A Comparative Study of Perceived Politeness
in Chinese and Japanese Verbal Communication

Lin Tao
Kanazawa University, Japan

Abstract: A comparative study of perceived politeness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication was carried out by taking an opinion poll of 150 Chinese and 150 Japanese university students. Based on the results, similarities and differences in the politeness of communicative behavior in modern China and Japan were examined. This study examines cultural and linguistic differences between Chinese and Japanese in the perception of impolite behavior. Furthermore, it provides insight into the traditional moral values embodied in impolite behavior in both countries and also analyzes the results from the standpoint of gender. The Asia-centric focus of this study is important for future research on politeness. The findings reported in this paper are helpful in understanding cultural and linguistic differences in intercultural communication. They are also useful in improving our understanding of the perceived politeness of the two cultural groups, which will promote smoother communication and help prevent misunderstandings from arising.

Keywords: Perceived politeness, verbal communication, intercultural communication, cultural and linguistic diversity, gender

1. Introduction

With a dramatic increase in the extent of cultural exchanges and business cooperation between the Chinese and Japanese in the past three decades, it is necessary to clarify the similarities and differences between the cultures with regard to traditional ideas, values, beliefs, and behavior in order to prevent misunderstandings from arising.

There are concepts of communicative virtues that have been developed over a long period of time and undergo continual transformation in social interactions. They are concepts to which members of a society refer in evaluating the social behavior of others as well as themselves (Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita, 1996). Many researchers are now studying this subject. For example, Hermanns (1993) and Yamashita (1993) have researched concepts for evaluating communicative behavior in German, and Nishijima (1996) has done the same for Japanese. Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino and Kawasaki (1992) wrote about the concept of politeness in an empirical study of American English and Japanese. Many researchers (Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita, 1996; Nam, Nishijima & Saiki, 2006; Nishijima, 2007; Nishijima & Tao 2009; and Tao 2008, 2010, among others) have done comparative research in this field. However, there has been little study on a number of important questions:

- How do Chinese and Japanese differ in perceiving impolite behavior?
- What differences are there between Chinese and Japanese regarding situations in

which a person uses politeness language but, in fact, is not truly being polite?

• What do Chinese and Japanese think about situations in which a person uses impolite language but, in fact, is being polite?

The theory of politeness of Brown and Levinson was first published in 1978. Kasper (1990) summarized the work of Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and Leech (1983) as follows: Politeness is viewed as a rational, rule-governed, pragmatic aspect of speech that is rooted in the human need to maintain relationships and avoid conflicts. By being mutually supportive and avoiding threats to face, according to the standard argument, speakers maintain smooth relations and sustain successful communication. The underlying rational, motivational, and functional foundations of politeness are assumed to be, to some extent, universal, and are assumed to influence, and be reflected in, various modes of speech in many different languages and cultures (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Different cultural and linguistic groups express politeness in different ways. That is, the range of behaviors deemed polite in American or British society, for example, may be quite different from the behaviors described by the word "*teinei*" (politeness) in Japanese and the expression "*you limao*" (politeness) in Chinese. Linguistic politeness, then, reflects cultural values. Correctly identifying polite behavior in a culture involves understanding the society's values (Holmes, 1995). As (2010) argued, "However, when one applies the maxim and definition of politeness, one has to take into account the conventions and norms of politeness, too; otherwise one might arrive at the wrong results. For example, unless one knows the existence of the respective norm, one will not understand that it is impolite in some cultures to start a common meal without having wished each other to enjoy the meal, and that it is impolite in other cultures not to give thanks for the last meal one has had with someone when one encounters that person again." (p.1281)

So it is important to know what is impolite. Perceived impoliteness is an interesting research theme in the study of intercultural communication, sociolinguistics, psychology, psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, and pragmatics. To elucidate the differences in the perception of impolite behavior between the two cultures, a study employing a 28-question questionnaire was carried out on basic features of politeness concepts for communication behavior. This paper reports some of the findings.

Research in this field is needed to break down communication barriers between Chinese and Japanese who come into daily contact with each other. Although politeness may be expressed both verbally and non-verbally, this study focused on polite and impolite verbal communication, that is, on the use of words to express politeness and impoliteness. However, we also consider the influence of personal psychology in intercultural communication. An opinion poll was given to Chinese and Japanese university students to collect data for a comparative study of perceived politeness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication. Based on the results, the similarities and differences between the concept of impoliteness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication are examined. This study provides insights into the traditional moral values on which polite behavior is based in both countries and also analyzes the results from the standpoint of gender. The specific purpose of this study was to discover how Chinese and Japanese differ in perceiving impolite behavior.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 300 respondents. They were college students living in China and Japan. Data were collected from these 300 respondents. 150 Chinese students (50 males, 100 females) were enrolled at universities in Beijing (March 2009) and 150 Japanese students (50 males, 100 females) were enrolled at universities in Tokyo (November 2008), and Toyama and Kanazawa (May 2009). The ages of the participants ranged from 17 to 28 years.

2.2. Materials and Procedure

This study employed written questionnaires. The Japanese questionnaire surveyed current conceptualizations of what constitutes *teinei*, according to university students, and was taken from Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita (1996). It was translated into Chinese. The survey allowed us to plot the concepts of communicative behavior concerning politeness, *teinei*, and *limao* against other concepts in English, Japanese, and Chinese that assess human behavior. Thus, Chinese and Japanese versions of the questionnaire were prepared. In order to avoid the distortions of direct translation, bilingual and bicultural speakers discussed the translation and verified the accuracy of the final form.

Some of the questions on the questionnaire were multiple-choice, but most allowed the students to respond freely. This paper concerns findings based on five of the 28 questions. These five open questions allowed the respondents to respond freely.

Question 1:   What would you think if a person did not use polite language when talking to you?
Question 2:   Are there any situations in which a person uses polite language but, in fact, is not truly being polite?
Question 3:   Can you think of any examples?
Question 4:   Are there any situations in which a person does not use polite language but, in fact, is being polite?
Question 5:   Can you think of any examples?

3. Results

The analysis of the data obtained from the written questionnaire involved first separating the responses by gender. Then, qualitative differences among the answers to a question were obtained by grouping the responses into specific categories. This analysis revealed great variety in the types of responses. Below, similarities and differences in the polite and impolite behavior described by Chinese and Japanese students are examined. The detailed tables are included in the Appendix.

Regarding Question 1 ("What would you think if a person did not use polite language when

talking to you?"), Table 1 classifies the types of responses by nationality and gender. Chinese students gave fifteen types of answers. Most thought that it would be uneducated or ill-bred, be impolite, make them feel bad, or be rude. The male Chinese gave eight types of answers: They thought that it would be uneducated or ill-bred (32%), be impolite (18%), make them feel bad (12%), or be rude (8%). The female Chinese gave fifteen types of answers, which is almost double the number that the males gave. Most of them thought it would be uneducated or ill-bred (31%), be impolite (20%), they would dislike it (7%), or it would be rude (7%).

The Japanese students gave twenty-two types of answers. Most of them thought that it would be bad, unpleasant, impolite, lacking in propriety, uneducated or ill-bred, or lacking in common sense. The male Japanese gave seventeen types of answers. They thought it would make them feel bad (22%), be unpleasant (10%), be lacking in common sense (8%), or be lacking in propriety (6%). The female Japanese gave seventeen types of answers. They thought it would make them feel bad (13%), be impolite (12%), be unpleasant (10%), be lacking in propriety (9%), or be uneducated or ill-bred (9%). An important finding of this study is the cultural differences regarding the responses "be uneducated or ill-bred", "be unpleasant", "be impolite", and "make one feel bad." More Chinese than Japanese felt that the person was uneducated or ill-bred (male, 32%; female, 31%) or impolite (male, 18%; female, 20%); but more Japanese than Chinese thought that the person was unpleasant (male, 10%; female, 10%) or it would make them feel bad (male, 22%; female, 13%). Of particular interest is the fact that no Chinese students would feel that the person was unpleasant or lacking in common sense.

The results show that most of the Chinese and Japanese students felt that a person who did not use polite language would be impolite and it would make them feel bad. Only a few of them felt that it would be normal or that they would not really care. This reflects the fact that most of the Chinese and Japanese students are conscious of whether or not polite language used.

Who uses polite expressions more, males or females? A study by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyusho, 1957, p. 377) concluded that Japanese females are generally more *teinei* (polite) than males. Also see Smith (1992) for a more recent report on this persistent behavior. In a study by Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita (1996, p. 391), 69.7% of the informants had this opinion, while 23% had the opposite opinion, namely, that males are more *teinei* than females. Only 7.2 % answered that there was no difference between the sexes with regard to degree of politeness. This study shows that there is a gender difference regarding whether it would be normal for a person not to use polite expressions or whether the listener would really care. Males (Chinese: 20%; Japanese: 25%) tended to respond in this way more than females.

To summarize, the types of behavior covered by the Japanese term *teinei* show that traditional aspects of politeness in Japan (common sense, social position, etc.) still remain. The Chinese concept of *limao* (politeness, including respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, refinement) is also still meaningful to Chinese students.

Regarding Question 2 ("Are there any situations in which a person uses polite language but, in fact, is not truly being polite?"), the results in Table 2 show that 94% of Chinese males and females answered in the affirmative, while the remaining 6% answered in the negative. For Japanese, 100% of males and 98% of females said yes. Thus, male and female Chinese and Japanese students all basically agree on this point.

Regarding Question 3 ("Can you think of any examples?"), Table 3 shows the responses, classified by nationality and gender. Both Chinese and Japanese students gave a great variety of responses. Of the twenty types of answers given by male Chinese, the most common are: on official, diplomatic, and social occasions (12%); when a person is serving customers (12%); when dining with a person one does not like or when one does not feel good about a person (8%). Of the twenty-one types of answers given by female Chinese, the most common are: when dining with a person one does not like or when one does not feel good about a person (15%); when ill feelings arise or the mood becomes aggressive (10%); and on official, diplomatic, or social occasions (9%).

On the other hand, of the twenty-two types of answers given by Japanese males, the most common are: when a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad (16%); when a person is serving customers (14%); when a person gives a public apology on television (10%); and on official, diplomatic, or social occasions (8%). Of the twenty-three types of answers given by Japanese females, the most common are: when a person is serving customers (10%); when a person is just pretending to be nice (9%); on official, diplomatic, or social occasions (8%), and when a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad (8%).

The many differences in the opinions of the Chinese and Japanese students reveal cultural differences between the two groups. For instance, both male and female Chinese gave the examples of "when dining with a person one does not like or when one does not feel good about a person"; but few Japanese responded in that way. Many Japanese gave the example of "when a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad," but few Chinese said that. And many Japanese mentioned a public apology on television and pretending to be nice to someone, but no Chinese did. We also find that the responses of males sometimes differ from those of females. For example, many Chinese females mentioned "when ill feelings arise or the mood becomes aggressive", but no males did. And male Japanese gave the example of "when a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad," but few female Japanese said that.

Generally speaking, the large variety of opinions expressed in response to Question 3 (Table 3) reveal cultural differences between Chinese and Japanese. For example, more Japanese than Chinese mentioned "when a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad", "serving a customer", and "pretending to be nice." From the answers, we can see that, in public, Japanese culture emphasizes *tatemae* (facade) rather than *honne* (true feelings).

Regarding Question 4 ("Are there any situations in which a person does not use polite language but, in fact, is being polite?"), the results (Table 4) show that 100% of Japanese males and 95% of Japanese females answered in the affirmative. Regarding Chinese students, 74% of males and 80% of females answered yes, while 26% of males and 20% of females said no. So, there does not seem to be any difference between the attitudes of Chinese males and females. However, more Chinese than Japanese thought that such a situation never arose. This research shows that most Chinese and Japanese respondents think that such situations exist.

Regarding Question 5 ("Can you think of any examples?"), both Chinese and Japanese students expressed a great variety of views (Table 5). Chinese males gave sixteen types of answers, the most common of which are: when talking to good friends, to create a good mood, or in a gathering of friends (32%); in family situations (12%); and with acquaintances (6%). For female Chinese, of the sixteen types of answers, the main ones are: when talking to good

friends, to create a good mood, or in a gathering of friends (32%); in family situations (11%); and when joking (6%).

On the other hand, of the twenty-two types of answers given by male Japanese, the main ones are: when talking to good friends, to create a good mood, and in a gathering of friends (28%); when it is difficult to express oneself clearly (8%); and when the mood is unpleasant, when one does not feel good about something, when one is angry (8%). Of the thirty types of answers given by female Japanese, the main ones are; when talking to good friends, to create a good mood, and in a gathering of friends (38%); as an expression or gesture (6%); when a person wishes to express true gratitude (5%); and when it is difficult to express oneself clearly (5%).

The many differences between the opinions of Chinese and Japanese students reveal cultural differences between the two groups. For example, both male and female Chinese gave the example of family situations, but no Japanese responded in that way. We also find that the responses of males sometimes differ from those of females. For example, a greater number of female than male Japanese mentioned talking to good friends, to create a good mood, and in a gathering of friends. Roughly 15% more Chinese than Japanese gave no answer at all to Question 5.

Generally speaking, there are many differences in the opinions of Chinese and Japanese students. In the Chinese data, there were no answers such as "when it is difficult to express oneself clearly", "as an expression or gesture", or "when a person wishes to express true gratitude." On the other hand, the Japanese data did not include such answers as "when joking" or "in family situations".

Here, our findings also show cultural differences between Chinese and Japanese. The wide variety of responses to this question is highly representative of the broad range of polite forms employed by each group. Their opinions differ a great deal.

4. Discussion

This study used a questionnaire to compare perceived politeness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication and to elucidate similarities and differences between the two cultures. The use of polite ways of speaking by Chinese and Japanese students was analyzed with regard to the occasions when they are used or not used, and by gender. The results not only reflect the characteristics of Chinese and Japanese cultural and behavioral differences in perceived politeness in communicative behavior, but also objectively compare the awareness and usage of polite expressions in the two languages. It is natural to expect great differences in degree of politeness related to differences in politeness demands.

The results show that most of the Chinese students thought that a failure to use polite language would show you to be uneducated or ill-bred, would be impolite, would give rise to bad feelings, would be rude, or would create a bad impression. On the other hand, most of the Japanese students thought that it would give rise to bad feelings, would be unpleasant for the listener, would be impolite, would show a lack of propriety or common sense, or would show a person to be uneducated or ill-bred. This demonstrates that both Chinese and Japanese students are aware that the use of politeness in verbal communication is very important in maintaining

good human relations.

There is a growing awareness that the term "politeness" needs to be defined more precisely and consistently if more fruitful cross-cultural research on politeness is to be pursued (cf. Watts, Ide, & Ehlich, 1992). Mao (1994) stated the relationship between Chinese face and politeness (*limao*): "More specifically, to be polite, that is, *you limao* (有禮貌) in Chinese discourse is, in many respects, to know how to attend to each other's *mianzi* and *lian* and to enact speech acts appropriate to and worthy of such an image. Otherwise stated, mainland Chinese speakers can be seen as being polite if they demonstrate with words their knowledge of *mianzi* and *lian*, such a demonstration tends to epitomize politeness in the eyes of their discourse partners." (p. 463). The closest Chinese equivalent to the English word "politeness" is "*limao*."

Gu (1990) pointed out that there are basically four notions underlying the Chinese conception of *limao*: respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement. In the last three decades or so, the "Beautification of Speech" campaign has tried to revive the four elements, which are part of Chinese heritage, and has explicitly appealed to the nation to abide by them. Deference is an important element of modern *limao*. Its social function is to maintain harmony, eliminate conflict, and promote cooperation between people.

I quite agree with Mao's argument (1994) that "to understand Chinese politeness, it is necessary to study *face* (*mianzi* and *lian*) from an 'emic' perspective" (p. 466). That is, being polite in Chinese discourse makes a good impression on the person one is speaking to and on those nearby; and it improves one's reputation (*lian* and *mianzi*) in society because polite behavior is praised by society. Thus, one earns a good reputation, thereby increasing one's self-respect.

According to Haugh (2007), the 'emic' notion of politeness in Japanese can be approached, in the first instance, from the perspective of two key lexemes: *teinei* and *reigi* (*tadashii*). Language usage plays a large role in Japanese politeness. The use of *keigo* (honorific forms) is a major strategy in demonstrating politeness in Japan (Ogawa & Gudykunst, 1999-2000). Japanese scholars speculate that it developed from terms used to praise God, terms used to avoid taboos, and other types of expressions. The use of beautiful language toward God was thought to bring happiness to people through the magical power of language, thus functioning as a positive strategy. Honorific forms also originated from expressions referring to something or someone of high status. As these expressions were used repeatedly over time, they became conventional grammatical forms and crystallized into a system of honorific forms.

Akasu and Asao (1993) explain that "*keigo* typically is used to show deference to the listener, to some third party, or to some referent related to him/her. That means that the person to whom the *keigo* is directed must be someone worthy in some way of that deference." (p. 98). The more recent conceptualization of politeness in Japanese shifts the focus away from a concern for social position (*mibun*) or status (*chi'i*) to potentially less hierarchical dimensions, such as the dignity and character of others (*jinkaku*).

In Japanese, it is crucial for a speaker to perceive the social context, such as the kind of situation or setting that he or she is in. It is also called discernment; that is, in contact between Japanese people, the speaker should pay attention to addressing certain factors of the situation, and then select an appropriate linguistic form and appropriate behavior. Obana (1994) reported that her respondents associated politeness with knowing where one stands

in social interactions (*wakimae*, discernment), showing upward respect (*kei'i*) towards others and modesty about oneself, as well as horizontal distance. Interesting additions to the notions of politeness that emerge from ordinary speakers of Japanese, which are not encompassed by dictionary definitions, include showing consideration and relational distance towards others, as well as modesty towards oneself. Moreover, politeness in Japanese can also involve showing one's social standing (*shitsuke*, good breeding), although this is restricted to certain individuals who use beautification honorifics to show good breeding (Ide, 2005). Politeness thus involves not only showing what one thinks of others, but also what one thinks of oneself (Chen, 2002; Haugh, 2007; Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Ruhi, 2006).

To summarize, politeness in Japanese verbal communication is somewhat similar to that in Chinese. According to Werkhofer (1992), we are beginning to understand how politeness is actually constituted and used not only in terms of purportedly universal principles, but in both universal and specific terms, thus finally taking into account social realities, be they traditional or modern. More Japanese than Chinese students felt that a failure to use polite language would make the other person feel unpleasant, from which we can conclude that honorific speech has a greater impact on the minds of Japanese students. That is, they feel that it is common sense to use polite language and that a failure to do so would make them feel unpleasant.

Both China and Japan have long been known as lands of ceremony and propriety. This study shows that the concept of politeness in communicative behavior is specific to a particular culture, sense of values, and standard. For example, based on four notions underlying the Chinese concept of *limao* (respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement), more Chinese than Japanese students think that, if a person does not use polite language, he/she would be uneducated or ill-bred. This is because being polite in Chinese discourse makes a good impression on the person to whom one is speaking and on the people nearby, and it improves one's reputation (*lian* and *mianzi*); that is, polite behavior is praised by society. Thus, one earns a good reputation and self-respect. On the other hand, in Japan the use of polite expressions when serving customers, pretending to be nice, or when a person's attitude and way of speaking are bad may relate to the Japanese concepts of *tatemae* (facade) to *honne* (true feelings). The traditional aspects of politeness in Japanese society, including upward respect, modesty, social position, and rank, still remain. Meanwhile, women in both China and Japan tend to be more verbally polite than men (Tao, 2010), as was also shown in Meng, Li, and Wang's research (2007).

The results for Questions 2 to 5 show that the concept of politeness in intercultural communicative behavior should include both verbal communication and nonverbal communication. That is, just the verbal communication of politeness is not enough. If you want to communicate smoothly, and if you want to make a good impression on the person to whom you are speaking, you should not only speak politely, but also show the other person a warm polite feeling from the heart. It is also important to display a kind, warm, polite feeling in communication behavior.

5. Conclusion

This study is a contribution to research on politeness. The comparative study of perceived

politeness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication is a very interesting theme. This research investigated the opinions of Chinese and Japanese students regarding their cultural awareness and their mentality and psychology concerning politeness in communicative behavior. It provides insight into the traditional moral values embodied in polite behavior in both countries and also analyzes the results from the standpoint of gender. It explores cultural similarities and differences in perceived politeness in verbal communication between Chinese and Japanese. There is clearly a need for much more empirical research in this area. It is also useful to try to understand the polite expressions of the two cultural groups. It will be necessary to do a similar analysis of perceived politeness in other societies in the future to examine how to improve cooperation through an understanding of communicative behavior. Further research on perceived politeness in Chinese and Japanese verbal communication should more fully explore cultural and linguistic differences, and other issues, perhaps by using a different methodology or a different group of informants to confirm the findings of this study.

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Author Note

Dr. Tao Lin (Ph.D.) is a visiting researcher at National Kanazawa University, and has published widely in the area of pragmatics and intercultural communication. Her publications include "Politeness in Chinese and Japanese Verbal Communication" (*Intercultural Communication Studies, 2010*), "A Comparative Study of Evaluating Concepts of

Communicative Behavior Concerning 'Politeness' in Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Russian" (*The Study of Vocabulary, 2010, 2011, 2012*).

Appendix

Table 1. Types of Responses to Question 1, Classified by Nationality and Gender

Types of Responses to Question 1	Male Chinese	Female Chinese	Male Japanese	Female Japanese
It would be uneducated or ill-bred.	**32%**	**31%**	4%	9%
It would be impolite.	**18%**	**20%**	4%	**12%**
It would make me feel bad.	**12%**	5%	**22%**	**13%**
It would be unpleasant.	0%	0%	**10%**	**10%**
It would show a lack of common sense.	0%	0%	**8%**	6%
It would show a lack of propriety.	0%	2%	6%	9%
It would be rude.	8%	**7%**	4%	0%
I would dislike it.	0%	**7%**	4%	3%
It would be careless even though the person is an adult.	0%	0%	2%	6%
It would create a bad impression.	6%	2%	4%	5%
It depends on time, situation, and context.	4%	5%	2%	0%
It would show a lack of manners.	0%	0%	2%	4%
It would be foolish or regrettable.	0%	0%	0%	4%
I would look down on that person.	0%	4%	0%	0%
It would show a lack of training or shame.	0%	0%	4%	0%
That person should be born again.	0%	0%	2%	0%
It would be bad.	0%	0%	0%	3%
That person could not live in this society.	0%	0%	2%	1%
It would be disrespectful.	0%	2%	0%	0%
It would be a bad habit.	0%	2%	0%	0%
I would feel social distance.	0%	0%	2%	0%
It would show that one doesn't know one's place.	0%	0%	0%	2%
It would show forthrightness of character.	0%	1%	0%	0%

It would show that the person is reliable.	0%	1%	0%	1%
It would show a lack of concern.	2%	4%	0%	2%
It would be normal. I would not really care.	18%	7%	18%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Types of Responses to Question 2, Classified by Nationality and Gender

Types of Responses to Question 2	Male Chinese	Female Chinese	Male Japanese	Female Japanese
Yes.	94%	94%	100%	98%
No.	6%	6%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3. Types of Responses to Question 3, Classified by Nationality and Gender

Types of Responses to Question 3	Male Chinese	Female Chinese	Male Japanese	Female Japanese
When dining with a person one does not like or when one does not feel good about a person	8%	**15%**	0%	6%
When a person is serving customers	**12%**	5%	**14%**	**10%**
When a person's attitude or way of speaking is bad	6%	0%	**16%**	**8%**
On official, diplomatic, or social occasions	**12%**	9%	8%	**8%**
When ill feelings arise or the mood becomes aggressive	0%	**10%**	0%	3%
When a person is just pretending to be nice (*Tatemae*)	0%	0%	4%	**9%**
When a person gives a public apology (on television)	0%	0%	**10%**	3%
When eating, or speaking with people you do not know very well/When you tell an uninteresting story to a person to whom you are not close	6%	6%	2%	2%
When talking about someone you dislike	0%	2%	4%	6%
In a gathering of friends	4%	5%	0%	0%
In everyday conversation/When you are conversing casually	0%	0%	4%	2%
To strangers or in a gathering of strangers	0%	5%	0%	0%
When praising or complimenting	0%	0%	6%	0%
When the mood is bad./To slander someone	4%	0%	4%	3%
On a date. At a dance party	4%	0%	0%	0%
When another person is speaking, he or she does not look that person in the eye	0%	0%	4%	0%
It is really unnatural/When you have an opposing view	4%	0%	0%	0%
When it is handled perfunctorily	0%	2%	0%	0%

When a person is lying	4%	0%	0%	0%
When you want to leave early/When you are in a hurry	0%	0%	4%	0%
When calling a person	0%	1%	2%	3%
When there is a sense of purpose in doing so	2%	0%	0%	0%
When reading a play	0%	0%	2%	2%
When something is troublesome	0%	0%	2%	2%
When you are negligent, or when it is a negligent way of speaking	2%	3%	0%	0%
One might think so at that time	0%	0%	2%	2%
When being curt	0%	0%	2%	1%
When being sarcastic	2%	1%	2%	0%
When irritated	0%	2%	0%	1%
Many situations	2%	1%	0%	0%
When being sycophantic/ When being sick.	2%	2%	0%	0%
When there is a strange person	0%	0%	2%	0%
When expressing strong determination by using polite language	2%	0%	0%	0%
When you are not convinced by what a person is saying/When you think it is unpleasant/ When a person is sad	0%	0%	0%	2%
When you are in a situation in which there is a person whom you have to respect	2%	0%	0%	0%
When being playful or half-joking	0%	0%	2%	0%
When meeting an uncultured person	0%	2%	0%	0%
When you are very relaxed, and there is no social distance/When it is absolutely necessary to do so	0%	2%	0%	0%
When the idea, the words, and/or the action do not correspond with each other	2%	0%	0%	0%
When one's request is rejected	2%	0%	0%	0%
From a junior to a senior	0%	0%	2%	0%
When thinking out loud	0%	0%	0%	1%
When one is unconcerned about shame	0%	0%	0%	1%
When contemporaries talk	0%	1%	0%	0%
When adults greet each other	0%	1%	0%	0%
When you think that a person will not agree	0%	0%	0%	1%
When you want to be treated well at a place	0%	0%	0%	1%
When an employee deals with an impolite customer	0%	1%	0%	0%
No answer	18%	24%	2%	23%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4. Types of Responses to Question 4, Classified by Nationality and Gender

Types of Responses to Question 4	Male Chinese	Female Chinese	Male Japanese	Female Japanese
Yes.	74%	80%	100%	95%
No.	26%	20%	0%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5. Types of Responses to Question 5, Classified by Nationality and Gender

Types of Responses to Question 5	Male Chinese	Female Chinese	Male Japanese	Female Japanese
When talking to good friends, to create a good mood, or in a gathering of friends	32%	32%	28%	38%
In family situations (Chinese)/When speaking with parents (Japanese)	**12%**	**11%**	2%	2%
When it is difficult to express oneself clearly	0%	0%	**8%**	**5%**
When the mood is unpleasant/When one does not feel good about something/When one is angry	2%	3%	**8%**	1%
When telling a close friend an important story/When speaking to a teacher/When saying something very serious	4%	4%	6%	0%
As an expression or gesture	0%	0%	2%	**6%**
With acquaintances	**6%**	0%	0%	0%
When joking	4%	**6%**	0%	0%
When a person wishes to express true gratitude	0%	0%	2%	**5%**
When one feels excitement and cannot express it in words	0%	5%	0%	0%
When one is emotional/When speaking with a senior	0%	0%	4%	1%
When asking a teacher a question at school/When a teacher scolds a student	0%	0%	4%	0%
When using sarcasm/When seriously counting	0%	0%	4%	0%
When one does not want to display obedience/When you are very happy	0%	0%	4%	0%
When good friends praise each other/When one is praised	0%	0%	4%	0%
When one is very excited and happy	4%	0%	0%	0%
In a group of individuals/When telling stories at night	4%	0%	0%	0%
Between lovers	4%	0%	0%	0%
In a light-hearted situation/In an especially tense situation/On a formal occasion	0%	3%	0%	0%
When something makes you feel very indignant/When one's tone is very ardent	0%	3%	0%	0%
When you respect a person/When you associate with a kind person whom you respect (Chinese)	0%	3%	0%	1%

In many situations	2%	1%	2%	0%
When speaking to a person whom one trusts	0%	0%	2%	1%
When one is snappish	0%	0%	2%	1%
When one smiles/When one thinks about a smile one sees	0%	0%	2%	2%
When consulting a person about something worrisome	0%	0%	2%	1%
It depends on time, situation, and context	0%	2%	2%	1%
When being frank/When being considerate	0%	0%	0%	3%
When the language is not good, but the feelings are kind/When you meet a person you like, and the mood is good	0%	2%	0%	0%
When a person feels proud	0%	0%	2%	0%
When the person is in charge of physical education	0%	0%	2%	0%
When a clumsy person speaks badly	0%	0%	0%	2%
When the teacher speaks	0%	0%	0%	2%
When I think that I am happy	0%	0%	0%	1%
When a person with such a character arrives	0%	0%	0%	2%
When you urgently need to tell a person something/ When there are words of disagreement	0%	0%	0%	2%
When you want to make friends with a person	0%	2%	0%	0%
When the language is not understood	2%	0%	0%	0%
When you are being taught by someone senior	0%	0%	2%	0%
When talking to a young boy	2%	0%	0%	2%
When a superior says it/When a kind uncle or aunt says it	0%	0%	0%	2%
When a benefactor says it	2%	0%	0%	0%
To create a cheerful atmosphere and indicate that one is easy to approach	2%	0%	0%	0%
When someone helps me	2%	0%	0%	0%
When there is a quarrel/ When the other person apologizes to me after a quarrel	0%	0%	0%	2%
When you are scolded by a friend, etc	0%	0%	0%	2%
When you try to hide your shame and speak curtly	0%	0%	0%	1%
When your real intentions are revealed	0%	0%	0%	1%
When the language is soft	0%	0%	0%	1%
When a person feels shy	0%	0%	0%	1%
When love turns to hate	0%	0%	0%	1%
When you go to a shop	0%	0%	0%	1%
When you do not get along well with a person, but it needs to be said when we are together	0%	1%	0%	0%
When telling a story in a simple way	0%	1%	0%	0%
No answer	20%	21%	6%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%