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GOODBYE,YOU OR I?
A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC PATTERNS
IN AMERICAN AND CHINESE LEAVE-TAKING AFTER DINNER

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Li Qing Kinnison

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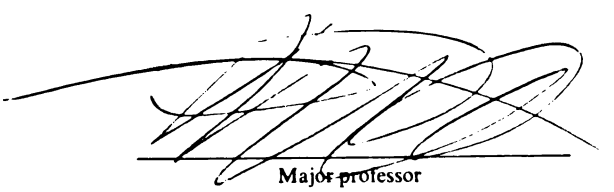

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GOOD-BYE, *YOU* OR *I?*
A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC PATTERNS IN AMERICAN AND CHINESE LEAVE-TAKING AFTER DINNER

By

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ABSTRACT

"GOOD-BYE, *YOU* OR *I*?"- A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC PATTERNS IN AMERICAN AND CHINESE LEAVE-TAKING AFTER DINNER

By

Li Qing Kinnison

This is a comparative study on linguistic routines used by American and Chinese guests at leave-taking after dinner. Like many other daily routines, leave-taking is highly conventionalized and follows prefabricated routines and has an adaptive value in facilitating social relations. The data collected for this study has shown that, even though both groups employ a number of the same speech acts, there is a marked difference in the structural construction of this speech event, in the frequency of some speech acts, and in the attitudes towards "polite" ways of leave-taking used by the other group. Brown and Levinson's theory of universal politeness provides a sound explanation for the American *I*-patterned (self-oriented) leave-taking but fails to explain the Chinese *you*-patterned (other-oriented) farewell. Their failure comes from their western understanding about politeness that focuses on the freedom of self to make decisions without being imposed on, which cannot apply to some non-western cultures where the self is subordinate to others. Applying to O'Driscoll's revision (1996) of Brown and Levinson's face dualism, this paper argues that there is a universal concern for a good face in conducting a polite linguistic behavior. The concept of self is the parameter of this universal politeness, which accounts for various linguistic politeness across different cultures.

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INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that being polite is a universal concept, but what is perceived as politeness and how to be polite in a speech event, however, is culturally different and language specific (Blum-Kulla, 1987; 1989, 1992; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Coulmas, 1979, 1981; Fraser, 1981, 1990; Gu, 1990; House, 1993; Ide et al., 1992; Janney and Arndt, 1992, 1993; Kasper, 1981, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1997; O'Driscoll, 1996; Scollon and Scollon, 1983, 1991, 1994, 1995; Watts et al. 1992; Wilson, 1992, 1993). Linguistic etiquette is one of the focuses in the study of politeness. How to explain the diversity of culturally rooted linguistic etiquette has attracted many scholars in the past two decades. Among various approaches to linguistic politeness, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1978, 1987) is probably one of the few comprehensive, unified frameworks (Fraser 1990; Janney and Arndt 1993; O'Driscoll 1992; Schmidt 1993). It is also the only theory, as O'Driscoll (1996) states, "which specifically claims its pancultural validity" and "its potential application to intercultural studies" (p.1). Since 1978 when Brown and Levinson first proposed their theory, this universal politeness in language usage has generated a wealth of conceptual and empirical research that has contributed greatly to the study on cross-cultural communication and interlanguage pragmatics. Their theory, as Janney and Arndt (1993) predict, "will no doubt continue to provide important impetus for cross-cultural research for some time to come" (p.15).

However comprehensive as Brown and Levinson's theory is, their claimed universal applicability of the theory has encountered objections from both western and non-western politeness researchers (Ambady et al, 1996; Blum-Kulka 1987, 1992; Brown, R., 1989; Chen, 1993; Gu 1990; Hill et al., 1986; Ide et al. 1992; Janney and Arndt 1993; Li-shih,

1994; Mao, 1992, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Watts et al., 1992; Wierzbicka, 1985). Its claimed universality, as O'Dricoll (1996) points out, has been called into question from "both an empirical and theoretical viewpoint" (p. 3). The critics argue that the conceptual perspective of Brown and Levinson's work is Anglo-American bias because it is based on British analytical logic and North American social psychology, therefore, it is too culturally bound to account for non-Western notions and forms of polite communication (Watts et al, 1992). Some researchers argue that the problem lies in the face concept of the theory which is "an individualistic, 'self'-oriented image" (Mao, 1994:455). Others contend that their concept of negative face want is not the concern of the culture where group identity overrides self interest and conforming to social norms is more concerned than satisfying self desire (Gu, 1990; Ide et al, 1992; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Mao, 1994; Watts et al. 1992). Brown and Levinson's theory may work well in atomistic and individualistic societies in the western world, Nwoye (1992) claims, but not in a non-Western culture where group concern is stressed above the individual (p. 312).

Following this line, I did a pilot study (the details will be discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) comparing linguistic routines used by American and Chinese guests at leave-taking after dinner to further investigate the applicability of Brown and Levinson's theory of universal politeness. The result of that study shows that, even though both speech communities employ quite a number of the same speech acts, such as announcing leave-taking, giving excuses, expressing gratitude, appreciation, etc., there is marked difference both in the structural construction in each stage of this speech event and in the frequency

of each speech act used in this phatic moment by American and Chinese guests when showing politeness.

The Chinese leave-taking, according to Brown and Levinson's theory, is composed of more "bald" and "intrinsic" FTAs (face threatening acts). They employ many *you*-patterned (other-oriented) speech acts including giving excuses for taking their leave, such as "*You* are tired and you should go to bed," "*You*'ve been working the whole day; *you* need to rest early," etc. These speech acts, judged by Brown and Levinson, are threatening the negative face of their host, "his basic want to maintain claims to territory and self-determination" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 70). Contrary to their Chinese counterparts, American guests seem to obey the rules of Brown and Levinson's theory by showing their "respect" to the negative face of their hosts with *I*-patterned (*self*-oriented) excuses, such as "*My* wife is getting restless," "Our kids are all coming for dinner tomorrow, *I*'ll have to do a little cooking tonight," etc.

My pilot study, which is supported by the other researchers (Gu, 1990; Lii-shih, 1994; Mao, 1994; Nwoye, 1992; Scollon and Scollon, 1983, 1995), shows that the difference between Chinese and the American guests arises from two opposite cultures: collectivism and individualism. Although Brown and Levinson's theory provides a sound explanation for the American data with their notions of positive and negative politeness, they fail to explain the speech acts used by the Chinese guests in leave-taking. As criticized by other politeness researchers, this failure came from their western understanding about politeness with focuses on the self's freedom to make decisions without being imposed on. That, however, cannot apply to non-western culture where the self is subordinate to the other. The Chinese *other*-oriented (*you*-patterned) leave-taking

and the American *self*-oriented (*I*-oriented) farewell shown in my pilot study have provided more evidence for the justification of this criticism. This paper is a continuation of my previous comparative study of different linguistic patterns employed in leave-taking after dinner by Chinese and Americans.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

1.1 Rationale and objectives of the study

Leave-taking, like many other routines in daily life, "is highly conventionalized and follows prefabricated routines and has an adaptive value in facilitating social relations" (Firth 1972, cited in Laver, 1981, p. 289). These linguistic routines make the full use of prefabricated linguistic units and cultural knowledge common to the people from the same speech community and reflect their social system and their cultural values (Coulmas, 1979). People from different cultures are not only different in their languages, they also have different rules of speaking with regard to the appropriateness and politeness of linguistic behavior in social and personal interactions, of which pre-patterned conversational routines make up an important part (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Coulmas, 1981; Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1996; Wolfson, 1983).

As far as this research on leave-taking after dinner goes, there are a few studies on leave-taking (House, 1982; Hu and Groves, 1991; Knapp et al, 1973; Laver, 1981; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), as the scholarly research "has sanctimoniously turned its back on conversational closings" (Knapp et al., 1973, p. 182). The reason for this lack of research might be that "leave-taking may seem to be mundane and ordinary" (Knapp et al., 1973, p. 182). However, "the rest of the world seems to take its leave-taking seriously" (Knapp et al., 1973, p. 182). That is because closing a conversation may be a practical problem for many people in the sense that they "find it difficult to get out of a conversation they are in" (Schegloff and Sack, 1973, p. 290).

As leave-taking takes place at an end of an activity, the participants need to conduct a cooperative parting in this fragile phase to make sure that ending an ongoing activity will not jeopardize a continuation of their relationship in the future. "The enthusiasm of farewell," Goffman (1967) claims, "compensates the relationship for the harm that is about to be done to it by separation" (p. 41). The participants need to express their desire of taking leave as efficiently and clearly as possible. At the same time, they also need to show their appreciation and joy of being part of the interaction (dinner or party). In order to achieve this purpose, the participants will apply some prefabricated linguistic routines in this farewell speech event, which should be culturally appropriate and socially acceptable. Discovering what is going on at this phatic moment may eventually tell us a good deal about the larger organism of human interaction with which it is associated because "human interpersonal forces are unleashed when people say goodbye to one another" (Knapp et al. 1973, p. 182). That is the rationale for me to do this research – to fill up the gap in understanding how interpersonal communication is terminated from sociolinguistic point of view.

Brown (1996) points out that non-Indo-European languages, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, "constitute a good test of the *universality* of the invariant norms" (p. 44, italicized added). I believe that this study of different linguistic routines in leave-taking between Chinese and American English (an Indo-European language) will not only "constitute a good test" of Brown and Levinson's theory, but also make some contribution to finding a more encompassing theory of universal linguistic politeness. This is my ultimate goal in carrying out this study. That realization is still not in sight yet

because of the lack of comprehensive and systematic study, especially on non-western polite linguistic behavior.

One objective of this study is to get some attitudinal information from both speech communities on different ways of leave-taking, which has not been done previously. In my pilot study, I only collected data through recording dialogues after dinner. Thus the data analysis then was mainly based on the recorded speech acts which have shown some marked differences between Chinese and Americans. However, there is no information on what people from one speech community think of others if they encounter the different linguistic behaviors, such as how Americans think of the Chinese *you*-patterned leave-taking excuses and what the Chinese attitudes are towards the American *I*-patterned good-bye. The data collected for this study (See Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) will definitely make up the lack of this information, which is crucial for analyzing and explaining the linguistic routines in this speech event (leave-taking), since it will provide some valuable evidence on how culturally-rooted expectation effects people's judgement on some linguistic performance. This information will also help to understand how miscommunication occurs when people from different cultural backgrounds and speech communities employ their own linguistic patterns in showing politeness to keep smooth interpersonal relationships.

In addition, politeness touches on issues, as Watts et al. (1992) points out, that are crucial not only for the sociolinguistic study, but also in the life of every individual human being. I hope that the findings from this study will also shed some light in intercultural/cross-cultural communication and interlanguage pragmatics in the SLA (second language acquisition) research.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

Besides finding more answers to the questions raised in the previous study, which are (1) what the difference in linguistic routines used in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans is; (2) why there exists such a difference, I want to answer the following additional questions:

a. Is there any marked attitudinal difference between the two groups towards each other's way of giving excuses for taking leave after dinner?

b. What problem does Brown and Levinson's typology of politeness strategies have in explaining the different polite linguistic patterns employed by American and Chinese guests in leave-taking after dinner?

c. Is there a way to elaborate Brown and Levinson's theory, as O'Driscoll suggests, so that it can be applicable to both western and non-western linguistic politeness behavior?

In spite of the criticism on Brown and Levinson's "westernized" approach to analyzing linguistic usage of politeness, what is discussed in Brown and Levinson's theory, especially the human need/want to be liked and to be free of imposition (positive face and negative face in Brown and Levinson's terms), is hard to be denied of its universality. A normal person in any speech community is born with such a need and preference, though their cultural backgrounds may constrain their personal want and inclination. As a matter of fact, the concept of face dualism in Brown and Levinsion's theory has been quite successfully applied to a number of studies, as listed by O'Driscoll (1996, p.3), such as an exposition of the communicative norms of Singapore Chinese by Kuiper and Tan Gek Lin (1989), illumination of the Japanese system of honorifics by

Tokunaga (1992), examination of nominal forms of address used by Koreans by Kroger et al (1984), and comparative study of British and Greek norms of politeness by Sigianou (1992).

Then, if we scrutinize the research criticizing the claimed universality of the Brown and Levinson's theory, we will notice that the focus of the criticism is predominantly on their concept of the negative face and negative politeness (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1989; Nwoye, 1992; Pavlidou, 1994; Ting-Toomey, 1994; Wiersbicka, 1985). That should not be difficult to understand. Many non-Western cultures, just as a number of studies asserted (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1989; Nwoye, 1992; Watts et al, 1992), emphasize group identity more than self interest. That means that positive face, "the desire that the self-image be appreciated and approved of" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 61), is crucial in personal relationship and interpersonal communication in these cultures. Thus we can safely say that the desire to be liked, or positive face, is universally shared, whether a person is from the east or the west, whether from a collectivistic or individualistic culture. Thus, I believe that Brown and Levinson's theory is flawed mainly in their definitions of negative face and of negative politeness, which seriously jeopardizes their claimed pan-cultural validity. However, as O'Driscoll (1996) complains, we cannot throw away the bath water with the baby in it.

Watts (1992) defines politeness ("politic behavior" in his words) as "socio-culturally determined behavior directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group" during an on-going process of interaction" (p. 50). Though there is no agreement on what exactly the notion of politeness is, many researchers indicated, explicitly or

inexplicitly, that linguistic politeness is the pragmatic phenomenon in which the participants of one social group, in attempting to smoothly achieve their communicative goals, make linguistic choices which are *discerned* to be *appropriate* and socially *acceptable* to the *expected* norms of the contextual situation in that speech community. (Coulmas, 1981; García, 1989; Gumperz & Roberts, 1991; Ide, 1989; Jary, 1998; Kasper, 1990; Lii-Shih, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988; Meier, 1995; Nwoye, 1992; Pandharipande, 1992; O'Driscoll, 1996; Zhu et al., 2000). In a word, polite linguistic behavior is realized through communication when the *external expectation* is properly satisfied. Since it is beyond the scope of this study to debate on what politeness is, I will take this concept of politeness in this study without further discussion to analyze the different speech acts and attitudes in different leave-taking after dinner between Chinese and Americans in an attempt to find a universal theory for linguistic politeness.

I agree with Brown and Levinson in that "face is the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (1987, p. 61). In order to smoothly achieve a desired goal in a communicative interaction, the speaker (S) will try to present a "good" self-image by performing some polite speech act to the hearer (H) with an intention to save face for both sides, as Brown and Levinson suggest (p. 62). However, in a speech event, the affect of such a linguistic behavior does not depend on S's concern of not performing FTAs (face-threatening-acts) but at the mercy of H's perception and judgement. This perception or judgment is heavily influenced by culturally rooted and preconceived expectations for this specific speech event, more often unconscious than conscious. That is just as Meier (1995) states, politeness is judged "relative to a particular context and a particular addressee's expectation" (p. 387). Whether an utterance is polite or rude is not

decided by S himself or herself, no matter how well he or she is able to apply the strategies in doing FTAs proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). It is H who gives the judgment to S's linguistic performance.

Culturally rooted expectations and judgement for a polite linguistic behavior cannot be well explained by Brown and Levinson's theory. "Behavior is often judged by the 'self' as well as being socially judged by others with whom one is in interaction"(DeVos et al, 1985, p. 7). "Self" is an important concept for understanding social behavior and social conduct, of which linguistic routines are part. Therefore it is difficult for any linguistic politeness theory to claim its universality without considering the status of self in social intercourse. The study of politeness, Watts et al. (1992) point out, should directly or indirectly focus on the presentation, maintenance and even adjustment of a concept of the "presentation of self" in the course of social interaction, on the historical growth of culturally specific patterns of behavior, and on the distribution of status and power in social groups (p.1).

With this belief and understanding of the concept of linguistic politeness, I predict that the result of the survey via the questionnaire of this study should show that the Chinese respondents consider the American *I*-patterned leave-taking self-centered, uncaring, or even selfish, and that the Americans regard *you*-patterned Chinese farewell insincere, indirect, or even rude. My hypothesis is that these misinterpretations of the linguistic routines used by other speech community come from divergence in culturally conditioned expectations (Kasper, 1990, p. 208), which are rooted in different conceptions of 'self' in social and interpersonal conducts. That is because a linguistic behavior in a speech community, as any other social behavior, is judged polite or

impolite, acceptable or unacceptable, in reference to social expectations of the speaker, which is heavily rooted in the cultural perception of role of self in that speech community. I hope that, with the data on linguistic patterns in leave-taking and attitudinal information from the two speech communities, I will be able to revise Brown and Levinson's theory when answering the research questions mentioned at the beginning of this section.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The main theoretical framework for this study is Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory of universal linguistic politeness, which, as mentioned previously, specifically claims its pancultural validity and thus inspired more cross-cultural and comparative sociolinguistic study in the past three decades. Among the critics on Brown and Levinson's universal politeness, O'Driscoll (1996) has tried to elaborate and revise Brown and Levinson's theory of linguistic politeness with challenge to the notion of face, the heart of the theory, in order to keep its universal applicability. Therefore in this section, we will first review Brown and Levinson's theory of universal linguistic politeness in 1.41. Then we will proceed to O'Driscoll's theory in 1.42.

1.3.1 Brown and Levinson's theory of universal linguistic politeness

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) draw their universal politeness theory mainly from two sets of ideas: Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) (1975) in conversations and Goffman's metaphorical notion of "face" (1967) in interpersonal communication. They

state that, at the heart the Grice's proposals[1], there is "a working assumption by conversationalists of the rational and efficient nature of talk" (p.4). Since no deviation from rational efficiency is without reason, and some CP maxims are "flouted" by some polite ways of talking, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that their politeness principles are "just such principled reasons for deviation" (p. 5). For instance, instead of saying "Tell me the time," a speaker "violates" the Maxim of Manner by saying "You couldn't by any chance tell me the time, could you?" when he is conforming to conventional expectations of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 59).

The core concept of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is their notion of face which they claim is derived from that of Goffman[2] (1967) and from the English folk term (p. 61). Face, "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself," they assume, is something that all competent adult members of a society have. Based on their concept of face they propose two related aspects of face: "positive face," the want to be approved and recognized by others, and "negative face," the want to be free of imposition

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1 Grice's (1989) proposed that conversation is regulated by some principle of cooperation, "Cooperative Principle (CP)," with four conversational categories, Quality maxim, Quantity maxim, Relevance maxim and Manner maxim). The definitions of the four maxims proposed by Grice (1975) are:

Quality maxim: say only what you believe is true.

Quantity maxim: give only the required information, no less or no more.

Relevance maxim: be relevant.

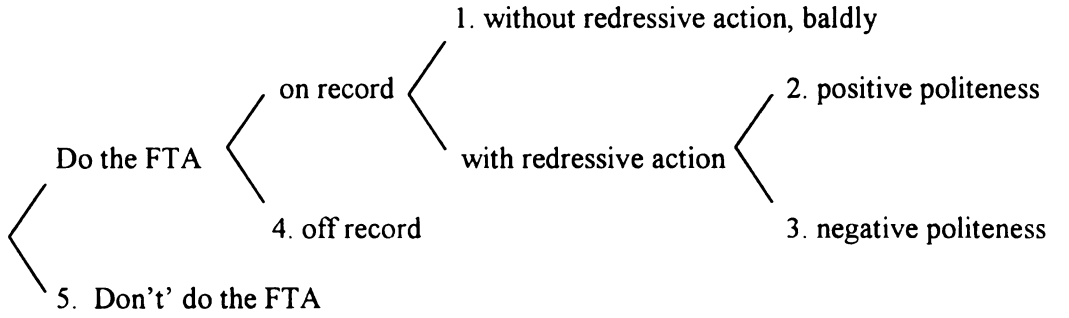
Manner maxim: be clear and unambiguous. (p. 49)

Grice proposes that conversational implicatures can be interpreted as hearers have the assumption that a rational speaker would observe theses maxims unless he or she has some good reason to violate them (p. 51).

2 Goffman (1967) defines *face* as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes ... when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself" (p. 5). It is questionable whether Brown and Levinson (1987) truly following Goffman's line (Fraser, 1990; Mao, 1994).

(Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 61). Though they admit that the content of face will be different from culture to culture, they assume that their theory has a universal applicability since "the mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 62).

Given the assumption of the universality of face and of rationality, they claim that there are certain kinds of speech acts "intrinsically" threatening to face, which they call face-threatening-acts (FTAs). Performing these acts will run contrary to the positive or negative face wants of the speaker (S) or of the hearer (H). Due to the mutual vulnerability of face, they suggest, any rational agent will seek to avoid these FTAs or employ certain strategies to minimize or counteract the threat unless he or she has to perform such a FTA because of the efficiency or urgency of communication. The different strategies for doing a FTA are shown below:



(Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 69)

S's choice of a certain strategy is based on the fact that he wants (a) to communicate the content of an FTA, (b) to be efficient, and (c) to maintain H's face. He can either do the FTA or does not do it at all. If he does the FTA, then he can either go on "record" or "off record." In doing an FTA off record, S does not have to be held accountable because

he can express his intention in an ambiguous way which may have more than one interpretation. If he/she chooses to do the FTA on record, he/she can either do it "baldly" or with redressive action, which means that he/she will try to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 68-69). In performing FTAs with redressive action to H's positive face – the perennial desire to be liked – S adopts positive politeness; if S tries to respect H's negative want – to be free of imposition – he will be negatively polite.

Since there is a natural tension in negative politeness between the desire to go off record to avoid imposing and to go on record but counteract the threat, Brown and Levinson (1987) state, a compromise is reached in conventionalized indirectness. Because they have become fully conventionalized as a way of doing an FTA, many indirect requests in English have become on record (e.g., "Can you close the window?" is an on record request, the same as "Close the window," rather than a question) (p. 70).

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that there are several factors influencing the choices of strategies, such as the social factors, D (the social distance between S and H), P (the relative power of S and H), and R (the absolute ranking of impositions of a speech act in the particular culture). The seriousness or the weightiness (W) of a particular FTA (x) can be calculated in the formula $W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$ (p. 76).

1.3.2 O'Driscoll's revised version of face dualism

From a theoretical point of view, O'Driscoll (1996) suggests a revised version to Brown and Levinson's face dualism with a view to upholding the claim that these are universal phenomena, because it (face dualism) is "just too valuable to be jettisoned"

(p. 4). He claims that the concept of "face" is universal but its consciously perceived constituents inevitably vary from one culture to another. Therefore he advocates for a "theoretical construct, not a notion" which various societies invest with varying connotations (p. 8).

O'Driscoll (1996) claims that the human existence manifests the fact that people need to do things with others and some things on their own (p.10). Thus every person has two "wants" as two opposing sides of a human being in interaction. On one side, there is "the need to come together, make contact and identify with others; to have ties, to belong, and to merge." On the other side, there is "the need to go off alone, avoid contact and be individuated; to be dependent, and to separate" (p. 4). The one involving "contact" is "positive want" and the one involving "lack of contact" is "negative want."

This "want dualism" is different from Brown and Levinson's "face dualism," O'Driscoll (1996) asserts, in that (a) the "want dualism" encompasses a wider sphere of activity and that (b) it derives from pre-theoretical deductive reasoning than from folk notions, as Brown and Levinson did, or from empirical observation, as the other research did (p.10). He maintains that positive and negative wants are sometimes antagonistic and there are situations where it is not possible to satisfy both simultaneously. The human condition, therefore, involves the need for some sort of balance between the satisfaction of the two poles of merging (positive wants) and individuation (negative want) (p.12).

According to O'Driscoll (1996), positive face is "not the desire for merging/ association/belonging itself, but rather the need for some symbolic *recognition* of this desire by others." That is the need for one's positive wants to be recognized. It is the same with negative face, which is "not the desire for independence/disassociation/

individuation itself, but rather the need for some symbolic *recognition* of this desire by others" (p.14, my italics), which is the recognition of one's negative want. The constituents of positive and negative face, O'Driscoll (1996) claims, "cannot vary cross-culturally because they are inherent in the human condition" and "are not part of foreground consciousness. Their existence does not depend on their recognition in society at large" (p. 15). Therefore, the applicability of this concept of face dualism, O'Driscoll (1996) argues, does not depend on acceptance of a strategy-oriented motivation for politeness, or on assumed correspondence with degree of politeness (p. 28).

While the desire for a good face is universal, the constituents of a good face culturally vary as the result of another aspect of face, which O'Driscoll (1996) calls "cultural-specific face." This cultural-specific face "exists by virtue of the value-judgments of other people" (p.14), thus it is "the foreground-conscious desire" for a good face. People in different cultures have different values, so "the contents of a good face vary according to the kind of value judgments that people make" (p.14). Therefore, some "good" attributes are related to positive face, some to negative face, and others to neither.

With the three reflexes of face, i.e. positive-face, negative face and cultural face, O'Driscoll (1996) discards the notion of threat to face, which is the main concern in Brown and Levinson's model to perform some intrinsic FTAs with some redressive strategies. He contends that this concept is relevant in many polite interactions, but "it cannot be a primary aspect of a cross-culturally valid model of politeness" (p. 19). "It is quite normal for people," O'Driscoll (1996) states, "to have either of these faces attended to in interaction without the slightest awareness that these were being threatened" (p. 19).

O'Driscoll (1996) thus proposes that positive and negative politeness "is not a binary choice but rather a matter of degree of proximity" because politeness dualism operates on a spectrum (p. 28). Therefore the effect of a speech act may be very positively polite or very negatively polite or only slightly so. One reason for some difficulty in deciding whether a speech act is positive or negative as some researchers indicate (Fraser & Nolen, 1981, Hill et al., 1986), O'Driscoll (1996) argues, comes from the fact the speech act is "somewhere near the middle of politeness spectrum" (p. 28). Another reason is that "politeness utterances are sometimes addressed principally to culture-specific face" which cannot be explained in the terms of face dualism (p. 28). He believes that this revised face dualism will uphold the claimed pancultural validity of Brown and Levinson's theory of universal linguistic politeness in cross-cultural study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, we will look at three areas of the research literature which are closely related to this study. One research area is on the Chinese concept of politeness[3]. "Perceptions of politeness," just as Watts et al. (1992) point out, "are likely to differ across cultures, sometimes quite alarmingly" (p.15). To understand cultural significance of how to behave politely, linguistically or otherwise, is the first step to interpret cross-cultural phenomena of linguistic politeness for the goal of finding a universal theory. This knowledge will certainly help to comprehend the different speech acts and attitudes between Chinese and Americans with regard to leave-taking.

Another area is on the origin of face concept. As discussed in Chapter 1, face is the key issue in Brown and Levinson's theory of universal linguistic politeness. According to Brown and Levinson, saving face is the basic concern in choosing various politeness strategies in performing any FTA (face-threatening-act) in their theory, which is often referred to as the "face-saving" view by other researchers on linguistic politeness (Kasper, 1990). Thus, face has been the focus of many critics on Brown and Levinson's claimed pancultural applicability. Brown and Levinson (1987) assert that their notion of "face" is derived from that of Goffman and from the English folk term (p. 61). However, the first research paper on face published in the West was done by a Chinese scholar as

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3 The American concept of politeness is not going to be discussed here with an assumption that it is covered in Brown and Levinson's discussion on the conception of politeness (see Chapter 1).

early as 1945[4]. Some researchers believe that the concept of face originated with the Chinese (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944; Mao, 1994; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Ting-Toomey & Cocroft, 1994; Zhai, 1994). Mao (1994) maintains that even the English folk concept of face "seem[s] to be Chinese in origin" (p. 455)[5]. Therefore it is crucial to have some understanding of the origin of face concept for a better idea of the debate on universals of linguistic politeness.

The third area of research is on closings of conversation and leave-taking. Though the research on these topics is quite "fragile," as Knapp et al. (1973) complained, it does provide some insight on this phatic communion. Some researchers are interested in the fundamental order of organization in closing a conversation, such as Schegloff and Sacks (1973)[6] who take it "as a problem for conversationalists" (p. 292). Others treat leave-

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4 Hsien Chin Hu published his Ph.D dissertation "The Chinese Concept of Face" in *American Anthropologist* in 1944, which, as claimed by some researchers, had some influence on Goffman's definition of face (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Ting-Toomey & Cocroft, 1994; Zhai, 1994). (Goffman (1967) acknowledged this in his work (p. 5-6), even though he did not specifically make the claim that he got his face notion from the Chinese concept. According to Goffman (1967), face is "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular conduct" (p. 5). Thus, face is public image that is "on loan" to individuals from society, and it can be lost, maintained or enhanced depending on whether a person presents proper identity in a situation (pp. 5-7).

5 Mao (1994) explains that 'face' originally appeared in "to save one's face" in the English community in China, and conveyed a meaning of one's credit, good name, and reputation (p. 454). I think that English word for this abstract concept of public self-image is "appearance" rather than "face." "Keeping Up Appearances", a British comedy shown on PBS, is a good case in point. In that TV show, Hyacinth, a woman of middle class but born from a lower class, attempts by all means to keep her lower family background secret by putting up a "good" front – appearance." *Yao mianz*, "want face," might be a good translation in Chinese for the title of this TV show.

6 One thing needs to be remembered is that Schegloff and Sacks' research is not quite the same as the other leave-taking research. Their study is based on telephone conversation while the others are more face-to-face interaction. However, some features discussed in Schegloff and Sacks' research display general features in leave-taking, whether face-to-face or on the telephone.

taking as a practical problem for the participants and are interested in the function of speech acts used in conducting this speech event, whether within one speech community such as the research done by Knapp et al. (1973) and Laver (1975, 1981), or between two cultures, such as House's (1982) (English and German) and Hu and Grove's (1991) studies (Chinese and American English).

2.1 Research on *limao*, Chinese politeness

The Chinese equivalent to the English work "politeness" is *limao*, which is composed of two words, *li* "courtesy, etiquette" and *mao* "appearance." Etymologically, *limao* is derived from *li*, which entails a sense of ritual correctness and social hierarchy and is usually translated as "propriety," a virtue emphasized by Confucian philosophy (Bockover, 1997; Chang and Holt, 1994; Mote 1989).

As it is well known, the Chinese culture is deeply rooted in Confucianism, whose fundamental principle is humanism, which is understood as a warm human feeling between people with a strong emphasis on harmony and reciprocity (Bond, 1986, 1993; Hsu, 1981; Yum, 1988). Keeping harmony in social relationships is the most important thing that a person can achieve in the Chinese culture. As humanism, the stress of harmony is naturally focused on relationships among members of a society and on fulfillment of reciprocal obligations to their "destined" responsibilities. According to Confucius, there are five cardinals (*Wu Lun*) which regulate human relationships: loyalty between King and subject, closeness between father and son, distinction in duty between husband and wife, obedience to orders between elders and youngsters, and mutual faith between friends (Yum, 1988, p. 376). These relationships "are not based on individual profit, but rather on the betterment of the common good" (Yum, 1988, p. 377).

In order to keep harmonious interpersonal relationship, everyone is circumscribed by rules of correct behavior and morals, *li*, which later becomes *limao*, "politeness." Sincerity, solidarity, mutual consideration, empathy, modesty, deference, and not offending others, etc. are often considered to be among the basic characteristics of Chinese politeness (Gu, 1990; Lii-shih, 1994; Ma, 1992, Zhai, 1994). Gu (1990) generalized the Chinese concept of politeness into four basic notions: respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmness (warmth), and refinement, which he explicates as follows:

> "Respectfulness" is self's positive appreciation or admiration of other concerning the latter's face, social status, and so on. "Modesty" can be seen as another way of saying "self-denigration." "Attitudinal warmth" is self's demonstration of kindness, consideration, and hospitality to other. Finally, "refinement" refers to self's behavior to other which meets certain standards (p. 239).

These notions can be categorized into one important concept in Chinese politeness, *xian ren hou ji* "first others, then oneself". This concept reflects the "Confucian legacy of consideration of others" which is the underlying principle for Chinese to keep harmonious personal relationships (Bond, 1991, 1996; Chang and Holt, 1994; Hsu, 1985; Pan et al., 1994; Yum, 1991). The core concept of Chinese *limao* "politeness," Gu (1990) claims, is denigrating self and respecting other. This self-denying concept is embodied in a beginning statement of a Chinese book on politeness and etiquette: "Speaking of *li* [politeness], humble yourself and respect other" (Dai, 1957, cited by Gu, 1990, p. 238).

There are two essential principles underneath the concept of *limao* "politeness," Gu (1990) maintains: the principle of sincerity and the principle of balance[7]. The principle

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[7] These two principles, claimed by Zhu (2000), have been promoted in the Chinese society ever since Confucius' time as the two cardinal principles of social interaction, which must be upheld in order to achieve harmony (p. 99).

of sincerity may take the polite use of language far beyond sentential territory into conversation because sincere behaviors, linguistic or non-linguistic, are "intrinsically polite" (Zhu, 2000, p. 99). The principle of balance, on the other hand, calls for special attention to others and readiness to withdraw or alter one's action to meet other's face need. This may predetermine the mutual relationship long after a speech event is terminated (Gu, 1990; Zhu, 2000). A Chinese saying *huan li* "returning politeness" clearly indicates the requirement for keeping this balance.

Therefore, Chinese view politeness as a normative and "the breach of it will incur social sanction" (Gu, 1990, p. 240). In this sense, as Hinkel (1997) points out, Chinese politeness is requisite social phenomenon that transcends the needs of the individual and the individual's face and upholds the cohesiveness of the group (p. 7). This is different from Brown and Levinson's claimed politeness, which, more or less a western norm, acts as an instrumental system of means to satisfy an individual face wants, specifically the negative face.

2.2 Face in Chinese, *lian* and *mianzi*[8]

Face is "the most delicate standard by which Chinese social intercourse is regulated" (Lin Yu-tang, cited by Ho, 1976, p. 867). Since it is quite complex and abstract, it is almost impossible to give a precise definition of the Chinese concept of face[9]. It seems that everyone has some notion of what face entails (Chang and Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976; Hu,

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8 The spelling of the two words, *lian* and *mianzi*, used in this paper are in *pinyin*, a phonetic system used in China for transliterating Chinese characters into the Roman alphabet. In other research papers, the same words are spelled as *lien* and *mien-tzu*, which are in the Wade-Gile system.

1944; Zhai, 1994). What makes it more complex is that there are two Chinese words literally translated into "face" in English, *lian* and *mianzi*. These two words are closely related and used interchangeably sometimes (Ho, 1976; Zhai, 1994), yet they do stand for different concepts.

Lian would be the translation most Chinese will give to the English word 'face' because it has both a concrete meaning, the front part of the head, and an abstract denotation associated with the sociological facework initiated by Goffman. *Mianzi*, on the other had, only has some conceptual implication, which is "heavily laden with psychological and sociological meanings" (Chang & Holt, 1994, p. 98). Hu (1945) makes an important distinction on the two Chinese concepts of face. *Lian* refers to "the respect of the group for a man with a good moral reputation" and is "both a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and an internalized sanction (Hu, 1944, p. 45). Thus, according to Hu (1944), *lian* is more related to the integrity of self's moral character as it "represents the confidence of society in the integrity of ego's moral character" (p. 45). The loss of *lian* makes it impossible for a person to function properly within his community. Therefore, *lian* is both a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and internalized sanction (Hu, p. 45). *Diu lian* "losing face" in Chinese means that a person does something morally wrong or socially frowned on according to the Chinese tradition, basically Confucianism. This "losing face," as Hu (1944) asserts, puts one outside of the society of decent human beings and threatens him with isolation and insecurity (p. 45). To tell someone *bu yao lian* "not want or care about one's face" –

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9 Lu Hsun (Lu Xun), a well-known Chinese writer and critic once wrote "But what is this thing called face? It is well if you don't stop to think, but the more you think the more confused you grow." (Ho, 1976; Zhai, 1994)

moral reputation" is a very strong accusation in Chinese, meaning the person is immoral and shameless[10].

Mianzi, the other word translated as "face" in English, refers to one's reputation or prestige, either achieved "through getting on in life through success and ostentation" (Hu, 1944, p. 45)" or through the scrutiny of others, with the standard of acknowledgment reflecting both social and moral values (Chang and Holt, 1994, p. 99)[11]. Therefore, *mianzi* is a measure of the recognition accorded by society and it is a function of one's social status (Hu, 1944; Ho, 1976). *Diu mianzi* "losing *mianzi*" refers to a situation when one's social status is not recognized or denied, or a person lost his reputation or prestige due to some failure or misfortune. Saying someone *buyao mianzi* "not want or be concerned about *mianzi*" in doing things means that the person cares little of his/her reputation or image in getting what he/she wants. Thus, *mianzi* seems to more socially determined and depends more or less on public opinion (external), and *lian* is more morally decided (internal) and based more on moral standards.

Therefore, *mianzi*, rather than *lian*, which is concerned both moral principles and social requirement as well, seems closer to the conceptions of face as in the sociological facework originated by Goffman, from which Brown and Levinson's definition of face is derived. In addition, some scholars (Chang & Holt, 1994; Gu, 1990; Ho, 1976; Mao, 1994), in discussion of the "face" issue, ignore the distinctions between *lian* and *mianzi*

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10 This is a rather simple translation of this phrase since the denotation of *bu yao lian* "not to want face" is more than that. The details are not discussed here due to the limit of space and of focus of this paper. See Hu (1944, pp. 51-52) for more elaborate explanation.

11 Though, as pointed out by Ho (1976), the concept of *mianzi* is not completely devoid of moral content because the meanings of *lian* and *mianzi* "vary according to verbal context" as well as being interchangeable in some contexts (p. 868).

to avoid some unnecessary confusion since these two terms are often interchangeable in Chinese[12]. Since this paper does not deal with distinction between *lian* and *mianzi*, I will only discuss *mianzi* and its constituents. Therefore, whenever the Chinese face is mentioned in this paper, it refers to *mianzi* rather than *lian*.

Chang and Holt (1994) suggest that there are two perspectives in *mianzi*: personal and interpersonal (pp. 100-102). From a personal perspective, *mianzi* can be claimed by an individual based on his/her perceived social status. It can be enhanced or decreased depending on how an individual presents himself or herself. For instance, one's *mianzi* may be enhanced by having invited some important people to a dinner, or lost if the invitation is turned down. This public image can also be claimed by the members of the in-group, such as family members and friends[13] (Chang and Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944; Zhai, 1994). The interpersonal perspective of *mianzi*, on the other hand, is realized "in the process of interaction, and in the give-and-take of daily social life" (Chang and Holt, 1994, p. 101). As *mianzi* is said to be distributed among all interactants in a situation, everyone is expected to know how to respect other's *mianzi* in order to ensure smooth social interaction. Since issues of *mianzi* cannot be avoided, "they must be negotiated between interactants themselves" (Chang and Holt, 1994, p. 102).

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12 Some researchers left *lian* out of their discussion but only focused on *mianzi* in their study of facework, such as Chang & Holt (1994).

13 Therefore, a high official may claim a big *mianzi* because of his position, i.e. he can get more privilege than others because of his *mianzi* -- which is from his power and status. His father can also claim his *mianzi* to get some privilege not because of his own position (he may just be an illiterate farmer) but because of his son's position. This shared *mianzi* results in the complicated *kuan xi wang* "relationship nets" in Chinese society. (See Bond (1993), Chang and Holt (1994), Ho (1976), and Zhai (1994) for more explanation.)

To keep up one's face (*mianzi*), Ho (1976) claims, individuals have to "satisfy the minimum requirement a society has placed on them so as to "measure up to expectations" in their social performance (p. 872). However, as social expectations are reciprocal, Ho (1976) points out, the possibility of losing face can occur "not only form the individual's failure to meet his obligations but also from the failure of others to act in accordance with his expectations of them – that is, not only from the individual's own action, but also from how he is treated by others" (p. 873). Ho (1976) believes that, even though an individual who tries to maintain his or her face needs to act both directly and indirectly in regard to other's face, his or her behavior is "dictated by the necessity of meeting the expectations of others (p. 873). In summary, face – *mianzi* - in Chinese is only meaningful when perceived in relation to others because it places more emphasis on the nature of relationship (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976, 1994; Scollon & Scollon, 1983, 1991, 1994, 1995) than the effort in image management as discussed in Brown and Levinson's theory.

2.3 Research on leave-taking

In this section, we will look at the research on leave-taking in three parts: structural organization, communicative functions, and differences in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans.

2.3.1 Structural organization of closing

The research on structural organization of termination of an interaction is based on the assumption that there is orderliness in the components of this last stage of a conversation. This assumption has been observed in leave-taking studies such as

Schegloff and Sacks (1973), House (1982), and Knapp et al. (1973). The explanation of this behavioral regularity attending leave-taking, suggested by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), is that members of a society *methodically* produce the components in this phatic communion (p. 290).

In their paper *Opening up Closings,* Schegloff and Sacks (1973) discuss the structural organization of closing in American English. Although the use of terminal exchanges, like exchanging "Goodbye" or "bye-bye," is a common way to close a conversation, they find that "the analysis of terminal 'bye bye' exchanges is inadequate as an analysis of closing because participants in a conversation usually "collaborate in arriving at farewell exchange" (p. 291). Thus, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) differentiate topic closing from conversation closing based on the nature of adjacency pairs (i.e. two utterances in an adjacent position produced by different speakers) and a basic rule of adjacency pair operation[14], and propose "the notion of a properly initiated closing section."

The initiated closing section, as Schegloff and Sacks (1973) suggest, consists of pre-closing and warrant for closing. Silence is one possible[15] non-verbal marker for pre-closing. Some verbal markers for pre-closing, as Schegloff and Sacks suggest, are the use of some terms like "We-el....", "OK....," "So-oo" when these forms constitute the entire utterance (p. 303). However, as these utterances are not designated for the closing

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14 A basic rule of adjacency pair operation, defined by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), is that the second pair part is uttered to complete the first one upon its possible completion with the recognition of the first part (p. 296). In other word, when one speaker stops his/her part of talk on its first possible completion of a topic, the next speaker, recognizing the termination, starts and produces the second part of the same pair.

function and may be used elsewhere in a conversation, their appearance in a conversation can only be considered as "possible pre-closing." Only when the participants make no reference to the particulars of the conversation with these utterances, or lay no further claim to a new topic and accept the intention of closing, so "pre-closing" ceases to be "pre," is the closing section warranted and can proceed to the final end of conversation, such as exchanging terminals like "Bye-bye," "See you," and so on.

Besides these forms such as "OK," "We-el," "So-oo," which make no reference to particulars of the conversation where they occur, there is another way to ensure warrant for closing, which is the *I gotta go* statement and its variants and expansions, such as "The baby is crying, I gotta go," "I gotta go, my dinner is burning," etc. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) point out that although *I gotta go* cannot prohibit further talk because others may insert a new topic after it, it does not specifically invite such a sequel, as "OK" does. For the initiation of a closing section in a way that discourages the specific alternative of re-opening topic talk, this pre-closing may be more effective because it announces rather than simply accomplishes a warrant for closing (p. 311).

Their conclusion is that there are crucial components for the achievement of proper closing: (1) terminal exchange which achieves the collaborative termination of the transition rule[16], and (2) the proper initiation of the closing section which warrants the undertaking of the routine whose termination in the terminal exchange properly closes the

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15 Silence may also be a sign of the transition to a new topic in a conversation when one speaker's completion is not followed by a possible next speaker's talk. That is not termination but attributable silence (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, p. 295).

16 Transition rule, according to Schegloff and Sacks (1973) is that within any current utterance, possible next speaker selection is accomplished, and that upon possible completion of any current utterance, such selection takes effect and transition to a next speaker becomes relevant (p. 293)

conversation (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, p. 293). Although they claim at the beginning of their paper that they are not interested in the practical problems in closing conversations, Schegloff and Sacks' study (1973) does, as they hoped, "furnish bases for the existence of practical problems" (p. 290) with their convincing arguments for conversationalists to understand the structure of this phatic communion. Their proposed notion of pre-closing has provided basic criteria for analyzing data from the recorded leave-taking dialogues for the present study to decide when a farewell truly starts in an after-dinner conversation. However, their conclusion is mainly based on telephone conversations which are normally held between two speakers without seeing each other. Talking over the telephone is different from leave-taking conversation after dinner because the latter is conducted face-to-face and often involves more than two participants.

2.3.2 Communicative functions of leave taking

The major purpose of leave-taking is to facilitate smoother transition from a state of talk or contact to a state of separateness (House 1982; Knapp et. al. 1973; Laver 1981). The linguistic routines in the closing phase, therefore, are often highly elaborated compared with the opening phase of conversation (Laver 1981, p. 302). In discussing the linguistic routines and politeness in leave-taking, Laver (1981) discusses the two principal functions of that phatic communion: achieving a cooperative parting and consolidating the relationship between the two participants. The first function, achieving a cooperative parting, *mitigation* as he refers to it, is to make sure that any feeling of rejection by the person being left can be removed by appropriate reassurance from the person leaving. The second one, which he calls *consolidation*, ensures the possibility of future encounters (p. 303). Using Brown and Levinson's notion of face, Laver (1981)

suggests that mitigatory comments, such as "I'm sorry I have to go, I have to give a lecture," "I'm afraid I must be off, I have to relieve the babysitter," etc. are usually addressed to the negative aspect of face of the listener (the want to be free of imposition), while consolidatory comments like "It was nice seeing you," "I did enjoy our little talk" are addressed to the positive aspect of face (the want to be liked and approved of) (p. 303). Thus, the polite norm in the closing phase, as Laver (1981) suggests, seems to use "at least one mitigatory or consolidatory phrase, together with some appropriate formulaic phrases of parting" (p. 303).

In their study of the rhetoric of goodbye, Knapp et al. (1973) discuss and analyze leave-taking conversations in some videotaped role-plays called "information-gathering interviews" conducted by American English speakers[17]. They had student interviewers question a professor as well as students interview each other in a same-status condition. The other data was collected from an attitudinal file completed by the participants following the interviews. They suggest fourteen categories to analyze the speech acts used in leave-taking conversations, such as professional or personal inquiry, internal or external legitimizing (i.e. giving excuses), appreciation, welfare concern, continuance, filling, reinforcement, buffing, terminating, to name a few. Based on the result of their study, Knapp et al. conclude that there are two major communicative functions of leave-taking: (1) signaling inaccessibility, and (2) signaling support for the relationship (p. 196). As leave-taking signals the end of interaction, they claimed that people are often concerned with terminating their interaction on the "right

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17 This is inferred from the paper (p. 182) rather than specifically indicated by Knapp et al (1973).

note," that is on a note of mutual regard (p. 197). Knapp et al. (1973) claims that the support function is a critical element in leave-taking because people feel that the termination of an interaction may be perceived as a threat to terminate the relationship. Therefore people take efforts to build, reinforce, or support the relationships "so that the 'negativity' of inaccessibility is offset" (p. 197).

Similar to Knapp et al. (1973) in using role-plays to collect data, House (1982), in her study, attempts to give a contrastive discourse analysis of leave-taking between English and German with two sets of face-to-face interactions between pairs of German native speakers and pairs of English native speakers. The third set of data was elicited from pairs of English native speakers and German learners of English (p. 52). Just as in an opening phase, House (1982) states, a closing phase exhibits "the *interpersonal* function of language" (p. 54, italic original) in this phatic communion to smoothly terminate the availability to conversation. Since they so frequently occur in social intercourse, House (1982) claims, the linguistic patterns used in leave-taking have been reduced to routine rituals habitually employed across many different situations (p. 54). She suggested a number of categories for the speech acts applied in closing phase, such as conclusion, outcome check, sealing thanks, apologies, summary, and leave-taking (terminal exchanges in Schegloff and Sack's term), etc. Under each speech act category, House (1982) compares the difference in the closing phase between British English and German both on a lexical level and in terms of frequency. She has found that German native speakers tend to use fewer routine formulas than the English native speakers, who she does suggest that there might be an interesting difference in the interactional norms in

frequently employ more elaborate, explicit, and "verbose" phrases. Though her comparative study on leave-taking is among the pioneers on this speech event by far, and the two cultures (p. 74), House (1982) does not provide an explanation for why such difference exists.

2.3.3 Different farewells between Chinese and Americans

Hu and Grove (1991) discuss the difference in leave-taking between mainland Chinese and Americans in their book *Encountering Chinese.* Focusing on providing some helpful suggestions for Americans who reside in China, Hu and Grove only describe the differences from their observations rather than from experimental data. They propose that there are two phases in farewells among both Chinese and Americans (p.29). The intention of taking leave is explicitly introduced in the first phase, and real departure takes place in the second one. The differences between mainland Chinese and Americans in leave-taking, Hu and Grove (1991) point out, are (1) the first phase of Americans is longer than that of Chinese, which appears "abrupt" to Americans; and (2) Americans excuse themselves more often with some factor which compels them to leave on the basis of their own personal situations, while the Chinese excuses for leaving are related to the other person's presumed needs; and (3) the Chinese second phase is longer than the American because a Chinese host often accompanies the guest down several flights of stairs and out of the apartment building before exchanging terminals. Sometimes a host would walk with his guests *all* the way to a bicycle rack, a compound gate, or even a bus stop (p. 31). An American host, on the other hand, may accompany the guest to the door or briefly exit a short distance beyond it before exchanging "Goodbye" with the guest (p. 30).

2.4 Summary of literature review

The research on Chinese politeness and Chinese concept of face shows that this culture is dominated by Confucian philosophy which conducts and regulates all social behaviors with its emphasis on harmonious human relationships. This harmony requires one to be identified with others rather than stress on self-identity. Thus, to be *limao* "polite" is to put other's interest above one's own, to humble oneself but elevate others, and be sincere in one's behavior and respectful to other's face. Then, in order to have *mianzi* "face," one does not only have to perform well his or her role with obligations placed by society, he or she also needs to consider other's face, which is more important than his or her own wishes. Only by meeting the expectations of others can a person to maintain a good face.

The studies on leave-taking indicate that there are several features of this phatic communion. First of all, leave-taking is not simply a speech act of exchanging terminals as it appears to be. It is a structured speech event with some crucial components in achieving a proper closing, such as pre-closing, warrants for closing, and final closing. Secondly, due to its nature of terminating an ongoing interpersonal activity, the communicative function of leave-taking is to facilitate a smooth transition from being together to being separate on a "supportive" note so that the existing relationship or friendship between the participants is not impaired but strengthened and will continue afterwards. Nevertheless, how to conduct this phatic communion in an appropriate way to fulfill its function varies from one speech community to another. These studies provide the framework for the present study on the difference in leave-taking after dinner between Chinese and Americans.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter presents a summary of methodology used for data collection and analysis employed in this study. In order to find out the different ways of saying good-bye after dinner between Americans and Chinese and their attitudes towards different ways used by the other group, I collected data through recording leave-taking dialogues after dinner among friends as well as carrying out an attitudinal survey through questionnaires. This design reflects the main purpose of this study: to test the applicability of Brown and Levinson's theory of universal linguistic politeness, and to substantiate the hypotheses generated from the research on linguistic politeness and my pilot study on the same subject, which is a linguistic behavior in a speech community is judged in reference to social expectations of the speaker based on cultural perception of role of self in that community. In 3.1, I will discuss the method of dialogue recordings and analytic strategies in analyzing the data. In 3.2, I will focus on the design and collection of the questionnaires, sample population and data analysis methods. Then in 3.3, I will briefly discuss the data analysis strategies performed in this study.

3.1 Recordings of leave-taking dialogues

The data used in this study is taken from twenty audiotaped farewell conversations among friends after dinner, of which ten are Chinese and ten are American. The Chinese data were collected in some cities in North China with the help of the researcher's family and friends there. The guests and hosts are all friends. Unfortunately, two of the Chinese recordings ended before the final departure of the guests due to some miscommunication

between the researcher and the data collector in China. This "short-cut" inevitably confines the data analysis in this paper to a certain extent. Nevertheless, as these two recordings do provide some needed information for this study (and also because of the difficulty in collecting such data), the two "incomplete" leave-taking dialogues are still included in the analysis, with obvious consideration given to the missing part.

The American data were collected in cities in the Midwest of the United States of America. The guests and hosts are friends or neighbors except for the two Chinese graduate students who participated in the recordings. One of the Chinese students is the researcher (me). The other is the researcher's friend who is also a friend of the hosts in nine of the recordings. The Chinese and American data sets are parallel in the sense that all the data were collected from dinners among friends, so the two independent social variables discussed in Brown and Levinson's theory, P (power) and D (distance), are disregarded in the analysis[18].

Since this study is on linguistic politeness in leave-taking, only the verbal cues in the "closing section" are transcribed, analyzed and used in the paper. The criteria for the beginning of a "closing section," as suggested by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), are either clear "closing" phrases, such as "I gotta go" announcements, or some possible terminal phrases, such as "We-el," "So-oo," "OK," or statements like "Well, this is an enjoyable evening for us," "Well, thank you so much," etc., which are produced at a turn with no

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18 Discarding P (power) and D (distance) between host and guest, or among guests, does not mean these two independent variables do not affect linguistic performance of participants in closing conversation. However, as this study focuses on how the cultural difference affects the linguistic performance in leave-taking between the two speech communities, the recordings were conducted strictly among friends (and relatives in one Chinese recording), so that the two sets of data are so parallel to the extent that P (power) and D (distance) can be ignored for the purpose of the present study.

topical coherence nor reference to any particulars of the conversation in which they occur. These announcements and possible terminal phrases are taken as the signs of the initial closing section in this study.

Leave-taking events cannot be fulfilled by guests or hosts alone but by both in a cooperative way. From the scant literature, however, either explicitly mentioned, such as Hu and Grove (1991), Laver (1981), and Schegloff and Sacks (1973), or implicitly indicated, like House (1982) and Knapp et al. (1973), it seems that the burden of conducting appropriate, or polite in other words, leave-taking is mainly on the shoulder of the guest, who needs to show his/her appreciation and gratitude appropriately and politely so that the host will not feel he/she is being treated ungratefully, or rudely, or rejected. The cultural difference which affects linguistic performance in this phatic communion, therefore, should be manifested in what a guest says upon leave-taking. Moreover, in both Chinese and American cultures, it is often the guest who initiates leave-taking after dinner. This phenomenon is revealed in the data collected for this study. Thus, in this paper, I will only focus on the linguistic patterns used by guests rather than by hosts.

3.1.1 Categories of speech acts in leave-taking

The speech acts used in farewell conversations after dinner are classified into a set of functional categories which were adopted from Knapp et al (1973). and House's (1982) studies and also based on the collected data from the two speech communities for this study. These categories are:

Announcing leave-taking: any statement given by a guest which clearly indicates his/her intention to take leave (e.g., "We should go," "I'm going now," etc.)

Giving an excuse: any statement given by a guest to justify his intention of taking leave (e.g., "We've been here for quite a while," "My wife is getting a little restless," "You've been busy for a whole day," etc.)

Consolidating on friendship: any statement indicating a "solid" friendship between the speaker and the hearer (e.g., "We know each other well and don't mind doing things for each other," "We are no strangers," etc.)

Inviting: any statement indicating the speaker's desire to ask the hearer for a visit or a dinner in the future (e.g., "Come to visit us when you're free," "When you have time, I'll invite you to my house," etc.)

Offering: any statement expressing a speaker's intention to provide something for the hearer, either help or food. (e.g., "I'll clean up for you," "Do you want a piece of pie to take home?" etc.)

Appreciating/complimenting: any statements expressing the speaker's satisfaction and joy in having been part of the occasion (e.g., "So nice to meet you," "It was really fun to have this evening," "I'm glad that we were invited," etc.), including any statement given by a guest indicating his/her admiration or praise of something belonging to the host (e.g., "I love your home.")

Apologizing: any statement indicating acknowledgment of inconvenience caused by the speaker and expressing regret or asking for pardon of the hearer (e.g., "We've taken a lot of your time," "We bothered you the whole afternoon," etc.)

Giving thanks: any statement or short phrases indicating the speaker's gratitude of having been part of the occasion (e.g., "Thank you for having us," "Thank you so much for this enjoyable evening," etc.)

Recommending/advising: any statement expressing the speaker's concern and advice for the hearer's benefit or welfare (e.g., "You should get rest early," "You should exercise," etc.)

Benediction: any statement extending the speaker's good wishes to the hearer (e.g., "Have a nice weekend," "I hope you'll have a chance to relax a little bit," etc.)

Suggesting future activities: any statement indicating the speaker's intention to get together again in the future (e.g., "I'll see you tomorrow and you can come to our class," "We'll come here to spend our Sundays," etc.)

"No-bothering-you" demand/suggest/request: any statement given by a guest indicating his/her intention of not letting the host be bothered to see him/her out (e.g., "Go back, don't see us out," "Don't bother seeing us out any further," etc.)

Closing: any short words or phrase indicting the termination of the interaction (e.g., "Goodbye," "See you later," etc.)

The list above does not necessarily mean that all these speech acts are applied in every occasion. It is only a general report of the speech acts utilized in this phatic communion in all the recordings. In other word, this list of linguistic patterns used in leave-taking after dinner exhausts "ideal" ways of saying good bye in an appropriate and polite way.

3.1.2 Three closing stages

In this study, the closing is divided into three parts, or stages: initial closing (possible pre-closing in Schegloff and Sack's term), pre-closing, and closing. Initial closing usually starts by a guest indicating his/her desire to bring the interaction to an end. The speech acts a guest would apply in this staged are most often leave-taking announcements and excuse statements. Sometimes it is done by one guest in one utterance; other time it is performed by two or more guests in several turns. Pre-closing is the intermediate stage of the closing section, which includes the majority of the speech acts listed above. Closing, the final stage of leave-taking, consists of exchanges of terminals when a guest is actually taking his/her leave.

3.2 Attitudinal survey

In order to find out the attitudes among Chinese and Americans towards *You*-patterned and *I*-patterned leave-taking, I carried out an attitudinal survey through questionnaires. The content of the questionnaires was first designed in English. The Chinese questionnaires are the translation from the English version[19].

3.2.1 Questionnaire design

The first part of the questionnaire is in the form of open-end questions to elicit more leave-taking statements or excuses. This is to compensate the limited recordings of farewell dialogues after dinner due to the difficulty of finding such opportunities. At the beginning of the first part of the questionnaire, a brief scenario is given about a dinner with a question as follows:

"*You have prepared a good meal and invite some people for dinner. You all have had a good time. Now it's getting late, and your guests express their desire to go. What do you expect them to say if....*"

The respondents are asked to write down the excuses given by the guests in three situations: (a) they are family and close relatives, (b) they are good friends, and (c) they are colleagues and acquaintances. The rationale for doing this is to find out whether distance in social relationship will dramatically effect in the way people bid farewell. Such data cannot be obtained from the dialogue recordings which are only done among friends.

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19 The questionnaire in Chinese was checked by several of my Chinese friends at MSU as a pilot survey to test the faithfulness of the translation. After that I made some correction in word choice with others' suggestions to make sure that the Chinese version is as close as possible to the English one.

In the second part of the questionnaire, the respondents are given eight statements supposed to be presented by a guest upon taking leave after dinner at the house of a new colleague or acquaintance. The purpose of choosing this group rather than friends or relatives is to find out the attitudinal differences towards different patterns of farewell used by Chinese and Americans[20]. Five of the eight leave-taking statements were taken from the dialogue recordings and the other three were composed by the researcher with the concern to the use, or non-use, of the three linguistic terms, first and second person pronouns, "I" and "you," and "Thanks."

The distribution of these three linguistic items is shown in Table 3.2.1-1 as "+" stands for the *use* of an element and "-" stands for *non-use*.

Table 3.2.1-1 The distribution of the three linguistic items in the questionnaire

Statement number	I	You	Thanks
A	-	+	+
B	+	-	+
C	+	+	+
D	-	-	+
E	-	+	-
F	+	-	-
G	+	+	-
H	-	-	-

20 Another reason for choosing this group is that it will be intuitively confusing for the respondents to see and judge a very different way of saying goodbye, i.e. Chinese viewing American goodbye and Americans hearing Chinese farewell, from a family member, a good friend or a close relative.

We can see from the Table 3.2.1-1 that there are four "*+I* statements" (the statements with "I") and four "*-I* statements"(the statements without "I"), four "*+you* statements" (the statements with "you") and four "*-you* statements"(the statements without "you"). It is the same with "thanks" as there are four "*+thanks* statement"(the statements with "thank you") and four "*-thanks* statement" (the statements without "thank you").

One statement (C) has all the three linguistic features and one (H) has none of them. Then, there are three statements that have two of the three: Statement A has "you" and "thanks" (*-I, +you, +thanks*); Statement B has "I" and "thanks" (*+I, -you, +thanks*), and Statement G has "I" and "you" (*+I, +you, -thanks*). There are three statements that only have one of the three items: Statement D only has "thanks" (*-I, -you, +thanks*), Statement E only has "you" (*-I, +you, -thanks*), and Statement G only has "I" (*+I, -you, -thanks*). The purpose of putting such leave-taking statements on the questionnaire is to find out specifically what affect of these three linguistic elements has on the attitudes of the people when judging the politeness of each statement.

Under each leave-taking statement, there are five impressions (or attitudes to be more precise) on five scales ranging from 1 to 5. 1 stands for the positive impression and 5 stands for the negative one. The five impression scales are "polite–rude", "grateful–ungrateful," "direct–indirect", "considerate–selfish," and "sincere–insincere." These notions are chosen because (1) a number of researchers discussed about them in their study on politeness ((Blum-Kulka, 1989; Gu, 1990; Ide et al, 1992; Janney and Arndt, 1992, 1993; Lii-shih, 1994; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Scollon and Scollon, 1983, 1995; Zhu et al. 2000) and (2) people often refer to these impressions when judging a linguistic behavior in respect to politeness.

With concern to the affect of the sequence of the leave-taking statements on the survey, I made four survey forms, a, b, c, d, which are only different in the sequence of the statements in the second part of the questionnaire, which is shown in Table 3.2.1-2.

Table 3.2.1-2 Statement sequence of the questionnaire forms

Form	Sequence of the statements							
A	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
B	A	B	E	F	C	D	G	H
C	E	F	G	H	A	B	C	D
D	E	A	F	B	G	C	H	D

3.2.2 Sample of the survey

The questionnaires were randomly distributed in Mid-West and west coast of the United States of America and the northern part of China. There are eighty-three Americans who responded to the questionnaire and eighty-one Chinese from China are involved in the survey. The demography of the survey, such as age, gender, and profession is presented in the following sections.

3.2.2.1. Demography of the respondents

Thirty-five (42.7%) of the American respondents are males and forty-eight of them (57.9%) are females. For the Chinese respondents, forty-seven (58.3%) of them are males and thirty-four (41.8%) are females. The gender of the respondents is show in Table 3.2.2-1.

Table 3.2.2-1 Gender of the respondents

Gender	Americans		Chinese		Total	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Male	35	42.2%	47	58.0%	82	50.0%
Female	48	57.8%	34	42.0%	82	50.0%
Total	83	100%	81	100%	164	100%

There are three age groups in this study, young (Group A), middle-aged (Group B), and older (Group C). The people of Group A are thirty years old or under. Group B are those between thirty-one years old to fifty-five years old. Those who are fifty-six years old or above are in Group C.

Twenty-seven of the American respondents (32.5%) are in the first age group, thirty-six of them (43.3%) in the second age group, and twenty of them (24.1%) in the third one. For the Chinese respondents, twenty-two (27.3%) are in the first age group, twenty-seven (30.9%) in the second group, and thirty of them (37.3%) belong to the last group. This age information of the respondents is shown in Table 3.2.2-2.

Table 3.2.2-2 Age of the respondents

Age	Americans		Chinese		Total	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
A (30 or under)	27	32.5%	22	27.2%	49	29.9%
B (31-55)	36	43.4%	27	33.3%	63	38.4%
C (56 or above)	20	24.1%	30	37.0%	50	30.5%
Missing	0	0	2	2.5%	2	1.2%
Total	83	100%	81	100%	164	100%

For professions, I roughly divided the respondents into three groups[21]. Group A includes doctors, professors, graduate students, high school teachers, engineers, etc. Group B includes skilled workers, technicians, office secretaries, businessmen, etc. Then workers and homemakers belong to Group C[22].

Fourteen American respondents (16.9%) belong to Group A in profession, and thirty-six of them (43.3%) belong to the second group, and thirty-two (38.6%) are in the last one. For the Chinese respondents, thirty-seven of them (45.7%) belong to the first group, twenty-seven (33.3%) belong to the second group, and only nine (11.1%) of them are in Group C. This information on professions is shown in Table 3.2.2-3.

Table 3.2.2-3 Professions of the respondents

	Americans		**Chinese**		**Total**	
Profession	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
A	14	16.9%	37	45.7%	51	30.5%
B	36	43.4%	27	33.3%	63	38.4%
C	32	38.5%	9	11.1%	41	25.0%
Missing	1	1.2%	8	9.9%	9	6.1%
Total	83	100%	81	100%	164	100%

A: professors, doctors, graduate students, teachers, engineers, etc.
B: skilled workers, technicians, businessmen, etc.
C: workers, homemakers, etc.

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21 This division is mainly based on level of education, which is obviously not quite accurate either in China or in the United States. Imperfect as this division is, I believe that it is sufficient for this study due to the nature of this research, a general attitudinal survey among two speech communities, and the limitation in data collection.

22 There were four groups in the original design: professors, lawyers, and doctors are in Group 1; graduate students, high school teachers and engineers are in Group 2; skilled workers, technicians, office secretaries, and businessmen belong to Group 3; and then workers and homemakers belong to Group 4. However, the number of the first group, doctors and professors, is too few from each speech community to make any significant analysis. Thus, the first two groups are combined into Group A.

As for the four questionnaire forms, which I tried to have distributed evenly among the respondents, twenty-three of the American (27.7%) and eighteen Chinese respondents (22.2%) answered Form A. Twenty-one American (25.3%) and twenty Chinese responded to Form B. Then, seventeen American (20.5%) and twenty-two Chinese (27.2%) respondents in the survey answered Form C. Twenty-two Americans (26.5%) and twenty-one Chinese (25.9%) in the survey answered Form D.

Table 3.2.2-4 Forms of the received questionnaires

	Americans		**Chinese**		**Total**	
Forms	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
A	23	27.7%	18	22.2%	41	25.0%
B	21	25.3%	20	24.7%	41	25.0%
C	17	20.5%	22	27.2%	39	23.8%
D	22	26.5%	21	25.9%	43	26.2%
Total	83	100%	81	100%	164	100%

3.3 Analysis strategies

The data collected for this research is tested both by qualitative and quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis is only done on examining the data obtained from the recorded leave-taking dialogues, while quantitative analysis is performed on the data collected from both the dialogue recordings and the questionnaires of attitudinal survey.

The recorded dialogues are first analyzed by tallying the frequency of each speech act (listed in the categories in the section 3.1.2) used by Chinese and American guests in order to find out what speech acts are applied more frequently by one speech community than by the other in the three stages of leave-taking. Then more detailed analysis is on

the content of the speech acts which are highly frequently used by each speech community. This is done by citing some specific parts of the dialogues under each category marked by its high frequency in one speech community with some comparison to the same speech act applied by the other speech community.

The data from the questionnaire are analyzed by the Chi-square test and the factor analysis. At first, the Chi-square test is performed to find out whether the other factors besides cultural diversities, such as differences in age, in profession, in gender, and in the sequence of the statements on the questionnaire, have effect on the results of the data analysis. Within each speech community, each factor is singled out, and every one of the five impressions given to the eight different leave-taking statements or excuses is analyzed by the Chi-square test. The results of the data analysis, which will be discussed in the next chapter, have shown that these factors have little or no effect on the different attitudes shown by the respondents towards the various ways of saying good-bye.

With the assurance that, other than cultural differences, other factors do not have much effect on the attitudes, the Chi-square test is performed to check each impression on all the eight leave-taking statements or excuses between the Chinese and American respondents. The result is to be discussed in the following chapter. Then the factor analysis is conducted to confirm the result obtained from the Chi-square test, which will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.4 Limitation of the data collection

The limitation of the data collection for this study is obvious when some of the factors are considered. As it is mentioned before, due to the limited access to recording dialogues of leave-taking and to randomly-selected respondents from a wider range for

the survey, both geographically and professionally, the result of this study is inevitably restricted by this limitation. Another factor which will affect the data analysis is that some of the respondents, especially the Chinese, left some blanks in responding to the questionnaire either because the instructions might be ambiguous or the respondents were in such a rush that they did not try to understand the instruction. Though I do not expect very different results from this study due to the nature of this research[23], the validity of this study would be more convincing if these limitations had been eliminated.

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23 Linguistic etiquette, I believe, especially linguistic routines such as bidding farewell after dinner, is socio-culturally determined behavior, which should prevail throughout a whole speech community within that culture. Even though there might be some differences in wording in saying goodbye, due to the differences in geography or profession or education, the concept deeply rooted in the culture should not vary significantly.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The results of the data analysis will be presented in three sections in this chapter. In Section 4.1 we will look at the differences in structures and contents in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans. Part of it will be the result of the twenty recordings of leave-taking dialogues. The other part will be the result of the first part of the questionnaire, which is the reflection of what a guest would say after dinner. In Section 4.2, the attitudinal survey from the questionnaire will be presented. Thus, the first section is more qualitative and the second one is more quantitative. In the end, the results from the factor analysis will be discussed

4.1 Different leave-taking

The data from the recordings of farewell dialogues after dinner shows that, between the Chinese and American speech communities, there are some marked differences in conducting leave-taking, both in structure and in the content. In this section, we will examine the differences in three parts. First, we will look at the structural differences between the two speech communities in leave-taking in 4.1.1. In 4.1.2, we will discuss the different frequency of certain speech acts used by each speech community. Then in 4.1.3, we will examine in detail the differences in the content of some speech acts used by guests of the two speech communities.

4.1.1 *Difference in structure*

The difference in the leave-taking structure is shown in Table 4.1.1-1. Some speech acts are performed in more than one stage of leave-taking, and therefore, listed more than once in the table. For example, "Announcing leave-taking" appears both in the initial closing and the pre-closing in the Chinese data, and "Giving thanks" is used by American guests at the beginning of farewell conversations (initial closing) as well as during the process (pre-closing) before the final stage (closing).

Table 4.1.1 Speech acts employed in leave-taking[1]

Stages	Chinese	American
Initial closing	Announcing leave-taking Giving excuses Consolidating friendship Inviting Appreciating/Complimenting Recommending/Advising	Announcing leave-taking Giving excuses Giving thanks Appreciating/Complimenting
Pre-closing	Announcing leave-taking Offering (help) Consolidating friendship Giving thanks Appreciating/Complimenting Inviting Apologizing Suggesting future activities Recommending/Advising	Offering (food, help, etc.) Giving excuses Giving thanks Appreciating/Complimenting Inviting Apologizing Recommending/Advising Benediction
Closing	"No-bothering-you" request Closing (exchange of terminals)	Benediction Closing (exchange of terminals)

Table 4.1.1 shows that Chinese and American guests employ different speech acts in the three stages of this linguistic event: initial closing, pre-closing, and closing.

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1 The order of the speech acts in the chart is not necessarily the order that occurs in the data.

"Appreciating/complimenting," according to the data from recordings of leave-taking dialogues after dinner, are applied twice by both speech communities: in the stage of initial closing and of pre-closing. Nevertheless, the difference in applying other speech acts is obvious.

For the Chinese guests, "Inviting" and "Recommending/advising" are used in the first two stages: the initial and pre-closing, while American guests only use them in pre-closing, the second stage. Then, American guests give thanks in both initial and pre-closing, but their Chinese counterparts use this speech act only in the second stage. Then, there are some speech acts that seem to be exclusive to one speech community. For example, "Consolidating friendship" and "No-bothering-you request" are only found in the Chinese recording and "Benediction" is used by the American guests only.

Although Table 4.1.1 presents a clear picture of the difference in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans, more particular details are needed to illustrate the different farewells after dinner between the two speech communities. In 4.1.2, we are going to discuss frequency contrast of some speech acts used by both Chinese and American guests.

4.1.2 Different frequency in applying some speech acts

The data from both dialogue recordings and the questionnaires indicate that there are some striking differences in leave-taking after dinner between Chinese and Americans acts besides the structural differences discussed in the previous section. The frequency of applying some speech acts is one of them. Table 4.1.2-1 (on Page 52) presents the results from the recordings of farewell dialogues. Table 4.1.2-2 (on Page 55) demonstrates the

Table 4.1.2-1 Frequency and percentage of speech acts from recordings

Speech acts	Chinese			American		
	U[1]	*F*[2]	%[3]	*U*	*F*	%
Announcing leave taking	21	10	**100.0**	5	4	40.0
Giving excuses	13[4]	7[5]	**(70.0)**	6	5	**50.0**
a You	(7)	(4)	(40.0)	0	0	0
b I (or we)	(12)	(1)	(10.0)	(6)	(5)	(50.0)
c we (inclusive)	(1)	(1)	(10.0)	0	0	0
d others	(4)	(3)	(30.0)	0	0	0
Consolidating friendship	6	7	**70.0**	0	0	0
Inviting	25	8	**80.0**	3[3]	2	20.0
Offering	7	4	40.0	1	1	10.0
a. cleaning up	(1)	(1)	(10.0)	0		
b. Later help	(5)	(3)	(30.0)	0		
c. others	(1)	(1)	(10.0)	(1)		
Appreciating/Complimenting	2	2	20	52	10	**100**
a. people	0	0	0	(26)	(10)	(100)
b. occasion/time	(2)	(2)	(20.0)	(22)	(10)	(100)
c. food	0	0	0	(3)	(3)	(30.0)
d. other	0	0	0	(1)	(1)	(10.0)
Apologizing	5	3	30.0	1	1	10.0[4]
Giving thanks	9	3	30.0	37	10	**100**
Recommending/Advising	12	6	**60.0**	4	3	30.0
a. Host's rest	(9)	(6)	(60.0)	0	0	0
b. Host's welfare	(3)	(2)	(20.0)	(4)	(3)	(30.0)
Benediction	0	0	0	5	4	40.0
Suggesting future contact	6	4	40.0	3	3	30.0
No-bothering request	32[5]	7	**70.0**	0	0	0
Closing (terminals exchange)	11[6]	7	**70.0**	17	10	**100**

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2 Though one excuse given by a Chinese guest appears to be "*I*-patterned" excuse, it is still other-oriented one to some extent. The excuse is: "We need to prepare for tomorrow's dinner for you."

3 In the American data, some invitations are given by some guests to the researcher, who implied during the dinners that she needed more data on "talk after dinner." Therefore, this kind of utterances (inviting a guest) are not counted in the analysis because of their irrelevance to the present study.

4 The apology in this occasion, "I hate to leave you here with everything to do (...)," is different from the Chinese ones, which are apologies for taking host's time or causing them to work hard or to spend money.

5 The information in this part is not accurate because some Chinese data seem to be cut short (the recordings stopped) before the closing, the final stage.

6 See Note 5.

(1) U = Utterance, which means how many times a speech act is uttered in all the recordings of one speech community, i. e. 37 in "Giving thanks" in the American data means there are thirty-seven utterances of "thanks" produced by the guests upon leave-taking.
(2) F = Frequency, which indicates in how many recordings in one speech community that a speech act is used, i.e. "7" in "Giving excuses" in the Chinese data means that this speech act occurs in seven out of the ten recordings.
(3) % = Percentage, which only counts the rate of the frequency and the total data numbers, i.e. 30.0 in "Giving thanks" in the Chinese data means that this speech act occurs in three recordings out of the total ten (3/10=30.0%).
(4) This number is the sum of those numbers in brackets.
(5) As some speech acts are used in the same dialogue, this number is not the sum of those in brackets. For example, the total speech acts in "Giving excuse" in the Chinese data is 9, but they only occur in seven dialogue recordings.

results from the first part of the questionnaire. As mentioned above, only the speech acts performed by the guests are classified and summarized in the following tables.

Table 4.1.2-1 shows that some speech acts are employed more frequently by one speech community than by the other. This difference in frequency suggests that the functions for each speech act to fulfill the leave-taking event vary between the two speech communities. It also indicates that some speech acts are necessary for one speech community in this speech event while other speech acts are important for the other group.

For American guests, according to Table 4.1.2-1, saying "thank you" (100%) and expressing gratitude and joy (100%, "Appreciating/ Complimenting") to the host are the basic part of their farewell, but Chinese use them sparingly (30.0% and 20.0% respectively). However, when it comes to "Announcing leave-taking" and "Inviting", which are frequently employed by the Chinese guests (90.0% and 80.0% respectively), the American guests use them to a much lesser degree (40.0% and 20.0% respectively). There are some other speech acts, such as "Recommending/Advising" and "Giving excuses" by the Chinese (60.0% and 70.0%), and "Benediction" by the Americans

(40.0%), though not occurring so frequently as the other speech acts mentioned above, are used more often than the others. Then, there are some other speech acts which appear only once or twice in the data, such as "Appreciating/Complimenting" by Chinese guests (20.0%) and "Apologizing" by Americans (10.0%).

Now let us examine the results from the first part of the questionnaire to see whether the written statements on leave-taking support the fact obtained from the dialogue recordings of leave-taking after dinner. As mentioned in Chapter 3, there are three dinner situations in the questionnaire: with family or close relatives, with good friends, and with acquaintances or colleagues. The criteria for different speech acts are the same as those used in analyzing the dialogue recordings. The responses were tallied and converted to percentages. Then the Chi-square tests were performed to establish where frequencies of each category were significantly different between the two speech communities under each situation. The results are shown in Table 4.1.2-2 (on the following page).

In Table 4.1.2-2, there are not as many speech acts presented as in Table 4.1.2-1 because only the data with significant difference in statistic analysis are presented here. Another reason for fewer speech acts shown in Table 4.1.2-2 is that the respondents in the survey "left out" some speech acts in filling up the questionnaire. A close examination of Table 4.1.2-2 (and later Table 4.1.2-3) will show that there is some discrepancy in frequency and percentage of some speech acts exhibited in the two tables. For example, in Table 4.1.2-2, more Chinese "guests" in the questionnaire used "Thank you" than those in the recordings. In Situation II (with good friends), thirty-nine of the Chinese (48.15%) in the survey used *xiexie* (Thank you). Then in Situation III (with colleagues or acquaintances), fifty-six of the Chinese (69.14%) used this speech act. In

Table 4.1.2-2 Frequency and percentage of speech acts from the questionnaires

Speech act	I: With family		II: With friends		III: With colleagues	
	Am	Ch	Am	Ch	Am	Ch
	p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	
***I*-patterned excuse**	16/81[1] (19.75)	4/81 (4.93)	11/81 (13.58)	1/81 (1.23)	9/81 (11.11)	2/81 (2.47)
	p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	
***You*-patterned excuse**	2/81 (2.47)	36/81 (44.44)	2/81 (2.47)	18/81 (22.22)	0	19/81 (23.46)
Other-patterned excuse	19/81 (23.46)	34/81 (41.98)	11/81 (13.58)	35/81 (43.21)	12/80 (15.00)	27/81 (33.33)
	p=0.01 DF=1		p=0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	
Thanks	60/81 (74.07)	5/81 (6.17)	59/81 (72.84)	39/81 (48.15)	68/80 (83.95)	56/81 (69.14)
	p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.03, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=1		p=0.03, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=1	
Invitation[2]	-	-	23/81 (28.40)	39/81 (48.15)	10/81 (12.50)	34/81 (41.98)
			p=0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	
Apology[3]	-	-	0	8/81 (8.88)	0	22/81 (27.16)
			p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	
Advice	0	54/81 (66.67)	0	18/81 (22.22)	0	17/81 (20.99)
	p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1		p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=1	

(1) The first figure is the number of the people who used the speech act. The second one is the total number of the people in the survey. The figure in brackets is the percentage. For example, "16/81 (19.75)" in the American data means that sixteen Americans out of eighty-one gave a "*I*-patterned" excuse, which is almost twenty percent of the Americans in the survey.

(2) There is no statistically significant difference between the Americans and the Chinese with "Invitation" and "Apology" in this situation.

(3) It is the same as the explanation above.

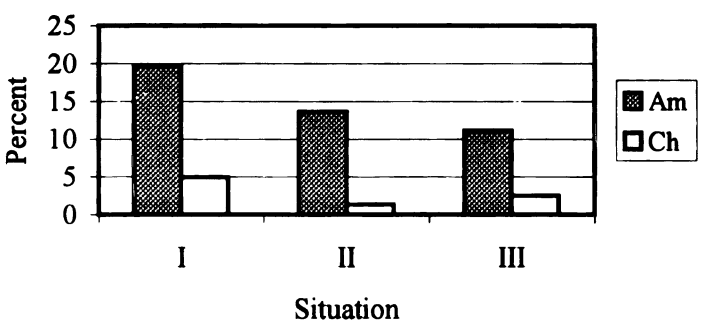
the dialogue recordings, there is no American guest using "*you*-patterned" excuses for taking their leave after dinner. However, the data from the questionnaire show that two American "guests" applied this speech act in their farewell.

One explanation for this discrepancy is that the number of the people who are involved in the survey is much bigger than that of the dialogue recordings. Another reason for this discrepancy is that people may have some ideas about the polite way of saying goodbye even though they may not use it in a real situation. Giving thanks to the host by Chinese guests is a case in point. Although this speech act was not used frequently by the Chinese guests in the recordings, more Chinese in the survey wrote *xiexie* "Thank you" in their response. This inconsistency indicates that Chinese still believe giving thanks is a sign for showing politeness (more discussion on this issue will be in Chapter 5). However, knowing or believing it does not guarantee using this speech act in a real life situation. In the next section on the results of the attitudinal survey, this discrepancy also shows as the Chinese respondents rated the leave-taking expression with "Thanks" higher than those without it. That leads to the third explanation: written production may not be effective in eliciting data representative of actual speech acts in real life settings, as some researchers point out (e.g. Hinkel, 1997, p. 19). However, this kind of data from the first part of the questionnaire does provide some valuable information for this study.

Table 4.1.2-2 shows that the difference in giving excuses between Chinese and Americans is quite obvious. More American guests gave *I*-patterned excuses and more Chinese guests used *you*-patterned ones. In the survey, sixteen American respondents (19.8%) thought that their guests would use this *I*-patterned excuse for taking leave after

dinner with family or close relatives (Situation I). However, only four Chinese respondents (4.9%) gave this excuse in the same situation. Then, in Situation II, which is with good friends, eleven Americans (13.6%) used this self-oriented *I*-patterned excuse for bidding farewell to their friends after dinner, while only one Chinese respondent out of eight-one (1.23%) gave such an excuse. In Situation III, which is with colleagues and acquaintances, nine American respondents (about 11.1%) used this *I*-patterned excuse while two Chinese (about 2.5%) gave this excuse. This difference is shown in Chart 1.

Chart 1
Difference in giving *I*-patterned excuses



Now let us look at the difference in using *you*-patterned excuses for leave-taking. In Situation I (with family and close relatives), thirty-six Chinese respondents (44.4%) gave "*you*-patterned" excuses but only two Americans (2.5%) used this kind of excuse. Then in Situation II (with good friends), two Americans (2.5%) gave this *you*-patterned excuse, but eighteen Chinese (22.2%) excused them with this kind of excuse. In Situation III (with colleagues or acquaintances), nineteen Chinese respondents (23.5%) gave this *you*-patterned excuse but no Americans did. This difference is shown in Chat 2 on the following page.

Chart 2
Difference in giving *you* -patterned excuses

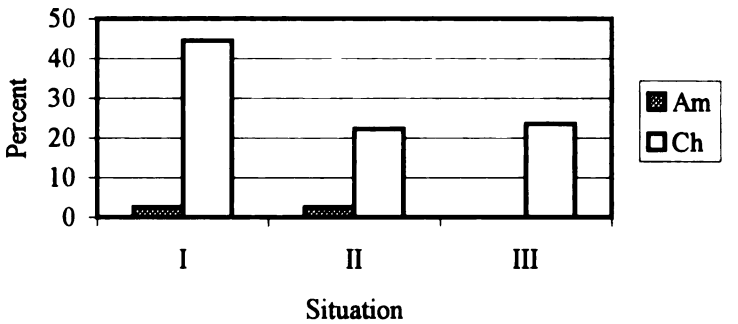
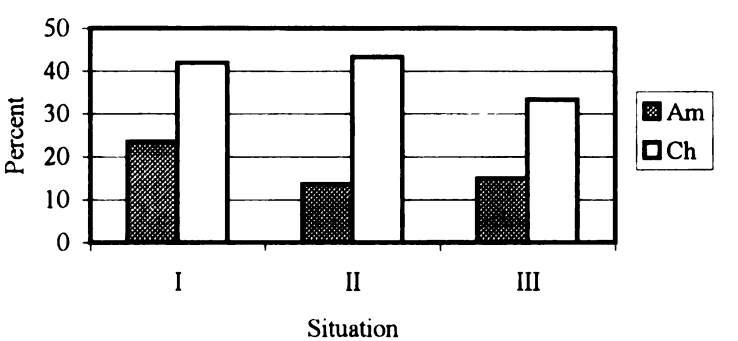


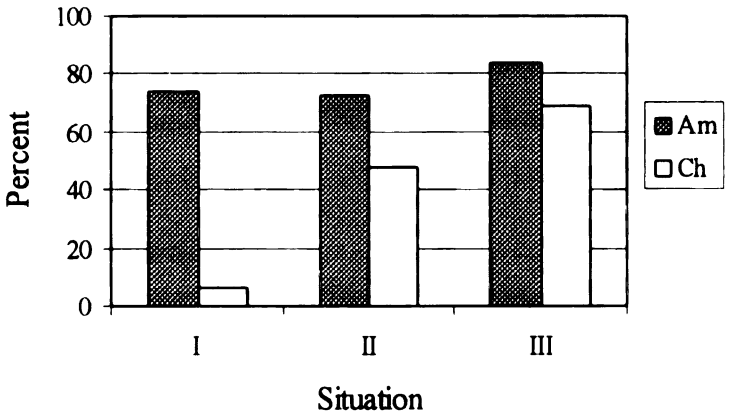
Table 4.1.2-3 shows that Chinese guests also use more time related excuses, such as "It's getting late," or "It's getting dark." In Situation I, thirty-four Chinese (41.98%) used this kind of excuses but only nineteen Americans (23.5%) applied this "time-concerned" excuse. Then in Situation II, eleven Americans (13.65%) gave such excuses, but thirty-five Chinese (43.2%) used "It's getting late" excuses. In Situation III, the same pattern shows as more Chinese respondents (33.3%) than the Americans (15.0%) gave such excuses. This difference is presented in Chart 3.

Chart 3
Difference in giving time-excuse



As a supporting fact for what we have found from the recordings of leave-taking dialogues, the data from the questionnaires also indicates that Americans guests show their gratitude to their hosts more expressively and verbally, such as saying "Thank you," than Chinese guests. In Situation I, sixty of the American respondents (74.1%) used "Thank you" as they recalled what their guests would say before taking leave. However, only five Chinese (6.2%) used *xiexie* "Thank you" in the same situation. Although, in Situation II and III, more Chinese respondents (48.2% and 69.1%) openly expressed their gratitude, compared with the Americans (72.8% and 84%) who gave thanks to the host, however, the Chinese are still more reserved in saying "Thank you." Chart 4 shows this difference.

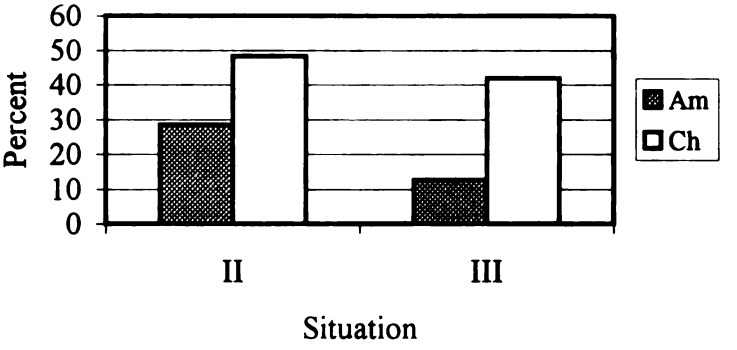
Chart 4
Difference in saying "Thank you"



As far as giving invitation to their host is concerned, there is no significant difference found between Americans and Chinese in Situation I from the questionnaires. However, there is a difference in other two situations in performing this speech act. Twenty-three (28.4%) and ten (12.5%) Americans invited their hosts for dinner in Situation II and III respectively. However, thirty-nine (48.2%) of the Chinese

respondents gave such invitation in Situation II and thirty-four (41.98%) in Situation III. See Chart 5 for this difference.

Chart 5
Difference in giving invitation



Just as we have found in the dialogue recordings that the Chinese guests like to give more personal advice to their hosts upon taking leave, the data from the questionnaires also provides such information. In Situation I, fifty-four Chinese guests (66.7%) gave some kind of advice or suggestions to their hosts. Most of the advice or suggestions are

Zao dianr xiuxi ba
early, a little rest (*particle*)
(Go to bed early).

There are some other personal advice or suggestions by Chinese guests, such as

Gongzuozhong hai xuyao duo jiaba you
at work still need more add fuel
(You still need to put more effort to your work" (Ch-14[7]),

or

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7 This indicates the respondent number of the questionnaires, i.e. "Ch-1" means the first respondent (No.1) in the Chinese data.

Mingtian keneng yao biantian. Ninmen yiding yao duo chuan yifu

tomorrow possible will change weather, you be sure need more put on clothes

(The weather may change tomorrow. Be sure to put on more clothes" (Ch-27),

or

Qin chuqu zou dong zou dong, bie lao daizai jiali

often go out walk [and] move, don't always stay at home

(Often go out and take a walk. Don't always stay at home, Ch-44, also in Ch-74 where the guest gave a similar advice),

Nimen suishu dale, zhuyi shenti, zhuyi xiuxi

you (pl.) age old, pay attention to health, pay attention to rest

(You're getting old, so (you need to) pay more attention to your health and take more rest" (Ch-77).

Though the percentage of giving advice by the Chinese guests in Situation II and III is smaller than that in Situation I (eighteen (22.2%) and seventeen (20.9%) respectively), "You need to go to bed early" is the most often used advice or suggestion given to the host, whether dinning with friends or colleagues. Nevertheless, no American respondent in any of the three situations expressed this kind of "imposing" advice (by Brown and Levinson's standard) to their hosts in their leave-taking statements.

Apology is another speech act found in the questionnaires which is only reported by the Chinese respondents. Giving an apology upon leave taking among Chinese, as shown in Table 4.1.2-2, is often done in Situation III, with colleagues or acquaintance. As mentioned early, the only apology used by an American guest in the dialogue recordings concerns more about being unable to help clean up. The apology Chinese guests tend to give upon leave-taking, however, as reported in the questionnaires, is more on feeling

sorry about taking up the host's time, or about cost or work the host spent on preparing the dinner.

The apologies cited by the Chinese respondents are as the following:

Darao le bantian, shizai buhaoyisi
disturb quite a while, really ill at ease
(I really feel bad for disturbing you so long. Ch-18. The similar expressions are also found in Ch-28, -39, -62, -81).

Gei nimen tian mafan le
to you add trouble"
([Sorry for] giving you trouble. Ch-29, -31, -38, 43, -51, -55, -67, -71, -76, -79)

Rang nin pofei le
let you (polite form) spend money"
([Sorry for] costing you money. Ch-48, -62, -63, -78)

Jiantian rang nimen shou lei le
today let you (pl.) suffer exhaustion
(We put you work out today. Ch-44).

Sometimes the apology is a kind of combination of the two apologies cited above, such as

Darao nimen le. Rang nimen xinku le yitian, shizai buhaoyisi
disturb you (pl.), let you (pl.) work hard whole day, really ill at ease
(We really feel bad about disturbing you and making you work hard the whole day. Ch-54).

One Chinese guest in the survey even asked for forgiveness after giving his/her apology:

Chu ci jianmian jiu gei nin tian le zheme duo mafan, shizai sorry. Qing duo baohan
first time meeting then give you[8] add so much trouble, really ill at ease. Please more forgive"

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8 *Nin* is the polite form of *ni*, the second person singular pronoun.

([I'm] really sorry for giving you so much trouble the first we met. Please forgive me. Ch-67).

The data from both dialogue recordings and the questionnaires illustrate that there are some speech acts which are more basic components in farewell conversations after dinner, and therefore are essential in successfully conducting this speech event, such as expressing gratitude to the host by Americans and giving excuses and invitation by Chinese. Some speech acts, on the other hand, are more dispensable. Employing them in leave-taking, however, will either ensure this closing function, such as leave-taking announcement for Americans, or add more politic flavor to the communication, such as complimenting the host's food or house by American guests and offering future help to the host by Chinese guests.

Then, there are some other speech acts which do not have such functions, and leaving them out may not affect the validity of leave-taking or politeness of the performance, such as showing appreciation to the host for Chinese and inviting the host for Americans. Thus, different speech communities have different needs for certain speech acts in order to conduct this speech event in a polite and appropriate way. Based on the results from the dialogue recordings, the speech acts used in each speech community are presented in Table 4.1.2-3 (on the following page) in three groups according to frequency: highly frequently used, frequently used, and occasionally used. The data from Situation II (with good friends – similar to the settings of the dialogue recordings) of the questionnaires are presented in italics for reference.

Table 4.1.1-3 shows, based on the recordings, that the crucial components in farewell after dinner, according to the frequency of leave-taking speech acts applied by

each speech community, are very different between Chinese and Americans. For Chinese, announcing leave-taking, giving excuses, inviting the host, and consolidating

Table 4.1.2-3 Three Groups of speech acts used in leave-taking according to frequency (based on the recordings)

	Chinese	%	**American**	%
HF[1]	Announcing leave-taking	100/*45.7*[2]	Giving thanks	100/*72.9*
	Giving excuses	70.0/*43.2*[3]	Appreciating/ Complimenting	100/*67.9*
	Inviting	80.0/*48.2*	Closing	100/*14.8*
	Consolidating friendship	70.0/*14.9*		
	No-bothering-you request	70.0[9]/*3.7*		
F	Recommending/ Advising	60.0/*22.2*	Giving excuses	50.0/*9.9*
	Closing	60.0[10]/*22.2*		
	Suggesting future activities	50.0/*50.6*		
O	Offering help	40.0/*3.7*	Announcing leave-taking	40.0/*32.1*
	Apologizing	30.0/*8.9*	Benediction	40.0/*0*
	Giving thanks	30.0/*48.2*	Recommending/ Advising	30.0/*0*
	Appreciating/ Complimenting	20.0/*48.1*	Suggesting future activities	30.0/*42.0*
	Benediction	0/*2.5*	Inviting	20.0/*28.4*
			Apologizing	10.0/*0*
			Offering help or food[11]	10.0/*4.9*
			Consolidating friendship	0/*6.2*

(1) HF = high frequency; F = frequency; O = occasional.
(2) The italicized figures are the data from the questionnaire.
(3) This is the percentage of all the excuses (*I-*, *you*, *we-*, *other*-patterned excuses) used in Situation II in the questionnaires.

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9 See Note 5.

10 See Note 5.

11 The American offering includes offering food because guests in USA will bring some desert to dinner sometimes and take the leftover, if there is any, back. This custom

are the fundamental parts in saying goodbye. For Americans, however, giving thanks, expressing appreciation of the occasion, and saying "Goodbye" are the basic elements in conducting this speech event. Admittedly, frequency data alone cannot fully represent an accurate picture of leave-taking, especially with such a small number of collections. However, until we can acquire more dialogue recordings of leave-taking after dinner, such rough-hewing findings have to suffice, at least for this study.

In the next section, we are going to discuss the content of the speech acts used in leave-taking. Due to the scope of this study, I will focus on the speech acts shown in the "highly frequent" group which are markedly different between the two speech friendship communities. "No-bothering-you" request, though frequently used by the Chinese guests, will not be discussed in the discussion section because of the two "short-cut" Chinese recordings, which makes it hard to form a correct judgment about this speech act. Nevertheless, it is a typical feature of the Chinese leave-taking and deserves a little space here.

A Chinese host usually walks out with his/her guests or accompanies them down several flights of stairs to where their bikes are or even to the bus stop, as Hu and Grove described (1991, pp. 30-31). While the host and the guest are walking out together, the guest is supposed to make these "No-bothering-you requests," such as *Hui qu ba, bei song le* "return, don't send off" (Go back, you don't have to see us out) (Ch. #1[12]), *Nin liu bu* "You save steps" (Don't bother seeing us out any further) (Ch. #5), etc. Such statements are reiterated several times because Chinese hosts often "ignore" this kind of

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is not practiced in China. Guests in China bring some wine or fruits sometimes to dinner and will not take leftover back.

request and keep on walking with their guests to a certain distance. Though some American hosts also walk out with their guests to their cars, their guests will not make such "No-bothering-you" requests. In later sections I will try to explain this difference.

4.1.3 Difference in contents of speech acts

In this section, I will first discuss the highly frequently used speech acts in the American leave-taking, then those in the Chinese goodbye. As this is a comparative study between American and Chinese farewell after dinner, therefore, while discussing the necessary speech acts of one speech community, I will compare them with those used in the other speech community to show where the differences exist. The explanation will follow. Some data will be provided to illustrate the point, but consideration of space precludes the citation of all data in the paper.

4.1.3.1 American leave-taking

As mentioned above, the data collected through recordings of leave-taking dialogue shows that the most frequently employed speech acts in the American farewell after dinner are expressing appreciation and giving thanks (besides exchanging terminals). (See Table 4.1.2-3 on Page 63). Compared with the Chinese, the American guests "lavishly" express their pleasure and joy of participating in this kind of social activity and their gratitude for their hosts' kindness and hospitality before they take their leave.

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12 "Ch. #1" stands for Recording #1 in the Chinese data, so "Am. #3" means Recording #3 in the American data.

4.1.3.1-1 Appreciation

The most casual observation of human leave-taking, according to Knapp et al. (1973), will show that people close their interaction on a supportive note because anticipation of some amount of future inaccessibility mandates this supportiveness. Thus expressing delight and happiness at being part of the interaction, they suggest, is probably best suited for leave-taking (Knapp et al., 1973, p. 185). In the American data, that the guests gratefully state and restate their thanks and appreciation to their hosts does seem to fit Knapp et al.'s assumption.

In seven of the ten recordings of the American leave-taking, expressing appreciation was used both at the initial closing and pre-closing stages (see Table 4.1.1 on page 50). These expressions of appreciation include those of being with people (mostly with the other guests) and of having participated in the activity (occasion and time). According to Brown and Levinson's theory, expressing appreciation is a performance of positive politeness, which speaks directly to the addressee's positive face (the want to be liked).

The statements of appreciating the occasion and time are given both at initial closing and pre-closing phases of American leave-taking in the data, such as "That has been so interesting" (Am. #1), "It was really fine to have this evening" (Am. #2), "Well, this is great. And we're glad that we have time to do this" (Am. #5), "We enjoyed this so much" (Am. #7, #8), "This is so much fun and interesting" (Am. #8) etc. In Am. #1, after responding to Ga's (Guest A) checking about getting ready to take their leave, Gb (Guest B) immediately expressed her appreciation ("*this has been so interesting*") of attending the dinner, as shown in Example 1:

Example 1 (Am. #1)

(The guests, Ga and Gb, two women, and the host and hostess (Ha) in the recording are all in their late sixties or early seventies. They are neighbors as well as friends. The host is a carpenter and the women are housewives.)

Ga (1)[13] Well, what'll you say?

Gb (2) Well, I think (so?). *Oh, this has been so interesting.*

Ha (3) Yeah, this is an enjoyable evening for us.

Gb (4) Sure, [thank you so much for this enjoyable evening.

Ha (5) [I mean we enjoy (...?)

Interestingly, in Am. #5 as show in Example 2, Ga (the wife) even indicated her desire to take leave with this speech act, which was echoed by Gb, her husband.

Example 2 (Am. #5)

(The guests, Ga and Gb, a couple in their early thirties live in the same neighborhood as the hostess, who is in her early seventies. The husbands are businessmen and the wives stay at home.)

Ga (1) Well, *this is great. And we're glad we've,* [*have some time to do this.*

Gb (2) [*Yes, sure it was.*

The Chinese guests, however, made fewer appreciative comments as revealed in the data from the recordings. If they did, they did not use them alone to initiate closing of a conversation as their American counterparts did. In the Chinese recordings, this speech act is accompanied by other expressions. In Example 3, the Chinese guest (G) articulated his appreciation ("We've had a good lunch together") together with an excuse ("we've been here for quite a while"), a leave-taking announcement ("I think we should go"), and a suggestion ("you should rest").

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13 The number in the brackets refers to the order of occurrence of that utterance in the recording of leave-taking (which means from "initial closing" to "closing").

Example 3 (Ch. #1)

(The guest (G) is a retired worker in his early seventies and is a good friend of the host, a retired high school teacher in his late sixties. The guest's wife is also present.)

G *Jintian zhongwu zhe can chide hen hao. Shijian ye bu duan le,*
Today noon this meal ate very good. Time also not show (pa.[14])
wo shuo, women gai zou le, ni gai xiuxi le.
I say, we[15] should go (pa.), you should rest (pa.)
(We've had a good lunch today, and we've been here for quite a while, so I think we should go and you should rest.)

The appreciative statements expressed by the American guests on being with other people (in our case the Chinese graduate students–including me–who went to these dinners to collect data for this study) are found only in pre-closing, the second stage, in the recordings. The American guests expressed their pleasure of meeting them for the first time, such as "So nice to meet you girls" (Am. #1), "Nice/Glad to meet you" (Am. #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #8, #9, #10).[16]

Laver (1981) calls these kinds of appreciative utterances "consolidatory comments" because they are addressed to the positive aspect of face as esteem for the other participants (p. 303), either other guests or the hosts, is implied in them.

In the Chinese recordings, however, there are three settings where the data collector (the person who recorded the conversations) and the other guests did not know each other before the dinners. Only in one recording did the guest speak one short sentence (*Ni ye*

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14 *le* is a modal particle, indicating change of state here. It also refers to "excessiveness" and "accomplished fact."

15 Here *women* "we," the inclusive term for the plural form of first person pronoun, includes the guest and his wife.

16 There are some variations of this linguistic pattern used in these conversations, such as "Nice meeting you," "It's so nice to meet you," etc.

qu. "you too go" (You come, too.") to the "stranger" (the data collector) during the whole leave-taking conversation after he gave his invitation to the host (*Fanzheng you shijian jiu qu ba* "any way have time then go" (Any way, come [to our house] when you have time."). There is no "Nice to meet you" statement found in the Chinese data.

4.1.3.1-2 Giving thanks

Leave-taking is a speech event with a very high degree of risk to face (Laver, 1981). A host might feel rejected if his/her guests conduct their leave-taking inappropriately (or impolitely). That is threatening to the positive face of the host(s) according to Brown and Levinson's theory. To avoid this unpleasant situation, the American guests lavishly express their gratitude to the host or hostess for their hospitality (see Appendix II), such as "Thank you for your hospitality" (Am. #1), "Thank you so much" (Am. #2), "Thank you for inviting us here" (Am. #3, #8), "Thanks a million for a wonderful day" (Am. #4), "Thank you for the wonderful dinner" (Am. #7), "Thank you for opening up your house" (Am. #10), etc. In two recordings, "Giving thanks" is used by the guests as an indication to close the conversation.

In Am. #1, as cited in Example 1, Guest B (Gb) thanked the host and hostess for the nice time she had had ("Thank you so much for this enjoyable evening") right after her friend (Ga) checked with her about taking their leave. In Am. #2, the guest implied her desire to close the conversation simply by giving thanks to the hostess ("*Well, thank you so much*").

Chinese guests, on the other hand, seem to express their gratitude to the host(s) rather "grudgingly." From Table 4.1.2-2, we see that this speech act is applied in only

three Chinese settings out of the ten recordings, and realized in only nine different utterances, such as:

Xiexie nide zhaodai.
Thank your entertaining.
(Thank you for your entertainment). (Ch. #2)

Najiu duo xie, ... nage,..erwei lingdao shengqing kuandai le
Then more thank well two leader great kindness entertain (pa.)
(Then, thank you, the two leaders,[17] for your wonderful entertainment). (Ch. #6)

Xiexie la.
Thank (pa.)
(Thank you). (Ch. #8)

Giving thanks or expressing appreciation, according to Brown and Levinson, are addressing the host's positive face because his desire to be liked is assured and recognized in these two speech acts. By emphasizing the enjoyable quality of the interaction, the positive face of both addressee (the host) and the addresser (the guest) is guaranteed. However, the guest is faced with two opposing tensions: the desire to effectively communicate one's intention, and the desire to do FTAs with redressive action. Specifically, a guest needs to let the host know that he/she wants to leave without making the host to feel rejected or unappreciated. At the same time, the guest still wants his/her own negative face to be satisfied, which means he/she wants to have the freedom to make his/her own decision on when to leave. The strategy suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987) in doing FTAs is to do it "off record." In this way, the speaker cannot be held to have committed himself/herself to one particular intent (p. 69).

The data from the recordings shows clearly that American guests did apply this strategy as they indirectly indicated their desire to take their leave with appreciative comments or thanks rather than a directly announced leave-taking ("on record" in Brown and Levinson's term) as their Chinese counterparts did (which will be discussed in the following section). This indirect way to express one's desire to take leave may explain why some American leave-taking appears longer than the Chinese as Hu and Grove (1991) discuss in their book. The American "off-record" usage of indicating their intention to take leave, gives leeway to topic change rather than topic closing as Schegloff and Sacks suggested (1973, p. 306). More often than not, conversations still carry on in the American settings (which are revealed from the recordings as well as from my observation) after such "appreciation" and "thanks" are expressed. Compared with Chinese "on-record" announcements of leave-taking, which obviously discourage a new topic, the American expressions are only "possible initial closings" ("possible pre-closing" in Schegloff and Sacks' term) until the intention of leave taking is recognized and satisfied, which means no new topic is introduced; then they become "real" initial closings.

The data from the questionnaires shows, as presented in italics in Table 4.1.2-3, that these two speech acts, "Giving thanks" and "Appreciating/Complimenting," are also highly frequently used by the American respondents (72.9% for "Giving thanks" and 67.9% for "Appreciating/Complimenting" in Situation II). Many of them thanked the host for inviting them to dinner and their hospitality, and complimenting the meal or the

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17 *Lingdao* "leader" here is used in a joking way as the dinner is held among friends and colleagues. The host is the director, a "leader", but his wife is not. The tone of the whole conversation is very friendly and humorous.

time/occasion for them to get together, such as "Thank you for inviting us" or "Thank you for having us over for dinner," or "The meal (or food, dinner) was delicious (or good, great, excellent, lovely, wonderful)," "It was fun (or good, nice, great) to get (or getting) together," " We've had a wonderful (or great, exquisite) time," "It was enjoyable (or nice, delightful, great, lovely, wonderful) evening," etc.

Another "high-frequency" speech act in the dialogue recordings of American leave-taking is closing – exchanging terminal phases, such as "Bye," "Good-bye," "Good night," or "See you." Although "Benediction" is also applied, terminal exchange makes up the major part of the third phase in the American farewell after dinner. As shown in Table 4.1.2-3, this speech act is not as frequently used in conducting the Chinese leave-taking as in American goodbye. Although two of the ten Chinese recordings were not complete, this speech act occurred in only six of the farewell dialogues of the Chinese leave-taking, while it was used in every one of the ten American recorded dialogues.

Another difference in terminal exchanges between the two speech communities is the lexical one. In China, sometimes the ending words between a guest and host are not exchanging *Zai jian* "again see" (Goodby) (Ch. #1), or *Yihou jian* "later see" or *Hui jian* "return see" (See you later) (Ch. #2 and #3). Chinese guests often finish their terminals exchanges by giving a suggestion as *Hui qu ba* "back go" (Go back) (Ch. #6) or offering an invitation as *Qu wonar qu a* "come my place" (Come to my home) (Ch. #7, #9, #10), to the host. This is also observed in the data collected from the questionnaires. Besides putting down *Zai jian* "again see" (Goodby), some Chinese respondents also reported these following departing phrases, such as:

Bie song le
not see off

(You don't need to see us off any further.[18] Ch-28).

Hui qu, hui qu

back go, back go

(Go back, go back. Ch-4, -77).

Hao la, quing hui ba, bie song le

alright, please back, not see off

(Alright, please go back, You don't need to see us any further.[19] Ch-22, -45, -49).

Qing liu lu

please keep/reserve step

(Don't go any further. Ch-78).

In summary of the American leave-taking, with the assumption that conducting leave-taking is risky to face according to Brown and Levinson's theory, the speech acts which are highly frequently employed by American guests address the host's positive face while protecting their own negative faces.

4.1.3.2 Chinese leave-taking

Shown in Table 4.1.2-3 (on page 64), besides "Closing," four other speech acts are employed by the Chinese guests more frequently than the others. They are "Announcing leave-taking," "Giving excuses," "Inviting," and "Recommending/Advising." Besides leave-taking announcements, the other three speech acts are all *other*-oriented (*you*-patterned) linguistic expressions. Speech acts like these, inferred from the definitions given by Brown and Levinson (1987), are intrinsic face-threatening-acts (FTAs) to the hearer (H) (pp. 65-68). In a leave-taking event, as discussed above, an announcement of

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18 *Le*, a Chinese particle, is used here as an indication of change of state, i.e. from "seeing off" to "not seeing off." That is why *Bie song le* is translated as "You don't need to see us off any further."

leaving by a guest will threaten the host's positive face because he/she may feel rejected. Giving *you*-patterned threatens the host's negative face because he/she may feel that his/her personal territory is invaded. The host's negative face is also threatened by a guest's invitation if it is against his/her will as he/she may feel imposed on; *you*-patterned recommending/advising, in Brown and Levinson's view, is face-threatening to the host, because this speech act is "imposing."

4.1.3.2-1 Elaborate initial closing

Compared with American guests who seem to be careful in using those face-threatening speech acts, the Chinese seem to employ them on a much "freer" basis. Unlike their American counterparts, who initiate the closing section more often by giving thanks or expressing satisfaction than announcing leave-taking, as discussed in the preceding section, the Chinese guests sometimes employ several speech acts together with their announcement of leave-taking in the initial stage of their farewell after dinner. Example 4 - illustrate this "ostentatious" attribute of Chinese leave-taking.

Example 4

> (The host, a retired high school teacher, and the guest, a doctor in a factory, are long time friends). "). (Ch. #1)

The guest announces his desire to take leave ("I think we should go") together with a statement of appreciation of occasion ("We've had a good lunch today"), an excuse of time ("we've been here for quite some time"), and a suggestion ("you should rest") (The quote is omitted here since it is cited in Example 1)

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19 See Note 18.

Example 5

(The guest (G), the same person as the host in Ch. #1, is a long time friend of the host, a retired high school principal in his mid-sixties.) (Ch. #2)

In this initial closing, besides giving an excuse ("It's getting late") and announcing leave-taking ("I should go"), the guest also gives an invitation to the host and his wife ("When you have time, and Z has time, I'll invite you to my house").

G *Zhege, ni zhaodai wan wo le, wo gai zou le, tian bu zao le.*
Well, you entertain finish I (pa.), I should go (pa.), day not early (pa.).
Ranhou ne, na yi tian, ni you kong,
Then (pa. indicating a pause), which one day, you have free time,
Z you kong, wo qing nimen qu.
Z have free time, I invite you go.
(Well, today you've entertained me. It's getting late and I should go. Then when you have time, and Z[20] has time, I'll invite you to my house.)

Example 6

(In this recording, G, an engineer in his thirties, and his wife, a nurse, have been invited by their friend's father, who is also the host in Ch.#1. Their friend, the daughter of the host, and her brother, the host's son, are also there.) (Ch. #3)

In a "long" initial closing statement, the guest announces leave-taking first ("we should go now"). Then, immediately, he apologizes for occupying the host's time ("we've taken a lot of your time") together with several reasons (excuses) for them to leave ("It's getting late," "we still have to work tomorrow," "you are very tired," and "you've been busy the whole day"). He finishes his statement by suggesting the host rest ("you need to get rest early").

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20 *Z* is the hostess, who was not present when this leave-taking statement was made.

G *L dayie, dage, ah, women gai zou le, shijian bu zao le, ni kan,*
L uncle, brother[21], ah, we shoud go (pa.), time not early (pa.), you see
danwu nimen hen chang shijian, ah, yinwei mingtian zenmen hai xueyao
hinder you very long time, ah, because tomorrow we[22] still need
shangban, (...?), nimen ye hen mang, ninmen ye mang le yi tian le,
go to work (...?), you too very busy, you also busy (pa.) whole day (pa.)
ye gai zaodianr xiuxiu, xiuxiu, shiwa.
also should ealier rest, rest, right.
(Uncle L, Brother, we should go now. It's getting late. You see, we've taken a lot of your time. Because we still have to go to work tomorrow (...?), and you are very busy too. (Besides), you've been busy the whole day and you need to get rest early.)

Example 7

(In this recording, the guest, a doctor in his early sixties, is a good friend of the host. They are also *laoxiang* "old native place" (fellow townsmen). (Ch. #4))

In this dialogue, the guest emphasizes the bounded relationship in "we're fellow townsmen"[23] besides indicating his desire to bring the interaction to a close by saying "That's all, OK?" Of course he does not forget to suggest that the host rest ("([you] should rest") as most Chinese guests do.

G *Jiu zheme ba, jintian fan wo ye chi le,*
Just so (pa. indicating a suggestion.), today food I too eat (pa.),
jiu ye he le, gai xiuxi le. Heihei... Fanzheng laoxiang,
wine too drink (pa.), should rest (pa.) (chuckle) Anyway fellow townsmen,

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21 "Uncle" and "brother" are only used as polite address forms here. There is no family relationship between the hosts and the guest.

22 *Zenmen* is the inclusive form of *women,* "we" in Mandarin Chinese. Here it refers to all the guest, including the speaker himself.

23 Those who are "fellow townsmen" or "fellow village-men" are believed by some Chinese to be as close as near relatives.

guoqu renshide wandianr.

before meet late.

(That's all, OK? Today, food, I ate; wine, I drank. [You] should rest. Anyway, [We're] fellow townsmen, but didn't meet each other earlier.)

Example 8

(The speaker is a retired worker in his fifties. He is a friend of the host's, a senior engineer in his early forties. Three of his worker friends are also at the dinner.) (Ch. #8)

In this closing conversation, the guest announces leave-taking ("we're leaving now") together with excuses relating to time ("It's getting late") and concerning the host ("you've been busy for a whole day, and are also very tired").

G *Jintian shijian bu zao le, nimen mangle yi tian le, ye ting leide la.*

Today time not early (pa.), you[24] busy one day (pa.), also very tired (pa.)

Zanmen ne, xianzai jiu zou le.

we[25] (pa. indicating a pause), now then go (pa.)

(It's getting late now, and you've been busy for a whole day, and also are very tired.) (So) we're leaving now.)

Sometimes, the Chinese initial closing is not conducted in one turn by one speaker as shown in the above five examples. It is conducted in more than one turn (Ch. #7) and by two or more guests together (Ch. #5 and #6):

Example 9

(The Guest (G), a farmer in his thirties, is a distant relative of H, an elderly lady in her eighties, who is living with her daughter and son-in-law, the hosts who invite three other friends to this dinner besides G.) (Ch. #7)

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24 Here *nimen* "you (pl.)" includes the host and the hostess.

In this case, the guest (G) announces leave-taking ("we're going back now") together with giving an invitation ("Come to our house for a visit") in two turns.

G (1) *Lao jinzi, women hui ya.*
Grand aunt[26], we returen (pa.)
(Grand-aunt, we're going back now.)

H (2) *Ah, ah.*
Ah, ah.
(Ok, Ok.)

G (3) *Guo women nar chuanqu wa.*
Come over we there visit (pa. indicating a suggestion)
(Come to our house for a visit.)

Example 10

(Here Guest A (Ga) and Guest C (Gc) are high school teachers in their early fifties. Guest B, Ga's husband (Gb) is a retired worker. They are invited by the host, who is a friend, a former colleague as well as a neighbour of the guests. The host is the same as in Ch. #1, #3, and #4) (Ch. #5)

In this farewell conversation, an excuse concerning time ("It's getting late") is given by one guest (Ga), and another one concerning the host ("Teacher L has been busy half of the day") is given by another guest (Gc), and the leave-taking announcement ("Let's go") is conducted by the third one (Gb) in three turns.

Ga (1) *Shijian bu duan le*
Time not short (pa.)
(It's getting late.)

Gb (2) *Zuo ba.*
Go (pa. indicating a suggestion)

---

25 See note 23.

(Let's go.)

Gc (3) *L laoshi manghu le ban tian. (laugh) Wo qu qu wode yifu.*
L teacher busy (pa.) half day. I go fetch my clothes.
Ni, ni ai chi suan qiezi bu?
You, you like eat garlic eggplant not?
(Teacher L has been busy half of the fday. I'll go to get my coat. Do you like garlic eggplant?)

Example 11

(The guests, Ga & Gb in their early 40s, are visiting their old friends and town-folks, the host (Ha) and hostess (Hb) who are retired professors, during a Spring Festival season. Ga is a manager in a construction company and his wife is a party secretary at a railway station. Their son, Gc, 17 years old, a high school student, is with them. Another guest, Gd, a retired high school teacher, who has been visiting Ga & Gb, is also there) (Ch.# 9)

In this farewell conversation, the Guests, Ga, Gb and Gc all stood up together indicating that they wanted to leave. While the hostess was joking about the same height of the whole family, Ga initiates his leave-taking statement by giving an invitation (1). Then Gb, his wife, repeats the invitation again (2). After that, Ga extends the invitation to the host's friend (Ge) (3). His wife (Gb) emphasizes their close relationship with the hosts saying that they are *laoxiang* (fellow townsmen[27]) (6). After this inviting and reinviting, Gc, the high school student, states the first leave-taking announcement (7) and farewell (9).

Ga (1) *Nimen qu wonar..*
you (pl.) go me place/house.

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26 *Jinzi* is a dialectal address term for *jiuma* (or *jiumu*), the wife of one's maternal uncle, in Mandarin Chinese.

27 See note 23.

(Come to visit us.)

Ha & Hb (2) *Ah, ah.*

(Ok, Ok).

Gb (3) *Fanzheng you shijian jiu qu ba.*

anyway have time then go (pa.)

(Anyway come when you have time.)

Ga (4) (To Gd) *Ni ye qu.*

you also go

(You [come visit us], too.)

Ga (5) *Oh, hao hao.*

Ok, good, good.

(Ok, alright.)

Ga (6) *Dou shi laoxiang.*

all be fellow townsmen

(We are all fellow townsmen).

Gc (7) *Tayie, women zou le.*

uncle we go (pa.)

(Uncle[28], we're leaving.)

Hb (8) *Ah, guo lai a.*

Ok, over come (pa.)

(Alright, come here again.)

Gc (9) *Taye, zai jian.*

uncle, again see

(Goodbye, Uncle.)

Ha (10) *Zai jian. Qian men zou.*

again see, front gate go.

(Goodbye. Go from the front gate.)

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28 This is a way of addressing older people in China. Ga is not Gc's biological uncle, but only his father's (Ga's) old friend.

Example 12

(In this setting, Ga, Gc, and Gd and the other two guests, whose ages are from late twenties to later thirties, are employees in a state-owned textile factory. They share the same office with their director, the host, who is in his later fifties. Gb is a retired high school teacher in his late sixties. His daughter is among the guests, and he went there to record the dialogue.) (Ch. #6)

In this good-bye dialogue, four guests "work" together to get this initial closing section done when they announce leave-taking ("Let's go" from (1) to (4)), advise the host and hostess to rest (in (5), "You also should rest") and apologize for taking up their time (in (6) "We've been bothering you here the whole evening").

Ga (1) *Zouba, zanmen.*
Go (pa. indicating a suggestion), we.
(Let's go.)

Gb (2) *Najiu zou ba.*
Then go (pa.)
(Then let's go.)

Gc (3) *Zou ba.*
Go (pa.)
(Let's go.)

Gd (4) *Zou ba.*
Go (pa.)
(Let's go.)

Gb (5) *Nimen ye gai xiuxi le ba.*
You (pl). also should rest (pa.) (pa.)
(You also should rest.)

Ga (6) *Darao le yi wanshang le, zai zher.*
Disturb (pa.) one evening (pa.) at here.
(We've been bothering you here the whole evening.)

The Chinese initial closing with leave-taking announcements seems rather elaborate when compared with the American "simpler" forms. In the data collected for this study, there is no combination of several speech acts in the American initial closing. Apart from indicating their desire to take leave indirectly by giving thanks or appreciation, some American guests would announce their leave-taking without giving an excuse until asked (shown in Example 13). Otherwise an excuse is offered only to justify the need to take leave. In Example 13, Gb gave an excuse for preparing dinner for their children the following day. Then in Example 14, the husband (Ga) excused their need to leave with his wife's physical condition (getting tired of sitting in a wheel chair).

Example 13

(The hostess (H), who is in her early seventies, goes to the same church as the guests, who are a couple in their later fifties. The husband (Ga) is a private business owner, and his wife (Gb) is a Bible school teacher.) (Am. #6)

Ga (1) We should go.
Gb (2) Yeah..., we should.
H (3) You have a lesson to prepare for tomorrow?
Gb (4) And, you know, our kids are all coming for dinner tomorrow, I'll have to do a little cooking.

Example 14

(The guests and hosts are long time friends, and they are all in their early seventies. The husbands are private business owners, and their wives are housewives. Guest B (Gb), the wife has been in a wheelchair after a stroke couple of months prior to this dinner.) (Am. #4)

Ga (1) Well, I think my wife is getting a little restless.
Gb (2) Yeah.

Ha (3) Can we just read and pray [just in a minute?

Gb (4) [Oh, absolutely.

4.1.3.2-2 *Other*-orientation

The Chinese "*other*-oriented" (*you*-patterned) excuse for taking leave, by Brown and Levinson's (1987) standards, sounds quite imposing as it may "invade" the host's personal territory, his/her own freedom to take care of his/her own business. Apart from concern about time such as "We've been here for quite a while" (Ch. #1, #5) and "It's getting late" (Ch. #2, #8), and consideration for having to work the following day like "We all have to work tomorrow" (Ch. #3 – the inclusive "we" (*zenmen*) is used here), the major part of the Chinese excuses (seven out of thirteen "excuse" utterances), which are displayed from the recorded dialogues, are all concerning the host's welfare, such as "*You*'ve been busy for a whole day" and "*You*'ve been working hard the whole day" (Ch. # 3), "H (= the hostess) has been busy for quite some time" and "*You* were out the whole afternoon" (Ch. #5), "*You*'ve been busy the whole evening" (Ch. # 6), "*You*'ve been busy for a whole day, and are also very tired" and "*You* two (= the host and hostess) prepared for it for a long time" (Ch. #8). These are all *other*-oriented (*you*-patterned) statements that are "threatening" to the negative face of the host according to Brown and Levinson's theory (1987).

On the contrary, the American excuses are rather "*self*-oriented" (*I*-patterned) – "*I* think my wife is getting restless" (Am. #4), "*I*'ll have to do a little cooking'" and "Last night *we* were so late" (Am. #6), "We really need to go. *I* need to help Dave (G's son) with some of his reading" (Am. #8), – do not have this threat of imposing on the host. The data from the questionnaires also reflect this "*self*-oriented" (*I*-patterned).

In one American recording, the inferred excuse seems to be both *self*-oriented and *you*-patterned as the guest announces leave-taking after checking with the hostess to see if they need to go to a concert in a short while:

Example 15

(The guests and the hosts, all in their later fifties or early sixties, are friends from church and they all lived in China and taught English there for a couple of years.) (Am. #7)

Ga (1) You want to go to a four o'clock concert?
Ha (2) Yeah.
Ga (3) So we should - [go]

The *other*-oriented excuse for leave-taking here is different from the Chinese *you*-oriented excuse because it concerns some more "imperative"[29] and "objective" need of the host, which is different from those "It's getting late" or "*You* are tired" excuses, which seem unimpressive and more subjective. Moreover, this *other*-oriented move is only followed by an announcement of leave-taking without more elaborate or explicit *you*-patterned suggestions or advice, such as "*You*'ve been busy for a whole day and *you* should rest now."

In addition, the suggestions and advice given by the Chinese guests, such as "*You* should rest" (Ch. #1), "[*You*] get rest early" (Ch. #3), "*You* got up early, so *you* need to go to bed early" (Ch. #6) seem more imposing on the host's negative face. The advice or suggestions given by the American guests, however, are very general like "Take care" (Am. #1, #5, and #6) and "Take care of yourself" (Am. #6).

Inviting, according to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 66), also threatens the host's negative face as he may feel that his personal freedom of making his own decision is violated by this speech act. Again, in the dialogue recordings, the Chinese guests performed this FTA much more than their American counterparts. The data from the questionnaires also show this difference between the two speech communities in giving invitation to the host (See Table 4.1.2-3).

The qualitative analysis of the data obtained from dialogue recordings and the questionnaires has shown that leave-taking after dinner is different between Chinese and Americans both in the structure and the contents. The Chinese leave-taking is more *You*-patterned and other-oriented and the American farewell is more *I*-patterned and self-oriented. The Chinese way of leave-taking, according to Brown and Levinson's theory, threatens the host's negative face, but the American leave-taking does not. Now let us turn to the attitudes of these two speech communities towards the each other's ways of leave taking.

4.2 Different attitudes

In this section of examining the attitudinal difference in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans, we will present in three parts the quantitative analysis of the data from the second part of the questionnaires. The Chi-square tests were conducted first to determine whether some demographic factors of the survey, i.e. age, gender, profession of the respondents, as well as the questionnaire forms (or the sequence of the statements on the questionnaire), have some influential effect on the results of the survey. Then, in

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29 It was almost 2:30 p.m. when the guest (Ga) was checking with the host (Ha) about a four o'clock concert in the same afternoon.

the second part, we will show the attitudinal differences between Chinese and Americans in rating the eight leave-taking statements given in the questionnaires. The results of this part were also obtained from the Chi-square tests. In the last part of this section, we are going to examine the results from the factor analysis, which was applied to the data for the purpose of confirming the results of the Chi-square tests.

4.2.1 Demographic factors

The Chi-square tests were first performed on the data from each speech community to see whether the other factors besides the cultural difference, such age, profession, gender, or the sequence of the statements on the questionnaire, have effect on the survey. In order to do this, each factor was singled out and tested separately on the frequencies of the responses to every one of the five impressions given to the eight different leave-taking statements.

The Chi-square tests show, in Table 4.2.1-1 and Table 4.2.1-2, that gender and age have no significant effect on the American respondents when evaluating the leave-taking statements in the questionnaire. For the Chinese data, one impression on Statement H was rated differently between the male and female respondents (shown in Table 4.2.1-1), and three impressions on Statement D, G and H respectively got some different evaluation due to the age difference (shown in Table 4.2.1-2 on the following page).

The tests on professional affect on the data shows in Table 4.2.1-3 (on Page 89) that five impressions are evaluated differently by the American respondents and two by the Chinese with different professional backgrounds.

Table 4.2.1-4 (on Page 90) shows some effect of the sequence of the statements on the questionnaire. Three impressions are rated differently by the American respondents

Table 4.2.1-1 Gender factor on the data

	Statement & Feature	Rating on	Result					
Am			No significant difference					
Ch	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			F	9.09	18.18	54.55	3.03	15.15	33
			M	5.00	5.00	37.50	22.50	30.00	40
			p=0.025, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						

Table 4.2.1-2 Age factor on the data

	Statement & Feature	Rating on	Result						
Am			No significant difference						
Ch	D -I, -You, +Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	18.18	18.18	54.55	9.09	0	22
			B	36.00	28.00	28.00	4.00	4.00	25
			C	13.79	27.59	24.14	10.34	24.14	29
			p=0.033, 0 .01<p<0.05, DF=8						
	G +I, +You, -Thanks	Polite-Rude		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	47.37	10.53	26.32	10.53	5.26	19
			B	14.81	33.33	22.22	11.11	18.52	27
			C	3.33	46.67	16.67	23.33	10.00	30
			p=0.006, p <0 .01, DF=8						
	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Polite-Rude		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	5.26	21.05	36.84	21.05	15.79	19
			B	16.00	8.00	20.00	8.00	48.00	25
			C	3.33	20.00	6.67	10.00	60.00	30
			p=0.030, 0 .01<p<0.05, DF=8						

and four by the Chinese because of this factor.

However, with consideration to the forty evaluated impressions (eight statements are evaluated with five impressions), the number of the impressions which show the affect of these four factors is comparatively fewer. Therefore, only ethnicity was taken into consideration when the Chi-square tests were performed to find out the attitudinal difference between Chinese and American. That is because the focus of this study is to

Table 4.2.1-3 Profession factor on the data

	Statement & Feature	Rating on	Result					
Am	A -I, +You, +Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	21.43	71.43	7.14	0.00	0.00	14
			B	36.11	30.56	30.56	2.78	0.00	36
			C	65.62	18.75	9.38	3.12	3.12	32
			p=0.007, p<0.01, DF=8						
	B +I, -You, +Thanks	Grateful -Ungrateful		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	0.00	78.57	21.43	0.00	0.00	14
			B	16.67	30.56	47.22	2.78	2.78	36
			C	31.25	37.50	15.62	9.38	6.25	32
			p=0.009, p<0 .01, DF=8						
	E -I, +You, -Thanks	Polite-Rude		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	21.43	21.43	21.43	21.43	14.29	14
			B	8.33	38.89	22.22	27.78	2.78	36
			C	38.71	22.58	29.08	3.23	6.45	32
			p=0.027, 0.01<p<0 .05, DF=8						
	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Grateful -Ungrateful		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	0.00	7.14	28.57	28.57	35.71	14
			B	0.00	5.56	44.44	38.89	11.11	36
			C	9.38	21.88	18.75	37.50	12.50	32
			p=0.007, p<0 .01, DF=8						
	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Polite-Rude		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	0.00	42.86	21.43	28.57	7.14	14
			B	0.00	11.11	52.78	25.00	11.11	36
			C	16.13	9.68	32.26	32.26	9.68	31
			p=0.009, p<0 .01, DF=8						
Ch	C +I, +You, +Thanks	Grateful -Ungrateful		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	33.33	27.78	27.78	2.78	8.33	36
			B	23.08	23.08	30.77	3.85	19.23	26
			C	0.00	37.50	25.00	37.50	0.00	8
			p=0.023, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=8						
	D -I, -You, +Thanks	Polite-Rude		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	44.44	41.67	11.11	0.00	2.78	36
			B	34.62	11.54	26.92	7.69	19.23	26
			C	22.22	66.67	11.11	0.00	0.00	9
			p=0.010, DF=8						

Table 4.2.1-4 Sequence of Statement (Questionnaire form) factor on the data

	Statement & Feature	Rating on	Result					
Am	A -I, +You, +Thanks	Sincere -Insincere		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	36.36	22.73	31.82	0.00	9.09	22
			B	28.57	9.52	38.10	19.05	4.76	21
			C	41.18	47.06	5.88	5.88	0.00	17
			D	27.27	63.64	4.55	4.55	0.00	22
			p=0.003, 0.01<p, DF=12						
	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Direct -Indirect		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	57.14	9.52	28.57	4.76	0.00	21
			B	28.57	9.52	33.33	28.57	0.00	21
			C	35.29	47.06	0.00	11.76	5.88	17
			D	36.36	27.27	22.73	9.09	4.55	22
			p=0.027, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=12						
Ch	B +I, -You, +Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	17.65	0.00	23.53	35.29	23.53	17
			B	26.32	15.79	36.84	10.53	10.53	19
			C	13.64	27.27	36.36	0.00	22.73	22
			D	5.56	27.78	27.78	38.89	0.00	18
			p=0.022, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=12						
	C +I, +You, +Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	26.67	20.00	26.67	6.67	20.00	15
			B	36.84	10.53	10.53	5.26	36.84	19
			C	5.00	40.00	30.00	20.00	5.00	20
			D	23.81	4.76	42.86	23.81	4.76	21
			p=0.006, p<0.01, DF=12						
	C +I, +You, +Thanks	Sincere -Insincere		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	37.50	25.00	0.00	18.75	18.75	15
			B	42.11	10.53	10.53	0.00	36.84	19
			C	31.82	40.91	4.55	4.55	18.18	20
			D	14.29	9.52	42.86	19.05	14.29	21
			p=0.001, DF=12						
	H -I, -You, -Thanks	Considerate- Selfish		1	2	3	4	5	N
			A	7.14	0.00	28.57	7.14	57.14	14
			B	16.67	11.11	50.00	0.00	22.22	18
			C	5.00	5.00	50.00	35.00	5.00	20
			D	0.00	23.81	47.62	9.52	19.05	21
			p=0.003, p<0.01, DF=12						

find out the difference in leave-taking after dinner between the two speech communities. Thus, I will not discuss these factors further in this study[30].

4.2.2 Results from the Chi-square tests

From the discussion in 4.1, we can see that giving an excuse with "*you*" or with "*I*" and with "*thanks*" or without are the major features that separate the Chinese leave-taking from the American farewell. Therefore, in this section, I will present the results of the survey on attitude in two parts based on these features. In the first one, I will compare the result of the survey of Chinese and American attitudes towards two leave-taking statements on the questionnaire with "+*I*, ±*you*, +*thanks*" feature (i.e. "*I*" and "*thanks*" are used [+] in the two statements, and *you* is used in one (+) but not in the other [-] leave-taking statement).

Then, in the second part, I will discuss the result of data analysis towards the other two farewell statements with the feature of "+*you*, ±*thanks*." As discussed in Chapter 3, there are five impressions given to each of the eight statements on the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to evaluate each statement under five scales with regard to each of the five impressions. In the following discussion, only those that have shown significant difference in the data analysis, which means the probability (*p*) is within the range of $0.01 \leq p < 0.05$, will be considered and presented.

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30 Another reason for not considering these factors further is that some of the divisions, such as with professional groups which are based on educational level, are not equally applicable to both ethnic groups. For example, professors in the USA usually have doctoral degrees, or at least Master degrees. Though Chinese universities and colleges began to require a higher educational level for their faculties, there are still many professors who have only Bachelor degrees.

4.2.2.1 Leave-taking with "*+I* and *+thanks*"

As mentioned above, Americans tend to use "*I*" and "*thanks*" frequently in their farewell after diner. Two statements in the questionnaire are typical in American leave-taking. The first one is Statement B *(+I, -you, +thanks)*, which is quoted here for illustration.

"*Well, I should go now. My daughter and son are all coming for dinner tomorrow. I have to do a little cooking tonight. Thanks for the dinner.*"

The second is Statement C *(+I, +you, +thanks)*:

"*Well, it's time to go. Thank you so much for the wonderful evening. I'm so glad I came.*"

The common feature of these two statements is that both of them have the first person pronoun "*I*" and "*+thanks*" features. The difference between the two statements is that there is a second person pronoun "*you*" in Statement C but not in Statement B. Now let us see how different the Americans and the Chinese responded to Statement B in their rating of the five impressions: polite vs. rude, grateful vs. ungrateful, direct vs. indirect, considerate vs. selfish, and sincere vs. insincere. The results are shown in Table 4.2.2-1 (on Page 93) and Chart 6 (on Page 94).

Surprisingly interesting, to this American way of leave-taking statement after dinner, the Chinese rated it much more positive than the Americans did in regard to politeness and sincerity. Thirty-one Chinese (38.6%) in the survey rated the statement 1 (=polite), but only twenty Americans (24.4%) rated it 1, while twenty-seven of them (32.9%) rated it 3 (=neither polite nor rude). Then for the impression of sincerity, forty-four Chinese respondents (57.1%) rated it 1 (=sincere), but only fifteen Americans (18.3%) considered

it as a sincere statement, while twenty-nine of them (35.4%) rated it 3 (=neither sincere nor sincere).

As for the impression of "Direct-Indirect," even though the majority of the respondents from both groups gave 1 (=direct) to the rating of the statement, the difference, however, is still obvious when we look at the figures. About thirty-seven Americans (57.1%) in the survey considered the statement "direct," but forty-seven Chinese (60.3%) rated it 1(=sincere). Now let us look at the rating on another American way of leaving taking, which is shown in Table 4.2.2-2 (on Page 95)

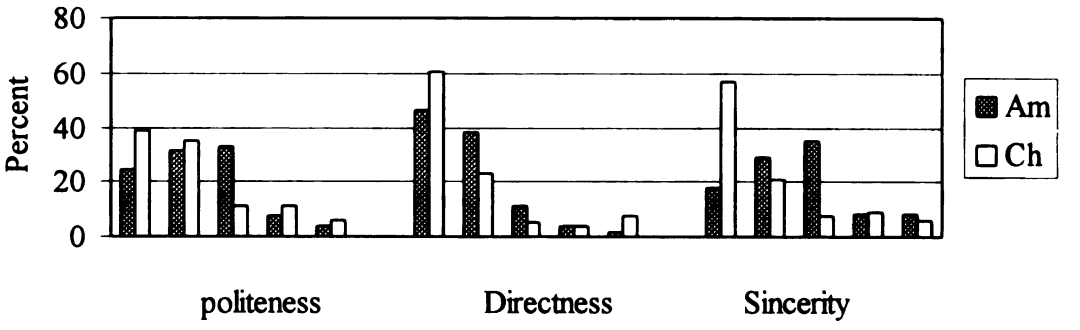
Table 4.2.2-1 Rating[1] on Statement B (+*I*, -*you*, +*thanks*)

Rating		1[2]	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	20/24.39[3]	26/31.71	27/32.93	6/7.32	3/3.66	82
	Ch	31/38.75[4]	28/35.00	8/11.24	8/11.24	5/6.25	78
	p=0.009, p<0.01, DF=4						
Direct-Indirect	Am	37/46.68	32/38.27	9/11.11	3/3.70	1/1.23	81
	Ch	47/60.26	18/23.08	4/5.13	3/3.86	6/7.69	78
	p=0.039, 0.01<p>0.05, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	15/18.29	26/29.27	29/35.37	7/8.54	7/8.54	82
	Ch	44/57.14	16/20.78	6/7.79	7/9.09	4/6.25	77
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						

(1) Two impressions, "Grateful-Ungrateful" and "Considerate-Selfish" show no significant differences between the Chinese and Americans in rating, and therefore are not discussed here.
(2) This is the number of the scales from positive to negative. For example, 1 indicates polite and 5 means rude.
(3) This is the frequencies and percentage of the result on this choice, i.e. twenty American respondents, which is about twenty-four percent (24.39%), rated this statement "1" in regard to politeness.

Chart 6

Rating on Statement B (*+I, -you, +thanks*)



The different attitudes toward this statement between Chinese and Americans are clearly shown in Table 4.2.3-2 (on the following page). The majority of the Americans evaluated all five impressions with a positive rating, while the percentage of the Chinese giving the positive evaluation is much lower than that of Americans. For "Polite-Rude" impression, seven-two American respondents (87.8%) rated it 1 (=polite), but only thirty-five Chinese (44.9%) in the survey considered this statement "polite." When the gratefulness and consideration are concerned, sixty Americans (73.2%) rated this leave-taking statement 1 (=grateful) and fifty-five of them (67.1%) gave it 1 (=considerate). However, for the Chinese, only twenty-three of them (24.7%) rated it 1 (=grateful) and seventeen of them (22.7%) of them the statement "considerate." Then, twenty-three Chinese respondents (29.9%) gave 3 (=neither grateful nor ungrateful) to this "*+I, +you, +thanks* " statement. Then in regard to consideration, twenty-one of them (28.0%) rated it 3 (=neither considerate nor selfish).

For the impression of directness, even though more Chinese in the survey rated the statement as 1 (=direct) than those choosing the others, the percentage of the Americans who rated it 1 is higher than that of the Chinese. Fifty-two of the American respondents

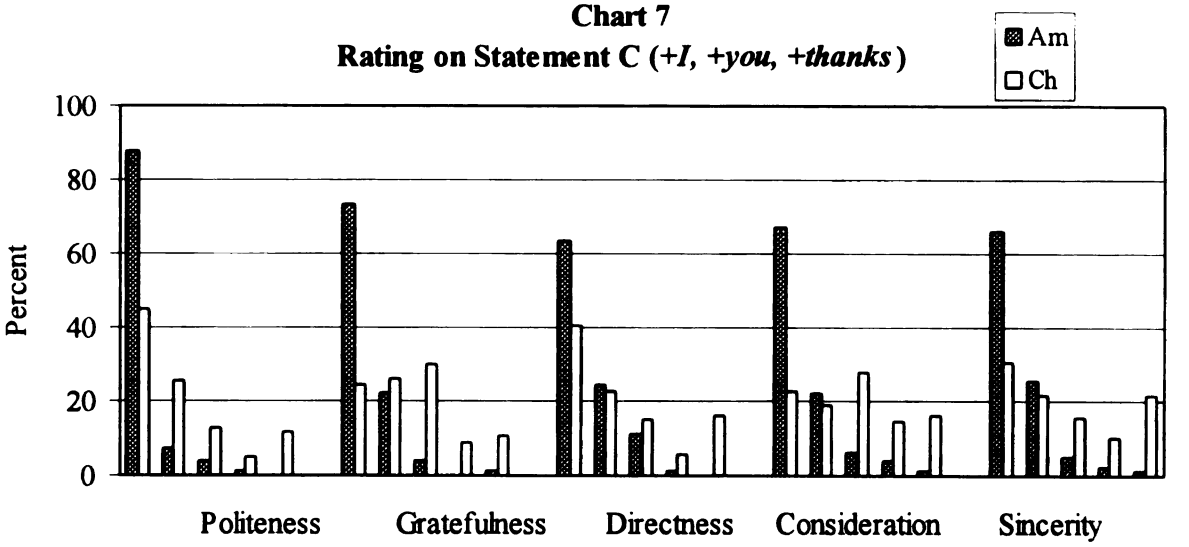
(63.4%) gave the highest rating on directness to this statement but only thirty Chinese (40.5%) gave the same rating. Then for sincerity, fifty-five Americans in the survey (65.9%) rated this statement "sincere." However, only twenty-four Chinese respondents (30.8%) considered it a sincere statement. The differences between the Chinese and American respondents to this statement discussed here is also illustrated in Chart 7 (on the following page).

The data from the recordings and the first part of the questionnaire shows that "*+I*" and "*+thanks*" are the two salient linguistic features in the American leave-taking. Therefore, it was expected that the American respondents rated Statement C (*+I, +you,*

Table 4.2.2-2 Rating on Statement C (*+I, +you, +thanks*)

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	72/87.80	6/7.32	3/3.66	1/1.22	0	82
	Ch	35/44.87	20/25.64	13/12.82	5/5.13	9/11.54	78
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	60/73.17	18/21.95	3/3.66	0	1/1.22	82
	Ch	19/24.68	20/25.97	23/29.87	7/9.09	8/10.39	77
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Direct-Indirect	Am	52/63.41	20/24.39	9/10.98	1/1.22	0	82
	Ch	30/40.54	17/22.97	11/14.86	4/5.41	12/16.22	77
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Considerate-Selfish	Am	55/67.07	18/21.95	5/6.10	3/3.66	1/1.22	82
	Ch	17/22.67	14/18.67	21/28.00	11/14.67	12/16.00	75
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	54/65.85	21/25.61	4/4.88	2/2.44	1/1.22	82
	Ch	24/30.77	17/21.79	12/15.38	8/10.26	17/21.79	78
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						

Chart 7
Rating on Statement C (+*I*, +*you*, +*thanks*)



+*thanks*) higher than the Chinese. Then, why did the Chinese respondents give a higher rating to Statement B (+*I*, -*you*, +*thanks*), another way of the American farewell? One explanation is that since "*thanks*" is not a typical feature in the Chinese leave-taking, its presence in this leave-taking statement is more salient to Chinese, who regard giving thanks as very polite. (More discussion on this will be in Chapter 5). Therefore Statement B got a higher rating from the Chinese in the survey.

4.2.2.2 Leave-taking with "–*I* " and "+*you*" excuses

Now let us look at the result of the survey on the other two statements, Statement A and Statement E, with the feature of "-*I*, +*you*, ± *thanks*," which is dominantly used by Chinese guests when saying good-bye. The common feature of these two leave-taking statements is "+*you*," and the difference is that there is no "*thanks*" in Statement E. The guest in Statement A (-*I*, +*you*, +*thanks*) says:

"*Well, it's getting late. You must be tired. You've been busy the whole day. Thanks for the dinner.*"

Statement E (*-I, +you, -thanks*) is like this:

"*Well, it's getting late. You've been working the whole day and you need to rest now.*"

The different attitudes between Chinese and Americans toward Statement A, a "*-I, +you, +thanks*" leave-taking excuse, are shown in Table 4.2.3-3 on the following page.

Forty-three Americans in the survey (52.4%) rated the statement as "*polite*," while sixty-nine of the Chinese respondents (87.3%) gave the highest rating on politeness to this statement. As for the impression of "Grateful-Ungrateful," sixty-one Chinese (78.2%) considered the speaker grateful but only twenty-five Americans (30.5%) chose 1 (=grateful) and thirty-six of them (43.9%) rated it 2 (=some what grateful). Another

Table 4.2.2-3 Rating* on Statement A (*-I, +you, +thanks*)

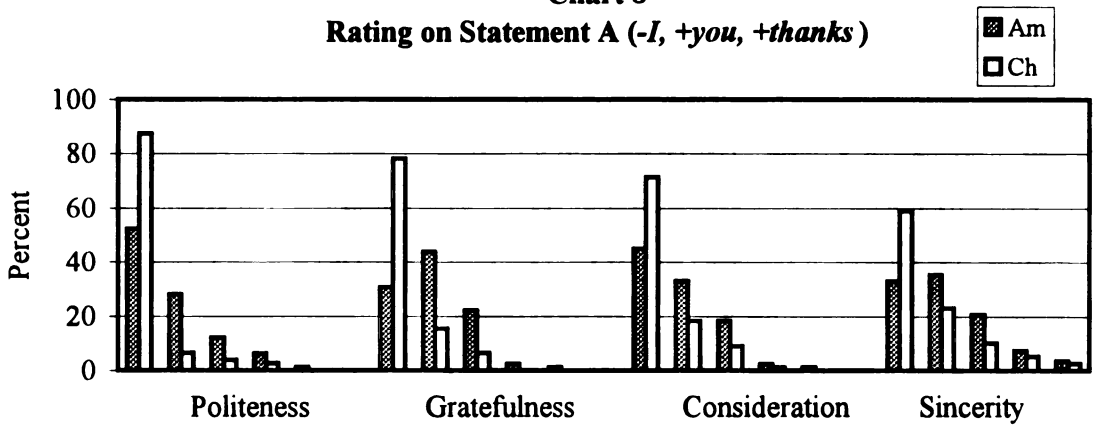
Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	43/52.44	23/28.05	10/12.20	5/6.10	1/1.22	82
	Ch	69/87.34	5/6.33	3/3.80	2/2.53	0	79
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	25/30.49	36/43.90	18/21.95	2/2.44	1/1.22	82
	Ch	61/78.21	12/15.38	5/6.41	0	0	78
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Considerate-Selfish	Am	37/45.12	27/32.93	15/18.29	2/2.44	1/1.22	82
	Ch	55/71.43	14/18.18	7/9.09	1/1.30	0	77
	p=0.019, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	27/32.93	29/35.37	17/20.73	6/7.32	3/3.66	82
	Ch	46/58.97	18/23.08	8/10.26	4/5.13	2/2.56	78
	p=0.024, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						

* There is no significant difference on the rating to the impression of being "Direct-Indirect."

difference shows in rating the statement under the "Considerate-Selfish" impression. Fifty-five Chinese respondents (71.4%) rated the statement 1 (=considerate), but only

thirty-seven Americans (45.1%) picked up the same rating. When asked about the sincerity of the speaker of this statement, forty-six Chinese (58.9%) gave it 1 (=sincere), but only twenty-seven Americans (32.9%) gave it such a high rating while twenty-nine of them (35.3%) only rated it 2 (= somewhat sincere). The different attitudes towards this "*-I, +you, +thanks*" are also illustrated in Chart 8.

Chart 8
Rating on Statement A (*-I, +you, +thanks*)



Now we turn to the results of the Chi-square tests on Statement E to see what the difference between Chinese and Americans in their attitudes towards this *"-I, +you, -thanks*" leave-taking excuse, which is shown in Table 4.2.2-4 on the following page.

With this "*-I*" and "*-thanks*" leave-taking excuse, more differences are shown in the attitudes between Chinese and Americans. More than fifty-five percent of the Chinese respondents gave this statement the highest rating, i.e. "1," to each one of the five impressions. There are forty-four Chinese (57.1%) in the survey considering the statement "polite," forty-six of them (61.8%) regarding it "grateful," forty-two (56.76%) thinking it "direct," forty-seven (61.8%) believing it "considerate," and forty-three (56.58%) considering it "sincere." For the American respondents, however, only

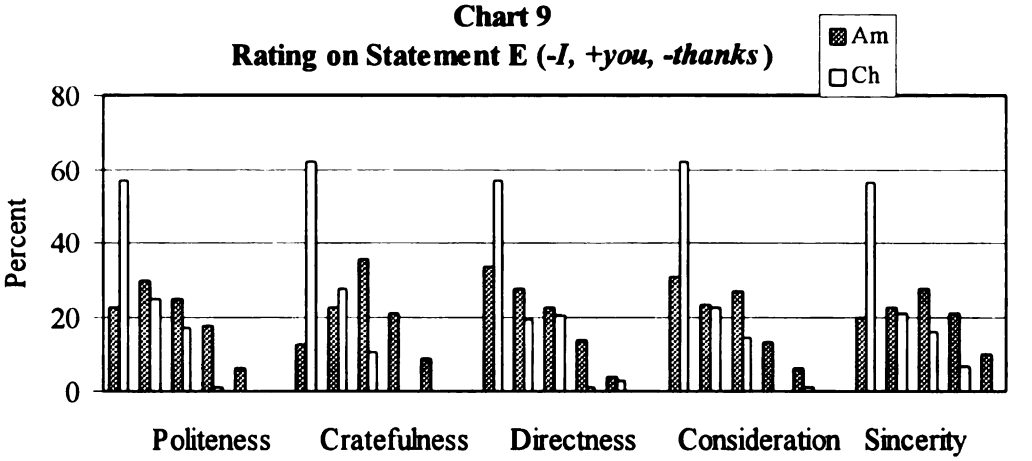
Table 4.2.2-4 Rating on Statement E (*-I, +you, -thanks*)

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	18/22.22	24/29.63	20/24.69	14/17.28	5/6.17	81
	Ch	44/57.14	19/24.68	13/16.88	1/1.30	0	77
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	10/12.35	18/22.22	29/35.80	17/20.99	7/8.64	81
	Ch	47/61.84	21/27.63	8/10.53	0	0	76
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Direct-Indirect	Am	27/33.33	22/27.16	18/22.22	11/13.58	3/3.70	81
	Ch	42/56.76	14/18.92	15/20.27	1/1.35	2/2.70	74
	p=0.008, p<0.01, DF=4						
Considerate-Selfish	Am	25/30.49	19/23.17	22/26.83	11/13.41	5/6.10	82
	Ch	47/61.84	17/22.37	11/14.47	0	1/1.32	76
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	16/19.75	18/22.22	22/27.16	17/20.99	8/9.88	81
	Ch	43/56.58	16/21.05	12/15.79	5/6.58	0	76
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						

eighteen of them (22.2%) considered the statement "polite," but twenty-four of them (29.63%) regarded it "somewhat polite." Compared with the high rating for this statement from the Chinese on gratefulness and sincerity, twenty-nine Americans (35.8%) gave it 3 (=neither grateful nor ungrateful) and twenty-two (27.2%) rated it 3 (=neither sincere nor insincere) for sincerity. Even though more Americans in the survey gave 1 to this "*-I, +you, -thanks*" leave-taking statement for the impressions of directness and consideration, the percentage of them is much lower than that of the Chinese gave such a high rating. Only twenty-seven American respondents (33.3%) chose "direct" and twenty-five (30.5%) of them chose "considerate" (compared with 56.8% of the Chinese

for being "direct" and 61.9% for being "considerate"). These differences are also illustrated in Chart 9.

Chart 9
Rating on Statement E (*-I, +you, -thanks*)



The results of the data analysis for Statement E shows that this Chinese way of saying good-bye without "*I*" or "*thanks*" is generally considered negative by Americans who prefer leave-taking with "*I*" and "*thanks*."

In the next sections, we are going to look at the survey results on the other four leave-taking statements which seem neither typical Chinese nor American ways of saying goodbye. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the other four statements were not taken from the recordings but designed by the research for the purpose of the survey. First let us look at the survey results of Statement F and G which have "*+I*" and "*-thanks*" features.

4.2.2.3 Leave-taking with "*+I*" and "*-thanks*" excuses

The speakers of both Statement F and G used the first person pronoun "*I*" and did not give thanks to their hosts as they said good-bye. The only difference between them is that the guest in Statement F did not use the second person pronoun "*you*" while the guest in Statement G did. The statements are as follows:

Statement F (*+I, -you, -thanks*) is:

"Well, I need to go home and get some work done that I've let go for over a week now."

Statement G (*+I, +you, -thanks*) is:

"Well, it's getting late. You've got to work tomorrow and I've got a long way to drive."

First let us examine the results of the rating on Statement F which is shown in Table 4.2.2-5 on the following page.

In this "*+I, -you and -thanks*" statement, even though the American respondents did not rate it in a very positive way, the Chinese respondents gave it a more negative rating than the Americans in regard to politeness, gratefulness, and consideration. Twenty-five Chinese in the survey (33.3%) rated this statement 5 (= rude), but only eighteen Americans (22.2%) gave the same rating. Twenty-six American respondents (32.1%) rated it 3 (= neither polite nor rude). Then for gratefulness, twenty-four Americans (34.6%) rated this statement 4 (=somewhat ungrateful), but twenty-one Chinese (29.2%) gave 5 (=ungrateful) to this statement. The similar results in rating also occur in regard to the impression of being considerate or selfish. Thirty-eight Americans (46.3%) rated the statement 4 (=somewhat selfish), but thirty Chinese (39.5%) rated it 5 (=selfish).

However, the Chinese attitude is more positive than that of the Americans with regard to sincerity. Twenty-eight Chinese in the survey (37.8%) considered the statement a "sincere" one (=1), while only five American respondents (6.2%) shared this same view of the Chinese. Twenty-six Americans (32.1%) rated the statement 4 (=somewhat insincere). The different attitudes between Chinese and Americans towards this "*+I, -you and –Thanks*" statement are illustrated in Chart 10.

Table 4.2.2-5 Rating* on Statement F *(+I, -you, -thanks)*

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	4/4.94	10/12.35	26/32.10	23/28.40	18/22.22	81
	Ch	5/6.67	20/26.67	13/17.33	12/16.00	25/33.33	75
	p=0.016, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	0	9/11.11	23/28.40	28/34.57	21/25.93	81
	Ch	4/5.56	17/23.61	15/20.83	15/20.83	21/29.17	72
	p=0.020, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						
Considerate-Selfish	Am	1/1.22	7/8.54	19/23.17	38/46.34	17/20.73	82
	Ch	5/6.58	10/13.16	18/23.68	13/17.11	30/39.47	76
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	5/6.17	12/14.81	25/30.85	26/32.10	13/16.05	81
	Ch	28/37.84	18/24.32	13/17.57	9/12.16	6/8.11	74
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						

* There is no significant difference on the rating to the impression of being "Direct-Indirect."

However, the Chinese attitude is more positive than that of the Americans with regard to sincerity. Twenty-eight Chinese in the survey (37.8%) considered the statement a "sincere" one (=1), while only five American respondents (6.2%) shared this same view of the Chinese. Twenty-six Americans (32.1%) rated the statement 4 (=somewhat insincere). The different attitudes between Chinese and Americans towards this "*+I, -you and –Thanks*" statement are illustrated in Chart 10 on the following page.

Now let us go to another "*+I*" and "*-thanks*" leave-taking statement, Statement G, which also has "*+you*" feature, to examine the different attitudes between the Chinese and Americans. The results of the rating on this statement are shown in Table 4.2.2-6 on the following page.

Chart 10
Rating on Statement F (+*I*, -*you*, -*thanks*)

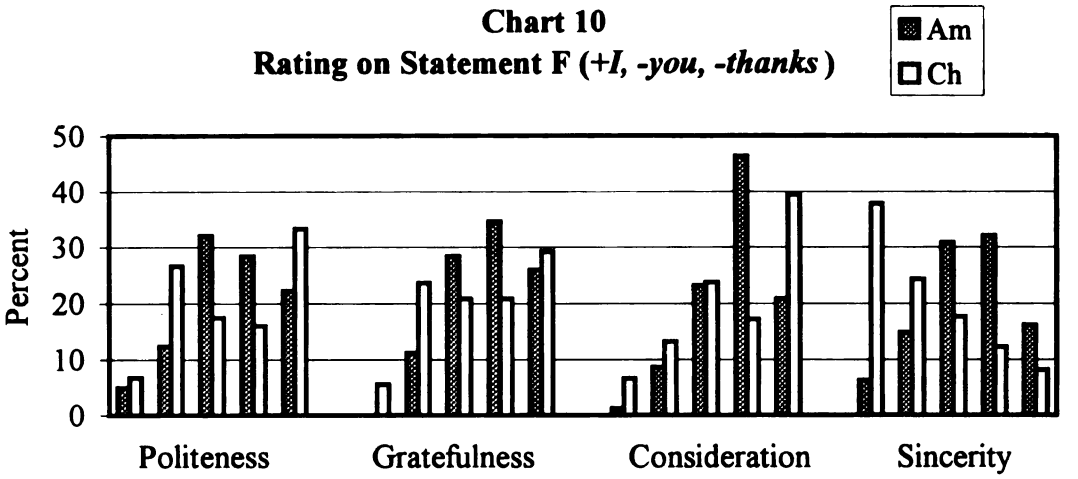


Table 4.2.2-6 Rating* on Statement G (+*I*, +*you*, -*thanks*)

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	8/9.88	20/24.69	26/32.10	17/20.99	10/12.35	81
	Ch	20/26.67	25/33.33	16/21.33	7/9.33	7/9.33	75
	p=0.014, 0.01<p<0.05, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	16/19.75	27/33.33	26/32.10	10/12.35	2/2.47	81
	Ch	39/52.00	24/32.00	8/10.67	4/5.33	0	75
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						

* There is no significant difference on the rating to the impression of being "Polite-Rude," "Direct-Indirect," and "Considerate-Selfish."

With respect to this " *+I* ,*+You*, *–Thanks*" statement, the Chinese rating is obviously higher than that of Americans on the two impressions, gratefulness and sincerity, of which the results have some statistically significance[31]. In regard to gratefulness,

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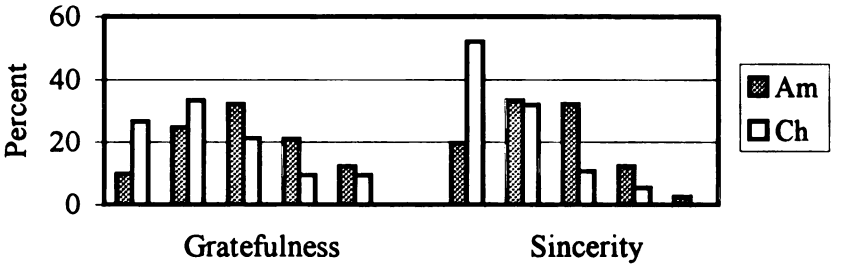
31 Though the ratings on the other three impressions between the Chinese and the Americans are not statistically different according to the Chi-square test, there is still some difference worthy of some attention. The Chinese rating on these three impressions are obviously higher than those of the Americans. Twenty-five Chinese (32.5%) rated the statement 2 (=somewhat polite) but twenty-four Americans (29.3%) gave 3 (=neither polite nor rude) in their rating. As for "Direct-Indirect" impression, forty-six Chinese

twenty-five Chinese respondents (33.3%) rated it 2 (=somewhat grateful), but twenty-six Americans (32.1%) gave it 3 (=neither grateful nor selfish). As for sincerity, thirty-nine Chinese (52.0%) rated it 1 (=sincere), but twenty-seven of the American respondents (33.3%) only gave it 2 (=somewhat sincere). The difference in rating this statement is illustrated in Chart 11.

Chart 11
Rating on Statement G (*+I, +you, -thanks*)



The results in this part clearly indicate that the presence of the pronouns "*I*" and "*you*" in the leave-taking excuses is an important factor for the different attitudes between Chinese and Americans. Though the Americans in the survey rated the two "*-Thanks*" statements more negative than positive, the Chinese expressed more negative attitudes towards the statement without "*you*." However, when "*you*" is present, the Chinese are more positive than the Americans.

4.2.2.4 Leave-taking with "*-You* and *-I*" excuses

Now we look at the results of the rating on Statement D and H which are the same in the feature of "*-I*" and "*-you*," but different in expressing gratitude, which means using

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respondents (62.2%) rated it 1 (=direct) but only thirty-six of the Americans (44.4%) shared the same view. In regard to consideration, twenty-four Americans (29.6%) gave it 3 (=neither considerate nor selfish), but twenty-six Chinese (35.6%) gave the same rating.

"*thanks*". The speaker of Statement D gave "*thanks*" to the host while the guest of Statement H did not. The two statements are cited here:

Statement D (*-I, -you, +thanks*)

"*Well, it's getting late. Tomorrow is Monday. Thanks for the dinner.*"

Statement H (*-I, -you, +thanks*)

"*Well, it's getting late. Tomorrow will be here too early, and it's off to work.*"

First let us look at the results of the rating on Statement D shown in Table 4.2.2-7.

Table 4.2.2-7 Rating* on Statement D (*-I, -you, +thanks*)

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	12/14.63	24/29.27	27/32.93	13/15.85	6/7.32	82
	Ch	29/37.18	26/33.33	15/29.23	2/2.56	6/7.69	78
	p=0.001, p<0.01, DF=4						
Direct-Indirect	Am	42/51.22	18/21.95	14/17.07	6/7.32	2/2.44	82
	Ch	23/30.67	18/24.00	15/20.00	7/9.33	12/16.00	75
	p=0.014, 0.01< p<0.05, DF=4						

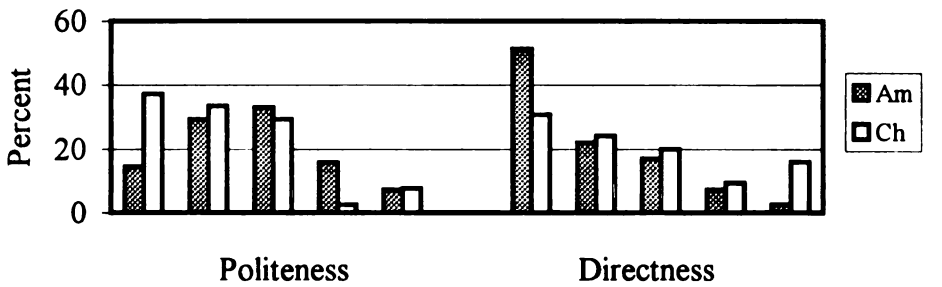
* There is no statistically significant difference on the rating to the impression of being "Grateful-Ungrateful," "Considerate-Selfish," and "Sincere-Insincere."

Though the second person pronoun "*you*" does not appear in this statement, the Chinese gave a higher rating than the Americans in regard to politeness. Twenty-nine Chinese in the survey (37.2%) rated it 1 (=polite) but only twelve American respondents gave this high rating, while twenty-seven of them (32.9%) gave it 3 (=neither polite nor rude). If we examine the table in detail, we will find that the majority of the Chinese in the survey had given a higher rating, 1 (=polite) and 2 (=somewhat polite) to this "*-I, -you, +thanks*" statement. The total number of the Chinese who gave it 1 or 2 is fifty-five

(29+26) (total 70.5%) but only thirty-five Americans (12+24) (45.9%) gave this high rating.

However, when it comes to directness, the Americans gave a higher rating than the Chinese did. Forty-two Americans in the survey (51.2%) rated it 1 (=direct), but only twenty-three Chinese (30.7%) rated it the same. The discussion above is illustrated in Chart 12.

Chart 12
Rating on Statement D (*-I, -you, +thanks*)



Now we go to the rating on the other "*-I, -you*" statement, Statement H, which is different from Statement D in that the guest of Statement H did not give "*Thanks*" to the host. The results are shown in Table 4.2.2-8 on the next page.

In rating this "*-I, -you, -thanks*" excuse for leave-taking with respect to politeness and gratefulness, both Chinese and Americans were more negative than positive. However, a close look at Table 4.2.2-8 will tell us that the Chinese attitude toward this statement is even more negative than that of the Americans in these two ratings. Thirty-five American respondents (43.2%) rated the statement 3 (=neither polite nor rude) with respect of politeness, but thirty-three Chinese (44%) rated it 5 (=rude). While thirty

Americans (36.6%) gave it 4 (=somewhat ungrateful) on the rating of gratefulness, twenty-three Chinese (31.1%) rated it 5 (=ungrateful).

Although in both groups more people chose 1 (=direct) in regard to the impression of being "Direct-Indirect" than those picking up the other ratings, the percentage of the Americans who gave this high rating is larger than that of the Chinese. Thirty-two

Table 4.2.2-8 Rating* on Statement H (*-I, -you, -thanks*)

Rating		1	2	3	4	5	N
Polite-Rude	Am	3/3.70	16/19.75	35/43.21	17/20.99	10/12.35	81
	Ch	7/9.33	12/16.00	14/18.67	9/12.00	33/44.00	75
	p=0.000, p<0.01, DF=4						
Grateful-Ungrateful	Am	3/3.66	10/12.20	26/31.71	30/36.59	13/15.85	82
	Ch	7/9.46	15/20.27	19/25.68	10/13.51	23/31.08	74
	p=0.003, p<0.01, DF=4						
Direct-Indirect	Am	32/39.51	18/22.22	18/22.22	11/13.58	2/2.47	81
	Ch	23/31.94	11/15.28	19/26.39	3/ 4.17	16/22.22	72
	p=0.001, p<0.01, DF=4						
Sincere-Insincere	Am	7/8.64	16/19.75	29/35.80	22/27.16	7/8.64	81
	Ch	21/28.38	8/10.81	22/29.73	7/9.46	16/21.62	74
	p=0.00, p<0.01, DF=4						

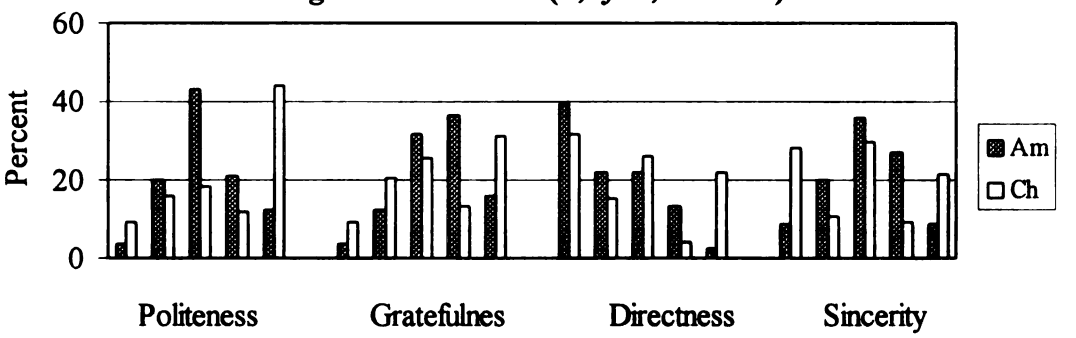
* There is no statistically significant difference on the rating of the impression of being "Considerate-Selfish."

Americans (39.5%) rated it 1 (=direct) but only twenty-three Chinese (31.9%) rated it the same. The interesting part shown in Table 4.2.3-8 is that, as far as sincerity is concerned, the Chinese were more positive than the Americans. Twenty-one Chinese respondents (28.4%) chose 1 (=sincere) but only seven of the Americans (8.6%) gave the same rating,

while twenty-nine of them (35.8%) rated it 3 (=neither sincere nor insincere) compared with twenty-two Chinese (29.7%) who chose the same rating. Chart 13 on the following page illustrates the difference in rating on this statement.

Therefore, the discussion above shows that, when both first and second person pronouns, *I* and *you*, are absent in a leave-taking statement, "*thanks*" plays an important role in the different attitudes between Chinese and Americans. The Chinese in the survey gave a higher rating than the Americans to Statement D (*-I, -you, +thanks*) but a lower rating to Statement H (*-I, -you, -thanks*) with regard to politeness. The explanation for this is that Chinese are more sensitive than Americans to the presence of "*Thanks*," which Chinese guests do not use as often as their American counterparts.

Chart 13
Rating on Statement H (*-I, -you, -thanks*)



As a summary to the results of the quantitative analysis presented in this section, in Table 4.2.2-9 on the following page, I list the different ratings between Chinese and Americans on the eight leave-taking statements.

Table 4.2.2-9 shows that, when "politeness" is considered, a leave-taking statement with "*-I*" and "*+you*" received a higher rating by the Chinese (see Statement A and E) while the Americans gave higher ratings to a statements with "*+I*" (see Statement C and

F). Then, when a statement is "*-you*" but "*+thanks*" (see Statement B and D), the Chinese rated it higher than the Americans. One explanation to these high ratings on statements with "*thanks*" by the Chinese is, as discussed previously, that this linguistic factor is not often used in the Chinese farewell, and therefore, its presence in leave-taking gives a special sense of being polite to the Chinese. This explanation may also apply to the ratings on Statement H, which has none of the three linguistic items and was rated more negatively by the Chinese than by the Americans.

Table 4.2.2-9 Summary of the ratings on the eight leave-taking statements(1)

Statement &	Polite		Grateful		Considerate		Sincere		Direct	
linguistic Features	Am	Ch	Am	Ch	Am	Ch	Am	Ch	Am	Ch
A (*-I, +you, +thanks*)		*(2)		*		*		*		
B (*+I, -you, +thanks*)		*						*		*
C(*+I, +you, +thanks*)	*		*		*		*		*	
D (*-I, -you, +thanks*)		*							*	
E (*-I, +you, -thanks*)		*		*		*		*		*
F (*+I, -you, -thanks*)	*		*		*			*		
G (*+I, +you, -thanks*)				*				*		
H (*-I, -you, -thanks*)	*		*					*	*	

(1) The shaded area means that there is no significant difference in the data.
(2) "*" indicates that a higher rating is given by one group over the other. However, this does not necessarily mean the rating is high, but that it does not reflect as negative a rating as the other group. For example, in the rating on Statement F and Statement H with regard to politeness, both the Chinese and American respondents rated it low. However the Chinese showed more of a negative attitude to these statements than the Americans, therefore there is "*" shown below the American rating.

With respect to the impressions on "gratefulness" and "consideration," the results are the same as the ratings for politeness: the Chinese respondents gave a higher rating to the statements with "*-I*" and "*+you*" (see Statement A, E and G), and the American ratings on

the "*+I*" statements are higher than that of the Chinese (see Statement C and F). For Statement H (*-I, -you, -thanks*), both groups rated it low, but the Chinese were more negative than the Americans as discussed previously.

One interesting result shown in Table 4.2.2-9 is the rating on the impression of "sincerity." Except for Statement D which shows no significant difference in the ratings between the two speech communities, the American respondents only gave one higher rating than the Chinese (see Statement C), and the Chinese ratings on all the six statements are higher, or less negative, than the Americans in regards to this impression. As repeated several times in this section, the Chinese rated a statement with "*+you*" and "*+thanks*" higher than the Americans. Therefore it is not surprising to see the higher ratings given to Statement A, B, E, and G. However, an explanation as to why the Chinese gave a higher rating on Statement F and H is problematic, since these two statements were all rated higher by the Americans on the other three impressions. One possible explanation is that the Chinese respondents may think that the speakers of these two statements honest in giving their excuses for taking leave, even though they did not consider the speakers to be polite or grateful. Another reason is that the connotation of sincerity in Chinese is not the same as it is in English.

The difference on ratings to the impression of "directness" is the same as that of the other impressions. The American respondents gave a high rating to Statement C (*+I, +you, +thanks*), one of the American ways of saying goodbye, while the Chinese rated Statement E (*-I, +you, -thanks)* high since it is a Chinese way of bidding farewell. As for Statement B, a "*+I, -You, +thanks*" leave-taking statement, the Chinese rated it high as they did to the other two impressions. The explanation was discussed previously and

therefore will not repeated here. For Statement D, the American respondents regarded it higher.

Disregarding the few puzzling ratings given to "sincerity" and "directness," the major attitudinal difference between the two speech communities towards the eight leave-taking statements is obvious. Chinese prefer the "*+you*" farewell and the Americans favor the "*+I*" parting. Although "*+Thanks*" is a "marker" in the American leave-taking, the Chinese are more sensitive to its presence and rated it higher as a parting word even without "*+you.*"

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the factor analysis was also performed to confirm the results from the Chi-square tests. The results from the factor analysis will be presented in the next section.

4.2.3 Results from the factor analysis

The purpose of performing factor analysis to the data is to discover whether there is an underlying pattern associated with the different evaluation on the forty impressions of the eight statements, which has been discussed in the preceding section. As is known, factor analysis attempts to "uncover an underlying structure that may account for the pattern of the interrelationships," which "takes the form of small set of factors that account for the intercorrelations in the correlation matrix" (Fox, 1992, p. 281). The results of the factor analysis show that the data from the two speech communities are both saliently loaded with five factors[32] grouped with *+I* and *-I* and with *+you* and *-you*.

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32 The decision of choosing the number of the factors is based on the "break-in-the-roots" method introduced in *Factor Analysis* (R. Gorsuch, 1974). The procedure is to "look at the raw roots themselves," and stop at the point "when the raw roots drop

In 4.2.3.1 we will examine the five factors of the American data, then in 4.2.3.2 we will analyze the five factors from the Chinese data.

4.2.3.1 Factor Analysis on the American data

As we have discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the presence of the first person pronoun "*I*" is typical in giving excuses for bidding farewell by American guests. Therefore, when this pronoun is absent in a leave-taking statement, i.e. a statement with the feature "*-I*," the Americans are more sensitive to this absence than the Chinese. The factor analysis on the American data revealed this fact, which is shown in Table 4.2.3-1 on the following page.

Table 4.2.3-1 shows that there are five factors heavily loaded from the American data. The first three factors are heavily loaded with the ratings on the statements with this "*-I*" feature and the last two are loaded with the "*+I*" feature. The clear cut between "*+I*" and "*-I*" in loading the factors confirms what has been found in the data from the recordings and the questionnaires: the American leave-taking is dominated by *I*-patterned excuses. The presence and absence of "*thanks,*" shown in Table 4.3-1, do not seem to have such a clear cut in this factor analysis. That also proves what was discussed in the last section that, even though "Thank you" is ever present in American goodbye, it did not affect the American rating as much as the presence and absence of the first person pronoun *I* did in the survey.

It is not surprising that the three factors, 1, 2 and 3, are all loaded with the ratings on the impressions of the "*-I*" statements. The absence of this first person pronoun

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dramatically in size" because the rest of the factors will add little information needed (p. 152).

obviously caught the attention of the Americans who are used to giving "*I*-patterned" excuses upon leave-taking.

Table 4.2.3-1 The result of factor analysis on the American data

Factor	Root value	Statement number	Linguistic factors	Impression	Feature	
1	0.901	H	*-I, -you, -thanks*	Polite	-I	-Thanks
2	0.900	D	*-I, -you, +thanks*	Grateful		+Thanks
	0.818	"	"	Considerate		
	0.805	"	"	Sincere		
	0.671	"	"	Polite		
3	0.864	E	*-I, +you, -thanks*	Considerate		-Thanks
	0.822	"	"	Sincere		
	0.806	"	"	Polite		
	0.750	"	"	Grateful		
4	0.900	F	*+I, -you, -thanks*	Direct	+I	
	0.549	G	*+I, +you, -thanks*	Direct		
5	0.898	C	*+I, +you, +thanks*	Considerate		+Thanks
	0.838	"	"	Grateful		
	0.752	"	"	Sincere		

Then with the "*+I*" feature, as for Factor 4 and 5, the American respondents noticed something different from their familiar way of saying goodbye. In Factor 4, the absence of "Thank you" ("*-thanks*") caught their attention. Then in Factor 5, the presence of "you" ("*+you*"), which is not commonly observed in the American goodbye, was understandably noticed by the Americans. Now let us turn to the results of factor analysis on the Chinese data.

4.2.3.2 Factor Analysis on the Chinese data

The Chi-square tests on the Chinese data have shown that using the second person pronoun "*you*" is a typical Chinese way of saying goodbye. This is confirmed again by the factor analysis that is shown in Table 4.2.3-2.

Table 4.2.3-2 The results of factor analysis on the Chinese data

Factor	Root Value	Statement number	Linguistic factors	Impression	Feature	
1	0.821	G	*+I, +you, -thanks*	Sincere		-thanks
2	0.896	A	*-I, +you, +thanks*	Sincere		
	0.888	"	"	Direct		
3	0.861	C	*+I, +you, +thanks*	Considerate		
	0.858	"	"	Grateful	+you	
	0.846	"	"	Sincere		
	0.654	"	"	Polite		+thanks
	0.618	"	"	Direct		
4	0.905	B	*+I, -you, +thanks*	Direct		
	0.881	"	"	Sincere	-you	
5	0.910	D	*-I, -you, +thanks*	Grateful		
	0.618	"	"	Polite		

The five factors taken from the factor analysis on the Chinese data are divided clearly by the presence and absence of "*you*" in the leave-taking statements. Factor 1 to 3 are heavily loaded with the ratings on the statements with the "*+you*" feature and the Factor 4 and 5 with "*-you*" feature.

As discussed in the previous section, saying "Thank you" is not very often observed in Chinese leave-taking conversations. Thus, its presence, i.e. "*+thanks*" is more salient

to Chinese who believe that using "Thank you" is very polite. From the Chi-square tests on the data, we know that, besides rating higher the "*+you*" statements, Chinese also rated the statements with "*+thanks*" high even if the feature "*+you*" was absent. This is also illustrated in Table 4.3-2. Except the first factor, the rest four all share the same feature, "*+thank.*"

Let us first examine Factor 1, 2 and 3 which loaded with the ratings on the "*+you*" leave-taking statements. It seems that when "*you*" is present, the Chinese respondents observed the existence of "*+I*" (Factor 1). Then, in Factor 2, the appearance of "*+thanks*" caught the attention of the Chinese in the survey. Then for Factor 3, which is loaded with the ratings on the impressions to Statement C, an American way of saying goodbye, it is not surprising that it was noticed by the Chinese respondents.

Then for Factor 4 and 5 which are heavily loaded by the ratings on the "*-you*" statements. The absence of this second person pronoun was obviously observed by the Chinese, who prefer to "*you*-patterned" excuses before taking their leave.

Interestingly, in the factor analysis, Factor 3 from both the American and the Chinese data are loaded with the ratings on a statement which is the way of leave-taking of the other group. In the American data, Factor 3 is loaded with the ratings on Statement E (*-I, +you, -thanks*), one of typical Chinese ways of saying good-bye. Then, Factor 3 in the Chinese data is loaded with the ratings on Statement C (*+I, +you, +Thanks)*, a common way for Americans to bid farewell.

4.3 Summary of the data analysis

The results from the data analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, clearly indicate that Chinese and Americans are different in conducting leave-taking, either in the structure, the content, or attitudes.

In the structural difference, the two speech communities apply different speech acts in the three stages of this speech event. American guests usually express appreciation and gratitude to the host while Chinese prefer to provide some personal advice or suggestions as well as give invitation to their hosts. Then in the difference of content in saying goodbye, especially in giving excuses for taking leave, American guests use more *I*-patterned (self-oriented) justification for intending to bring close to the on-going activity, but Chinese give "*you*-patterned (other-oriented) excuses to vindicate their intention to leave.

As for the attitudinal distinction between the two groups, Americans rated higher the leave-taking statements with "+*I*" and "+*thanks*" features, while Chinese ranked "+*you*" statements high. Since "Thank you" is esteemed high by the Chinese but not employed often in their leave-taking, the statements with the feature "+*thanks*" got some high rankings by the Chinese respondents in the survey. In the next chapter, we are going to see what causes the difference between Chinese and Americans in conducting this speech event.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The data analysis in Chapter 4 shows that Chinese and Americans are different both in their linguistic behaviors in conducting leave-taking after dinner and their attitudes in evaluating other ways of bidding farewell different from their own. In this chapter, we will first look at the puzzles unsolved by Brown and Levinson's theory in explaining the different speech acts used in the two speech communities in this speech event. That will justify the criticism that many researchers made that Brown and Levinson's theory is inapplicable in explicating the linguistic behaviors of non-Western cultures.

As "fundamental concerns can be more fully addressed through the investigation of different manifestations and solutions to the problems of self-presentation" in different cultural settings (Chang & Holt, 1994, p. 127), we will try to examine the concept of self in individualistic and collectivistic societies, under which Chinese and Americans are categorized (Bellah et al., 1991; Bond, 1991, 1996; Hsu, 1985; Johnson, 1985; Scollon & Scollon, 1991; Stewart & Bennett, 1991; Tu, 1985; Wheeler et al., 1989; Yum, 1986). Then with the understanding of various concepts of self in different cultures, we will analyze the speech acts used in leave-taking both by the American and the Chinese guests to see how self is presented differently in each speech community. In the end we will try to apply O'Driscoll's revised version of Brown and Levinson's face dualism to the linguistic routines in leave-taking of Chinese and Americans to see if there exists a theory of universal linguistic politeness.

5.1 Puzzles unsolved by Brown and Levinson's theory

Face-threatening-acts (FTAs), according to Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), are usually performed with some redressive action, meaning to "give face" to the addressee, which is an attempt to counteract the potential face damage of the FTAs (p. 69), such as being indirect when performing these FTAs. However, from the citations of the leave-taking conversations and of the questionnaires presented in the previous chapter, Chinese guests seem to perform some "intrinsic" FTAs rather "baldly" (without any redressive action), especially in presenting excuses and offering suggestions and advice to the host upon leave-taking. These speech acts are very "imposing" to the hearer's (hosts in our case) negative face according to Brown and Levinson. Compared with the Chinese "infringing" the rules of Brown and Levinson in performing FTAs, American guests seem to carefully avoid any "intruding" linguistic behavior by expressing gratitude and appreciation to their hosts upon leaving. Why do American guests seem to obey the rules of Brown and Levinson's universal politeness in conducting their farewell after dinner while the Chinese "violate" them?

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that an "unredressed" FTA is normally performed in circumstances where (a) efficiency or urgency need to be done at the expense of face, or (b) the addresser is superior in power than the addressee, or (c) the acts are in the interest of the addressee where the danger in the addressee's face is very small (p. 69). With dinners among family, friends or colleagues, like those in the recorded conversations and in the questionnaires, it seems that Circumstance (c) might explain why the Chinese guests offer *other*-oriented suggestions and advice concerning the host's welfare. However, if we accepted this explanation from Brown and Levinson,

how could we explain the fact that not even one American guest gives such advice or suggestion either in recorded farewell conversations or in the survey?

Another puzzle is why American guests "respect" their host's negative face, "his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 70) when giving *self*-oriented (*I*-patterned) excuses while the Chinese offer *other*-oriented (*you*-patterned) excuses "without" regarding their host's want to be free from imposition. Why did the Chinese respondents rate these "imposing" excuses more positive than their American counterparts? As discussed in Chapter 4, the Chinese seem to be frugal in giving thanks or appreciation, which are lavishly used by American guests – speech acts which address the positive face of the host, "the want to be approved and recognized by others" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.61). Why don't the Chinese perform more of these "face-saving" speech acts as the Americans do instead of "baldly" conducting all those FTAs "regardless" of the host's face, either positive or negative? Brown and Levinson's theory does not seem to provide a satisfactory explanation for these puzzles.

Just as Coulmas (1981) points out, many routines, especially politeness routines, "defy interpretation by inference on the basis of word meanings alone and without knowledge of cultural habits, customs, values, attitudes, etc." (p. 8). "Sentences are not ipso facto polite, nor are languages more or less polite," Fraser (1990) claims, "It is only speakers who are polite, and then only if their utterances reflect an adherence to the obligation they carry in that particular conversation" (p. 233). At the most abstract level, politeness may indeed be a universal phenomenon as it is found in every culture. What counts as polite behaviour (including values and norms attached to such linguistic

behaviour), however, is culture-particular and language specific. Understanding why there exists the difference of linguistic behaviors and attitudes requires understanding of the cultural and social differences – cultural habits, customs, and values which are the roots of any social behavior, of which linguistic politeness is one.

This understanding of cultural differences, I believe, will not only help to construct a better politeness theory across cultures, it will also ameliorate difficulty in intercultural communication. My personal experiences and those of my friends', both American and Chinese, as well as those discussed in other studies (Hu and Grove, 1991), verify that misunderstandings in interpersonal communication during this phatic communion did happen between people from the two speech communities. The results of the survey clearly reflect these potential misunderstandings. To Americans, the Chinese *other*-oriented excuses for leave-taking seem insincerely indirect and intruding[1]. To Chinese, the American *self*-oriented leave-taking seem to be egocentric, uncaring, or even rude, especially when no comments are made on the host's well being. In a word, the linguistic patterns and ways for leave-taking discussed in this study are appropriate and polite *only* when they are used among people from the same speech community, but inappropriate and even impolite to other people because "cultural presuppositions enter into the interpretation of what we see and hear" (Gumperz and Robert, 1991, p. 51).

Polite linguistic behavior, as discussed in Chapter 1, is realized through communication when the external expectation is properly satisfied. Some researchers insist that politeness is more anticipated or expected than communicated as Brown and

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1 One of my American friends once complained about her Chinese visitors: "If they need to go, just tell me so. Why do they take me as an excuse by saying "You're tired" or "You're busy?"

Levinson (1987) suggest in their paper (Fraser, 1990; Jary, 1998; Kasper, 1990; Meier, 1995; Nwoye, 1992; Watts et. al. 1992). As Kasper (1990) puts it: "'Competent adult members comment on absence of politeness where it is expected, and its presence where it is not expected" (p. 193). These expectations are culturally rooted, and participants in conversation are generally aware that they are required to act within the dictates of the expected code of behavior. That is because behaving politely is "one of the constraints on human behavior which help us to achieve effective living" (Watts et al, 1992, p.4)

"Behavior," just as DeVos et al. (1985) point out, "is often a result of continuous conflict between experiences of self and one's social role expectations" (p. 6). Linguistic politeness, Watts (1992) states, is culturally determined and generated from underlying universal principles, and it is "transformed into polite behaviour under certain marked social conditions" (p. 58). Verbal interaction, Watts (1992) claims, involves the negotiation of the coherence and equilibrium of the social group, within which the sacred nature of the social group can be projected. However, only when linguistic performances "represent the attempt by *ego*, for whatever reason, to enhance her/his social standing with respect to *alter* may they more profitably be called realization of politeness" (p. 57). Therefore the key issue in understanding linguistic politeness is the concept of self and of its role in social relationship, which determines one's expectation for politeness and judgment on the degree of polite linguistic behavior. As Hsu (1985) points out, an understanding of how self is defined or operates in different cultures is the basic means of unlocking the secrets of social and cultural behavior (p. 25). "Cultural traditions of thought influence how the self perceives itself," DeVos et al. (1985) state, and this perception interacts with "the operation of underlying coping mechanisms that comprise

personality structure" (p. 6). Therefore, in the next section, we are going to examine the different concepts of self in the two opposite cultures: individualism and collectivism to which American main culture and Chinese culture belong.

5.2 Self in individualism vs. self in collectivism

The differences between the American *self*-oriented (*I*-patterned) and the Chinese *other*-oriented (*you*-patterned) linguistic routines in leave-taking lie in the two fundamentally different cultures: individualism and collectivism. *Individualism* is the core of the dominant American culture (Bellah et al, 1985, 1991; Bond, 1986, 1993; Hsu, 1981; Johnson, 1985; Steward and Bennett, 1991). American society, as Johnson (1985) points out, implicitly accepts that each individual "should be encouraged to make decisions for themselves, develop their own opinions, solve their own problems, have their own possessions, and, in general, learn to view the world from the point of view of self" (p.133). This individual-centered, or self-centered, philosophy is explicitly shown in the following statement: "We believe in the dignity, indeed the sacredness, of the individual. Anything that would violate our right to think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, make our own decisions, live our lives as we see fit, is not only morally wrong, it is sacrilegious" (Bellah et al, 1985, p. 142). Individual freedom and self-reliance are held by most Americans as the basis of their values and beliefs (Althen, 1988; Bellah et al, 1985, 1991; Bockover, 1997; Hsu, 1985; Kearny, 1984; Steward and Bennett, 1991; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Each person in the American culture, Steward & Bennett (1991) point out, "is not only a separate biological entity, but also a unique psychological being and a singular member of the social order." Thus, the dominant American self

"pervades action and intrudes into each domain of activity" without being questioned (p. 129).

In this individualistic culture, there is remarkable absence of community, tradition, and shared meaning which "impinge upon perception and give shape to behavior" (Cushman, 1990, cited in Steward & Bennett, 1991, p.130). The concept of self to Americans, as some researchers point out (Bockover, 1997; Steward & Bennett 1991), is singular, abstract, and impersonal. In a sense, it is empty, "something to be filled or fulfilled" (Steward & Bennett 1991, p. 130). Americans are satisfied with being independent and self-reliant as each one prefers to do his own thing (Johnson, 1985; Steward & Bennett, 1991). The popular phrase "doing your own thing" reveals "the blatant assertion of the right to personal enhancement" and "the belief that an activity can be 'one's *own* thing'" (Johnson, 1985, p.124, italicized original). Concern for self in this individualistic society is, more often than not, given precedence to group interest in social intercourse as Americans intend to place priority, consciously or unconsciously, on personal interests and independence. "The emphasis on individualism," Johnson (1985) claims, "has direct and indirect effects on both the presentation of self (in public ways) and the experience of self (in private awareness)" (p. 121). This self-oriented concept is inevitably reflected in the American way of politeness in conducting the speech event of leave-taking in an *I*-patterned (self-oriented) excuse, which is going to be discussed in the next section.

However, the Chinese culture, being collectivistic, is almost the opposite of that of the American. It is deeply rooted in Confucian humanism, which is understood as warm and harmonious human feelings between people and concern for the well being of others.

Confucianism is "a philosophy of human nature which considers proper human relationships as the basis of society" (Yum, 1991, p. 377). It is believed that, in the Chinese culture, these relationships, traditionally and ideally, "are not based on *individual profit*, but rather on the *betterment of the common good*" (Yum, 1991, p. 377, my italics). Such a belief is captured in a well-known statement in the Confucian *Analects (Lun Yu)* "Wishing to establish oneself, one establishes others; wishing to enlarge oneself, one enlarges others" (cited in Tu, 1985, p. 232).

Self-cultivation in the spirit of filial piety, brotherhood, friendship, discipline, and loyalty, therefore, is the way to practice Confucianism which emphasizes harmony, reciprocity, and mutual obligations in any human relationship (Tu, 1985, p. 233). Since the traditional Chinese culture values mutual care and interdependence in harmonious social or personal relationships, even the word "individualism" in the Chinese language conveys a negative connotation as it is almost equivalent to "selfishness."

In ancient China, Hsu (1985) states, Confucian scholars used to speak of *da wo* (greater self) as distinguished from *xiao wo* (smaller self) (p. 21). The latter referred to the individual's own desires and actions for him or her, and the former meant the individual's concern for the others. The traditional Chinese self exists primarily in relationship with others, as Confucius believed that the ability to act appropriately toward others in a respectful and dignified way is the essence of all good relationships. That is the essence of self (Bockover, 1997; Chu, 1985). Thus, according to the Confucian philosophy, a self should be seen "predominantly as a social being whose basic task is to learn the science and art of adjusting to the world" (Hsu, 1985, p. 233).

A Confucian man should live in dignified harmony with others because "Confucius believed that our distinctive human roles were defined by our relation to others and, moreover, that these roles define the "person" him- or herself" (Bockover, 1997, p.53). Since the self in Confucianism is often perceived "in terms of dyadic relationships," Tu (1985) points out, "a Confucian man's self-awareness of being a son, a brother, a husband, a father dominates his awareness of himself as a self-reliant and independent person" (p. 233). Outside this kind of relational context, as Chu (1985) claims, there seems to be very little independent self left for the traditional Chinese (p. 258). Zhai (1994) compares this close relationship between self and other to "a joint in a long chain" which is comprised of many joints (others). Any movement of one joint (self) will affect the whole chain (p. 236)

To Chinese who believe Confucian philosophy, therefore, obeying social norms and conventions are more important than pursuing self interest and desire, which should be denied or even suppressed to almost *wang wo* "forgetting me" or *wu wo* "non-existing me" (Zhai, 1994) when needed in this collectivistic culture. This concept is well summarized in a Chinese phrase *wang wo wu si* "forget me no self" (deny yourself with no selfishness). Naturally, this self-denying notion is unmistakably embodied in the Chinese *you*-pattered (other-oriented) leave-taking.

In a word, the difference in the concept of self between Chinese and Americans, just as Brown (1996) summarizes, is that the self in former society is relational, interpersonal, or collective, whereas the self in the latter one is individualistic and autonomous (p. 39). Brown & Levinson's negative face is obviously derived from this individualistic self-concept which upholds personal freedom from imposition by others and dignity of

pursuing self-interest. Their model of linguistic politeness successfully analyzes the American self-oriented leave-taking precisely because it cues in to the American cultural values which are not shared by many non-western cultures. Brown and Levinson's model fails to analyze the linguistic conduct of non-western cultures, such as the Chinese other-oriented leave-taking, because it imposes their cultural background on the other cultures where it is irrelevant (O'Driscoll, 1996, p. 5).

Thus, the Chinese face (*mianzi*) and concept of politeness is closely related to this Confucian concept of self. As mentioned in Chapter 2, face in Chinese is only meaningful when perceived in relation to others (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho, 1976, 1994; Scollon & Scollon, 1994) and a person may lose his/her face when he/she fails to meet his social obligation (Ho, 1994, p. 872). In a similar vein, the core concept of Chinese politeness, which is denigrating self and respecting others (Gu, 1990), is the embodiment of the Chinese concept of self.

With the understanding of the differences in cultures and related concepts of self, we can come back to the different linguistic performance in leave-taking between Chinese and American to see how polite linguistic patterns in one speech community are affected by the culturally rooted concept of self. As stated previously, the discussion will be confined to the speech acts which are frequently used by the guests in one speech community and compare them with the same speech acts used by their counterparts in the other speech community.

5.3 Collectivistic *other*-oriented and individualistic *self*-oriented leave-taking

In this section, we are going to examine the speech acts of leave-taking in three parts: *I*-patterned excuses vs. *you*-patterned excuses, lavished thanks vs. invitation, giving

personal suggestion/advice vs. appreciation and complimentary. The concept of self is utilized in our contrastive analysis of the different linguistic conduct in Chinese other-oriented goodbye and the American self-oriented farewell.

5.3.1 *I*-patterned excuses vs. *you*-patterned excuses

When mutual care and interdependence in harmonious social or personal relationships is valued in a society, such as China, a person is not expected to emphasize his or her personal needs to justify his or her behavior or action. Thus, offering a reason for leaving after dinner for Chinese "is unlikely to be related to the guest's own personal situation" (Hu and Grove, 1991, p. 31) but concern for the host's welfare. Being polite, as Nwoye (1992) points out, "is not predicated on making a hearer feel good, or not feel bad, but rather on conforming to socially agreed codes of good conduct" (p. 310). The stress on consideration of others is clearly embodied in the *you*-patterned (*other*-oriented) excuses giving by the Chinese guests upon leaving, such as "*You*'ve been busy for a whole day and are very tired" (Ch. #8), "*You*'ve been working hard the whole day" (Ch. #3), etc. To a Chinese, these *you*-patterned excuses are not imposing, as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, but very polite because showing consideration on the others' well-being is far more important in Chinese culture than respecting others' privacy or keeping a distance from each other, which is perceived as being polite in North America (Lii-shih, 1994).

This emphasis on consideration for the others' welfare can also explain why Chinese guests give some personal suggestions or advice upon leave-taking, like "[*You*] Get rest early" (Ch. #3), "*You* got up early so *you* need to go to bed early" (Ch. #5), and those reported in the questionnaires, like:

Mingtian keneng yao bian tian. Ninmen yiding yao duo chuan yifu

Tomorrow possible will change weather, you be sure need more put on clothes

(The weather may change tomorrow. Be sure to put on more clothes" (Ch-27).

Or

Qin chuqu zou dong zou dong, bie lao daizai jiali

often go out walk [and] move, don't always stay at home

(Often go out and take a walk. Don't always stay at home, Ch-44, Ch-74)

and so on. Again these imposing suggestions to Americans are conformed to the Chinese other-oriented politeness.

As matter of fact, in Chinese culture, friends are expected to fulfill their responsibility and duty by taking care of their friends even at the cost of their own interests, according to Confucian philosophy. Therefore, showing consideration to other's personal or even private life is quite common among Chinese friends. Lacking this "intruding" concern may hinder friendship from developing or even endanger it[2]. Thus, the fear of imposing on others' personal freedom, which is so carefully avoided in the American culture, is intrinsically strange to the Chinese, especially among friends, who, together with one's family members, are part of one's inner group (which will be discussed in a succeeding section).

As far as *mianzi* "face" is concerned, these *you*-patterned speech acts protect both the speaker's (the guest) and the hearer's (the host) face as the linguistic behavior conforms with the social norm: the host gets *mianzi* when his/her status as a member of the inner

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2 From my personal observation and experiences, this difference between respecting other's privacy and showing concern for other's welfare is one of the obstacles to Chinese (at least from mainland China) to make good friends with Americans. Americans are scared away by the "intruding" or "imposing" Chinese, and Chinese are stunned by the "impersonal" and "self-centered" attitude of Americans.

group (friends) is recognized; and the guest keeps his own *mianzi* by showing his appropriate behavior which meets the expectation for a member of the inner group (friends) in Chinese culture. In these other-oriented (*you*-patterned) speech acts, the satisfaction of one's needs, is not pursued in an 'I versus others' spirit, but rather 'I and others' spirit" (Nwoye, 1992, p. 317) in the process of consolidating friendship.

American *self*-oriented leave-taking excuses can be well explained by Laver's (1981) one of the two principal functions that this phatic communion serves in the closing phrase: mitigation (see Chapter 2 for details). *I*-oriented excuses given by the American guests both from the dialogue recordings and the questionnaires, such as "I think *my wife* is getting a little restless," *We* have a long drive ahead of us, so *we* should probably get started," "*I* have to get up early tomorrow and the kids have to go to school, so we'd better get going," etc., are mitigation comments which are addressed to the speaker's negative face and often set "the reason for terminating the encounter in a compulsion external to the speaker" (Laver 1981, p. 303). This kind of speech act, according to Brown and Levinson's theory, leaves the host's negative face, his/her personal freedom of taking care of his/her own business, untouched.

Thus, the difference in the concept of self clearly explains why American guests give *I*-patterned (self-oriented) excuses for taking leave and the Chinese justify their leave-taking with *you*-patterned (other-oriented) excuses. Now let us go to the other speech acts, giving thanks and invitation, used differently by the two speech communities.

5.3.2 Giving thanks vs. giving invitation

Giving thanks, as shown in Chapter 4, is one of the prominent features in the American leave-taking. Contrasting sharply with the meager Chinese thanks shown in

the data, American guests seem to extravagantly express their thanks and appreciation, which is positive politeness in Brown and Levinson's term, to their host and hostess. That is because "in American culture, the explicit statement of gratitude is required after each event" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993, p. 74). As children, Aston (1995) points out, Americans "are all taught by caregivers that thanking is a matter of politeness: failure to thank in the right way and in the right place is rude" (p. 57). Expressing gratitude frequently in a wide range of interpersonal relationships, this function can engender feelings of warmth and solidarity among interlocutors. Not expressing gratitude *adequately* "can have negative consequences for the relationship of speaker and hearer" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993, p. 64). That is because the effort of an individualistic self in helping others needs to be recognized, respected, and credited by those who are benefited from the help. That may also be explained by the importance of concept of self in any social relationship.

Just as Aston (1995) points out, there seems to "be a large degree of cross-cultural variation in the use and realization of thanking" with many politeness conventions (p. 57). Contrasting to the American "abundant thanks," the Chinese guests seem so grudging or even reluctant to express their gratitude to their host or hostess. There are several explanations to this "meager gratitude" of Chinese guests. One of them is that the Chinese cultural ethos require some affective restraint on the expression of appreciative emotion compared with American culture which "opts for emphatic enthusiasm" (Kasper, 1990, p. 199)[3].

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3 Actually this "No-thank you" phenomenon is not only noticeable in Chinese. In their study of American gratitude expressions, Einstein and Bodman (1993) observed that in many cultures, the words "thank you" are not commonly used to express

Another reason for this non-thanks phenomenon in the Chinese interpersonal communication is the emphasis in the closeness among the people in *nei* circle, which may be translated into "ingroups," "those of the inner circle," or "inside relations." The *nei* people are those relations which are established either by birth or by other close personal relationships, such as work, school, etc (Scollon & Scollon, 1991). Their welfare is to be concerned and with those one is willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns (Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Scollon & Scollon, 1991; Wheeler et al. 1989). This close tie with *nei* "ingroups" is in a sharply contrast with *wai*, which means "outgroups," "those of the outer circle," or "outside relations," with whom the relationship "tend to be utilitarian and last for only the brief limits of the transaction" (Scollon & Scollon, 1991, p. 118)[4].

The people from collectivistic cultures, as Morisaki & Gudykunst (1994) point out, "draw sharper distinction between members of ingroups and outgroups, and perceive ingroup relationships to be more intimate than members of individualistic cultures." Since it is one's duty or responsibility to take care of each other and to make sure that

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appreciation for acts of kindness (p. 73), since it is considered part of their social roles, or duties.

4 There are some other reasons for this emphasis on closeness of an "inner" circle. One of them might be the consequence of a rural society (like China with its 75% population in the countryside), which requires cooperation among people to get some work done. It is both natural and necessary to forge some close "inner" circles among family members, relatives, and friends. While in an urban society, like the United States of America, there is not so much imperative need for people to work together as for those in rural areas. Another explanation is that people in a rural society tend to stay in one place for many years (or for generations) and it is easier to have some close "insiders," but those in the urban society tend to be on the move constantly, which makes it hard for them to build up much closer relationships (Stewart and Bennett, 1991). It would be interesting to conduct some comparative study on the "rural American" leave taking after dinner with the Chinese to see if there are some resemblance between them. Bond (1991)

friendship is strengthened, for Chinese, having friends for dinner is an act of consolidating friendship, which requires no thanks among friends, who are members of one's *nie* "inner" group. As every member of an inner circle is expected to help and be helped, verbally giving "thank you" is out of the question. Otherwise it would be considered *jian wai* "see outside" (treat (one) as a stranger/outsider), which would disrupt social bonds or even endanger the closeness of "insiders."

Therefore, "thank you" is seldom, if ever, heard among family members, close relatives and good friends. The closer the relationship is, the less often "thank you" is used. Saying "thank you" may make the bound relationship appear to be loosened because overt gratitude is for outsiders rather than for insiders. Just as Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) found in their study that in some non-western cultures, "it is felt that gratitude and the intent to reciprocate need not be expressed overtly. In fact, it might be considered insulting to do so" (p. 74).[5] American's ever-present "Thank you" to Chinese is *tai keqi le* "too polite." Actually in one of the recorded conversations, the hostess did say *Ni tai keqi le* to one the guests who said *Xiexie* "Thank you" several times to her (Ch. #7). This emphasis on enhancing ingroup solidarity rather than expressing one's gratitude (verbally at least) can explain why the Chinese guests are "grudgingly" giving thanks to the host, compared with "overflowing" thank-you phrases in the American data.

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points it out that the orientation of the Chinese towards collective activities certainly fits the agricultural heritage of the Chinese culture (p. 36).

5 A former Chinese student of mine was so angry at her boyfriend's "thank you" that she broke up the relationship. Though this might not be the real cause, at least she claimed it was. Recently on a telephone call to China, I thanked my seventy-year-old aunt for her helping me collect data (recording after dinner talks), she immediately

Then one may ask why the Chinese respondents in the survey rated statements with "+*thanks*" higher than those without. One explanation, as discussed in Chapter 4, is that this polite linguistic marker is quite salient to Chinese who do not often use it among the people of the inner circle. Saying *Xiexie* "Thank you" is very *keqi* "polite."[6] But if it is used to family or friends, it is very inappropriate if not completely wrong. In responding to the survey as what a guest is expected to say before taking leave to family members or friends, several Chinese respondents emphasize that it is "unnecessary" to be *keqi* "polite, courteous" with people of closer relationship.

Although everything is done out of expectations or duty among friends and no "thanks" is expected in Chinese culture, that does not mean that a Chinese guest would take the host's hospitality for granted. In this reciprocal culture, *renqing* "personal favor"[7] needs to be returned in *deeds* rather than in *words*, like saying "thank you." That leads to the explanation of the Chinese guests inviting their hosts, which is not often observed in

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reproached me for *tai jian wai* "too much seeing outside," meaning that I treated her as an outsider rather than a close relative.

6 The routine reply to *xiexie* "Thank you" is *Bu/Bei keqi* "not polite" (Don't be polite; Don't stand on ceremony). Though *Ke qi* is often translated into "polite" in English, it is not the same as "*limao*" which is also translated as "polite." As discussed in Chapter 2, *limao* is derived from *li*, a traditional Chinese "rite, ritual, ceremony, propriety, and right conduct" which are central to Confucianism (Bockover, 1997, p.53). The definition of *limao* in Chinese is "manifestation of modesty and respect via verbal or non-verbal behavior" (which understandably refers to conforming to the Confucian social norms). While *keqi* can mean "polite, being modest to others," it also connotes "speaking or acting courteously" (*Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* "Modern Chinese Dictionary," Commercial Press, 1983; "Concise English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary," Oxford University Press and Commercial Press, 1986). So *bu/bei keqi* "Don't stand on ceremony" or "Don't act courteously" is not the same as "You are welcome," the common reply to "Thank you" in English. It seems that *limao* "polite" has some positive connotation while *keiqi* can be negative sometimes. Further discussion on the difference between *keqi* and *limao* is beyond the scope of this paper.

the American data. In Chinese culture, *qian renqing,* "owing personal favor" (to be in debt of personal favor) is considered a threat to maintaining and developing friendship.

The fear of owing others' personal favor is another aspect of Chinese culture, which is *debt-sensitivity* (Lii-shih, 1994; Yeung, 1997). To be generous and empathetic toward others and to be modest and not greedy oneself are highly regarded social values and the primary guidelines in the social interactions of inviting and gift-giving. Therefore, Chinese people are always conscious of *bu qian renqing* "not owing personal favor" (not to be in debt of personal favor), but to be *li shang wang lai* "courtesy returning and visit repaying" (to be reciprocal in cordiality) (Li-shih, 1994). That explains why inviting is used quite often in leave-taking after dinner in the Chinese setting because the guests are in "debt" to the host in *renqing,* and need to repay it. That has to be manifested verbally so that the host knows that his/her guests do not ungratefully take his/her kindness and hospitality for granted. This debt-sensitivity in interpersonal relationship in Chinese culture can also explain why another speech act, apology, is used by Chinese guests in leave-taking as reported in Chapter 4.

Although this "repaying" personal favor or hospitality is also observed in American culture, as this speech act is also reported in the survey among the Americans, this prompt direct-reciprocity is not well accepted by Americans. Eisentein and Bodman found (1993) in their study that Americans "characterized this offer of reciprocity as offered too specifically" and the invitation "sounded too abrupt and demanding" (p. 73). This comment supports Brown and Levinson's concept of negative politeness as such inviting

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7 *Renqing* is also translated as "human emotion" by some researchers (Chang & Holt, 1994, p. 103). Zhai (1994) points out that *renqing* in Chinese is defined and derived from Confucius' five cardinal relationships in a harmonious society (p. 171).

speech act threatens the invitee's negative face. If this intention to repay was stated, it would be in more general terms such as "I hope you'll come to our place sometime soon" (Eisentein and Bodman, p.73).

The survey for this study surely supports this claim. Most of invitation given by the American respondents contains an "indefinite" or "non-specific" time reference, "next time," such as "Next time our house/place," "Maybe next time we'll cook," "Next time it will be my turn," "I'll have you over for dinner next time," etc[8]. Though some Chinese in the survey made such "unspecific" invitation, some of them gave their invitation with a specific time, such as *xia xingqu* "next week," "*xia zhouliu* (or *xia xingqi liu*) "next Saturday/Sunday (evening)" shown in the following:

Xia xingqi ni lai wojia ba
next week you come my house (*particle*)
"Come to my house next week."

Xia zhouliu wan shang wojia chi yi dun.
next Saturday evening come my house eat one meal
"Come to my house for dinner next Saturday evening."

5.3.3 Appreciating versus Ignoring

Another contrast between American leave-taking and Chinese goodbye, especially from the dialogue recordings, is that American guests gave more consolidatory comments as they express their appreciation for the opportunity to having good time and the

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8 The Chinese students, who either have contact with teachers of native English speakers, or go abroad (to English speaking countries, like the United States of America, England, New Zealand, etc) are repeatedly advised not to ask "When?" to this kind of "next time" invitation. However, it seems that some of them do it anyway out of habit, which causes some confusion and misunderstanding both for the invitation giver and the invitee.

pleasure of meeting other people. Following Brown and Levinson's model, Laver (1981) suggests that these consolidatory comments are addressed to the positive aspect of face, which is the want to be liked (p. 303). Such comments, found both in the recordings and the questionnaires, include appreciation for the food, as "Dinner/food was great/good/nice" etc.; appreciation for the occasion, such as "We enjoyed this so much," esteem for others, such as 'It's so nice to be with you," "It sure has been good being with you this evening" etc., caring for others, as "I hope you'll have a chance to relax a little bit," "We can tell you worked hard today getting the food prepared;" and desire for continuation of the relationship, as "See you tomorrow," "I'll call you in a couple of days," "We'll have to do it again some time," etc. As discussed in Chapter 4, giving this kind of consolidatory comments is one of the most frequently used speech acts used in the American leave-taking.

According to the recordings of leave-taking dialogues, this speech act is only used occasionally in the Chinese setting (three out of the ten). In the survey, however, about half of the Chinese respondents (see Table 4.1.2-3 in Chapter 4) gave such consolidatory comments in Situation II (with good friends), such as complimenting on food or cooking:

Chi hao le, haishi nijiade fancai bijiao kekou
eat goo (*particle)* still your house food comparatively tasty
"I had a good meal. (I still think that) your cooking is more tasty."

Fancai zuo de hen hao, feichang fengsheng.
food cook (*particle*) very good, very abundant
"The food was really good, (and) there was a lot of food."

Or appreciation of the occastion:

Jintian wanshang zhen rang ren gaoxing.
today evening very let people happy

"This is really a happy evening."

Zhen guoyin, wan de hen jinxing.

Really satisfying, play (*particle*) very heartedly.

(I) had a wonderful time and enjoyed it very much.

These comments consolidate the relationship between the two participants by means of behavior which emphasizes the enjoyable quality of the encounter, the mutual esteem in which the participants hold each other, the promise of a continuation of the relationship, the assertion of mutual solidarity, and the announcement of a continuing consensus for the shape of encounters in the future (Laver, 1981, p. 304). The use of these terms highlights the attention that the participants typically apply to the care of their relationship in this fragile phase because "it allows the participant to achieve a cooperative parting, in which any feeling of rejection by the person being left can be assuaged by the appropriate reassurance from the person leaving" (Laver, 1981, p. 304).

Even though the Chinese guests would give such appreciative comments upon leave-taking after dinner as their American counterparts do, there is still some difference in using this speech act between the two speech communities shown in the dialogue recordings. In Chinese culture, showing interest to other people or putting others' interest or welfare above one's own in interpersonal contact is often practiced among "insiders" of the inner groups. With people who are not in the circle, however, things are quite different. As discussed earlier, upon leave-taking, the American guests repeat their appreciation of meeting other people for the first time by saying "Nice meeting you" or "Glad to meet you." In contrast, there is no such statement found in the Chinese leave-taking, based on the data collected for this study, even though in three Chinese settings,

the person who recorded the conversation and some other guests did not know each before the dinner[9], as discussed in Chapter 4.

In Chinese culture, *hen gaoxing renshi ni* "very glad know you" (Glad to meet you) is often used more formally when people are introduced to each other at the beginning of their first encounter. In more informal settings, Chinese people usually nod their heads with *Ni hao* "You good" (Hi) to those being introduced. This friendly statement, however, is not employed in closings. At the end of a dinner, a guest usually addresses his attention to the host rather than to the other guests who are new acquaintances as the Americans do. Bond (1993) explains that this "ignoring" attitude to strangers is from Chinese focus on a "pre-existing and specific relationship" which meets their social needs (p. 57). The Chinese, Bond (1993) points out, make a critical distinction between established acquaintances and communicate mainly with people they know and, within the circle of acquaintances, with family members in particular. They ignore other people or regard any who initiate conversation with suspicion[10]. This is in contract with the Americans who "place a high value on conversation as a vehicle for establishing relationship and hence find the Chinese stand-offish" (p. 52).

The different attitudes shown in the different ratings in the judgment of the eight leave-taking statements in the survey are therefore self-evident with all the discussion above. The attitudinal difference comes from the different expectations for a polite

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9 In one the recording of the Chinese leave-taking, in Ch #9, one the guests (the wife), after giving an invitation to the host, also asked the other guest (who was visiting and staying with the host for a couple of days) to go. *Ni ye qu ba* "you too go (*particle*)" (You come (with them- the host and hostess) too.). However, this is the only acknowledging comment addressing to this guest who they did not know.

linguistic behavior from each speech community based on different concept of self. A polite leave-taking for Americans is to show respect to others' self-freedom from being imposed by expression gratitude and appreciation. A Chinese polite leave-taking is expected to show consideration of others' welfare. Thus a Chinese guest is expected to give *you*-patterned (other-oriented) excuses and personal advice while an American guest is anticipated to provide *I*-patterned (self-oriented) excuses and appreciation. When the expectation of one speech community is not satisfied, negative attitudes are the natural outcome, which will unavoidably lead to frustrations and misunderstandings which occurr quite often in cross-cultural communication.

Since Brown & Levinson theory of universal politeness cannot well explain these different linguistic patterns and attitudes in leave-taking between Chinese and Americans, we need to find out whether there exists such a theory which can account for the variant polite linguistic behavior cross-culturally. Though Brown & Levinson's face construct is criticized, especially their negative face, as discussed previously, no researcher has denied the human desire to be disassociated for a time being (see O'Driscoll 1996, for more details on this issue). Also it is almost impossible to deny the universal concern for a good face, the positive public self-image. However, just as Ho (1976) insists, "what constitutes face and the rules governing face behavior vary considerably across cultures, the concern for face is invariant" (p. 881).

As mentioned in Chapter I, O'Driscoll proposed a revised version of Brown & Levinson's face dualism in order to uphold the claim that positive and negative face are

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10 Many Chinese students who just came from China were often puzzled by being greeted by a passing-by American's "Hello" or "Hi" on campus or in the streets. It seems really strange to them to observe that Americans greet strangers.

"universal phenomena" (p.1). In the next section, we are going to apply O'Driscoll revised version to examine the *I*-patterned American leave-taking and *you*-patterned Chinese farewell to see how these universal phenomena are manifested in different ways because of the different concepts of self.

5.4 Universal face dualism and specific cultural self

O'Driscoll (1996) points out that Brown and Levinson's concept of face dualism "prompts a Janus-like picture with face looking both ways" (p.28) as Brown & Levinson (1987) suggest that a linguistic pattern either addresses to the positive face or to the negative face, i.e. either being positive polite or negative polite. However, if we adopt O'Driscoll's (1996) revision of face dualism, which is the recognition of the two existential wants rather than the wants themselves, the corresponding dual nature of politeness will be only a matter of degree a spectrum (p. 29). Therefore, O'Driscoll (1996) suggests, the total effect of an utterance may be either very positively or very negatively polite or neither because it is near the middle of the spectrum (pp. 28-29).

With this revised version of face concept, let us examine the *you*-patterned Chinese and *I*-patterned American leave-taking excuses to see how each face is recognized and given attention to as guests conduct their closure of this speech event. However, before we go into any specific discussion comparing the speech acts used by Chinese and American guests, first we need to examine in general what face is concerned in leave-taking after dinner.

It is universal that guests will leave after dinner. Given to the different excuses for taking leave, the guests should recognize the need of their host who, after preparing for the dinner and entertaining the guests, has a desire to disassociate for a period of time, at

least for the time being. This is the negative want and recognized by the guests when they express their desire to leave. This is negative polite as the negative face gets attention. Intuitively, this is universal and should be culturally invariant. No hosts want to have their guests to be with them forever (nor do guests want to remain with their host), whether they are from collectivistic or individualistic cultures.

Now let us see the difference of these two speech communities in conducting this speech event. Following the previous discussion, both Chinese and American guests perform negative politeness by recognizing the host's desire to disassociate and expressing their desire to leave, whether giving *you*-patterned or *I*-patterned excuses. Nevertheless, the host also has his/her positive face which also needs to get some attention. This is where the difference between Chinese and American leave-taking because of the different concepts of self.

Due to the emphasis on subordinating self to others in Chinese culture, Chinese guests give *you*-patterned (other-oriented) excuses such as " *You* are tired and *you* need to go bed" upon leaving. This speech act conforms to the cultural expectation for politeness, or the culture-specific face, in this culture: putting others' interest above one's own, and thus gives full recognition to the host's positive want, the desire for belonging. Positive politeness, therefore, is the norm of politeness in Chinese culture. Of course giving personal advice and suggestions as well as giving invitation from Chinese guests also address the positive face as precedingly discussed.

The *I*-patterned (self-oriented) excuses given in American farewell, such as " *I* have to go because *I* have something to do at home," give priority to the host's freedom from imposition, and thus it is negative politeness. This respect for one to make one's own

decision complies with the expected politeness in this culture, which believes self-reliance and self-independence. This self-centered notion is the foundation of the culture-specific face, which indicates that negative politeness is the norm of politeness in American culture. Another frequently used speech act in the American leave-taking is making some appreciative or complimenting comments to the host.

Giving thanks, on the other hand, does not seem to address to either of the faces specifically. This speech act is called a "hybrid utterance" by O'Driscoll (1996) as it "instantiate[s] attention to both types of face at the same time," and therefore it is "somewhere near the middle of the politeness spectrum" (p. 28). Another explanation for American guests always saying "Thank you" is that giving thanks is required in the American culture. Thus it is more culturally specific, or addressing principally to the American culture- specific face (O'Driscoll, 1996, p.28).

Then, how are we going to explain the consolidatory comments, another frequently used speech act in the American leave-taking, which addresses to the positive face of the host as Laver (1981) claims? O'Driscoll (1996) provides a good explanation. Though positive and negative wants are sometimes antagonistic and not possible to satisfy both simultaneously, he states, "the human condition involves the need for some sort of balance over a period of time between the two poles of merging and individuation", (p.12). That means a balance between satisfaction of positive and negative wants, which should be the result of balance between positive politeness and negative politeness.

Thus, American guests perform some positive politeness by giving consolidatory comments to counterbalance their *I*-patterned (other-oriented) leave-taking excuses, an act of negative politeness. The "abrupt" Chinese goodbye (see Chapter 2 and Hu & Grover,

1991) is another case of keeping balance in this speech event. As mentioned in previous discussion, the positive face of a Chinese host has been addressed repeatedly by his or her guest' *you*-patterned (other-oriented) excuses and personal suggestions. Therefore, the guest takes a hasty leave to show respect to the host's negative face so that the balance between satisfying positive want and negative want is kept.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the main purpose of conducting a successful leave-taking is to facilitate smoother transition from a state of contact to a state of separation (House 1982; Knapp et. al. 1973; Laver 1981). Just as Laver (1981) states, the one who leaves needs to make "appropriate assurance" that the one who is left has no feelings of rejection (p. 303). In order to eliminate the rejected feeling from the host, which is positive want, the guest needs to pay more attention to the host's positive face. Therefore the positive politeness seems to be more crucial in conducting this speech event successfully. This may be the reason why the American leave-taking seems "lingering" to the Chinese.

In the American setting, the host's positive face is not so obviously addressed (with exception of consolidatory comments) as in Chinese leave-taking. Thus American guests "take their time" in bringing this contact to close. That means more time is needed for them to "gradually" take away their association with the guests. In this way, the host's positive want is recognized and satisfied.

Therefore, in both cultures, the negative and positive wants are given proper recognition in this speech event. Even though each speech community has its own way of keeping some balance between positive and negative politeness, due to the different norms of cultures which are from the different concepts of self, the performance of addressing the face dualism is conducted differently. Positive politeness is more salient in the

Chinese setting because of a culturally subordinate self and negative politeness is more prominent in the American setting because of a culturally independent self.

5.5 Conclusion

Watts et al. (1992) points out, "Politeness can be interpreted as one of the constraints on human behavior which helps us to achieve "effective living" (p.2). "All speech communities have linguistic ways and means at their disposal of masking less altruistic ends, i.e., of avoiding conflict and maintaining in a state of equilibrium the perceived fabric of interpersonal relationship" (Watts, 1992, p.47). The linguistic patterns used by Chinese and Americans in leave-taking after dinner are certainly appropriate and polite in the two speech communities because they conform to what each culture values: harmony between self and others and independent relationships for Chinese and self-reliance and dependent relationship for Americans. These different concepts of self come from the two opposite cultures: collectivism and individualism.

The failure of Brown and Levinson's theory of universal politeness in explaining the different linguistic behaviors between Chinese and Americans, O'Driscoll (1996) claims, comes from their "derivational asymmetry" in the conceptualization of their face dualism. Positive face seems "to accord very closely with the concern for honour and good reputation inherent in folk notions of face itself," which is more universal. Their negative face, however, "seems to be derived 'backward' from empirical observation of a kind of behavior which is more cross-culturally limited" (pp. 6-7). Their negative politeness strategies on performing FTAs focus more on satisfying an individual's independence and self-reliance, which is upheld in the western societies, especially in the United States of America. Thus it is not hard to understand why non-western politeness phenomena run

contrary to Brown and Levinson's analysis because in non-western cultures like Chinese, Japanese, Igbo, just to name a few, the self's interest is always suppressed and not given priority in social interaction (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1992; Lii-shih, 1994; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1994; Nwoye, 1994).

The pursuit of universals, Watts et al. (1992) advocate, needs to find out "what fundamental principles of human social organization underlie the goals themselves and how they are transformed into culturally determined patterns of behavior" (p.4). A claimed universal theory should construct concepts "that do not depend for their definitions on object-specific phenomena" and should "not be illustrated better with reference to one culture than the other" (O'Driscoll, 1996, p. 5). Unlike Brown and Levinson's face dualism which is asymmetrically derived from folk notions and empirical observation, O'Driscoll's revised face notion is derived from "pre-theoretical deductive reasoning," which "is the opposite of empirical" (O'Driscoll, 1992, p. 5). The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that this revised version of Brown and Levinson's face dualism successfully explicates the different linguistic behavior shown in leave-taking.

Since the two kinds of face are innately present in every individual, attention to both is expected "to be instantiated in every culture to some degree" (O'Driscoll, 1996, p.29) in any interpersonal relationships. Concern for a good face is a cross-culturally felt need when conducting polite linguistic performance. The divergent concepts of self and of its presentation maintained in different cultures leads to various manifestation of polite linguistic behavior. Whether a linguistic behavior is polite or not, as repeated in this paper, is "judged" by the receiver or hearer from his or her point of view which is based

on the culturally rooted expectation in his or her culture for a certain speech event. The concept of self ~~in~~ is the foundation of such a cultural expectation.

Thus the conclusion of this study is positive and negative face in O'Driscoll's version is universal omnipresent and concern for a good face is cross-culturally invariant. The manifestation of different polite linguistic performance comes from different parameters, of which concept of self is a crucial component.

5.6 Limitation and future research

This paper is only an attempt to apply O'Driscoll revised version of Brown and Levinson dualism in a comparative study of linguistic routines in Chinese and American leave-taking after dinner to uphold the universal face concern in politic behavior. Due to my limited knowledge on linguistic politeness, and the limitation in questionnaire design and data collection (as mentioned in Chapter 3), this study is not quite as comprehensive or convincing as hoped. More research is needed on the comparative study of linguistic politeness cross-culturally with this "new" version of face dualism so that we may have more knowledge about other possible parameters, which will increase our understanding of linguistic politeness.

FAREWELL

Dear reader, *I*'m so glad that *I* got this paper out of my way. Since *I* have many other things to take care of, *I* really need to stop now so that *I* may start doing other things. *Thank* you very much for your patience. Goodbye.

Dear reader, I'm sure that *you* must be very tired (or may be very bored) after reading this long paper, so *you* need to take a break now and do something fun. I'm sorry

for taking up so much of *your* precious time in asking *you* to read this paper. *Zaijian* "Again see" (Goodbye).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

English Version of the Questionnaire

Dear friend,

I'm doing a comparative study of the relationship between culture and linguistic performance of Chinese and Americans. Would you please take a couple of minutes of your time and answer the following questions? Your help is greatly appreciated.

Sex: ☐ M ☐ F **Age:** ☐ 30 or under ☐ 31-55 ☐ 56 or above

Profession: _____

1 You have prepared a good meal and invite some people for dinner. You have all had a good time. Now it's getting late, and your guests express their desire to go. What do you expect them to say if ..... (Please write down as much as you can think of.)

A they are your immediate families (parents or siblings) or close relatives?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B they are your very close friends?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

C they are colleagues or casual acquaintances?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2 Suppose that your guest is a colleague or casual acquaintance. What do you think of him/her if he/she says the following things at the end of the dinner? Tell me your impression of him/her by marking **one** number in each item.
(***Note***: 1 and 5 refer to the two opposite impressions, and 2 and 4 are "some what ...." 3 means "neither ... nor ..." For example, in the "polite.....rude" line,
1 = polite, 2 = somewhat polite, 3 = neither polite nor rude,
4 = somewhat rude, 5 = rude)

A "Well, it's getting late. You must be tired. You've been busy the whole day. Thanks for the dinner." You think the person is....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

B "Well, I should go now. My daughter and son are all coming for dinner tomorrow, I have to do a little cooking tonight. Thanks for the dinner." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

C "Well, it's time to go. Thank you so much for the wonderful evening. I'm so glad I came." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

D "Well, it's getting late. Tomorrow is Monday. Thanks for the dinner." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

E "Well, it's getting late. You've been working the whole day and you need to rest now." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

F "Well, I need to go home and get some work done that I've let go for over a week now." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

G "Well, it's getting late. You've got to work tomorrow and I've got a long way to drive." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

H "Well, it's getting late. Tomorrow will be here too early, and it's off to work." You think the person is ....

	1	2	3	4	5	
polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rude
grateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ungrateful
direct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	indirect
considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	selfish
sincere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insincere

APPENDIX 2

Chinese Version of the Questionnaire

亲爱的朋友，

我在研究中美文化语言上的差异对礼貌用语的影响。您能否花一点儿时间回答下列几个问题？对您的帮助我将不胜感激。

性别： □ 男 □ 女 年龄： □ 30以下 □ 31到35 □ 56以上

职业：_____

1 您准备了一顿丰盛的晚餐，请来一些人，大家吃得，聊得都很尽兴。天晚了，客人们表示要走了。如果客人是，您觉得他们会说什么？

A 他 (她)们是您的家人 (父母或兄弟姐妹)或是近亲。

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B 他 (她)们是您的朋友。

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

C 他 (她)们是您的同事或是新结识的人。

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2 假设您的客人是您的同事或是新结识的人。如果他 (她)在离开前，说了以下一些话，您对他 (她)的印象是什么？
请在下面划出您的选择。

(注：1 和 5 表示两个相反的印象，
2 和 4 表示“有些”
3 表示“既不”，“也不。”
例如： 1 = 有礼貌， 2 =有些礼貌， 3 = 既非礼貌，也非不礼貌，
4 = 有些不礼貌，5 =不礼貌)

A “好了，天不早了，你忙了一整天，一定累了。谢谢你请我吃饭。”
您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

B “好了，我该走了。我儿子和女儿明天都来吃饭。今晚我得准备准备。谢谢你请我吃饭。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

C “好了，时间不短了。非常感谢你这美好的夜晚。很高兴我来了。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

D “好了，天不早了。明天是星期一。谢谢你请我吃饭。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

E “好了，天不早了。你忙了一天，该休息了。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

F “好了，我得回家了，有些活儿已经拖了一个多星期了。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

G “好了，天不早了，明天要上班，我也得上班。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

H “好了，天不早了。明天又是一天。”

您认为他 (她) ……

	1	2	3	4	5	
礼貌	□	□	□	□	□	不礼貌
知情达礼	□	□	□	□	□	不知情达礼
直率	□	□	□	□	□	拐弯抹角
关心他人	□	□	□	□	□	自私自利
诚实	□	□	□	□	□	虚情假意

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