

Cultural Differences in the Situations Expressing Gratitude: A Comparative Study of Japanese and Indonesian College Students

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Abstract

This study examines cultural differences among Japanese and Indonesian college students in regards of expressing gratitude in different gratitude situations. The gratitude situations used in the analysis of this study is based on the taxonomy of thanks by Coulmas (1981) that consists of eight situations where a person who may feel grateful will express gratitude. Using a DCT as the instrument to collect the data, in general, the Japanese students are more frequent using gratitude expressions in those situations of thanks than Indonesian students. The result also shows that Japanese males and females tend to treat both male and female friends equally by expressing gratitude using almost the same gratitude expressions. Contrastively, Indonesian male students are significantly more likely to say thanks to female students rather than male students. Meanwhile, Indonesian female students have a tendency to express gratitude to the same sex rather than to the opposite sex.

【Keyword: *gratitude expression; culture; Japanese; Indonesian*】

1. Introduction

Thank you is a linguistic form to express gratitude when people receive help or kindness from others. It refers to the gratitude of a person toward something that has been accepted. This expression is a kind of routinized speech act (Coulmas, 1981). Every culture has its norms and values with regard to what kind of acts or situations require thanks and the people of each society understand the use of that expression in an appropriate way. Hinkel (1994) and Cheng (2005) investigated cultural differences in different target cultures in the attitudes toward the speech act of giving thanks. The results indicated that differences existed for the expression of thanks in every culture. Social and cultural influences that hold each of them have an important role in this expression. It is plausible that the use of gratitude expressions is tightly dependent on the cultural context.

Gratitude expressions may be expressed depending on how the person perceives those situations as gratitude situations. The perception can be viewed differently by each person. The use of thanking in every culture may be different according to how its culture perceives a certain situation as one that stimulates the thanks expression. As a society professing eastern culture, the people of Indonesia and Japan equally view moral values in social interaction as valuable. However, there are fundamental differences in gratitude culture in these societies. In Japan, research on the gratitude expression has been investigated extensively, with and without a contrastive focus (Jautz, 2013). On the contrary, until now, comprehensive research

regarding gratitude in Indonesia has hardly been observed. By focusing on Japanese and Indonesian culture, which have numerous differences, the two nations' different cultural ways of expressing gratitude in their societies can be seen.

2. Purpose

This study focuses on perception and interpretation made by both natives, particularly the younger generations, in how they express gratitude in various thanks situations. To achieve the purpose of this study, the following questions must be answered to guide the research:

1. How do Japanese and Indonesians perceive different gratitude situations?
2. What expressions are used by both cultures when different kinds of thanks situations are faced?
3. Does gender differentiate gratitude expression used among both cultures?

3. Materials and Methods

The present study investigates gratitude culture in Japan and in Indonesia, particularly on how Japanese and Indonesians express their feeling of gratitude according to the situations of thanks specified by Coulmas's taxonomy of thanks (1981). His taxonomy consists of several thanks situations where a person may feel grateful, so he or she expresses gratitude. The taxonomy of thanks is presented as follows:

(i) real vs. potential: *thanks ex ante (for a promise, offer, invitation) and thanks ex post (for a favor, invitation afterwards)*; (ii) material vs. immaterial: *thanks for material goods (gifts, services) and thanks for immaterial goods (wishes, compliments, congratulations, information)*; (iii) requested vs. not requested: *thanks for some action initiated by the benefactor and thanks for some action resulting from a request/wish/order by the beneficiary*; and (iv) indebteding vs. not indebteding: *thanks that imply indebtedness and thanks that do not imply indebtedness (p. 74).*

This study was conducted during the period of December 2013-April 2014 at Tohoku University, Japan and at Padjadjaran University, Indonesia. 286 people including 103 Japanese students and 183 Indonesian students volunteered to take part in the study. These college students were selected based on the consideration of the following specific criteria:

1. The participants are young adults who are in the age range between 18 and 22 years old. According to Owens Jr. (2008), in that age range, young adults are versatile speakers who are expected that their conversational and literacy abilities continue to diversify and become more elaborate with age.
2. The participants, undergraduate students, are almost always available and willing to participate in the research conducted in the campus area.

The data were collected through a discourse completion task (DCT) questionnaire that was designed based upon Coulmas's taxonomy of thanks (1981). By using a DCT, it allows investigating speech act production in a variety of settings and thus perhaps illustrates some general strategies used when

expressing gratitude (Johansen, 2008). Descriptive and t-test analyses were conducted to identify the gratitude expression differences that distinguished the behavior of the Japanese and Indonesians native speakers toward various gratitude situations.

4. Result and Discussions

4. 1 Gratitude expressions in Japanese

According to the Japanese data, native speakers of Japanese gave a few expressions as their responses in conveying gratitude that categorized into twelve types of expressions, namely: (1) *ie*, responses given when participants think that certain situations do not need expressions of gratitude, (2) *arigatou*, (3) *arigatougozaimasu*, (4) *arigatougozaimashita*, (5) *sumimasen*, (6) *sumanai*, (7) *doumo*, (8) *gomen*, (9) *sankyuu*, (10) *azassu*, (11) combination of gratitude and apology expressions, and (12) other expressions that are not frequently used as gratitude expressions.

Figure 1 shows the frequency of gratitude expressions used in the various situations of thanks by Japanese. Overall, the most used gratitude expression by Japanese is *arigatou* (69%), especially for the material and immaterial of thanks situations where *arigatou* appears as the most frequent expression. However, expressions of gratitude are not always used in every situation of thanks. Japanese do not give any expressions of gratitude as they think that in some certain situations, it is unnecessary to express gratitude. Further explanation of each expression category is presented in detail in the following subsections.

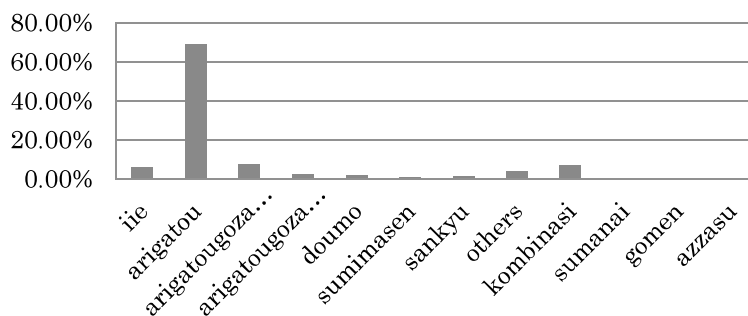


Figure 1 Frequency of gratitude expressions for native speaker of Japanese

4. 1. 1 *Iie*

There were 343 responses of *ie* (6%) as Japanese response to some certain gratitude situations. Japanese do not give any expressions of gratitude mostly when they meet the situations of thanks for immaterial goods and thanks *ex post*. In the situations of thanks for immaterial goods that consist of four sub-dimensions, *ie* mostly appears in the sub-dimension of compliment. Most of the Japanese responded

in these situations with *iie*, which means they have no urgency to express gratitude in the compliment-situations.

On the other hand, Japanese contrastively avoided expressing *iie* in the situation involving feeling of indebtedness. As long as the referent does something with any effort, even if it involves less effort (do not imply indebtedness) or more effort (implying indebtedness), Japanese did not say *iie* in those context of situations of thanks.

4. 1. 2 *Arigatou, arigatougozaimasu, and arigatougozaimashita*

Expressions of *arigatou* and its variant, *arigatougozaimasu* and *arigatougozaimashita* are combined and presented into one section. Those three expressions have the same meaning and are derived from one basic word, *arigatou*. Its linguistic and pragmatic forms distinguish the function of those expressions. *Arigatou* is examined as the most used expression of gratitude among Japanese in this study. Overall, there were 4121 responses (69%) choosing *arigatou* as the common expression for thanking in most of gratitude situations. According to Larsson (2011), the plain-form is usually referred to as informal expression that is not marked for politeness, but used between peers. As one kind of plain form, *arigatou* can be expressed between peers to convey a casual mood and informality among them. The addressee who uses the expression may regard her or him as a person who has a close relationship with the referent. Specifically, according to the data, the expression was used in the situations of thanks that do not imply indebtedness.

The suffix *-masu* includes the present (*-masu*) and past (*-mashita*) tense forms (Okamoto, 1999). Both forms are representatives of the honorific form in Japanese. Larson (2011) states that the *-masu* form conveys respect towards the addressee and 'linguistically marked for politeness,' and when it is expressed, it has a more formal tone (p.22). In other words, *arigatougozaimasu* is a gratitude expression that is marked politeness and conveys respect to the addressee. *Arigatougozaimasu* is used dominantly in the immaterial good situation (about 127 responses (24%)). In this situation, sub-dimensions of compliments and information have the highest *arigatougozaimasu* responses. Japanese participants who use this expression may regard the addressee who gives compliments and information as someone who is not a close friend. Okamoto (1999) said that non-honorific forms can implicate distance, whereas they can implicate intimacy in a friendly relationship, and the speaker's higher status in a hierarchical relationship. Therefore, the *-masu* form creates social distance between the referent and the addressee suggesting a distant relationship.

One of the forms of *-masu*, namely *-mashita*, is also used in another honorific expression of gratitude, *arigatougozaimashita*. Coulmas (1981) explains that the past tense form does not always mean past, but if a favor is performed in the past, the Japanese speaker is more inclined to choose the past tense form (*-mashita*) to stress the persistence of his gratitude and instead of using a present form. This expression is mainly used as many as 60 responses (40%) in the situation of thanks *ex ante*, the situation that may

expect anticipatory thanks where the benefactor assumes to be desired by the beneficiary before the event. Sub-dimension of this situation involves a promise, offer, and invitation. Even though *arigatougozaimashita* is expected to be used after something beneficial has been performed, in this study, the usage do not comply with the definition of thanks *ex ante*, especially in sub-dimension involving an offer. For instance, in the situation where the participant was offered a ride home in someone else's car that he or she accepted, the offer was certainly performed before driving home. In this kind of situation, most of Japanese are more likely to say *arigatogozaimashita* for the offer. In this condition, Japanese participants may have a notion that the action of being helpful by driving her or his home is more subtle than the offer itself. Therefore, in this case, the expression is possibly intended to be expressed toward the action that has already been carried out.

4. 1. 3 *Sumimasen* and *sumanai*

Sumimasen is a polite and formal form of expression, while *sumanai* is the variant and the informal/plain form of *sumimasen*. For Japanese, *sumimasen* is a conventional expression of apology and is also used to express the feeling of thanks (Ide, 1998). This expression can encompass the feeling of thanks and apology.

In general, the data show there are 41 responses of *sumimasen* (1%) and 9 responses of *sumanai* (0.2%) as expressions toward situations of gratitude. The use of *sumimasen* increases on the situation of thanks *ex post* (favor). *Sumimasen* as well as *sumanai* was also used in the thanks situations that imply indebtedness. The use of those expressions mainly appears when the referent perceives those situations that contain great help and he or she may feel indebted to the addressee. Coulmas (1981) agrees that the notion of indebtedness connected the acts of apology and gratitude in Japanese. It is because the act of thanking that implied the indebtedness of the recipient resembled apologies, where speakers similarly recognized their indebtedness to the interlocutor. Thus, in saying *sumimasen* or *sumanai*, Japanese are able to recognize their feeling of indebtedness towards others. As another fact, according to Kumatoridani (1999), the apology expression is perceived as more polite than the common gratitude expression. Containing emphatic feeling in the expression, apology is used as a conventionalized strategic device to repair the politeness imbalance between the referent and the addressee, which is the most important social function of thanks or apologies.

4. 1. 4 *Doumo*

Doumo can be categorized as an expression that did not clearly express gratitude or apology when used alone or it used to mean "very much" if it is combined with both apology and thanks (Tanaka, 2000 cited in Long, 2010). Since both *sumimasen* and *arigatou* are usually intensified with *doumo*, saying *doumo* alone enables the speaker to strategically leave it ambiguous and let the listener interpret it anyway he or

she considers appropriate for the context (Sugimoto, 1998). According to the data, Japanese use *doumo* (used alone) as an expression of gratitude. In this case, the data show that *doumo* is overall used 93 times as responses toward gratitude situations (1.56%). It mainly appears in the thanks situations for immaterial goods, especially in the situations of thanks for wishes and compliments. Coulmas (1981) stated that *doumo* was also used as a common salutation, a polite expression of greeting or goodwill to indicate a general feeling of gratefulness and obligation. It was expected to convey the social relationship that the referent tried to establish.

4. 1. 5 *Gomen*

The data show that the use of *gomen* overall appears insignificantly, only 9 times (0.15%) as responses toward some situations of gratitude. It merely occurs in three situations, thanks *ex ante*, thanks *ex post*, and thanks for immaterial goods. *Gomen* is an example of informal apology expressions that is used among intimates in gratitude situations (Long, 2010). Having a similar function as *sumimasen* in the context of gratitude, the expression of *gomen* can deliver both feelings of thanks and apology. Ide (1998) argued that in both situations, where a speaker 'receives a benefit' and 'causes an offense', a person may potentially owe something to the other (p.515). In other words, Japanese who use *gomen* perhaps feel grateful but also indebted toward the addressee in those situations.

4. 1. 6 *Sankyuu*

Sankyuu is used by Japanese as an adapted version of the English *thank you*. It is used informally by the younger generations of Japanese society, as seen in daily conversation and television programs. In total, this expression was used by Japanese in the study as many as 72 times (1.2%) mostly in the thanks situations that do not imply indebtedness and caused by material goods (services and gifts). Examples of the situations are the addressee picked up a fallen glove/handkerchief and he or she gave a birthday gift to the referent. Japanese who express gratitude with *sankyuu* may regard those situations as small help and do not burden the addressee.

4. 1. 7 *Azassu*

Azassu is an abbreviation of *arigatougozaimasu*. It may be regarded as an informal or casual expression. This expression is performed usually among young people. Overall, the total of the use of *azassu* was only 28 responses (0.47%). It appears in the situations of thanks for material goods, immaterial goods, and that do not imply indebtedness. This is corresponded with But's (2011) explanation that each individual has the ability to make conscious decisions on when to use slang, what slang words to use, and how to use it most effectively to achieve a certain communicative aim. Since Japanese students as respondents in this study are from the age of 18-23 who are categorized as young adults, the use of *azassu* is understandable.

Besides, referring to the situations of thanks where *azassu* was used, Japanese may perceive those as permissive situations that do not raise indebtedness to the addressee.

4. 1. 8 Combination of Apology and Gratitude Expressions

Expressions classified into this category are a combination of two expressions of gratitude, namely *sumimasen arigatougozaimasu* and *gomen ne arigatou*. It is in accordance with Kumatoridani (1999) that *sumimasen* and *arigatou* often occur consecutively within a single turn. Since *gomen* is considered to have the same function as *sumimasen*, it also applies to the combination of *gomen-arigatou*.

In general, the use of combination expressions in Japanese amounted to 474 responses (7%). The frequency of the usage of combination expressions in all situations of gratitude, in which it mostly appears in the situation of thanks *ex post* (22%) and thanks that imply indebtedness (19%). The cases in these situations can be perceived by Japanese to contain treatments from the addressee that may burden him or her. It may cause the referent to feel indebted toward what the addressee has done for him or her. The emergence of the double expression within a single turn can occur because the referent has an uncomfortable feeling of making the addressee help him or her, and because at the same time the referent also feels grateful that he or she has been helped by the addressee. If this is the case, since *arigatou* is expressed after other expressions (*sumimasen, gomen*), Kumatoridani (1999) had an argument that *arigatou* could be used and functions as an explicit closing marker of the gratitude exchange.

4. 1. 9 Other expressions

There are some expressions used by Japanese in this study toward gratitude situations that do not commonly appear as expressions of gratitude. According to the data, there are some responses that may be regarded as gratitude, specifically *tasukarimashita, otsukaresamadeshita, tanoshikatta*, and short responses such as *oo, un, and aa*.

Overall, expressions in this category appear as much as 4% and were mostly used in the thanks dimensions of immaterial goods, thanks *ex post*, and thanks *ex ante*. For instance, *tasukarimashita* (you've been a great help) appeared in the case of when the addressee helped the referent to book a room in a hotel, gave information about important things, and helped taking care of the referent when he or she was sick. The referent may feel being helped that this expression is more suitable in response to those kinds of situations. In other example, when an addressee gave a compliment/wish/congratulation to the referent, the referent answered with expressions, "oo", "un", or "aa" to confirm that he or she acknowledged what the addressee conveyed. Besides, in the case when the addressee invited the referent to his or her party, when the referent met the addressee the next day, he or she said, "*otsukaresama* or *otsukaresamadeshita*" (thanks for the hard work, in this case, of holding the party) or "*tanoshikatta*" (I enjoyed the party, in this case). Japanese who use these expressions in those situations may feel that the expressions can convey their

feelings in other expressions that can still be regarded as an acceptable way by the addressee.

4. 2 Gratitude Expressions in Indonesian

It is shown in Figure 2 the frequency of gratitude expressions used in the various situations of thanks by Indonesians. In general, there are nine expressions given by native speakers of Indonesian as their responses in expressing gratitude, namely: (1) *tidak*, responses given when participants think that certain situations do not need expressions of gratitude, (2) *terimakasih*, (3) *makasih*, (4) *thanks*, (5) *thank you*, (6) *maaf*, (7) *nuhun*, (8) combined gratitude and apology expressions, and (9) other expressions, the expressions that are not frequently used as gratitude expressions. Figure 2 displays that *makasih* is the most frequent expression used by Indonesians in conveying gratitude (49%), followed by *terimakasih* (19%), *tidak* (12%), which does not show any gratitude expressions, and *thanks* (9.6%) as expressions that frequently appear. Nevertheless, Indonesians do not always express their gratitude in every situation of thanks. There are 1263 responses (12%) that did not include any gratitude expressions toward several situations of thanks. Indonesians mostly do not express gratitude in the thanks situations of immaterial goods.

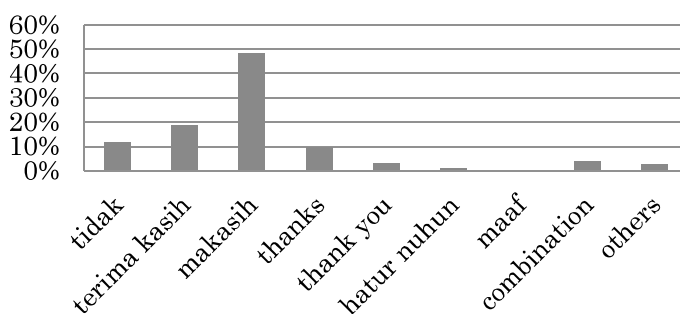


Figure 2 Frequency of gratitude expressions for native speaker of Indonesian

4. 2. 1 Tidak

The response of *tidak* is given by Indonesians toward several gratitude situations as many as 12%. *Tidak* was chosen when Indonesians chose not to give any expressions of gratitude in the situations. It mainly appears to be the reaction to the situations of thanks for immaterial goods. In these situations, *tidak* was given in the sub-dimension of wish and compliment. In response to wishes and compliments, the Indonesians who responded with *tidak* perhaps perceive those situations as the situations that do not cause grateful feelings. Thus, he or she may not experience grateful feelings and does not need to express gratitude. Moreover, Indonesians are more likely to use any gratitude expressions in those situations to express their indebted feeling toward others.

4. 2. 2 *Terima kasih* and *makasih*

The most common and widely known expression of gratitude in the Indonesian language is *terima kasih*. It is the formal way of thanking, while *makasih* is the short version of *terima kasih* and its informal form as well. *Makasih* is the most used expression toward gratitude situations, comprising of almost half of the overall responses (5160 responses (49%)), followed by *terima kasih* (1991 responses (19%)). On average, *makasih* and *terima kasih* appear mostly in the situations of thanks for immaterial goods, thanks *ex post*, thanks for material goods and thanks *ex ante*. In fact, the data shows that there are no salient differences in the usage of the two expressions, particularly in those gratitude situations. The difference perhaps depends on the perception of the referent toward the addressee in regards to the relationship between them. If the referent feels comfortable in using the informal expression, *makasih*, to convey his or her gratitude feeling, he or she assumes there is no formal barrier in the relationship with the addressee even though they are not so-called intimate friends.

4. 2. 3 Thank you and thanks

'Thanks' and 'thank you' are the informal and formal forms of thanks in English, respectively. The intensified thanking expressions occur in nearly half of her examples (intensified thanks: 53.5%; intensified thank you: 40.7%). Those expressions are frequently used in the situations of thanks for immaterial goods (wishes, compliments, congratulations, information) and material goods (gifts, services). These expressions, even though separated in terms of its formality, the use of the expressions are more likely to show casualness among friends toward gratitude situation that do not involve too much indebted feeling. For Indonesians, these expressions may tend to function as casual formality markers in a conversation.

4. 2. 4 *Maaf*

According to Wouk (2006), Indonesian showed less variety in apology terms than most other societies, which one of the expressions is *maaf* (sorry). He added that all apology terms in Indonesia, including *maaf*, function as requests for forgiveness. *Maaf* was only used 19 times (0.2%) as response in gratitude situations, as well as the least used expression by Indonesians. In other words, it is unusual to have *maaf* as an expression used as a gratitude expression. It is understandable that *maaf* was only used a few times toward situations of gratitude in this study in the following four situations (as seen in Figure 4.22): thanks *ex ante* (i.e., when addressee offered some helps), thanks *ex post* (i.e., when addressee did some favors), thanks for immaterial goods (i.e., when addressee fixed a printer for referent), and thanks that imply indebtedness.

4. 2. 5 *Nuhun*

Indonesian participants in this study were from the university located in Bandung, the capital city of

West Java. Many students of this university were from many parts of West Java, where they could speak and understand Sundanese. Therefore, it is not surprising that one expression of gratitude from Sundanese appeared in the study, namely *nuhun*, which means thanks in English. *Nuhun* was used about 114 times responses (1%). It was mostly used in the situations of thanks *ex ante*, especially in cases where the addressee offered an umbrella when it was raining and thanks for immaterial goods in all cases when the addressee gave some information to the referent. They may express *nuhun* as a casualness marker among friends in response to their kindness lending an umbrella and giving information.

4. 2. 6 Combination of Apology and Gratitude Expressions

Expressions which are classified into this category are the combination of two expressions of gratitude, 'thank you' and 'sorry', namely *makasih ya, maaf ngerepotin* (thank you, sorry to trouble you) or vice versa, *maaf ya ngerepotin, makasih ya* (sorry to trouble you, thank you). Referring to the use of the expressions, these have similarity with combination expressions in Japanese, namely the combination of *sumimasen arigatou* or *gomen arigatou*. The frequency of using combination expressions was as many as 292 responses (3%) in all situations of gratitude. It mainly appear in the situation of thanks *ex ante* (27%), thanks *ex post* (26%), and thanks that imply indebtedness (26%). Those situations can be perceived by Indonesians as the situations which may burden the addressee and cause the referent to feel indebted toward what the addressee does, but the referent feels grateful since the addressee want to help him or her at the same time.

4. 2. 7 Other expressions

Included in this category, there were 292 responses (3%) as other expressions in general, the expressions that are not frequently used as gratitude expressions but emerge as responses to the situations of gratitude. In this category, there were several forms that frequently appear, namely appreciations, wishes, humor responses, and short expressions: *sip* or *oke* (mean 'okay', as expressions of understanding). It is understandable because appreciation is a gratitude strategy, according to Cheng (2005). The use of those responses spread in almost all of the situations, especially in thanks for immaterial goods (37%)..

The expressions that appear in many situations, for instance in the case of when the referent was invited to the party by the addressee, then he or she met the addressee the other day, the referent said, "*kamu cantik/keren tadi malem*" (you looked great last night) or "*pestaanya seru*" (the party was awesome). In other examples, when the addressee gave a wish or congratulation to the referent, the referent returned a good wish to the addressee, "*kamu juga sukses ya*" (you too, good luck). Also, when the addressee gave information, the referent said, "*oke*" or "*sip*" to confirm that he or she understood what the addressee conveyed. Another example of a humorous expression is when the referent was given a candy by the addressee, he or she responded, "*kok Cuma permen sih?*" (seriously, a candy?). Indonesians who use these

expressions in those situations may feel that the expressions are also good choices as gratitude responses. They can convey their feelings in other expressions that can still be regarded as acceptable by the addressee.

4.3 Gender Differentiation between Japanese and Indonesians

Both Japanese and Indonesians prefer to choose informal or casual expressions of gratitude in delivering their grateful feelings among their peers. The results show that with both Japanese and Indonesian students, males and females tend to use informal or casual expressions of gratitude in delivering their grateful feelings among their peers (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). However, findings show that Japanese and Indonesian males use more informal and slang expressions than females, particularly in certain expressions, namely *sumanai*, *sankyuu*, and *azassu*, for Japanese, and *nuhun*, for Indonesians. Interestingly, those expressions are only used by male students. It seems that male students put more emphasis on casualness and informality to demonstrate their relationship among peers. These findings are in line with Haas (1979) that males tend to be more communicative and directive, and they also use more nonstandard forms while females are often more supportive, polite, and expressive. The result of this study further confirms that males and females differ in their speech style as well as their preference in choosing word expressions. Also, it was found that in the Japanese data, Japanese males and females expressed gratitude and used almost the same gratitude expressions regardless of gender. Contrastively, in the Indonesian data, male students were significantly more likely to say thanks to female students rather than male students. It was also found in the data that Indonesian female students had a tendency to express gratitude to the same sex rather than to males.

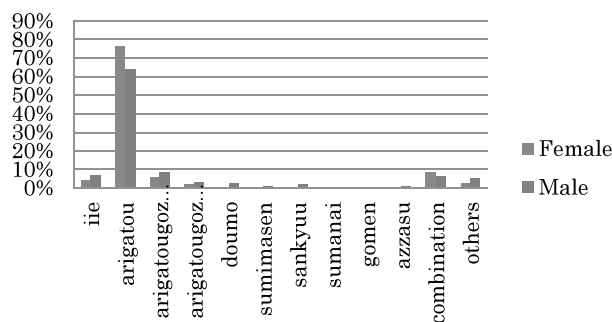


Figure 3 Frequency of gratitude expressions for males and females Japanese

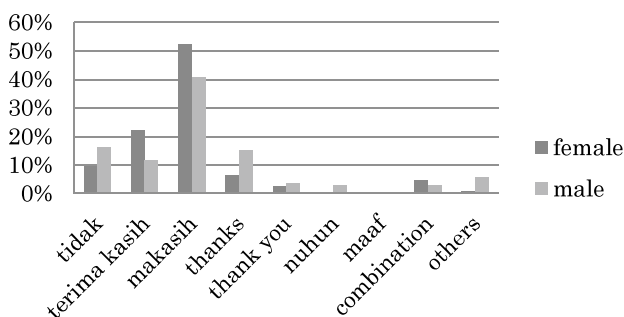


Figure 4 Frequency of gratitude expressions for males and females Indonesian

5. Conclusions

The present study is concerned with the speech act behavior of gratitude expressions by native speakers of Japanese and those of Indonesian. Findings in this study imply cross-cultural differences in speech acts of thanking. The results indicate that the L1 of Japanese and the L1 of Indonesians are considered to have similar perceptions in using certain gratitude expressions toward a number of gratitude situations. The findings confirm that Japanese are more frequently using several gratitude expressions than Indonesians. In addition, several gratitude expressions appear in both cultures as responses to gratitude situations. Therefore, it still requires further exploration, particularly in the analysis and assessment of each expression that appear in certain gratitude situations. Also, the study is limited to gratitude for the eight specific situations defined by Coulmas's idea (1981). Therefore, elaboration on other-related speech act theories, such as politeness, may be employed to enrich explanations of the various aspects that emerge in this kind of study.

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