

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN  
CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC APOLOGIES

I AM SORRY, WE ARE SORRY:  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DISCURSIVE  
STRATEGIES IN CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC  
APOLOGIES

BY  
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A critical analysis of discursive strategies in  
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# Abstract

In the current ‘Age of Apology’, public apologies have become everyday occurrences; from corporate CEOs to Hollywood celebrities to political figures, the adage of ‘never apologize, never explain’ has been eschewed in favour of ‘*always* apologize, *always* explain’. In a society where news travels at the speed of the internet, and content can go ‘viral’ in hours, there are new pressures for all public figures to apologize when things go wrong. These public apologies are available for public consumption almost immediately after an offense, released through mainstream media (e.g. broadcast news, physical/online newspapers) or, as is becoming more frequent, over social media (i.e. Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram). Some researchers (e.g. Kampf, 2009; Thaler, 2012) have suggested that public apologies are not true apologies as defined by Speech Act theory – that they may serve another social function, but not to apologize. Such ‘fauxpologies’ are made without meeting the traditional felicity conditions for the speech act of apology (Ogiermann, 2009). If this is the case, what makes a public apology (in)felicitous?

The aim of this thesis is to describe what makes a public apology felicitous. I present a critical analysis of the discourse strategies used in three types of public apologies – corporate, celebrity, and historical political – examining how these discursive strategies are used according to varying contextual factors using Critical Discourse Analysis and Speech Act theory as a framework. To counter the claim that the discourse strategies used in public apology do not meet the felicity conditions for the speech act of apology, I present evidence that, despite using some non-apology strategies, many public apologies are felicitous. However, I argue for the adoption of a revised set of felicity conditions as laid out by Murphy (2014, 2015), which can properly encompass public apology as a performative speech act. This study also extends the framework of semantic formulae previously used in apology analysis (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983) to include

'fauxpology' strategies particularly useful in examining public apologies, which provides a more robust description of how public apologies are performed.

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# List of Abbreviations

+>	conversationally implicates
C	subordinate clause
CA	Conversational Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	chief executive officer
CK	Louis C.K.'s apology (Appendix H)
DOVE	Dove's apology (1: Appendix A; 2: Appendix B)
FRANKEN	Al Franken's apology (Appendix I)
FSA	face-saving act
FTA	face-threatening act
GCI	generalized conversational implicature
H	Hearer
HM	H&M's apology (1: Appendix C; 2: Appendix D; 3: Appendix E)
IFID	illocutionary force indicating device
IINK	Trudeau's apology to the Innu, Inuit, and NunatuKavut peoples (Appendix J)
LGBTQ2	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, two-spirit also used to reference Trudeau's apology to the LGBTQ2 community (Appendix K)

<b>MP</b>	member of parliament
<b>NL</b>	Newfoundland and Labrador
<b>PCI</b>	particularized conversational implicature
<b>RCMP</b>	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
<b>S</b>	Speaker
<b>SPACEY</b>	Kevin Spacey's apology (Appendix G)
<b>TRC</b>	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USO</b>	United Service Organizations
<b>V<sub>P</sub></b>	performative verb

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

In the current ‘Age of Apology’, public apologies have become everyday occurrences; from corporate CEOs to Hollywood celebrities to political figures, the adage of ‘never apologize, never explain’ has been eschewed in favour of ‘*always* apologize, *always* explain’. As Murphy points out in his paper on parliamentary apologies, this increase in apologies “is pleasing for our purposes” because “there is a rich seam of political apologies for us to mine” (Murphy, 2014, p. 15). In a society where news travels at the speed of the internet, and content can go ‘viral’ in hours, there are new pressures for all public figures to apologize when things go wrong. These public apologies are available for public consumption almost immediately after an offense, released through mainstream media (e.g. broadcast news, physical/online newspapers) or, as is becoming more frequent, over social media (i.e. Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram).

There have been many researchers that have looked into public apologies in many different fields: from philosophy (e.g. Smith, 2008) to sociology (e.g. Tavuchis, 1991), psychology (e.g. Wohl, Hornsey, & Philpot, 2011), and business/marketing (e.g. Xie & Peng, 2009), among others. However, there has been relatively little work done on public apology from the linguistic point of view until recently (see Kampf, 2009; Murphy, 2014, 2015; Page, 2014), especially in examining the linguistic form of these apologies. The current work builds on the work of Murphy (2014, 2015) to analyze texts from three



categories of public apology (corporate, celebrity, and historical political) within a combined framework of discourse analysis<sup>1</sup> and speech act theory.

## 1.1 What is the purpose of this thesis?

Some researchers (e.g. Kampf 2009; Thaler 2012) have suggested that public apologies are not true apologies as defined by speech act theory – that they may serve another social function, but not to apologize. Such ‘fauxpologies’ are made without meeting the traditional felicity conditions for the speech act of apology (Ogiermann, 2009). If this is the case, what makes a public apology (in)felicitous?

The primary goal of this thesis, then, is to describe what makes a public apology felicitous. More specifically, I present a critical analysis of the discourse strategies used in different types of public apologies, examining how these discursive strategies are used according to varying contextual factors. To counter the claim that the discourse strategies used in public apology do not meet the felicity conditions for the speech act of apology, I present evidence that, despite using some non-apology strategies, many public apologies are felicitous. However, I argue for the adoption of a revised set of felicity conditions as laid out by Murphy (2014, 2015), which can properly encompass public apology as a performative speech act. This study also extends the framework of semantic formulae previously used in apology analysis (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983) to include ‘fauxpology’ strategies particularly useful in examining public apologies, which provides a more robust description of how public apologies are performed.

## 1.2 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of an important question for this research: what is an apology? What follows is a summary of relevant theoretical considerations for this thesis: speech act theory, politeness and face,

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<sup>1</sup> Murphy (2014) uses conversational analysis (CA) in his study, while I use a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this study.

conversational implicature, and apology strategies. I then discuss what distinguishes public apology from interpersonal apology, and why this distinction is important for the study.

In Chapter 3, I explain the methodology used in the current study. Introducing my analytical frameworks based in Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 1992, in Jørgensen & Philipps, 2002) and Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), I present a detailed model in which we can categorize the semantic formulae used in public apology. I also explain the data selection process used to pick the texts used in the case studies analyzed.

The next three chapters provide the results of the analysis for each subtype of public apology: corporate apology (Chapter 4), celebrity (Chapter 5), and historical political (Chapter 6). Each of these chapters present the contextual sociocultural frame of each case study, as well as a thematic analysis of recurrent concepts and ideas that shape the narrative of the texts. Finally, I discuss the discursive strategies used within each apology, and analyze the adherence of these texts to the felicity conditions of the speech act of public apology.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents a general discussion of the results, with a comparison of discourse strategy use across all apology types and the role of that participant structures play in the construction of public apologies. I also acknowledge the limitations of the study and provide suggestions for direction of future work.

# Chapter 2

## Theoretical Considerations

### 2.1 Introduction

Before we can get into the analysis of public apology, we must establish the theoretical framework on which the analysis will be based. This chapter begins by identifying what is meant by an apology, and the conditions in which one should apologize. It will then introduce theories we build on in the analysis of public apology: Section 2.3 begins with the discussion of Speech Act Theory, Section 2.4 introduces the sociolinguistic concept of 'face', while Section 2.5 explains conversational implicature. I then outline apology strategies in Section 2.5, and highlight some of the major differences between interpersonal and public apology in Section 2.6.

### 2.2 What is an apology?

Apology has been studied in many different disciplines – sociology, psychology, communication studies, history, business, linguistics – and there are almost as many different ideas of what an apology is as there are disciplines that study apologies.

The term *apology* comes from the Greek word *ἀπολογία* (*apologia*), meaning “an oral or written defense” (Tavuchis, 1991). This root indicates that the original concept of apology is less complex than many may believe: that the original meaning of an apology was to present a defense of a person or a cause, not to express regret or sorrow, or to make amends for one’s actions.

The Oxford English Dictionary (2018) lists the first two definitions of *apology* as (1) a defense, and (2) a justification or explanation, mirroring the original concept of apology. It is not until the third definition that it narrows in on what we have come to think of as an apology:

An explanation offered to a person affected by one's action that no offence was intended, coupled with the expression of regret for any that may have been given; or, a frank acknowledgement of the offence with expression of regret for it, by way of reparation. (“Apology,” n.d.-a)

Along the same lines, Merriam-Webster (2018) defines apology as “an admission of error or discourtesy accompanied by an expression of regret” (“Apology,” n.d.-b), which is in line with the common belief of what an apology is. However, these differing definitions show that there is no clear consensus on what an apology is – indeed, in this day and age, an apology can be an admission of error (with or without an expression of regret), an explanation (again, with or without an expression of regret), or a defense, all depending on what the “end goal” of the apology is.

For the purpose of this thesis, we adopt the definition of an apology as a performative speech act with a certain set of linguistic criteria (felicity conditions) that must be met in order for the apology to be considered successful or felicitous. Furthermore, a public apology must be made by a public figure to an audience in the public sphere, while meeting the felicity conditions defined by speech act theory. A more comprehensive description of performative speech acts and the felicity conditions of apologies follows in Section 2.3.

### **2.2.1 When to apologize?**

In most societies, one should apologize when some behaviour has violated social norms.<sup>1</sup> In North American culture, when one or more people perceive themselves as offended by a behavior, the offending (culpable) party needs to apologize in order to repair the relationship. For interpersonal apologies, we assume that there are at least two discourse participants: one who perceives

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<sup>1</sup> The current thesis only analyzes apologies from North American culture (i.e. United States of America and Canada.)

herself to deserve an apology, and the second who is perceived by the first to be responsible for the offense. The second participant in this situation needs to apologize, but may choose to accept or deny this responsibility (depending on whether or not this participant views himself as responsible for the offense.) Only if the culpable party perceives himself as an apologizer do we see an apology event occur. The apology event requires “an action or utterance which is intended to ‘set things right’” (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983, p. 20).

## 2.3 Speech Act Theory

### 2.3.1 Performative utterances

Speech act theory – the idea that one can perform “actions” in the real world through the use of specific words – is usually attributed to J.L. Austin (1962)<sup>2</sup>. Austin originally made the distinction between *performative* and *constative* sentences: *performative* utterances perform acts through the words used, while *constative* utterances are statements. Importantly, Austin defined constative utterances as statements with truth-values (i.e. the statement can be true or false according to whether, based on formal semantic rules, the statement does or does not describe a fragment of the world), while performative utterances are not based on these truth-conditions and instead are evaluated by *felicity conditions*, which are discussed in detail below (Section 2.3.4 Felicity conditions).

Performatives can be direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit), with different syntactic constructions expected for each. Direct performatives have a predictable construction:

- (1) I (hereby) V<sub>P</sub> you (that) C.

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<sup>2</sup> Based on his Oxford University lectures from 1952-1954, and his William James lectures (Harvard University) in 1955.

in which  $V_P$  is a performative verb and C is a subordinate clause denoting what action is or will be taken. Therefore, direct performative utterances contain a performative verb to describe the act. For example:

(2)      I order you to surrender immediately!

follows the format laid out in (1), and explicitly names the act that is taking place by the use of the performative verb *to order*. Indirect performatives do not contain a performative verb, and yet still perform the speech act, because the hearer recognizes the underlying performative structure as in (3):

(3)      Surrender immediately!

Furthermore, as noted in (1), explicit performatives can be reinforced using the adverb ‘hereby’, and most often contain first-person singular subject with the verb being simple present tense, active voice and indicative mood. There are, of course, exceptions to these person and verb rules. Direct performatives can also contain subjects that are first-person plural, second-person, or third-person, as attested to in the following examples:

(4)      We, the jury, hereby find the defendant guilty.

(5)      You are fired.<sup>3</sup>

(6)      Passengers are warned to cross the track by the bridge only.<sup>4</sup>

(7)      Management requests that residents dispose of garbage down the garbage chute.

As seen in (5) and (6), direct performatives can use passive voice. Additionally, present progressive aspect in performatives has been attested to, showing that tense/aspect beyond simple present may be used in direct performatives:

(8)      A: Are you denying that the Government has interfered?

          B: I am denying that.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> The active version of this sentence, “I fire you”, is more obvious in its use as a direct performative.

<sup>4</sup> Example taken from Austin, 1962.

<sup>5</sup> Example taken from Thomas, 1995, in Huang, 2014.

### 2.3.2 Searle's typology of speech acts

Speech acts are defined in terms of discourse functions - that is to say, speech acts are defined by the kind of functions they perform with their words. The most widely accepted classification system is Searle's typology of speech acts (1975), which further develops Austin's ideas and divides speech acts into five distinct groups:

(i) *representatives or assertives*

These are the utterances that would have originally been defined by Austin as *constatives*. These utterances carry truth-values, and express the speaker's belief. Paradigmatic cases are stating, asserting, or claiming.

(ii) *directives*

These utterances express the speaker's desire for the addressee to do something. Paradigmatic cases of directives are advice, commands, orders, or requests.

(iii) *commissives*

These utterances commit a speaker to future action. Paradigmatic cases include offers, promises, or threats.

(iv) *expressives*

These utterances express a psychological attitude or state of being of the speaker. Paradigmatic cases of expressives include apologies, blaming, or thanking.

(v) *declarations or declaratives*

These utterances effect change immediately when spoken. Declarations include institutionalized performatives such as sentencing (by a judge), and pronouncing (as in a marriage ceremony).

This thesis will be primarily focused on expressive speech acts, as it examines the use of apologies in the public sphere. We can assume that these apologies therefore act to express the attitude of the speaker. In the case of public apologies, this becomes more complex as the speaker may be representing the attitude of several people (e.g. a corporation or a country) which calls into

question the sincerity of the expression that is attributed to more than one person (discussed in detail later).

### 2.3.3 Locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts

Austin's original distinction between performatives and constatives was not longstanding; he determined that constatives were indeed a special class of performatives. He found that some constatives did not have clear truth-conditions (these include estimates and approximations). Constatives also follow felicity conditions (discussed in the next section), and may be subject to abuses or misfires. This reclassification of constatives to performatives came with the introduction of a threefold distinction of the acts that one performs while producing an utterance. Austin found that all utterances perform the following three acts simultaneously: (i) locutionary act; (ii) illocutionary act; and (iii) perlocutionary act. The first of these, the locutionary act, is the "production of a meaningful linguistic expression" (Huang, 2014, p. 127). This act contains three sub-acts: (a) phonic act, the physical act of making particular sounds with the vocal tract; (b) phatic act, the act of constructing a well-formed string of sounds (word, phrase, sentence) in a given language; (c) rhetic act, responsible for semantic/pragmatic content (Austin, 1962; Huang, 2014).

The illocutionary act refers to the type of function or action that the speaker intends to accomplish in producing an utterance. This action is performed by virtue of the conventional force associated with the linguistic expression, whether explicitly or implicitly, and is sometimes referred to as "an act accomplished *in speaking*" (Austin, 1962; Huang, 2014, p. 128, emphasis mine<sup>6</sup>). In the narrowest sense, the term "speech act" refers to this specific act. The illocutionary act is defined by social conventions, and may be entirely linguistic or have extralinguistic behaviour associated with it.

The functions or actions of the illocutionary act are referred to as the illocutionary force of an utterance. This illocutionary force is often conveyed through an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), which is a word or

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<sup>6</sup> Compare with the locutionary act: "an act *of speaking*", and the perlocutionary act: "an act *by speaking*" (Austin, 1962, emphasis mine)



phrase that signals the illocutionary force of the utterance. In an apology, IFIDs are often phrases such as “I’m sorry” or “I apologize”. It must be noted that the same utterance can have several illocutionary forces in different contexts; for example, the utterance below can stand as a promise, a threat, a warning, or an offer depending on the context in which it is uttered and the position of the speaker:

(9) I’ll be there tomorrow.

As Huang (2014) notes, “to know what a sentence means is to know what range of illocutionary acts it can be conventionally used to perform” (p. 129). Along the same lines, the same illocutionary force can be conveyed through different locutionary acts (utterances). One can perform an interpersonal apology by explicitly saying “I’m sorry” or “I apologize”, or using some indirect method, discussed in more detail below (Section 2.3.5.) Although they both refer to the effect of an utterance, there are several differences between an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act. The third act, the perlocutionary act, refers to the effect an utterance has on the addressee, whether this effect is intended by the speaker or not. Illocutionary acts are under the speaker’s control, whereas perlocutionary acts are not: the speaker cannot necessarily control what effect the utterance will have on the addressee. Let us imagine that two interlocutors are in a room with the window open, and the following interaction occurs:

(10) A: It’s cold in here.

B: Yes, it is.

(11) A: It’s cold in here.

B: [closes window]

While A’s utterance seems like a simple statement, the intended illocutionary force behind this utterance is an indirect request. In (10), B interprets the illocutionary force to be a statement and does nothing, whereas in (11), B interprets the illocutionary force to be a request and closes the window. This illustrates how the perlocutionary force is outside of the speaker’s control, and is (somewhat) open to interpretation by the addressee, particularly in the case

of indirect performatives. (This will be discussed further in Section 2.5 on conversational implicature.) The final difference between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts is that the force of the illocutionary act is evident *as* the utterance is made, while the perlocutionary force is only evident *after* the utterance has been made.

Of course, the illocutionary force of an utterance is less obvious when the performative is indirect. Often only very formal speech events use explicit performative verbs, e.g. “I apologize...” compared with “I’m sorry...” (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). While “I’m sorry...” is still considered a direct speech act, because of its use of an IFID, it leaves out the performative verb that explicitly signals the speech act that is occurring. However, both of these forms of apology are more direct than an indirect utterance, such as “I wasn’t thinking.” To summarize, in performing a typical apology, the following acts are performed by the speaker:

- (i) **Locutionary act:** S utters the words: “I apologize” (explicit performative) *or* “I’m sorry” (direct performative)
- (ii) **Illocutionary act:** S apologizes
- (iii) **Perlocutionary act:** S placates the Hearer (who accepts the apology and forgives<sup>7</sup>) (Ogiermann, 2009)

#### 2.3.4 Felicity conditions

As mentioned above, performatives are not true-false, but felicitous (happy, successful) or infelicitous (unhappy, unsuccessful). While there are specific conditions for each subtype of speech act, Austin defined three conditions for all performatives:

- (A) (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect, and (ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure
- (B) The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely.

<sup>7</sup> While Ogiermann (2009) suggests that part of the perlocutionary force of an apology is ‘H forgives S’, I do not agree that accepting an apology is necessarily followed by forgiving – one may accept an apology (i.e. state that the apology is accepted) while not forgiving (i.e. hold a grudge against S).

- (C) Often (i) the persons must have the requisite thoughts, feelings and intentions as specified within the procedure, and (ii) if consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do so. (Austin, 1962, in Huang, 2014, p. 124)

If these conditions are violated, the performatives are rendered infelicitous. If Condition A or B is not observed, this violation is classed as a *misfire* – that is, it does not happen or is considered void. Certain speech acts require that two parties agree on something to complete the act (e.g. a bet) – these are *collaborative performatives* and must include a satisfactory uptake by the addressee to be considered felicitous (Thomas, 1995, in Huang, 2014, p. 125). The absence of this uptake is also a misfire. This is relevant to apologies, as apologies need to have an uptake (be accepted) by the addressee in order to be fully successful. There is no clear scholarly research that states that apologies are collaborative performatives, but it is worth noting that at least some of the studies have considered media uptake in their evaluations of success of public apologies (see Ancarno, 2015 and Husselbee & Stein, 2012 for detailed discussions.) This suggests that there is at least some aspect of collaboration between interlocutors (or relevant third parties) in the act of apologizing.

If Condition C is not observed, the violation is classed as an *abuse* of the speech act. An abuse means that the act is carried out (is not void), but is insincere and therefore infelicitous. This is particularly relevant to the expressive subtype of performative speech acts, as these express the attitude or state of being of the speaker. However, it is often difficult to judge whether a speaker has the “requisite thoughts, feelings and intentions” required by Condition C, until well after the speech act has been performed, if at all.

Using Austin’s conditions as a starting point, Searle (1969) proposed that felicity conditions are essentially constitutive rules – that is, rules that create the activity itself. To perform a speech act is to adhere to the rules constitutive of the act. Therein, he proposed four categories of felicity conditions that lead to the successful completion of the speech act:

- (i)      **propositional content condition**, which specifies restrictions on the content of the utterance after illocutionary act is removed;
- (ii)     **preparatory condition**, which are the real world prerequisites for the speech act;
- (iii)    **sincerity condition**, which requires that the act be performed sincerely - if not sincere, the act is still performed, but is considered an abuse;
- (iv)     **essential condition**, which specifies that the speaker intends the utterance to be the identifiable act *and* that intention is recognized by the Addressee - if this isn't met, the act is not carried out.

As in the Austinian conditions described above, each of these conditions must be met for the speech act to be performed felicitously.

Within Searle's framework, there are specific felicity conditions associated with each subtype of speech act. Ogiermann (2009) applied felicity conditions "according to the rules proposed for category of expressives" as follows:

<b>Propositional content</b>	Past act A done by S
<b>Preparatory condition</b>	S believes that A is an offense against H
<b>Sincerity condition</b>	S regrets act A
<b>Essential condition</b>	Counts as an apology for act A

While these conditions have been shown to work well for interpersonal apologies, some of the restrictions imposed by these conditions fail when exposed to the constructions of public apologies.<sup>8</sup> For example, regarding the propositional content, Ogiermann's felicity conditions do not take into account that the person performing the apology may not be the person who originally committed the offensive act, as in the case of corporate spokesperson or CEO apologizing for the company, or even a mother apologizing for the actions of a young child. The preparatory condition limits the speech act to only be felicitous when the speaker believes that the act in question is an offense against the addressee, but does not take into

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<sup>8</sup> And, as Murphy 2015 points out, some interpersonal apologies as well.

consideration the effect that the act may be considered offensive by someone other than the direct addressee. Indeed, what if there is not a direct addressee, as in the cases presented in this thesis? Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) recognized these types of offenses when they suggest that offenses can be “perceived by S only, by H only, or by a third party as a breach of a social norm.” Concerning the sincerity condition, I agree with previous scholars (Murphy, 2015; Ogiermann, 2009; among others) in their assessment that “a speaker must feel some regret to be able to apologize felicitously, otherwise she<sup>9</sup> could be...simply ‘going through the motions’” (Murphy, 2015). However, this does not recognize situations in which the speaker may not regret the act itself, but rather the consequences of the act (e.g. damage to relationships.) Murphy (2015) addressed these failures, and suggested the following changes:

**Propositional content**      An act done, or to be done in the future, by the speaker or someone for whom the speaker is a formally recognized representative.

**Preparatory condition**      Speaker believes that the apology recipient, or a contextually relevant third party, believes that the act was an offense against the recipient (or someone who the recipient represents.)

**Sincerity condition**      Speaker regrets the act or one of its consequences.

**Essential condition**      Utterance counts as an apology.<sup>10</sup>

In support of his claims, Murphy (2015) provided evidence from political apologies in the British House of Commons only. This thesis will provide support for these revised conditions from three additional types of public apology: corporate, celebrity, and historical political.

### 2.3.5 Indirect speech acts

As discussed in the section on illocutionary force, when a sentence type and its illocutionary force match, the result is a direct speech act. However, there are

<sup>9</sup> When the gender of a speaker or hearer is not clear from the context of an example, Murphy (2015) uses feminine pronouns (she/her/etc) to refer to any speaker, and masculine pronouns (he/him/etc) to refer to a generic hearer. I will use the same convention in this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> There is not a revision to the essential condition in Murphy’s framework.

many times when there is a mismatch between sentence type and illocutionary force, as demonstrated in (11) where an assertive utterance type (“It’s cold in here”) was used to make a request to close the window.

One approach to analyzing indirect speech acts such as example (11) is to assume the existence of a dual illocutionary force – that is to say that there are two illocutionary forces in a speech act: one literal and direct, the other non-literal and indirect (Searle, 1975). Whether an utterance can be used to perform an indirect act depends on the felicity conditions of that act – if an utterance does not fit the felicity conditions for the direct act, and can be interpreted as fulfilling the conditions of another act, the utterance can function as an indirect speech act. These mismatches in illocutionary force and felicity condition fulfillment require that both the speaker (in performing) and the hearer (in understanding) use some kind of inference to derive the correct meaning of the sentence. The generation and acceptance of these implicatures, as well as their importance to this thesis, are discussed fully in Section 2.5.

## 2.4 Politeness: face-saving & face-threatening acts

### 2.4.1 What is politeness?

To begin with, we must first define the concept of politeness as it applies to this context. For the purpose of our argument here, politeness is defined as “any behaviour including verbal behaviour of an interlocutor to maintain his or her face and that of the individuals he or she is interacting with” (Huang, 2014, p. 142). Huang (2014) points out a distinction between two concepts of politeness:

**First-order politeness (Politeness 1)**, which is the “common-sense notion” of politeness that keeps with the societal norms by lay members of a (speech) community; and

**Second-order politeness (Politeness 2)**, which refers to the scientific study of politeness: the abstract, theoretical construct within a given theory of politeness. Politeness 2 is informed by first-order politeness, but is a more inclusive concept. (Watts, Ide, and Ehlich, 2005, in Huang, 2014, p. 143)

It is suggested that the best practice to study these concepts is in tandem, rather than in isolation, as there is a “dynamic trade-off between the two notions of

politeness” (Huang, 2014, p. 143). The work of this thesis will use this dualistic approach to politeness to focus on the concept of *face*.

#### 2.4.2 The concept of ‘facework’ as applied to apology

The idea of *face* was developed within the framework of classical and neo-Gricean pragmatics (some of which is discussed in Section 2.5), and speech act theory. Goffman, a sociologist, defined *face* as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself” (Goffman, 1967), which can be maintained, worked on, threatened, or lost. In the field of sociolinguistics, Brown and Levinson (1987) further developed Goffman’s notion of face as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), distinguishing between two related aspects:

**Positive face:** the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants;

**Negative face:** the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. (Brown & Levinson, 1987)

In addition to these concepts of face, Brown and Levinson also propose the assumption that all conversational participants have “certain rational capacities...[with] consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Therefore, ‘rational agents’ as conversational partners will employ the following strategies to preserve the face of others. The idea of preserving face can be aligned with two notions of politeness:

**Positive politeness**, which preserves the positive face of others, by choosing speech strategies that emphasize solidarity with the interlocutor (e.g. S can claim ‘common-ground’ with H, convey that the two are co-operators, or satisfy H’s wants)

**Negative politeness**, which preserves the negative face of others, by choosing speech strategies that emphasize deference for the interlocutor (e.g. S can employ ‘conventional indirectness’, hedges on illocutionary force, or perform apologies)

There are several types of offenses that can cause one’s face to be damaged or threatened. These *face-threatening acts* (FTAs) can threaten the face (positive or

negative) of either the speaker or the hearer<sup>11</sup>. For example, H's positive face can be threatened by an insult, while his negative face can be jeopardized by a threat or a warning. On the other hand, S's positive face can be threatened by a confession, while her negative face can be threatened by expressing thanks or accepting an offer (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Many of these FTAs can trigger an apology, which can be considered a type of 'corrective facework' or *face-saving act* (FSA) that helps to repair face-loss (Goffman, 1967).

Apologies are usually triggered by FTAs that (potentially) damage the face of the hearer, because in apologies, "the hearer's face wants are usually prioritized over the speaker's own" (Murphy, 2014). When Leech describes apology as "a convivial speech act whose goal coincides with the social goal of maintaining harmony between S and H" (Leech, 1983, p. 104), one may think that apologies are beneficial to both parties in the interaction. While this may be true up to a point – there is an aspect of face-saving for both S and H – apologies come with a price tag; the act of apologizing is not risk free to either of the interlocutors, with both the speaker and the hearer possibly incurring face damage during the act (see Murphy, 2014, for a detailed discussion). The distribution of these 'face acts' is summarized in Table 2.1 below.

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<sup>11</sup> The seriousness of an FTA can be evaluated on three dimensions: social distance (*D*) between the speaker and hearer; relative power (*P*) of hearer over speaker; and absolute ranking (*R*) of imposition in the particular language/sociocultural context. The calculation of the weight of an FTA can therefore be represented with the equation:

$$W_x = D(S,H) + P(S,H) + R_x$$

where *W* represents weightiness and *x* is any FTA. With this calculation, one can determine the amount of corrective facework required to avoid or weaken the FTA (Brown & Levinson, 1987).



*Table 2.1. Distribution of 'face acts' in an apology*

Interlocutor	Face act	Explanation
Hearer	FSA: <i>positive face</i>	Apology acknowledges that H's wants/desires are important to S
	FTA: <i>negative face</i>	H is imposed upon to accept apology, or reject apology (causing damage to S's positive face) – H's freedom of action is constrained
Speaker	FSA: <i>positive face</i>	Apology is means of repairing damage done to relationship, increasing the likelihood that S is liked/respected by interlocutors
	FTA: <i>positive face</i>	Apology is acknowledgement of responsibility for offense; admitting blame may damage relationships and cause embarrassment or loss of status

Of the face acts described in Table 2.1, the idea that an apology is face-saving to the hearer, but face-threatening to the speaker is perhaps most widely accepted. Thus it can be expected that the act of apology is of more benefit to the hearer, and (almost always) incurs some degree of cost to the speaker (Olshtain, 1989). However, because speaker and addressee are cooperating to maintain face during a conversation (which is the requirement for a working relationship), an act that damages the face of one will potentially damage the face of the other (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This emphasizes that apologies are always balancing acts that require tactful cooperation between the interlocutors.

## 2.5 Conversational Implicature

### 2.5.1 What is an implicature?

The concept of implicature, both conversational and conventional<sup>12</sup>, is rooted in the work of H.P. Grice (1975, among other years). Grice proposed a theory

<sup>12</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, we will focus on Grice's theory of conversational implicature; however, for the sake of completeness, conventional implicature is a "non-truth conditional meaning which is not derivable in...considerations of co-operation" but is based solely on

of conversational implicature, which includes (a) the cooperative principle, and (b) four maxims of conversation (see Table 2.2 for summary.) This theory suggested that “there is an underlying principle that determines the way in which language is used to maximum efficiency and effectively to achieve rational interaction in communication” (Huang, 2014, p. 29). As such, Grice’s theory offered a framework on which to analyze the meaning of utterances as intended by the speaker.

*Conversational implicature*<sup>13</sup> can be characterized as the “meaning or proposition expressed by a speaker in the utterance of a sentence which is meant without being part of what is said in the strict sense” (Huang, 2014, p. 31). In typical communication (i.e. conversation), one assumes that the interlocutors are following Grice’s cooperative principle, and either adhering to, flouting, or otherwise using the maxims in a strategic manner. Understanding this strategic use of the maxims allows interlocutors to arrive at an implicature (i.e. an indirect meaning) (Grice, 1975).

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“conventional features attached to particular lexical items and/or linguistic constructions” (Huang, 2014, p. 73). Conventional implicatures are usually triggered by certain conjunctions (e.g. *therefore, even, but, so*) and in contrast to conversational implicature, conventional implicatures are not cancellable.

<sup>13</sup> I will henceforth use the term *implicature* interchangeably with *conversational implicature*, unless explicitly noted.

*Table 2.2. Grice's theory of conversational implicature, simplified (Huang, 2014)*

<b>Maxims of conversation:</b>	<b>Cooperative principle</b>	Be cooperative.		
		Be truthful.		
	<i>Quality</i>	(i)	Belief: don't say what you believe to be false.	
		(ii)	Evidence: don't say what you lack evidence for.	
	<i>Quantity</i>	(i)	Don't say less than is required.	
		(ii)	Don't say more than is required.	
	<i>Relation</i>		Be relevant.	
			Express yourself clearly.	
		(i)	Avoid obscurity.	
		<i>Manner</i>	(ii)	Avoid ambiguity.
(iii)			Brevity: be brief	
(iv)			Be orderly.	

There are two sub-types of conversational implicatures, particularized conversational implicatures (PCIs) and generalized conversational implicatures (GCIs), which differ in the contexts required to derive the implicatures. In the case of PCIs, there must be a specific context for the hearer to derive the implicature. However, in the case of GCIs, the implicature is generated in all contexts – it is the “default inference” (Levinson, 2000). These generalized implicatures are so common that they normally require a specific context in which to be cancelled. These two sub-types of implicature are illustrated in the following examples (from Hansen and & Waltereit, 2006):

- (12) A: Do you want to go out for a beer after work?  
 B: My in-laws are coming to dinner.  
 +><sup>14</sup> B is unable to go for a beer after work.
- (13) Some of our linguistics students are pretty bright.  
 +> Not all of our linguistics students are pretty bright.

<sup>14</sup> I use +> to mean “con conversationally implicates”

- (14) Some of our linguistics students are pretty bright, in fact, I'd say all of them are.

Example (12) is a PCI, as it is only in this specific context that “My in-laws are coming to dinner” conveys that the speaker cannot go out for a beer after work, whereas (13) is an example of a GCI. The use of “some” will typically convey “not all” (despite being logically compatible with the meaning “all”). In (14), we see that this GCI created by “some” is explicitly cancelled.

### 2.5.2 The Levinsonian theory of GCIs

While still distinguishing between PCIs and GCIs, Levinson (2000) has further developed the notion of GCIs, proposing that these implicatures are the result of three default heuristics:

- Q-heuristic:** That which is not said is not the case;
- I-heuristic:** For that which is simply said, revert to the stereotype;
- M-heuristic:** That which is said in a marked way refers to a marked state of affairs (Levinson, 2000; Murphy, 2014)

These three heuristics are based on Grice's maxims of Quantity and Manner<sup>15</sup>, and provide ‘instructions’ for how the hearer should process an utterance.

The Q-heuristic typically involves scalar implicature, and the use of the weaker item of the scale (<weak, strong>) allows the hearer to infer that the stronger meaning is not meant by the speaker. A typical example of the Q-heuristic at work is (13), in which the hearer can be expected to infer “some” to mean “not all”, because if the speaker meant “all”, he would have said so.

The I-heuristic relies on the notion of a stereotype to generate an implicature, and thus often require ‘real world’ extra-linguistic knowledge to correctly generate the inference, as in example (15). I-implicatures also come about from the ‘conditional perfection’ process, in which conditionals are upgraded to

<sup>15</sup> Hansen and Waltereit, 2006: “Levinson (2000) does not include heuristic versions of Grice's Quality and Relation maxims as he considers Quality to play mainly a background role in discourse understanding, and Relation as generating only PCIs.”

biconditionals (Huang, 2014), i.e. ‘if  $p$  then  $q$  +> iff  $p$  then  $q$ ’ shown in example (16) below:

- (15) Have you met the new nurse?  
 +> Have you met the new female nurse?
- (16) If you go to bed right now, you can have pancakes in the morning.  
 +> If and only if you go to bed immediately can you have pancakes in the morning.

There are several other ways of generating I-implicature (e.g. negative raising, conjunction buttressing, etc.) that cannot be fully discussed in this thesis; see Levinson (2000) and Huang (2014) for further discussion. Let it be said that the I-heuristic leads the hearer to choose the “best, most informative inference for a simple utterance” (Murphy, 2014, p. 50).

The M-heuristic relies on the use of a marked form to generate an implicature, and requires the hearer to understand that there is an alternative, unmarked way of stating the same propositional content. For example:

- (17) The corners of John’s mouth turned upwards.  
 +> John didn’t exactly smile, but rather, he smirked.
- (18) I’m not unhappy.  
 +> I’m less than happy (on the scale of happiness).

The hearer must compare these utterances with the unmarked versions; for (17), that would be the straightforward utterance “John smiled”, while removing the double negation from (18) would create the utterance “I’m happy.” Because the speaker chose to use an atypical way of expressing these utterances, the hearer should generate M-implicatures in these cases.

### 2.5.3 Cancelling implicature

There are cases in which more than one implicature can arise from the same utterance. This can be due to the interaction between the Q-, I-, and M-heuristics, and can cause potentially conflicting implicatures. Levinson (2000) proposes that in such instances, we should use the following hierarchy schema to resolve the conflict:

**Q > M > I**

For example, in (17) above, the same utterance could generate the I-implicature “John smiled.” However, because the M-heuristic takes precedence over the I-heuristic, one can dismiss the I-implicature in favour of the M-implicature. Of course, a speaker can always explicitly cancel an implicature – for example,

(19) The corners of John’s mouth turned upwards, and he smiled.

explicitly cancels the implicature generated by (17). What happens when the utterance does not include an explicit cancellation of an inferred meaning?

As previously explained, as conversation participants, we assume that our interlocutors follow the Cooperative Principle when conversing, making the indirect illocutionary force available to us through implicatures. Some scholars have argued that, because implicature is so prevalent in our communication, the “literal’ meanings are not even consciously available to language users” in normal conversation (Recanti, 2001, in Hansen, 2008). Consider the following example (from Hansen, 2008), which can generate (at least) two possible interpretations:

(20) [In a café at 10am. Betty is studying a platter of croissants on the counter.]

Betty to Jane: Have you had breakfast?

(a) *Have you had breakfast today?*

(b) *Have you had breakfast ever before in your life?*

Although the interpretation in (b) is the semantic (‘literal’ or minimal) meaning of Betty’s utterance, according to Recanti (2004, in Hansen, 2008), this minimal meaning is not available to the speaker or hearer, because the contextual inference in (a) is processed at a subconscious, subpersonal level (through ‘primary pragmatic processing’.)

While this ‘automatic processing’ may be the case for many typical, unmarked conversational interactions, it is not true of all communication, especially in marked contexts. Hansen (2008) argued that

even if strictly literal meanings may commonly be ignored in normally cooperative conversation, they are, nevertheless, available to interactants. This becomes evident in certain types of speech events or exchanges, which tend to be, although for different reasons, less than fully cooperative. (p. 1396)

Hansen presents real-world (not elicited) data from courtroom transcripts, illustrating that ‘ordinary’ language users are able to call upon the strict locutionary interpretation of utterances, thereby cancelling any implicature that may be generated by the indirect meaning. For example, in a legal trial regarding stalking, the following exchange was witnessed:

- (21) A: Did Jonathan say something to you that startled you regarding John Doe? We are talking about July 9.  
B: Yes  
A: What did he say? (Hansen, 2008, p. 1402)

Hansen (2008) points out that in most cooperative conversations, the expanded (indirect) meaning ‘Did you ever talk to these people about matters other than case?’ would be clearly understood; however, in the ‘forensic context’, this implicature was cancelled, and the witness answered only the direct question asked (p. 1402).

Murphy (2014) shows that the same also occurs in political discourse, noting that “some listeners will infer the intended meaning, others will take other meanings, and some may miss the implicature altogether, thinking the surface structure meaning is sufficient” (Gastil, 1992, in Murphy, 2014). There may be several reasons for not accessing or ignoring an implicature, including the desire to obfuscate or embarrass an interlocutor. Murphy (2015, p. 54) provides the following example from a parliament session:

- (22) Hon Chris Carter: I would like to ask the Minister why she wrote in the October edition of the...magazine, Rourou –  
Hon Rodney Hide: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker [...] But, once again, the previous Minister failed to ask a question. To say “I would like” to do something is not asking a question.

Mr Speaker:           Technically, the honorable member is correct.

In typical conversation, the statement made by Carter in (23) would be treated as a question (its indirect meaning), not as a ‘statement of desire’. Hide’s rejection of the indirect (intended) meaning cancels the implicature in favour of the literal meaning.

### **2.5.3 Application to apology studies**

Indirect strategies to apologize are often used in discourse (the most common strategies are outlined in Table 2.3.) In a typical interpersonal apology, uttered between two people, the indirect meanings of utterances are often accepted as felicitous apologies by the hearer. However, the acceptance of an implicature becomes less straightforward when we look at public apologies, as there is more than one addressee, and each of the addressees may have different interpretations of the indirect utterance. The consequences of these possible multiple interpretations will be addressed in later chapters.

## **2.6 Semantic formulae: a ‘speech act set’**

Semantic formulae each “consist of a word, phrase, or sentence which meets a particular semantic criterion or strategy, and any one or more of these can be used to perform the act in question” (Fraser, 1980, in Olshtain & Cohen, 1983, p. 20). Olshtain & Cohen (1983) developed a set of five major semantic formulae to describe how interpersonal apologies can be executed, thus creating a ‘speech act set’ for the act of apologizing. The goal of Olshtain and Cohen was to define formulae that are universal (i.e. non-language-specific), with the realization of such formulae possibly being language-specific. Any one of these semantic formulae “could suffice as an ‘emic’ minimal element to represent the particular speech act”, in this case the act of apology; however, combinations of these formulae are also possible, and often two to three of these formulae are used to create an apology of higher intensity (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). These formulae can be expressed through direct or indirect utterances.



Therefore, according to Olshtain & Cohen (1983), when the offending participant agrees to apologize, the following five potential semantic formulae may be employed:

**1. An expression of apology.**

This formula consists of three sub-formulae:

- (i) an expression of regret, e.g. “I’m sorry”;
- (ii) an offer of apology, e.g. “I apologize”;
- (iii) a request for forgiveness, e.g. “Excuse me” or “Please forgive me.”

Each of these sub-formulae uses direct illocutionary force and some sort of apology verb: *apologize*, *be sorry*, *forgive*, *excuse*, *pardon*. The use and appropriateness of each sub-formula may vary by language; Olshtain & Cohen stated that in English, sub-formula (i) seemed to be most common for interpersonal apologies. As we will see, this changes when studying public apologies (cf. Murphy, 2015).

**2. An explanation or account of the situation**

This formula is often offered in addition to or in lieu of the first formula. The appropriateness of its use in a particular discourse situation is language-specific. For example, if a person is late to meet a friend, he might explain “My car wouldn’t start.”

**3. An acknowledgement of responsibility**

Olshtain & Cohen state that this formula is non-language-specific in its use. This formula is only used when speaker recognizes responsibility for offense, and may be expressed through several sub-formulae:

- (i) accepting blame, e.g. “It was my fault”;
- (ii) expressing self-deficiency, e.g. “I wasn’t thinking”;
- (iii) recognizing that the other person deserves an apology, e.g. “You’re right”;
- (iv) expressing lack of intent, e.g. “I didn’t mean to”

Of these sub-formulae, only (i) is direct expression of responsibility, with all other sub-formulae being indirect expressions of responsibility.

#### 4. An offer of repair

This formula is situation-specific: it is relevant only if damage has occurred (physical injury or other damage, including financial damages.) For example, if one was in a car accident, the party at fault might offer “I’ll pay for your new bumper.”

#### 5. A promise of forbearance

As with the previous formula, this is situation-specific: it is relevant only when the speaker/offender could have avoided the offense but did not do so for whatever reason. For example, if a student has missed a deadline (perhaps more than once), she might say “It won’t happen again.”

As previously mentioned, usually just one of these formulae is enough to perform the speech act in an interpersonal apology. The appropriateness and use of each formula is situational, and depends on both linguistic and sociocultural norms.

There are situations in which a speaker rejects need to apologize. In these cases, Olshtain and Cohen (1983) suggest that two things may happen:

#### 1. No reaction from the offender

#### 2. Verbal reaction:

- (i) denial of need to apologize, e.g. “You shouldn’t be offended”;
- (ii) denial of responsibility,
  - (a) not accepting blame, e.g. “It wasn’t my fault”;
  - (b) blaming other participant, e.g. “It’s your own fault”

These semantic formulae have been used as framework to study interpersonal apologies across different languages, cultures, and speakers (see Cohen & Olshtain, 1981, in Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Salgado, 2011). Arguably, one of the most impactful of these studies has been Blum-Kulka and Olshtain’s Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) on requests and apologies (1984), which has influenced virtually all following studies on apology. In the CCSARP, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain note that “the most direct realization of an apology is done via an

explicit illocutionary force indicating device” but that apologies can also “be realized by reference to a set of specified propositions”, instead of or in addition to using an IFID (1984). These propositions are essentially expansions on formulae 2-4 above, which detail explicit/implicit and specified/unspecified differences in use, by speakers (native and non-native) of eight language varieties.

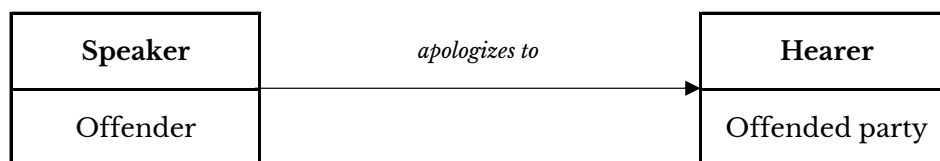
These semantic formulae have also been used as a preliminary framework to evaluate public apologies in recent years, for example, with Page (2014) using the framework to study corporate/customer apology interactions on Twitter; Hargie, Stapleton, & Tourish (2010) examining the apologies of bank CEOs in the UK House of Commons after the 2008 Banking Crisis; and Murphy (2014, 2015) analyzing political apologies of British MPs, again in the UK House of Commons. Each of these subsequent studies has built on the framework of formulae, with Murphy (2014, 2015) further reorganizing the formulae into three categories of methods/strategies for apologizing, as shown in Table 2.3.

*Table 2.3. Murphy's categories of strategies for apologizing (2014, 2015)*

Broad Category	Sub-category (individual strategy)
A. Explicit expression of apology	i. A performative IFID
	ii. A commissive with ‘apology’ as a direct object
B. Conventional (indirect) apology formula	i. An expression of regret
	ii. A request for acceptance of apology/forgiveness
	iii. A statement of desire
	iv. A statement of obligation
C. Non-conventional indirect apology strategy	i. Explanation, account, or excuse
	ii. Accepting the blame
	iii. Expressing self-deficiency
	iv. Recognizing H as entitled to apology
	v. Expressing lack of intent
	vi. An offer/statement of repair/redress
	vii. A statement of non-recurrence

## 2.7 Public apology as compared with interpersonal apology

Many of the differences between interpersonal (conversational) apologies and public apologies have already been touched upon in the previous sections (e.g. felicity conditions, facework, strategies.) There are, however, some differences that still need to be outlined; they will be summarized here.



*Figure 2.1. Participant structure of typical interpersonal apologies (Murphy, 2015)*

To begin, the participation structure (i.e. the speaker/hearer relationship) of a public apology is quite distinct from that of an interpersonal apology. In an interpersonal apology, there are two interlocutors: the speaker, who holds the role of offender, and the hearer/addressee, who is the offended party (Figure 2.1.). In almost all interpersonal apologies, the speaker also holds the roles of animator, the author, and the principal. The hearer is both the addressee and the recipient (Murphy, 2015). Each of these roles is described in Table 2.4.

In public apologies, on the other hand, each of the roles of the participants can be quite different – there may be a separate participant performing each role on the speaker side and/or on the hearer side of the relationship. There may be many addressees and/or recipients, and as the apology is performed publicly, there will almost definitely be ratified overhearers. The particular participant structures<sup>16</sup> of the three types of apology studied in this thesis (corporate, celebrity, and historical political) will be introduced in more detail in the appropriate analysis chapters. The nature of some public apologies

<sup>16</sup> The participatory frameworks for these types of apology were inspired and influenced by Murphy (2015), but are original creations.

creates the issue of dual target groups, with the apology being addressed to a ‘private’ audience (e.g. in the House of Commons) but being publicly broadcast (Hargie et al., 2010). The need to repair relationships to the offended parties and the desire to publicly save face can lead to tension within the apology, which manifests in different strategies.

*Table 2.4. Participant roles in apologies*

	<b>Role</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>Speaker roles</i>	Animator	The person performing the utterance
	Author	The person who planned what the utterance will be
	Principal	The person whose feelings are represented by the utterance
	Offender	The person who has committed the offense
<i>Hearer roles</i>	Offended party	The person against whom the offense was committed
	Addressee	The person to whom the speaker performs the utterance
	Recipient	The person for whom the speaker’s words are intended
	Ratified overhearers	Those known to be listening to the apology

Hargie et al. (2010) point out that public apologies often have an additional aspect of performance above the performative function of the apology. While this may not be the case for apologies released as written statements, the ‘performance’ of an apology can impact public reception and acceptance of the speech act. This thesis does examine two historical political apologies that were ‘performed’ by the Prime Minister, however, the majority of the analysis will be carried out on written texts only.

The fact that public apologies become part of the permanent public record also distinguishes them from interpersonal apologies. The permanence of the record influences the strategies employed in performing a public apology. There is also the notion that there can be a more substantial impact on the

speaker/author/principal of a public apology: in addition to the personal loss of face, there is often the possible loss of position, financial loss, or other risks.

An additional aspect that deserves attention, in particular from a communication studies perspective, is the role of media in the evaluation of the felicity of public apologies. The public is not always able to listen to or read the full text of an apology performed by the speaker. The selection of the fragments of the public apology reported by the media, as well as the labeling of the act itself may influence the public perception of an apology as either successful or not (cf. Bateson, Narula, & Stroińska, in press.) We shall touch upon this issue in the Conclusions chapter but the actions of the media, as not linguistic per se, are outside the scope of this thesis.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

There has been a significant amount of work done not only on apologies, but on the integral theories behind apologies: Speech Act Theory, politeness theory, and conversational implicature. While a fully detailed explanation of each of these theories is beyond the scope of this thesis, this chapter highlights the complexity of apology, and the notion that performing the speech act of apology is not without risk to either of the interlocutors. The key theoretical perspectives introduced in this chapter form the basis of the analysis in the coming chapters.

# Chapter 3

## Methodology

While Chapter 2 introduced the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, the current chapter describes the analytical frameworks, and the research design and processes used in the analysis of public apologies. This study employs aspects of both critical discourse analysis and speech act theory in its analysis frameworks. I will begin with a brief introduction to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and explain how my study aligns with this methodology. I will then give a detailed description of the framework used to analyze the discursive strategies within each text, and explain how the data for analysis was selected.

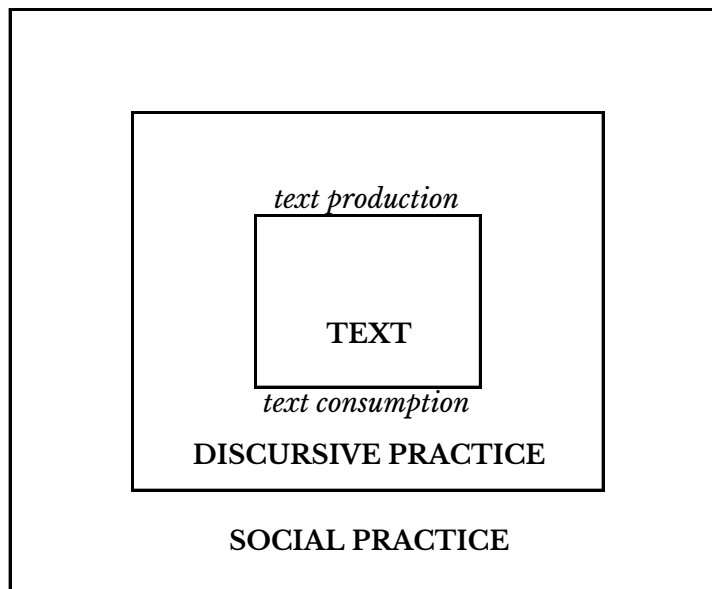
### 3.1 Analytical frameworks

#### 3.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

In my desire to explore the discourse strategies used in public apologies, I was initially very focussed on the textual analysis – that is, the clause-by-clause breakdown and analysis of each text at the level of linguistic features. However, I soon realized that in order to get a more complete understanding of what makes a public apology felicitous, I would have to take a step back and look at each apology as part of a larger social discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis allows one to explore the relationship between the discrete communicative event (i.e. the text) and the social context of the event. One of the founders of CDA as a sociolinguistic lens, Norman Fairclough, posits that “texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation – they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context” (Fairclough, 1992 in Jørgensen & Philipps, 2002, p. 86) and proposes a three-dimensional

model (Figure 3.1) that evaluates each communicative event along three inseparable dimensions:

- (i) Analysis of text, which examines the linguistic features (e.g. lexical choice, syntactic structures) of a text,
- (ii) Analysis of discursive practice, which looks at the processes in which a text is produced and consumed,
- (iii) Analysis of social practice, which evaluates the wider social and cultural context which frame the communicative event (Fairclough, 1998, 2010; Jørgensen & Philipps, 2002).



*Figure 3.1. Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992, in Jørgensen & Philipps, 2002, p. 68)*

This model allows for a much more comprehensive understanding of discourses than a textual analysis alone. However, these dimensions cannot be isolated from each other in their analysis, and thus an analysis of social practice will inevitably be informed by the discursive practices and the linguistic features of the texts, and so on for each dimension. It is important to note that within the field of CDA, there is no “fixed procedure” for analysis, and that “the selection and application of the tools depend on the research questions



and the scope of the project”, allowing the “research design [to] be tailored to match the special characteristics of the project” (Jørgensen & Philipps, 2002, p. 76) Considering this, I developed a research design that incorporated Fairclough’s approach to CDA throughout my systematic analysis of the individual texts, including both a contextual frame and a thematic analysis for each category of public apology, which allow for a deeper understanding of why certain discourse strategies are favoured in different types of apology.

To create the contextual sociocultural frame for analysis, I provided a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the production of each case study text. This account included historical background on issues related to each case study (e.g. racism in the USA, or the practice of government apologies in Canada), as well as the contemporary events that triggered each apology. This information was pulled from various academic and public sources (e.g. newspapers, broadcast media, social media) to construct a comprehensive view of each case study.

I also provided an analysis of the participatory framework used in each type of apology, as this participant structure influences both the production of the apology text and the consumption of the text. While this thesis analyzes only the produced text (i.e. the apology statement) in isolation from the consumption of such texts (e.g. hearer uptake or media response), the possible consumption of the texts was considered in constructing the participant frameworks (speaker and hearer roles) within the discourse of public apology.

The thematic analysis of the texts is based in a conceptual framework on thematic metaphors by Owen (1985). Owen defines a theme as a “patterned semantic issue or locus of concern around which [an] interaction centres” and that such themes are “identified by the presence of recurrent, repetitious and forceful discourse” (Owen, 1985, p. 2). Themes and metaphors are used within texts to construct and define a narrative. In this study, texts from each category of public apology were analyzed together (e.g. all three apology texts from the ‘celebrity apology’ type were considered together, etc.) to identify recurrent concepts and ideas that shape the narrative of the texts, what Fairclough refers to as the Discursive Practice level. These themes are often promoted through

the use of particular discursive strategies that are used within each type of apology to frame it in order to advance the agenda of the speaker.

Certainly the inseparability of Fairclough's three dimensions of analysis is obvious when we consider the textual analysis performed in this study. While the focus remains on the linguistic form of the utterance, the evaluation of discursive strategies cannot be performed without also considering the discursive practices that produce the texts and the social practice frame in which they are performed. However, CDA alone cannot provide a full account of the strategies, and so the specific framework used to study the discursive strategies applies speech act theory as an additional analytical frame.

### **3.1.2 Speech Act Theory**

As discussed in Section 2.6, the 'speech act set' developed by Olshtain & Cohen (1983) has formed the basis for previous analytical frameworks in evaluating public apology. The current study builds on the framework defined by Murphy (2014, 2015), initially introduced in Table 2.3. I suggest that Murphy's (2015) hierarchy of categories of discourse strategies, used by him to analyze British parliamentary apologies, provides a strong foundation for evaluating public apologies of all types.

There is a limitation to this hierarchical framework: texts in public discourse are rarely perfect prototypical representations of a particular speech act, and public apology texts are no exception. Kampf (2009) identified "creative forms of apologetic speech" (p. 2258) that public figures used to minimize responsibility, while Hargie, Stapleton, & Tourish (2010) described the strategies that CEOs used "to craft compelling accounts for what others see as failure, while simultaneously seeking to preserve their reputations" (p. 737). Both of these studies have posited that public apologies may not use the true apology strategies identified by Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, (1984) and Olshtain & Cohen (1983), but rather use 'apology avoidance' discourse strategies that have not yet been formally applied within a framework. The omission of these 'apology avoidance' strategies from previous frameworks leaves a gap in our current understanding of how public apologies are produced, as previous

studies either focus on non-apology strategies or true apology strategies, but do not analyze both types together.

In the current work, I have expanded Murphy’s hierarchy (2015) to include not only ‘apology avoidance’ strategies, but also what I will call ‘other discursive strategies’. While the ‘apology avoidance’ or ‘fauxpology’ strategies tend to use typical apologetic speech strategies to avoid or minimize accountability (which I will give examples of in the upcoming paragraphs), ‘other discursive strategies’ refer to language use that does not actively avoid apologizing but rather reframes the narrative of the text, shifting the focus from a typical apologetic structure to accommodate the speaker’s goals. Thus, the current framework I have defined for the purpose of this research is broken down into five discrete categories, but each of these categories can be thought of as belonging to a ‘family’ of either ‘attested (true) apology strategies’ or ‘non-apology strategies’ (Table 3.1).

*Table 3.1. 'Families' of discourse formulae*

FAMILY	CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
<i>Attested 'true' apology strategies</i>	A	<i>Explicit expression of apology</i>
	B	<i>Conventional indirect apology formula</i>
	C	<i>Non-conventional indirect apology strategy</i>
<i>Non-apology strategies</i>	D	<i>Apology avoidance (fauxpology) strategy</i>
	E	<i>Other non-apology strategy</i>

Each of these categories (A-E) are further divided into several sub-categories (individual strategies), defined in the table below (Table 3.2). The sub-strategies within Categories A-C are those defined by Murphy (2014, 2015) in his analysis of parliamentary apologies in the British House of Commons. The individual strategies in Category D: apology avoidance/fauxpology were

largely influenced by the studies of Hargie et al. (2010) and Kampf (2009), with further common strategies identified within the texts. The strategies within Category E: other discursive strategies were defined during analysis of the texts as salient, important formulae to consider. The following table (Table 3.2) shows the individual apology strategies within each category, illustrated by examples from the body of texts analyzed within this thesis.

I used this extended framework to analyze each apology text, coding each text independently and then comparing the texts within each apology type with one another to discover patterns of strategy use. Using this discursive strategy framework and the participatory frameworks for public apologies, I then evaluated the adherence of each text to the felicity conditions of apology as laid out by Murphy (2015) in Section 2.3.4. The results of this analysis, as well as the contextual and thematic analyses for celebrity, corporate, and historical political apologies, are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. Finally these texts were compared across apology types to examine how discourse strategies are used in public apologies in general.

*Table 3.2. Individual strategies used in public apology texts*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Sub-category</i>	<i>Example from texts</i>
<i>Explicit expression of apology</i>	A1 <i>Performative IFID</i>	We apologize. I am sorry. We are sorry. (LGBTQ2)
	A2 <i>Commissive + 'apology' as direct object</i>	Today, I humbly stand before you to offer a long overdue apology to the former students (IINK)
<i>Conventional indirect apology formula</i>	B1 <i>Expression of regret</i>	We deeply regret the offense it caused. (Dove_1)
	B2 <i>Request for forgiveness</i>	Please accept our humble apologies. (HM_3)
	B3 <i>Statement of desire</i>	The first thing I want to do is apologize. (FRANKEN)
	B4 <i>Statement of obligation</i>	I must offer you and the House a full and complete apology. (Murphy, 2014) <i>[not used in analyzed texts]</i>
<i>Non-conventional indirect apology strategy</i>	C1 <i>Explanation, account, or excuse</i>	It's obvious that our routines haven't been followed properly. (HM_2)
	C2 <i>Acceptance of blame</i>	These stories are true. (CK)
	C3 <i>Expression of self-deficiency</i>	It is our collective shame that you were so mistreated. (LGBTQ2)
	C4 <i>Recognition of H as entitled to apology</i>	And above all, you are innocent. And for all your suffering, you deserve justice. (LGBTQ2)
	C5 <i>Expression of lack of intent</i>	Our product and promotion were not intended to cause offense (HM_3)
	C6 <i>Offer/statement of repair/redress</i>	I am asking that an ethics investigation be undertaken, and I will gladly cooperate. (FRANKEN)
	C7 <i>Statement of forbearance</i>	Never again will our government be the source of so much pain for members of the LGBTQ2 communities. (LGBTQ2)

*(Continued)*

Table 3.2. (Continued)

<i>Category</i>	<i>Sub-category</i>	<i>Example from texts</i>
<i>Apology avoidance (fauxpology) strategy</i>	D1 <i>Statement of willingness to apologize</i>	In November of last year I made a full apology, unreserved apology, both personally and on behalf of the Board, and I am very happy to repeat that this morning. (Hargie, 2010) [not used in analyzed texts]
	D2 <i>Reference to past apologies</i>	In 2008, the Government of Canada issued an official apology to the former students of Indian Residential Schools. (IINK)
	D3 <i>Expression of regret (fauxpology)</i>	I am sorry for the feelings he describes having carried with him. (SPACEY)
	D4 <i>Alignment with victims</i>	There is nothing about this that I forgive myself for. And I have to reconcile it with who I am. (CK)
	D5 <i>Dissociation from events</i>	This thinking was prejudiced and flawed. (LGBTQ2)
	D6 <i>Professing previous ignorance</i>	We know today that this colonial way of thinking led to practices that caused deep harm. (IINK)
	D7 <i>Hedges, qualification of responsibility</i>	Since arriving on these shores, settlers to this land brought with them foreign standards of right and wrong. (LGBTQ2)
	D8 <i>Denouncement of behaviour</i>	Even if unintentional, passive or casual racism needs to be eradicated wherever it exists. (HM_3)
	D9 <i>Defense: 'not like me'</i>	I respect women. I don't respect men who don't. (FRANKEN)
	D10 <i>Conditional acceptance of blame</i>	If I did behave then as he describes, I owe him the sincerest apology for what would have been deeply inappropriate drunken behavior. (SPACEY)
<i>Other discursive strategy</i>	E1 <i>Non-apologetic explanation of events</i>	As those closest to me know, in my life I have had relationships with both men and women. (SPACEY)
	E2 <i>Nominalization</i>	...the misguided belief that Indigenous children could only be properly provided for... (IINK)
	E3 <i>'Positive' alignment language</i>	With dialogue and with understanding, we will move forward together. But we can't do it alone. (LGBTQ2)
	E4 <i>Patriotic sentiment</i>	We're Canadians, and we want the very best for each other. (LGBTQ2)

## 3.2 Data selection

Chapter 1 described the ubiquity of public apologies today. Accordingly, there was a wealth of texts to choose from in selecting the case studies for this thesis. The texts selected represent just an excerpt of current events in Canada and the USA from October 2017 to January 2018. There was no empirical or particularly unbiased method used in choosing the texts; however, in selecting texts for analysis, I attempted to collect a representative sample of typical apologies made across each type of public apology within the specified timeframe.

In the broad designation of discourses referred to as “public apologies”, I selected three types of apologies to examine: corporate apology, made by on behalf of a business or commercial institution; celebrity apology, made by a well-known or famous public figure; and historical political apology, made on behalf of a government for an offense committed in the past. (Each of these apology types will be fully defined in the subsequent chapters.) These specific apology types were elected as they had not previously been evaluated using as a metric the felicity conditions proposed by Murphy (2015). In choosing texts within each category (corporate, celebrity, and historical political), I endeavoured to select case studies with similar contexts, so that the discursive strategy evaluation could be more robust. These contexts were also deemed to be representative of relevant sociocultural issues within the timeframe of the study.

While media representations of the apologies were not analyzed in this thesis, each of the apologies studied were discussed in mainstream media sources (e.g. physical or online newspapers, broadcast media, major magazines, etc.), and thus presumed to be familiar, if not well-known, to a wide audience in the general public.

# Chapter 4

## Corporate Apologies: Racism in Advertising

### 4.1 Introduction

There are many possible examples of corporate apologies that I could have studied. One of the major themes that comes up time and time again is the issue of racism in advertising, especially on the part of North-American or European companies (for example, Nivea's "White is Purity" campaign of April 2017; Popchips' "Bollywood" ad from 2012). Many corporations are turning to social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) to reach their target audiences, and so, when controversy arises, these corporations also use social media to reach out directly to the public in order to repair their image.

The case studies selected here demonstrate the attempts of two companies to address perceived racism in their online advertising campaigns. This chapter introduces the context of the case studies, and provides an analysis of the major themes within the apologies. In addition, the discursive strategies used in the apologies will be analyzed to evaluate the felicity of the performative speech act.

#### 4.1.1 What is a corporation?

In discussing corporate apologies, it becomes important to define what we mean by "corporation"<sup>1</sup>. To evaluate the felicity of an apology, we must be able

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<sup>1</sup> I will use the terms *corporation*, *company*, and *business* interchangeably.



to make judgements about the sincerity or emotions of a speaker, and as an abstract concept, a “corporation” should not be able to be the subject of a verb that involves emotions.

Legally speaking, a corporation is defined as “a body corporate legally authorized to act as a single individual; an artificial person created by royal charter, prescription, or act of the legislature, and having authority to preserve certain rights in perpetual succession” (“Corporation,” n.d.). This legal definition does not entirely satisfy our needs within speech act theory; for the purpose of this thesis, we will define a corporation as the combined body of persons that constitute the workforce of a company, including the board of directors, but not external shareholders.

## **4.2 Context**

For each of the case studies in this section, there are two (Dove) and three (HM) apology statements. The full texts of these apologies are not included within the chapter, but these are the texts on which the analysis has been performed. Readers can find the full texts of the apologies in Appendices A-E.

### **4.2.1 Case Study 1: Dove**

There is a longstanding “corrosive racist stereotype” within American history that white skin is pure and dark skin is dirty (Mic, 2017; Zimring, 2017). This stereotype can be traced back to the end of the American Civil War (1865), when there was a national fixation on both race and sanitation. After the war, in which many deaths were caused by diseases that often spread due to poor hygiene, the increase in urban living and population density led to public health threats within cities. In turn, these threats led to “a growing commercial market for soaps and cleansers” (Zimring, 2017). At the same time, the abolition of slavery and influx of new immigrants challenged political and societal norms – providing greater opportunities to people of colour, while threatening the status quo of white privilege. In this new post-war era, Americans “redefined whiteness by linking skin colour to cleanliness” (Zimring, 2015, p. 80), conflating dark skin with filth and impurity, as if it could

become white with washing. The hygiene advertisements that came in the following years only worked to cement this association in the minds of the public (see examples and discussion in Zimring, 2015, 2017); the conflation of dirt and race has had real-life impact that continues until the present day, with citizens today still vulnerable to “the consequences of considering nonwhite people somehow less hygienic” (Zimring, 2017).

On October 6, 2017, personal care brand Dove posted a short video (GIF) advertisement<sup>2</sup> on Facebook, showing “three women of different ethnicities, each removing a t-shirt to reveal the next woman” (Dove, 2017a). Within hours of the ad going live, social media user Naomi Blake, also known by her username NayTheMua, shared a screengrab of part of the video, showing an African-American woman taking off her t-shirt to ‘become’ a Caucasian woman (Figure 4.1). This image quickly went viral, and Dove was accused of racist advertising.

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<sup>2</sup> The original advertisement was removed within hours of its posting. A copy of the ad can be viewed on YouTube, here: <https://youtu.be/GJssvw1LQbl> (Celebrity Central, 2017).



*Figure 4.1. Edited screengrab of Dove Facebook ad (Blake, 2017)*

On October 7, Dove removed the video from Facebook and issued a public statement on Twitter:

An image we recently posted on Facebook missed the mark in representing women of color thoughtfully. We deeply regret the offense it caused. (Dove, 2017b)<sup>3</sup>

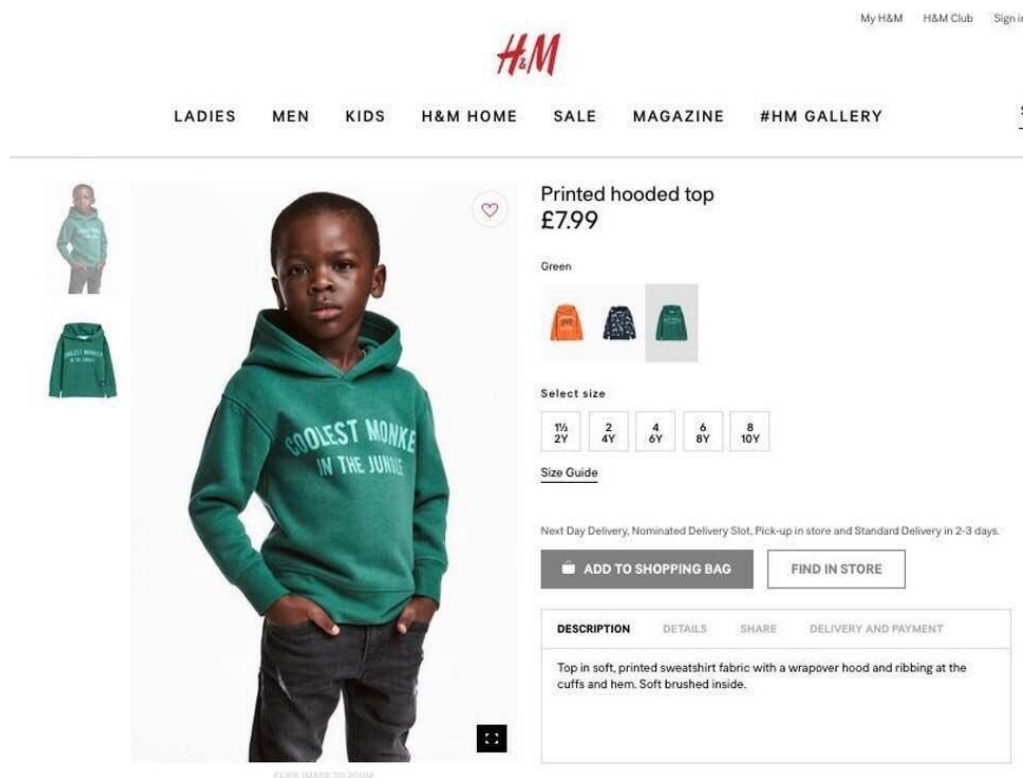
This reaction from the company generated a mixed response from the public, with some support for Dove and arguments that the ad was being taken out of context (e.g. Anderson, 2017; Gunner, 2017; LuisMichael\_, 2017). There was a large negative response as well, specifically from Twitter users rejecting the apology and calling to boycott Dove and its parent company, Unilever, using hashtags such as #BoycottDove and #DonewithDove to draw attention to their campaign (e.g. Anilu7, 2017; CortandoElCable, 2017; Kaye, 2017; Khoo, 2017; MomOfAllCapes, 2017; Smith, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Hereinafter referred to as DOVE\_1. See Appendix A for full text with coding.

On October 9, three days after the Facebook ad had been posted, Dove released another statement on Twitter to address this controversy (Dove, 2017a)<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.2.2 Case Study 2: H&M

In January 2018, the United Kingdom online catalogue for international clothing retailer H&M was updated to include a selection of printed sweaters<sup>5</sup> for children. One photo – that of a young black boy wearing a green hoodie featuring the phrase ‘Coolest monkey in the jungle’ (Figure 4.2) – caused controversy for the clothing company.



*Figure 4.2. Screenshot of H&M's controversial product (Fumo, 2018)*

In Western culture, and in the United States in particular, there has been a long history of comparing black people to monkeys and apes in an effort to dehumanize and subjugate them (Hund & Mills, 2016, 2018). These

<sup>4</sup> Hereinafter referred to as DOVE\_2. See Appendix B for full text with coding.

<sup>5</sup> Also called ‘hooded tops’ or ‘hoodies’.

dehumanizing representations have been historically used to justify slavery and violence against immigrants, and although the “explicit representations of Blacks as apes may be relegated to history”, there is evidence that this implicit relationship still exists in our minds (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). In a 2008 paper, Goff et al. provided evidence that “a bidirectional association between Blacks and apes...can operate beneath conscious awareness yet significantly influence perception and judgments” (Goff et al., 2008).

On January 7, Twitter user Alex Medina (@mrmedina) brought attention to the product photo, wondering what the company was thinking with the following posts (cited here in their original form):

Yo @HM you need to explain yourself. What the hell is this?  
In the year 2018 there's no way brands/art directors can be this negligent and lack awareness. If look at other sweaters in same category they have white kids. We have to do better. (Medina, 2018)

Medina's feelings were echoed by others in the Twitter community, with New York Times columnist Charles Blow posting a copy of the photo with the caption “@hm, have you lost your damned minds?!?!?” (Blow, 2018). By the following morning, January 8, other social media users had weighed in, voicing their disappointment with the image and posting edited versions of the photo, removing the offending statement and replacing it with phrases such as “Coolest Kid in the Racist Ass H&M catalog” or “King of the World” (Bever, 2018; Kottasová, 2018; Picchi, 2018). Canadian music artist Abel Tesfaye, better known by his stage name The Weeknd and who had collaborated on fashion collections with the retailer, severed ties with the company, tweeting “woke up this morning shocked and embarrassed by this photo. i'm deeply offended and will not be working with @hm anymore...” (Teskaye, 2018).

In response, on January 8, H&M issued a statement to the media:

We sincerely apologize for this image. It has been now removed from all online channels and the product will not be for sale in the United States. (Donnelly, 2018)<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Hereinafter referred to as HM\_1. See Appendix C for full text with coding.

The following day, H&M posted a second statement on its official Twitter page and Instagram account (H&M Group, 2018a)<sup>7</sup>. Finally, on January 10, H&M issued an “unequivocal apology for [a] poorly judged product and image” as a press release on its corporate website (H&M Group, 2018b)<sup>8</sup>.

### 4.3 Thematic Analysis

While the shorter texts (three out of five) released by the corporations focused solely on apology, the longer apology statements issued by the companies – one on behalf of Dove, and one from H&M – there are two related themes that arise: (i) the corporation as a champion of diversity, and (ii) the condemnation of racism. Using these themes in the apologies allows the corporations to structure the discussion of the act of apologizing in a specific, less damaging context.

In Dove’s second apology, these themes are present in a full half of the text. The company mentions its commitment to diversity twice in just 6 sentences:

- (1) The short video was intended to convey that Dove body wash is for every woman and be a celebration of diversity. (DOVE\_2, lines 5-6)
- (2) It did not represent the diversity of real beauty which is something Dove is passionate about and is core to our beliefs. (DOVE\_2, lines 7-8)

These statements frame Dove as a ‘good’ company who has been misunderstood, and bring focus to its “passion” for diversity. However vague, these statements attempt to restore the company’s positive (i.e. inclusive) face that has been damaged by the offending ad. In addition, Dove includes a vague condemnation of racism, which is supposed to further show the public that the company has ‘good intentions’:

- (3) ...do not condone any activity or imagery that insults any audience. (DOVE\_2, lines 16-17)

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<sup>7</sup> Hereinafter referred to as HM\_2. See Appendix D for full text with coding.

<sup>8</sup> Hereinafter referred to as HM\_3. See Appendix F for full text with coding.

In comparison, H&M focuses on these themes in one-third of its third apology. It mentions its commitment to social issues, including diversity, three times in two paragraphs:

- (4) H&M is fully committed to playing its part in addressing society's issues and problems, whether it's diversity, working conditions or environmental protection — and many others. (HM\_3, lines 8-10)
- (5) Our standards are high and we feel that we have made real progress over the years in playing our part in promoting diversity and inclusion. (HM\_3, lines 11-12)
- (6) ...as a global brand, we have a responsibility to be aware of and attuned to all racial and cultural sensitivities — and we have not lived up to this responsibility this time. (HM\_3, lines 18-21)

As in the Dove apology, this focus on commitment to diversity frames the company in a positive light and shows that they have a high degree of social awareness, despite the evidence (the marketing campaign) to the contrary. H&M condemns racism explicitly, twice:

- (7) ...even if unintentional, passive or casual racism needs to be eradicated wherever it exists. (HM\_3, lines 15-16)
- (8) Racism and bias in any shape or form, conscious or unconscious, deliberate or accidental, are simply unacceptable and need to be eradicated from society. (HM\_3, lines 29-31)

By positioning these explicit condemnations next to an FTA (requesting forgiveness: "Please accept our humble apologies", line 32), H&M appears to make itself more vulnerable. This strategy manipulates the power dynamic between the international corporation and the public, positioning the public in more powerful position. However, this strategy may also infringe on the negative face of the hearers, as they are now in the position of power and can decide whether or not to forgive the company.

Thematic analysis brings attention to the themes these corporations want the public to focus on in their statements, and these themes frame the texts in a

specific context – one that is beneficial for the companies in restructuring the discourse in a manner of their choosing.

## 4.4 Discursive Strategy Analysis

The two corporations used a number of discourse strategies to perform their apologies (see Tables 4.1<sup>9</sup>, 4.2). Both companies used a combination of ‘true’ apology strategies (Categories A-C) and ‘fauxpology’ or apology-avoidance strategies (Category D). Why would corporations wish to use both types of discursive strategies in their apologies? In the next subsections, I provide an analysis of the success of the use of these different formulae, and offer an explanation of the motives that led to their use.

### 4.4.1 Attested apology strategies

Both Dove and H&M used ‘true’ apology strategies as the primary formulae in their apologies; 68% of the total strategies used were from Categories A-C. Of the ‘true’ apology strategies used (i.e. those from Categories A-C), the majority of the strategies employed by both companies were classified as “non-conventional indirect” strategies (Category C); however, these unconventional strategies supported the direct apologies (Category A) used in four of the five statements.

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<sup>9</sup> For complete table of analysis, see Appendix F.



*Table 4.1. Discursive strategies used in corporate apologies*

		Dove	HM	Category Total			Dove	HM	Category Total
A1	Performative IFID	1	3						
A2	Commissive + 'apology' as DO			4					
B1	Expression of regret	1	1		D1	Statement of willingness to apologize			
B2	Request for forgiveness		1		D2	Reference to past apologies			
B3	Statement of desire			3	D3	Expression of regret (fauxpology)			
B4	Statement of obligation				D4	Alignment with victims		1	
C1	Explanation, account, or excuse	1	1		D5	Dissociation from events	5	3	
C2	Acceptance of blame	1	4		D6	Professing previous ignorance			16
C3	Expression of self- deficiency		3		D7	Hedges, qualification of responsibility			
C4	Recognition of H as entitled to apology		3	27	D8	Denouncement of behaviour	2	2	
C5	Expression of lack of intent	1	3		D9	Defense: 'not like me'	1	2	
C6	Offer/statement of repair/redress	2	5		D10	Conditional acceptance of blame			
C7	Statement of forbearance	1	2						
<b>TOTAL STRATEGIES USED</b>							<b>16</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>50</b>

*Table 4.2. Proportion of strategy types used in corporate apology*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Dove</i>	<i>HM</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
<i>A</i>	0.06	0.09	<b>0.08</b>
<i>B</i>	0.06	0.06	<b>0.06</b>
<i>C</i>	0.38	0.62	<b>0.54</b>
<i>D</i>	0.50	0.24	<b>0.32</b>

It should be no surprise that more strategies were employed as the apologies grew in length. The shortest of the statements (DOVE\_1 and HM\_1) were each two sentences long, and utilized two successful discursive strategies each: one conventional apology formula (Category A or B) and one non-conventional indirect strategy from Category C. The brevity of the initial statements makes it important to be as explicit as possible in the performative aspect of the speech act, and yet the companies chose two separate strategies:

- (9) We deeply regret the offense it caused. (DOVE\_1, line 3)  
 (10) We sincerely apologize for offending people with this image of a printed hooded top. (HM\_1, lines 1-2)

In (9), Dove uses an indirect, yet conventional, strategy to express regret while remaining vague about what ‘the offense’ refers to. In (10), H&M chooses to be very direct in apologizing (using the explicit performative verb) and furthermore, defines what the apology covers. Of these two strategies, the direct apology in (10) leaves no room for ambiguity, and therefore no way for this statement to be construed as anything other than the speech act of apology. However, the indirect IFID ‘regret’ in (9) allows for differing interpretations depending on context. For example, in her memoir, politician Condoleezza Rice recalls,

- (11) A part of me wanted to apologize, but the collective view of my advisors was that to do so would overwhelm anything else that I said. So instead I expressed regret. (Rice, 2011, p. xvii in Murphy, 2015, p. 183)

This shows that, in at least some contexts, the speech act of apology is not synonymous with the speech act of indicating regret. One of the reasons for this distinction is that indicating regret is not as face-damaging as apology, as it does not convey the same responsibility for the offense. As mentioned in Section 2.7, the participation structure of a public apology (Figure 4.3) is different from that of an interpersonal apology (Figure 2.1). Specifically, in a corporate apology, there are many addressees/recipients, and as such, these hearers, including the ratified overhearers, may all generate different inferences. Not all hearers may believe an utterance using a strategy from Category B is an apology, but rather some other speech act that is based on the literal interpretation of the performative verb used. For this reason, DOVE\_1 is a weaker example of a felicitous apology: while it does meet the felicity conditions laid out in Section 2.3.4, one could argue that it does not fulfill the Essential condition (that the utterance counts as an apology.)

However, when a Category B strategy is used in conjunction with Category A (as in HM\_2 and HM\_3), the implicature cannot be cancelled:

- (12) We're deeply sorry that the picture was taken, and we also regret the actual  
<sup>A1</sup> print. (HM\_2, lines 3-4) <sup>B1</sup>
- (13) ...we have got this wrong and we are deeply sorry.  
<sup>A1</sup>  
<sup>B2</sup> Please accept our humble apologies. (HM\_3, lines 6-7; 32)

Similarly, the non-conventional indirect strategies from Category C were never used in isolation in the cases discussed here, but always in conjunction with A or B. Alone, these strategies would likely not be robust enough to support the speech act successfully – we have already seen how the implicature from even a *conventional* indirect strategy can be cancelled. When used with a conventional apology strategy, Category C strategies increase the complexity of the apologies, which has been shown to have greater effects in both increasing positive benefits and mitigating negative outcomes of an apology (Hargie, Stapleton, & Tourish, 2010).

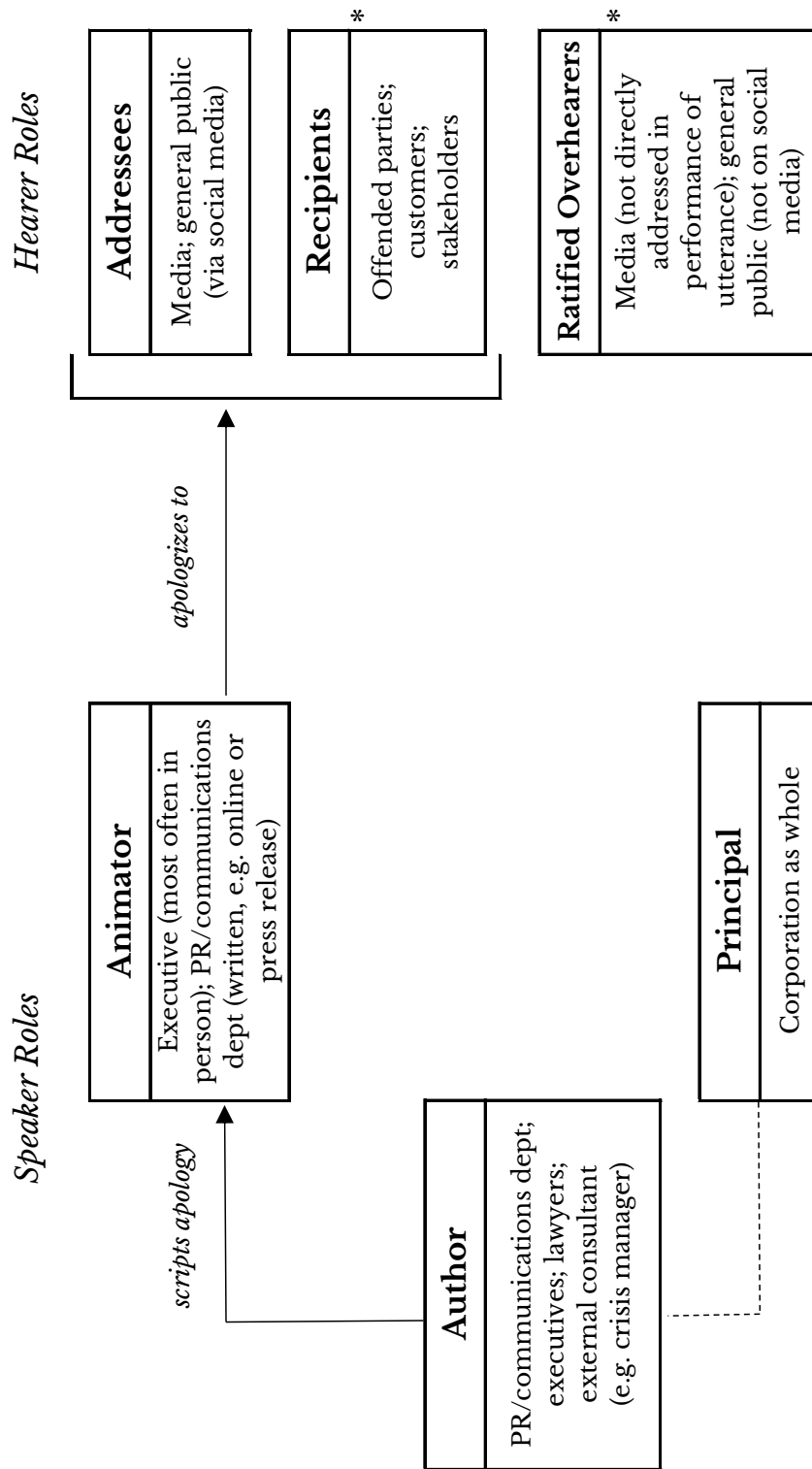


Figure 4.3. Participant structure in corporate apologies

#### 4.4.2 Non-apology strategies

The companies utilized these apology avoidance strategies sparingly, with Category D accounting for less than 30% of the total strategy used in corporate apologies. The most common apology avoidance strategies used were D8: condemnation of the offending behaviour (14, 15), and D5: using dissociative language (16, 17, 18).

- (14) ...passive or casual racism needs to be eradicated wherever it exists.  
(HM\_3, lines 15-16)
- (15) We...do not condone any activity or imagery that insults any audience.  
(DOVE\_2, lines 16-17)
- (16) ...the offense it caused. (DOVE\_1, line 3)
- (17) ...it should not have happened. (DOVE\_2, line 12)
- (18) It's obvious that our routines haven't been followed properly. (HM\_3,  
line 7)

These specific strategies allow the corporations to employ some face-saving acts within the overall face-threatening act of apology. As previously mentioned, denouncing the offending behaviour attempts to preserve the positive face of the company by acknowledging that, like those offended by the images, the company does not hold racist beliefs and works to rebuild the common ground of the relationship. Using dissociative language allows the offenders to distance themselves from the offensive act, deflecting agency and responsibility. For example, the phrasing in (16) uses passive voice and thus does not specify an agent. In fact it does not even specify what 'it' (the offence) was. Hargie et al. (2010) found that not identifying an agent was a common deflective technique used by CEOs when apologizing; the use of the verb 'to happen' implies that the events that took place were outside of the speaker's control (p. 732). In (18), H&M states that their routines have not been followed, but does not include the information by whom. This is not clearly identified by the company, and allows them to avoid at least some of the responsibility for the offensive act.

However, none of the five apologies presented by the corporations in these two case studies had the felicity of their apologies negated or cancelled

through the use of some fauxpology discursive strategies. When Dove and H&M used fauxpology strategies (Category D), the overall effect of the apology was still felicitous due to the use of multiple other strategies and an explicit IFID.

#### **4.4.3 Felicity conditions, evaluated**

The two most contentious conditions in evaluating corporate apologies based on original felicity conditions presented by Ogiermann (2009) are the Propositional content and the Sincerity conditions.

Ogiermann's (2009) Propositional content condition specifies that the speaker must have committed the offense. Evaluated in these terms, corporate apologies would not be felicitous, as the party performing the apology is rarely the same party that was directly responsible for the offense. Indeed, in the case studies presented in this chapter, it would be difficult to assign blame to any one person. However, the participatory structure of a corporate apology aligns with Murphy's (2015) revision to the Propositional content, as in each of these corporate apologies, the speaker is a formally recognized representative of the offending organization. Additionally, in each of these apologies, the companies take responsibility for the act, as evidenced by the use of strategies C2: acceptance of blame (e.g. "We got it wrong." [DOVE\_2, lines 6-7]), and C3: expression of self-deficiency (e.g. "But we clearly haven't come far enough." [HM\_3, line 13]).

The Sincerity condition, which states that S must regret committing the offense, is likewise difficult to align with corporate apologies. It is unlikely that a large and impersonal corporation truly regrets these ad campaigns – it is more likely that it regrets the damage to its reputation, which in turn can lead to financial loss (e.g. loss of sales). Ogiermann's (2009) definition is likely what some of the public are thinking of when they claim that companies are not remorseful in a public apology, despite expressing regret in the text of their apology. Murphy's (2015) definition of the Sincerity condition brings together both the regret of the act and the regret of its consequences. It is this revised definition that makes it more believable that corporate apology could truly be sincere.

In analyzing these apologies, it is clear that they all adhere to the felicity conditions laid out by Murphy (2015). Of the two remaining conditions, the Preparatory condition is attested to in the use of strategy C4: the recognition that H is entitled to an apology (e.g. “We understand that many people are upset...we, who work at H&M, can only agree.” [HM\_2, line 2]), while the Essential condition is fulfilled by the use of explicit IFIDs. As mentioned previously, there is only one apology, DOVE\_1, which uses an indirect IFID in place of a direct term. This may allow for the intended implicature to be cancelled if the hearer does not recognize this as an apology, but another speech act, e.g. expressing regret, as seen in Condoleezza Rice’s example, (11). Due to the wide audience of a public apology, this is a chance that a corporation takes when choosing this indirect formula.

# Chapter 5

## Celebrity Apologies: Sexual misconduct & the #MeToo movement

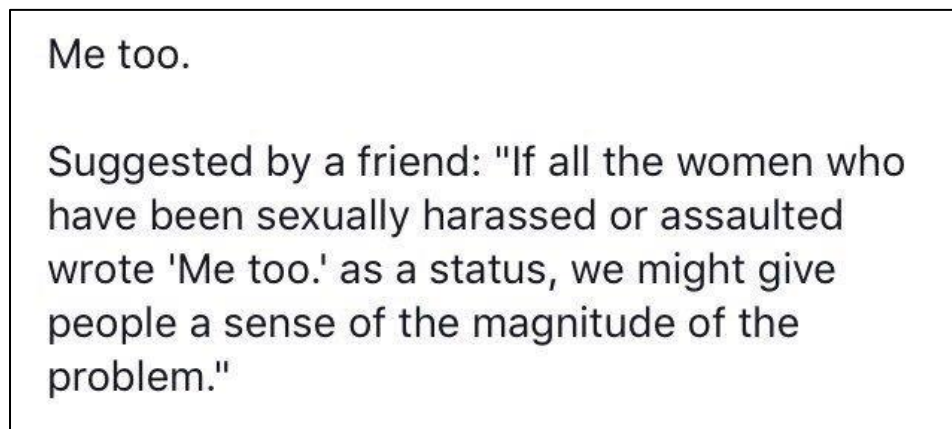
### 5.1 Introduction

The awareness of sexual misconduct in the work environment grew substantially in 2017. Beginning with the Women’s March on Washington on January 21, 2017 in response to the election of Donald Trump, “momentum for women to speak out has been building” (Dishman, 2017). In February, Susan Fowler, a former Uber engineer, wrote a blog post about her experience with sexual harassment in the corporate environment. This led to customer protests in the form of boycott (deleting the ride-share application), and the resignation of several executives. From April through August 2017, many more women spoke out about sexual harassment, assault, and rape – across almost all sectors: arts and entertainment, media, business and technology, politics, education, and more (North, 2018).

On October 5, 2017, the New York Times published an article in which actor Ashley Judd, along with at least eight other women, accused director and producer Harvey Weinstein of sexual misconduct, which had resulted in various payouts over the years (Kantor & Twohey, 2017). On October 15, 2017, actor Alyssa Milano posted an image (Figure 5.1) on Twitter with the caption, “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this



tweet” (Milano, 2017). These two widely-publicized events generated over a million social media responses from public figures and the general public alike, all around the world (Worthden, 2017). In the following weeks and months, men and women came forward to speak out about sexual misconduct by powerful men; this became known as the “Weinstein Effect” (Carrig, 2017; King, 2017; Stelter, 2017) and the #MeToo movement<sup>1</sup> (Gilbert, 2017; Khomami, 2017; Zacharek, Dockterman, & Edwards, 2017).



Me too.

Suggested by a friend: "If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too.' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem."

*Figure 5.1. Milano's tweet that led to a worldwide movement (Milano, 2017).*

In the aftermath of so many accusations and allegations, there were many apologies made by public figures. It is outside the scope of this thesis to provide a full analysis all of the public apologies made by celebrities or other public figures in 2017 and early 2018. This chapter presents the analysis of three apologies by Hollywood actors who addressed the allegations of sexual misconduct by one or more women. This chapter introduces the context of each of the case studies, and then provides an analysis of the major themes within the apologies. Finally, the chapter analyzes the discursive strategies used in each apology with a discussion of adherence to the felicity conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> The #MeToo movement actually has its roots in a social movement from 2006, led by activist Tarana Burke to “support survivors of sexual violence, in particular black and brown girls... [it] has grown since then to include supporting grown people, women, and men, and other survivors, as well as helping people to understand what community action looks like in the fight to end sexual violence” (Snyder & Lopez, 2017). See also Guerra (2017) for full explanation by Burke.

### 5.1.1 What is a “celebrity”?

For the purpose of this thesis, we will use the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of *celebrity*:

- a. The state or fact of being well known, widely discussed, or publicly esteemed. Later usually: personal fame or renown as manifested in (and determined by) public interest and media attention.
- b. A well-known or famous person; (now chiefly) *spec.* a person, esp. in entertainment or sport, who attracts interest from the general public and attention from the mass media. (“Celebrity,” n.d.)

The celebrities in the case studies presented in this chapter are well-known American entertainers: actors and comedians. Kevin Spacey is best recognized as an award-winning dramatic actor; Louis C.K is primarily known as a comedian and writer; and Al Franken is a former comedian turned US politician.

## 5.2 Context

There is one apology statement for each of the case studies in this chapter. The full texts of these apologies are not included within the chapter, but these are the texts on which the analysis has been performed. The full texts of the apologies can be found in Appendices G-I.

### 5.2.1 Case Study 1: Kevin Spacey

On October 29, 2017, BuzzFeed News published an interview with actor Anthony Rapp, in which Rapp alleges that fellow actor Kevin Spacey made sexual advances on him in 1986, when Rapp was fourteen years old. The article describes how then 26-year-old Spacey befriended Rapp while they were both working on Broadway plays in New York City, and that Spacey invited Rapp to a party at his Manhattan apartment. As the only child at an adult party, Rapp became bored and went into a bedroom to watch television. When he realized that the other party-goers had left, Rapp tried to leave as well, but alleges that Spacey “picked [him] up like a groom picks up the bride...and then [Spacey] la[id] down on top of [Rapp]” (Vary, 2017). Rapp says that he managed to escape to the bathroom, and then told Spacey that he was leaving. Rapp did not make any formal accusations against Spacey at the time, but began telling friends

and family members what had happened beginning around 1990. It was not until after the Weinstein story broke that Rapp came forward to share his story with the media, saying he felt “compelled to come forward...to try to shine another light on the decades of behavior that have been allowed to continue because of many people, including [him]self, being silent” (Vary, 2017).

In response to Rapp’s allegation, Spacey took to Twitter to address the public with a statement<sup>2</sup> published the same night as the article was released, October 29, 2017 (Spacey, 2017).

### **5.2.2 Case Study 2: Louis C.K.**

Rumours of comedian Louis C.K.’s sexual misconduct have been reported since 2012 (“Which Beloved Comedian Likes to Force Female Comics to Watch Him Jerk Off?,” 2012; Yamato, 2016). In August of 2017, fellow comedian Tig Notaro called on C.K. to address the sexual assault rumours (Desta, 2017), but in a September 2017 interview, C.K. declined to answer questions about his behaviour, stating “They’re rumours...If you actually participate in a rumour, you make it bigger and you make it real” (Buckley, 2017).

On November 9, 2017, the New York Times published an article in which five women alleged that C.K. masturbated in front of each of them, with the allegations dating back to the late 1990s and continuing until 2005 (Ryzik, Buckley, & Kantor, 2017). The article reported that twice C.K. had acknowledged his misconduct, apologizing to two of the victims: one via Facebook in 2009, and the other via email in 2015 (Ryzik et al., 2017).

In response to the New York Times article, C.K. released a statement<sup>3</sup> to the media on November 10, 2017, one day after the original article was published (C.K., 2017).

### **5.2.3 Case Study 3: Al Franken**

On November 16, 2017, radio broadcaster and former model Leeann Tweeden tweeted a link to an article with the caption: “I’ve decided it’s time to tell my story. #MeToo” (Tweeden, 2017a). The article, posted on the 790 KABC radio

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<sup>2</sup> Hereinafter referred to as SPACEY. See Appendix G for full text with coding.

<sup>3</sup> Hereinafter referred to as CK. See Appendix H for full text with coding.

website where Tweeden works, alleged that then-comedian Al Franken sexually assaulted Tweeden during a December 2006 United Service Organizations (USO) tour to the Middle East. Tweeden alleged that, before a performance, Franken “came at [her], put his hand on the back of [her] head, mashed his lips up against [hers] and aggressively stuck his tongue in [her] mouth” (Tweeden, 2017b). While she did not report the assault at the time, she said that she warned him never to do that again. Two weeks later, during the flight back to America, Franken was photographed groping Tweeden’s breasts while she slept (Figure 5.2) (Tweeden, 2017b).



*Figure 5.2. Franken (left) and Tweeden (centre) in 2006 (Tweeden, 2017b).*

The same day as the article was released, Franken responded: “I certainly don’t remember the rehearsal for the skit in the same way, but I send my sincerest apologies to Leeann. As to the photo, it was clearly intended to be funny but it wasn’t. I shouldn’t have done it” (Blake, 2017). Later that day, Franken (a US

senator at the time) released a longer, more fulsome apology statement<sup>4</sup> to the media (Franken, 2017).

By December 6, 2017, seven more women had accused Franken of sexual misconduct between 2008 and 2010 (Golshan, Kirby, & Prokop, 2017). Franken resigned from his position as senator of Minnesota on December 7, 2017 (Stolberg, Alcindor, & Fandos, 2017). The apologies, statements, and resignation statement made after November 16, 2017 have not been analyzed as part of this study.

### 5.3 Thematic Analysis

There are three themes that emerge in the case studies presented here. They are: (i) ‘respect’ for the offended party; (ii) the offender as a publicly admired figure; and (iii) denial of wrongdoing. As in the corporate apologies presented in Chapter 4, using these themes in their statements allows the offenders to frame the discussion of their offenses in a way that is less face-threatening, and gives the speakers more control over the outcome of the apology statements.

Each of the case studies includes a statement expressing respect for the offended party, either explicitly or implicitly:

- (1) I have a lot of respect and admiration for Anthony Rapp as an actor.  
(SPACEY, line 1)
- (2) ...I admired their work. (CK, lines 27)
- (3) I respect women. (FRANKEN, line 7)

These expressions of respect or admiration are hedged; each of them qualifies the respect for the alleged victims in some way. In (1), Spacey explicitly names his accuser and says that he respects Rapp “as an actor”. This particular phrasing qualifies Spacey’s statement of respect and narrows the scope of Spacey’s respect to only Rapp’s career. The implicature generated by this phrasing is that Spacey does not respect Rapp in other aspects of his being, and this implicature is supported by our experience with quotations we hear in the

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<sup>4</sup> Hereinafter referred to as FRANKEN. See Appendix I for full text with coding.

media, e.g. “I still respect him as a fighter but he’s a...bad human being” (Davies, 2017). Likewise, when C.K. qualifies that he “admired [the female comics] work” (CK, lines 22-23), he is not expressing respect or admiration for the women he harmed. Franken neglects to identify his accuser as an individual that he respects, rather combining Tweeden with all women. He later says:

- (4) Over the last few months, all of us – including and especially men who respect women – have been forced to take a good, hard look at our own actions and think (perhaps, shamefully, for the first time) about how those actions have affected women. (FRANKEN, lines 10-14)

In this utterance, Franken appears to be expressing respect for the victim, but actually diminishes Tweeden’s role in the apology statement by conflating his own alleged behaviour with those of other men “who respect women”. These hedged expressions of respect align the speaker with the victim, and allow the speaker to cast doubt on the alleged actions, as a speaker who respects or admires someone would be less likely to harm that person.

In a similar manner, in each of the apology statements studied, the speaker calls attention to the appearance that he is a publicly admired figure. Spacey is the most indirect with his expression that “there are stories out there about [him] and that some have been fueled by the fact that [he] ha[s] been so protective of [his] privacy” (SPACEY, lines 9-10). This implies that the public is interested in his private life because he is a public figure. Franken and C.K. are less opaque in their admissions that they are celebrities: Franken says three times (in 27 sentences) that he is “looked up to” or “counted on”, while C.K. tells us that he is “admired” five times in 25 sentences. In the same way the expressions of respect cast doubt on the accusations, reminding the public that the speakers are well-liked and admired helps to repair their positive face that has been damaged by the allegations.

Finally, each of the case studies includes some statement of denial of wrongdoing, either past or present. C.K. admits that the “stories are true” (CK, line 3), but denies knowing that his actions were inappropriate or harmful at the time. Spacey denies outright any knowledge of the allegation: “I honestly

do not remember the encounter” (SPACEY, lines 2-3). Franken concedes that one part of Tweeden’s accusation is true (the photograph), but denies that he knew it was wrong when the photo was taken. Franken speaks to his lack of awareness about past jokes (lines 24-26), and he also denies the stronger allegation of sexual assault, saying “I don’t remember the rehearsal for the skit as Leeann does” (FRANKEN, line 29). In denying the knowledge of the offensive acts (or the knowledge that the acts were offensive), the speakers can explain why they have not apologized previously, as all of the allegations of sexual misconduct were for events that happened years earlier. Now that they are aware of the harm they have caused, they can be appropriately contrite – humbling themselves in an effort to rebuild their face.

Each of these themes further illustrated through the discursive strategies chosen by the speakers to express their apologies. These are discussed in detail in the following section.

## **5.4 Discursive Strategy Analysis**

Unlike the corporate apology strategies discussed in Chapter 4, the discursive strategies employed by each of the case studies presented in this chapter are quite different from one another (Tables 5.1, 5.2). Each of the speakers addresses the accusations in different ways, with conventional apology strategies (Categories A and B) accounting for less than 8% of the strategies used. In fact, Spacey never uses an attested ‘true’ apology strategy in his statement at all, relying solely on the ‘fauxpology’ strategies of Category D.

*Table 5.1. Discursive strategies used in celebrity apologies*

		SPACEY	CK	FRANKEN	Category Total			SPACEY	CK	FRANKEN	Category Total
A1	Performative IFID			2	2	D1	Statement of willingness to apologize				
A2	Commissive + 'apology' as DO					D2	Reference to past apologies				
B1	Expression of regret		2			D3	Expression of regret (fauxpology)	1			
B2	Request for forgiveness				3	D4	Alignment with victims	2	4	1	
B3	Statement of desire			1		D5	Dissociation from events	3	5	2	31
B4	Statement of obligation				D6	Professing previous ignorance		4	1		
C1	Explanation, account, or excuse		1	1		D7	Hedges, qualification of responsibility				
C2	Acceptance of blame		6	2		D8	Denouncement of behaviour			2	
C3	Expression of self-deficiency			2		D9	Defense: 'not like me'	1	1	3	
C4	Recognition of H as entitled to apology		2	3	23	D10	Conditional acceptance of blame	1			
C5	Expression of lack of intent		1	2		E1	Non-apologetic explanation of events	3			
C6	Offer/statement of repair/redress		1	2		E2	Nominalization				5
C7	Statement of forbearance					E3	Positive alignment language			2	
						E4	Patriotic sentiment				
<b>TOTAL STRATEGIES USED</b>								<b>11</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>64</b>



*Table 5.2. Proportion of strategy types used in celebrity apologies*

<i>Category</i>	SPACEY	CK	FRANKEN	TOTAL
<i>A</i>	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08
<i>B</i>	0.00	0.07	0.04	0.05
<i>C</i>	0.00	0.41	0.46	0.36
<i>D</i>	0.73	0.52	0.35	0.48
<i>E</i>	0.27	0.00	0.08	0.08

#### 5.4.1 Attested apology strategies

Of the two statements that used conventional apology strategies, only Franken uses a direct apology statement with an explicit IFID (A1), using the phrase “I’m sorry” twice (lines 6, 28). He also uses an indirect conventional strategy (B3) when he states, “The first thing I want to do is apologize” (FRANKEN, line 1). C.K. likewise uses an indirect conventional apology strategy (B1), expressing remorse or regret twice:

- (5) I have been remorseful of my actions. (CK, line 11)
- (6) I deeply regret that this has brought negative attention to my manager.  
(CK, lines 35-36)

These indirect strategies, both Category B1, do not hold the same force as the explicit IFID statements (A1) used by Franken. While C.K.’s expressions of regret fall into the category of indirect conventional strategies, there is something unusual about their use. The present perfect structure of (5) does not convey the same semantic meaning as a present active structure (e.g. “I regret my actions”) as it does not specify when the remorse was felt: was he remorseful in the past and is no longer remorseful, or is the feeling of remorse ongoing? Additionally, by using “remorseful”, an adjective, instead of the verb “regret”, C.K. is distancing himself from the action and minimizing agency, which is a face-saving strategy. These dissociative strategies in (5) also fall into Category D5, a fauxpology strategy, which works to weaken or negate the felicitous implicature generated by B1 that this statement works as an apology.

In (6), C.K. states, indirectly, that he regrets the consequences (“negative attention”) that his actions (“this”) has brought on other people. While this is not the same as apologizing for his actions (i.e. the sexual misconduct), this part of the statement can carry the implicature that this is an apology. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, this intended implicature may be cancelled, as there are many hearers in the participant structure of a celebrity apology (Figure 5.3).

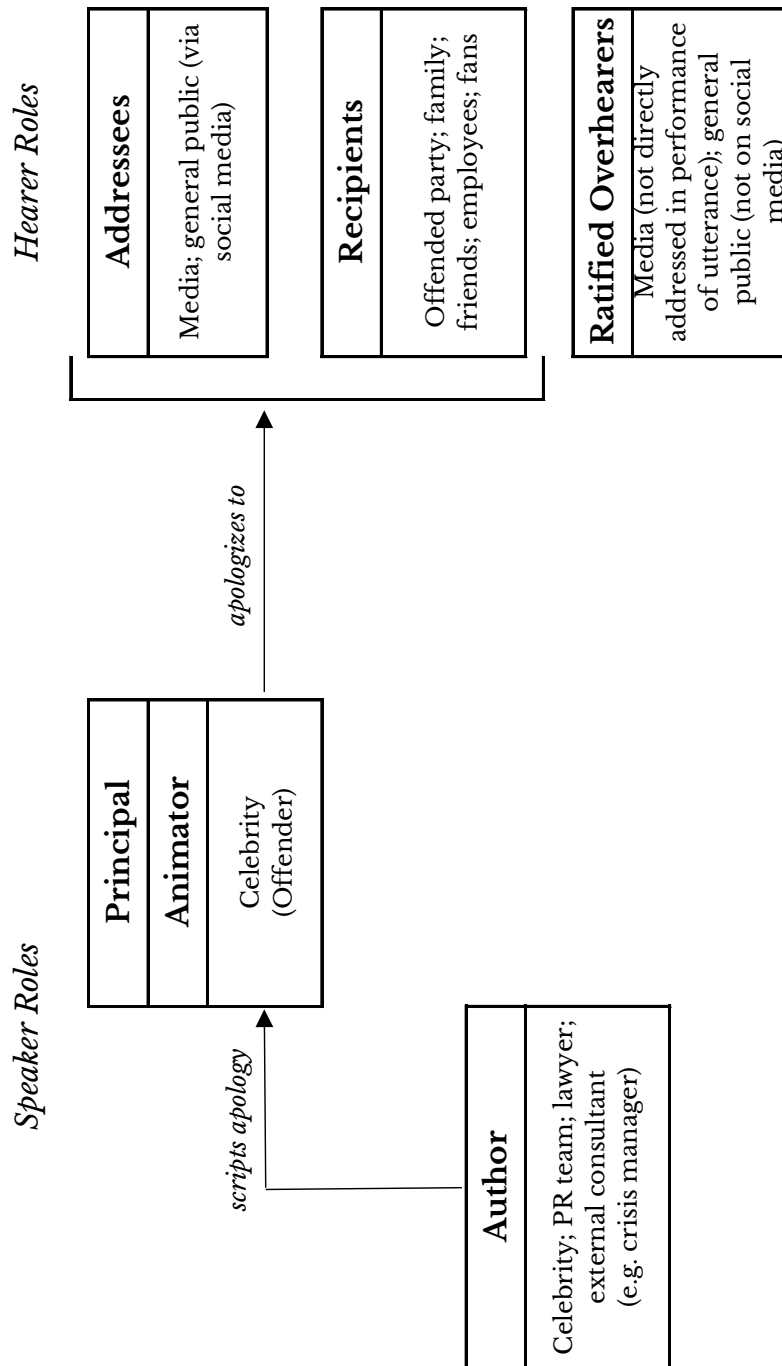


Figure 5.3. Participant structure in celebrity apologies

Both Franken and C.K. use several indirect unconventional (Category C) apology strategies within their statements. C.K. accepts responsibility six

times, acknowledging the hurt and pain he has brought to people in his life, and explicitly stating:

- (7) These stories are true. (CK, line 4)
- (8) I wielded that power irresponsibly. (CK, lines 9-10)
- (9) I took advantage of the fact that I was widely admired. (CK, line 16)

These direct acknowledgements of blame move the accusations leveled at C.K. from allegations to fact. By acknowledging these offensive acts, C.K. stands to lose face in both his public life (loss of public status) and his private life (damage to relationships). However, the explicit acceptance of blame also works as an FSA, attending to C.K.'s positive face by working to repair the damaged relationships caused by his actions. TIn Franken's statement, he twice acknowledges blame, but less directly than C.K.:

- (10) There's no excuse [for taking that picture]. (FRANKEN, line 16)
- (11) I have let [women speaking about sexual misconduct] down. (FRANKEN, line 37)

His statement in (10) accepts blame for (one part of) his actions and constitutes a FTA, while the acceptance of blame in (11) is placed within the context of Franken being an "ally and supporter" of women who report sexual misconduct. As a politician, manipulating this discursive strategy to humble himself may work to build Franken's positive face by improving the relationships damaged by the allegations.

The focus of Franken's apology is on the impact that the accusations have had on his relationships, rather than the impact on the victim of his actions. This is evident from the opening sentence in his apology statement, in which he explicitly names Tweeden as one of the addressees in his statement, but also includes many other parties:

- (12) To Leeann, to everyone else who was a part of that tour, to everyone who has worked for me, to everyone I represent, and to everyone who counts on me to be an ally and supporter and champion of women (FRANKEN, lines 1-4)

The long list of addressees/recipients shifts the focus of the apology from Tweeden to ostensibly everyone else in Franken's life. While this may be expected – after all, it is a *public* apology – doing this works to minimize the accusation of assault and refocus on the damage to Franken's relationships. The Category C discursive strategies he employs likewise focus more on the public than on the victim of the alleged assault, only once addressing Tweeden's right to an apology (13)(C4), while recognizing other parties as entitled to an apology (14, 15)(C4) and directing the statement of redress (16, 17)(C6) to the public, rather than Tweeden.

- (13) It's obvious how Leeann would feel violated by that picture. (FRANKEN, lines 18-19)
- (14) I can see how millions of other women would feel violated by it. (FRANKEN, lines 19-20)
- (15) It's the impact these jokes had on others that matters. (FRANKEN, line 27)
- (16) I'm asking that an ethics investigation be undertaken. (FRANKEN, line 32)
- (17) I...am committed to making it up to them. (FRANKEN, lines 37-38)

Both Franken (16, 17) and C.K. (18) use strategy C6: offer of repair/redress in their apologies. However, both of these statements are vague:

- (18) I will now step back and take a long time to listen. (CK, lines 42-43)

Apart from the ethics investigation requested in (16), these statements promise nothing to the hearers but have the positive implication that the offender is taking action. This implication can help to repair the offender's image to the public, while costing the offender nothing.

#### 5.4.2 Non-apology strategies

The majority of the discursive strategies used in these celebrity apology statements were from Category D, which are 'apology avoidance' or 'fauxpology' strategies. These strategies accounted for over 48% of the total strategies used in these case studies. When combined with Category E ('other

discursive strategies'), the non-apology strategy use is over 56% (Table 5.2). The four most common fauxpology strategies used were, from most used: (i) D5: dissociation from events; (ii) D4: alignment with victim; (iii) D9: defense of personality (e.g. 'the behaviour is not like me'); and (iv) D6: professing previous ignorance.

Each of these discursive strategies are used in ways that influence the public's perception of the speaker, in order to incur less damage to the speaker's face. Using language that aligns the offender with the victim positions the speaker as sharing the negative consequences of the events:

- (19) I am beyond horrified to hear his story. (SPACEY, line 2)
- (20) There is nothing about this that I forgive myself for. (CK, line 22)
- (21) The hardest regret to live with is what you've done to hurt someone else. (CK, line 28)
- (22) This story has encouraged me to address other things about my life. (SPACEY, line 8)

In (19), (20) and (21), the speakers present themselves as emotionally affected by the events: they are struggling through this crisis as well. Spacey is "horrified" by Rapp's allegation and C.K. is a victim of regret. Spacey also uses this strategy to change the subject, and present himself as having his negative face imposed upon – a victim of privacy invasion – when he has to "address other things about his life" because he has been "so protective of [his] privacy" (SPACEY, line 10). This is a strategy previously documented by Hargie, Stapleton, & Tourish (2010) that had been employed by banking executives under fire for the 2008/2009 banking crisis. Hargie et al. (2010) found that this strategy allowed the offenders to mitigate their own culpability in the event, and "invite some level of public sympathy" (p. 731). It is used in a similar manner by the celebrities here.

By professing ignorance of their wrongdoing, the offenders again avoid taking full responsibility for their past actions. If C.K. "learned yesterday" (CK, line 13) about the harm he had done to the women he sexually harassed and assaulted, it stands to reason that he could not have been aware of any offense

previously. Likewise, Franken claims that when he “looks at [the photo] *now*” (FRANKEN, line 17, emphasis mine), he feels disgust, but was unaware of the misdeed at the time the photograph was taken.

As discussed in the thematic analysis, each of the offenders expressed respect or admiration for their accusers. This strategy, D9, presents the speaker’s alleged behaviour as an aberration to his personality. Franken states more than once that he respects women and is an ally and supporter of women (FRANKEN, lines 4, 7, 11, 36-37), while Spacey begins his statement by saying that he has “a lot of respect and admiration” for his accuser (SPACEY, line 1). This strategy allows the hearer to cast doubt that the alleged actions of the accused occurred, and infer that the speaker may be innocent, or at the very least, that the offensive act was an anomaly.

The most widely used non-apology strategy was that of dissociation (D5). In Spacey and Franken’s apology statements, they each deny knowledge of the alleged act outright:

- (23) I honestly do not remember the encounter. (SPACEY, lines 2-3)
- (24) I don’t remember the rehearsal for the skit as Leeann does. (FRANKEN, line 29)

This denial removes the accused from the narrative of the event altogether or at least as an intentional offender. Another more subtle distancing strategy that the speakers employ is to use a pronoun or determiner in place of naming the alleged act:

- (25) I want to deal with this open and honestly. (SPACEY, line 13)
- (26) For instance, that picture. (FRANKEN, line 12)
- (27) The hardest regret to live with is what you’ve done. (CK, line 28)

In each of these examples, it is unclear exactly what the speaker is referring to. This allows the hearer to insert their own interpretation of the act, creating an implicature that is not supported by the speaker. In (25), it is even more unclear what Spacey is referring to with “this”, especially in the context of the entire statement. Immediately before this final sentence, Spacey has stated that he

“choose[s] to live as a gay man” (SPACEY, line 13). Therefore, it is ambiguous as to whether “this” refers to the accusation of sexually assaulting a teenager, or to his choice to live openly as a gay man.

The most blatant examples of non-apology discursive strategy use are evident in Spacey’s apology statement. As previously mentioned, Spacey uses no standard apology strategies (Categories A-C), relying solely on alternative strategies. One may wonder how Spacey is able to present this statement as an apology, if it does not include any attested apology strategies. Several examples of apology avoidance have already been discussed in this section, but those strategies are not unique to Spacey’s statement. Unlike the other speakers, Spacey uses a distinct approach in framing his statement – he uses the same strategies one would expect in a true apology, but couches the entire argument in a conditional frame:

- (28) I honestly do not remember the encounter, it would have been over 30 years ago, but if I did behave then as he describes, I owe him the sincerest apology for what would have been deeply inappropriate, drunken behaviour (SPACEY, lines 2-5)

In using this strategy (D10), the speaker relies on the hearer’s familiarity with ‘standard’ apology structures; at first glance, it may look as though Spacey accepts blame (C2), recognizes that Rapp is entitled to an apology (C4), and either expresses self-deficiency (C3) or lack of intent (C5) – all of which are indirect discursive strategies that could carry the illocutionary force of apology. However, because this utterance is in the conditional mood, the semantic truth-values of these expressions are voided; that is to say, the conditional framing cancels out the validity of these discursive strategies.

Furthermore, using strategy E1: non-apologetic explanation of events, Spacey appropriates the ‘apology’ to address rumours that he has “had relationships with both men and women” (SPACEY, lines 11-12), turning the ‘apology’ into a coming-out statement, announcing that he “chooses now to live as a gay man” (SPACEY, line 13). This announcement conflates the accusation of sexual assault of a minor with being homosexual. As mentioned previously, this



change in focus obfuscates the goal of the statement, and makes the meaning of Spacey's next utterance (25) ambiguous.

In these celebrity apologies, we see the first use of Category E: other discursive strategies. These strategies are used to (re)frame a narrative to the speaker's advantage. As discussed in the paragraph above, Spacey utilizes strategy E1 to change the focus of his statement entirely. However, Franken uses one of these strategies more subtly: when he states that "we need to listen to and believe women's experiences" (line 30) and "[these women] deserve to be heard, and believed" (lines 35-36), he aligns himself as a supporter of women, using strategy E3: 'positive' alignment language. In the same way that he disavowed the alleged behaviour – "I respect women. I don't respect men who don't" (line 7) – using language that allows him to positioning himself as an "ally and supporter and champion" (line 4) is a tactic that makes his apology seem more sincere, as the alleged offensive behaviour is so 'uncharacteristic'.

#### **5.4.3 Felicity conditions, evaluated**

In evaluating these case studies with respect to felicity conditions, a number of problems arise. As with corporate apologies, celebrity apologies have issues with the Propositional Content condition and the Sincerity condition, however, they run into difficulty with the two remaining conditions as well.

Corporate apologies did not fit Ogiermann's original Propositional Content condition (2009), because the offensive act was not completed by the speaker directly, but rather by someone for whom the speaker is a recognized agent. This was rectified by adopting the revised felicity conditions laid out by Murphy (2015). The obstacle facing the celebrity apology statements in this chapter is more difficult to resolve. Only C.K. admits to offensive acts he is accused of, as seen in examples (7)-(9), while Spacey and Franken both deny the allegations, in full or part. This denial opposes the Propositional Content condition, which states that there must be an act done by the speaker, and does not fulfill this felicity condition in two of the three case studies presented here.

Murphy's Preparatory condition states that the "speaker believes that the apology recipient, or a contextually relevant third party, believes that the act

was an offense against the recipient” (2015, p. 182). This is often explicitly marked within an apology through discursive strategy C4: recognition of H as entitled to an apology. C.K. and Franken both recognize the accusers or other parties as worthy of an apology, either directly (13, 14) or indirectly:

- (29) [Asking another person to look at your penis] is a predicament for them. (CK, line 8)
- (30) [Forgiving myself] is nothing compared to the task I left them with. (CK, lines 23-24)

For C.K.’s apology statement, this fulfills the Preparatory condition, as he admits to his actions in the Propositional Content condition. The act that Franken admits to – taking an inappropriate photograph – is the same act that he acknowledges is offensive to Tweeden and other women. However, as he does not admit to the second action (forcibly kissing Tweeden), he cannot believe that the act was offense against her. This leaves Franken’s apology in partial fulfillment of the Preparatory condition. As the only recognition of Rapp being entitled to an apology in Spacey’s statement is presented conditionally (28), Spacey’s apology statement does not fulfil this condition.

Ogiermann’s Sincerity condition states that the speaker must regret the offensive act (2009), while Murphy (2015) broadens the scope of this condition to also include the speaker’s regret of one of the consequences of the act. If there has not been an admission that the act occurred, as Spacey and Franken both state that they “do not remember” the alleged assaults, then the speaker cannot regret an act which has not occurred. C.K. states that he “ha[s] been remorseful of [his] actions” (CK, line 11) and that details the regret he feels for the consequences his actions have had on other people; both of these fulfill the Sincerity condition for C.K.’s apology statement. For his part, Franken voices that he is ashamed that “the fact that [his] own actions have given people a good reason to doubt that [he respects women]” (FRANKEN, lines 7-8), illustrating that he regrets a consequence of his actions, even without admitting to the full allegations against him. I would therefore consider Franken’s apology to partially fulfil the revised Sincerity condition. Again, as Spacey’s apology statement does not admit to any wrongdoing or recognize

any possible consequences of the allegation, it does not fulfil the Sincerity condition in either its original or revised form.

The final felicity condition to evaluate is the Essential condition: the utterance counts as an apology (Murphy, 2015; Ogiermann, 2009). It is clear that Spacey's apology statement cannot count as an apology: it does not use any true apology strategies (Categories A-C), and the only possible expression of apology ("I owe him the sincerest apology" [SPACEY, line 4]) is set within a conditional utterance. Furthermore, Spacey's appropriation of the apology statement into a coming-out announcement cements the fact that this statement does not stand as a felicitous apology.

The other two case studies are more difficult to categorize. If we consider only the numbers (Table 5.2), C.K. uses true apology strategies (Categories A-C) 48.15% of the time, and uses Category D fauxpology strategies 51.85% of the time, making the fauxpology strategies used slightly more frequently. Franken uses Categories A-C in over half of his discursive strategies (57.69%), while using Category D strategies accounting for only 34.62% of total use. By these measures, it would seem that C.K.'s statement does not count as an apology, while Franken's statement does. However, we must also consider the speaker's intent in making the statement and the implicature that the hearers can draw from the statement. With respect to the felicity conditions above, Franken has only partially fulfilled all three of them, by denying the allegation that he sexually assaulted Tweeden on the USO tour. Nevertheless, he begins his statement by saying:

- (31) The first thing I want to do is apologize: to Leeann, to everyone else who was part of that tour, to everyone who has worked for me, to everyone I represent, and to everyone who counts on me to be an ally and supporter and champion of women. There's more I want to say, but the first and most important thing—and if it's the only thing you care to hear, that's fine—is: I'm sorry. (FRANKEN, lines 1-6)

These two sentences frame the statement as an apology, and as previously mentioned, utilize two conventional discursive strategies (B3, A1) to do so.

Despite Franken's qualification of blame, there is no doubt that this statement is meant as an apology.

There is no equivalent direct expression of intent in C.K.'s apology statement. As previously discussed, the illocutionary force behind the indirect apology strategy used by C.K., shown in example (5), is weakened – or even negated – by the unusual syntax of the sentence. The intended implicatures generated by (5) and (6), in which C.K. expresses regret for a consequence of his actions, may be cancelled by the hearers if they do not recognize this as an apology, but rather interpret it as another speech act based on the literal interpretation of the verbs used, i.e. an expression of regret. The one utterance that might be most easily construed as an apology, “The hardest regret to live with is what you've done to hurt someone else” (CK, line 28), does not have an agent and does not carry the same meaning as “I regret hurting someone.” C.K. has fulfilled the previous three felicity conditions, by accepting blame for his actions and recognizing the offended parties as entitled to an apology. However, the wide use of non-apology strategies and lack of an explicit IFID expression makes it difficult to determine if this statement does indeed count as an apology. I argue that in this instance, C.K.'s apology statement does not fulfil the Essential condition.

It may seem surprising that one would go through the effort and consequences of publicly apologizing and not succeed in presenting a felicitous apology. One possible reason for the widespread use of non-apology/fauxpology strategies in the celebrity case studies, compared with the other types of public apology, is that the speakers perceive the stakes to be higher: there is more chance of personal loss – to reputation, career, or finances – involved with cases like these. The allegations leveled at public figures in these case studies also carry legal implications, as sexual harassment and assault are crimes (not just moral or ethical violations.) The speakers have a need to protect themselves, while still attempting to preserve face and repair damaged relationships. Kampf (2009) argues:

The use of these tactics allows public figures to withstand avoidance conflicts that are common in contemporary politics of trust, without

losing their face, freedom of future action, or status within the political field or public arena. Moreover, they allow public figures to appear as moral personas who conform to the moral discursive standard that is becoming customary in the age of apology. (p. 2269)

Because fauxpology strategies often mimic true apology strategies, hearers may not immediately recognize that they are listening to a ‘non-apology apology’ and give credit to the speaker for apologizing – possibly forgiving the speaker – which fulfills the speaker’s goal of image repair at a possibly lower social cost.

# Chapter 6

## Historical Political Apologies: Attempting to right Canadian wrongs

### 6.1 Introduction

'Historical political' apologies<sup>1</sup> – when a government apologizes for historic offenses on behalf of a nation – are becoming more common, especially in the Canadian political landscape. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use Murphy's definition of a historical apology: "any apology made by [a current senior member of government] completely unrelated to the offense (in the sense that they were not an actor engaged in committing the offense or part of the government responsible for the action), and which occurs *at least* ten years after the transgression it relates to" (Murphy, 2014, p. 132).

There has been some discussion about the appropriateness and felicity of historical apologies, including in Canada's own history. In 1984, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau was asked to apologize to the Japanese-Canadian internment camp victims of World War II on behalf of the Canadian government. He refused, saying:

There is no way we can relive the history of that period. In that sense, we cannot redress what was done. We can express regret collectively, as we have [already] done ... I do not think it is the purpose of a

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<sup>1</sup> I will use the terms *historical political apology* and *historical apology* interchangeably.

Government to right the past. It cannot rewrite history. It is our purpose to be just in our own time. (Mulroney & Trudeau, 1984, pp. 5307-5308)

This opinion is not one relegated to history (cf. Sumption, 2011 in Murphy, 2014, pp. 295-298), with critics of historical apologies labelling these statements as “virtue-signalling and gesture politics” (Dyer, 2017). However, there seems to be an “almost universal recognition that a society will not be able to successfully pass into the future until it somehow deals with its demons from the past” (Howard-Hassmann & Gibney, 2008, p. 1) and, as an apology has the goal of restoring good relations between the speaker and the offended party, since the 1980s historical apologies have been issued to aid in reconciliation efforts for past transgressions committed by nations.

Before the election of Liberal leader Justin Trudeau as prime minister in 2015, the federal government of Canada had issued five official apologies for its part in harming the members of certain groups: in 1988, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney apologized to the survivors and family of Japanese internment camp victims of World War II; in 2001, Minister of Veteran Affairs Ronald Duhamel apologized<sup>2</sup> for the execution of 23 Canadian soldiers during World War I; in 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized to the Chinese-Canadian community for the “Chinese head tax” implemented between 1885 and 1923; in 2010, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development John Duncan apologized to the Inuit community for forced relocation of Inuit people from Inukjuak to the High Arctic from 1934-1959; and finally, in 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized to the Indigenous peoples of Canada for the government’s role in the residential school system from the 1840s until 1996 (Curry, 2010; Duhamel, 2001; Government of Canada, n.d.-a; Harper, 2006, 2008; The Canadian Press, 2017).

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<sup>2</sup> I include this statement in the list of official federal apologies because it has been reported as such in several major news sources. However, I personally would classify the minister’s statement as a non-apologetic expression of regret:

“To give these 23 soldiers a dignity that is their due and to provide a closure for their families, as the Minister of Veterans Affairs on behalf of the Government of Canada, I wish to express my deep sorrow at their loss of life, not because of what they did or did not do but because they too lie in foreign fields where poppies blow amid the crosses row on row.” (Duhamel, 2001, emphasis mine).

In sharp contrast to his father's 1984 comments, current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has expressed a difference of a opinion on historical political apologies, stating "apologies for things past are important to make sure that we actually understand and know and share and don't repeat those mistakes" (Jessica Murphy, 2018). Since his 2015 election as prime minister, Justin Trudeau has issued four official historical apologies on behalf of the Canadian government and its people<sup>3</sup>: (i) on May 18, 2016 for the 1914 Komagata Maru incident; (ii) on November 24, 2017 to the survivors of the residential schools in Newfoundland and Labrador; (iii) on November 27, 2017 to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, and two-spirit (LGBTQ2) communities for decades of discrimination; and (iv) on March 26, 2018 to the Tsilhqot'in community in British Columbia for the execution of six Indigenous chiefs in 1864 (Bartlett, 2017; Husser, 2016; Office of the Prime Minister, 2017; Tasker, 2018). A fifth historical apology, in which Trudeau will apologize for Canada's refusal to accept the refugees aboard the MS St. Louis in 1939, has been announced but not yet scheduled for performance (Office of the Prime Minister, 2018).

In this chapter, I will present the analysis of two of Trudeau's apologies – those from November 2017. The chapter introduces the context of each of the case studies and then provides an analysis of the major themes within the apologies. Finally, the chapter analyzes the discursive strategies used in each apology with a discussion of adherence to the felicity conditions.

### **6.1.1 Definition of "Canada"**

When Trudeau uses the term "Canada" in the apologies presented in this chapter, he is not referring to the geographical territory that is legally named Canada, but rather the more abstract concept of a nation. This sociological concept is somewhat difficult to define; Smith proposes that an ideal-type nation is "a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture, and common laws and customs for all members" (Smith, 2010, p. 13). While this

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<sup>3</sup> Between his swearing-in as federal leader on November 4, 2015 and the completion of this thesis, at the end of August 2018.



definition is fairly comprehensive, it does not, for example, include the current connotation that a nation is also a political state, as Canada is. For the purpose of this analysis, I will define a nation as ‘an autonomous cultural-political community residing in a common territory that identifies itself as distinct from other communities’. This applies to Trudeau’s use of “Canada” to include the citizens residing within the geographical-political borders of Canada, as well as the democratic government that represents the people.<sup>4</sup>

## 6.2 Context

### 6.2.1 Case Study 1: Trudeau’s apology to the Innu, Inuit, and NunatuKavut peoples

Canada’s colonial history with the Indigenous communities within its borders have often been contentious<sup>5</sup>. The full context of the residential school system in Canada cannot be covered in this thesis, which will focus on the residential schools specifically in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL).

While Newfoundland and Labrador did not become a Canadian province until April 1, 1949, there is a history of religious missionary work in the area dating back to the late eighteenth century. Before the arrival of missionaries, there were three Indigenous peoples in Labrador<sup>6</sup>: the Inuit; the Innu, previously called Montagnais; and the NunatuKavummiut or Southern Inuit, previously called Inuit-Métis (Pastore, 1997). The Moravian Brotherhood, a Protestant missionary group, established the first mission in Labrador in 1771. From that time until 1905, the Moravians established eight missions throughout Labrador, and opened schools for Indigenous children at two of these missions “early on” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015c, pp.

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<sup>4</sup> The concept of ‘nation’, especially within Canada, is more complex than this, as there are many Indigenous nations within the geographical-political borders of Canada. A full discussion of this political sociological concept, and its application to Canada, is outside the scope of this thesis. For a more fulsome description of the concept of ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ see Smith (2010).

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive description of the history between Canada and the Indigenous peoples, especially as it pertains to the residential school system, please see the reports from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015a, 2015b, 2015c)

<sup>6</sup> The Mi’kmaq are the Indigenous people on the island of Newfoundland. As this case study focuses primarily on the communities affected in Labrador, the Innu, Inuit and NunatuKavummiut will be the only groups discussed.

180-181). Because of their work in Greenland, the Moravian missionaries spoke Inuktitut, and so the Inuit students were taught to read and write in Inuktitut; however, the Indigenous cultural practices and traditions were deemed 'heathen' and were forbidden (TRC, 2015c). The International Grenfell Association, previously called the Grenfell Mission, established two orphanages and three schools between 1904 and 1935, in which students were taught only in English (Higgins, 2008; TRC, 2015c). After Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, the language of instruction at all schools was switched to English. These five residential schools, run by missionaries, administered by the NL government and funded by the federal government, continued to operate throughout the 1960s and 1970s, with the last residential school closing in 1980 (Government of Canada, n.d.-b).

The Inuit and Innu students at these residential schools in NL had similar experiences to those of other First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children across Canada. In addition to suffering the loss of their languages and destruction of their cultures, the former students who attended these schools describe being abused psychologically, physically, and sexually. Student accounts of the abuse describe harsh punishments for not eating, beatings (including being thrown down stairs and having rocks thrown at them), neglect and other acts of harm (Nitsman, 2008; TRC, 2015c).

Between 2001 and 2007, the Government of Canada worked together with Indigenous communities and governments "to develop a holistic, fair and lasting resolution of the legacy of Indian Residential Schools" (TRC, 2010). The outcome of this work was the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, which was implemented in September 2007. One of the elements of this Agreement was the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which researches, documents, and preserves the experiences of former students. On June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper spoke in the House of Commons to apologize to residential school survivors and their families for "Canada's role in the Indian Residential School system" and to ask "the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly" (Harper, 2008). While this apology was

“considered by many to be a step towards reconciliation” (TRC, 2010), former students of residential schools in Newfoundland and Labrador were excluded from both the apology and legal settlement. The government of the day argued that because residential schools in NL were established pre-Confederation, these schools had not been the responsibility of the federal government (Dyer, 2017; Nitsman, 2008). As a result of this exclusion, five class-action lawsuits were filed against the government of Canada and other parties with respect to these schools.

Through settlement negotiations, former students of Newfoundland and Labrador’s residential schools “indicated that they were hurt and frustrated by their exclusion from the 2008 Indian Residential Schools Apology given by Prime Minister Harper, and clearly stated that an official apology is essential to their healing and ability to move forward” (Government of Canada, n.d.-b). In August 2017, the Prime Minister’s Office announced that the prime minister would apologize to survivors in Labrador. On November 24, 2017 Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivered an official apology<sup>7</sup> in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, NL (Trudeau, 2017a).

### **6.2.2 Case Study 2: Trudeau’s apology to the LGBTQ2 community**

In the late 1940s, at the end of the Second World War and in response to Cold War threats, Canadian federal public service and defense agencies began conducting background checks on employees under the guise of national security. Many of these civil servants were deemed to have ‘character weaknesses’ or ‘moral failings’, which included homosexuality. Within the Canadian Armed Forces and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), there was a “real concern that gays in the civil service and in the military were security risks, and that they could be blackmailed by the Soviets” (Gardner, 2005). At this point, homosexuality was still a crime – classified as ‘gross indecency’ under the Canadian Criminal Code – and consensual same-sex sexual activity could (and did) result in discrimination, leading to loss of employment and other consequences, including prison sentences.

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<sup>7</sup> Hereinafter referred to as IINK. See Appendix K for full text with coding.

From the 1950s into the 1990s, the Canadian government “undertook a systematic campaign of oppression” against thousands of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, and two-spirit (LGBTQ2) people – or those suspected of being a member of these communities – who were employed by the Canadian federal government (Office of the Prime Minister, 2017). Fired, discharged from military service, or intimidated into resigning from their jobs, these employees were victims of a crusade that became known as “The Purge”, in the name of national security (Office of the Prime Minister, 2017; Tasker, 2017). Those who were not fired faced sanctions, including demotion, denial of opportunities for promotion, denial of financial compensation (benefits, severance, or pensions), forced psychiatric treatment, being labeled as “deviant” or as having a “psychopathic personality with abnormal sexuality”, among other forms of systemic discrimination (Tasker, 2017; “Who, what, when, where, why,” 2018). One of the ways the government sought to identify gay or lesbian individuals was to commission the development of a device that would measure “involuntary biological responses” to determine one’s sexuality (Aske & Pritchard, 2016). Based on the research of Frank Robert Wake, a psychology professor at Carleton University, this device – dubbed the “Fruit Machine” – was used by the military and RCMP until 1967, despite never being able to identify a discernable difference between the responses of homosexual or heterosexual individuals (Aske & Pritchard, 2016). Plainclothes police and RCMP officers staked out known gay venues, and informants were recruited to help identify LGBTQ2 community members; by the late 1960s, the RCMP has collected a database of approximately 9000 suspected homosexual federal workers (Gardner, 2005; Tasker, 2017).

In 1969, homosexuality was removed from the Criminal Code, but the discrimination against LGBTQ2 public service workers persisted, especially within the military, which issued a directive explicitly banning homosexuality in 1976. In 1979, the Canadian Human Rights Commission recommended that sexual orientation be added as prohibited grounds for discrimination under the Canadian Human Rights Act; this recommendation was rejected, and in

1992, the Ontario Court of Appeals ruled that this failure to include sexual orientation in the Act was discriminatory. It was not until 1992 that the Canadian military's ban on LGBTQ2 individuals in the armed forces was lifted ("Trudeau is apologizing to LGBT civil servants: Here's why," 2017).

Calls for an apology from the federal government were first raised in 1998 by activists and researchers. The Liberal government of the day declined to respond, stating that the issue of a response had been dealt with in 1981 (P-SEC Research Group, n.d.). In February 2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau expressed the government's intention to posthumously pardon Everett Klippert, the last Canadian man to be incarcerated for 'gross indecency', along with an estimated 6000 other men convicted of the same or related crimes (Ibbitson, 2016a; Maynard, 2017). Following a report by human rights advocacy group Egale in the summer of 2016, Trudeau announced his acceptance of the report's findings and recommendations, which identified a number of "next steps" for the government to take, including issuing an apology for Canada's history of persecution against LGBTQ2 groups (Egale, 2016, 2017; Ibbitson, 2016b).

Although promised in the summer of 2016, it was not until over a year later that the apology was scheduled to be delivered. Member of Parliament (MP) Randy Boissonnault explained the government "can't apologize until [they] know what's happened", and that the delay was due to ongoing investigations and legal proceedings with class-action suits (Motala, 2017). On November 28, 2017, Trudeau delivered a formal apology<sup>8</sup> in the House of Commons (Trudeau, 2017b).

### **6.3 Thematic Analysis**

The length of these two apologies lends itself well to the development of themes to construct a narrative. While there were obviously differences in the content of the apologies, four themes were carried through both: (i) the

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<sup>8</sup> Hereinafter referred to as LGBTQ2. See Appendix L for full text with coding.

representation of Canada as ‘flawed’, (ii) the representation of Canada as ‘good’, (iii) moving forward together, and (iv) the strength of the survivors.

In each of the apologies, Trudeau aims to strike a balance between depicting Canada as ‘flawed’ and Canada as fundamentally ‘good’. The representation of Canada as a flawed nation is always presented first. More than half of the apology to the Indigenous communities is spent describing the offenses and abuses against the children, families, and communities that were perpetrated or condoned by the Canadian government, which does not portray the government in a positive manner. (Many of these descriptions are presented in the passive voice, without an identified agent – these will be discussed in more detail in section 6.4.2.) More specifically, Trudeau explicitly calls out the deficiencies of Canada as a nation, saying:

- (1) It’s about time we accept responsibility and acknowledge our failings. (IINK, line 116)
- (2) The treatment of Indigenous children in residential schools is a painful chapter of Canada’s history that we must confront. (IINK, lines 132-133)
- (3) Out of shame, out of denial, Canadians and their governments have turned a blind eye on this story because it runs counter to the promise of this country and the ambition of its people. (IINK, lines 136-138)

In saying this, Trudeau recognizes the manner in which Indigenous affairs have been represented in Canada, and acknowledges the cognitive dissonance that many Canadians feel when confronted with the evidence of not only the mistreatment of the children at the residential schools, but also the ongoing impact that the “profound cultural loss” has had on Indigenous communities over generations. He continues,

- (4) It’s time for Canada to acknowledge its history for what it is: flawed, imperfect, and unfinished. (IINK, lines 139-140)

Likewise, in the apology to the LGBTQ2 community, Trudeau uses more than half of the speech to specifically address the wrongs committed against the LGBTQ2 community members by the government and federal agencies. (As in the first apology, this apology also uses passive constructions without an

agent to describe some of the offenses – this will be discussed in more detail in the coming sections.) He represents the nation’s “thinking of the day” as “prejudiced and flawed” (LGBTQ2, lines 86, 89) and admits “we have failed LGBTQ2 people, time and time again” (LGBTQ2, lines 125-126) – stating “we failed you” (LGBTQ2, line 144), “we betrayed you” (LGBTQ2, line 153), and “we were wrong” (LGBTQ2, lines 128, 140, 266) to express the flaws of the nation and its government.

However, toward the end of both of the apologies, Trudeau redirects the narrative to emphasize positive aspects of Canada as the nation, using rhetoric to stir patriotic sentiment in the listeners. The representation of Canada as ‘good’ draws on the characterization of the nation as strong and diverse but united together, with Trudeau stating:

- (5) For all our differences, for all our diversity, we can find love and support in our common humanity. (LGBTQ2, lines 236-237)
- (6) We’re Canadians and we want the very best for each other. (LGBTQ2, line 238)
- (7) Canada gets a little bit stronger every day that we choose to embrace, and to celebrate, who we are in all our uniqueness. (LGBTQ2, lines 253-254)

This sentiment that Canadians are stronger together is echoed in the theme of ‘moving forward together’. With this theme, Trudeau issues a “call to arms” when he enjoins “all Canadians...to shape the future” and “to be better and to do better” (IINK, lines 146-148). In the apology to the Indigenous peoples of Labrador, Trudeau uses two indirect promises in his appeal to move forward (IINK, lines 114, 158), while in the apology to the LGBTQ2 community, he uses promising language (i.e. “will” or “promise”) a total of eleven times in describing how Canadians must work together to move forward (LGBTQ2, lines 188, 190, 190, 220, 222, 223, 226, 227, 240, 241, 267). At times, both of these themes come together in one statement, such as when Trudeau declares that

- (8) Canada will stand tall on the international stage as we proudly advocate for equal rights for LGBTQ2 communities around the world. (LGBTQ2, lines 241-242)

In the final theme, Trudeau calls attention to the strength of the individuals and communities that he addresses in the apologies. He explicitly identifies the courage and strength of the harmed groups (IINK, lines 40, 164-165; LGBTQ2, lines 258, 259, 262), portraying them as “trailblazers who have lived and struggled ... [and] fought so hard” (LGBTQ2, line 258) and praising the “resilience displayed by entire communities” (IINK, line 167). This theme frames the harmed parties as active ‘survivors’ rather than passive ‘victims’. By finishing with these final three themes together, Trudeau is able to shift the focus of the apologies from recalling the negative actions of the government to more positive declarations about the strength and diversity and future of Canada as a nation.

## 6.4 Discursive Strategy Analysis

Historical political apologies are scheduled months or years in advance of their performance and go through several drafts to reach the final version that the public hears. In this way, the historical political apologies presented in this chapter differ from both the corporate and the celebrity apologies studied, which are often hastily composed and made public within hours of an accusation of wrongdoing. By their nature, historical political apologies address offenses that occurred in the past, and the authors of these apologies have time to construct an apology statement carefully, often with input and counsel from the offended parties. In addition to being much longer than the other types of apology – on average, they are approximately 6 times longer than celebrity apologies and 20 times longer than corporate apologies – Trudeau’s apologies are much more stylized than the other types of apology. Due to their length, the historical political apologies make use of many more discursive strategies in their texts (Table 6.1). Another reason for the complexity of historical apologies is that victims of some historical offenses have had to wait decades (or in some cases, centuries) to be acknowledged with



an apology, thus stirring increased negative attitudes and emotions. An offense that did not receive an apology may cause subsequent harm, pain and suffering to its victims, and there is simply more to apologize for.

Before continuing with the analysis of discursive strategies, I need to discuss a lexical issue related to one of the apologies. Trudeau uses two Indigenous languages – Innu-aimun<sup>9</sup> and Inuttut<sup>10</sup> – in his apology to the Indigenous people of Newfoundland and Labrador, as seen in (9).

(9) *Pijâgingilagut*

*Apu ushtutatat*

To all of you – we are sorry. (IINK, lines 58-60, 72-74)

Directly translated<sup>11</sup>, these two phrases mean “We did not do the thing intentionally” (M. MacKenzie, personal communication, July 18-31, 2018; D. Wharram, personal communication, July 18, 2018), which *in English*, has quite a different connotation to it than the English phrase “We are sorry”. However, M. MacKenzie (personal communication, July 31, 2018) suggests that, at least in Innu, this may be the standard form of apology and that traditionally, members of this Indigenous community “did not say that sort of thing.” According to the Online Innu Dictionary, there are verbs for ‘regret’, but these verbs are mainly used for regretting absence (“Regret,” 2013; M. MacKenzie, personal communication, July 31, 2018).

There is evidence that this may be the case in Inuttut as well: according to some, there is no way to explicitly say “I’m sorry” in either Inuttut or Inuktitut (Bhandari, 2017; Matthews, 2018). I could not find any translations of ‘sorry’ or ‘regret’ in an online Inuktitut dictionary with over 4200 words (“English Inuktitut Dictionary online,” n.d.). In a published dictionary of a related Inuit

<sup>9</sup> Innu-aimun, also called Innu, is an Algonquian language spoken by the Innu people in Labrador and northeastern Quebec (Mailhot, Mackenzie, & Oxford, 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Inuttut, also called Inuttitit, is a dialect of Inuktitut (an Inuit language), that is spoken by the Inuit and NunatuKavummiut people of Labrador and NunatuKavut (Nunatsiavut Government, n.d.).

<sup>11</sup> I thank Dr Marguerite MacKenzie and Dr Douglas Wharram, both from the Department of Linguistics at Memorial University of Newfoundland, for their assistance in translating these phrases and their insights into meaning as researchers of Indigenous languages (Innu and Inuktitut respectively). See Appendix N for translations of all Innu and Inuttut words.

language, Inūpiatun, there is an expression for “I’m sorry”: *pisangitchikpiñ*, which literally translates to “I did not mean to do it” (Seiler, 2012). This expression is analogous to the phrase used by Trudeau, *pijâgingilagut*. Like in Innu, Inūpiatun has verbs for ‘regret or feel sorry’, but these verbs are mainly used for regretting missed opportunities, or expressing disappointment or frustration (Seiler, 2012).

M. MacKenzie (personal communication, July 31, 2018) suggests that a verb meaning ‘repent’ may have been more appropriate in the context on this apology; however, she only knows of words to express this in a related language, East Cree. There are no entries for ‘repent’ in the Online Innu Dictionary (Mailhot, MacKenzie, & Junker, 2013), nor in the Inuktitut dictionary (“English Inuktitut Dictionary online,” n.d.). D. Wharram (personal communication, July 18, 2018) opines that the use of a phrase that means “We did not do the thing on purpose” is shameful, especially in current context of apologizing for residential schools, when the government of the day *did* do the offensive acts intentionally. I tend to agree with both Dr. Wharram and Dr. MacKenzie’s opinions that another verb may have been more appropriate, but in the absence of evidence that such a verb exists in the languages used in this apology, I will interpret both of the expressions in (9) to mean “We are sorry” and analyze them as Category A1.

#### 6.4.1 Attested apology strategies

- (10) 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. (LGBTQ2, lines 127-129)

In apologizing to the Indigenous people of Newfoundland and Labrador, Trudeau uses a direct apology statement with an explicit IFID (A1) eleven times, accounting for 12.77% of total discursive strategy use (Table 6.2). When he speaks to the LGBTQ2 community, he uses this discursive strategy fifteen times, for 15.96% of total strategies used. The explicit performative structure is repeated throughout each statement as a rhetorical device; in structuring the apologies this way, Trudeau not only makes the orations more stylistically

elaborate, but he brings the audience's focus back to the explicit performative IFID again and again. For example, during his apology to the LGBTQ2 community, as seen in (10) beginning on line 127, Trudeau repeats "we are sorry" eleven times – twice with an intensifier as seen in LGBTQ2, lines 140 and 153 – each time identifying the act he is apologizing for. This works to make the speech act of apology more sincere because he is not glossing over the details of the offensive acts, but rather bringing attention to the injustices faced by this community and taking responsibility for these injustices. Likewise, in the apology to the Innu, Inuit and NunatuKavut peoples, Trudeau uses the languages of the affected communities to express apology, as seen in (9), which shows sincerity through the effort he took to 'learn' the correct words.

*Table 6.1. Discursive strategies used in historical political apologies*

		IINK	LGBTQ2	Category Total		IINK	LGBTQ2	Category Total
A1	Performative IFID	11	15	<b>27</b>	D1	Statement of willingness to apologize		
A2	Commissive + 'apology' as DO	1			D2	Reference to past apologies	1	
B1	Expression of regret				D3	Expression of regret (fauxpology)		
B2	Request for forgiveness	1	1	<b>2</b>	D4	Alignment with victims		
B3	Statement of desire				D5	Dissociation from events	18	6
B4	Statement of obligation				D6	Professing previous ignorance	3	2
C1	Explanation, account, or excuse	3	1		D7	Hedges, qualification of responsibility	3	3
C2	Acceptance of blame	2	13		D8	Denouncement of behaviour	2	1
C3	Expression of self-deficiency	6	7		D9	Defense: 'not like me'		
C4	Recognition of H as entitled to apology	9	4	<b>63</b>	D10	Conditional acceptance of blame		
C5	Expression of lack of intent				E1	Non-apologetic explanation of events	3	16
C6	Offer/statement of repair/redress	5	9		E2	Nominalization	6	1
C7	Statement of forbearance	1	3		E3	Positive' alignment language	14	7
					E4	Patriotic sentiment	5	5
					<b>TOTAL STRATEGIES USED</b>			
						<b>94</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>188</b>

*Table 6.2. Proportion of strategy types used in historical political apologies*

<i>Category</i>	IINK	LGBTQ2	TOTAL
<i>A</i>	0.13	0.16	0.14
<i>B</i>	0.01	0.01	0.01
<i>C</i>	0.28	0.39	0.34
<i>D</i>	0.29	0.13	0.21
<i>E</i>	0.30	0.31	0.30

The most widely used category of discursive strategies was C: non-conventional indirect formulae, accounting for 34% of the total strategies used in both apologies. However, the distribution of sub-strategies in this category differs between the two apologies (see Table 6.1 for details). In his apology to the LGBTQ2 community, Trudeau (on behalf of the federal government) utters an expression of acceptance of blame (C2) 13 times, while only accepting blame in the apology to the Indigenous communities twice:

- (11) We know that the delay has caused you greater pain and suffering.  
(IINK, line 107)
- (12) It's about time we accept responsibility and acknowledge our failings.  
(IINK, line 116)

The disparity in the use of this strategy between apologies may be for a number of reasons. First, the style of rhetoric used in each apology is different: while both apologies use repetition, the structure of the apology to the LGBTQ2 community is more repetitive, as seen in (13).

- (13) 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.

...

For forcing you to live closeted lives, for rendering you invisible, and for making you feel ashamed –

We are deeply sorry. We were so very wrong. (LGBTQ2, lines 130-140)

Additionally, the federal government is unambiguously responsible for the harm to the LGBTQ2 community. Recall that the Canadian federal government excluded the Indigenous communities of NL from its 2008 apology for residential schools because it did not feel that it was responsible for these five schools established prior to 1949. In apologizing to the Innu, Inuit and NunatuKavummiut, the federal government shares responsibility for the harm with the provincial government, who administered the schools, and the two religious organizations that actually ran the schools. Because of this position, Trudeau may be less willing to express an explicit acceptance of blame on behalf of the government.

Instead of accepting blame (C2), Trudeau uses another discursive strategy in apologizing to the residential school survivors: C4: recognition that the hearer is deserving of an apology. Because of the shared culpability in the harm caused to the former students, this strategy allows Trudeau to express similar sentiments without accepting responsibility for the harm. In fact, the rhetorical structure of (14) is similar to the structure of (13). However, instead of naming an action (which requires an agent), the sentences in (14) identify and focus on the effect on the victim.

- (14) It will not erase the loneliness you have felt; it will not undo the harm you have suffered  
It will not bring back the languages and traditions you have lost.  
It will not take away the isolation and vulnerability you felt when separated from your families, communities and cultures.  
It will not repair the hardships you endured in the years that followed as you struggled to recover from what you experienced in the schools and move forward with your lives. (IINK, lines 118-125)

This strategy is used nine times in the apology to the Indigenous peoples (IINK, lines 7, 103, 112, 113, 117, 118-125, 127), compared with just four times in

the apology to the LGBTQ2 community (LGBTQ2, lines 19, 67-68, 75, 165-167). In each of the apologies, there is an explicit recognition that H is entitled to an apology:

- (15) We are here today to acknowledge a historic wrong. (IINK, line 7)
- (16) Above all, you are innocent. For all your suffering, you deserve justice and you deserve peace. (LGBTQ2, lines 166-167)

In offering repair or redress to the victims (Category C6), there are again differences in the two apologies. Both apologies use this strategy considerably more than the corporate or celebrity apologies discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The main difference between the statement of redress in these historical political apologies is that these apologies have been performed after legal proceedings that resulted in settlement agreements. Therefore, when Trudeau makes reference to the redress promised, he can be more concrete:

- (17) The Newfoundland and Labrador residential schools settlement is an example of reconciliation in action. (IINK, line 160-161)
- (18) The repeal of section 159 of the Criminal Code is working its way through the House. (LGBTQ2, lines 210-211)
- (19) Canadians previously convicted of consensual sexual activity with same-sex partners will have their criminal records permanently destroyed. (LGBTQ2, lines 214-216)
- (20) We reached an Agreement-in-Principle with those involved in the class action lawsuit. (LGBTQ2, lines 218-219)

These statements express legally-agreed-upon actions to be taken, which differ from the more vague promise to “advance on the path of reconciliation together” (IINK, line 159) or “vow to renew our relationship” (IINK, line 174) that appear in the apology to the Innu, Inuit and NunatuKavut peoples. In contrast, even the less defined offers of redress to the LGBTQ2 community identify more specific, if imprecise, actions to be taken, e.g. “continue working with our partners to improve policies and programs” (LGBTQ2, line 209) or “ensure that there are systems in place so that these kinds of hateful practices are a thing of the past” (LGBTQ2, lines 224-225). The difference in the

execution of this discursive strategy is indicative of the complex relationship and extended history that the Indigenous communities and Canadian government share, in relative comparison to that of the LGBTQ2 community.

#### 6.4.2 Non-apology strategies

Perhaps surprisingly, the non-apology strategies (Categories D and E) are used more in these two case studies than are the attested apology strategies, accounting for just over 51% of total discursive strategies used (Table 6.2). However, in contrast to the previous two types of public apology analyzed, the majority of non-apology strategies used in historical political apologies are from Category E, so called ‘other discursive strategies’. These differ from the strategies in Category D, which are apology avoidance or fauxpology strategies, in that Category E strategies do not invalidate an apology but rather allow the speaker to reframe the narrative in some manner. As discussed in Chapter 5, these strategies can be used to manipulate hearers, appealing to emotions through pathos.

Category D strategies make up approximately 20% of the total strategies used in these historical apologies. Of the ‘apology avoidance’ or ‘fauxpology’ strategies utilized in these apologies, the primary strategy was D5: dissociation from events. In Trudeau’s apology to the Indigenous communities, this particular discursive formula was used a total of 18 times, largely to obscure the agent of the verb, as seen in (21-23) below, or to avoid naming or detailing the offensive act, (24-26):

- (21) Children...were taken from their homes. (IINK, line 27)
- (22) Brothers and sisters were separated. They were forced to surrender their personal belongings. (IINK, lines 28-29)
- (23) They were made to feel irrelevant and inferior. (IINK, line 37)
- (24) ...this colonial way of thinking led to practices that caused deep harm. (IINK, lines 22-23)
- (25) The treatment of Indigenous children... (IINK, line 132)
- (26) The history of these residential schools... (IINK, line 144)



Combined with the use of strategy D7: qualification of responsibility, these formulae are likely used for the same reason that C2: acceptance of blame was *not* used: the Canadian federal government under Trudeau does not take full responsibility for the harm suffered by these communities. Trudeau explicitly names the parties he believes to be responsible for these offenses in (27) and further extends responsibility to include all Canadians in (28):

(27) At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Moravian Mission and the International Grenfell Association, with the support of the provincial government, established schools with dormitory residences for Indigenous children in Newfoundland and Labrador. (IINK, lines 8-11)

(28) These are the hard truths we must confront as a society. (IINK, line 51)

Trudeau uses expressions of both dissociation and shared responsibility in his apology to the LGBTQ2 community, although to a much lesser extent. Strategy D5 is primarily used in passive constructions to obscure agency, (29, 30), while D7 is used to qualify the government's actions under historical precedent (31, 32):

(29) Discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities was quickly codified in criminal offences. (LGBTQ2, lines 42-43)

(30) Lives were destroyed. And tragically, lives were lost. (LGBTQ2, line 55)

(31) Since arriving on these shores, settlers to this land brought with them foreign standards of right and wrong. (LGBTQ2, lines 34-35)

(32) Other methods of oppression have been rampant throughout our society for generations. (LGBTQ2, lines 60-61)

With regard to Category E discursive formulae, historical political apologies are distinct from other types of public apology analyzed in this thesis in the quantity and variety of sub-strategies used. Due to the nature of the public performance of historical apologies, the participant structure of this type of apology (Figure 6.1) features many hearer roles. The speaker – in this case, the prime minister – does not address only the offended parties, but also the media and the general public. I would argue that the political nature of this type of apology makes it more likely to be heard by a wider audience and be

part of a more permanent public record than corporate or celebrity apologies. As such, the speaker will want to engage with the public audience (i.e. all Canadian citizens) in addition to the offended parties. The discursive strategies in Category E can emotionally appeal to these listeners, while still sincerely applying to the primary addressees (i.e. offended parties). While there was very limited use of strategies E1 and E3 observed in previous case studies, the two apologies presented in this chapter make wide use of the strategies in this category in general. The most common of these is E3: positive alignment language, followed closely by E1: non-apologetic explanation of events. The third strategy, E4: patriotic sentiment, is unique to this particular type of apology in the case studies analyzed for this thesis.

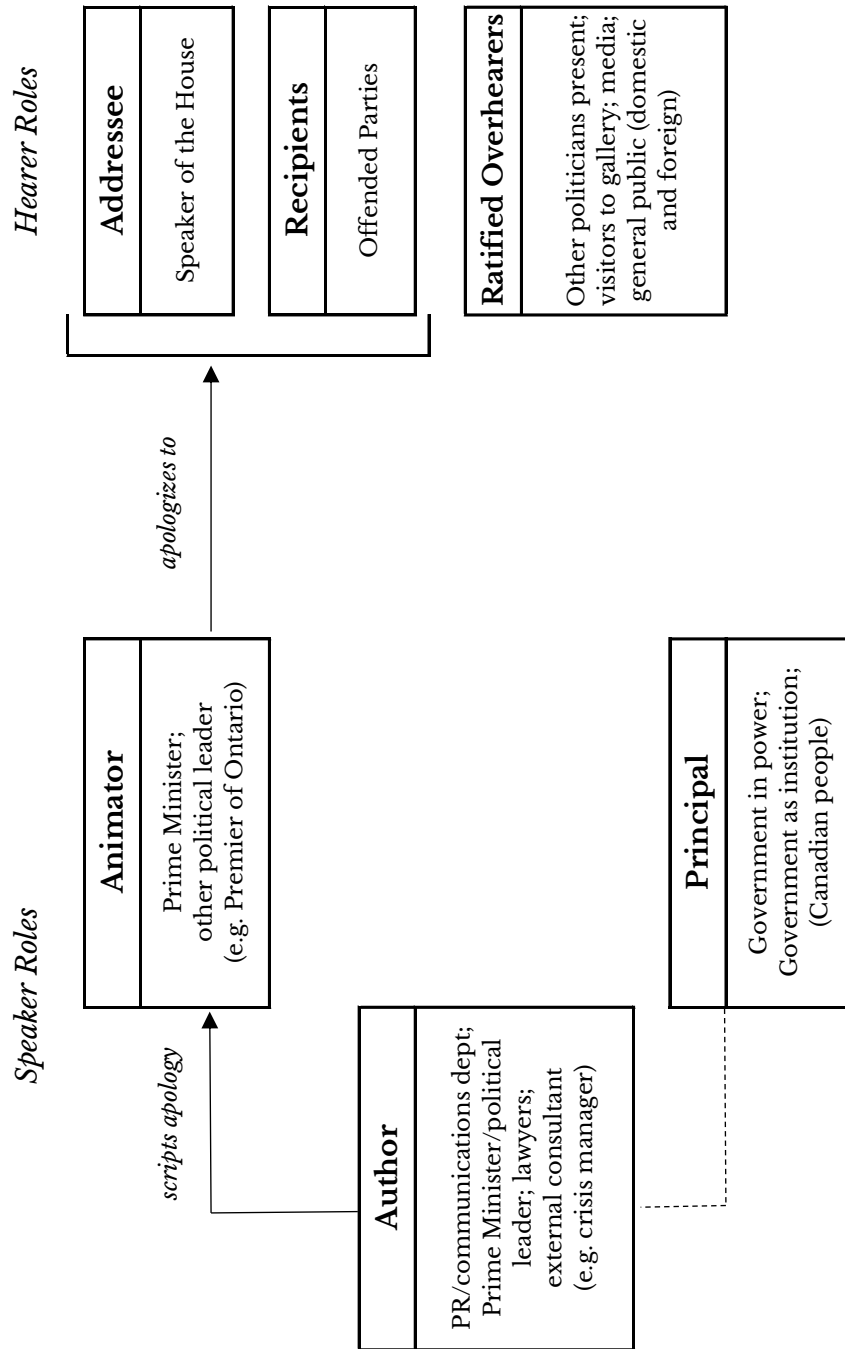


Figure 6.1 Participant structure in historical political apologies

Strategy E1 is used liberally throughout both apologies, when Trudeau gives a description of historical events and the offenses against the victims. In providing the version of events as he desires, Trudeau is able to control the narrative of the statements. In this way, he is able to introduce the themes discussed in section 6.3, giving an explanation of events that matches his intention of representing ‘Canada as flawed’ in a controlled manner. Strategies E3 (e.g. LGBTQ2, lines 162-167) and E4 (e.g. LGBTQ2, lines 236-242) can likewise be used to manipulate the narrative of the apologies, providing support for the themes of ‘Canada as good’, ‘moving forward together’, and ‘survivors as strong’ and bringing the listeners – particularly the general public – together by expressing positive shared goals and values.

One particularly salient way that Trudeau employs strategy E3 to express sincerity in his apology to the Indigenous communities of NL is by using words and phrases from the languages of these communities, as seen with the IFID expression in (9), and by performing a territorial acknowledgement: “I’d like to recognize that we are in the homeland of the Inuit and the Innu” (IINK, lines 5-6). By using language that aligns Trudeau (and by extension, the Canadian government) with the communities he is addressing, Trudeau makes the apology statement more sincere while respecting the cultures and languages that have been harmed through the actions of previous governments.

#### **6.4.3 Felicity conditions, evaluated**

As mentioned in the introduction, there has been some contention about the felicity of historical political apologies. The predominant concern seems to be with the speaker and recipient roles; as we have defined the speaker in a historical apology as someone unrelated to the original offense, this would seem to conflict with the Propositional content condition that the speech act must be used to atone for *a past act done by the speaker* (Ogiermann, 2009). In the same vein, the timeframe for a historical apology sets the speech act of apology at least ten years after the offensive act for which is apologizes, and in some cases much longer than that. This can mean that the original victims of the offense are no longer alive to hear the apology, which contradicts the

Ogiermann's Preparatory condition (2009) that *S believes that A is an offense against H*, as there is no victim to hold the role of H.

Indeed, in the two cases studies analyzed here, there is both a speaker who did not commit the offenses (nor was associated with the government during the time the offenses were committed), as well as many victims who predeceased the performance of apologies. However, these apparent conflicts are allayed through the adoption of the felicity conditions proposed by Murphy (2015). In Murphy's Preparatory content condition, the offense must have been committed by either the speaker himself or by "someone for whom the speaker is a formally recognized representative" (James Murphy, 2015, p. 182). It is obvious that the prime minister of Canada is a formally recognized representative of the federal government and the nation. In this way, both Trudeau's apology to the Innu, Inuit and NunatuKavut peoples and his apology to the LGBTQ2 community felicitously fulfill the Propositional content condition.

With these two apologies, there are both living and deceased victims. The deceased victims are generally represented by surviving family members, many of whom were also affected by the offenses, e.g. through intergenerational transmission of trauma. Murphy's Preparatory condition states that "the speaker believes that the apology recipient or a contextually relevant third party believes that the act was an offense against the recipient *or someone whom the recipient represents*" (James Murphy, 2015, p. 182). This resolves the recipient/hearer issue neatly. Trudeau's apologies specifically address not only the survivors themselves, but also the families, friends, and communities affected by the offenses, as well as mentioning the "many who suffered [who] are no longer alive to hear these words" (LGBTQ2, lines 169-170) and the spirits of the former students who passed away before the apology was issued (IINK, lines 65-69). These apologies easily meet the Preparatory condition laid out by Murphy (2015).

The Sincerity condition proposed by Murphy (2015) is more inclusive than that of Ogiermann (2009), in that it specifies that the "speaker regrets the act or one of its consequences" (James Murphy, 2015, p. 182). In describing the

various wrongs committed by the government and the effects these acts had on the victims, and in expressing regret for these actions, Trudeau satisfies the Sincerity condition in both of the case studies presented here.

Finally the Essential condition states that the utterance counts as an apology for the offense. Despite non-apology strategies (Categories D and E) slightly outweighing the attested apology strategies in total use, these statements both clearly count as apologies. The repeated use of explicit performative IFIDs – 11 times in the apology to the Indigenous communities, 15 times in the apology to the LGBTQ2 community – make the intent of the speech act very clear. While the non-conventional indirect apologies strategies of Category C require the generation of implicatures to count as an apology, the repeated expression “We are sorry” is unambiguous and requires no inference on the part of listeners.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusions

The current study analyzed a selection of contemporary public apologies in North American contexts of discursive and social practices. In this final chapter, I provide a summary of my findings and compare the use of discursive strategies across apology types. I also discuss the importance of participant structures in analyzing public apology. Finally, I consider the limitations of the current thesis and propose avenues of future research.

### 7.1 Summary of findings

#### 7.1.1 Contributions of research

In this thesis, I have endeavoured to describe what makes the speech act of public apology felicitous. To answer this question, I developed a comprehensive analytical framework, defined in Chapter 3, which I used to critically evaluate the discourse strategies used in three different types of public apology: corporate, celebrity, and historical political. In Chapters 4-6, I have shown that public apologies use a combination of both attested 'true' apology strategies and apology avoidance 'fauxpology' strategies. Despite their use of 'fauxpology' discursive formulae, I have presented evidence that many of these public apologies still fulfill the felicity conditions for the performative speech act of apology as defined by Murphy (2015). This study supports these revised felicity conditions by providing evidence from a wider range of public apology types. To aid in my analysis, I constructed a participation framework to describe the roles present in a typical apology for each apology type: corporate, celebrity, and historical political.

### 7.1.2 Comparison across types of public apology

In evaluating the three types of public apology within this thesis, I discovered several differences in the discursive strategy use across types. These differences stem from a number of reasons, which will be discussed in this section.

#### 7.1.2.1 Text lengths across apology type

There were considerable differences in the length of apology statement between types. The average length of a corporate apology analyzed in this study was 6.4 sentences, while the average length of a celebrity apology was 20 sentences. In contrast, the historical political apologies in this study averaged 123 sentences each – approximately twenty times longer than a corporate apology, and around six times longer than a celebrity apology. The difference in length is influenced by the medium of communication used by each type of apology. The written texts are shorter than those texts presented orally. Apologies released on social media (i.e. Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram) are the shortest by virtue of necessity: Twitter has a character limit of 280 characters<sup>1</sup> and even if a user circumvents the character limit by posting an image (viz. Dove\_2, HM\_2, SPACEY), there is still a limit to how much text can fit into said image while remaining legible. The apologies released as statements to the mainstream media (e.g. newspapers or broadcast media) are technically not limited in their length, but those in this study (viz. CK, FRANKEN) were approximately one page long. The spoken texts analyzed for this thesis are the longest: Trudeau's apology to the Indigenous communities was approximately twelve minutes long, while his apology to the LGBTQ2 community was approximately twenty minutes in length<sup>2</sup>.

While the medium of communication influenced the overall length of each apology type, there were other factors that determined the length as well. The corporate apology case studies analyzed here each referred to an advertising

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<sup>1</sup> Twitter increased the character limit of its posts to 280 from 140 on November 7, 2017. Of the four apologies in this study that were released on Twitter, three were posted in October 2017, before the character limit increase.

<sup>2</sup> When converted to written text, these apologies are approximately 3 pages (IINK) and 7 pages (LGBTQ2) in length.



offense, and although racism is a serious subject, the wrongdoings by these companies were relatively minor in comparison to the offenses addressed by the celebrity or historical apologies. The three celebrity apologies studied were in response to allegations of sexual misconduct, and there was more background information addressing the claims, as well as descriptions of personal emotion conveyed through these statements. Likewise, the historical political apologies included detailed historical context to frame the apology, as well as addressing decades of harm. The differing motivations for each type of apology are discussed again when we compare the actual discursive strategy choices (Section 7.1.2.3).

#### 7.1.2.2 *Number of discursive strategies applied*

As may be expected, the differing lengths of the texts impacts the number of discourse formulae used by each apology type. In the case studies analyzed, there was a difference in the average number of discursive strategies used across apology types. Table 7.1, below, shows first the average total number of discourse strategies used in each type of public apology; the second line shows the average of true apology strategies used in each apology type, contrasted with the average number of true apology strategies used in a typical interpersonal apology (Holmes, 1989, 1990).

*Table 7.1. Average number of discourse strategies used per apology type*

	Corporate	Celebrity	Historical Political	Interpersonal
All discourse strategies (i.e. Categories A-E)	10	21	94	--
Attested apology strategies used (Categories A-C <i>only</i> )	6.8	9.33	46	1.66

It is worth noting that there is an appreciable difference in the number of discursive strategies used in public apologies (of any type) as compared to those used in interpersonal apologies (Table 7.1). Counting only the attested apology strategies (Categories A-C), the corporate apologies used an average

of 6.8 strategies per apology, while celebrity apologies used an average of 9.33 strategies, and historical political apologies used 46 strategies. In contrast, two previous studies on naturally occurring interpersonal apologies found that each interpersonal contained approximately 1.66 apology strategies (Holmes, 1989, 1990). This suggests that public apologies are more ‘fulsome’ than interpersonal apologies. Murphy (2015) found that the British parliamentary apologies he studied showed the same tendency (p. 192). In his study, Murphy proposes that “this fulsomeness derives from the lack of uptake for apologies made in Parliament” (Murphy, 2015, p. 193), and I would argue that this extends to all types of public apology. Because a speaker does not receive immediate feedback on a public apology, the speaker must be as comprehensive as possible when preparing and executing a public apology. An explanation for the fulsomeness and complexity of the public apologies may also be found in research on interpersonal apologies: one study found that as the severity of the offense increases, an effective (i.e. successfully accepted) apology must contain more attested discursive formulae; another study suggested that the more apology strategies a speaker used, the more appropriate the apology was perceived to be by recipients (Schlenker & Darby, 1981; Scher & Darley, 1997, both as cited in Hargie, Stapleton, & Tourish, 2010, pp. 723-724).

Interestingly, the ratio of discourse strategies to number of sentences followed an inverse trend: the shorter apologies texts averaged more discursive strategies per sentence than the longer apologies (Table 7.2<sup>3</sup>). Again, this may be accounted for by considering the medium of communication and the offense being addressed; texts released on social media have less detailed contextual background, and therefore tend to use the limited length of the statement to explicitly and concisely apologize using attested strategies. In contrast, the celebrity and historical political apologies in this study tend to address more complex offenses, from both an emotional and historical

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<sup>3</sup> Holmes (1989, 1990) did not provide number of sentences per apology text for her studies, and so a ratio for interpersonal apologies could not be calculated.

standpoint. Therefore, these longer texts include more than just the ‘apology’ or ‘apology avoidance’ discourse strategies found in the corporate apologies.

*Table 7.2. Ratio of discourse strategies per sentence, x :1*

	Corporate	Celebrity	Historical Political
All discourse strategies (i.e. Categories A-E)	1.56	1.05	0.76
Attested apology strategies used (Categories A-C <i>only</i> )	1.06	0.47	0.37

### 7.1.2.3 Discursive strategy use across apology types

Across all three types of public apology, attested apology strategies were used slightly more frequently, accounting for 51% of all discursive strategy use (Table 7.3). While this varied between categories (as discussed in Chapters 4-6), overall true apology strategies were favoured in the expression of public apologies. Each felicitous apology analyzed in this thesis used at least one explicit performative IFID expression, i.e. “I’m sorry” or “I apologize”. As discussed in Section 2.5, indirect utterances (e.g. Category B or C strategies) require a hearer to generate a conversational implicature to arrive at the speaker’s intended meaning. These implicatures may or may not be generated and supported by the hearers of a public apology, and therefore, speakers in these apologies use direct statements that leave no room for ambiguity. Indirect strategies are still commonly used, with Category C: non-conventional indirect apology formulae comprising 37% of total discourse strategies used. These indirect apology strategies – particularly C4: recognition of H as entitled to an apology, C6: offer/statement of repair/redress, and C2: acceptance of blame – are used to support the direct strategies, and as mentioned above, to make the apology more fulsome.

*Table 7.3. Proportion of discursive strategies used by apology type*

Category	Corporate	Celebrity	Historical Political	Total
A <i>Explicit expression of apology</i>	0.08	0.03	0.14	0.11
B <i>Conventional indirect apology formula</i>	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.03
C <i>Non-conventional indirect apology strategy</i>	0.54	0.36	0.34	0.37
D <i>Apology avoidance 'fauxpology' strategy</i>	0.32	0.48	0.21	0.28
E <i>Other non-apology strategy</i>	--	0.08	0.30	0.21

There were noticeable differences in the use of Category D: apology avoidance strategies, and Category E: other non-apology strategies across apology types. While each of the case studies used some sort of fauxpology formula in their apology statements, the particular sub-strategies employed in each apology were different depending on the goal of that apology. While all types of apology ultimately want to repair damaged relationships, other motivations influence the choice of discourse strategy selected. For example, corporate and celebrity apologies are often composed and released quickly as a means of 'damage control' in response to a specific crisis; these apologies are concerned with saving face for the speaker/principal and mitigating loss, as well as navigating potential legal liability issues. Jaime Watt, executive chairman of crisis management firm Navigator, explains that companies often "have to say sorry before they're ready... before they have all the facts, before they've done all the analytics, before they've assessed how they would normally assess the situation" and acknowledges the risk of apologizing without a comprehensive understanding of the entire situation, but says "it's a bigger risk to delay" (Buckner, 2018). Rushing to issue an apology leaves little time to compose a well thought out response in conjunction with public relations teams, crisis managers (apology consultants), and lawyers. In the case studies analyzed for this thesis, corporate and celebrity apologies used far fewer explicit IFID statements (Category A) and more apology avoidance strategies (Category D). In particular, these types of apology were more likely to use defensive

expressions (D9), e.g. presenting the offensive act as ‘out of character’, and present the speaker/principal as yet another victimized party, to align themselves with the primary victim of the offense (D4).

Historical political apologies, on the other hand, are planned months in advance of their performance and “are frequently based on consensus rather than emanating from division... and are usually the subject of agreement across the political divide” (Murphy, 2014, p. 128). These apologies have the lofty goal of fostering reconciliation between a nation and an historically wronged group. As such, the apology avoidance strategies used in historical apologies are centred around previous ignorance of wrongdoing (D6) and qualification of responsibility (D7). As discussed in Chapter 6, this qualification of responsibility may be warranted as the government making the apology may not have been wholly responsible for the harm done.

Shared between all three apology types is the use of dissociative language to distance the speaker from the offense (D5). This often occurs when a speaker uses a passive construction without naming an agent. There are two reasons for these constructions in a public apology: (i) it can be difficult to identify a specific perpetrator responsible for the offense, especially in corporate or historical apologies; and (ii) it allows for the generation of implicatures in favour of the offender – if there is no agent specified, the hearer may infer an agent but this inference is not supported by the speaker. This is also evident in the use of the verb ‘to happen’, which deflects agency by implying the events were outside of the speaker’s control<sup>4</sup>.

Interestingly, there was a category of discursive formulae that was largely avoided in all of the case studies, accounting for approximately 3% of total strategy use. Category B, conventional indirect apology strategies, were used sparingly across the three types of public apology. Based on the pattern of use, sub-strategies B1: expression of regret (e.g. “We regret the offense it caused”), B3: statement of desire (e.g. “I would like to apologize”), and B4: statement of obligation (e.g. “I must apologize”) were likely avoided in favour of direct

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<sup>4</sup> See Hargie et al. (2010) for further analysis of dissociation in public apology statements.

apology statements from Category A. I would suggest that the remaining sub-strategy, B2: request for forgiveness, was avoided for two reasons. First, asking for forgiveness imposes on the hearer, threatening his negative face (see Table 2.1). Second, an apology is usually understood to be a face-threatening act to the speaker, as she is acknowledging responsibility for an offense. To directly ask for forgiveness is to open oneself to a further FTA, if the hearer rejects the apology; it also presents the speaker as weak, and this characterization can be damaging to a public figure or entity.

The data from this study suggests that apologies with more time to prepare and less legal liability use more explicit apology strategies and fewer apology avoidance strategies. Overall, the combination of discursive formulae from all categories used in public apologies allows the speaker to attempt to define the apology in a less damaging manner and control the narrative presented in the apology. The use of fauxpology strategies does not negate the felicity of a public apology, provided other true apology strategies are used in an appropriate manner.

### **7.1.3 Participant structures**

The role participant structures play in the construction of public apologies has been discussed briefly in this work (see Table 2.4; Figures 2.1, 4.3, 5.3, and 6.1). The nature of the participant structures in these types of public apology has not been previously explored<sup>5</sup>, and in defining these structures, we can more fully understand why some discursive strategies are favoured over others in these apologies.

The complex participant structure of a typical public apology requires considerations of roles taken for granted in a typical interpersonal apology. For each of the types of public apology in this thesis, there are multiple roles on the side of speaker and the side of the hearer. With regard to speaker roles, the potential for disconnect between the principal, the offender, and the animator/speaker has been shown to influence the perceived felicity of the

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<sup>5</sup> But see Murphy (2015) for his analysis of the participation structure of parliamentary apology in the British House of Commons.

apology, especially when evaluated using the previously accepted set of felicity conditions (i.e. Ogiermann, 2009). In fact, I argue that in order for a public apology to be felicitous based the definition of a speaker, we must adopt Murphy's extended felicity conditions (2015).

The multiple hearer roles affect the success of the discursive strategies chosen. By definition, a public apology is made to an audience in the public sphere, and as such, there are many hearers: offended parties are only one of these groups. Choosing to use an indirect apology strategy (i.e. those from Category B or C) can lead to issues with hearers not accessing or ignoring the speaker's intended meaning, intentionally or otherwise. There is evidence that speakers use the ambiguity of indirect apology strategies (and the inferences they generate) to potentially save face by passing off a distinct speech act as an apology; recall that both Condoleezza Rice and Pierre Trudeau reported "expressing regret" for political actions. In an interpersonal apology, an expression of regret has traditionally been categorized as a typical performative expression of apology (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). However, neither Rice nor Trudeau intended for their statements to perform the speech act of apology. In this way, having an understanding of the hearer roles in public apologies can allow speakers to construct more felicitous apologies, and allow researchers to more comprehensively analyze these types of apology.

## **7.2 Future work**

I acknowledge that there are many limitations on the current study, not least of them being the size of the data set analyzed. In selecting two to three case studies per apology type, I cannot say that the results of this study are representative of public apologies overall. One avenue of future research may be to undertake a more comprehensive corpus analysis of public apologies; this would likely necessitate a different methodology from the critical discursive and thematic analyses presented in this thesis.

Many people have shared interesting public apologies with me throughout the course of my study. Many of these apologies were international, and therefore outside the scope of this thesis. As previously explained in Chapter 2, the case studies analyzed for this thesis are contemporary apologies by public figures in Canada and the United States of America. Other scholars (e.g. Kampf, 2009; Kampf & Löwenheim, 2012) have studied public apology in a more global context, but as far as I know, none have specifically considered the discourse strategies and linguistic forms of the utterances in public apologies in a cross-cultural context and the possibility of their misinterpretation. This is a broad area for study that may be explored in future work.

Finally, I acknowledge that I have only evaluated the felicity of the case studies selected here strictly in terms of adherence to specific linguistic criteria, in isolation from external evaluations of success/felicity (the Social Practice level of analysis as defined by Fairclough, Figure 3.1). In public discourse, there are many instances when the media labels a speech act as an “apology” without including the text of the statement. In doing so, offenders may “get credit” for apologizing when the discursive analysis of the text does not support this evaluation. Additionally, reactions to public apologies from the general public are readily available on Twitter and news media sites. Further studies may be conducted to examine public uptake/response of public apologies, as well as to analyze representation of public apologies in the mainstream media and the effect of these representations on the perceived success of said apologies.



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# APPENDIX A

**APOLOGY: DOVE\_1**

**DATE: 7 OCTOBER 2017**

- 1 An image we recently posted on Facebook missed the mark in  
D5
- 2 representing women of color thoughtfully.  
C5
- 3 We deeply regret the offense it caused.  
B1 D5

# APPENDIX B

**APOLOGY: DOVE\_2**

**DATE: 9 OCTOBER 2017**

- 1 As a part of a campaign for Dove body wash, a 3-second video
- 2 clip was posted to the US Facebook page which featured three
- 3 women of different ethnicities, each removing a t-shirt to reveal
- 4 the next woman.  
E1
- 5 The short video was intended to convey that Dove body wash is
- 6 for every woman and be a celebration of diversity, but we got it  
C1 C2
- 7 wrong. It did not represent the diversity of real beauty which is  
D8
- 8 something Dove is passionate about and is core to our beliefs,  
D9
- 9 and it should not have happened.  
D5
- 10 We have removed the post and have not published any  
C6
- 11 other related content.



12 This should not have happened and we are re-evaluating our  
D5 C6

13 internal processes for creating and approving content to  
C7

14 prevent us making this type of mistake in the future.

15 We apologize deeply and sincerely for the offense that is has  
A1 D5

16 caused and do not condone any activity or imagery that insults  
D8

17 any audience.

# APPENDIX C

**APOLOGY: HM\_1**

**DATE: 8 JANUARY 2018**

- 1 We sincerely apologize for offending people with this image of a  
A1
- 2 printed hooded top.
- 3 The image has been removed from all online channels and the
- 4 product will not be for sale in the United States.  
C6

# APPENDIX D

**APOLOGY: HM\_2**

**DATE: 9 JANUARY 2018**

1 We understand that many people are upset about the image of

2 the children's hoodie. We, who work at H&M, can only agree.

C4

3 We're deeply sorry that the picture was taken, and we also

A1

B1

4 regret the actual print. Therefore, we've not only removed the

C6

5 image from our channels, but also the garment from our

6 product offering.

7 It's obvious that our routines haven't been followed properly.

C1

D5

8 This is without any doubt. We'll thoroughly investigate why this

C6

9 happened to prevent this type of mistake from happening

D5

C7

D5

10 again.

# APPENDIX E

**APOLOGY: HM\_3**

**DATE: 10 JANUARY 2018**

- 1 To all customers, staff, media, stakeholders, partners, suppliers,  
[explicit ID of addressees, recipients]
- 2 friends and critics.
- 3 We would like to put on record our position in relation to the image
- 4 and promotion of a children's sweater, and the ensuing  
E1
- 5 response and criticism.
- 6 Our position is simple and unequivocal — we have got this wrong  
C2
- 7 and we are deeply sorry.  
A1
- 8 H&M is fully committed to playing its part in addressing society's  
D9
- 9 issues and problems, whether it's diversity, working conditions
- 10 or environmental protection — and many others.
- 11 Our standards are high and we feel that we have made real progress  
D9
- 12 over the years in playing our part in promoting diversity and inclusion.

- 13 But we clearly haven't come far enough.  
C3
- 14 We agree with all the criticism that this has generated — we have  
C4
- 15 got this wrong and we agree that, even if unintentional, passive  
C2 C4
- 16 or casual racism needs to be eradicated wherever it exists.  
D8
- 17 We appreciate the support of those who have seen that our product
- 18 and promotion were not intended to cause offence but, as a global  
C5 D4
- 19 brand, we have a responsibility to be aware of and attuned to all  
C2
- 20 racial and cultural sensitivities — and we have not lived up to this
- 21 responsibility this time.  
C3
- 22 This incident is accidental in nature, but this doesn't mean we don't  
C5
- 23 take it extremely seriously or understand the upset and discomfort  
C2
- 24 it has caused.
- 25 We have taken down the image and we have removed the garment  
C6
- 26 in question from sale. It will be recycled.  
C6

- 27 We will now be doing everything we possibly can to prevent this  
C6 (VAGUE)
- 28 from happening again in future.  
C7
- 29 Racism and bias in any shape or form, conscious or unconscious,  
30 deliberate or accidental, are simply unacceptable and need to be  
D8
- 31 eradicated from society. In this instance we have not been sensitive  
C3 C5
- 32 enough to this agenda. Please accept our humble apologies.  
B2

# APPENDIX F

*Table 4.3. Full Table of Discursive Strategies used in Corporate Apologies*

Broad Category	Sub-category (Individual strategy)	Dove_1	Dove_2	HM_1	HM_2	HM_3	TOTAL
Explicit expressions of apology	A1 <i>Performative IFID</i>		1	1	1	1	4
	A2 <i>Commissive + 'apology' as direct object</i>						0
Conventional indirect apology formula	B1 <i>Expression of regret</i>	1			1		2
	B2 <i>Request for forgiveness</i>					1	1
	B3 <i>Statement of desire</i>						0
	B4 <i>Statement of obligation</i>						0
Non-conventional indirect apology strategy	C1 <i>Explanation, account, or excuse</i>		1		1		2
	C2 <i>Acceptance of blame</i>		1		1	3	5
	C3 <i>Expression of self-deficiency</i>					3	3
	C4 <i>Recognition of H as entitled to apology</i>				1	2	3
	C5 <i>Expression of lack of intent</i>	1				3	4
	C6 <i>Offer/statement of repair/redress</i>		2	1	2	2	7
	C7 <i>Statement of forbearance</i>		1		1	1	3
Apology avoidance (fauxpology) strategy	D1 <i>Statement of willingness to apologize</i>						0
	D2 <i>Reference to past apologies</i>						0
	D3 <i>Expression of regret (fauxpology)</i>						0
	D4 <i>Alignment with victims</i>					1	1
	D5 <i>Dissociation from events</i>	2	3		3		8
	D6 <i>Professing previous ignorance</i>						0
	D7 <i>Hedges, qualification of responsibility</i>						0
	D8 <i>Denouncement of behaviour</i>		2			2	4
	D9 <i>Defense: 'not like me'</i>		1			2	3
	D10 <i>Conditional acceptance of blame</i>						0
Other discursive strategy	E1 <i>Non-apologetic explanation of events</i>		1			1	2
	E2 <i>Nominalization</i>						0
	E3 <i>'Positive' alignment language</i>						0
	E4 <i>Patriotic sentiment</i>						0
TOTAL STRATEGIES USED		4	13	2	11	22	52

# APPENDIX G

## APOLOGY: SPACEY

DATE: 30 OCTOBER 2017

- 1 I have a lot of respect and admiration for Anthony Rapp as an actor.  
D9
- 2 I'm beyond horrified to hear his story. I honestly do not remember  
D4 D5
- 3 the encounter, it would have been over 30 years ago, but if I did  
D10
- 4 behave then as he describes, I owe him the sincerest apology for  
D10 (ALMOST D1, BUT CONDITIONAL)
- 5 what would have been deeply inappropriate drunken behavior, and  
D5 (ALMOST D8, BUT CONDITIONAL)
- 6 I am sorry for the feelings he describes having carried with him  
D3
- 7 all these years.
- 8 This story has encouraged me to address other things about my life.  
D4
- 9 I know that there are stories out there about me and that some have  
10 been fueled by the fact that I have been so protective of my privacy.  
E1
- 11 As those closest to me know, in my life I have had relationships  
E1



12 with both men and women. I have loved and had romantic encounters  
E1

13 with men throughout my life, and I choose now to live as a gay man.  
DEFLECTION

14 I want to deal with this honestly and openly and that starts with  
D5

15 examining my own behavior.  
OPT-OUT

# APPENDIX H

**APOLOGY: CK**

DATE: 10 NOVEMBER 2017

- 1 I want to address the stories told to the New York Times by five  
2 women named Abby, Rebecca, Dana, Julia who felt able to name  
[women not addressees or recipients]  
3 themselves and one who did not.
- 4 These stories are true. At the time, I said to myself that what I did  
C2 D6  
5 was okay because I never showed a woman my dick without asking  
D9  
6 first, which is also true. But what I learned later in life, too late, is  
D6  
7 that when you have power over another person, asking them to  
8 look at your dick isn't a question. It's a predicament for them. The  
C4? (WEAK)  
9 power I had over these women is that they admired me. And I  
10 wielded that power irresponsibly.  
C2  
11 I have been remorseful of my actions. And I've tried to learn from  
D5 B1 D4

- 12 them. And run from them. Now I'm aware of the extent of the  
D6
- 13 impact of my actions. I learned yesterday the extent to which I left  
D6
- 14 these women who admired me feeling badly about themselves and
- 15 cautious around other men who would never have put them in that
- 16 position. I also took advantage of the fact that I was widely admired  
C2
- 17 in my and their community, which disabled them from sharing their
- 18 story and brought hardship to them when they tried because people
- 19 who look up to me didn't want to hear it. I didn't think that I was  
C5
- 20 doing any of that because my position allowed me not to think  
C1
- 21 about it.
- 22 There is nothing about this that I forgive myself for. And I have to  
D4
- 23 reconcile it with who I am. Which is nothing compared to the task  
D4
- 24 I left them with.  
C4
- 25 I wish I had reacted to their admiration of me by being a good  
C5
- 26 example to them as a man and given them some guidance as a

27 comedian, including because I admired their work.

28 The hardest regret to live with is what you've done to hurt someone  
D5 D4

29 else. And I can hardly wrap my head around the scope of hurt I

30 brought on them. I'd be remiss to exclude the hurt that I've brought  
[

31 on people who I work with and have worked with who's [sic]

32 professional and personal lives have been impacted by all of this,  
C2

33 including projects currently in production: the cast and crew of

34 Better Things,' Baskets,' 'The Cops,' 'One Mississippi,' and 'I Love

35 You Daddy.' I deeply regret that this has brought negative attention  
] B1 D5

36 to my manager Dave Becky who only tried to mediate a situation  
D5

37 that I caused. I've brought anguish and hardship to the people at  
C2

38 FX who have given me so much The Orchard who took a chance

39 on my movie and every other entity that has bet on me through

40 the years. I've brought pain to my family, my friends, my children  
D5 C2

41 and their mother. I have spent my long and lucky career talking and

- 42 saying anything I want. I will now step back and take a long time  
C6 (VAGUE)
- 43 to listen. Thank you for reading.

# APPENDIX I

## APOLOGY: FRANKEN

DATE: 16 NOVEMBER 2017

- 1 The first thing I want to do is apologize: to Leeann, to everyone  
B3
- 2 else who was part of that tour, to everyone who has worked for me,  
3 to everyone I represent, and to everyone who counts on me to be  
4 an ally and supporter and champion of women.  
[EXPLICIT NAMING OF ADDRESSEES/RECIPIENTS]
- 5 There's more I want to say, but the first and most important thing —  
6 and if it's the only thing you care to hear, that's fine—is: I'm sorry.  
A1
- 7 I respect women. I don't respect men who don't. And the fact that  
D9 D9
- 8 my own actions have given people a good reason to doubt that  
9 makes me feel ashamed.  
C3
- 10 But I want to say something else, too. Over the last few months,  
11 all of us — including and especially men who respect women —  
12 have been forced to take a good, hard look at our own actions and

- 13 think (perhaps, shamefully, for the first time) about how those  
D4
- 14 actions have affected women.
- 15 For instance, that picture. I don't know what was in my head when  
D5 (WHAT PIC?) C5
- 16 I took that picture, and it doesn't matter. There's no excuse. I look  
C2
- 17 at it now and I feel disgusted with myself. It isn't funny. It's  
D6 C3 D8
- 18 completely inappropriate. It's obvious how Leeann would feel  
D8 C4
- 19 violated by that picture. And, what's more, I can see how millions  
C4 C4
- 20 of other women would feel violated by it — women who have had
- 21 similar experiences in their own lives, women who fear having those
- 22 experiences, women who look up to me, women who have counted
- 23 on me.
- 24 Coming from the world of comedy, I've told and written a lot of  
[ C1
- 25 jokes that I once thought were funny but later came to realize were
- 26 just plain offensive. But the intentions behind my actions aren't the  
] C5

27 point at all. It's the impact these jokes had on others that matters.

C4

28 And I'm sorry it's taken me so long to come to terms with that.

A1

29 While I don't remember the rehearsal for the skit as Leeann does,

D9

30 I understand why we need to listen to and believe women's

E3

31 experiences.

32 I am asking that an ethics investigation be undertaken, and I will

C6

33 gladly cooperate. And the truth is, what people think of me in light of

34 this is far less important than what people think of women who

35 continue to come forward to tell their stories. They deserve to be

36 heard, and believed. And they deserve to know that I am their ally

E3

D9

37 and supporter. I have let them down and am committed to making

C2

C6 (VAGUE)

38 it up to them.



# APPENDIX J

## APOLOGY: TRUDEAU TO INNU, INUIT, AND NUNATUKAVUT PEOPLES

DATE: 24 NOVEMBER 2017

1 *Kuei,*  
E3

2 *Atelehai.*  
E3

3 Hello everyone.

4 Thank you all for being here.

5 Before we begin, I'd like recognize that we are in the homeland of  
E3

6 the Inuit and Innu.

7 We are here today to acknowledge a historic wrong.  
C4

8 At the turn of the 20th century, the Moravian Mission and the

9 International Grenfell Association, with the support of the provincial  
D7

10 government, established schools with dormitory residences for

11 Indigenous children in Newfoundland and Labrador.

- 12 Five residential schools were built and operated with the stated  
E1
- 13 purpose of providing education.
- 14 To Innu, Inuit, and NunatuKavut children, those who ran the schools
- 15 promised better jobs, better opportunities, and a better life.
- 16 And to their parents, they promised that their children would be cared  
17 for and provided for.
- 18 They promised that their children would be safe at the Lockwood
- 19 School in Cartwright, Makkovik Boarding School, the Nain Boarding
- 20 School, the St. Anthony Orphanage and Boarding School, and the
- 21 Yale School.
- 22 However, we know today that this colonial way of thinking led to  
D6
- 23 practices that caused deep harm.  
D5
- 24 Children who came from the communities of Black Tickle, Cartwright,
- 25 Goose Bay, Hopedale, Makkovik, Nain, Natuashish, Northwest River,
- 26 Postville, Rigolet and other parts of Newfoundland and Labrador

- 27 were taken from their homes.  
D5 (PASSIVE)
- 28 Upon arrival, brothers and sisters were separated. They were forced  
D5 (PASSIVE) D5
- 29 to surrender their personal belongings, cut their hair, and comply
- 30 with a strict set of rules – dictated by people who were perfect  
E1
- 31 strangers.
- 32 This marked the beginning of a new life for them – a life they had not
- 33 chosen, enforced by strange faces.
- 34 Punished for speaking their language, prohibited from practicing their  
[ D5
- 35 culture, the children were isolated from their families, uprooted from
- 36 their communities, and stripped of their identity.  
]
- 37 They were made to feel irrelevant and inferior.  
D5
- 38 They were taught to be ashamed of who they were, of where they  
D5
- 39 were from.
- 40 We know this because of the exceptional courage and strength of

- 41 survivors, and other former students, who came forward and shared  
[CHANGE IN TERMS FROM 2008 APOLOGY]
- 42 their stories.
- 43 Because of them, we now know the truth about the abuse students  
D6 E2
- 44 suffered and the trauma they endured.
- 45 Many were sorely neglected, and not properly fed, clothed, or  
D5
- 46 housed.
- 47 Others suffered physical, psychological, and sexual abuse.  
E2
- 48 All were deprived of the love and care of their parents, families,  
D5
- 49 and communities.
- 50 These are the hard truths that are part of Canada's history.  
C3
- 51 These are the hard truths we must confront as a society.  
D7
- 52 Today, I humbly stand before you to offer a long overdue apology to  
A2
- 53 the former students of the Lockwood School in Cartwright, the
- 54 Makkovik Boarding School, the Nain Boarding School, the St.
- 55 Anthony Orphanage and Boarding School and the Yale School in



- 71 legacy of these schools:
- 72 *Pijâgingilagut*  
E3 A1
- 73 *Apu ushtutatat*  
E3 A1
- 74 To all of you – we are sorry.  
A1
- 75 Children who returned from traumatic experiences in these schools
- 76 turned to their families and communities for support only to find that
- 77 their practices, cultures, and traditions had, in their absence, been
- 78 eroded by colonialism.  
C1
- 79 They returned to parents who had also been treated with a profound
- 80 lack of respect, and to neighbors who had endured discrimination  
C1
- 81 and racism.
- 82 This is the climate in which students returned to their communities.
- 83 This is the climate that was perpetuated for too long.  
D5
- 84 The consequences of colonialism have been felt far beyond the  
[ D5 ]

- 85 walls of these schools – consequences that persist from generation
- 86 to generation and that continue to be felt today.
- 87 For far too many students, profound cultural loss led to poverty,
- 88 family violence, substance abuse, and community breakdown. It led
- 89 to mental and physical health issues that have impeded their
- 90 happiness and that of their family.
- 91 Far too many continue to face adversity today as a result of time
- 92 spent in residential schools and for that we are sorry.  
A1
- 93 We are sorry for the misguided belief that Indigenous children could  
A1 D5 E2
- 94 only be properly provided for, cared for, or educated if they were
- 95 separated from the influence of their families, traditions, and cultures.
- 96 We are sorry for a time when Indigenous cultures were undervalued  
A1 D5 D6 E2
- 97 – when Indigenous languages, spiritual beliefs, and ways of life were  
D5
- 98 falsely deemed to be inferior.
- 99 This kind of thinking – the kind of thinking that led to the

- 100 establishment of the residential school system and left deep scars
- 101 for so many – has no place in our society.  
D8
- 102 It was unacceptable then, and it is unacceptable now.  
D8
- 103 For too long, Canada has let you carry this burden alone.  
C4
- 104 In 2008, the Government of Canada issued an official apology to the  
D7 D2
- 105 former students of Indian Residential Schools, but they failed to tell  
C3
- 106 your story.
- 107 We know that the delay has caused you greater pain and suffering.  
C2
- 108 The absence of an apology recognizing your experiences has been  
D5 E2
- 109 an impediment to healing and reconciliation.
- 110 After years of feeling the sting of exclusion in residential schools,
- 111 after decades of feeling like you were left behind, I can only imagine  
C4
- 112 the devastation you must have felt in that moment of omission. We  
C4
- 113 acknowledge the hurt and pain this has caused you – and we assure



- 114 you that your experiences will never be forgotten.  
E3
- 115 It's about time we make things right.  
C6 (VAGUE)
- 116 It's about time we accept responsibility and acknowledge our failings.  
ALMOST C2, BUT NOT ACTUAL ACCEPTANCE
- 117 Saying that we are sorry today is not enough.  
C4
- 118 It will not erase the loneliness you have felt; it will not undo the harm
- 119 you have suffered.
- 120 It will not bring back the languages and traditions you have lost.  
C4
- 121 It will not take away the isolation and vulnerability you felt when
- 122 separated from your families, communities and cultures.  
C4
- 123 It will not repair the hardships you endured in the years that followed
- 124 as you struggled to recover from what you experienced in the  
C4
- 125 schools and move forward with your lives.
- 126 But today I'm here to tell you, on behalf of the Government of
- 127 Canada and of all Canadians, that this burden is one you no longer  
C4
- 128 have to carry alone.

- 129 It is my sincere hope that you can finally get some closure – that you
- 130 can put your inner child to rest.
- 131 That you can finally begin to heal.
- 132 The treatment of Indigenous children in residential schools is a  
E2 D5
- 133 painful chapter of Canada’s history that we must confront.
- 134 For too long, it’s a chapter we chose to skip; a chapter we chose to  
C3
- 135 leave out of our textbooks.
- 136 Out of shame, out of denial, Canadians and their governments have
- 137 turned a blind eye on this story because it runs counter to the  
C3
- 138 promise of this country and the ambition of its people.
- 139 It’s time for Canada to acknowledge its history for what it is: flawed,  
C3
- 140 imperfect, and unfinished.
- 141 It’s time for us to recognize our failings in tandem with our  
C3
- 142 successes, and live up to our principles we cherish and ideals we  
E4
- 143 hold.

- 144 And while the history of these residential schools can never be  
D5
- 145 forgotten, we cannot let it define our future.
- 146 All Canadians possess the ability to learn from the past and shape  
E4
- 147 the future.
- 148 All Canadians have the power to be better and to do better.  
E4
- 149 That is the path to reconciliation.
- 150 We have an opportunity to rebuild our relationship, based on the
- 151 recognition of your rights, respect, cooperation, partnership,  
C6
- 152 and trust.
- 153 Reconciliation between the Government of Canada and Indigenous  
E1
- 154 peoples – and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples – is
- 155 an ongoing process.
- 156 We know that it won't happen overnight.
- 157 But it is my hope that in apologizing today – in acknowledging the

- 158 past and asking for forgiveness – that as a country, we will continue  
B2 E3
- 159 to advance on the path of reconciliation together.  
C6
- 160 The Newfoundland and Labrador residential schools settlement is an  
C6
- 161 example of reconciliation in action, a settlement with healing and
- 162 commemoration at its core.
- 163 All Canadians have much to learn not only from the hardship former
- 164 students have endured, but from the incredible strength they have  
E3 E4
- 165 displayed in the face of adversity.
- 166 The bravery shown by former students, who made this settlement
- 167 possible, and the resilience displayed by entire communities cannot  
E3
- 168 be overstated.  
D5
- 169 I hope that you will continue to tell your stories – in your own way
- 170 and in your own words – as this healing and commemoration
- 171 process unfolds.
- 172 Let this day mark the beginning of a new chapter in our history – one

- 173 in which we vow to never forget the harm we have caused you and  
C7
- 174 vow to renew our relationship.  
C6
- 175 Let this new chapter be one in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous
- 176 people build the future they want together.  
E3 E4
- 177 *Tshinashkumitin,*  
E3
- 178 *Nakummek.*  
E3
- 179 Thank you.
- 180 *Merci beaucoup tout le monde.*

# APPENDIX K

## APOLOGY: TRUDEAU TO LGBTQ2 COMMUNITY

DATE: 28 NOVEMBER 2017

- 1 Mr. Speaker –
- 2 One of the greatest choices a person can make in their life is the  
E3
- 3 choice to serve their fellow citizens.
- 4 Maybe it's in government, in the military, or in a police force. In
- 5 dedicating your life to making Canada – and indeed, the world – a  
E1
- 6 better place is a calling of the highest order.
- 7 Now imagine, if you will, being told that the very country you would
- 8 willingly lay down your life to defend doesn't want you. Doesn't accept
- 9 you. Sees you as defective. Sees you as a threat to our national  
E1
- 10 security.
- 11 Not because you can't do the job, or because you lack patriotism or
- 12 courage – no, because of who you are as a person, and because of

13 who your sexual partners are.

14 Now imagine, Mr. Speaker, being subjected to laws, policies, and

15 hiring practices that label you as different – as “less than”.

E1

16 Imagine having to fight for the basic rights that your peers enjoy, over

17 and over again.

18 And imagine being criminalized for being who you are.

E1

19 This is the truth for many of the Canadians present in the Gallery

C4

20 today, and those listening across the country.

21 This is the devastating story of people who were branded criminals by

22 the government. People who lost their livelihoods, and in some cases,

23 their lives.

24 These aren't distant practices of Governments long forgotten. This

25 happened systematically, in Canada, with a timeline more recent than

26 any of us would like to admit.

- 27 Mr. Speaker, today we acknowledge an often-overlooked part of  
C2
- 28 Canada's history. Today, we finally talk about Canada's role in the  
C2
- 29 systemic oppression, criminalization, and violence against the lesbian,  
30 gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit communities.
- 31 And it is my hope that in talking about these injustices, vowing to  
C7
- 32 never repeat them, and acting to right these wrongs, we can begin  
C6
- 33 to heal.
- 34 Since arriving on these shores, settlers to this land brought with them  
D5 D7
- 35 foreign standards of right and wrong – of acceptable and unacceptable  
36 behaviour. Suitable and unsuitable partnerships. They brought rigid  
D7
- 37 gender norms – norms that manifested in homophobia and transphobia.
- 38 Norms that saw the near-destruction of Indigenous LGBTQ and  
39 two-spirit identities. People who were once revered for their identities  
40 found themselves shamed for who they were. They were rejected and  
E1
- 41 left vulnerable to violence.



42 And discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities was quickly codified  
D5

43 in criminal offences like “buggery”, “gross indecency”, and bawdy  
E1

44 house provisions.

45 Bathhouses were raided, people were entrapped by police.

46 Our laws bolstered and emboldened those who wanted to attack  
C2

47 non-conforming sexual desire.

48 Our laws made private and consensual sex between same-sex

49 partners a criminal offence, leading to the unjust arrest, conviction,

50 and imprisonment of Canadians. This criminalization would have  
E1

51 lasting impacts for things like employment, volunteering, and travel.

52 Those arrested and charged were purposefully and vindictively

53 shamed. Their names appeared in newspapers in order to humiliate

54 them, and their families.

55 Lives were destroyed. And tragically, lives were lost.  
D5 D5

56 And this didn’t end in 1969 with the partial decriminalization of

57 homosexual sex. Up until 1988, a twenty year old gay man who had  
E1

58 sex with another man could still be convicted of a crime.

59 But the imprisonment and criminalization of LGBTQ2 individuals wasn't

60 the end of it. Other methods of oppression have been rampant

61 throughout our society for generations.  
D7

62 Homophobia during the time of the AIDS crisis generated hysteria and

63 propagated fear of gay men.

64 Books and magazines were stopped at the border under the guise of

65 regulations – the content of words and images deemed unacceptable.  
E1

66 And LGBTQ2 families have had to fight their own government for the

67 right to benefits, and the freedom to marry, often at great personal  
C4

68 cost.

69 Over our history, laws and policies enacted by the government led to

70 the legitimization of much more than inequality – they legitimized

71 hatred and violence, and brought shame to those targeted.

C2

72 While we may view modern Canada as a forward-thinking, progressive

73 nation, we can't forget our past: The state orchestrated a culture of

C2

74 stigma and fear around LGBTQ2 communities. And in doing so,

75 destroyed people's lives.

C4

76 Mr. Speaker, a Purge that lasted decades will forever remain a tragic

77 act of discrimination suffered by Canadian citizens at the hands of

E2

78 their own government.

79 From the 1950s to the early 1990s, the Government of Canada

80 exercised its authority in a cruel and unjust manner, undertaking a

81 campaign of oppression against members, and suspected members,

E1

82 of the LGBTQ2 communities.

83 The goal was to identify these workers throughout the public service,

84 including the foreign service, the military, and the RCMP, and

E1

85 persecute them.

- 86 You see, the thinking of the day was that all non-heterosexual  
D6
- 87 Canadians would automatically be at an increased risk of blackmail by
- 88 our adversaries due to what was called “character weakness”.
- 89 This thinking was prejudiced and flawed. And sadly, what resulted was  
D5 C3
- 90 nothing short of a witch-hunt.
- 91 The public service, the military, and the RCMP spied on their own
- 92 people, inside and outside of the workplaces. Canadians were
- 93 monitored for anything that could be construed as homosexual  
E1
- 94 behaviour, with community groups, bars, parks, and even people’s
- 95 homes constantly under watch.
- 96 During this time, the federal government even dedicated funding to an
- 97 absurd device known as the Fruit Machine – a failed technology that
- 98 was supposed to measure homosexual attraction. This project was
- 99 funded with the intention of using it against Canadians.  
C2

100 When the government felt that enough evidence had accumulated,  
101 some suspects were taken to secret locations in the dark of night to  
102 be interrogated. They were asked invasive questions about their  
103 relationships and sexual preferences. Hooked up to polygraph  
104 machines, these law-abiding public servants had the most intimate  
E1  
105 details of their lives cut open.  
106 Women and men were abused by their superiors, and asked  
107 demeaning, probing questions about their sex lives. Some were  
108 sexually assaulted.  
D5 (BY WHOM?) E1  
109 Those who admitted they were gay were fired, discharged, or  
110 intimidated into resignation. They lost dignity, lost careers, and had  
111 their dreams – and indeed, their lives – shattered.  
112 Many were blackmailed to report their peers, forced to turn against  
E1  
113 their friends and colleagues.  
114 Some swore they would end their relationships if they could keep their

115 jobs. Pushed deeper into the closet, they lost partners, friends, and

116 dignity.

117 Those who did not lose their jobs were demoted, had security

118 clearances revoked, and were passed over for promotions.

119 Under the harsh glare of the spotlight, people were forced to make an

120 impossible choice between career and identity.

E1

121 The very thing Canadian officials feared – blackmail of LGBTQ2

122 employees – was happening. But it wasn't at the hands of our

123 adversaries; it was at the hands of our own government.

C1 C2

124 Mr. Speaker, the number one job of any government is to keep its

125 citizens safe. And on this, we have failed LGBTQ2 people, time and

C3

126 time again.

127 It is with shame and sorrow and deep regret for the things we have

B2

128 done that I stand here today and say: We were wrong. We apologize.

C2 A1

129 I am sorry. We are sorry.

A1            A1

130 For state-sponsored, systemic oppression and rejection, we are sorry.

A1

131 For suppressing two-spirit Indigenous values and beliefs, we are sorry.

A1

132 For abusing the power of the law, and making criminals of citizens,

133 we are sorry.

A1

134 For government censorship, and constant attempts to undermine your

135 community-building;

136 For denying you equality, and forcing you to constantly fight for this

137 equality, often at great cost;

138 For forcing you to live closeted lives, for rendering you invisible, and

139 for making you feel ashamed –

140 We are deeply sorry. We were so very wrong.

A1

C2

141 To all the LGBTQ2 people across this country who we have harmed in

142 countless ways, we are sorry.

A1

143 To those who were left broken by a prejudiced system;

144 And to those who took their own lives – we failed you.

C3

145 For stripping you of your dignity;

146 For robbing you of your potential;

147 For treating you like you were dangerous, indecent, and flawed;

148 We are sorry.

A1

149 To the victims of The Purge, who were surveilled, interrogated, and

150 abused;

151 Who were forced to turn on their friends and colleagues;

152 Who lost wages, lost health, and lost loved ones;

153 We betrayed you. And we are so sorry.

C2

A1

154 To those who were fired, to those who resigned, and to those who

155 stayed at a great personal and professional cost;

156 To those who wanted to serve, but never got the chance to because

157 of who you are – you should have been permitted to serve your

158 country, and you were stripped of that option.



159 We are sorry. We were wrong.

A1

C2

160 Indeed, all Canadians missed out on the important contributions you

161 could have made to our society.

162 You were not bad soldiers, sailors, airmen and women. You were not

163 predators. And you were not criminals.

E3

164 You served your country with integrity, and veterans you are.

165 You are professionals. You are patriots. And above all, you are

166 innocent. And for all your suffering, you deserve justice, and you

E3

C4

167 deserve peace.

168 It is our collective shame that you were so mistreated. And it is our

C3

169 collective shame that this apology took so long – many who suffered

C3

170 are no longer alive to hear these words. And for that, we are truly sorry.

|A1

171 To the loved ones of those who suffered;

172 To the partners, families, and friends of the people we harmed;

173 For upending your lives, and for causing you such irreparable pain and

174 grief – we are sorry.

A1

175 And as we apologize for our painful mistakes, we must also say thank

176 you to those who spoke up.

177 To those who pushed back when it was unpopular, and even

178 dangerous, to do so. People from across the country, from all walks of

179 life, and of all political stripes. We stand here today in awe of your

180 courage, and we thank you.

E3

181 We also thank members of the We Demand an Apology Network, our

182 LGBTQ2 Apology Advisory Council, the Just Society Committee for

183 Egale, as well as the individuals who have long advocated for this

184 overdue apology.

185 Through them, we've understood that we can't simply paint over this

D6

186 part of our history. To erase this dark chapter would be a disservice to

187 the community, and to all Canadians.

188 We will work with the academic community and stakeholders to ensure  
C6

189 that this history is known and publically accessible.

190 We must remember, and we will remember. We will honour and

191 memorialize the legacy of those who fought before us in the face of  
C6

192 unbearable hatred and danger.

193 Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that we will look back on today as a turning

194 point. But there is still much work to do.  
C3

195 Discrimination against LGBTQ2 communities is not a moment in time,

196 but an ongoing, centuries-old campaign.

197 We want to be a partner and ally to LGBTQ2 Canadians in the years

198 going forward. There are still real struggles facing these communities,

199 including for those who are intersex, queer people of colour, and

200 others who suffer from intersectional discrimination.

201 Transgender Canadians are subjected to discrimination, violence, and

202 aggression at alarming rates. In fact, trans people didn't even have

203 explicit protection under federal human rights legislation until this year.

204 Mental health issues and suicides are higher among LGBTQ2 youth as

205 a result of discrimination and harassment, and the homelessness

206 rates among these young people is staggering.

207 And there is still work to do on blood and organ donation, and the over

208 criminalization of HIV non-disclosure. The Government needs to

209 continue working with our partners to improve policies and programs.  
C6 (VAGUE)

210 But there are important and significant changes coming – the repeal of  
C6

211 section 159 of the Criminal Code is working its way through the House.

212 And, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that earlier today in this House we

213 tabled the *Expungement of Historically Unjust Convictions Act*. This

214 will mean that Canadians previously convicted of consensual sexual

215 activity with same-sex partners will have their criminal records  
C6

216 permanently destroyed.

217 Further, I am pleased to announce that over the course of the  
218 weekend, we reached an Agreement-in-Principle with those involved in  
C6  
219 the class action lawsuit for actions related to “The Purge”.  
220 Never again will our government be the source of so much pain for  
C7  
221 members of the LGBTQ2 communities.  
222 We promise to consult and work with individuals and communities to  
C6  
223 right these wrongs and begin to rebuild trust. We will ensure that there  
224 are systems in place so that these kinds of hateful practices are a  
C6  
225 thing of the past. Discrimination and oppression of LGBTQ2 Canadians  
226 will not be tolerated anymore.  
D8  
227 With dialogue and with understanding, we will move forward together.  
E3  
228 But we can’t do it alone.  
229 The changing of hearts and minds is a collective effort. We need to  
230 work together, across jurisdictions, with Indigenous peoples and  
E3  
231 LGBTQ2 communities, to make the crucial progress that LGBTQ2

232 Canadians deserve.

233 Mr. Speaker, Canada's history is far from perfect.

C3

234 But we believe in acknowledging and righting past wrongs so that we

C2

235 can learn from them.

236 For all our differences, for all our diversity, we can find love and

237 support in our common humanity.

E4

238 We're Canadians, and we want the very best for each other,

E4

239 regardless of our sexual orientation, or our gender identity and

240 expression. We will support one another in our fight for equality.

241 And Canada will stand tall on the international stage as we proudly

E4

242 advocate for equal rights for LGBTQ2 communities around the world.

243 To the kids who are listening at home and who fear rejection because

244 of their sexual orientation or their gender identity and expression;

245 And to those who are nervous and scared, but also excited at what

246 their future might hold;

247 We are all worthy of love, and deserving of respect.

E3

248 And whether you discover your truth at 6 or 16 or 60, who you are is

249 valid.

250 To members of the LGBTQ2 communities, young and old, here in

251 Canada and around the world:

252 You are loved. And we support you.

E3

253 Canada gets a little bit stronger every day that we choose to embrace,

E4

254 and to celebrate, who we are in all our uniqueness. We are a diverse

255 nation, and we are enriched by the lives, experiences, and

E4

256 contributions of people who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender,

257 queer, and two-spirit.

258 To the trailblazers who have lived and struggled, and to those who

259 have fought so hard to get us to this place: thank you for your courage,

260 and thank you for lending your voices. I hope you look back on all you

261 have done with pride.

262 It is because of your courage that we're here today, together, and

263 reminding ourselves that we can, and must, do better.

264 For the oppression of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer,

265 and two-spirit communities, we apologize. On behalf of the government,

|A1

266 Parliament, and the people of Canada: We were wrong. We are sorry.

C2

|A1

267 And we will never let this happen again.

C7

268 Thank you, Mr. Speaker.



# APPENDIX L

## INNU-AIMUN LANGUAGE TRANSLATIONS

(M. MACKENZIE, July 19-21, 2018)

***Kuei*** (IINK, line 1)

Used as greeting by some Innu in Quebec

Not used by Labrador Innu very often

***Apu ushtutatat*** (IINK, lines 59, 73)

In context, used to mean 'we are sorry'

Appears to be based on the verb '*ushtutueu*':

's/he does something [bad] to someone intentionally'

*apu* : (negation morpheme)

*-atat* : (1st person plural agreement)

***Tshinashkumitin*** (IINK, line 177)

'I thank you (singular)'

## INUTTUT LANGUAGE TRANSLATIONS

(D. WHARRAM, July 18, 2018)

***Atelehai*** (IINK, line 2)

Misspelled in transcript - should be '*Atelihai*'

'Welcome'

***Pijâgingilagut*** (IINK, lines 58, 72)

*pijâk-* : do.something.intentionally

*-ngngit-* : (negation morpheme)

*-lagut* : (1st person plural agreement)

Literal translation: 'we did not do so on purpose'

Used in context to mean 'we are sorry'

***Nakummek*** (IINK, line 178)

'Thank you'