Re-examining linguistic power: strategic uses of directives by professional Japanese women in positions of authority and leadership

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Abstract

Given that an increasing number of professional women are playing a traditionally male role of authority and leadership in Japanese society today, it has been suggested that Japanese women in leadership positions suffer from a 'sociolinguistic dilemma' in choosing between the culturally prescribed feminine ways of speaking and the communicative need to talk powerfully from their occupational statuses. While conflicting views are derived from either anecdotal evidence or small-scale pilot studies, no large-scale empirical investigation of natural workplace interactions has presented a comprehensive picture of the issue.

This paper analyzes nine female executives' uses of directive speech acts that were both tape-recorded and observed in a large number of workplace interactions. Moving beyond the traditional sentence-level analysis of the use of feminine (or masculine) morphosyntactic variants, the study accounts for the following as the linguistic solutions to the dilemma: (1) the strategies of contextualization, which empower the 'gender-preferred' polite, indirect framing of directives in the larger domain of discourse; (2) the uses of positive-polite rapport builders for symmetrical interpersonal relationships and voluntary collaboration; and (3) the activation of multiple identities through marked uses of polite language in the immediate context of use. The study concludes that co-constitutive relationships between language and context, rather than the powerful (or powerless) code structure per se, are the key to an understanding of linguistic

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power manipulated by Japanese female executives, and also suggests that strategic functions of positive politeness need to be explored more extensively in studies of Japanese interactions in general.

1. Introduction

Japanese culture is often referred to as a prototypical negative-face culture with a strong emphasis on indirectness and politeness in interpersonal communication. Women in particular are given a prescribed "social personality" that characterizes them as the vanguard of such normative behaviors (Bourdieu, 1977: 655)—i.e., being "modest" in behavior and opinions and "polite and gentle to others" in social interactions (Mashimo, 1969: 46). Historically, the attribution of such a generalized persona to Japanese women seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon. It began along with many other significant socio-political changes related to modernization and industrialization during the late 19th to early 20th centuries, when the government began to exercise ideological control over the shaping of women's social roles, primarily through *ryoosai kenbo* (good wife and wise mother) education, both institutional and domestic (Mashimo, 1969; Inoue, 1994). Accordingly, politeness and indirectness as linguistic manifestations of the prescribed persona have become the norms for how women should speak (Endoo, 1991). While recent studies of natural speech show that such a homogeneous view of Japanese women's language is unlikely to represent how women speak in reality (Endoo et al., 1989; Endoo, 1992; Okamoto and Sato, 1992; Okamoto, 1994, 1997), the socio-culturally constructed norm that calls for women to talk indirectly and politely has survived rigidly at a folk-linguistic level (Kindaichi, 1969; Tanaka, 1969; Jugaku, 1979; Suzuki, 1981; Mogami, 1986; Ide et al., 1986; Ide, 1990).

Although Japanese women have considerable power in domestic life, they traditionally have not held positions of authority in the marketplace (Rosenberger, 1994). In actuality, however, as increasing numbers of women have entered into the work force, there have been cases in which women's prescribed persona has seriously contradicted the communicative requirements arising from their non-traditional roles in previously male-dominated occupational activities. It has been suggested that professional women in leadership positions speak with assertion and forcefulness in order to establish authority in the workplace, contrary to the prescriptive linguistic norms (Reynolds, 1990).

This sociolinguistic dilemma was first recognized in Ogata et al. (1957), who viewed the ongoing masculinization of women's language at that time as an inevitable sociolinguistic innovation, led primarily by professional women. Jugaku's work (1979, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990) has consistently challenged the prescribed linguistic femininity as a hindrance to women's liberation and social advancement. Jugaku has also argued that the stigmatization of women who adopt non-feminine ways of speaking, on one hand, and the stereotyped images of their powerlessness in communication, on the other, are both likely to segregate and discriminate against Japanese women in the workplace.

Sociolinguists have recently begun a more empirical vein of research on the speech of professional Japanese women holding gender-atypical, authoritative positions, who are the ones most likely to face such dilemmas.[1] These studies, however, have put forward rather conflicting views on solutions that might benefit professional Japanese women in positions of authority. Based on introspective interviews, the first view, which is compatible with the so-called "dominance/power-based" approach to gender and language (Uchida, 1992: 549), proposes "de-feminizing" women's speech as a power-seeking innovation for overcoming inferior social status and to allow women to compete with men for authority in the work force (Reynolds, 1990: 136). Because of the widespread prescribed norms for how women should talk, this view proposes not that women should borrow men's power code directly—an act for which they would be stigmatised—but rather that they do away with feminine speech styles that socio-culturally denote powerlessness.

A diametrically opposed view, in accord with the "difference/cultural" approach (Uchida, 1992: 548), considers professional Japanese women's linguistic innovations as the "construction of women's new identity" in the non-traditional domain of social life (Ide and Inoue, 1992). Based on informal observations, these studies report that Japanese women in high occupational positions consciously adopt "hyper-polite" characteristics in speech in order to highlight their femininity even more strongly than those in traditional domains (Abe, 1992; Ide, 1993). This view posits that power and authority for professional Japanese women can be established by stressing their full-fledged communicative competence through using feminine speech in accordance with the socio-cultural norms and expectations.

The first investigation of naturalistic, interactional data from professional Japanese women in charge (hereinafter PWC) was Smith's (1992) pilot study of directives. Based on interactions involving status asymmetry drawn from instructional programs, dramas and cartoons broadcast on television, Smith found that PWC use more polite morphosyntactic structures than male counterparts, which is consistent with the normative patterns of language use for Japanese women. In a stance compatible with the "difference/cultural" approach, Smith further proposed that, as a solution to the dilemma, PWC should establish innovative linguistic strategies to utilize the power originating in their traditional feminine roles in the culture: (1) the "motherese" strategy and (2) the passive power strategy.[2] The former implies that PWC should direct their subordinates as a mother directs her children, by using the power derived from their traditional role of motherhood. The latter implies a strategy of "passive but assured waiting"—communicating in a more reticent, less direct,

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[1] Responding to a survey conducted by the Nihon Keizai Newspaper in 1988 (reported in Kashima, 1993), about 60% of female company executives who responded felt that they were at a disadvantage in carrying out their occupational roles because they were women. They commonly pointed out that one of the direct sources of their disadvantage was communication problems with both male executives and male subordinates (Kashima, 1993: 38). Through my field interviews in Japan, I have also found that while many professional women in positions of authority are aware of difficulties in interacting with their subordinates, they have varying views on effective linguistic strategies for workplace interactions involving gender (e.g., the degree of mitigation may depend upon the gender composition of interactions) (Takano, 1997).

[2] According to Smith, the strategy is structurally characterized as having a noun (specifying an activity) with no verb, using no overt directive morphology (...*koto/yoo ni*), and consisting of the gerundive *-te* plus the receiving verbs (*-morau/itadaku*).

and thus more polite manner (Smith, 1992: 78) that accords with socio-cultural expectations for women's ways of speaking.

These strategies are further confirmed by Sunaoshi's (1994, 1995) case studies conducted at a family-owned camera/electronics shop. As for the "motherese" strategy in particular, Sunaoshi (1995) found that two female shop managers tended to issue the same types of directives to their younger subordinates as they issued to their own children at home. At the same time, she noted that there is a great deal of diversity in the forms of directives, which do not always bear clear referential meaning but rather sound suggestive. Sunaoshi (1994) then argued that the shop managers take advantage of their linguistic resources in addition to the specific strategies that generally constitute the Japanese way of conversation—what she called *Kyoowa* (collaboration). The *kyoowa*-oriented strategies include frequent use of the sentence final particle *ne* as a marker of empathy and shared feelings between managers and their subordinates, repetition of the subordinates' utterances for confirmation of directive intent, use of phrases softening order-giving (e.g., *chotto warui n dakedo,* "I feel a little bad, but"), and use of back-channel cues called *aizuchi*. While it is unclear to what extent these features involve gender-linked differentiation, she suggests that they allow the female managers to "show their attentiveness and create rapport and initiate a comfortable rhythm for conversation" for the effective issuing of directives (p. 687).

Furo (1996) studied how female teachers manage to resolve their dilemmas based on naturally occurring interactions in the classroom setting. She found that female teachers' ways of directing their students generally conform to the socio-cultural norms of femininity in speech, while they appear to create strategies in different ways from male teachers to empower their directives, particularly in situations in which their authority is challenged. Female teachers are more polite than male teachers both in "instruction directives" (i.e., those designed to move class activities forward) and in "discipline directives" (i.e., those that are in response to students' undisciplined behaviors during the class) (p. 250). In the former, female teachers characteristically resort to positive politeness strategies (e.g., the use of the sentence-final particle *ne*) to promote solidarity for the effectiveness of illocutionary force, and they also employ negative politeness strategies for mitigation (e.g., frequent uses of requests [rather than imperatives] and declarative sentences) (Smith, 1992). In the latter type of directives, which are issued in more authority-threatening situations, female teachers are found to frame the act in a more forceful manner but to do so within the limit of female register "without de-feminizing their speech" (p. 257).

The solutions to the dilemmas that PWC need to manipulate, however, appear to be much more intricate and multi-dimensional than those that have been described in these prior studies, once researchers begin to focus on interactions between language and its immediate context of use from an ethnographic perspective. Abe's (1993) first large-scale ethnographic study of naturally occurring interactions from a number of workplaces seems to indicate that both polite and feminine uses of language entail enormous contextual variability linked systematically to extra-linguistic factors. For example, Abe has pointed out the difficulty of determining whether her subjects talk politely or not because of their constant style-shifting of the predicate based on the relative age and social status of the participants, the speaker's role, the topic discussed, the number of participants, the level of

solidarity among interactants, and even individual idiosyncrasies (Abe, 1993: 162). As for femininity (encoded by sentence-final forms [SFFs] in her study), Abe's interpretations of the findings accord with both "dominance" and "difference" models: the use of masculine SFFs is motivated by considerations of power, especially in interactions in which the power relationship between the participants is rather unclear or threatening (Reynolds, 1990; cf., Furo, 1996). On the other hand, feminine SFFs function to mark assertiveness as long as the speaker's higher status than her subordinates is clear and stable (Ide and Inoue, 1992).

This diverse inventory of perspectives offered by prior studies, as well as the critical lack of large-scale investigations following Abe (1993), motivate us to seek a more comprehensive picture of the realities of the issue, which the present study tried to achieve with the following three aims in mind. First, as is evident from Abe's (1993) ethnographic work, a more productive approach should take deeper account of the ongoing processes of negotiation for and strategic manipulation of "speaker power" in close linkage to the immediate context of use—i.e., of the practical ways in which sociolinguistic dilemmas are resolved through language use in context (Gumperz, 1982; Habermas, 1984; Kramarae et al., 1984; Diamond, 1996).[3] Despite the fact that communicative power is a dynamic quality consisting of multi-layered properties (Giles and Wiemann, 1987), prior studies have relied on a rather static view of linguistic power, viewing it primarily as a matter of sentence-level analysis of the overt morphosyntactic characteristics of the utterance.[4] The fluidity and implicitness of speaker power commonly identified in actual interactions readily show that it may be misleading to derive the speaker's communicative powerfulness solely from the surface code structure per se without taking into account the dynamic interplay between language and its context of use in moment-to-moment exchanges (Gal, 1991; Ng and Bradac, 1993; Fowler, 1985; Fairclough, 2001). As one plausible generalization, a majority of prior studies seem to agree with the perspective that PWC do not so markedly deviate from but rather persist in their socio-culturally prescribed norms, speaking in a more deferential and polite manner than their male counterparts (i.e., resorting to negatively polite morphosyntactic variants). This observation, however, is still too vague to provide understanding of how women actually manage, in practice, to establish their authority and resolve their dilemmas with that apparently (i.e., morphosyntactically) "powerless" language. To elucidate this problem, I will focus on the discursive processes, in which apparently powerless, polite, indirect ways of speaking constitute or maintain the context in favor of the speaker's acquisition of communicative power.

Some of the prior studies, especially those based on authentic interactional data, have pointed out that positive-polite dimensions of language use are characteristic of the speech of PWC (Sunaoshi, 1994; Furo, 1996). Previous studies that have focused on linguistic power have generally agreed that powerful speakers are skillful negotiators of a complex sociolinguistic repertoire consisting of both negative and positive politeness strategies

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[3] I define the speaker's powerfulness as his or her ability to "take charge" of a conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1985: 103). A powerful speaker is able to determine the socio-psychological dynamics of interpersonal relationships between interactants (e.g., social distance, in-group rapport, group membership, social status, and identity) as well as to control the content, the mood, the organization, and the evaluation of the conversation (e.g., topics, speaker turns, the atmosphere).

[4] The sole exception to this is Sunaoshi (1994), who included other linguistic materials in addition to the morphosyntactic characteristics of directives in the analyses.

(Owsley and Myers-Scotton, 1984; Myers-Scotton, 1985), and have also suggested that sophisticated uses of positive-politeness features (e.g., humor) can be good indicators of the person's qualifications to be an able leader who can "'do power' less explicitly" (Holmes, 2000: 176; Pearson, 1988, 1989). As the second thrust of the present study, I will argue that the scope of prior research on the solutions to the sociolinguistic dilemmas, being heavily influenced by the prescribed view of "polite" Japanese women (cf., Wierzbicka, 1985), has been excessively restricted to their uses of formal, mitigated language for negative politeness (Hori et al., 1999). In fact, Abe's (1993) complex results of context-bound formality and informality mentioned earlier seem to substantiate Irvine's (1979) proposal for heterogeneous interpretations of formality (and informality), in that different parts of the linguistic system (as well as other components of a given communicative event) do not necessarily participate in contributing to formality to an equal extent or at the same time but rather are often "complementary or even antithetical, rather than additive" (p. 786) (also see Niyekawa, 1984). Taking a similar stance, I will focus on the effectiveness of positive-polite interactional norms as a crucial component of sociolinguistic strategies that PWC use to resolve their communicative dilemmas (cf., Troemel-Ploetz, 1992, 1994). Both negative-polite and positive-polite norms are found to be interwoven and to collaborate in quite complex ways, assisting the speakers in successful delivery of their illocutionary intent.

The final thrust of the present study is concerned with the methodological application of both qualitative and quantitative sociolinguistics approaches to a large body of naturally occurring interactional data, which has not been achieved in prior studies. It is evident from the review of literature that the researcher's direct observation of interactions should be an essential component of analysis for accounting for strategic aspects of language use in interplay with its immediate context. I conducted large-scale on-site observations of authentic workplace interactions, which have allowed me to interpret the "situated meanings" of communicative acts with the aid of a variety of contextual factors involved in the immediate context of use (Schiffrin, 1994: 109–127).

The quantitative sociolinguistics literature, on the other hand, also points out that natural speech data are inevitably skewed in terms of the distribution of contextual factors in question, and it argues for rigorous use of statistical measurement for reaching legitimate interpretations of the results (Sankoff, 1985). Furthermore, given variable uses of a particular linguistic feature under investigation (i.e., use of directives in this study), it has very often been the case that potentially simultaneous effects of a variety of contextual factors on that observed variation have been critically neglected in a great majority of prior sociolinguistics studies dealing with language use (Sankoff, 1986; Guy, 1987). The present study will accommodate these methodological assets in its research design, conducting statistical tests and multivariate analyses when appropriate.

2. The study

2.1. Directives as a variable

A number of studies have demonstrated that some invariant rules systematically govern variable realizations of surface forms of directives in accordance with a variety of social

and contextual conditioning factors (Labov, 1970; Ervin-Tripp, 1976, 1981; Labov and Fanshel, 1977).[5] One fundamental driving force of such decision rules is linked closely to the notion of "face wants," which consist of both negative aspects and positive aspects of interpersonal communication (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61–64). A directive speech act is considered to be a highly "face-threatening act" that entails great potential for damaging the addressee's basic face wants. Successful achievement of the act requires sophisticated communicative competence that enables speakers to exploit appropriate "redressive actions" in order to mitigate the potential face damage, while still accomplishing their directive intent successfully (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69). Workplace directives have been chosen as the variable of the present investigation under the assumption that communicative dilemmas in such highly face-threatening situations would confront PWC so momentously that their strategic manipulations of language would most likely to rise to the surface.

In order to attain a higher degree of generalizability, I analyzed a much larger corpus of directives than prior studies that drew samples from naturally occurring interactions at various types of workplaces. While a predominant majority of past studies have been concerned exclusively with the sentence-level analysis of directives (i.e., characteristics of surface morphosyntactic structures), I will present the "supra-sentential" accounts of directive usage, focusing on its "co-occurrence rules" with other pragmatic devices, as well as with contextual factors (Ervin-Tripp, 1976: 32)—i.e., how a speaker elaborates a single directive act by exploiting a variety of other linguistic means that can co-occur, and the strategic roles these linguistic means play in the immediate context of use. The researcher's direct observations of workplace interactions also helped to account for the interactive processes, in which communicative power is dynamically negotiated and activated from moment to moment in an exchange.

2.2. Field methods and data

Fieldwork for this study was conducted at nine workplaces in three cities in Japan for three months during the summer of 1994. I specifically aimed to obtain a fairly large sample of directives from many different female professionals in order to achieve a high degree of generalizability. In many of the workplaces, in addition to conducting direct observations of interactions, I also tape-recorded as much as I was allowed in order to note a variety of contextual/extra-linguistic factors. When direct observations were not permitted, I asked the subjects to self-record their everyday interactions. After the recordings, I was able to obtain detailed information on the demographic characteristics of the subordinates (or other participants) and their occupational status and formal relationships with the subjects because all of the workplaces were relatively small and thus had a limited number of subordinates involved.

I also obtained some speech samples from professional Japanese men in similar occupational statuses as a control group. I extracted naturalistic workplace directives from some footage of three 2-hour-long television programs broadcast in Japan. Two of the

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[5] Directives are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something (Searle, 1976) or to refrain from actions (Jones, 1992).

programs portrayed success stories of male presidents of prosperous corporations, and the third report concerned recent keen competition in the restaurant business in Japan. The programs included a number of scenes of actual everyday interactions between the male executives and their subordinates in the workplace. It should be noted that the male executives on the TV programs may have been more inclined to issue relatively fewer and more mitigated directives than in ordinary workplace interactions because of the potential effects of having a TV audience (i.e., they may have wanted to present a positive image).

The group of female subjects consisted of nine PWC: a division chief at a publishing company (F1), a division chief at a research institute (F2), an ophthalmologist (F3), a clothing store owner (F4), a foundation official (F5), an executive at a printing company (F6), a head nurse at a general hospital (F7), a supervisor/section chief at a language school (F8), and a director at a pubic assembly hall (F9). A total of 630 directives were elicited from the recordings of the female subjects. The group of male subjects consisted of four male executives: two company presidents (M1, M3), a regional manager at a fast food restaurant (M2), and a section chief at a food company (M4). A total of 122 directives were elicited from this group. A grand total of 752 directive speech acts and exchanges both preceding and following the directives were transcribed, along with detailed contextual information taken from my observations.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Characteristics of morphosyntactic structures

I first conducted an analysis of surface morphosyntactic structures of the directives using Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989b: 18) classification system of nine directive types, with some minor revisions.[6] Based on the revised system, actual directive tokens were classified in terms of the degree of forcefulness/directness (and the degree of inference required for the recipient to understand the speech act), and this distribution of the forms is expressed in descending order of forcefulness/directness in Tables A.1 through A.4 in Appendix.[7]

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[6] In descending order of forcefulness/directness, the revised system consists of: <u>Direct Act I (DAi) Category</u>— (1) mood derivable ("Do X."); (2) performatives ("I am asking you to do X."); (3) hedged performatives ("I would like to ask you to do X."); (4) want statements ("I want you to do X."); <u>Direct Act II (DAii) Category</u>—(5) locution derivable ("You'll have to do X."); <u>Conventionally Indirect Act (CIA) Category</u>—(6) suggestory formulae ("How about doing X?"); (7) query preparatory ("Could you do X?"); and <u>Non-conventionally Indirect Act (NCIA) Category</u>—(8) hints.

[7] Smith's (1992: 64–68) analytical framework, the most elaborated system of classification of Japanese directives available so far, turned out to accommodate only 44% of the directive tokens I collected (333/752 forms; 44% [278/630] for female data; 45% [55/122] for male data). While Smith's system is based on dictionary definitions and is focused primarily on canonical types of directives with transparent structures of directive morphology, I faced a much wider variety of non-canonical forms that seemed to achieve the speaker's illocutionary intent in more implicit and context-bound ways (see similar observations in Sunaoshi [1995]). I speculate that this gap may be due to the fact that the majority of Smith's data were derived from scripted television shows, in which a series of commands must be framed clearly for the audience to understand.

The last category, NCIA (hints), consists of the utterances that can be interpreted only by the aid of contextual information rather than by specific linguistic cues (e.g., directive morphology, performative verbs, expressions of the speaker's desire, formulaic expressions, etc.). This category embraced a relatively large portion of the database, which prior approaches to surface morphosyntactic characteristics alone would not have been able to capture. No quantitative differentiation between the gender groups was found in the use of hint strategies (27.8% [175/630] of PWC's directives and 30.3% [37/122] of men's directives) (Yaeger-Dror and Sister, 1987; Jones, 1992). It has turned out, however, that PWC's uses of hints differ qualitatively from men's uses. This issue will be explored further in later sections.

In the present corpus, PWC's canonical directives involve almost no use of overt feminine morphology and none of masculine "power" variants.[8] PWC's non-use of feminine speech also holds true in the use of gender-associated final particles (in conjunction with directive tokens)—while men tend to use masculine particles extensively (40% of the time [8 *na*, 8 *zo* out of 40 tokens]), PWC mostly use gender-neutral variants (95% of the time [125 out of 131 tokens]).[9]

Table 1 ranks 10 commonly occurring forms of directives in the order of frequency for each gender group (see the percentages in parenthesis).

3.1.1. Commonly occurring directive forms

The most general observation made from the distribution of those canonical forms is that PWC speak more "politely" and "indirectly" than men in issuing directives (see the rank numbers underlined). As for the three most frequent forms, men use the most forceful form (DAi: Verb root + *ro*, 'Do X.') most often (15.6%), whereas PWC use Verb root + *te kudasai* (DAi: 'please do X.'), a more polite morphosyntactic variant of Verb root + *te*, most widely (23%). This particular form is predominant in the PWC data, being used at a rate more than twice as high as in the men's data (10.7%). While both gender groups share Verb root + *te* to an equal extent (women: 8.3%; men: 7.4%), PWC's third common type of directives is the form with a performative verb, *onegai* ('favor') (DAi: 5.2%). This particular formation of directives sounds humbly polite, placing the speaker in a lower status, with an implication that he or she will be obliged to the addressee if the illocutionary intent is met.

In addition, PWC's repertoire of directives is also characterized by their frequent uses of "conventionally indirect acts" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a: 278–281). These forms are considered to be more indirect and less forceful than the forms mentioned above, in that the speaker inquires of the recipient about his or her intent to comply or even overtly asks a favor of the recipient. The forms such as Verb root + *moraeru?* (and its variants) (CIA: 'Could I have you do X?') (Rank 5 vs. Rank 8 in men) and Verb root + *kureru?* (and its variants) (CIA: Will you do me the favor of doing X?) (Rank 7 vs. Rank 8 in men) are consistently ranked higher in PWC's usage, whereas men tend to use more direct and

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[8] Only three tokens (0.5%) in the formation of Verb root + *te kureru* sounded strongly feminine: *Chotto matte kudasaru?* (Would you wait a second?); *Mata oshiete kudasaru?* (Would you remind me of that again?); *Moratte kudasaimasu?* (Would you receive that for me?).

[9] The remaining six tokens included one masculine *na*, four feminine *none/noyone*, and one feminine *kashira*.

Table 1

Rank	Women		Rank	Men	
1	(7) Verb root + te kudasai 'Please do X.' DAi	145 (23.0)	**1**	(1) Verb root + ro 'Do X.' DAi	19 (15.6)
2	(4) Verb root + te (ne/yo) 'Do X.' DAi	52 (8.3)	**2**	(7) Verb root + te kudasai 'Please do X.' DAi	13 (10.7)
3	(11) onegai shimasu/ itashimasu 'I ask you a favor.' DAi	33 (5.2)	3	(4) Verb root + te (ne/yo) 'Do X.' DAi	9 (7.4)
4	(20) N wa/Verb root -te ii/yoroshii/ kamawanai/kekkoo desu 'N/doing N is alright.' DAii	31 (4.9)	**4**	(18) Verb stem + nai to dame/ikan 'It wouldn't work well unless you do X.' DAii	8 (6.6)
5	(29) Verb root + te moraeru?/moraemasu?/ moraemasen?/ itadakemasu ka? 'Could I have you do X?' CIA	28 (4.4)		(20) N wa/Verb root -te ii/yoroshii/ kamawanai/kekkoo desu 'N/doing N is alright.' DAii	8 (6.6)
6	(24) Verb stem + (y)oo (yo)/mashoo (ka) 'Let's/Shall we do X.' CIA	27 (4.3)	6	(24) Verb stem + (y)oo (yo)/mashoo (ka) 'Let's/Shall we do X.' CIA	7 (5.7)
7	(28) Verb root + te kureru?/kureru kana? kuremasu ka? kudasaru?/ kudasaimasu ka? 'Will you do me the favor of doing X?' CIA	15(2.4)	7	(6) Verb root + te kure [the gerund + the imperative form of a giving verb 'kureru'] 'Do X for me.' DAi	4(3.3)
8	(21) N no/Verb plain + hoo ga ii (kamoshirenai/ to omou) '(I think) N would (might) be better.' DAii	12 (1.9)	**8**	(5) Verb root + te goran 'Try doing X (and see).' DAi	3(2.5)
9	(22) Verb stem + ba ii/kekkoo da 'It would be good if you do X.' DAii	9(1.4)		(29) Verb root + te moraeru?/moraemasu?/ moraemasen?/ itadakemasu ka? 'Could I have you do X?' CIA	3(2.5)
	(2) Verb plain + koto/yoo ni 'Do X.' DAi	9(1.4)		(28) Verb root + te kureru?/kureru kana? kuremasu ka? kudasaru?/ kudasaimasu ka? 'Will you do me the favor of doing X?' CIA	3(2.5)

forceful forms such as Verb-stem + *nai to dame* (DAii: It wouldn't work well unless you do X.) or Verb root + *te kure* (DAi: Do X for me.) in similar ranks.

Further evidence for PWC's inclination toward indirect framing of directives comes from an analysis of the speaker's choice of "request perspective" (Blum-Kulka, 1989). How the speaker linguistically encodes the recipient (i.e., the one who performs the requested act) and the agent (i.e., the one who issues directives) of directive speech acts in forming directives is closely linked to his or her manipulations of various face-saving strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 190–206). There are four universalistic choices of perspectives in directive speech acts, which exhibit varying degrees of coerciveness (Blum-Kulka, 1989):

(a)   Hearer/recipient-oriented
        e.g., *Chotto matte.* (Wait a second.)
(b)   Speaker/agent-oriented
        e.g., *Ja mata juuni-gatsu ni onegai shimasu.*
              (Then, [I] ask [you to come and see me] again in December.)
(c)   Inclusive ("we" directives)
        e.g., *Kore sotchi okoo ne.* (Let's put these over there, shall we?)
(d)   Impersonal
        e.g., *Renshuu o takusan suru koto ga hitsuyoo da to omoimasu ne.*
              (I think it is necessary to [have students] practice a lot.)

In perspective (a), the emphasis is on the addressee as the person who is to perform the desired action. The overt or covert encoding of the recipient of the directive speech act makes this strategy coercive (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In perspective (b), the emphasis is on the speaker's asking for accomplishment of the requested act, which implies that the addressee has some control over the speaker in the form of freedom of non-compliance. Thus, this perspective is more face-saving and deferential than perspective (a) (negative politeness). Perspective (c) is a typical "point-of-view operation" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 118). The "inclusive" morphology mitigates the inherent coerciveness of the act by framing the directive as collaborative work and asserting common ground (positive politeness). Finally, in perspective (d) an "impersonal verb" (e.g., it is necessary that…) (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 191) masks both the inherent issuer and recipient of the act and disguises the driving force of the illocutionary intent as something extrinsic from the speaker's own will (negative politeness).

Table 2 presents the results of a quantitative analysis of gender-linked differentiation in request perspectives of the canonical forms of directives in the data.[10]

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[10] There are two types of verbs that perform deictic functions in Japanese (Tsujimura, 1996: 334–344). The first type is the so-called "giving" verbs (e.g., *kureru, kudasaru, yaru, ageru, sashiageru*), which indicate that the speaker has chosen to focus on the giver's side in a giving/receiving event. This makes the directive act sound more forceful and direct. The other type is called "receiving" verbs (e.g., *morau, itadaku*), which indicate that the speaker has chosen to stand on the receiver's (the speaker's) side. The act of receiving is more focused, and thus the act sounds more indirect and mitigated. The four perspectives become immediately problematic when we deal with the complexities of the relative stance of the agent and the recipient in the uses of giving and receiving verbs in Japanese. Consequently, the directives that involve either of these types of verbs have been excluded from the quantitative analysis.

3.1.2. Request perspectives by gender

PWC's preference for indirectness in issuing directives is evident from the high frequencies of the speaker-oriented perspective (30.9%) and the impersonal perspectives (10.7%) as compared with men (3.3%, 1.7%, respectively). Men's preference for direct strategies, on the other hand, is indicated by their frequent use of hearer-oriented strategies (M: 83.3% vs. F: 45.9%). These differences between the gender groups are found to be statistically significant ($p < .001$).[11]

The last finding worth mentioning with respect to the surface morphosyntactic characteristics of directives is concerned with two specific strategies that have been proposed as possible solutions to the dilemma by PWC (Smith, 1992; Sunaoshi, 1995)— the motherese strategy (MS hereinafter) and the passive power strategy (PPS hereinafter). In fact, the present large-scale study of naturally occurring interactions at a wider variety of workplaces found it difficult to substantiate their claims, in that the overall frequencies of the forms were too low and no salient gender-linked differentiation was observed with either strategy (PWC's MS: 8.7% [55/630] vs. Men's MS: 9.8% [12/122]; PWC's PPS: 3.3% [21/630] vs. Men's PPS: 3.3% [4/122]).[12] Instead, a great deal of individual variation was found in the use of these forms, which has led me to explore some possible systematic correlation with social/contextual factors other than the speaker's gender.

Multivariate analyses I conducted elsewhere (Takano, 1997: 291–302) found that variable MS usages are correlated with two particular social/contextual factors outranking the speaker's gender to a statistically significant extent: (1) Japanese *uchi/soto* dimensions of interpersonal relationships (Wetzel, 1994) and (2) the relative age of the interactants.[13] The MS was found more likely to be used by both gender groups when interacting with *uchi* addressees ($p < .05$)[14] and addressees the same age as or younger than the speaker ($p < .05$). Furthermore, as far as the *uchi/soto* dimension is concerned, a statistically significant

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[11] Note that as far as surface morphosyntactic characteristics are concerned, the uses of inclusive "we/let's" strategies do not involve distinct gender-linked differences, which is at odds with the common finding on English-speaking female executives (e.g., Troemel-Ploetz's, 1994). Appeals to common ground and solidarity, however, will be found to be significant in PWC's usage of directives as well once data are applied to a more extensive analytical framework in later sections of this paper.

[12] In the present corpus, I counted as the MS strategy such forms as DAi(3) "Verb stem + *na(sai)/tyaina(sai)*," DAi(4) "Verb root + *te*," and DAi(5) "Verb root + *te goran*," and as the PPS such forms as DAi(2) "Verb plain + *koto/yooni*," DAi(10) "Verb root + *te morau/itadaku*," and DAi(14) "Verb root + *te moraitai/itadakitai*."

[13] Goldvarb version 2, the Macintosh application of the variable rule approach, was used (Rand and Sankoff, 1990), including other social/contextual variables such as the setting (i.e., office, meeting, phone conversations), the immediacy of the action requested (i.e., now, future, and both), and gender compositions (i.e., female to female, female to male, female to both, male to male, male to female, and male to both). Though none of these variables was selected as being significant by step-wise regression analysis, there was a tendency for MS to be used in regular workplace interactions (with no differentiation between office and meeting settings) more often than in phone conversations, and when the speaker directed the addressee to initiate the action immediately. In addition, MS tended to be used more often in same-sex interactions than in cross-sex interactions, and PWC in particular seemed less likely than men to use MS in directing a mixed-sex audience.

[14] I considered subordinates under the speaker's direct control at the workplace as *uchi* (in-group) members and all others as *soto* (out-group) members, the latter being, for example, people working at different branch offices of the same organization, familiar clients with whom the speaker often did business, and, on extremely rare occasions, total strangers.

Table 2

	Hearer-oriented	Speaker-oriented	Inclusive	Impersonal
PWC	45.9% (107/233)	30.9% (72/233)	12.5% (29/233)	10.7% (25/233)
Men	83.3% (50/60)	3.3% (2/60)	11.7% (7/60)	1.7% (1/60)
	53.5% (157/293)	25.3% (74/293)	12.3% (36/293)	8.9% (26/293)

Chi-square = 46.75; $p < .001$.

difference was found between the gender groups ($p < .001$), in that men tend to use the MS with *soto* members more often (33%) than PWC (10%). This once again substantiates men's inclination to exploit relatively forceful, direct strategies in general, along with their inclination to show less sensitivity to the *uchi/soto* relationships with addressees than PWC. These results partially support Smith's (1992: 78) previous observation that the MS may be used in "informal" situations and/or in situations involving "younger" subordinates, but they are in total discord with the thesis that the MS is a solution to the dilemma unique to PWC.

A large amount of the individual variation in the use of the PPS seems to be better captured by the nature of the setting than by the speaker's gender. Though the number of tokens is too small to make a definitive claim from statistical analysis (a total of 25 tokens), we can at least hypothesize that the PPS is more likely to be a register used at professional meetings (68%; 17/25 PPS directives) than in other situations such as regular office interactions (28%; 7/25) or phone conversations (4%; 1/25). PPS, once interpreted as a female-specific strategy equivalent to men's coercive directives such as DAi-6 (*-te kure*) (Smith, 1992: 78), may be better interpreted as a directive typical of speakers in leadership roles in formal settings. Given that the explicit role relationships between the order-giver and the recipient are institutionally established in such settings, the relatively coercive tone of the expressions is tolerated (Ervin-Tripp, 1981; Rintell, 1981).

To summarize the findings discussed so far, the morphosyntactic structures of the directives are characterized as involving: (1) the predominant neutralization of gender-associating elements—both de-feminization and avoidance of masculinity, but also (2) consistent use of polite, deferential language that conforms to the socio-culturally prescribed norms and expectations for Japanese women. Unlike male counterparts who take advantage of the overt masculine power code and relatively direct, forceful forms, PWC seem to have polite, indirect framing of the act as the sole alternative. The morphosyntactic characteristics revealed thus far provide another robust confirmation of the general claim that Japanese women speak more politely and indirectly than men, and they establish the empirical fact that PWC are no exception.

Critical questions, however, remain unanswered relative to the linkage to linguistic power: How can PWC manage to exercise their authority and leadership by speaking politely and indirectly? What is the source of their power in language use? And how can

they manage to direct their subordinates efficiently without explicitly masculine power markers in their speech? Though previous studies (e.g., Reynolds, 1990; Ide and Inoue, 1992) attempted to provide rather "static" interpretations of PWC's linguistic power by deriving it from "de-feminized" code structures per se or from their newly constructed identity marked by hyper-polite language use, I would argue instead that adopting feminine or masculine, indirect or direct, morphosyntactic markers should not automatically be equated with being powerless or powerful as a speaker without taking interactional elements into account. It has been suggested that linguistic power is not an abstract, stable attribute of higher-status speakers that determines language use uniformly throughout interactions (Ng and Bradac, 1993; Fowler, 1985), but rather that it is a dynamic process that has to be constantly negotiated between the participants in its immediate context (Kramarae et al., 1984; Diamond, 1996). It is crucial that we explore the supra-sentential domains beyond the head act of individual directives in order to discover the key to answering these questions.

3.2. Supra-sentential accounts of directive strategies

While strategic aspects are the focus of investigation into PWC's directive use, the analytical framework of past work is typically concerned with the "head act" or the "request proper" (i.e., the minimal unit or the core of the request sequence) as the sole domain of analysis (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989b: 17–19). Such a restricted approach fails to capture the larger linguistic domain of the individual act in which the speaker's linguistic elaborations for successful delivery of the illocutionary intent would come to light (Pufahl Bax, 1986; Pearson, 1988). The present phase of analysis goes beyond the level of the morphosyntactic structure of the head act, and sheds extensive light on "co-occurrence rules" with other pragma-linguistic devices (Ervin-Tripp, 1976: 32). The analytical framework I employed takes advantage of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989a) system for segmentation of directives for quantitative analyses.[15]

3.2.1. Contextualization devices. Supportive moves

One of the coordinate elaborations that most strongly differentiate between the gender groups is the usage of "supportive moves" (hereinafter SMs), either before or after the head act (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a,b). PWC tend to take advantage of that elaborative device far more frequently than their male counterparts (Women: 45% [283/630]; Men: 19% [23/122]; $p < .001$). Such an extensive use of SMs by PWC may possibly be interpreted as their efforts toward mitigation, the primary motive for SMs to be exploited in face-threatening speech acts in general (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a). Qualitative analyses of the functional roles of SMs in the immediate context of use, however, have revealed that such an interpretation seems too simplistic, as shown in Table 3.[16]

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[15] By way of illustration, a directive like "John, get me a glass of water, please. I'm terribly thirsty" is divided into four segments: "get me a glass of water," the head act; "John," an alerter; "please," a downgrader; and "I'm terribly thirsty," a postposed supportive move (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a: 275–276).

[16] Supportive moves that co-occurred with hints (i.e., the non-conventional indirect act category) are excluded here. In the discourse examples below the table, SMs are underlined.

Table 3
Functional roles of supportive moves

	PWC	Men
Positive-polite SMs		
Grounders	117/455 (26%)	13/85 (15%)
Preparators	15/455 (3%)	1/85 (1%)
	132/455 (29%)	14/85 (16%)
Negative-polite SMs		
Imposition minimizers	37/455 (8%)	2/85 (2%)
Apologetics	12/455 (3%)	1/85 (1%)
	49/455 (11%)	3/85 (3%)
[Combination of the above]	12/455 (2%)	0/85 (0%)
	193/455 (42%)	17/85 (20%)

Grounder (mainly, reasons for the directive): *kore watashi mo jishin nai kara ne* (Because I am not sure either about [which one we decided on last time]), *yoku mite* (look at it carefully). Preparator (mainly, asking about the feasibility of the act): *Kore aru desho?* (You have more of these [clothes], don't you?). *Hojuu shite oite* (get more [from the stock]). Imposition Minimizer (reducing the imposition): *Moo akiraka ni habuku to wakatteru mono wa kekkoo nan desu ga* (It is fine to [skip] the part that we have decided to skip, but), *hitori de handan shinai de kuda sai* (please do not make a decision yourself). Apologetics (apologizing for bothering the addressee): *Warui kedo* (I'm sorry [to ask]), *denki no suitchi oshite kureru?* (can you switch the lights on?).

3.2.1.1. Functional roles of supportive moves. In Table 3, PWC's SMs are classi fied into positive- and negative-polite types, each of which plays specific functional roles. The former functional types of SMs help frame the discoursal environment in which the upcoming act is readily perceived as a directive (i.e., contextualization oriented toward positive politeness), whereas the latter is used to mitigate the degree of imposition from the head act of the directives (oriented toward negative politeness). Overall, as might be expected of directive-givers with higher occupational status, positive-polite functions of SMs as the contextualizer (PWC: 29%; Men: 16%) are exploited much more extensively than negative-polite functions (PWC: 11%; Men: 3%) in both gender groups ($p < .001$). Of
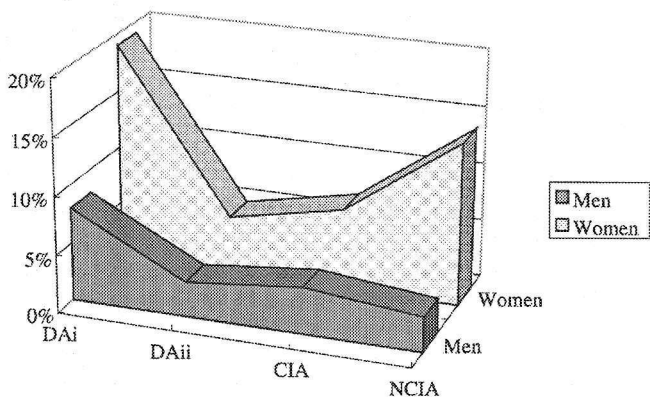

Fig. 1.

further significance is that PWC's usages of SMs are more heavily colored by the former functional role rather than the latter (29% vs. men: 16%; $.10 > p > .05$), despite the normative expectation for Japanese women to be congenial to negative-polite linguistic behaviors.

Further empirical evidence that substantiates PWC's advanced uses of SMs as contextualization over mitigation comes from the salient gender-linked differentiation in their uses of SMs co-occurring with hints—the most indirect act category (NCIA) (PWC: 14%; Men: 3%; $p < .01$) (Fig. 1).

As excerpts (1) and (2) show, PWC actively manipulate SMs as contextualization strategies that can empower their gender-preferred, indirect formulation of directives:

(1) F9, Director at a public assembly hall for women, to a male, *uchi*(in-group) subordinate in his 60s (M1):[17]

--->	F9:	*kankisen o ne|/*
		"You know, the ventilation fan?"
		nitchuu wa kakete okitai to omou n desu.
		"I'm thinking that (we) should leave it on during the daytime."
	M1:	*xxx[xx]*
--->	F9:	*[naka ni aru] n desu.*
		"(The switch) is inside (the building)."
		De kaeru toki ni suimasen ga,
		"Then, sorry to bother, but, when you leave,"
	M1:	*Hai wakari [mashita.]*
		"Yes, I got it."
	F9:	*[ano suitchi o.]*
		"um, {turn off} the switch."

(2) F9, wanting to make sure that the switch will be turned off, addresses her subordinates present at the moment.

--->	F9:	*Moo suitchi irete okimashita node,*
		"I've already turned it on, so"
--->		*on ni shite okimashita node,*
		"I've left it ON, so"
		kyoo kaeru no kara.
		"(Starting) today. In the order that people leave."

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[17] The aspect of discourse at issue is indicated by the arrow. { } indicates the illocutionary intention that the speaker is hinting at. Japanese transcriptions in the present paper adapt Du Bois et al.'s (1993) system. Each line represents a single intonation unit (Chafe, 1993). Major symbols include: [ ] (speech overlap); . (transitional continuity [in terms of intonational contours] is final); , (transitional continuity is continuing); /(rising terminal pitch); _ (leveling terminal pitch); ^ (emphatic accent); = (lengthening); ... (N) (long pause with seconds N); ... (medium pause); .. (short pause); @ (laughter); <@ @> (laugh quality); x (indecipherable syllable); & (intonation unit continued); (( )) (researcher's comment). " " contains equivalent Japanese translations.

X san kara,
"Ms. X (F1, a female subordinate) is the first {to do it}."
Ii desu ka/Y.
"All right, Y (M1) ((called by his title))? {Don't forget.}"

In the excerpts, it seems that the primary function of SMs co-occurring with such highly opaque head acts is to help contextualize the upcoming utterances as directives through appealing to positive-polite elements such as common needs and knowledge or in-groupness between the directive-giver and the recipient. The SMs in (1) raise the topic in question (i.e., a ventilation fan) to M1's awareness and succeed in setting up a factual environment and signaling to him that the upcoming sequence is a directive. F9's opaque illocutionary intent is construed successfully by M1 to the extent that he immediately responds to it positively and ends up overlapping with F9. This is a typical example of success in strategic manipulation of indirectness, in that the speaker is offered an understanding of the desired action or willingness to comply (*Hai wakarimashita*, "Yes, I got it") by the addressee even before she or he imposes on the addressee by explicitly stating the head act (Labov and Fanshel, 1977). In (2), the same speaker, F9, who wants to make sure that the illocutionary force will not fail to be exercised, reinforces her illocutionary intent not by exploiting a straightforward directive but by still resorting to reflexivity and cooperation. The repetitive use of grounders further emphasizes the factuality of the environment in which the speaker's illocutionary intention must not be neglected for any reason.

The virtue of requestive hints is that a requested act is carried out as a result of the hearer's recognition of the speaker's illocutionary intention while at the same time the participants are pretending that no such intention exists (Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Levinson, 1983: 38–40). While this deliberate opacity of the act certainly suits PWC who have strong preference for indirectness, a speaker who is heavily dependent upon the hearer's will runs the risk of the hearer not complying. This risk, however, is skillfully compensated for by situational appropriateness (Weizman, 1989). The present analysis shows that PWC strategically avoid the risk, using supportive moves. What is common to all these cases of contextualization is the speakers' efforts to establish event trajectories (i.e., the predictable order of events) in the addressee's awareness, which can make the upcoming sequence of events transparent and thus reduce the illocutionary burden of the control moves (Ervin-Tripp, 1981; Levinson, 1983: 356ff). Without such situational aid, hint strategies are often considered to be impolite as well as ineffective (Blum-Kulka, 1987).

3.2.2. Attention-getters[18]

Uses of attention-getters are also found to contribute to the formation of natural event trajectories for successful delivery of the illocutionary intent. Table 4 describes the distribution of attention-getters across the gender groups based on their functional types ($p < .05$).

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[18] Attention-getters are one of the two types of alerters discussed in detail in the present study. The other type of alerters is terms of address, which will be discussed in the next section.

Table 4
Types of attention-getters by gender

	Contextualizers	Downgraders	Intensifiers
PWC	60/630 (10%)	46/630 (7%)	10/630 (2%)
Men	1/122 (1%)	2/122 (2%)	10/122 (8%)

Chi-square = 6.34; *p* < .05. Contextualizers: *dewa, jaa, sorede, dakara*, etc. (then/and/so). Downgraders: *anoo, eeto, chotto, suimasen*, etc. (well/um/see/excuse me). Intensifiers: *hai* (now), *yoshi* (OK/alll right), *ne* or ne/ (rapport-marking final particles), etc.

3.2.2.1. Types of attention-getters by gender. Two principal types used extensively by PWC are co-constitutive of both positive-polite and negative-polite elements: contextualizers (10%) and downgraders (7%). As shown in excerpts (3) and (4), I interpret the former type as the speaker's strategic elaboration to contextualize the upcoming act as a transparent directive and the latter as the speaker's attempt to mitigate imposition.

(3) Attention-getter as the contextualizer
e.g., *Jaa kochira no hoo ni doozo*=. "Then, will you come over here, plea=se."
(4) Attention-getter as the downgrader
e.g., *Eeto* = *kayoobi koreru/* "U=m, can you come on Tuesday?"

Parallel to PWC's usage of the supportive moves discussed so far, a quantitative analysis also indicates that the former, positive-polite contextualizers, are found to be used more frequently (10%) than the latter (negative-polite downgraders) (7%) and co-occur extensively with hints, the most indirect type (NCIA) (35%; 21/60 contextualizer).[19]

A predominant majority of men's attention-getters, on the other hand, are characterized as "intensifiers" (e.g., *hai* "now," *yoshi* "OK/all right") to reinforce the illocutionary force of the upcoming directives (8%).[20] In contrast, PWC's intensifiers mainly consist of utterance-initial uses of rapport-marking final particles such as *ne* or *ne*/ (McGloin, 1990, 1993) as well as just a few tokens of the emphatic types (e.g., *hai* "Now"). Overall, there is no noteworthy correlation between the distributional patterns of attention-getters and social/contextual factors.[21]

In summary, tactful contextualization through the use of SMs and attention-getters can be a good strategic choice for PWC, who are inclined (or obliged) to frame the head act at the relatively indirect, mitigated end of the continuum. Their encoding of the illocutionary intention is focused more on discourse environments in which opaque directive acts become contextually transparent and least face-threatening due to the natural trajectories of events. In this way, their control moves are empowered.

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[19] As expected, attention-getters as negative-polite "downgraders" are exploited for mitigation, mainly with relatively coercive types of directives (DA[i]: 38%; DA[ii]: 28%; CIA: 26%; NCIA: 8%).

[20] The distribution of the types issued by the male control group should be taken with reservation due to the small number of tokens.

[21] A few occurrences of apologetic downgraders (*sumimasen* "excuse me") are somewhat gender-differentiated: male executives used it twice, only to out-group members (total strangers), whereas PWC tend to do less of such differentiation, in that four of nine tokens produced were issued to their *uchi* subordinates under their direct control and the remaining five to out-group members.

Table 5
Types of terms of address by gender

	Last name with -*san*	First name with *chan/-san*	Title	2nd person pronouns *omae/anta*	Combination
PWC	31/630 (5%)	6/630 (1%)	5/630 (1%)	1/630 (0.2%)	2/630 (0.3%)
Men	1/122 (1%)	0 (0%)	2/122 (2%)	15/122 (12%)	1/122 (1%)

Note. -*san* is an honorific suffix. -*chan* is a casual/intimate variant of –*san*.

3.2.3. Rapport builders

The focus of the present analysis will now shift to the "relational components" of co-occurrence phenomena in directive speech acts (Linde, 1988: 396)—the expression of the relation among the interlocutors, their group membership and identity, and the interlocutors' feelings about the speech situation. The results indicate that while PWC have been found to highly esteem negative-polite, indirect framing of the directive proper, "positive-polite" interpersonal elements that co-occur also seem to be an integral part of their strategies for exercising authoritative power.

3.2.3.1. Terms of address. Alerters are used not only to obtain the hearer's attention to what will follow but also to convey certain "social" information about the participants (Ervin-Tripp, 1981; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989b). As past sociolinguistic work has shown, the uses of alerters in directive speech acts are governed by systematic rules of co-occurrence in accordance with a variety of social/contextual factors (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977). The present analysis finds that the use of terms of address, which are oriented predominantly toward the *uchi* (in-group) context, is clearly differentiated between the gender groups. Table 5 describes the gender-linked distribution of different types of address terms as the alerter.

3.2.3.2. Types of terms of address by gender. Though this is far from a definitive claim due to the small size of the sample, male executives' terms of address seem to be relatively monotonous. They mostly used *omae* (you), a very masculine downward second-person pronoun, and typically to peers and someone of lower rank (12%). Furthermore, men's uses of *omae* do not appear to be subject to varying degrees of social distance and rapport with addressees: 80% [12/15] of *omae* was used with in-group subordinates and 20% [3/15] with out-group members, regardless of the age and sex of the addressee.

In contrast, PWC appear to possess a rich repertoire of terms of address and make socially appropriate differentiation in the choice of first-names, last-names, and titles, depending upon the age and sex of the addressee.[22] In spite of their higher rank and authority, PWC seem to measure social distance and rapport between the interactants as if the very context of talk were symmetrical. First names with *san/chan*, a relatively casual/intimate variant, were used exclusively with younger, female subordinates (6/6 tokens of first names). PWC addressed most male subordinates, on the other hand, in a more formal, distancing manner, either by their last name with the honorific -*san* (19/25 tokens to male

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[22] In the Japanese system of address terms, addressing someone by his or her title is most polite and formal, by his or her first name most casual and intimate, and by his or her last name in-between.

subordinates) or by their title (5/25). An informal second-person pronoun, *anta*, was used only once to a younger male subordinate by F6 (printing company executive) (1/25). Regardless of their gender, older subordinates were also called either by their last name with the honorific *-san* (14/19 tokens to older subordinates) or by their title (5/19).

While male executives empower their directives in ways to reconfirm their dominant rank in hierarchical relationships with subordinates, PWC seem to seek authoritative power of a different sort. Through the use of terms of address sensitive to the recipient's identities, PWC create fictional egalitarian relationships with subordinates, in which status discrepancies are not on the surface and the status of subordinates is raised to that of the collaborator to achieve good rapport and effective cooperation.

3.2.3.3. Monologic-style hints. Among various types of hint directives classified elsewhere (Takano, 1997: 327), I have found that what I call "monologic-style" directives are an innovation unique to PWC (PWC: 22% [38/175 hints]; Men: 2.7% [1/37 hints]; $p < .001$). This phenomenon results from a transformation of a relatively coercive directive that has the common directive morphology—verb root $+ - te$ (Form 4 in Direct Acts Category [i], Table A.1 in Appendix)—into the gerund ($-te$ form) with comma intonation. The gerund with slightly slowed, low pitch articulation creates an impression that the speaker is talking to herself or himself. The act appears to lose its target audience, being left in the air for everyone at the site to pick up and accomplish. The fact is masked that a directive is being issued, as shown below.

(5)   At an organizer meeting for an upcoming conference, F5 (foundation official) wants her subordinates to request their direct superior (section chief) to attend the conference and watch its smooth proceedings.

> *Dekiru dake naka ni haitte,*
> "{Let us/We'll} ask (the Section Chief) to stay inside as long as possible,"
> *chokusetsu ni yatte iku yoo ni,*
>
> --->   *ano= onegai shite,*
> "and to keep a direct eye (on the steady progress of the conference),"

This apparently quite ambiguous framing of the act exerts dual functions in communicating both negative and positive politeness simultaneously. With the help of this linguistic device, the speaker masks the identities of both the agent and the recipient, making the borderline between the ranks ambiguous. At the same time, the device can also function to re-frame the issuer of the directives as just another co-member of the group rather than as the leader. The strategy frames the addressees as the speaker's collaborators and creates an atmosphere in which the desired action needs the voluntary cooperation of the group members to be accomplished, which promotes in-group rapport and solidarity.

Some researchers have suggested that hints in interpersonal communication are not only motivated by negative politeness but that they can also be a sign of high solidarity in closed networks of communication in which the participants, who know and can foresee each other's needs well, are unlikely to misconstrue the meanings of implicit messages (Kirsh, 1983; Ervin-Tripp, 1976, 1977). This hint strategy only holds on the basis of the superior's

bona fide authority derived from rapport and mutual respect shared with her subordinates. In contrast to professional men in charge who take advantage of the existing asymmetries in status and power, PWC seems to emphasize egalitarian, collaborative relationships in which their authoritative power is "intrinsically" promoted by collaborative rapport and willing cooperation among subordinates.

3.2.4. Polite language as a linguistic weapon

Classic sociolinguistic work on gender and language postulated that women's language is "powerless" due to the relative lack of particular linguistic elements that are generally regarded as being part of the masculine power code (Lakoff, 1975; Fishman, 1983; West and Zimmerman, 1983). This stance has long been dominant in past work on Japanese women's language as well, which has been concerned primarily with overt linguistic features—predominantly, negative politeness features such as hedged, polite variants at the individual sentence level. This rather static, unidimensional approach to linguistic power, however, has great potential to mislead us with regard to the stereotypes of Japanese women as being categorically powerless in interpersonal communication.

Power in language use should be understood as an aggregate of various linguistic features (including both negative and positive politeness features, for example) being exploited dynamically rather than as a static recognition of the presence or absence of particular linguistic features (Owsley and Myers-Scotton, 1984; Irvine, 1979). The speaker's variable choices of linguistic features represent his or her dynamic processes of negotiation for power that require moment-to-moment interpretations within a verbal exchange. Because the speaker's power is not a stable entity that varies depending upon the immediate context, it should be expected that the speaker has to constantly negotiate powerfulness by implementing variable combinations of linguistic resources (Fowler, 1985; Ng and Bradac, 1993).

In this section, we will identify the processes of acquisition of power in directive use in real-time interactions between Japanese PWC and their subordinates. As the locus of analysis, I have focused particularly on interactions in which PWC and their subordinates' intentions are in obvious conflict, which means that directive speech acts are likely to involve high degrees of face-threats. In such situations, PWC's negotiations for linguistic power would be indispensable, and the processes of accomplishing the negotiation would become most evident.

It is particularly interesting that while direct style was consistent and stylistic variations seemed to remain stable in men's data, style shifts were observed very frequently in PWC's directive speech acts, which also accords with Abe's (1993) afore-mentioned observations.[23] The following analysis shows that polite language, a general marker of

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[23] The traditional definitions of styles of the Japanese language identify: (1) formal, polite, distal style (*desu/masu* style); and (2) casual, direct, plain style (*da/de aru* style). The former is typically associated with such social or psychological meanings as negative politeness, out-groupness, and distancing in interpersonal relationships, and the latter with positive politeness, in-groupness, rapport, and solidarity (Ikuta, 1983; Jorden and Noda, 1987; Sukle, 1994; Cook, 1999). Men's style shifts of the predicate (direct to distal) were identified only twice in supportive moves. M1 switched to distal when he shifted the target audience of his remarks from particular individuals to a whole group of subordinates. All of the speakers in positions of subordinates in the present data consistently used distal style in interacting with their superiors, and no one displayed style shifts.

powerlessness, is effectively utilized as the strategic anchor of negotiations for power in such highly confrontational types of workplace interactions. PWC's preference for the indirect, polite framing of the head act is found to carry metaphorical meanings (Gumperz, 1982) once it is subject to dynamic accounts in the immediate context of use.

Excerpt (6) comes from F8, a 45-year-old section chief/supervisor at a foreign language school. The setting is a regular faculty meeting involving 13 female and 1 male language instructor, and F8 plays the role of a moderator. Because of the formal nature of the setting, F8 conducts the meeting mostly with distal style as the unmarked style. The interaction in excerpt (6) is one of the most face-threatening phases of the entire meeting I observed, where F8 is trying to admonish the subordinates who are present to tidy up teaching materials so that everyone can take advantage of them. It seemed that she had already warned them about the same problem before:

(6) F8, Section chief/supervisor at a foreign language school, to 14 subordinates at a regular faculty meeting: [The directive head act is in boldface. Downward shift from distal-polite style to direct-casual style marked by "↓", upward shift from direct-casual style to distal-polite style by "↑".]

1	F8:	*xxx no kyoozai desu ^ga=,*	About the teaching materials at xxx (place name),
2	↓	*... mata ^mechakucha de.* ((with strong emotion))	...really messy again!
3		*... Nande anna n nacchau& no kashira tte& omou n desu kedo.*	...I wonder why they gets like that, though.
4		*...(1.5)^Ne.*	...(1.5) {Don't you think!?}
5		*...(1)Tabun warui no wa& <@ atashi ja nai ka to& omoun desu kedo.*	I wonder if <@ I may be the bad one (who leaves them like that),
6		*iku tanbi ni arashiteru& tte ki ga nakumo nai& su ga ne.@>*	and it's not that I don't feel like I'm messing them up everytime I go there. @>
7		*Toku ni ^ne=,*	Specially, you know,
8		*ano xxx no kaado& gocha gocha.*	those cards for xxx are totally mixed up.
9		*Sore kara=,*	In addition,
10		*xx mo xx mo hutahako& zutsu yooi sarete& imasu desho/*	there are two boxes for each of xx and xx prepared, aren't they?
11		*Sono ryoohoo no hako& ga mechakucha ne.*	Those boxes are both mixed up.
12		*...Ichioo iro& tsuketeru ja nai.*	...They are given different colors just in case, right?
13	↑	*Aki no bun kara wa& mata kirei ni sorou& to wa*	I do think the cards which are supposed to be used from fall will all be

		o m o i m a s u ^ga= ((slow tempo))	ready, but ((slow tempo))
14		*...shichigatsu&* *tsukau toki ni mo,*	...when you use them in July again,
15		*moo kuregure mo&* **okiotsuke kudasai.** ((creaky voice))	please be very careful to keep this in mind. ((creaky voice))
		——— exchanges omitted here ———	
16	↓	*... De ichiban&* *komatta no wa ne=,*	... And most troublesome is that the originals
17		*risuningu tasuku no ano=&* *orijinaru ga&* *nakunatchatteru.*	(of the materials) for the listening tasks are gone.
18		*Dakara ano,*	So, um,
19		*orijinaru wa,*	the originals,
20	↑	*moo nani ga ^attemo&* **modoshite kudasai ne.**	please return them no matter what happens.
21	↓	*.. orijinaru nai to hora,*	... Without the originals, look,
22		*kopii dekinai desho/*	we can't make copies, can we?
23		*Are ga nai to yappari,*	Without those,
24		*sugoku komatchau node.*	we are really in big trouble, so...

In Line 1, the section chief (F8) brings up the topic (teaching materials) in the unmarked distal style. Then, in Line 2, she abruptly switches to the marked direct style (downward shift) with an emotional tone of voice, trying to solicit the audience's empathy for the difficulties that have arisen. At this point, the speaker joins the group of subordinates as one of the peers, denying her formal stance as a supervisor/moderator. Up to Line 6, the speaker frequently uses contractions and informal lexicon,[24] which make the utterances very casual and personal, though the predicates themselves are in distal style (unmarked style at the meeting).

Along these lines, the speaker, expressing her identity as an in-group member, frames the problem as one for "us" rather than just blaming the subordinates, and she seeks the audience's agreement and support. In Line 4 particularly, an independent particle *Ne* seeks confirmation from the audience. In Lines 5 and 6, she reinforces her in-group identity, claiming that she may be the one who has caused the problem, which had probably not been the case. Saying it jokingly with laughter also lightens the seriousness of her complaint (Lines 5 through 6). Starting with an attention-getter, *sore kara=* (in addition), in Line 9, the speaker further emphasizes the messiness of specific materials in boxes. She continues this description in direct style (except for Line 10) up to Line 12.

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[24] For example: *anna ni natte shimau* ---> *anna n nacchau*(gets like that) in Line 3; *atashi*(pronoun "I") in Line 5; *iku tabi ni*---> *iku tanbi ni*(everytime I go) and *ki ga naku mo nai desu ga ne*---> *ki ga naku mo nai su ga ne*(It's not that I don't feel like...) in Line 6.

Up to this point, the speaker's appeal to the audience's empathy and emphasis on the shared nature of the problem through using direct style have made what the speaker intends for the addressees to do quite obvious. Now the speaker begins to conduct an explicit directive, switching to distal style in Line 13 (upward shift) and issuing the head act in Line 15. In Lines 13 and 15, the speaker adapts marked discoursal devices such as slow tempo with clear enunciations, attention-getter (^*ga*=), and creaky voice. This dramatization further increases elements of seriousness.

Another directive speech act and its contextualization, observed in Lines 16 through 20, parallel the preceding strategic sequences. The speaker again shifts from unmarked distal style back to direct style, adopting vernacular contractions (*nakunatte shimatte iru* ---> *nakunatchatteru*) in Lines 17 (downward shift). By also framing herself as a person in trouble, the speaker emphasizes her in-group identity (*komatta no wa ne*=, "what troubled me"). In Line 20, the head act is conducted again in distal style with an emphatic stress (^*attemo*) (upward shift). This formal stance of the speaker immediately disappears when she shifts back to direct style with a contraction (*komatte shimau* ---> *komatchau*) in the following sequence of a grounder (i.e., a reason for the act) in Line 24 (downward shift).

Myers-Scotton (1983, 1985) has claimed that given communicative competence, which enables us to judge what is marked or unmarked in all types of linguistic choices, speakers of powerful language are likely to take advantage of marked choices to reformulate the normative balance with the addressee in terms of the rights and obligations in the ongoing exchange. Especially in highly face-threatening situations involving PWCs, constant cyclic shifts back and forth between the unmarked and the marked styles became very active. PWCs resorted to such characteristic maneuvers of style shifting, which negotiated their "transitional" in-group/out-group (*uchi/soto*) memberships defined variably in the immediate context of an exchange (Sukle, 1994). Using downward shifts (from distal [unmarked] style to direct [marked] style) allows the speaker to deny her formal figure as a superior and descend to the level of the subordinates, by which her illocutionary intention is likely to obtain willing support and empathy from her peers. In using upward shifts (from direct style [unmarked] to distal style [marked]), on the other hand, the speaker deliberately detaches herself from in-group solidarity that has just been framed as "unmarked" in the preceding context, and brings her institutional role and identity back to the surface to obtain formal power. Shifting to polite style also increases the degree of formality of the whole context, thus further intensifies the seriousness of that particular act. In this way, the speaker succeeds in finishing up her address as if her directive is institutionally sanctioned, and thus non-negotiable.

These dynamic style shifts typify the powerful communicator. Powerful speakers acquire multi-faced identities by changing their speech style within a wide spectrum ranging from the most casual to the most formal (Myers-Scotton, 1985; Pearson, 1988, 1989). As shown thus far, at times a speaker has the freedom to choose to identify herself as a member of the group in order to promote cooperative rapport; at other times she may express herself as an outsider in order to more effectively exercise general control over the group. Style-shifting allows PWC to affect the power dynamics of the workplace with full control over power distributions among participants.

4. Summary and conclusion

In attempting to resolve diverse interpretations of PWC's linguistic solutions to their dilemmas, the present study has revealed that (1) PWC's directive strategies characteristically carry morphosyntactically gender-neutral, but polite and deferential, structures, in accordance with the socio-cultural norms for Japanese women's linguistic behaviors; (2) their strategies, however, involve extensive use of contextualization in unique ways to empower the gender-preferred polite, indirect framing of the directive proper; (3) rather than the hierarchical approach used by men, PWC are more likely to adopt various solidarity-focused approaches to the promotion of collaborative rapport, making power/status asymmetries with subordinates ambiguous through greater sensitivity to changes in face-threatening materials in the immediate context of interactions (Brown, 1980; Tannen, 1990); and (4) in highly face-threatening situations, polite language, an apparently powerless marker, plays a dynamic role in empowering PWC's control moves through activation and use of their multiple identities.

The present study has yielded several theoretical implications. First, our findings further substantiate the significance and productivity of taking the immediate context of language use into account because of illumination it provides on the "co-constitutive" relationship between language and context (Duranti, 1992). Language not only is defined by the context but also helps define a context in which particular aspects of speaker-addressee relationships are foregrounded, and the distributions of power and rights/obligations are strategically negotiated or controlled by the speaker. PWC's choices of particular directive strategies are context-defined, in that PWC, being subject to the socio-cultural norms of indirectness and politeness, vary their language use in ways appropriate to the face-threatening elements in the immediate context of use. At the same time, their strategic uses of directives along with the invented contextualization cues are context-defining, in that they help define a context in which it becomes natural for subordinates to comply voluntarily with requested acts. Particularly in highly confrontational phases of interactions, metaphorical style-shifts may also help define and maintain a context in which the asymmetrical statuses of the two parties are brought to the surface and maintained so that the control move can succeed. All of these findings empirically demonstrate that research employing sentence-level analyses alone is very likely to miss many of the strategic aspects of PWC's solutions to their dilemmas, which manifest themselves most saliently in the discursive processes in close linkage to the immediate context of use.

Second, the present study identifies universalistic elements of linguistic politeness in PWC's directive use—the individual's communicative competence in effectively manipulating both negative and positive politeness to achieve the communicative goal. Our findings shed light on problematic treatments of linguistic politeness in past studies on the speech of Japanese PWC (and on Japanese language use in general), in that the scope of most previous investigations has been restricted to the use of negative politeness strategies. The larger framework of analysis adopted in the present study has revealed that positive and negative politeness strategies coexist as integral parts of PWC's strategic language use and intertwine with one another even in a single act. PWC seem to know that an intentional underplaying of status and power through negative politeness strategies (as markers of

deference and respect) generally helps enhance the speaker's prestige and power (Pearson, 1988, 1989), whereas positive politeness strategies (as markers of solidarity and rapport) reduce social distance and evoke favorable, warm responses or support from the subordinates.

Finally, we have gained a better understanding of relationships between linguistic politeness and communicative power. Our findings lead us to reject a common a priori assumption that indirect, polite ways of speaking are automatically linked to the speaker's powerlessness in communication. Our process-oriented analyses of interactional data have revealed that the dynamic construction of power is constantly manipulated by the speaker, who needs to take into account moment-to-moment changes in the socio-psychological climates of interactions. Of utmost importance is the fact that polite language, a noted property of Japanese women's language, is utilized strategically for obtaining authoritative power. By indexing their formal institutional identity and negotiating the relative stance with subordinates, PWC seem to succeed in controlling the distribution of power within the dynamics of the group. Communicative power does not always have to be driven by explicit surface manifestations of the "power code" per se, but rather it can also be derived from multiple dimensions of the linguistic faculty in interplay with the immediate context of use.

Acknowledgements

Appendix A

See Tables A.1–A.4.

Table A.1
Distribution of Directives: Direct Acts Category I (DAi)

Directive hierarchy	Women (630 forms)	Individual speakers ($n = 9$)	Men (122 forms)	Individual ($n = 4$)
(1) through (16)	285/630, 45.20%		54/122, 44.30%	
(1) Verb root + ro	0		19 (15.6)	M1 = 6(14) M2 = 1(4.6) M3 = 7(30.4) M4 = 5(14.7)
(2) Verb plain + koto/yoni	9 (1.4)	F5 = 5(4.9) F6 = 1(2.4) F8 = 3(2.9)	2 (1.6)	M1 = 2(11.8)
(3) Verb stem + na(sai)/tyaina(sai)	2 (0.3)	F1 = 1(2.7) F6 = 1(2.4)	0	
(4) Verb root + te (ne/yo)	52 (8.3)	F1 = 3(8.1) F2 = 1(4.2) F4 = 8(9.3) F5 = 13(12.6) F6 = 15(36.6) F7 = 1(2.6) F8 = 4(3.9) F9 = 7(6.1)	9 (7.4)	M1 = 1(2.3) M2 = 2(9.1) M4 = 6(17.7)
(5) Verb root + te goran	1 (0.2)	F4 = 1(1.2)	3 (2.5)	M1 = 2(4.7) M4 = 1(2.9)
(6) Verb root + te kure	0		4 (3.3)	M1 = 4(9.3)
(7)[a] Verb root + te kudasai	145 (23.0)	F1 = 3(8.1) F2 = 6(25.0) F3 = 38(44.7) F4 = 27(31.4) F5 = 6(5.9) F6 = 4(9.8) F7 = 7(18.4) F8 = 32(31.4) F9 = 22(19.1)	13 (10.7)	M1 = 3(7.0) M2 = 3(13.6) M3 = 3(13.0) M4 = 4(11.8)
(8) ~o kudasai	2 (0.3)	F4 = 1(1.2) F3 = 1(1.2)	0	
(9) tanomu yo/zo	1 (0.2)	F6 = 1(2.4)	1 (0.8)	M1 = 1(2.3)
(10) Verb root + te morau/te itadaku	2 (0.3)	F7 = 1(2.6) F8 = 1(0.9	1 (0.8)	M3 = 1(4.3)
(11) Vstem + Causative Aux Vroot + te morau/te itadaku	7 (1.1)	F2 = 1(4.2) F3 = 4(4.7) F9 = 2(1.7)	0	

The numbers in parenthesis are percentages. Gloss: Form (1) through (4): 'Do X.' Form (5): 'Try doing X (and see).' Form (6): '-te kure,' is the gerund form of the main verb plus the imperative form of a verb of giving 'kureru' ('give') Form (7): 'Please do X.' Form (8): 'Please give (hand) me X. 'Form (9): 'I ask you (for X, to do X).' Form (10): 'I receive your favor of doing X.' 'Morau' is a verb of receiving, and 'itadaku' is its humble form. Form (11): 'I receive your favor of letting me do X.' Verb stem + Causative voice auxiliary root + -te itadaku (e.g. Ato de yomasete itadakimasu. 'I will receive your favor of letting me read it later').

[a] Forms (7) and (8) are roughly equal in the degree of illucutionary force.

Table A.2
Distribution of Directives: Direct Acts Category I (DAi)

Directive hierarchy	Women (630 forms)	Individual speakers (n = 9)	Men (122 forms)	Individual speakers (n = 4)
(12) onegai shimasu/itashimasu	33 (5.2)	F1 = 4(10.8) F3 = 6(7.1) F4 = 3(3.5) F5 = 1(1.0) F6 = 4(9.8) F7 = 7(18.4) F8 = 2(2.0) F9 = 6(5.2)	0	
(13) Verb root + te hoshii	9 (1.4)	F5 = 3(2.9) F8 = 6(5.9)	0	
(14) onegai shitai/ shitai n desu	4 (0.6)	F1 = 1(2.7) F3 = 3(3.5)	1 (0.8)	M3 = 1(4.4)
(15) Verb root + te moraitai/te itadakitai	10 (1.6)	F1 = 1(2.7) F2 = 1(4.2) F3 = 1(1.2) F5 = 2(2.0) F8 = 3(2.9) F9 = 2(1.7)	1 (0.8)	M4 = 1(2.9)
(16) doozo	8 (1.3)	F1 = 1(2.7) F2 = 1(4.2) F3 = 3(3.5) F4 = 2(2.3) F9 = 1(0.9)	0	

The numbers in parenthesis are percentages. Gloss: Form (12): 'I ask you a favor.' 'Itashimasu' is the humble form of 'shimasu.' Form (13): 'I want you to do X.' Form (14): 'I would like to ask you a favor.' '-tai' is a desiderative auxiliary. Form (15): Strategy 10 plus a desiderative '-tai' ('want'). 'I would like to receive your favor of doing X.' Form (16): 'Please (do X).'

Table A.3
Distribution of Directives: Direct Acts Category II (DAii)

Directive hierarchy	Women (630 forms)	Individual speakers (n = 9)	Men (122 forms)	Individual speakers (n = 4)
(17) through (23)	69/630 11.00%		17/122 13.90%	
(17) N wa ikenai	1 (0.2)	F7 = 1(2.6)	0	
(18) Verb stem + nai to dame/ikan	4 (0.6)	F5 = 1(1.0) F8 = 2(2.0) F9 = 1(0.9)	8 (6.6)	M1 = 6(14.0) M2 = 1(4.6) M3 = 1(4.3)
(19) N wa hitsuyoo da (to omou)	4 (0.6)	F5 = 3(2.9) F8 = 1(1.0)	0	
(20) N wa/Verb root -te ii/yoroshii/ kamawanai/kekkoo desu	31 (4.9)	F2 = 4(16.7) F4 = 1(1.2) F5 = 4(3.9) F7 = 7(18.4) F8 = 4(3.9) F9 = 4(3.5)	8 (6.6)	M1 = 3(7.0) M2 = 3(13.6) M4 = 2(5.9)
(21) N no/Verb plain + hoo ga ii (kamoshirenai/to omou)	12 (1.9)	F4 = 1(1.2) F5 = 9(8.8) F9 = 2(1.7)	0	
(22) Verb stem + ba ii/kekkoo da	9 (1.4)	F4 = 1(1.2) F7 = 2(5.3) F8 = 2(2.0) F9 = 4(3.5)	1 (0.8)	M2 = 1(4.6)
(23) Verb Stem + tai (to omou)	8 (1.3)	F1 = 8(21.6)	0	

The numbers in parenthesis are percentages. Gloss: Form (17): 'N is no good/not a good idea/useless.' Form (18): 'It wouldn't work well unless you do X, (so you must do it.)' Form (19): '(I think) N is necessary.' Form (20): 'N is fine.' Form (21): '(I think) N would (might) be better.' Form (22): 'You should do X.' or 'It would be good if you do X.' Form (23): '(I think) I want to do X.'

Table A.4
Distribution of Directives: Conventionally Indirect Acts Category (CIA)

Directive hierarchy	Women (630 forms)	Individual speakers ($n = 9$)	Men (122 forms)	Individual speakers ($n = 4$)
(24) through (31)	101/630, 16.00%		14/122, 11.50%	
(24) Verb stem + (y)oo (yo)/mashoo (ka)	27 (4.3)	F1 = 2(5.4) F2 = 1(4.2) F3 = 1(1.2) F4 = 5(5.8) F5 = 8(7.8) F8 = 9(8.8) F9 = 1(0.9)	7 (5.7)	M1 = 4(9.3) M2 = 1(4.6) M4 = 2(5.9)
(25) Verb stem + tara (doo?/ii n ja nai?)	8 (1.3)	F1 = 2(5.4) F4 = 1(1.2) F5 = 1(1.0) F9 = 4(3.5)	1 (0.8)	M2 = 1(4.6)
(26) Verb stem + nai (ka)?	1 (0.2)	F1 = 1(2.7)	0	
(27) Verb stem + ba ii no ni/ii n ja nai?	1 (0.2)	F9 = 1(0.9)	0	
(28) Verb root + te kureru?/kureru kana?/ kuremasu ka?/ kudasaru?/ kudasaimasu ka?	15 (2.4)	F2 = 1(4.2) F5 = 2(2.0) F6 = 4(9.8) F7 = 2(5.3) F8 = 1(1.0) F9 = 5(4.3)	3 (2.5)	M1 = 2(4.7) M4 = 1(2.9)
(29) Verb root + te moraeru?/moraemasu?/ moraemasen?/ itadakemasu ka?	28 (4.4)	F1 = 1(2.7) F2 = 1(4.2) F3 = 21(24.7) F5 = 1(1.0) F6 = 1(2.4) F9 = 3(2.6)	3 (2.5)	M1 = 3(7.0)
(30) (Verb root + te) ii desu ka?/ yoroshii desu ka?	6 (1.0)	F1 = 2(5.4) F4 = 1(1.2) F9 = 3(2.6)	0	
(31) Onegai dekimasu ka?	2 (0.3)	F1 = 1(2.7) F3 = 1(1.2)	0	

The numbers in parenthesis are percentages. Gloss: Form (24): 'Let's do X.' or 'Shall we do X?' Form (25): 'How about doing X?' Form (26): 'Won't you do X?' Form (27): 'Wouldn't it be good if you did X?' Form (28): 'Will you do me the favor of doing X?' Form (29): 'Could I have you do X?' Form (30): 'May I do X?' 'Yoroshii' is a polite form of 'ii.' Form (31): 'Could I ask you this favor?'

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