TEACHING THE CONCEPT OF TATEMAE
TO ENGLISH-SPEAKERS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the characteristics of *tatemae* (a means by which a person constrains his or her behavior) and the purposes for which *tatemae* is used in Japanese interpersonal communication. By examining the concept of *tatemae*, this study shows the importance of teaching *tatemae* in different contexts while teaching Japanese to English-speakers.

Previous studies explain that Japanese people tend to think that it is impolite to express their true thoughts or feelings, or refuse others' offers or requests out of concern for hurting the feelings of others. Such studies suggest that in order to keep harmony, people use *tatemae* to hide their actual thoughts or feelings; however, there are other purposes for which *tatemae* is used. In order to understand fully the use of *tatemae*, Japanese learners should be exposed to these various usages of *tatemae*.

This thesis examines data from three sources: contemporary Japanese TV sitcoms and films, and two types of questionnaires, one set of which was filled in by Japanese respondents and the other by American respondents. The data show eight direct purposes for which *tatemae* is used and indicate that the general purpose of *tatemae* is not necessarily keeping harmony but avoiding confrontation. The results also suggest several methods for teaching *tatemae* to English-speakers of Japanese. First, the concept of *tatemae* should be explicitly taught both through lectures in English and in performance.
in Japanese. Second, the concept of *tatemono* needs to be taught through a story that consists of a series of contexts. Third, the contexts should be explained clearly so that the students understand important elements, such as the setting and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, so that they can use *tatemono* themselves.
Dedicated to my husband
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Issues and problems

The concept of *tatemae* (a means by which a person is bound and often keeps harmony in the speech community) is one of the most important Japanese cultural aspects. Previous researchers (Bachnik, 1994; Condon and Kurata, 1974; Gudykunst, 1993; Gudykunst and Nishida, 1994; M. Matsumoto, 1988; Mizutani and Mizutani, 1977; Yoshikawa, 1978) have addressed *tatemae* and *honne* (what one truly feels), which are a paired concepts in Japanese culture. These studies explain that one does not share *honne* with outsiders, but uses *tatemae* to keep harmony with them. For example, Mizutani and Mizutani (1977) posit that Japanese people often say “Nihongo ozyoozu desu ne (You speak good Japanese.)” to even those who know only a few Japanese words in order to approach a foreigner. Moreover, M. Matsumoto (1988) states:

A situational use of *honne* for insiders (*utiwa*) and outsiders (*sotomoao*), although it may occasionally appear outrageous to Westerners, is a commonly accepted practice in Japan.¹ Foreigners are treated politely with only *tatemae* (outer truth)

¹ Ide and Yoshida (1999) state, “*Uchi* refers to a sense of a close relationship as with people who belong, and some sense, to the same group, whereas *so* refers to a sense of a more distant relationship. The speaker uses language to acknowledge both a sense of place in the situational setting, in concordance with the social and psychological distance between participants, as well as the formality of the situation” (446). They show that in Japanese society, the speaker is expected to use the language appropriately, depending on the situational and social contexts.
Statements like the above depict a stereotypical aspect of Japanese culture, which leaves the impression that Japanese people express what is contrary to their true thoughts or feelings to keep harmony with others.

However, there seems to be other purposes for which *tatemae* is used. For example, *tatemae* shows more direct purposes in certain contexts such as the speech acts of complimenting or greetings, which themselves may function mostly to maintain harmony. In compliments, the speaker can use *tatemae* either to make the addressee feel good, to make a good impression of him/herself, or both. In a greeting the speaker may tell the other that everything is fine even though she is actually sick. She may do so to avoid talking about herself or to avoid either worrying the addressee or spending much time with him/her. The reason may differ in different contexts and intentions. In short, it seems that the general purpose of *tatemae* is not necessarily keeping harmony.

The objective of this thesis is to examine the characteristics of *tatemae* and the different purposes for which *tatemae* is used so as to make useful suggestions in teaching the concept of *tatemae* in Japanese classes. To meet this goal, this thesis will analyze data

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2 According to Austin (1962), a speech act is an act necessarily performed in saying something. He states that in saying something, one is also doing something other than just saying something. Speech acts include requesting, offering, inviting, and complaining.

3 Contexts include time, place, occasion, audience, relationship between the speaker and addressee, roles of the speaker, addressee, and audience, and other factors which differentiate roles of conversations taken place. For example, in greetings, if the speaker and the addressee call for an intimate relationship, or if the speaker does not care about bothering the addressee, she may tell the addressee about his/her physical problem. On the other hand, if the speaker is not close to the addressee, she is likely to say she is fine. Even when the speaker is close to the addressee, she would say she is fine if she does not want to worry the addressee, especially the addressee is a small child.
from TV sit-coms and films and questionnaires about *tatemae* in Japanese and "*tatemae*" in American culture.4

2. Organization of the thesis

Chapter 2 presents a review of previous studies on *tatemae* and *honne*. It introduces the existing definitions of *tatemae* and *honne* (referring to them as a pair) by both researchers and non-academic observers from other cultures. This chapter also discusses *tatemae* in Japanese culture, *tatemae* and social distance, and *tatemae* and the notion of "*face*." The description of *tatemae* in Japanese culture includes how *tatemae* is related to other Japanese terms, *wa* (harmony, concord), *sunao* (non-resistant, non-suspicious, straightforward), *omote* (front, appearances, facade), *ura* (behind, surface, rear), *soto* (outside), *u* (inside), and *amae* (dependency). While considering *tatemae* and social distance, the relationship between *tatemae* and two different groups, the speaker's "intimate" circle and out-group, is also described. In the analysis of *tatemae* and face, this paper describes the relationship between *tatemae* and two different types of face, negative face and positive face. It concludes with a discussion of the differences between untruthful statements involving *tatemae*, so-called "white lies," and out-and-out lies.

Chapter 3 discusses data collection from three sources: Japanese TV sit-coms and films, a questionnaire about *tatemae* in Japanese culture, a questionnaire about

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4 It is assumed that the concept comparable to *tatemae* in Japanese culture exists in American culture. As opposed to *tatemae* in Japanese culture, the comparable American concept will be represented in this thesis as "*tatemae*".

5 In the present thesis, "*face*" refers to public self-image, which involves the notion of being embarrassed or humiliated (Brown and Levinson, 1987:61). "*Face*" is expressed without the quotation marks for the rest of the thesis.
"tatemae" in American culture. It describes the methods of data collection and the
subjects for each set of data.

Chapter 4 analyzes the data from the three sources. Analysis of the first set of
data reveals several characteristics of tatemae and eight precise purposes for which
tatemae is used. These purposes suggest that the general goal of tatemae is not
necessarily keeping harmony, but avoiding confrontation. Also, they show that tatemae
and homne are not always complementary. Analysis of the second and third sets of data
confirm that statements involving tatemae are “formulaic” and uttered spontaneously.\(^6\)
Also, the analysis shows several characteristics of the American equivalent of “tatema,”
and these characteristics prove useful in comparing and contrasting American “tatema”
with the Japanese notion of tatemae.

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of pedagogical implications for teaching the
concept of tatemae. There are three important points in teaching the concept of tatemae
and its use in Japanese classes. First, the concept of tatemae should be explicitly taught
both in lectures in English and in performance in Japanese. Also, the concept of tatemae
should be taught through a story which consists of a series of different contexts.
Moreover, the contexts should be explained clearly so that the students understand the
settings, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and other important
information to realize the performance themselves.

Chapter 6 presents suggestions for further study. Since misunderstandings
regarding the concept of tatemae sometimes lead to failure in interpersonal

\(^6\) A “formulaic” expression refers to an expression whose idea is likely to be used in similar situations
although the content of the expression may not be exactly the same.
communication with native speakers of Japanese, it is important that more researchers delve into this area so as to give more suggestions for teaching it in Japanese classes. This chapter discusses several points that will make further study on *tatemae*, research preparation, and the methods of three types of data collection more profitable.

Through data from three sources, the present thesis has set out to discuss the concept of *tatemae* in Japanese culture and its characteristics, including the differences from equivalent of “*tatemae*” in American culture, so as to give helpful suggestions about teaching the concept of *tatemae* to English speakers. I hope this work presented will help students of Japanese understand the concept of *tatemae* and its use so that they will be able to engage in more successful interactions with native speakers of Japanese.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Tatema and honne

The concepts of tatema and honne appear to have existed for hundreds of years. Doi (1986) states that the phenomena of tatema and honne were recognized in the fourteenth century: “Kenko [Yoshida] describes [in Tsurezuregusa] a scene in which an easterner criticizes the people of Kyoto for making excellent promises they have no intention of fulfilling” (42). The conduct of the denizens of Kyoto described here seem to be hypocritical; however, Doi explains that they were attempting to construct a tatema which displays a degree of real sincerity.

In general, one resorts to tatema when unwilling to tell what one really thinks or feels. This means that the speaker always holds honne when s/he performs tatema. Although researchers’ definitions of tatema and honne may differ, they consider tatema and honne as a paired set of terms. M. Matsumoto (1988) states that tatema and honne are often used in contrast with one another, but they actually represent complementary parts of a whole. Bachnk (1994) states that tatema and honne are a paired set of terms which distinguishes “society” and “self.” Doi (1986) writes that these two terms are in a
mutually defining and mutually constituting relationship; in other words, the two are used
to describe a single thing. It seems that *tatemae* cannot be defined without defining
*honne*; therefore, this section reviews both the notion of *honne* in order to arrive at a
fuller understanding of *tatemae*.

2.1.1 Definitions of *tatemae* and *honne*

2.1.1.1 Previous researchers’ definitions of *tatemae* and *honne*

M. Matsumoto (1988) states that the concepts of *tatemae* and *honne* originated
in Shinto teachings, which emphasize that one should be open-minded or broad-minded
to keep harmony. He defines *tatemae* and *honne* stating that, “*Tatemae* is the spoken
gesture of avowed maintenance of harmony with outsiders, while *honne* is honest
feelings among insiders” (87). He points out that *tatemae* is something that stretches the
truth in accordance with the logic of the situation, thus creating something he calls a
“situationally acceptable untruth.” By his definition, *tatemae* is a “lie” that is acceptable
in Japanese society when it is appropriately used.¹

Doi (1986) also states that *tatemae* and *honne* constitute a single reality. He
defines *tatemae* as principles, rules, and conventions, and *honne* as true intentions or the
inner self. Although *honne* is considered the real truth, *tatemae* has a value as important
as *honne*. He writes:

It is beyond doubt that the *tatemae* of *tatemae-honne* was originally the same
word as the word *tatemae* in Japanese architecture, which means “raising the
ridgepole.” ... *Tatemae* is also the word used in the tea ceremony for the formal

¹ Whenever I have put the word “lie” in quotes in this thesis, I have done so to refer to a statement that is
not true, but which, unlike an out-and-out lie, is not used to deceive the other people involved.
movements of the host in presenting utensils and serving the tea. In both architecture and the tea ceremony, the *tatemae* is essential... If the *tatemae* of *tatemae-honne* is indeed the same word, it is impossible to believe that it is "unimportant" (35).

Doi examines the relationship between *tatemae* and the mentality of *amae* (dependence). He writes that the concept of *amae* is very important in understanding the Japanese mentality: "...*amae* is a thread that runs through all the various activities of Japanese society" (1973:26). He argues that when one uses *tatemae*, one does so with a spirit of *amae*, which manifests itself as the hope that the other person will believe in his/her sincerity. For example, when a Japanese gives a present to someone, s/he often says, "This is merely a small thing (Tumaranai mono desu go)." The speaker hopes that the addressee will accept the present not for its value, but as something expressing the speaker's feelings. The speaker's hope is rooted in the desire for *amae*, which would result if the addressee believes that the speaker is giving the present with sincerity. The speaker's desire for *amae* with the addressee enables the former to express the sign of love or friendliness to the latter. Without the addressee's believing in the speaker, the speaker's sign of love or friendliness would become "an outright sham" (Doi, 1986:44). Therefore, how much value one's *tatemae* is given depends on whether or not the other person believes in the former's expression of *tatemae*. Doi's (1986) definitions of *tatemae* and *honne* have much to do with his investigation of human behavior. Like M. Matsumoto (1988), he shows that *tatemae* is used for group harmony.

Miyanaga (1991) also explains the relationship between the concepts of *tatemae*

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1 Kin (1994) writes that the bond of *amae* is created when a child's strong needs for dependency, both emotional and existential, is satisfied by his/her mother's indulgent devotion.
and *honne* and certain aspects of human behavior. However, unlike Doi (1986) and M. Matsumoto (1988), she does not state that *tatemae* and *honne* are complementary. She describes *tatemae* as one's submission to moral obligation, and *honne* as what a person really wants to do. She explains that the particular balance of formality and informality is expressed in the dichotomy between *tatemae* and *honne*. She writes that Japanese tendency to avoid self-disclosure to strangers is based on these two concepts. According to her analysis, in Japanese culture, honest feelings are by definition personal. In the process of getting to know each other, people begin to reveal their honest feeling to one another with a frequency that ranges from the occasional to frequent disclosure. She states, "Premature expression of honest expectations can incite a strongly negative response from the other person in the relationship (89). People refrain from disclosing themselves to strangers in order to meet the expectation of the majority of Japanese society. In brief, an individual does not reveal his/her *honne* to others until becoming close to them. Like the two researchers above, her description of *tatemae* indicates that *tatemae* is used for group harmony.

Kim (1994) also states that in public situations, social norms and roles govern the behavior of individuals. His definitions of *tatemae* and *honne* are public self and private self respectively, which are similar to those defined by Miyanaga (1991). He points out that the maintenance of face is indispensable in public situations in East Asian

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3 According to Barchard's (1975) study, North Americans disclose themselves more readily to strangers than the Japanese do.

4 Hofstede (1991) states that in individualistic societies, everyone is expected to look after themselves and their immediate family. In collectivistic societies, on the other hand, people are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups from birth onwards, and these groups continue to proset them throughout life in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.
cultures. If an individual's desires are not compatible with social demands, one needs to sacrifice one's personal interests for group harmony. This does not mean that one must agree with the existing social norms. The cultural expectation is that if one's desires are not compatible with social demands, one must not display them in public, but locate them within the private domains. One can save face by hiding one's desires from public and keeping them solely within the private domains. It seems that in Japanese culture *tatemae* can be used when the public self-image of the participants is threatened.

These researchers seem to agree that *tatemae* and *honne* are a paired set of terms and that *tatemae* is used to keep harmony; however, their perspective regarding the relationship between the two concepts differs; M. Matsumoto (1988) and Doi (1986) emphasize the mutual relationship between *tatemae* and *honne*, which are complementary parts of a whole, while Miyanaga (1991) and Kim (1994) do not discuss the mutual relationship between the two concepts. The next section deals with comments on *tatemae* and *honne* by people from foreign cultures who have lived in Japan. Unlike the researchers above, these non-academic observers look at *tatemae* and *honne* subjectively; therefore, their comments are helpful in understanding how these concepts are perceived by people from foreign cultures.

2.1.1.2 Definitions of *tatemae* and *honne* by non-academic observers from other cultures

Non-academic observers from other cultures who have lived in Japan for several years describe the concepts of *tatemae* and *honne* in manners that differ from the researchers' descriptions. Non-academic observers generally base their descriptions of
*tatema* and *honme* mostly on their own experience interacting with naïve speakers of Japanese. Juhl (1995), a journalist, writes that *tatema* is a statement for public consumption and *honme* is a real opinion. He states that when politicians make statements for public consumption, they reserve their real opinions for off-the-record sessions. He observes the division between *tatema* and *honme* as one of the factors that lead Japanese politicians to make unguarded remarks and express feelings that end up giving rise to difficult situations. He states, "When some reporter makes public the official's offensive remarks, whether for idealistic reasons or just to settle a grudge, the disclosure typically causes a momentary embarrassment to the government until the official apologizes or is forced to resign" (2). This happens because politicians in general take it for granted that their *honme*, which is expressed in off-the-record sessions, will not be reported for the public.

It is not just politicians that give the impression of speaking in completely different manners in different situations but ordinary people as well. In either case, the result is the same: one ends up looking like a liar to those who are not in operation on the same cultural behavioral ground. Joseph (1998), who interacted with Japanese businessmen in Japan, states that *tatema* is "what you say" and *honme* is "the truth." He writes that at first, he thought that Japanese people were the nicest people on the planet, and to them, he was one of the most attention-worthy creatures alive. However, he later found out that when people smiled, greeted, and gave nice responses, they were engaging in *tatema*. The way they really felt, their *honme* or true feelings, were not visible on the surface. He concludes that Japanese look docile, obedient like pushovers just because
they live in a system where they get in trouble for speaking their home. This sweeping conclusion about Japanese people may be false since there are actually doile and obedient Japanese; however, this account provides a good example which points out that tatemae makes it difticult for foreigners to understand what is actually going on within the minds of many Japanese people.

Similarly, Sower and Johnson (1996) state that Japanese people tell lies when they first meet foreigners. They define tatemae as a principle, a policy, a rule, a basis or a system, and home as one's real or true intention, or one's true motive. They state that Japanese communication styles are highly reflective of what other people are thinking about, and as a result, Japanese will usually give outsiders the party line first. Foreigners are often surprised when they meet a group of Japanese to see that the Japanese express the same opinion even though their backgrounds are different. As a result, after the foreigners get to know the Japanese better and finally hear their inner feelings, the foreigners may feel that the Japanese were lying to them earlier. Similarly, North (1998), a Baptist missionary who has lived in Japan for more than fifteen years, writes that tatemae is misconstrued by Westerners as insincerity. She analyzes that the Japanese are so concerned about what the other will think of them that they say what they think other people want to hear rather than their true home.

Lee (1996), who is from Korea and teaches the Korean language, culture, and history in Japan, also thinks that Japanese people give the impression of being insincere to foreigners. She defines tatemae as appearance, and home as reality. She states that before she visited Japan, her Korean friends had warned her about how friendly Japanese
were in one-on-one encounters, but how dangerous they were in groups, and that it was very difficult to know what the Japanese really meant because of the extreme difference between *tatemae* and *honne*. She explains that this kind of negative perspective toward Japanese people enforces Koreans’ prejudices against the Japanese. She points out that how people behave is strongly influenced by education, thinking, and customs of the place where they were born and raised. People from different cultures routinely misunderstand each other when they do not understand one another’s cultures.

Even if people from other cultures know that the Japanese use *tatemae*, it is often difficult to identify whether their Japanese associates or clients are using *tatemae* or expressing their *honne*. Bamwenda (1998), a former industrial researcher from Tanzania, defines *tatemae* as what is convenient in a given situation, and *honne* as the truth. He writes that it is difficult to know if Japanese are expressing *honne* or *tatemae* when he talks with them. He writes, “This always makes it impossible for me to know whether what I am looking at is what I am seeing” (2).

The non-academic observers define *tatemae* and *honne* in different manners; however, they seem to agree that Japanese people use *tatemae* when they first meet a foreigner until they become close to him/her. Comments from non-academic observers indicate that understanding the concept of *tatemae* is extremely important when foreigners first communicate with the Japanese because Japanese people have a tendency to employ *tatemae* until developing intimacy (if they ever do).

Researchers and non-academic observers tend to define *honne* similarly but *tatemae* differently. Unlike the researchers, the non-academic observers consider *tatemae*
in a negative light. In Japanese culture statements made in conjunction with *tatemae* are frequently considered untrue; however, these statements differ from outright lies in that the former are acceptable when it is used appropriately in given situations. On the other hand, non-academic observers seem to think of *tatemae* statements to as lies, and in fact, this notion of *tatemae* has led to various negative stereotypes about the Japanese among people from other cultures. They may consider *tatemae* statements to be lies because they feel like Japanese people are not being sincere when using *tatemae*. Even though certain observers from other cultures seem to understand what *tatemae* is, they tend to remain detached analyzers rather than competent employers of *tatemae* in their interactions with the Japanese. In other words, they have a declarative understanding of the concept of *tatemae* but not a procedural knowledge of how to employ the concept.\(^2\) In order to understand the concept of *tatemae* fully, people from other cultures should be able to detect the purpose of a particular instance of *tatemae* when used by native speakers of Japanese.

The researchers conclude that the main purpose of *tatemae* is to maintain group harmony by adhering to social expectations; on the other hand, non-academic observers seem to think of *tatemae* as little more than a convenient way for the speaker to deal with the situation. The next section describes these two different types of *tatemae: tatemae* arising from adherence to social expectations about how to behave in given situations,

\(^2\) According to Walker and McGeeris (1995), procedural knowledge is “knowing how” and declarative knowledge is “knowing what.” They state, “Declarative knowledge is especially important to adult learners of a language as a scaffold for the development of procedural knowledge” (3).
and *tatemae* arising from individuals attempting to deal with a situation in their own fashion.

### 2.1.1.3 Different uses of *tatemae*

Why *tatemae* is used and how *tatemae* works differ depending on the context. The following are two newspaper articles in which the term "*tatemae*" is used. These articles clearly demonstrate different types of *tatemae*:

1. Article 1: "In *tatemae*, people say that bullying-induced child suicides, murders by mutilation, and large scale unlawful loans should all be wiped out; however, in *honne*, everyone blames someone else as being responsible" (Mizuguchi, 1995).  
2. Article 2: "Politicians have difficulty making foreigners believe their *tatemae* when the foreigners speak and write excellent Japanese" (Fukushima, 1996).

In Article 1, *tatemae* describes what people in general are expected by society to say rather than a convenient way to deal with the given situation. On the other hand, *tatemae* in Article 2 seems to be describing a convenient way to deal with the situation rather than what people (in this case, politicians) are socially expected to say, (at least for this particular addressee who seems to be able to detect Japanese politicians' *honne*). In this way, what *tatemae* covers appears to differ depending on the context.

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6 This article is quoted from "Opinions" (Mizuguchi, 1995). He states that Japanese people use conveniently *tatemae* (stated principles; what appears to be) and *honne* (real intention; what is said) in different circumstances.

7 This article is quoted from "Friends" (Fukushima, 1996). A Japanese American, he states that since he could speak and read Japanese at a professional level, Japanese government officials, who were accustomed to dealing with American counterparts who knew little about Japan, had a hard time getting him to believe their "*tatemae*" (what they wanted him to believe).
2.1.2 *Tatemae* and *honne* and other related concepts in Japanese culture

Doi (1986) points out the close relationship between the concepts of *honne* and *tatemae* and the philosophy of *amae* above. There are other related Japanese philosophical terms, such as *wa* (harmony, concord), *sunao* (non-resistant, non-suspicious), *sashi* (imagine, suppose), *omote* (front, appearances, facade) and *ura* (behind, surface, rear), and *soto* (outside) and *suri* (inside).

2.1.2.1 *Wa* and *sunao*

*Wa* is considered to be a central value in Japanese culture. Nakane (1970) states that "The Japanese ethic puts high value on the harmonious integration (wa) of group member" (49). The concept of *wa* is used to unite a group of people, who by nature of being human are not inherently cohesive. In Japanese culture a person’s main concern is to become and remain accepted by the other members of the group. Gudykunst and Nishida (1994) state that the importance of *wa* can be traced back the seventh century when the first article was written: "Above all else esteem concord" (Nakamura, 1968). Because *wa* is considered to be important in Japanese society, people use *tatemae* to hide their true feelings and desires that may spoil *wa*. Gudykunst (1993) states, "*Wa* is developed and maintained through *tatemae*" (24).

The philosophy of *wa* seems to come from the teaching of Shinto (literally "The Way of Gods," Japan’s indigenous religious philosophy). M. Matsumoto (1988) describes that in the Shinto teachings, one should be open-minded or broad-minded so as

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8 Gudykunst and Nishida (1994) state that there is no direct equivalent for *wa* in English; it is something
to unconditionally accept others. In order to encourage people to follow this principle, Shinto teachings developed another Japanese philosophical concept *sunao*, which became an educational philosophy in Japanese culture. Matsumoto (1988) defines *sunao* as “subordination of one’s own individual feelings to those of a larger group” (19). He states, “Since the average housewife or school teacher tends to consider *sunao* the chief educational philosophy to impart to the young, children are raised in a *sunao* fashion” (86). This concept gives rise to the concepts of *tatemae* and *honne*. When people cannot follow the philosophy of *sunao*, they pretend to be in the state of *sunao*, although actually they are not. This is where *tatemae* lies. One uses *tatemae* when one pretends to be an ideal person and hides one’s *honne* in order not to offend the feelings of others. For successful communication, the addressee is supposed to use intuition (*sassi*) to guess what the speaker actually thinks because the speaker may be hiding his *honne* to make him/herself look in the state of *sunao*.

2.1.2.2 *Sassi*

Nishida (1977) defines *sassi* as meaning conjecture, a guessing what someone means. He states that a listener uses one’s *sassi* ability in order to understand what is not said. This *sassi* ability can be interpreted to the listener’s intuition or *kan*. Yoshikawa (1978) describes the relationship between the concepts of *tatemae* and *honne* and that of *kan*.

What is verbally expressed is probably important enough to maintain friendship, and it is generally called *tatemae* which means simply “in principle” but what is not verbalized counts most—*honne* which means “true mind.” Although it is not which unites members of outgroup, which are not naturally cohesive groups like the family.
expressed verbally, you are supposed to know it by kon—"intuition." (252). Miyanaga (1991) also stresses the importance of sashi ability in interpersonal communication. She states that sashi implies that one guesses the real intention of others in spite of their surface-disguises, which are necessarily used in Japanese interpersonal communication. If a person consistently fails to see the given cues, s/he will be judged as "blunt" or "impolite." This indicates that the addressee should be able to know what the speaker really means and interact with him/her accordingly. The speaker, on the other hand, knows that the addressee will understand his/her true intention when s/he uses tatemae which is more likely detected by the addressee.

In essence, the speaker and the addressee are playing a sort of game. The former expects the latter to understand what s/he really means, and the latter tries to guess what the former actually intends to say. In Japanese society, an individual who is good at sashi will be liked. However, the speaker should not expect a high sashi ability from the addressee. Miyanaga (1991) explains this situation with the relationship between sashi and amae: "...in the interaction ritual," it [amae] is simply used to indicate the restriction of excessive dependency on the sashi of the other person... Sashi is good, but asking for sashi is not; it is considered to be aggressive" (86). This shows that the speaker should also be good at using tatemae because if the addressee fails to guess what the speaker actually means, it will be the speaker's fault. In short, the relationship among tatemae.

5 Goffman (1956) conceptualized "interaction ritual" in his studies of North American relationships. Miyanaga (1991) states, "Interaction rituals occur throughout all three stages of a relationship, as the persons involved exchange verbal and nonverbal cues. With the Japanese, body movements, tone of voice, degree or avoidance of eye contact, laughter, smiles, serious expressions, and even the degree of body tension are, to a certain extent, carefully controlled to constitute cues" (85).

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soshi, and amaw describes a game-like interaction ritual between the speaker and the addressee.

2.1.2.3 Omote and ulla, and soto and uti

The concepts of tatemae and honne are also closely related to the two different paired concepts of omote and ulla, and soto and uti. Doi (1986) states that concepts of omote and ulla have been used since ancient times and that these are two concepts that represent a way of looking at things that is unique to the Japanese language. He points out the relationship between the concepts of omote and ulla and those of tatemae and honne: “While tatemae appears in omote, honne is concealed in ulla” (37). He also states that the concepts of omote and ulla also represent a psychological state corresponding to the distinction between soto (outside) and uti (inside) in Japanese human relations. Each set of these three paired concepts does not exist separately, but forms a single existence.

Soto and uti also correspond to tatemae and honne respectively. Iebra (1976) writes that the distinction between soto and uti varies widely: It may be inside versus outside within an individual person, a family, friends, a company, and a nation. One shows to others his/her tatemae, which is what s/he expresses in soto or omote, and s/he does not show to others his/her honne, which is what s/he keeps in his/her uti or ulla.

Soto and uti also refer to one’s out-group and his/her in-group. Nakane (1970) uses the term uti to describe the idea of group structure in Japanese society. She states that, “The concept of this traditional household institution, ie, still persists in the various group identities which are termed uchi, a colloquial form of ie” (7). Ide and Yoshida
(1999) also state:

_Uchi_ refers to a sense of a close relationship as with people who belong, and some sense, to the same group, whereas _soto_ refers to a sense of a more distant relationship. The speaker uses language to acknowledge both a sense of place in the situational setting, in concordance with the social and psychological distance between participants, as well as the formality of the situation. (446)

They show that in Japanese society, the speaker is expected to modify language use depending on the situational and social contexts. Gudykunst and Nishida (1994) also state that the boundary between in-group and out-group is very important in Japan, and that it is related to the general tendency to draw a line between inside and outside in various situations. Who is one’s in-group or out-group depends on the situation and the individuals communicating. Moreover, Lebra (1976) says that Japanese people are known to differentiate their behavior by whether the situation is defined as _uchi_ or _soto_. People change their behaviors depending on whether they belong to the same group as the other people involved or under discussion. The concepts of in-group and out-group will be discussed in detail below.

2.2 _Tatamoe_ and social distance

The identification of the in-group/out-group distinction is very important in communication in Japanese. Y. Matsumoto (1988) writes, “A Japanese generally must understand where s/he stands in relation to other members of the group or society, and must acknowledge his/her dependence on the others” (405). The way one behaves should be determined by where s/he stands in relation to other members of society, but the in-group/out-group line is not fixed. Wetzel (1984) writes that the boundaries of _uchi_ [in-
group) can vary from situation to situation. For instance, when a secretary is interacting with her supervisor, her supervisor is her out-group member. On the other hand, when she is interacting with a client, the supervisor is in her in-group. The secretary must talk with or refer to her supervisor using a different language in each situation; therefore, one must be able to identify the distinction between in-group and out-group of the moment in order to behave or communicate appropriately in a given situation.

Who is in one's in-group or out-group depends on several other factors, including individual communication style, personality, social status, and the particular topic in each interaction. For example, family members are generally considered to belong to one's in-group; however, depending on the family and the topic of conversation, family members may use respectful forms to one another, treating them as outsiders.

2.2.1 Tatamae with the speaker's out-group members

Tatamae is often used in ritual expressions which are regularly used with out-group members. Tatamae used in ritual expressions is usually detected by the addressee, who also uses the same expression in the same situation. Ito (1989) states that Japanese have to be sensitive to others' feelings because their attitudes are "double structured" with tatamae and homme. Also, as the above discussion noted, people from other cultures may misunderstand the Japanese as being liars; however, Japanese say

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10 Ritual expressions are formulaic or social phrases that are expected to be said in certain situations. Kawasaki (1999) states, "Social phrases reflect the speaker's social maturity, and are used voluntarily to express the speaker's desire to improve his/her relationship with people and to show the speaker's maturity" (95) Therefore, if social expressions are not used appropriately, the speaker may be considered to be socially immature.
things that are different from their true intention or feelings in order to keep harmony or avoid confrontation. Evidence to this effect is found in some examples in ritual or formulaic expressions.

Y. Matsumoto (1988) states that formulaic expressions are “strategically indispensable, since they reinforce the impression of behavior in accordance with the social expectation in the situation in question, and demonstrate the speaker’s understanding of the sociocultural system” (413). The following is one set of ritual expression in Japanese between neighbors:

(3) A: “Doritea made?” (Where are you going to?)

B: “Tyotto soko made” (Just there.)

(Y. Matsumoto, 1989:214)

“Doritea made?” is a greeting when one meets another on the street who seems to be going somewhere. “Tyotto soko made” may be a tatemae statement, which is what Speaker A expects to hear from Speaker B. This is considered to be tatemae unless Speaker B is actually going somewhere in the neighborhood. Speaker A is neither interested in where Speaker B is going nor in having a long conversation with Speaker B. There are at least two purposes for which this tatemae is used; one is for Speaker B to avoid talking much with Speaker A; and the other is for Speaker B to show consideration to Speaker A in creating a situation in which Speaker A does not have to ask further questions.11

11 Y. Matsumoto (1989) points out that if the dialogue (3) takes in American culture, A’s question would be treated as a real question and could be interpreted as an invasion of B’s privacy. The dialogue would be as follows:

A: “Doritea made?” (Where are you going to?)

B: “Shinzyuku made” (To Shinjuku.)
Tatemae appears in another ritual expression typically used when one visits someone's house and gives a present.

(4) "Tumaranai mono desu ga..." (This is [just] a trifle, but...)

(Y. Matsumoto, 1989:412)

This is a formulaic expression used even when one gives an expensive present. Jorden and Noda (1988) state, "in this kind of situation, the giver regularly belittles the value of the gift" (141). Y. Matsumoto (1988) states that the assumption in this expression is that the speaker thinks his/her gift may fail to please the addressee, whose taste is excellent. This is considered a tatemae statement unless the speaker actually thinks that the present is a trifle; this statement represents merely what the addressee expects to hear in such situations. The addressee, who also uses the same expressions with other out-group members in the same or similar contexts, generally recognizes tatemae in ritual expressions.

When tatemae is not used as ritual expressions, the addressee may not always recognize it as such; however, if a particular tatemae is regularly used in the same or similar situation, s/he may recognize it as tatemae. One example of tatemae statements which is not used in a ritual expression appears when an employee would generally respond that s/he is fine even when that is not the case. The employee uses tatemae to leave a good impression on or to avoid worrying the employer. The employer knows it is tatemae because so few workers in similar situations say they are not feeling well.

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In this dialogue, A expects B to provide factual information, while in (5), A does not expect such information. This shows that ritual expressions in one culture do not work as such in another. Y. Matsumoto (1989) states that it is crucial in any culture to recognize the nature of the situation and the purpose of the conversation; "the expectations associated with the situation will depend on the culture" (215).
The addressee is not likely to clarify what the speaker’s *home* is even when s/he knows that the speaker is using *tatemae*. If the addressee does, s/he will threaten the speaker’s “face” (public self-image). Instead, the addressee also uses *tatemae* to pretend that s/he believes the speaker’s *tatemae* statement or behavior. Definition of face will be discussed in 2.3.

2.2.2 Using *tatemae* with the speaker’s ingroup members

The proceeding paragraphs showed that *tatemae* is often employed in ritual expressions used with the speaker’s out-group members, but *tatemae* is also used with the speaker’s ingroup members. Unfortunately, not many studies discuss the use of *tatemae* with the speaker’s ingroup members. This may be because *tatemae* is generally believed to be used to maintain wa, which is not necessary to maintain the speaker’s ingroup members that by definition is already strongly cohesive.

There are, however, some contexts in which *tatemae* is used with the speaker’s ingroup members. In one example, mother uses *tatemae* in order to avoid worrying her young daughter; the mother smiles and pretends that she is fine although she is sick and does not want to work. Another possible example is that when one is asked by his girlfriend why he looks so depressed, he may not tell her that he has been fired although that is indeed the case; instead, he may tell her that he quit his job. In this example, he likely uses *tatemae* in order to save face (public self-image). Although these examples are

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12 “Face” in this thesis refers to “face” defined by Brown and Levinson (1987). They state that all competent adult members of a society want to claim a face for himself, a face that consists of both positive and negative face. The authors say that face can be lost and maintained and must be constantly attended to during interactions with others. See 2.3.
hypothetical, one can predict that *tatemae* may be used with multiple intentions, including to avoid worrying the addressee, to leave a good impression of the speaker, or to save face on the part of the speaker.

2.3 Tatemae and face

This section will discuss face and related concepts, such as negative politeness, positive politeness, and face-threatening acts before describing the relationship between the concepts of *tatemae* and face.

2.3.1 Defining face

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that all competent adult members of a society want to claim a face for himself, a face that consists of both positive face and negative face. They define negative face and positive face as follows: "negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others...positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others"(62). The authors say that face can be lost and maintained and must be constantly attended to during interactions with others. People cooperate in maintaining face to avoid embarrassing one another.

2.3.2 Negative politeness and positive politeness

Negative politeness and positive politeness are used to maintain the other’s negative face and positive face, respectively. Brown and Levinson (1987) write that
negative politeness is used when one recognizes and respects the other's freedom of action, while positive politeness is used when one tries to maintain the face of the other by indicating the respect for the other's positive self-image. For example, when one does not want to be asked about work, the other can save negative face of the former by not asking questions about his/her job. On the other hand, when one has a good job, someone interacting with him might say, "I wish I had such a good job." In this context, the positive face of the addressee, who wants the speaker to want or admire his/her job, is maintained by the speaker's comment and thus fulfills the addressee's wish for admiration.

2.3.3 Face-threatening acts (FTAs)

Acts which threaten negative and positive face are called face-threatening acts (FTAs). Brown and Levinson (1987) posit two different FTAs: FTAs which threaten negative face of the addressee, and FTAs which threaten his/her own positive face. The FTAs which threaten negative face of the addressee include situations in which the speaker puts some pressure on the addressee. On the other hand, FTAs which threaten the positive face of the addressee include situations in which the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings or wants, such as when the speaker ignores the addressee's achievement.

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the mutual knowledge of people's public self-image or face is universal in different cultures. They posit that one uses negative politeness by minimizing the imposition on the addressee's action. However, Y.
Matsumoto (1988) writes that in Japanese culture, this is not always the case. She explains that a person’s self-image in Japan revolves around being a group member with certain relations to others, unlike an European’s self-image, which is an independent individual. In Japanese culture, invading the territory of others is not always considered as impolite, but such behavior can be considered positive politeness, for example, when the speaker shows dependence on people who are equal or superior in social status. In (5), the speaker is greeting his/her daughter’s teacher. In this example, the speaker uses an imposition for positive politeness:

(5) *Masume o dozo yorosiku onegai simasu.* (I ask you to please treat of my daughter well.)

(Y. Matsumoto, 1988:409)

Y. Matsumoto (1988) states that this is a direct request, therefore an imposition, which enhances the good self-image of the addressee. This is also an example of *tatemae* which contributes to constructing positive face for the addressee. The next section shows how *tatemae* is used for maintaining face.

2.3.4 Relationship between the concept of *tatemae* and face

*Tatemae* can be used for either positive or negative politeness. The following is a pair of formulaic expressions that are used when a wife meets her husband’s supervisor.

(6) A: *Ibu mo syuvin ga osawa ni natte orimasu.* (My husband is always obliged to you for your help.)
B: *Kotira koso.* (I’m obliged to him.)

(Jordan and Noda, 1987:306)
Speaker A may say this expression as *hone* if she is actually grateful to Speaker B. However, even when this is not the case, she is expected to say this expression, in which case, Speaker A's statement is *tatemae*. The same is true to Speaker B's reply, which most people would expect to hear regardless of the veracity of the statement. In this example, Speaker A implies that she and her husband socially depend on Speaker B, and this is contributes to constructing positive face for the addressee. Y. Metsumoto (1988) states that the acknowledgment of interdependence is encouraged in Japanese society; juniors show respect to seniors by acknowledging their dependence, while seniors feel their responsibility to take care of the juniors.

*Tatemae* may also be used with the intention of saving negative face of the speaker. When the speaker wants to hide one's own *hone*, which s/he believes will cause him/her lose face, the speaker may use *tatemae*. In one example, a supervisor asks a female worker if the betting-ticket-slip for horse racing on the floor near her desk is hers, she is most likely to deny it even though it is hers. Though gambling is increasingly popular among young people in Japan, young women of respectable status are still not expected to do it. Her supervisor's question is a FTA that impedes the woman's negative face. The woman uses *tatemae* in order to hide her *hone*, which may cause her lose negative face.

The concept of *tatemae* seems closely related to the concept of face. The above shows that *tatemae* is likely used to save face on the part of the speaker or the addressee, as well as to protect the addressee's feelings and leave a good impression about the speaker, depending on the situation. The last section discusses differences and similarities
among untruthful *tatema* statements, “white lies,” and lies, which are also important to know in order to examine the concept of *tatema*.

2.4 Untruthful *tatema* statements, “white lies,” and out-and-out lies

This section will discuss the three different concepts of untruthful *tatema* statements, “white lies” in American culture, and lies in general, and examine differences and similarities among the three.

An untruthful statement in conjunction with *tatema* is different from a lie, although these two share some characteristics. They both are different from the truth. Shibuya (1996) states that people sometimes tell a lie for the benefit of others. For example, when one wants to defend someone from being accused of something, s/he may say that s/he knows nothing about it, although this is not the case. However, an untruthful *tatema* statement and a lie are different in the primary intention of the speaker. Shibuya (1996) examines the characteristics of a lie and other similar terms, such as deception, cheat, fraud, fake, and trick. These terms are used for someone whose intention is clearly to deceive the other for certain reasons, such as defending oneself or escaping from an accusation. Therefore, when it becomes clear that statements made for these purposes are lies, they lose their status, and the truth takes their place. On the other hand, even after a *tatema* statement is revealed to be untrue, it will not have a negative ring since it is clear that societal or personal expectations were the prime reason for the statement. Consider the following dialogue in which *tatema* is used:

(7) A: *Kono hon yoku ni tatta?* (Was this book useful/helpful?)
In this context, Speaker A lent B a book the other day, hoping that the book would be
helpful to B’s work. However, Speaker B did not use the book because he had other more
helpful books. B’s statement, therefore, is technically a lie. However, it is considered to
be tatemaec because B’s intention is not to deceive Speaker A, but to avoid disappointing
him. This tatemaec holds its status to achieve Speaker B’s purpose.

In American culture, such statements that are not meant to deceive but to
promote harmony are called “white lies.” Jeff Angles (personal communication) who
lived in Japan for several years, gives some comments about a “white lie” and tatemaec:

A “white lie” is a statement that the speaker does not believe entirely (the speaker
always has “honme” when s/he tells a white lie), but the purpose is not to deceive
or be mean to the addressee. Instead, the purpose of a white lie is to maintain
harmony and this is almost exactly like those expressions of tatemaec that aim to
maintain wa between people. For instance, suppose a girlfriend is upset because
someone has said that she has put on extra weight. She may ask her boyfriend, “I
haven’t become too fat, have I?” The boyfriend will usually tell a white lie and
say, “No, not at all! I like you just like you are,” even though he thinks she should
lose a few pounds. The word “white” in a “white lie” is used to indicate goodness;
in other words, a “white lie” is a “good” lie.

In the example above, it is obvious that the white lie is used to avoid hurting the
addressee’s feelings. If it were not used, the speaker would hurt the addressee’s feelings.
Japanese tatemaec will be used for the same purpose in the same context. Like untruthful
statements involving tatemaec, “white lies” are also different from out-and-out lies in that
they are not generally used for deceiving others, but for good intentions. It seems that a
“white lie” in American culture is a concept comparable to tatemaec.

Untruthful statements involving tatemaec and “white lies” are different from out-

13 The word “honme” is quoted because the concept of honme may differ in Japanese and American cultures.
and-out lies in that the first two are used for good intentions while the latter is used for the purpose of deceiving others. However, as the above discussion about the comments of non-academic observers reveals, foreigners seem to perceive *tatema* in a negative light, perhaps because, as the above discussion noted, foreigners are not quite sure about how *tatema* is used, and perhaps because there might indeed be some difference between the notion of white lies and *tatema*. The next chapter will discuss *tatema* and a concept comparable to *tatema* in American culture.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed previous studies on *tatema* and *honno*. I provided with the existing definitions of *tatema* and *honno*, the relationship between *tatema* and other related philosophical concepts, between *tatema* and social distance, and between *tatema* and face. I also discussed the differences and similarities among the concepts, untruthful statements made in conjunction with *tatema*, “white lies,” and out-and-out lies. In order to explore the purposes for which *tatema* is used and the characteristics of *tatema*, the following chapter will analyze three types of data collected based on the definitions of *tatema* discussed above.
CHAPTER 3

THE DATA

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss data from three sources: from Japanese TV sit-coms and films, a questionnaire answered by 38 native speakers of Japanese, and a questionnaire answered by 10 native speakers of English. The first set of data was collected to examine different purposes and characteristics of *tatemae* in Japanese interpersonal communication. This set of data was used to create the questionnaire for the second set of data, whose results were intended to confirm the findings from the first set of data. Also, the first set of data was used to create the questionnaire to collect the third set of data, by which *tatemae* or a similar concept in American culture is examined.¹ The second and third sets of data will also be used to compare *tatemae* in Japanese culture and a comparable concept in American culture. Such information is important in the teaching *tatemae* to American learners of Japanese.

3.2 Data from TV sit-coms and films

The first set of data was collected from Japanese TV sit-coms and films aired in

¹ In this study, it is assumed that *tatemae* or a similar concept exists in American culture.
Japan between 1992 and 2000. It is true that sit-coms and movies are fictional so that many of the stories are not likely to happen in real situations. However, the aim of collecting data from this source is to examine different purposes and characteristics of *tatemae*. Even though stories in these programs are fictitious, script writers are likely to choose certain conversations for certain situations in a way which makes stories appear real. In the same way, script writers are likely to use *tatemae* in sit-coms and films as it is used in real life.

For the present study, there are several advantages in collecting data from sit-coms and films. First, they are readily available, providing many choices for the present study. Also, as discussed in the previous chapter, *tatemae* should be always paired with *honne*. In these programs, speakers' *honne* is always stated or indicated before or after they use *tatemae*, which makes it possible to confirm whether or not what they say or show is *tatemae*. Also, why the speaker comes to the point in which s/he has to use *tatemae* can be observed, which is useful when the purposes and characteristics of *tatemae* are examined. Moreover, non-verbal expression of *tatemae*, such as using facial expressions or special vocal qualities, can also be detected in these programs. Since the contexts in which the *tatemae* conversations are set can be viewed in these programs, it is easy to recognize the speakers' intention behind using *tatemae*. Finally, in these programs, data in different contexts can be collected, some of which may contain unexpected situations in which *tatemae* is used. This is very important in discovering different purposes and characteristics of *tatemae*.

Three criteria were used in selecting the sit-coms and films for this study. First, they should be relatively new. The major purpose of this study is to provide better...
description of tatemae for pedagogical purposes. Such descriptio
ns have to be based on contemporary Japanese. Therefore, it is useful to use materials which represent current interpersonal communication styles.

The second criterion is that the sit-coms and films should include both formal and informal settings, which are likely to provide interpersonal communication between people of different social status, such as between superiors and subordinates, as well as individuals of same social status, such as between friends and between family members. This is based on the hypothesis that tatemae is used for different purposes between people of various social distances. For example, it may be used to save face in formal settings, but it may also be used out of consideration for the addressee in informal settings.

The last criterion is that the location of settings in sit-coms and films should be Tokyo, whose dialect and culture are generally assumed in Japanese language textbooks. As previously discussed, the goal of this study is to make suggestions in teaching the concept of tatemae in the Japanese language classroom and to concentrate on the culture which most learners are likely to learn. Also, the aim of this study is not to compare and contrast the intention of tatemae in different dialects and cultures.

Under these criteria, ten TV sit-coms and two films were selected and fifty conversations in which tatemae was used were collected. Tatemae in the data was identified as tatemae, based on the existing definition and the author's intuition as a

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2 As opposed to Kyoto culture, in which use of tatemae is said to be different from that in Tokyo.

3 Transcripts of all the tatemae dialogues are presented in Appendix A.
native speaker of Japanese and a member of Japanese society. The following are sit-coms and films used for this study. Note that many of these titles use loan words from English. Titles in brackets are the original English words, which will be used when conversations from these programs are described below:


3.3 Data from the questionnaires about *tatamoe* in Japanese and American cultures

The second and third sets of data were collected from the two types of questionnaires about *tatamoe* in Japanese culture and *tatamoe*, or a comparable concept in American culture respectively. Based on the results of the first questionnaire, ten similar contexts in which *tatamoe* was likely to be used were created and used in both questionnaires. The first questionnaire was written in Japanese, and 38 native speakers of Japanese were asked to complete a dialogue for each context. They were also asked to

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1 There were ten to twelve episodes in each TV sit-com, and *tatamoe* conversations were collected from the whole stories of each program. Redundant use of similar *tatamoe* was eliminated.

2 Other bibliographical information, such as themes and producers of the TV sit-coms and films are provided in Appendix A.

3 An example of the first questionnaire is in Appendix B.
indicate if they thought of the utterance in each dialogue immediately or not.\textsuperscript{1} Of the 38 subjects, 35 were native speakers of Tokyo dialect and 3 were natives of other regions of Japan who have worked in Tokyo for more than three years. These types of respondents were selected because this study is about *tatemae* in Tokyo culture as opposed to culture in other regions of Japan, such as Kyoto. Those who have worked in Tokyo for more than three years were considered to be familiar with *tatemae* in Tokyo culture. All subjects were told that the location of each context was Tokyo. 13 of the subjects were in their twenties (all of whom were female), 12 were in their thirties (8 of whom were female), and 13 were in their forties or older (4 of whom were female).

The contexts in the second questionnaire were the same in content as in the first questionnaire, but they were written in English. Like in the first questionnaire, the subjects were asked to complete the dialogue in each context, but were not asked to indicate if they thought of their responses immediately or not in the second questionnaire. Instead, they were asked to write the purposes for which they used "*tatemae*" in each context, if they used it.\textsuperscript{1} The number of the subjects were 10. They were native speakers of English who were in their twenties or thirties and had lived in Japan for more than 1 year. I hypothesized that even though the subjects lived in Japan for more than 1 year, they were not influenced by Japanese culture in the use of *tatemae*, since they grew up to adulthood in American culture. All subjects are male native-speakers of English. With the exception of one (E), they are all graduate students.

\textsuperscript{1} The complete data from the first questionnaire are described in Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{1} An example of the second questionnaire is in Appendix D and the complete data from the second questionnaire are provided in Appendix E.
American subjects also provided important information about *taitemae* in Japanese and American cultures. Their comments will be described in detail in Chapter 4. The following is the description of each American subject:

**Respondent A:** A graduate student in journalism in his twenties; an elementary speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent B:** A graduate student in Japanese in his thirties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent C:** A graduate student in geography in his thirties; an advanced speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent D:** A graduate student in Japanese in his thirties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent E:** An instructor of English in his twenties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent F:** A graduate student in Japanese in his thirties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent G:** A graduate student in his twenties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent H:** A graduate student in Japanese in his thirties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent I:** A graduate student in Japanese in his twenties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.

**Respondent J:** A graduate student in Japanese in his thirties; a near-native speaker of Japanese.
In this questionnaire, the same contexts as those in the first questionnaire were used, but American names, instead of Japanese names, were used to make the contexts familiar to the respondents. For the contexts which are not likely to take place in American culture, such as omiai (a meeting for arranging a marriage) or karaoke lessons, the American subjects were asked to consider American contexts that were similar in nature to the original Japanese ones. For this reason, those who were advanced users of Japanese and who have worked in Japan for more than 1 year were chosen.

In order to confirm the hypothesis that the American subjects who have worked in Japan have not been influenced by Japanese culture in the use of *tatemae*, other 10 American subjects who have never lived in Japan were also asked to complete the dialogues in the same questionnaire. The results showed that there were no significant differences between the responses of the former and those of the latter. In this thesis the results from the latter will not be discussed in detail.⁹

Chapter 4 will analyze the findings in the data from three sources: TV sit-coms and two types of questionnaires.

⁹The complete data from the American subjects who have never lived in Japan are provided in Appendix F.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Findings from the first data

The data from sit-coms and films suggest that there are at least eight related but distinct purposes of *tatemae*:

1. To save the speaker’s face
2. To save face of the audience
3. To save face of the addressee
4. To avoid disappointing the addressee
5. To avoid worrying the addressee
6. To avoid overly complicating the situation
7. To make a good impression on the addressee
8. To make a good impression on the audience

The results of the data also show six characteristics of *tatemae* which are not discussed in the previous research: (1) the speaker uses *tatemae* either with or without the expression of the speaker’s consideration for the addressee; (2) the goal of *tatemae* is to avoid confrontation, (3) in general a *tatemae* statement is formulaic, which is uttered
spontaneously; (4) there are two types of tatema statements: one is contrary to fact and
the other is feigned honne. (5) tatema can be expressed in various ways; using honorific
forms, using special vocal qualities, and with non-verbal behavior, such as facial
expressions; and (6) tatema is used not only among people who maintain formal
relationships, but also within the speaker’s “intimate” circle, including family members
and friends. The eight direct purposes and five characteristics of tatema in the dialogues
taken from the data are discussed in the next four sections.

4.1.1. Different purposes of tatema and the goal of avoiding confrontation

The first characteristic is that the speaker can use tatema either out of or
without consideration for the addressee. When tatema is used out of consideration for
the addressee, the general goal of tatema seems to be keeping harmony; however, when
it does not involve the speaker’s consideration for the addressee, the general goal of
tatema seems to be avoiding confrontation rather than actively keeping harmony. In fact,
it seems appropriate to state that the general goal of tatema is to avoid confrontation,
which seems to apply to all eight purposes listed above. Dialogue 1 (D1) and 2 (D2)
show that tatema is used without consideration for the addressee, while Dialogue 3 (D3)
shows that it is used out of consideration. These examples show that the general purposes
for which tatema is used is not always keeping harmony but to avoid confrontation.

D1 is taken from Shall We Dance? (In each dialogue, in which tatema is
observed, the portion that is considered tatema is underlined.), a film about a married
office worker who starts dance lessons. In this scene, after several days of brooding over
this, Sugiyama, who is a section manager, finally gathers his courage to go to the dance

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studio. He has been watching from his commuter train a beautiful woman who stands by the window of the studio. Student A (his name is unknown) asks Sugiyama and another student at a bar after the first day of the lessons why they started dance lessons. He first asks Tanaka, an overweight student, and then Sugiyama.

Di: Student A: Tanaka-san wa mata nan de? (Mr. Tanaka, why did you start dance lessons?)

Tanaka: Toomyoobyoo de isya ni susumerarete... (I am diabetic, and my doctor recommended it to me.)

Student A: Owakat no ni sore wa taihen desu ne. Soso, danru wa korada ni ii n desu. De otaku wa? (Although you are young, that must have been hard en you. Yes, dance is good for you. And you? [He turns to Sugiyama.])

Sugiyama: [He first hesitates responding] Yappori kara da ni ii to kikimashite... (I also heard that it [dance] was good for you...)

Student A: Minasan soo is hau ni ossyaru n desu yo ne. Nan da ka ne, syooziki ni hara watte ru no watasi dake desu ka? (Everyone says so... Why? Am I the only one who is honest?)

(Shall We Dance?, 1995)

Sugiyama’s homme is casually revealed by Student A, who implies that every man comes to the studio because they are attracted by Mai-sensei (the young instructor), the woman whom Sugiyama has been watching and no doubt been attracted to. For Sugiyama to have revealed his homme would have been embarrassing, for he is a middle-aged married man. The movie also depicts him as a man of ordinary appearance whose life is so regular to the point of being boring.

Sugiyama later reveals his homme to the young instructor when he explains why he became interested in dance. He is able to reveal himself because his intention of learning dance has changed, as he confesses this to the instructor:
"Mainiti mite ru uti ni iti-do de ni kara dansu o odotte mitai to omou yoo ni natta. Anaata ni koo o motie sore ga mokuteki de kono kyosin ni halfa koto wa zizuru da kedo. anaata ga mokuteki zyu nai. dansu ga mokutsuki de hozometo na da, soo yatte sanyumu ni odotte tara itsu no ma ni ka dansu ga suki ni natta to" [(As I watched you standing by the window, I became wanting to dance.] I thought it would be great even if I could dance with you just once. It is true that I became interested in you, which was the reason I joined this dance studio, but as I devoted myself to dance, I told myself that my intention was to join the dance club, that I wanted to learn dance, not that I was interested in you. At some point while I was dancing my heart out, I found myself growing fond of dance.)

(Shall We Dance?, 1995).

Sugiyama may feel embarrassed first, but he is able to save his face because his honor in D1 is no longer true at this point. The purposes of Sugiyama’s tatamae is to save his face and leave a good impression on the addressee. In this example his tatamae does not directly involve his consideration for the addressee, and the general goal of tatamae does not seem to keep harmony, but to avoid confrontation.

In D2, the speaker also uses tatamae to save his face, and it does not involve the speaker’s consideration for the addressee. This dialogue is taken from Love Generation.

In this story, Tepppei and Riko work in the same office. They start going out together; however, they often have quarrels, and Riko breaks up with Tepppei. In the end, they get together again. In D2, Riko decides to quit her job because she can no longer endure the pain caused by Tepppei, who has hurt her by going out with another woman. Although Tepppei expresses his love for her, she cannot trust him any more. Tepppei is upset by the news that Riko is quitting the company. He comes to her apartment one evening and talks with her.

D2:  
Riko: Tigan. Uri no zizyou. Ippodo ga ne, daiakoku de kotti dete kuru to.
nary to renzenn no hitode mo turindyu nary syi, in shou got sa. (That's not true. Because of my family matters. If it is decided that my sister comes to Tokyo to attend a university, there will be lack of workers in my father's inn,... and also there are some other [family] reasons...) (Love Generation, 1997)

Riko's home is that she does not want to see Teppai any more because it hurts. This is proved in the previous contexts in which she is described as sad and depressed because of Teppai's unfaithful behavior. What she says is true, too, but when she gets along well with Teppai, the issue of Riko's helping her family is not discussed. Therefore, it is natural to consider that what she says is tatemaee. Her tatemaee seems to be used to save her face that she is going back to her hometown, not because of him, but because of her family. Like in D1, tatemaee in D2 does not involve consideration on the part of the addressee. Riko does not want Teppai to bother her any more because she has given up on him. The general purpose of her tatemaee is not to keep harmony but to avoid confrontation.

Unlike tatemaee in D1 and D2, tatemaee in D3 involves the speaker's consideration for the addressee. This dialogue is taken from Love Generation. In D3, Riko goes back to her hometown for a break to think about her future because she cannot stand Teppai, who goes out with another woman. When Riko leaves for Tokyo, her father sees her off at the station. Her father, suspecting that she is not getting along well with Teppai, talks with her about him.

D3: Father: Riko. (Riko)
Riko: Un? (Yes?)

Father: Turakazara kaette kire i zo. Kono mae no ano otoko to umaku itte nai n dattaro, kaette kureba ii. Oya ni mode nie o haru koto nai n da. (If it is painful, it is all right to come home. You should come home if you are not getting along well with him. You don't have to make a vain display.)
Riko: *Tyan to umaku itte ru yo. Sore ni waasai Tokyo de sigoto sige ru n da. yo. Takuette ru hito to shor ka kita to ka, sono to namawase koto de keette kunnai yo.* (I'm doing well as I'm supposed to. Besides, I'm working in Tokyo, you know. I cannot go home just because of such trivial reasons like I'm not getting along well with someone who I'm going out with.)

(*Love Generation, 1997*)

Riko is likely using *tatemae* both not to worry her father and to save her face. She does not want her father to think that she came home because of her boyfriend. Consequently, it avoids overly complicating the situation. Her *honne* is that she has suffered from being hurt by Teppei, seen in the previous context in which she has another argument with him. One of the purposes of Riko’s *tatemae*, saving her face, involves her consideration for her father because this makes him relieved that she is a strong independent woman. Other purposes of her *tatemae*, such as avoiding worrying her father and overly complicating the situation, also involve her consideration for the addressee. Although the purposes for which the speaker uses *tatemae* involve the speaker’s consideration for the addressee, it still can be said that the general purpose of her *tatemae* is to avoid confrontation. Therefore, it is more appropriate to state that the general purpose of *tatemae* is to avoid confrontation.

D1, D2, and D3 indicate that interpretation of *tatemae* depends heavily on the context in which it is used. In particular, the way that it should be understood depends on whether or not the speaker uses *tatemae* out of consideration for the addressee. Moreover, these dialogues show that the speaker often uses *tatemae* for more than one purpose, and the general goal of these purposes is not always to keep harmony but to avoid confrontation. In short, in order to understand the concept of *tatemae* and interpret various example of its use, one must know the purposes for which it is used.
4.1.2 A *tatemae* statement as a “formulac” expression

4.1.2.1 A “formulac” expression

In general, a *tatemae* statement is “formulac,” which is likely used in the similar context.¹ The *tatemae* statement in D1 can be considered one of this kind. In fact, after Sugiyama uses *tatemae* in D1, Student A states that everybody responds to his question in the same way in the given situation. Also, in Dialogue 4 (D4), which is also taken from *Shall We Dance?*, Sugiyama uses the same idea in his *tatemae* statement as he used in D1, suggesting that a *tatemae* statement can be “formulac.”

In D4, Sugiyama happens to meet Aoki, who works at the same company as he does. Aoki wears a wig when he dances, which makes him look so awkward that people in the dance studio think he is disgusting. Aoki is embarrassed when he realizes that his awkward dance has been seen by Sugiyama, who comes to the studio to take lessons. After a lesson, Aoki and Sugiyama go to a near-by bar and talk about dance. Then, Aoki asks Sugiyama why he started dance lessons dance lessons.

D4: Aoki: Tokoro de Sugiyama-san wa nan de mata daneru o? (By the way, why did you start Sugiyama?)

Sugiyama: [He hesitates answering the question, seeming to be troubled.] Ee, ano... koko no tokoro ryutou soudou/yoobu datta ni, daneru wa karaida nai... (Yes, well... because recently I haven’t been getting much exercise, and it seems that dance is good for you...)  

Aoki: Soso in hito wa oojii ga da. Minna soo in na da. Demo Sugiyama-san,

¹ A “formulac” expression refers to an expression whose idea is likely to be used in similar situations although the content of the expression may not be exactly the same. For example, in D1 Sugiyama says that he started dance because it was good for health. In D4 Sugiyama also used the same idea when he is asked by Aoki why he started dance. What he says in the two dialogues are not exactly the same, but the idea of the content, that he started dance because it was good for health, is the same in his two responses.

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Kaisyo ni wa naisyo desu yo. Nani o iwarezu ka, wakareta mono yaa nai n dakara (There are many people who say so. Everyone says so. But Mr. Sugiyama, let’s keep this secret from people at work. There’s no telling what they’d say.)

Sugiyama: Ee, sire wa motiron... (Yes, of course.)

(Shall We Dance?, 1995)

In this dialogue, Sugiyama uses the same content as a tatamae statement, which he used in an earlier situation. It seems that he thinks this explanation sounds natural in these contexts even though he may not be sure if it works.

The tatamae statement in D2 is also considered a “formulaic” expression. Riko uses the same idea in her tatamae statement from D2 in Dialogue 5 (D5), which is also taken from Love Generation. In this scene, Riko speaks at her farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Teppei. She is quitting her job because she does not want to see Teppei. She has decided to go back to her hometown where her family has asked her to help them with the family business. Her supervisor and colleagues suspect that she is quitting the company because she and Tepppei broke up.

D5 Riko: Hitotu dake iwarezu kudasai. Watashi ga kaisya yameru inaka koeru no wa Katagiri-san [Teppei] to tsukubu ikunakaku natta kara te minasan kagetsu rassyaru to omou nitte kedo, sore wa tigen nitte desu. Watashi no zikko wa Nagano de pensyon natte natta. Ane ni kodomo ga dekintai imooto ga zyoshe de Tokyo ni dema kiyori site, darantar to pensyon no hitode te isu no ga tarewaku natte kite, sore de, watashi ga kaitte pensyon no tetsudai koto ni kimizu nitte desu. (Let me say one thing. It seems that everyone thinks that the reason why I’ll quit the company and decided to go back to my hometown is that Mr. Katagiri and I no longer get along well with each other, but this is not the case. My parents run an inn in Nagano. My older sister is expecting, and my younger sister is coming to Tokyo to take the entrance examination of a university, and gradually there has been lack of workers for the inn. So I decided to go back and help my family with the work at the inn.)

(Love Generation, 1997)

Her statement is tatamae because, as previously discussed, her helping her family is not
an issue when Riko gets along well with Teppei. She goes to the trouble of overtly
denying her home, which the addressees already know is a factor. Unlike in D2, in D5
Riko uses tatemae out of her consideration for the addressees and the audience: to avoid
worrying the addressees and leave a good impression on them. Other purposes or
consequences include avoiding overly complicating things, saving own face as well as
that of the audience. Tatemae in D2 and D5 also shows that the purposes of tatemae
differ in different contexts, but the general goal of tatemae is to avoid confrontation.

The tatemae statements in D1 and D4 and those in D2 and D5 show that what
the speakers say is “formulaic,” like some ritualized expressions which are considered to
be tatemae as (3), (4), and (6) in Chapter 2, repeated below as (8), (9), and (10),
respectively:

(8) A: Doriru maide? (Where are you going?)
    B: Tyotto soko maide. (Just there)
    (Y. Matsumoto, 1989:214)

(9) Anoo, tumaranai mori desu ga... (This is nothing much, but please accept
    it.)
    (Y. Matsumoto, 1988:412)

(10) A: Itumo syuzin ga osewa ni nاته orimasu. (My husband is always obliged
    to you for your help.)
    B: Koiru koso. (I'm obliged to him.)
    (Jorden and Noda, 1987:306)

These ritual expressions are fixed phrases which are expected to be used in particular
contexts. The tatemae statements in D1 and D4 and those in D2 and D5 are not fixed
phrases like these ritual expressions. However, they are similar in that in terms of content
both are what people expect the speaker to say in given context. If the speaker says
something different from what the other expects him/her to say where a ritual phrase or
\textit{tatemae} is expected, there may be miscommunication between the speaker and the addressee. The addressee of \textit{tatemae}, therefore, likely \textit{knows} that what the speaker says is \textit{tatemae}, although s/he may not be sure what the speaker actually thinks or feels.

4.1.2.2 Spontaneity and feigned homne

The speaker in most of the contexts from the data appears to utter his/her \textit{tatemae} statement without hesitation. However, there are some contexts in which \textit{tatemae} statements are uttered with a sign of hesitation. For example, \textit{tatemae} in D2 and D5 (Riko's quitting her job) are uttered without hesitation, whereas \textit{tatemae} in D1 and D4 (Sugiyama's dance) are uttered with a sign of hesitation. These two sets of \textit{tatemae} statements are different in that the former set refers to an actual condition so that the speaker uses \textit{tatemae} without hesitation, while the latter one does not refer to an actual condition which the speaker seems to be hesitant in using. An "actual condition" here means that what the speaker says is true to him/her. For example, in D2 and D5, Riko's family actually asks her to come back and help the work. On the other hand, in D1 and D4, although Sugiyama states dance is good for one's health, it is not certain that he actually considers this factor when he starts dance lessons. Therefore, his \textit{tatemae} does not coincide with the actual condition. If the preceding contexts showed that he actually believed that dance was good for one's health, his \textit{tatemae} statement could be said to coincide with the actual situation. In D1 and D4, Sugiyama seems to be hesitant in using his \textit{tatemae}. On the other hand, in D2 and D5, it is obvious that Riko's family desire for her to come back and help them is a factor; therefore, Riko may be able to use \textit{tatemae} without hesitation.

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The *tatema* statements in D2 and D5 represent as feigned *honne* different from
the speaker's real *honne*, but the statements coincide with an actual condition, making the
speaker sound honest. Such *tatema* statements may sound convincing, although the
addressee may still harbor doubts. Since the speaker knows the *tatema* statement sounds
true, s/he is confident in using *tatema* and utters the statement without hesitation. The
fact that there are two types of *tatema*, one contrary to fact and the other feigned *honne*,
indicates that *tatema* does not necessarily consist only of untrue statements. M.
Matsumoto's (1988) definition of *tatema*, a "situationally acceptable untruth," does not
fit the evidence provided by these examples.

4.1.2.3 Spontaneity and consideration

Another important factor is that when the speaker uses *tatema* out of the
consideration for the addressee or the audience, s/he is likely to utter his/her *tatema*
statement spontaneously, regardless of its credibility. *Tatema* in Dialogue 6 (D6) is one
example of such an instance:

D6  Riko: (She answers the phone.) *Hai, hassai.* (Hello.)

    You got over your cold.)

    Riko: *Konban wa.* (Good evening.)
Yoshimoto: Ore no motte tta mikan sukasi wa yaku ni tutta n da. (It looks like the tangerines helped some.)

Riko: A, mikan ne, sugoku osikatta. Arigato gozaimasita. (Oh, the tangerines. Yes, they were very tasty. Thank you.)

Yoshimoto: Soo, yokatta. (Is that so? That's good.)

(Love Generation, 1997)

Riko’s home is that she has not eaten the tangerines, although it is not clear if she actually does not like them. The scene shows the bag of tangerines unopened. Also, it is apparent from the previous contexts in this story that she is not interested in Yoshimoto.

Moreover, in the dialogue, there are a couple of things which hint Riko’s home: “Konban wa...,” which completely ignores Yoshimoto’s expression of concern, and “Arigato gozaimasita,” which is very distant, in sharp contrast to Yoshimoto’s speech of intimacy. Riko uses tatamae in order to avoid disappointing the addressee and to leave a good impression on him. Also, the consequence may be that she avoids overly complicating things. Although her statement is not true, she spontaneously utters her tatamae statement without any hesitation.

The content of tatamae utterance in Dialogue 7 (D7) below is not true, either, but it is also spontaneously uttered by the speaker. This dialogue is taken from Kanoko: tati no Keikou. In this story, each of two women, Kiriko and Mutsumi, wishes to find someone to marry her before she reaches thirty years-old. They will eventually meet someone. This is a series of episodes which revolve around their efforts to meet the right person. In the scene preceding D7, Mutsumi (Kiriko’s friend), who has difficulty finding a future husband, is depressed. Her supervisor, who is an editor at the publishing company where she works, is worried about her and invites her for a drink. They are at a bar.

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Her *honne* is that she is not enjoying her job because she is not happy being alone. This is proved by previous contexts which show her reluctance toward her job and the supervisor's observation mentioned in D7. Mutsumi uses her *tatemae* to avoid disappointing her supervisor and to leave a good impression on her. She spontaneously utters her *tatemae* statement. The *tatemae* statements in D6 and D7 suggest that the speakers do not hesitate to use *tatemae* even if the contents expressed in the speakers' *tatemae* are not the fact, when it is used out of consideration for the addressee, such as to avoid disappointing and worrying the addressee.

There are some other factors which may make a difference in the speaker's ability to use *tatemae* spontaneously or not. One important factor is the personality of the speaker. For example, if the speaker does not mind "lying," s/he may tend to utter untruthful *tatemae* statements spontaneously. Is this thesis, the speaker's personality will not be discussed because the relationship between the speaker's personality and his/her use of *tatemae* is outside the scope of this paper, and other research of a psychological nature would be necessary to explore this area.
As the above shows, the contents of *tatemae* expressions are in general “formulas,” and are likely to be used in the same or similar contexts. Also, *tatemae* expressions are usually uttered without hesitation. However, they may be uttered with a sign of hesitation either when they do not coincide with the actual conditions or when they would not affect the addressee’s feelings either way.

4.1.3 Various ways to express *tatemae*

In the contexts discussed above, *tatemae* is expressed by the speaker’s saying something different from his/her *honne*. There are other different ways to express *tatemae* which were identified in the data. The first one is to use polite forms where it is not necessary in different contexts. Polite forms are to exalt the addressee or someone referred to in the speech. Therefore, this rule reminds the addressee or the audience of the speaker’s respect or admiration for them. When *tatemae* is expressed by polite forms, the speaker expects the same effect, seen as in Dialogue 8 (D8). This context also includes another way to express *tatemae* by raising the pitch of one’s voice, which sounds cheerful to the addressee or the audience. D8 is taken from *Narita Rikon*. This is a story of a newly married couple. Ichiro, the husband, and Yuko, the wife, often argue because they are too young to understand each other’s faults. They decide to divorce since they think they are very different, but they do not hate each other. There are times when each of them thinks s/he does not want to leave the other. However, neither can show their honest feelings to the other. In the end, they understand and remarry each other. In this dialogue, Ichiro’s mother and sister are visiting him and his wife. Ichiro and Yuko are planning to tell his mother that they are going to separate from each other. However, Ichiro has
something to do at work and he cannot go home. Yuko is entertaining her in-laws.

Although she cannot stand Ichiro’s behavior, she still likes his mother and sister. Ichiro calls Yuko at home to tell her that he will be late. Ichiro’s mother is listening to Yuko talking with him on the phone.

D8 Ichiro: Aa, boku da kedo... (It is me, but...)

Yuko: A, Ichiro-san? (Is it you, Ichiro? [Her voice pitch is higher than usual])

Ichiro: Doo sita n da yo, Ichiro-san da nante... (Hey, what’s the matter? Why are you calling me “Ichiro-san?”)

(Narita Rikon, 1997)

In this context, she makes use of, or almost “abuses” polite speech to express tatemae.

She also raises the pitch of her voice, to make it sound cheerful. Her honne is that she does not want to call him “Ichiro-san,” which exalts him and shows him her respect. It is proved in the previous contexts in this story that she usually calls him “Ichiro-kun,” which shows her treating him as equal or lower. Also, Ichirō implies in his statement that Yuko does not usually call him “Ichiro-san.” Yuko uses the polite form and raises the pitch of her voice so that her in-laws will think that she is an obedient wife, which leaves a good impression on the audience (her in-laws).

Another way to express tatemae identified in the data is to smile. Dialogue 9 (D9) provides such an example. This dialogue is taken from Shall We Dance?

Sugiyama’s wife is worried about her husband, who regularly comes home late on Wednesday. He is hiding from his wife the fact that he goes to dance lessons on Wednesdays. In the laundry room his wife sniffs his shirt for perfume. She looks very worried. Then, she hears her daughter coming.
Daughter: Okaasan. (Mom.)

Mother: (She smiles.) N? (Yes?) (Shall We Dance?, 1995)

Smiling, which expresses her happiness, is not the mother’s home. This is proved by the previous scene in which she looks very worried. She changes her facial expressions to smiling because she does not want to worry her daughter. The consequence of her tatemae is that she may avoid overly complicating the situation.

Another example is tatemae in Dialogue 10 (D10). This dialogue is taken from Sin Sarariimau Senka, which is a story about a middle-aged white-collar worker (Mansaku), who also takes care of his family. Mansaku is responsible for both his work and his family. He also studies conversational English. In this dialogue, his father-in-law, who is old and shows symptoms of dementia, comes to visit and stays for a while with Mansaku and his family. Mansaku is not very close to his father-in-law, and treats him with distant respect. On the other hand, his father-in-law is selfish and nasty. The father-in-law is not a bad person, but he does not get along well with his daughter. In this scene, Mansaku tries to entertain his father-in-law, who, as usual, is not in good mood.

He talks about conversational English that he is learning.

D10 Mansaku: Maa, yonzyuu sugite kara hazimere to hontoo ni tahen desu ne. Ooossan wa peraperu desita ne. Nani ka hiketa arimasen ka? (Well, It is very hard to start learning conversational English after the age of forty, isn’t it? Father, I remember you are fluent in English, aren’t you? Is there any secret to it?)

Father-in-law: Arimasu yo. (Yes, there is.)

Mansaku: Zyaa, sore o yotto osite kudasai yo. (Then, could you tell me the secret?)

Father-in-law. Amerika-go o naru no ni wa, ameriko-zin no onna o tsukaru
koto desu yo. (In order to learn the American language, you should have an American girlfriend.)

Mansaku: Aa... [He smiles]. (Um...)

(Sin Sarariiman Senka, 1997)

Mansaku’s *honne* is that he is disappointed by his father-in-law’s suggestion, which the former does not expect to hear from the latter. If Mansaku and his father-in-law were close enough to tell jokes to each other, and if they talked over a beer, his father-in-law’s statement might have been appropriate. However, his statement in this context embarrasses Mansaku, who tries to hide his honest feelings by forcing himself to smile. The purpose of Mansaku’s *tatemae* smiling is to save face of his father-in-law, who might have been embarrassed if Mansaku did not go with his suggestion. Mansaku’s smiling is *tatemae*, which is used to save his father-in-law’s face and to make a good impression on him.

In short, besides expressing *tatemae* in speech content, there are various other ways to express *tatemae*, including using polite forms, special vocal qualities, and facial expressions.

4.1.4 *Tatemae* with the speaker’s ingroup

In general, *tatemae* seems to be used with the speaker’s outgroup members, people with whom s/he wishes to maintain good relations. However, data suggest that *tatemae* is also used for the speaker’s ingroup.

*Tatemae* in D3 (Riko and her father) is used for the speaker’s family member, her father. In this dialogue, Riko uses *tatemae* to avoid worrying her father and to save her face. The consequence is that she may avoid overly complicating things. *Tatemae* in
D9 (Sugiyama's wife's smiling) is also used for the speaker's family member.

Sugiyama's wife uses her *tatemae* to avoid worrying her daughter. The consequence is that she may avoid complicating the situation.

Another example which is used for the speaker's family member is *tatemae* in Dialogue 11 (D11), which is taken from Over Time. This is a story of friendship between a man (Soichiro) and a woman (Natsuki). Soichiro is a photographer in a newspaper company. He lives in his father's house with his sister (Haruko) and her friends, including Natsuki. Soichiro and Natsuki become close friends, and eventually they fall in love with each other. However, in the end, they decide not to be lovers, but friends. Soichiro and Haruko are very close. They watch out for each other. In this dialogue, Soichiro has been laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Soichiro is shocked and goes out drinking with Natsuki. The next morning he looks miserable and hungover, and his sister is worried.

**D11**

Haruko: *De mo ran de hata-ri de nonde ta no?* (But why were you drinking together?)

Soichiro: *Kinoo no asa kaisya...* (Yesterday morning at the company...)

Haruko: *E?* (What?)

Soichiro: *A, nan de mo nat te iu ka so, tame ni wa hata-ri de nomoo te* (It's nothing... We just decided to go for a drink together because it had been a while.)

(Over Time, 1999)

Soichiro's *tone* is that he could not help but drink to forget about what happened to him at work. This is proved in the previous contexts in the story in which he tells Natsuki about his being laid off and she agrees to drink with him. Soichiro uses his *tatemae* to save face and to save his sister from worry and disappointment.

This section discussed the findings in the data from TV sit-coms and films. The
results showed that *tatemaie* is used for various immediate purposes depending on the contexts, but the general goal of these purposes is not necessarily keeping harmony, but avoiding confrontation. Also, they presented several characteristics of *tatemaie*. The next section will analyze the data from the questionnaire about *tatemaie* in Japanese culture.

4.2 Findings from the questionnaire about *tatemaie* in Japanese culture

The aim of the questionnaire about *tatemaie* in Japanese culture is to confirm the finding from the first data that *tatemaie* is a "formulaic" expression and that it is in general spontaneously uttered by the speaker. These findings were confirmed by the results of the questionnaire. In addition, there are four more findings from the responses of native speakers of Tokyo Japanese: (1) people tend to use *tatemaie* which is contrary to the fact, or "white lie," either when they think it will sound like the truth or when they use it out of consideration for the addressee; (2) there is a tendency that the younger generation may reveal their *honme* where the older generation may not; (3) *tatemaie* and *honme* are not complementary parts of a whole; and (4) in certain contexts, even when *tatemaie* is not used, something which avoids expressing *honme* is used. Table 4.1 summarizes the results from the data:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context*</th>
<th>Use of <em>tatemae</em> (%)***</th>
<th>Major contents of <em>tatemae</em> expressions</th>
<th>Breakdown (%)***</th>
<th>Spontaneous use of <em>tatemae</em> (%)*****</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1. <em>Watashi mo</em> (Me, too.).&lt;br&gt;2. <em>Watashi wa yoyotto ni ni kita no</em> (I just came here to see [how this party was like].).&lt;br&gt;3. <em>Oya ga katte ni moosikonde ta</em> (My parent signed me up to come to this party without consulting me.).</td>
<td>68[26/38]</td>
<td>58[19/26]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3[1/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3[1/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1. *Moo hitota haiite mo ii ka to omorimasite (I thought it would be nice to have another one.).&lt;br&gt;2. <em>Kotowarikirenakute</em> (I could not turn it down.).&lt;br&gt;3. <em>Tukiai de</em> (Under obligation.).&lt;br&gt;4. <em>Tokuten mo tuite ta</em> (The policy has privileges.).&lt;br&gt;5. <em>Nyooobo ga haire to urusaa</em> (My wife insists that I should have another one.).</td>
<td>32[12/38]</td>
<td>92[11/12]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>18[7/38]</td>
<td>71[5/7]</td>
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<td>5[2/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>3[1/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5[2/38]</td>
<td>1. <em>Aite ny kaa ni mi kita</em> (I came here to see what he looks like.).</td>
<td>5[2/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1. <em>i.e. sonna koto wa arimasen/Ton de mo nai</em> (No, not at all/Heaven’s no.).&lt;br&gt;2. <em>Sonna koto wa arimasen. Usa ga umaku narere yoo ni ganharimassu/Ton de mo nai. kotira koto ozisan de gakkari sita deysoo</em> (Not at all. I’ll do my best to become a good singer/Heaven’s no. I’m the one who is middle-aged, and you must be the one who’s disappointed!).&lt;br&gt;3. <em>Gel no ozisan yaa nakute ansin simasita (I’m relieved that you’re not a middle-aged gay person.).</em></td>
<td>61[23/38]</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27[10/38]</td>
<td>60[6/10]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3[1/38]</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)

Table 4.1: Use of *Tatemae* by native speakers of Japanese

Notes: n=38. The number in the bracket is the raw number of the respondents.

*Context: See Appendix B for the contexts used in the questionnaire.

**Use of *tatemae*: The numbers in the column refer to the percentage of the total respondents who used *tatemae* in each context.

***Breakdown: This shows the breakdown of the major contents of *tatemae* expressions used.

****Spontaneous use of *tatemae*: This percentage is based on the number of respondents who came up with this particular *tatemae* content readily divided by the total number of respondents who came up with the same *tatemae* expression. *Tatemae* statements are grouped based on their contents. Statements in the same group may not be of exactly the same form.
| 5  | 79 [30/38] | 1. Sumimasen/Mooiwa arimasen. (I'm sorry.)
2. Hai. Ki o tukemasu (I understand. I'll be more consequentious.)
3. Hai. Kore kurai yasonde imasu (I understand. This is how much my project has come along.) |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55[21/38] 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21[8/38] 88[7/8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3[1/8] 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 6  | 81 [31/38] | 1. Hai. Tanossi desu. (Yes, I'm enjoying it.)
2. Ee, maa. (Yes, well...)
3. Taihen na koto mo aru n desu ga, nan to ka. (There are times when I have trouble, but I guess so.)
4. Hai. Tanossi desu. Purabeco de yotte. (Yes, I'm enjoying my job, but I'm having a personal problem.) |
|    |           | 34[13/38] 77[10/13]                     |
|    |           | 18[7/8] 100                             |
|    |           | 16[6/38] 33[2/6]                        |
|    |           | 13[5/38] 60[3/5]                        |
| 7  | 11 [4/38]  | 1. Zamen desu ne. (I'm sorry he isn't in.) |
|    |           | 11[4/38] 100                            |
| 8  | 95 [36/38] | 1. Zikka ni karite is o tetodau koto ni narimasita
(It's been decided that I'll go back to my parents' home and help my family.).
2. Issinyo no tugoo de kaisya o yameru koto ni narimasita (It's been decided that I'll quit the company for personal reasons.). |
|    |           | 74[28/38] 96[27/28]                     |
|    |           | 21[8/38] 86[7/8]                        |
| 9  | 32 [6/38]  | 1. Oyakata/Tomodachi etc. to nande ta n de (I was drinking with my client/my friend from university, etc.).
2. Itidanraku sita kara pa too yatte ta n da (I went drinking because I have finished some work.).
3. Dooruyo no sobetsukai site ta (I went to a farewell party for one of my colleagues).
4. Otoko ni wa otoko no tsukai ga aru (Men have to go out, with other men for company.). |
|    |           | 16[3/38] 67[2/3]                        |
|    |           | 3[1/8] 0                               |
|    |           | 3[1/8] 100                             |
|    |           | 3[1/8] 100                             |
| 10 | 87 [33/38] | 1. Totemo oishikatta desu. (They were very tasty.)
2. Anmari mikan sukii zya nae kedo, oishikatta. (I don't like tangerines very much, but they were tasty.)
3. Demo syokuyou nakute/nodo ga ikakute mada tabete nai no (But I don't have an appetite yet/I have a sore throat, and I haven't eaten them yet).2 |
|    |           | 71[27/38] 100                          |
|    |           | 5[2/8] 100                             |
|    |           | 11[4/38] 100                           |

2 "Mada tabete nai no (I haven't eaten them yet)" is considered to be a retentive statement because this implies that the speaker will eat them later.
4.2.1 Tatema statements as formulaic, spontaneous expressions

The 38 respondents showed tendencies to use tatema in various contexts. In
Contexts 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10, tatema was used by more than 70% or 26 respondents.
In Contexts 1, 4, 5, 8, and 10, more than half of the respondents used the same contents in
their expressions which involved tatema. In the questionnaire, twenty-nine different
kinds of tatema statements3 were used all together. Out of the twenty-nine tatema
statements, each of nineteen tatema statements was thought of spontaneously by more
than 80% of the respondents. The results confirm the finding in the data of TV sit-coms
and films that in certain contexts, in general, the speakers use the same or similar
contents in their tatema statements, which can be considered "formulaic" expressions,
and they utter their tatema statements without a sign of hesitation. The following
describes some of the contexts from the questionnaire which show this findings clearly.
The following is Context 1:

Miss Takahashi is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party
sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her
acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Miss Yamanoto.

Miss Yamanoto: I'm just here with a friend who didn't want to come alone
Miss Takahashi:

In this context, it is apparent that Miss Takahashi came to the party to look for someone

3 In Context 4 two different contents in No.2 "I'll do my best to become a good singer" and "I'm the one
who is middle-aged, and you must be the one who's disappointed!" are considered to be in the same group
in which a tatema message consists of "Not at all" + the speaker's comments with which s/he tries to
improve the addressee's feelings. Also, in Context 9 two different contents "I was drinking with my client"
and "I was drinking with my friend from university" are considered to be in the same group of tatema
statements because the speaker may choose "my client" and "my friend" depending on with whom s/he
usually goes out to drink.

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for a future husband. 74% (28) of the respondents used *tatemae* in this context. Possible purposes of *tatemae* are to save her and the addressee’s face and to avoid overly complicating the situation. 68% (26) of the respondents used the same *tatemae* “Watasi mo (Me, too)” and more than half of the respondents who used this *tatemae* thought of it spontaneously. The *tatemae* statement “Watasi mo” might have been thought because the respondents may not have had any other thoughts; however, this is a valid *tatemae* statement because they used this statement to hide their *honne* that they came to the party to find a match.

The next example is Context 4:

Mr. Sato is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but it assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle aged woman?
Mr. Sato:

In this context, it is obvious that the white-collar worker is disappointed. 61% (23) of the respondents used the same idea in their *tatemae* statements: “Sonna koto wa arimasen/Ton de mo nai (No, not at all/Heavens no)”; 27% (10) of whom tried to improve the addressee’s feelings by saying: “Uzu ga umaku nareru yoo ni ganbarimasu (I’ll do my best to become a good singer, etc.)” This context is similar to one of the contexts in *Shall We Dance?* (refer to No. 5 in Appendix A), in which the same idea “Ton de mo nai” is used in the *tatemae* statement. This *tatemae* statement was obviously used to avoid disappointing the addressee. All respondents for the first *tatemae* statement, and 69% (6) of the respondents for the second *tatemae* statement thought of their *tatemae* statements spontaneously.

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In Context 5, 79% (30) of the respondents used *tatemae*. The context is as follows:

Miss Kondo is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague with his project. She hasn’t neglected the job her section manager asked her to do, but the section manager, who dislikes her colleague, is jealous.

Section manager: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.
Miss Kondo: *Tatemae* which the respondents used is an apology: “Sumimasen/Moosiiwake arimasen (I’m sorry)” or an agreement with her section manager: “Hai, Ki o takemasu (I understand. I’ll be more conscientious).” This context is the same one from one of the TV sit-com *Sararinman Kintaro* (refer to No. 48 in Appendix A), in which the same *tatemae*, “Moosiiwake arimasen,” is used. The possible purposes for these *tatemae* statements are to leave a good impression on the addressee, to save face of the addressee, to avoid overly complicating the situation. All respondents for the first *tatemae* and 88% (7) of the respondents for the second *tatemae* thought of it spontaneously.

In Context 8, 95% (36) of the respondents used *tatemae*. The context is as follows:

Rika, who is a 23-year-old woman, used to be in love with Kenji, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Rika broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Kenji.

Rika: Thanks for the party. I appreciate what you have done for me since I joined the company.

This is the same context as D5 from the TV sit-coms above. It is obvious from the
context that the speaker is quitting her job because of her boyfriend. There were only two kinds of tatema statements, which were used by 95% (36) of the respondents: “Zikka ni kaette ie o tetudau koto ni narimasita (It’s been decided that I’ll go back to my parents’ home and help them)” and “Issinzyoo no tugoo de kaisya o yameru koto ni narimasita (It’s been decided that I’ll quit the company for personal reasons).” The remaining 5% (2) used an ambiguous statement: “Katte na riyyoo de sumimasen (I’m sorry for being selfish and quitting),” which is not considered tatema because it is difficult to tell if the respondent was showing his/her home or not. The first statement is the same idea in the tatema statement which is used in D5. The possible purposes of these tatema statements are to avoid worrying the addressees, leave a good impression on the addressee, avoid making things complicated, and save face for both herself and the audience (Kenji). 96% (27) of the respondents who used the first tatema statement spontaneously thought of it, and 86% (7) of the respondents who used the second tatema statement spontaneously thought of it.

The next example to show that a tatema statement is a formulaic expression and it is uttered spontaneously is Context 10:

Miyuki is a 22 year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Mr. Tanaka, who is interested in her, brings her some tangerines. She does not even eat the tangerines because she does not like them. On the following day, Miyuki goes to work. Mr. Tanaka approaches Miyuki:

Mr. Tanaka: So how were the oranges?
Miyuki:__________________

This is a similar context to D6. In this context, Miyuki apparently did not eat the tangerines. 87% (33) of the respondents used tatema: “Totemo oisikatta desu (They
were very tasty),” which is the same tatemae statement used in D6, and “Mikan annari
sukizya nai kedo otsikatta (I don’t like tangerines very much, but they were tasty)” and
“...mada tabete nai no (I haven’t eaten [them] yet). The possible purposes are to avoid
disappointing the addressee, to make a good impression on the addressee, and to avoid
overly complicating the situation. Each tatemae statement was spontaneously thought of
by all the respondents who used it.

Unlike the respondents for the contexts described above, the respondents for
Context 2 used five different tatemae statements. The following is Context 2:

Mr. Ito is a married man who is trusted by his division manager and
colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an
insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided
to buy another one from her. His division manager finds out and is curious.
What will Mr. Ito say?

Division manager: You already have a good insurance policy, don’t you.
Why are you buying another one?

Mr. Ito: __________________________

All tatemae statements in this context seemed to be used for saving the speaker’s face,
such as, “Moo hitotu haitte mo i ka to omoimasite (I thought it would be nice to have
another one)” and “Kotowari kire nakute (I could not turn it down).” Although the
respondents used five different tatemae, 32% (12) of the respondents used the first
tatemae statement, and 29% (11) of the respondents used the second tatemae statement.
This indicates that a group of more than 10 respondents thought up the same tatemae
statement in this context, which shows that an expression involving tatemae is relatively
formulaic. Also, most respondents thought of their tatemae statements spontaneously in
this context.

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4.2.2 Using a “lie” as tatemae

One of the new findings in the questionnaire about tatemae in Japanese culture is that these Japanese native speaker respondents readily use tatemae which is contrary to the fact, or “lie,” either when s/he thinks it will sound like the truth or when s/he uses it out of consideration for the addressee or the audience. This finding agrees with one of the findings in the data from the TV sit-comas and films that the speaker spontaneously utters his/her tatemae statement, even if it is contrary to what s/he actually thinks or does, if it sounds true or if it is used out of consideration for the addressee. Before discussing this finding from the questionnaire, it should be pointed out that each tatemae statement in Contexts 3, 5, 7, and 8 is not quite a “lie,” or contrary to what the speaker actually thinks or does. For example, the first tatemae that the respondents used in Context 3 is a joke, and the second tatemae is not what is contrary to the fact. Context 3 is the following:

Toru is a 25-year-old man, and Yuko is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love affairs with other women. Yuko became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an omiai (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Toru, realizing he still loves Yuko, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Yuko takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Yuko: What in the world are you doing here?
Toru: __________________

The respondents used tatemae statement: “Lite no kao ni niku (I came here to see what he looks like.)” This statement is considered tatemae because it is obvious to most native-speakers of Japanese that the speaker did not come all the way to the meeting to see what the man looks like. His honne is that he wants to show his love for her. In this situation this tatemae does not sound reasonable, but it is obvious to the addressee that his tatemae
is a sort of joke to save his face. The speaker also knows that the addressee knows it.

Therefore, his tateme is not considered as a “lie.”

**Tateme** in Context 5 (Miss Kondo’s helping her colleague) and Context 7 are not “lies,” either. The former is an apology. Although it is not the speaker’s true intention, s/he does not clearly state what is contrary to his/her true feelings or thoughts.

Also, the latter is not the speaker’s intention. The following is Context 7:

Miss Kudo is a 26-year-old female office worker, who is gentle-mannered. She is interested in a male boarder at her house, Mr. Sato. On Sunday, while Mr. Sato is out, his female friend Miss Miyake came to visit him. She is young and attractive. Miss Kudo secretly is glad that Mr. Sato is out. What will Miss Kudo say to Miss Miyake. (Does Miss Kudo show any sympathy to the woman because Mr. Sato is out?)

Miss Miyake: Excuse me, but is Mr. Sato in?
Miss Kudo: __________

The respondents did not state what was contrary to the speaker’s true feelings or thoughts, but said “Zannen desu ne (I’m sorry...).” Also, tateme in Context 8 (Rika’s going back to her hometown) is not contrary to what she actually feels, thinks, or does.

Although the speaker is quitting her job because of her boy friend, it is true that she will help her family in her home town. In other words, her tateme coincides with the actual conditions.

On the other hand, tateme in Context 1 (A party sponsored by a matching agency) is contrary to what the speaker actually thinks, feels, or does. In this context, the speaker does not seem to come to the party with her friend because it is stated that the speaker does not want to be seen. However, the respondents used tateme: “Watashi mo (Me, too),” which is contrary to what she is doing, or a “lie.” The respondents may have thought that they could “lie” because it sounded like the truth, since it was the same as
the addressee’s statement.

The content in the *tatemae* statement in Context 4 (*Karaoke*) and 6 below are also contrary to the fact. The respondents seem to have used *tatemae* in these contexts out of consideration for the addressee. In Context 4, the addressee would likely be hurt if the speaker did not use *tatemae*. The respondents may have thought that it would be all right to “lie” as long as their “lie” would avoid hurting the addressee. Also, in Context 6, the respondents used *tatemae* which is contrary to what the speaker thinks. The following is Context 6:

Miss Suzuki is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be differential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her section manager is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

Section manager: Are you enjoying your work?
Miss Suzuki: __________________________

This is the same context as D7. The speaker is not enjoying her work, but the respondents used *tatemae*: “Hai. Tonosii desu (Yes, I’m enjoying it),” which is the same *tatemae* used in D7. In this context, the respondents may have wanted to leave a good impression on the addressee, or may not have wanted to disappoint him.

In Context 9, the respondents also used *tatemae* which is contrary to what the speaker actually did:

Saburo has been working at an advertisement company, but he was laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Saburo was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister Mika is worried.

Mika: Why do you drink until you are sick?
Saburoo: __________________________

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This is a similar context as D11. The respondents used *tatemae* which were contrary to what the speaker did: "Okyaku/Daiyaku no tomodatari, etc.to monde ta n da (I was drinking with my client/my friend from university, etc.)." These statements imply that Saburo went drinking to entertain his clients or enjoy talking with his old friends, which is not the case. He went drinking to forget what had happened to him. The respondents told a "lie"; either they thought it would sound like the truth, or it would be all right to "lie" because it would avoid worrying the addressee.

Ununtruthful statement seems to be avoided when it does not sound like the truth or there is no good reason to use it. In such a condition, it may not be considered *tatemae*, but a lie. On the other hand, when such a statement sounds like the truth and there is a good reason to use it, it seems to be considered *tatemae*, which the speaker does not hesitate to use it. This shows that an untruthful statement involving *tatemae* in Japanese culture is not considered negatively when it is used appropriately.

4.2.3 Differences in responses between the younger and older generations

Another finding from the questionnaire is that there is no major difference in responses, according to the respondents' ages; however, there is a tendency that younger respondents use *tatemae* where older respondents do not. Table 4.2 shows the number of the respondents who used *tatemae* and expressed *sonme* in each context, according to the respondents' ages.
Table 4.2: Use of *tatema* vs. expression of *honne* by age group

Notes: Group A consists of 13 respondents who were in their twenties; Group B consists of 12 respondents who were in their thirties; and Group C consists of 13 respondents who were in their forties or older. The first number in parenthesis is that of the respondents who expressed *honne* in the particular context. “NA” means “Not applicable.” The number of people who expressed *honne* in Context 7 has been listed as “NA” because there is little evidence for *honne* in the responses.

The table shows that there is no major difference in the responses among different age groups which would allow generalizations to be made about the use of *tatema* in different groups. Although Group C, the oldest group, used most *tatema* in more contexts than other age groups, there are three contexts in which Group C used less *tatema* than other age groups. Therefore, it cannot be said that the older respondents used more *tatema* than younger ones. However, there are a few differences in responses between Groups A and C.

In Context 2 (Insurance policy), 2 respondents in Group A revealed their *honne*: “Kiree na hito ni sosowarete” (It was suggested to me by a pretty woman), while no respondent in Group C expressed their *honne* (refer Appendix C). In Context 6 (Miss Suzuki’s reluctance to her job), 1 respondent in Group A directly expressed his/her *honne*: “Syoorai o kangaeru to ima no sigoto de ii ka kangaesateraremasu (Considering

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my future makes me wonder if my present job is good for me)." No respondent in Group C expressed his/her honne. Although only one or two of the respondents in Group A expressed their honne in Context 2 and 6, no respondent in Group C expressed his/her honne in these contexts. This indicates that those in their twenties may express their honne where those who are forty or older do not.

The honne statements above also show that the speaker does not hold tatemae when s/he reveals honne. For example, in Context 2, the speaker chose not to use tatemae, but to reveal his honne, "Kiree na hito ni sasowarete." This shows that when tatemae is used, tatemae and honne are paired concepts, which may be complementary parts of a whole; however, it is not the case that these always exist together. In this example, tatemae did not exist because it was not necessary. Although it is true that tatemae cannot exist without honne, honne does not need tatemae to come to the light. Therefore, it is not necessarily the case that tatemae and honne are complementary parts of a whole, which is suggested by M. Matsumoto (1988) and Doi (1986).

4.2.4 Avoiding expressing honne other than using tatemae

The last finding is that in certain contexts, even when tatemae was not used, something which avoids expressing honne was used (refer to Appendix C). For example, in Context 1 (A party sponsored by a matching agency), 24% (9) of the respondents said, "Konniti wa. Hito ga ooti desu ne (Hello. There are lots of people here, aren't there?),"

"Gazou desu ne (What coincidence)," and "Soo nano desu ka (Is that so?)" to avoid talking about why the speaker is at the party. In Context 4 (Karaoke), 1 respondent said, "Nendai ga tigau to osieru uta no tigau desyou? (People in different generations teach
different songs, don’t they?)" With this statement, the speaker avoids talking about the instructor’s age. Also, in Context 9 (Hangover), 58 % (22) of the respondents said, “Betu ni doo da te i zya nai ka (That’s none of your business),” “Nomazu ni wa irarenakatta n da” (I couldn’t stand but drink),” and “Tyotto ne (There’s a bit of problem.).” These statements do not show that the speaker’s being dismissed from the company; however, they indicate why he drank so much. Moreover, in Context 10 (Tangerines), 11 % (4) of the respondents said, “Doo no arigatoo gozaimasita (Thank you very much).” The speaker avoids both lying and disappointing the addressee by using “middle ground” statements.

The results of the first questionnaire confirm the finding from the results of the first data: In general, a tatemae statement is “formulaic” and is uttered spontaneously. Moreover, the results lead to three more findings: (1) the speaker tends to use tatemae which is contrary to the fact, or “lie,” either when the speaker thinks it will sound like the truth or when s/he uses it out of consideration; (2) there is a tendency that the younger generations may reveal their honne where the older generations may not; (3) tatemae and honne are not complementary parts of a whole; and (4) in certain contexts, even when tatemae is not used, something which avoids expressing honne is used.

4.3 Findings from the questionnaire about “tatemae” in American culture

The aim of the questionnaire about “tatemae” in American culture (the second
questionnaire) was to investigate whether or not Americans would use some similar cultural concept ("*tatemae*"), in contexts identical to those in which Japanese would use *tatemae*. If so, then the questionnaire asked the American respondents for what purpose they were deploying "*tatemae*." 

In the second questionnaire, 10 native speakers of English, all of whom had lived in Japan for more than 1 year, were asked to complete 10 dialogues. Each dialogue was set in a different context, which would have probably involved "*tatemae*." The 10 contexts from the questionnaire about *tatemae* in Japanese culture (the first questionnaire) were translated into English for the second questionnaire, but in the second questionnaire, the speaker and the addressee were given American names instead of Japanese names. The respondents were not asked to indicate if they thought up

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As discussed in Section 4.1.2, in order to confirm the hypothesis that the American subjects who have lived in Japan have not been influenced by Japanese culture in the use of *tatemae*, other ten American subjects who have never lived in Japan were also asked to complete the dialogues in the same questionnaire. The results showed that there were no significant differences between the responses of the former group and those of the latter group. In this thesis the results from the latter group will not be discussed in detail. The following is the table which shows the number of the respondents in the former group (G1) and the latter group (G2) who used *tatemae* and *home* in each context. See Appendix F for the complete data of the responses of the latter group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Tatemae</em> G1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tatemae</em> G2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: The number of American respondents who revealed their *home* in each context in the two questionnaires.

Notes: The numbers in the first line are the context numbers. "NA" refers to the context in which the speaker's *home* is not clear so that the ratio of *home* used in the context cannot be specified.
Tatemae immediately or not because the aim of the second questionnaire was not to confirm that tatemae expressions were "formulaic." Instead, they were asked to explain the purpose for which they used "tatemae," if they used it, in each context.

Table 4.4 shows the responses made in each context, the ratio of respondents who made the response, and the purpose(s) for which the response was made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context*</th>
<th>Use of tatemae**</th>
<th>&quot;Tatemae&quot; expressions and their purposes</th>
<th>Breakdown ***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1        | 7/10             | 1. I'm only here for the party / I came here to see what this matching agency was about. / I was curious about the party. (To avoid embarrassment.)  
2. Oh, really? What a surprise to see you here! / That is a nice of you. (To try to make Lisa feel comfortable / avoid making Lisa embarrassed.)  
3. Me, too. (To avoid embarrassment.) | 3/10 |
| 2        | 7/10             | 1. You can never have enough life insurance.  
2. You should always be on the lookout for a better deal. | 5/10  
2/10 |
| 3        | 0                |                                        |              |
| 4        | 9/10             | 1. No, not at all. [6] (To avoid offending / insulting / hurting the addressee; To avoid conflict / her anger.)  
2. No, not really. I just don't have much confidence in my singing ability to be taught by such a seasoned professional / I wanted to learn to sing the latest songs. | 6/10  
3/10 |
| 5        | 1/10             | 1. [In general, though certainly not always, an employee in this situation would probably tend to accept the supervisor's "advice."] |              |

Table 4.4: Use of Tatemae by English-speakers who have lived in Japan

Notes: N=10. In the parentheses following each response are the purposes for which the particular responses were made. Statements in the brackets are comments that the respondents made instead of direct responses.

*Context: See Appendix D for the contexts used in the questionnaire.

**Use of tatemae: The numbers in the column refer to the number of the total respondents who used tatemae in each context.

***Breakdown: This shows the breakdown of the usage of each tatemae statement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6</th>
<th>4/10</th>
<th>1. Yes. (To avoid revealing information to a boss.)</th>
<th>3/10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Yes. I just have some personal things I am working out.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(To avoid being relieved of her work responsibilities.)</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td>1. I'm sorry he isn't in. (To be polite.)</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>1. I've decided to return home to help my family because they need assistance. (To avoid showing her broker heart; to avoid losing face.)</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. [She would make up a story about wanting to be near her family or something to that effect.]</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. [Cathy should just mention those positive reasons she has for returning home and none of the negative reasons for leaving]</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1. They were great / fine / delicious. (To avoid insulting the other / to avoid hurting the other's feelings.)</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>2. It was very thoughtful of you to give me oranges. Trutfully, I haven't tried one yet.</td>
<td>3/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that 7 or more American respondents used "tatemae" in five of the ten contexts in which tatemae would be used in Japanese culture. The concept used by the American respondents is similar to tatemae in that it was used to hide the speaker's honne (true feelings) which might have hurt the addressee's feelings or made the speaker lose face. However, "tatemae" seems to differ from tatemae in Japanese culture in that unlike tatemae, the American respondents seemed to consider "tatemae" a lie.

This will be discussed in more detail below.

The fact that English-speaking respondents used a concept that appears to
resemble *tatemae* indicates that "*tatemae*" exists in American culture. There are three findings in the data from the second questionnaire: (1) "*tatemae*" is frequently used in contexts in which the speaker thinks s/he may hurt the addressee's feelings or lose his/her face unless s/he uses it; (2) a statement involving "*tatemae*" seems to be considered a lie; and (3) people in American culture express their *honme in* situations in which people in Japanese culture are not likely to express it.

4.3.1 American "*Tatemae*"

The first finding is that "*tatemae*" is frequently used when the speaker thinks s/he may hurt the addressee's feelings or lose face if s/he does not use it. The contexts in which more than half of the ten respondents used "*tatemae*" are American Contexts 1 (AC1), 2 (AC2), 4 (AC4), 8 (AC8), and 10 (AC10). In AC1, 7 respondents used "*tatemae*." The following is AC1:

Jane is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Lisa.

Lisa: I'm just here with a friend who didn't want to come alone.

Jane: __________________________________________

In this context, 4 respondents used "*tatemae*" to avoid embarrassment or shame on Jane's part, and 3 respondents used it to avoid making Lisa lose face or feel embarrassed.6

5 "AC" refers to American context in the second questionnaire as opposed to those written in Japanese in the first questionnaire, which are abbreviated as "C."

6 In C1 in the first questionnaire, some respondents made similar statements to those made in EC1 (e.g. "Oh, really?" and "What a surprise to see you here!"); however, these statements were not considered *tatemae* because, unlike other *tatemae* statements in C1, it was not clear if the respondents used them as *tatemae*. However, in EC1 it is clear from their comments that the respondents made these statements to hide their true feelings.
Respondent H states he would try to make Lisa, the addressee, feel comfortable since she seems to be embarrassed to be seen in this situation. Also, Respondent I states that if Lisa, the addressee, is embarrassed, then there is no need to further embarrass her.

In AC4, 9 respondents used “tatemae” to protect the addressee’s feelings.

Mr. Smith is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle-aged woman?
Mr. Smith: ________________________________

In this context, the respondents used “tatemae” to avoid hurting, offending, insulting, or angering the instructor. Respondent G states that most people in this situation would lie about their sense of disappointment because nobody would benefit from the truth here and unlike in some of the other contexts, a direct approach coupled with a sense of humor would not work in this situation. Also, Respondent I states that it would be very rude for the speaker to express disappointment directly to the instructor’s face, and if he did, the relationship might end. The purposes for which English-speaking respondents used “tatemae” were in accordance with those for which Japanese-speaking respondents used tatemae in the same context. Like Japanese-speaking respondents, it seems that English-speaking respondents also used “tatemae” when they thought they would hurt the addressee’s feelings if they did not use it.

Many respondents used “tatemae” in AC8:

Cathy, who is a 23-year-old woman, used to be in love with Bob, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Cathy broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown.
who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Bob.

Cathy: Thanks for the party. 

The purposes for which respondents said that they used “tatemae” were to save the speaker’s face, to avoid embarrassing oneself, and to avoid revealing a broken heart.

These purposes were in accordance with some of the purposes for which Japanese-speaking respondents used tatemae in the parallel Japanese context. Respondent F states that his response is not “against the facts,” but not the whole truth either. This indicates that “tatemae” in this particular context has one of the characteristics of tatemae used in Japanese culture: Tatemae works as feigned honne, which is not the speaker’s honne but is an actual condition, making the speaker sound honest. Although not all the respondents stated why they used “tatemae,” it seems that respondents used “tatemae” when they thought that they would hurt the addressee’s feelings or lose the speaker’s face if they did not use it. “Tatemae” was also used to avoid losing the speaker’s face in AC2:

Mr. Smith is a married man who is trusted by his supervisor and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His supervisor finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Smith say?

In this context, 7 respondents used “tatemae.” Their responses were, “You can never have enough life insurance” and “You should always be on the lookout for a better deal, etc.” The reasons why they made these responses were to save face and avoid embarrassment, which are in accordance with the reasons that Japanese respondents used tatemae in the same situation. Respondent G states that whether or not the speaker is honest in this situation would depend on his/her personality and the style of
communication between the speaker and the addressee. If the speaker, Mr. Smith, was nervous or insecure, he would use "tatemae" to avoid admitting a potentially embarrassing action. On the other hand, if he is not, he could be honest by using a direct, possibly humorous treatment of the situation at hand: "Did you see the insurance saleswoman? Need I say more?" Also, Respondent I stated, "Men can safely joke with one another about good-looking women entrancing them." It seems that if Mr. Smith phrases his true feelings as a humorous statement or joke, he will not lose face in this situation even though he does not use "tatemae." As Respondent G points out, whether or not "tatemae" is used may depend on Mr. Smith’s personality and the relationship between him and his supervisor. However, as the result shows, in general in this situation, the speaker is likely to use "tatemae" to avoid being considered a potential adulterer.

The above results suggest that within American culture, speakers are likely to employ "tatemae" when s/he believes that s/he would hurt the addressee’s feelings or lose face if s/he did not use it. This same characteristic is also true of the use of tatemae in Japanese culture. On the other hand, the speaker tends to avoid using "tatemae" when there is an alternative way to prevent from losing face or hurting the other person’s feelings. This seems to be because a statement involving "tatemae" is considered a lie in American culture. This is not the case in Japanese tatemae. Japanese tatemae is readily used even when it is contrary to the fact if it is appropriate to be used in a give situation. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

4.3.2 A "tatemae" statement as a lie

In Japanese culture, an untruthful statement involving tatemae in general is not
considered to be a lie, and it seems that people do not hesitate to state what is contrary to the fact when tatemae is involved. For example, in C10 (Tangerines), the speaker could choose either of two responses involving tatemae: “Tangerines were tasty” or “I haven’t eaten them yet” in order to hide her home that she does not like them. The former is contrary to what the speaker did, and the latter is not. 27 out of 38 Japanese respondents used the former tatemae, which indicates that they would not hesitate to say something contrary to fact in this situation. On the other hand, 5 out of 10 American respondents used the former in the same situation in AC10:

Judy is a 22 year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Tim, who is interested in her, brings her some oranges. She does not even eat the oranges because she does not like them. On the following day, Judy goes to work. Tim approaches Judy:

Tim: So how were the oranges?
Judy:

Most of the other half of American respondents, 4 to be exact, avoid saying anything contrary to fact. Respondent J responded, “Thanks again. It was so thoughtful of you to bring them by.” He states that he would talk around the issue until the subject changes. In other words, if put in Judy’s shoes, he would not reveal that he did not eat the oranges or that he does not like them. Respondent F responded, “Truthfully, I haven’t tried one yet.” Also, Respondent I responded, “I really appreciate your kindness, but I have not had any of them yet.” He stated that it would be very shocking for the speaker to say she hates oranges, and that it is more likely that she would acknowledge the kindness of his act and simply avoid the issue by telling him that she had not eaten any yet. The results from AC10 show that nearly half of the respondents avoided saying something contrary to the
fact. This is probably because, unlike untruthful statements involving *tatemae* in Japanese culture, American respondents consider such a statement involving “*tatemae*” a lie.

As described in the previous section, the results indicate that within American culture, it is common to use “*tatemae*” when the speaker thinks s/he would hurt the addressee’s feelings or lose his/her face if s/he did not use it (which is also true in the use of *tatemae* in Japanese culture). However, the American “*tatemae*” is different from *tatemae* in Japanese culture in that it is perceived negatively when it is untruthful. Respondent F for AC1 stated, “I would talk with her about something else. And if Lisa were to ask directly, assuming I were embarrassed, I would not answer directly, but neither would I lie.” He indicates that to use “*tatemae*” would be to use a lie. Also, Respondent G for AC4 states, “I think that most people in this situation would lie about their sense of disappointment.” Respondent J for AC4 stated that he would lie to avoid conflict. Moreover, Respondent C for AC7 stated, “If Cathy is this kind of woman, she would most likely use any kind of *tatemae* i.e. a lie...” Also, Respondent E for AC10, who used “*tatemae*,” stated, “A lie like this is hard to detect. So since it’s safe and won’t hurt Tim’s feelings, they most people will lie.” These respondents suggest that when Americans use an untruthful “*tatemae*” statement, they believe that they are lying. Their comments are in accordance with non-academic observers’ comments about *tatemae* among the Japanese, which were discussed in 2.1.1.2. Non-academic observers consider Japanese *tatemae* negatively either because they associate Japanese *tatemae* with American “*tatemae*” or they do not know for what purposes it is used in Japanese culture. If they recognize both the purposes for which Japanese use *tatemae* and they understand that Japanese people are not using it to deceive them but for good intentions, they are less
likely to feel offended.

4.3.3 *Honne* in Japanese and American cultures.

The last finding is that people in American culture express their *honme* in situations in which people in Japanese culture are not likely to express it. Table 4.5 shows the ratio of Japanese and American respondents who revealed their *honme* in each context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>C/AC 1</th>
<th>C/AC 2</th>
<th>C/AC 3</th>
<th>C/AC 4</th>
<th>C/AC 5</th>
<th>C/AC 6</th>
<th>C/AC 7</th>
<th>C/AC 8</th>
<th>C/AC 9</th>
<th>C/AC10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1(5%)</td>
<td>2(5%)</td>
<td>34(74%)</td>
<td>2(5%)</td>
<td>1(3%)</td>
<td>7(11%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8(21%)</td>
<td>1(3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>7(70%)</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>8(80%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: The number of the respondents who revealed their *honme* in each context in the two questionnaires.

Notes: The numbers in the first row after C (the contexts in the first questionnaire) or AC (the contexts in the second questionnaire) are the context numbers. The number in the parenthesis is the percentage of the number of the respondents who revealed their *honme* in each context. "J" refers to the respondents in the first questionnaire, and "A" refers to the respondents in the second questionnaire. "NA" refers contexts in which the speaker's *honme* is not clear so the ratio of *honme* used to number of respondents cannot be specified.

One informative example is in AC5. 7 American respondents expressed their *honme*.

Lisa is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague Tim with his project. She hasn't neglected the job her supervisor asked her to do, but the supervisor, who dislikes Tim, is jealous.

Supervisor: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.
Lisa: ______________________________________

Respondent C responded, "Sorry, but I was busy with something else. I haven't forgotten the job you asked me to; I will finish it on time." He wrote that the speaker had not...
neglected the job she was asked to do, so there was no reason to use a large degree of "artemae," even though her supervisor was her superior. Also, Respondent I stated that as long as the speaker is working hard, it is appropriate to let her boss know that she is working hard with Tim, something that will probably benefit the entire company in the long run. Respondent J responded the most directly of all the responses: "You should be grateful that I volunteer my free time at all. What's the problem?" He points out that the supervisor is abusing his power. These respondents believe that Lisa, the speaker, should be honest because there is nothing wrong with her behavior.

Another example in which English-speaking respondents did not hide their true feelings is AC6. Half of the respondents revealed their honesty. Respondent E stated that the speaker would say, "It's OK but I would rather work at the X department." Also, Respondent H stated he would say, "Well, I like many things about it, but there are some things that have been bothering me." He stated that the speaker does not want to give the impression that she does not like her job, but it sounds like the supervisor is concerned, so if the speaker believes her supervisor to be trustworthy, then it would be a good opportunity to discuss her dissatisfaction. Other respondents wrote that they would be honest, but they would try not to offend their supervisor or hurt other people. For instance, like Respondent H, Respondent I wrote that this would be a good opportunity for the speaker to hint to her boss that she wants a change. However, he stated that the speaker should not be terribly direct because if she is rude and says so directly, her boss might be offended and their relationship would be damaged. Also, Respondent C wrote that there is no reason to pretend nothing is wrong, but the speaker should not be honest if the problem she is having is related to her personal relationships with her coworkers.
Moreover, Respondent F stated that the speaker should tell the supervisor about those problems which the supervisor is in a position to do something about, but the speaker should keep the other problems to herself. These respondents suggest that the speaker should be honest in a way in which s/he will not offend or hurt others' feelings.

The responses show in AC5 and AC6 that Americans tend to justify their actions or express their *honne* about their jobs to their supervisor when there is nothing wrong with their actions or they are not in danger of offending their supervisor or hurting other people. In Japanese culture, on the other hand, people hesitate justifying their actions or expressing their *honne* about their jobs to their supervisor even when their actions or claims are not inappropriate. As the results from C5 and C6 in the first questionnaire show, in the parallel situations Japanese usually use *tatemae* to keep harmony with their superior. On the other hand, the responses in AC5 and AC6 suggest that one should justify him/herself even when it may cause confrontation with his/her supervisor. In American culture, it seems that the concept of avoiding confrontation is not as important as justifying one's action or claiming one's right when necessary.

Also, people in American culture seem to express their *honne* to their "intimate" family members in situations in which people in Japanese culture do not. In AC9, repeated below, 8 American respondents showed that the speaker would reveal his *honne*.

Ken has been working at an advertisement company, but he is laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Ken was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister is worried.

Sister: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Ken: _______________________

Respondents C and H stated that there was no reason for the speaker to use "*tatemae*"
with his own family members. Also, Respondent E and I wrote that people do not mind talking about this type of matter with their family because they know their family will support them. In the first questionnaire, although only 8 out of 38 Japanese respondents said the speaker would be honest in this situation, in the second questionnaire, 8 out of 10 American respondents said the speaker would reveal his *honne* to his sister. It seems that the difference in the respondents’ attitude in dealing with this particular situation comes from differences in the two cultures. As the above quotes from Respondents C, E, H, and I revealed, people in American culture feel they do not need to hide their true feelings from their family members, who they expect to understand their pains and support them. Moreover, Respondent D stated that "*tatemae*" is not frequently used between people who enjoy some closeness in their relationship. He also wrote that losing one’s job is not necessarily something that one needs to hide from others, and that there seems to be a greater tolerance in American culture for personal failure. Losing job may also be considered a bad luck. American attitudes toward two factors, namely the close relationship among family members and a more lenient stance toward personal failure, seem to affect the possible responses in this context.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the three types of data: data collected from TV sitcoms and films, data from the first questionnaire, and data from the second questionnaire. The first set of data suggests different purposes for which *tatemae* was used in Japanese culture. Also, it suggests five characteristics of *tatemae*: (1) the speaker uses *tatemae* either with or without the expression of the speaker’s consideration for the addressee. (2)
the general goal of *tatemae*'s to avoid confrontation, (3) in general a *tatemae* statement is a "formalistic" expression, which is uttered spontaneously by the speaker; (4) there are two types of *tatemae*: one is contrary to fact and the other is feigned *honne*; (5) *tatemae* can be expressed in various ways: honorific forms, special vocal qualities, and facial expressions among others; and (6) that *tatemae* is used with the speaker's out-group members as well as his/her "intimate" circle of family members or friends.

The second set of data, collected from the questionnaire based on Japanese contexts, confirms the findings from the first data, showing that *tatemae* statements are "formalistic" and that expressions of *tatemae* are ordinarily uttered spontaneously by the speaker. Also, there are three more findings: (1) people tend to use an untruthful statement when they think it will sound like the truth or when they are trying to be considerate of the addressee; (2) there is a tendency for the younger generation to reveal their *honne* where the older generation tends not to; (3) *tatemae* and *honne* do not necessarily exist together; and (4) in certain contexts, even when *tatemae* is not used, speakers still tend to avoid expressing their *honne*.

The third set of data shows that a concept similar to *tatemae* exists in American culture. In summary, there are three findings from the second questionnaire: (1) "*tatemae*" is frequently used in contexts in which the speaker thinks s/he may otherwise hurt the addressee's feelings or make the listener lose face; (2) Americans tend to think of statements involving "*tatemae*" as lies; and (3) people in American culture are likely to express their *honne* in situations in which people in Japanese culture are not likely to. *Tatemae* in Japanese culture and the equivalent concept in American culture are similar in that they are used to save the speaker's face and protect the other's face or feelings. On
the other hand, they are different in that an expression involving *tatemae* is not considered a lie in Japanese culture, while in American culture untruthful statements uttered in conjunction with "*tatemae*" are considered lies. Also, *tatemae* is used in Japanese culture with family members for the purpose of saving the speaker's face; however, "*tatemae*" in American culture does not seem to be used for this purpose. Finally, in Japanese culture, avoiding confrontation seems more important than justifying one's own actions or claims, but this does not seem to be the case in American culture.

The findings from the three types of data are useful in teaching the concept of *tatemae* to English-speaking learners. Chapter 5 will discuss pedagogical implications and present suggestions for how to teach the concept of *tatemae* and its use.
CHAPTER 5

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Suggestions for teaching the concept of *tatemae*

The findings discussed in the previous chapters suggest three important points regarding the teaching of the concept of *tatemae* in Japanese classes: (1) the concept of *tatemae* should be explicitly taught through explanation in English (FACT classes) and performance in Japanese (ACT classes); (2) the concept of *tatemae* should be taught through the use of a story which consists of a series of different contexts; and (3) the contexts should be explained clearly so that the students understand the settings, the relationship between participants in the conversation, and other relevant information necessary to contextualize the conversations.

5.1.1 Explaining the concept of *tatemae*

The concept of *tatemae* should be explicitly taught in two separate classes, one

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1 FACT classes are conducted in English with Japanese examples. FACT classes support students' performance in the ACT classes by providing explanation about the language and culture, and coaching the students on learning strategies. ACT classes are conducted entirely in Japanese. Students are expected to perform in situations that are realistic as the instructor can make them (The Ohio State University, 2000).
involving describing the concept in English and the other involving performance in Japanese. The findings from the data in the second questionnaire indicate that a concept comparable to *tatemae* seems to exist in American culture, referred to in this study as "*tatemae*," but there are a few differences between "*tatemae*" in American culture and *tatemae* in Japanese culture: (1) American "*tatemae*" is not always used to avoid confrontation, which is the general purpose of Japanese *tatemae*; (2) untruthful statements involving American "*tatemae*" are considered lies, whereas those involving Japanese *tatemae* are not; and (3) American "*tatemae*" is not likely to be used within the speaker's "intimate" circle for the purpose of saving his/her face, while Japanese *tatemae* is used for this purpose.

Since the concept of "*tatemae*" in American culture and that of *tatemae* in Japanese culture are somewhat similar, learners may jump to the conclusion that these two concepts are exactly the same. Unless the learners are explicitly taught about the concept of *tatemae* and are made to understand the differences between the two, they are not likely to understand the correct use of *tatemae* in Japanese culture. As Yokoyama (1993) states, it is important for students learning Japanese to have adequate knowledge in Japanese sociolinguistics, which they cannot learn only by communicating with native speakers of Japanese. In order for students to understand the way in which *tatemae* is used among native-speakers of Japanese, the concept of *tatemae* should be taught explicitly in FACT classes before the students practice the use of *tatemae* in ACT classes.

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2 Yokoyama (1993) investigated the differences between Japanese techniques for refusal both to other Japanese and to non-Japanese. She found that Japanese people tend to use different strategies for refusal when speaking with other Japanese and non-Japanese. She argues that this is because Japanese people operate upon the stereotype that Americans express what they think and feel directly.
A team of native English instructors and native Japanese instructors would most efficiently fulfill this objective.

Jorden (1985) states that Japanese language pedagogy is effective when employing team teaching that draws upon the resources of both native speakers of Japanese and English. She writes that an English-speaking instructor can most efficiently help the students understand differences in the two languages and cultures because s/he speaks the students' base language and is from the students' base culture. On the other hand, a Japanese-speaking instructor can interact with the students in the target language and serve as a model. Such interactions with trained native teachers are essential for the students to understand what situations are likely to arise when speaking with native Japanese.

The concept of *tatemae* is also best taught through team teaching. For example, in FACT classes, a native English instructor could explain the cultural background of this concept and the differences between "*tatemae*" in American culture and *tatemae* in Japanese culture. S/he could explain the differences between the two concepts and the use of *tatemae* through examples. Meanwhile, a Japanese-speaking instructor could create contexts in which *tatemae* is used, give models to show the use of *tatemae*, and correct the students' errors. If the course only has a single instructor assigned to the course, s/he must be able to play both roles, introducing and explaining the concept of *tatemae*, if a good textbook is not available, and creating authentic contexts in which *tatemae* is used.

The instructor may not be completely familiar with the target culture, since an instructor who has absolute knowledge of both the target and the learner's base cultures is rare (Walker and McGinnis, 1995). Even a native speaker of Japanese may not be able to
analyze the values of the target culture. Jorden (1992) states that target-language native instructors cannot analyze their own behavior and values beyond the level of casual observation unless they are academically trained. In order to teach the concept of *tatemae* most effectively, such instructors should be trained to teach the target culture.

Key points to keep in mind when teaching the concept of *tatemae* are: (1) the concept of *tatemae* stems from the desire to avoid confrontation, for which American "*tatemae*" is not always used; (2) "*tatemae*" in American culture and *tatemae* in Japanese culture have both similarities and differences, and (3) Japanese *tatemae* is used for various immediate purposes.

The first key point to keep in mind when teaching *tatemae* is that *tatemae* stems from the desire to avoid confrontation between individuals. The findings from the first and second questionnaires show that American respondents did not always use "*tatemae*" to avoid confrontation, but Japanese respondents regularly used *tatemae* for this purpose. It seems American respondents find it more important to justify their actions or to assert their rights than to avoid confrontation. In order to help students learn the correct use of *tatemae*, it is necessary to explain its cultural background, in other words, that *tatemae* has the important role of helping to avoid confrontation within Japanese society, and this is often more important than one's own claims or rights.

The second key point to keep in mind when teaching *tatemae* is that one should not forget to emphasize the differences between "*tatemae*" in American culture and *tatemae* in Japanese culture. The preceding paragraphs mention that "*tatemae*" is not always used to avoid confrontation. There are two more differences found in the data: Americans tend to consider expressions involving "*tatemae*" to be lies, and such
expressions are not used for the purpose of saving the speaker's face with his/her family. On the other hand, Japanese do not tend to consider untruthful statements involving *tatema* to be lies, and such expressions are used even with the speaker's family.

First of all, one must point out that *tatema* does not always carry a negative connotation in Japanese culture, and that the addressee is not likely thinking of the person using an untruthful statement involving *tatema* as a liar. Students of Japanese, however, do not have to be forced to use *tatema* if they are uncomfortable in doing so. The purpose of learning the Japanese language is not to become Japanese but rather to become an informed foreigner who can function appropriately in Japanese society (National Foreign Language Center [NFLC], 1993). What is important is that the students should understand for what purposes and under what circumstances Japanese-speakers use *tatema*.

Chapter 2 described that non-academic observers seem to consider *tatema* negatively because they felt as if they were deceived by the speaker who used *tatema*. They may have felt this way because they do not know the purposes for which *tatema* was used, and also they did not have the ability to recognize the speaker's *honno*. It is the most essential, therefore, for the students to be trained so as to be able to interpret how *tatema* functions in a given context. If they understand the purposes of *tatema* when it is used, their anger will be gone.

The other difference between "*tatema*" in American culture and *tatema* in Japanese culture is that the latter can be used even with the speaker's ingroup members for the purpose of saving his/her face. As the findings in the second questionnaire show, unlike Japanese-respondents, American respondents are not likely to use "*tatema*" with
their family and close friends for the purpose of saving their (the speakers') face. The students may have to be taught cultural differences surrounding the use of *tatemae*. For example, it is often so embarrassing for an individual in Japan to lose a job that s/he may hide it from his/her family members to save his/her face and avoid worrying them. For such people, saving their face and not bothering their family are more important than being comforted by their family. Although attitudes may depend on the speaker's personality, the responses of the American respondents suggest that it is necessary for American students to recognize that the relationship among family members is not the same in the two cultures.

The third point to keep in mind when teaching *tatemae* is that the students should be taught different purposes for which *tatemae* is used. As the present thesis shows, *tatemae* is used for different purposes, such as saving one's face and avoiding hurting the addressee's feelings. The students may not understand why the speaker has to save his/her face in certain contexts. For example, the discussion above mentions that Japanese people are likely to feel embarrassed when they lose their jobs so that they may hide the fact from even their "intimate" circle. If the students do not understand why Japanese have to save their face in this situation, they will not understand the necessity of using *tatemae* in this particular context. Before dealing with such a situation in performance in ACT classes, the instructor needs to teach the students the explicit purposes for which *tatemae* is likely to be used.

As discussed above, the concept of *tatemae* must be taught explicitly in FACT classes in order to help them to understand how *tatemae* functions in different contexts so as to be able to interpret the purposes for which it is used in their performance. There are
also important points for the instructor to keep in mind when creating lesson plans and helping the students put the concept of *tatemae* into practice in their performance in the classroom.

5.1.2 Performing *tatemae* in different contexts

As discussed throughout this study, the use of *tatemae* differs in different contexts; therefore, the concept of *tatemae* must be taught in contexts. Japanese textbooks in general tend not to present different contexts when teaching a specific point. Laohuburanakit (1995), for example, states that Japanese textbooks only present the speech act of refusals in certain contexts, and the contexts usually do not clearly show the relationship between the speakers. He argues that since the use of refusals differs in different contexts, textbooks should present different contexts in which this speech act takes place. In the same way, the use of *tatemae* differs in different contexts. In order to effectively introduce different types of *tatemae*, different contexts must be prepared. It is best if these contexts consist of a series of scenes in one story rather than a number of unrelated incidents.

The use of *tatemae* differs in different contexts, and each context in which *tatemae* is used should clearly show the elements necessary to realize the performance, such as time, place, roles, and audience. This helps the students contextualize the use of

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1. Laohuburanakit (1995) investigated refusals in actual telephone conversations between native speakers of Japanese in which refusals took place, then he compared them to refusals as presented in Japanese textbooks. He found that textbooks, such as *An Introduction to Modern Japanese* (1977) and *Jissen Nihongo* (1992), did not present refusals in different contexts, and these limited contexts were not enough to help the learners understand the use of this speech act.

2. Walker and Noda (1999) write, "performances and games are the enactment of scripts or behaviors situated at a
tatetmae, and thus allows them to understand the correct deployment of tatetmae. It is most effective to introduce the contexts as a series of scenes which makes one story, much like a sit-com or a film. Walker and Noda (1999) state that “Story (memory) is the personal memory of having experienced a performance or a game” (203). The use of tatetmae should be experienced in a story consisting of a series of different contexts that will become an individual’s memory of experience. This will help the students perform appropriately in a similar situation that they will encounter in their futures. There are several advantages in teaching tatetmae in a series of contexts. First, it is easy for the students to understand each context and to experience home as well as deployment of tatetmae. Second, in a story, it is possible to show how the roles of characters change in different contexts. Third, the story can be used for other exercises, such as asking the students context questions about the story and having them tell the story, which will help the students retain what they learned in the story. Finally, it is fun for the students to play the roles of characters in a story.

Chapter 3 discussed investigating the use of tatetmae in television programs and films, which of course consist of stories or narratives. In these materials, the elements necessary to realize the performance – elements such as setting, the roles of characters, and audience – are clearly introduced so that the viewers understand what the speakers are doing, feeling, and thinking not only in the context in which the conversation takes place, but also in the preceding and following contexts. When this kind of story or narrative is used in the classroom, the contexts will provide the students with enough information to understand what is going on in a particular conversation. In teaching the

specified time and place with roles and audience specified” (1999).
concept of *tatemae*, it is essential for students to know the speaker’s *honne* and the purpose for which the speaker uses *tatemae*. These are often explained before or after the specific utterance employing *tatemae*. It is easy for students to understand the speaker’s *honne* and the purposes for using *tatemae* if they know the previous and following contexts.

Moreover, in a story, it is possible to show how the roles of characters change in different contexts. For example, a member of a family in one context can be a supervisor in a company in another. The purposes for which the speaker uses *tatemae* may be different in the two contexts. Identifying the distinctions between in-group and out-group are very important in using *tatemae* appropriately.

The concepts of in-group and out-group are notoriously difficult for English-speaking learners to understand for two reasons. One is that this concept does not have much affect on what they say in their language (Gudykunst and Nishida, 1994); for instance, in American culture, one can say “She is coming” whether the person coming is the First Lady or one’s own daughter. On the other hand, in Japanese, one has to use honorific polite forms to exalt a person superior in social status, but one does not when interacting with someone in one’s in-group member. In other words, every utterance is marked in Japanese by social considerations; there is no neutral language which can be used equally to talk about one’s social superiors and intimate circle alike. In this way, the concepts of in-group and out-group in Japanese culture have a central place in interpersonal communication, but this is not necessarily the case in American culture.

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1 It is true, however, that familiarity and politeness figure in aspects of language use, for example, in terms of address.
The other difficulty is that the in-group/out-group line is not fixed (Wetzel, 1984; Jordon, 1992). For instance, when a secretary is interacting with her supervisor, her supervisor is her out-group member. In this case, she has to use honorific polite forms when she talks with and about the supervisor. On the other hand, when she is interacting with a client, the supervisor is in her in-group, and she must use humble polite forms to refer to the supervisor. In this way, the in-group/out-group distinction constantly changes depending on the context, and the speaker must use the language appropriate to the context. In a story, which consists of a series of different contexts, the in-group/out-group distinction is made clear, helping the students understand the use of *tatemonoe*.

Another advantage is that stories can be used for other exercises, which will help them retain what they learned in the story. After the students practice the conversation in each context, the instructor can ask the students content questions about the story. In this exercise, the students describe the story from the perspective of an onlooker. Also, the students can practice telling a whole story using their own words. Walker and Noda (1999) state, "Being able to tell tales from popular target-culture artifacts, such as a television show or a novel, is one of the surest ways to establish a bond with members of that culture" (204). Through this task, the students will be able to create a schema or guidelines about how to use *tatemonoe* in Japanese culture. It may be challenging for elementary-level students to tell a long story, but the task is not impossible if the instructor selects some part of the story that the students could express with what they know. The context could also be a chance to practice other target structures or points. For example, students could practice different speech styles, e.g. one between friends and another between strangers. Moreover, advanced-level students can write a summary of or
comments about the story. Creative students will make sequences with the story. Through such follow-up exercises, the students can retain what they learned in the story.

Finally, it is fun for students to play the roles of the characters in the scenes of stories one sees on television, and acting helps the students to forget the fact that they are performing a task. Krashen (1982) writes that acquisition of language can occur subconsciously as a result of participating in natural communication where the focus is on meaning. While playing the roles of the characters in a story, the students can implicitly learn how *tatemae* is used.

The above section discussed the importance and advantages in teaching the concept of *tatemae* through a story consisting of a series of different contexts. In order to make a good use of a story for teaching the concept of *tatemae*, the contexts should be carefully prepared.

5.1.3 Creating effective contexts

In order to create effective contexts, the instructor should keep the following three points in mind: (1) conversations or written texts should not include many vocabulary items or structures unfamiliar to the students; (2) contexts should be authentic and relevant to the students; and (3) contexts should be easy to understand.

First, conversations should not present many vocabulary items or structures unfamiliar to the students. The use of *tatemae* cannot be presented in one short conversation. For a fifty-minute class, for example, the model set of conversations should be three short conversations, one *tatemae* conversation and two non-*tatemae* conversations, which reveal the speaker's *honne* and the purposes for which s/he uses
**Tatemae.** Even assuming that the students are supposed to work on the conversations before they come to class, it is difficult for them to memorize three conversations if they include many new vocabulary items or structures unfamiliar to them. This should be considered when the conversations are created. One alternative is to present *tatemae* conversations in a review session in which the students can review what they learned over a period of time. Before the session, the instructor should provide the students with handouts to explain the contexts and a cassette tape on which the conversations are recorded so that the students can work on the conversations before coming to class.

Secondly, the contexts should be authentic and relevant to the students. Noda (1994) states that activities for teaching a foreign language should not only be authentic, but also provide plausible stories in which the learners can formulate the schema that the stories represent. The series of contexts will be created in a way that will be authentic and relevant to the students. For example, the stories should take place where the students are likely to study, work, and get together, places such as school, work, or department stores. Also, characters' activities should be common ones situated within clearly stated contexts so that the students can formulate schemas or guidelines for what is said in what way in contexts they are likely to encounter in the future. When studying a language, the students are trying to learn how to behave in social environments that they will face in their futures (Garhold, 1999). Therefore, when the instructor creates contexts, s/he should make sure that they are situations likely to occur in daily life or situations that the students are likely to face in the near future.

Finally, the contexts should be easy for the students to understand. If the students do not understand the contexts, performing the conversation is of no benefit to
the students. Even though a context will be clear if it is introduced in a series of contexts in a story, there are always some students who have difficulty understanding the context. Performing a specific behavior in the target culture cannot have any benefit if the people doing the performing do not understand the meaning of what they are doing (Walker & McGinnis, 1995). It is the instructor’s responsibility to create a context that is easy for students to understand.

The instructor should always keep in mind that the students’ base culture and the target culture are different, and that what the students believe is also different from what people believe in the target culture. For example, in Context 10 in the first questionnaire, the speaker is given tangerines. If using a similar situation in the classroom, instructors should explain to students that unlike in American culture, tangerines are a common gift when someone has a cold in Japan. Also, in Context 2 in the questionnaire, the Japanese speaker may buy an insurance policy out of a sense of obligation or a saleswoman may be invited to a party sponsored by a company. As the responses of the English-speakers showed, such behavior is difficult to fathom within American culture (refer to Appendix F). Moreover, as Dialogue 9 from the television programs indicates, in Japanese society, a high pitched female voice is associated with valued characteristics such as “cuteness,” “kindness,” and “politeness” (Ide and Yoshida, 1999), but in American culture this is not always true. These different cultural concepts must be taught explicitly before the students perform conversations in which tatemae is used; otherwise, the students may not understand the contexts thoroughly enough.

Having taken FACT classes before the ACT classes, students are supposed to be able to interpret how tatemae functions in given contexts so as to be able to perform the
conversations with little explanation of the contexts or contents. However, there are always some students who do not understand the contexts even if they read the handouts or work on the conversations. One way to prevent these students from causing too much dead time is to use visual aids and help the students understand what is going on. Visual aids also will play an important role in helping the students remember the conversations and encouraging them to correct their errors.

5.2 Conclusion

The findings in the present study provided three suggestions for teaching the concept of *tatemae* to English-speaking learners. The concept of *tatemae* should be explicitly taught both in lectures in English and in performance in Japanese. Also, the concept of *tatemae* should be taught in a story consisting of a series of related contexts. Moreover, the contexts should be explained clearly so that the students understand the settings, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and other relevant information. These suggestions are useful for instructors to help students understand the concept of *tatemae*, which seems to be similar but different from "*tatemae*" in American culture. Implementing these suggestions will train the students to interpret the purposes for which *tatemae* is used in different contexts. The students need not be encouraged to use *tatemae* if they feel uncomfortable; however, they should be able to interpret the use of *tatemae* when they interact with a native speaker of Japanese. In doing so, the student will avoid misinterpreting the expressions of the native speaker's use of *tatemae* as insincere.

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CHAPTER 6

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the concept of *tatemae*. In order to investigate the
different purposes for which *tatemae* is used and its detailed characteristics, fifty *tatemae*
conversations were collected from contemporary television programs and films. Also,
both Japanese-speakers and English-speakers were asked to respond to questionnaires
about *tatemae* in Japanese culture and similar situations in American culture. The
findings of these data provided useful information to make suggestions for teaching the
concept of *tatemae* to English-speaking learners.

The methods of data collection used in this thesis were effective enough to
examine the concept of *tatemae*; however, there are several points to make further study
more productive.

6.2 Improving methods of data collection

6.2.1 Date collection from TV sit-coms and films

Chapter 3 has described several advantages of collecting data from TV sit-coms

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and films. One important advantage is that television programs and films, unlike other materials, are stories that present a series of contexts. The scenes before and after the specific context in which *tatemae* is used are essential to determine the speaker's *honne* and the purposes for which *tatemae* was used. Television programs and films provide the perfect opportunity to gather such information. Collecting data in naturally occurring situations may be more reliable than collecting data from television and films, which are not real. However, it is very difficult to collect data from naturally occurring conversations since it is difficult to know exactly why *tatemae* was deployed in different conversations.

However, the data collected from television and film for the present study is not perfect. First, more data should be collected. In this study, fifty conversations were collected and the data showed that there were eight different purposes for which *tatemae* was used. This is enough to prove that *tatemae* is used for different purposes; however, there is a possibility that further investigation will reveal more different purposes, which may provide further help in teaching the concept of *tatemae*.

Second, more sub-genres of TV sit-coms should be considered. In the present study, most of the sit-coms from which the data were collected were love stories. Although these sit-coms provided data regarding various settings in which *tatemae* was used, many of the conversations involved interactions between young people. Other genres, such as stories about school life in which professors interact with students, might provide additional information about possible situations in which *tatemae* would be deployed. A variety of genres might allow one to identify more purposes. Also, it would be useful to include other different contexts in the questionnaires.
6.2.2 Two types of questionnaires

In the present study, in addition to television and films, two types of questionnaires (dialogue completion tests) were used to collect data. The questionnaires were used to confirm some of the findings from the first data and to compare and contrast the responses from Japanese-speakers with those from English-speakers. The first questionnaire dealt with *tatemae* in Japanese culture, and the second dealt with the American equivalent. Both Japanese-speaking and English-speaking subjects were asked to complete dialogues in ten contexts. Japanese subjects were also asked to write down if they thought up the response spontaneously in each dialogue. Again, there are a few points that could be improved to collect further data.

First of all, instead of a dialogue completion test, videotaping could be used to find out if *tatemae* statements are "formulaic" and uttered spontaneously. This method may be time-consuming because the researcher has to meet each subject and give the context for each dialogue in which they expect *tatemae* might be used. However, collecting data on videotaping has a few advantages. First, data from videotaping shows the speaker's facial expressions and vocal qualities, which were found in this study to be important in determining if a particular expression represented an instance of *tatemae* or not. Second, data from videotaping will clearly show if the subjects are hesitant to use *tatemae* and will give more reliable results than asking them to indicate on paper if they thought up the *tatemae* expression spontaneously or not.

If a dialogue completion test is the only option, the following points could help improve data collection. First of all, there should be more subjects to respond to the questionnaires. The first questionnaire examined data from three groups of about thirteen
respondents each. If the data had been collected from more people, it may have been easier to identify differences between the three groups. In the same way, there should be more American subjects for the second questionnaire in order to get more concrete results about “*tatemae*” in American culture.

Second, the gender of the subjects should be considered. Although the age of the subjects was considered in the first questionnaire, gender was not considered to be a variable. This is because it was difficult to find even numbers of male and female Japanese-speaking subjects who were native speakers of Tokyo or similar dialects. Gender is certainly one of the important elements in analyzing language use. For example, Ide and Yoshida (1999) note, “Women tend to use honorific and polite expressions more frequently than men.” The use of *tatemae* may also differ with men and women. Therefore, the gender of the subjects should be made one of the variables for the subjects for the questionnaires. Also, the two different sets of data, one from males and the other from females, should be compared to see if the two groups of people use *tatemae* differently.

Third, contexts in which “*tatemae*” in American culture is actually used should be examined and compared with those in which *tatemae* is used. The findings from the first and second questionnaires show similarities and differences between *tatemae* and “*tatemae*” in American culture. They provided useful information for teaching of *tatemae* in Japanese culture to English-speaking learners. However, the contexts in which *tatemae* was expected to be used may be different from those in which “*tatemae*” is actually used in American culture; therefore, one should further investigate the contexts in which
“tatemaes” is used in American culture to identify more similarities and differences between tatemaes and its American equivalent.

Fourth, honne should be more closely investigated to understand the concept of tatemaes. Although it has been proved that tatemaes and honne are not always complementary parts of a whole, there is a close relationship between the two. In fact, tatemaes cannot exist without honne. Therefore, it will be worth investigating honne in order to examine more characteristics of tatemaes. Chapter 5 discussed that it would be important for the students to be trained so as to be able to recognize when tatemaes is used and to interpret the purposes of tatemaes in given contexts. It will be also helpful for the students to learn when the speaker chooses to use honne, instead of tatemaes.

It is this researcher’s hope that there will be future studies that will provide suggestions about how to most effective teach the concept of tatemaes, which an exceedingly important aspect of Japanese culture that should be introduced to learners of the language.
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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPT FROM FILMS AND TV SIT-COMS
OF CONVERSATIONS INVOLVING TATEMAE

Note: Conversations involving tatemae are grouped according to the television dramas and films from which they were collected. The conversations are ordered alphabetically by the English translations of their titles. I have numbered the contexts for each of these conversations involving tatemae. The underlined utterances are those that I have considered to reflect tatemae. At the end of each conversation, I have described the speaker’s home, the evidence that I used to reach the conclusions about the speaker’s home, and possible purpose(s) why the speaker might use tatemae.

FILMS

Sip Saragiiman Senka (1997)
Director: Asahara, Yuzo.
Theme: A story of a middle-aged white-collar worker (Mansaku), who also takes a good care of his family. Mansaku is responsible for both his work and his family. He also studies conversational English. In this dialogue, his father-in-law, who is old and shows a symptom of dementia, comes to visit and stay for a while with Mansaku and his family. Mansaku is not very close to his father-in-law, and he shows respect for him, but his father-in-law is selfish and nasty. The father-in-law is not a bad person, but he does not get along well with his daughter.

1. Context A: Mansaku tries to entertain his father-in-law, who is not in good mood as usual. He talks about conversational English that he is learning.

I have assumed that tatemae is at work whenever the speaker’s actions or utterances appear to be concealing the speaker’s home for the purpose of keeping harmony or dealing with the immediate situation.

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Mansaku: *Maa, zonyuu sugite kara hazimeru to hontoo ni taihen desu ne. Omoosan wa perusera destia ne. Nani ko hiketu arimasen ka?* (Well, It is very hard to start learning conversational English after the age of forty, isn’t it? Father, you are fluent in English, aren’t you? Is there any secret about it?)

Father-in-law: *Arimasu yo.* (Yes, there is.)

Mansaku: *Zyaas, sore o tyotto oshite kudasai yo.* (Then, could you tell me the secret?)

Father-in-law: *Amerika-go o narau no ni wa, amerika-zin no onna o takuru koto desu yo.* (In order to learn the American language, it is that you should have an American girl friend.)

Mansaku: *Aa... [He smiles].* (Um...) 

*Horae:* Mansaku is disappointed by his father-in-law’s suggestion, which he did not expect to hear from him.

*Evidence:* Mansaku looks annoyed by what his father-in-law said.

*Purpose(s):* To save face of the addressee, who is the father-in-law of the speaker and supposed to show dignity to the speaker; to leave good impressions on the addressee.

**Shall We Dance?** (1996).

*Producer:* Ikeda, Tetsuya

*Theme:* A story about a middle-aged office worker (Sugiyma) starts dance lessons out of admiration for a young female instructor.

2. Context A: After several days of consideration, Sugiyma, who is a section manager, finally gathers his courage to go to the dance studio. He has been watching from his commuter train a beautiful woman who stands by the window of the studio. Student A (his name is unknown) asks other students, including Sugiyama, at a bar after the first day of the lessons why they started dance lessons? He first asks Tanaka, an overweight student, and then Sugiyama.

Student A: *Tanaka-san wa mada nan de?* (Mr. Tanaka, why [did you start dance lessons]?)

Tanaka: *Toomyooohyo de isya ni susumere...* (I am diabetic, and my doctor recommended it to me.)

Student A: *Owakai no ni sore wa taihen desu ne. Soo, dansu wa karada ni ii n desu. De otaku wa?* (Although you are young, that must have been hard on you. Yes, dance is good for you. And you? [He turns to Sugiyama.])
Sugiyama: [He first hesitates responding] ...Yoppari karada ni ii to kilamastie... (I also heard that it [dance] was good for you...)

Student A: Minasan sooo isha ni ossyaru n desu yo ne. Nan da ka ne, syoozaki ni hara watteru ru no watasi dahe desu ka? (Everyone says so... Why? Am I the only one who is honest?)

Hone: Sugiyama started dance lessons because he wanted to dance with the young instructor.

Evidence: He reveals his hone to the instructor later:

"Mainiti mite ru uti ni iti-do de ii kara densu o odotte mitai to omou yoo ni natta. Anata ni koo o motte sore ga mokuteki de kono kyosai ni haita koto wa zizitu da kedo, anata ga mokuteki zya nai, dansu ga mokuteki de hazimeta n da, soo yatte syanimu ni odotte tara itu no ma ni ka dansu ga suki ni natta ta" [(As I watched you standing by the window, I became to wish to dance.] I thought it would be great even if I could dance with you just once. It is true that I became interested in you, which was the reason I joined this dance studio, but as I devoted myself to dance, I told myself that my intention was to join the dance club, that I wanted to learn dance, not that I was interested in you. At some point while I was dancing my heart out, I found myself growing fonó of dance.)

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, a respectable business person with a family; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

3. Context B: Sugiyama happens to meet Aoki, who works at the same company as he does. Aoki wears a wig, which makes him look so awkward that people in the dance studio thinks he is disgusting. Aoki is embarrassed when he realizes that his awkward dance has been noticed by Sugiyama, who comes to the studio to take a lesson. After the lesson, Aoki and Sugiyama go to a near-by bar and talk about dance. Then, Aoki asks Sugiyama why he started dance lessons.

Aoki: Tokora de Sugiyama-san wa nan de mata dansu o? (By the way, why did you start dance lessons, Mr. Sugiyama?)

Sugiyama: [He hesitates answering the question, seeming to be troubled.] Ec, ano... koko no tokoro yotto undo o budoku datta si, dansu wa karada ni ii ravi n desu... (Yes, well... because recently I haven’t been getting much exercíae, and it seems that dance is good for you...)

Aoki: Soo ishi to wa oot o da. Mina sooo is n da. Demo Sugiyama-san, Kaisya ni wa naisyo desu yo. Nani o iwereru ka, wakatta mono zya nai n da kara. (There are many people who say so. Everyone says so. But Mr. Sugiyama, let’s keep this secret from people at work. There’s no telling what they’d say.)

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Sugiyama: *Ee, sore wa motiron...* (Yes, of course.)

**Honne:** See “Honne” for Context 3.
**Evidence:** See “Evidence” for Context 3.
**Purpose(s):** See “Purpose(s)” for Context 3.

4. **Context C**: Sugiyama’s wife is worried about her husband, who regularly comes home late on Wednesday. Sugiyama goes to dance lessons on Wednesdays, which he hides from her. In the laundry room his wife sniffs his shirt for perfume. She looks very worried. Then, she hears her daughter coming.

   **Daughter:** *Okaasan.* (Mom.)
   **Mother:** (*She smiles.*) *N?* (Yes?)

   **Honne:** She is worried about Sugiyama’s coming home late.
   **Evidence:** The preceding scene shows she looks very worried.
   **Purpose(s):** To avoid worrying the addressee.

5. **Context D**: At a dance studio. New comers to the dance studio were expecting to learn dance from the young instructor, but their instructor is actually a middle-aged woman.

   **Tamura:** *Hai. Garamu resson hazinemasu yo. Tamura Tamako desu. Obaatya de gakkari sita?* (Are you disappointed because I am old?)
   **Student:** (*He first looks disappointed.*) *To, tonde mo nai. Yasasino de hoto miorii.* (Heavens, no. I am relieved because you look so kind)

   **Honne:** The student’s disappointed.
   **Evidence:** In the preceding scene, the student was watching the young instructor and seemed to expect that she would be his instructor.
   **Purpose(s):** To avoid disappointing the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

6. **Context E**: At a dance studio. Takahashi, a middle-aged female dance club member is waiting for Kawai, a young male dancer.

   **Kawai:** *Ooku narimasita.* (I am late.)

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Takahashi: Nani, deo sira no? Kawai-chan. Osoi n da kara moo. (What happened? You are late.)

Kawai: Gomenasai. [He starts to dance with Tanaka.]
Takahashi: [She becomes cheerful.] Ittou soo na n da kara... (You are always like this.)

Kawai: Ototta Toyoko-san mo kiree da na... (You are pretty even when you are angry.)

Honne: Kawai does not think Takahashi is pretty.
Evidence: The audience (dance instructors and club members) look disgusted when Kawai flirts with Takahashi, suggesting that they know Kawai does not think that Takahashi is pretty, but he wants to improve her feelings by the compliment.
Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee.

7. Context F: At a dance club. Sugiyama is persuaded by Tamura (a middle-aged dancer) to dance with Takahashi (a middle-aged dance club member), who has been looking for a partner to dance with at the dance competition. Sugiyama agrees that he will dance with Takahashi because he feels sympathy for her after hearing from her daughter that Takahashi works very hard to pay for membership and tuition to the dance club, all in the hopes that she will someday win a competition.

Takahashi: [She seems to be happy that she can dance with Sugiyama, but she does not want anyone to feel sorry for her.] Tyotto Sugiyama-san, uo no masume ga nante itta ke siranai kedo, dozuyo de odo-te kureru n dattara, kott kara negai-ya da kara ne. (Excuse me, Mr. Sugiyama, I don’t know what you heard from my daughter, but if you are dancing with me just out of sympathy, I will have to turn down your offer.)

Sugiyama:...

Tamura: Nani nikuware-gui tatuite ru no? Anata ni dozyuso na n te sore wa wakku dusyo? Sugiyama-san ga hikutsekai no wa Mai-chan ni tunomase ta kara na no yo. (Why are you being so brusque? There is no reason Mr. Sugiyama should feel sorry for you, is there? He accepted the offer because Mai-chan asked him to do so.)

Takahashi: Doose sonna koto daroo to omotta ne yo. [She looks happy.] (That’s what I thought.)

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Home: Tamura feels sorry for Takahashi, and Tamura knows Sugiyama will agree to
dance with her because he too feels sorry for Takahashi. Tamura, not Mai (the
young instructor), asked Sugiyama to dance with Takahashi. Tamura used
tatemae because she thinks that if Takahashi knew that Tamura and Sugiyama
were feeling sorry for her, she would not dance with Sugiyama. Sugiyama does
not want to dance with her, but when he talks to Takahashi’s daughter, he begins
to feel sorry for Takahashi, who is working hard to make her dream come true.
The following conversation is the evidence:

Evidence: In the men’s bathroom at the company, Sugiyama talks with
Aoki about dancing with Takahashi at the dance competition.

Sugiyama: Taikai ni deru koto ni natte ne, Takahashi-san to kumu n desu yo.
[He looks unhappy.] (It has been decided that I will participate in the dance
competition with Ms. Takahashi.)

Purpose(s): To avoid disappointing the addressee; to avoid overly complicating the
situation; to save face of the addressee, who is a proud women and does
not want to be sympathized.

TELEVISION SIT-COMS

BEAUTIFUL LIFE (2000)

Producers: Ikuno, Sigeo and Hiroki Ueda.

This is a love story of a hair stylist (Shuji) and a woman (Kyoko) who is physically
handicapped. Although Kyoko is in a wheelchair, she works in a library and lives an
independent life. Kyoko starts going out with Shuji, but almost gives him up because she
thinks nobody wants to go out with a handicapped person; however, she loves him
because Shuji continually demonstrates that his feelings for her are nothing but true love.
Kyoko finally dies because of her disease, but she has been very happy with Shuji.
8. Context A: Shuji has been looking for a female who will allow him to cut her hair for the examination that will allow him to get a raise in his hair salon. He thinks of Kyoko and comes to the library where Kyoko and her colleague Sachi are working.

Shuji: Oore no katoo moderu yatte kun nai ka na. (Will you be a hair-cut model for me?)

Kyoko: E? (What?)

Sachi: Are? Riyoo-shi-san na n desu ka? (Oh, are you a hair stylist?)

Shuji: Maa itoo. (Well, I suppose you could say that.)

Sachi: Au, soo datta n da. Doori de maa osyare da na tee omotte tan desu. (Is that so. That’s why I thought you are so stylish.)

Shuji: ‘ya... (Well...) Sachi: Atae zya dame ka na. (I wonder if I won’t be all right for your model.)

Shuji: itoo...nagossa ga tyotto mizikai... (Well, the length is a little short...)

Sachi: A, dame ka. (It’s not all right.)

_Honne:_ Shuji wants Kyoko to be his model.

_Evidence:_ The previous scenes show that Shuji wants Kyoko to be his model because she is both attractive and impressive because she is in a wheelchair.

_Purpose(s):_ To avoid disappointing the addressee; to save face of the addressee, who wants to be attractive.

9. Context B: It is a cold day in winter. Kyoko has a date with Shuji in the park near her house. She is late for an appointment with Shuji because she has trouble coming in the wheelchair to the park. She finally arrives and meets Shuji. Being impatient, Shuji complains to Kyoko.

Shuji: Osee yo. Nani? Yonzyup-pon te. (You are late. Why is it that you’re forty minutes late?)

Kyoko: Okeyoo sute to no, Dette da kure ma. (I was putting on make-up. This is a date, right?)
Honne: Kyoko left the house early enough to arrive there on time; however, she had trouble coming there because there was construction on her way.

Evidence: The preceding scene shows that she has trouble on her way to the park.

Purpose(s): To avoid worrying the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

10. Context C: Shuji passes the examination to get promoted. He wants to tell about it to Kyoko and comes to the library, but she is not there. He talks with her colleague Sachi. She tells Shuji that Kyoko has gone to America for a vacation. Shuji is a little surprised because he did not know about it.

Shuji: *Attu ryokoo to ka iku n da.* (I didn’t know she would do something like going on a trip.)

Sachi: *Itu iku. Natu wa itaria itte ta si sono ma wa Baritoo. Yuukyuu kyuuka zenbu ryooka suru no ga ano ko no teema da kara. Are? Nani mo kite nakattaa?* (She does. She went to Italy in the summer and Bali before that. It is a consistent theme with her to use up her paid holidays. Didn’t you hear anything about this [from her]?)

Shuji: *E? Iya... Un... Nan to naku...* (Well... no... Yes... [I heard] kind of...)

Honne: Shuji did not hear from Kyoko anything about her trips.

Evidence: Shuji comes to see Kyoko because he thinks she will be there. Also, the previous scenes do not show that Kyoto tells him that she will go on a trip.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is Kyoko’s boyfriend and supposed to know what his girlfriend is doing.

11. Context D: Sachi likes Kyoko’s older brother Masao. Sachi rents a kimono, puts it on, and comes to Kyoko’s home in order to impress Masao. Masao comes into the living room where Kyoko and Sachi are waiting for him.

Masao: *Sac-cyan! Doo sita ne? Kireee da naa.* (Sac-chan! What’s up? Don’t you look lovely?!)
Sachi: Soo? *Tomodachi no kekkon siki de...* (Really? [I’m wearing it] for a friend’s wedding ceremony.)

Masao: *Hee...* (Oh yeah?...)

**Honne:** Sachi put on a kimono to impress Masao, not for her friend’s wedding reception.

**Evidence:** In the preceding scene, Sachi confesses to Kyoko that she is renting a kimono to impress Masao and asks her to go along with her story that she is wearing the kimono to attend her friend’s wedding reception.

**Purpose(s):** To save face of the addressee to think that she took the trouble to rent the kimono to impress him, which may sound ridiculous to him.

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12. Context E: Kyoko is staying in Shuji’s apartment. They drink wine and fall asleep. It is the next morning when Kyoko wakes up. Since she did not tell her family that she would stay out, she rushes home, but she is afraid that her family will be angry if she tells them the truth. When she gets home, everyone in her family welcomes her and asks what had happened.

**Father:** *Kyoko, kyoko, kyoko!* (Kyoko, Kyoko, Kyoko!)

Kyoko: Moo, suki denwa kaketa wa yo. Sachi ga kyuu ni netu dasityatte, kambyoo ste ru uchi ni wataai mo neyatte... (I called you a while ago [and told you about this]. Sachi suddenly got sick and had a fever. I fell asleep while nursing her...)

**Mother:** *Sore de doo na no? Sato-tyan netu sagatru ma?* (And then what happened? Did her fever get down?)

Kyoko: *Un sanzyuu nama-do dous ni natte ta.* (No. It got down to about thirty-seven.)

**Honne:** Kyoko’s mother knows that she was not with Sachi.

**Evidence:** Kyoko’s mother confesses to Kyoko later that she talked with Sachi on the phone and knew that Kyoko was not with her.

**Purpose(s):** To save face of the addressee, who is adult enough not to tell a lie to her family; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

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13. Context F: Kyoko’s friend Miyama, who is a volunteer who helps handicapped people, likes Kyoko. He became a volunteer because he wanted to become friends with her. However, Kyoko is not interested in Miyama. Besides, she likes Shuji. One day he came to the library to see Kyoko. He is talking with Kyoko outside the library.

Miyama: Kyoko-san. Ore Kyoko-san ga sukii desu. Tukiamette kuremasen ka. (Kyoko-san, I like you. Would you please be my girlfriend?)

Kyoko: Gomennasai. Miyama-san watashi nanka zya sakeba hutaa ni kenkou de karei omen no ko go iru yo. Hutaa ni deeto dekite hutaa ni... (I’m sorry. Mr. Miyama, you’d better go out with a normal, healthy and pretty girl... [who can walk] normally...)

Miyama: Soo ii koto... Soo ii koto wa iwanai de kudasi. Ore o kizutakusenai tame ni waza waza soo ii koto itte n no ka, sore tomo honki de itte n no ka siranai kedo, honki de itte n daitara soo ii kara no kata yameta hoo ga ii to omoimasu. Dame desu ka? Ore... (Please don’t say such a thing. I don’t know if you are saying this on purpose because you don’t want to hurt me, or because that’s what you really think, but if you really think that way, I think you should stop it. Am I not good enough?)

Kyoko: Gomen. (Forgive me.)

Honne: Kyoko is not interested in Miyama. Her tatemae may be what she really thinks; however, this is not the true reason for her not wanting to go out with Miyama.

Evidence: The previous scenes show that Kyoko is not interested in Miyama. Also, Kyoko decides to go out with Shuji, who is not in the wheelchair, like Miyama. This proves that Kyoko’s reasoning that Miyama should go out with a healthy girl is not her honest feelings to turn down Miyama’s request.

Purpose(s): To avoid disappointing the addressee; to save face of the addressee, who does not want to be turned down his request that she be his girlfriend.

14. Context G: Shuji’s former classmate Satsuki visits Shuji at his apartment. Shuji used to love her, but she got married to someone else. Satsuki has difficulty in her marriage
and came to visit him a while ago for the first time since she got married. When she saw him last time, she borrowed a disposable umbrella from Shuji because it was raining when she left his apartment. This time, she has been waiting for him outside Shuji’s apartment in the evening until he came home.

Shuji: Doo sita no? (What’s the matter?)

Satsuki: A... Karita kara kaes ni kita. (Well... I came here to return to you the umbrella I borrowed [from you last time].)

Shuji: Aa? Sonna no huita kaesanai desyou. Sonna kasa huita kaesanai desyou? (What? You generally don’t return such an umbrella do you?)

Satsuki: Rikon todoke misetara nagareyatte, deteke te. Itsu toko nai no... (When I showed my husband a written report of a divorce, he hit me. There’s nowhere to go.)

Honne: Satsuki wanted to see Shuji.

Violence: Satsuki reveals her honne later in this dialogue.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a married woman and not supposed to visit her former boyfriend.

CHEAP LOVE (1999)

Producer: Niwatam, Andrew

A delinquent (Jun’ichi) who has been involved in a crime falls in love with a high school teacher (Nanami) who comes from a strict family. After Nanami breaks up with her fiancé, she decides to quit her job and stay with Jun’ichi. Jun’ichi is arrested for a crime he was involved in, but he starts working hard for Nanami. Just after Nanami and Jun’ichi start a family, Jun’ichi is killed by someone on the street.

15. Context A: Jun’ichi and his boss are talking in an office. Jun’ichi is offered a job that is illegal and dangerous. Jun’ichi does not want his junior Ryo to be involved in this job and asks his boss to exclude him from the job.

Jun’ichi: Ryo o hzusite hosii n desu yo. (I want you to exclude Ryo from this job.)
Boss: Doo site? (Why?)

Jun’ichi: Altu to itu to asidematsi na n desu ya. (He’s a drag on the business.)

Boss: Wakemae mo hanban ni nattyau kara ne. (He’ll also take half your share, won’t he?)

Jun’ichi: Iya... Do kara... (No, unm...)

Ryo: [Ryo comes into the office.] Doo ito koto desu ka, synin. Ore wa aside matoi na n desu ka? Orette sonna ni sin yoo nai desu ka? (What do you mean, Chief? Am I a burden to you? Don’t you trust me at all?)

Jun’ichi: Temee mitai na dosi, sinnyo siro ite hoo ga muri dero? Ki ka? Ore wa na te me mitai na dosi ni asi hippouarete sintoka n yoo n dosi. (You say I should just trust a bungler like you, eh? It’s not possible. I don’t want to have a bungler like you drag my legs and kill me.)

Ryo: Mazi ni itte ru n desu ka? Ore synin no tame nara inot da ite kakerawemasu kara. (Are you serious? I’d sacrifice myself for you.)

Honne: Jun’ichi does not want Ryo to be involved in the dangerous job, which is against Ryo’s mother’s will. His tatamei statement may be true; however, it is not honne, which he does not want to reveal.

Evidence: Jun’ichi was previously asked by Ryo’s mother to take care of her son. Also, Jun’ichi reveals his honne to Ryo after the conversation above:

Jun’ichi: Ikagen ni siro. Omae, niroomo site daigaku haittu n daro, naa, konna seekatu site ite ii no ka? Naa. Kaatyen no koto kangaeta koto an no ka yoo. Kaatyen nakasu yoo na koto sun zu na n yoo. Omae no ohakuro su. Ryo no koto onegai simasu ite atama nando mo sagsite... Sonna kaatyen no kimotsi wakan nee no ka yo. (Give me a break. You were accepted to the university after two years of study, and do you think it is all right to live your life like this? Have you thought of your mother? Don’t do things that’ll make your mom cry. Your mom asked me many times to take care of you. Don’t you understand your mom’s feelings?)

Purpose(s): To save face for the speaker, who is a cool guy who does not want his boss to think that he is nice and sympathetic; to avoid disappointing the addressee.

Jun’ichi: Yoake no koto son yuusen yo Osureri mitai ni hito ni kasi tuku n nate n da you. Ore sono to wa taiyou de itakatta. Butakosui da. (Mind your own business. Don’t make me ask you for a loan, like a hard seller.)

Nanami: Gomen. (Sorry.)

Jun’ichi: De mo tasukatta. Sankyuu na. (But I was saved. Thanks.)

Honne: Jun’ichi is thankful to her. His tatemae statement may be also what he thinks, but this is not what he wants to hide inside.

Evidence: After Jun’ichi’s tatemae statement, he reveals his honne to Nanami.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a cool guy who does not want the addressee to think that he is in trouble with money.

17. Context C: At a coffee shop. Nanami’s father is upset because although he told Nanami to leave Jun’ichi, she is still going out with him.

Nanami’s father: Nanami o dou suru tamari da. Nanami ga kimi no yoo na otoko to honki de tukia hazu ga nai daroo. Nido to Nanami ni tikazuku na. Mosi tikazuitara kondo wa watasi ga yurusu. (What are you going to do with Nanami? She shouldn’t associate with people like you, right? Don’t meet her again. If you do, I won’t forgive you.)

Jun’ichi: Kane ni waru to omotte, sessou mita dake na n desu. (I just thought she would earn a lot of money for me, so I spoke to her.)

Nanami’s father: Kane ni? (For money?)

Jun’ichi: Struee simasu. (Excuse me.)

Honne: Jun’ichi loves Nanami.

Evidence: Throughout the story, he shows his love for Nanami. Also, in the previous scene he says that he has never gone out with someone like
Nanami, who is from an ordinary family, and he showed his admiration for her.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud delinquent who does not want Nanami’s father to think that he regrets being a delinquent, and that he wanted to go out with a woman like Nanami; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

KANOZYO TATI NO KEKKON (1996)
Producer: Moriya, Yu.
Theme: A story of two women, Kiriko and Mutsumi, who wish to find someone to marry before they reach thirty years-old. At the end, Kiriko becomes happy with Kashiwagi, and Mutsumi becomes happy with Riku.

18. Context A: Kiriko, who previously suffered from a matrimonial fraud, talks with Tatsuya, who has been one of her best friends and knows about her terrible experience with the swindler. At their friend’s wedding reception, Tatsuya talks about the incident with her.

Tatsuya: Are ga sa, hikkakatte ru kara sore de... (You know...you haven’t gotten rid of [the bad memory] yet, so...)

Kiriko: Yamete yo. Sonna no wasureta wa yo, tokku ni (1) (Stop it. I’ve forgotten that, a long time ago.)

Tatsuya: Soo? Kekkon kowagotte ru yoo ni sika omoenai kedo na. (2) (Is that so? All I keep thinking is that you’re afraid of getting married.)

Kiriko: Mada sono ki ni narenai doke yo. (It’s only because I don’t feel like it.)

Honne (1,2): Kiriko has difficulty forgetting the fraud, which has hurt her.

Evidence: This is proved in the context after this conversation, in which Kiriko says to herself, “Sonna no wasureta wa yo...” (I’ve forgotten about that.) This indicates that the incident has still hurt her. Also, in the scene shortly after this, Kiriko goes to meet the swindler at the police station when she hears that the man has been arrested. She asks the swindler if he really loved her, and she hits him on the cheek when

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he laughed at her question. Her behavior of this shows that she has been thinking about the swindler.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman and does not want to look so vulnerable that she cannot forget about a man who deceived her; to avoid worrying the addressee.

19. Context B: At Kiriko’s apartment. Kiriko’s friend, Mutsumi, who was abandoned by her fiancé just before their wedding ceremony, still has a marriage license with him.

Mutsumi: *Hito no mon mineide yo. Suteru tumori datta so yo. De mo sono naka ni hajitte te* (Don’t look at mine. I was going to throw it away, but it was still in there.)

Kiriko: *Kare to wa moo atte nai tte itte ta kedo.* (You told me that you haven’t seen him any more, but...)

Mutsumi: *Atte nai wa yo. (I haven’t.)*

Kiriko: *Moo itulo atta hoo ga it n zya nai desu ka? (Isn’t it better if you meet him one more time?)*

Mutsumi: *Atte doo su n no yo. (What would I do if I did meet him?)*

Kiriko: *Tyante isu n dessu. Zibun no kimoi. Yori, modosaitai tte. (You should tell him explicitly what you think, that you want to be with him.)*

Mutsumi: *Dare ga somna koto itta no yo. (Who said such a thing?)*

Kiriko: *Sore e motte iru no wa soo isu koto zya nai desu ka? (Doesn’t just having that mean what I just said?)*

Mutsumi: *Da kara, kore wa suresohireta tte itte ru desu no? (That’s why I said that I just forgot to throw it away.)*

_Honne:_ Mutsumi cannot throw away the marriage license because she still loves the man.

_Evidence:_ Mutsumi seems to be upset when Kiriko finds the marriage license.

_Purpose(s):_ To save face of the speaker, who does not want to look vulnerable and
cannot give up on the man who abandoned her; to avoid worrying the addressee.

20. Context C: At Kiriko’s apartment. Mutsumi has one hundred seventy-thousand yen in cash, which she loaned through her credit card.

Kiriko: Okane doo sita no? (How did you get the money?)

Mutsumi: Kaisyu kuro kura no yo. (I borrowed it from work.)

Honne: Mutsumi took out a loan through her credit card.

Evidence: The previous scene showed Mutsumi withdraws the money with the credit card.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman who does not want her friend to think that she is so desperate for a man that she takes out a loan through her credit card, whose interest is very high.

21. Context D: Mutsumi, who has difficulty finding her future husband, is depressed. Her supervisor, who is an editor at her company, is worried about her and invites her to a drink.

Supervisor: Nea, Mutsumi. Sigoto tamosii ka? (Mutsumi, are you enjoying your job?)

Mutsumi: Hai, Mattei. (Yes, of course.)

Supervisor: Aa, sooo sa. Demo saikin no Mutsumi mite ru to soo wa omoenai n da kedo nac. (Is that so? But I don’t think so. You’ve not been like what you are saying.)

Mutsumi: Hensyuutyouo, dokka ni ii hito tte inaxen ka nee? (Editor, is there someone nice somewhere?)

Supervisor: Hi hito? (Someone nice?)

Mutsumi: Dokusin no otoko desu. (I mean a single man.)

Honne: Mutsumi is not enjoying her job.

Evidence: The previous scenes show Mutsumi’s reluctance to her job.
22. Context F: Kashiwagi, who is Kiriko’s fiancé, comes to visit Kiriko to apologize to her for his mother’s insulting her by asking her to give up marrying his son.

Kashiwagi: *Mosi anata ga koma bobu to kekkon suru no ga try da to yougureru nara, bobu wa akiramenereru ikenai ka mo surena.* (If you say that you don’t want to marry me, I may have to give up...)

Kiriko: *Wakarimasita. Kekkon toriyamemasu.* (All right, I’ll cancel the engagement.)

Kashiwagi: *Iya... A... Soo iu...* (Well, um... [I don’t mean it.])

Kiriko: *Soo ieba ii n desu ka? Watashi ga kikitatari no wa sonna koto zya arimasen.* (Will you be satisfied if I say so? That’s not what I want to hear from you. It is your honest feeling at this moment, Mr. Kashiwagi, [that I want to hear].)

Kiriko: *Kimoti wa kawarimasen. Nani hitotu kawarimasen.* (My mind hasn’t changed. It hasn’t changed at all.)

Honne: Kashiwagi never wanted to give up marrying Kiriko.
Evidence: Kashiwagi is apparently upset when Kiriko says she will give up marrying him.

Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee.

23. Context F: Mutsumi has given up Riku, whom she still loves, and comes near his apartment to say good-bye. On her way, she meets Misao, who lives Riku.

Misao: *Doos sita no? Riku ni aii kita no?* (What are you doing? Did you come to see Riku?)

Mutsumi: *Betu ni Toori kakkatu dake yo.* (Nothing. I just happened to pass by here.)

Misao: *Huun. Toorikkakaru te konna huu ni suru koto na n da.* (I see. “” means doing something this way.)

Honne: *Mutsumi came to see Riku.*

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Evidence: The previous scenes show how Mutsumi feels, which made her visit Riku.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who 'is a proud woman who does not want the addressee to think that she likes the man who lives with the addressee.

KOBITO YO (1995)

Producer: Kiita, Reiko.

This is a love story about two people (Kohei and Manae), each of whom is married to someone else. They eventually break up with their own spouses; however, it is not easy for them to get together. Manae becomes seriously ill, and Kohei finally decides to marry her just before she dies.

24. Context A: Manae lies to her husband (Ryotaro) saying that she will visit her parent’s home. Instead, she goes on a one-day trip with Kohei to Okinawa, where she visited her parents when she was small. Manae cannot remember the directions to the place in Okinawa where she played with her mother, who died soon after that. She calls her father and asks for the directions. On the other hand, Ryotaro, who believes in Manae’s words, happens to call her father. Ryotaro gets upset when he knows that Manami lied to him.

Ryotaro: A, otoasan desu ka. Kawano desu. (Hi, [Manami’s] father? This is Kawano.)

Father-in-law: Ryotaro-kun ka? Doo sita? (Is that you, Ryotaro? How are you doing?)

Ryotaro: Otsugashii toki ni sumimasen. Ina Manae ga ukagatta to emoima ga ga... (I’m sorry for calling you when you are busy. I think Manae called on you.)

Father-in-law: Nan da, Manae to issyo zya na i no ka? Iya, tasika ni Manae ni kikareta ga, nanisho oomukasi no koto daikara, gozayau hati-gosyen no doko o magatta ka nan te oboete ya sinai yo. Kyoo totozen denwa kikatte kite. Okinawa ni iru te to kara odoroiyatta. Shiranakatta no ka? Okinawa ni iru te. (Aren’t you with Manae? Well, I am sure that Manae called to ask, but you know, it was a long time ago, and I don’t remember where on Highway Fifty-Eight to turn. I was surprised when she suddenly called today and said she was in Okinawa. Didn’t you know that she was in Okinawa?)

Ryotaro: Ie, biruma ni gozahati-gosyen, ano... dotti ni ittara ii ka kikurete.
Komattia mon de, otoosan ni kiiwe mitara doo da te. Sono desu ka. Otoosan ni shawry himazita ka. (No... In the afternoon, when she asked me which way on Highway Fifty-Eight she should turn, I told her to ask you. Is that so? Did she call you?)

Father-in-law: Maae wa hitoritabi ka. Zeetaka go sogira na. (Maae went on a trip by herself? It seems she is asking too much.)

Ryotaro: Sakein sigoro ga isogasikutte kumatte agerazanakuttte. (Recently, I’ve been so busy at work that I cannot take a good care of her.)

Homme: Ryotaro did not know that Maae went to Okinawa.
Evidence: The previous scenes show that this is the case.
Purposes: To avoid worrying the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee; to save face of the speaker, who is Maae’s husband who is supposed to know where his wife goes on a trip; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

25. Context B: Ryotaro has been waiting for Maae, who is scheduled to come back from her hometown Kobe in the evening. Maae walks towards Ryotaro, who is standing near the taxi stop.

Ryotaro: Kobo doo dutta? (How was Kobe?)

Maae: Tawmdati wa minna isogasikute, kberryoka kaakoo-zidai no omoide no banjo o arusa ta. (My friends were all busy, so in the end, I just walked in all those spots that I remember from my high school days.)

Ryotaro: Yokatta na. (That’s nice.)

Maae: Arigatooo. it tabi sasette hurete. (Thank you for letting me have a nice trip.)

Homme: Ryotaro knows Maae did not go to Kobe.
Evidence: The preceding scene shows that Ryotaro finds that Maae did not go to Kobe.
Purpose(s): To save face of the addressee, who is the speaker’s wife and is not supposed to go on a trip with another man; to avoid worrying the addressee; to leave a good impression with the addressee; to avoid
overly complicating the situation.

26. Context C: Kohei knows that the baby to whom his wife is going to give birth might not be his, and he is confident that he will be a good father even if the baby is not his. Nonetheless, he is still shocked that the baby is not his when the baby is born. His friend who does not know this visits him and his wife.

Friend: *Are, Aki-chan [the baby’s name]. Aki-chan wa otoosan ni nita no ka na, okaasan ni nita no ka na? Yappari okaasan da ne. Yekatta ne Otoosan ni ninakute. (Well, Aki-chan, who did you take after, your father or mother? As expected, you took after your mother, didn’t you? That’s good that you didn’t take after your father.)*

Kohee: *Nan da to? [He looks happy and teases the friend by pretending to hit her with a paper sword.] (What did you say?)*

Honne: Kohei is very sad.
Evidence: Kohei goes upstairs afterward and cries alone.
Purpose(s): To avoid worrying the addressee; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

LONG VACATION (1996)
Producers: Kameyama, Chihiro and Atsuhiro Sugiyama

This is a love story about a twenty-five-year old man (Sena) and a woman (Minami) who is seven years older. Minami becomes a boarder at Sena’s apartment. At first, they do not get along well, but they soon become good friends then lovers. Minami encourages Sena who almost gives up becoming a pianist. Sena finally wins a competition and asks Minami to marry him.

27. Context A: Sena’s apartment. They are playing with a small ball. The ball flies outside, and Sena is about to go outside to pick it up.

Minami: *It yo. Moo. (Don’t worry. You don’t have to go and pick it up.)*

Sena: *It te, daizi na mon yaa nai? (What do you mean it’s OK? It’s important to you, isn’t it?)*

Minami: *It te Daizi yaa nai te. (Don’t worry. I tell you, it’s not important.)*
Honne: The ball is important to Minami.
Evidence: Minami goes outside to look for the ball next morning. When she finds it, she cleans it and puts it away in a safe place.
Purpose(s): To avoid worrying the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

**LOVE GENERATION (1997)**
Producer: Koiwai, Koetsu

This is a love story about a couple Tepepi and Riko, who work in the same office. They start going out together; however, they often have quarrels because Tepepi still likes Sanae, who is his former girlfriend. Sanae goes out with Tepepi’s older brother Soichiro, but she still likes Tepepi too. Riko breaks up with Tepepi and goes back to her hometown. In the end, Tepepi and Riko get together again.

28. Context A: At the beach. Tepepi and Riko come to the beach. Riko is telling him a sad story about she and her ex-boyfriend. Tepepi has comforted Riko by listening to her. Riko suddenly takes off a ring that was given to her by her ex-boyfriend.

Riko: *Koko de yutakatta n da. Koko de ne, moratte yahiro da kara, Baihái.* [She pretended to throw the ring into the ocean.] (I wanted to throw this away here because this is the ring that I received here. Bye-bye.)

Tepepi: *Honto ni ii no ka?* (Are you really sure?)

Riko: *Un limo.* [She is hiding the ring in the pocket of her jeans] (Yes.)

Honne: Riko does not really want to throw away the ring that her ex-boyfriend gave her.

Evidence: The following scene shows that Riko did not throw away the ring.

Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee that she no longer has attachment to her ex-boyfriend.
29. Context B: In Soichiro's car. Sanae, who is Soichiro's fiancée, went to a high school reunion where her former classmates talked about the love affair between her and Teppei in high-school days in front of Soichiro, who is Tepppei's brother.

Sanae: Gomenasai. (I'm sorry.)

Soichiro: Nani ayamatte n da. (Why are you apologizing?)

Sanae: Tomodati ga hnn na koto is ka. Kuru n yaa nakatta na, imasara. Imasara kookoo no toki no tomodati ni atta te, deeo te koto na to ni. (My friend said such a thing [and you must have been hurt], I shouldn't have been there because, now, meeting my high-school friends means nothing to me.)

Soichiro: Ore ni ki o tukatte sonna koto is unwakute mo ii yo. (You don't have to say such a thing out of concern for me.)

Honne: Sanae wanted to see her high-school friends.

Evidence: Sanae still loves Tepppei, and meeting with her former classmates, including Tepppei, is very important to her, although she regrets having come to the reunion because she is afraid that her former classmate's comment hurt Soichiro.

Purpose(s): To avoid worrying the addressee; to avoid overly complicating the situation; to leave a good impression;

30. Context C: In Tepppei's apartment. Riko has waited for Tepppei in the rain until he came home, but Tepppei does not know this. Riko does not want Tepppei to know that she was waiting for him because it will make him think that Riko cares for Tepppei, which she does not want to admit.

Tepppei: Omee nan de konna te tumete no? (Why are your hands so cold?)

Riko: Hiyoo da kara... kena? (Because I have a cold constitution...?)

Honne: Riko waited for Tepppei for a long time in the rain.

Evidence: The preceding scene shows her waiting.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman and does not want the addressee to think that she loves him so much that she waited for
31. Context D: At a restaurant. Teppei and his colleagues are entertaining a client.

Client: *Kimi ne, uta mo akan ya ro? Odori mo akan. Hona, nani su n no? Kore zo, hito ni naken tsumu mon, nai n ka? Kimi wa. (You are bad at singing, aren’t you? You are bad at dancing, too. Then, what can you do? Isn’t there something you can do well?)*

Teppei: *Supootu dattara, zisin aru n desu kedo. (I’m confident about my ability with sports.)*

Client: *Supootu? Hona, gorushu mo dekire no ka? (Sports? Then, can you play golf?)*

Teppei: *Battiri desu. (I’m excellent.)*

Client: *A. sni. Hono, ikkai miyete moroo ya nai ka. (Is that right? Then, let me see sometime how good you are at it.)*

Honne: Teppei does not play golf.

Evidence: The following day, Riko gives Teppei some golf lessons.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a member of the company and supposed to be able to entertain his client; to leave a good impression on the addressee; and to avoid disappointing the addressee.

32. Context E: Riko takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold, which is not true. Teppei’s friend, who is interested in Riko, brings her some tangerines. She is not interested in Yoshimoto, and she does not even eat the tangerines. Yoshimoto calls Riko at home.

Riko: (She answers the phone.) Hai, haaai. (Hello.)

Yoshimoto: *A. Riko-chan. Yokaeta, kaze nootta n da. (Hi, Riko. Good. You got over your cold.)*

Riko: Konban wa. (Good evening.)

Yoshimoto: *Ore no more tta mikan sukoshi wa yaku ni tatta n da. (It looks like the tangerines helped some.)*
Riko: *A mikun ne, sugoku oisikatta, Arigatoo gozaimasita.* (Oh, the tangerines. Yes, they were very tasty. Thank you.)

Yoshimoto: *Soo, yokatta.* (Is that so? That’s good.)

**Homme:** Riko has not eaten the tangerines.

**Evidence:** The present scene shows the bag of tangerines unopened.

**Purpose(s):** To avoid disappointing the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

33. Context F: Riko’s apartment. Teppie is worried about Riko, who did not show up at a date with him, and he visits her. Riko actually went to the meeting place, but she left there without seeing Teppie, because she overheard him saying that he still loved his former girlfriend.

Riko: *Nani yo, Konna yonaka ni. (What do you want? It’s the middle of the night.)*

Teppie: *Nan de konakatta n da, Konai nara konai de, denwa gurai siro yo. Zutto matte to n da.* (Why didn’t you come? If you wouldn’t come, you should have called me. I waited for you for a long time.)

Riko: *Sokka, tsu ukkari sitiyo. Gomesc.* (Is that so? I just forgot about it.)

Teppie: *Kino no kyoo de nan da yo. Ukkari itte.* (Why? It was only yesterday [that we made appointment] for today. What do you mean you ‘just forgot about it’?)

Riko: *Tyotto, okki na koe dasanai de.* (Excuse me, but don’t raise your voice.)

**Homme:** Riko actually went to see him. She is jealous and does not want Teppie, who seems to be merely playing with her, to think that she desperately loves him.

**Evidence:** The previous scenes show what happened to Riko and how she feels.

**Purpose(s):** To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman and does not want the addressee to sympathize with her.

34. Context G: Riko goes back to her hometown for a break to think about her future because she cannot stand Teppie, who goes out with another woman. When Riko leaves
for Tokyo, her father sees her off at the station. Her father, suspecting that she is not getting along well with Teppei, talks with her about him.

Father: Riko. (Riko)
Riko: Um? (Yes?)

Father: Turakattara kaette kide ii zo. Kono mae no ano otoko to umaku itte nai n dattara, kaette kareba ii. Oya ni made mie o haru koto nai n da. (If it is painful, it is all right to come home. You should come home if you are not getting along well with him. You don’t have to make a vain display.)
Riko: Tyon to umaku itte ru yo. Sore ni watashi Tokyo de sigoto site ru n da yo. Tokatte ru hito to dou ka sito to ka, somo tanoyomi koto de kaette ranai yo. (I’m doing well as I’m supposed to. Besides, I’m working in Tokyo, you know. I cannot go home just because of such trivial reasons like I’m not getting along well with someone who I’m going out with.)

Honne: Riko has suffered from being hurt by Teppei.
Evidence: The previous scenes show that she has another quarrel with him.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman and independent from her family; to avoid worrying the addressee; to leave a good impression on the addressee.

35. Context H: At a restaurant: Riko and her section manager are entertaining a client who is a division manager.

Riko: Yorosiku onegaai itasimasu. Butyuu, harison foodo ni niteru to ka to wa retsu koto arimasen ka? (May things go well. Division Manager, people must sometimes tell you that you look like Harrison Ford, don’t they?)

Client: Iya, sorya na yo. (No, they don’t.)

Section manager: Nite masu yo, nee. (You do look like him.)

Honne: Riko does not think that the client looks like Harrison Ford.
Evidence: The client does not look like Harrison Ford. Riko is apparently just flattering him.

Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee.
36. Context I: Riko visits Riko at her apartment to ask why she is quitting the company.
Teppei: Nani? Kaisya yameru tte. Deo ia koto da. Ore ga gen’ in na no? (What? I heard that you’re going to quit the company. What do you mean? Is that my fault?)
Riko: Tinguy. Uhi no zizyou. Imooto ga ne, dairiku de kooti dette kuru to pensyon no hitode mo jarinku nuru ni, iroto atte suga. (That’s not true. Because of my family matters. If it is decided that my sister comes to Tokyo to attend a university, there will be lack of workers in my father’s inn... and also there are some other reasons...)

Honne:
Riko does not want to see Teppei because it hurts.
Evidence:
The previous scenes show that she is described to be sad and depressed because of Teppei’s unfaithful behavior. What she says is also the fact, but when she gets along well with Teppei, this issue is not discussed in the story; therefore, it is natural to consider that what she says is tatamae.
Purpose(s):
To save face of the speaker, a proud woman who does not want the addressee to sympathize with her; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

37. Context J: Riko is chatting with her family in the living room at her parents’ house. Riko’s older sister suggests that Riko try an omiai (a meeting for an arranged marriage).
Riko: Omiai nan te iya da tte. (I wouldn’t like an omiai.)
Sister: Onee-tyan no kao tateru to omotte, kore kite, ite kaette kureba sore de ii kara. Nan de sore ga sonna ni iya na no? (For my sake, it is all right if you just put this on, go, and come back. Why is such an easy task so distasteful to you?)
Riko: Datte. (Because...)
Sister: Mos saka site yuki no hito de mo iru no? (Is it the case that there is someone you like?)
Riko: Inai yo. bietu ni. (There is no one in particular.)

Honne:
Riko loves Teppei.
Evidence: The previous scenes show that Riko loves him.

Purpose(s): To avoid worrying the addressee; to avoid overly complicating the situation.

38. Context K: Riko speaks at her farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Teppei. She is quitting her job because she does not want to see Teppei. She has decided to go back to her hometown where her family have asked her to help them. Her supervisor and colleagues suspect that she is quitting the company because she and Teppei broke up.

Riko: Hitotu dake twase te kudasai. Watashi ga kareiya yomete inaka kaeru no wa Katozgiri-san [Teppei] to umoku ikuniku nattsu kara tte minazan kangaette, nazogaryo to omou n desu kedo, watashi wo higou ni desu. Watashi no zibuku wa Nagano de pensyou yatte maru. Ane ni kodomo ga dekita i mono ga zuken de Tokyo ni dete kitaro shin, donken to pensyou no bize tte iu no ga sarinuku naiite kire, sore de watashi ga koette pensyou o tetudau koto ni kimega ni desu. (Let me say one thing. It seems that everyone thinks that the reason why I’ll quit the company and decided to go back to my hometown is that Mr. Katagiri [Teppei] and I no longer get along well with each other, but this is not the case. My parents run an inn in Nagano. My older sister is expecting, and my younger sister is coming to Tokyo to take the entrance examination of a university, and gradually there has been lack of workers or the inn. So I decided to go back and help my family with the work at the inn.)

Home: Riko decided to quit her job because she no longer wants to see Teppei.

Evidence: The previous scenes show how Riko feels.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a member of society, who is not supposed to quit a company for such a reason as breaking up with her colleague; to save face of the audience (Teppei), who is a memebre of society and not supposed to mistreat his colleague; to leave a good impression on the addressees and the audience; to avoid complicating the situation.

39. Context L: Riko and Teppei are with their friends in a party. Riko is uncomfortable to be there because Teppei, who has hurt her so much, is at the same table. Riko reveals to her friends how terrible Teppei is.

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Riko: Happyoo simasu. Zitu wa watasi koito to wakaru koto ni simasita. Hakkiiri itte sugoi seesee siterusu n desu. Koo yuu, usotuki de sukebe no oo hakkyaroon to wa hakahokusikute tukiatte raremasen. Kaizya yamete, inaka ni kaero no de. moo kau mo minakute sumimasu. Honio, sukkiri kibun mo sookai itte kanteci desu (I have an announcement. To tell the truth, I decided to break up with this person [Tepei]. Honestly speaking, I feel so refreshed. It is too foolish to get along with such a lewd and stupid liar. I cannot stand it. I’m going to quit my company and go back to my hometown, so I don’t have to even look at his face. Really, I feel great.)

Honne: Riko is very sad; however, she does not want the audience to think that she desperately loves him, who is going out with another woman.

Evidence: The previous scenes show that she is very sad and still loves Tepei.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, a proud woman who does not want her friends to think that she still loves Tepei, who broke her heart.

NARITA RIKON (1996)
Producer: Sugio, Atsuhiro
Theme: This is a story about a newly married couple. Ichiro, the husband, and Yuko, the wife, often argue because they are too young to understand each other’s faults. They decide to divorce since they think they are very different, but they do not hate each other. There are times when each of them thinks they do not want to part. However, neither can show their honest feelings to the other. In the end, they understand and remarry each other.

40. Context A: After Ichiro and Yuko got married for the first time, Kaoru, who likes Ichiro, and Kitamura, who is Yuuko’s ex-boyfriend, talk over a drink.

Kitamura: Honnoo wa Ichiro no koto suki na n daroo? (Frankly speaking, you like Ichiro, don’t you?)

Kaoru: Tyoo nani itte ry n desu ka? Ichiro-kun wa rada no kowhai de, watashi... (What? Wait a second. Ichiro-kun is just my junior, and I...)
Kitamura: Hitomukashi mae no syoozyo manga no syuzinkoo mitai da ne. (You are just like the sort of heroine you'd see in a comic for girls one generation ago.)

Honne: Kaoru still likes Ichiro.
Evidence: Kaoru is apparently upset when Kitamura detects her true feelings.
Also, her behavior in the story shows she likes Ichiro romantically.
Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a senior of Ichiro and does not want the addressee to think that she likes Ichiro, who is married.

41. Context B: At a coffee shop. Yuko, who is getting divorced from Ichiro, talks with her friend Misato about their divorce and her mother-in-law, who does not know that Yuko and Ichiro will separate from each other.

Yuko: Taihen nee, onna tte. Sore ni sa, mada koenakya ikakai kyohon no haadoru ga aru n da. (Being a woman is not easy. Besides, there is still a frightening hurdle that I have to overcome.)

Misato: Nani? Sore. (What is that?)
[Yuko’s telephone rings.]

Yuko: Hai. A. Yuko desu. (The pitch of her voice becomes high.) E, soo desu ka. Zyaas yotee doori “Gin no Suzu de.” Hai. Zyaas noti hodo. (Yes, this is Yuko. Yes? Is that so? Then, let’s meet] at “Gin no Suzu.” Yes. Then, see you later.)

Misato: Dare? "Gin no Suzu" de matiawaseete. (Who was it? Who is it that you have a date with at “Gin no Suzu”?)

Yuko: Ichiro-kun no okaasan. Tokyo-eki ni mukee ni iku no. (Ichiro- kun’s mother. I’ll pick her up at Tokyo Station.)

Misato: Erai wa nee, Yuko tte. (You’re really admirable, Yuko.)

Yuko: Ichiko ne. Seigo no otsutome da to omotte. (Just in case. I’ll do it as if it’s the last thing I ever have to do for her.)

Honne: Yuko is not very happy about talking with her mother-in-law because they have not told her about the upcoming separation.
Evidence: Yuko mentions to Misato in this dialogue that talking to her mother-in-
law is like overcoming a frightening hurdle.

Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee.

42. Context C: Yuko’s sister-in-law is visiting them at Yuko and her husband’s apartment. She does not know that they are getting divorced.

Sister-in-law: Sia wase desu ka? ima. (Are you happy now?)

Yuko: Ee, mana. (Yes.)

Homme: Yuko is not happy.
Evidence: Yuko is getting divorced from her husband.
Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the addressee; to avoid worrying the addressee.

43. Context D: Ichiro’s mother and his sister are visiting him and his wife at Ichiro and Yuko’s apartment. Ichiro and Yuko are planning to tell his mother that they are going to separate from each other. However, Ichiro has something to do at work and he cannot go home. Yuko is entertaining her mother and sister-in-law. Ichiro calls Yuko at home to tell her that he will be late. Ichiro’s mother is listening to Yuko talking with him.

Ichiro: Aa, boku da kedo... (It is me, but...)  

Yuko: A, Ichiro-san? (Is it you, Ichiro? [Her voice pitch is higher than usual])

Ichiro: Doo sita na yo. Ichiro-san da nan te... (What happened? You called me Ichiro-san.)

Homne: Yuko does not want to call him Ichiro-san, which exalts him and shows him her respect.
Evidence: The previous scenes show that Yuko usually calls him Ichiro-kun, which shows her treating him as equal. Also, Ichiro implies in his statement that Yuko does not usually call him Ichiro-san.

Purpose(s): To leave a good impression on the audience (her mother-in-law).
44. Context E: Ichiro and Yuko's apartment. They inform their parents that they are planning to get divorced. Their parents are upset.

Yuko’s mother: *Kaasan, mada sizirarenai. Anata-tachi ga wakareru nan te. Nee, okaasan, okaasan mo soo omowareta desyou?*(I still cannot believe that you two are getting divorced. Mother [Ichiro’s mother], you think so, too, right?*)

Yuko’s father: *Yamenai ka. Hutari-tomo otona na n da kara, hutori ga soo kimeta noryu, sittegun sake na ni no hirai. (Step it. They are mature enough [to make a decision like this] so if that’s their decision, there’s nothing for us to do but go along with them.)*

**Honne:** Yuko’s father does not think that the couple are mature enough to make such a decision.

**Evidence:** Later, Yuko’s father reveals his *honne* when he meets Ichiro.

Yuko’s father: *Sore ni konna koto itte wa nan da kedo, sekinin isorera hodo otona ni wa mien na. Kaasan-tai no mae de wa hutari-tomo otona na n da kara, akirameyoo na te itta. Demo, sore wa soo de no iwana to, osamaranai kara itta da ke de, watashi ni iwaseeba hutari-tomo akivere kurai kodomo da. Doo siyoo mo nai dadakko da. (And, I don’t know if it’s all right to say such a thing, but you don’t seem to be mature enough to be responsible for such matters. In front of your mother, I said that we should give up trying to persuade you not to get divorced because you two were mature enough to make that decision, but I said that because I thought that was the only way to deal with the situation. However, in my opinion, you guys are so immature as I am disgusted.)*

**Purpose(s):** To avoid overly complicating the situation.

45. Context F: After a quarrel with Ichiro, Yuko is comforted at a bar by Kitamura, her ex-boyfriend.

Kitamura: *Ore no hoo ga yappeodo ito to omou kedo nata. (I think I am far better [than Ichiro].)*

Yuko: *E? (What?)*

Kitamura: *Doko ga ii n da yo. Nan de aiu no koto ga suki na no ka nee. (What makes you like him? I wonder why you like him.)*

Yuko: *Nani itte n no yo. Ichiro-kun no koto na n ka moo... (What are you talking 141*
about? I don’t like Ichiro-kun any more.)

Kitamura: *Ore ni wa sokki na kenka, suki da suki da tte iatteru yoo ni kikoeta kedo na* (When you two were fighting before, it sounded to me as if you were saying you still liked each other.)

**Honne:** Yuko still loves Ichiro.

**Evidence:** Later, they decide to remarry.

**Purpose(s):** To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman and does not want the addressee to know that she still loves her husband, whom she has decided to divorce.

**OVER TIME (1999)**

**Producer:** Takai, Ichiro

This is the story of friendship between a man (Soichiro) and a woman (Natsuki). Soichiro is a photographer in a newspaper company. He lives in his father’s house with his sister (Haruko) and her friends, including Natsuki. Soichiro and Natsuki become close friends, and eventually they fall in love with each other. However, in the end, they decide not to become lovers but to stay friends. Soichiro and Haruko are very close. They watch out for each other.

46. Context A: In this dialogue, Soichiro has been laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Soichiro is shocked and goes out drinking with Natsuki. The next morning he looks miserable and a hungover, and Haruko is worried.

   *Haruko:* *Demo nan de hata-ri de monde ta no?* (But why were you drinking together?)

   *Soichiro:* *Kinoo no asa kaiya*... (Yesterday morning at the company...)

   *Haruko:* *E?* (What?)

   *Soichiro:* *A, nan de mo naitte ju ka sa, tama ni wa hata-ri de momoo tte.* (It’s nothing... We just decided to go for a drink together because it had been a while.)

**Honne:** Soichiro could not help but go for a drink to forget about what
happened to him at work.

Evidence: The previous scenes show that Soichiro tells about his being laid off to Natsuki, who agrees to go for a drink with him.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, a proud man who does not want the addressee to know that he is fired; to avoid worrying the addressee.

47. Context B: Nazuna, who broke up with Soichiro, is still in Tokyo and working at a fast-food restaurant even though she said that she would go back to her hometown in Hokkaido. Soichiro’s friend Kobayashi happens to come to the restaurant where Nazuna is working and talks with her.

Nazuna: *Egyoosu no shigoto o sogosite ru n de kedo sugi ni mitaharanakute. Da kara touge ni naitte.* (I’ve been looking for a job as a dietitian, but I cannot still find one. So this is kind of transitional job.)

Kobayashi: *Hontoo ka na?* (Are you telling the truth?)

Nazuna: *E*? (What?)

Kobayashi: *Boku ni wa soo wa omoenai na. Datte kono aida made shigoto no koto nan ka kangaete nakatta ko ga ikinari sonna. sigoto ni kyuuishaku suru ka na.* (I don’t think you are. I wonder if the girl who didn’t care about her job a while ago suddenly would become attached to it.)

Nazuna: *Doo ie ima?* (What do you mean?)

Kobayashi: *Tokyo hanaretaku mai n desu no?* (You don’t want to leave Tokyo, do you?)

Nazuna: *Doo site?* (Why?)

Kobayashi: *Kazama-senpai ga iru kara.* (Mr. Kaede [Soichiro] is here.)

Nazuna: *Gomen. Ima sigoto-tyuu da kara.* (Sorry, I’m in the midst of work.)

**Honne:** Nazuna wants to stay in Tokyo, where Soichiro lives.

Evidence: Nazuna confesses to Kobayashi later that the only reason she wanted to stay in Tokyo was because Soichiro was there.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who wants to look independent
and does not want the addressee to think that she make
decisions depending on where someone she loves lives.

**SARARIIMAN KINTARO (1999)**

Producer: Morita, Mitsunori

This is the story of a white-collar worker (Kintaro), who used to be a motorcycle hot
rodder. He devotes himself to his job and does his work well. He is trusted by his
colleagues, but one of his supervisors (Takatsukasa) is always jealous that so many
people fall in love with Kintaro.

48. Context A: Nakamura (Kintaro’s colleague) and her supervisor are talking at the
office. Nakamura stays up all night at the office to help Kintaro with his project.
Takatsukasa, who is her supervisor, is jealous.

Takatsukasa: Sutessyon sitii no sekke, raisetsu no otama ni wa daizyoobu na n
daroo ne. (I assume that I can count on you for the plan for Station City by the
beginning of next week.)

Nakamura: Hai, sono tumori de imasu kedo. (Yes, I’m planning on to do it.)

Takatsukasa: Soo. Dare de mo sigoto o kokemori de yatteru. Da ga, dono sigoto ni
sezo o oku o hanan o matigaenai yoo ni. (Is that so? Everyone has two or more
different projects, but be sure that you judge carefully where you place your
priorities.)

Nakamura: Wakatte ru tumori desu. (I believe I know.)

Takatsukasa: Wakatteru no ka? Honoo ni wakatteru nara, rezyaibiru no sigoto
tetuya de yetari sinai daroo? (Do you really? If you really do, you wouldn’t have
stayed up all night working on the Leisure Building project, would you?)

Nakamura: Mootiware arimasen. (I’m sorry.)

Takatsukasa: Wakatte kurereba ii. (It’s all right as long as you understand.)

**Honne:** Nakamura does not want to apologize to Takatsukasa.

**Evidence:** Nakamura shows her resentment of him by a gesture after he
leaves.

**Purpose(s):** To leave a good impression on the addressee; to avoid overly
complicating things.

49. Context C: The bar hostess, who likes Kintaro, comes to pick up hira and his son Ryutarō to go to an amusement park together. Masumi, who also likes Kintaro, happens to be there and listening to their conversation. Kintaro explains that Ryutarō has caught a cold and he cannot go out.

    Kintaro: Sekkaku kite moratta no ni, sumimasen. (I’m sorry for this although you came all the way here.)
    Hostess: Soo na no? Zannen da wa. (Is that so? I’m sorry.)
    Masumi: Zannen desu nee. (I’m sorry, too.)

*Home:* Masumi is relieved that the hostess cannot go out with Kintaro and Ryutarō.

*Evidence:* The preceding scene shows that Masumi looks worried when she hears that the hostess and Kintaro are going out together.

*Purpose(s):* To leave a good impression on the addressee.

**TOKYO LOVE STORY (1992)**

Producer: Ota, Ryo.

This is a love story of a couple (Kanchi and Rika) who work in the same company. Kanchi realizes that Rika loves him so he starts going out with her. However, he actually loves Satomi, who used to be his classmate. Kanchi finally breaks up with Rika and gets together with Satomi.

50. Context A: Early in the morning, Rika visits Kanchi at his apartment, where his friend Mikami is visiting him. Rika asks Kanchi to take her to his hometown, which she has wanted to visit with him. Rika tells him to go there on that day because she has heard that Satomi, whom Kanchi loves, breaks up with her former boyfriend and wants to go out with Kanchi. Without knowing this, Kanchi tells Rika that he will take her there next month.

    Rika: Moo i. Tsotto karakatte mita da de zyan. Watashi ga issyo ni ryokoo itte agaru ite ittara, Kanchi yorokobu ka na te omotte. (Never mind. I was just teasing. I thought you’d be happy if I said I would go with you.)

    Kanchi: Da kara sa ikonai to wa itte nai daro. Nan de sonna ni kyuuu ni ikitagon
no? (I'm not telling you that I won't go. Why do you suddenly insist on going?)

Rika: Moo ii ya. Otoko buta-ri okirenai to omote naningukosu siri kita dake wa. (That's all right now. I just came to give you guys a morning call. I thought you couldn't wake up.)

Home: Rika wanted to go to his hometown on that day because she is afraid that Kanchi will start going out with Satomi.

Evidence: Kanchi later found that Rika actually brought round-trip tickets to Kanchi's hometown for him and herself.

Purpose(s): To save face of the speaker, who is a proud woman who does not want the addressee to know that she is afraid of his going out with Satomi; to avoid worrying the addressee.
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TATEMAE IN JAPANESE CULTURE

I am investigating the concept of *tatemae* (saying something against facts or true feelings in order to deal with the situation in which the expression of truth may be inappropriate) in Japanese culture. Please read the following contexts and decide with your intuition if you would use *tatemae*. In each context, please write what you would say. Also, please indicate whether you think of the response immediately or not.

Context 1: Miss Takahashi is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Miss Yamamoto.

Miss Yamamoto: I’m just here with a friend who didn’t want to come alone.
Miss Takahashi: ____________________________

I thought of the content of the response __ immediately / __ not immediately.

Context 2: Mr. Ito is a married man who is trusted by his division manager and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His division manager finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Ito say?

Division manager: You already have a good insurance policy, don’t you. Why are you buying another one?
Mr. Ito: ____________________________

I thought of the content of the response __ immediately / __ not immediately.

Context 3: Toru is a 25-year-old man, and Yuko is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love affairs with other
women. Yuko became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an *omiai* (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Toru, realizing he still loves Yuko, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Yuko takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Yuko: What in the world are you doing here?
Toru: ______________________________

I thought of the content of the response ___ immediately / ___ not immediately.

Context 4: Mr. Sato is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a *karaoke* club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle aged woman?
Mr. Sato: ______________________________

I thought of the content of the response ___ immediately / ___ not immediately.

Context 5: Miss Kondo is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague with his project. She hasn't neglected the job her section manager asked to do, but the section manager, who dislikes her colleague, is jealous.

Section manager: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.
Miss Kondo: ______________________________

I thought of the content of the response ___ immediately / ___ not immediately.

Context 6: Miss Suzuki is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be deferential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her section manager is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

Section manager: Do you enjoy your work?
Miss Suzuki: ______________________________

I thought of the content of the response ___ immediately / ___ not immediately.

Context 7: Noriko is married to a white-collar worker, Taro. They have been married for one year. They often have quarrels and they had another one two days before. Taro’s mother, who does not know about their quarrel, suddenly comes to visit the couple while he is at work. While Noriko is taking care of her mother-in-law, Taro calls Noriko from work. Noriko wants to tell him to come home early because his mother is there. His mother is listening in the same room. (Will Noriko try to sound cheerful even if they are having a quarrel because her mother-in-law is listening?)

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Taro: Hi, it's me.
Noriko: ____________________________

I thought of the content of the response immediately / not immediately.

Context 8: Rika, who is a 23-year-old woman, used to be in love with Kenji, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Rika broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Kenji.

Rika: Thanks for the party ____________________________ I appreciate what you have done for me since I joined the company.

I thought of the content of the response immediately / not immediately.

Context 9: Saburo has been working at an advertisement company, but he has been laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Saburo was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister Mika is worried.

Mika: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Saburo: ____________________________

I thought of the content of the response immediately / not immediately.

Context 10: Miyuki is a 22-year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Mr. Tanaka, who is interested in her, brings her some tangerines. She does not even eat the tangerines because she does not like them. On the following day, Miyuki goes to work. Mr. Tanaka approaches Miyuki:

Mr. Tanaka: So how were the oranges?
Miyuki: ____________________________

I thought of the content of the response immediately / not immediately.
APPENDIX C

COMPLETE DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES
ABOUT TATEMAE IN JAPANESE CULTURE

Note. “Group A” refers to a group of 13 respondents whose ages are between twenty and twenty-nine. “Group B” refers to a group of 12 respondents whose ages are between thirty and thirty-nine. “Group C” refers to a group of 13 respondents whose ages are forty and older. “Total” refers to the whole group of respondents. The underlined utterances and the bold-faced utterances are those that I have considered to reflect tatemae and honne respectively. The number in parenthesis is the raw number of the respondents in the particular group for that response. The number in bracket is the raw number of the respondents who thought of the response spontaneously.

Context 1: Miss Takahashi is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Miss Yamamoto.
Miss Yamamoto: I’m just here with a friend who didn’t want to come alone.
Miss Takahashi:

Group A
1. A, watashi mo. (Me too.) (10/13) [8/10]
2. Konnichiwa. Hito ga oos desu ne. (Hello. There are lots of people here, aren’t there?)
   (1/13) [1/1]
3. Oya ga katte ni mou ikonde iru. (My parent signed me up to come to this party without consulting me.) (1/13) [1/1]
4. Aa, soo na n desu ka.† (Is that so?) (1/13) [1/1]

† This statement can be tatemae if the speaker said so in order to avoid embarrassing the addressee. However, this is not considered tatemae because the context shows that it is the speaker, not the addressee, does not want to be seen.

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Group B
1. *d.watashi mo* (Me too.) (6/12) [5/6]
2. *Giuzen desu ne.* (What a coincidence.) (3/12) [2/3]
3. *Aa, soo na n desu ka.* (Is that so?) (2/12) [1/2]
4. **Ohazukasii tokoro mirarete simatte.** (I’m embarrassed to be seen being in such a place.) (1/12) [0]

Group C
1. *d.watashi mo* (Me too.) (10/13) [6/10]
2. *Giuzen desu ne.* (What a coincidence.) (2/13) [2/2]
3. *Watashi wa ivotto mi ni kita mo.* (I just came here to see what this party was like.) (1/13) [1/1]

Total:
1. *d.watashi mo* (Me too.) (26/38) [19/26]
2. *Giuzen desu ne.* (What a coincidence.) (5/38) [4/5]
3. *Aa, soo na n desu ka.* (Is that so?) (3/38) [2/3]
4. *Watashi wa ivotto mi ni kita mo.* (I just came here to see what this party was like.) (1/38) [1/1]
5. *Kommitiwa. Hito ga oos desu ne.* (Hello. There are lots of people here, aren’t there?) (1/38) [1/1]
6. *Ova ga hattie ni moosikone to.* (My parent signed me up to come to this party without consulting me.) (1/38) [1/1]
7. **Ohazukasii tokoro mirarete simatte.** (I’m embarrassed to be seen in such a place.) (1/38) [0]

Context 2: Mr. Ito is a married man who is trusted by his division manager and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His division manager finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Ito say?
Group A:
1. *Moe hito ni haatte mo ii ka to omoimasite.* (I thought it would be nice to have another one.) (6/13) [6/6]
2. *Kotowari kirenakute.* (I could not turn it down.) (2/13) [2/2]
3. *Kiree na koto ni tasowarete (Warau).* (It was suggested to me by a pretty woman (laugh).) (2/13) [2/2]
4. *Nanto naku.* (I don’t know.) (2/13) [0]
5. *Tukui de.* (Under an obligation.) (1/13) [0]

Group B:
1. *Kotowari kirenakute.* (I could not turn it down.) (5/12) [5/5]
2. *Tukui de.* (Under an obligation.) (3/12) [3/3]
3. *Moe hito ni haatte mo ii ka to omoimasite.* (I thought it would be nice to have another one.) (2/12) [2/2]
4. *Tokusen mo tuite ta.* (The policy has privileges.) (1/12) [1/1]
5. *Iya, sono...* (Well, um...) (1/12) [1/1]

Group C:
1. *Moe hito ni haatte mo ii ka to omoimasite.* (I thought it would be nice to have another one.) (4/13) [3/4]
2. *Kotowari kirenakute.* (I could not turn it down.) (4/13) [3/4]
3. *Tukui de.* (Under an obligation.) (3/13) [2/3]
4. *Tokusen mo tuite ta.* (The policy has privileges.) (1/13) [1/1]
5. *Nyoobo ga haatte to oruwari.* (My wife insists that I should have another one.) (1/13) [1/1]
Total:
1. *Moo hitotsu huitte mo it ka to omouimasite*. (I thought it would be nice to have another one.) (12/38) [11/12]
2. *Kotowari kirenakute*. (I could not turn it down.) (11/38) [10/11]
4. *Kiree na hito ni sasowarete (Warau)*. (It was suggested to me by a pretty woman.) (2/38) [2/2]
5. *Nanto naku*. (I don’t know.) (2/38) [0]
6. *Tokuten mo witha tu*. (The policy has privileges.) (2/38) [2/2]
7. *Iya, sono no*. (Well, um...) (1/38) [1/1]
8. *Nyoobo ga huirre to urusui*. (My wife insists that I should have another one.) (1/38) [1/1]

Context 3: Toru is a 25-year-old man, and Yuko is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love affairs with other women. Yuko became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an *omiai* (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Toru, realizing he still loves Yuko, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Yuko takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Yuko: What in the world are you doing here?
Toru: 

Group A:
1. *Moo iti do yarinaosoo*. (Let’s get back together.) (9/13) [8/9]
3. *Atte no kao mi ni kita*. (I came here to see what he looks like.) (1/13) [1/1]
4. *Doo itu tumori na n da*. (What are you intending to do?) (1/13) [0]

Group B:
1. *Doo itu tumori na n da*. (What are you intending to do?) (5/12) [4/5]
2. *Moo iti do yarinaosoo*. (Let’s get back together.) (4/12) [4/4]
3. *Suki da. Kekkon site kure*. (I love you. Marry me.) (1/12) [1/1]

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4. *Aite no kuro mi ni kita.* (I came here to see what he looks like.) (1/12) [1/1]
5. *Kun de mo nai yo.* (Nothing.) (1/12) [1/1]

Group C:
1. *Moo iti do yarinaosoo.* (Let’s get back together.) (5/13) [3/5]
2. *Kimim ni hanasi si ni kita.* (I came here to talk with you.) (4/13) [4/4]
4. *Boku izyoo ni tanossii aite wa inai yo.* (There’s no one who would be a more fun partner than I.) (1/13) [1/1]

Total:
1. *Moo iti do yarinaosoo.* (Let’s get back together.) (18/38) [15/18]
3. *Doo iu tumori na n da.* (What are you intending to do?) (6/38) [4/6]
4. *Kimim ni hanasi o si ni kita.* (I came here to talk with you.) (4/38) [4/4]
5. *Aite no kuro mi ni kita.* (I came here to see what he looks like.) (2/38) [2/2]
6. *Kun de mo nai yo.* (Nothing.) (1/38) [1/1]
7. *Boku izyoo ni tanossii aite wa inai yo.* (There’s no one who would be a more fun partner than I.) (1/38) [1/1]

Context 4: Mr. Sato is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle aged woman?
Mr. Sato: __________

Group A:
1. *Hiro, sonna koto wa arimasen.* (No, not at all.) (8/13) [8/8]
2. *Jassissoo na no de ausin simasita.* (I’m relieved because you look so kind.) (2/13) [1/1]
3. *Tonde mo nai. Uga ga zyoozu ni nureru yoo ni garbarimasu.* (Not at all. I’ll do my
best to become a good singer.) (1/13) [1/1]
4. A. tsu... Sono... (Well, um...) (1/13) [1/1]
5. Gai no ozusan yea nakute ansin simasita. (I’m relieved that you’re not a middle-aged gay person.) (1/13) [1/1]

Group B:
1. Iie, sonna koto wa arimases. (No, not at all.) (7/12) [7/7]
2. Yasasiso na no de ansin simasita. (I’m relieved because you look so kind.) (2/12) [2/2]
3. Tyotto gakkari desu ne. (I’m a little bit disappointed [laugh].) (1/12) [1/1]
4. Tonde mo nai. Sotira koso gakkari sita desuyo? (Not at all. I’m the one who is middle-aged, and you must be the one who’s disappointed!) (1/12) [1/1]
5. Sonna koto nai desu kedo, nendai ga tigau to osieru uta mo tigau desuyo? (Not at all, but people in different generations teach different songs, don’t they?) (1/12) [0]

Group C:
1. Iie, sonna koto wa arimases. (No, not at all.) (8/13) [8/8]
2. Beteran no sensei de yokatta. (It is good that I’ve been assigned an instructor who is experienced.) (3/13) [3/1]
3. Yasasiso na no de ansin simasita. (I’m relieved because you look so kind.) (1/13) [1/1]
4. Tyotto ne. Demo ganharimasu. (A little bit, but I’ll do my best.) (1/13) [0]

Total:
1. Iie, sonna koto wa arimases. (No, not at all.) (23/38) [23/23]
2. Tonde mo nai. Uta ga zooyou ni nurenu yoo ni ganharimasu / Beteran no sensei de yokatta / Yasasiso na no de ansin simasita Sotira koso ozisan de gakkari sita desuyo? (Not at all. I’ll do my best to become a good singer / It is good that I’ve been assigned an

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1. In this statement, ousume is used at the beginning of the sentence; however, the whole sentence is not considered ousume because this implies that the speaker prefers the younger instructor.
instructor who is experienced / I’m relieved because you look so kind / I’m the one who is middle-aged, and you must be the one who’s disappointed!.) (10/38) [6/10]
3. Gei no ozisan yoo nakute arisu yomigata. (I’m relieved that you’re not a middle-aged gay person.) (1/38) [1/1]
4. Tyotto gakkari desu ne (Warau). (I’m a little bit disappointed [laugh].) (1/38) [1/1]
5. A. iya... Sono... (Well, um...) (1/38) [1/1]
6. Sonna koto nai desu kedo, nendai ga tigau to osieru uta mo tigau desyou? (Not at all, but people in different generations teach different songs, don’t they?) (3/1) [0]
7. Tyotto ne. Demo ganbarimasu. (A little bit, but I’ll do my best.) (1/38) [0]

Context 5: Miss Kondo is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague with his project. She hasn’t neglected the job her section manager asked to do, but the section manager, who dislikes her colleague, is jealous.

Section manager: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.
Miss Kondo:

Group A:
1. Sumimasen / Moosiwake arimasen. (I’m sorry.) (7/13) [7/7]
3. Moosiwake arimasen desto. Demo kyuub ni tanomareta no de.3 (I’m sorry, but it was an emergency.) (1/13) [1/1]
4. Katvoo no sigoto ni gomeiwakakakemasi no de yarasete kudasai. (It shouldn’t interfere with your work. Please let me help my colleague.) (1/13) [1/1]

Group B:
1. Sumimasen / Moosiwake arimasen. (I’m sorry.) (8/12) [8/8]
2. Hai, Ki o takemasi. (I understand. I’ll be more conscientious.) (2/12) [2/2]
3. Moosiwake arimasen desto. Demo kyuub ni tanomareta no de. (I’m sorry, but it was

3 This statement is not considered tanomae or honne because they are mixed.
an emergency.) (2/12) [2/2]

Group C:
1. *Sumimassen / Moosiwake arimasen.* (I’m sorry.) (6/13) [6/6]
2. *Moosiwake arimasen desita. Demo kyuu ni tanomareta no de.* (I’m sorry, but it was an emergency.) (3/13) [2/3]
3. *Wakarimasita. Kore kara ki o sukemasu.* (I understand. I’ll be more conscientious.) (2/13) [1/12]
4. *Hai, Kore kurai susunde imasu. (I understand. This is how much my project has come along.)* (1/13) [0]
5. *Kigen made ni wa yarimasu. Matte ite kudasai.* (I’ll finish your project by the deadline, so please wait.) (1/13) [0]

Total:
1. *Sumimassen / Moosiwake arimasen.* (I’m sorry.) (21/38) [21/21]
2. *Hai, Ki o sukemasu.* (I understand. I’ll be more conscientious.) (8/38) [7/8]
3. *Moosiwake arimasen desita. Demo kyuu ni tanomareta no de.* (I’m sorry, but it was an emergency.) (6/38) [5/6]
4. *Katyoo no sugoto ni gomeiwaku kakemasen no de yarase te kudasai.* (It shouldn’t interfere with your work. Please let me help my colleague.) (1/38) [1/1]
5. *Hai, Kore kurai susunde imasu. (This is how much my project has come along.)* (1/38) [0]
6. *Kigen made ni wa yarimasu. Matte ite kudasai.* (I’ll finish your project by the deadline, so please wait.) (1/38) [0]

Context 6: Miss Suzuki is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be deferential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her section manager is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

*This statement is not considered *tatemae or *honne because the speaker does not talk about her helping her colleague.
Section manager: Do you enjoy your work?
Miss Suzuki: __________________________________________

Group A:
1. *Hai, Tanosii desu.* (Yes, I’m enjoying it.) (6/13) [5/6]
2. *Ee, moa.* (Yes, well...) (2/13) [2/2]
3. *Hai, Tanosii desu. Puraiheeto de yottom.* (Yes, I’m enjoying my job, but I’m having a personal problem.) (2/13) [2/2]
4. *Saikin iroiro atte.* (There have been several things that are bothering me.) (2/13) [2/2]
5. *Syooora o kangaeru to ima no sigoto de ii ka kangaesaseremasu.* (Considering my future makes me wonder if my present job is good for me.) (1/13) [1/1]

Group B:
1. *Ee, moa.* (Yes, well.) (3/12) [3/3]
2. *Zittu wa...* (To tell the truth...) (3/12) [3/3]
3. *Hai tanosii desu.* (Yes, I’m enjoying it.) (2/12) [2/2]
4. *Taisen no koto mo aru n desu ga nanto ka.* (There are times when I have trouble, but I guess so.) (2/12) [2/2]
5. *Tanosii toki mo turai toki mo arimasu ne.* (There are times when the job is enjoyable and when it’s painful.) (1/12) [1/1]
6. *Hai, Sigoto tanosii desu. Puraiheeto de yottom.* (Yes, I’m enjoying my job, but I’m having a personal problem.) (1/12) [0]

Group C:
1. *Hai, Tanosii desu.* (Yes, I’m enjoying it.) (5/13) [3/5]
2. *Tkare gimi desu go, nanto ka.* (I’m often tired, but I guess so.) (4/13) [2/4]
3. *Ee, moa.* (Yes, well...) (2/13) [2/2]
4. *Hai, Sigoto tanosii desu. Puraiheeto de yottom.* (Yes, I’m enjoying my job, but I’m

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1 This statement is not considered *honme or tatome* because it is ambiguous if the speaker has problems at work or in private.

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having a personal problem.) (2/13) [2/2]

Total:

1. *Hai, Tanosii desu.* (Yes, I'm enjoying it.) (13/38) [10/13]
2. *Es, maax.* (Yes, well...) (7/38) [7/7]
3. *Taihen na koto mo aru n desu ga nanto ka / Tukure gimi desu ga, nanto ka.* (There are times when I have trouble / I'm often tired, but I guess so.) (6/38) [2/6]
4. *Hai. Sigoto tanosii desu. Puraiheeto de yotto.* (Yes. I'm enjoying my job, but I'm having a personal problem.) (5/38) [3/5]
5. *Zitu wa.* (To tell the truth...) (3/38) [3/3]
6. *Saikin iroiro ate.* (There have been several things that are bothering me.) (5/2) [1/2]
7. *Syoorai o kangaeru to ima no sigoto de ii ka kangaesaseremansu.* (Considering my future makes me wonder if my present job is good for me.) (1/38) [1/1]
8. *Tanosii toki mo turai toki mo arimasu ne.* (There are times when the job is enjoyable and when it's painful.) (1/38) [1/1]

Context 7: Miss Kudo is a 26-year-old female office worker, who is gentle- mannered. She is interested in a male boarder at her house, Mr. Sato. On Sunday, while Mr. Sato is out, his female friend Miss Miyake came to visit him. She is young and attractive. Miss Kudo secretly is glad that Mr. Sato is out. What will Miss Kudo say to Miss Miyake. (Does Miss Kudo show any sympathy to the woman because Mr. Sato is out?)

Miss Miyake: Excuse me, but is Mr. Sato in?
Miss Kudo: ______________________

Group A:

1. *Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo.* (It looks like he went out.) (9/13) [9/9]
2. *Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo, kyuyoo desu ka?* (It looks like he went out, but is it an emergency?) (1/13) [1/1]
3. *Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo, otya de mo doo desu ka?* (It looks like he went out, but would you like some tea?) (1/13) [1/1]
4. *Saa... (I have no idea...)* (1/13) [1/1]

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5. Doo itta goyooken desu ka? (May I ask why you’re calling?) (1/13) [1/1]

Group B:
1. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo. (It looks like he went out.) (7/12) [7/7]
2. Orusu no yoo desu ga, nani ka? (It looks like he isn’t in, but may I help you?) (2/12) [2/2]
3. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo, oya de mo doo desu ka? (It looks like he went out, but is it an emergency? / Would you like some tea?) (1/12) [1/1]
4. Saikin syuumatu wa inai mitai desu yo. (Recently, he doesn’t seem to be here much on the weekends.) (1/12) [1/1]
5. Zammen desu ne. (I’m sorry [he isn’t in].) (1/12) [1/1]

Group C:
1. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo. (It looks like he went out.) (5/13) [4/5]
2. Orusu no yoo desu ga, nani ka? (It looks like he isn’t in, but may I help you?) (4/13) [4/4]
3. Zammen desu ne. (I’m sorry [he isn’t in].) (3/13) [3/3]
4. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo, omati ni narimasu ka? (It looks like he went out, but would you like to wait for him?) (1/13) [1/1]

Total:
1. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo. (It looks like he went out.) (21/38) [20/21]
2. Orusu no yoo desu ga, nani ka / Kyuuvo desu ka / Doo itta goyooken desu ka? (It looks like he isn’t in, but may I help you? / May I ask why you’re calling?) (8/38) [8/8]
3. Zammen desu ne. (I’m sorry he isn’t in.) (4/38) [4/4]
4. Odekake ni natta mitai desu kedo, oya de mo doo desu ka / Omati ni narimasu ka? (It looks like he went out, but is it an emergency? / Would you like some tea? / Would you like to wait for him?) (3/38) [3/3]

*“Zammen desu ne” is considered tatame because the speaker shows her sympathy, which is contrary to what she is feeling.*
5. Saa... (I have no idea...) (1/38) [1/1]
6. Saikin syyamatu wa inai mitai desu yo. (He doesn’t seem to be here much in on the weekend.) (1/38) [1/1]

Context 8: Rika, who is a 23 year-old woman, used to be in love with Kenji, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Rika broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Kenji.

Rika: Thanks for the party. I appreciate what you have done for me since I joined the company.

Group A:
1. Zikka ni kaette ie o tetudau koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll go back to my parents’ home and help out my family.) (8/13) [7/8]
2. Issinzyoo no tugoo de kaisya o yamenu koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll quit the company for personal reasons.) (3/13) [3/3]
3. Katte na riyuu de sumimasen. (I’m sorry for being selfish and quitting.) (2/13) [1/2]

Group B:
1. Zikka ni kaette ie o tetudau koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll go back to my parents’ home and help out my family.) (9/12) [9/9]
2. Issinzyoo no tugoo de kaisya o yamenu koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll quit the company for personal reasons.) (3/12) [2/3]

Group C:
1. Zikka ni kaette ie o tetudau koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll go back to my parents’ home and help out my family.) (11/13) [11/11]
2. Issinzyoo no tugoo de kaisya o yamenu koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll quit the company for personal reasons.) (2/13) [2/2]
Total:
1. Zikka ni kaette ie o tetudau koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll go back to my parents’ home and help out my family.) (28/38) [27/28]
2. Issinzuyo no tugen de kaizya o yamery koto ni narimasita. (It’s been decided that I’ll quit the company for personal reasons.) (8/38) [7/8]
3. Katte na riyuu de sumimaven.1 (I’m sorry for being selfish and quitting.) (2/38) [1/2]

Context 9: Saburo has been working at an advertisement company, but he has been laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Saburo was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister Mika is worried.

Mika: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Saburo: (________________________________________)

Group A:
1. Betu no doo datte ii nyaai ka. (That’s none of your business.) (5/13) [5/5]
2. Kubinii natta n da. (I was fired.) (4/13) [4/4]
3. Nomazu ni irarenakatta. (I couldn’t help but drink.) (2/13) [1/2]
4. Dororo no soobetu kai site ta. (I went to a farewell party for one of my colleagues.) (1/13) [1/1]
5. Sigoto yameta n da.6 (I quit my job.) (1/13) [0]

Group B:
1. Betu ni doo datte ii nyaai ka. (That’s none of your business.) (4/12) [4/4]
2. Nomazu ni irarenakatta. (I couldn’t help but drink.) (3/12) [2/3]
3. Kubinii natta n da. (I was fired.) (2/12) [2/2]
4. Jyotto ne. (There’s a bit of a problem.) (1/12) [1/1]

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1 This statement is not considered tamei because it is ambiguous.
6 This statement is not considered bohoon because it is different from the statement “Kubinii natta.” The former does not involve the speaker’s losing face.
5. *Okuyoku to nonde ta n da.* (I was drinking with my clients.) (1/12) [1/1]
6. *Hitamakoku sita kara pa tto yatte ta n da.* (I went drinking because I have finished some work.) (1/12) [0]

Group C:
1. *Nomazu ni irarenakatta.* (I couldn’t stand but drank.) (5/13) [5/5]
2. *Kubi ni natta n da.* (I was fired.) (2/13) [2/2]
3. *Beto ni iroo ditte iti yoo nai ka.* (That’s none of your business.) (2/13) [2/2]
4. *Daigaku no komodati / Otoosan to nonde te ne.* (I was drinking with my friends from university / with your father.) (2/13) [1/2]
5. *Kaisya yamete kuyasikatta n da.* (I quit my job, and I was full of regret.) (1/13) [1/1]
6. *Otoko ni wo otoko no tuki ga aru.* (Men have to go out with other men for company.) (1/13) [1/1]

Total:
1. *Beto ni iroo ditte iti yoo nai ka.* (That’s none of your business.) (11/38) [11/11]
2. *Nomazu ni irarenakatta.* (I couldn’t stand but drank.) (10/38) [8/10]
3. *Kubi ni natta n da.* (I was fired.) (8/13) [8/8]
4. *Okuyoku to nonde ta n da / Daigaku no komodati to nonde ta n da / Otoosan to nonde to n da / Hitamakoku sita kara pa tto yatte ta n da / Dooryoo no soobetu kai site ta / Otoko ni wo otoko no tuki ga aru.* (I was drinking with my clients / I was drinking with my friends from university / I was drinking with your father / I went drinking because I have finished some work / I went to a farewell party for one of my colleagues / Men have to go out with other men for company.) (6/38) [4/6]
5. *Sgoto yameta n da / Kaisya yamete kuyasikatta n da.* (I quit my job / I quit my job, and I was full of regret) (2/38) [1/2]
6. *Tsuito ne.* (There’s a bit of a problem.) (1/38) [1/1]

Context: 10: Miyuki is a 22 year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Mr. Tanaka, who is interested in her, brings her some...
tangerines. She does not even eat the tangerines because she does not like them.
On the following day, Miyuki goes to work. Mr. Tanaka approaches Miyuki:

Mr. Tanaka: So how were the oranges?
Miyuki: ............................

Group A:
1. *Totemo osikatta desu.* (They were very tasty.) (1/13) [11/11]
2. *Anmari mikan suki zya nai kedo osikatta.* (I don’t like tangerines very much, but they were tasty.) (1/13) [1/1]
3. *Arigatoo gozaimasita. Demo syokuyoku nakute.* (Thank you very much, but I don’t have an appetite yet.) (1/13) [1/1]

Group B:
1. *Totemo osikatta desu.* (They were very tasty.) (8/12) [8/8]
2. *Arigatoo. Nodo ga itakute mada tabete nai no.* (Thanks. I haven’t eaten any of them because I still have a sore throat.) (2/12) [2/2]
3. *Arigatoo gozaimasita. (Thank you.)* (1/12) [1/1]

4. *Zitu wa mikan amari suki zya nakute tabenakatta n desu.* (To tell the truth, I didn’t eat any of them because I didn’t like them.) (1/12) [0]

Group C:
1. *Totemo osikatta desu.* (They were very tasty.) (8/13) [8/8]
2. *Arigatoo gozaimasita.* (Thank you.) (3/13) [3/3]
3. *Arigatoo. Nodo ga itakute mada tabete nai no.* (Thanks. I haven’t eaten any of them because I still have a sore throat.) (1/13) [1/1]

4. *Mikan amari suki zya nai kedo osikatta.* (I don’t like tangerines, but they were tasty.) (1/13) [1/1]

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This statement includes both *honne* and *satomae*, but the whole sentence is considered *satomae* because the speaker says she ate the tangerine although she did not.

* *Syokuyoku nakute* and “*Nodo ga itakute mada tabete nai*** are not considered *honne* because the speaker implies she will eat the tangerines later.

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Total:
1. *Tometo oisikatta desu.* (They were very tasty.) (27/38) [27/27]
(Thank you very much, but I don’t have an appetite yet / I have a sore throat, and I haven’t eaten them yet.) (4/38) [4/4]
3. Arigatoo gozaimasita. (Thank you.) (4/38) [4/4]
4. *Anmari mikan suki nya kedo oisikatta.* (I don’t like tangerines very much, but they were tasty.) (2/38) [2/2]
5. *Zitu wa mikan amari suki nya nakute tabenakatta n desu.* (To tell the truth, I didn’t eat any of them because I didn’t like them.) (1/38) [0]
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT "TATEMAE" IN AMERICAN CULTURE

I am investigating the concept of *tatemae* (saying something against facts or true feelings in order to deal with the situation in which the expression of truth may be inappropriate) in Japanese culture. I would like to know if this concept in American culture is used in similar contexts as those in which Japanese *tatemae* is used. Please read the following contexts and decide with your intuition if you would use *tatemae*. In each context, please write what you would say. If you feel that this is an instance of using *tatemae*, please also indicate the purpose/reason which underlie your use of *tatemae* (e.g., to avoid worrying/insulting/hurting the addressee; to save face of the speaker or addressee; to make a good impression of the speaker etc.)

Context 1: Jane is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Lisa.

   Lisa: I'm just here with a friend who didn't want to come alone.
   Jane:

   Purpose:

Context 2: Mr. Smith is a married man who is trusted by his supervisor and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His supervisor finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Smith say?

   Supervisor: You already have a good insurance policy, don't you. Why are you buying another one?
   Mr. Smith:

   Purpose:

Context 3: Tim is a 25-year-old man, and Cathy is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love affairs with other
women. Cathy became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an omiai (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Tim, realizing he still loves Cathy, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Cathy takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Cathy: What in the world are you doing here?
Tim: ____________________________

Purpose

Context 4: Mr. Smith is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle aged woman?
Mr. Smith: ____________________________

Purpose

Context 5: Lisa is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague Tim with his project. She hasn't neglected the job her supervisor asked to do, but the supervisor, who dislikes Tim, is jealous.

Supervisor: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.
Lisa: ____________________________

Purpose

Context 6: Cathy is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be deferential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her supervisor is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

Supervisor: Do you enjoy your work?
Cathy: ____________________________

Purpose

Context 7: Cathy is a 26-year-old female office worker, who is gentle-mannered. She is interested in a male boarder at her house, John. On Sunday, while John is out, John's female friend came to visit him. The woman is young and attractive. Cathy secretly is glad that John is out. What will Cathy say to the woman. (Does Cathy show any sympathy to the woman because John is out?)

Cathy: ____________________________

Purpose

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Context 8: Cathy, who is a 23 year-old woman, used to be in love with Bob, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Cathy broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Bob.

Cathy: Thanks for the party. 

Purpose: 

Context 9: Ken has been working at an advertisement company, but he is laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Ken was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister is worried.

Sister: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Ken:

Purpose: 

Context 10: Judy is a 22-year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Tim, who is interested in her, brings her some oranges. She does not even eat the oranges because she does not like them. On the following day, Judy goes to work. Tim approaches Judy:

Tim: So how were the oranges?
Judy:

Purpose: 

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APPENDIX E

COMPLETE DATA OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE
ABOUT "TATEMAE" IN AMERICAN CULTURE
BY ENGLISH-SPEAKERS WHO HAVE NEVER LIVED IN JAPAN

Note. The responses of the ten respondents for each question are listed under the question. In parenthesis is/are the purpose(s) for which tatemae is/are used, if tatemae is/are in fact used in the response. In the square brackets are the respondents' comments about the questions. Statements or comments which suggest "tatemae" is used are underlined. Statements or comments which are considered the speakers’ homed are bold-faced.

Context 1: Jane is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Lisa.

Lisa: I'm just here with a friend who didn't want to come alone.

Jane:

A. I'm only here for the party. (To avoid embarrassment.)
B. I came here to see what this matching agency was about.
C. I am here only because I am curious. I have always wanted to see what kind of people actually go to these match-making parties. (To keep good impression; to avoid being considered desperate enough to use a dating service.)
D. So am I. (To avoid embarrassment.)
E. [If Jane is embarrassed about being seen at the party, she will say “me too.” This way Lisa can’t say “you are a liar” because Lisa used the same reason. Jane would say this to avoid being asked any further questions.]

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F. [I wouldn’t say anything at all about my purpose. I’d talk with her about something else. And if Lisa were to ask directly, assuming I were embarrassed, I would not answer directly, but neither would I lie.]

G. [Could go either way. I think it would depend upon how closely the two knew each other and what their personalities were like. If Jane has sense of humor and knows Lisa well, she might make a joke of the situation, implying that she knows very well why Lisa is in attendance... “Ahh. Yes, you FRIEND... and is your FRIEND having any luck?”

If Lisa and Jane were only casual acquaintance, Jane would likely go along with Lisa’s “story,” not asking any difficult questions and maybe even making a quick exit from the conversation. (To avoid making Lisa embarrassed.)]

H. Oh, really? What a surprise to see you here! (To try to make Lisa feel comfortable since she seems to be embarrassed to be seen here.)

I. Oh, really? That is nice of you. [If Lisa is embarrassed, then there is no need to further embarrass her.]

J. [Yes, I can see how a person might feel awkward, but there’s really nothing to be ashamed of.]

Context 2: Mr. Smith is a married man who is trusted by his supervisor and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His supervisor finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Smith say?

A. You should always be on the lookout for a better deal.

B. I thought this new insurance policy would be a good supplement to the one I already have.

C. My current insurance policy is limited in coverage, so I was thinking about getting a different one. (To save face. The speaker is afraid that his supervisor will think that he is

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1 Since Respondent G does not know if he will be honest or not in this given situation, two of his responses were not counted, but used as comments in this thesis.

2 Respondents H and J’s responses are considered “tatanus” because they state the purposes for which it is used. In the same context in the first questionnaire similar statements to these are not considered “tatanus” because it is not clear if the respondents stated them as “tatanus.”
not faithful to his wife.)

D. You can never have enough life insurance. After all, I want to be sure my wife is financially secure if I should die suddenly. (To avoid being considered an adulterer, or at least a potential adulterer, i.e. Just buying the policy to get intimate with the saleswoman.)

E. [Mr. Smith will say: “I can’t help it...she was hot.” Men don’t mind bragging about being turned on / attracted by other women (even if they are married) so long as they are talking to other men. Men understand the way that other men think. By saying this Mr. Smith will actually sound confident and manly. That should make his other colleges stop asking him about it.]

F. You can never have too much insurance.

G. [I can imagine Smith’s response going either way. A direct, possibly humorous confrontation of the facts of the matter would work perfectly well in some cases. “Did you see the insurance saleswoman? Need I say more?” It’s really a matter of personality. If Smith is on the nervous or insecure side, he’d be more likely to create some sort of story for why he decided to buy a new policy. (To avoid admitting a potentially embarrassing action.) As with the first example, I don’t think the situation will dictate one course of action...it is largely a matter of personality and communication style.]

H. I just thought it’s better to be safe about these things. It’s a good idea to have the extra protection. (To cover up embarrassment at being thought to be interested in the saleswoman.) [Would someone really buy an unneeded life insurance policy just because the saleswoman was attractive? It’s hard to believe.]

I. Well, the saleswoman was just so good-looking! [Men can safely joke with one another about good-looking women enticing them. In all-male, heterosexual company, it is not uncommon, or even considered very rude, to talk about attractive women, especially when the men all know one another well.]

J. The only sure things are death and taxes. So I’m betting on a sure thing. (To justify his actions.)

Context 3: Tim is a 25-year-old man, and Cathy is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love
affairs with other women. Cathy became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an omiai (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Tim, realizing he still loves Cathy, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Cathy takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Cathy: What in the world are you doing here?

Tim: __________________________

A. Let’s get back together.

B. I realized that I acted foolishly in the past and I want to try to make amends.

C. [I am not sure if the situation would involve tatamae. Tim came to Cathy’s omiai to tell her that he still loved her. In this case, I think that he would directly express his feelings to her.]

D. [No tatamae. In this case, one can assume a certain level of intimacy between Tim and Cathy which would preclude his need to use “tatamae.” He would probably confess his love honestly and openly.]

E. I love you and I can’t live without you... Please, please reconsider. [Tim would say this because it is the best way to get Cathy back. When it comes to love, Americans care about themselves and not the other guy.]

F. [No point in tatamae here. Tim had better say exactly what he’s thinking. I can imagine what he might say: “I’ve heard the lines in half a dozen movies. And so have you, I imagine.”]

G. [Tim’s got no choice here but to say it like it is... If he’s going to go to the trouble of actually interrupting the “omiai” (which, incidentally, really has no counterpart in modern American culture), he’s pretty much already laid his cards on the table. No point in being shy now.]

H. [No tatamae. However, we do not normally have omiai in the US! An arranged meeting is possible but it’s hard to imagine Tim arriving. Cathy would be very angry and embarrassed.]

I. I am still in love with you. [Such direct and astonishing behavior deserves a straight direct answer. If he does not make the urgency of his feelings known, then Cathy will probably turn away from him forever because he ruined the meeting.]

J. I just couldn’t stand the thought of losing you without giving it one more chance.

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Context 4: Mr. Smith is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle aged woman?
Mr. Smith:___________________________________________

A. No. (To avoid insulting her.)
B. No, not really. I just don’t have much confidence in my singing ability to be taught by such a seasoned professional.
C. No, I was just thinking about something bad that happened to me at work. (To avoid offending her by saying that she wasn’t young and attractive.)
D. Ah... Not at all... It’s just that... I wanted to learn to sing the latest songs and... uh...” (To avoid insulting the instructor; to avoid seeming like a lewd man interested only in getting closer to young women.)
E. No, I just figured that maybe someone younger would teach me newer, more popular songs. (To avoid hurting his elderly instructor’s feelings.) [Mr. Smith would let his instructor know that he prefers a younger instructor but doesn’t hurt his elderly instructor’s feelings this way because he has a good reason. This is the best case of Americans “ki o tukau”]
F. [A direct question like that seems to ask for a direct answer. I think I’d confess I was hoping for more than karaoke lessons and then, go on with the lesson. Hell, I’m Mr. Smith and I’m 35--no spring chicken, either.]
G. [I think that most people in this situation would lie about their sense of disappointment. Smith would almost certainly say, “Oh, no, of course not... it’s just that... etc. etc.” I guess it might do just as well to ask what the purpose of telling the truth would be. Nobody would benefit from the truth here and unlike the first two examples above, a direct approach coupled with a sense of humor really wouldn’t work here.]
H. Of course not! Not at all! (To protect the woman’s feelings and avoid her anger.)
I. No, not at all. (I think that it would be considered very rude to express disappointment directly to her face. If he did, the relationship might end.)
J. No. (To lie to avoid conflict.)
A. I did.
B. I noticed that my coworker needed some assistance and I just wanted to lend a hand. (To reassure the supervisor that she only wanted to provide assistance.)
C. Sorry, but I was busy with something else. I haven’t forgotten the job you asked me to; I will finish it on time. [Not sure about tatemae in this case. Lisa hasn’t neglected the job she was asked to do, so there is not reason to use a large degree of tatemae, even though her supervisor is her superior.]³
D. I understand. I was trying to help Tim finish an important project. But I will not neglect my work, I promise you that. [No tatemae here, because the supervisor has a legitimate complaint—helping on a project unrelated to her own work in such a way that she stays up all night. It might affect her performance of her own work. Lisa has no position from which to justify her actions.]
E. OK. But is it all right to help Tim if I finish my job? [This question depends upon how necessary it is for Lisa to have a job. If she didn’t care so much about her job she would probably argue with her boss saying that she already finished her job. If she really needed her job she would just say sorry and wouldn’t help Tim. Most Americans take the middle ground (mannaka no sentaku) by saying what I wrote above.]
F. That job is coming along fine; I can show you my progress if you like. Tim just needed some help.
G. [It will depend upon the personalities of the parties involved and the formality of the workplace. In general, though certainly not always, an employee in this situation would probably tend to accept the supervisor’s “advice.”]
H. I know, I have been working on it (explains what she did). I was just trying to help Tim out because... [No tatemae. It would be bad to leave the supervisor with the

³This response is considered neither “tatemae” or homma because these two are mixed.
impression that she wasn’t doing her work, so she had better inform him what she’s doing.)

1. Yes, I know, but I think that Tim needs my help. I will get to the project as soon as possible. [As long as Lisa is working hard, I don’t think it is inappropriate to let her boss know that she is working hard with Tim, something that will probably benefit the entire company in the long run.]

2. You should be grateful that I volunteer my free time at all. What’s the problem? (To confront the supervisor who is abusing power.)

   Context 6: Cathy is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be deferential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her supervisor is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

   Supervisor: Are you enjoying your work?
   Cathy:

A. Yes. (To avoid revealing information to a boss.)
B. Not recently. I have experienced some non-job related stress recently and unfortunately, it has affected my attitude at work.
C. I really like the company; everyone is great. However, I am having problems with...
   [May be not a high degree of tatema here. It depends. If the problem she is having is not related to her personal relationship with her coworkers, then she can probably be honest and tell her supervisor about her problems. No reason to “gaman suru” and pretend nothing is wrong.]
D. No, it’s not that. I just have some personal things I am working out. (To avoid being relieved of her work responsibilities.) [Despite her depression and her dislike of her work, she needs to keep her job. She can’t afford to be let go. Politeness is not as important in American offices as it is in Japanese offices.]
E. It’s OK but I would rather work at the X department. [This statement also depends on how much Cathy needs her job.]
F. I would tell the supervisor about those problems which he is in a position to do
something about. The other problems I would keep to myself. Of course, I have no idea what Cathy’s actual problems are, so can’t be more specific.

[Not sure here. Since you point out that she is going out of her way to be “deferential,” I guess I’d have to say that she would likely overstate her interest in her job here. If she was not entirely honest about her feelings about the job, it would probably be because she thought it would be in her best interest professionally to at least appear engaged and interested in the work.

H. Well, I like many things about it, but there are some things that have been bothering me. [She doesn’t want to give the impression that she doesn’t like her job, but it sounds like the supervisor is concerned, so if s/he is trustworthy, this is a good chance to discuss it.]

I. Well, I have been wanting a little bit of change recently. [Now would be a good opportunity for Cathy to hint her Boss that she wants a change, but if she is rude and says so very directly, then her boss might be offended and the relationship would be damaged. I think that she would be honest, but not terribly direct.]

J. It’s not that at all. I’m sorry if I gave you such an impression. [To use ambiguous language to avoid lying.]

Context: Cathy is a 26-year-old female office worker, who is gentle-mannered. She is interested in a male boarder at her house, John. On Sunday, while John is out, John’s female friend came to visit him. The woman is young and attractive. Cathy secretly is glad that John is out. What will Cathy say to the woman? (Does Cathy show any sympathy to the woman because John is out?)

Cathy: ________________________________ ________________________________

A. John is not here.

B. I’m sorry John is out. Are you a good friend of his? [She would get her information about the woman’s relationship with John.]

C. John went out. [Not sure what you mean by gentle-mannered. Maybe you mean mature, nice, friendly, etc. If Cathy is this kind of woman, she would most likely use any kind of tautemai i.e. a lic. for example, saying that John left with another woman, even though she likes him.]
D. John’s not here right now and didn’t say when he’d be back, but I’ll tell him you came by. [Assuming Cathy knows where John is and when he will return, uses “ Tatemae ” in order to prevent her rival from making progress in winning John’s affection.] E. Sorry. John’s not here right now. You might come back in 2 hours. If he is really “zure” she might tell some lie like “John went out with his ex-girlfriend” because that might make the girl jealous, but if John found out she lied, then it would make it harder for her to date John so most people wouldn’t lie. F. [She tells him that John is out but offers her a pencil and paper to leave a message if she’d like.] G. [Don’t understand the question.] H. I’m sorry. he’s not here right now. He will probably be back at... I’ll let him that you came. [I think Cathy will be polite to the woman, though not excessively friendly. She will not invite her to come in, etc.] I. No, I am afraid that he is not here. Who could I tell him visited? [I think Cathy would just treat the woman like anyone else, but maybe she might try to find out who she is by asking indirectly “Who could I tell him visited?”] If she wants to find out a lot more about the relationship, she would probably ask John.] J. He’s out. I don’t know where. I suppose I could take a message. (To show no sympathy, but extend common courtesy.)

Context B: Cathy, who is a 33-year-old woman, used to be in love with Bob, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Cathy broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Bob.

Cathy: Thanks for the party.

A. Thanks for the party. I quit my job because I hate Bob now.

B. I’ve decided to return home to help my family because they need assistance. (To avoid showing her broken heart.)
C. Thanks for the party. I hate to leave my job, but my mother’s health isn’t so good, so she needs my help. (To save face.) [She does not want to be perceived as being weak and unable to deal with her ex-boyfriend at work.]

D. Although I will really miss working with all of you, my family needs me back home. (To avoid embarrassment “losing face.”)

E. I’m gonna miss everyone. However, my family really, really needs me so I am going back home for a little while. [Even if Cathy says this, other people may still think that it is because she doesn’t want to see Bob, but if she goes out of her way and says I’m not leaving because of Bob, then people will still think that is the reason. So at least she looks OK by saying about the line.]

F. [Cathy should just mention those positive reasons she has for returning home and none of the negative reasons for leaving. Not “against the facts,” but not the whole truth either.]

G. [I think Cathy would not mention Bob or their relationship. If she really felt compelled to give a “reason” for her departure (which would be unlikely), she would make up a story about wanting to be near family or something to that effect. I think that there is generally a fairly strong division between personal and professional matters maintained in the workplace. It would seem out of place to start talking about one’s failed love affairs at a work-related function—even if, in fact, the two were related.]

H. Thanks for the party. It’s been really great working with all of you. Right now I have some priorities with my family, so even though I love working here, I’ve decided it’s time to move on... [She would not mention the romantic troubles in a public occasion like this. It would embarrass both her and the other people.] I. [The answer depends on how polite and secretive she feels she needs to be. There is perhaps not much need to be secretive, since she will not be working with her coworkers any more, but it would really take some chutzpah to say the truth to everyone while Bob is right there. Such a scenario is not impossible. If she feels so negatively toward Bob that she is willing even to quit her job, then perhaps she might be bitter enough to say something in front of everybody.]

J. Working together with so many good people has been a learning experience for me.
Now I know the value of being among people you can depend on. So it's only fitting that I should go from here back to my family, who need me and love me and who I love and trust. Thank you and good-bye.

Context 9: Ken has been working at an advertisement company, but he is laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Ken was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister is worried.

Sister: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Ken:

A. Because I got laid off, I felt like getting drunk.
B. I've been laid off so I went out and got drunk last night.
C. What would you do if you got laid off? [No reason to use *tatemae* in this case, especially with one of your own family members.]
D. [This is another difficult context to respond to. Whether Ken uses *tatemae* will depend on a number of factors, including: 1) The level of intimacy with his sister; 2) the level of his responsibility at work (An upper level manager might be less likely to admit he was laid off. Because Ken lives with his sister, I assume he is young and has very little responsibility); and 3) his prospects for getting another job. A young man working in advertising with fairly high rate of turnover should not be too discouraged by having to find a new job. A general observation I would make about *tatemae* in American culture is that it is less frequently used between people who enjoy some closeness in their relationship (i.e., siblings, lovers, close friends, etc.). People in the US often have less of a sense of "shame" than those in Japan, I think. Losing one's job is not necessarily something one needs to hide from others--Unrequited love (more often a subject for melodramas and soap operas) is not as often a pretext for saving face. (Consider the TV shows in which people tell the audience and all the viewers at home about their secret love for colleagues, roommates, best friend's boyfriend, etc.) I assume by your inclusion of ages and professions in these contexts that your theory is that "tatemae" is more common among people of certain age, or people with a certain level of responsibility, people with some social standing. As I said earlier, in the US, there seems
to be a greater tolerance for personal failure or for shameful behavior. (Consider
impeached or forced to resign for his illicit affair with Monica Lewinsky, and even enjoys
higher popularity ratings than many of his predecessors.) In short, although it is hard to
generalize about “tatemae” in the US, it is not as prevalent as it seems to be in Japanese
culture.

E. I got laid off yesterday. [Most Americans don’t mind saying things like that to their
family because they know that their family will support them.]
F. [He should say “Because I just lost my job,” then, get a beer out of the fridge.]
G. Who knows. [Ken could conceivably say anything here.]
H. Oh, I guess I was upset about getting laid off, and I just drank too much. [No
tatemae needed to his sister, if they are close.]
I. I got fired last night. [There is no need to hide such a traumatic event from his sister.
His sister should understand his pain and support him.]
J. [Silence.] Don’t worry. I’ll bounce back. [It’s no use justifying irrational behavior.]

Context 10: Judy is a 22 year-old female office worker. She is depressed and
does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she
has a cold. Her colleague Tim, who is interested in her, brings her some
oranges. She does not even eat the oranges because she does not like them. On
the following day, Judy goes to work. Tim approaches Judy:

Tim: So how were the oranges?
Judy: ________________________________

A. I don’t like oranges, so I gave them to my neighbor. It was thoughtful of you
anyway. Thanks.
B. They were fine, I really appreciate your kindness.
C. Oh, they were fine, I didn’t have an appetite yesterday, but I ate a couple this morning.
(To maintain good relations.) [Despite being depressed, Judy is likely to be nice and not
offend, assuming she is generally a considerate and mature person.]
D. Oh, they were delicious. Thank you for thinking of me. (To avoid insulting Tim.) [In
the US, a friend visiting someone who is sick is more likely to bring flowers even if the
sick person has a cold. Oranges aren’t a common “get well gift.” The situations you
E. They were delicious. [A lie like this is hard to detect. So since it’s safe and won’t hurt Tim’s feelings, then most people will lie.]

F. It was very thoughtful of you to give me oranges. Truthfully, I haven’t tried one yet.

G. Sorry, I haven’t had a chance to try them yet. (To avoid a potentially awkward situation.)

H. They were great. I think they helped me feel better. [Better not to hurt the person’s feelings, especially if he likes her. Is this a Japanese thing, to bring oranges to someone’s home if they were ill? It doesn’t sound likely in the US, unless they are very good friends and live close to each other.]

I. I really appreciate your kindness, but I have not had any of them yet. [After such a kind gesture, it would be very shocking for Judy to say “I hate oranges.” It is more likely that she would acknowledge the kindness of his act, and simply avoid the issue by telling him that she had not eaten any yet. This way, the relationship can continue smoothly. If she did tell him that she hates oranges, Tim would probably never do anything nice for her again.]

J. Oh, yeah. Thanks again. It was so thoughtful of you to bring them by. [To talk around the issue until the subject changes.]
APPENDIX F

COMPLETE DATA OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE
ABOUT TATEMAE IN AMERICAN CULTURE
BY ENGLISH-SPEAKERS WHO HAVE NEVER LIVED IN JAPAN

Note. The responses of the ten respondents for each question are listed under the question. In parenthesis is/are the purpose(s) for which tatemae is used, if it is in fact used in the response. In the square brackets are the respondents' comments about the questions. Statements or comments which suggest "tatemae" are underlined. Statements or comments which are considered the speakers' honne are bold-faced. The list of the subjects is as follows:

Respondent A: A female company worker; in her forties.
Respondent B: A female graduate student; in her twenties.
Respondent C: A female computer programmer; in her forties.
Respondent D: A female English instructor; in her thirties.
Respondent E: A male graduate student; in his twenties.
Respondent F: A female pastor; in her fifties.
Respondent G: A male worker; in his fifties.
Respondent H: A male graduate student; in his thirties.
Respondent I: A male computer programmer; in his twenties.
Respondent J: A female graduate student; in her twenties.

Context 1: Jane is a 28-year-old single woman. She is attending a party sponsored by a matching agency. She did not want to be seen by her acquaintances, but she meets one of her friends Lisa.

Lisa: I'm just here with a friend who didn't want to come alone.
Jane: ____________________________

A. So am I. (To save face of the speaker.)
B. Yes, my friend urged me to accompany her, as well. (To avoid embarrassment.)
C. So am I. (To save face of the speaker.)
D. [Jane shouldn’t feel bad in this context.]
E. Oh, me too. [This is tatemae.]
F. No need to lie.
G. I’m here to see how the service works.
H. I am too. (To avoid embarrassment.)
I. Me too. (To save face of the speaker.)
J. Well, while you have been here, have you met anyone interesting?

Context 2: Mr. Smith is a married man who is trusted by his supervisor and colleagues. He was invited to a party by an attractive saleswoman from an insurance company. He already has a life insurance policy, but he decided to buy another one from her. His supervisor finds out and is curious. What will Mr. Smith say?

A. I’m interested in having more security for myself and my family. (To save face of the speaker.)
B. This one has some benefits the other one does not. (To avoid embarrassment.)
C. [I would answer honestly.]
D. [Mr. Smith would use tatemae to hide the fact that he may potentially be unfaithful.]
E. Well, I didn’t want to be rude to Miss X (the saleswoman). [It doesn’t seem to me that Mr. Smith needs to lie at all about wanting to be “friendly” with the saleswoman, unless he is trying to hide his intentions from his boss.]
F. I’m not sure I’m going to buy another one, but I am interested in learning more about the possibility of this one.
G. “I would lie and say ‘You can never have too much insurance,’”
H. I want to find out what all of my options are.
I. I just want to be absolutely certain that my loved one will be taken care of in case something should happen to me. You can never be too careful. [He would lie to his

1 Respondent E used the word “tatemae” because he learned it in the directions for the questionnaire (refer to Appendix D).
supervisor to maintain the good perception others have of him."

J. You never have enough insurance! [Tatemae] (To make the addressee feel more comfortable.)

Context 3: Tim is a 25-year-old man, and Cathy is a 23-year-old woman. They used to go out together, but they had a number of quarrels because of his love affairs with other women. Cathy became tired of him and went back to her hometown to have an omtai (a meeting for arranging a marriage). Tim, realizing he still loves Cathy, shows up at the meeting. Upset, Cathy takes him out of the meeting and confronts him.

Cathy: What in the world are you doing here?
Tim:

A. I would like to make another attempt at a relationship. I do not want you to go into an arranged marriage.
B. I suddenly realized I really do love you.
C. I realized I really love you and want you to marry me.
D. I want to be with you.
E. I am in love with you and won’t let you marry another without expressing myself.
F. I realize that, even though I behaved badly, and though you deserve to be angry with me, I love you, and would like to pursue a relationship with you.
G. I love you. I can’t live without you.
H. I wanted to tell you. I love you.
I. I realized that I still love you and I want to be with you.
J. I love you and I want to marry you. [No tatemae.]

Context 4: Mr. Smith is a 35-year-old white-collar worker. He joined a karaoke club to learn how to sing popular songs. He expected a young female instructor to teach him, but is assigned a middle-aged woman. The instructor notices that he looks disappointed.

Instructor: Are you disappointed to be assigned a middle-aged woman?
Mr. Smith:

A. Of course not. I’m delighted with any instructor. (To avoid hurting the addressee’s

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feelings.)

B. Oh, I’m sorry, I’m just a little tired today. Please don’t misunderstand. (To avoid embarrassing himself.)

C. Oh, no, I just want to learn how to sing songs. (To avoid insulting.)

D. No, I’m just feeling nervous about my singing abilities.

E. No, I’m just nervous about singing in front of so many people. (To avoid hurting the addressee’s feelings.)

F. Well, I’m interested in learning popular songs, and I’m glad you’re able to teach me.

G. No, not really.

H. No, I was just thinking of something else. (To avoid hurting the addressee’s feelings.)

I. No, of course not. (To avoid offending the addressee.)

J. Uh, no. I just have a lot on my mind tonight from work and I haven’t been able to be totally into this tonight. (Tatemae) (To avoid making the addressee feel bad.)

Context 5: Lisa is a hard-working female designer. She has stayed up all night at the office to help her colleague Tim with his project. She hasn’t neglected the job her supervisor asked to do, but the supervisor, who dislikes Tim, is jealous.

Supervisor: You really ought to finish the job I asked you to do first.

Lisa: _____________________________________________________________________________________

A. I’ll have my job completed thoroughly and on time.

B. I’m sorry, I will start on it quickly. (To give face to the supervisor and let him feel he is more important than Tim.)

C. Absolutely. I will work on that right now. (To avoid making the addressee more angry.)

D. [No tatemae needed to lie in this situation.]

E. Oh, my work is coming along fine! I only helped Tim because I had the time to spare and he needed some help.

F. I know that you’re anxious about the job you asked me to do, and I want you to know that I’m progressing well on it. It will be ready by the deadline you gave me.

G. Tim had an early deadline. I planed to get your job done today.

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H. What part of the job have I not done? I thought I had finished it.
I. The deadline for the job you asked me to do hasn’t passed yet, and I’m sure I’ll get the assignment done on time, so I decided to help Tim with his project. [Lisa feels she hasn’t done anything wrong, so politely defends her actions to hear boss.]
J. I am in process of working on it and I will have it done on time just like you asked.

Context 6: Cathy is a 29-year-old single female office worker. She is careful to be deferential to her seniors in the office. She has recently been depressed and does not enjoy her work. Her supervisor is worried about her. He invites her to dinner.

Supervisor: Are you enjoying your work?
Cathy: ________________________________

A. Yes, I’m perfectly satisfied.
B. I feel there are parts of it where I could use some assistance. There are some things I try to figure out on my own but have not been able to. Could I ask other colleagues to explain certain things? (To save the addressee’s face, while also being informed that Cathy is upset in some way with her work.)
C. Yes, very much. Thank you for asking. (To keep the job.)
D. Yes, I enjoy my work.
E. Yes, it’s not the work that is bothering me... I don’t know why. (To keep the job.)
F. Thank you for asking me that question. I’ve been thinking that there might be some ways that we could change my job which I would really appreciate.
G. It’s OK.
H. I am looking for some more challenges. [A small lie to avoid discomfort.]
I. Yes, I enjoy it. I’ve been upset lately because my grandmother has been ill and I’ve been worried about her. [Cathy probably wouldn’t say outright that she dislikes her job, and would make up some excuse about why her attitude has changed lately.]
J. I enjoy my work, but it is difficult for me to be here sometimes because I have few people to relate to who are my own age. [This is half truth, half truth.]

Context 7: Cathy is a 26-year-old female office worker, who is gentle-mannered. She is interested in a male boarder at her house, John. On Sunday, while John is 186
sister, he can probably be truthful."

G. The guys keep urging me on and I’m not used to heavy drinking.

H. Why not? [No *tatemae*

I. I got laid off. [There is no reason to hide being laid off from his sister.]

J. I gave me alone. I had a good reason.

Context 10: Judy is a 22-year-old female office worker. She is depressed and does not want to work. She takes days off from work, telling everybody that she has a cold. Her colleague Tim, who is interested in her, brings her some oranges. She does not even eat the oranges because she does not like them. On the following day, Judy goes to work. Tim approaches Judy:

Tim: So how were the oranges?

Judy: ________________________________

A. They were great, just what I needed, hit the spot. (To avoid hurting the addressee’s feelings.)

B. Thanks. They were really good. (To avoid embarrassing the addressee.)

C. Thank you very much for the thoughtfulness. It was very kind of you.

D. They were very good although I only ate one. Thank you. (To avoid hurting the addressee.)

E. Oh, they were very nice. Thank you for being so considerate! [Judy has no reason to tell him that she hates oranges. It would only hurt his feelings. So, she probably lies and thanks him for the gesture. This is *tatemae*.

F. Thank you very much for the oranges.

G. They were delicious. It was very thoughtful of you to bring them by.

H. They were really good and juicy. (To avoid hurting the addressee’s feelings.)

I. They were very good. Thank you for bringing them to me. (To avoid offending him.)

J. Oh, really good. I have enough to last me a long time. [This is *tatemae*.] (To avoid hurting the addressee’s feelings.)

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out, John's female friend came to visit him. The woman is young and attractive. Cathy secretly is glad that John is out. What will Cathy say to the woman. (Does Cathy show any sympathy to the woman because John is out?)

Cathy: ____________________________________________

A. I'm sorry you missed John. Would you like me to give him a message? (To put her feeling aside.)
B. I believe he will be out most of the day.
C. Oh, he is out today.
D. So are you a good friend of John's?
E. Oh, John's not here now... Your should try later.
F. I'm sorry John is not here.
G. John is out and not expected soon.
H. Sorry, John is not here.
I. I'm sorry, John's not here right now.
J. I'm sorry John's out. [This is ratemae because she really is NOT glad that the lady stopped by.]

Context 8: Cathy, who is a 23 year-old woman, used to be in love with Bob, a 25-year-old white-collar worker, who worked in the same office. Cathy broke up with him because of his love affairs with other women. She decides to quit her job because she does not want to see him. She is planning to help her family in her hometown, who want her to come back. People at the office suspect that she is leaving because of her break-up with him. She has to explain why she is quitting her job at a farewell party given by her supervisor and colleagues, including Bob.

Cathy: Thanks for the party. ____________________________________________

A. I truly wish I didn't have to leave, but my family needs my help and I cannot refuse. (To save face.)
B. I have enjoyed working with all of you so much, and I have to leave, but my parents need me to help at home with our family affairs, I will miss all of you. (To avoid making her supervisor and colleagues uncomfortable in a formal situation.)
C. I'm looking forward to helping my family. (To save face.)
D. I need to be with my family now.
E. I just need to move on with my life, and it seems that my family really needs my help. [This isn’t exactly a lie. She may not choose to air personal feelings in public, but she can still tell them that she has to move on from the place.]
F. Thanks for the party, I’m looking forward to being close to my family.
G. My family has been asking me for years to come back and work with them.
H. My family really needs my help. (To avoid causing hard feelings among the staff.)
I. I will miss you, but I need to go back to my hometown to help my family. [It is not appropriate to announce/discuss personal issues to a work group]
J. My family is going through some difficult times and I need to be there to help them. [This is *tatemae.*] (To save face.)

Context 9: Ken has been working at an advertisement company, but he is laid off as a result of restructuring. A proud man, Ken was shocked and went out drinking with his friends until late. The next morning he looks miserable with a hangover, and his sister is worried.

Sister: Why do you drink till you are sick?
Ken:

A. I wanted to dull the pain and try to forget the rude and hurtful way I was treated.
B. One of my projects did not go well. (To save own face.)
C. I was upset by something at work.
D. [No need to lie in this situation.]
E. I was just upset after being fired for no good reason... Your know, I drank to get over the shock! I don’t feel that Ken has any real reason to lie to his sister. He should be able to confide in her his anger and disappointment for loosing the job, and the drinking is just an outcome of that loss.
F. I am a little down because I lost my job. [Depending on his relationship with his

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2 This statement shows that the speaker is honest with the addressee, therefore, it is considered the speaker’s *honne."
### APPENDIX G

**SUMMARY OF THE DATA OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT TATEMAE IN AMERICAN CULTURE**

By ENGLISH-SPEAKERS WHO HAVE NEVER LIVED IN JAPAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Use of tatemaee **</th>
<th>&quot;Tatemae&quot; expressions and their purposes</th>
<th>Breakdown ***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>1. Me, too/So am I. (To avoid embarrassment.)</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. I'm here to see how the service works.</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>1. This one has some benefits the other one does not/I'm not sure I'm going to buy another one, but I am interested in learning more about the possibility of this one, etc. (To save own face.).</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. I'm interested in having more security for myself and my family, etc. (To save own face/To protect privacy.).</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. [Mr. Smith would use autowave to hide the fact that he may potentially be unfaithful.]</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1. Oh, I'm sorry. I'm just a little tired today. Please don't misunderstand, etc. (To avoid embarrassing himself.)</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. No, of course not. I just want to learn how to sing songs/I'm delighted with any instructor. (To avoid hurting/offending the addressee; to avoid being thought to be a shallow person.)</td>
<td>3/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. No, of course not. (To avoid hurting the addressee's feeling.)</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td>1. I'm sorry. I will start on it quickly. (To give face to the supervisor.)</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6/10</td>
<td>1. Yes, I'm perfectly satisfied very much/It's OK. (To avoid worrying the addressee.)</td>
<td>4/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Yes, it's not the work that is bothering me. (To keep the job.)</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5/10</td>
<td>1. I'm sorry you missed John/John is not here now. (To put her feeling aside.)</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1. My family need my help and I cannot refuse. (To save face.)</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. I've been apart from my family for so long and I miss them. (To save face.)</td>
<td>2/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td>1. One of my projects did not go well. (To save face.)</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. The guys keep urging me on, and I'm not used to heavy drinking.</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>They were great/How delicious/juicy. (To avoid hurting/offending the other's feelings.)</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table G: Use of Tatemaee by English-speakers who have never lived in Japan

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made. Statements in the brackets are comments that the respondents made instead of direct responses.

*Context: See Appendix E for the contexts used in the questionnaire.

**Use of *iatomac*: The numbers in the column refer to the number of the total respondents who used *iatomac* in each context.

***Breakdown: This shows the breakdown of the usage of each *iatomac* statement.