

Politeness : How it is Realized in a Speech Act

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Abstract

This paper aims firstly to review the pragmatic notion of 'politeness', then to describe examples of how 'politeness' is expressed and discerned in English and Japanese, based on the data collected from high school students in Utah, U. S. A., Victoria, Australia, and Tokyo, Japan. The participants were asked how they would respond in offending scenarios given in the Discourse Completion Test. With reference to previous studies, the author explains that 'politeness' is a linguistic strategy employed in order to save 'face' of the interlocutors with the manipulation of three factors ; Distance, Power, and the Weight of the Imposition. The data show that these factors are influential, and also indicate several different responses among the participants because these factors are relational and culturally based, and because pragmatic skills are developmental. Conspicuous inter-cultural differences are: Japanese high school students tend to employ a 'hierarchical politeness' system to their teacher but their social tact is not highly developed yet. American high school students tend to employ a 'deference politeness' system basically to their teacher and classmate, and their developmental stage is relatively high. Australian students tend to employ a 'solidarity politeness' system more frequently than the other systems.

Introduction

For the Japanese whose mother language reflects its cultural value of honoring superiors by an explicit system of honorifics, the notion of 'politeness' is likely to be misunderstood as giving deference. However, in a discipline of pragmatics, giving deference is no more than a sub-category of 'politeness'. Thus, in this paper first I will review the notion of 'politeness', then describe how linguistic politeness is realized in a speech act, based on the data collected from high school students in 1996 (Yamazaki, 1997) and 1997 (Yamazaki, 1998).

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What is Politeness?

In ordinary language use, 'politeness' refers to proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others. Even though it connotes this usage, 'politeness' as a pragmatic notion refers to ways in which the relational function in linguistic action is expressed.

Among the variety of politeness concepts that have been proposed in the pragmatic literature, the 'face-saving view' of politeness, proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), has been the most influential model to date. These scholars have suggested a conceptual framework based on the notion of 'face', which comes from Goffman's definition of the term (1967): an individual's publicly manifested image reflecting his/her self-esteem.

The notion of 'face' is not new to the Japanese people. It is called *mentsu* or *taimen* in Japanese. Scollon & Scollon (1995) explain that this concept was first introduced by Hu, a Chinese anthropologist. It is called *mianzi* in Mandarin and *chae myon* in Korean. Although Asian people are familiar with these terms, sociolinguistics uses this pragmatic term somewhat differently. Scollon & Scollon (*ibid.*, p. 35) gave the general definition to 'face' as:

... the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event.

Generally, sociolinguists place more emphasis on the negotiation of face than on shared assumptions although there may be significant cultural differences in the assumptions. Thus, the notion 'face', the negotiated public image, employed by sociolinguistics, is an ideal model of 'self' as a communicative identity.

Goffman claimed that all human interactions are based on a face-work, in which a participant attempts to build or to save his/her face and his/her communication partner's face. Taking his claim into consideration, Brown & Levinson (*ibid.*) argue that two aspects of people's feelings are involved in 'face'. One is a desire to be approved of, which is called 'positive face'. The other is a desire not to be imposed on, which is called 'negative face'. Thus, they postulate two super categories of politeness strategies:

positive politeness: strategies employed by the speaker to convey to the hearer that s/he is approved of

negative politeness: strategies employed by the speaker to assure the hearer that the speaker doesn't intend to impose on her/him by showing deference

For example, apologies with a remedial or corrective aim and indirect requests are examples of 'negative politeness'. On the other hand, complimenting a hearer and

joking are examples of 'positive politeness'.

The question arises : how do people utilize these politeness strategies? Is the use of these strategies influenced by age, gender, social background, or occupation? In order to analyze these complex factors, three scales have been devised by Scollon & Scollon (ibid.) : Power, Distance, and the Weight of the Imposition. Power refers to the vertical disparity between the participants, and Distance is seen as an equal relationship. However, as the two sides of face inherently and paradoxically operate in all communication, conflict is caused within communicators, which requires time and some effort for communicators to manipulate face in their interactions.

In sum, it should be noted that 'politeness' is conveyed not only to a hearer of higher status, but also to a hearer of equal or lower status. In addition, the conflicting manipulation of the speaker's and hearer's 'face' is influenced by the relation between the two parties in terms of Power, Distance, and the Weight of the Imposition. Moreover, its manifestation differs, depending on developmental aspects of a speaker's pragmatic skill because of the difficulty in managing the paradoxical nature of the face-work in communication.

Data Collection

Procedure : The data used in this paper derive from my previous research, Yamazaki (1997) and Yamazaki (1998). High school students in Japan, the U.S., and Australia were asked to answer Yamazaki's Discourse Completion Tests, then ten Japanese, ten American, and three Australian teachers were asked to code the responses by the students. Afterwards, the coders were given a follow-up interview. Among the data collected in my previous research, the responses in the two contrasting scenarios were selected to be analyzed in terms of how the responses differ across the interlocutor's status. Similarities and/or differences in responses to different social statuses are analyzed. Following this, examples of responses by the student participants to a hearer of a different status are to be examined.

Two Scenarios : 'The Lost Book Scenario' and 'the Misunderstanding Scenario' (see Appendix 1 for details), in which offending situations are contextualized, are given to the student participants. In the Lost Book Scenario, participants are supposed to return a book which they borrowed from a teacher / classmate / younger sibling, but now cannot find it. In the Misunderstanding Scenario, participants have an appointment to meet an academic advisor / a club mate / a friend's younger sibling, but they did not meet them at the appointed time because of miscommunication.

Different types of 'face threatening acts' (FTA) are contextualized in these two scenarios. It is clear that the participant is responsible for the offense in the Lost Book

Scenario, but it is not in the Misunderstanding Scenario. Thus, different types of face-work need to be conducted because of the different weights of the imposition. In each scenario, sub-scenarios are given, in which they should respond to a person of a different status, i. e., different Power with \pm Distance. Here again, different types of face-work will be expected.

Participants : Table 1 shows the demographic data of the participants.

Table 1. Demographic Data of the Participants

country	number	male	female	age				year
				17	18	19	20	
Japan	49	26	23	30	19	0	0	1996
U. S.	50	25	25	25	25	0	0	1996
Australia	42	29	13	22	17	2	1	1997

Focuses on Analysis : Do participants apologize in the given offending scenarios? Do they apologize more in one scenario over the other? According to Olshtain & Cohen (1983), an explicit expression of apology such as 'I'm sorry' is essential to a speech act of apology. Thus, a response is marked as an apology with an explicit expression of apology. The author examined whether the distribution of an explicit expression of apology differs across the status of the hearers and also across different types of imposition.

The level of formality of the responses such as lexical choice, modality, and address terms is also examined across the hearer's status. For example, the Japanese language has a 'polite form' in which one party defers to another. In English, the past tense of modal verbs such as 'could' is used to mitigate one's assertiveness, in other words, to show deference. It will be examined whether those features are found in the responses to all three types of social status.

Results and Analysis

Responses in the Lost Book Scenario

Figure 1 indicates the frequency of an explicit expression of apology in the Lost Book Scenario. In all three countries, participants employed an explicit expression of apology most frequently to a social superior; in other words, they apologized more frequently to a teacher. As for the classmate scenario, Japanese and American participants apologized almost as frequently to a younger sibling as they did to a teacher, but in different ways as follows :

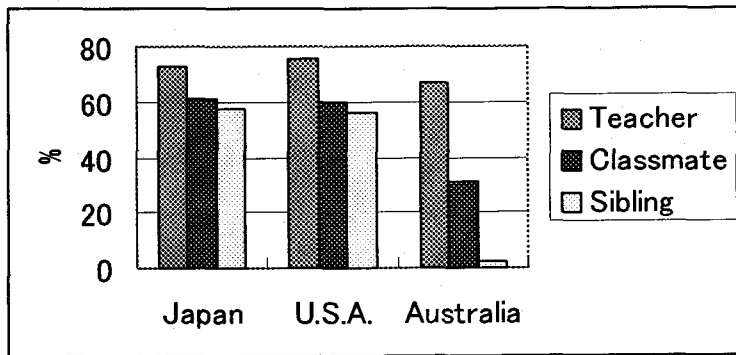


Figure 1. Frequency of an Explicit Expression of Apology in the Lost Book Scenario

<Examples of Responses by American Participants>

- (1) I am so sorry but I think I may have misplaced the book I borrowed from you. I would be happy to replace it if you'd like. [To a teacher]
- (2) I can't seem to find your book. Give me a few more days to find it. [To a classmate]
- (3) Sorry, I lost your book, but we can go to the library. [To a younger sibling]

<Examples of Responses by Japanese Participants>

- (4) Sumimasen. O kari shita hon ga ikura sagasi temo
I am sorry POL borrow did book CASE how look for but

mi atara nai no desu ga mou ichi niti matte
find seem NEG COP POL but more one day wait

itadake mase n ka
please POL NEG INT

(I am sorry. I could not relocate the book I borrowed from you. Could you wait for another day?) [To a teacher]

- (5) Kari teita hon, mitsuka ra nakutte... demo,
borrow PER book find can NEG but

mou ikkai ie nonaka yoku shirabete miru ne
more once home inside carefully look into try PAR

gomen ne
sorry PAR

(Sorry. I cannot find the book I have borrowed... But I will try another good look for it at home. Sorry.) [To a classmate]

- (6) gomen hon mitsukara nai nda kedo kanarazu mitsukeru
 sorry book be found NEG PLA but surely find

kara matte te
 because wait please

(I can't find the book, but I promise I'll get it later.) [To a younger sibling]

- * POL: polite form, PLA: plain form, CASE: case marker, NEG: negation,
 INT: interrogative, PER: perfective, PAR: sentence final particle, COP: copula

These six examples reflect an explicit expression of apology. 'To apologize' is categorized as a 'negative politeness' strategy. Moreover, each employs additional strategies. Students speaking in American English and Japanese to a teacher (+P), employ 'negative politeness' strategies. The 'to give option' such as "if you'd like" in (1), and the 'to be conventionally indirect' such as using the negative interrogative, "matte itadake masen ka," in (4) are categorized as 'negative politeness' strategies, according to Brown & Levinson's categorization.

To a classmate and a younger sibling (-P), 'positive politeness' strategies are employed. The direct request, 'Give me...', in (2) belongs to the sub-category of the 'positive politeness' strategy, 'to be optimistic'. The address form 'we' in (3) functions as 'including both Speaker and Hearer in the activity'. The Japanese sentence final particle 'ne' in (5) is an 'in-group identity marker'. In (6), the 'promise' is employed. These are also 'positive politeness' strategies.

Thus, although participants tend to use a 'negative politeness' strategy, apologizing, when speaking to a person of higher status (+P), they tend to use 'positive politeness' strategies when speaking to people of equal and lower status (-P) in their responses.

Furthermore, formality in each response is different across social status. The underlined expressions in (1) and (2) are found more frequently in responses to a teacher by American participants, although some used these expressions when talking to a classmate, too. However, Japanese participants used polite forms only to a teacher, never to a classmate nor to a younger sibling.

As an example of formality, Table 2 and 3 show the distribution of the variety of explicit expressions of apology.

Japanese explicit expressions of apology demonstrated a clear hierarchical difference: the polite form (Mousiwakearimasen and Sumimasen) is used only to a teacher (+P), but the plain form (Gomen, Gommenne, and Warui) is never used to persons of higher status. Thus, polite and plain forms are deictic of Power¹⁾. The Japanese term

Table 2. Distribution of Explicit Expressions of Apology in English number

Hearer's status	Higher		Equal		Lower	
	U. S.	Aus.	U. S.	Aus.	U. S.	Aus.
Sorry	11	13	13	6	19	7
I'm sorry	20	8	12	3	6	1
I'm really sorry	0	3	0	3	0	0
I am so sorry	7	1	3	0	2	0
Excuse me	0	1	0	0	0	0
Forgive me	1	0	1	0	0	0
I apologize	0	0	0	0	0	0
I feel bad	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	40	26	30	12	27	8

* Aus: Australia

Table 3. Distribution of Explicit Expressions of Apology in Japanese number

Hearer's status	Higher	Equal	Lower
Mousiwake-ari-masen	2	0	0
Sumi-masen	22	0	0
Gomen-nasai	7	3	0
Gomen	0	21	11
Gomen-ne	0	6	7
Warui	0	1	4
Others	0	0	3
Total	31	31	25

'Gomennasai' can be used by a speaker communicating with a person with ($\pm P$) when the psychological distance is small.

There is not a rigid system but a tendency in formal English for speakers to employ explicit expressions of apology as follows :

I am so sorry. > I'm sorry. > Sorry.
 more formal > > > > > > > > less formal

American participants tended to use more formal expressions when speaking to a

person of higher social status. Although Australian participants used 'Sorry' most frequently, they also tended to use the same formality. Expressions with a high formality function showing deference, and are categorized as a 'negative politeness' strategy.

On the contrary, when speaking to a classmate and a younger sibling (-P), no Japanese participant used a polite form expression, and American and Australian participants tended to use less formal expressions. An adult Japanese would use polite forms even to a person of equal status, but Japanese high school students did not use polite forms when speaking to a person of equal status. Thus, the use of the plain form in Japanese and less formal expressions in English functions as an 'in-group identity marker'. This is a 'positive politeness' strategy. In other words, participants make use of the strategy that lets a hearer notice s/he is approved of, when speaking to a person of equal and lower status (-P).

As for the Australian participants, they responded quite differently across the hearer's social status: 67% of our Australian participants apologized to teachers, only 31% apologized to their classmates, only 2% (one participant) to their younger sibling. The three groups' frequent responses are as follows :

〈Examples of Responses by Australian Participants〉

- (7) Um, I can't find the book I borrowed from you, anyway. Sorry, sir. [To a teacher]
- (8) Hey mate, I can't find that. I'll have another look for it. [To a classmate]
- (9) You didn't lend me a book. [To a younger sibling]

First of all, generally, the Australians employed the high-formality response less often than the Japanese or American participants. However, the address term 'sir' is used when talking to a teacher, which increases the sense of formality. 'Mate' is also a popular Australian address term, which serves to create a sense of solidarity between the speaker and the hearer. (See Appendix 2.)

Second, the less the power relation is, the less frequently Australian participants show deference by apologizing. Their extremely low frequency of apologizing to a person of lower status also suggests that the language used by Australian participants is very hierarchical in nature.

One of the participants also commented :

I would assume my parents would buy her/him another because books are shared in my family, very few have ownership.

This suggests that the Weight of the Imposition differs across cultures because of their different life styles. This seems to be one of the reasons why participants across cultures responded differently in the same scenario.

Responses in the Misunderstanding Scenario

In the Misunderstanding Scenario, which requires a participant to manipulate a conflicting face-work, the distribution of the participants' apologizing speech act differs from that in the Lost Book Scenario. Figure 2 indicates how it is distributed, and Table 4 shows the comparison of the responses in the Lost Book Scenario and those in the Misunderstanding Scenario.

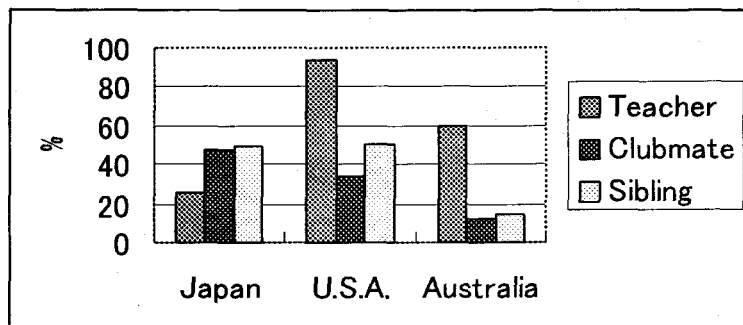


Figure 2. Frequency of an Explicit Expression of Apology in the Misunderstanding Scenario

Table 4. Comparison of the Frequency of an Explicit Expression of Apology in the Lost Book and in the Misunderstanding Scenario

status	Higher		Equal		Lower	
	L	M	L	M	L	M
country						
Japan	73	26	61	47	58	49
U. S.	76	94	60	34	56	51
Australia	67	60	31	12	2	14

* M: the Misunderstanding Scenario, L: the Lost Book Scenario

Less participants used an explicit expression of apology in the Misunderstanding Scenario than in the Lost Book Scenario. However, there are two exceptions: One is the American participants' response to a person of higher status, and the other is the Australian participants' response to a person of lower status. Also, the Japanese participants use an explicit expression of apology much less frequently when speaking to a person of higher status in the Misunderstanding Scenario. Examples of frequent responses by the American participants are:

- (10) I seemed to have thought that the appointment was at 2:30. Sorry for any inconvenience I caused. Would there any way we could reschedule? [To a teacher]

- (11) Oops, I'm sorry. I thought we were supposed to meet at the west gate. How did this happen? It's kind of funny. Oh well, let's go to the game. [To a club mate]
- (12) I was waiting for you in the hall. Sorry we must have gotten mixed up. [To a friend's sibling]
- (13) Are you serious? I swear we agreed on 2:30. I'm sorry, but I thought it was at 2:30. [To a teacher]

In the Americans' responses to a teacher, 'negative politeness' strategies are salient, such as a 'conventionally indirect request' and 'apologizing'. Even in a response such as (13), whose acceptability is scored low by the coders, 'apologizing' occurred often. For the American participant, 'apologizing' is regarded as an essential element in this scenario. However, the following word 'but' helps them assert their personal understanding of the situation. Furthermore, one of the American participants commented:

These situations were out of my control. That is the reason I rated them low on importance. The reason the teacher was more important is because his schedule is more busy and it is more of a sacrifice to set aside time.

On the contrary, Americans speaking to a club mate used 'positive politeness' strategies such as the 'being optimistic' and the 'including both hearer and speaker in the activity'. The American respondents responded to a friend's sibling (-P), by employing the 'claims a common ground' response to the hearer, which is also considered a form of 'positive politeness'.

Although only one Australian participant apologized in the Lost Book Scenario, 14 Australian participants apologized to a friend's sibling (-P) in the Misunderstanding Scenario. Some Australian participants did not apologize but they employed interesting responses to a person of lower status:

- (14) I thought it was clear. I was waiting for you at the hall. Oh well it doesn't matter. I have the assignment here.
- (15) I was waiting at the bus stop, lucky I found you here.

Australian participants tried to mitigate the imposition they caused to a hearer in (14), and to stimulate interest on the part of the hearer in (15). These are also considered 'positive politeness' strategies.

The third exceptional observation is a response to a teacher by the Japanese participants. The percentage of the participants who apologized to a teacher decreased considerably from 73% in the Lost Book Scenario to 26% in the Misunderstanding Scenario. Furthermore, the instances in which the Japanese participants apologized to a teacher were the lowest among the three sub-categories. This suggests that 'apologizing' is not

a common politeness strategy for the Japanese high school participants in the conflicted scenario in which they want to save their own face and the face of the hearer. Even though they do not use an explicit expression of apology, they use a polite form, as in (16). It is noteworthy that a participant who did not apologize to a teacher used an explicit expression of apology when speaking to a friend's sibling in a plain form, as in (17). In this sub-scenario, the participant him/herself is (+P) in turn.

- (16) 2:30 tte ii masi ta yo.
 2:30 COP say POL PAST PAR
 (You said 2:30.)
- (17) Gomen mata se te.
 sorry wait keep COP
 (Sorry to have kept you waiting.)

* PAST: past tense

For the Japanese student participants, power relationships and the responses are asymmetrical. In other words, a person with (+P) is generally expected to initiate the face-work. This also suggests that the distance between Japanese teachers and students might be larger than between American and Australian teachers and students.

Discussions

Why did the participants respond differently in some contexts and similarly in others? What are the communication codes underlying linguistic face-work? Scollon & Scollon (ibid.) postulated three reasons for employing politeness codes: Deference politeness system (-P, +D), solidarity politeness system (-P, -D), and hierarchical politeness system (+P, -D).

The first two reasons assume an egalitarian relationship among the participants of communication, while the third does not. In the first two, participants treat each other as equals and show mutual respect. When the communicators' distance is small, they use the solidarity politeness system. Both parties recognize themselves as being equal in social status and use politeness strategies of involvement, which is categorized as 'positive politeness' by Brown & Levinson (ibid.). When the communicators' distance is not small, they use the deference politeness system. Both parties recognize themselves as being equal in social status and use politeness strategies of independence, which is categorized as 'negative politeness' by Brown & Levinson (ibid.). These two politeness systems are characterized as being 'symmetric' in that the same type of politeness strategies are employed mutually by the two parties in a conversation.

In contrast, the hierarchical politeness system is 'asymmetrical' because one party is regarded and respected in a super-ordinate (superior) position, the other is in a subordinate position. Thus, in this hierarchical system one speaks 'up' to a person of higher status by using negative politeness strategies, the other speaks 'down' to a person of lower status by using positive politeness strategies. Consequently the parties' implicit recognition of their social position and use of politeness strategies in this system are asymmetrical.

These three dimensions of politeness explain why, across all three cultures examined in this study ;

- the higher the status of a hearer is, the more frequently the participants apologized in the Lost Book Scenario,
- the higher the status of a hearer is, the more they used formal expressions,
- the participants use negative politeness strategies to a teacher but not to a classmate or a younger sibling,
- the participants use positive politeness strategies when speaking to a classmate and a younger sibling but not to a teacher,
- some Australian participants 'tell a lie' to a younger sibling even though they apologize to a teacher in the Lost Book Scenario,
- more Australian participants apologized to a person of lower status in the Misunderstanding Scenario than in the Lost Book Scenario,
- some Japanese participants apologized to a friend's younger sibling even though they did not apologize to a teacher in the Misunderstanding Scenario.

Furthermore, we must explain why more American participants use an explicit expression of apology and why far less Japanese participants did so in the Misunderstanding Scenario than in the Lost Book Scenario. Ninio & Snow (1996) may help explain this difference. They define developmental pragmatics as the acquisition of "knowledge necessary for the appropriate, effective, rule-governed employment of speech in interpersonal situations." What is appropriate? For instance, Japanese high school participants used the plain form when communicating to their classmates, and in doing so, they employed the solidarity politeness system. However, if the participants were adults, I theorize that they would use the polite form to a person of equal status reflecting the deference politeness system. In this way, people are required to achieve pragmatic skill depending on the stage of one's life, and its achievement varies across individuals due to its complex nature that makes it difficult to achieve. Additionally, acquiring this skill requires adequate attention from others because the relationship with one's communication partner determines the appropriateness.

Taking these factors into consideration, it is noteworthy that the American participants in this study often employed the 'sorry, but ...' structure as in (13): "Are you

serious? I swear we agreed on 2:30. I'm sorry, but I thought was at 2:30." Hence, a sense of tact in social niceties is also needed to realize linguistic politeness.

Related to this sense of tact, if an American student uttered (3), "Sorry, I lost your book, but we can go to the library," to his/her teacher, it would sound odd. If a Japanese student uttered (4), "Sumimasen. Okarishita honga dousitemo mitukara nainn desu ga, mou ichinichi matte itadake masenka? (I am sorry. I could not relocate the book I borrowed from you. Could you wait for another day?)" to his/her classmate, it would sound sarcastic in Japanese. If an Australian student said (9), "You didn't lend me a book," to his/her teacher, it would sound totally offensive. These are the instances of failures in face-work. Therefore, it appears that appropriate language use is developed over time and is employed through speakers' manipulation of Power, Distance, and the Weight of the Imposition, by Japanese, American, and Australian participants.

In addition, the use of these mechanisms reflects cultural values and expectations that speakers tacitly understand. The Japanese participants tended to employ a hierarchical politeness system when talking to a person of higher status but they were not socially mature enough to realize it in a conflict situation, reflecting their student-teacher relationship. It appears the American student participants could be expected to employ a deference politeness system in a conflict situation. Basically, the Australian participants enjoyed employing a solidarity politeness system toward a person of equal and higher status but tended to employ a hierarchical politeness system when talking to a person of lower status. These results reflect the social and cultural expectations.

Implications and Concluding Remarks

A delightful anecdote reflects these language principles: A four-year-old kid shouted loudly to his mom: "Milk!" at a dinner table. But only half a day later, after his mom's friend babysat him, he said to his mom, "I'm sorry to bother you, but could you please pass me the milk?" (*The Asahi Newspaper*, October 23, 2000.) He apparently learned some linguistic rules of politeness from his mother's friend!

Pragmatic skill is developmental. If one needs it, s/he will acquire it. If one does not think s/he needs it, s/he will never acquire it. Thus, to raise awareness about how 'politeness' is expressed and discerned will reinforce the acquisition of pragmatic skills both in the first language and a target language.

The data analyzed in this paper indicate that the Japanese student participants have already learned when to use the polite form, but they have not learned how to respond nicely in a conflicted scenario. For them, it would be relatively difficult to acquire English politeness system because it does not have an explicit language system such as Japanese polite form, but requires them to choose an appropriate politeness system in its social context.

In this study, several inter-cultural differences have been found in what type of politeness strategy should be employed in a given situation. 'To be polite' is not just showing deference by using honorifics. Not only a hierarchical politeness system, which is employed in a (+P, +D) relationship, but a deference politeness system in a (-P, +D) relationship and a solidarity politeness system in a (-P, -D) relationship should be also discerned.

Hopefully, this paper will raise awareness about how politeness is realized in speech acts across languages and cultures, and will provide deeper insights into how cross-cultural communication and language learning can be enhanced.

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House.

Appendix 1. Discourse Completion Test

【1】 You borrow a book (about \$30) from your academic advisor/classmate/younger sibling, and you can't find it anywhere. You seem to have lost it somewhere. You have to return it today.

- (1) You say to your academic advisor :
- (2) You say to your classmate :
- (3) You say to your brother or sister :

【2】 Misunderstanding

- (1) You are supposed to meet your academic advisor at 2:30. You arrive just in time, but your academic advisor looks irritated and tells you that the appointment was scheduled for 2:00. You say to him/her :
- (2) You are to go to X high school with your fellow (sports) club-member when you have a game with X high school. You wait for him/her at the west gate of your school for 30 minutes but your fellow club-member doesn't show up. When you give up waiting for him/her and walk toward the east gate, you find him/her. He/She also has been waiting for you for 30 minutes. He/She looks irritated. You say to him/her :
- (3) Your best friend is absent from school. You promise him/her that you will hand the assignment given by a teacher to his/her younger sibling at school. You wait for him/her at the hall but he/she doesn't show up. When you give up waiting for him /her and walk to the bus stop, you find him/her waiting for you there. He/She looks annoyed and irritated. You say to him/her :

* Judge the three-point scale of politeness of how you respond to people in each scenario : 1 --- not so polite, 2 --- moderately polite, 3 --- very polite

* Judge the three-point scale of importance of how you regard the situation in each scenario : 1 --- not so important, 2 --- moderately important, 3 --- very important

Appendix 2. *Distribution of English Address Terms*

Hearer's status Address Terms	Higher		Equal		Lower	
	U. S.	Aus.	U. S.	Aus.	U. S.	Aus.
Mr/Ms/Miss/Mrs+Name	3	2	0	0	0	0
Sir	2	4	0	0	0	0
Mate	0	1	0	2	0	3
Name	0	0	2	1	1	0
Man	0	0	2	0	1	1
Dude	0	0	4	0	0	0
Buddy	0	0	0	1	1	0
Boy	0	0	1	0	0	0
Baby	0	0	0	0	1	0
Others	1	0	2	1	0	0

1) Brown & Levinson (1987) state that Fillmore (1975) has suggested that honorifics are properly considered as part of the deictic system of a language.