prestado sus apuntes antes]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No le va a costar nada</th>
<th>Le va a costar muy poco</th>
<th>Le va a costar mucho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?

[Pista: seleccione "No" porque usted no hizo nada para ofender a su amigo]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Posiblemente</th>
<th>Absolutamente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Imagine que la siguiente situación le está pasando en realidad. Escriba lo que usted diría a su interlocutor de la manera más natural posible:

1. Su amiga de universidad le prestó sus apuntes porque usted faltó varias clases debido a una enfermedad. En unos días usted se los devuelve y ella se fija en las manchas de café en varias páginas.

Usted dice:

Como en la página anterior, evalúe esta situación y su relación con el interlocutor. Escoja la opción que le parezca más adecuada en esta situación.

Su relación:
Amigos
Conocidos
Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?
No seria
Más o menos
Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
No
Posiblemente
Absolutamente

2. Usted había tomado prestado un libro de su profesor para un trabajo. Entregó el trabajo la semana pasada y quedó en reunirse con su profesor hoy. Es la hora de devolverle el libro pero no se acuerda de dónde lo había guardado. Usted entra en la oficina.

Usted dice:
Su relación:
Amigos Conocidos Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?
No seria Más o menos Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
No Posiblemente Absolutamente

3. Usted acaba de hacer algunas compras en una tiendita que hoy está llenísima de gente. Usted alcanza la salida y al salir, suelta la puerta pesada y esa le pega a la mujer que viene detrás de usted.

Usted dice:

Su relación:
Amigos Conocidos Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?
No seria Más o menos Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
No Posiblemente Absolutamente

4. Hace unas semanas usted le había prestado su libro favorito a una amiga. Hoy ella se lo devuelve y dice que le gustó mucho, pero usted nota que la tapa del libro está en un muy mala condición.

Usted dice:
Su relación:
Amigos
Conocidos
Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?
No seria
Más o menos
Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
No
Posiblemente
Absolutamente

5. Su amigo le pidió que usted devolviera sus libros a la biblioteca. Se le olvidó por completo y ahora lo llaman a él desde la biblioteca y le dicen que otra persona necesita esos libros y que ahora él tiene que pagar un cargo por mora.

Usted dice:

Su relación:
Amigos
Conocidos
Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?
No seria
Más o menos
Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
No
Posiblemente
Absolutamente
6. Desde lejos usted ve a su amigo en medio de la calle llena de gente. Corre hacia él y le da una palmada en el hombro. En ese momento él se voltea y usted se da cuenta de que es un desconocido.

Usted dice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Su relación:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amigos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conocidos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desconocidos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?

| No seria          |
| Más o menos       |
| Muy seria         |

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?

| No                |
| Posiblemente      |
| Absolutamente     |

7. Usted vive en un departamento que le alquila la mujer de al lado. Anoche usted tuvo una fiesta y hoy la dueña viene a regañarl@ porque sus amigos hicieron mucho ruido y dejaron sucio el pasillo.

Usted dice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Su relación:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amigos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conocidos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desconocidos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?

| No seria          |
| Más o menos       |
| Muy seria         |

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?
8. Usted tiene la oportunidad de salir de vacaciones por un par de semanas, pero tiene un acuario y unos peces que hay que cuidar. Sabe que uno de sus amigos se queda en la ciudad y que le gustan las mascotas. Usted lo llama por teléfono.

Usted dice:

Su relación:
Amigos  Conocidos  Desconocidos

¿Qué tan difícil es lo que le pide a su amigo en esta situación?

No le va a costar nada  Le va a costar muy poco  Le va a costar mucho

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?

No  Posiblemente  Absolutamente

9. Usted está en una tienda platicando a gusto con su amigo. La plática está tan buena que al salir de la tienda no se da cuenta de que tiene en las manos un DVD que iba a comprar. Suena la alarma y un guardia se le acerca de inmediato.

Usted dice:

Su relación:
Amigos  Conocidos  Desconocidos
¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?

No seria  Más o menos  Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?

No  Posiblemente  Absolutamente

10. En la tienda donde usted trabaja lo acaban de poner bajo el cargo de una nueva gerente. Justamente le está explicando sus responsabilidades cuando viene el empleado del segundo turno a reemplazarlo. Usted los presenta. Después de referirse dos veces al gerente como Victoria, ella corrige a usted diciendo que su nombre es Valeria.

Usted dice:

[Blank]

Su relación:
Amigos  Conocidos  Desconocidos

¿Qué tan seria es la ofensa/falta cometida por usted en esta situación?

No seria  Más o menos  Muy seria

¿Siente usted que debe ofrecer una disculpa en esta situación?

No  Posiblemente  Absolutamente

Por favor complete la siguiente información sobre usted.
*Sus respuestas son absolutamente anónimas*
(cada campo debe ser rellenado)
Sexo:
Edad:
Lengua nativa:
Conocimiento de otros idiomas:
Ciudad y país de origen:
Ciudad y país donde vive actualmente
Facultad o profesión:
Comentarios adicionales:
**Discourse Completion Task: Russian**

В этом вопроснике вам предоставляются 6 разных ситуаций. Представьте себя в каждой из этих ситуаций и напечатайте, что бы вы сказали в каждом случае. Используйте прямую речь.

*ПРИМЕР*

Вы заболели и звоните сокурснику, чтобы он одолжил вам свои конспекты.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Вы:</th>
<th>Я тут немного приболела и поэтому меня сегодня не было в_________ универсе. Ты не мог бы мне одолжить свои конспекты? Я_________ перепишу и завтра же тебе их верну, обещаю._________</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>или</td>
<td>Будь другом, одолжи-ка мне свои конспекты на выходные. Мне_________ серьезно не у кого больше попросить!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Можете пользоваться своим воображением!)

Как бы вы оценили описанную выше ситуацию и отношения между вами и вашим адресатом? Нажмите на опцию, которая вам кажется наиболее подходящей (неправильных ответов не бывает!).

**Ваши отношения:**  
[Например: "Дружественные/близкие"]

- Дружественные/близкие
- Знакомые
- Отдаленные/незнакомые

**На сколько ваша просьба утруждает вашего собеседника?**  
[Например: "Немного"]

- Совсем не утруждает
- Немного
- Очень утруждает

**Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?**  
[Например: "Нет"]

- Нет
- Пожалуй да
- Обязательно
Представьте себя в следующей ситуации и напечатайте, что бы вы сказали вашему собеседнику:

1. Ваша подруга по университету одолжила вам свои конспекты, потому что вы из-за болезни пропустили несколько уроков. Через несколько дней вы их ей возвращаете, и она замечает следы от кофе на некоторых страницах.

Вы говорите:

[Напечатайте свой ответ в этом пустом поле]

Как и на предыдущей странице, оцените эту ситуацию и какими вы представляете ваши отношения с адресатом:

Ваши отношения:

Дружественные/близкие ☒ Знакомые ☐ Отдаленные/незнакомые ☐

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?

Не очень серьезна ☒ Более или менее ☐ Очень серьезна ☐

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?

Нет ☐ Пожалуй да ☒ Обязательно ☒

-------------------------------------------

2. Вы взяли книгу у вашего профессора для одной работы. Вы сдали работу на прошлой неделе и договорились встретиться с профессором сегодня. Пришло время отдать ему книгу, но вы забыли, куда вы ее положили. Вы заходите к нему в кабинет.

Вы говорите:
Ваше отношение:  
Дружественные/близкие ☐  Знакомые ☐  Отдаленные/незнакомые ☐

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?  
Не очень серьезна ☐  Более или менее ☐  Очень серьезна ☐

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?  
Нет ☐  Пожалуй да ☐  Обязательно ☐

3. Вы только что купили пару вещей в одном магазинчике, который сегодня особенно переполнен людьми. Вы добираетесь до выхода и, выходя, отпускаете массивную дверь, которая ударила идущую за вами женщину.

Вы говорите:

Ваше отношение:  
Дружественные/близкие ☐  Знакомые ☐  Отдаленные/незнакомые ☐

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?  
Не очень серьезна ☐  Более или менее ☐  Очень серьезна ☐

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?  
Нет ☐  Пожалуй да ☐  Обязательно ☐
4. Несколько недель назад вы одолжили подруге свою любимую книгу. Сегодня она вам ее возвращает и говорит, что ей очень понравилось. Тогда вы замечаете, что обложка в очень плохом состоянии.

Вы говорите:

Ваши отношения:
Дружественные/близкие Знакомые Отдаленные/незнакомые

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?
Не очень серьезна Более или менее Очень серьезна

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?
Нет Пожалуй да Обязательно

5. Ваш друг попросил вас вернуть книги в библиотеку. Вы совершенно забыли об этом, и теперь ему звонят из библиотеки и говорят, что книги хотел бы взять другой и что он должен заплатить за просрочку.

Вы говорите:

Ваши отношения:
Дружественные/близкие Знакомые Отдаленные/незнакомые

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?
Не очень серьезна Более или менее Очень серьезна
Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?

Нет  Пожалуй да  Обязательно

6. Вы видите в толпе вашего приятеля. Вы подбегаете к нему сзади и хлопаете его по плечу. В этот момент он поворачивается и вы понимаете, что это незнакомый человек.

Вы говорите:

Ваши отношения:

Дружественные/близкие  Знакомые  Отдаленные/незнакомые

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?

Не очень серьезна  Более или менее  Очень серьезна

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?

Нет  Пожалуй да  Обязательно

7. Вы живете в квартире, которую снимаете у хозяйки, живущей на том же этаже. Вчера вечером у вас была вечеринка, и сегодня она приходит вас ругать за то, что ваши друзья слишком шумели и оставили лестницу грязную.

Вы говорите:

Ваши отношения:

Дружественные/близкие  Знакомые  Отдаленные/незнакомые
На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?

Не очень серьезна • Более или менее • Очень серьезна •

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?

Нет • Пожалуй да • Обязательно •

8. У вас есть возможность уехать на пару недель на каникулы, но у вас дома аквариум с рыбками, за которыми нужно ухаживать. Вы знаете, что один из ваших друзей остается в городе и ему нравятся животные. Вы ему звоните.

Вы говорите:

Выши отношения:

Дружественные/близкие • Знакомые • Отдаленные/незнакомые •

На сколько ваша просьба утруждает вашего собеседника?

Совсем не утруждает • Немного • Очень утруждает •

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?

Нет • Пожалуй да • Обязательно •

9. Вы находитесь в супермаркете и ведете увлекательную беседу с вашим другом. Вы так погружены в разговор, что выходя из магазина не замечаете, что у вас в руках диск, который вы хотели купить. Звенит сигнализация. Охранник подбегает к вам.

Вы говорите:
Ваши отношения:
Дружественные/близкие  Знакомые  Отдаленные/незнакомые

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?
Не очень серьезна  Более или менее  Очень серьезна

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?
Нет  Пожалуй да  Обязательно

10. В магазине, где вы работаете, над вами поставлена новая менеджер. Вы как раз рассказываете ей о своих обязанностях, когда ваше место приходит занять работник второй смены. Вы их знакомите. Два раза назвав менеджера Викторией, она вас поправляет, говоря, что ее зовут Валерия.

Вы говорите:

Ваши отношения:
Дружественные/близкие  Знакомые  Отдаленные/незнакомые

На сколько серьезна нанесенная вами обида/проступок?
Не очень серьезна  Более или менее  Очень серьезна

Чувствуете ли вы, что вам следует извиниться в этой ситуации?
Нет  Пожалуй да  Обязательно
Пожалуйста заполните следующую информацию о себе.
*Ваши ответы абсолютно анонимны.*
(Каждое поле должно быть заполнено)

Ваш пол:
Возраст:
Родной язык:
Знание других языков:
Город и страна, откуда вы родом:
Город и страна, где вы проживаете в данный момент:
Факультет или профессия:
Дополнительные комментарии: