



**AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELEMENTS, LANGUAGE USE, AND LEXICAL  
BUNDLES IN POLITICAL APOLOGY SPEECHES**

**By**

**MR. TRIRAT PHOKANOEY**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF  
PHILOSOPHY PROGRAM IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES**

**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS**

**FACULTY OF LIBERAL ARTS**

**THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY**

**ACADEMIC YEAR 2018**

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DISSERTATION

BY

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ENTITLED

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELEMENTS, LANGUAGE USE, AND LEXICAL  
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## **ABSTRACT**

A political apology is an important event for restoring relations between the government and a victim for a past transgression or mistreatment. Though it is in the dust bin of a nation's history and some events have been forgotten, many people attempted to involve in the rewriting of such history in order to advance the reconciliation process for social harmony. This study aimed to analyze the elements, language use, and lexical bundles employed in political apology speeches by examining 61,892 words used in 50 past political apology speeches.

The work of Blatz, C., Schumann, K., & Ross, M. (2009) was used as an analysis model for research question 1. The findings confirmed that the elements of remorse, acceptance of

responsibility, admission of injustice or wrong doing, acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering, and forbearance existed in political apologies. All elements were found and applied in the political apology corpus. For research question 2, the most frequently used structures for the language in a political apology under each element included: Remorse - Sub (I, We) + be + sorry for/that +pain or past done wrong + victim; Acceptance of responsibility - Sub (we/government) + V + N (mistreatment); Admission of injustice or wrong doing - Sub (I, we/government) + V (acknowledge / recognize) + injustice/wrong doing; Acknowledgement of harm or suffering - Sub (I, we, government) + V (reflect/recognize/acknowledge) + N (harm and or suffering) + Obj (victim); Forbearance - Sub (I, we, government) + modal (can/must/shall/will/should/would) + never again + forbearance. Additionally, Hunston and Francis (2000) found that a grammar pattern was chosen to explain the generic or frequent pattern for those specific patterns. For research question 3, the structures and functions of lexical bundles found in Biber, Conrad, and Cortes' (2004) model were utilized. Most of the lexical bundle structures are (1) Lexicon bundles that incorporate verb phrase fragments and (2) Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments, as well as prepositional phrase expressions. The typical lexical function classifications are (1) discourse organizer - topic introduction/focus, topic elaboration/ clarification, and (2) Referential expressions - Identification/focus. The purpose of this study was to help speech writers as well as language learners, who may be able to employ this work as a reference for political apology speech writing.

**Keywords: Political apology, public apology, government apology**

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction and contextual background

In general, an apology is a verbal or written communication to acknowledge that the speaker or writer of the apology has made a mistake and wants to recover his/her previous relationship with the receiver of the apology (Thompson, 2005). However, some apologies are qualitatively different because they are not for ordinary or simple mistakes, but rather for more serious and sensitive issues impacting a large number of victims. Such an apology should be especially poignant when addressing past wrong doing. A political apology is an official apology given by the representative of a state, country, corporation, or other organized group. Such an apology is given to the victims, or descendants of victims, of injustices committed by the group's officials or members (Thompson, 2005). Such serious political apologies are typically delivered by politicians, heads of governments or organizations to admit guilt and perhaps provide reparations to victims of historical injustice.

Many researchers have studied the features and strategies used in making apologies to find the commonalities and differences, both within and across cultures, through the lenses of politeness, pragmatism, or speech acts (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Cohen & Olshtain, 1983; Matsumoto, Y., 1987). However, only a few studies have focused on serious government or political apologies, such as Blatz, Schumann, and Ross (2009) in the field of psychology and Winter (2015) in political science. Consequently, the present study is

an investigation of political apologies by analyzing 50 political apologies delivered by government representatives from 14 countries with democratic political systems, focusing on their elements, the language use within each element, and the lexical bundles frequently found in the entire corpus of speeches. The aim of this study is to expand understanding of the government apology speeches used in an effort to repair relationships with the victims of injustice or their descendants.

## **1.2 The importance of political apologies**

Wilson and Bleiker (2013) studied the performance of political apologies and proposed that apologies play an influential role in the aftermath of tragic events. It is not a religious ritual, but rather an act of forgiveness that remains in the memory of those who were a part of such events. It can be an important memory for collective guilt, collective representatives and victims. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the number of apologies related to the Holocaust during WWII increased as a reconciliation tool used by states to interact with the international community.

In acknowledging a violent act, an apology will often reset the moral framework with the party who experienced a traumatic event and evoke human dignity and acceptance. Augoustinos, Hastie, and Wright (2011) theorized that a speaker has to be able to speak and connect with many stake holders in the nation to create a sense of belonging as well as to unify different groups and classes for the promotion of national identity. Thus, social community and national identity are political tools used to create harmony. MacLachlan (2010) states that the late twentieth and early twenty-first century are the age of apology and it is estimated that over 50 official apologies were offered by heads of state, organizations, and religious organizations during this time. In the last several years, the actual list of apologies has become shorter because those who demanded an

apology were ignored by the alleged perpetrators. Hence, there is an absence of apology in the process to respond to moral and historical injustices. As a result, theorists have to do their best to revive the formal apology.

According to Hargie, Stapleton and Tourish (2010), political apologies often result in debate as to whether or not they are a good tool to resolve conflicts and claims. There is also the question of whether or not a sincere apology is a powerful tool to bring peace, stop arguments and restore damaged relationships, so it is understandable that it is a part of the linguistic repertoire of political choices. Moreover, 'bad apologies' can cause tension in relationships and may cause continuing bitterness. Thus, it is possible to apologize by using a wide range of strategies and linguistic forms. Many scholars have proposed various models to describe these strategies from mostly private and informal apologies, either from written or spoken form. However, there have been few studies that examined the political apologies presented in the media spotlight. It is therefore possible to collect new and useful data with which to undertake analysis. This thesis will assess a variety of apology performances and allow for discourse concerning a large amount of data.

To deliver a speech effectively, a speech giver has to understand his/her target audience and spend time to find content related to them. The speaker also has to know the speech body, consisting of the topic(s), sub topic(s), links to the next topic, and conclusion. The language used in a speech can be both communicative, such as simple words used in daily use, and those used to impress audiences such as difficult or language imagery. Both styles are intended to grab the attention of the audience.

### 1.3 Statement of the problem

Although English is currently the language of international communication, non-native English speakers are often unfamiliar with the nature of political apologies. In the language learning context, they tend to be taught more generic types of apology. This study aims to broaden the public's knowledge of political apologies as well as enhance English language learners' ability to make an apology using a more complicated context. In this way, more speakers will be able to apply it smoothly in everyday use to create mutual understanding or restore broken relations. For this reason, it is important to examine the forms of apologies, the language used and common lexical bundles as they require high linguistic knowledge.

The pragmatics of public political apologies is subtle. Some researchers have studied them in more detail to identify which strategies can or should be used in order to lead to a successful apology. What elements are important to make up acceptable and effective apologies have also been discussed. However, there remains an insufficient amount of study to shed light on how these apologies are organized and what language use is most significant. As mentioned above, political apologies are more subtle. When politicians or public figures want to apologize, they tend to choose and convey their words carefully. They use various forms of language to show respect to the audience and take responsibility while also including expressions of deep sincere regret to the victims or descendants of victims. Apology speeches have become annual events for some countries, such as when the Prime Minister of Australia apologizes on behalf of the federal government to the Aborigine children taken from their parents during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which has been done on May 20<sup>th</sup> every single year since 1998. The website Human Rights Columbia

emphasizes the importance of political apologies to reinvest in a country's history *“Political apologies can be a powerful tool in the re-examination of a nation's history, and the significance this history has on democratic processes”*.

To sum up, the problems that led the researcher to study this topic are as follows:

1. Public apologies are important events because speakers have to do it on behalf of the government, party and nation. Before an apology is delivered, the speaker has to know the components, their organization and the functions of each part that makes up an apology because it has a significant impact on the public. Since the public apology is delivered by a public figure, it must comprise significant context, in which meaning is conveyed through implicit contexts, including gestures, social customs, silence, nuance, or tone of voice (Hall, 1976).

2. The language of political apologies is not taught widely. From looking at the Political Science curriculum (B.E. 2552) for undergraduate degrees at the Faculty of Political Science at Thammasat University or the Faculty of Liberal Arts in both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, this speech act has not been taught or examined. The Combined Master of Political Science Program in Politics and International Relations (BMIR) likewise contains no mention of public apology. Although Language Analysis can be found as a part of the Epistemology and Methodology in Political Science course for the Master of Political Science (B.E. 2558) curriculum, it does not mention whether or not political public apologies are analyzed.

#### **1.4 Significance of the problem**

Since political apology speeches have not received much attention in language, political sciences or public speaking courses, the present study hopes that the findings of the study will



help students and those who are interested to know and gain understanding about how to write a political apology speech appropriately and how to use a variety of forms (language structures) to represent the elements (functions) that make up a speech. Those currently working in government ministries or organizations may also use the findings of this study as a guideline for alternative writing suggestions. Moreover, those who are just interested can use the findings of this study to improve the way they give apologies as well as their rhetorical competence.

### **1.5 Objectives**

The present study aims to provide benefit and serve as a guideline for students as well as those who seek to understand, read and write political apologies. In this study, only speeches from countries governed under democratic systems will be collected. The reason for this is that the people's voices in democratic nations are more likely to be heard by their governments, so they will have more freedom to request an apology from their political representatives. The objectives of the study, therefore, are as follows:

1. To identify the main elements of political apologies
2. To examine the language used in each element of a political apology
3. To identify the lexical bundles commonly used in a corpus of fifty political apology speeches

### **1.6 Research Questions**

The research is conducted in order to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. What elements of political apologies have been utilized by governmental leaders in 14 countries with democratic political systems?

RQ2. What elements of language use have been employed in political apologies?

RQ3. What lexical bundles have been used in a corpus of fifty apology speeches?

### 1.7 Definitions of Key Terms

The meanings of technical terms in this research follow these definitions.

*Speech communication process*: The sending and receiving of oral messages in order to share meaning  
*Public speaking*: “Systematic, practical communication which aims, through speech and gestures, to add to the knowledge and understanding of listeners or influence their attitudes and conduct” (Bryant & Wallace, 1962:1)

*Apology*: Verbal and non-verbal expressions used to acknowledge failure, offense, and suffering to the listener

*Political apology*: An apology offered by a political representative on behalf of the government to victims of past mistreatment

*Apology element*: Elements that comprise a political apology, which may include remorse, acceptance of responsibility, admission of wrong-doing or injustice, acknowledgement of harm or victim suffering, forbearance, offer of repair, praise for a majority group, praise for a minority group, praise for the present system, disassociation of injustice from the present system.

*Language use*: Apology sentence structure

*Lexical bundles*: A group of words occurring repeatedly in (political apology) speeches and related events.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter examines research related to the study of political apologies. The purposes of this chapter are to discuss works that have influenced the direction of the present study and also to show that there are empirical gaps in the literature, which this work addresses. This chapter consists of six sections, speech theory, public apology language, analyzing political speeches, analyzing political discourse, corpus, and previous research.

#### 2.1 Speech Theory

##### 2.1.1. The importance of speech, integrity, ethics, and morals

Politicians are people's representatives and delegates of the political and organizational system, acting and speaking on their behalf. They communicate, report, offer feedback, express viewpoints, and build relationships with a large number of people. One of the skills they have to master is publishing speeches to prevent the derailing of communication and capturing the minds of the public to gain support or votes. Many political leaders such as prime ministers or presidents still have to give televised or public speeches which engage with audiences in both verbal and non-verbal ways. McKerrow *et al.* (2003: 8) say, that "*there is something essentially, engagingly, and powerfully human about public speaking because speech flows out of your mouth directly and to the ears of others; your movement, vocal tones, bodily tensions and facial expression are accessible directly to your audience*".

Moreover, political leaders' speeches are usually published on the front pages of newspapers and these speeches communicate with millions of people at the same time, to request,

persuade, argue, announce, or apologize to fellow citizens and the country. Speeches are performed, and are thus dependent on the effectiveness of the oral communication. Words alone are not enough. The attractiveness of the habitual speaking manner is crucial as well, and one important point is that a speaker who is a political leader should be aware of these facts when communicating with the public because their words may affect the thoughts of people nationwide and may cause conflict or tarnish the country's image. Politicians are public figures and have a reputation to maintain when receiving attention from the public, and their speeches have an effect on the public in various ways. Monroe (1962), further points out that the man who has a reputation for knowing the facts and speaking the truth will be listened to because people believe in his integrity. It can be said in another way: the man who is not respected can seldom win lasting adherence to his views although he may have some good arguments. Audiences will notice insincerity and recognize what the speaker actually is. Additionally, the speaker whose character contrasts with the message may succeed temporarily, but once he becomes known as a person who looks for unfair personal advantage, he will quickly lose his ability to convince audiences. In order to be listened to and believed, a speaker has to deserve a reputation for integrity, and even speaking to a specific audience has always necessitated being lenient with the truth for political advantage.

### **2.1.2. Speech types**

A speech is one kind of communication to connect with an audience for a purpose. Coopman and Lull (2012: 250-348), McKerrow (2003: 309-397), and Lucas (2001: 339) suggest that speeches can be divided into four types: informative speeches, persuasive and actuate speeches, argumentative and critical thinking speeches, and special occasion or small group speeches.

1. Informative Speech. The speaker wants to increase understanding or awareness of a topic. The speaker is supposed to share something with the audience, and the audience learns from the speaker. It is the speaker's responsibility to practice skills to connect with and transfer information to audiences. To make a connection with audiences, the speaker should make their speech personally meaningful, with interesting topics, relevant to the audience, and apply a narrative approach to the speech using emotion to deliver the messages in the presentation.

2. Persuasive and actuate speech. The speaker intends to reinforce or change audiences' attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, and behavior through this kind of speech. The Oxford Dictionary defines the act of persuading somebody to do something or believe something. Persuasion is also a form of speech or writing that uses argument or emotion to make the listener or reader believe what the author is saying. Thus, persuasive claims support personal opinion. In fact, we see this speech in everyday communication such as television advertisements, charity donation requests, and organization promotions such as *"Tom, you can save more money by eating at home this week"*. As speakers are influenced by others, speakers can also influence the needs of others in return by applying persuasive speech in public or personal discourse. When delivering persuasive speech, audiences have rights and freedoms to answer, but sometimes audiences are manipulated to think in a certain way, known as coercion, brainwashing, or intimidation. Informative and persuasive speeches are different in nature; in the former the speaker takes an expert role to add new data to facilitate audience understanding of a topic, while in the latter the speaker tries to promote a particular viewpoint and seeks audience trust. These speeches can be classified into three types:

2.1. Questions of fact – whether true or false, did or did not happen, one event caused effects to others.

2.2. Questions of value – to evaluate the worth, significance, quality, or condition of something such as good or bad, right or wrong.

2.3. Questions of policy – asking what actions should be taken and problems solved, such as waste water management in housing areas, or car-free days.

3. Argumentative and critical thinking speeches involve the give and take of advancing reasons on particular issues. According to the Oxford Dictionary, an argument is a conversation in which two or more people disagree and often angrily. It is the sense of winning/losing agreement and explaining to make someone believe. Arguments can make their claims by factual data or evidence such as, “Tom argues that his computer has higher performance than Jim’s because of the new software and microchip”. An argument is the product resulting from claims, supporting reasons, evidence, and the act of arguing itself. When making an argument, you are engaging with critical thinking, which is the relationship process of your own claims, reasons (deductive, inductive, causal, analogical), premises, and evidence supporting your case against those who challenge you. Argumentative speech is not only a form of persuasion that aims to change the attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior of audiences, but it is also a mutual truth-testing form which offers the best solution at that time. Hence, it is more rule-governed than other speech types. As a speaker tries to convince an audience, there are three types of claim: fact, value, and policy. A speaker also needs to find a rationale and motivation with relevant evidence or premises to develop

a clear, compelling, reasoned argument until audiences want to get involved, and change their minds. All evidence may come in any form mentioned in the supporting material and leads to a conclusion for the central idea that the speaker wants to promote. Sometimes conclusions or premises are implied and unstated because a speaker wants an audience to figure out the message and make decisions for themselves. To evaluate whether or not the evidence or premises will be efficient:

- The speaker must consider logical proof for causes, reasons, and solutions for that issue.
- The speaker's creditability, such as expertise in the field.
- Emotional proof which may influence an audience, such as stories, examples, definitions, and testimonies.
- Cultural beliefs and values, such as folktales, stories, and proverbs which will bond audiences together. Evaluation is performed by the Toulmin model of argument and its elements (claim, data, warrant, backing, reservations, qualifier). In making an argument, either during presenting evidence, or reasoning, one mistake or erroneous result will lead to loss of credibility, and that speech is a failure. However, even if such fallacies occur, unaware or uncritical audiences may already believe such claims. Thus, a speaker should avoid fallacies in argument and should base arguments on factual reasons, because the speaker is supposed to actuate audiences by making such an argument.

4. Special occasion and small group speeches include speeches of introduction, acceptance speeches, after-dinner speeches, tributes and eulogies, nomination speeches, public testimony, toasts, mediated speaking, oral reports, round table discussions, symposia, forums and

videoconferences. Coopman and Lull (2012: 332-345) have explained each type as follows:

4.1 Speeches of introduction will be used to introduce a speaker to audiences. The introductory speaker should be brief if the main speaker is well known, but should spend more time if the main speaker is not yet known by audiences. The introductory speaker also needs to inform about the speaker, topic, and the occasion to the audience for what they are going to hear as soon as possible before the speech starts. Accurate and up to date data about the speaker is important, and the introductory speaker can search for the speaker's profile from social networks or other sources, and even ask the speaker for correct and up to date data. If the main speaker is less well known to audiences, it is the introducer's responsibility to connect the audience with the speaker, and to promote their importance.

4.2 Acceptance speech. Mostly, a person who receives an award will know in advance and thus will have enough time to prepare a speech. The speaker should give thanks and be humble to all related people who helped him to gain such an award, and the speech should be brief and to the point. The speaker can contextualize the award by discussing some related points that led to success, which is often emotional and may inspire audiences to connect with the speaker.

4.3 After-dinner speeches are often less formal and the goal is to deliver some good feelings to such an occasion. Sometimes it can be a serious speech and relies on some specific purpose, but it is often humorous and based on a share interest with all the audience members at a dinner. Thus, the speech will be entertaining, containing jokes, funny stories, and the sharing of relevant stories to the audience using language creatively to help please them. Although it is a light talk designed



to entertain, the speaker should focus on a theme and point of speaking and avoid presentation media except for limited purposes, because it is not a serious lecture.

4.4 Tribute is giving credit, respect, admiration, or inspiration to someone who has success in something significant in a way that should be praised. A eulogy is a special tribute speech to a person who has passed away, to help family members and friends to cope with loss and mourning. Thus, such a speech should emphasize the emotion of audiences appropriately, through being warm, friendly, and positive. The speaker is able to provide inspiration and praise the person being honored. This speech can be read from a manuscript or be extemporaneous, but both methods must be exceptionally well prepared.

4.5 A speech of nomination is a demonstration of why one person would be a success at something if given the chance. The speaker has to consider if that person can be what is said about the nominee with accurate data, identity, and capacity, and also cite the best reasons to support why this person has been selected to be a nominee without being too informal. It is also necessary to express the support from any other group, and to thank that group.

In a public testimony, you may have a chance to speak to a government or the public to share your discussion and shape public policy that affects you or society. Since there may be many people waiting in line to speak, it is important to narrow down comments by introducing yourself and relevant information then saying something useful for public discussion. Ideas must be organized with key words to emphasize the content while also wanting the audience to remember the message.

## 2.2 Public Apology Language

After the researcher has reviewed some theatrical frameworks and stated the problem in apology, the question arises as to why we have to apologize. Battistella (2004: 158) explains why we have to apologize, stating that *“Determining why an apology happened is difficult because the call to apologize so often arises from within. Motivations may be aimed at changing other perceptions or even changing one’s self-perception. Or they may be ethical, arising from a new realization of empathy and shame”*.

Battistella (2004) explains that apologizers express embarrassment and chagrin. They acknowledge violations and accept their ostracism. They explicitly disavow bad behavior and vilify the former self associated with it. They commit future corrective action and perform penance and offer restitution. Having this explanation, speakers have to show their perception change through the language of apology.

Battistella (2004) scopes what apologies should cover for sincerity and authenticity so that:

- 1) when someone apologizes to us, we gauge their embarrassment, voice tone, gaze, affect, posture, and language, and in the case of public apologies we have to rely on both linguistic and situational context as a clue;
- 2) the actual language used can be as short as a phrase or as long as a speech and will often reveal the apologizer’s intention and in a way is calculated to show sincerity;
- 3) the context of the apologizer’s action also needs to be considered in both the intermediate and long term;
- 4) the apology should not lack the moral dimension for pursuing the apologizer’s own interest, so it should go to certain lengths to save the feelings and face of others while speakers are also able

to preserve their interests; 5) the apology should meet social expectations integrated with self-interest and empathy, where the offender explores the moral basis for transgression and potential reconciliation. Once a mutual understanding is reached, the offender puts himself in a position of vulnerability by offering an apology; 6) the apology focuses on the offender's mistake and applies linguistic devices in exchange for the offense, where acknowledgement of wrongdoing should be mentioned because fractured moral agency allows mere excuse and true apology to merge, and moral responsibility is subordinated to explanation; 7) the apology is the fullest form for disavowing past wrongdoing and making a commitment for better future action, so this apology should come with social rituals and an apology account to make sense of the apology, and 8) the apology should involve self-splitting to accept blame, where the apologizers position themselves ethically and socially whether owning up to or detaching themselves from their offenses.

Battistella (2004) summarized the work of Nicholas Tavuchis for a three-step apology moral syllogism as follows:

1. The call to apologize is the recognition between the offender and offended which can be reconciled through apology. It can be continuous internal realization between the offended and the offense or by a third party for the wrongdoing. Both of them must think that an apology is a solution for mutual understanding.

2. An apology step consists of two parts. The first part is a naming aspect in which the offender acknowledges or names the transgression and shows an understanding of the harm done. The second is the complementary aspect or literal apology, the words by which the offender says that he is sorry for the transgression.

3. The response is the province of the offended party. The apology may be accepted or rejected depending on adequate negotiation.

Apologies can fail at any step: offended and offender do not see the call to apology in the same way, the language of literal apology is incomplete to express sincere regret, and the offended person rejects it.

Battistella (2004) explains three concepts in making an apology as follows:

1. We literally apologize by the complement structure. The first idea is the complements of verbs. Content words could be verbs and nouns (also adjective and adverbs too). This grammar frame can create a particular word's meaning. However, the frame varies from word to words which causes limits to the type of expression possible. The verb '*apology*' can be used with both direct and indirect objects to apologize to someone for something. Then more adverbs can be added, such as '*sincerely*', or it is possible to subordinate and soften the verb by adding '*would like to*'. The phrase for calling you Mr. X is a direct object for personal apologizing. The grammatical system allows speakers to be more or less explicit in apology to emphasize and de-emphasize the meaning, such as I apologize for calling you Mr. X, the object of the verb is an action with an implied subject. Meanwhile there is also an implied person apologizing (*I*). Another example is '*I apologize for my mistake*' which creates explicit meaning and is more personalized than '*I apologize for the mistake*'.

Noun class can be used as the direct object of an apology. There two types to explain. The word *that* introduces a presumed fact (factive clause) such as I apologize that I have ignored this request. The subject of these two clauses is the same *I*. The subject of both clauses can be different

such as *'I apologize that the exams are not graded yet'* or *'we apologize that you were unable to use your card due to the renewal date'*. Grammar notices the causes of harm. The passive clause in *'the exams are not graded yet'* hides the non-grading agent. The second, *were unable* (a predicate adjective) and *due to* (an instrumental preposition) suppress the agency as well. Speakers can rename noun clauses and attenuate their offense, offering apologies for generalized mistakes or situations rather than the speaker's actions. If clause conditions allow speakers to qualify that act of apologizing rather than mutually exploring the offense as a prelude to the apology; the apologizers instead make a condition to apologize such as *'I apologize if you are offended'*.

2. Performative and felicity. *I apologize* is the most literal way to apologize because apologize is a performative verb similar to the other verbs, promise, resign, accept, etc. Spoken apologies in the right circumstances do something by saying something it performs. For example, *'I promise to lower the deficit'* which can be true or false. It is felicitous if the speaker intends to lower the deficit and it is the opposite if the speaker does not have the intention or ability to lower the deficit. Then felicity works with words such as apologize. Battistella (2004) summarized John Searle's view for felicity as follows: 1) the statement refers to a past act done by the speaker; 2) the speaker acknowledges the harm; 3) the speaker sincerely regrets, and 4) the speech acts count as an apology in the shared language of the speaker and hearers.

3. Making sense of non-literal language. We offend indirectly and informally in using language to soften conversation and to offer options to the hearers, however we risk a lack of cooperation. Battistella suggests the cooperative principle of Paul Grice to best make sense of non-literal language: 1) being informative (quantity); 2) truthful (quality); 3) relevant (relation), and 4)

clear (manner).

Battistella (2004) discusses the differentiation of the words 'sorry' and 'apologize' as follows: *I am sorry* is different from *I apologize* because 'sorry' reports on an internal statement of the speaker, but does not literally perform an apology, although the hearer can infer the conversational maxim to serve as an apology, but much of meaning-making comes in the complement after 'sorry'. Both 'apology' and 'sorry' can occur with a gerund complement or conditional clause. Sorry can occur with the infinitive complement *to be*. Sorry is understood as an apology as in *I am sorry to be such a bother*, while if the verb is one of perception it is often reported in empathy as in *I am sorry to hear of your loss*. Sorry can be followed with a noun clause because the subject of the clause affects the meaning. If the subject of the two clauses are the first person, he is sorry for something he has done. If the subjects of two clauses are different, the speaker is sorry for something that happened, such as *I am sorry that it's raining*, where the speaker expresses disappointment rather than apology. Sorry now allows an indirect subject, whereby the meaning of sorry does not indicate to whom the apology is directed. So, sorry has somewhat more semantical and grammatical flexibility than does apologize. Regret refers to one's attitude toward an event or action. It can be used to indicate an apologetic stance toward one's own action, but can also merely comment on a disagreeable state of affairs. Regret largely parallels with sorry in terms of grammar. Regret takes direct object nouns, pronouns, conditionals, noun clauses, gerunds and infinitives as complements. Gerunds provide a strong grammatical foundation for implied apology as in *I regret calling him armless*. Noun clauses also serve as an apology when the subjects are the same as in

*'I regret that I behaved so poorly'*. Gerund and noun clauses can complement regret in ways that report on situations without assuming agency or taking responsibility, as in *'I regret your being inconvenienced'* and *'we regret that you feel this way'*. Regret also can occur with noun phrases, as in *'I sincerely regret the unfortunate choice of language'*.

*'I was wrong'* concedes error and *'Forgive me'* asks for reconciliation. When using the full apology, *'I was wrong'*, we are relying on the naming of the offense to perform the apology without saying sorry. When we use *forgive me'*, we directly jumped to the response step of the process. However, these are insufficient for literally apologizing for more serious issues, but may be fine for minor offenses. We can add pre-apologies for an imposition with simple possessive phrases such as *my fault*, or *my bad*. We also can make a wide range of lexical choices in making the apology, such as *forgive*, or *excuse* which imply apologies under certain conversational assumptions.

Finally, Battistella (2004) discusses national apologies. The work of the internment commission interpreting testimony and other documentary evidence was crucial and it placed a name on a historical injustice. The creation of an official record shaped the later expression of the apology. Official documentation creates privileged discourse in that what does not appear on the document is questionable. Historical injustice creates a public representation of the collectivity's moral self-image. National officials and victims negotiate the transgression details in a nationalized rather than personalized way. Once the transgression has been named, there are questions of who is empowered, or obligated, to apologize on behalf of a collection or individual. Victims stand to accept apologies from different kinds of authority in the name of the offender. National leaders

have a moral duty to restore past injustice much as they have a moral duty for harm not caused by natural disaster, hunger, and homelessness. National leaders have a special responsibility not only to condemn, but also to remedy or compensate historical injustice and promote reconciliation. Moreover, they have the authority to speak on behalf of a nation while individuals would do little or are unable to remedy the injustice in the form of cost. National leaders must consider where apologies might lead in terms of cost and liability, and must support and develop a consensus among various constituencies and craft appropriate language while deciding whether an apology is in the national interest both strategically and historically. An apology is useful for the entire nation because it is the beginning of reconciliation and shows a government that extends justice for the historical past wrongdoings, revealing itself to be morally different from previous governments. The apology also benefits victims and their descendants. It creates meaningful political relationships and help to reconcile the different political identifies an individual has.

### **2.3 Analyzing Political Speeches**

In political apology speeches, there are many components such as perpetrator, wrong acts, victims, historical background, majority groups, reasons, explanations, audience knowledge, etc. which should be connected to enable the speaker to arrange the whole story together, and the content should not contrast with other evidence. Thus, the speech should have both coherence and cohesion.

Charteris-Black (2014: 55) in the text called analyzing political speech, explained that *“coherence is the impression a text leaves of being unified in some way, but is not through explicit cohesive relation”*. It will arise when the hearer or reader understands the message of the speaker



or writer's communication purpose which is the result of a shared common background. Coherence is less measurable than cohesion, but it is influential in a textual meaning contribution. Thus, in the speech context, coherence is a mutual understanding between the speaker's and audience's knowledge of the world view. The coherence of a speech relies on the extent of the audience's expectations and assumptions, so in this case the speaker may prepare some background for the audience before discussing in detail or pursuing the audience.

Charteris-Black (2014) explains that cohesion plays an important role for traditional text analysis, both written and spoken, and related to the linguistic means; moreover, it is also related more with cognitive and schematic knowledge that can be identified when we analyze speech circumstances. Charteris-Black (2014) also explains that different parts of a text can be related to various elements such as lexicons, and grammatical relationships which result in the impression of a text as a whole. We can identify what relationships are in a text for analyzing cohesion. We would not understand how two different sentences belong to the same text by ignoring cohesion. The cohesion ties that enable audiences to figure out what has been mentioned are called anaphoric references, so we can consider linguistic means by analyzing grammatical and lexical cohesion.

### **2.3.1 Grammatical cohesion**

-References

Many words have meaning in a text because they have a relationship with other words that occur in the same text, so this could enable us to understand connections and relationships for the reference concept. Audiences can make sense of the world if they consider the rest of the content. There are three technical terms to explain: exophoric, endophoric, and deixis.

Exophoric references are words which refer to entities external to the text because the speaker assumes the audience has the same shared words, as in the example below:

*The Prime Minister* is accused of being a moody person.

Endophoric references are words that refer to other words that occur elsewhere which the speaker links to the thing that has already been mentioned or which is coming up in the same text.

Anaphoric references refer back to something has already been mentioned in the backward direction as in the example below:

*Jane was saying that she was going to the market.*

Cataphoric references refer to something coming later or in the forward direction, as in the example below:

*I cannot believe it, the train has left the station.*

-Deixis

Deixis refers to words used which refer to some other aspect of the text in which they are spoken in order to be understood. The speaker is the center of deixis which refers to person, place, and time. Person deixis can be referred to by the pronoun system and encodes the identity of participants in the speech, such as *they, them, he, she, him, her, hers, these, those* under cataphoric or anaphoric ally. I met one *man* yesterday, *he* is a friend of Jane.

Place deixis refers to spatial locations that are referred to in the speech by demonstrative adjective words such as *here*, etc. that encode the spatial locations of speaker and audience, but it can include other expression words that refer to the location point.

I went to *London* last summer; I really want to go *there* again this year.

Time deixis encodes time relations and are relevant to when an utterance is spoken, such as *now*, *then*, *ago* for the point in time.

- Other reference categories

Substitution is the relationship where one word takes the place of a phrase, but this category has a relatively low frequency as in the example sentence below, where ‘the many’ in the sentence is a substitution for ‘the many people’:

*If the government cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot help the few who are rich either.*

Ellipsis is a cohesive relationship to the word or phrase which is omitted and needs to be fulfilled by the audience to understand the speech. It can also be called substitution zero.

*Jenny likes apple pie and Luis (likes) brownies.*

A conjunction is a word connecting ideas. Conjunctions are found within sentences and are relevant for the cohesion analysis when they join separate sentences.

Type	Logical relationship	Examples
additive	add/give an alternative	and; or; furthermore; in addition; likewise; in other words
adversative	opposition	however; but; yet; (even) though; on the contrary; on the one hand...on the other hand
causal	one idea/event causes another	because; so; then; for this reason; consequently; it follows that; as a result
temporal	one event follows another in time	one day; then; finally; up to now; the next day
continuative	please continue to follow the text	well; now; of course; anyway; surely; after all

### 2.3.2 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is primary means for creating cohesion. There some difficulties in

analyzing lexical cohesion because of the degree of lexical or semantic variation that is allowed between two words yet still claimed for a cohesive tie. For example, exactly repeated words or another part of speech, or even synonyms. Reiteration is used for a word that is closely related but not in identical form. Semantic relations also cause difficulties from synonyms antonyms, hyponyms, or superordinates. However, in the current understanding, although two words are simply related such as 'sex, drug', because they are associated in experience they become collocates.

#### - Repetition and reiteration

The most frequent lexical cohesion is the same word repetition in another sentence. Reiteration occurs when repetition has morphological variation from a root form. There are two types of repetition: simple repetition for repetition of an identical form and complex repetition of a word that has the same root.

#### - Semantic relations: antonyms and synonyms

Words in different sentences can be related according to their place in the semantics of the English language system, and there are two types of relationship. Synonyms are words which have a similar meaning or sense. A test for a substitute is placing a word into a slot to see whether or not the meaning has changed; if it is replaceable, it can be a pair of synonyms. The more the meaning is closely related or still the same, the more it will be considered as a synonym, such as *'pretty'* and *'lovely'*. In some cases, substitution can be replaced in felicitous terms compared to the original style, such as 'today' replaced by 'now'. Additionally, repetition can be replaced by synonyms such

as *liberty* and *freedom*. Antonyms are pairs of words that have opposite or contrasting meanings.

Antonyms also have semantic distinctions between the gradable and the non-gradable, such as wet and dry in terms of wetness or dryness degree.

#### - Collocation

Collocations are words frequently found together in co-occurrence. Repeatedly used collocations among reference and repetition devices will create more cohesive text, such as *pay attention* (McKeown & Radev, 2000). A number of words can occur in a syntactic relationship with given headword. Collocations are typically arbitrary, language specific, recurrent in context and also common in technical language; they are also found in other languages (McKeown & Radev, 2000: 1-23). Some collocation words are predictable with some narrow collocation ranges, such as *spick* may occur only in *spick and span*, whereas other words have a much wider collocation range. Collocations will help audiences understand speeches depending on how words are normally used as well from their isolated meaning when taken out of context.

Wei (1999) notes that there are three categories of collocation: grammatical collocation, lexical collocation, and idiomatic expression.

*Grammatical collocations* are recurrent word combinations that involve mainly a preposition or grammatical structure as can be seen in the underlined text below:

#### A. Grammatical collocations containing prepositions

1. *Catch up on/with/to*

2. *Aware of*

3. *Have several things to choose from*

4. *In/out of danger*

B. Grammatical collocations involving grammatical structures

5. *Something caused him to change his mind.* (cause sb to + verb infinitive)

6. *Something made him change his mind.* (make someone + bare infinitive)

7. *Someone convinced him that something was true.* (convince sb (that) + clause)

8. *He was trying to avoid answering my questions* (avoid + verb-ing)

9. *He wants me to go with her.* (The same as 5.)

10. *The money would help her (to) start her own business.* (help sb + (to) infinitive)

*Lexical collocations* are recurrent word combinations that involve mainly content words: 1. perform an operation, a task, one's work

2. a big, or major difference

3. destroy someone's hopes, a relationship, a building, etc.

4. an explanation, a law, or a problem can be complicated

*Idiomatic expressions* are the most fixed of word combinations where substitution of any of their components is virtually impossible.

*kick the bucket, play it by ear, let one's hair down, put on airs, pull someone's leg, whole nine yards, as a matter of fact, on the other hand, in brief, at the drop of a hat,*

### 2.3.3 Social agency

In political settings there must an agent who does something to someone, and the political

agent will express uncertainty or common conviction. Agency is communicated through the choice of nouns and verbs, and through the use of modality.

Agents can be an individual person or social organization. Both the presence and identity of a social agent can be identified to make clear the role and relationship by stating who does what to whom. Speakers can use foreground and background to draw the attention of the audience. Normally, the speaker will explain his relationship to events that he thinks will be evaluated positively and vice-versa in the negative case. There are two ways that agencies manipulate language to give positive and negative presentations for political actors.

Nominal forms are methods of background and foreground social agency or social actors which include pronouns, individual names, professional roles, or collective nouns.

Verbal processes are methods of background and foreground social agency which include verbs, active or passive voices, and transitive or intransitive verbs.

- Nominal forms and names

Speakers have to make a decision between the nouns and pronouns to be used. In political rhetoric, politicians will mostly use the pronoun 'we' rather than himself or his party, or any group that he is speaking for such as the whole nation, or humanity. When nouns refer to participants, the agent's identity can be revealed explicitly by using his name, position, or nationality. Individual names will be used as positive actions of supporters or negative actions of components. Individual names, collective groups, and his or her role can refer to those who are physically present among the audience or those who are absent.

The analysis of naming involves identifying the system of values that underlines the choice of a name and assessing how such choice creates, constitutes, and reinforces a particular perspective. Then the name of a social group implies social differentiation such as social class, gender, and race. Moreover, the notion of different depends on what is being taken as the baseline for normality or homogeneity and what this is compared to.

- Verbal processes

Verbal processes are important for the foreground or background of actors and highlight or conceal agency. Agency can be presented in an active or a passive form, especially in the transitive, to make clear the relationship between subject and object. There are four types of verbal processes.

1. Verbal processes: speaking, shouting, declaring
2. Mental processes: thinking, reminding, deciding
3. Relational processes: verbs; have, seem which involve an agent and contribution
4. Material processes: these are physical actions divided into transitive and intransitive

actions

### **2.3.4 Modality**

Politicians usually an image of trustworthiness or conviction, but they sometimes hesitate to show their true purposes. They use conviction rhetoric expressions employing complexity of modality for degree of certain possibility. Conviction rhetoric appeals to ethos and pathos; the conviction originates in a sense of moral purpose and is emotionally intense because ethical beliefs



require passionate commitment if they are to be realized. Speakers use emotional expression because they want to awaken similar emotions among audiences, but they have to convince themselves first.

#### - Level of modality

A high degree of commitment to the truth of a claim implies that the speaker is authoritative because speakers have evidence to prove their claims, and vice versa for a low degree of commitment. The modality can present the certain and uncertain issue, and it is important in influencing perceptions of the truthfulness and rightfulness of an utterance for rhetoric effect.

Various modal forms can also express ideas about truth and obligation as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Level of modality

- Truth or obligation	Highest degree of commitment
Must, have to, will, ought	
- Should not	Lowest degree of commitment to truth or obligation
may, could, should, might	
- Could not, must not	Negative degree of commitment to truth or obligation

Speakers are able to make choices between truth or obligation as the communication purpose as follows in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Modality of truth or obligation as communication purpose

	Truth	Obligation	Modal verb
High	certainly	required to	must/have to
Medium	probably	supposed to	could/would/should

Low	possibly	allowed to	may/might
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- Type of modality

There two types of modality. Epistemic modality refers to the commitment level that speakers can express related to the truth, accuracy or certainty of what the speakers are saying; in other words, epistemic modality deals with the issue of how possible or likely. Deontic modality deals with speakers' expression for the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents. Thus, deontic modality expresses the speakers' obligation.

### **2.3.5 Discourse historical approach**

Discourse establishes power relationships and can be understood by studying historical context, and social and political setting. The discourse historical approach is a politico-linguistic approach which analyzes speech and explains how power relationships are constituted by the use of language that has political implications. The scope of the discourse historical approach is broad and learners may have inadequate background knowledge to understand the social, political, and historical context of discourse. Discourse historical approach method requires the following steps:

1. Identification of a filed action in either an institutional setting of language or an area of language use such as political marketing.
2. Data collection principles need to emphasize triangulation, and participants' own interpretations of text.
3. Theories and methods employed with the discourse historical approach must able to identify discursive strategies to make arguments.

## - Discursive strategies

Primary concepts for analysis are discursive strategies and identification of topoi (singular form of 'topos', literally means 'place' or 'location') to refer to both formal and content-related warrants. A summary of discursive strategies is presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Discursive strategies

Strategy	Objectives
Nomination	Construction of social actors as in-groups or out-groups and of objects, events, processes and actions
Prediction	Labeling of social actors, object, events, processes and actions as having more or less negative or positive traits
Perspectivization framing and representation	Positioning of the speaker's point of view from a particular perspective such as being involved or distant, favorable or unfavorable
4. Intensification and mitigation	Modifying the epistemic or deontic status of a proposition
5. Argumentation	Justification of truth claims by the use of topoi

## 2.4 Analyzing Political Discourse

Chilton (2004) explains political and language connections. In Western thought, language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level. The basic idea is from Aristotle's principle

that humans are creatures whose nature lives in a polis. Humans live in a shared value perception that defines political association. Although Aristotle did not explain the detail of the linguistic and political make-up of humans, the implication has fundamental importance. Humans interact politically through language, and typically politics is the process of persuasion and bargaining. Nowadays, linguistics is widely accepted as the human capacity for speech. Language serves nationhood and standard language is a medium of communication resulting in the highest economic benefits for political life. Many states have their own language. This is not a state of affairs, but it is deeply political. However, the language and culture of minorities also have positive rights in the state such as the English and French languages in Canada, which has to balance power equally.

Political action is language action. It is only language tied into social and political institutions offering apologies, and acceptance of responsibility, etc., and these cannot be separated. It is a pattern of language in use allowing people to exchange their thoughts through a socialization process to establish a conceptual framework. Such conceptualization is facilitated by social and political practice in language. The use of language creates institutions such as swearing an oath, which is a specific speech act, or when a lawyer announces the law enforcement. The idea of speech acts is at the heart of political interactions in which 1) several felicitous conditions depend on assumptions about the utterer's intentions and abilities and about the wants of the recipient, and 2) it is the political notion of creditability, the notion of utilities or wants, and the notion of power and distribution of resources. Politicians are known for their pragmatic and psychological capability because they know the complex chain of social and psychological circumstances related

to political utterances to perform their intentions and promises while maintaining credibility after evaluation by the audience. It is therefore verbal communication that becomes crucial with political implications. So, there are strategies for language use in politics as follows:

In the context of validity claims, humans possess communicative competence which is closely related to validity claims. Thus, humans can argue any utterance in any use of language, and as humans in social situations.

1. Claim for understandability. This is not simply that both interlocutors speak the language, but they should have mutually shared knowledge.

2. Claim for truth. This is a truth asserted by a representation of state affairs. This claim is also in line with Grice's maxim of quality and quantity.

3. Claim for truth telling. This claim is performing utterances that the speaker believes to be true and the response to his intended meaning; this claim also connects to Grice's maxim of quality and quantity.

4. Claim for rightness. It is the claim to be normatively right to utter what one is uttering, and as claiming the authority to be performing the speech act in hand.

As validity claims are made in political use and participants are able to challenge the validity of the claim, then it should identify the means that claims are being overridden, whether obvious or non-obvious. Strategic function is the use of language whereby utterers manage their interests through various types of linguistic expression.

1. Coercion. It depends on the utterer's resources and power. Clear examples are speech acts

backed by sanctions (legal and physical) such as commands, laws, edicts, etc., and the less obvious form involves coerced behavior consisting of speech roles which people find difficulty in noticing, such as spontaneous speech, response to questions and answers, etc. Political actors also often act coercively through language such as setting agendas, selecting topics, etc. One can exercise power over others' use of language through kinds and degrees of censorship and access control.

2. Legitimization and delegitimization. Political actors cannot act alone by physical force, so they require legitimization to claim the right to be obeyed. The reason to obey is that people have to communicate linguistically either by statement or implication such as argument, general performance, and positive self-presentation. Delegitimization is an important counterpart; others such as foreigners, enemies within, or the opposition have to present negatively by the use of different ideas and boundaries, blaming, insulting, and accusing through speech acts, etc.

3. Representation and misrepresentation. Political control involves receiving information from people and the prevention of information receiving is censorship. In another mode of representation/misrepresentation, information may be given but it may not be enough for the hearers' interests for the quantitative method. Qualitative methods can be simply lying, omission, verbal evasion and denial.

In the end, Chilton (2004) argues that the theoretical framework for political discourse has paid attention to some social group or exploitative elite who can control or distort language for their own position. Language as the service of power has been a central concern, but it is not enough for language and politics. Moreover, power is not enough for political science, but manifestations of power, language, conflict, and cooperation have to be considered. At the heart of politics is an

attempt to share what is useful and harmful, good and evil, just and unjust. Language is the only means for doing this because language has structural and lexical resources for communicating this attempt. Chilton has made propositions for political discourse as follows:

1. Political discourse operates indexically (language choice)
2. Political discourse operates as interaction
3. Interaction functions to negotiate representations
4. Recursive properties of language serve political interactions
5. Modal properties of language serve political interactions
6. Binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse
7. Political representations are sets of role play and their relations
8. Political discourse draws on spatial cognition
9. Political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning
10. Spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available
11. Political discourse has specific connections to the emotional centers of the brain
12. Political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis

Cornbleet and Carter (2001: 59-70) explain the language of speeches. Speaking has three good points related to situational factors: 1) Face to face. This allows reference to things around the audience. Speakers can give instructions to the audience, and reinforce relationships. 2) Interaction. The speaker interacts with the audience constantly, such as by answering questions. 3) Real time. Language prompts action and action prompts language. Responses are unplanned and the speaker

must pause and think on his feet then produce language to reflect the thought. In the speaking, there are three features which can be observed.

1. Grammar. When we speak, we have no time to think of long complete sentences, but trend to speak in short stretches, thus it can be utterances rather than sentences. However, the speaker can provide linking devices to each utterance, usually co-ordination such as 'and', 'but', 'or'. Word order may not follow conventional patterns (subject, verb, object), but consists of various patterns. Speakers sometimes omit words where possible by using contractions (didn't, you've) and ellipsis both grammatical and lexical words where speakers are still able to convey the meaning from the large part, such as *'and all this (is) too much'*. Speakers also make use of deixis. When words or pronouns feature frequently and refer to something beyond the language of the text they are described as deictic. Deixis is more common in speaking than writing. It is used to orient the conversation for ongoing activity and also the audiences' perspective.

2. Lexis. People tend to use simple words rather than complex vocabulary; however, simple words are unable to convey the right meaning in some circumstances. The context of the words may also not be appropriate for simple words. However, spoken English has a lower lexical density than written English. Many verbs are very common in the language and combine with nouns to make common phrases such as *go for a walk*, or *go shopping* and are known as delexical verbs which are common in informal spoken discourse. Many noun phrases are in more common use than technical words, and this is related to informality and shared knowledge between speakers and audiences. Vague language downplays precision and refers to objects and events in general terms. Speakers can make use of this if the speakers are uncertain or do not want to sound specific about



something.

3. Discourse. Conversation is interactive, so the language used by the speaker will affect the language in the next part. Thus, to study only occurrences in speech and isolated utterances is not enough because language is interrelated and interwoven across longer stretches of conversation. Adjacency pairs are formulaic exchanges for prompt response and could comprise both words and gestures. Backchannels indicate attention, such as *'OK, hmm'*. This tends to slide into the conversation and overlap the turn. Totally silent audiences may cause the speaker to stop talking. Discourse markers mark the beginning of a turn such as *'right now'*, *'we've got the... anyway'*. Tag questions are more common in speaking than writing and may act like regular questions and invite answers, or may simply express the speakers' emotions. Intonation also signs the speakers' intent.

## 2.5 Corpus

### 2.5.1 Corpus benefits

The corpus in a very broad sense is a sequence of text data and a methodology used to classify and rearrange uniqueness, differences, similarity, and reoccurrence of data which may exist, and to present data purposively. Sinclair (1991: 171) argued that *"a corpus is a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language"*. Atkins, Clear and Osler (1992: 1) said that *"a corpus is a collection of an electronic text library (ETL) built according to explicit design criteria for a specific purpose"*. Hunston (2002: 20) added that *"Corpora are a way for collecting and storing data, and that it is the corpus access programs*

*presenting concordance lines and calculating frequencies that are the tools”.*

The corpus is widely accepted in the teaching of English because a large number of word sequences can be arranged by software and present new perspectives of language. This present research also aims to find apology speech data from 50 speeches which contain 61,892 words, thus it is impossible to observe data manually, so apology speech data will be calculated by statistical computer operation using the corpus. Hunston (2002) explains three ways that a corpus can be used by researchers.

1. Frequency. The words in the corpus will be arranged in order according to their frequency in that corpus. The researcher is able to input specific keywords and search data in the corpus. Frequency lists found from corpora are useful to identify possible differences in the corpora which can then be studied for more detail such as cross-disciplines or word variation, etc.

2. Phraseology. Most researchers conduct corpus study through a concordancing program by which concordance lines pull many instances of words or phrases together and allows researchers to observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are found in their normal context, such as the word *interested* in the phrase *interested in*.

3. Collocation. Data in the corpus can be assessed for collocation. A list of the collocated words can reveal similar information to that provided by concordance lines, with the difference that more information can be observed by manual observation through computer statistical operations.

The potential uses of corpora are then described by Hunston, who provided the following summary:

1. Language teaching, where the corpora give information about how language works which may not be accessible to native speakers' intuition or not readily noticed.

2. Increase language exploration, as language teachers encourage students to explore corpora themselves and allow them to observe nuances of usage and compare data between languages.

3. Translators can compare data between two languages and notice how words or phrases are translated.

4. General corpora can be checked to measure the frequency and usage of individual text patterns such as stylistics, clinical, and forensic linguistics.

5. Corpora are used to investigate cultural attitudes expressed through language.

## **2.5.2 Types of corpora**

A corpus is designed for a particular purpose and types of corpora depend on the purpose involved. There are eight common types of corpus as according to Hunston (2002).

1. Specialized corpus. A corpus of texts covers a particular type, such as newspapers, textbooks, research articles, etc. It aims to be representative of given text type to investigate particular type of language or specialization. Specialization has no limits involved, but parameters are set for the kind of text such as time frame, social setting, topic, or place (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Special corpora aim to standardize and simplify the chaotic nature of natural language and offer a tidier picture of idiosyncrasies of authentic usage. So, a special corpus can be used as a training corpus for annotation. Well known specialisation corpora include the Cambridge and Nottingham

Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE), and the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE).

2. General corpus. A corpus of many text types, which may include both written and spoken language or text produced in one or many countries. The corpus size is larger than in specialized ones and it may be produced for reference material, language learning, or translation and is sometimes called a reference corpus. Well known corpora include the British National Corpus, and Bank of English.

3. Comparable corpora. There are two or more corpora in different languages and these are designed along the same lines, with the same proportion of text. Comparable corpora for different texts can be used for translation. However, comparable corpora can also be used for the same language to compare the variety of texts. Well known corpora include the International Corpus of English.

4. Parallel corpora. There are two or more corpora in different languages, each containing text that has been translated from one language into the other. They can be used by translators and learners to find equivalent expressions in translation. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) classifies parallel corpora under translation corpora. Translation corpora are corpora of texts which stand in translational relationship to each other. Each text can be a translation of an absent original or one of them can be the original and the other can be the translation. Parallel corpora software aligns two datasets entirely on a close, sentence by sentence correspondence between the two texts, for example creating a quasi record between English and French. Tognini-Bonelli suggests that parallel

corpora are made up of literal translations with common features.

5. Learner corpus. It is collection of text produced by language learners to find differences from each learner and from native speakers. Well known corpora include the International Corpus of Learner English.

6. Pedagogic corpus. It contains all the language a learner has been exposed to. Teachers or researchers can collect data from course books or different texts to increase awareness. It also can be compared with the corpus of naturally occurring English to check that the learner is being presented with language that is useful and sounds natural.

7. Historical or diachronic corpus. It is corpus of different periods of time to trace language aspects and development over time.

8. Minority corpus. This corpus is designed to track current changes in language. Corpus data can be added over periods from daily to annually, and the data size will be increased little by little but the portion remains limited. Then data can be compared with previous years.

Hunston discusses that although native speakers have the most familiarity with their language and therefore the largest corpus, there might be some remaining components hidden from introspection, and a native speaker's intuition is a poor guide to at least four aspects of language:

1) judgement about collocation; 2) judgement about frequency; 3) semantic prosody and pragmatic meaning, and 4) detail of phraseology. However, corpora have limitations as follows:

1. A corpus is unable to answer whether information is possible or not, it can give only frequency.

2. A corpus is able only to show its own contents, it states only corpus, not language, or

register.

3. A corpus offers evidence but cannot give information.

4. A corpus may present language out of its context.

In the view of corpus design and purpose, Hunston explains that for corpus size it is feasible that corpus size has no limit, but the point is to ensure that computer software is able to process data with speed and efficiency. However, a smaller corpus size will give less data while a large corpus will require the software selection to select, process, and identify significant data. So, large corpus data can be reduced to a manageable scale while retaining the advantages of coverage of the large corpus. Another argument is that for the optimum corpus size, corpus size should not exceed practical considerations; it can be relatively small, but is necessary to be sufficient. The researcher can take advantage of what the corpus has rather than what does not exist in a corpus. For corpus content, there is no right answer, but it depends on the research purpose and what the researcher wants to study. For some purposes, a corpus is designed to support learners in exploring language themselves, so the precise content may be relatively unimportant. In cases where the corpus is assigned to present aspects of language or to be representative of variety, the design and balance notions are important. Tognini-Bonelli discusses three issues in using a corpus. 1) Authenticity. A corpus is used as a reservoir of evidence. That is, the corpus presents any words, phrases or sentences that occur in the corpus as the reasonable representation of the language under study. Definitions also deal with language use but do not report what it should be, or cooperate with the grammar of language use. 2) Representativeness. Leech (1991: 27) stated that a corpus is representative when *“the finding based on its content can be generalized to a larger hypothetical*

*corpus*". This is similar to Biber (1993: 337) who explained that *"most of the uses of a corpus in language-grammars, dictionaries and analytical software all make such assumptions"*. Moreover, Biber (1993) also explained that we look for special types of language, so there is no reason to choose an unrepresentative corpus. However, it should be noted that a corpus is largely a representative, and is unable to ensure or evaluate objectively. Data should be examined in terms of its extent and not just its frequency. 3) Sampling. A corpus is designed to define a target population, thus there will be selection criteria of the text such as length, number, particular area which needs to be addressed by the corpus builder, and direct reflection on the insight corpus data as well.

### **2.5.3 Building a corpus**

The corpus can be used purposively to meet researcher requirements while a ready-made corpus may not meet the targets of study. Timmis (2015) suggests reasons why the researcher should construct his own corpus as follows:

1. To inform yourselves of typical language in your field.
2. To inform the syllabus for your current field of teaching.
3. To be a direct source of material.
4. To provide sources for learners to use automatically which is appropriate for topic, level, and accessibility.
5. To analyze your learners' language.

Before building the corpus, Timmis suggests the following criteria.

1. What kind of language use should the researcher present in a corpus. Data depend on demographic range, generic and contextual factors, language field, etc., such as whose language use, genre, context, and potential users.

2. Corpus construction possibilities are almost infinite, so a corpus can comply with the educational context, such as language used by teachers or learners, language used in teaching practice, feedback, etc.

3. Once researcher decides what language will be presented, the researcher should consider corpus size, number of texts, text source, and the use of complete texts or partial texts.

Text should be cleaned. That is, text from the internet should have photos and hyperlinks, etc., removed, and should then be saved in plain text format. Then basic data will be given such as date, data source, etc. Mark up – a system of standard codes inserted into a document stored in electronic form to provide information about the text such as Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) and Corpus Encoding Standard (CES) should be carried out. The researcher must be able to focus on a specific text. Large scale corpora for public use are often grammatically tagged to facilitate grammatical searches, and this can be done by Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagged System (CLAWS). Analyzing corpus data operation can result in frequency count, concordance – a corpus with a limited amount of co-text either side of the target word, and collocation or combination of two lexical (as opposed to grammatical) words often found together or in close proximity. The corpus reports not just the lexis level which can be linked to grammatical structure. Timmis suggests, but controversially, that frequency of occurrence should be one criterion in the



selection of grammatical items for the syllabus and we will see frequency counts in relation to specific grammatical structure. Moreover, the corpus also presents lexical bundles which are a sequence of words found together and without a clear meaning and pragmatic meaning.

#### **2.5.4 Spoken corpus research**

The spoken corpus has received the advantage from recoding technology. It helps to find contemporary ELT and CLT data. The spoken corpus reflects the social spectrum, thus spoken grammar such as slang, dialect, or non-standard usage can be noticed as the English language is widely used in an international context. The spoken corpus reveal lexis, grammar and discourse as the written corpus does.

Although researchers are able to build their own corpus, there are three types of spoken corpus already made.

1. Spoken components of large general corpora such as BNC Spoken, COCA.
2. Spoken corpora such as The Limerick of Irish English (L-CIE), The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, The Longman Corpus of Spoken American.
3. Genre-specific spoken corpora such as The Switchboard Corpus, The Corpus of American Soap Operas.

In the spoken corpus, word frequency is a common starting point because it is obviously noticed quickly. Spoken language normally uses a narrower vocabulary than written text. However, frequency data are unable to indicate what we teach or are unable to discuss further. Since quantitative data are limited, the researcher can take such data to discuss in qualitative terms. The

researcher takes words found to discuss the lexis meaning in the discourse, such as *well, just, right* which can be classified into discourse-marking functions in conversation, noting that they are important for pragmatic functions and management of the conversation between speaker and listener. Moreover, words found can be discussed in terms of parts of speech and their function in speech, such as Carter and McCarthy (2006) reporting adjectives and adverbs found in spoken language rather than written language, or where Biber *et al.* (1999) point out that predicate adjectives are common in conversation and are evaluative and emotive. Collocation and lexical chunks are also found in spoken language. Shin and Nation (2008: 339) report that collocations are more frequent in speech than in writing and that “*a large number of collocations would qualify for inclusion in the most frequent 2000 words of English, if no distinction was made between single words and collocations*”. Pragmatic elements of discourse marking, face and politeness, hedging, and vagueness and approximation also were found in the CANCODE corpus study by O’Keeffe, McCarthy and Carter (2007). Corpus data also reportedly useful in searching for grammar. Timmis (2005) argues that spoken grammar is of interest in the corpus related to ELT. 1) It provided new insights into grammatical phenomena which have been described only in relation to their written use. 2) It has been shown that some non-canonical spoken grammatical features are more systematic and pervasive than previously thought for communicative value to the learner. In searching for grammar from corpus data, Biber *et al.* (1999), Cheshire (1999) and Ruehleman (2007) found *there’s* was used as both a singular and plural noun phrase complement in the Bolton corpus in the 1930s, such as *there’s no dragons today*. Tagliamonte (1998) explains that “... default singulars have existed in every century of the language citing an example from the sixteenth century” as in *There*

was *Dukes, Earls and Barons*' (c. 1553). This also emphasizes a good point for corpus study to reveal language change over time.

Timmis (2005) also notices the spoken syllabus for the corpus. Timmis claims that spoken lexical and grammatical items can include in a syllabus, but the question is how this syllabus would be sequenced and instantiated. Timmis adopts a text-based approach proposed by Timmis (2010) for the selection of items to teach, which is *informed* by the discussion about candidates for inclusion in the syllabus. This approach is called opportunistic, but actual features are needed to review the spoken text in a given set of material. Timmis argues that there are two advantages of adopting this method for teaching spoken language features. 1) If spoken texts are a normal part of the materials or course, then spoken language features will be experienced in their natural discourse context before becoming the specific focus of attention. 2) Teachers are in the best position to apply the selection criteria, particularly with sociocultural concerns, since they will probably be better informed about the goals of learners in their context. Timmis' data were based on the TTT corpus and took conversations to be used for teaching material to adult learners in the UK. Developing spoken language is at the trial stage and needs to be developed further. Timmis' model for the spoken language syllabus is given below as Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Model for spoken language syllabus

A. Language	
1. Colloquial lexis	
Feature	Example
General colloquial vocabulary	But I didn't get picked to go there so I ended in Lisbon

Colloquial phrase verbs	You pick up certain things don't you
Delexical verbs	So we had a little dance
Colloquial lexical chunks	And it was a case of oh right I could go here or there or here or there and I've never been to Rome 'Yes, let's go there...'
Colloquial collocations	Dead simple
Colloquial idiom/metaphor	It must be a big eye-opener for you
Lexical creativity	I think you're probably busier admin-wise than I am
2. Colloquial grammar	
Feature	Example
Spoken/written word order	...but they were quite a decent school to work for
Tails	Nice, these olives
Reported/direct speech	They'd go 'hey come here and have a beer!'
Ellipsis	...got married to get a job? Oh, I'm shocked
B. Interaction strategies	
1. Conversation strategies	
Topic management	Going back to madly in love, wasn't there some story
Repair strategies	It's quite a common thing isn't it to take a year, what do they call them, they have an official year off from their work
Clarification strategies	What do you mean by 'planned'?
Discourse markers	and when we though we'd you know think about setting down and being a bit more serious about life and so, anyway, that's how I got into it
2. Good listenership	
Feature	Example
Response tokens	A: Yeah, so we got married by special license on the Friday and went to Japan, I think, two weeks later B: Amazing
Response chunks	A: I kind of realized that I didn't really wanna teach kids ever, cos B: Very wise
Backchannelling	A: I wouldn't have dared to go by myself, I think it was only because there were two of us B: Really?

3. Vague language	
Feature	Example
Placeholder words	So much of teaching is a personality thing though
Vague category markers	I didn't want to quite settle down yet and stuff like that
Hedging	Well, I think it's something that you fall into a bit though, isn't it?

## 2.6 Previous Research

### 2.6.1. Previous research in political apology speech

Páez, (2010) explains that apologies offer hope for society to restore harmony and for perpetrators to gain their place back in society. Religions and culture have an effect in making apologies. Christian and Western values for apology do not fit in Asian or Islamic cultures. The study of apology in different parts in world agreed in the same way that apology is a tool to forgiveness and results in some different frequencies. In China, for example, their culture is a hierarchical collectivist system and they pay attention to one's face and apologies are weighty acts that are rarely offered and accepted, because they decay social harmony. Japan has been reluctant to give a complete apology to out-groups as shown in the WW II case, while Lebanon has no different effects between in-group and out-group. Páez (2010) also explains that members of in-groups in countries which have a strong nationalist identity tend to refuse to apologize for war because it will betray the soldiers who fought and died for the nation.

Moreover, Páez (2010) further reports that identity, culture, and values may result in different forms and frequencies of apology, but all these different issues have the same goal for

ritual reconciliation and an apology has four features. In addition, sincerity and the absence of justifications for the misbehavior are shown to be the keys to a successful apology.

1. Acknowledgement of injury committed and an open floor to discuss taboo topics.
2. Acceptance of responsibility for wrong committed and explain the role the in-group has played.
3. Expression of remorse for the wrong committed both verbally and non-verbally.
4. A credible promise for non-repetition and change in the negative behavior.

Páez (2010) has differentiated between the interpersonal and intergroup. Intergroup involves a many to many basis, because it consists of representatives of wrongdoers and victims and is related to many public sector factors such as laws, documents, and public ceremonies to exchange apologies. However, this kind of apology will be presented by a single person on behalf of the state and as a representative of the wrongdoers. Interpersonal group involves a specific perpetrator to a specific victim. Limited results suggest that group apologies are less effective than those for one single person, while contrasting results suggest group apologies reinforce forgiveness. Philpot and Hornsey (2008) suggest that *“individual apologies are not translated into forgiveness for the wider offending group”*.

In the end, Páez (2010) suggests specific character of political apology as follows:

1. Apologies offered by the state or its representative in a highly public ceremony and format in front of the victims and audience and recorded in a written document.

2. Apologies should not only be addressed directly to the audience but should also cover the whole population through the media.

3. Apologies should be expressed by respected and representative figures in front of or directed towards a similar representation of the out-group.

4. Apologies should be offered by a respected and representative figure with public support of at least an important proportion of the in-group.

In summary, the research of Páez (2010) is related to present research question 1. That is the key to a successful apology and the specific character of political apology which can serve as a guideline to consider the apology elements in each political apology speech.

In the political apology and lexicon, speakers will use a lot of vocabulary to create a meaningful exchange for acceptance of the apology (Sethi and Agarwal, 2013). There is discussion between two disciplines: the grammar school and the lexis school. Grammarians consider grammar to dominate vocabulary, but the lexical approach holds that such an assumption is wrong because words or combinations create meaning in the mental lexicon and when combined in a continuous coherent text or chunk. The lexical approach focuses on real English and shifts away from authentic traditional teaching in spoken and written form. It leads to relative frequency, collocation, prevalent grammatical patterns of lexis across a wide range of genres, and also lexicon variation. Scholars suggest lexical development through many activities such as listening to and speaking the target language, guessing meaning, comparison, and translation, etc. Lexical learning also helps students to improve grammar as well to think of following constituent words in a complete sentence or slot because learners will be aware of what words fit in the unit. Thus, multiple studies have claimed

that the lexical approach is an effective way to teach English because language production is not only about language rules, but it must also consist of the retrieval of larger phrasal units from memory. So, this present study aims to provide the lexical bundles found in political apologies for an apology speech teaching approach.

In summary, the work of Sethi and Agarwal (2013) is related to the present research question 3 for lexical bundles. Having lexical bundles in the speaker's memory will help the speaker figure out the lexical bundles to use appropriately, especially for ESL learners who have less familiarity with lexical bundles or collocation compared to native speakers.

Partington (2012) explained that political institutions such as parliament, government websites, and the media are the source of political corpora such as political speeches, debates, and interviews, which researchers can use to explore multi-faceted perspectives on political language. Partington suggests there are two types of research objective for corpus analysis of political language, however, sometimes these two objectives are combined.

1. Aim for discourse and conversation analysis and use corpus techniques to investigate a particular political or institutional discourse type, exactly as with any exemplar of dis-interaction.

2. Aim to engage with political, social, and cultural aspects of the set of texts under study and attempt to discover any non-obvious ideological meanings and messages they may contain. However, this type is more typical when the corpora of media discourse are being employed, whether or not media organs or the way they discuss is an ideological issue.

Partington also suggests that both linguists and political scientists study political language in their own way and with limited text numbers. However, politics is not a standalone discipline,



but is related to many discourse fields, thus it would add value to use corpora to extend wider discourse, so researchers are able to combine sub-corpora in one theme or across corpora. Partington concludes in the end that a corpus approach will deepen our understanding from both the linguistic and political science perspectives. In summary, the ideas of Partington (2012) are related to the present study in considering political apology data sources from government, political institutes, and media.

Verdeja (2010) examines the use of official apology speeches for massive human rights abuses in a democratic context and claims that formal apologies for past wrongdoings are made in order to express remorse and push society forward. Verdeja employs qualitative research by reviewing previous research methods to discuss how we should conceptualize apologies. Then, she turns to focus on official apologies and identifies a series of political and moral aims. After that she sets out normative criteria for official apologies and discusses illocutionary problems. In the last part, she keeps discussing legitimacy, apologies, and democratic states. It can be seen that many politicians appear to express their apologies either as a private citizen or as a government representative. Brooks (1993: 3) as cited in Verdeja explains that an apology is a device for political transition whereby *“Official apologies publicly acknowledge responsibility for serious wrongs, with the ultimate goal of reconstructing badly damaged relations on morally sound foundations. Apologies have become especially popular devices in instances of political transition, where a society is emerging from a recent history of mass violence. Their ubiquity has led one scholar to call this ‘the age of apologies’”*.

Verjeda conceptualizes that *an* apology is a cheap way to minimize guilty feelings and

provides a sense of satisfaction by confessing what has been done wrong. An apology seems insincere because it believes that the wrong in the past will be accepted and over soon, or left behind, rather than an attempt to compensate the moral and other grievances among those addressed. An apology should always mention that apology is not enough as a response to those violations, and also mention what action will be done in reparation. It is impossible for suffering survivors to be satisfied after such injustices, but it may be ameliorated and softened by telling the truth and giving punishment.

Apology elements consist of truth telling, victim acknowledgment, and, to the extent that responsibility is accepted, accountability, and creating the moral or supportive reasons for a new beginning or reconciliation. Furthermore, apology should lead to practical redress or future action. Apologies with no commitment to action for future reform will be a problem although it is said explicitly because people recognize wrongdoing and reject the action or behavior in the future. Apology is future oriented and means that giving apology is inadequate and it requires changes to ensure that wrong moral actions will not happen again, demanding a practical dimension to establish future relations.

In the view of official apologies, Verjeda cites a definition written by Ridwan Nyatagodien and Arthur Neal (2004: 470) which holds that an apology *“is an admission that those in position of authority failed to act when action was necessary and recognizes that blameworthy behavior was ignored, rewarded or in some way exclude from normative sanction”*. She further suggests that official apologies have to reflect a sincere future action to certain norms and acknowledge the past injustices. Apology is not only simply a social dimension and must offer compensation choices to victims. Many scholars try to cast devices and reframe the reconciliation by focusing on

satisfaction, with both moral and political demands, which should start with public sincerity as a whole, then treating victims equally so that apologies are able to bring about results as follows:

1. Apologies to victims serve as recognition of any harm they are subjected to and initiates the process of integrating them back to the population.

2. Apologies highlight the violation to victims and prompt the public to reflect and dispute social norms to achieve the desired relations between the state and population.

3. Apologies offer reinterpretation of the past and weaken the apologists' original recount by reframing history.

Criteria for a normatively satisfactory official apology hold that apologizing is unable to be employed with all political violence cases because it varies in detail. Three primary criteria can be proposed as follows:

1. Framing by considering social context and making the speech publicly.

2. Content which explicitly shows responsibility, inclusion, and reflection.

3. Future commitment which contains symbolic recognition and material reparation, accountability, and also commitment to reform or promotion of an improvement plan.

There are some challenging problems surrounding official apologies for political leaders to reconcile with both victims and the public. The first challenge is how to evaluate the individual response to accept or reject an apology because it is just the first step toward reconciliation.

A second challenge is the risk that officials perceive that apologies have been expressed enough and receiving forgiveness then mitigates the victims' ability to exercise their power to make legitimate grievances or undeserved privileges in the future. The third challenge is to legitimacy,

through the authorization of the speaker giving the apology, because it requires more than proper content. A properly sanctioned speaker – a politician who has the power to talk on behalf of the state must give the speech as symbolic amends for the past wrongdoing and to ensure that the public accept such an apology.

Finally, official apologies and state legitimacy are concerned with the authorization of the speaker and legal support to take responsibility for the victims on behalf of the state legitimately. An official apology has two functions simultaneously. It allows the successor regime to reject earlier state action which separates itself from the previous government and allows the new government to establish a link of legitimacy to the past and to take its privileged position as an ‘apologizer’. The speaker is able to claim this legitimacy by using the word *nation* or *state* because he is affirming his governmental authority and that he has the right to do so. Apologies require explicitly the tensions of both rejecting and embracing a problematic notion of legitimacy, thus apologies should be delivered on behalf of the state and authority which is thereby secured, eliminating the legitimacy ambiguity.

In summary, the study of Verdeja (2010) is able to support the present study in considering political apology content for discussion of what the apologizer should mention in political apologies in terms of speech content, and can strengthen the discussion parts covering the extent to which a government has the authorization to apologize to the victims.

Ayata and Hakyemez (2013) analyzed the Turkish political leader, Prime Minister Erdogan apologizing for the Dersim genocide in the 1930s and international reports of this news, although Turkey serves as a democratic role model in the Middle East. His speech is controversial in the discussion since he did not apologize to anyone but accused the former government of the

wrongdoing. Turkey consists of Turk Sunni Muslims as the majority while the minority are Armenian, Kurdish, Alevi, and Non-Muslim. During the transition from the Ottoman Empire to a Republic, Turkey employed many instruments to erase multi-ethnic, multi-religious aspects from those who came from Ottoman Empire by genocide, dispossession, deportation, and population exchange to become a Turkish nation. The effect from the idea is that the government at that time wanted to civilize and assimilate the Kurdish population in the nationalist project, but there was resistance and the military employed excessive measures to massacre them in Dersim during the 1930s. Ayata and Hakyemez (2013) highlight Erdogan's speech into three points.

*“If it is necessary to apologize on behalf of the state ...I will apologize, I am apologizing; Erdogan told his Justice and Development Party (AKP) members on Wednesday in televised remarks. Dersim is the most tragic event in our recent history. It is a disaster that should now be questioned with courage”.* Prime Minister Erdogan, November 22, 2011.

1. Effacement of the victims of the Dersim Massacre. Erdogan's apology speech was not an apology because he did not just say “I apologize” and here are the explanations. His speech contained an *if-clause* to make a condition to claim he *would* deliver an apology, and a condition about the doubt for him to apologize on behalf of the state in spite of his being the Prime Minister as in *“if there is a need for an apology on behalf of the state”*. Verdeja (2010) argues that the legitimate government has the right to claim such responsibility on behalf of the state and in this case the representative should be Prime Minister Erdogan. A rhetoric speech has conceptualized the notion of *“Alevi people”* as *“human”* to collapse the dreadful historical experience among the victim and sweep it under the carpet.

2. Redefinition of its perpetrators. As Verdeja (2010) suggests, content is socially oriented. Thus, the speech giver has to consider the related environment, background, and related parties at that time and the present. If he was not Prime Minister during the dark times then he should invite a directly related person to disclose the truth and invite the former Prime Minister to attend the speech. Erdogan argues that the real perpetrator who should apologize is the former Prime Minister and not him. So, he reconfigures the victim as the perpetrator of his murder. Moreover, the shame of naming the perpetrator was repeated many times. Once he asks the former PM using the second person pronoun, *“are you disturbed by truth, why do you hide the truth, hey where do you run away, and how would you cleanse your hands off from this?”* with a high-pitched voice as he speaks on behalf of the state to reconcile, which becomes a series of personal insults between him and the former PM publicly. Additionally, he should keep his distance from the former government and lead to a new beginning.

3. Re-infliction of the genocidal violence on the silenced victims' descendants. While Erdogan delivers a speech, and keeps insulting him, the former PM is facing the silence that neither accepts or denies, although it is clear that he acknowledges the massive massacre. Moreover, Erdogan forces him to accept or deny (moral responsibility) clearly and the amount of destruction (practical commitment) which could possibly be called as the re-infliction of this Dersim Massacre and his speech has received feedback both domestic and international regarding the naming, shaming, and denouncing. Moreover, Erdogan also strives to shame and remind the former PM and to symbolize the political subjectivity that *“if it is an honor for you (former PM) to belong to Dersim, save your honor!”*

Current researchers have considered Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan's speech and compared with Verdeja (2010) and found that Erdogan did not take responsibility on behalf of his government and the current Turkish state to apologize to those victims in the past by including the hedging *'if-clause'* which represents his condition to avoid willingness and sincerity. Although the speech is delivered in public and through domestic and international media, Erdogan breaks the politeness and social norms, insults, and satirizes the former Prime Minister in public for his violation of the victims. Additionally, Blatz *et al.* (2009) argue that dissociation of conditions and systems between former and present governments could not be seen because Erdogan so strongly throws accusations of the massacre back to the former government. From his speech, seemingly made off the top of his head, the current researcher refers to Searly (1969) who states that such an expressive act expresses the psychological condition and explains that Erdogan is an outspoken person who expresses his negative inner feelings in public and does not try to reconcile and create a new beginning.

In summary, the work of Ayata and Hakyemez (2013) is related to the present study concerning the failure of the political apology. Apologizers should not throw oil into the fire which will cause anger among victims and perpetrators. Apologizers can use disassociation from the previous government and offer a repair element by the present government.

An apology speech is an act using a variety of words and sentences to express the speaker's contrition. Hashim (2015) utilizes the lenses of speech act theory to analyze US presidential candidate speeches and explains that political language deals with people's minds and opinions and controls society in general to succeed in an election. Thus, there might be a structure and

strategies that function to achieve success in political discourse which is a complex human activity that needs critical study. In Hashim's search method, he uses two US Presidents' speeches and selects 10 sentences from each. Due to the length and number of sentences, he selects specific portions for the apology parts. These are then analyzed with reference to Austin (1962) and his three speech types: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. Searly (1969) selected illocutionary to be his speech act analyzing tool then processed data in the percentage report as shown in the sample below. In this way, his research used both qualitative and quantitative methods.

1. Assertives: to commit speakers to the truth of the expressed proposition.
2. Directives: to give order or cause someone to perform an action.
3. Commissives: to commit speakers to take action in the future.
4. Expressives: to express some psychological condition.
5. Declaratives: to say something and make it.

Example: speech acts analysis of Kerry's speech

Locution

*"Middle class families deserve a new choice, and one month from today, they'll have one".*

Illocutionary act: Commissive (promising).

Perlocutionary effect: Encouragement and hopefulness.

Then Hashim found that Kerry used commissive sentences the most to commit to his action in the future and prove these words into action. This was followed by assertives and directives whereas Bush used this language to inform about his ideas the most, followed by commissives and



directives. Once data were compared among them the commissive speech act was the highest frequency speech act type. This was possibly because during the election campaign voters prefer politicians to promise to take some action. Finally, Hashim claims that it is possible to conclude that speech act theory can be used to find the exact meaning from what the politician has said and to make a decision to vote for him, on the basis that all politicians have to do what they committed to do during the election campaign.

Whenever governments apologize to their people the seriousness of that speech has high potential to affect many people's anxiety nationwide at the present time or about the injustice in the past which is still engraved in their hearts.

Blatz et al. (2009) examined governmental apologizing by using psychological theorizing, linguistics analyses of interpersonal apologies and considering government objectives, why governments put such elements in their speeches, and when and why government apologies are effective or not effective. Blatz et al. conducted their research into government apologies for historical injustice by reviewing previous interpersonal apology research and found that a comprehensive apology could potentially contain six complementary and distinguishable elements (Schlenker & Darby, 1981; Tavuchis, 1991; Scher & Darley, 1997; Lazare, 2004; Schmitt, Gollwitzer, Forster & Montada, 2004). These elements include: (1) remorse (e.g., "I'm sorry"); (2) acceptance of responsibility (e.g., "It's my fault"); (3) admission of injustice or wrongdoing (e.g., "What I did was wrong"); (4) acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering (e.g., "I know you are upset"); (5) forbearance, or promises to behave better in the future (e.g., "I will never do it again"), and (6) offers of repair (e.g., "I will pay for the damage").

Although apologies are intuitively reasonable, people tend not to provide comprehensive apologies. A political apology is a formal event and a more complex apology to address a long-distant harmful event for which it seeks acceptance from the public in a manner that an interpersonal apology need not. Each apology element has psychological needs for victims when applied to historical injustice.

They have reviewed further research for other elements that are not found in interpersonal apologies and found four other elements that governments might include in apology speeches for psychological reasons as follows.

1. Address the minority identity, historical painful injustice, and the apology that was not given in the past (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). The government is able to claim the current apology as recompense for the ruinous psychological implication of injustice in the past by focusing on how the victims are important and contribute to the country as a whole.

2. Minimize and avoid the resistance from the innocent group which are the majority of the population who may assume that the government implicates them as taking part in such injustice as suggested by Viles (2002) and by Blatz, Ross and Starzyk (2008).

3. Praise for the current legal system and government's fairness because people believe that they live in a fair country, which is a psychological effect. Some people may blame those victims for causing their current suffering as suggested by Jost and Banaji (1994) and Lerner (1980).

4. Governments who make apologies might dissociate themselves from systems and conditions in the past, and the wrongdoing, law, and society that are different from the current

government action for justice. Finally, Blatz et al. (2009) propose their model with ten elements as below in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Analytical framework from Blatz, Schumann and Ross (2009)

Elements	Examples
1. Remorse	<i>I am sorry.</i>
2. Acceptance of responsibility	<i>It is my fault.</i>
3. Admission of injustice or wrongdoing	<i>What I did was wrong.</i>
4. Acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering	<i>I know you are upset.</i>
5. Forbearance	<i>I will never do it again.</i>
6. Offer of repair	<i>I will pay for the damage.</i>
7. Praise for minority group	
8. Praise for majority group	
9. Praise for present system	
10. Dissociation of injustice from present system	

In the next process, Blatz et al. present how to analyze government apologies for historical injustices.

1. List political apologies written in English and also translated versions.
2. Consider only governmental intended injustices.
3. Select only governmental apologies to identifiable victim groups, not individuals.
4. Text contains remorse expressions such as regret, apologize, and core elements of an apology: 1. remorse, 2. acceptance of responsibility, 3. admission of injustice/wrongdoing, 4. acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering, 5. forbearance, 6. offer of repair, 7. praise for the minority group, 8. praise for the majority group, 9. praise for the present system, 10. dissociation of injustice from the present system.

After that, they have two raters to judge the apology in each core element of apology and to process the statistical results.

Finding the result, they claim that governments sometimes acknowledge the past injustice, but it is too late, or too expensive, to do anything at the present time even though they have done much to compensate those injustice victims and need to focus on current problems. Governments sometimes appoint a committee to investigate such injustices and truths. Many victims or their descendants argue that governments should apologize and take responsibility, such as the stolen generation of Aborigines in Australia between 1910-1970 which caused the Australian Prime Minister to apologize to them on every indigenous day. Apology is the first step to solve the conflicts and support those victims, then rebuild a good relationship within the nation.

In summary, the work of Blatz et al. (2009) is directly related to the present study because their model will be used as the analysis model for research question 1: What are the elements of political apology that have been made by leaders in 14 countries with democratic political systems? Moreover, the lexical bundles found in those speeches will be classified under each element.

Another interesting linguistic feature to analyze political speech strategies is referred to by Dickinson (2009) who applies systematic linguistic analysis principles to compare style and communicative functions. He adopted the analysis framework from So (2005) which included contextual and linguistic analysis as detailed below in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Political speech strategies of Dickinson (2009)

Contextual analysis	Concern points
1. Genre type and subtypes	What is the name of the genre of which the text serves as an exemplar? Are there any subtypes or subsets in this genre?

2. Context of situation a. Mode b. Tenor c. Field	What is the channel of communication? What roles may be required of the speaker and hearers? Do they have equal status and how is their affect and contract? What subject matter is the text about?
3. Purpose	What are the communicative purposes of the text? How are they achieved? How are they related to the rhetorical functions of the text?
4. Institutional practice	In what institution is the kind of text typically produced? What constraints and obligations does this discourse community impose on speakers and hearers? Do the production and hearing processes influence its structure and language?
5. Sociocultural context	Are there any social, historical or cultural factors that make the text appear the way it is?
Linguistic analysis	
1. Linguistic features a. Experiential meanings - Process types and participant roles - Grammatical metaphor/Nominalization b. Interpersonal meanings - Mood block - Modality - Evaluative lexis c. Textual meanings - Theme	What are the lexico-grammatical features for realizing the metafunctions of the language: experiential, interpersonal, and textual meanings? How are they related to context?
2. Intertextual analysis - Modality - Theme	Is there anything drawn from other texts? Is information attributed to sources and how?

Dickinson (2009) refers to the model of So (2005) for his analysis model. However, So (2005) has developed this model from the words of two scholars who stated that *“The analytical framework adopted here is a modified version of Tribble’s (2002) that includes contextual and linguistic analyses. To examine the relationship between language use and context of situation, the notion of metafunctions of language (Halliday & Hasan, 1989) is incorporated”*.

Dickinson then analyses the linguistic features of Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd’s speech.

### A. Experimental meaning

*Process types* found material process in the verb form the most, e.g. ‘inflict, embrace, harness’ where verbal, mental and relation came in second place. For *participants*, the first person pronoun ‘we’, which is an exclusive ‘we’ because it refers to the Australian Parliament only, and not indigenous groups has been used the most. The second frequency was ‘all Australians’ when Rudd wants to emphasize the whole nation and citizens. The word ‘nation’ was chosen and presented to an ‘actor’ of a deed through a positive evaluation process, but it is impossible to ‘do’ in a natural sense actually.

“The time has now come for *the nation* to turn a new page in Australia’s history by *righting the wrongs* of the past and so *moving forward* with confidence to the future”.

When Rudd discusses the negative evaluation process, the text and strategies are more complicated and avoid identifying an ‘actor’ who committed violent acts by using the *agentless passives* strategy.

“We apologize for *the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments* that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians”.

*Nominalization* is used to remove humans from getting involved with the activity as the ‘doer’ and cannot state clearly how such action was committed, and keeps the past wrongdoing in the sentence to express the painfulness.

“For *the pain, suffering and hurt* of these Stolen Generations, their descendants, and for their families left behind, we say sorry”.

### B. Interpersonal meaning

*Mood block*, as earlier mentioned, ‘we’ is chosen to use with the greatest frequency. ‘We’ is a subject, the Australian Parliament and its legitimacy, who wants apologize for past wrongdoing to Aborigines, indigenous Australians.

“*We the parliament of Australia* respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation”.

Since ‘we’ in this case is the Australian Parliament, Verdeja (2010: 563-581) argues that the legitimate government has the right to claim such responsibility for the whole nation.

*Modality*, the use of modality such as ‘must’ and ‘never’ are able to state the speaker’s position and judgement although it seems metaphorical.

“We today take this first step... A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past *must never, never* happen again”.

“For the future we take heart; resolving that this new page in the history of our great continent *can* now be written”.

The modal verb expresses an action that will be taken in the future, ‘must’ and ‘can’ are possibly classified as commissive speech acts according to Searly (1969), and illocutionary as well.

*Evaluative lexis*, it is a word choice to evaluate something, emphasized in a positive and negative way extensively as in the examples below:

‘the *dignity* and *degradation* thus *inflicted*’, ‘this *greatest* country’

Based on this framework, it is applicable to present language use strategies and both contextual and linguistic analysis at the same time. Some reasons from other researchers could be claimed in a supportive way. Verdeja (2010: 563-581) suggests that content is socially oriented.

Thus, context in a political speech will be taken to explain further and could be the reason why the speaker uses that kind of language. An apology is not a merely an apology, as the speech giver has his own objective before preparing a draft speech and intends to communicate his meaning and mitigate victims from his or her content which may cover many stakeholders. The speech may apply various techniques to get the message through to the public. Berelson (1952: 18) explained that “content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” and Beniot (2004: 269) said that “content analysis strives for objectivity but practitioners are human beings who attribute meaning to the numbers produced by this content analysis”. So, it is obvious that once we analyze the speech, we will not get only linguistic features, but also the context which is obtained from the speech content.

Based on the above review and to the best knowledge of the present researcher, a small number of political apologies presented to the public suggest strategies or elements in offering an official apology to obtain acceptance from victims and minimize the responsibility of the perpetrator. Official apologies create peace and harmony in society in the age of apology which receives attention from many countries in which some cases not only affect one single country's population but there are many countries involved and this causes international relationship conflicts. Mostly, scholars pay attention to generic apologies or interpersonal apologies rather than intergroup apologies. Nadler and Liviatan (2006) suggest that apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation for intergroup or collective guilt is harder to obtain than interpersonal apology. Thus, this present study hopes to shed light on that gap by offering political apologies which affect many victims and audiences to fulfill the research gap and expand this knowledge of political apologies



to adjust the teaching of apologies in the context of language use and lexical bundles found in those speeches. This can be a guideline at the international level to be used as a resource for writing political apologies.

In the view of apologies and culture, Jung (2004) explains that speech communities have different views on what counts as offensive, and the appropriate remedies and value of contextual factors that might cause miscommunication among people from different cultures. Jung studied cross-cultural apology speech acts between American native speakers and Korean speakers of English by employing the model of Olshatain and Cohen (1983) and Trosborg (1987). Students held TOEFL scores of 600 or above with a minimum one and half-year stay in the United States and a minimum of eleven years of studying English in Korea. Role play was performed in various situations to observe the speaker's selection of apology strategies. The result showed that both native English speakers and Korean speakers of English express high use of apology. It can be noted that both groups used the expressions *'I am very sorry'*, *'I'm really sorry'* but Korean speakers of English also used some expressions *'Can you forgive me'*, *'Please, forgive me, please'* which were not found in native English speakers and for which such additional intensive expressions should not have been necessary for speakers of equal status. So, it seems Korean speakers of English were unable to use appropriate expressions in L2. For the explanation strategy, both groups used this strategy in all cases. However, Korean speakers of English used more significant words in L2 than native speakers of English because they felt that they could not communicate their intended meaning effectively. Verbose constructions were employed, such as *'Oh, presently, I forgot everything. I try to remember everything, but I forgot. Actually, frankly speaking, I forgot*

*the meeting*. Jung explains that Korean group seemed to lack confidence but were eager to ensure that their intended message was conveyed to the hearer. For acknowledgement of responsibility, Korean speakers of English use this strategy less than native speakers of English. This might be due to the fact that Korean speakers of English are unaware of linguistic choices and L2 sociocultural factors for spoken apologies. Moreover, Korean speakers of English have different views of value assessment of social status from English native speakers. This is to say, they will transfer their L1 norms to L2 when apologizing to people of higher social status where this transferring is not found for the same social status. For the offer of repair strategy, it was found that both groups applied this strategy and provided specific offers to remedy the situation in their L1. However, Korean speakers of English used the offer of repair and provided a specific remedy less frequently in L2. This because they lack L2 knowledge to use specific answers or were unable to understand L2 sociolinguistic rules in the apology act. For the promise of non-recurrence, both groups applied this strategy in their apologies. Native speakers of English use immediate future expressions such as *'I'll make sure that I don't miss next time'* where Korean speakers of English used a more absolute sense such as *'I'll never do this again'*. Jung explains in the end that cross-cultural speech act studies have value since results in the classroom practice show L2 cultural differences between native speakers of English and Korean speakers of English.

### **2.6.2 Previous studies in the spoken corpus**

Altenberg (1998) investigates phrases in the London-Lund spoken corpus (LLC) which is a small corpus of 500,000 words, and found two-word phrases in up to 201,000 recurrent word combinations, but considered that this had little meaning. Thus, he studied three words occurring

to obtain more interesting linguistic data. He found strings of words could present dependent and independent clauses, single and multiple clauses, and incomplete phrases, and classified these into each function.

Some common types of single clause elements with a length of three words or more in the LLC are shown in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 Three lexical bundle words or more in the LLC

Element type	Example
Vagueness tags	and so on / or something like that / and all that / and thing like that / something like that / sort of thing / that sort of thing
Qualifying expression	more or less / in a way / in a sense / on the whole
Intensifiers / quantifiers	the whole thing / a bit more / a little bit / a lot more / a little more / the whole lot
Connectors	first of all / at any rate / in other words / on the other hand / at the same time
Temporal expressions	at the moment / at the time / in the past / the other day / in the morning / at that time / for the first time / in the afternoon / in the end / at this stage / for a long time / for a moment / in the future / at the time / at the same time
Spatial expression	in this country / at the back / in the country / in the field / in the house / in the world

Altenberg notices that the majority of phrases have adverbial functions and play important roles in discourse for time, space and organization of the discourse, while many are typical of speech but hard to find in written language. Some frequent incomplete phrases with a length of three words or more in the LLC are as follows: *out of the*, *a sort of*, *the sort of*, *a lot of*, *because of the*, *a couple of*, *what sort of*, *part of the*, *one of the*, *a kind of*. Altenberg explains that there is one lexis missing usually, lexical choice depends on conversation topic, thus lexical words will vary

according to the rest of the phrase.

Biber (2006) adds that linguists have paid attention to how writers and speakers use various mechanisms to convey personal feelings and assessments, such as affect, evidence, hedge, and stance by complementary methodologies ranging from descriptions of a single text to empirical investigation of general patterns in the computer corpora base. Lexico-grammatical features can indicate the personal stance of the speaker and writer such as personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements, or assessments. Stance expression can be done through grammatical devices, value-laden word choices, and paralinguistic devices. Grammatical stance is the most overt, where a distinct grammatical structure is used to express stance with some respect to some other proportion. For instance, two common grammatical devices used to mark stance are adverbials and complement clause constructions. Stance adverbials express the attitude or assessment of the speaker/writer with respect to the proportion contained in the matrix clause:

*Obviously* you don't have to come to class on May fifth.

I *doubt* that they have published this.

Value-laden and paralinguistic devices can express stance, but they are less explicit and do not express stance overtly and can be difficult for evaluative operation. So, this part is omitted from Biber's study.

Grammatical stance attributed to the speaker and writer (1<sup>st</sup> person) overtly then attributed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

First person pronoun + stance verb + that clause:

*I know* a lot of people avoid Sacramento because of the deathly smog here.

First person pronoun + stance adjective + that clause:

We are becoming increasingly certain that the theory has far reaching implications... On the one hand, stance expressions to 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are not included in Biber's study because they do not necessarily reflect personal stance as in the example below.

*You think* I did a good job.

*They need* to revise the marketing plan.

For normal inference, there are devices to express the speaker or writer's stance such as modal verbs, stance adverbials, and extraposed complement clauses as in the examples below.

Modal verb:

Both cases *might* be true.

Stance adverbial:

*Maybe* someone mentioned this in speaking about it.

Stance adjective controlling extraposed *to*-clause:

*It seems fairly obvious* to most people that the government charges a luxury tax from those millionaires.

Biber study covers implicit and explicit expression of grammatical stance and focuses on modal verbs (and semi-modals), stance adverbs, and stance complementation clauses. Modal verbs are classified as their functions into three groups: possibility/permission/ability, necessity/obligation, and prediction/volition. Stance adverbs are grouped into three major semantic

categories: epistemic (express certainty, indicate degree of likelihood), attitude, and style. The complementary clause is the most complex grammatical device to express stance such as *that-clause* and *to-clause*. The analysis of complementary clauses covers verbs, adjectives, and nouns.

Study data based on the TOEFL 200 spoken and written academic language corpus contains around 2.7 million words which is a relatively large dataset. The study focuses on classroom teaching, class management talk, textbooks, and written course management language. All texts were edited to ensure accuracy in transcribing and scanning. All texts were annotated with grammatical triggers and tags to ensure a high degree of accuracy in the corpus. Biber proposes that lexico-grammatical features be used for stance analyses as follows.

### 1. Modal and semi-modal verbs

- possibility / permission / ability: can, could, may, might
- necessity / obligation: must, should, (had) better, have to, got to, ought to
- predication / volition: will, would, shall, be going to

### 2. Stance adverbs

- Epistemic

Certainty: e.g., actually, certainly, in fact

Likelihood: e.g., apparently, perhaps, possibly

- Attitude: e.g., amazingly, importantly, surprisingly

- Style/perspective: e.g., according to, generally, typically

### 3. Complement clauses controlled by stance verbs, adjectives, or nouns

### 3.1 Stance complement clauses controlled by verbs

#### 3.1a Stance verb + that clause

- Epistemic verbs:

Certainty: e.g., conclude, determine, know

Likelihood: e.g., believe, doubt, think

- Attitude verbs: e.g., expect, hope, worry

- Speech act and other communication verbs (non-factual): e.g., argue, claim, report, say

#### 3.1b Stance verb + to-clause

- Probability (likelihood) verbs: appear, happen, seem, tend

- Mental (cognition/perception) verbs (likelihood): e.g., believe, consider

- Desire / intention / decision verbs: e.g., intend, need, want

- Verbs of effort / facilitation: e.g., attempt, help, try

- Speech act and other communication verbs: e.g., advise, remind, request

### 3.2 Stance complement clauses controlled by adjectives

#### 3.2a Stance adjective + that-clause (often extraposed constructions)

- Epistemic adjective:

Certainty: e.g., certain, clear, obvious

Likelihood: e.g., (un)likely, possible, probable

- Attitude / emotion adjectives: e.g., amazed, shocked, surprised

- Evaluation adjectives: e.g., essential, interesting, noteworthy

### 3.2b Stance adjective + to-clause (often extraposed constructions)

- Epistemic (certainty / likelihood) adjectives: e.g., certain, likely, sure
- Attitude / emotion / adjectives: e.g., happy, pleased, surprised
- Evaluation adjectives: e.g., essential, important, necessary
- Ease or difficulty adjectives: e.g., difficult, easy, hard

### 3.3 Stance complement clauses controlled by nouns

#### 3.3a Stance noun + that-clause

- Epistemic nouns:

Certainty: e.g., conclusion, fact, observation

Likelihood: e.g., assumption, claim, hypothesis

- Attitude / perspective nouns: e.g., hope, view

- Communication (non-factual) nouns: e.g., comment, proposal

#### 3.3b Stance noun + to-clause: e.g., failure, obligation, tendency

The overall finding of this study, in general, is that stance is overtly marked to a greater extent in the spoken rather than the written register. Modal verbs have higher frequency than the other two markers of stance, but stance adverbs and stance complement clauses also occur more commonly in spoken language than in the written register. Stance features tend to be differentially associated with the different communicative purposes, cutting across the spoken and written differences. It would be the case that the management registers in both modes – classroom



management and course management – result in more extensive use of stance features than the academic register.

### **2.6.3 Grammatical structure in corpus study**

The pattern grammar proposed by Hunston and Francis (2000) offers a corpus-driven approach whereby the lexical grammar of English will be used for the analysis of apology sentences in each element in following patterns and structures. Reasons to consider their work as an analysis model are: 1) their work has reviewed grammar patterns for verbs, nouns, and adjectives from Collins COBUILD Grammar Patterns which describes how words are used. A grammar pattern explains what phrases or clauses are used with verbs, adjectives, and nouns. The book lists all grammar patterns that are usually used with given patterns; 2) corpus data are taken from Bank of English (BoE) developed by lexicographers at the University of Birmingham, which contains 455 million words which include spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, academic texts, non-fiction books, and other genres and is considered as a very large corpus and as a monitor corpus to look at recent and ongoing changes in English. Having such a large size, it would be able to make claims for generic patterns, and 3) the work of Hunston and Francis (2000) has been cited by many scholars including Sardinha, (2000), Stubbs (2001), Sardinha (2002), Stubbs and Barth (2003), Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), Gries, Hampe and Schönefeld (2005), Lee and Swales (2006), Littlemore and MacArthur (2007), Ellis, Simpson-Vlach and Maynard (2008), Biber (2009), and Culpeper (2010).

Apology sentences under each element found in research question 1 will be analyzed as the following grammar patterns: verbs, nouns, adjectives, as detailed in Tables 2.8 – 2.9.1.

Table 2.8 Grammar patterns of verbs

The patterns of verbs	Example
V n	<i>I <u>broke</u> my left leg.</i>
V pl-n	<i>The research <u>compares</u> two drugs.</i>
V pron-sefl (reflexive pronoun)	<i>I <u>enjoyed</u> myself.</i>
V amount	<i>Two and two <u>make</u> four.</i>
V adj	<i>He <u>escaped</u> unhurt</i>
V-ing	<i>She <u>started</u> walking</i>
V to-inf	<i>John <u>began</u> to laugh.</i>
V inf (bare infinitive)	<i>I <u>helped</u> save these animals</i>
V that	<i>We <u>agreed</u> that she was not to be told.</i>
V wh	<i>A passer-by <u>inquired</u> why the television cameras were there.</i>
V wh-to-inf (to-infinitive clause)	<i>I <u>have forgotten</u> what to say.</i>
V with quote	<i>'Hello', he <u>said</u>.</i>
V so/not	<i>I <u>think</u> so.</i>
V as if/as though	<i>You <u>look</u> as if you've seen a ghost.</i>
V and v	<i>I'll <u>go</u> and see him.</i>
V prep/adv	<i>He <u>ran</u> across the road.</i>
V and v	<i>Sarah has fair skin that <u>burns</u> easily.</i>
V prep	<i>She <u>chewed</u> on her pencil</i>
V about n	<i>He <u>was grumbling</u> about the weather.</i>
V at n	<i>The rivals <u>shouted</u> at each other.</i>
V as adj	<i>*She <u>works</u> as a professional one</i>
V by -ing	<i>*He <u>learns</u> by doing.</i>
Pl-n V together	<i>The whole team <u>must pull</u> together.</i>
V n n	<i>I <u>wrote</u> him a letter.</i>
V n adj	<i>The darkness <u>could drive</u> a man mad.</i>
V n-ing	<i>I <u>kept</u> her waiting.</i>
V n to-inf	<i>My advisers <u>counselled</u> me to do nothing.</i>

V n inf	<i>She <u>heard</u> the man laugh.</i>
V n wh	<i>He <u>showed</u> me where I should go.</i>
V n wh-to-inf	<i>I'll <u>show</u> you how to do it.</i>
V n with quote	<i>'We'll do it', she <u>promised</u> him.</i>
V n-ed (the past participle from another verb)	<i>I <u>had</u> three wisdom teeth extracted.</i>
V n prep/adv	<i>Andrew chained the boat to the bridge.</i>
V n with adv	<i>He <u>switched</u> the television on.</i>
V way prep/adv	<i>She <u>ate</u> her way through a pound of chocolate.</i>
V n about n	<i>I <u>warned</u> him about the change.</i>
V n at n	<i>*I <u>meet</u> the teacher at school.</i>
V n as adj	<i>I saw the question as crucial.</i>
pl-n V with together	<i>We <u>stuck</u> the pieces together.</i>
it V clause	<i>It <u>doesn't matter</u> what you think.</i>
it V to n clause	<i>It sounds to me as if you don't want to help her.</i>
it V prep clause	<i>It <u>came</u> to light that the plane had not been insured.</i>
it be V-ed clause	<i>It <u>is thought</u> that the temple was used in the third century.</i>
it V n clause	<i>It <u>struck</u> me that the story would make a good film.</i>
it V adj clause	<i>It <u>feels</u> good to have finished a piece of work.</i>
V it clause	<i>I hate it when she's away.</i>
V it to n clause	<i>I owe it to my parents to work hard.</i>
V it as n/adj clause	<i>He <u>would</u> take it as an insult if I left. He regards it as <u>significant</u> that the government is suggesting cuts.</i>
V it n clause	<i>They <u>left</u> it their duty to visit her in hospital.</i>
V it adj clause	<i>I <u>think</u> it best if you tell him the truth.</i>
it v	<i>It <u>snowed</u> all afternoon.</i>
it V adj	<i>It <u>was</u> very windy.</i>
it V adj prep/adv	<i>It's <u>nice</u> here.</i>
it v n	<i>It's <u>blowing</u> a gale.</i>
it V to n	<i>It <u>got</u> to the point where we couldn't bear to be in the same room</i>

it V prep/adv that	<i>It <u>says</u> here that they have live music.</i>
V it	<i>They <u>didn't make</u> it.</i>
V it prep/adv	<i>My family <u>hated</u> it in Southampton.</i>

\*Sample given by present researcher

Table 2.9 Grammar patterns of nouns

The patterns of nouns	Example
A N: the N	<i>a <u>cinch</u>, a <u>standstill</u>: the <u>blues</u>, the <u>bourgeoisie</u>.</i>
poss N	<i>I give you my word.</i>
adj N	<i>He was a tough customer.</i>
n N	<i>A window cleaner was arrested.</i>
from N, on N, to N	<i>I've been blind in my right eye from birth. The film was shot on location in Washington. They went to school together every day.</i>
N to-inf	<i>All four teams have shown a desire to win.</i>
N that	<i>There was a suggestion that the whole thing was a joke.</i>
N n	<i>They have been exercising mob rule.</i>
N prep	
N of n, N for n, N from n	<i>It was the latest in a series of acts of violence. Their hatred for one another is legendary The threat from terrorists is at its highest for two years.</i>
N with supp	<i>N with supp means the noun is preceded by and followed by prepositions: about, against, among, as, at, behind, between, for, from, in favor of, in, into, of, on, over, to, towards, with.</i>

Table 2.9.1 Grammar patterns of adjectives

Adj-ing	<i>It felt <u>uncomfortable</u> watching him.</i>
Adj to-inf	<i>The print was <u>easy</u> to read.</i>
Adj that	<i>I am absolutely <u>horrified</u> that this has happened.</i>
Adj prep	<i>It is <u>interesting</u> in finding part.</i>

Adj as n, Adj of n, Adj on n	<i>We felt <u>inadequate</u> as parents.</i> <i>I think he's fully <u>aware of</u> those dangers.</i> <i>He's always been very <u>dependent</u> on me</i>
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\*Sample given by present researcher

### 2.6.4 Previous research into lexical bundles

One of the most cited and reviewed studies of lexical bundles could possibly be the work of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004). They propose the structure and function of lexical bundles from speech and writing registers based on university teaching and textbooks as in the following summary.

Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) claim that most academic discourse has focused on a specific lexical grammatical feature in written academic registers. There are few studies in discourse markers and fixed lexical chunks. The discourse markers and lexical expressions are a part of research focuses on multi-word prefabricated expressions. Multi-word sequences have been studied in various perspectives, such as lexical phrases, formulas, routines, fixed expressions, prefabricated patterns, and lexical bundles. Although many studies have been conducted, few multi-word descriptions have been offered. These empirical research studies differ in terms of:

1. The research goals described between the full range of multi-word frequency and small sets of important sequences.
2. The criteria used to identify multi-word units such as perceptual salience, frequency criteria, or other.
3. The formal characteristics or the multi-word units studied: continuous sequences, discontinuous frames, or lexico-grammatical patterns: two- or longer word collocations.

4. Small and large text size corpora.

5. Disregard for register comparison, only spoken or written registers were analyzed, a few studies compared only multi-word units across different registers.

So, Biber, Conrad and Cortes explain that it should be the overall importance of multi-word units in discourse that will fulfill understanding when studying empirical research from different perspectives. In an overview of the study method, they use lexical bundles in the university teaching classroom as a stereotype for the oral register and textbooks as the literate register. They extend the previous study of Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) by analyzing the pattern of use in a large corpus and employing frequency criteria rather than perceptual salience. So, they expect that classroom discourse would be an intermediate state between conversation and academic prose for lexical bundles using corpus data collected from the TOEFL spoken and spoken academic language corpus which contains six different study fields (business, engineering, humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences), three levels of education (lower, upper, and graduate), and four universities (Northern Arizona, Iowa State, Sacramento, Georgia State). Lexical identification, the actual cut-off to identify lexical bundles, is rather arbitrary, so the frequency cut-off of 40 times per million words will be analyzed. Only four lexical bundles will be counted, they explain that two and four lexical bundles sometimes occur to form five- and six-word bundles. Data sequences must be found in at least five different texts to prevent idiosyncratic speakers or authors. They explain that idiomatic expressions are not lexical bundles and are usually found in fiction, not in actual face-to-face conversation. Lexical bundles do not represent structural units, which would be clauses or phrases, but the last words of the bundle link to the first element of a second structural

unit.

The findings show the distribution of nouns, verbs, and personal pronouns across registers: conversation, classroom teaching, textbooks, and academic prose. Results show a major difference between spoken and written registers in the use of these features: nouns are more common in the written registers than spoken registers, verbs and pronouns show the opposite distribution and are more common in the spoken register. Nouns are slightly more common in classroom teaching than in conversation and this reflects to some extent the primary informational purposes of teaching in contrast to the interpersonal purposes of conversation. Based on their findings, they propose structural types of lexical bundles as in the model below:

#### Structural types of lexical bundles

##### 1. Lexical bundles that incorporate verb phrase fragments

###### 1a. (connector+) 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment

Example bundles: you don't have to, I'm not going to, well I don't know

###### 1b. (connector+) 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment

Example bundles: it's going to be, that's one of the, and this is a

###### 1c. Discourse marker + VP fragment

Example bundles: I mean you know, you know it was, I mean I don't

###### 1d. Verb phrase (with non-passive verb)

Example bundles: is going to be, is one of the, have a lot of, take a look at

###### 1e. Verb phrase with passive verb

Example bundles: is based on the, can be used to , shown in figure N

1f. Yes-no question fragments

Example bundles: are you going to, do you want to, does that make sense

1g. Wh-question fragments

Example bundles: what do you think, how many of you, what does that mean

2. Lexical bundles that incorporate dependent clause fragments

2a. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + dependent clause fragment

Example bundles: I want you to, I don't know if, I don't know why, you might want to

2b. Wh-question fragments

Example bundles: what I want to, what's going to happen, when we get to

2c. If-clause fragments

Example bundles: if you want to, if you have a, if we look at

2d. (verb/adjective+) to-clause fragment

Example bundles: to be able to, to come up with, want to do is

2e. That-clause fragments

Example bundles: that there is a, that I want to, that this is a

3. Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments

3a. (connector+) Noun phrase with of-phrase fragment

Example bundles: one of the things, the end of the, a little bit of

3b. Noun phrase with other post-modifier fragments



Example bundles: a little bit about, those of you who, the way in which

### 3c. Other noun phrase expressions

Example bundles: a little bit more, or something like that, and stuff like that

### 3d. Propositional phrase expressions

Example bundles: of the things that, at the end of, at the same time

### 3e. Comparative expressions

Example bundles: as far as the, greater than or equal, as well as the

## Functional types of lexical bundles

### 1. Stance expressions

#### A. Epistemic stance

Personal

Impersonal

#### B. Attitudinal/modality stance

##### B1. Desire

Personal

##### B2. Obligation/directive

Personal

Impersonal

##### B3. Intention/prediction

Personal

Impersonal

## B4. Ability

Personal

Impersonal

## 2. Discourse organizers

A. Topic introduction/focus

B. Topic elaboration/clarification

## 3. Referential expressions

A. Identification/focus

B. Imprecision

C. Specification of attributes

C1. Quantitative specification

C2. Tangible framing attributes

C3. Intangible framing attributes

D. Time/place/text/ reference

D1. Place reference

D2. Time reference

D3. Text deixis

D4. Multi-functional reference

## 4. Special conversational function

A. Politeness

## B. Simple inquiry

## C. Reporting

Conrad and Biber (2004) note that the interest in the importance of recurring patterns in linguistics has received attention from scholars prior to computer assistance, while much language use consists of repeated expressions and leads to the study of lexical bundles. The idea that humans store multi-word sequences as single units comes from the psycholinguistics field and is supported by Wray (2002), forming a dual system for language processing, and bringing the argument that while we have the capacity for analytical processing, our processing mode requires less processing effort. While more direct evidence is needed, it is clear that, for psycholinguistics too, multiple word sequences are important for language descriptions. Similarly, psycholinguistics tests use Formulaic Sequences Factorially Crossing  $n$ -Gram Length, Frequency, and Mutual Information (MI) by Ellis, Simpson-Vlach and Maynard (2008). The results between English native speakers and advanced second language learners of English (ESL) for academic purposes courses (EAP) show that *“Native speakers’ language processing is affected by the MI of formulaic expressions when they are reading them for recognition of correct form, reading them to access its pronunciation, and reading aloud the final word after having processed the rest of the expression. Advanced ESL learners’ language processing is affected by the frequency of formulaic expressions when they are reading them for recognition of correct form, when reading them to access pronunciation, and, marginally, when executing that articulation”* (375-396).

Although there is disagreement on how to identify and study multi-word sequences, scholars try to study six characteristics of multi-words: fixedness (idiomaticity, frequency, length of sequence), completeness in syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and intuitive recognition by native speakers of a language community upon which all these characters depend in focus studies.

Conrad and Biber aim to identify the most common sequences of words and determine those sequences as building blocks of discourse. Their research questions: are there multi-words sequences and if yes, how do bundles fulfill discourse functions in the communicative repertoire of speakers and writers. They search for sequences longer than two words because two words have no distinct discourse level function. They employ the fixed-word approach of Altenberg (1993; 1998) to identify multi-word sequences. Data are taken from the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus and consist of 3.9 million words for the conversation mode and 5.3 million words for the academic prose mode. The frequency of three- and four-word bundles is at least 40 times per million words and the cut-off is at least five different texts, however, most bundles found in their study are found in more than 30 texts. Additionally, they run the data for three-word, four-word, five-word, and six-word bundles separately to consider the contractions as a single word. Lexical bundle identifications are classified into two ways.

1. Structural characteristics of the bundles. The bundles are constructed from verbs and clause components, and noun phrases and prepositional phrase components then categorized into 12 structural types according to the Longman Grammar.

For the structural pattern of lexical bundles. Conrad and Biber report that most of the bundles in conversation are parts of declaratives and questions, that is, 90% of lexical bundles include verb phrase parts. In academic prose, most of the lexical bundles (about 60%) are noun phrase or prepositional phrase parts as summarized in the details given below.

Percentage of Conversation	Structural Type	Example
44%	Personal pronoun + lexical VP (+complement clause)	I don't know that
13%	(aux+) active V (+)	have a look at
12%	yes-no and wh-question fragments	can I have a what do you want
Academic Prose		
33%	preposition + NP fragment	as a result of
30%	NP with post-modifier fragment	the nature of the

For the functional classification of the lexical bundles, the results are classified into four categories: stance expressions, discourse organizers, referential expressions, and special conversational functions. Conrad and Biber report the functions of common lexical bundles in conversation. The portion of lexical bundles in conversation for personal stance expression is high. They are used for epistemic stance (usually expressing lack of certainty or knowledge), expressing personal desires and inquiring into others' desires, directing others, releasing others from

obligations, or inquiring into one's own obligations, and discussing intentions. For the function of common lexical bundles in academic prose, Conrad and Biber report that the most common subcategory is the specification of attributes, with bundles covering quantity, tangible attributes, and a variety of intangible attributes.

At the end of their study, Conrad and Biber conclude that their exploratory approach shows that *“different registers rely on different sets of lexical bundles, and that the bundles have important discourse functions that fit the context and purposes of the registers in which they are common”*. The bundles serve as building blocks of typical discourse within the register.

Biber and Barbieri (2007) observe that in the lexical bundles in the university spoken and written register, they explain that the written register has been investigated by scholars for academic variety and pedagogical implications of descriptive study, but fewer studies have examined spoken academic purpose which focuses description on longer lexical phrases, chunks, and idioms. Multi-word sequences have been studied in multiple facets, such as lexical phrases, formulas, routines, fixed expressions, and pre-fabricated patterns. There are different approaches to these studies such as using different criteria and explanations for the identification of multi-word sequences, and providing different perspectives on the use of multi-word sequences.

Biber and Barbieri adopted a complementary approach in their study to describe multi-word sequences in a given register, and called it lexical bundles. To strengthen understanding, Biber and Barbieri explain that lexical bundles usually comprise incomplete structures and are not idiomatic in meaning. Biber and Barbieri have extended their present study from Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) which described the use of lexical bundles of classroom teaching (spoken) and

textbooks (written). Such studies develop a functional framework for the description of lexical bundles in discourse for three functions: stance expressions, discourse organizers, referential expressions. So, Biber and Barbieri have investigated the use of lexical bundles in a wide range of spoken and written university registers: instructional registers, student advising, management (talk, written), institutional registers, and student-student academic interactions in their present study.

Biber and Barbieri collected data from the TOEFL 200 Spoken and Written Academic Language (T2K-SWAL) corpus. Texts from the corpus consist of six disciplines (business, engineering, natural science, social science, humanities, education), three levels of education (lower, upper, graduate) and four universities (Northern Arizona, Iowa State, California State Sacramento, and Georgia State). Classroom teaching data for the spoken register include classroom management talk, advising, and meeting groups. Written components are textbooks, course management, and institutional writing.

At the operational stage, lexical bundles are identified by a frequency-driven approach. The frequency cut-off to identify bundles is arbitrary. They used 40 times per million words as the cut-off, and by using such a normalizing rate it enabled them to compare four lexical bundles through the corpus of different text size, stating that it must re-occur in 20 different texts to prevent idiosyncratic uses by individual speakers or authors. Lexical bundles have three major characteristics that are different from formulaic expressions:

1. Lexical bundles are by definition extremely common.
2. Most lexical bundles are not idiomatic and not perceptually salient.

3. Lexical bundles are usually incomplete structures. Lexical bundles link two structural units; that is, they start at a clause or phrase boundary and the last words of the lexical bundle are the beginning elements of a second structural unit. Lexical bundles link two clauses in speech, while they link two phrases in writing. Lexical bundles provide a kind of pragmatic head for larger phrases and clauses and function as discourse to express new information. To summarize, the lexical bundle expresses stance or textual meanings, while the remainder of the phrase/clause express new propositional information that has been framed by the lexical bundle.

Lexical bundles have three discourse functions: stance expression, discourse organizers, and referential expressions with their sub-categories.

Stance bundles express epistemic evaluations or attitudinal, modality meanings, and there are five functional sub-categories.

1. Epistemic lexical bundles:

*I don't know* what the price is.

There was irony *in the fact that* the American history...

2. Desire bundles:

*I don't want* to deliver bad news to his mother.

*I want you to* take out the calculator from this room.

3. Obligation (directive) bundles:

*All you have to do* is re-write the article.

4. Intentional prediction bundles:



Right now *what we are going to* take a look at are ones that are...

5. Ability bundles:

I want you *to be able to* name and define those textbooks

Discourse organizing bundle functions indicate the overall discourse structure to signify the informational status statement.

1. Topic introduction bundles:

*What I want to do* is quickly run statistical data.

2. Topic elaboration/clarification bundles:

*It has to do with the* monetary policy structure.

3. Identification/focus bundles:

*For those of you who* came earlier I have the...

Referential bundles identify an entity, or single out some particular attribute of an entity as especially important.

1. Impression bundles:

I think really we now have what about, five weeks left in class or *something like that*.

2. Bundle specifying attributes:

It creates *a little bit of* wealth.

3. Time/place/text-deixis bundles:

Children in the United Kingdom are not formally employed in farm work...

He's in that...office down there... at *the end of the* hall...

The overall findings of Biber and Barbieri (2007) show several unexpected results. For spoken registers, classroom management and service encounters have the widest variety of bundles. Their present study results contrast with the study of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) which concluded that classroom teaching uses a wide variety of lexical bundles. However, the present study of Biber and Barbieri (2007) reports that classroom teaching is less distinctive compared to other university register ranges. For the non-academic written register, it uses many lexical bundles as spoken register, while written course management uses more lexical bundle types than any other register in the present study.

The lexical bundles study results from 2004 conducted by Biber, Conrad and Cortes indicated that lexical bundles are much more common in spoken discourse than written discourse. However, the present study in 2007 indicates that speakers or writers rely on the lexical bundles which have considerable influence on their communicative purpose. The explanation for the infrequent lexical bundles in the academic written registers seems to lie in the restricted communicative purposes of those registers – focused on information communication rather than the written mode itself.

In summary, the works of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), Biber (2006), and Biber and Barbieri (2007) are very useful for this present study. In particular, the models of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) will be used as the analysis model for the form and structure of the corpus and lexical bundles.

Sricharoen and Wijitsopon (2017) claim that one problem is that authentic and taught business email comparison is needed. So, they studied lexical bundles in informal business e-mails

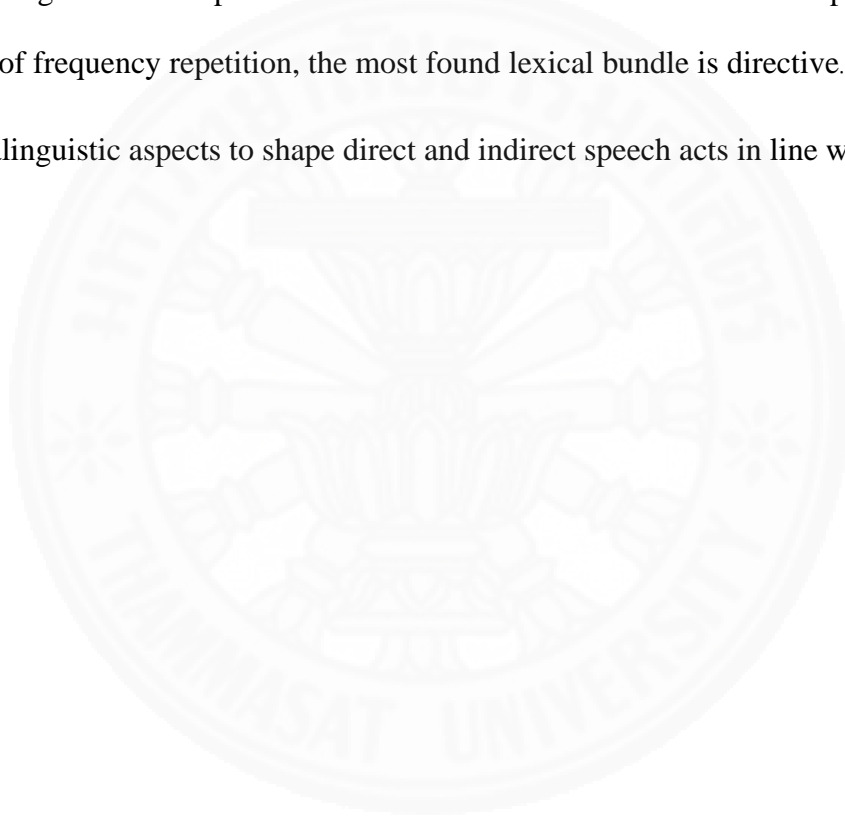
from real use and in textbooks and employed Biber *at al.* (2004) and Biber (2006) as the analysis model. The data collected from the textbook email corpus (TEC) comprised authentic business emails from the Enron Corporation (ENRON) and used software called AntConc. Only four lexical bundles were analyzed. Data excluded were 1) pronoun or context-dependent words, 2) lexical items across sentence boundaries which do not make sense, such as *me know if you*. Additionally, contraction of long lexical bundles which break down into two bundles are excluded such as *look forward to hearing* and *to hearing from you* which constitute the lexical bundle *look forward to hearing from you*. Then two co-raters considered functional categories to validate the data. Overall the data showed similarity and differences in various ways. For similarities, there are special functions of lexical bundles found in ENRON (32%) and in TEC (47.5%). In contrast, the other three functional types of both corpora go in the opposite directions. Stance and referential expressions are at the lowest frequency found in TEC; however, they are the second and third most frequently found in ENRON. Moreover, the discourse organizers type is found to occupy the second rank in TEC, but found in the lowest rank in the ENRON corpus. Sricharoen and Wijitsopon suggest pedagogical implications. Special functions are found in both corpus datasets and have the pragmatic aspect of politeness and expectation which can be used in informal emails. Obligation/directive, topic elaboration, intangible, etc. lexical bundles are found in ENRON which comprises the actual usage e-mail corpus, and they are not found in the textbook (TEC). While in fact, authors of textbooks try to cover everything, this information can be used as missing functions guidelines in text books.

Normally linguists search for four or five lexical bundles and in the previous study of Biber

(2004), Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), and Conrad and Biber (2004) the text type results in lexical bundles. Kopaczyk (2012) explains that text type will be expected to fall within a suitable range of appropriate, acceptable construction and language so the text is correlated with its functions for communicative situations, and deviation norms may result in failures of recognition. The length of reoccurring word combinations poses the very specific challenge and research opportunity. Legal discourse has stylistic variety and conscious avoidance of structural monotony, which is why legal texts are more formulaic than other formal discourse. Kopaczyk examines eight lexical bundles in Scots legal text. The greatest challenge in the study is the age of the text which is not the present-day legal text. Kopaczyk studied Scots legal texts during the 1380-1560 timeframe because the language was on the way towards becoming a standardized vernacular, much as in its English counterpart south of the border. Uniform patterns of use were being developed at that time, as much on the level of linguistic analysis as on the level of text. Corpus data were collected from: 1) The Edinburgh Corpus of Older Scots (ECOS) (2008) which contains the corpus of medieval Scots to date in a total of 380,000 words from the years 1380-1500; 2) The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (HCOS) (1995) which contains legal and administrative localized text from the years 1450-1560 amounting to 57,000 words. The texts were run through custom software which extracted strings of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 lexical bundles at every word boundary. They found 320 examples of 8 lexical bundle words with at least five different texts. Once data were compared, the variant of the same bundle was found one or twice only which affects the total count frequency. Then a decision is taken to change the spelling manually until receiving 256 bundle types with a highest frequency of forty times and lowest frequency of five times. The study results reveal eight elements

of bundles: referential function (time, location, object of location, participant in legal action), the interactional function (directives, representatives, declaratives, commissives), and the lexical function (narrative, definitional).

Kopaczyk concludes in the end that word-to-word repetition of eight lexical bundles of legal texts in the large size corpus indicates the existence of formulaic, usual patterns and standardized ways of phrasing some important meanings. Lexical functions of medieval and early modern Scots legal discourse production meet communicative needs within a particular sphere of life. In terms of frequency repetition, the most found lexical bundle is directive. In a legal context, it needs extralinguistic aspects to shape direct and indirect speech acts in line with legal content.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter presents the research questions, data collection methods, framework for analysis, and data analysis. The research design for this study is based on a mixed method design using both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

#### **3.1 Research Questions**

This study is conducted to answer the following three research questions.

1. What are the elements of political apology that have been made by leaders in 14 countries with democratic political systems?
2. What is the language used under each element of political apologies?
3. What are the lexical bundles used in a corpus of fifty apology speeches?

#### **3.2 Data Collection**

The data in this research are 50 apology speeches that are available online that have been made by prime ministers, presidents, or politicians in 14 countries with democratic political systems during a period spanning 1992 to 2019, with a corpus size 61,892 words. The corpus itself is relatively small; however, it is considered a specialized corpus. Wu (2009) explains that if the corpus is to serve as a reference corpus, it can be fairly small. Additionally, although the number of words of the corpus may not be used to generalize the patterns of all political apologies, it could reveal how language is used by these countries' leaders when they make important apologies. Hunston (2002) also added that a corpus size should be manageable and should not exceed practical considerations. It can be relatively small, but is necessary to be sufficient.

Again, although the corpus size is relatively small for linguistic corpus research, the political apology is a typical discourse and specific enough to shed light on the language of perpetrators delivered to victims. The findings and simple frequencies to be reported are relatively small and should be interpreted cautiously.

There are four criteria in selecting the speeches to compile the corpus .

1 .The speech was delivered by English native speaking and non-native English speaking politicians .

2 .The speeches were made in the English language or have professional translations available in English.

3 .The speeches have been posted on websites such as those of news agencies, governments, or overseas news agencies.

4 .The speeches were intended for public apologies, not personal conflicts.

After searching and collecting political apology speeches, the researcher reviewed those speeches by looking at the apology contents to ensure that the speeches were for public and not for personal purposes .Apologies can be offered to historical or current wrongs and injustices in those countries .When it comes to the question of what can be considered as public political apologies, Verdeja) 2010 (points out that political apologies can be given by government representatives and supported by legitimate power .Thus, the selected apologies for the study at hand were speeches given by prime ministers, presidents, or politicians at the national level. Table 3.1 details the final selection of the speeches analyzed in the corpus of this study.

Table 3.1 Summary of the fifty political apologies

Country	Year	Words	Apology content
Japan	1992	3332	Japanese PM apologized for WW II to Korea during state visit
USA	1993	143	US President apologized to Japanese-American internees for mistreatment during WW II.
Japan	1995	658	Japanese PM addressed the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war's end.
USA	1997	1527	US President apologizes for medical study in Tuskegee.
UK	1998	2999	UK Prime Minister declared an end to 800 years of enmity between England and Ireland.
USA	2001	233	US ambassador apologized for US aircraft entering China's airspace and causing the death of one Chinese pilot.
Germany	2000	2269	German President apologized to Jews for genocide during WW II.
NZ	2002	1201	NZ PM apologized to the Chinese community for head tax on immigration.
Country	Year	Words	Apology content
NZ	2002	1068	NZ PM apologized for influenza, protests, and colonization to Samoa.
UK	2005	147	UK Prime Minister apologized to the families for the IRA bomb attacks in 1974.
Philippines	2005	552	Philippines President apologized for spying on general election results.
Canada	2006	828	Canada Prime Minister apologized to Chinese community for head tax immigration during 1990s.
USA	2008	1136	Rep. Steve Cohen, Congress, apologized for slavery, Jim Crow law.
NZ	2008	978	NZ PM apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	690	John Key (Leader of the Opposition) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	189	Rt. Hon. Winston (Leader of NZ First) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	463	Keith Locke (Green Party) apologized for Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	843	Hon. Tariana Tuiira (Co-leader of the Maori Party) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	619	Hon. Peter Dunne (Leader of United Future) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	649	Heather Roy (Deputy Leader of the Act Party) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
NZ	2008	553	Hon. Jim Anderson (Leader of the Progressive Party) apologized to Vietnam veterans.
Canada	2008	890	Canadian PM apologized to former students of Indian residential schools.
Australia	2008	3876	Australian PM apologized to Australian indigenous peoples.
Australia	2009	3867	Australian PM apologized to British child migrants.
UK	2010	1804	UK Prime Minister apologized to UK civilians for Bloody Sunday on Jan 30, 1972.
Canada	2010	589	John Duncan, Member of Parliament, apologized to the Inuit High Arctic for forcing relocation.



Norway	2011	545	Norwegian Prime Minister addressed the victims of bombing by Norway during WW II.
Canada	2011	211	John Duncan, Member of Parliament, marked the first anniversary of the apology to the Inuit High Arctic for forcing relocation.
Singapore	2011	874	Singaporean PM apologized for public facilities process failing to meet the plan.
Norway	2012	259	Norwegian PM apologized to Jews and Norwegian Jews for the holocaust during WW II.
UK	2012	427	Nick Clegg, Member of Parliament, made an apology for increasing tuition fees.
Canada	2013	636	Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne apologized to developmentally disabled people.
Australia	2013	629	Australian PM apologized for forced adoptions.
Ireland	2013	2086	Enda Kenny, Member of Legislature, apologized to Magdalene women.
Japan	2015	1662	Japanese PM addressed the 70 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of war's end.
USA	2015	3469	US President addressed the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the events of Bloody Sunday.
Taiwan	2016	1942	Taiwanese President apologized to indigenous people.
Australia	2016	2357	Premier Daniel Andrews apologized for homosexuality punishments during the 1970s.
S. Korea	2016	346	South Korean President apologized for pursuing private gain.
Japan	2016	1299	Japanese PM address at the WWII memorial in Hawaii.
Canada	2016	950	Canadian PM apologized for the Komagata Maru incident in 1914.
Canada	2017	1244	Canadian PM apologized to residential school survivors in Newfoundland.
Canada	2017	1515	Canadian PM apologized to Newfoundland students and Labrador residential schools.
UK	2017	98	UK PM apologized to former child migrants – 7 <sup>th</sup> anniversary.
Canada	2017	1864	Canadian PM apologized to the LGBTQ community.
Japan	2018	331	Japanese PM address on the 73 <sup>rd</sup> national memorial ceremony marking the end of WW II.
Norway	2018	918	Norwegian Prime Minister apologized to women who had forced relationships with Germans.
Canada	2018	2800	Canadian PM apologized to the passengers of M.S. St. Louis.
Australia	2018	2469	Scott Morrison, Member of Parliament, apologized to survivors and victims of child sexual abuse.
S. Africa	2019	859	Herman Mashaba, Mayor of Johannesburg, addressed the actions of the oppressive apartheid government.
Total		61892	

### 3.3 Frameworks for Analysis

The framework for analyzing research question 1: *What are the elements of political apology that have been made by leaders in 14 countries with democratic political systems?* followed the work of Blatz, Schumann and Ross (2009) who analyzed the elements in apology speeches. Blatz et al. proposed a model that consists of 10 elements that make up a political apology.

Blatz et al. (2009) conducted a review of previous interpersonal apology research and found that a comprehensive apology could potentially contain six complementary and distinguishable elements (Schlenker & Darby, 1981; Tavuchis, 1991; Scher & Darley, 1997; Lazare, 2004; Schmitt, Gollwitzer, Forster & Montada, 2004). These elements include: (1) remorse (e.g., "I'm sorry"); (2) acceptance of responsibility (e.g., "It's my fault"); (3) admission of injustice or wrongdoing (e.g., "What I did was wrong"); (4) acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering (e.g., "I know you are upset"); (5) forbearance, or promises to behave better in the future (e.g., "I will never do it again"), and (6) offers of repair (e.g., "I will pay for the damages"). Blatz *et al.* (2009) reviewed further research for other elements that were not found in interpersonal apologies and found another four elements that governments might include in their apology speeches for psychological effects, as follows.

1. Address the minority identity, historical painful injustice, the apology that was not given in the past as suggested by Branscombe and Doosje (2004) and Tajfel and Turner (1986).

2. Minimize and avoid the resistance from the innocent group which make up the majority of the population as suggested by Viles (2002) and by Blatz, Ross and Starzyk (2008).

3. Praise for the current law system and government's fairness because people believe that they live in a fair country which could have a psychological effect, suggested by Jost and Banaji (1994) and Lerner (1980).

4. Finally, Blatz et al. (2009) suggest that governments which make apologies might dissociate the system, conditions, law, and society during the past wrongdoing from the current government action for justice.

Blatz et al. (2009) ultimately proposed 10 elements that make up political apologies as follows: (1) Remorse; (2) Acceptance of responsibility; (3) Admission of injustice/wrongdoing; (4) Acknowledgment of harm and or suffering; (5) Forbearance; (6) Offer of repair; (7) Praise for minority group; (8) Praise for majority group; (9) Praise for present conditions, and (10) Disassociation of injustice from the present system. Table 3.2 summarizes the ten elements of apologies.

Table 3.2 Analytical Framework from Blatz, Schumann and Ross (2009)

Elements	Examples
1. Remorse	<i>I am sorry.</i>
2. Acceptance of responsibility	<i>It is my fault.</i>
3. Admission of injustice or wrongdoing	<i>What I did was wrong.</i>
4. Acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering	<i>I know you are upset.</i>
5. Forbearance	<i>I will never do it again.</i>
6. Offer of repair	<i>I will pay for the damage.</i>
7. Praise for minority group	<i>*Indigenous group has contributed to our economy.</i>
8. Praise for majority group	<i>*I wish the whole nation back to normal soon.</i>
9. Praise for the present system	<i>*Tax reduction for victims able to reduce their cost of living.</i>
10. Disassociation of injustice from the present system	<i>*Lawful acts by former government are seen as unacceptable by this government.</i>

\*Examples supplied by the present research

Framework for research question 2: *What are the forms of language used under each element of political apologies?*

The grammar patterns, including verbs, nouns, and adjectives proposed by Hunston and Francis (2000) whose detailed information was already given in Chapter 2, were employed as a guideline to explain the grammar patterns of language use for each apology element. However, the whole sentence structure will partly consist of grammatical structure (part of speech: noun, pronoun, verb, adv, adj, conjunction, preposition, interjection), while another part is the lexis. The reason is that it was easy to comprehend and could help readers to remember language use more easily than to memorize only grammar patterns as shown in the example below.

Sub + V + mistreatment + Prep + Obj (victim)

S + V + O, or N + V + N as in *Cat eats John* in a traditional way.

The reasons why Hunston and Francis's (2000) model was chosen to be the analysis model are as follows:

1. Their work reviewed grammar patterns for verbs, nouns, and adjectives from Collins COBUILD Grammar Patterns which describes how words are used. A grammar pattern explains which phrases or clauses are used with verbs, adjectives, and nouns.

2. The work of Hunston and Francis (2000) has been cited by many scholars including Sardinha, (2000, 2002), Stubbs (2001), Stubbs and Barth (2003), Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), Gries, Hampe and Schönefeld (2005), Lee and Swales (2006), Littlermore and MacArthur (2007), Ellis, Simpson-Vlach and Maynard (2008), Biber (2009), and Culpeper (2010).

Framework for research question 3: *What are the lexical bundles used in the corpus of fifty political apology speeches?*

After the lexical bundles were identified using AntConc 3.5.7, a free software program developed by Anthony (2018), the work of Biber, Conrad and Coretes (2004) covering the structural type and functional classification of lexical bundles was used as an analysis model (see Tables 3.3-3.4).

Biber, Conrad and Coretes (2004) proposed three main structural types of lexical bundle: lexical bundles that incorporate verb phrase fragments, lexical bundles that incorporate dependent clause fragments, and lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments. Each type has sub types as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Structural types of lexical bundle by Biber, Conrad and Coretes (2004)

1. Lexicon bundles that incorporate verb phrase fragments
1a. (connector+) 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment
Example bundles: you don't have to, I'm not going to, well I don't know
1b. (connector+) 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment
Example bundles: it's going to be, that's one of the, and this is a
1c. Discourse marker + VP fragment
Example bundles: I mean you know, you know it was, I mean I don't
1d. Verb phrase (with non-passive verb)
Example bundles: is going to be, is one of the, have a lot of, take a look at
1e. Verb phrase with passive verb
Example bundles: is based on the, can be used to, shown in figure N
1f. Yes-no question fragments
Example bundles: are you going to, do you want to, does that make sense
1g. Wh-question fragments

Example bundles: what do you think, how many of you, what does that mean
2. Lexical bundles that incorporate dependent clause fragments
2a. 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + dependent clause fragment
Example bundles: I want you to, I don't know if, I don't know why, you might want to
2b. Wh-question fragments
Example bundles: what I want to, what's going to happen, when we get to
2c. If-clause fragments
Example bundles: if you want to, if you have a, if we look at
2d. (verb/adjective+) to-clause fragment
Example bundles: to be able to, to come up with, want to do is
2e. That-clause fragments
Example bundles: that there is a, that I want to, that this is a
3. Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments
3a. (connector+) Noun phrase with of-phrase fragment
Example bundles: one of the things, the end of the, a little bit of
3b. Noun phrase with other post-modifier fragments
Example bundles: a little bit about, those of you who, the way in which
3c. Other noun phrase expressions
Example bundles: a little bit more, or something like that, and stuff like that
3d. Prepositional phrase expressions
Example bundles: of the things that, at the end of, at the same time
3e. Comparative expressions
Example bundles: as far as the, greater than or equal, as well as the

In addition, Biber, Conrad and Coretes (2004) proposed the functional classification of lexical bundles into three main categories: Stance expression, Discourse organizer and Referential expression. Each category has details as displayed in Table 3.4

Table 3.4 Functional classification of lexical bundles

Function classification	Examples of lexical bundles
1. Stance expression	
A. Epistemic stance	
Personal	<i>I don't know if, I don't know how, I think it was</i>
Impersonal	<i>are more likely to, the fact that the</i>
B. Attitudinal	
B1) desire	
Personal	<i>if you want to, I don't want to, you want to go</i>
Impersonal	
B2) Obligation/directive	
Personal	<i>I want you to, you have to be, you look at the</i>
Impersonal	<i>it is important to, it is necessary to</i>
B3) Intention/prediction	
Personal	<i>I'm going to, we're going to, I was going to</i>
Impersonal	<i>it's going to be, is going to be, are going to be</i>
B4) Ability	
Personal	<i>to be able to, to come up with</i>
Impersonal	<i>can be used to, it is possible to</i>
2. Discourse organizer	
A. Topic introduction/focus	<i>what do you think, take a look at, in this chapter we</i>
B. Topic elaboration/clarification	<i>has to do with, I mean you know, on the other hand</i>
3. Referential expressions	
A. Identification/focus	<i>that's one of the, and this is a, is one of the</i>
B. Impression	<i>or something like that, and stuff like that, and things like that</i>
C. Specification of attributes	
C1) Quantitative specification	<i>there is a lot of, have a lot of, a little of</i>
C2) Tangible framing attributes	<i>the size of the, in the form of</i>

C3) Intangible framing attributes	<i>in nature of the, in the case of, in terms of the</i>
D. Time/place/text reference	
D1) Place reference	<i>the United States and, of the United States</i>
D2) Time reference	<i>at the same time, at the time of</i>
D3) Text deixis	<i>shown in figure, N, as shown in figure</i>
D4) Multi-functional reference	<i>The end of the, the beginning of the, the top of the</i>
4. Special conversational functions	
A. Politeness	<i>thank you very much</i>
B. Simple inquiry	<i>what are you doing</i>
C. Reporting	<i>I said to him</i>

### 3.4 Data Analysis

Research question 1 intends to examine the elements used in the apologies in the corpus to see whether they match those elements proposed by Blatz *et al.* (2009). To begin, the researcher compiled all 50 speeches and assigned a number to each apology transcription. Then, the researcher read and reread the transcriptions to identify the elements or functions that make up political apologies, and recorded the results in a file. After that, a co-coder reviewed the results. Disagreements were resolved by discussion.

Research question 2 attempts to find the language use, including sentences and phrases under each element, that was found in the findings of research question 1. After the apology speeches were coded into elements in the framework, the researcher read, reread, and reviewed in order to accurately list the language used under each category in the political apologies corpus. In the case of sentences or phrases being repeated, the researcher tallied to report the frequency. Language uses (sentences, phrases) with similar grammar patterns were analyzed using guidelines



from the Hunston and Francis (2000) model. For example, under the element, “remorse”, the sentences *We are deeply sorry* and *We are truly sorry* were categorized into the same group and the structure would be *Sub V to be V adv* as shown in the breakdown below.

Sub	V to be	Adv	Adj
<i>We</i>	<u><i>are</i></u>	<u><i>deeply</i></u>	<i>sorry</i>
<i>We</i>	<u><i>are</i></u>	<u><i>truly</i></u>	<i>sorry</i>

For research question 3, the study employed a corpus-based approach in order to analyze lexical bundles. After a corpus of fifty apology speech transcriptions was constructed, AntConc 3.5.7, a free software program developed by Anthony (2018), was used to find Key Word In Context (KWIC) and words or phrases near target words from the whole speech. The researcher used the N-gram function to find lexical bundles of four words that appeared in four different texts. Four lexical bundles are of interest of this study because the meanings and structures of these bundles are clear (Hyland, 2007). Details of how to work with AntConc software version 3.5.7. are given below.

1. Speech texts were converted from Microsoft Word to plain text format (\*.txt file) and run number according to speech number.

2. There were two methods used to identify word combinations for lexical bundle analysis. The first method was based on the selected expressions which are frequently used or are familiar to native speakers. The second method involved finding the co-occurrence of words at different cut-off points by using a search tool (Lores, 2004). The present research focused on the form of lexical bundles, thus corpus-based research was employed to search for the frequencies in lexical bundles data.

2.1 Lexical bundles in both structure and function are based on the model of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004). To enable the researcher to consider lexical bundles and analyze the structure and functions of lexical bundles, raw data must be prepared for cut-off points, occurrence of lexical bundles, and length of word combinations first. Data were analyzed from the corpus automatically by referring to three criteria proposed by Biber and Barbieri (2007), Cortes (2004), and Hyland (2008).

### 2.1.1 The cut-off points of lexical bundles

The cut-off points of lexical bundles depend on the purpose and scope of the study. De Cock (1998) suggested a cut-off frequency from 2 to 10 times for small corpora. This present study analyzed a total of 61,892 words from 50 speeches which is a relatively low number because political apology speeches are special occasion speeches and rarely occur. Biber and Barbieri (2007) suggest a formula to calculate a normed rate of lexical items as follows

$$(\textit{Times of occurrence} / \textit{number of words in the corpus}) \times 1,000,000$$

$$\textit{Example} \quad (4 / 61,892) \times 1,000,000 = 64.62$$

According to the above calculation, a bundle that appears three times (raw frequency) in a corpus of 61,892 words would have a normed rate of 64.62 times per million words, or 6.462 times per one hundred thousand words. As this study corpus contains of 61,892 words, a bundle could be found 3.999 times which is rounded up to 4 times. Thus, the cut-off point of the three raw frequencies in this study is enough because the range for small corpora is between 2-10 times as

suggested by De Cock (1998). Moreover, the minimum frequency and minimum range of the data will be set at 4 as well.

### 2.1.2 The occurrence of lexical bundles

For the analysis of texts, Biber and Barbieri (2007) and Cortes (2004) advise that lexical bundles must be found in at least 3-5 texts. This helps to confirm if the distribution of lexical bundles is typical or simply stylistic of an individual apologizer. Apology speeches are not academic writing and have their own patterns. But as the number of speeches analyzed in this research was limited to 50 speeches, the frequency of occurrence was possibly low. Thus, bundles that were found in four different texts enabled the researcher to confirm the use of the bundles and these were counted for analysis. The recurrence in different texts could prevent the analysis of individual stylistic idiosyncrasies because this study aims to find commonness or similarity across different texts.

### 2.1.3 The length of word combinations

Hyland (2008) suggests that four-word combination lexical bundles are common; moreover, their structures and functions are clear. This study also aimed to find four-word lexical bundles because even though political apology speeches have a different purpose from academic English or generic apologies, apologizers have to soften grief and remorse in historical and political injustice discourse in exchange for acceptance, forgiveness, and reconciliation in a high context. Thus, there is a possibility to have more complex or longer lexical bundles to express the apologizer's inner feelings than can be found in only three-word combinations (Ex. *It is my*

*conviction, on behalf of the government).*

### 3. AntConc 3.5.7 software program settings

3.1. At the main screen of the program, choose the global settings menu, click the drop-down menu for Tag, go to Tag Setting and select option Hide Tag. This ensures that tags in the corpus files will not be displayed when the results are shown.

3.2. At the Tool Preferences menu, click the drop-down for Clusters/N-Grams, then choose option Treat all data as lowercase. This option will help process capital letters and small letters as the same data or group of words, such as 'We must recognize' and 'we must recognize'.

3.3. For lexical bundle processing data, Cluster size will be set to Minimum 4 and Maximum 5. This setting will help the software to process data of only four and five lexical bundles. This setting is also related to the length of word combination requirement as mentioned earlier.

3.4. At the Cluster/N-Grams menu, the occurrence of lexical bundles must have at least three occurrences. So, the Minimum Frequency will be set to at least three. The range of data must be found in at least three different texts to ensure their distribution. Thus, the Minimum Range will be set to at least three.

3.5. After the plain text files were saved on the computer, here are the operation steps.

3.5.1. Open file from software menu as shown below figure 3.1 and 3.2.

Figure 3.1 Plain text files choosing for corpus running

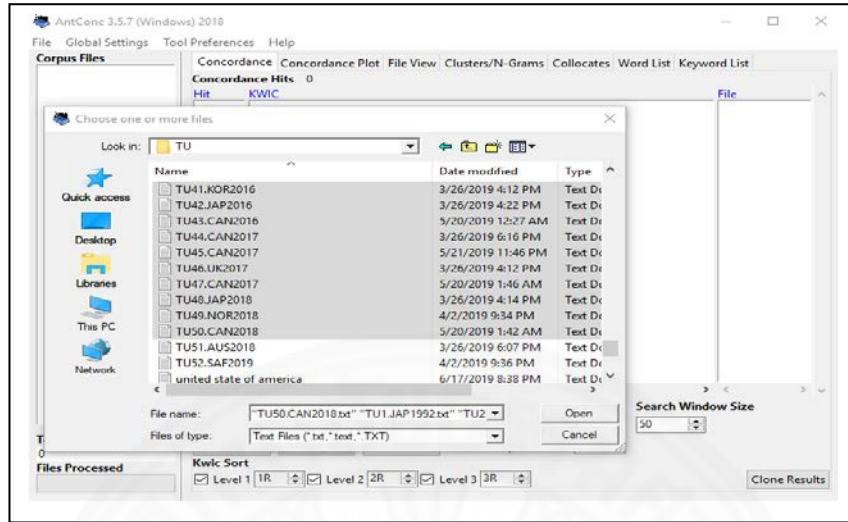
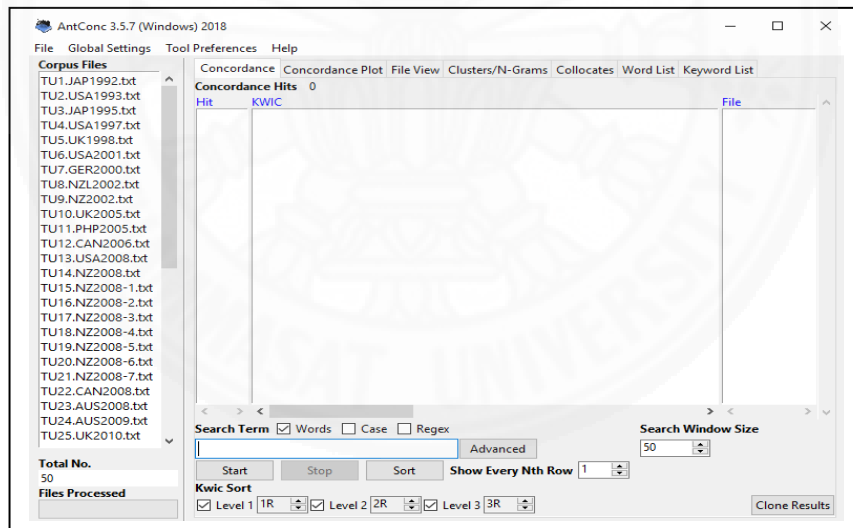
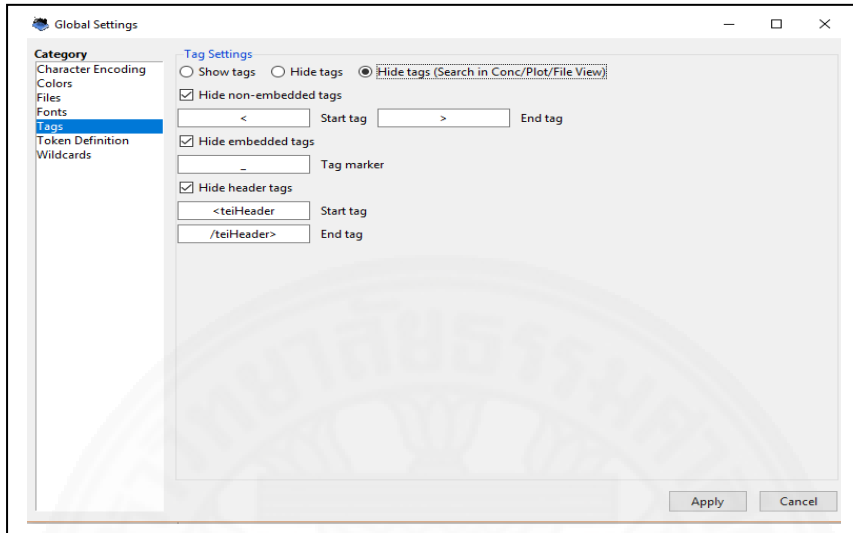


Figure 3.2 After choosing plain text files for corpus running



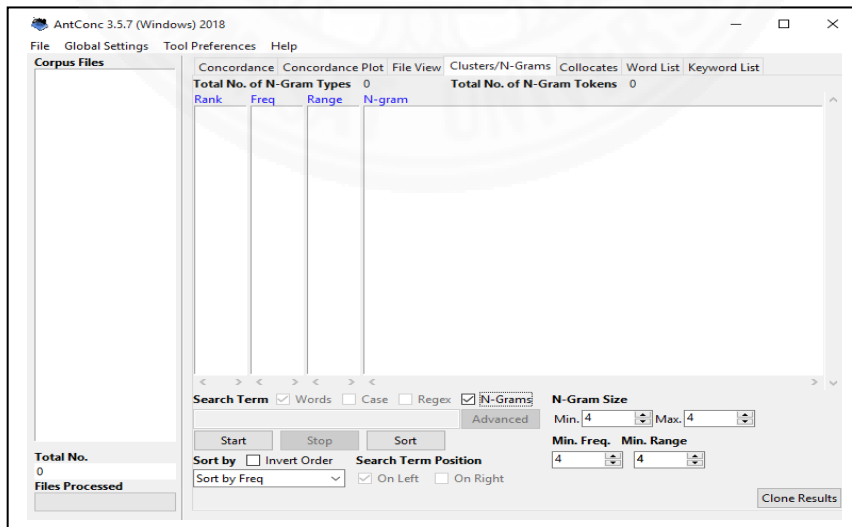
3.5.2. Click menu Global Settings and choose sub menu Tag, then choose Hide Tag, and click Apply as figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Global settings menu



3.5.3 Software runs data as setting default for N-Gram Size four word bundles with at least four frequencies and four different texts as in the screenshot below figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4 N-Gram size setting



3.5.4 Users can click on lexical found to check longer texts or sentences and are able to set the number of found at menu Search Window Size. Users save data into Text format at menu file, save output (Ctrl+S) as figure 3.5 and 3.6.

Figure 3.5 Lexical bundles running

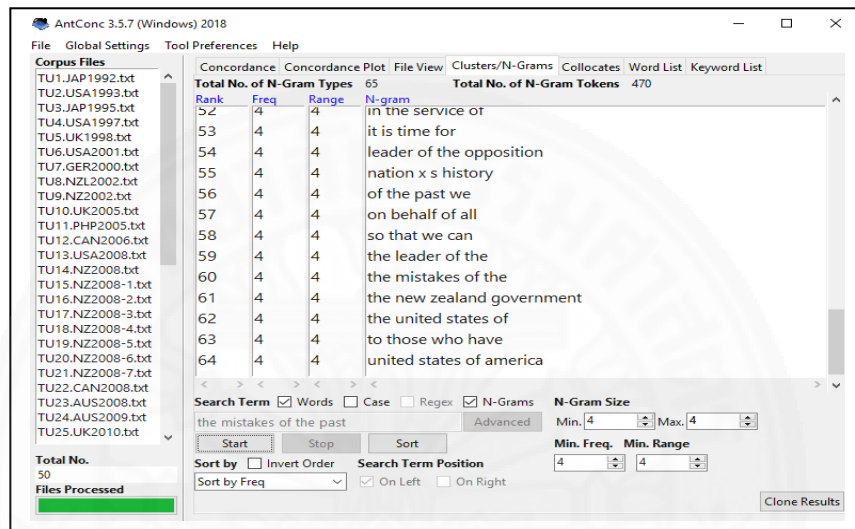
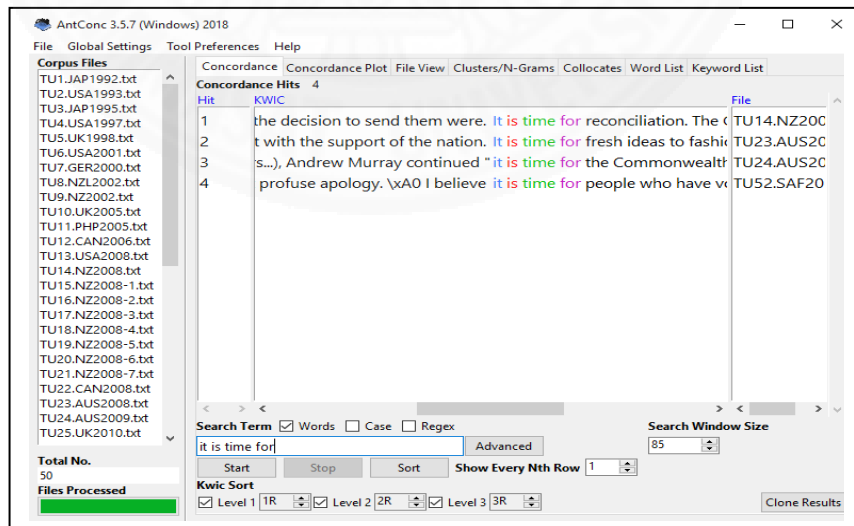


Figure 3.6 Lexical bundles line



## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

For this chapter, the researcher reports the results from the analyzing data of 50 apology speeches. The findings are presented in four parts. The first part presents the rudimentary data of apology speeches necessary for readers to understand the context. The second part presents the findings of research question 1, which includes the elements that make up political apologies in the corpus. The third part reveals language use under each element, while the last part describes the lexical bundles, their forms, and functions.

#### 4.1 Apology speeches data source

The purpose of this part is to help readers understand the background and content of each apology speech in the corpus. Data was gathered from 50 political apology speeches, which were retrieved online and span from 1992 to 2019. All samples were political speeches of apology given in English or translated into English, posted on trusted websites. To enable readers to understand the background of the data, Table 4.1 summarizes the content.

Table 4.1 Basic data for apology speeches

Country	Year	Words	Apology contents
Japan	1992	3332	Japanese PM apologizes for WW2 to Korea during a state visit.
USA	1993	143	US President apologizes to Japanese American Internees for mistreatment during WW II.
Japan	1995	658	Japanese PM addresses the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war's end.
USA	1997	1527	US President apologizes for medical study in Tuskegee.
UK	1998	2999	UK Prime Minister declares an end to 800 years of enmity between England and Ireland.
USA	2001	233	US ambassador apologizes for US aircraft entering China's airspace, which caused the death of a Chinese pilot.
Germany	2000	2269	German President apologizes to Jews for genocide during WW II.
NZ	2002	1201	NZ PM apologizes to Chinese community for head tax immigration.
NZ	2002	1068	NZ PM apologizes for influenza, protest, and colonization to Samoa.
UK	2005	147	UK Prime Minister apologizes to families affected by the IRA bomb attacks in 1974.
Philippines	2005	552	Philippines president apologizes for spying in general election results.



Canada	2006	828	Canadian Prime Minister apologizes to Chinese community for head tax immigration during 1990s.
USA	2008	1136	Rep. Steve Cohen, Congress, apologizes for slavery and Jim Crow law.
NZ	2008	978	NZ PM apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	690	John Key (Leader of the Opposition) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	189	Rt. Hon Winston (Leader of NZ First) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	463	Keith (Green Party) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	843	Hon Tariana Tuira (Co-leader of Maori Party) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	619	Hon Peter Dunne (Leader of United Future) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	649	Heather Roy (Deputy Leader of Act Party) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
NZ	2008	553	Hon Jim Anderson (leader of Progressive Party) apologizes to Viet Nam veterans.
Canada	2008	890	Canadian PM apologizes to former students of Indian residential schools.
Australia	2008	3876	Australian PM apologizes to Australian indigenous people.
Australia	2009	3867	Australian PM apologizes to British child migrants.
UK	2010	1804	UK Prime Minister apologizes to UK civilians for Bloody Sunday on Jan 30, 1972.
Canada	2010	589	John Duncan, member of parliament, apologizes to the Inuit High Arctic for forcing relocation.
Norway	2011	545	Norwegian Prime Minister addresses victims of bombing by Norway during WW II.
Canada	2011	211	John Duncan, member of parliament, marks first anniversary of apology for Inuit High Arctic for forcing relocation.
Singapore	2011	874	Singapore PM apologizes for public facilities process not being in plan.
Norway	2012	259	Norwegian PM apologizes to Jews and Norwegian Jews for holocaust during WW II.
UK	2012	427	Nick Clegg, member of parliament, apologizes for increasing tuition fees.
Canada	2013	636	Premier Kathleen Wynne apologizes to people with developmental disabilities.
Australia	2013	629	Australian PM apologizes for forced adoptions.
Ireland	2013	2086	Enda Kenny, member of legislature, apologizes to Magdalene women.
Japan	2015	1662	Japanese PM addresses the 70 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war's end.
USA	2015	3469	US President addresses the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the events of Bloody Sunday.
Taiwan	2016	1942	Taiwanese President apologizes to indigenous people.
Australia	2016	2357	Premier Daniel Andrews apologizes for homosexuality punishment during 1970s.
S. Korea	2016	346	South Korean President apologizes for pursuing private gain.
Japan	2016	1299	Japanese PM addresses WWII memorial in Hawaii, USA.

Canada	2016	950	Canadian PM apologizes for Komagata Maru incident in 1914.
Canada	2017	1244	Canadian PM apologizes to residential school survivors in Newfoundland.
Canada	2017	1515	Canadian PM apologizes to Newfoundland students and Labrador residential schools.
UK	2017	98	UK PM apologizes to former child migrants – 7 <sup>th</sup> anniversary.
Canada	2017	1864	Canadian PM apologizes to LGBTQ community.
Japan	2018	331	Japanese PM addresses the 73 <sup>rd</sup> national memorial ceremony war dead.
Norway	2018	918	Norwegian Prime Minister apologizes to women who had forced relationships with Germans during the war.
Canada	2018	2800	Canadian PM apologizes to the passengers of MS St. Louis.
Australia	2018	2469	Scott Morrison, member of parliament, apologizes to survivors and victims of child sexual abuse.
S. Africa	2019	859	Herman Mashaba, Mayor of Johannesburg, addresses the oppressive apartheid government.
Total		61902	

After putting the transcriptions of these speeches together, the total number of words is 61,982. Most of the content in apology speeches in this corpus covers a wide range of topics including World War II, politics, internal relations between countries, national service, minority groups, anti-racism, social (mis)treatment by government agencies, human rights, and malfunction of public facilities. All speeches are different in terms of the seriousness of the apologies.

#### 4.2 Apology speech elements

Research Question 1: What are the elements of government apologies that have been made by leaders in ten countries with democratic political systems? The purpose of this part is to report the elements of government apology speeches using the model of Blatz, C., Schumann, K., & Ross, M. (2009), whose work proposed 10 elements as in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Analytical framework from Blatz, Schumann, and Ross (2009)

Elements	Examples
1.Remorse	<i>I am sorry.</i>
2.Acceptance of responsibility	<i>It is my fault.</i>
3.Admission of injustice or wrong doing	<i>What I did was wrong.</i>
4.Acknowledgement of harm and/or victims' suffering	<i>I know you are upset.</i>
5.Forbearance	<i>I will never do it again.</i>
6.Offer of repair	<i>I will pay for the damage.</i>
7. Praise for a minority group	<i>*Indigenous group has contributed to our economy.</i>
8. Praise for a majority group	<i>*I hope the entire nation returns to normal soon.</i>
9.Praise for the present system	<i>*Tax reduction for victims able to reduce their cost of living.</i>
10.Dissociation of injustice from the present system	<i>*Lawful acts by former government are seen as unacceptable by this government.</i>

\*Examples supplied by the current study

All 50 transcriptions of apology speeches were read and reread by the researcher and compared with the apology elements model based on language used in that sentence. Each element was tallied for frequency of use. The researcher also had a discussion about each element with a co-coder to confirm the data in the same way.

Table 4.3 Political apology speech elements

No	Country	Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1	Japan	1992	2	1			2					
2	USA	1993	1	2	1		1		1			
3	Japan	1995	4		2		4					
4	USA	1997	6	2	2		3	6				
5	UK	1998				5		1				
6	USA	2001	3									
7	Germany	2000	1	1	2	1		1				
8	NZ	2002	2	1	6	2	1	1	3			1
9	NZ	2002	3		1	2			3			
10	UK	2005	2		1	4			1			
11	PHP	2005	2	2	1		1					

12	Canada	2006	2	2	7	6	1	2	3		1	
13	USA	2008	1	3	2							
14	NZ	2008	3		2	2		2	3			
15	NZ-1	2008	3		1	4			3			
16	NZ-2	2008	1	1	1	2						1
17	NZ-3	2008				2		1				2
18	NZ-4	2008	2	1								
19	NZ-5	2008				1			1			
20	NZ-6	2008							1			
21	NZ-7	2008	2		1							
22	Canada	2008	6	1	10							
23	Australia	2008	10	5	4	2	1	6	1			1
24	Australia	2009	8	6	2	10	2	6				
25	UK	2010	1	2	2	4	1				1	
26	Canada	2010	4	1	3			2				
27	Norway	2011	1									
28	Canada	2011		2		3		1				
29	Singapore	2011	2	2	3		1	2				
30	Norway	2012	1	8		4	1					
31	UK	2012	1		1							
32	Canada	2013	4		3	1	1	2				
33	Australia	2013	10	1	3	8	2	1				
34	Ireland	2013	2	6	3	4	1	3				
35	Japan	2015	3	1	2	3	7					1
36	USA	2015		2	1	2		1	3			
37	Taiwan	2016	10		6	3	1	4	3		1	1
38	Australia	2016	1	5	6							
39	S. Korea	2016	2	11						1		
40	Japan	2016	2			1	2			1		
41	Canada	2016	5		3		1					
42	Canada	2017	6	1	4	1						
43	Canada	2017	7	4	4	10	2	2	1		1	1
44	UK	2017										1
45	Canada	2017	5	13	9	11	6	3				1
46	Japan	2018	2				1				1	
47	Norway	2018	1			3		1		1		
48	Canada	2018	9	7	4		2		2	2		
49	Australia	2018	11	1	2	2		3	1			
50	S. Africa	2019	3	1								
	Total N		157	96	105	103	45	51	30	5	5	9

As we can see from Table 4.3, all ten elements were found in these political speeches. The most to least frequent elements by order are (1) Remorse (n=157), (2) Admission of

injustice/wrongdoing (n=105), (3) Acknowledgment of harm and/or suffering (n=103), (4) Acceptance of responsibility (n=96), (5) Offer of repair (n=51), (6) Forbearance (n=45), (7) Praise for a minority group (n=30), (8) Disassociation of injustice from the present system (n=9), (9) Praise for a majority group, and Praise for the present system (both elements n= 5). For the last two elements, both are equal in frequency.

The speeches that contain the most instances of Remorse, the most frequent element across this corpus, are Australia 2018 (n=16), which contains the short and simply remorse word “sorry” 6 times, followed by Australia 2008 (n=12), Taiwan 2016(n=11), Australia 2013 (n=10), Australia 2008 (n=10) and Canada 2017 (n=10), while the speeches that contain the fewest instances of Remorse are USA (1993), Germany (2000), USA (2008), New Zealand 2 (2008), UK (2010), Norway (2011), UK (2012), Australia (2016), and Norway (2018) (n=1 each). The speeches from UK (1998), New Zealand (2008) 3 & 5 & 6, Canada (2011), USA (2015), and UK (2017) have no instances of Remorse. For New Zealand (2008) 3 & 5 & 6, speeches were given by the heads of political parties in support of the Prime Minister’s apology on behalf of the Crown, which had already taken full responsibility and expressed remorse. Moreover, it is presumed that their status in parliament is lower and remorse is done by a person with higher status. Thus, they emphasized their speech on harmful act, disassociation, reparation, and minority group instead.

Admission of Injustice/Wrong Doing came in second place and the most frequent elements across this corpus are from Canada 2010 (n=10), Canada 2017 (n=9), and Canada 2006 (n=7). Canada’s apology in 2006 and 2010 were made by the Prime Minister of Canada, who was the head of state and took legitimate power, while the speech in 2017 was made by a member of parliament and the previous Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as well as the Federal Interlocutor for Metis and Non-Status Indians, who was the person in charge of this problem. Thus,

they had the possibility to make significant admission of injustice and wrongdoing. The least frequent elements in this corpus are from USA 1993, New Zealand 2002, UK 2005, the Philippines 2005, New Zealand 1 & 2 & 7, and UK 2012 (n=1 each). However, this element was not found in Japan 1992, UK 1998, USA 2001, New Zealand 2008: 3 – 6, Norway 2011, Canada 2011 Norway 2012, S. Korea 2016, Japan 2016, UK 2017, Japan 2018, Norway 2018, and South African (n= 0 each).

The third place goes to Acknowledgement of Harm and/or Victim Suffering. The most frequent elements across this corpus are from Canada 2017 (n=11), Australia 2009 (n=10), and Canada 2017 (n=10). The least frequency in this element comes from Germany 2000, New Zealand 2008- 5, Canada 2013, and Japan 2016 (n= 1 each), while Japan 1992, USA 1993, Japan 1995, USA 1997, the Philippines 2005, USA 2008, New Zealand 2008 – 4 & 6 & 7, Canada 2008, Canada 2010, Norway 2011, UK 2012, Australia 2016, S. Korea 2016, Canada 2016, UK 2017, Japan 2018, Canada 2018, and South Africa 2019 did not contain this element.

The 4<sup>th</sup> place are speeches that contain the most instances of Acceptance of Responsibility and the most frequent elements across the corpus are Canada 2017 (n=13), Norway 2012 (n=8), and Australia 2009 (n=6). The least frequency in this element comes from Japan 1992, Germany 2000, New Zealand 2002, New Zealand 2008 -2 & 4 Canada 2008, Canada 2010, Australia 2013, Japan 2015, S. Korea 2016, Canada 2017, Australia 2018, and South Africa 2019 (n=1). It is worth mentioning that this element “Acceptance of Responsibility” is not present in many speeches in the corpus, including Japan 1995, UK 1998, USA 2001, New Zealand 2002, UK 2005, New Zealand 2008, New Zealand 2008-1 & 3 & 5 & 6 & 7, Norway 2011, UK 2012, Canada 2013, Taiwan 2016, Japan 2016, Canada 2016, UK 2017, Japan 2018, and Norway 2018.

The 5<sup>th</sup> place goes to the speeches that contain the most instances of Offer of Repair. The

most frequent element across this corpus comes from USA 2006 (n=6), Australia 2008(n=6), and Australia 2009 (n=6), while the least frequency comes from UK 1998, Germany 2002, New Zealand 2002, New Zealand 2008 -3, Canada 2011, Australia 2013, USA 2015, and Norway 2018 (n=1). The speeches for which this element was absent are from Japan 1992, USA 1993, Japan 1995, USA 2001, New Zealand 2002, UK 2005, the Philippines 2005, USA 2008, New Zealand 2008, New Zealand 2008 -1 & 2, 4 & 5 & 6 & 7, UK 2010, Norway 2011, Norway 2012, UK 2012, Japan 2015, Australia 2016, S. Korea 2016, Japan 2016, Canada 2016, Canada 2017, UK 2017, Canada 2018, and South Africa 2019.

Forbearance is ranked number 6 in terms of frequency. After careful analysis, this element was found in Japan 2015 (n=7), Canada 2017 (n=6), and Japan 1995 (n=4). The least frequency was found in USA 1993, New Zealand 2002, the Philippines 2005, Canada 2006, Canada 2008, Singapore 2011, Norway 2012, Canada 2013, Ireland 2013, Taiwan 2016, Canada 2016, and Japan 2018 (n=1). This element was not found at all in UK 1998, USA 2001, Germany 2000, New Zealand 2002, UK 2005, USA 2008, New Zealand 2008, New Zealand 2008 - 1 – 7, Canada 2008, Canada 2010, Norway 2011, Canada 2011, UK 2012, USA 2015, Australia 2016, S. Korea 2016, Canada 2017, UK 2017, Norway 2018, Australia 2018, or South Africa 2019.

In 7<sup>th</sup> place is the element called Praise for Minority Group element, which was only found in USA 1993, New Zealand 2002, New Zealand 2002-1, Canada 2006. New Zealand 2008, New Zealand 2008-1 & 5 & 6, Australia 2008, USA 2015, Taiwan 2016, Canada 2017, Canada 2018 and Australia 2018.

The 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> places do not have high frequency. The 8<sup>th</sup> place is Disassociation of injustice from the present system (n=9), which was only found in New Zealand 2002, New Zealand 2008-2 & 3, Canada 2008, Australia 2008, Japan 2015, Taiwan 2016, and Canada 2017. Last place



goes to Praise for a majority group and Praise for the present system (both elements n= 5). For the last two elements, both are equal in frequency. Praise for a majority group was only found in S. Korea 2016, Japan 2016, Japan 2018, and Norway 2018, while Praise for Present Condition was only found in Canada 2006, UK 2010, Taiwan 2016, Canada 2017, and Japan 2018.

After sorting the data in the corpus with the 10 elements of Blatz, Schumann, and Ross, M. (2009), it should be noted that there are some sentences that do not belong to these 10 elements. They seem to have certain functions as well. Those extra texts/sentences are reported in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Extra texts/sentences in the corpus

<p>-The Government's apology today is the formal beginning to a process of reconciliation. (Text, New Zealand 2002)</p> <p>-Today's apology follows on the heels of a historic new approach to reconciliation between Canada and Indigenous people. (Text, Canada 2017)</p> <p>-We have an opportunity to rebuild our relationship, based on the recognition of your rights. (Text, Canada 2017)</p> <p>-It is time to reconcile. (Text, Australia 2008)</p> <p>-Let us resolve here and now to move forward together. (Text, USA 1997)</p>	<p>Reconciliation</p>
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-Aboriginal organizations culminate in an agreement that gives us a new beginning and opportunity to move forward together in partnership (Text, Canada 2008)

-We call on all Canadians to take part in the next chapter – a time when Indigenous and non-Indigenous people build the future we want together. (Text, Canada 2017)

-It is our hope that this apology will enable us to build an even stronger relationship and friendship for the future... (Text, New Zealand 2002)

-Let this new chapter be one in which Indigenous and non-indigenous people build the future they want together (Text, Canada 2017)

-The Government of Canada hopes that this apology will help heal the wounds caused by an event that began... (Text, Canada 2016)

-I hope that it will form the basis of a strengthened relationship with the government of Canada. (Text, Canada 2010)

-However, the core of this partnership for the future is the closing of the gap between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians on life expectancy... (Text, Australia 2008)

<p>-In facing future challenges, we will remember the lessons of family separation. (Text, Australia 2013)</p> <p>-All Canadians have much to learn from this story and we hope to hear you tell your stories – in your own way and in your own words – as this healing and commemoration process unfolds. (Text, Canada 2017)</p>	<p>Learning from past mistakes</p>
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The extra text/sentences will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

### 4.3 Language use under the elements

Research Question 2: What is the language use under each element of political apologies?

For this research question, the researcher hopes to find the sentences or phrases that are used most often in order to express each element or function that makes up political apologies. To investigate language use under each element, the researcher listed all sentences or phrases used to express each element. In the case of repetitions of sentences or phrases, all instances were tallied. A co-coder re-examined the results after the researcher finished coding. All disagreements were settled by discussion.

This study found that the structures of language use under each element are numerous and cover a wide range of forms. The researcher selected only the top three structures that gained the highest frequency under each element that will be present. Further, only three sample sentences/phrases for each structure are displayed in Table 4.5. It should be noted that the label for each of the top three structures is a combination between grammatical structure or part of speech (Sub, V, Adj, Adv, Obj, etc.) and Lexis because this combination should help readers to remember the components of each top structure more effectively.

Table 4.5 Summary of the top structures of language use under each element

Element	Sample	Frequency
Remorse	<i>Sub (I, We) + be + sorry for/that +pain or past done wrong + victim</i>	34
	I am sorry that this issue was not better dealt with by successive governments and authorities over nearly four decades. (Text, New Zealand 2008-7)	
	To our African-American citizens, I am sorry that your federal government orchestrated a study that was so clearly racist. (Text, USA 1997)	
	We are sorry for the lack of understanding of Indigenous societies and cultures that led to Indigenous children being sent away from their families... (Text, Canada 2017)	
	<i>Sub + be + adj+ sorry/apologize</i>	26
	This is a national shame, for which I again say, I am deeply sorry and offer my full and heartfelt apologies. (Text, Ireland 2013)	
	To all of you - we are sorry. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	And to those they leave behind, and say: "we are sorry" (Text, Canada 2013)	
	<i>Sub + V (offer) + adj +apology+ painful / victim</i>	22
	Today, I stand humbly before you as Prime Minister of Canada to offer a long overdue apology to former students of the five residential schools in Newfoundland and Labrador on behalf of the Government of Canada and all Canadians. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	I also offer an apology to the families, loved ones, and communities impacted by these schools for the painful and sometimes tragic legacy these schools left behind. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	We offer this apology in the hope that it will assist your healing and in order to shine a light on a dark period in our nation's history. (Text, Australia 2013)	
	<i>Sub + V (apologize / sorry) + on behalf of the government or country or authority</i>	22
	I am here on behalf of the Prime Minister, the Government of Canada, and all Canadians to offer an apology for these events. (Text, Canada 2010)	
	And as a nation, to apologize for this great wrong. (Text, Australia 2009)	
	The Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal people. (Text, Canada 2008)	

	<i>Sub + V (apology) + for/ to + Object (painful + victim / mistreatment )</i>	21
	We apologize for the laws and policies of successive parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief. (Text, Australia 2008)	
	And finally, we apologize to the members of Canada's Jewish community, whose voices were ignored, whose calls went unanswered. (Text, Canada 2018)	
	We apologize especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Text, Australia 2008)	
	<i>Subject + V (regret/express) + apology + painful / victim</i>	12
	Allow me to take this opportunity to express our sincere remorse and apology for Japanese past actions, which inflicted unbearable suffering and sorrow on the people of the Korean Peninsula. (Text, Japan 1992)	
	We would like to express our deepest sorrow for the extreme hardship and suffering caused by the relocation. (Text, Canada 2010)	
	I regard, in the spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology. (Text, Japan 1995)	
	Various structures	34
	I present a formal apology to be tabled in this parliament today. (Text, Australia 2018)	
	I hope that this apology and the acceptance, finally, that New Zealanders were exposed to... will go some way towards making up for previous failings (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
Acceptance	<i>Sub (we/government) + V + N (mistreatment)</i>	21
Of	We used our law to mask our anti-Semitism, our antipathy, and our resentment. (Text, Canada 2018)	
Responsibility	For state-sponsored, systemic oppression and rejection, we are sorry (Text, Canada 2017)	
	This is the devastating story of people who were branded criminals by the government. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	<i>Sub (we, nationality, state, government, parliament) + V (accept, take) + N (responsibility) + N (mistreatment)</i>	

	The government is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the armed forces..., (Text, UK 2010)	9
	Today, this Parliament, on behalf of the Australian people, take responsibility and make apologies for the policies and practices that forced the separation ...which created a lifelong legacy of pain and suffering (Text, Australia 2013)	
	We, the parliament of the nation, are ultimately responsible, not those who gave effect to our laws. (Text, Australia 2008)	
	<i>Sub (we/government) + V (reflect/acknowledge) + N (mistreatment)</i>	5
	It is time for us to acknowledge that (nationality) policemen and other (nationality) took part in, (Text, Norway 2012)	
	We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations – this blemished chapter in our nation’s history (Text, Australia 2008)	
	We reflect on their past mistreatment (Text, Australia 2008)	
	Various structures	42
	We do a disservice to the cause of justice by intimating that bias and discrimination are immutable, or that racial division is inherent to America. (Text, USA 2015)	
	It is our collective shame that you were so mistreated. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	This country had an institution of slavery... and followed it with... a law that denied people equal opportunity under the law. (Text, USA 2008)	
Admission	<i>Sub (I, we/government) + V (acknowledge / recognize) + injustice/wrong doing</i>	18
of Injustice	The Government of Canada now recognizes that it was wrong to forcibly remove children from their homes. (Text, Canada 2008)	
or Wrong	We recognize that it was wrong to separate children from rich and vibrant cultures and traditions... (Text, Canada 2008)	
	We are here today to acknowledge a historical wrong. (Text, Canada 2017)	

	<i>Sub (I, we, government, it) + V to be / V + N (injustice/wrong doing)</i>	17
	The United States government did something that was wrong – deeply, profoundly, and morally wrong. (Text, USA 1997)	
	We broke faith with them -with you – and by doing so, we diminished ourselves. (Text, Canada 2013)	
	(country) took the wrong course and advanced along the road to war (Text, Japan 2015)	
	<i>Obj + V to be + V3 + N (mistreatment/wrong doing)</i>	14
	Indigenous children were forcibly taken from their mothers and fathers. (Text, Australia 2008)	
	The families were separated from their home communities and extended families by more than a thousand kilometers. (Text, Canada 2010)	
	You were forced to endure the coercion and brutality of practices that were unethical, dishonest and, in many cases, illegal. (Text, Australia 2013)	
	Various structures	54
	More than a century ago, a great injustice took place. (Text, Canada 2016)	
	It was wrong for authorities on all levels not to have dealt appropriately with the issue of exposure to Agent Orange. (Text, New Zealand 2008-7)	
	For too long, successive governments ignored the concerns being raised by Viet Nam veterans. (Text, New Zealand 2008)	
Acknowledgement	<i>Sub (I, we, government) + V (reflect/recognize/acknowledge) + N (harm and or suffering) + Obj (victim)</i>	32
of harm	Parliament's Health Committee finally acknowledged what had long been denied, which was that New Zealand service personnel serving in Viet Nam had been exposed to a toxic environment... (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
or Suffering	We also recognize our failure to truly acknowledge these historical injustices. (Text, Canada 2016)	
	I reflect on those who, though untouched directly by violence, down through the centuries, (Text, UK 1998)	
	<i>Obj (victim) + V to be V3 + N (harm and or suffering)</i>	15

	For treating you like you were dangerous, indecent, and flawed (Text, Canada 2017)	
	Many were sorely neglected, and not properly fed, clothed, or housed (Text, Canada 2017)	
	Lives were destroyed. And tragically, lives were lost. (Text, Canada 2017)	
	<i>There/this was/were or it is + N (harm and or suffering) + Obj (victim)</i>	5
	It is a tragedy that so many soldiers who died then, and since, will never hear this apology. (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
	There was a miscarriage of justice in the case of... (Text, UK 2005)	
	These reports were factually incorrect, fatally flawed, and deeply offensive to many veterans. (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
	<i>Sub (we)+ V phrase (look back with the shame) that/at</i>	4
	We look back with the shame that... (Text, Australia 2009)	
	and we look back with shame at... (Text, Australia 2009)	
	<i>Sub (we) + Present continuous form + N (harm and or suffering)</i>	3
	We are commemorating... in the most terrible case of genocide in history (Text, Norway 2012)	
	We are commemorating all the (nationality) who were murdered, (Text, Norway 2012)	
	We are commemorating (nationality) and other victims of X's evil regime. (Text, Norway 2012)	
	Various structures	45
	This is a shameful part of Canada's history ...when Indigenous people were treated with a profound lack of equality and respect (Text, Canada 2017)	
	we have engraved in our hearts the histories of suffering of the people (Text, Japan 2015)	
	The treatment of indigenous... is a painful chapter of (country)'s history that we must confront. (Text, Canada 2017)	
Forbearance	<i>Sub (I, we, government) + modal (can/must/shall/will/should/would)+ never again + forbearance</i>	37

	And since the war, we have created a free and democratic country that values the rule of law and has ... our vow never again to wage war. (Text, Japan 2016)	
	We must never again repeat the horrors of war. (Text, Japan 2016)	
	Let me assure the house that this government will continually strive to ensure that similar unjust practices are never allowed to happen again. (Text, Canada 2006)	
	Various structures	11
	Together, we can guarantee a future with liberty and justice for all. (Text, USA 1993)	
	I hope that no such mistake be made in the future. (Text, Japan 1995)	
	We strive to support people with developmental disabilities. (Text, Canada 2013)	
Offer of	<i>Sub (I, we, government) + will + repair</i>	16
Repair	The government of (country) will offer symbolic payments to... (Text, Canada 2006)	
	We will begin to delineate and announce indigenous traditional territories and lands. (Text, Taiwan 2016)	
	We will have an equality commission to police a new duty... to promote equality of opportunity. (Text, UK 1998)	
	<i>Sub (I, we, government) + V (commit) + to V + N</i>	10
	Today, I also commit to establishing a national museum, a place of truth and commemoration... (Text, Australia 2018)	
	So today, I commit to funding the establishment of a national center of excellence. (Text, Australia 2018)	
	Our government is committed to rebuilding and strengthening its ties with all Inuit communities and organizations. (Text, Canada 2011)	
	<i>V (Let us, allow) + V (resolve/repair), to V + N</i>	6
	Let us also resolve this day that a national apology becomes... (Text, Australia 2009)	
	Let us resolve to use this systematic approach to building future educational opportunities for indigenous children... (Text, Australia 2008)	



	As a nation, allow this apology to begin to heal this pain. (Text, Australia 2009)	
	Various Structures	17
	All Australian governments are now working together to establish a national database, to ensure higher standards for... (Text, Australia 2018)	
	As a result, the (country) government is supporting projects.	
	Today, the parliament has come together to right a great wrong. (Text, Australia 2008)	
Praise for a	<i>Obj (minority/victim) + V (contribution/goodness) + N (majority/country)</i>	9
Minority Group	They contributed to our economy and laid the foundations for the vibrant Samoan community in New Zealand today. (Text, New Zealand 2002)	
	The community is making a huge economic and social contribution to our country. (Text, New Zealand 2002)	
	These refugees would have made this country stronger, and its people proud. (Text, Canada 2008)	
	<i>N (majority: we, country) + V (verbs of thank or acknowledge) + contribution of minority</i>	8
	The government of Canada and Inuit people has accomplished many great things together, and all Canadians have benefitted from the contributions of Inuit to our culture and history. (Text, Canada 2010)	
	We come to acknowledge the contribution of independent Samoa to the wider regional and international communities of which we are part. (Text, New Zealand 2002)	
	Allow us as a country to finally say thank you to those who served when called upon. (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
	<i>Subject (we, country) + V (honor/tribute) + minority's goodness/hardship</i>	8
	Today, we honor the Indigenous people of this land, the oldest continuing culture in human history. (Text, Australia 2008)	
	Today, we pay tribute to those who served, and I thank them for doing their duty ... (Text, New Zealand 2008-7)	
	We honor the 37 personnel who died on active duty. (Text, New Zealand 2008)	

	Various structures	13
Praise for	It is also time for us to remember the 37 New Zealanders who died in the service of their country in Viet Nam (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
a Majority	May, He bless those warriors of justice no longer with us... (Text, USA 2015)	
Group	They were asked by their country to do a dangerous job, and they did so with honor and dignity. (Text, New Zealand 2008-1)	
	Various Structures	2
	There is therefore good reason to thank all those who have enhanced our knowledge of this group of women and girls. (Text, Norway 2018)	
	I only wish that the Republic of Korea would escape the confusion and get back on track as soon as possible. (Text, S. Korea 2016)	
Praise for	<i>Sub (we) + N + V + N + Obj (victim)</i>	1
Present	We have the collective responsibility to build a country based firmly on the notion of equality of opportunity, regardless to one's race or ethnic origin. (Text, Canada 2006)	
Condition	<i>Gerund + N + V + N + Obj (victim)</i>	1
	Coming together with all people of (nationality) to build a stable peaceful... shared future, this commission will serve as a mechanism for collective decision making by indigenous people. (Text, Taiwan 2016)	
	Various structures	2
	Places of worship are sacred, and they should be the securities of all faith communities. (Text, Canada 2018)	
	Anti-Semitism and all forms of xenophobia have no place in this country, or anywhere in this world. (Text, Canada 2018)	
Dissociation	<i>N or V (failure of former authority) + Obj (victim) + V + by (former authority)</i>	4
of Injustice	The families and communities whose lives were ripped apart by the action of successive governments under successive parliaments... (Text, Australia 2008)	
from Present	There has been the unconscionable and protracted denial by successive governments of the effect of Agent Orange on soldiers and their families. (Text, New Zealand 2008-2)	
System	The reality is that the face of mounting evidence, successive governments downplayed and even covered up the fact that veterans who fought...	

	(Text, New Zealand 2008-3)	
	<i>N (present authority) + V (rejection) + action/responsibility of a former authority</i>	1
	While the governments which passed these laws acted in a manner which was lawful at that time, their actions are seen by us today as unacceptable.  (Text, New Zealand 2002)	
	Various Structures	2
	Nor did successive governments take steps to monitor the health of veterans...  (Text, New Zealand 2008-3)	
	Discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities is not a moment in time, but an ongoing, centuries-old campaign. (Text, Canada 2017)	

#### 4.4. Lexical bundles, their forms and functions

Research Question 3: What are the lexical bundles used in a corpus of fifty apology speeches?

The purpose of this research question is to report four bundle words found in a corpus of fifty political apologies to enable students and speech makers to study what lexical bundles can be used in political apology speeches. They should also be able to use them in the right context, as shown in Table 4.6. Moreover, forms and functions are also analyzed and explained in Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

The study employs a corpus-based approach in order to analyze the lexical bundles. After a corpus of fifty apology speech transcriptions was constructed, AntConc3.5.7, a free software program developed by Anthony (2018), was used to analyze the corpus because it is one of the most reliable and widely used concordance programs for analyzing lexical bundles. Moreover, it is a practical and user-friendly software program. The researcher used the N-gram function to find lexical bundles of four or five words that appeared in three to five different texts.

To find lexical bundles, program AntCon3.5.7 version was applied to analyze Key Words in Context (KWIC). First of all, cut-off point rate per million words was made using a formula proposed by Biber & Barbieri (2007).

$$(Time\ of\ occurrence / number\ of\ words\ in\ the\ corpus) \times 1,000,000$$

$$\text{Example: } (4 / 61,892) \times 1,000,000 = 64.62$$

According to the above calculation, a bundle that shows four times (raw frequency) in a corpus of 61,892 words would have a normed rate of 64.62 times per million words or 6.462 times per one hundred thousand words. The corpus in the present study contains 61,892 words, meaning it could be found 3.999 times or rounded up to 4 times. Thus, the cut-off point of the four raw frequencies in this study is enough because the range for small corpora is between 2-10 times, as suggested by De Cock (1998). Moreover, the minimum frequency and minimum range of data will be set at 4 as well.

The occurrence of lexical bundles should appear across different texts in a corpus. Biber & Barbieri (2007) and Cortes (2004) suggested that lexical bundles must be found across at least 3-5 texts. This helps to confirm the distribution of lexical bundles or natural occurrence and typical or stylistic individual apologizer. The number of speeches in this study is 50. Thus, the frequency of occurrence is potentially low. As a result, four-word lexical bundles across four different texts are able to help the researcher confirm the attribution of text and it will be counted for analysis.

#### **4.4.1 Lexical bundles findings**

The researcher reviewed political apology speeches and converted the data into plain text format (.txt), after which data was run through AntConc3.5.7 software. To identify the lexical bundles, the software was set for a minimum and maximum word length combination of four. Minimum frequency and findings in different texts were set at four as well. These settings would

prompt the software to process data for repeated four-word combinations occurring in the speeches with at least a minimum of four occurrences and four different texts.

The results showed that there were 45 four-word lexical bundles with minimum of four frequencies across four different texts in the corpus of the 50 political apologies. The most top five of lexical bundles found are as follows.

The first place is on behalf of the... (frequency = 32, found in 19 different texts), while the second place is the government of Canada (frequency = 26, found in 18 different texts). The third place is on behalf of the government (frequency = 22, found in 11 different texts), while the fourth place is indigenous and non-indigenous (frequency = 13, found in 4 different texts). The fifth place is the end of the... (frequency = 12, found in 6 different texts).

Table 4.6 Lexical bundles found in 50 political apology speeches

#Total No. of N-Gram types: 45

#Total No. of N-Gram tokens: 336

Rank	Frequency	%	Text	%	Lexical Bundles
1	32	9.52	19	7.98	<i>...on behalf of the...</i>
2	26	7.74	18	7.56	<i>...the government of Canada...</i>
3	22	6.55	11	4.62	<i>...behalf of the government...</i>
4	13	3.87	4	1.68	<i>...indigenous and non-indigenous...</i>
5	12	3.57	6	2.52	<i>...the end of the...</i>
6	11	3.27	4	1.68	<i>We are sorry for...</i>
7	10	2.98	4	1.68	<i>...government of Canada and...</i>
8	10	2.98	7	2.94	<i>I would like to...</i>
9	10	2.98	7	2.94	<i>...of the New Zealand</i>
10	10	2.98	6	2.52	<i>...the rule of law...</i>
11	8	2.38	7	2.94	<i>...as a result of...</i>

12	8	2.38	4	1.68	<i>...end of the war...</i>
13	8	2.38	4	1.68	<i>...the anniversary of the...</i>
14	7	2.08	6	2.52	<i>...of the government of...</i>
15	7	2.08	4	1.68	<i>...the Second World War...</i>
16	6	1.79	5	2.10	<i>Canada and all Canadians...</i>
17	6	1.79	4	1.68	<i>It is my hope...</i>
18	6	1.79	4	1.68	<i>...of the United States...</i>
19	6	1.79	4	1.68	<i>...that we are sorry...</i>
20	6	1.79	5	2.10	<i>...to the people of...</i>
21	5	1.49	5	2.10	<i>...all those who have...</i>
22	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...as soon as possible...</i>
23	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...chapter in our nation...</i>
24	5	1.49	5	2.10	<i>...in the face of...</i>
25	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...in the name of...</i>
26	5	1.49	5	2.10	<i>...mistakes of the past...</i>
27	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...of Canada and all...</i>
28	5	1.49	5	2.10	<i>...of the past and...</i>
29	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...the United States and...</i>
30	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...the United States government...</i>
31	5	1.49	5	2.10	<i>...to learn from the...</i>
32	5	1.49	4	1.68	<i>...to those who served...</i>
33	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...a member of the...</i>
34	4	1.19	4	1.38	<i>...in the service of...</i>
35	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...it is time for...</i>
36	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...leader of the opposition...</i>
37	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...on behalf of all...</i>
38	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...so that we can...</i>
39	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...the leader of the...</i>
40	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...the mistakes of the...</i>

41	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...the New Zealand government...</i>
42	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...the United States of...</i>
43	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>...to those who have...</i>
44	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>United States of America</i>
45	4	1.19	4	1.68	<i>We are truly sorry...</i>
	336	100%	238	100%	

It should be noted that three-word lexical bundles are excluded from this study because they are embedded in four-word bundles. For example, *we are sorry* and *sorry for the* were part of the four-word bundle *we are sorry for*. Additionally, it seems more useful to skip overlapping bundles of less than four-words which originate from the same longer expression. The contracted lexical bundles that look like three-word bundles (e.g. *It's my hope*) are counted as four-word bundles due to AncConc's extraction processing data system.

#### 4.4.2 Structural types of lexical bundles

First of all, the question "What do we gain from studying lexical bundles that occur repeatedly?" has often been a topic of discussion. Referring to Biber, Conrad, Cortes (2004), they explained that most previous research focused on grammatical phrases or grammatical structures, but lexical bundles have identifiable discourse functions and suggest the communicative repertoire of speakers and writers, although they are incomplete structural units. Biber, Conrad, Cortes (2004) concluded three structural types of lexical bundles.

Type 1 bundles incorporate verb phrase fragments. Types 1a and 1b begin with a subject pronoun followed by a verb phrase. Type 1c begins with a discourse marker followed by a verb phrase. Types 1d and 1e simply begin with a verb phrase, while Types 1f and 1g are question fragments.

Type 2 bundles incorporate dependent clause fragments in addition to simple verb phrase fragments. Type 2a bundles begin with a main clause followed by a complementizer or a Wh-word introducing a dependent clause. Other Type 2 bundles are dependent clause fragments beginning with a complementizer or subordinator.

Type 3 bundles are phrasal. Type 3a-3c consists of noun phrase components, usually ending with the start of a post-modifier. Type 3d consists of prepositional phrase components with embedded modifiers, while Type 3e incorporates comparative expressions.

The 45 lexical bundles found in the corpus of the current study were categorized based on three structural types of lexical bundles by Biber, Conrad, Cortes (2004). Table 4.7 displays the results. It is worth noting that not all the lexical bundles found in the corpus can be categorized into three structural types, though there are very few.

Table 4.7 Structural types of lexical bundles

Structural type of lexical bundle	Result
1. Lexicon bundles that incorporate verb phrase fragments	
1a. (connector+) 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment	<i>I would like to,</i> <i>we are sorry for</i> <i>we are truly sorry</i>
1b. (connector+) 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun + VP fragment	<i>it is my hope</i> <i>it is time for</i>
1c. Discourse marker + VP fragment	
1d. Verb phrase (with non-passive verb)	<i>to learn from the</i>
1e. Verb phrase with passive verb	
1f. Yes-no question fragments	
1g. Wh-question fragments	



2. Lexical bundles that incorporate dependent clause fragments	
2a. 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronoun + dependent clause fragment	
2b. Wh-question fragments	
2c. If clause fragments	
2d. (verb/adjective+) to-clause fragment	
2e. That-clause fragments	<i>that we are sorry</i>
3. Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments	
3a. (connector+) Noun phrase with of-phrase fragment	<i>the end of the</i> <i>behalf of the government</i> <i>the government of Canada</i> <i>government of Canada and</i> <i>the rule of law</i> <i>end of the war</i> <i>mistakes of the past</i> <i>a member of the</i> <i>the leader of the</i> <i>the mistakes of the</i> <i>United States of America</i> <i>the United States of</i> <i>leader of the opposition</i> <i>the anniversary of the</i>
3b. Noun phrase with other post-modifier fragment	<i>all those who have</i> <i>chapter in our nation</i>
3c. Other noun phrase expressions	
3d. Prepositional phrase expressions	<i>on behalf of the</i> <i>on behalf of all</i> <i>in the face of</i> <i>in the name of</i> <i>of the New Zealand</i>

	<i>of the government of of the United States of Canada and all of the past and in the service of to those who have to those who served to the people of as a result of</i>
3e. Comparative expressions	

Notes: Connector is a sentence, phrase, or word preceded by a lexical bundle.

As shown in the table above, most lexical bundles in the corpus were under Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase. That is to say, 16 lexical bundles were under sub-type, (*connector+*) *Noun phrase with of-phrase fragment*, and 14 lexical bundles were under the sub-type called *Prepositional phrase expressions*. Some lexical bundles from the corpus were under structural type 1, Lexicon bundles that incorporate with verb phrase fragments (total of 6 lexical bundles). The least amount of lexical bundles in the corpus of this study was under structural type 2, Lexical bundles that incorporate dependent clause fragments (total of 1 lexical bundle).

#### 4.4.3 Functional classification of lexical bundles

Biber, Conrad, Cortes (2004) divided the primary functions served by lexical bundles into three categories:

1. Stance bundles expressing attitudes or assessments of certainty that frame some other proposition

2. Discourse organizer that reflects the relationships between prior and coming discourse
3. Referential bundles that mark a direct reference to physical or abstract entities, or to the textual context itself, either to identify the entity or to single out some particular attribute or the entity as especially important

Each of these categories has several sub-categories associated with more specific functions and meanings. The 45 lexical bundles found in this political apology corpus were categorized. The findings are shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Lexical function classification

Function classification	Example
1. Stance expression	
A. Epistemic stance	
Personal	<i>it is my hope</i>
Impersonal	
B. Attitudinal	
B1) Desire	
Personal	<i>we are sorry for, that we are sorry, we are truly sorry</i>
B2) Obligation/directive	
Personal	<i>so that we can,</i>
Impersonal	<i>as soon as possible</i>
B3) Intention/prediction	
Personal	
Impersonal	<i>it is time for</i>
B4) Ability	
Personal	
Impersonal	
2. Discourse organizer	

A. Topic introduction/focus	<i>I would like to, on behalf of the, behalf of the government, the second world war, on behalf of all, it is time for, in the name of, chapter in our nation, the rule of law</i>
B. Topic elaboration/ clarification	<i>to those who served, all those who have, to those who have, to the people of, the mistakes of the, in the face of, mistakes of the past, to learn from the, of the past and, of the government of</i>
3. Referential expressions	
A. Identification/focus	<i>a member of the, leader of the opposition, the leader of the, Canada and all Canadians, indigenous and non-indigenous, the New Zealand government, the United States government, the government of Canada, government of Canada and, end of the war</i>
B. Impression	
C. Specification of attributes	
C1) Quantitative specification	
C2) Tangible framing attributes	
C3) Intangible framing attributes	<i>as a result of, in the service of,</i>
D. Time/place/text reference	
D1) Place reference	<i>of the United States, the United States and, the United States of, United States of America, of Canada and all, of the New Zealand</i>
D2) Time reference	<i>the anniversary of the</i>
D3) Text deixis	
D4) Multi-functional reference	<i>the end of the</i>
4. Special conversational functions	
A. Politeness	
B. Simple inquiry	
C. Reporting	

Referring to the lexical function classification shown in the table above, most lexical bundles in the corpus were under the Discourse organizer function. To further explain, 10 lexical bundles were under sub-type Topic elaboration/ clarification, 10 lexical bundles were under the sub-type called Identification/focus, and 9 lexical bundles were under the sub-type called Topic

introduction/focus. Some lexical bundles from the corpus were under Time/place/text reference function, Place reference (total of 6 lexical bundles), Intangible framing attributes (total of 3 lexical bundles), Time reference (total of 1 lexical bundle), and Multi-functional reference (total of 1 bundle). The least amount of lexical bundles in the corpus of this study was under Stance expression function, Desire/Personal (total of 3 lexical bundles), Epistemic stance/Personal (total of 1 lexical bundle), Obligation/directive/personal (total of 1 lexical bundle), Obligation/directive/impersonal (total of 1 lexical), and Intention/prediction/impersonal (total of 1 lexical bundle).

It should be noted that the most frequently used lexical bundle is Place reference, which might be because speakers want to emphasize the location where mistreatments occurred and the country in which they live, which belongs to the majority. Moreover, place reference also links to the legitimate power given by people to the state and signifies the unity of a nation. The speaker will take action on behalf of the place reference to apologize to victims. Topic introduction/focus and Topic elaboration/ clarification came in second place. In a speech, there are many related issues that affect many parties. Thus, it is possibly speakers have to introduce the topic and elaborate to be connected and reasonable.

#### **4.4.4 Summary matrix of structures and functions of lexical bundles**

This study attempts to better understand the relationship between the structures and functions of lexical bundles. A summary matrix of structures and functions for lexical bundles in the fifty political apology speeches corpus is given in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Summary matrix of the structures and functions of lexical bundles

Type of bundle	Stance expression	Discourse organizer	Referential expression
V Phrase fragment	<i>to learn from the</i>		
Dependent clause	<i>I would like to we are sorry for we are truly sorry it is my hope</i>	<i>it is time for</i>	
Noun and prepositional phrase fragment		<i>the end of the the rule of law end of the war as a result of mistakes of the past a member of the the leader of the the mistakes of the to the people of on behalf of the on behalf of all in the face of in the name of of the past and in the service of leader of the opposition the anniversary of the all those who have chapter in our nation to those who have to those who served indigenous and non- indigenous the second world war</i>	<i>behalf of the government the government of Canada government of Canada and United States of America the United States of of the New Zealand of the government of of the United States of Canada and all Canadian and all Canadians the United States and the United States government the New Zealand government</i>
Other	<i>that we are sorry so that we can</i>	<i>as soon as possible</i>	

Referring to Table 4.9 shown above, it is apparent there are relationships between structures and functions and their sub-categories of lexical bundles. To further explain, most lexical bundles in political apologies are found as discourse organizers in the structure of noun and

prepositional phrase fragments. From the point of stance expression, lexical bundles are in the form of V Phrase fragment and Dependent clause. These structures allow a speaker to take action. It possible that the speaker in a political speech needs to organize the speech movement from introduction and elaborate in order to connect the entire content by adding referential bundles such as intangible framing attributes, time, place, and multi-functional reference. To consider the interrelated structure and function, such as for the case of WW II, the speaker mentions a past wrongdoing by using the Discourse organizer lexical bundles “I would like to” and “the Second World War” for topic introduction, then elaborates the speech content for the past wrongdoing by using lexical bundles “mistakes of the past”, “the end of the”, and mention suffered victims or related persons or organizations by lexical bundles “to those who have” and “all those who have”. The speaker realizes and appreciates his country’s men, who were on duty in WW II, by using the lexical bundle “to those who served” for topic elaboration/ clarification. The speaker is also able to connect speech contents by mentioning those countries’ men attribution by using Intangible framing attributes bundle in the service of their country. A political apology might be given on a special occasion, such 75 years after WW II. The speaker can make use of Referential expressions/ Identification/focus lexical bundle such as the end of the war or a multi-functional reference lexical bundle such as “the end of the” or an event time reference lexical bundle such as “the anniversary of the”. After the speaker has mentioned the background or mistake, the suffering of the past and victims, the speaker takes responsibility or offers an apology on behalf of the government with legitimacy, power and support by using Topic introduction/focus lexical bundle again such as it is time for, on behalf of the, behalf of the government, which are in a form of noun phrase and be the owner of actions. Stance expression is then applied to lexical bundles to let the victims know how he feels or the government takes action such as “I would like to”. “We are sorry for” and “We are

truly sorry” are dependent clauses. After that, Stance expression can be applied again to remind the majority group by using Referential expression lexical bundles “of Canada and all”, “Canadian and all Canadians” for such mistake in the past shall not happen again by using lexical bundle V Phrase fragment “to learn from the” or by using the Topic introduction/focus lexical bundle “chapter in our nation”.

Chapter 4 has reported the findings for the three research questions. Apology elements in 50 political apology speeches have been examined, which found the most frequency in Remorse, Acceptance of responsibility, Admission of injustice or wrong doing, Acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering, and Forbearance elements, whereas Offer of repair, Praise for a minority group, Praise for a majority group, Praise for the present system, and Disassociation of injustice from the present system were elements found in less frequency. Additionally, Reconciliation and learning from a past mistake elements were also found as additional elements.

In the part of language use, the researcher presented the top three language uses in each element and put them into groups followed by labeling them using both grammatical structure and lexis to enable readers to easily recognize the language use in each element. Generic grammar patterns based on the Hunston and Francis (2000) model will be discussed in Chapter 5.

There are 45 lexical bundles found in the fifty political apology speeches used in this study. Though not true for all, they could be classified into structures and functions of lexical bundles proposed by Biber, Conrad, and Cortes (2004). They will be discussed further in Chapter 5.



## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses the findings of the three research questions and the implications of the study. To summarize, this study searched for political apology elements, lexical bundles with their structures and functions in order to enable students as well as politicians to apply the elements, sample sentences, and vocabulary to serve in the models used for writing political apology speeches. Although an apology is something we extend all the time, political apologies are considered highly contextual and impactful, involving many participants on both sides of a past wrongdoing. Such apologies have an impact at national as well as international levels. Moreover, few research reports have sampled the language use and lexical bundles to be used as models to enable governments or politicians to repair or restore relations with the victims and their descendants. Therefore, this research aims to achieve such goals based the study of three main aspects. First, the findings of apology elements are identified. Second, the forms of language use under each element are discussed. Third, the findings of the lexical bundles frequently found are revealed in terms of their structures and functions.

#### 5.1 Apology elements

With regard to the frequency of the 10 elements (Table 4.3), it is notable that the five elements with the highest frequency were found in almost every speech, including Remorse, Admission of injustice/wrong doing, Acknowledgement of harm/suffering Acceptance of responsibility, Offer of repair, and Forbearance. This is quite likely because apology speeches focus on the victims and offenders. Al-Wuhaili (2018) explained that an offender needs to apologize when he/she has committed a harmful act and must express responsibility for that act. In political apologies, the proxy for the offender is a political representative. It can be seen in the

frequency rankings of the lexical bundles as well that politicians claim the authority to apologize on behalf of the government. Thus, the elements or contents will center on the victims, injustice, acknowledgement of harm, and offenders. Austin (1961) and Austin (1962) explain that a speech act is the use of language by a speaker to express or perform different actions. He distinguishes a different type of utterance in that a contrastive utterance is a statement or fact that can be true or false, while a performative utterance is used by speakers to do something specific with words. Making an apology is also applicable in this context to improve relations between the interlocutors for wrongdoing, whether interpersonal or intergroup, similar to political apologies. Political apologies focus on the unjust actions of the government, the victims, and responsibility. Thomson (2005) explained that state apologies require both victims and wrongdoers to reach a common understanding before discussing the circumstances so they can decide how an apology should be presented and negotiate what should happen after the apology.

Brooks (1999) and Cels (2015) suggested that the main purpose of political apologies is for the government to take responsibility, admit a mistake to the victims, and reduce suffering with an act of contrition offered by someone with the legitimate power to speak on behalf of the government. Sharma (2013) said that there is a link between the location of delivery, who speaks on behalf of the government, and the post-event after public apology speeches, which express the degree of apology. In the same token, Al-Wuhaili (2018) explained that offenders need to apologize when they have performed nefarious acts for which they are responsible. In extending political apologies, the offenders are political actors. Chilton (2004, p.46) asserts that *“political actors cannot act as individuals or groups, so they must do it by a legitimation function because it establishes the right to obey, which is legitimacy”*.

Fasoli (2008) explained that official apologies acknowledge wrongful acts and legally sanctioned damage, so it is appropriate for them to be issued by the state. Dorrell (2009) further asserted that one purpose of the apology is to bring national closure on past injustice by demonstrating present benevolence and compassion on the part of the state and allowing citizens to participate in this attribution. Cárdenas, Rimé, and Arnosó (2015) found that once injured people have received an apology in the name of the government, they have more positive attitudes toward the government's willingness to set up a commission to find the facts of the injustice and pledge avoidance of future violent events. Cehajic, Brown, and Castano (2008) also found a correlation between an official apology and the creation of a positive social climate with inter-group reconciliation. Moreover, once the expression '*the rule of law*' is claimed, it emphasizes the power and responsibility of the government to carry out legal acts.

It can be seen in the lexical bundle analysis that politicians claimed the authority to apologize on behalf of their governments. Thus, the elements or contents of apologies include the victims, injustice, harm, and offenders as the aim of the apology is to enable the victims to regain their dignity by accepting the apology and offering reconciliation.

Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot (2011) suggest that acknowledging and taking responsibility for past wrongdoing is a game changer that could mark the end of historical transgressions and allow political and social relations to start a new chapter. They further explain that although forgiveness can lessen negative feelings, it does not set a goal for the effectiveness of an apology. Rather, official public apologies aim to facilitate the desire to have amicable relations with perpetrators in the absence of intergroup forgiveness. They also suggest an apology is beneficial for bringing attention to forgotten history and restoring confidence in the popular narrative of a

nation. Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot point out that an apology is the next step forward in an interpersonal relationship, which can be broadly classified into two groups.

1. Apologies as value exchange functions in the exchange of value between offenders and victims. Victims seek a sense of justice from the offender and suppose the wrong-doer experiences in turn. Thus, an expression of guilt and remorse indicates the offender is suffering intra-psychic pain and wants to restore a sense of equality in the relationship, leading to reduced additional punishment.

2. Apologies for cognitive change restate an offender's status as a moral person and imply that a wrongdoing will not be repeated in the future, which regains trust and leads to a willingness to forgive. Additionally, Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot also suggest that the outcome of an intergroup apology improves the offender's morality, increases trust and promotes a greater willingness to reconcile. They claim from the results of the Australian government's apology to indigenous people that the vast majority considered the apology very important for the advancement of personal relations (Reconciliation Australia, 2009).

Finally, Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot proposed a five staircases model for intergroup apologies, as shown in the following table. It is similar to the analytical framework by Blatz, Schumann, and Ross M. (2009), Shnabel, Nurit & Nadler, Arie (2008), and Page (2015).

Table 5.1 Comparison of apology models

Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot (2011)	Blatz, Schumann, and Ross M. (2009) Shnabel, Nurit & Nadler, Arie (2008) Page (2015)
1. Accepting collective guilt	2. Acceptance of responsibility 3. Admission of injustice or wrongdoing 4. Acknowledgement of harm and/or victim suffering
2. Setting records of history	12. Learning from mistakes in the past
3. Discussing reparations	6. Offer of repair
4. Offering an intergroup apology	1. Remorse

5. Post-apology engagement	5. Forbearance, 11. Reconciliation
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Notes: No 11 Reconciliation and 12 Learning from mistakes in the past are only in Shnabel, Nurit & Nadler, Arie (2008). They do not appear in Blatz, Schumann, and Ross M. (2009).

With regard to the other five elements of Blatz, Schumann, and Ross M. (2009), Praise for a minority group, Praise for a majority group, Praise for the present system, and Dissociation of injustice from the present system were found within the fifty speeches, although the number of instances is lower than the first five elements. Still, they signify the existing apology elements which could be the model for study and analysis.

There are a number of previous research studies that support the appearance of these elements in apology speeches, such as Praise for a minority or majority group. Brooks (1993) explains that *“Apologies have become especially popular devices in instances of political transition, where a society is emerging from the recent history of mass violence.”* This means there are wrongdoers and victims for this massive violence and politicians use an apology as a device to rebuild their relationship. Verjeda (2010) conceptualizes that an apology is a cheap way to minimize guilty feelings and provides a sense of satisfaction by confessing what has been done wrong. It should also be pointed out that an apology should mention both the government (majority) and victim. Wakeham (2012) perceives that the federal government is the peacemaker and lead actor for healing. Celermajer and Kidman (2012) assert that, although an apology demands action from the government rather than civil society, the apology should be directed towards parliament, relevant agencies, and the civil society that took up the action of apologizing. Thus, all these studies are related and support the necessity of having praise for a minority group and a majority group, who share the national historical event.

Example sentences for Praise for a Minority Group and Praise for a Majority Group:

*-Today, we honor the Indigenous people of this land, the oldest continuing culture in human history.* (Text, Australia 2008)

*-The service of those who fell and of all who served in that conflict should now be honored.*  
(Text, New Zealand 2008)

*-I only wish that the Republic of Korea would escape the confusion and get back on track as soon as possible.* (Text, Korea 2016)

Dissociation of injustice from the present system. The purposes of this element are to disconnect from the previous authority who committed violence and to limit the responsibility of the present authority. Mostly, a national apology is typically absent in the year of a tragedy that occurs and remains absent for generations. By the time a national apology has been offered, the victims are aged or the offer goes to a descendent generation of the victim, who is not a direct victim and has lesser moral and mental pain. Moreover, it would be easy and good for the former authority that committed violence after a violent case has occurred to leave an apology behind because the degree of painful, shared feelings among victim groups remains strong and might cause riot. Present authority seems to accuse the latter government for not offering an apology and it will be offered by present authority. Wilson and Bleiker (2013) reported that the Dutch government offered an apology of “regret” in December 2011 for the Rawagedeh massacre in Indonesia in 1947 that caused the deaths of 15-433 officials during colonialism, which was 64 years later. Historical apologies are offered for injustices that occurred in remote history. Such apologies often deal with situations where either the wrongdoers or victims or both are no longer alive. Finally, it is not possible to admit personal responsibility or receive a personal apology for any crimes.

Somani (2011) asserts that an apology is made by a collective body that may have no connection with the original violator(s) and the apology may be issued to a community that is similarly distanced from the actual victims who experienced the harm firsthand. So, apology sentence structure renders it a site of possibility: as it closes off the past, it also opens up a door to the future.

Samples sentences of dissociation of injustice from the present system:

*-The families and communities whose lives were ripped apart by the action of... successive governments under successive parliaments. (Text, Australia 2008)*

*-So have been the unconscionable and protracted denials by successive governments for the effect of Agent Orange on soldiers and their families. (Text, New Zealand 2008-2)*

*-The reality is that, in the face of mounting evidence, successive governments downplayed and even covered up the fact that veterans who fought... (Text, New Zealand 2008-3)*

Praise for the present system presents what good conduct we currently have to create awareness, fairness, and equality between perpetrators and victims or the method to maintain relationship between groups and minimize the blame of victims that they live in a just country (Blatz, Schumann, and Ross (2009), as in the expressions below.

*-We have the collective responsibility to build a country based firmly on the notion of equality of opportunity, regardless of one's race or ethnic origin (Text, Canada 2006)*

It should be noted that after the researcher sorted the data to match the 10 elements proposed by Blatz, Schumann, and Ross M. (2009), some texts were left out. Hence, the researcher looked closely at these texts and found that they could be divided into two groups as previously proposed by Shnabel, Nurit & Nadler, Arie (2008). The texts are displayed in Table 4.4 for extra instances and were grouped under Reconciliation and Learning from mistakes in the past.



For Reconciliation, Shnabel, Nurit & Nadler, Arie (2008) suggest that it is post-conflict interaction. It is not only the reconciliation process that makes victims feel satisfied about the government process, but also through speech. Dwyer (1999) explains that *“the rhetoric of reconciliation is particularly common in situations where traditional judicial responses to wrongdoing are unavailable because of corruption in the legal system, staggeringly large numbers of offenders, or anxiety about the political consequences of trials and punishment.”* Cárdenas, Páez, Rimé, and Arnosó (2015) explain that many governments were successful in their transitional justice ritual through reinforcing the reconciliation process by establishing a national commission on truth and reconciliation. This is because the victims believed that this commission would fulfill the truth and justice more than they believed in the official apology, although they know that the commission will be unable to complete the job. Thus, the government should only express reconciliation and should take action by assigning a good governance body that is able to report directly to the government to reduce the long process of reporting, as shown below.

*“My proposal is this: if the apology we extend today is accepted in the spirit of reconciliation in which it is offered, we can today resolve together that there be a new beginning for Australia.”* (Text, Australia 2008)

*“I am here to announce that we are setting up an Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Commission under the Presidential Office.”* (Text, Taiwan 2016)

With regard to Learning from a mistake in the past, Page (2015) suggests that the process of error and learning takes note of this: mistakes will always be made through time. Matsunaga (2016) suggest the case of Canada and indigenous learning mistake from the past will change the way of thinking in that *“settlers engage with decolonization through formal and informal learning and engagement with Indigenous histories, people and teachings in order to change our mode of*



*thinking and the systems/institutions of knowledge production.*” Thus, what theory or method used to learn from a historical mistake enables us to change our way of thinking. Matsunaga further discusses that Transitional justice theory creates understanding of decolonization which results in the act of becoming ‘conscientious’ about attitudes, beliefs, epistemologies and learning lessons from the past. One we have a positive mindset based on a negative action in the past, we will have awareness of such wrongdoing so it won’t be repeated again by future generations, as the below expression.

*“As a society, we seek to learn from the mistakes of the past”* (Text, Canada 2013)

## **5.2 Language use**

Various sentence structures were found under each element. Only the highest frequency for each element will be discussed for the generic grammar pattern of Hunston and Francis (2000). The reason is that the sentence structures found in this study are specific to political speeches. However, they still use English grammar patterns in which one word often occurs with other words. Thus, there is the possibility to have a generalization in a pattern of English language in nature. First of all, a pattern as explained by Hunston and Francis (2000) is that *“the pattern of a word can be defined as all the words and structures with are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning. A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs relatively frequently, if it is dependent on a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it.”* (p37). For example, patterns involve the dummy subjects there and it specifies what will come at the beginning of the sentence. Some patterns with verbs will require a plural subject, such as pattern pl-n V, as in *“They argued”*. Mostly, however, information is restricted to what follows the verb, noun, or adjective.

Hunston and Francis' (2000) pattern of grammar also included a word established model and it will be used for discussion because they have used a corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English in Collins COBUILD Grammar Pattern of verbs, nouns and adjectives. They aim to show the pattern of all lexical items in Collins COBUILD dictionary, and within each to show all the lexical items that have that pattern. It can also say that each word class is dealt with separately, resulting in a volume covering patterns of verbs, and another volume with two sections dealing with nouns and adjectives. They claim their pattern has a fairly high degree of generalization. For example, their coding n, as in the pattern V n, usually means either a noun or a pronoun. When an adjective pattern deals with a verb, they distinguish between linking verbs and others. However, they have made a finer distinction. Their generalization is not broad like in traditional grammar, but is a generalization principle. Thus, Hunston and Francis' (2000) pattern of grammar was considered and chosen to discuss the generic patterns in English grammar, as found in the specific sentences of the present study.

Hunston and Francis offer three types of grammar patterns. They explain three patterns as the discrete properties of words. Patterns belong to specific words, but oversimplify. Thus, Hunston and Francis suggest that it is possible to consider patterns from different angles. This means any sentences or utterances can be viewed in terms of the pattern of any one of its lexical items. In other words, we can consider a linear pattern as in the below example, but the researcher tried to pick the most appropriate pattern fit to each sentence or element.

*-I wanted to ensure that you could send me a university award form.*

V.....to-inf

V..... that

V.... n.....n

*-We are deeply sorry for/that*

V + Adv

## Adj + Prep/that

Hence, the discussion of language use in this chapter is one of sub-patterns of Hunston and Francis (2000) grammar patterns. It is able to use other patterns where possible or appropriately proposed, but the researcher tried to discuss the patterns that were related to each apology element.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, language use under each element could be explained by using both grammatical structure and lexis to help readers remember these structures more easily. However, Hunston and Francis' (2000) grammar patterns help to explain the frequent generic grammar pattern embedded in a sentence.

## 1. Expressions of remorse

*Sub (I, We) + be + sorry for/that +pain or past done wrong + victim*

For this sentence structure, the subject needs to express his/her sorrow and identify what has been done wrong while addressing the victim in a sentence. This result is supported by Verdeja's (2010) suggestion that the speaker has to mention the pain of the victim. This could be a noticeable key factor in the same sentence: wrongdoer, remorse, painful, and victim as in the following sample sentence.

*-We are sorry for the lack of understanding of Indigenous societies and cultures that led to Indigenous children being sent away from their families... (Text, Canada 2017)*

From the perspective of the grammar pattern, Hunston and Francis (2000) explain that there is a pattern **v-link Adj for n**. The adjective 'sorry' in this sentence states a feeling of sadness, sympathy, or disappointment, especially because something unpleasant has happened or been done. The key word in consideration is a remorse element. Again, *for the lack of understanding* in this sentence indicates that the speaker understands the lack of something and the mistreatment to victims is why the speaker has to express his or her remorse.

Another pattern found in this expression of remorse element is **Adj that**. After the linking verbs, the speaker can use adjectives to describe someone's feelings about an action or situation. With certain adjectives, the speaker can add a 'to'-infinitive clause or a 'that'-clause or gerund (-ing) to say what the action or situation is, as in this sample sentence:

*-I am sorry that this issue was not better dealt with by successive governments and authorities over nearly four decades. (Text, NZ 2008-7)*

After the **Adj that** pattern, it could be seen that the speaker explains the failure of the government and authorities, causing the speaker to apologize for such failure.

## 2. Acceptance of responsibility

*Sub (we/government) + V + N (mistreatment)*

Referring to the sentence structure, it indicates that there must be a doer, which can be a person or authority, and a verb, which states the act of responsibility for injustice. Thompson (2008) asserts that it is the state's right to take responsibility for its past deeds, as in the following sample sentence:

*-We used our law to mask our anti-Semitism, our antipathy, and our resentment (Text, Canada 2018)*

Grammar patterns with elements preceding the noun could explain this sentence.

**a N; the N** The noun is preceded by an indefinite or definite article:

*Our anti-Semitism, our antipathy, our resentment* comprise the list of mistreatments done by the wrongdoer.

"We used our law to mask..." and such mistreatment can be mentioned by a list of nouns.

## 3. Admission of Injustice or Wrong doing

*Sub (I, we/government) + V (acknowledge / recognize) + injustice/wrong doing*

For this sentence structure, there is a verb stating the act of admission for injustice, such as

*acknowledge* or *recognize*, followed by the wrongful action. Thomson (2008) states that, in making an apology, he or she acknowledges that he/she has committed a wrongful act against the victims, as in the following sentence:

-*We recognize that it was wrong to separate children from rich and vibrant cultures and traditions...* (Text, New Zealand 2008)

For the grammar pattern **V that** it means a verb followed by the start of a new clause, or by *that* and the start of a new clause. The whole sentence after the subject is a **V that** pattern belonging to the verb phrase *we recognize...*

Denison (2018) explains that many verbs of communication, including factual and persuasive verbs, can include a finite-clause proposition in their complement, either directly as a *that*-clause, (1), or indirectly with a *that*-clause dependent on an object noun, as in (2).

(1) Claim that X, say that X, suggest that X

(2) Advance the claim that X, formulate the suggestion that X, welcome the fact that X

Denison also suggests that there are many verbs that can be used with *that*-clauses such as *acknowledge*, *point out*, *recommend*, *suggest*, but transitive verbs such as *advance*, *contest*, *contradict*, *endorse*, *highlight*, *moot*, *pose*, *put forward*, *propound*, *uncover* are not supposed to be used with *that*-clauses.

Another linear pattern noticeable from this sentence is **adj to-inf** as in “*wrong to separate*”. It explains that the perpetrator has admitted injustice or wrongdoing against the victims.

Additionally, once taking a look at the longer pattern, it can be found that **v-link adj to-inf** has been used in this sentence, as in ‘*was wrong to separate*’ as evaluative category.

Hunston and Francis (2000) explain this term as follows.

There are two roles associated with the evaluation, which are the Evaluated Entity and the Evaluative Category. In this sample sentence, the evaluative category is *wrong*. The patterns make

use of only two roles, as shown below.

Evaluated Entity	v-link	Evaluative Category	Evaluation Limiter
The government	was	wrong	to separate children from families.

Thus, the adjective in this sentence is used as an evaluative category for the action of the government.

#### 4. Acknowledgement of harm or suffering

Sub (I, we, government) + reflect/recognize/acknowledge/know harm and or suffering + victim This sentence structure is similar to an admission of injustice or wrongdoing, but it states words that present the harm or suffering of victims. This explanation is supported by Somani (2011) in that “an apology may be issued to a community that is similarly distanced from the actual victims who experienced the harm firsthand”, as shown in the following sample sentence.

*-Parliament’s Health Committee finally acknowledged what had long been denied, which was that New Zealand service personnel serving in Viet Nam had been exposed to a toxic environment...*  
(Text, New Zealand 2008-1)

There are grammar patterns that were used in this sentence. **V + wh-** as in “*acknowledged what*”

The speaker acknowledged mistreatment which was previously denied for a long time. The speaker then uses the **V + n + prep** pattern to address the victims “*New Zealand service personnel serving*” followed by the preposition “*in*” to indicate location. It could be seen that the speaker has not only acknowledged mistreatment, but also mentioned the victims and location of the suffering. The speaker uses the acknowledgement of harm or suffering element in a political apology speech to provide more details, which is done by making use of **V + wh-** and **V + n + prep** patterns.

## 5. Forbearance

*Sub (I, we, government) + modal (can/must/shall/will/should/would)+ never again + forbearance*

In reference to this sentence structure, sentence structures contain a modality to help the speaker express commitment to a future action to ensure that the mistake will not be repeated again. Van (1997) explained that political discourse topics may typically be modalized, meaning that the possibility in the past, present, or future may be obligatory, as shown below. Meanwhile, Charteris-Black (2014) noted that modality presents the degree of truth and obligation. Modality ‘*must*’ be used to present the highest degree of commitment, which is then followed by the adverb ‘*never*’ to emphasize that the meaning is not at any time or not on any occasion as the communication purpose. Moreover, ‘*must*’ could be an epistemic modality since it is in reference to the level of commitment that the speaker is able to express in relation to the truth, accuracy, or the certainty of what the speaker is saying. In other words, epistemic modality deals with how something is possible or likely.

- *We must never again repeat the horrors of war again*

Grammar pattern **V n** presents the action explicitly—‘*repeat the horrors*’—that the speaker must never do it again and promises this to the audience. This form is a reporting utterance that performs the speech act of directive. Another pattern that is visible is **V n prep/adv**, as in ‘*repeat the horrors of war*’ which also modifies the meaning of war which causes horrors.

Hunston and Francis (2000) suggest that the patterns and verbs belonging to this notional group are as follows:

**V n**: attract, bind, call, force, push, use, work, beat down, buy off, call out, draw out, move on, etc.

## 6. Offer of repair

*Sub (I, we, government) + will + repair*

Modality “will” signifies the speaker’s attitude, their ability, or their possibility to commit a future action for what will be repaired. An example is shown below.

- *We will have an equality commission to police a new duty... to promote equality of opportunity,*  
(Text UK, 1998)

This sentence intends to repair what was previous failed in the past. Therefore, the grammatic pattern that explains this sentence **V n to inf** as in ‘*will have an equality commission to*’ Pattern **V n to inf** helps the speaker repair the failure by doing something, as in *to police a new duty* and *to promote equality*. With the notion of making someone do something—which is not reporting—there will be a variety of lexis and patterns involved, such as *authorize, allow, consent to, agree to, permit, approve, and tolerate*.

#### 7. Praise for a minority group

*Obj (minority/victim) + V (contribution/goodness) + N (majority/country\_)*

Samoni (2011) argued that political apologies are purposively intended as containment strategies and that they offer considerable opportunities for minority resistance. However, Page (2015 p. 141) explained that “*it is difficult to express public opinion in favor of a minority position, and to translate this position into policy.*” Yet it is important to recognize that a minority is a group of victims that have experienced inhumane treatment and a lack of dignity who are now able to have their voices heard by government. Subsequently, the government should seek to improve their lives to be equal with the majority of the country, thereby allowing them to become proud to be part of that country and therefore reduce negative resistance.

Praise for a minority can describe the good that they have done for the country, as in the sample sentence below.



- *They contributed to our economy and laid the foundations for the vibrant Samoan community in New Zealand today.* (Text New Zealand, 2002)

The object is treated as the sentence subject and did something beneficial for the country which considered to be the majority group.

Grammar pattern **V n** is seen in the '*contributed to*' for doing something for someone. This is again seen with the similar pattern of **V n prep**, as in '*laid the foundations for*' in which the speaker emphasizes that *they* (victims) in the sentence as the subject have been beneficial for the majority group since the words following the prepositions *to* and *for* in this sentence are nouns '*our economy*', '*Samoan community*', and they function as objects in a sentence to receive the result of verb.

#### 8. Praise for a majority group

A repeat sentence structure could not be found in this element and the speakers tended to use various sentence structures. Blatz, Schumann and Ross (2009) explained that the purpose of this element was for the speaker to reduce resistance from the majority group that were not involved in the wrongful action. The main functions of this element was so that the speaker could also wish for the nation to live peacefully once violation has been committed responsibility, as the Korean president accepts her personal gain while she ran her own government, as in the sentence below.

- *I only wish that the Republic of Korea would escape the confusion and get back on track as soon as possible* (Text Korea, 2016)

The grammar patterns in this sentence include **V that** which shows the strength to pray for someone. That-clause belongs to a verb that precedes the noun. However, in some cases there can be words that follow a verb then before the that-clause. This occurs particularly when the noun is part of a phrase, such as *to one's annoyance/satisfaction or with annoyance/satisfaction*. The following include examples in which the verb follows pattern **V** which is underlined.

*It is easy to prove to your own satisfaction that you are worth many times.*

*Ruth found, to her annoyance, that far from quieting her.*

#### 9. Praise for present condition

*Sub (we) + N + V + N + Obj (victim)*

In this sentence structure, the speaker provides the present condition (N) and action (V) which are available to confirm the object (Obj) that the nation has a justice system, as seen in all the sample sentences below.

*- We have the collective responsibility to build a country based firmly on the notion of equality of opportunity, regardless to one's race or ethnic origin, (Text Canada, 2006)*

This element intended to praise the present condition and to show that the government was now doing something to ensure that the victims received satisfaction or an affirmation that they are living in a just condition that is fair for all. Subsequently, the grammar pattern should present the government's actions and re-emphasize fairness.

The grammar pattern that is seen is **N to-inf**, as in '*the collective responsibility to*'. The noun attempts to build a country based on fairness and mutual understanding among perpetrators and victims, as in the **Adj prep** pattern '*firmly on*'.

Hunston and Francis (2000) reported a number of adjectives that frequently occur in the Bank of English:

Good; great; lovely, nice.

Clever; prudent; sensible; smart.

Disgraceful; immoral, shameful, unkind, unworthy.

Absurd; foolish; silly.

However, although Hunston and Francis (2000) checked their data using a large corpus of data, it is possible to provide a definitive and exclusive list of adjectives that occur in this pattern. Their answer for this problem was that it is not restricted to lexis, but is rather restricted to meaning

#### 10. Dissociation of present system

*N or V (failure of former authority) + Obj (victim) + V + by (former authority)*

This sentence structure contains a wrong-doer in the past, or a successive doer prior to the period of the present authority. The purpose of this element is to limit the responsibility of the past which was not done by the present generation, who are unable to go back and correct it. For the most part, past wrongdoing occurs a number of years prior to the present date. Some doers may pass away, or if they are still alive they may not be in a sufficiently fit condition to accept responsibility since they might have done it by hand of law. An example is shown below.

- *The families and the communities whose lives were ripped apart by the action of successive governments under successive parliaments.* (Text Australia, 2008).

Many forms of mistreatment were committed by former authorities, but it is the present authority that apologizes for the mistreatment. Yet the present authority can leave the mistreatment with the former authority by mentioning that the acts were conducted by the hands of the former authority.

The grammar pattern seen in this sentence **V adv**, as in '*ripped apart*'. V ripped in this pattern is the act of violence against victims or a failure of the former authority. The speaker then mentions that the violence or failure was undertaken by the former authority, as in the pattern **N of n** '*the action of*'.

### 5.3 Lexical bundle

The findings Research Question 3 suggest that 45 four-word lexical bundles were found in the corpus of fifty political apologies. These lexical bundles were later categorized under three structural types of lexical bundles, and functional classification of lexical bundles (Biber, Conrad, and Cortes, 2004).

In reference to Table 4.8, when rating the most commonly found lexical bundles to the least most common are as follows:

1. Lexical bundles that incorporate noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments.
2. Lexical bundles that incorporate with a verb phrase fragment.
3. Lexical bundles that incorporate a dependent clause fragment.

The result of a noun and verb phrase fragment is related to Battistella (2004). Content words could be verbs and nouns (they can also be adjectives and adverbs). This grammar frame can form the meaning of a particular word. However, the frame varies between words, which limits the possible types of expression. The verb '*apology*' can be used for both direct and indirect objects to apologize to someone about something. Then adverbs can be added, such as *sincerely*, or subordinating and softening the verb by adding *would like to*. The grammatical system allows speakers to use either more or less explicitness while apologizing to emphasize or de-emphasize the meaning. For example, in *I would like to apologize*, the object of the verb is an action with an implied subject, meanwhile it also implies a person apologizing. Therefore, the lexical bundles that incorporate with a verb phrase fragment allows the speaker to apologize directly to victims, which is something that is not found in other lexical structures.

For a lexical structure with noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments, they were as subjects or authorization (on behalf of the government, a member of the government, the leader of

the opposition, etc.), topic introduction/elaboration or the owner of responsibility (end of the war, the mistake of the war, in the service of the war, etc.). A lexical structure noun phrase as a doer or perpetrator and prepositional phrase fragments as the topic introduction/elaboration or the topic or owner of responsibility will act in the verb phrase fragment.

Lexical bundles are not found in following structures: Discourse marker + VP fragment; verb phrase with passive verb; yes-no question fragments; Wh-question fragments; if-clause fragments; (verb/adjective+) to-clause fragment; and comparative expressions.

For unfound lexical bundle structures, in political apology speech it is possible that the apologizer has no right to accuse or request for unclear point by using yes-no question fragments or Wh-question fragments. The primary purpose is to apologize rather than to ask any questions, especially since it might be suitable to use if-clause fragment since this could create or undermine the apology. The literature review in Chapter 2 referred to Ayata and Hakyemez (2013) who analyzed Turkey's Prime Minister Erdogan apologizing for the Derism genocide in 1930s. Ayata and Hakyemez (2013) explained that Erdogan's apology speech was not an apology because it was not just saying "I apologize", but the speech actually contained *if-clause* to make a conditional to claim that he *would* deliver an apology and condition about the doubt for him to apology on behalf of state in spite of he is a Prime Minister. This is in line with Battistella (2004), who explained that apologizers should express embarrassment and chagrin, and then explicitly disavow bad the behavior and vilify the former self associated with it. An apology is therefore not the time to ask questions (yes-no question fragments, Wh-question fragments), make accusations, or any conditions (if-clause fragments) before apologizing since the evidence is clear.

In sum, it is noticeable that in a political apology, the lexical structure is found in the form of a noun phrase with an of-phrase fragment, and prepositional phrase expressions. The noun

phrase lexical bundle structure could be used to for the background to an apology since they represent the perpetrator or the speaker, or mention the past mistake as a topic to introduce and elaborate upon. Additionally, this also signifies the responsibility of the perpetrator, and the speaker who will take action through the lexical bundles that are incorporated with the verb phrase fragment.

In reference to Table 4.8 on lexical function classification, there are four main functions: Stance expression; discourse organizer; referential expressions; and special conversational functions. Each main function has sub-categories. The most functional classification lexical bundle found in political apologies are as follows, but lexical bundles were not found in the special conversational functions.

1. Referential expressions: Identification/focus, intangible framing attributes, time/place/multifunction reference.
2. Discourse organizer: Topic introduction/focus, topic elaboration/clarification.
3. Stance expression: Epistemic stance, obligation/directive, intention/prediction.

It is noticeable that referential expressions are the most common lexical bundle. In political apologies, content should be related. Verdeja (2010) proposed three primary criteria before delivering a political apology to achieve satisfaction:

1. Framing by considering social context and make the speech public.
2. Content which explicitly shows responsibility, inclusive, and reflection.
3. Future commitment which contains symbolic recognition and material reparation.

To obtain satisfaction from the audience or victim, the content of the speech should be coherent and make use of referential expression lexical bundles to enable speaker to refer to something and allow the audience or victims to understand the point that the speaker refers to. This

is the same for Cels (2015) who suggested that staging (spatial) refers to the organization or physical situation in which the interaction takes place. Meanwhile, Charteris-Black (2014) analyzed a political speech, suggesting that “*coherence is the impression a text leaves of being unified in some way, but is not through explicit cohesive relation*” (p. 55). Coherence can arise when the hearer or reader understands the message that the speaker or writer intends, which is the result of a shared common background. The coherence of a speech relies on the audience’s expectations and assumptions. In this case, the speaker may prepare some background for the audience before discussing in detail or pursuing the audience. Charteris-Black also advised grammatical cohesion by using reference, since words can have a range of different meanings in a text since they relate to the words that occur in the same text, which can enable the audience or victims to understand the connections and relationships for reference concept. Similarly, Sethi and Agarwal (2013) suggested that a lexical approach word or combination create meaningful store in mental lexicon and when combined in a continuous coherent section of text. Audiences are able to make sense of the world if they consider the rest of the content.

A discourse organizer serves two major functions: Topic introduction/focus; and topic elaboration/clarification. This study finding is related to Timmis (2005) who studied a spoken syllabus for a corpus. Timmis claimed that spoken lexical and grammatical items should undergo topic management and discourse markers in teaching syllabus for adult learners in the UK since spoken language features are experienced in their natural discourse context before becoming the specific focus of attention and related to sociocultural of learners. This explains that speakers should introduce the topic and elaborate upon on it to the audience or victims so that the audience understands what the speaker will talk about and create a meaningful exchange for accepting the apology. Topic introduction and lexical bundles allow the speaker to have a legal support and be

responsible for the victims on behalf the state, by legitimately affirming the government's authority and that the speaker has the right to do so, such as *on behalf of government*, or *the rule of law*, and then elaborates on the sentence by lexical bundles *to the people of*, and *to those who have*, which attract the audience's attention.

Stance expression: Epistemic stance, obligation/directive, intention/prediction is found the least compared with the previously described lexical functions. However, it was found that speaker uses stance expression in both personal and impersonal ways. The speaker can use the 'we' to present the majority group since he is offering an apology on behalf of the government and not for his own actions, such as *we are sorry for*, or *that we are sorry*.

However, lexical bundles were not found in the ability subcategory and special conversation category. The lexical bundle of ability may not be required because political apologies aim to apologize, accept responsibility, and admit injustice. The special conversation category for politeness may also not be required because political apologies already use formal language.

#### **5.4 Discussion from sociocultural context**

Expressions of remorse were found in almost all the political apology speeches. The expression of remorse element is therefore mandatory and an important element to recover the relationship between the different political and victim sides. Crystal (1987) pointed out that a lack of social interaction can lead to a critical atmosphere or social sanctions. Apology is therefore importation for restoring relationships since the speaker's apology requires the hearer to share a common social background. In the case of political apology offers to victims, the speaker must highlight the sociocultural elements to create a sense of a shared society in addition to apologizing and accepting responsibility. Battistella (2004) also suggested that apologies should come with a



social ritual and apology account to make sense of apology. Subsequently, this section will discuss remorse elements and sociocultural issues to broaden the understanding of political apology.

Although most of the political apology speeches in the present study consist of expressions of remorse, the Australian apology to indigenous groups in 2008 as well as the Taiwanese apology to indigenous groups were chosen to for discussion since they had the second highest remorse expression frequency, while they also present the society and culture of the indigenous groups.

In Australian speech from 2008, the Australia Prime Minister apologized to Australian indigenous peoples and the massive number of victims. The historical background could be dated back to 1770 when Captain James Cook arrived on the East coast of Australia, claimed possession, and raised the British flag over the continent, without recognizing the presence of the indigenous groups who had lived there and created their own culture and identity over the course of thousands of years. There were clashes between the Aborigines and the new settlers in 1778 which forced the Aborigines to re-settle away from their homes. In 1837, the British set up the Protectors of Aborigines in Australia, and in 1869 the governor had the right to forcibly remove Aboriginal children and send them to reformatory schools without their family's consent. This marked the starting point of a particularly painful part of history. In 1901, Australia becomes an independent country, but Aborigines were not included in the census and there were no state laws to protect their status, with the state retaining legal powers over Aboriginal people until a constitutional amendment in 1967 (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015). After the European invasion of the Australian lands, there was a traumatic event with lasting consequences for the mode of life, health, welfare, and the very identity of the Aborigines (Hudec, 2013).

Finlayson (2011), there are two Marxist traditions in Aboriginal social relations: 1. The relational subsistence of the contribution of Aboriginal men and women. The asymmetry was

derived from the appropriation of women's surplus subsistence production, but they were unconscious of this since their production relations were obscured by ideology and were legitimated in ritual. This inequality was also duplicated in age relations. 2. Feminist tradition. Aboriginal women are both autonomous and subordinate. Aboriginal households consisted of four component structures: The primary unit; the second family unit; individual borders; and visitors. Each unit is based on the relation between the people within each category. During the 1870s, European settlers and sugar farmers saw the potential of the Aboriginal people as a labor force and it is important relation for protection of Aboriginal communities and the profitable income of European farmers. The sincerity of the sugar farmer's concerns to maintain peaceful relations were driven by economic motives, and were followed by other products such as tea and even opium. Yet frontier development resulted in the displacement of Aboriginal people in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. By 1990, the Australian government was concerned for the Aborigines in Queensland, and used claims such as opium use, sexual disease, miscegenation, exploitation of Aboriginal labor to remove individuals and communities and place them into designated reserve areas. It can therefore be seen that exchange relation starts with mutual benefit between groups, but ends up with mistreatment.

During the long years of suffering, a large number of children were removed from their parents to live with white families and in dormitory schools. There they were given a new identity and many were unaware of who they were and forced to live with strangers. This was not simply physically painful, but it also had mental effects after these children were removed from their parents. The Psychological Society (2017) wrote that *“Aboriginal people experience much higher rates of psychological distress, chronic disease, and incarceration than other Australians. They manage many more stressors on a daily basis and, although suicide did not exist in their cultures*

*prior to colonisation it is now a tragically inflated statistic.*” Meanwhile, Gibbs (2009) argued that “*when state is a wrongdoer, there are significant repercussions for the giving apology, expression of regret or remorse, and promises of non-repetition by the state*” (p. 51). Such an apology can help restore the dignity of indigenous group. Mr. Hamm was a three-week old indigenous baby when he was removed from family and taken to a white community, and he subsequently lost his own roots. Mr Rudd's historic apology in 2008—the official public apology—helped to change Mr. Hamm’s sense of identity, saying that “*My country doesn't argue about me any more - it gave me peace that my story, like so many others, wasn't a matter of debate,*” “*I remember writing out my feelings the day after the speech and I called it: ‘Today is the day I wake up.’*” (Mao, 2018). Al-Wuhaili (2018) explained that the important power of a political apology is its ability to acknowledge the dignity of victims. Therefore, expressing remorse in a medium to connect sociocultural elements and victims in a political apology requires the speaker to mention the social common background of the past wrongdoing before expressing remorse. Wohl, Hornsey and Phillot (2011) asserted that the merit of apology would help white Australians to understand the past and the indigenous people who live in the same society.

The 2016 Taiwan apology speech consisted of 1942 words, with ten instances of remorse elements will be a sample discussion in the view of their sociocultural issue.

Copper (2019) describes Taiwan’s history, mentioning that before the 1600s the island was self-governing before China later gained control in the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century. However, in 1949 the Nationalist government and its armies fled to Taiwan, which resulted in a further separation between Taiwan and mainland China. In the ensuing years the Republic of China claimed jurisdiction over the Chinese mainland as well as Taiwan, although in the early 1990s the Taiwanese government retracted this claim of the Chinese mainland. There are two main ethnic

groups in Taiwan: The Hoklo (Fukien Taiwanese) which now include the majority of residents (65%); and the Hakka which constitutes 15% of the Taiwanese population and who began arriving on the island 1,000 years ago, although most migrated during the 14th–17th Centuries. Both groups have no written language and practice animism, nature worship, and other indigenous religious rites. After the Second World War, China mainlanders moved to the island and brought the Mandarin language and other dialects. The Japanese occupation (1895-1945) marked the beginning of suppression against indigenous people and saw indigenous resistance. Over half of the indigenous peoples were relocated during the Japanese period, which greatly undermined traditional governance and social structures. An official apology was offered by President Tsai Ing-wen on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016.

The contemporary Taiwanese government cannot avoid facing the conflict between the new settlers who took political power and the indigenous people who have faced years of lifelong suffering, removal from their homes, and the loss of their language, culture, and textiles. President Tsai Ing-wen has the will to change failed former policies, and upon taking government she set up a justice commission for abuses against citizens during the martial law period (1946–1987), as well as a commission for abuses against Taiwan’s indigenous citizens. It is a politically risky move and breaks with the Asian convention of avoiding apologies and confrontation in order to save face. Taiwan’s presidential speech was the first apology speech among Asian government leaders, and the first to apologize to indigenous people. Moreover, the apology also benefited understanding between both parties, since *“indigenous communities can teach their leaders what is possible when a government accepts responsibility to establish a stronger foundation built on truth and justice, and they can take heart in knowing that it is possible for Indigenous people and governments to work together towards reconciliation and mutual respect.”* The President of

Taiwan offered an historic apology to indigenous people in 2016, after which there was a high likelihood that they would gain votes from those indigenous people. Political apologies help to create national identity, with Winter (2015) explaining that political apologies are not just an opinion, but they use relevant facts to create a national identity for those who are not members of a nation. Finally, Wohl, Hornsey and Phillot (2011) assert that apologies allow political and social relations to start anew.

### **5.5 Implications**

We have been taught since a young age that an apology is a social norm and we must learn to know our mistakes and learn what we have done to others and make apologies as a socialization process to prove that you are a moral person. However, once we grow up and have more maturity and create our own identity, it becomes more difficult to accept our own mistakes causing others' suffering. Political apology speech is in high context rather than a generic apology and needs more apology elements. Speakers have to consider various aspects of their situations and societies to reduce resistance and create the right and appropriate apologies. However, it might not be an easy task to write an apology speech, either for novices or seasoned writers, and it has an impact on the speech givers' image since they are normally public figures, government representatives, or heads of state whose accountability leads to the acceptance of the apology. Based on the findings, the implications for apology speech writing and speaking are as follows.

1. Expressions of remorse, acceptance of responsibility, admission of injustice/wrongdoing, acknowledge of harm, and forbearance were found in almost every speech. Therefore, these should be mandatory expressions/elements to add into apology speeches. Their language structures or forms are as follows:

Remorse

*Sub (I, we) + be + sorry for / that + pain or past done wrong + victim*

*Sub + be + adj+ sorry / apologize*

*Sub + V (offer) + adj + apology+ painful / victim*

*Sub + V (apologize / sorry) + on behalf of the government or country or authority*

*Sub + V (apology) + for / to + Object (painful + victim / mistreatment)*

*Subject + V (regret / express) + apology + painful / victim*

Acceptance of responsibility

*Sub (we / government) + V + N (mistreatment)*

*Sub (we, nationality, state, government, parliament) + V (accept, take) + N (responsibility)*

*+ N (mistreatment)*

*Sub (we / government) + V (reflect / acknowledge) + N (mistreatment)*

Admission of injustice / wrongdoing

*Sub (I, we, government) + V (acknowledge / recognize) + injustice / wrongdoing*

*Sub (I, we, government, it) + V to be / V + N (injustice / wrongdoing)*

*Obj + V to be + V3 + N (mistreatment / wrongdoing)*

Acknowledgement of harm or suffering

*Sub (I, we, government) + V (reflect / recognize / acknowledge) + N (harm and or suffering) +*

*Obj (victim)*

*Obj (victim) + V to be V3 + N (harm and or suffering)*

*There / this was / were or it is + N (harm and or suffering) + Obj (victim)*

*Sub (we)+ V phrase (look back with the shame) that / at*

*Sub (we) + Present continuous form + N (harm and or suffering)*

Forbearance. Students are also able to use modality to show the degree of possibility or commitment.

*Sub (I, we, government) + modal (can / must / shall / will / should / would) + never again + forbearance*

2. Lexical bundles found in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 of this study were found repeatedly across texts (transcriptions) in the corpus. This proves that they are in actual use by several political agencies. Therefore, they should be decent examples for English writing learners to use as a reference list. Details follow in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Suggested lexical bundles in political apologies

Function	Example lexical bundles
Feeling or attitude expression	<i>to learn from the, I would like to, we are sorry for, we are truly sorry it is my hope, that we are sorry so that we can</i>
Speech organizer or discourse marker	<i>it is time for, the end of the, the rule of law, end of the war, as a result of, mistakes of the past, a member of the, the leader of the, the mistakes of the, to the people of, on behalf of the, on behalf of all, in the face of, in the name of, of the past and, in the service of, leader of the opposition, the anniversary of the, all those who have, chapter in our nation, to those who have, to those who served, indigenous and non indigenous, the second world war, as soon as possible</i>
Reference	<i>behalf of the government, the government of (country name), government of (country name) and, of the (country name), of the government of, of (country name) and all, (country name) and all (nationality), the (country name) government,</i>

## 5.6 Suggestions for Future Studies

During this study, the researcher found some points that could not fit exactly into this study and might have caused the thesis content to become unmanageable, but they are interesting and expand the empirical study as follows.



1. As this study explores political speeches, inaugural speeches by presidents or prime ministers would be suggested because such speeches contain political views, historical background, and the future of the country which will be guided by a new head of state. This applies for the US presidential inaugural speech and Partington (2000) suggests that governmental institutions are the source of a corpus to deepen our understanding from both the linguistic and political science perspectives.

2. Comparison of the same speech topic between two country's presidents, or changes in one country on the same topic but with different timelines are of interest. For example, it could noticeable in this study that in the Japanese prime minister's apology speech for WW II in 2015, his statement provides disconnection and lessens the responsibility because 80% of Japan's population now were born after WW II and were not involved with the war, and Japan has apologized for this issue many times where this content was not found in previous speeches although he made expressions of remorse three times with seven instances of forbearance in his speech. In contrast, the German prime minister's apology for WW II in 2000 had expressions of remorse only one time and with no forbearance.

3. Additionally, life after the apology, in the case of international relationships between two countries provides feedback (as in Kishimoto, 2004). Events in the same country after the offer of apology were shown by Hunter and Schwab (2003) to be significant, as the quality of life of indigenous groups has not improved much, with education levels of indigenous groups during 1986 to 2001 showing little improvement, especially in terms of post-secondary qualifications which are still low.

4. This study has suggested only ready sample sentences or language usage found in those speeches, but it did also suggest teaching implications. The researcher would like to suggest



teaching lexical bundles. Kazemi, Katiraei and Rasekh (2014) claim that lexical bundles are very common in language and assumed that they will be naturally acquired, but many lexical bundles are used by experts and rarely used by students. The findings therefore suggest that the teaching of lexical bundles could provide positive results for EFL students.



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**APPENDICES**



## APPENDIX A

### Example apology speech for analysis

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, MP – Apology to Australia's Indigenous

Wednesday, February 13, 2008

Word count: 362 words

Data record : Australia, 2008

Data source <https://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country/our-people/apology-to-australias-indigenous-peoples>

That today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history. (praise for minority)

We reflect on their past mistreatment. (admission of wrong doing)

We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations - this blemished chapter in our nation's history. (acknowledge of harm and or suffering)

The time has now come for the nation to turn a new page in Australia's history by righting the wrongs of the past and so moving forward with confidence to the future. (accept of responsibility)

We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians. (remorse)

We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country. (remorse)

For the pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry. (remorse)

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry. (remorse)

And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry. (remorse)

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation. (offer of repair)

### Summary data

Element	Frequency
remorse	5
accept of responsibility	1
admission of wrong doing	1
acknowledge of harm and or suffering	1
praise for minority	

## APPENDIX B

### Sample political apology speech

Only highest frequency speech of each element will be reported, in case of any speeches already reported one element, the recon highest frequency speech will be reported.

#### 1.Element : Remorse

File Australia 2018

Speech content: Scott Morrison, member of parliament, apologized to survivors and victims of child sexual abuse.

Source:

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/oct/22/scott-morrison-national-apology-to-australian-survivors-and-victims-of-child-sexual-abuse-full-speech>

Full speech text: 2469 words

Whether you sit here in this Chamber, the Great Hall, outside elsewhere in the nation's capital. Your living room. In your bed, unable to rise today or speak to another soul. Your journey to where you are today has been a long and painful one, and we acknowledge that and we welcome you today wherever you are.

Mr Speaker, silenced voices. Muffled cries in the darkness.

Unacknowledged tears. The tyranny of invisible suffering.

The never heard pleas of tortured souls bewildered by an indifference to the unthinkable theft of their innocence.

Today, Australia confronts a trauma an abomination hiding in plain sight for far too long.

Today, we confront a question too horrible to ask, let alone answer.

Why weren't the children of our nation loved, nurtured and protected?

Why was their trust betrayed?

Why did those who know cover it up?

Why were the cries of children and parents ignored?

Why was our system of justice blind to injustice?

Why has it taken so long to act?

Why were other things more important than this, the care of innocent children?

Why didn't we believe?

Today we dare to ask these questions, and finally acknowledge and confront the lost screams of our children.

While we can't be so vain to pretend to answers, we must be so humble to fall before those who were forsaken and beg to them our apology.

A sorry that dare not ask for forgiveness.

A sorry that dare not try and make sense of the incomprehensible or think it could.

A sorry that does not insult with an incredible promise.

A sorry that speaks only of profound grief and loss.

A sorry from a nation that seeks to reach out in compassion into the darkness where you have lived for so long.

Nothing we can do now will right the wrongs inflicted on our nation's children.

Even after a comprehensive royal commission, which finally enabled the voices to be heard and the silence to be broken, we will all continue to struggle.

So today we gather in this chamber in humility. Not just as representatives of the people of this country, but as fathers, as mothers, as siblings, friends, workmates, and in some cases, indeed as victims and survivors.

Ngunnawal means "meeting place". And on this day of apology, we meet together.

We honour every survivor in this country, we love you, we hear you and we honour you.

No matter if you are here at this meeting place or elsewhere, this apology is to you and for you.

Your presence and participation makes tangible our work today and it gives strength to others who are yet to share what has happened in their world.

Elsewhere in this building and around Australia, there are others who are silently watching and listening to these proceedings, men and women who have never told a soul what has happened to them. To these men and women I say this apology is for you too.

And later when the speeches are over, we will stand in silence and remember the victims who are not with us anymore, many too sadly by their own hand.

As a nation, we failed them, we forsook them. That will always be our shame.

This apology is for them and their families too.

As one survivor recently said to me, "It wasn't a foreign enemy who did this to us this was done by Australians." To Australians. Enemies in our midst.

Enemies. In. Our. Midst.

The enemies of innocence.

Look up at the galleries, look at the Great Hall, look outside this place and you will see men and women from every walk of life, from every generation, and every part of our land.

Crushed, abused, discarded and forgotten.

The crimes of ritual sexual abuse happened in schools, churches, youth groups, scout troops, orphanages, foster homes, sporting clubs, group homes, charities, and in family homes as well.

It happened anywhere a predator thought they could get away with it, and the systems within these organisations allowed it to happen and turned a blind eye.

It happened day after day, week after week, month after month, and decade after decade. Unrelenting torment.

When a child spoke up, they weren't believed and the crimes continued with impunity.

One survivor told me that when he told a teacher of his abuse, that teacher then became his next abuser.

Trust broken.

Innocence betrayed.

Power and position exploited for evil dark crimes.

A survivor named Faye told the royal commission: "Nothing takes the memories away. It happened 53 years ago and it's still affecting me."

One survivor named Ann said: "My mother believed them rather than me."

I also met with a mother whose two daughters were abused by a priest the family trusted. Suicide would claim one of her two beautiful girls and the other lives under the crushing weight of what was done to her.

As a father of two daughters, I can't comprehend the magnitude of what she has faced.

Not just as a father but as prime minister, I am angry too at the calculating destruction of lives and abuse of trust, including those who have abused the shield of faith and religion to hide their crimes, a shield that is supposed to protect the innocent, not the guilty. And they stand condemned.

Death can take many forms. In this case the loss of a life never lived, a life denied

One survivor says it was like "becoming a stranger to your parents."

Mental health illnesses, self-harm, and addictions followed.

The pain didn't stop with adulthood.

Relationships with partners and children became strained as survivors struggled with the conflicting currents within them.

Parents and siblings felt guilt and sadness for what they had missed, for what and whom they chose to believe, and for what they did not see.

While survivors contemplated what could have been.

A survivor named Rodney asks the question so common to so many survivors, he wonders about “the person I may have become, or the person I could have become if I didn’t have all of this in my life.”

Death can take many forms. In this case the loss of a life never lived, a life denied.

Another survivor, Aiden spoke of not getting justice because his abuser had died. He said, “I was bereft because I was robbed. I was robbed of my day in court. I wanted to tell the world what he did. That was stolen. That was him again, taking control.”

Mr Speaker, today, as a nation, we confront our failure to listen, to believe and to provide justice.

And again today, we say sorry.

To the children we failed, sorry.

To the parents whose trust was betrayed and who have struggled to pick up the pieces, sorry.

To the whistleblowers who we did not listen to, sorry.

To the spouses, partners, wives, husbands and children who have dealt with the consequences of the abuse, cover-ups and obstruction, sorry.

To generations past and present, sorry.

Mr Speaker, as part of our work leading us to this day, I recently met with the national apology survivor’s reference group as did the leader of the opposition who are with us here today.

I want to thank this wonderful group of people and brave people.

Many are survivors; they have all worked so hard to make today a reality.

They said to me that an apology without action is just a piece of paper and it is. And today they also wanted to hear about our actions.

It is a fair call.

In outlining our actions, I want to recognise the work of my predecessors, former Prime Minister Gillard, who is with us here today, and I thank you for your attendance. Former Prime Minister Rudd, the Member for Warringah, who continues to serve us here in this place, and the former prime minister, Mr Turnbull. I want to thank them for their compassion and leadership as they also confronted these terrible failings.

The foundations of our actions are the findings and recommendations of the royal commission, initiated by Prime Minister Gillard.

Acting on the recommendations of the royal commission with concrete action gives practical meaning to today’s apology

The steady compassionate hand of the commissioners and staff resulted in 17,000 survivors coming forward and nearly 8,000 of them recounting their abuse in private sessions of the commission.

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We are all grateful to the survivors who gave evidence to the commission. It is because of your strength and your courage that we are gathered here today.

Many of the commissioners and staff are also with us today and I thank them also.

Mr Speaker, acting on the recommendations of the royal commission with concrete action gives practical meaning to today's apology.

The commonwealth, as our national government, must lead and coordinate our response.

The National Redress Scheme has commenced.

I thank the State and Territory governments for their backing of the scheme.

The scheme is about recognising and alleviating the impact of past abuse, and providing justice for survivors.

The scheme will provide survivors with access to counselling and psychological services, monetary payments, and, for those who want one and I stress for those who want one a direct personal response from an institution where the abuse occurred.

It will mean that after many years, often decades, of denials and cover-ups — the institutions responsible for ruining lives admit their wrongdoing and the terrible damage they caused.

The National Office of Child Safety is another big step forward to ensuring the prevention and detection of child abuse, wherever it occurs.

It was announced as part of our government's response to the royal commission and was established from July 1 of this year within the Department of Social Services.

As prime minister, I will be changing these arrangements to ensure that the National Office of Child Safety will report to me. It will reside within the portfolio of Prime Minister and Cabinet, as it should. The minister for social services will assist me in this role, including reporting to me on the progress of royal commission recommendations and the activities of the Office of Child Safety.

The office has already begun its work to raise awareness of child safety and to drive cultural change in institutions in the community to ensure that the systemic failures and abuses of power that brought us here today are not repeated.

Our children must be heard ... they must know who they can tell, and they must be believed

Importantly, children themselves are being empowered to participate in these initiatives – because our children must be heard, and when it comes to the work of safety, it must be approachable and child-friendly. They must know who they can tell, and they must be believed, and they must know where they can go.

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All Australian governments are now working together to establish a national database, to ensure higher standards for working with children and that data about people's ability to work with children is shared nationally.

And our work does not stop at our borders.



We are ensuring children across the world are protected by stopping child sex offenders from travelling overseas without permission, which will disrupt, prevent and investigate the abuse of children globally.

And we recognise that as survivors age, those who were abused in or by an institution, have real fears about entering into aged care facilities.

It's an understandable fear given what happened during childhood, and we will work with survivor groups about what we can do alleviate those fears and indeed the work of the royal commission into aged care will be able to address this as well.

And to assist with lasting change we recognise that there are many more survivors who were abused in other settings such as their own homes and in their communities, who will not be covered by this redress scheme.

These survivors also need to be heard, and believed, and responded to with services to address their needs. So today, I commit to fund the establishment of a national centre of excellence, and I call on the states and territories to work as partners in this venture. This centre will be the place to raise awareness and understanding of the impacts of child sexual abuse, to deal with the stigma, to support help seeking and guide best practice for training and other services.

All of this is just the start.

The Australian government has not rejected a single recommendation of the royal commission.

We are now actively working on 104 of the 122 recommendations that were addressed to the commonwealth. The 18 remaining are being closely examined, in consultation with states and territories.

We will shine a spotlight on all parts of government to ensure we are held accountable

Today we commit that from December this year, we will report back to the Australian people, through the parliament, to be held accountable each year, each year, on the progress we are making on the recommendations over the next five years and then beyond.

We will shine a spotlight on all parts of government to ensure we are held accountable.

And the institutions which perpetrated this abuse, covered it up and refused to be held accountable, must be kept on the hook.

Already, many of those organisations have made their own apologies and have signed up to be a part of the National Redress Scheme, as they should.

But there are others yet to join, and today I simply say that justice, decency and the beliefs and values we share as Australians, insists that they sign on.

Today I also commit to establishing a national museum, a place of truth and commemoration, to raise awareness and understanding of the impacts of child sexual abuse.

We will work with survivor groups, to ensure your stories are recorded, that your truth is told, that our nation does not turn from our shame, and that our nation will never forget the untold horrors you experienced.



Through this we will endeavour to bring some healing to our nation and to learn from our past horrors.

We can never promise a world where there are no abusers. But we can promise a country where we commit to hear and believe our children.

To work together to keep children safe, to trust them and most of all respect their innocence.

Mr Speaker, I present the formal apology to be tabled in this parliament today, which will be handed to those in the Great Hall shortly. It reflects all of the sentiments that I have expressed on behalf of the Australian people, this parliament and our government.

And as I table that and, as I do, I simply say: I believe you. We believe you. Your country believes you.

## **2.Element : Acceptance of responsibility**

File Canada 2017

Speech content: Canada PM apologized to LGBTQ community

Source:

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/homosexual-offences-exunge-records-1.4422546>

Full speech text: 1864 words

One of the greatest choices a person can make in their life is the choice to serve their fellow citizens. Maybe it's in government, in the military, or in a police force. In whatever capacity one serves, dedicating your life to making Canada and indeed, the world a better place is a calling of the highest order.

Now imagine, if you will, being told that the very country you would willingly lay down your life to defend doesn't want you. Doesn't accept you. Sees you as defective. Sees you as a threat to our national security.

Not because you can't do the job, or because you lack patriotism or courage no, because of who you are as a person, and because of who your sexual partners are.

Now imagine, Mr. Speaker, being subjected to laws, policies, and hiring practices that label you as different as "less than."

Imagine having to fight for the basic rights that your peers enjoy, over and over again.

And imagine being criminalized for being who you are.

This is the truth for many of the Canadians present in the gallery today, and those listening across the country.

This is the devastating story of people who were branded criminals by the government. People who lost their livelihoods, and in some cases, their lives.

These aren't distant practices of governments long forgotten. This happened systematically, in Canada, with a timeline more recent than any of us would like to admit.

Mr. Speaker, today we acknowledge an often-overlooked part of Canada's history. Today, we finally talk about Canada's role in the systemic oppression, criminalization, and violence against the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two spirit communities.

And it is my hope that in talking about these injustices, vowing to never repeat them, and acting to right these wrongs, we can begin to heal. Discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities was quickly codified in criminal offences like "buggery," "gross indecency" and bawdy house provisions.

Bathhouses were raided, people were entrapped by police.

Our laws bolstered and emboldened those who wanted to attack non-conforming sexual desire.

Our laws made private and consensual sex between same-sex partners a criminal offence, leading to the unjust arrest, conviction, and imprisonment of Canadians. This criminalization would have lasting impacts for things like employment, volunteering, and travel.

Those arrested and charged were purposefully and vindictively shamed. Their names appeared in newspapers in order to humiliate them, and their families.

Lives were destroyed. And tragically, lives were lost. ...

Over our history, laws and policies enacted by the government led to the legitimization of much more than inequality they legitimized hatred and violence, and brought shame to those targeted.

While we may view modern Canada as a forward-thinking, progressive nation, we can't forget our past: The state orchestrated a culture of stigma and fear around LGBTQ2 communities. And in doing so, destroyed people's lives.

Mr. Speaker, a purge that lasted decades will forever remain a tragic act of discrimination suffered by Canadian citizens at the hands of their own government.

From the 1950s to the early 1990s, the government of Canada exercised its authority in a cruel and unjust manner, undertaking a campaign of oppression against members, and suspected members, of the LGBTQ2 communities.

The goal was to identify these workers throughout the public service, including the foreign service, the military, and the RCMP, and persecute them.

You see, the thinking of the day was that all non-heterosexual Canadians would automatically be at an increased risk of blackmail by our adversaries due to what was called "character weakness."

This thinking was prejudiced and flawed. And sadly, what resulted was nothing short of a witch-hunt.

The public service, the military, and the RCMP spied on their own people, inside and outside of the workplaces. Canadians were monitored for anything that could be construed as homosexual behaviour, with community groups, bars, parks, and even people's homes constantly under watch.

During this time, the federal government even dedicated funding to an absurd device known as the Fruit Machine -- a failed technology that was supposed to measure homosexual attraction.

When the government felt that enough evidence had accumulated, some suspects were taken to secret locations in the dark of night to be interrogated.

They were asked invasive questions about their relationships and sexual preferences. Hooked up to polygraph machines, these law-abiding public servants had the most intimate details of their lives cut open.

Women and men were abused by their superiors, and asked demeaning, probing questions about their sex lives. Some were sexually assaulted.

Those who admitted they were gay were fired, discharged, or intimidated into resignation. They lost dignity, lost careers, and had their dreams and indeed, their lives shattered.

Under the harsh glare of the spotlight, people were forced to make an impossible choice between career and identity.

The very thing Canadian officials feared blackmail of LGBTQ2 employees was happening. But it wasn't at the hands of our adversaries; it was at the hands of our own government.

Mr. Speaker, the number one job of any government is to keep its citizens safe. And on this, we have failed LGBTQ2 people, time and time again.

It is with shame and sorrow and deep regret for the things we have done that I stand here today and say: We were wrong. We apologize. I am sorry. We are sorry.

For state-sponsored, systemic oppression and rejection, we are sorry.

For suppressing two-spirit Indigenous values and beliefs, we are sorry.

For abusing the power of the law, and making criminals of citizens, we are sorry.

To all the LGBTQ2 people across this country who we have harmed in countless ways, we are sorry.

To those who were left broken by a prejudiced system;

And to those who took their own lives we failed you.

For stripping you of your dignity;

For robbing you of your potential;

For treating you like you were dangerous, indecent, and flawed;

We are sorry.

To the victims of the purge, who were surveilled, interrogated, and abused;

Who were forced to turn on their friends and colleagues;

Who lost wages, lost health, and lost loved ones;

We betrayed you. And we are so sorry.

To those who were fired, to those who resigned, and to those who stayed at a great personal and professional cost;

To those who wanted to serve, but never got the chance to because of who you are -- you should have been permitted to serve your country, and you were stripped of that option.

We are sorry. We were wrong.

Indeed, all Canadians missed out on the important contributions you could have made to our society.

You were not bad soldiers, sailors, airmen and women. You were not predators. And you were not criminals.

You served your country with integrity, and veterans you are.

You are professionals. You are patriots. And above all, you are innocent. And for all your suffering, you deserve justice, and you deserve peace.

It is our collective shame that you were so mistreated. And it is our collective shame that this apology took so long many who suffered are no longer alive to hear these words. And for that, we are truly sorry.

To the loved ones of those who suffered;

To the partners, families, and friends of the people we harmed;

For upending your lives, and for causing you such irreparable pain and grief -- we are sorry. ...

We also thank members of the We Demand an Apology Network, our LGBTQ2 Apology Advisory Council, and the Just Society Committee for Egale, as well as the individuals who have long advocated for this overdue apology. ...

We must remember, and we will remember. We will honour and memorialize the legacy of those who fought before us in the face of unbearable hatred and danger.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that we will look back on today as a turning point. But there is still much work to do.

Discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities is not a moment in time, but an ongoing, centuries-old campaign.

We want to be a partner and ally to LGBTQ2 Canadians in the years going forward. There are still real struggles facing these communities, including for those who are intersex, queer people of colour, and others who suffer from intersectional discrimination.

Transgender Canadians are subjected to discrimination, violence, and aggression at alarming rates. In fact, trans people didn't even have explicit protection under federal human rights legislation until this year. ...

And, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that earlier today in this House we tabled the Expungement of Historically Unjust Convictions Act. This will mean that Canadians previously convicted of consensual sexual activity with same-sex partners will have their criminal records permanently destroyed.

Further, I am pleased to announce that over the course of the weekend, we reached an agreement in principle with those involved in the class action lawsuit for actions related to "the purge."

Never again will our government be the source of so much pain for members of the LGBTQ2 communities.

We promise to consult and work with individuals and communities to right these wrongs and begin to rebuild trust. We will ensure that there are systems in place so that these kinds of hateful practices are a thing of the past. Discrimination and oppression of LGBTQ2 Canadians will not be tolerated anymore. ...

Mr. Speaker, Canada's history is far from perfect.

But we believe in acknowledging and righting past wrongs so that we can learn from them.

For all our differences, for all our diversity, we can find love and support in our common humanity.

We're Canadians, and we want the very best for each other, regardless of our sexual orientation, or our gender identity and expression. We will support one another in our fight for equality.

And Canada will stand tall on the international stage as we proudly advocate for equal rights for LGBTQ2 communities around the world.

To the kids who are listening at home and who fear rejection because of their sexual orientation or their gender identity and expression;

And to those who are nervous and scared, but also excited at what their future might hold;

We are all worthy of love, and deserving of respect.

And whether you discover your truth at six or 16 or 60, who you are is valid.

To members of the LGBTQ2 communities, young and old, here in Canada and around the world:

You are loved. And we support you. ...

To the trailblazers who have lived and struggled, and to those who have fought so hard to get us to this place: thank you for your courage, and thank you for lending your voices. I hope you look back on all you have done with pride.

It is because of your courage that we're here today, together, and reminding ourselves that we can, and must, do better.

For the oppression of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit communities, we apologize. On behalf of the government, Parliament, and the people of Canada: We were wrong. We are sorry. And we will never let this happen again.

### **3.Element : Admission of injustice / wrong doing**

File Canada 2008

Speech content: Canada PM apologized to former students of Indian residential schools

Source:

<https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>

Full speech text: 890 words

The treatment of children in Indian Residential Schools is a sad chapter in our history.

For more than a century, Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities. In the 1870's, the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate Aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child". Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.

One hundred and thirty-two federally-supported schools were located in every province and territory, except Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Most schools were operated as "joint ventures" with Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian or United Churches. The Government of Canada built an educational system in which very young children were often forcibly removed from their homes, often taken far from their communities. Many were inadequately fed, clothed and housed. All were deprived of the care and nurturing of their parents, grandparents and communities. First Nations, Inuit and Métis languages and cultural practices were prohibited in these schools. Tragically, some of these children died while attending residential schools and others never returned home.

The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian Residential Schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language. While some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities.

The legacy of Indian Residential Schools has contributed to social problems that continue to exist in many communities today.

It has taken extraordinary courage for the thousands of survivors that have come forward to speak publicly about the abuse they suffered. It is a testament to their resilience as individuals and to the strength of their cultures. Regrettably, many former students are not with us today and died never having received a full apology from the Government of Canada.

The government recognizes that the absence of an apology has been an impediment to healing and reconciliation. Therefore, on behalf of the Government of Canada and all Canadians, I stand before you, in this Chamber so central to our life as a country, to apologize to Aboriginal peoples for Canada's role in the Indian Residential Schools system.

To the approximately 80,000 living former students, and all family members and communities, the Government of Canada now recognizes that it was wrong to forcibly remove children from their homes and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that it was wrong to separate children from rich and vibrant cultures and traditions that it created a void in many lives and communities, and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that, in separating children from their families, we undermined the ability of many to adequately parent their own



children and sowed the seeds for generations to follow, and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that, far too often, these institutions gave rise to abuse or neglect and were inadequately controlled, and we apologize for failing to protect you. Not only did you suffer these abuses as children, but as you became parents, you were powerless to protect your own children from suffering the same experience, and for this we are sorry.

The burden of this experience has been on your shoulders for far too long. The burden is properly ours as a Government, and as a country. There is no place in Canada for the attitudes that inspired the Indian Residential Schools system to ever prevail again. You have been working on recovering from this experience for a long time and in a very real sense, we are now joining you on this journey. The Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly.

Nous le regrettons

We are sorry

Nimitataynan

Niminchinowesamin

Mamiattugut

In moving towards healing, reconciliation and resolution of the sad legacy of Indian Residential Schools, implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement began on September 19, 2007. Years of work by survivors, communities, and Aboriginal organizations culminated in an agreement that gives us a new beginning and an opportunity to move forward together in partnership.

A cornerstone of the Settlement Agreement is the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This Commission presents a unique opportunity to educate all Canadians on the Indian Residential Schools system. It will be a positive step in forging a new relationship between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians, a relationship based on the knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities and vibrant cultures and traditions will contribute to a stronger Canada for all of us.

#### **4.Element : Acknowledgment of harm / suffering**

File Australia 2009

Speech content: Australian PM apologized to British child migrants.

Source:

<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/110625/20091116-1801/www.pm.gov.au/node/6321.html>

Full speech text: 3867 words

Today, the Government of Australia will move the following motion of apology in the Parliament of Australia.

We come together today to deal with an ugly chapter in our nation's history.

And we come together today to offer our nation's apology.

To say to you, the Forgotten Australians, and those who were sent to our shores as children without your consent, that we are sorry.

Sorry - that as children you were taken from your families and placed in institutions where so often you were abused.

Sorry - for the physical suffering, the emotional starvation and the cold absence of love, of tenderness, of care.

Sorry - for the tragedy, the absolute tragedy, of childhoods lost,- childhoods spent instead in austere and authoritarian places, where names were replaced by numbers, spontaneous play by regimented routine, the joy of learning by the repetitive drudgery of menial work.

Sorry - for all these injustices to you, as children, who were placed in our care.

As a nation, we must now reflect on those who did not receive proper care.

We look back with shame that many of you were left cold, hungry and alone and with nowhere to hide and nobody to whom to turn.

We look back with shame that so many of you were left cold, hungry and alone and with nowhere to hide and with nobody, absolutely nobody, to whom to turn.

We look back with shame that many these little ones who were entrusted to institutions and foster homes instead, were abused physically, humiliated cruelly, violated sexually.

And we look back with shame at how those with power were allowed to abuse those who had none.

And how then, as if this was not injury enough, you were left ill-prepared for life outside - left to fend for yourselves; often unable to read or write; to struggle alone with no friends and no family.

For these failures to offer proper care to the powerless, the voiceless and the most vulnerable, we say sorry.

We reflect too today on the families who were ripped apart simply because they had fallen on hard times.

Hard times brought about by illness, by death and by poverty.

Some simply left destitute when fathers damaged by war could no longer cope.

Again, we say sorry for the extended families you never knew.

We acknowledge the particular pain of children shipped to Australia as child migrants - robbed of your families, robbed of your homeland, regarded not as innocent children but regarded instead as a source of child labour.



To those of you who were told you were orphans, brought here without your parents' knowledge or consent, we acknowledge the lies you were told, the lies told to your mothers and fathers, and the pain these lies have caused for a lifetime.

To those of you separated on the dockside from your brothers and sisters; taken alone and unprotected to the most remote parts of a foreign land we acknowledge today that the laws of our nation failed you.

And for this we are deeply sorry.

We think also today of all the families of these Forgotten Australians and former child migrants who are still grieving, families who were never reunited, families who were never reconciled, families who were lost to one another forever.

We reflect too on the burden that is still carried by our own children, your own children, your grandchildren, your husbands, your wives, your partners and your friends - and we thank them for the faith, the love and the depth of commitment that has helped see you through the valley of tears that was not of your own making.

And we reflect with you as well, in sad remembrance, on those who simply could not cope and who took their own lives in absolute despair.

We recognise the pain you have suffered.

Pain is so very, very personal.

Pain is so profoundly disabling.

So, let us together, as a nation, allow this apology to begin to heal this pain.

Healing the pain felt by so many of the half a million of our fellow Australians who were children in care children in our care.

And let us also resolve this day that this national apology becomes a turning point in our nation's story.

A turning point for shattered lives.

A turning point for governments at all levels and of every political hue and colour to do all in our power to never let this happen again.

For the protection of children is the sacred duty of us all.

This is the motion that later this day this Government will commend to the Parliament of Australia.

Care leavers from around Australia and abroad;

Representatives of the Care Leavers of Australia Network;

the Child Migrants Trust;

the Alliance for Forgotten Australians;

the Leader of the Opposition;

my ministerial and parliamentary colleagues;  
representatives of the state governments of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria;  
Her Excellency the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom;  
His Excellency the Ambassador of Ireland;  
His Excellency High Commissioner for Malta;  
ladies and gentlemen;  
friends, one and all;

Our purpose today in this Great Hall of this great Australian Parliament is to begin to put right a very great wrong.

To acknowledge the great wrong that has been done to so many of our children.

And as a nation, to apologise for this great wrong.

And, as a nation, to resolve that such systematic abuse should never happen again.

The truth is this is an ugly story.

And its ugliness must be told without fear or favour if we are to confront fully the demons of our past.

And in so doing, animate, once again, the better angels of our human nature.

I believe we do a disservice to those who have been the victims of abuse if in any way we seek to gloss things over.

Because the truth is great evil has been done.

And therefore hard things must be said about how this was all possible in this country of the fair go.

Unless we are now transparent about what has been done in our nation's name, our apology can never be complete.

Because let us be clear - these children, both from home and abroad, were placed in care under the auspices of the state, validated by the laws of the land.

It is estimated that more than 500,000 children were placed in care under various arrangements over the course of the last century.

This is no small number.

Let us imagine that more than half of the city of Adelaide was drawn from children who had been placed in institutional or foster care.

This is no small number.

In recent weeks, it has been my privilege to meet some of these children, most of them now middle-aged.

And some perhaps a little older again.

And I take the intervention from the floor - some younger than that again.

Here is something of their stories as told to me.

Last week I sat down with Garry for a cup of tea at his home here in Canberra.

Garry told me he had five brothers and sisters.

His father was an ex-serviceman who, in Gary's words, drank himself to death.

When Garry was four or five, he remembers being taken to the steps of the local police station with his brothers and sisters and told to wait until his mum returned, who had promised ice creams for all.

She never returned.

As Garry recalls, "I never got my ice-cream".

A fortnight later, he was committed as a ward of the state.

He told me his twin brothers had been fostered to a good family in Wollongong.

But he was taken to an institution and separated from his sisters, who were placed elsewhere.

All this, at the age of four or five.

Alone, absolutely alone, devastatingly alone in the world.

He told me that, at the age of six or seven, he tried to hang himself from the swings because he wanted to be with his brothers.

He was later placed in a rural home for older boys where he remained until the age of 13.

He remembers being picked up from the train station on a freezing night in a big red truck with a row of numbered seats. He was told to sit in seat number 3.

He was given, a number.

As Garry said, "my number was always three, it sticks in your head".

The culture of this home, as Garry described it, was one of institutional violence as boys were made to beat each other, to beat other boys to the ground, in front of their peers.

At 13, he was transferred to an institution where he remembers a kindly cook taking him under her wing.

But it was during this time Garry says, he suffered sexual abuse from other men.

Garry later got into drugs to help escape the psychological torture he suffered through years of what was so-called institutional care.

Garry has led a tough life.

But Garry is a survivor.

He proudly introduced me to his seven beautiful children - all doing well at school and the older ones already planning for their future.

And showed me with pride the carpenter's trade certificate he earned through study in 2005.

When asked by CLAN (a community organisation established to help survivors of institutional abuse, and known to so many of you here today) when asked by CLAN to write down his story Garry said, "what am I going to write down, you can't put tears on paper".

It has also been my privilege to sit down with twins Robyn and Judy last Monday when I was in Bathurst.

They told me too, that their mother left home when they too were barely five years old. They were then placed in a church home.

Judy remembers the day they were first taken to the home and her sister Robyn bolted from the gate and ran away.

They later found her and dragged her back.

Robyn and Judy remember that they kept waiting and waiting for just someone, someone to come and pick them up - but no-one, no-one ever came.

They recall being hit with belt buckles and bamboo.

They said the place they grew up in was utterly, utterly loveless.

They said it always made them feel like second-class citizens.

At the local school, they were described as "Home Girls".

They looked with envy as other children were picked up by their parents after school.

Robyn told me that, 40 years later, "it stays with you, I still dream about it".

But you know something? Both Robyn and Judy too are fighters.

While emotionally scarred by their experience, they too have beautiful children and partners who care for them. But the wounds run deep. They run very deep.

And then there was Gus.

I spoke to Gus on the phone, he is from Queensland.

Brought out to Australia from Ireland, again at the age of four or five, in the 1950s - as a child apparently born out of wedlock, having earlier spent time in a Catholic institution in Ireland.

Gus' story was truly horrific. His was a tale of physical and sexual abuse over more than a decade. In Gus' words, "that did me terrible mental damage".

He finally tracked down his mum, 10 years ago.

She had gone to the United States. But he then discovered she had passed away.

Gus had limited educational opportunities and has been in and out of gaol a number of times during his life.

Gus, reflecting back across the years, and in the great tradition of Australian understatement, said he had led a 'colourful life'.

Gus too, is a fighter and survivor.

Whether it is Garry or Gus or Robyn or Judy, there is an eerie similarity to so many of the stories. Stories of physical, emotional or sexual abuse.

Stories of the lack of love. Experiences which stay with them to this day.

Each told me that such was the trauma they experienced in institutional care that they suffered such things as bed-wetting for many, many years - while in care.

This, of course, is deeply personal. Deeply, deeply personal.

But each wanted me to share this part of their story too because it underlined the trauma they had gone through.

But trauma with an ugly double-twist because each time this happened, they were publicly humiliated and publicly punished by those supposedly responsible for their care.

In the conversations I was privileged to have with these great Australian survivors, for each of them this apology today was important.

And for countless thousands and tens of thousands besides, this apology is important.

Important because it does not seek to hide that which they experienced.

An apology that acknowledges the very personal pain that has been caused.

An apology which, it is hoped, will bring some healing balm to wounded souls.

And not just to the handful that I have been so honoured to meet.

But to all those whose cases are reflected in the Senate reports over many, many years. And to those also whose stories will remain forever untold.

There are tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of these stories, each as important as the other, each with its own hurts, its own humiliations its own traumas - and each united by the experience of a childhood without love, of childhood alone.

For some, this has become a very public journey of healing. For others, it remains intensely private - not even to be discussed with closest family and friends even today.

And such privacy must of course, be respected.

Whatever your journey today, and whether you are here in Parliament House in Canberra with us or watching or listening across the country or across the world, my hope today is to reach out to you all on behalf of this nation, Australia, and to speak what has so often been unspoken.

And to offer you this profound apology.

To apologise for the pain that has been caused.

To apologise for the failure to offer proper care.

To apologise for those who have gone before us and ignored your cries for help.

Because children, it seems, were not to be believed.

Only those in authority, it seems, were the ones to be believed.

To apologise for denying you basic life opportunities; including so often a decent education.

To apologise also, for just how long it has taken for the Australian Government to say sorry - so many Senate reports, nearly a decade of deliberation, and a unanimous recommendation that the Commonwealth apologise.

And finally we do so today.

Today is also a day for all those who have refused to remain silent.

The champions of this day.

Those driven by sheer tenacity.

By an unswerving sense of justice.

Those who kept the flame of hope alight.

People like Margaret Humphreys, people like Harold Haig, people like Leonie Sheedy and Joanna Penglase, people like Bonnie Djuric, and People like Walter Tusyn who campaigned tirelessly for this day as Tasmanian representative of the Alliance for Forgotten Australians, only to pass away on the 30th of last month.

And people like former Senator Andrew Murray, because Andrew Murray's work has simply been extraordinary.

I rang Andrew recently and asked him about the importance of this apology.

His response was succinct when he wrote in reply:

"the Senate (and others) have carefully examined these matters and rightly and unanimously recommended an official Commonwealth apology. As a result, the states and the main churches, charities and agencies have apologised (although some are better apologies than others...),

Andrew Murray continued "it is time for the Commonwealth to complete the circle."

It is also important today to honour the advocacy groups who have stood by you through thick and thin - advocacy groups such as: Care Leavers of Australia Network (CLAN); groups like The Child Migrants Trust, advocacy groups such as the Alliance for Forgotten Australians - and many, many others.

But beyond these individuals and organisations stand an army of people who have quietly gone about their business over the last decade or more to take this story of sustained institutional and personal abuse from the margins of government deliberation to the very centre of Government consideration.

For all victims of abuse, today, you are all owed a profound debt of gratitude for having stood by them with such solidarity and strength.



So what then is to be done?

The Australian Government has assembled a comprehensive response to recommendations contained in the two Senate reports - "Lost Innocence" and "Forgotten Australians revisited".

This response will be tabled in the Parliament in the coming days.

The overwhelming message I have received and Minister Macklin has been receiving has been the need to be heard, the need to be acknowledged and the need for the nation to apologise.

It is important however, that this not be regarded as a single point in history. Our view is that it would be helpful for the nation, however painful, to properly record your experiences, where you deem that to be appropriate.

This can assist the nation to learn from your experiences.

As a result, the Australian Government is supporting projects with both the National Library and the National Museum which will provide future generations with a solemn reminder of the past.

To ensure not only that your experiences are heard, but also that they will never ever be forgotten.

And in doing so we must always remember the advice of the sages - that a nation that forgets its past is condemned to relive it.

Second, we also know that you are deeply concerned about practical support to help survivors and their families negotiate what can still so often be damaged lives.

For example, I know many of you are concerned about living in aged care facilities as you grow older and the need for access to proper aged care.

The Government will identify care leavers as a special-needs group for aged-care purposes, to ensure that providers are assisted to provide care that is appropriate and responsive, and provide a range of further counselling and support services.

Third, many Forgotten Australians and child migrants continue to need help in tracing their families. That is why we'll be providing a National Find and Connect Service that will provide Australia-wide coordinated family tracing and support services for care leavers to locate personal and family history files and the reunite with members of their families, where that is possible.

The service will provide a national database that will collate and index existing state identified records into a national searchable data base, accessible to state and other care leaver services and also directly to care leavers themselves.

Fourth, to make sure you are well represented, we have provided and continue to provide funding to advocacy groups such as the Child Migrant Trust, the Alliance for Forgotten Australians and Care Leavers of Australia Network, as these organisations continue to work hard to put your concerns front and centre.

Finally, governments must continue to commit to the systematic auditing, inspection and quality assurance of the child protection services they administer today.

Some 28,000 - 30,000 children are currently in the care of State and Territory Governments around Australia. Governments must put in place every protection possible to reduce the risk of mistreatment in the future.

And, as Andrew Murray reminded me recently, "if you hurt a child, a harmed adult will often result...aggregate those adults who were harmed in care and the social, the economic, the personal cost is huge".

In Andrew's words, we must do everything possible to break the cycle.

I recognise this is a difficult, complex and sensitive area of policy. But the nation must continue to lift its game in doing whatever practicably can be done to provide for the proper protection of little ones, of children.

Let us, therefore today in this Great Hall of this great Australian Parliament, seize this day and see this national apology to our Forgotten Australians and our Child Migrants as a turning point for the future.

For child migrants, for many of you, your mothers and fathers were alive and were made to relinquish their right to be your parents and to watch you grow into adulthood.

Some of you have said you would like to place the apology on the graves of your mothers and fathers back in England and on their graves here in this country as well. Today we dedicate this apology to them as well.

For the Australian-born care leavers, or 'Homies' or 'State Wards' or the 'Foster kids', the Senate named you the 'Forgotten Australians'.

Today, and from this day forward, it is my hope that you will be called the 'Remembered Australians'.

However, whatever I might say today, the truth is, I cannot give you back your childhood. I cannot rewind the clock on your suffering. Nor can I erase the past.

But what I can do with you is celebrate the spirit that has lived within you over the decades. A spirit that has stubbornly refused to be beaten.

A spirit that has turned you into the survivors that you are. The spirit that has enabled you to serve your country in times of war, even if you had been deserted by your country.

The spirit that enabled you to bring up families, despite the broken families from which you came. The spirit that enabled you to work and to make your own contribution to this, our land Australia.

And the spirit that caused you to hold fast that one day you would be heard, one day you would be believed, one day you would be acknowledged.

And that, one day, Australia's sense of a fair-go would finally prevail. That our fair go would be extended to you, and that the nation would offer you the public apology that you deserve.

My message to you today is that that day has finally come.

Let me also say this.

You were in no way to blame for what happened to you because it was the nation who failed you.



The institutions the nation created for your care, failed you.

To all of you here today in this Great Hall. To all of you watching around the nation.

Today is your day. Today is your special day. Today is your achievement.

This morning, I spoke to a 98 year old lady in my electorate in Brisbane.

Her name is Vera. If Vera is watching, 'hi Vera'.

I'm sorry that Vera can't be with us in Canberra today.

She said that the pain that she suffered having spent five years in a Queensland orphanage was pain suffered a lifetime ago.

But her hope that today, as a 98-year-old lady is that finally this day could herald a closing of the book on the past.

Today is for people just like Vera.

And today let us now go forward together, go forward with confidence, go forward with confidence into the future - as equal, as valued and as precious members of this one great family that we call Australia.

## **5.Element : Forbearance**

File Australia 2015

Speech content: Japan PM addressed on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of war's end.

Source:

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/news/national//national/page/1392/>

Full speech text: 1662 words

On the 70th anniversary of the end of the war, we must calmly reflect upon the road to war, the path we have taken since it ended, and the era of the 20th century. We must learn from the lessons of history the wisdom for our future.

More than one hundred years ago, vast colonies possessed mainly by the Western powers stretched out across the world. With their overwhelming supremacy in technology, waves of colonial rule surged toward Asia in the 19th century. There is no doubt that the resultant sense of crisis drove Japan forward to achieve modernization. Japan built a constitutional government earlier than any other nation in Asia. The country preserved its independence throughout. The Japan-Russia War gave encouragement to many people under colonial rule from Asia to Africa.

After World War I, which embroiled the world, the movement for self-determination gained momentum and put brakes on colonization that had been underway. It was a horrible war that claimed as many as ten million lives. With a strong desire for peace stirred in them, people founded the League of Nations and brought forth the General Treaty for Renunciation of War. There emerged in the international community a new tide of outlawing war itself.

At the beginning, Japan, too, kept steps with other nations. However, with the Great Depression setting in and the Western countries launching economic blocs by involving colonial economies, Japan's economy suffered a major blow. In such circumstances, Japan's sense of isolation deepened and it attempted to overcome its diplomatic and economic deadlock through the use of force. Its domestic political system could not serve as a brake to stop such attempts. In this way, Japan lost sight of the overall trends in the world.

With the Manchurian Incident, followed by the withdrawal from the League of Nations, Japan gradually transformed itself into a challenger to the new international order that the international community sought to establish after tremendous sacrifices. Japan took the wrong course and advanced along the road to war.

And, seventy years ago, Japan was defeated.

On the 70th anniversary of the end of the war, I bow my head deeply before the souls of all those who perished both at home and abroad. I express my feelings of profound grief and my eternal, sincere condolences.

More than three million of our compatriots lost their lives during the war: on the battlefields worrying about the future of their homeland and wishing for the happiness of their families; in remote foreign countries after the war, in extreme cold or heat, suffering from starvation and disease. The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the air raids on Tokyo and other cities, and the ground battles in Okinawa, among others, took a heavy toll among ordinary citizens without mercy.

Also in countries that fought against Japan, countless lives were lost among young people with promising futures. In China, Southeast Asia, the Pacific islands and elsewhere that became the battlefields, numerous innocent citizens suffered and fell victim to battles as well as hardships such as severe deprivation of food. We must never forget that there were women behind the battlefields whose honour and dignity were severely injured.

Upon the innocent people did our country inflict immeasurable damage and suffering. History is harsh. What is done cannot be undone. Each and every one of them had his or her life, dream, and beloved family. When I squarely contemplate this obvious fact, even now, I find myself speechless and my heart is rent with the utmost grief.

The peace we enjoy today exists only upon such precious sacrifices. And therein lies the origin of postwar Japan. We must never again repeat the devastation of war.

Incident, aggression, war -- we shall never again resort to any form of the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. We shall abandon colonial rule forever and respect the right of self-determination of all peoples throughout the world.

With deep repentance for the war, Japan made that pledge. Upon it, we have created a free and democratic country, abided by the rule of law, and consistently upheld that pledge never to wage a war again. While taking silent pride in the path we have walked as a peace-loving nation for as long as seventy years, we remain determined never to deviate from this steadfast course.

Japan has repeatedly expressed the feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology for its actions during the war. In order to manifest such feelings through concrete actions, we have engraved in our hearts the histories of suffering of the people in Asia as our neighbours: those in Southeast

Asian countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines, and Taiwan, the Republic of Korea and China, among others; and we have consistently devoted ourselves to the peace and prosperity of the region since the end of the war.

Such position articulated by the previous cabinets will remain unshakable into the future.

However, no matter what kind of efforts we may make, the sorrows of those who lost their family members and the painful memories of those who underwent immense sufferings by the destruction of war will never be healed.

Thus, we must take to heart the following.

The fact that more than six million Japanese repatriates managed to come home safely after the war from various parts of the Asia-Pacific and became the driving force behind Japan's postwar reconstruction; the fact that nearly three thousand Japanese children left behind in China were able to grow up there and set foot on the soil of their homeland again; and the fact that former POWs of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Australia and other nations have visited Japan for many years to continue praying for the souls of the war dead on both sides.

How much emotional struggle must have existed and what great efforts must have been necessary for the Chinese people who underwent all the sufferings of the war and for the former POWs who experienced unbearable sufferings caused by the Japanese military in order for them to be so tolerant nevertheless?

That is what we must turn our thoughts to reflect upon.

Thanks to such manifestation of tolerance, Japan was able to return to the international community in the postwar era. Taking this opportunity of the 70th anniversary of the end of the war, Japan would like to express its heartfelt gratitude to all the nations and all the people who made every effort for reconciliation.

In Japan, the postwar generations now exceed 80% of its population. We must not let our children, grandchildren, and even further generations to come, who have nothing to do with that war, be predestined to apologize. Still, even so, we Japanese, across generations, must squarely face the history of the past. We have the responsibility to inherit the past, in all humbleness, and pass it on to the future.

Our parents' and grandparents' generations were able to survive in a devastated land in sheer poverty after the war. The future they brought about is the one our current generation inherited and the one we will hand down to the next generation. Together with the tireless efforts of our predecessors, this has only been possible through the goodwill and assistance extended to us that transcended hatred by a truly large number of countries, such as the United States, Australia, and European nations, which Japan had fiercely fought against as enemies. We must pass this down from generation to generation into the future. We have the great responsibility to take the lessons of history deeply into our hearts, to carve out a better future, and to make all possible efforts for the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world.

We will engrave in our hearts the past, when Japan attempted to break its deadlock with force. Upon this reflection, Japan will continue to firmly uphold the principle that any disputes must be settled peacefully and diplomatically based on the respect for the rule of law and not through the use of force, and to reach out to other countries in the world to do the same. As the only country

to have ever suffered the devastation of atomic bombings during war, Japan will fulfill its responsibility in the international community, aiming at the non-proliferation and ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons.

We will engrave in our hearts the past, when the dignity and honour of many women were severely injured during wars in the 20th century. Upon this reflection, Japan wishes to be a country always at the side of such women's injured hearts. Japan will lead the world in making the 21st century an era in which women's human rights are not infringed upon.

We will engrave in our hearts the past, when forming economic blocs made the seeds of conflict thrive. Upon this reflection, Japan will continue to develop a free, fair and open international economic system that will not be influenced by the arbitrary intentions of any nation. We will strengthen assistance for developing countries, and lead the world toward further prosperity. Prosperity is the very foundation for peace. Japan will make even greater efforts to fight against poverty, which also serves as a hotbed of violence, and to provide opportunities for medical services, education, and self-reliance to all the people in the world.

We will engrave in our hearts the past, when Japan ended up becoming a challenger to the international order. Upon this reflection, Japan will firmly uphold basic values such as freedom, democracy, and human rights as unyielding values and, by working hand in hand with countries that share such values, hoist the flag of "Proactive Contribution to Peace," and contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world more than ever before.

Heading toward the 80th, the 90th and the centennial anniversary of the end of the war, we are determined to create such a Japan together with the Japanese people.

## **6.Element : Offer of repair**

File USA 1997

Speech content: US President apologizes for medical study in Tuskege.

Source:

<https://clintonwhitehouse6.archives.gov/1997/05/1997-05-16-president-apology-for-study-done-in-tuskegee.html>

Full speech text: 1527 words

Ladies and gentlemen, on Sunday, Mr. Shaw will celebrate his 95th birthday. I would like to recognize the other survivors who are here today and their families: Mr. Charlie Pollard is here. Mr. Carter Howard. Mr. Fred Simmons. Mr. Simmons just took his first airplane ride, and he reckons he's about 110 years old, so I think it's time for him to take a chance or two. [Laughter] I'm glad he did. And Mr. Frederick Moss, thank you, sir. I would also like to ask three family representatives who are here—Sam Doner is represented by his daughter, Gwendolyn

Cox. Thank you, Gwendolyn. Ernest Hendon, who is watching in Tuskegee, is represented by his brother, North Hendon. Thank you, sir, for being here. And George Key is represented by his grandson, Christopher

Monroe. Thank you, Chris. I also acknowledge the families, community

leaders, teachers and students watching today by satellite from Tuskegee. The White House is the people's house; we are glad to have all of you here today. I thank Dr. David Satcher for his role in this. I thank Congresswoman

Waters and Congressman Hilliard, Congressman Stokes, the entire Congressional

Black Caucus; Dr. Satcher; members of the cabinet who are here, Secretary Herman, Secretary Slater; a great friend of freedom, Fred Gray, thank you for fighting this long battle all these long years. The eight men who are survivors of the syphilis study at Tuskegee are a living link to a time not so very long ago that many Americans would prefer not to remember but we dare not forget. It was a time when our Nation failed to live up to its ideals, when our Nation broke the trust with our people that is the very foundation of our democracy. It is not only in remembering that shameful past that we can make amends and repair our Nation, but it is in remembering that past that we can build a better present and a better

future. And without remembering it, we cannot make amends and we cannot go forward. So today America does remember the hundreds of men used in research without their knowledge and consent. We remember them

and their family members. Men who were poor and African-American, without resources and with few alternatives, they believed they had found hope when they were offered free medical care by the United States Public Health Service. They were betrayed. Medical people are supposed to help when we need care, but even once a cure was discovered, they were denied help, and they were lied to by their Government. Our Government is supposed to protect the rights of its citizens; their rights were trampled upon 40 years, hundreds of men betrayed, along with their wives and children, along with the community in Macon County, Alabama,

the City of Tuskegee, the fine university there, and the larger African American community. The United States Government did something that was wrong, deeply, profoundly, morally wrong. It was an outrage to our commitment to integrity and equality for all our citizens. To the survivors, to the wives and family members, the children, and the grandchildren, I say what you know: No power on Earth can give you back the lives lost, the pain suffered, the years of internal torment

and anguish. What was done cannot be undone. But we can end the silence. We can stop turning our heads away. We can look at you in the eye and finally say on behalf of the American people, what the United States Government did was shameful, and I am sorry. The American people are sorry for the

loss, for the years of hurt. You did nothing wrong, but you were grievously wronged. I apologize, and I am sorry that this apology has been so long in coming.

To Macon County, to Tuskegee, to the doctors who have been wrongly associated

with the events there, you have our apology, as well. To our African-American citizens, I am sorry that your Federal Government orchestrated

a study so clearly racist. That can never be allowed to happen again. It is

against everything our country stands for and what we must stand against is what it was. So let us resolve to hold forever in our hearts and minds the memory of a time not long ago in Macon



County, Alabama, so that we can always see how adrift we can become when the rights of any citizens are neglected, ignored, and betrayed. And let us resolve here and now to move forward together. The legacy of the study at Tuskegee has reached far and deep, in ways that hurt our progress and divide our Nation. We cannot be one America when a whole segment of our Nation has no trust in America. An apology is the first step, and we take it with a commitment to rebuild that broken trust. We can begin by making sure there is never again

another episode like this one. We need to do more to ensure that medical research practices are sound and ethical and that researchers work more closely with communities. Today I would like to announce several

steps to help us achieve these goals. First, we will help to build that lasting memorial at Tuskegee. The school founded by Booker T. Washington, distinguished by the renowned scientist George Washington Carver

and so many others who advanced the health and well-being of African-Americans and all Americans, is a fitting site. The Department of Health and Human Services will award a planning grant so the school can pursue establishing a center for bioethics in research and health care. The center will serve as a museum of the study and support efforts to address its legacy and strengthen bioethics

training. Second, we commit to increase our community involvement so that we may begin restoring lost trust. The study at Tuskegee served to sow distrust of our medical institutions, especially where research is involved. Since the study was halted, abuses have been checked by making informed consent and local review mandatory in federally funded and mandated research. Still, 25 years later, many medical studies have little African-American participation

and African-American organ donors are few.

This impedes efforts to conduct promising research and to provide the best health care to all our people, including African-Americans. So today, I'm directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, to issue a report in 180 days about how we can best involve communities, especially minority communities, in research and health care. You must every American group must be involved in medical research in ways that are positive. We have put the

curse behind us; now we must bring the benefits to all Americans. Third, we commit to strengthen researchers' training in bioethics. We are constantly

working on making breakthroughs in protecting the health of our people and in vanquishing diseases. But all our people must be assured that their rights and dignity will be respected as new drugs, treatments and therapies are tested and used. So I am directing Secretary Shalala to work in partnership with higher education to prepare training materials for medical researchers. They will be

available in a year. They will help researchers build on core ethical principles of respect for individuals, justice, and informed consent, and advise them on how to use these principles effectively in diverse populations. Fourth, to increase and broaden our understanding of ethical issues and clinical research,

we commit to providing postgraduate fellowships to train bioethicists especially

among African-Americans and other minority groups. HHS will offer these fellowships beginning in September of 1998 to promising students enrolled in bioethics graduate programs. And finally, by Executive order I am also today extending the charter of the National Bioethics Advisory Commission to October

of 1999. The need for this commission is clear. We must be able to call on the thoughtful, collective wisdom of experts and community representatives to find ways to further strengthen our protections for subjects in human research.

We face a challenge in our time. Science and technology are rapidly changing our lives with the promise of making us much healthier, much more productive and more prosperous. But with these changes we must work harder to see that as we advance we don't leave behind our conscience. No ground is gained and, indeed, much is lost if we lose our moral bearings in the name of progress.

The people who ran the study at Tuskegee diminished the stature of man by abandoning the most basic ethical precepts. They forgot their pledge to heal and repair. They had the power to heal the survivors and all the others, and they did not. Today, all we can do is apologize. But you have the power, for only you, Mr. Shaw, the others who are here, the family members who are with us in

Tuskegee—only you have the power to forgive. Your presence here shows us that you have chosen a better path than your Government did so long ago. You have not withheld the power to forgive. I hope today and tomorrow

every American will remember your lesson and live by it. Thank you, and God bless you.

## **7.Element : Praise for minority group**

File Taiwan 2016

Speech content: Taiwan President apologized to indigenous people.

Source:

<http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201608010026.aspx>

Full speech text: 1942 words

On this day 22 years ago, the term "shanbao" (mountain people) in the Additional Articles of our Constitution was replaced with the proper name: "indigenous people". This correction not only did away with a discriminatory term, but also highlighted the status of indigenous peoples as Taiwan's "original owners".

From this basis, today, we are taking another step forward. To all indigenous peoples of Taiwan: On behalf of the government, I express to you our deepest apology. For the four centuries of pain and mistreatment you have endured, I apologize to you on behalf of the government.

I know that even now, there are some around us who see no need to apologize. But that is the most important reason why I am representing the government to issue this apology today. To see what was unfair in the past as a matter of course, or to treat the pain of other ethnic peoples as an unavoidable part of human development, this is the first mindset that we, standing here today, resolve to change and overturn.

Let me put in simple terms why we are apologizing to the indigenous peoples. Four hundred years ago, there were already people living in Taiwan. These first inhabitants lived their lives and had their own languages, cultures, customs, and domains. But then, without their consent, another group of people arrived on these shores, and in the course of history, took everything from the first inhabitants who, on the land they have known most intimately, became displaced, foreign, non-mainstream, and marginalized.

The success of one ethnic people can be built on the suffering of another. Unless we deny that we are a country of justice, we must face up to this history. We must tell the truth. And then, most importantly, the government must genuinely reflect on this past. This is why I stand here today.

There is a book called "The General History of Taiwan" published in 1920. In its foreword are these words: "Taiwan had no history. The Dutch pioneered it, the Koxinga Kingdom built it, and the Qing Empire managed it." This is a typical Han view of history. The truth is that indigenous peoples have been here for thousands of years, with rich culture and wisdom that have been passed down through generations. But we only know to write history from the perspective of the dominant. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

The Dutch and the Koxinga Kingdom massacred and exploited the Pingpu ethnic group. The Qing Empire presided over bloody confrontations and suppression. Colonial Japan put in place comprehensive savage policies. And the post-war ROC government undertook assimilation policies. For 400 years, every regime that has come to Taiwan has brutally violated the rights of indigenous peoples through armed invasion and land seizure. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Indigenous peoples maintain tribal order according to traditional customs, and ecological balance according to traditional wisdom. But in the process that modern state institutions had been built, indigenous peoples lost the right to steer their own course and govern their own affairs. The fabric of traditional societies was torn apart, and the collective rights of peoples were not recognized. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Indigenous peoples had their own languages. However, with Japanese rule aiming to assimilate and turn all into imperial subjects, and with the ROC government banning tribal languages after 1945, indigenous peoples' languages suffered great losses. Most Pingpu languages have disappeared. Successive governments have been negligent in the protection of indigenous cultures. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Without the knowledge of the Yami tribe, the government stored nuclear waste on Orchid Island. Tribe members on the island had to suffer the negative consequences. For this, I apologize to the Yami people on behalf of the government.

Ever since outsiders began arriving in Taiwan, the Pingpu ethnic group on the western plains have born the brunt of the impact. One ruling power after another eroded the individual and collective identities of the Pingpu ethnic group. For this, I apologize to the Pingpu ethnic group on behalf of the government.



After the democratic transition, the country began to respond to the appeals of indigenous movements. The government made certain promises and efforts. Today, we have an Indigenous Peoples Basic Law that is quite advanced. However, government agencies have not given sufficient weight to this law. Our actions have not been fast enough, comprehensive enough or sound enough. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Taiwan is known as a culturally diverse society. But even today, indicators on health, education, economic livelihood, political participation and more still show gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Meanwhile, stereotypes and even discrimination against indigenous peoples have not gone away. The government has not done enough, so indigenous peoples have suffered pain and frustration unknown to other ethnic peoples. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Our efforts have fallen short, and succeeding generations have been blind to this inadequacy. Because of this, your hardship has continued to this day. For this we are truly sorry.

Today's apology is long overdue, but it is a beginning. I do not expect any one speech or phrase of apology to wipe away four centuries of pain and suffering by the indigenous peoples. But I do hope with all my heart that today's apology will set this country and all its people on the path towards reconciliation.

Please allow me to shed light on this occasion with a piece of indigenous wisdom. In the Atayal language, truth is called "Balay", and reconciliation is called "Sbalay", so you simply add an "S" to "Balay". Truth and reconciliation are in fact two related concepts. In other words, only by facing the truth sincerely can reconciliation be attained.

In indigenous cultures, when a tribe member has offended another and intends to reconcile, an elder brings together the offender and the offended – not to produce a direct apology, but to allow each side to frankly share their inner journeys. When this truth-telling concludes, the elder calls for everyone to drink together, so that what is past is truly past. This is "Sbalay".

I hope today's occasion can be a "Sbalay" between the government and the indigenous peoples. I have spoken of past mistakes and truths the best I can, with nothing held back. In a moment, our indigenous friends will speak. I do not dare ask you to forgive, here and now. But I sincerely ask you to sustain the hope that past wrongs will not be repeated, and that one day, this country can see true reconciliation.

Today is only a beginning. The duty for reconciliation lies not with the indigenous peoples and the Pingpu ethnic group, but with the government. I know that words of apology alone are not enough. What we actually do for the indigenous peoples will decide whether reconciliation succeeds or stumbles.

Therefore, I am here to announce that we are setting up an Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Commission under the Presidential Office. As the head of state, I will serve as convener and work hand in hand with tribal representatives to pursue historical justice. We will also discuss, on the basis of equality, the future policy direction of this country.

I want to stress that this commission places the greatest importance on equality between the country and the indigenous peoples. The election of tribal representatives, including for the Pingpu

ethnic group, will take as basis the consensus of peoples and tribes. This commission will serve as a mechanism for collective decision-making by indigenous peoples, and will ensure that the voices of tribe members find true expression.

In addition, I will request that our Executive Yuan convene regularly the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law Promotion Committee, and use the Yuan's authority to coordinate and handle matters related to any consensus reached by the above-mentioned commission. These matters include the following: to retrieve historical memories, to promote indigenous self-government, to seek fair economic development, to ensure continuation of culture and education, to safeguard indigenous health, and to protect the rights of urban indigenous peoples, etc.

Where modern laws and indigenous traditional cultures are at odds, we will set up an Indigenous Legal Service Center with a high degree of cultural sensitivity, to reduce through institutional design the growing clashes between indigenous customs and modern laws.

I will ask the relevant agencies to immediately pull together cases in which indigenous community members have been indicted or sentenced for hunting, where the hunting was done in accordance with traditional customs, on traditional lands, and for non-transactional needs, and where the animals hunted were not protected by conservation laws. For such cases we will deliberate solutions.

I will also direct relevant agencies to present an investigative report on the decision-making process of nuclear waste storage on Orchid Island. Before finding a permanent solution for the nuclear waste, we will provide the Yami tribe appropriate compensation.

At the same time, under the principle of respecting the Pingpu ethnic group's self-identity, and recognizing their identity, we will examine relevant laws before September 30 of this year, so that Pingpu ethnic group identity will receive the rights and status it deserves.

On November 1 of this year, we will begin to delineate and announce indigenous traditional territories and lands. The system of tribal public corporation is already in place. In the future, the ideals of indigenous self-government will be realized step by step. We will step up the pace and submit for legislative deliberation three laws of great importance to indigenous peoples: the Indigenous Peoples Self-Government Law, the Indigenous Peoples Land and Sea Areas Law, and the Indigenous Languages Development Law.

Later this afternoon, we will convene a national indigenous peoples administrative meeting. In that meeting, the government will elaborate on the policies. On every August 1 to come, the Executive Yuan will report to the indigenous peoples our progress on restoring historical justice and transitional justice. To implement the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law, to serve indigenous historical justice, and to lay the foundation for indigenous self-government – these are the three major goals for the government's policy towards indigenous peoples.

To all of our indigenous friends here and watching on TV and online: I invite you to stand witness. I invite you not to endorse, but to oversee. Please keep pressure on the government and right its course where necessary, so that it will realize its commitments and right historical wrongs.

I want to thank all of our indigenous friends. You remind everyone in this country that there is irreplaceable value in the land we tread on and the traditions we inherit. This value deserves dignity.

In the future, we will push for policies to ensure that succeeding generations of indigenous tribes and all ethnic peoples in Taiwan never lose their languages and memories, that they are never separated from their cultural traditions, and that never again are they lost in a land of their own.

I call upon our entire society to come together and get to know our history, get to know our land, and get to know the cultures of our many ethnic peoples. Let us work towards reconciliation, a shared existence and shared prosperity, and a new future for Taiwan.

I call upon all citizens to seize the opportunities offered by this day – to join together, work hard, and build a country of justice, a country of true diversity and equality.

### **8.Element : Praise for majority group**

File Canada 2018

Speech content: Canada PM apologized to the passenger of Ms St. Louis

Source:

<https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2018/11/07/statement-apology-behalf-government-canada-passengers-ms-st-louis>

Full speech text: 2800 words

On May 15, 1939, more than nine hundred German Jews boarded an ocean liner known as the St. Louis.

The passengers had been stripped of their possessions, chased out of their homes, forced out of their schools, and banned from their professions by their own government.

Their synagogues had been burnt. Their stores raided.

Their clothing scarred with yellow stars, they had been forced to add Israel or Sarah to the names they had known their whole lives. Women and men who had once contributed so much to their country had been labelled as aliens, traitors, and enemies – and treated as such.

Persecuted, robbed, jailed, and killed because of who they were.

Nazi Germany had denied them their citizenship and their fundamental rights.

And yet, when the St. Louis set sail from Hamburg that fateful Monday, the more than nine hundred stateless passengers on board considered themselves lucky.

Lucky because they each carried on board an entrance visa to Cuba, a rare chance to escape the tyranny of the Nazi regime under Adolf Hitler.

But by the time the ship docked in Havana Harbour, things would take a turn for the worse.

The Cuban government refused to recognize their entrance visas and only a few passengers were allowed to disembark.

Even after men, women, and children threatened mass suicide, entry was denied. And so continued their long and tragic quest for safety. They would request asylum from Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Panama.

Each said no.

On June 2nd, the MS St. Louis was forced to leave Havana with no guarantee that they would be welcomed elsewhere.

And after the Americans had denied their appeals, they sought refuge in Canada.

But the Liberal government of Mackenzie King was unmoved by the plight of these refugees.

Despite the desperate plea of the Canadian Jewish community, despite the repeated calls by the government's two Jewish caucus members, despite the many letters from concerned Canadians of different faiths, the government chose to turn its back on these innocent victims of Hitler's regime.

At the time, Canada was home to just eleven million people, of whom only 160,000 were Jews.

Yet even that proved to be too many for many Canadians, including Frederick Charles Blair, who then headed the government's immigration branch.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, dated September 1938, the Minister wrote, "Pressure by Jewish people to get into Canada has never been greater than it is now, and I am glad to be able to add that, after 35 years of experience here, that it has never been so carefully controlled."

Not a single Jewish refugee was to set foot – let alone settle – on Canadian soil.

The MS St. Louis and its passengers had no choice but to return to Europe, where the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, and Holland agreed to take in the refugees.

And then when the Nazis conquered Belgium, France, and Holland, many of them would be murdered in the gruesome camps and gas chambers of the Third Reich.

The story of the St. Louis and its passengers is no isolated incident.

The Government of Canada was indifferent to the suffering of Jews long before the St. Louis ever set sail for Halifax, and sadly, long after it had returned to Europe.

In the wake of the Great Depression, Canadian lawmakers had begun to tighten restrictions on immigration, adopting policies that were both economically and ethnically selective.

To the government of the day, Jews were among the least desirable immigrants; their presence on our soil had to be limited.

The government imposed strict quotas and an ever growing list of requirements designed to deter Jewish immigration.

As the Nazis escalated their attacks on the Jews of Europe, the number of visa applications surged.

Canadian relatives, embassy officials, immigration officers, political leaders – all were flooded with calls for help.

Wealthy businessmen promising job creation.

Aging parents vowing to take up farming.

Pregnant women begging for clemency.

Doctors, lawyers, academics, engineers, scientists imploring officials and the government to let them serve our country.

They offered everything they owned, promising to comply with Canada's every request.

These refugees would have made this country stronger, and its people proud.

But the government went to great lengths to ensure that their appeals went nowhere.

That their cries for help were left unanswered, for Canada deemed them unworthy of a home, and undeserving of our help.

By 1938, the world was wrestling with a growing refugee crisis.

When leaders of all nations convened in Evian to discuss the future of Jews in Europe, no country stepped forward to drastically increase its quotas.

Jews were viewed as a threat to be avoided, rather than the victims of a humanitarian crisis.

When Canadian lawmakers returned from Evian, they used their power to further tighten rules around Jewish immigration, legitimizing the anti-Semitic sentiment taking hold at home and abroad.

Bitter resentment towards Jews was enshrined in our policies the same policies immigration officials would later use to justify their callous response to the St. Louis and its passengers.

Of all the allied countries, Canada would admit the fewest Jews between 1933 and 1945. Far fewer than the United Kingdom and significantly less per capita than the United States.

And of those it let in, as many as 7,000 of them were labeled as prisoners of war and unjustly imprisoned alongside Nazis.

As far as Jews were concerned, none was too many.

Mr. Speaker – In the years leading up to the war, Hitler tested the world's resolve.

He noted carefully as country after country proved itself indifferent to the plight of Jewish refugees.

He watched on as we refused their visas, ignored their letters, and denied them entry.

With every decree, he challenged the political courage of our leaders and the empathy of those who elected them.

With every pogrom, he tested the bounds of our humanity and the limits of our solidarity.

Adolf Hitler's test was one the Canadian government failed miserably.

This week marks the 80th sombre anniversary of Kristallnacht, a turning point in Hitler's racial policy and the beginning of the Holocaust.

Kristallnacht happened on the heels of that Evian conference, where the world cemented its indifference and antipathy towards Jews.

There is little doubt that our silence permitted the Nazis to come up with their own, "final solution" to the so called Jewish problem.

When Canada joined the war against Germany – when we were fighting for democracy abroad – we were failing Hitler's victims at home.

What we were willing to do abroad, we were unwilling to do at home.

The plight of the St. Louis did not lead to a significant change in policy, nor did alarming reports from across Europe or the gruesome details of a coordinated effort to eliminate Jews.

When the Allies caught wind of the concentration camps, they did not bomb the rail lines that led to Auschwitz, nor did they take concrete action to rescue the remnants of Europe's Jewish community.

When the war ended, Canada and the Allied power discovered the full horrors of the Holocaust.

We joined the world in condemning in the strongest terms the death camps of Hitler and the despicable cruelty of his actions.

And yet, even the industrial mass murder of more than six million Jews did not force a swift change in our immigration policy.

It would take another three years for Canada to open its doors.

Three years before we would take in Jewish refugees at the same rate as we did non-Jewish German nationals at the end of the War.

It would take new leadership, a new world order, and the creation of the State of Israel, a homeland for the Jewish people, for Canada to amend its laws and begin to dismantle the policies that had legitimized and propagated anti-Semitism.

Mr. Speaker – Adolf Hitler alone did not seal the fate of the St. Louis passengers or the Jews of Europe.

To harbour such hatred and indifference towards the refugees was to share in the moral responsibility for their deaths.

And while decades have passed since we turned our backs on Jewish refugees, time has by no means absolved Canada of its guilt or lessened the weight of its shame.

Today, I rise in this House to issue a long overdue apology to the Jewish refugees Canada turned away.

We apologize to the 907 German Jews aboard the MS St. Louis, as well as their families.

We also apologize to others who paid the price of our inaction, whom we doomed to the ultimate horror of the death camps.



We used our laws to mask our anti-Semitism, our antipathy, and our resentment.

We are sorry for the callousness of Canada's response. And we are sorry for not apologizing sooner.

We apologize to the mothers and fathers whose children we did not save, to the daughters and sons whose parents we did not help –

To the imprisoned Jewish refugees who were forced to relive their trauma next to their tormentors –

To the scientists, artists, engineers, lawyers, businessmen, nurses, doctors, mathematicians, pharmacists, poets, and students –

To every Jew who sought safe haven in Canada, who stood in lines for hours and wrote countless letters.

We refused to help them when we could have. We contributed to sealing the cruel fates of far too many at places like Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Belzec.

We failed them. And for that, we are sorry.

And finally, we apologize to the members of Canada's Jewish community whose voices were ignored, whose calls went unanswered.

We were quick to forget the many ways in which they had helped build this country since its inception.

Quick to forget that they were our friends and neighbours.

That they had educated our youth, cared for our sick, and clothed our poor.

Instead, we let anti-Semitism take hold in our communities and become our official policy.

We did not hesitate to circumvent their participation, limit their opportunities, and discredit their talent.

They were meant to feel like strangers in their own homes, aliens in their own land.

We denied them the respect every Canadian, every human being – regardless of origin, regardless of faith is owed by their government and their fellow citizens.

When Canada turned its back on the Jews of Europe, we turned our backs on Jewish Canadians as well.

It was unacceptable then, and it is unacceptable now.

Your country failed you, and for that, we are sorry.

The story of the St. Louis and the ill-treatment of Jews before, during and after the Second World War should fill us with shame.

Shame because these actions run counter to the promise of our country.

That's not the Canada we know today – a Canada far more generous, accepting and compassionate than it once was.

A place where citizenship is first defined by principles and ideals.

Not by race, nor by faith.

But this change in attitudes, this shift in policy was no accident.

It was the work of Canadian men and women who dedicated their lives to making this country more equal and more just.

Men and women who were children of the Holocaust, Jewish refugees, or descendants of the oppressed.

These Jewish men and women took part in social struggles for fairness, justice, and human rights.

At home, they furthered the great Canadian causes that shaped this country causes that benefitted all Canadians.

Abroad, they fought for democracy and the rule of law, for equality and liberty.

The scope of their impact should not only be recognized, but celebrated.

They were scientists and activists; ministers and singers; physicists and philanthropists.

They were and continue to be proudly Jewish – and proudly Canadian.

They helped open up Canada's eyes and ears to the plight of the most vulnerable.

They taught us Tikkun olam – our responsibility to heal the world.

When Canada chose to turn its back on refugees more than 70 years ago, not only did the government fail to help the most vulnerable, it harmed all of us.

Jewish Canadians have made immense contributions to our country.

As do all the immigrants who have chosen and continue to choose Canada.

As we stand here today, we are reminded of not only how far we've come, but how far we still have to go.

During this Holocaust Education Week, it is all the more impossible to ignore the challenges and injustices still facing Jews in this country.

According to the most recent figures, 17 per cent of all hate crimes in Canada target Jewish people. Far higher per capita than any other group.

Holocaust deniers still exist. Anti-Semitism is still far too present.

Jewish institutions and neighbourhoods are still being vandalized with swastikas.

Jewish students still feel unwelcomed and uncomfortable on some of our college and university campuses because of BDS-related intimidation.



And out of our entire community of nations, it is Israel whose right to exist is most widely – and wrongly – questioned.

Discrimination and violence against Jewish people in Canada and around the world continues at an alarming rate.

Less than two weeks ago, not too far from here, a gunman opened fire on worshippers at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, killing eleven people and wounding six others.

Among those wounded were four police officers who had arrived at the scene to defend the congregants.

These worshippers were gathered in peace to practice their faith.

They were murdered in their sanctuary. On Shabbat.

Because they were Jews.

This was a heinous anti-Semitic act of violence.

Motivated by hate.

Designed to inflict pain and stoke fear in the Jewish community.

Canadians were horrified by this vicious attack on the Jewish community and its values.

Across Canada, people organized vigils in honour of the victims.

They stood in solidarity with their Jewish brothers and sisters, and echoed a sentiment shared from coast to coast to coast:

That anti-Semitism and all forms of xenophobia have no place in this country, or anywhere in this world.

Canada and Canadians will continue to stand with the Jewish community and call out the hatred that incited such despicable acts.

These tragic events ultimately attest to the work we still have to do.

Work that begins with education, which is our most powerful tool against the ignorance and cruelty that fuelled the Holocaust.

Because sadly, these evils did not end with the Second World War.

Canada and all Canadians must stand up against xenophobic and anti-Semitic attitudes that still exist in our communities, in our schools, and in our places of work.

We must guard our communities and institutions against the kinds of evils that took hold in the hearts of so many, more than 70 years ago, for they did not end with the War.

Following the recent horrific attack in Pittsburgh, Jewish Canadians are understandably feeling vulnerable.

We know that here in Canada we are not immune to hate crimes grounded in anti-Semitism.

Our government and members of Parliament are working with the Jewish community to better protect their communities against the threat of anti-Semitism.

Places of worship are sacred, and they should be sanctuaries for all faith communities.

There have been clear calls to do more through the Security Infrastructure Program to protect synagogues and other places that are at risk of hate-motivated crimes.

And I pledge to you now: we will do more.

As we stand here today, we must commit ourselves not just to remember, but to act on this tragic history, so that our children and grandchildren flourish in a world in which they are never questioned or attacked because of their identity.

Sadly, this is not yet that world.

Too many people of all faiths, from all countries – face persecution.

Their lives are threatened simply because of how they pray, what they wear or the last name they bear.

They are forced to flee their homes and embark upon perilous journeys in search of safety and a future.

This is the world we all live in and this is therefore our collective responsibility.

Mr. Speaker – it is my sincere hope that by issuing this long overdue apology, we can shine a light on this painful chapter of our history and ensure that its lessons are never forgotten.

What we can hardly imagine, the passengers of the MS St. Louis, the victims of the Holocaust, and their descendants will never forget.

And while no words will ever erase their pain, it is our sincere hope that this apology will help them heal.

That it will bring them some peace.

That it will cement Canada's unwavering commitment to stand with the Jewish community here and around the world in the fight against anti-Semitism.

More than 70 years ago, Canada turned its back on you.

But today, Canadians pledge, now and forever, never again.

### **9.Element : Praise for present system**

File Korea 2016

Speech content: South Korea President apologized for pursuing private gain.

Source:

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/29/transcript-of-south-korean-president-park-geun-hyes-speech-.html>

Full speech text: 346 words

Dear respected citizens, once again I deeply apologize for causing great concern to the nation due to my negligence.

As I see the nation in distress due to the latest scandal, I think it is a natural duty for me to offer apologies even a hundred times. But even then it breaks my heart to think that it would still not resolve the huge disappointment and outrage.

Dear nation, as I look back, the journey for the past 18 years that I have been on with the nation has been such a precious time. From the time I first entered politics in 1998 to this moment today as president, I have been making every effort for the sake of the country.

Not for one moment did I pursue my private gains, and I have so far lived without ever harboring the smallest selfish motive. The problems that have emerged are from projects that I thought were serving the public interest and benefiting the country. But since I failed to properly manage those around me, (everything that happened) is my large wrongdoing.

I will give you a detailed account of the scandal in the near future.

Dear citizens, I have been agonizing over many nights what would be the right path for the country as conditions at home and overseas worsen.

Now, I would like to reveal my decision.

I will leave the matters about my fate, including the shortening of my presidential term, to be decided by the National Assembly.

If the ruling and opposition parties discuss and come up with a plan to reduce the confusion in state affairs and ensure a safe transfer of governments, I will step down from the presidential position under that schedule and by processes stated in law.

Now, I have put everything down.

I only wish that the Republic of Korea would escape the confusion and get back on track as soon as possible.

I again offer apologies to the nation and urge the political circles to bring wisdom together for the hopeful future of the Republic of Korea.

#### **10.Element : Praise for present system**

File New Zealand 2008

Speech content: Keith (Green Party) apologized for Viet Nam veterans.

Source:

[https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansD\\_20080528\\_00000001/ministerial-statements-viet-nam-veterans-crown-apology](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansD_20080528_00000001/ministerial-statements-viet-nam-veterans-crown-apology)

Full speech text: 346 words

The Greens are very pleased to support the Crown apology. Four years ago the Green Party called on the Government to offer a full public apology to Viet Nam veterans and their families for the failure of successive administrations to accept their exposure to Agent Orange or to provide adequate treatment for the illnesses that they and their children have suffered as a result. It has taken 4 long years, but at last today the apology has been made and we are thankful for that. The Green Party is delighted at this development and we congratulate the Prime Minister on making it.

The reality is that in the face of mounting evidence, successive Governments downplayed and even covered up the fact that veterans who fought in the Viet Nam War had been exposed to a toxic environment and the health effects they experienced as a result of their exposure to Agent Orange. Nor did successive Governments take steps to monitor the health of veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange. The apology today will help redress the hurt and suffering of veterans and their families over all these years.

However, the Green Party calls on the Government to back up its apology with a programme to provide ongoing monitoring of dioxin exposure for veterans and their children, and to offer fully funded medical care for affected children. This apology is part of a necessary process of healing and reconciliation. It parallels an international process of reconciliation where some veterans have travelled to Viet Nam to talk in friendship with those who were once on what was called the other side. Viet Nam veterans who are Agent Orange victims from America, Australia, South Korea, New Zealand, and Canada have travelled back to Viet Nam where they have met with victims and visited hospices in friendship villages, where some of the many thousands of the most seriously deformed Agent Orange children are cared for, assisted by international veteran support, the Catholic Church, or local government.

Of course, all of these efforts do not absolve the United States Government the main responsible party—or the other Governments that invaded Viet Nam, including New Zealand, from their moral responsibility to contribute to the health and welfare of all those who suffered as a consequence of the war, whatever their nationality. Today we are acknowledging the suffering of our Viet Nam veterans and what they went through and still go through today. In apologising, we acknowledge the mistakes of the past. We should also make a commitment to future generations not to repeat such mistakes. It is also an opportunity to recognise what a disastrous war it was for all, particularly, of course, the Viet Nameese people, and for us to all look forward to a peaceful future.

## **11.Element : Reconciliation**

File Norway 2011

Speech content: Norway Prime Minister addressed victims of bombing by Norway during WW II.

Source:

<https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/address-by-prime-minister-in-oslo-cathed/id651789/>

Full speech text: 545 words

Your Majesties, Dear Eskil, Dear all of you,

It is nearly two days since Norway was hit by the worst atrocity it has seen since the Second World War. On Utøya, and in Oslo. It seems like an eternity. These have been hours, days and nights filled with shock, despair, anger, and weeping.

Today is a day for mourning. Today, we will allow ourselves to pause. Remember the dead. Mourn those who are no longer with us. Ninety-two lives have been lost. Several people are still missing. Every single death is a tragedy. Together they add up to a national tragedy.

We are still struggling to take in the scale of this tragedy. Many of us know someone who has been lost. Even more know of someone. I knew several. One of them was Monica [Bøsei]. She worked on Utøya for 20 years or so. For many of us she was Utøya. Now she is dead. Shot and killed while providing care and security for young people from all over the country. Her husband John and daughters Victoria and Helene are in Drammen Church today. It is so unfair. I want you to know that we are weeping with you.

Another is Tore Eikeland. Leader of the Labour Youth League in Hordaland and one of our most talented young politicians. I remember him being met with acclaim by the whole Labour national congress when he gave a stirring speech against the EU Postal Directive, and won the debate. Now he is dead. Gone forever. It is incomprehensible.

These are two of those we have lost. We have lost many more on Utøya and in the government offices. We will soon have their names and pictures. Then the full extent of this evil act will become apparent in all its horror. This will be a new ordeal. But we will get through this too.

Amidst all this tragedy, I am proud to live in a country that has managed to hold its head up high at a critical time. I have been impressed by the dignity, compassion and resolve I have met. We are a small country, but a proud people. We are still shocked by what has happened, but we will never give up our values.

Our response is more democracy, more openness, and more humanity. But never naivety. No one has said it better than the Labour Youth League girl who was interviewed by CNN: "If one man can create that much hate, you can only imagine how much love we as a togetherness can create."

Finally, I would like to say to the families all over the country who have lost one of their loved ones: You have my and the whole of Norway's deepest sympathy for your loss. Not only that. The whole world shares your sorrow. I have promised to pass on the condolences of Barack Obama, Vladimir Putin, Frederik Reinfeldt, Angela Merkel, David Cameron, Dimitry Medvedev and many other heads of state and government.

This cannot make good your loss. Nothing can bring your loved ones back. But we all need support and comfort when life is at its darkest. Now life is at its darkest for you.

I want you to know that we are there for you.

**12.Element: Learning from the past mistake**

File USA 1993

Speech content: US President apologized to Japanese American Internees for mistreatment during WW II.

Source:

<http://publicapologycentral.com/apologia-archive/political-2/bill-clinton-japanese-internment/>

Full speech text: 143 words

Over fifty years ago, the United States Government unjustly interned, evacuated, or relocated you and many other Japanese Americans. Today, on behalf of your fellow Americans, I offer a sincere apology to you for the actions that unfairly denied Japanese Americans and their families fundamental liberties during World War II. In passing the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, we acknowledged the wrongs of the past and offered redress to those who endured such grave injustice. In retrospect, we understand that the nation's actions were rooted deeply in racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a lack of political leadership. We must learn from the past and dedicate ourselves as a nation to renewing the spirit of equality and our love of freedom. Together, we can guarantee a future with liberty and justice for all. You and your family have my best wishes.



## BIOGRAPHY

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