

YOU JUST DON'T UNDERSTAND

Women and Men in Conversation

II

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Edited with Notes

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Three Chapters
from
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by
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原著 *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* の基本的な視点は、女と男の会話はいわば異文化間コミュニケーションであるということにある。しかも、英語と日本語の場合のように、実際の異文化間コミュニケーションでは言語そのものが異なるので、はじめから違いを予想して接することになるが、同一言語による男女間の会話はことばの理解と基本的コミュニケーションは問題がないだけにそれぞれの「文化」の存在さえ認識できない。さらに、このような違いに基づく誤解が、異国ではなく家庭で生じるとすれば悲劇的ですからある。本書では、女と男では会話のスタイルが異なるのだというテーゼを心得ていれば、誤解や行き違いを避けることができることがさまざまな具体例を踏まえて説得的に展開されている。一般読者を対象として書かれたものであるが、その基礎となる研究は言語学、社会学、民族誌学などの知見が融合してはじめて可能になったものであり、ジェンダー研究に新しい方向性と可能性を示唆するものである。

先に編んだ『すれ違う女と男』が好評をもって迎えられたのは望外の喜びであった。前編著は原著の第1,3,7章に注を付したものであったが、本テキストでは原著の後半、第8,9,10章を採った。

著者 Deborah Tannen は現在ジョージタウン大学言語学教授である。彼女の研究は、アメリカ本国はもとより海外でも知られ、ロックフェラー財団や全米科学財団などからも支援を受けている。研究活動は学術的な研究のみならず、世界各国での講演や、「ワシントン・ポスト」紙や「ニューヨーク」誌などの新聞雑誌、また「トゥデイ・ショー」などのテレビ番組出演など、多彩である。本書はアメリカ・ヨーロッパでミリオンセラーになり、前著 *That's Not What I Meant!* と同様、読者の高い評価を得ている。

本書では2種類の注を用意した。学習者の読解の助けになると思われる語句の意味、文法、構文、パラグラフ構成に関する解説は、各ページの横につけた（以下「側注」と呼ぶ）。側注では、そのほか、固有名詞などの発音しにくい語に関しては発音記号を表示し、さらに、「……に注意」、「……は何を指しているか？」というような、学習者の注意を喚起したり、主体的に考えさせるための質問も、適宜加えた。

もう1つの注は、従来通り巻末に設け、ここでは、原注をはじめ、やや専門的な語法注記、および本書の内容に関わる専門用語の解説と背景的知識の提供を行った。ただし、本来側注に付けるべき解説を、スペースの関係でこちらにまわしたのものもあることをお断りしておきたい。

このテキストは講読のためだけでなく、英語学の演習用テキスト、ゼミの補助教材としても使用できるように、適宜専門的な参考文献も挙げておいたので、さらに深く研究を進めようとする人は、これらを参照していただきたい。

語義説明は原則的に英語で行ったが、これは学習者に英英辞典の語義説明に親しんでもらいたいのと、訳語が注に書かれているとそれを機械的に移し換える悪癖を改めてもらいたいからである。

注釈で用いた略記は以下のことを表す。

st. → something / s.o → someone / esp. → especially / usu. → usually / fml → formal / infml → informal / derog → derogatory / slg → slang / BE → British English / AE → American English

なお、側注の「→ **notes**」は「当該ページ、当該行の巻末の注参照」を表し、「→ **notes 10, 26**」は、「10 ページ 26 行の巻末の注参照」を示す。

また、主に参照した辞書は以下の通りである。

*American Heritage Dictionary*³ (1992)

Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary (1987)

Longman Active Study Dictionary (1991)

*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*² (1987)

Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture (1992)

*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*⁴ (1989)

Penguin English Student's Dictionary (1991)

Random House Webster's College Dictionary (1991)

*Webster's New World Dictionary*³ (1988)

『小学館ランダムハウス英和大辞典(第2版)』(1993)

『リーダーズ英和辞典』(1984)

『ジーニアス英和辞典(第2版)』(1994)

注釈に際しては細心の注意を払ったつもりではあるが、不備や誤解の箇所があるかもしれない。使用者各位のご教示をお願いする次第である。最後に、このテキストの企画、出版にあたってご理解をいただいた、英宝社の方々に心から御礼申し上げる。

1994 年秋

編 注 者

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ONE

Damned If You Do¹⁾

Morton, a psychologist on the staff of a private clinic, has a problem with the clinic director, Roberta. At staff meetings, Roberta generally²⁾ opens discussion of issues by asking all staff members for their opinions. She invites debate
5 about the pros and cons³⁾ of proposals, but somehow, when the meeting ends, they always end up deciding—by consensus—to do what Roberta thinks best. The women on the staff are happy with Roberta as a director. They feel she listens to their points of view, and they like the rule by
10 consensus rather than fiat⁴⁾. But Morton feels Roberta is manipulative⁵⁾. If they are going to do what she wants anyway, why does she make them waste their breath expressing opinions? He would prefer⁶⁾ she just lay down⁷⁾ the law, since she is the boss.

15 Morton's impression that Roberta does not act like a boss is the result of style differences. She is⁸⁾ acting like a boss—a woman boss. She prefers to rule by consensus, and the women on her staff like it that way. But he is frustrated by her indirectness; he thinks she should rule by fiat.

20 Style differences may also be partly responsible for⁹⁾ the

1) →notes

2) usually

3) the arguments for and against an idea, plan etc.
常に the が付くことに注意.

4) [fi:t; -æt]
<fml> an official order given by s.o in authority

5) <derog> able to cause people to behave in the way that one wants them to

6) →notes

7) 「(値段・規則などを定める)」

8) →notes

9) 「…の原因である」

1) [mátinə hóɪr
nər] → notes

2) → notes

3) 「日常的に習慣
化したことばのや
りとり」

4) それぞれ何歳を
指すか？

5) 「仲間の怒りを
買う」

6) <lodge: to
make an official
statement about
(a complaint,
request etc)

7) 「6年生」
→ notes 47, 3

8) <got to

9) → notes

10) 驚き, あきれた
気持ちを表してい
る。

11) <put oneself
up 「誇示する」

observation that some women who have achieved high sta-
tus or positions of authority do not behave in ways appro-
priate to their positions. But there may be another factor at
work too. Since Matina Horner's pioneering research¹⁾,
many psychologists have observed that women seem to 5
fear success. Again, the research on children's play sheds
light.

Take Marjorie Harness Goodwin's research²⁾ on verbal
routes³⁾ by which the preteen and teenage⁴⁾ girls in her
study criticized each other behind their backs. Signifi- 10
cantly, and sadly, the examples Goodwin mentions are
based on success: Girls are criticized for appearing better
than the others in the group. Of two disputes that Goodwin
describes, one girl's offense was to skip a grade in school
and get straight A's on her report card; the other girl in- 15
curred the wrath of her peers⁵⁾ by wearing newer and more
expensive clothes than they.

In my own study of videotaped conversations among
friends, a similar complaint is lodged⁶⁾ by the sixth-grade⁷⁾
girls against another girl: 20

SHANNON: She's gotta⁸⁾ wear a Polo⁹⁾ every day.

JULIA: I know, well I like Polo, but God¹⁰⁾!

SHANNON: Every day!?

JULIA: Really!

SHANNON: Just think how much—and sh-she's putting 25
herself up¹¹⁾.

Appearing better than others is a violation of the girls' egalitarian ethic:¹⁾ People are supposed to stress their connections and similarity.²⁾

1) [igælitɛəriən]
「平等主義的倫理観」後続文がその内容を表している。

2) → notes

3) 何を補ったらいいか？

4) close connection

5) [pənɛləpi ekə:rt]
→ notes

6) 「表からは見えない序列」

7) [gæf] an unintentional social mistake

8) なぜ過去分詞か？

9) together at the same time

10) <infmt>
knowing about s.t that other people do not know about, esp. s.t secret

In light of these and many other studies of girls' real conversations, it is no wonder that girls fear rejection by their peers if they appear too successful and boys don't. Boys, from the earliest age, learn that they can get what they want—higher status—by displaying superiority. Girls learn that displaying superiority will not get them what they want—affiliation⁴⁾ with their peers. For this, they have to appear the same as, not better than, their friends.

The appearance of similarity does not mean actual sameness. Penelope Eckert⁵⁾, who spent several years with high school students in a midwestern city, explains how complex the girls' system of masked status⁶⁾ can be. For example, the popular girls are the ones who must determine when to switch from the clothes of one season to the clothes of the next—for example, from winter to spring clothing. If less popular girls show up wearing cotton clothes while the popular girls are still wearing wool, they have committed a gaffe⁷⁾, shown⁸⁾ themselves to be outsiders. If they switch after the popular girls have appeared in cotton, they mark themselves as followers, limited to public information. The goal is to dress in unison⁹⁾: If they make the switch on the same day as the popular girls, they are gloriously the same—and have subtly proven that they are in the know.¹⁰⁾

1) 'pressure' を修飾する形容詞用法の不定詞。

2) a command or official order that tells one to do or not to do s.t

3) 「(他の表現手段に対して) 言葉による」「身振りなどの言葉以外の表現手段による」の意の nonverbal と対比してよく用いられる。

4) なぜ過去完了形か？

5) <talk s.o out of doing s.t : to persuade s.o not to do s.t

6) [sɪlvɪə]

7) <derog> speaking as if one is trying to appear more important than other people

8) <can't bring oneself to do s.t: to be unable to do s.t because it is so unpleasant 「する気になれない」

9) to have a taste or suggestion of 「...の気味がある, 色合いがある」

10) to make sure that people know or can find out without telling them directly, it is 何を指すか？

11) 「訴訟(事件), 裁判」

12) 「有名人の名をさも親しげに話す行為」

Never Boast or Brag

Another aspect of the pressure on girls not to appear better¹⁾ than their peers is the injunction²⁾ not to boast. Gender differences in attitudes toward boasting are the cause of much mutual judgment and misjudgment between women and men—and some odd verbal³⁾ behavior on the part of women.

For example, a college student named Connie was telling her friends that a high school adviser had tried⁴⁾ to talk her out of applying⁵⁾ to the college they were all now attending. The adviser had felt that Connie's applying would hurt the chances of another girl from the same high school, Sylvia⁶⁾. In explaining the adviser's thinking, Connie said, "Sylvia's grades weren't—I mean—it sounds so pompous⁷⁾ of me, but Sylvia's grades weren't as good as mine." ¹⁵ Connie could barely bring herself to make⁸⁾ a simple factual statement about her grades, because it smacked of⁹⁾ boasting.

Margaret and Charles are both successful lawyers. Though they get along perfectly well when alone, they occasionally find themselves arguing after dinner engagements with new acquaintances, especially people who have status and connections in tax law, Charles's specialty. Margaret feels that Charles boasts: He lets it be known¹⁰⁾ how important he is by mentioning recognition he has received, cases¹¹⁾ he has won, and important people he knows (in Margaret's view, name-dropping¹²⁾). In his eagerness to

impress, he sometimes embellishes¹⁾ what he has done and implies that he knows people he has actually met only once or twice. For her part, Margaret²⁾ tries to hide her success. She deliberately avoids letting on³⁾ if she knows important
5 people whose names arise in the conversation, and she never alludes to⁴⁾ her many accomplishments.

Charles is as frustrated by Margaret's behavior as she is by his. If she will⁵⁾ not let on how important she is, he does it for⁶⁾ her. This upsets her even more. She feels his⁷⁾ boasting
10 for her is as impolite as her doing it herself, and all the alternatives⁸⁾ she can imagine are unappealing: She can ignore or disrupt⁹⁾ Charles's attempts to speak for her, which seems rude to him and violates what she feels is an obligation to support him; she can let him talk for her, which
15 frames her as a child¹⁰⁾ who cannot speak for herself; or she can participate, and speak in a way she does not want to speak—boasting.

Margaret feels people will not like her if she boasts; she would rather¹¹⁾ they learn from others how successful she is,
20 and she feels they will approve of her modesty when they do¹²⁾. She also fears people will not like Charles if he boasts, and this is upsetting to her because she is affiliated with Charles, so what people think of him is a reflection on her. Charles, on the other hand, feels that people will not re-
25 spect him unless he lets them know he merits¹³⁾ respect. He also feels they will respect Margaret more if they know that she is an accomplished attorney¹⁴⁾, not just his wife.

1) to make (a story or account of s.t) more interesting by adding details which are possibly untrue
「潤色する」

2) 「(チャールズと対比して) マーガレットはというと」

3) <infi> to tell s.o s.t that was intended to be kept secret

4) to mention in an indirect way

5) 意志を表す助動詞。→notes

6) 「…の代わりに」

7) 動名詞の意味上の主語。次行のherも同じ。

8) 具体的な例がコロンの下に3つ述べられている。

9) to disturb or interrupt

10) →notes

11) = prefer

→notes 9, 13

12) 何を表しているか？

13) <fml> to deserve

14) <AE> lawyer

- 1) keeping oneself from attracting attention, esp. because one lacks confidence 「(控えめにして) 表に出ない」
 2) s.t. disadvantageous
 3) 「自己をおとしめる」
 4) modesty の同格語。

5) → notes

6) [jóuhɑ:m]

- 7) having too high an opinion of oneself
 8) having read a lot of books and gained a lot of useful information esp. in many different subjects
 9) 「社交家」

Both Margaret and Charles judge each other's ways of talking in terms of personality characteristics—and each also places moral value on style. Margaret assumes that a good person is modest and self-effacing¹⁾. Charles considers displaying accomplishments to be a requirement, not a liability²⁾, and he regards Margaret's (to him, false) modesty as foolishly self-denigrating³⁾, evidence of insecurity⁴⁾. Each one thinks he or she is simply expecting the other to be a good person, but their definitions of a good person vary because of the differing expectations for a good girl and a good boy. 5 10

The reluctance of girls and women to boast in certain situations shows up in two strikingly similar examples that I encountered in vastly different contexts. Ingmar Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage*⁵⁾ opens with a couple being interviewed for a magazine by a woman named Mrs. Palm. Marianne and Johan⁶⁾ respond very differently to Mrs. Palm's question "How would you describe yourselves in a few words?" This is Johan's answer: 15

It might sound conceited⁷⁾ if I described myself as extremely intelligent, successful, youthful, well-balanced, and sexy. A man with a world conscience, cultivated, well-read⁸⁾, popular, and a good mixer⁹⁾. Let me see, what else can I think of . . . friendly. Friendly in a nice way even to people who are worse off. I like sports. I'm a good family man. A good son. I have no debts and I pay 25

my taxes. I respect our government whatever it does, and I love our royal family. I've left the state church¹⁾. Is this enough or do you want more details? I'm a splendid lover. Aren't I, Marianne?²⁾

1) 「国教」

2) 妻に同意を求めている。

→notes

5 This is Marianne's answer:

Hmm, what can I say . . . I'm married to Johan and have two daughters.

Even with prodding³⁾ Marianne doesn't add much information:

3) 「(もっと話すように) せっついでも」

10 MARIANNE: That's all I can think of for the moment.

MRS. PALM: There must be something . . .

MARIANNE: I think Johan is rather nice.

JOHAN: Kind of you, I'm sure.⁴⁾

MARIANNE: We've been married for ten years.

15 JOHAN: I've just renewed the contract.⁵⁾

4) = That's kind of you, . . . やや皮肉めいた調子の発言。

5) 「契約を更新したばかり」これもおどけた言い方。

MARIANNE: I doubt if I have the same natural appreciation of my own excellence as Johan. But to tell the truth, I'm glad I can live the life I do. It's a good life, if you know what I mean. Well, what else can I say . . . Oh dear, this is difficult!

20 JOHAN: She has a nice figure.⁶⁾

6) the human shape considered from the point of being attractive. 日本語の「スタイル」に当たる。

MARIANNE: You're joking. I'm trying to take this thing seriously. I have two daughters, Karin and Eva.

25

JOHAN: You've already said that.

1) →p.12, 11.2-3

2) [ə'lʌmni:]
alumna [ə'lʌmnə]
「(女子の)卒業生」
の複数形.

3) 「追悼文」

→notes

4) 前に Being を
補う.

5) <take s.t to
heart: to feel
deeply affected
and upset by s.t

6) <fml> gentle
scolding 「説諭」

7) to talk too
proudly about
oneself or one's
possessions

8) <dub: to give
s.o an amusing or
special name

9) 「(法律事務所
の) パートナー」

→notes

10) 「報酬請求可
能な時間」

→notes

11) <fml> to
name things (on
a list) one after
another

Women's feelings that they should not boast come from explicit training as well as peer pressure in childhood.¹⁾ Such training is described in the alumnae²⁾ newsletter of one of the most academically challenging girls' high schools in the country. In this newsletter a woman wrote an epitaph³⁾ to her sister, who had been the very top student in her graduating class and who had recently died. A brilliant woman,⁴⁾ her sister had had a moderately successful career that did not reflect her spectacular ability. The writer comments⁵⁾ that her sister "took too much to heart her mother's admonitions⁶⁾: Stay in the background; never brag⁷⁾; always do your best."

These examples demonstrate that women are expected not to boast in relatively public situations, but it would be misleading to imply that women never boast at all. I return to the couple I dubbed⁸⁾ Margaret and Charles for an example of a context in which she boasted but he felt he would not have. In the situation described earlier, Margaret felt Charles should not "show off" to new acquaintances. On another occasion, Charles felt that Margaret was inappropriately boasting. In complaining to close friends that she had not been promoted to partner⁹⁾ as quickly as men in her firm who had brought in much less business and had far fewer billable hours¹⁰⁾, Margaret enumerated¹¹⁾ her early successes. Charles told her later that he thought this

had been insensitive, since one of their listening friends was a young lawyer who was not advancing quickly at all. To Charles, self-aggrandizing¹⁾ information is to be used in public to achieve status, appropriately displayed when first
 5 meeting people or with people²⁾ who have, or seem to be claiming, superior status. But to Margaret, self-aggrandizing information is to be used only in private, appropriately revealed in rapport-talk³⁾—conversations with people she knows and trusts, who will not judge her for her pride.
 10 When dealing with close friends, she forgets about their relative status—an aspect of relationships that Charles never forgets.

The different lenses of⁴⁾ status and connection may once more work against women. Women are reluctant to display
 15 their achievements in public in order to be likable⁵⁾, but regarded⁶⁾ through the lens of status, they are systematically underestimated, and thought self-deprecating⁷⁾ and insecure. It is tempting to recommend that women learn to display their accomplishments in public, to ensure⁸⁾ that they
 20 receive the respect they have earned. Unfortunately, however, women are judged by the standards of women's behavior.

This was evident, for example, at a faculty meeting devoted to promotions, at which a woman professor's success was described: She was extremely well published⁹⁾ and well known in the field. A man commented with approval,
 25 “She wears it well.”¹⁰⁾ In other words, she was praised for not

1) 「自己顕示的」

2) ‘meet’ は「偶然会う」, ‘meet with’ は「約束して会う」の意の米国語法.

3) →notes

4) 同格を示し, 「…という」の意.

5) (of people) pleasant and easy to like

6) 過去分詞から始まる分詞構文.

7) 「自分を卑下した」

8) in order to make s.t certain to happen

9) 「論文、著書をよく発表している」

10) to treat, or accept properly and modestly

1) in agreement
with

acting as successful as she was. By implication, if she had acted in a way consonant with¹⁾ her achievement, she would not have been praised—and perhaps would not have been liked.

His Politeness is Her Powerlessness

5

There are many kinds of evidence that women and men are judged differently even if they talk the same way. This tendency makes mischief in discussions of women, men, and power. If a linguistic strategy is used by a woman, it is seen as powerless; if it is done by a man, it is seen as powerful. 10
Often, the labeling of “women’s language” as “powerless language” reflects the view of women’s behavior through the lens of men’s.

2), 3) 「(地位を求める競争社会において) 一段上, 一段下」の意

4) ready for

5) 「会話における発話のもっている方; ムーヴ」

6) 以下は最上級の意味になる。

7) →notes

8) a state in which one does whatever someone else wants one to do

Because they are not struggling to be one-up²⁾, women often find themselves framed as one-down³⁾. Any situation 15
is ripe for⁴⁾ misinterpretation, because status and connections are displayed by the same moves⁵⁾. This ambiguity accounts for much misinterpretation, by experts as well as nonexperts, by which women’s ways of talking, uttered in a spirit of rapport, are branded powerless. Nowhere⁶⁾ is this 20
inherent ambiguity clearer than in a brief comment in a newspaper article⁷⁾ in which a couple, both psychologists, were jointly interviewed. The journalist asked them the meaning of “being very polite.” The two experts responded simultaneously, giving different answers. The 25
man said, “Subservience.”⁸⁾ The woman said, “Sensitivity.”

Both experts were right, but each was describing the view of a different gender.

Experts and nonexperts alike tend to see anything women do as evidence of powerlessness. The same news-
 5 paper article quotes another psychologist as saying, “A man might ask a woman, ‘Will you please go to the store?’ where¹⁾ a woman might say, ‘Geē,²⁾ I really need a few things from the store, but I’m so tired.’” The woman’s style is called “covert,³⁾” a term suggesting negative qualities like
 10 being “sneaky” and “underhanded.”⁴⁾ The reason offered for this is power: The woman doesn’t feel she has a right to ask directly.

Granted,⁵⁾ women have lower status than men in our society. But this is not necessarily why they prefer not to make
 15 outright⁶⁾ demands. The explanation for a woman’s indirectness could just as well be her⁷⁾ seeking connection. If you get your way⁸⁾ as a result of having demanded it, the payoff⁹⁾
 is satisfying in terms of status: You’re one-up because others are doing as you told them. But if you get your way
 20 because others happened to want the same thing, or because they offered freely, the payoff is in rapport. You’re neither one-up nor one-down but happily connected to others whose wants are the same as yours. Furthermore, if indirectness is understood by both parties,¹⁰⁾ then there is nothing covert about it: That a request is being made is clear.
 25 Calling an indirect communication covert reflects the view of someone for whom the direct style seems “natural” and

1) (used to show an opposite or different fact, situation *etc*) whereas; but

2) <AE, infml> used (esp. by women) to express a strong reaction to s.t. Jesus の婉曲的な語。

3) secret or hidden, and not done or shown openly

4) <degor> 「こそこそする」 ‘underhand’ には dishonestly の含みがある。

5) (but と共に用いて) 「なるほど・・・だが」

6) open and direct

7) 動名詞の意味上の主語。

8) 「自分の思い通りにする」

9) a result of a particular action, usu. a good or desirable one

10) 「会話の当事者同士」

“logical”—a view more common among men.

Indirectness itself does not reflect powerlessness. It is easy to think of situations where indirectness is the prerogative¹⁾ of those in power. For example, a wealthy couple who know that their servants will do their bidding²⁾ need not 5 give direct orders, but can simply state wishes: The woman of the house says, “It’s chilly in here”³⁾, and the servant sets about raising the temperature. The man of the house says, “It’s dinner time,” and the servant sees about⁴⁾ having dinner served. Perhaps the ultimate indirectness is getting 10 someone to do something without saying anything at all: The hostess rings a bell and the maid brings the next course; or a parent enters the room where children are misbehaving and stands with hands on hips⁵⁾, and the children immediately stop what they’re doing. 15

Entire cultures operate on elaborate systems of indirectness. For example, I discovered in a small research project⁶⁾ that most Greeks assumed that a wife who asked, “Would you like to go to the party?” was hinting⁷⁾ that she wanted to go. They felt that she wouldn’t bring it up if she didn’t want to go. Furthermore, they felt, she would not state her preference⁸⁾ outright because that would sound like a demand. Indirectness was the appropriate means for communicating her preference.

Japanese culture has developed indirectness to a fine art⁹⁾. 25 For example, a Japanese anthropologist, Harumi Befu,¹⁰⁾ explains the delicate exchange of indirectness required by a

1) <fml> a special right belonging to a particular person, esp. because of their power, rank, etc 「(官職上の) 特権」

2) = do what the couple have asked their servants to do

3) →notes

4) make arrangements for

5) 「(足を開き胸を突き出して) 両手を腰に当てて立つ」女性に特徴的な挑戦的姿勢。

6) →notes

7) →notes

8) 具体的にどういうことか?

9) ここでは「美術品」ではなく、文字通りの「繊細な技」の意。

10) →notes

simple invitation to lunch. When his friend extended the invitation, Befu first had to determine whether it was meant literally or just *pro forma*¹⁾, much as an American might say, “We’ll have to have you over for dinner some time²⁾,” but would not expect you to turn up at the door. Having decided the invitation was meant literally and having accepted, Befu was then asked what he would like to eat. Following custom, he said anything would do, but his friend, also following custom, pressed him to specify. Host and guest repeated this exchange an appropriate number of times, until Befu deemed³⁾ it polite to answer the question—politely—by saying that *tea over rice*⁴⁾ would be fine. When he arrived for lunch, he was indeed served tea over rice—as the last course of a *sumptuous*⁵⁾ meal. Befu was not surprised by the feast, because he knew that *protocol*⁶⁾ required it. *Had he*⁷⁾ been given what he had asked for, he would have been insulted. But protocol also required that he *make a great show of*⁸⁾ being surprised.

This account of mutual indirectness in a lunch invitation may strike Americans as⁹⁾ excessive. But far more cultures in the world use elaborate systems of indirectness than *value*¹⁰⁾ directness. Only modern Western societies place a priority on direct communication, and even for us it is more a value than a practice.

Evidence from other cultures also makes it clear that indirectness does not in itself reflect low status. Rather, our assumptions about the status of women compel us to inter-

1) [prou fɔ:mə]

「儀礼的に」

2) →notes

3) to consider;

judge

4) 「お茶漬け」

5) expensive and generous

6) 「礼儀上のしきたり」

7) 通常の語順ではどうなるか?

8) 「おおげさに…するふりをする」仮定法現在形に注意.

9) to give Americans a particular strong impression of

10) 品詞は何か?

1) →notes

2) [mæləgæsi]
「マダガスカル語」3) [mædəgæskər]
「マダガスカル(ア
フリカ南東沖イン
ド洋上の島国)」4) to make s.t
worthless

5) 「…に応じて」

6) [rɒbɪn léɪkəf]
→notes7) [dʒækəli(:)n
sæks] →notes
8) 「まだほんの2
歳から5歳まで
の」→notes9) [sɪɡlə]
→notes

pret anything they do as reflecting low status. Anthropolo-
gist Elinor Keenan¹⁾, for example, found that in a Malagasy-²⁾
speaking village on the island of Madagascar³⁾, it is women
 who are direct and men who are indirect. And the villagers
 see the men's indirect way of speaking, using metaphors 5
 and proverbs, as the better way. For them, indirectness,
 like the men who use it, has high status. They regard
 women's direct style as clumsy and crude, debas⁴⁾
ing the beautiful subtlety of men's language. Whether women or
 men are direct or indirect differs; what remains constant is 10
 that the women's style is negatively evaluated—seen as
 lower in status than the men's.

It's Different Coming from a Man

Research from our own culture provides many examples
 of the same behavior being interpreted differently depend- 15
ing on⁵⁾ whether it's done by women or men. Take, for ex-
 ample, the case of “tag questions”—statements with little
 questions added onto the end, as in “It's a nice day, isn't
 it?” Linguist Robin Lakoff first pointed out⁶⁾ that many
 women use more tag questions than men. Though studies 20
 seeking to test Lakoff's observation have had somewhat
 mixed results, most support it. Jacqueline Sachs⁷⁾, observing
 the language of children as young as two to five⁸⁾, found that
 girls used more than twice as many tag questions as boys.
 And research has shown that people *expect* women to use 25
 tags. Psychologists David and Robert Siegler conducted⁹⁾ an

experiment asking adults to guess the sex of speakers. Sure enough, the stereotype held: Subjects¹⁾ guessed a woman was speaking when tags were used, a man when they weren't. The stereotype can actually be more compelling²⁾ than reality: In another experiment, psychologists Nora Newcombe and Diane Arnkoff³⁾ presented adults with communications in which women and men used equal numbers of tag questions, and found that their subjects thought the women had used more.

⁴⁾ Most troubling of all, women and men are judged differently even if they speak the same way⁵⁾. Communications researcher Patricia Hayes Bradley⁶⁾ found that when women used tag questions and disclaimers, subjects judged them as less intelligent and knowledgeable *than men who also used them*. When women did not give support for their arguments, they were judged less intelligent and knowledgeable, *but men who advanced arguments without support were not*. In other words, talking in ways that are associated with women causes women to be judged negatively, but talking the same way does not have this effect on men. So it is not the ways of talking that are having the effect so much as⁷⁾ people's attitudes toward women and men.

Many other studies have similar results. Psychologists John and Sandra Condry⁸⁾ asked subjects to interpret why an infant was crying. If they had been told the baby was a boy, subjects thought he was angry, but if they had been told it was a girl, they thought she was afraid. Anne Macke⁹⁾ and

1) 「被験者」

2) making one believe that s.t is true

3) [njú:kəm]
[daiæn á:r nkəf]
→notes

4) =What is most troubling of all is that . . .

5) →notes

6) [pətrí(:)ʃiə
héiz brædli] →
notes

7) not A so much as B (「A というよりむしろ B」) の構文。

8) [kɒndri]
→notes

9) [mækə]

1) →notes

2) = interpreted
as3) = has been
seized by4) 「二重基準」
→notes

5) →notes

6) 何に比べて
'more' なのか?7) 次行の about
problems に続
く.8) to leave in a
hurry9) <AE, slg> to
vomit

10) →notes

11) <taciturn
「(習性的に) 寡黙
な」12) 「(冗談, 誇
張, 社交辞令でな
く) 本気で言っ
ている」

13) →notes

Laurel Richardson, with Judith Cook¹⁾, discovered that when students judged professors, generating more class discussion was taken to be²⁾ a sign of incompetence—only if the professor was female.

Silence is Golden—or Lead

Research itself has fallen prey³⁾ to this double standard⁴⁾. In studies claiming that men exert power by talking more than women, women's silence is cited as evidence that they have no power. At the same time, other studies claim that men's use of silence and refusing to speak is a show of their power. A theme running through Mirra Komarovsky's classic study *Blue Collar Marriage*⁵⁾ is that many of the wives interviewed said they talked more than their husbands ("He's tongue-tied," one woman said of her husband; "My husband has a great habit of not talking,"¹⁵ said another). More⁶⁾ of the wives want to talk⁷⁾, and have their husbands talk, about problems. In contrast, more husbands withdraw in the face of troubles ("When I don't feel good, I light out⁸⁾ and don't dump my load⁹⁾ on them"), emotional stress, or a wife's "demands." Yet there is no ques-²⁰
tion but that¹⁰⁾ these husbands are "dominant" in their marriages. Taciturnity¹¹⁾ itself can be an instrument of power. Komarovsky quotes a mother who says of her husband, "He doesn't say much but he means what he says¹²⁾ and the children mind him."²⁵

Jack Sattel believes¹³⁾ men use silence to exercise power

over women, and he illustrates with the following scene from Erica Jong's novel *Fear of flying*¹⁾. The first line of dialogue is spoken by Isadora²⁾, the second by her husband, Bennett.

1) [erika jɔ́s(ɔ̃)ŋ]

→notes

2) [izədɔ̃:rə]

5 “Why do you always have to do this to me? You make me feel so lonely.”

“That comes from you.”

“What do you mean³⁾ it comes from me? Tonight I wanted to be happy. It's Christmas Eve. Why do you turn⁴⁾ on me? What did I do?”

3) 「(反駁して) …ってどういうことよ」

4) to speak angrily to

Silence.

“What did I do?”

He looks at her as if her not knowing were another injury.

15 “Look, let's just go to sleep now. Let's just forget it.”

“Forget what?”

He says nothing.

“Forget the fact that you turned on me? Forget the fact that you're punishing me for nothing? Forget the fact that I'm lonely and cold, that it's Christmas Eve and again you've ruined it for me? Is that what you want me to forget?”

“I won't discuss it.”

“Discuss what? *What* won't you discuss?”

25 “Shut up! I won't have you screaming⁵⁾ in the hotel.”

“I don't give a fuck⁶⁾ what you won't have me do. I'd

5) 'won't have A doing' の型で「A<人>に…させてはおかない」の意。

6) <slg> = don't care at all

1) politely but perhaps without being very friendly

2) a state of depression → 11.23-24

3) 「直感 (intuition) で知る」

4) < *infml* > used in exclamations to express surprise, fear, shock, excitement, etc

5) < mother (v.) < *derog* > to care for or protect s.o like a mother

6) 「共感」

7) → **notes**

8) < *AE, infml* > to show no interest

9) 「(急に話題が変わって真意がわからず) なんてすって」

10) to ask questions of s.o esp. repeatedly

11) 「詰問する」

12) < *infml* > to annoy

like to be treated civilly¹⁾. I'd like you to at least do me the courtesy of telling me why you're in such a funk²⁾. And don't look at me that way . . .”

“What way?”

“As if my not being able to read your mind were my greatest sin. I *can't* read your mind. I *don't* know why you're so mad. I *can't* intuit³⁾ your every wish. If that's what you want in a wife you don't have it in me.”

“I certainly don't.”

“Then what is it? Please tell me.”

10

“I shouldn't have to.”

“Good God⁴⁾! Do you mean to tell me I'm expected to be a mind reader? Is that the kind of mothering⁵⁾ you want?”

“If you had any empathy⁶⁾ for me . . .”

15

“But I do⁷⁾. My God, you don't give me a chance.”

“You tune out⁸⁾. You don't listen.”

“It was something in the movie, wasn't it?”

“What⁹⁾, in the movie?”

“The quiz again. Do you have to quiz¹⁰⁾ me like some kind of criminal? Do you have to cross-examine¹¹⁾ me? . . .

It was the funeral scene. . . . The little boy looking at his dead mother. Something got¹²⁾ you there. That was when you got depressed.”

Silence.

25

“Well, *wasn't* it?”

Silence.

“Oh come on¹⁾, Bennett, you’re making me *furious*. Please tell me. Please.”

(He gives the words singly like little gifts. Like hard little turds.²⁾) “What was it about that scene that got me?”

1) used to encourage s.o to say something they are reluctant to say

2) ((俗))「うんこ」

5 “Don’t quiz me. Tell me!” (She puts her arms around him. He pulls away. She falls to the floor holding onto his pajama leg. It looks less like an embrace than like a rescue scene, she sinking, he reluctantly allowing her to cling to his leg for support.)

10 “Get up!”

(Crying) “Only if you tell me.”

(He jerks his leg away.) “I’m going to bed.”

This painful scene does seem to support Sattel’s claim that Bennett uses silence as a weapon against his wife. Each successive refusal to tell her what’s bothering him is like a blow laying her lower³⁾ and lower—until she is literally on the floor. But would our interpretation change if we reversed the genders in this scene?

3) = making her weaker

With genders reversed, the scene seems impossible. It is hard to imagine a man begging his wife to tell him what he did wrong. What leaped to my mind, when I tried to reverse genders, was a scene in which the man withdraws, disabling⁴⁾ her silence as a weapon. What makes Bennett’s silence so punishing⁵⁾ is Isadora’s insistence on making him talk to her. It is the interaction of the two styles—his withdrawal and her insistence that he tell⁶⁾ her what she did

4) <disable:「無力にする」

5) <infml> making one thoroughly tired and weak

6) 假定法現在形.

1) overwhelming;
very upsetting

wrong—that is devastating¹⁾ to both. If Bennett shared Isadora's belief that problems should be talked out, or she shared his practice of withdrawing when problems arise, they would not have found themselves in this devastating scene.

5

“I’m Sorry, I’m Not Apologizing”

2, 3) 以下はいずれも ways を修飾する関係節

There are many ways that²⁾ women talk that³⁾ make sense and are effective in conversations with women but appear powerless and self-deprecating⁴⁾ in conversations with men.

4) 「自分を卑下した」

One such pattern is that many women seem to apologize 10 all the time. An apology is a move that frames the apologizer as one-down. This might seem obvious. But the following example shows that an apparent⁵⁾ apology may not be intended in that spirit at all.

5) seeming to be real but not necessarily so
「明白な」の意味でないことに注意.

A teacher was having trouble with a student widely 15 known to be incurable⁶⁾. Finally, she sent the boy to the principal's office. Later the principal approached her in the teachers' lounge and told her the student had been suspended⁷⁾. The teacher replied, “I’m sorry,” and the principal

6) very bad and unable to be changed or improved
7) 「停学になる」

reassured her, “It’s not your fault.” The teacher was taken 20 aback⁸⁾ by the principal's reassurance, because it had not occurred to her that the student's suspension might be her fault until he said it. To her, “I’m sorry” did not mean “I apologize”; it meant “I’m sorry to hear that.” “I’m sorry” was intended to establish a connection to the principal by 25 implying, “I know you must feel bad about this; I do too.”

8) very surprised and shocked