

“I’m So Sorry”: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Expressions of Condolence

Kate Elwood

Introduction

The analysis of speech acts has typically focused on those that are performed regularly in daily life, such as apologies, requests, refusals, compliments and responses to compliments, complaints, gratitude, correction, advice, and invitations.¹ Investigation into how these speech acts are realized in various cultures is extremely useful for speakers wishing to accomplish a wide range of communicative interactions smoothly and successfully in a culture that is not their own.²

1 The major studies of these speech acts include the following. Apologies: Coulmas, 1981; Fraser, 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Trosberg, 1987, 1995; Olshtain, 1989; Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Maebashi, Yoshinaga, Kasper & Ross, 1995; requests: Walters, 1979; Trosberg, 1987, 1995; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, House, and Kaster, 1989; Koike, 1994; Rose, 1994; Fukushima, 1996; refusals: Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Welz, 1990; Gass & Houck, 1995; 1999; Compliments: Manes, 1983; Wolfson, 1983; Nelson, El Bakary, & Al Batel, 1995; responses to compliments: Pomerantz, 1978; Herbert, 1989; Chen, 1993; Golato, 2002; complaints: Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Boxer, 1995; Murphy & Neu, 1995; Trosberg, 1995; LaForest, 2002; gratitude: Coulmas, 1981; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986, 1993; correction: Takahashi & Beebe, 1993; advice: Altman, 1990; invitations: Wolfson, D’Amico-Reisner, and Huber, 1983.

On the other hand, the speech act of condolence has not been explored. It is fortunate that most speakers are not often called upon to express sympathy at another's death, yet for that very reason, outsiders to a given culture may not know what is appropriate to say. Even native speakers often confess to feeling uncomfortable and at a loss for words when confronted with another's bereavement. This is compounded by the fact that the news of a death may be announced without prior indication, leaving the speaker with no time to prepare.

Bereavement is a time when people may be particularly vulnerable. Because of this, failure to express condolences appropriately can damage personal relationships if the expression of sympathy is perceived as insensitive or inadequate. For this reason, study of the speech act of condolence is vital.

The study

A discourse completion test consisting of seven situations was given to 25 American students writing in English, 25 Japanese students writing in English and 25 Japanese students writing in Japanese. Among the seven situations, three required a response to an unhappy circumstance: the death of a grandmother, the death of a pet dog, and failure to get into an internship program. Three were related to reacting to good news: a neighbor's wedding, a professor receiving a prestigious grant, and a colleague's promotion. The remaining situation necessitated a response to a close friend's statement, "I've got to lose weight!" This paper will examine the two situations related to death:

2 For example, Wolfson, D'Amico-Reisner, and Huber (1983) note that the ability to recognize and respond appropriately to invitations is an important skill for foreigners because such social interactions can lead to more opportunities for exposure to the target language.

Situation 1: You haven't seen a classmate for a few days. Then you see the classmate in a coffee shop.

You: Hey, how's it going?

Classmate: Actually, my grandmother passed away so I was away from school this past week.

You say:

Situation 2: Your best friend's dog was hit by a car and died.

You say:

The responses were classified according to semantic formulas, similar to those of Olshtain and Cohen (1983), who in researching apologies found five main types of semantic formulas: 1) an expression of apology; 2) an explanation or account of the situation; 3) an acknowledgement of responsibility; 4) an offer of repair; 5) a promise of forbearance. Examination of the responses to the two condolence situations likewise revealed five prevalent patterns of response:

1. Acknowledgement of the death
2. Expression of sympathy
3. Offer of assistance
4. Future-oriented remark
5. Expression of concern

"Acknowledgement of the death" indicates interjections like "Oh", or "Oh my God" as well as utterances like 「そうだったんだ」 (*sō-dattanda*). Wierzbicka (1986) notes that interjections like "Ah, my

God, ..." contain the following information:

I realize something bad is happening
 I wouldn't have expected that
 I feel something bad because of that

However, as Wierzbicka notes, while many interjections appear to encode an emotion, it is difficult to put a name to the emotion with any degree of certainty.

"Expression of sympathy" can be considered the "core" of the speech act, that is, it is the semantic formula that was most prevalent in the two situations for all three groups and in a few cases this semantic formula formed the entire expression of condolence, although it was more common for the responses to be formed out of a combination of two or more semantic formulas. The most common expressions of sympathy were "I'm so sorry" and 「お気の毒」 (*okinodoku*) but there were many different realizations of this formula.

"Offer of assistance" refers to any attempts to make the speaker's burden lighter. Such offers can be general, like "Is there anything I can do?" or specific, like "Do you want to borrow my class notes?"

"Future-oriented remarks" usually took the form of words of encouragement or practical advice, like "Try not to get depressed" or "I think you should get another dog". Only the Japanese writing in English and the Japanese writing in Japanese used this semantic formula.

The last semantic formula, "Expression of concern", relates to showing care for the well-being of the speaker and/or his or her family and includes questions like "How are you doing?" or 「大丈夫？」 (*dai-jōbu?*).

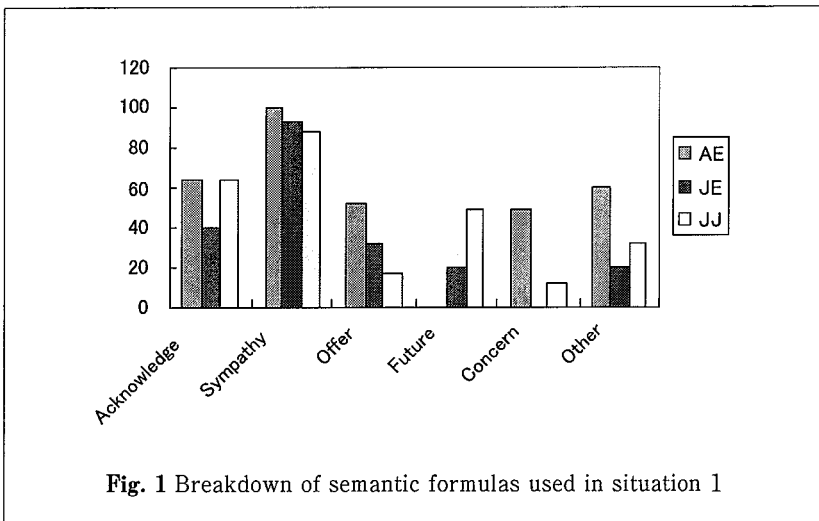
In addition to these five semantic formulas, there was a wide range of other expressions that did not fit any general categories. A few

respondents also wrote that they would say nothing.

Results and analysis

Situation 1

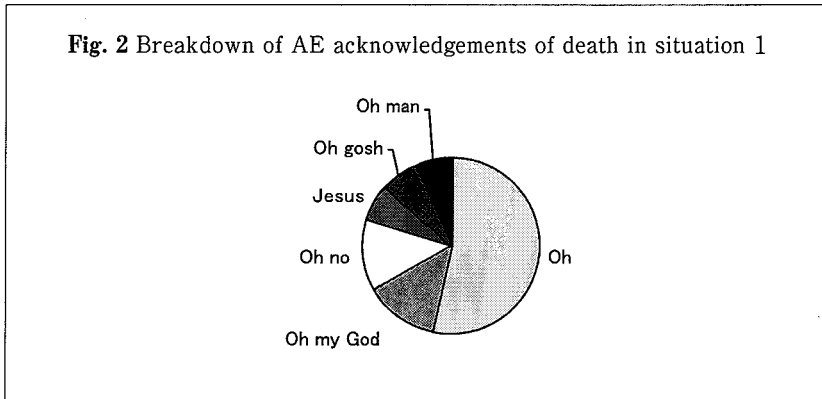
Figure 1 represents the breakdown of the semantic formulas used in situation 1.



1. Acknowledgement of the death

The Americans responding in English (AE) and the Japanese responding in Japanese (JJ) used this semantic formula equally often, with 64% of each group of respondents making some acknowledgement. With a somewhat lower frequency, 40% of the Japanese responding in English (JE) used this formula. All of the JE responses in this category were "Oh". Among the JJ responses, all but one was one of the following: 「そうだったんだ」 (*sōdattanda*), 「そうなんだ」 (*sōnanda*), 「そうか」 (*sōka*), or 「そっか」 (*sokka*). The remaining re-

sponse was 「それはそれは」 (*sorewa sorewa*), which indicates surprise. The AE acknowledgements of the death had the greatest variety. Thirty-two percent used “Oh”, 8% used “Oh my God” or “Oh God” and 8% also used “Oh no”. Four percent used each of the following: “Jesus”, “Oh gosh” or “Oh man”. Figure 2 represents the breakdown of AE acknowledgements of death.



2. Expression of sympathy

For all three groups, expressions of sympathy were the most common. Among the three groups, AE respondents used this semantic formula most often. In fact, no AE respondent failed to use this formula and six used more than one of this type of formula in their response. Figure 1 represents the percentage of respondents using the formula regardless of the number of times the formula was used. JE used an expression of sympathy in 92% of the responses and JJ used this formula in 88% of the responses.

Twenty-four Americans (96%) used an expression of sympathy containing the word “sorry”, suggesting it is a virtually obligatory response. In addition, four other adjectives related to distress were used: “horrible”, “terrible”, “hard”, and “awful”. Thus, there were two

basic AE patterns for expressions of sympathy: a statement of regret that the death had occurred or a representation of the current situation. Figure 3 shows the breakdown of AE expressions of sympathy in situation 1.

The JE expressions of sympathy are shown in figure 4. JE responses included 12 (48%) using "sorry" and three using "hard". They additionally included two types of responses that seem inappropriate in English. The first was to use the expression "That's too bad" or "That's so bad". These expressions were used by 20% of the JE respondents but by none of the AE respondents in this situation. (One American did use "That's too bad" in situation 2 regarding the death of a dog, which may be perceived as less serious than the death of a human being. However, even regarding the death of a dog it is significant that only one AE chose to say it.)

Richards & Sukwiwat (1983) give the following as an example of a correct routine being used in the wrong situation:

- A. Terry's father passed away.
- B. What a nuisance.

While "That's too bad" is hardly as inappropriate as "What a nuisance", it, too, falls into the category of "correct routine: wrong situation". It represents the type of pragmatic failure described by Thomas (1983) as one in which the hearer perceives the force of the speaker's utterance as stronger or weaker than the speaker intends he or she should perceive it.

The other type of inappropriate response, used by 12% of the JE, was a formal statement of condolence such as "Please accept my condolences", which was not used by any of the American respondents, probably because it is more associated with a written message of condolence and runs the risk of not seeming heartfelt when spoken.

Expressions using 「気の毒」(*kinodoku*) or 「大変」(*taihen*) accounted for 68% of the JJ responses followed by ご愁傷様 (*goshūshōsama*), a formal condolence used by 16% of the JJ respondents. The remaining responses were 「つらい」 (*tsurai*), 残念 (*zannen*), and 「さみしい」 (*samishii*), each used by 4% of the respondents. The breakdown of JJ expressions of sympathy is shown in figure 5.

Fig. 3 Breakdown of AE expressions of sympathy in situation 1

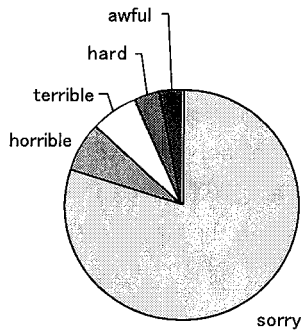
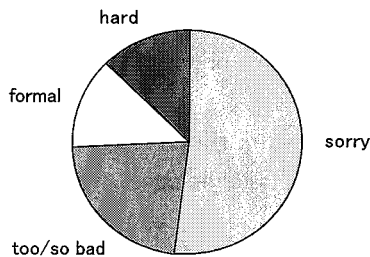
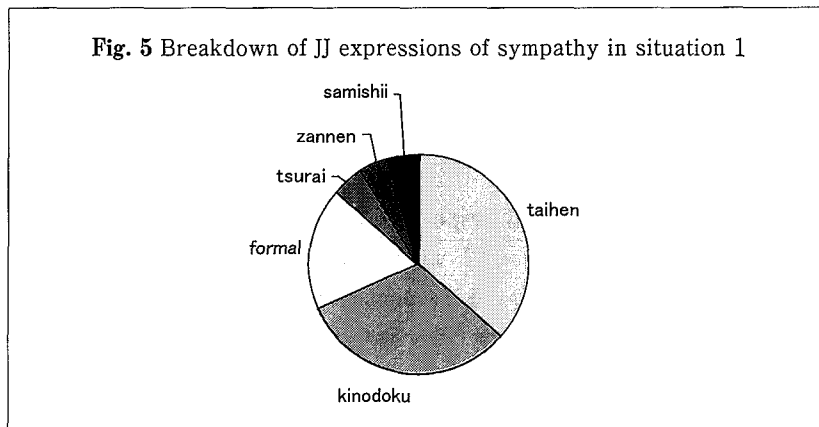


Fig. 4 Breakdown of JE expressions of sympathy in situation 1





3. Offer of assistance

Americans responding in English used offers of assistance the most frequently, with 52% using at least one, and 25% using more than one. General offers, such as "Is there anything I can do?" were the most common, followed by offers to lend notes or help with homework. 15% offered a sympathetic ear and 4% (one respondent) offered a hug. Thirty-two percent of JE used offers of assistance with an offer to lend notes being most common (16%), followed by a general offer (12%) and an offer to listen (4%). JJ made the fewest offers of assistance. Of the 16% of who used this semantic formula, all offered to lend notes or class handouts.

4. Future-oriented remark

No Americans made any future-oriented remarks. Twenty percent of Japanese responding in English used this semantic formula and 44% of Japanese responding in Japanese did. A prevalent type of future-oriented remark focused on the emotional recovery of the bereaved student, but rather than asking how the student was, as in "Expression of concern", the future-oriented remarks told the student

to get better. All of the JJ responses of this type took the imperative form with varying levels of politeness: 「元気出してください」 (*genki dashite kudasai*), 「早く元気になって」 (*hayaku genki ni natte*), 「元気出してね」 (*genki dashite ne*), 「元気だして」 (*genki dashite*), and 「元気出せよ」 (*genki dase yo*).

Sixty percent of the JE responses of this type, however, used the softer-sounding "I hope" or "I wish", for example, "I hope you get cheerful soon". The other JE responses of this type used the imperative: "Please cheer up!" or "Try not to get depressed." Among the future-oriented remarks used, 20% of JJ responses made a remark related to recovery and 16% of JE responses did.

Another equally prevalent pattern among JJ responses using this semantic formula was reference to meeting at school. The imperative was only used once with this pattern: 「大学に来てくれよな!!」 (*dai-gaku ni kite kureyona!!*: "Come to school!!!") and it was softened by another comment following it: 「オレがさびしいからさ!!」 (*Ore ga sabishii kara sa!!*: "I'm lonely!!!") The rest of the responses relating to school used formations like, "Let's meet at school", "I'll see you at school", or "I'm looking forward to seeing you at school". This kind of pattern was used in only one JE response.

Among the JJ responses there was one further type of pattern within this semantic formula. Eight percent of JJ respondents (two respondents) gave advice to take time to reflect.

5. Expression of concern

Fifty-six percent of Americans responding in English expressed care. All of these expressions were in the interrogative form and fifty-seven percent of these responses used the word "OK", with "Are you OK?" and "Are you doing OK?" the most common. Other patterns used "all right" or were open-ended questions like "How are you doing?" Twenty-one percent of the responses included an expression of

concern for the family of the bereaved but it was observed that expressions of concern related to the family never used the word "OK". No Japanese responding in English used this semantic formula and only 12% of Japanese responding in Japanese did. All of the JJ responses of this type took the form 「大丈夫？」 (*daijōbu?*).

6. Other

Responses that did not fit into any of the five semantic formulas consisted of the following:

- a) Expression of empathy
- b) Sharing similar experience
- c) Statement of not knowing
- d) Statement of lacking words
- e) Positive statement
- f) Expression of surprise
- g) Related questions
- h) Related comments

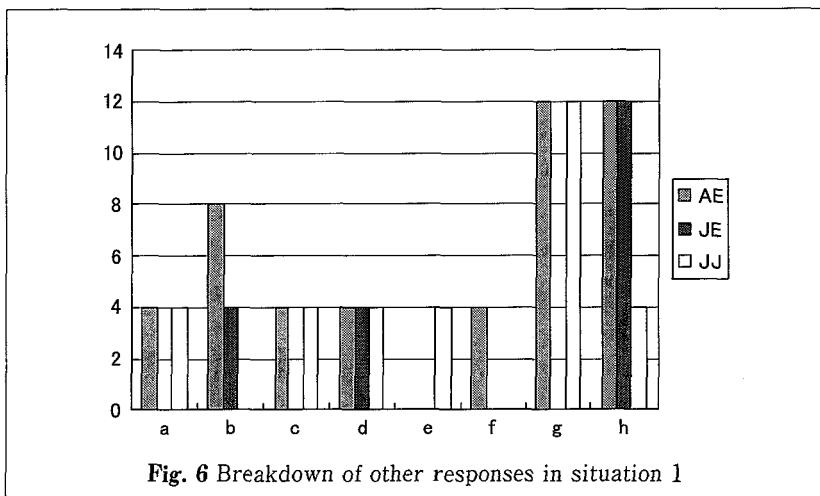


Figure 6 shows the breakdown of "other" responses among the three groups in terms of number of times a sub-type was used among the 25 respondents in each group. The Americans responding in English used these other types of responses most frequently, with 40% using at least one of this type and many using more than one. On the other hand, only 16% of JE responses included something from this category and if they included it, they used it only once. Thirty-two percent of JJ responses had an element that did not fit into any of the five semantic formulas. As with the JE responses, there was no multiple use.

An expression of empathy included statements like "I know how it feels to lose someone close". AE and JJ used this pattern equally but it was not used by JE. Eight percent of AE and 4% of JJ recalled a similar experience but no JJ did. Four percent of AE and JJ mentioned explicitly that they hadn't known about the death but no JEs did. Four percent of the respondents in each group confessed to lacking appropriate words, saying things like, "I don't know what to say". Only one JJ respondent used a positive statement, remarking that the grandmother had been kind and no AE or JJ respondents did. Also, only one AE respondent expressed surprise, asking, "Are you serious?"

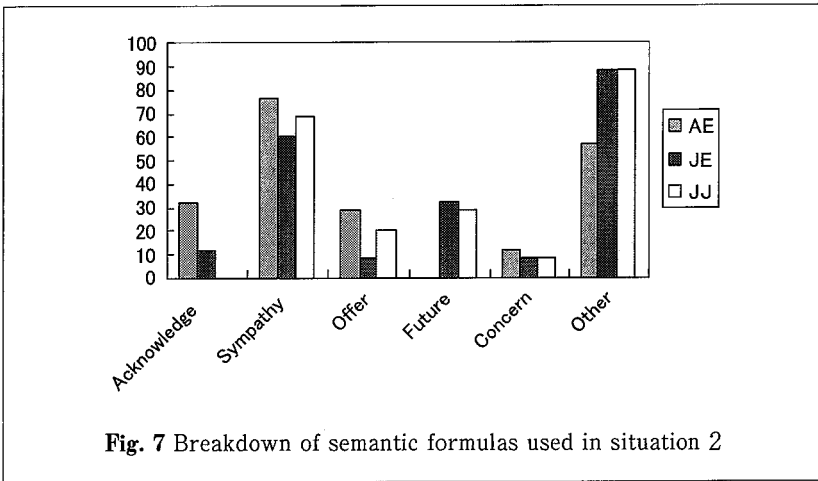
Related questions were one of the most frequent types of "other" responses, comprising 12% of all of the AE and JJ responses in this category. However, no JJ responses included a related question. Related questions were generally inquiries about the grandmother and the funeral like "Was she sick?", "Did you make it back home?", or "How old was she?" but one JJ asked whether the student had taken an official leave of absence.

Unlike related questions, related comments fell into many types and comprised 12% of AE and JE responses and 4% of JJ responses in the "other" category. They included statements such as that it was impossible to know how the bereaved felt, a promise to pray, and a

comment that the student's parent must be even sadder than the student.

Situation 2

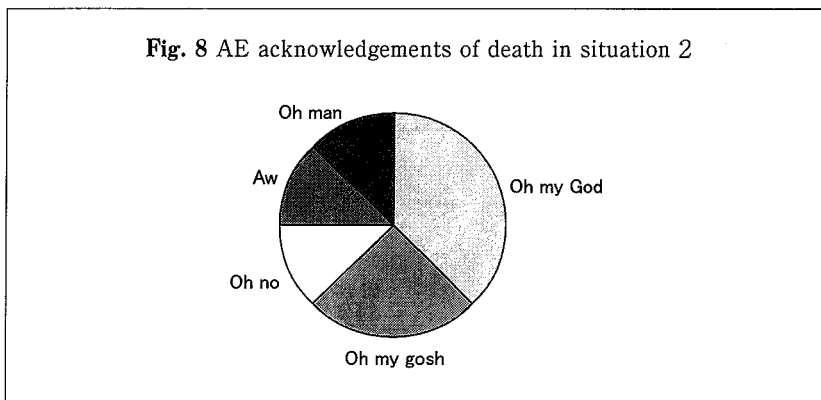
Figure 7 shows the breakdown of semantic formulas used in situation 2.



1. Acknowledgement of the death

Compared to situation 1, the semantic formula "acknowledgement of the death" was used much less frequently in situation 2. Among JJ responses it disappeared completely and for AE responses its frequency fell by 50% to 32%. JE responses used this semantic formula only one-third as often as in situation 1 with a 12% frequency. While "Oh" was the most common type of acknowledgement among AEs and JEs in situation 1, no Americans used it in situation 2 and only one JE used it. Instead, the AE acknowledgement of the death used most frequently was "Oh my God" which was used 37.5% of the time, followed by "Oh my gosh" which comprised 25% of the AE acknowledgement of

death. “Oh no”, “Aw”, and “Oh man” were each used 12.5% of the time. Figure 8 shows this breakdown.



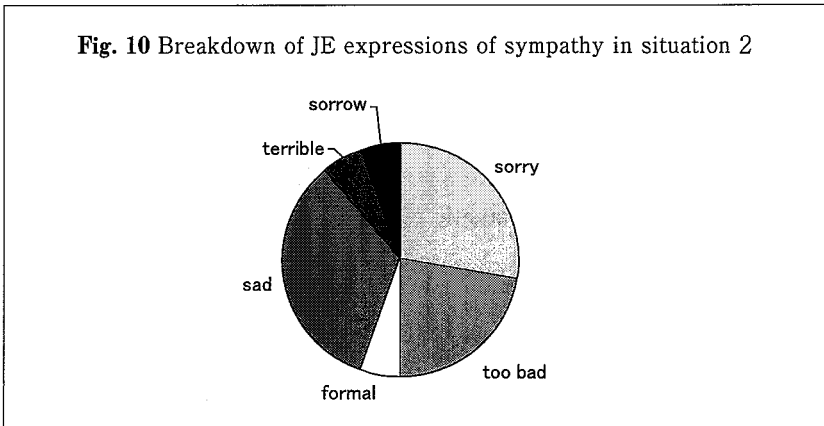
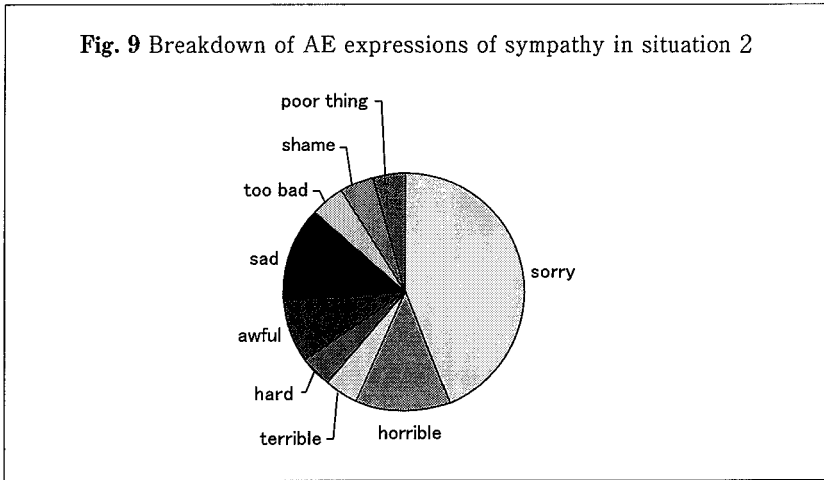
2. Expression of sympathy

While 100% of Americans responding in English made an expression of sympathy in situation 1, only 76% did so in situation 2. JE expressions of sympathy faced a similarly large drop compared to situation 2, from 92% to 60%. The percentage of JJ respondents using expressions of sympathy also fell but not so sharply, from 88% to 77%.

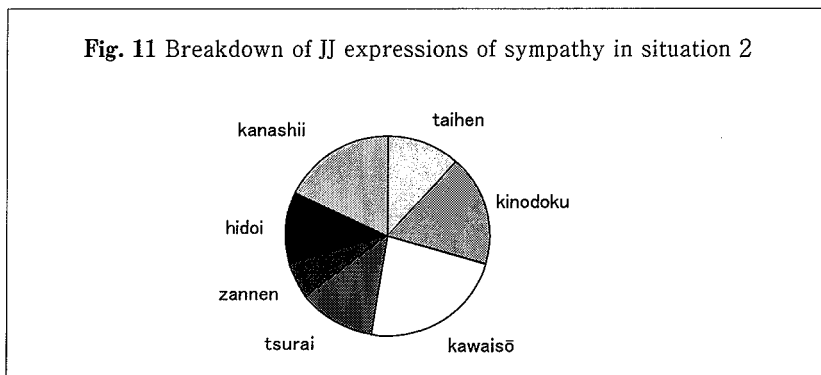
Expressions using “sorry” remained the most common and were used by 10 AE respondents (40%) and five JE respondents (20%). From five sympathy patterns in AE responses in situation 1, the number of patterns increased to nine, suggesting that there is a wide range of typical things to say regarding the death of a dog compared to the death of a grandmother. Figure 9 shows the breakdown of AE expressions of sympathy in situation 2. Of particular interest were the expressions that used the word “sad” and “poor thing”. Japanese equivalents of these words were also found in the Japanese data. This may be related to the fact that the situation entails the dog being hit by a car.

The JE expressions of sympathy (see figure 10) had six patterns, an increase from four patterns in situation 1. "Sad" had the greatest frequency, with 24% of the JE respondents using it. "Too bad" was used slightly less frequently, falling from 20% to 16%.

While one JE respondent used a formal expression of condolence, no JJ respondents did. The JJ responses often focused on pity, with



16% of respondents writing 「かわいそう」 (*kawaisō*). This was followed by 「お気の毒」 (*okinodoku*) and 「悲しい」 (*kanashii*) which were each used by 12% of the JJ respondents. Figure 11 shows this breakdown.



3. Offer of assistance

Offers of assistance fell compared to situation 1 for the AE and JE groups, from 52% to 28% and 32% to 8% respectively. The JJ respondents used offers of assistance slightly more frequently in situation 2 than in situation 1, rising from 16% to 20%. Among the AE responses using this semantic formula, general offers continued to be the most common, comprising 75% of the offers. Other offers were to go to a movie or get ice cream. The JE offers were to eat something or to drink alcohol someday.

Forty percent of the JJ offers were to help dig a grave for the dog, another 40% to lend a sympathetic ear, and 20% to talk to the driver of the car that hit the dog.

4. Future-oriented remark

As in situation 1, there were no AE responses that included a future-oriented remark. For the JE responses, use of this semantic

formula rose from 20% for situation 1 to 32% for situation 2. The JJ frequency of use, on the other hand, fell compared with situation 1, from 44% to 28%. Remarks focused on the friend's recovery were prevalent as in situation 1. All of the JJ future-oriented remarks were of this type, with one specifically exhorting the student not to cry. Half of the JE responses similarly urged the friend to cheer up or not be depressed, while the rest concerned suggestions not to forget the dog, to buy a new dog and to get money from the driver who hit the dog.

5. Expression of concern

Expressions of concern dropped sharply compared with situation 1 among the AE respondents, with only 12% asking if the friend were OK compared to 56% in situation 1. No JE respondents used an expression of concern in situation 1 but 8% did in situation 2. Eight percent of JJ respondents also used an expression of concern, down slightly from 12% in the first situation.

6. Other

Figure 12 shows the breakdown of other types of responses used by the three groups in situation 2. Thirty-two percent of the Americans responding in English included something that was not one of the five semantic formulas in their responses, down slightly from 40% in situation 1. On the other hand, compared to situation 1, JE responses that contained something other than one of the main formulas rose sharply, from 16% to 88%. Similarly, JJ responses in the other category jumped from 32% for situation 1 to 88% for situation 2.

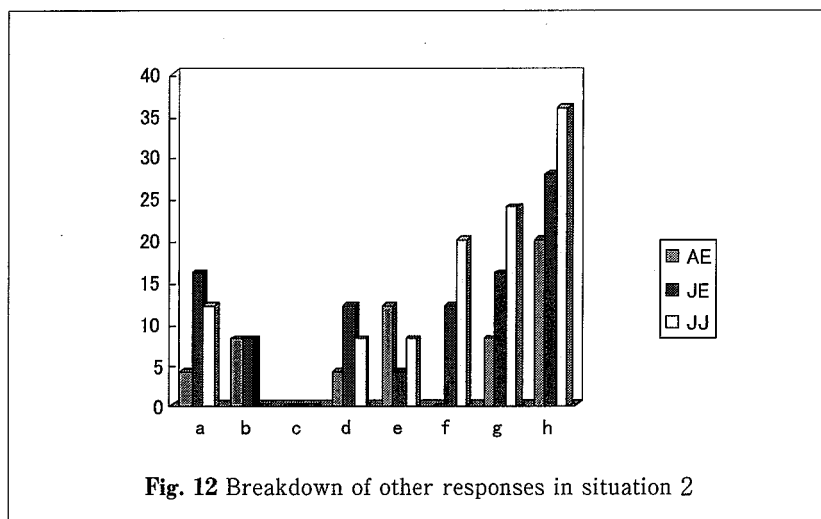
Expressions of empathy were used by 16% of JE respondents, by 4% of AE respondents, and by 12% of JE respondents. Eight percent of AE and JE respondents (two respondents from each group) shared a similar experience but no JJ respondents did. No respondents in any

of the groups said they didn't know about the death, suggesting that this is an expression that may be reserved for human deaths. Four percent of AE, 12% of JE, and 8% of JJ confessed to being at a loss for words, a slight rise compared to situation 2 for the JE and JJ groups. Twelve percent of AE respondents also used a positive remark, saying something like 'Muffy' was a great dog". While the AE positive remarks used words like "great" and "nice", the JE and JJ positive remarks, used by 4% and 8% of each group's respondents, called the dog "pretty" or *かわいい* (*kawaii*: cute).

Perhaps because of the nature of the death, by car accident, expressions of surprise were more prevalent among the JE respondents (12%) and especially among the JJ respondents (24%), although there were no AE remarks of this type. Eight percent of the AE respondents, 16% of the JE group, and 20% of the JJ group asked a related question. One AE respondent asked whether there would be a funeral and another asked how it happened. While one JE respondent asked whether the dog was a good dog and one JJ respondent asked what kind of dog it was, most of the JE and JJ related questions focused specifically on the accident, asking things like whether the driver apologized and why the dog was hit.

Twenty percent of AE respondents made a related comment, suggesting that the dog was at peace, stating that it shouldn't have happened so suddenly, or making a philosophical statement like, "Sometimes accidents just happen and you can't do anything about it, just be an innocent bystander and watch it pass." Twenty-eight percent of the JE respondents also made a related comment. One was similarly philosophical and another also hoped the dog was in heaven. However, most of the JE related comments reassured the friend that the dog had been happy when alive or mentioned that the respondent would also miss the dog. Of the 36% of the JJ respondents who made a related comment, a little fewer than half also reassured the friend that

he or she had been good to the dog, using the phrase 「かわいがっていた」 (*kawaiigatte ita*). On the other hand, 20% of the JJ related comments expressed anger toward the driver, saying he/she was a terrible driver or that the speaker couldn't forgive the driver.



While no respondents said they would say nothing in situation 1, 8% of AE and 4% of JE reported that they would remain silent in situation 2.

Discussion

Differences between the groups

The most notable difference between the AE responses in both situations and those of the JE and JJ groups is the absence of any responses that fit the semantic formula "Future-oriented remark". On the other hand, this was a frequently used semantic formula for both JEs and JJs. It was used by 20% of the JEs in situation 1, and 32% in situation 2, Forty-four percent of the JJs used a future-oriented remark

in situation 1 and 28% in situation 2. It is likely that Americans feel that is callous to ask a bereaved person to put aside their sorrow while Japanese may feel that it's kind to encourage those who are grieving to look ahead.

On the other hand, Americans were more likely to make offers of assistance and express concern than the JE or JJ groups, particularly in situation 1 in which more than half of the AE respondents used these semantic formulas. JE only made an offer with a percentage frequency of 32% for situation 1 and only 16% of JJs made offers. Concern was used even less often among the JEs and JJs in situation 1, with no JEs using it and only 12% of JJs showing concern. Perhaps asking personal questions and making offers may be considered pushy or intrusive to Japanese people more than to Americans.

Among the expressions of sympathy, two differences between the groups were notable. Twenty percent of the JE group used the expression "too bad" in situation 1 and 16% in situation 2. However, no Americans used it in situation 1 and only one did in situation 2. "Too bad" is probably considered too light an indication of regret for Americans to be used in the case of a death.

Additionally, formal expressions of condolence were used by 12% of the JE group and 16% of the JJ group in situation 1 but no AE used this type of expression of sympathy. Although the percentages of use were not very high for the JE and JJ groups, it is important to note that such formulaic language might be construed as only prescribed etiquette rather than as a sincere expression of sympathy to Americans.

Another unanticipated difference was that the JE and JJ respondents focused on the accident much more than the AE respondents and were harsher in their words. One American asked how the accident happened, one said "Poor thing!" and one mentioned that the accident shouldn't have happened. On the other hand, these minor remarks comprising 12% of total AE responses are balanced somewhat

by one AE's comment that "accidents just happen".

Twelve percent of the JE respondents asked about the driver of the car that hit the dog with the questions, "Who is the guy?", "Will you accuse the driver?", and "Did the driver apologize to you?" In addition, 8% said specifically that they couldn't believe it, and one JE said the friend should get money from the driver.

This tendency was even stronger among the JJs. Eight percent said they couldn't forgive the driver and 12% said the driver was terrible (*hidoi*). The word *hidoi* without specific reference to the driver was used in another 8% of the responses and because it wasn't used in situation 1, it appears likely that while the driver is not named, the word is intended to criticize. Another 8% asked why the dog was hit and one JJ respondent volunteered to talk to the driver. When all these responses are combined, nine out of 25 JJs, or 36%, made rather severe reference to the accident.

The cause of death in the situation was chosen as a fairly typical way for a dog to die suddenly. It appears that drivers are held to account more in Japan for accidents involving animals. Certainly no Americans criticized the driver in any way whereas the Japanese respondents were quite blunt in their accusations.

Differences between the situations

Figures 13-15 show comparisons of the AE, JE, and JJ responses in situations 1 and 2. Generally, the semantic formulas "acknowledgement of the death", "expression of sympathy" and "offer of assistance" were much less frequent in situation 2.

There was much less use of the semantic formula "acknowledgement of the death" in situation 2. For the AEs, use of this type fell 50%, from 64% in situation 1 to 32% in situation 2. For the JEs, the decrease was even sharper, from 40% to 12%, and it was greatest for JJs. Sixty-four percent of JJs used it in situation 1 but none did in

situation 2. It appears that this semantic formula is primarily used for human deaths.

Expressions of sympathy also decreased in situation 2 compared to situation 1 although not as significantly. 100% of AEs used an expression of sympathy in situation 1 but only 76% in situation 2 did. Similarly, 92% of JEs used this semantic formula in situation 1 but only 60% used it in situation 2. For JJs the fall was less significant, from 88% to 77%.

While there was a very slight rise in offers among JJ respondents in situation 2 compared to situation 1 (from 16% to 20%), both AE and JE frequency of offers fell. Fifty-two percent of AEs made offers in situation 1 but this fell almost by half to 28% in situation 2. The JE decrease was even greater. Thirty-two percent made offers in situation 1 but only 8% in situation 2 did.

The fall in the use of these semantic formulas was largely made up in other responses by JE and JJ respondents. Other responses increased from 16% to 88% for JEs and from 32% to 88% for JJs. On the other hand, other responses for AEs fell slightly from 40% to 32%. Many of the JE and JJ "other" responses were related to reassurances that the owner had taken good care of the dog and anger at the manner of the dog's death so it seems that the focus for Japanese respondents was the manner of death rather than the ensuing bereavement.

Conclusion

Analysis of the responses of Americans responding in English, Japanese responding in English, and Japanese responding in Japanese to two situations of condolence revealed a variety of differences in use of semantic formulas. It is also clear that findings for one type of condolence situation cannot be generalized to all situations of the same type because there was a significant difference in the responses to situation one, involving the death of a grandmother, and situation 2,

involving the death of a pet dog.

While the expression of condolences is not a part of everyday life in the way that speech acts such as apologies, requests, refusals are, condolences are nonetheless an important part of human interaction. As such, it is vital that the ways in which this speech act is realized be examined thoroughly.

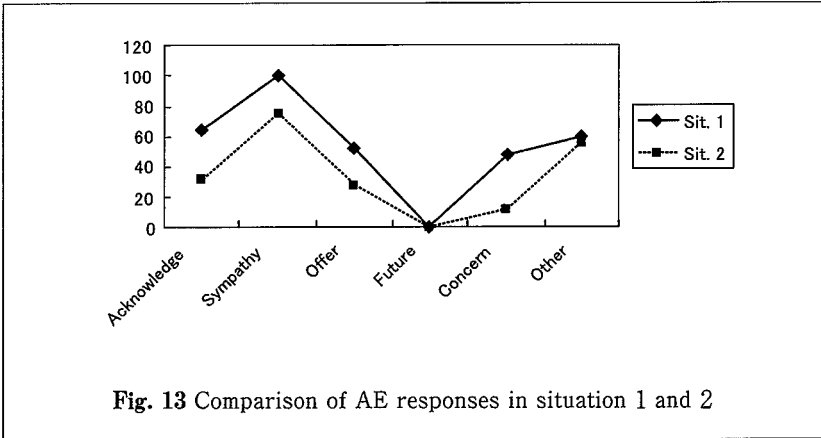


Fig. 13 Comparison of AE responses in situation 1 and 2

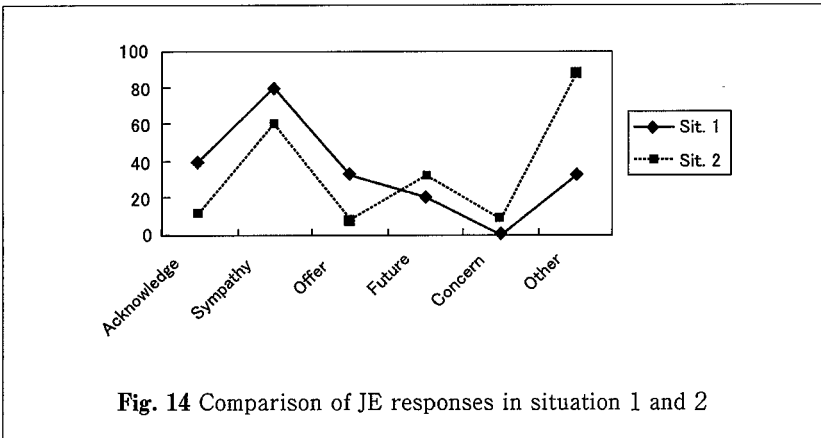
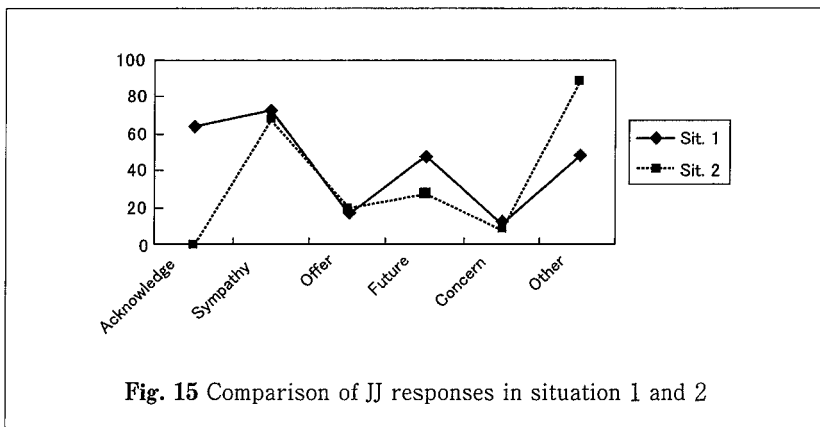


Fig. 14 Comparison of JE responses in situation 1 and 2



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