

was on the pragmatic socialisation of children, asking parents to verbalise their expectations and educational customs in this domain.

Notes

1. These strictures did not apply to students who themselves were not Israeli natives; immigrant students (i.e., from Argentina and England) were asked to interview families of their own linguistic background.

11. The concept of politeness: An empirical study of American English and Japanese

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Introduction

In a previous study on linguistic politeness in Japanese and American English, Hill et al. (1986) assumed a more or less common concept of the term "politeness". However, the equivalence across cultures of the key term itself needs to be questioned. The purpose of the study, therefore, is to investigate how politeness is conceptualised by Americans and Japanese.

"Politeness" itself is a neutral concept, which we use as the label for a scale ranging from plus- through zero- to minus-politeness. Thus, "polite" refers to plus-valued politeness, "impolite" means minus-valued politeness, and "non-polite" marks the neutral or zero-valued center of the scale.¹

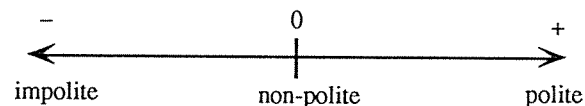


Figure 1. Scale of politeness.

As discussed by linguists, however, "politeness" usually refers to the positive end of the scale.² Lakoff (1989: 102), for instance, defines politeness "as a means of minimising the risk of confrontation in discourse." Fraser and Nolen (1981: 96) state that "to be polite is to abide by the rules of the relationship. The speaker becomes impolite just in cases where he violates one or more of the contractual terms." According to Brown (1980: 114), "What politeness essentially consists in is a special way of treating people, saying and doing things in such a way as to take into account the other person's feelings." What is common to these varying definitions is the idea of appropriate language use associated with smooth communication. This smooth communication is achieved "on the one hand through the speaker's use of

intentional strategies to allow his utterances to be received favourably by the addressee and on the other by the speaker's expression of the expected and prescribed norms of speech" (Ide 1988: 371).

Concepts of politeness thus defined by researchers may be applicable to any possible culture. However, we cannot assume that the concept of "politeness" is fully equivalent to the concepts of corresponding terms in other languages, since language itself is the door to a concept in people's minds. Our assumption underlying this contrastive survey was that concepts of terms lie in the minds of native speakers. The focus of this study is to compare the American English concept of "polite" with the Japanese concept of the corresponding *teineina*.

Method

Knowing that multivariate analysis of quantitative data will yield correlations of items in visual form, we designed a survey which would allow us to plot the concepts of 'polite'/*teineina* relative to other concepts in English and Japanese which evaluate human behaviour.

American and Japanese versions of the questionnaire were prepared. In order to avoid the distortions of direct translation, comparable English and Japanese versions were developed through joint workshops by bilingual and bicultural members of the research group. After field testing, the two versions were further modified in order to achieve comparability.

Subjects were 219 American and 282 Japanese college students.³ Each subject was given a grid containing descriptions of fourteen interactional situations and a list of ten adjectives evaluating human behaviour. The interactional situations consisted of behaviours or verbal behaviours in six kinds of speech acts: (1) rejection, (2) request, (3) compliance, (4) protest, (5) invitation and (6) apology. The situations were varied as much as possible to balance the questionnaire cross-culturally. Categories of situations were distributed as follows: (1) situations polite for both Americans and Japanese, (2) polite for Americans but non-polite for Japanese, (3) polite for Americans but impolite for Japanese, (4) non-polite for Americans but polite for Japanese, (5) non-polite for both Americans and Japanese, (6) non-polite for Americans but impolite for Japanese, (7) impolite for

Americans but polite for Japanese, (8) impolite for both Americans and Japanese.⁴

Subjects were asked to imagine themselves in each situation. Then they were asked whether each of the 10 adjectives would represent their own feelings if the words/action of the other person in the description had been directed toward them: YES/NO/NA ("can't say either positive or negative"). (See Appendix A for the full English version.)

	P?	R?	C?	F?	PI?	C?	A?	O?	Co?	Ru?
3: Suppose you were an assistant professor. You made a critical comment on a student's term paper and asked him/her to rewrite a section. The student replied...										
(A) "I'm sorry. I do see your point. I'll give it another try."	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
(B) "I see. I'll give it a try."	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

P?=polite?, R?=respectful?, C?=considerate?, F?=friendly?, PI?=pleasant, C?=casual?, A?=appropriate?, O?=offensive?, Co?=conceited?, Ru?=rude?

Figure 2. Two sample situations from the questionnaire.

Results

Subjects' responses are diagrammed in Appendices B and C. Since both situations and adjectives were specifically selected for cross-cultural comparability, we may read the differences in responses between American and Japanese subjects as differences in their respective evaluations of speech acts in terms of the given adjectives.

Examining patterns of responses, we find that the Japanese show a greater average number of NA responses than do the Americans: 21.5% of Japanese responses vs. 9.9% of American. This difference is significant at the 0.01 level. Compared to the American subjects the Japanese appear to find it easier to choose the indecisive responses

(NA).⁵ In the majority of cases, we also see a greater “yes” portion in the American responses. Further, the Americans show near-unanimous agreement across some interactional situations like 2A, 2C, 4C, 5A, 5C and 6A, while the Japanese show greater complexity in the evaluation of these behaviours.

Multivariate analysis was applied to the data in the following process: (1) 10 adjectives with affirmative answers and 10 adjectives with negative answers were arranged making a list of 20 adjectives. (2) A crosstable of 20 adjectives and 14 interactional situations was made. (3) Using a method of quantification of the crosstable, correlations between adjectives and situations were computed. (4) These correlations were converted into relative locations in a two-dimensional Euclidian space, yielding Figures 3a/b and 4a/b (p. 285–288).

The analysis plots the degree of similarity of the ten adjectives as calculated from response data. In the figures, we may compare the position of the two key terms, “polite” and *teineina* relative to the other nine terms in the respective languages. The individual correlations appear at the tops of the figures.

The cumulative variance for each axis is as follows:

Horizontal (first) axis: Japanese 0.755 Americans 0.923
 Vertical (second) axis: Japanese 0.134 Americans 0.033

The closer the number is to 1.0, the more the data are to be read as being accounted for by that axis. In the Japanese case, we see 75.5 percent of the data are explained by the first axis, while in the American case, it is 92.3 percent. Looking at the second axis, we find some explanatory meaning (13.4 percent) in the Japanese case, but almost none (3.3 percent) in the American case. In other words, the American case is clearly one-dimensional, while the Japanese case is more or less two-dimensional.

Now we may turn to the question of the “meaning” of the axes. The numbers (1–9) and letters (A–K) in Figure 3a/b correspond to those of Figure 4a/b. The circles represent “yes” responses and the triangles “no”s. The lines drawn between “yes”s and “no”s show the dimension of the concepts. In both the Japanese and the American cases, we may interpret the left half of the horizontal axis as meaning “good” and the right half as “bad”. The meaning of the second, vertical dimension evi-

C o d e	S y m	Name	Total									
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11	1	Polite-yes	2052	-0.437	0.040	-0.035	-0.008	-0.006	0.020	-0.007	0.001	0.020
12	2	Polite-no	667	1.304	-0.096	0.084	0.010	-0.096	-0.052	-0.016	-0.020	0.039
21	3	Respectful-yes	1744	-0.442	-0.111	-0.063	0.010	0.000	0.017	-0.027	0.008	0.013
22	4	Respectful-no	714	1.243	0.038	0.093	-0.003	-0.023	-0.029	0.009	-0.062	0.024
31	5	Considerate-yes	1990	-0.413	0.030	-0.028	0.004	-0.007	-0.027	0.034	0.31	0.022
32	6	Considerate-no	677	1.200	-0.005	0.087	0.069	-0.014	0.011	-0.054	0.041	-0.005
41	7	Friendly-yes	1864	-0.364	0.168	0.052	-0.004	-0.020	-0.058	0.006	0.019	0.010
42	8	Friendly-no	443	1.095	-0.296	-0.089	-0.104	-0.063	0.083	0.014	0.049	0.026
51	9	Pleasant-yes	1843	-0.435	0.113	-0.016	-0.037	-0.089	0.023	-0.019	-0.008	0.007
52	A	Pleasant-no	730	1.119	-0.172	0.029	0.036	0.033	-0.050	0.066	0.011	-0.017
61	B	Casual-yes	1969	-0.018	-0.001	0.161	-0.075	0.006	0.024	-0.011	-0.000	-0.009
62	C	Casual-no	543	0.252	-0.030	-0.422	0.180	-0.066	0.010	0.004	-0.023	-0.016
71	D	Appropriate-yes	2104	-0.322	-0.136	-0.027	-0.006	0.043	-0.024	-0.044	-0.008	0.012
72	E	Appropriate-no	647	1.024	0.336	0.080	0.103	0.068	0.107	0.040	-0.003	0.021
81	F	Offensive-yes	468	1.240	0.231	-0.118	0.003	0.108	-0.024	-0.099	0.033	0.019
82	G	Offensive-no	2349	-0.259	-0.080	0.018	0.012	0.009	0.007	0.014	0.002	0.018
91	H	Conceded-yes	306	1.167	0.215	-0.449	-0.327	0.095	-0.022	0.044	-0.027	0.010
92	I	Conceded-no	2375	-0.188	-0.044	0.047	0.022	0.014	0.012	-0.008	-0.006	0.021
101	J	Rude-yes	487	1.291	0.074	-0.026	-0.002	-0.037	-0.029	-0.031	0.038	0.025
102	K	Rude-no	2339	-0.280	-0.045	0.004	0.013	0.045	0.009	0.005	-0.001	0.017

Figure 3a. Multivariate analysis of adjectives – American English

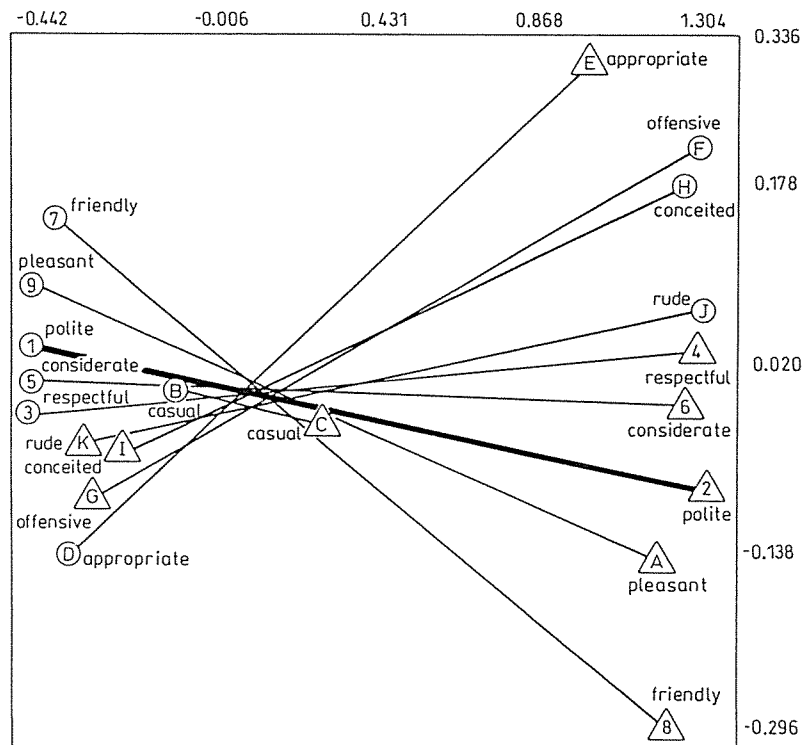


Figure 3b. Multivariate analysis of adjectives – American English

C	S	Name	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11	1	Teineina-hai	2035	-0.508	-0.144	0.064	0.062	0.027	-0.050	-0.018	0.010	0.014
12	2	Teineina-ite	1092	0.930	0.112	-0.063	-0.060	-0.201	-0.047	-0.031	0.047	0.017
21	3	Keii no aru-hai	1598	-0.566	-0.170	0.134	-0.033	0.054	-0.133	-0.008	0.074	0.011
22	4	Keii no aru-ite	1307	0.794	0.087	-0.088	0.080	-0.085	-0.006	-0.053	0.000	0.034
31	5	Omoiyari no aru-hai	1544	-0.522	0.215	0.185	0.225	-0.132	0.084	0.036	0.003	-0.002
32	6	Omoiyari no aru-ite	1105	0.720	-0.101	-0.117	-0.021	0.113	-0.006	-0.010	-0.004	0.019
41	7	Sitasigena-hai	1753	0.107	0.611	0.004	-0.030	0.095	-0.043	0.015	0.013	0.037
42	8	Sitasigena-ite	1288	-0.028	-0.567	-0.061	-0.031	-0.042	-0.040	0.019	-0.018	0.019
51	9	Kanzi yoi-hai	2030	-0.504	0.064	0.093	-0.050	0.004	-0.035	-0.062	-0.031	0.027
52	A	Kanzi zoi-ite	1078	0.871	-0.120	-0.093	0.097	0.027	0.035	0.094	0.054	-0.003
61	B	Kidoranai-hai	2281	-0.057	0.130	-0.049	-0.100	0.030	0.023	-0.023	0.009	-0.019
62	C	Kidoranai-ite	733	0.267	-0.187	0.091	0.059	-0.013	-0.067	0.125	-0.014	0.082
71	D	Tekisetuna-hai	2093	-0.318	-0.118	-0.125	0.049	0.019	0.126	-0.079	0.014	0.031
72	E	Tekisetuna-ite	842	0.766	0.011	0.165	-0.068	-0.047	-0.134	0.057	-0.053	-0.012
81	F	Kanzyou wo kizutukea-hai	408	0.963	-0.078	0.041	0.347	0.362	-0.008	-0.012	-0.032	-0.003
82	G	Kanzyou wo kizutukea-ite	2904	-0.171	0.013	-0.034	-0.065	-0.048	0.014	0.010	-0.004	0.017
91	H	Unuborete iru-hai	504	1.060	-0.266	0.529	-0.256	0.074	0.326	0.018	0.020	0.028
92	I	Unuborete iru-ite	2819	-0.205	0.011	-0.106	0.001	-0.008	-0.013	0.025	-0.011	0.004
101	J	Bureina-hai	529	1.225	0.128	0.206	0.097	-0.025	-0.089	-0.185	-0.019	-0.017

Figure 4a. Multivariate analysis of adjectives – Japanese

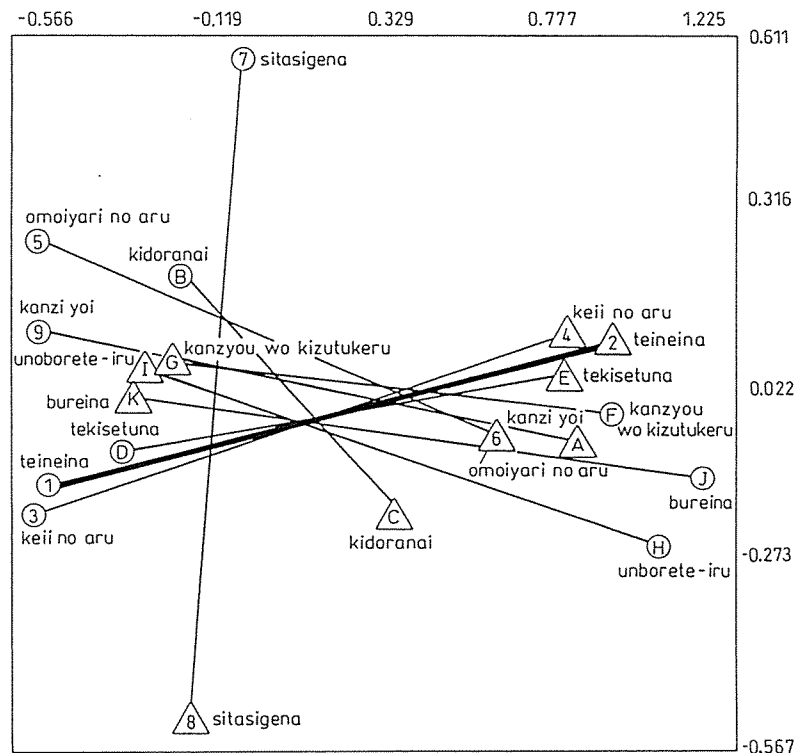


Figure 4b. Multivariate analysis of adjectives – Japanese

dent in the Japanese responses can be characterised as “friendly” (upper half) and “non-friendly” (lower half).

This means that Americans exhibit unilateral judgement of various concepts of evaluation while the Japanese judge in terms of two dimensions. The relationship of the “good” axis and the “friendly” axis seen in the Japanese conceptualisation is that of discrete, but not opposing concepts. We conclude that the Japanese have an evaluation scale with at least two levels, which are not contradictory but co-exist in their minds.

This discrete but non-opposing structure of concepts of evaluation must represent Japanese patterns of behaviour, as indeed we read in an anthropologist’s description of characteristics of the Japanese ethos. Lebra (1976: 8) states that “the Japanese ethos has more affinity with interactional relativism than with unilateral determinism, whereas traditional Western culture comes closer to the latter than the former.” According to Lebra unilateral determinism seems to entail epistemological and ideological compulsions to differentiate or separate one element from another, such as “good” from “bad”. Interactional relativism by contrast, tends to suppress such distinctions and tends to connect things that appear as discrete but not opposing concepts like *teineina* and *sitasigena*. The relation of concepts in unilateral determinism is differentiation and separation whereas that of interactional relativism is interlocking and fusion. In Figure 3a/b, “polite” and “friendly” are mapped together as “good” concepts separate from minus “polite” and minus “friendly”, which are “bad” concepts. On the other hand, in Figure 4a/b *teineina* and *sitasigena* are mapped as discrete concepts but do not stand in a plus/minus relation.

Quantitative evidence for the closeness of the adjectives was obtained by computing correlation coefficients of adjectives with the key terms “polite/*teineina*”.⁶ Table 1 (p. 290) shows adjectives arranged according to the rank order of the correlation coefficients in each language.

Examining the relative positions of adjectives in the Japanese data in Figure 4a/b, we find that *sitasigena* (corresponding to “friendly”) is in a different dimension relative to the key term *teineina* (the corresponding term to “polite”), while in the American data in Figure 3a/b “polite” and “friendly” are found on neighbouring places along the same dimension. This outstanding difference in the two figures is confirmed by the difference in the relevant correlation coefficients: -0.3213 for *teineina* – *sitasigena*, but + 0.9103 for “polite–friendly”.

Table 1 quantitatively demonstrates the two-dimensionality of the Japanese data compared to the American (the lines connect the corresponding English and Japanese terms).

Table 1. Rank orders of correlation coefficients of "polite"/"teineina" to adjectives in their respective languages.

Americans	POLITE	Japanese	TEINEINA
respectful	0.9892	<i>keii no aru</i>	0.9697
considerate	0.9868	<i>kanzi yoi</i>	0.9108
pleasant	0.9713	<i>tekisetuna</i>	0.8544
friendly	0.9103	<i>omoiyari no aru</i>	0.7496
appropriate	0.8826	<i>kidoranai</i>	0.2816
casual	0.1204	<i>sitasigena</i>	-0.3213
conceited	-0.7995	<i>unuborete-iru</i>	-0.6848
offensive	-0.9189	<i>kanzyou wo kizutukeru</i>	-0.7078
rude	-0.9545	<i>bureina</i>	-0.7880

The "respectful"/*keiinoaru* pair ranks first in degree of correlation with the key terms "polite"/*teineina*. To this extent, the Japanese and American concepts of politeness are similar. But out of the second and third highly correlating terms ("considerate" and "pleasant" vs. *kanziyoi* and *tekisetuna*), "pleasant" and *kanziyoi* are corresponding adjectives, but "considerate" and *tekisetuna* are not. This disparity may be taken as marking another important difference between the Japanese and American concepts.

Tekisetuna is the adjective used in Japanese to evaluate behaviour in the light of worldly criteria, i.e., *wakimae* (discernment), which is the key concept of linguistic politeness in Japanese (see Hill et al. 1986 and Ide 1989). In other words, whether one observes *wakimae* or not is evaluated in terms of *tekisetuna*. On the other hand, "considerate", which lies very close to the key English term "polite" (correlation coefficient 0.9868), is used to evaluate behaviour which is careful not to hurt or inconvenience others,⁷ or has regard for another's feelings, circumstances, etc.⁸ In other words, considerate behaviour depends upon an actor's volition rather than upon discernment. From these differences of neighbouring adjectives we may infer that *teineina* is ori-

ented to *wakimae*/discernment, while "polite" is oriented to volition. As discussed in Hill et al. (1986), the concept of "volition" is one of the two major aspects of linguistic politeness prevalent in the West, the other being *wakimae*.

Implications for linguistic politeness

The major finding obtained from this study is the cross-cultural difference between the relation of "polite" to "friendly" on the one hand and of *teineina* to *sitasigena* on the other: i.e., "polite" and "friendly" pattern in the same dimension while *teineina* and *sitasigena* fall into different dimensions. This difference may help to explain some of the questions underlying studies of linguistic politeness of Japanese and Americans.

1. The choice of TLN vs. FN by Americans and Japanese

TLN (title plus last name) and FN (first name) in English are distinct linguistic forms used for address. TLN is the formal and polite form to be used to convey a polite or formal attitude of the speaker, whereas FN is the informal and casual form which conveys a friendly attitude of the speaker. In a culture like that of the U.S., where "polite" and "friendly" are perceived as more or less similar concepts, it is easy for speakers to switch from TLN to FN. FN, which conveys a friendly attitude, can be used without great offense to address a person to whom a polite or respectful attitude is expected. However, in Japanese culture, polite and friendly are discrete concepts. Therefore, a Japanese who can speak English tends to keep a distinction between a polite form TLN and a friendly form FN, in accordance with the Japanese concepts *teineina* and *sitasigena*. For such a person, learning to use FN like an American means learning the American conceptual structure of "polite" and "friendly".

2. Co-occurrence of *teineina* and *sitasigena*

Identifying the discrete relation between *teineina* and *sitasigena* might lead us to conclude that these two concepts never co-occur. However,

the fact is that they do co-occur, because they are not in a contradictory relation, as are “polite” and “impolite”, but simply in different dimensions.

It is a general rule that the use of honorifics maintains the distance of the speaker toward the addressee or the referent, while the use of sentence final particles shortens the distance. Thus, honorifics and sentence final particles are supposed to function in a reverse way in terms of distance of interlocutors.

However, we sometimes observe that these two do co-occur. Note the example sentence below. This is an utterance by a woman of the educated class to another educated woman in the neighbourhood.

Doko ni irasyai masu no
 where to go REF HON ADD HON SFP
 ‘Where do you go?’

In this utterance, the speaker’s sense of distance towards the addressee is expressed by referent (REF) and addressee (ADD) honorifics (HON) together with a sense of beautification, which is derived from the distance created by polite forms, i.e., honorifics. At the same time, the speaker’s sense of friendly attitude is expressed by the sentence final particle (SFP) *no*. In terms of the function of distance, the co-occurrence of honorifics and a sentence final particle, as seen in the example sentence, may look contradictory. Instead, for smooth interaction, even in a *sitasii* (friendly/intimate)⁹ context where a sentence final particle is appropriate to mark the short distance between interlocutors, it is generally expected that one will practice occasional use of honorifics. This use of honorifics to imply politeness in a friendly relationship is appreciated among Japanese to the extent that we have the saying “There is a courtesy in ‘*sitasii* terms.’” This represents the spirit of interlocking and fusion of two discrete concepts, *teineina* and *sitasigena*, as we see in Lebra’s description of Japanese ethos.

Conclusion

Using native-speaker judgments, we have demonstrated that among groups of American English and Japanese speakers, the seemingly corresponding terms “polite” and *teineina* differ in their conceptual structure. For the American subjects, the adjectives “polite” and

“friendly” correlate highly when applied to certain behaviours in specific situations. For Japanese subjects, however, *teineina* and *sitasigena* fall into different dimensions when applied to the same cross-culturally equivalent situations. This finding supports our general thesis that studies of cross-cultural politeness cannot assume equivalence of key concepts, but must identify structural patterns of similarities and differences.

Notes

1. We avoid the more natural terms “positive politeness” and “negative politeness” because these have already been employed by Brown and Levinson (1978) for different purposes.
2. The conceptualisation of politeness is coloured by its adjectival form “polite”, since “politeness” is derived from the adjective form. “Politeness” is – or should logically be – neutral concerning the degree of being “polite”, just as “height” is neutral concerning the degree of being “high”. It is in adjective forms like “high” and “polite” that we attach a positive value to the neutral concept.
3. American subjects were male and female undergraduates at George Washington University. Japanese subjects were male and female undergraduates at Nagoya University and Tsukuba University.
4. A potential ninth category “impolite for Americans but nonpolite for Japanese” is omitted because we could imagine no such examples suitable to the framework of our study.
5. In any survey of questionnaires given to Japanese we tend to receive a good portion of undecided responses. This may be a general characteristic of response patterns among Japanese. In reviewing Rorschach-test results, de Vos and Bordens (1989: 151) note that Japanese subjects were more likely than American subjects to give no response “when they were unable to give that they believed to be a satisfactory response.” They attribute this to a strong drive for intellectual organisation among Japanese subjects, as manifested in their preference for “a single well-integrated response”.
6. The numbers were computed based on the correlation with “polite”/*teineina* of “yes” and “no” responses for each pair of adjectives. The closer a number is to 1.00, the closer the relation of an adjective to “polite” or *teineina*.
7. *Oxford advanced learner’s dictionary*. New edition. (Oxford University Press, 1989).

8. *The Random House dictionary of the English language*. (New York: Random House, 1968).
9. *Sitasigena* was chosen for the purpose of the questionnaire, as an adjective corresponding to friendly, because it is the form describing the mood of someone else's behaviour rather than the subjective mood of the speaker. *Sitasii*, instead, is the form representing the speaker's subjective psychological feeling.

Appendix A: English version of the questionnaire

I am a sociology graduate at the George Washington University, Washington, D.C. I am helping a group of Japanese and American sociolinguists in their cross-cultural survey of the "image of politeness". The purpose of the survey is to understand how people interpret the behavior of others in a given situation and how the "image of politeness" is structured in different societies.

We believe that by identifying the differences and similarities in the pattern of "image of politeness," we will be able to minimize possible misunderstanding between the people of different countries, and thus to contribute to better cross-cultural communication.

Your contribution to this end is a valuable one. We appreciate your helping us by filling out the attached survey form, which will not take you more than fifteen minutes. Thank you very much.

* * * * *

- I. Please provide the following information about yourself.
 - a. Gender: _____ b. Age: _____
 - c. Place where you lived longest: _____
 - d. Student status: (Please circle an appropriate number.)
 1. Freshman 2. Sophomore 3. Junior 4. Senior

II. INSTRUCTIONS:

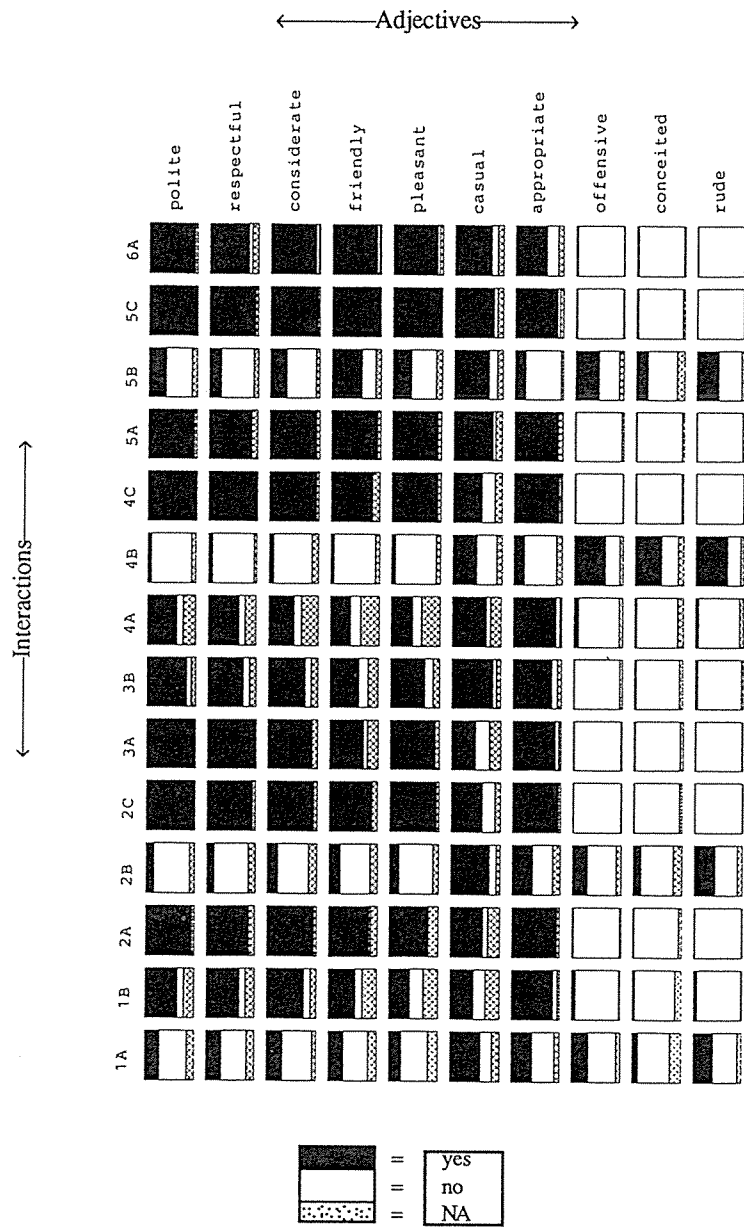
Listed below are (1) interactional situations you may encounter; (2) some examples of what a person might do or say to you in a given situation; and (3) adjectives which you might use to describe the conduct/verbal expression of the person. Please read them carefully. Then, circle the appropriate answer for each of the adjectives based on HOW YOU MIGHT INTERPRET THE DESCRIBED BEHAVIOR HAD IT BEEN DIRECTED TOWARD YOU.

The answer category, "NA" stands for "Can't tell either Yes or No."

Interactions:

- 1: You and your close friend planned to go to see a movie one evening. That morning, your friend called you and postponed the date because...
 - (A) he/she was asked out for dinner by his/her boyfriend/girl-friend.
 - (B) something urgent had turned up.
- 2: You were at the laundromat on a busy evening. One of the machines being used by a student stopped working. The student walked up to you and...
 - (A) asked you to let him/her borrow your pen to write a note of warning for other customers.
 - (B) said to you, "Got a pen I can use?"
 - (C) said to you, "Excuse me. Do you have a pen I could use for a minute?"
- 3: Suppose you were an assistant professor. You made a critical comment on a student's term paper and asked him/her to rewrite a section. The student replied...
 - (A) "I'm sorry. I do see your point. I'll give it another try."
 - (B) "I see. I'll give it another try."
- 4: Again, suppose you were an assistant professor. You gave a student a C on a term paper. The student came to you and...
 - (A) asked the reason why the paper was a C.
 - (B) said to you, "What's wrong with this term paper? You only gave it a C. I worked hard and it should get at least a B."
 - (C) said to you, "I'd like to ask you about my term paper. The C was a little disappointing after all the care I gave it. I wonder if you could show me where I went wrong."
- 5: Your male friend has just gotten married.
 - (A) He invited you and your friend for dinner to meet his wife.
 - (B) He said, "My wife can't cook very well, nor is she a good housekeeper. But I do hope you and your friend will come to dinner next Saturday."
 - (C) He said, "My wife loves to cook. We'll both enjoy having you and your friend for dinner next Saturday."
- 6: You were late for your appointment by fifteen minutes. You apologized to your friend upon your arrival.
 - (A) Your friend responded, even though he/she was there on time, "Don't worry. I've just gotten here too."

Appendix B: American subjects' choice of adjectives for interactional situations



Appendix C: Japanese subjects' choice of adjectives for interactional situations

