26 Creating Gendered Demeanors of Authority at Work and at Home

SHARI KENDALL

1 Introduction

The movement of women into managerial and professional positions in the workplace is one of the most significant organizational changes in the past century (Burke and Davidson 1994). As women entered professions tradition- ally occupied by men, studies addressed the question of whether women and men in comparable positions linguistically constitute those positions in similar ways. The women in these studies were more likely to use "polite" language and/or less likely to use linguistic strategies that would make their authority more visible (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998; Case 1995; Fisher 1993; Preisler 1986; Tannen 1994a; West 1990). At the same time, research on language and gender in the family addressed the question of whether mothers and fathers speak with their children in similar ways. In these studies, the mothers tended to take up less powerful roles (Ochs and Taylor 1995) or use more "polite" language than fathers (Bellinger and Gleason 1982; Gleason and Greif 1987; Snow et al. 1990). However, despite a shared focus on power and the linguistic construction of gender, studies of gender and language in the workplace and the family have proceeded independently. This chapter uses a framing approach to compare one woman's linguistic creation of authority as a parent with her ten-year-old daughter at home and as a manager with her two female subordinates at work.

   This woman, whom I call Elaine, creates disparate, gendered demeanors of authority at home and at work through her face-related practices as she performs directives to influence and control her daughter and subordinates. During dinnertime at home, Elaine creates a demeanor of explicit authority characterized by values of parental care-giving and "civilized" behavior. Her directives vary linguistically based on the discursive positions she takes up within the frames she creates and maintains during dinnertime, and they reflect

the dinner-related and socialization functions of mealtime. In the workplace, Elaine creates a benevolent demeanor of authority by linguistically maintaining the faces of her subordinates when asking them to perform tasks in five short encounters and in a longer review in which she provides one subordinate with feedback on her work. Her controlling actions vary linguistically based on the functions they perform within these encounters and reflect the teaching component of the review. Ironically, when Elaine directs the actions of her subordinates, she draws on mitigating strategies that evoke the qualities associated with sociocultural conceptions of "mother"; however, she does not use these strategies to the same extent to "do" her identity as a mother.

After introducing research relevant to the linguistic creation of gender and authority in the workplace and the family, I explain how individuals linguistically create gendered identities through face-related practices, and how this construction is linked with authority. The model is based on Goffman's (1967) notions of face, deference, and demeanor; Tannen's (1994b) advances in framing theory (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974); and Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory. I then present the analysis of Elaine's directives to her daughter and subordinates; and, finally, I compare Elaine's directives at home and at work to ascertain whether she draws on language strategies she uses as a mother when she is speaking as a manager.

The analysis demonstrates that a framing approach can contribute a more complex understanding of the role directives play in the linguistic construction of social identities and relations. A framing approach relates the linguistic forms and meanings of utterances to the speaker's frame of the activity (as realized through talk) because the pragmatic, interactional, and social meanings of any utterance are dependent upon the frame in which they occur – that is, what the speaker is *doing* when he or she produces an utterance (Tannen 1994b). In addition, although studies find that women use face-saving strategies in both the workplace and the home, no study has examined one or more woman's actual language practices in both domains. Therefore, important differences in how women use face-saving strategies, and the extent to which they use these strategies, have not been investigated. Finally, although extensive research, including Brown and Levinson's (1987) thorough analysis of linguistic politeness phenomena, has explored the linguistic dimensions of deference, these discussions have not integrated the related concept of demeanor, even though Goffman (1967: 77) introduces deference and demeanor as "two basic elements" of the expressive component of language – that component through which individuals convey face-related meanings. As I have shown elsewhere (Kendall 1993, 1999), re-incorporating demeanor into the analysis of deference reveals that women in positions of authority in the workplace use a face-saving style both as a strategy for accomplishing work and for linguistically enhancing their identities. The analysis in this chapter provides further evidence that women use a face-related style to agentively enact – and, in fact, enhance – their authority by demonstrating that one woman creates different demeanors of authority in her roles as mother and manager.

2   Language, Gender, and Authority at Work and at Home

Studies of gender and language in the workplace suggest that some women in positions of authority use a face-saving style with their subordinates and equal-ranking colleagues in some situations in which men do not. For example, the female managers in Tannen's (1994a) study of language in several large corporations gave directives and feedback to their subordinates in ways that saved face for the subordinates. One manager used directives phrased as suggestions to get her subordinate to make changes on a document (e.g. *You might put in parentheses*) (p. 81). In contrast, a male manager gave directives and feedback in ways that reinforced status differences (e.g. *Oh, that's too dry. You have to make it snappier!*) (p. 53). West (1990) observes a similar pattern in her analysis of medical encounters: male doctors tended to aggravate directives to their patients, whereas female doctors tended to mitigate their commands. In problem-solving situations in the industrial community, Preisler (1986) finds that the managers who contributed most actively when accomplishing a task with subordinates also used more linguistic "tentativeness features," and these managers were usually women.

Studies that address parental authority in the family find that mothers take up less powerful roles and use more face-saving strategies and politeness phenomena. In their study of narrative roles at dinnertime, Ochs and Taylor (1995) discover that the mothers tended to introduce narratives, taking up the powerful role of narrative introducer, the person who controls who and what will be the focus of attention. However, fathers took up the even more powerful narrative role of problematizer or family judge, the "primary audience, judge, and critic of family members' actions, conditions, thoughts, and feelings." Both patterns contribute to a traditional arrangement of "Father knows best," which, Ochs and Taylor observe, is a configuration of power that is generally thought to be extinct in middle-class families. In a classic study of directives, Bellinger and Gleason (1982) demonstrate that the fathers in three families at home gave more directives and were more likely than the mothers to phrase directives as imperatives (*Turn the bolt with the wrench*), rather than questions (*Could you turn the bolt with the wrench?*) or statements (*The wheel is going to fall off*). Gleason and Greif (1983: 148–9) conclude, regarding this study, that fathers' "more direct, controlling, and relatively impolite" language acts as a "bridge to the outside world" because it is more cognitively and linguistically challenging than mothers' language to children. Aronsson and Thorell's (1999) analysis of children's controlling actions in role-plays of family conflict scenarios suggests that these children perceive mothers as being more likely to give reasons for their directives. The children enacted the father as "the man of ultimate action" and the mother as "compromiser and negotiator – the one who provides reasons, justifications and other mitigating accounts" (p. 43). Snow et al. (1990:

294) demonstrate that the mothers in twenty-four families were more likely to use the politeness forms *please*, *thank*, and *excuse*. Finally, Greif and Gleason (1980) discovered that, although both mothers and fathers prompted girls and boys to say *thank you* for a gift and *good-bye* to the researchers, the parents modeled gendered behavior themselves because the mothers were more likely than the fathers to address these forms to the researchers.

Although no studies have compared women's talk at work and at home, a few have posited a relationship between women's talk in the two domains. In two studies of women's speech in the workplace, the researchers suggest that women may draw upon language associated with mothers to enact their authority at work. In her analysis of directives given by female detectives to subordinates on a Japanese drama series, Smith (1992: 78) observes that the detectives used a "Motherese Strategy" that is not typically found in the public sphere, but is commonly used by mothers to children. These forms invoke both the authority of the mother and the solidarity between mother and child. Similarly, Wodak (1995: 45) concludes that the leadership styles of three head-mistresses (the Austrian equivalent of the principal in US schools) share a linguistic "pattern of maternity," in which they pursue their agendas through what she calls a "we discourse" that "establishes and maintains the boundaries of intimacy." Two studies of talk at home differ in their assessment of the relative power of mothers' language to children, but assume the powerlessness of women's speech, or images of women's speech, in the public domain. Based on her comparison of American and Samoan mothers' communicative practices, Ochs (1992: 337) traces powerless images of women in US society to powerless images of mothering which, she suggests, are based on the relatively accommodating language middle-class American mothers use with their children. In contrast, Cook-Gumperz (1995: 401) demonstrates that two three-year-old girls constituted mothers as speaking with power in a make-believe game of "mummies and babies" by "controlling the resources and destiny of others." As a result of her analysis, she poses the question: why do children experience the mother's role as "all-powerful," but later assume a "publicly demonstrated powerlessness" as adult women?

In summary, research pertaining to the linguistic creation of gender and authority in the workplace and the family suggests that mothers tend to take up less powerful roles than fathers at home and use a more face-saving style in both domains. The framing analysis of a woman's directives in this chapter reveals that this woman does use face-saving strategies in both domains; however, the frequency and form of these strategies differ in significant ways.

3   Creating Gendered Demeanors of Authority

A framing approach conceptualizes the creation of gendered identities as a component of the creation of identities in general and, consequently, reveals

how this construction is mediated by other social parameters, roles, and identities – as scholars have recently advocated (Bucholtz 1999; Cameron 1997; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). Women and men do not generally choose linguistic options for the purpose of creating masculine or feminine identities; instead, they draw upon gendered linguistic strategies to perform pragmatic and interactional functions of language and, thus, constitute roles in a gendered way. It is the manner in which people constitute their identities when acting within a social role that is linked with gender – that is, being a "good mother," being a "good manager" (Kendall 1999). This conceptualization of language and gender is captured by Goffman's (1967: 83) conception of *demeanor*: the individual's expression of "certain desirable or undesirable qualities." Individuals interactionally construct the self through both demeanor and *deference*: the "appreciation an individual shows of another to that other." Whereas expressions of deference tend to "point to the place the individual has achieved in the hierarchy of this society," expressions of demeanor tend to point to "qualities which any social position gives its incumbents a chance to display during interaction" (pp. 82–3). Thus, demeanor is expressed through the manner in which the individual "handles" his or her social positions. Furthermore, an individual expresses deference to create and sustain the other's self, but deference is also a "means by which [the individual] expresses the fact that he [or she] is a well or badly demeaned individual" (p. 81). In other words, people display certain qualities through actions that convey demeanor, and an important component of these qualities is the manner in which they extend deference to others – that is, their face-related practices.

From this perspective, women in positions of institutional authority who linguistically downplay status differences when enacting their authority are not reluctant to exercise authority, nor are they expressing powerlessness; instead, they are exercising and constituting their authority by speaking in ways that accomplish work-related goals while maintaining the faces of their interlocutors. A number of studies provide evidence that higher-ranking individuals' use of deference with lower-ranking individuals may actually enhance their demeanor. For example, Reynolds (1985: 35) ascertains, in her examination of Japanese sentence-final particles, that higher-status individuals' use of deference may be "interpreted as a virtue of the superior" and may help the speaker "gain the inferior's genuine respect." Pearson (1988: 87) discovered, in her investigation of directives, disagreements, and suggestions in church meetings, that the minister, the highest-status individual present, used the most strategies of both power and politeness: the minister's "intentional underplaying of status and/or power, may actually enhance his prestige and power because he is not abusing the privileges of his role." Similarly, Smith-Hefner (1988: 548) concludes in her study of "basic" and "polite" language styles in Javanese society that men may "create a favorable image" by using the polite speech style that is typically used by lower-status individuals to confer respect or humble the self *vis-à-vis* a respected other. Similarly, women who use a face-saving style with their subordinates and their children may enhance their identities, albeit in a gendered way.

4 Participants and Procedure

The analysis presented in this chapter is part of a larger research study which explores the relations among work, family, gender, and talk of one woman at work and at home (Kendall 1999). The mother in this family, Elaine, volunteered to participate in the study in response to a request for volunteers that was sent over e-mail in her workplace, a large government institution in the Washington, DC area. She and her husband, Mark, work outside the home full-time. Elaine supervises two employees, Janice and Lauren; and Mark owns and operates a small roofing business. At the time of recording, Elaine and Mark were in their mid-forties and their daughter, Beth, was ten years old. The family is White and middle-class. Elaine tape-recorded naturally occurring talk herself by carrying a tape-recorder with her for a week at work and at home.

The analysis of talk is based on all the directives, excluding offers and requests for information, that Elaine addresses to Beth during dinnertime at home (71 directives) and to her subordinates at work (33 directives). Directives were classified for syntactic form (imperative, statement, question); directness (direct, indirect, off-record); and types of mitigation/aggravation (e.g. point-of-view shifts, expressions of need/obligation, lexical minimizers). Based on these classifications and the analysis of each directive in context, seven directive categories were identified, representing the primary face-related strategies Elaine uses in these encounters. These strategies range along a continuum from most face-saving to most face-threatening (see figure 26.1).

First, conventionally polite requests are questions constituted by modals and subject–auxiliary inversion (*Would you double check that for me*) (Brown and Levinson 1987). They may also include rising intonation, formulaic expressions (*please*), tag-type questions (*Would that be okay*), and prerequests (*Could you do me a favor*).

Second, directives framed as joint activity are constituted by suggestions, which are statements mitigated by modals such as *might* and *can* (*And then you can bring the plate over to Daddy*), hedges (*maybe*), and/or subjectivizers such as *think* (*I think that probably both of these should come out*) (Goodwin 1990; Tannen 1994a). In general, suggestions frame the requested action as optional, and thus convey that the participants are jointly engaged in the activity. Directives may also be framed as joint activity by the inclusion of reasons that lead the addressee "to see the reasonableness" of the directive and thus convey that the

most face-saving ←——————————→ most face-threatening

mitigated   *neutral*   *strengthened*

conventionally polite   minimized   imperative   impersonalized

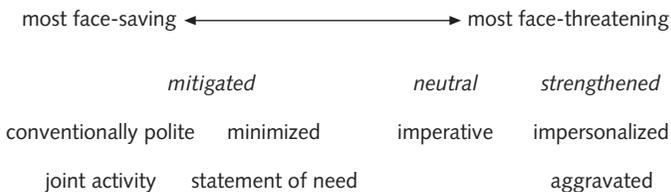joint activity   statement of need   aggravated

Figure 26.1 Face continuum

participants are "cooperatively involved in the relevant activity" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 125, 128).

Third, minimized imperatives are mitigated by the lexical items *just*, *little*, and *real quick* (*Just draft up a little memo to him*). They generally save the face of the other through non-imposition.

Fourth, *statements of need/obligation*, which attribute the source of the directive to exigencies of the situation, are constituted by expressions of *need* (*I need cheese grated*) and modals of obligation such as *should*, *have to*, and *supposed to* (*Beth, you're gonna have to uh heat your tortilla up*). Minimized imperatives and statements of need are mitigated, but not to the extent of requests and suggestions.

Fifth, *unmitigated imperatives* are neither mitigated nor aggravated (*Wash your hands*). They are neutral in terms of face (Blum-Kulka 1997).

Sixth, *impersonalized directives* frame the need for the directive as external to the speaker and addressee by framing the directive as a *general rule* through assertions of what the addressee will or will not do, or through avoidance of "I" and "you" by inclusive points of view (*we*, *let's*), agent deletion, general *you*, existentials, and passives (*Hey, let's not use that language. It would be "droppings," thank you*).

Finally, *aggravated directives* are constituted by any of the forms above, but are aggravated by linguistic structures or prosodic elements that increase the force of the directive (*Hey! Excuse me, let's not use that language!*) (Aronsson and Thorell 1999; Culpeper 1996; Goodwin 1990).

In the following sections, I describe Elaine's directives at home and at work, in turn. For each domain, I first describe the discursive structure of the encounter and then present the directive analysis. The first step is necessary because a framing approach requires contextual analysis of directives in order to assess their interactional and social meanings. In the dinnertime encounters, I identify the frames that Elaine creates and maintains and the positions that she takes up within these frames. A *frame* (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974) is a set of expectations about a situated speech activity, including the participants' speaking rights and responsibilities. Davies and Harré's (1990: 46) conceptualization of *position* provides a way to refer to a participant's discursive roles within a frame: positions incorporate "a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire." In the work encounters, I identify the functions Elaine performs through her directives and the patterned sequence in which these functions occur.

5   Face-related Practices at Home

5.1   *Discursive structure: Frames and positions at dinnertime*

During the dinnertime encounters, Elaine produces the following directives: 10 polite, four joint activity, 14 minimized imperatives, four statements of

necessity/obligation, 23 unmitigated imperatives, six impersonalized, and 10 aggravated. She expends linguistic effort to maintain her daughter's face in 46 per cent (n = 32), she does not use mitigating or aggravating strategies in 32 per cent (n = 23), and she strengthens 22 per cent (n = 16). The mitigating strategies she uses at dinnertime vary based on the frames she creates and maintains and the positions she takes up within these frames. There are five higher-level frames that account for "what is going on" at dinnertime: in a dinner frame, family members prepare, serve, and eat dinner; in a conversational frame, they engage in social talk; in a managerial frame, they plan and carry out activities that will occur after dinner; in a care-giving frame, parents attend to children's needs at dinnertime; and, in a socialization frame, parents monitor and correct children's behavior. Each of these frames makes discursive positions available to family members. For example, the care-giving frame makes the position of Care-giver available to parents and Care-receiver available to children. The parental positions in the other frames are Head Chef, Conversationalist, Manager, and Civilizer.

In addition, each higher-level frame and its associated framing position are linguistically realized through several lower-level frames. Like the higher-level frames, these frames are constituted, in part, by the positions that the frames make available to the participants. As Head Chef in the dinner frame, Elaine serves food (Host) and directs the preparation of food (Chef). As Care-giver in the care-giving frame, Elaine assists Beth (Assistant), teaches her dinnertime skills (Teacher), and monitors Beth's dinnertime needs (Caretaker). As Civilizer in a socialization frame, Elaine monitors Beth's dinnertime etiquette (Etiquette Enforcer), behavior (Behavior Monitor), and appearance (Appearance Monitor), and she makes sure that Beth performs dinnertime rituals (Ritual Enforcer). As Manager, Elaine plans future activities (Planner) and gets Beth ready to go (Social Secretary). The analysis excludes the Host, because Elaine addresses directives to Beth and Mark collectively; the Assistant, which is constituted by commissives rather than directives; and the conversational frame, which is constituted by requests for information rather than action. The remaining frames, principal positions, and positions appear in figure 26.2.

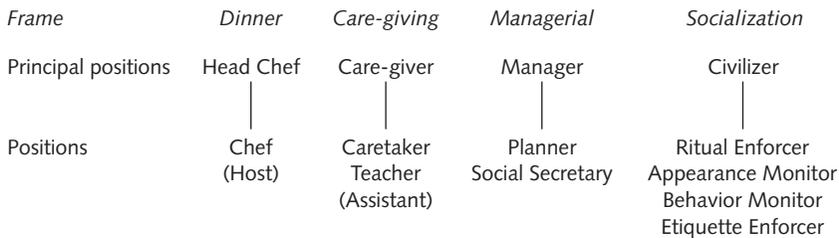| Frame	Dinner	Care-giving	Managerial	Socialization
Principal positions	Head Chef	Care-giver	Manager	Civilizer
Positions	Chef (Host)	Caretaker Teacher (Assistant)	Planner Social Secretary	Ritual Enforcer Appearance Monitor Behavior Monitor Etiquette Enforcer

Figure 26.2   Frames and positions at dinnertime

5.2   *Directives at dinnertime*

The first lower-level position Elaine takes up in the dinner frame is the Chef: directing the preparation of dinner. Elaine performs ten directives in this position: three conventionally polite requests, two suggestions conveying joint activity, one minimized imperative, and four unmitigated imperatives. Although this position is split evenly between directives with and without face-saving strategies (requests and suggestions versus imperatives), the sequential and functional distributions of these directive categories reveal the greater salience of the mitigated forms: Elaine uses conventionally polite requests and suggestions to identify tasks for Beth to perform, and she uses imperatives to give Beth instructions for accomplishing these tasks. In example (1), Elaine uses conventional politeness to ask Beth to bring her something (dots indicate pauses of one second per dot):

(1)
Elaine: Can you get that for me please . . .
            Just about have all this coming together.

Elaine phrases the directive as a conventionally polite request by using a modal and question inversion, *can you*, and the politeness form, *please*. Using conventional politeness conveys that Beth is worthy of having her face maintained, even though she is performing tasks that, in actuality, may not be voluntary.

   In (2), Elaine uses a suggestion to identify a task for Beth to perform and then uses imperatives to provide her with specific instructions (dashes indicate aborted utterances):

(2)
Elaine: Um . you could spoon in that –
            Uh . shake this up.
            Don't get it on the recorder.
            Just spoon in that, and stir it around.

Elaine frames the initial directive as a suggestion by telling Beth that she *could* perform the action, conveying that Beth's actions are voluntary and, thus, framing Beth's actions as joint activity.

   Elaine takes up the framing position of the Care-giver in a care-giving frame when she attends to Beth's needs at dinnertime. The first position in this frame is the Caretaker, in which she directs Beth to perform, for herself, the kinds of actions a parent would perform for a younger child. In (3), Elaine first takes up the position of the Host (a position constituted by offers in the form of questions) by offering Beth some food, but she then reframes the offer as a directive, shifting from Host to Caretaker:

(3)
Elaine: You want some milk? water?
          → You need to have some fluids.
Beth: Yeah, I'm getting some milk.
Elaine: Go ahead and get some.

Elaine frames the directive as being for Beth's own good by referring to Beth's *need* for fluids as the basis of the command. Likewise, other directives in this position are ultimately for Beth's benefit. Therefore, since these actions do not represent a significant face threat, it is not surprising that unmitigated imperatives predominate in this position: six unmitigated, one minimized imperative, and two statements of Beth's needs.

Elaine takes up the position of the Teacher in the care-giving frame when she teaches Beth to do specific tasks to help prepare dinner, to serve herself, or to help clean up. This position is characterized by imperatives accompanied by praise: four unmitigated, four minimized, and one suggestion. In (4), Elaine instructs Beth as she prepares her burrito (square brackets enclose simultaneous talk; angle brackets enclose the manner in which an utterance is spoken):

(4)
Elaine: Okay, just kind of flip it over.
          Keep it compact . . .
          That's it. [Roll, roll.]
Beth: [Shoot.   ]
Elaine: Okay, tuck that under . . .
          <*increasing emphasis*> You got it. You've got it. You've got it!
          You did it yourself!
          Great!

This teaching method tends to take longer than it would if Elaine did the task herself, but she is teaching Beth dinnertime skills.

In the socialization frame, Elaine takes up the framing position of the Civilizer when she gives Beth explicit injunctions to behave and speak in appropriate ways. Although this frame involves teaching, the focus is on appropriate behavior at the dinner table rather than eating and cooking skills. The first two positions in this frame are characterized by conventional politeness. Elaine takes up the first position, the Ritual Enforcer, three times when she asks or reminds Beth to perform formal rituals at dinnertime. In (5), she uses a conventionally polite request to ask Beth to say the blessing:

(5)
Elaine: Do you want to say the blessing real quick?
Beth: Okay.
. . .
Elaine: After you finish chewing that carrot? <*chuckles*>

In this position, Elaine uses two conventionally polite requests and one imperative mitigated by *please* (to remind her to ask to be excused before leaving the table).

Elaine takes up the position of Appearance Monitor when she tells Beth to attend to her appearance at the dinner table. In (6), Elaine asks Beth to clean some hair off her face:

(6)
Elaine: → You have hair on your face. Will you clean it off for me?
             I'm talking about one side, on your cheek,
             → see just brush it off, right there, that far side by me.

Elaine uses a conventionally polite form to tell Beth to remove the hair. She then uses a minimized imperative (*just brush it off*) when Beth does not comply. In this position, Elaine uses one conventionally polite directive, two minimized imperatives, and one unmitigated imperative.

Elaine takes up the third position in the socialization frame, the Behavior Monitor, when she tells Beth to perform an action or to cease one that is not directly tied to dinnertime etiquette. The majority of directives in this position are aggravated: eight aggravated directives and two unmitigated imperatives. In (7), Elaine asks Beth to help clean up, using a conventionally polite request. When Beth does not comply, Elaine reprimands her (empty parentheses indicate unintelligible speech):

(7)
Elaine: Can you help clear up both ( ).
Beth: I cleaned up my plate!
             <singing> ( ).
Elaine: → How about helping us, thank you!

Although the directive is phrased as a suggestion, it is aggravated by emphatic intonation and the otherwise polite *thank you*. Snow et al. (1990: 296) find similar cases in which the use of "politeness forms often actually reinforced the parental position of power by expressing exasperation or impatience."

Elaine takes up the final position in the socialization frame, the Etiquette Enforcer, when she monitors and teaches Beth appropriate language at dinnertime. This position is characterized by impersonalization: six impersonalized directives and one aggravated. In (8), Elaine uses impersonalizing strategies to reprimand Beth for inappropriate language. What Beth says is not intelligible on the tape-recording, but Elaine's response clearly indicates that she finds it offensive:

(8)
Beth: ( )
Elaine: ((*apparently gives Beth a disapproving look*))
Beth: What.

Elaine: → That's not something we hear at the table, please. Thank you.
          ((*to Mark*)) Dad, will you give her a little dish?

Elaine uses impersonalizing strategies to frame the directive as a general rule: the statement form and inclusive pronoun *we* cast the directive as being applicable to everyone, not to Beth alone. In this way, she phrases the directive as though she is "merely drawing attention to the existence of a rule" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 207). The impersonalizing strategies strengthen the force of the directives by endowing them with an existence outside Elaine's control.

   In the final frame, managerial, Elaine takes up the framing position of the Manager when she plans Beth's social life and makes sure that Beth gets where she needs to go. In the first position, the Planner, Elaine identifies actions that Beth must perform in the near future. This position is characterized by strategies that appeal to Beth's voluntary compliance: four conventionally polite requests, a suggestion, and two statements of need/obligation. In the latter case, she frames the required action as obligatory, but provides reasons as well, conveying the desire for Beth not only to perform an action, but to perform it willingly. In (9), she tells Beth that she has to go to bed early so that she can get up early:

(9)
Elaine: You have to go to bed . earlier . so . because you're getting up and going to
          work with me tomorrow so . 'cause I have to leave earlier.

Elaine frames the required action (going to bed early) as being obligatory through a statement of necessity (*you have to*), but she appeals to Beth for cooperative involvement as well.

   The second position in the managerial frame is the Social Secretary. This position is not a dinnertime position *per se*, but occurs after dinner when the family is still chatting in the kitchen. For example, on the first night, Beth has her horse-riding lesson later that evening so she has to get ready to go as soon as she finishes eating. In (10), Elaine shifts from the conversational frame, in which they are discussing how long a drive would be on a future vacation, to the managerial frame by telling Beth to get ready:

(10)
Elaine: I don't think it's very far.
Mark: ( )
Elaine: It couldn't be any further than when we drove to Ohio.
Mark: No, about six hours.
Beth: Excuse me!
Elaine: → Okay, go ahead and get your vitamin, and go up and brush your teeth,
          'cause you're gonna . probably have to leave about . quarter after or so.
Beth: The only weird thing is, remember when I rode O'Connor?

Although Elaine tells Beth to get ready, Beth introduces a new topic, which they discuss for several minutes before Elaine repeats her directive. The Social Secretary position is characterized by rapid lists of short imperatives: six unmitigated, five minimized, and one aggravated (when Beth does not comply with a previous directive).

5.3   *Summary: Directives at dinnertime*

Table 26.1 summarizes the face-related strategies Elaine uses in her directives to Beth at dinnertime. Elaine's directives vary linguistically based on the discursive positions she takes up, and they reflect the dinner-related and socialization functions of mealtime. The majority of her directives at dinnertime are unmitigated imperatives (32 per cent, n = 23). Together, unmitigated imperatives and minimized imperatives constitute more than half of her directives (52 per cent, n = 37). Imperatives reflect the dinner-related function of mealtime: she uses them in the dinner and care-giving frames to give Beth instructions for preparing dinner (Chef), to teach her dinnertime skills (Teacher), and to perform dinner-related actions (Caretaker). The directive categories that Elaine uses the most frequently, following imperatives, are aggravated (14 per cent, n = 10), conventionally polite (14 per cent, n = 10), and impersonalized (8 per cent, n = 6). These strategies reflect the socialization function of mealtime. Elaine gives aggravated and impersonalized directives for Beth to behave in socially appropriate ways (Monitor, Etiquette Enforcer); and she uses conventional politeness when asking Beth to do something she might ask of another adult: helping to prepare dinner (Chef), requesting that she say the blessing (Ritual Enforcer), and arranging future activities with her (Planner). Based on these patterns, Elaine creates a demeanor of explicit authority characterized by values of parental care-giving and "civilized" behavior.

Table 26.1   Face-related strategies at home

	n	%
Polite	10	14
Joint activity	4	6
Necessity/obligation	4	6
Minimized imperative	14	20
Imperative	23	32
Impersonalized	6	8
Aggravated	10	14
Total	71	100

6   Face-related Practices at Work

6.1   *Directives at work: Five short encounters*

The analysis of workplace interaction is based on all Elaine's tape-recorded work encounters with her subordinates: five brief encounters (11 directives) and one longer encounter in which she provides Lauren with feedback on a contract (22 directives). I discuss directives in these two contexts in turn. In the five brief encounters, Elaine produces the following directives: two polite, seven joint activity, one minimized imperative, and one unmitigated imperative. She expends linguistic effort to maintain her subordinates' faces in 91 per cent (n = 10), and she does not use any strengthening strategies. In the previous section, I suggest that Elaine uses conventionally polite directives when asking Beth to perform actions she would ask of an adult and, thus, models the appropriate use of overtly polite language. In her directives to her subordinates, Elaine displays the behavior she models for her daughter at home. She uses conventionally polite requests when she contacts her subordinates to "request" that they do something for her. In (11), Elaine calls Lauren on the telephone and asks her to come to her office:

(11)
Elaine: Lauren, I just talked to Tim Brown,
          and he said interest is not allowable so . um
          → Do you want to come in here real quick, are you busy.

The directive is conventionally polite based on the modal (*want to*) and inversion. She also minimizes the requested action (*come in here*) through the use of *real quick*; and she adds a tag question that further conveys her wish not to impose (*are you busy*).

In general, Elaine positions her subordinates as equals engaged in joint activity by phrasing her directives as suggestions, conveying that the subordinates can decide whether to perform the action or not. These linguistic forms influence the interactional positionings of the participants by casting the subordinates – at least interactionally – as status equals. In (12), Elaine and Janice discuss some issues in Elaine's office; then, as Janice is leaving, Elaine tells her to ask a visitor they are expecting about a site visit:

(12)
Janice: There are no other proposals coming in?
Elaine: → Right, and then let's ask her too . bout the site visit too.
Janice: Okay.
Elaine: So that doesn't slip our minds, so that she's thinking –
Janice: *<louder>* Yeah.

Elaine tells Janice to ask the visitor about the site visit by using the inclusive pronoun *let's*, even though Janice will perform the action alone. However, her point-of-view shift maintains Janice's face by creating "common ground" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 119). She reinforces the cooperative component by using inclusive *our* in the reason she provides, *so that doesn't slip our minds*. Finally, Elaine's lexical choice, *slip*, maintains Janice's face by minimizing the importance of the required action.

6.2 Directives at work: Reviewing a subordinate's work

Elaine produces 22 directives during the half-hour meeting with her sub-ordinate, Lauren: two polite, eight joint activity, two necessity/obligation, five minimized imperatives, and five imperatives. She expends linguistic effort to maintain Lauren's face in 77 per cent (n = 17); the remaining 23 per cent are neutral (n = 5). However, although she frames directives as joint activity in only 36 per cent of the directives in the review (n = 8), an analysis of the discourse structure of the activity reveals the salience of this directive type within the activity and, thus, to the identities and relations Elaine creates. Elaine frames the review as a learning experience for her subordinate by iden-tifying problems, identifying how Lauren can correct the problems, and pro-viding reasons and explanations. As a result, the review is constituted by a series of ten sequences. In each sequence, Elaine first identifies the problematic area by referring to the contract they are reviewing; she then gives an *identify-ing directive* that identifies how Lauren can correct the problem. Following this initial directive, Elaine gives directives that perform four other functions: she *explains* how to correct errors addressed by identifying directives; she *instructs* her with specifics about how to accomplish a previous directive; she *responds* to Lauren's questions not previously discussed by Elaine; and she *summarizes* previous directives. In addition to patterns of directive functions, the ten se-quences are discursively delineated by the discourse markers *okay*, *then*, or *and then*. Elaine gives one identifying directive for each of the ten sequences, but one is repeated, bringing the total to eleven. She produces four explaining, two instructing, two responding, and three summarizing directives.

   The five directive functions in the review vary, first, in terms of mitigation type (presence or absence of reasons) and the syntactic forms in which these reasons occur. All fifteen of the identifying and explanatory directives have reasons. Eleven of these have internal reasons in the syntactic form "reason *so* directive" or "directive *because* reason." The remaining four have external reasons. In contrast, the instructing, responding, and summarizing directives do not have reasons. The summarizing directives are differentiated by discourse markers within the syntactic form "*yeah* or *so* directive." Second, the five direct-ive functions are distinguished by face-related strategies. The responding, in-structing, and summarizing directives are imperatives (the two responding

are unmitigated and the two instructing are minimized). In contrast, the majority of identifying directives are suggestions (45 per cent, n = 5). Together, suggestions and requests constitute 67 per cent (n = 7) of the eleven identifying directives. Of the remaining, two are imperatives and two are statements of need. The following analysis of two directive sequences illustrates the structure of the review and how the linguistic forms of the directives reflect (and constitute) this structure.

Elaine begins the review by noting that Lauren made some positive revisions to the first draft of the contract. She then introduces the first problem that remains in the second draft (double parentheses enclose lexical changes to protect anonymity):

(13)
Elaine: Okay . um all this stuff that you've . picked up was fine.
          Let me get the ((client's)) contract.
          Under the travel clause –
          Remember when we had that . definition of domestic travel .
Lauren: Mhm.
Elaine: They didn't put that in.

The problem Elaine points out is that the contract does not have the correct *definition of domestic travel*. Elaine's identification of the problem is potentially face-threatening because Lauren should have discovered the discrepancy. Elaine maintains Lauren's face by emphasizing joint activity: she evokes shared knowledge by reminding Lauren of the definition (*remember when*) and by using inclusive *we*. These strategies contrast with possible unmitigated criticism, such as "You didn't make sure the contract included the definition I gave you." Elaine also saves Lauren's face by attributing the error to the client alone, *They didn't put that in*, rather than criticizing Lauren for not identifying and correcting the error herself.

After pointing out the problem, Elaine gives an identifying directive in (14) to identify how Lauren can correct it (double question marks indicate continuative high-rise intonation):

(14)
Elaine: → You might want to mention that to them, and see what they say about it.
Lauren: Okay, [will you]–
Elaine: [I'm sure] it's probably like a universal definition?? but–

Elaine maintains Lauren's face by downplaying the importance of the error. She phrases the directive as a suggestion through the use of *might want*, which makes the action seem optional; and she uses the word *mention*, which downplays the importance of the error by downplaying the corrective action. She further maintains Lauren's face by acknowledging that it was common sense to use this definition: *I'm sure it's probably like a universal definition??*

In (15), Lauren explains her reasoning for not checking or changing the definition. However, Elaine reiterates the necessary action by issuing a second directive to explain why Lauren must talk to the client (*her* in the example):

(15)
Lauren: You know what I thought, else, they might be doing?
Elaine: Hm?
Lauren: You know is . negotiating ahead of time . money. ( )
Elaine: Yeah, which is fine.
              → That's just what we had talked about before so ask her about that.
Lauren: Okay.
Elaine: Okay.

Elaine maintains Lauren's face in this explanatory directive by appealing to joint activity through inclusive *we* and providing a reason in the form "reason *so* directive": (*That's just what we had talked about before*) so (*ask her about that*).

Elaine begins the second directive sequence in (16) by using the discourse marker *okay*, and then pointing out the problem in the contract:

(16)
Elaine: Okay, now see all this stuff?? the sharing of ((samples))??
Lauren: Mhm.
Elaine: and all this stuff right here??
              is not in their . contract.
              So I'm not sure where this . came from .
Lauren: Well–

When Elaine points out the information that is not in the contract, Lauren begins to explain (*Well–*), but Elaine does not let her take the floor at this point. Instead, in (17), she attempts to give the initial directive that will identify how Lauren can correct the error:

(17)
Elaine: Excuse me, so I think we need to check with–
Lauren: Remember they want . them . to interact?? . . with each other??

Although Elaine is not able to complete her directive because Lauren again begins to explain, it is clear that the directive displays the face-related strategies Elaine typically uses for identifying directives: she frames the directive with *I think*, which makes the specified action seem optional because it is phrased as Elaine's opinion, and she gives a reason in the form "reason *so* directive": (*I'm not sure where this . came from*) so (*I think we need to check with–*). She also conveys joint activity by using *we* when it is actually Lauren who will be checking.

Elaine's second attempt to give the identifying directive in this sequence, in (18), is less mitigated than her attempt in (17) above. She omits the subjectivizer

I think and eliminates the point-of-view shift by stating that *you need* instead of *we need*, putting on-record the fact that it is Lauren who must perform the action:

(18)
Elaine: Right.
          → But . what you'll need to do–
          this is where I said . for these . two things??–

Although Elaine uses *you* instead of *we*, she mitigates this directive through the use of *need*, mitigating the required action by presenting it as being obligatory for external reasons, not because Elaine requires it. However, again, Elaine does not finish the directive. This time, she backs up to provide further information.

Lauren asks a question and, at this point, Elaine abandons the unfinished directive to respond. Example (19) illustrates a typical response sequence in which Elaine responds with an unmitigated imperative and then gives instructions with a minimized imperative:

(19)
Lauren: Oh, that should be in the work statement, right?
Elaine: No, that's fine.
          → Ask um . Kent.
Lauren: Okay.
Elaine: Isn't he the ((person responsible)) now?
Lauren: uh huh.
Elaine: → Just draft up a little memo to him .
          asking him to look over this . draft subcontract agreement
          and see if you [have any .]
Lauren: [Okay.]
Elaine: questions

In the first directive, Elaine answers Lauren by telling her that she needs to ask Kent and, in the second directive, she tells her how to ask him. In the latter, she uses a non-imposing imperative in which she minimizes the action Lauren must perform with *just* (*just draft*) and the required product with *little* (*a little memo*).

6.3   Summary: Directives at work

Table 26.2 summarizes the face-related strategies Elaine uses in her directives to her subordinates at work. Elaine's directives to her subordinates vary linguistically based on the functions they perform within these encounters and the teaching component of the review. Elaine positions her subordinates as equals engaged in joint activity in 46 per cent of her directives (n = 15). She

Table 26.2 Face-related strategies at work

	n	%
Polite	4	12
Joint activity	15	46
Necessity/obligation	2	6
Minimized imperative	6	18
Imperative	6	18
Impersonalized	0	0
Aggravated	0	0
Total	33	100

uses this strategy in the review to identify solutions to problems and to give further explanations, and she uses them to direct her subordinates on a regular basis. She uses minimized imperatives and unmitigated imperatives much less frequently, both at 18 per cent (n = 6). In the review, she uses minimized imperatives to give instructions and to summarize previous directives, and she uses unmitigated imperatives to respond to questions. In the shorter encounters, she uses imperatives to close encounters.

Through these strategies, Elaine creates a benevolent demeanor of authority, a gendered mode of enacting authority that is recognized and appreciated by her subordinates. In an interview with Lauren, I asked her to describe an ideal "group leader," which is the position that Elaine holds. She responded to the question by referring to Elaine:

(20)
Lauren: Honestly. . . . I–I mean I would say Elaine would be.

When asked why, Lauren referred to the manner in which Elaine gives her feedback on her work, which is the speech event examined in this section:

(21)
Lauren: She's a–um, she's–she always gives you–
          she'll give constructive criticism.
          She'll never say "well, this was just terrible," and mark everything up.
          She'll explain to you, "Well the–you know, what you did was fine"
          you know,
          "but let me send you a–a sample of," you know,
          "the way I've done it in the past and next time you can use that."

In her portrayal of Elaine, Lauren uses many of the mitigating strategies Elaine actually uses in the review. She uses an aggravated lexical item to illustrate how Elaine does not give feedback: *She'll never say "well, this was just terrible."* When Lauren provides an example of how Elaine does give feedback, she

casts Elaine as beginning with reassurance, *what you did was fine*; emphasizes Elaine's teaching approach, *She'll explain to you*; and gives a directive phrased as a suggestion: *"but let me send you a–a sample of,"* you know, *"the way I've done it in the past and next time you can use that."* Lauren phrases the directive (in Elaine's voice) as being an opinion, *the way I've done it*, and as being optional by saying *and next time you can use that* – as though the end of the sentence were: *if you want to*.

7   Speaking as Mother and Manager

There are two possible ways to address the question of whether Elaine draws on strategies she uses as a mother when speaking as a manager: first, whether Elaine uses similar language structures and mitigating strategies, and/or creates similar demeanors of authority when speaking as mother and manager; and, second, when she speaks as a manager, whether she uses linguistic options and strategies that evoke the qualities associated with sociocultural conceptions of "mother." The latter claim would predict that some women in positions of authority may speak in ways associated with mothers whether or not they have children themselves. The answer to the first question is both yes and no. Elaine does draw from a limited repertoire of linguistic structures when speaking as mother and manager: for example, she uses the same minimizers in both domains (*just*, *little*, *kind of*, and *real quick*). In addition, she uses a limited repertoire of mitigating strategies in both domains as well: conventional politeness, joint activity, expressions of need/obligation, minimizers, and impersonalizing strategies. However, overall, she does not construct similar demeanors of authority in these positions.

The primary difference between the demeanors of authority Elaine creates when speaking with her daughter and her subordinates is the extent to which she makes this authority manifest. Table 26.3 shows the percentages of mitigation types in both domains, using the face continuum that was introduced in figure 26.1.

Table 26.3   Face continuum: home and work

	Home		Work	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**
Mitigated	14	20	19	58
Minimally mitigated	18	26	8	24
Neutral	23	32	6	18
Strengthened	16	22	0	0
Total	71	100	33	100

Elaine uses face-related strategies at all points on the continuum when speaking with her daughter: mitigated (20 per cent), minimally mitigated (26 per cent), neutral (32 per cent), and strengthened (22 per cent). In contrast, in the workplace, she gives directives only on the mitigated end of the scale, and the most frequent are the most mitigated: mitigated (58 per cent), minimally mitigated (24 per cent), neutral (18 per cent), and none strengthened. Through her face-related practices, Elaine creates a demeanor of explicit authority at home by using directive forms that make her authority more visible, whereas she creates a benevolent demeanor of authority at work by using directive forms that interactionally downplay status differences. Through the use of these strategies, she creates a frame in which she and her subordinates are jointly engaged in the activity as contributors who (on the surface) both decide what needs to be done. In this way, she expends linguistic effort to save the faces of her subordinates when performing a task which, in its very nature, positions her as an authority: telling her subordinates what to do. However, the asymmetrical frame of the encounter is the key to her construction of authority: if she draws authority from her institutional status, this status itself frames the encounter, making it possible for her to make her contributions consistent with face rather than framing them in ways that explicitly recreate her status.

The answer to the second question is yes: Elaine does use linguistic options and strategies that evoke the qualities associated with sociocultural conceptions of "mother" when speaking as a manager. However, ironically, she does not use these strategies to the same extent to "do" her identity as a mother. In her description of the leadership styles of the three headmistresses, Wodak (1995: 45, 54) suggests that women in positions of authority may draw on a "we discourse" that "establishes and maintains the boundaries of intimacy." Her examples include strategies through which participants convey joint activity. It is these very strategies that most differentiate Elaine's directives at work and at home. Whereas the highest percentage of her directives at work appeal to joint activity (46 per cent, n = 15 of 33), very few of her directives at home are framed in this way (6 per cent, n = 4 of 71). By using this strategy in the workplace, Elaine uses a style that reflects sociocultural conceptions of a nurturing mother.

In conclusion, Elaine constitutes her parental and managerial authority through the frames she creates and maintains, the positions she takes up within these frames, the discursive functions she performs within these positions, and the linguistic forms she chooses to constitute these discursive structures. The face-related strategies Elaine uses when directing the actions of her daughter and subordinates reflect the discursive structures of the encounters, but they reflect socially relevant choices as well. Elaine chooses, to a certain extent, the frames she will create and maintain. At work, she chooses to frame the review as a learning experience for her subordinate, rather than, for example, giving her a list of items to correct. At home, she chooses to maintain certain of the frames at dinnertime; for example, although a socialization frame (enforcing appropriate language and dinnertime rituals) is common, it is not essential

and, therefore, represents a choice. The frames she chooses make certain positions available to the participants, and these positions reflect and constitute the participants' identities and social relations. By choosing to frame the review as a learning experience, she takes up the position of a Teacher. In the dinner encounters, she takes up multiple positions in relation to her daughter: Head Chef, Caregiver, Conversationalist, Manager, and Civilizer. Finally, although the frames and positions Elaine creates and maintains entail certain pragmatic functions, she chooses the mitigating strategies and other linguistic forms to perform these functions within particular sequences (e.g. the suggestion–instruction sequence in the Chef position). Therefore, although Elaine's face-related practices reflect the discursive structure of these encounters, each level of interaction represents a choice as well and, thus, is a potential vehicle for the linguistic creation of gendered identities.

As previous research suggests, Elaine, like some other women in positions of authority, linguistically downplays her institutional authority through face-related practices. In contrast, although studies of mother–child interaction demonstrate that mothers use face-related strategies when giving directives to their children, the comparison of Elaine's directives at home and at work reveals that she does not use face-related strategies to the same extent in these domains. Through her face-related practices, Elaine constructs demeanors of authority differentiated by the extent to which she makes her authority manifest when speaking as a mother and a manager.

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