

Japanese Women's Language

*Identity, gender, and real language use in
contrast to language ideology*

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Abstract

Japanese women's language is a concept encountered daily in Japanese society and, perhaps most interestingly, in Japanese language studies. Students are informed that there are such concepts as 'women's language' and 'men's language', however, further insight into these concepts are rare. What, then, is Japanese women's language? And, even more importantly, do real Japanese women speak this language?

This thesis finds that the development of 'women's language' has not occurred naturally through actual speech, but rather, it has evolved as a product of prescribed language use through instructions in disciplinary books as well as media, and has been used as a tool to distinguish women from men. Even in contemporary Japan we still find women's language through role language in media and fiction, as well as in Japanese language studies. By conducting a detailed analysis of the history and development of Japanese women's language we find that it has rarely, if ever, been used in real speech as it has been ideologically prescribed.

After conducting a study looking at the use of gendered sentence-final particles by three female university students, I find that their speech is not feminine as is prescribed by language ideology, but neutral to moderately masculine, which aligns with previous research. Women, as any other social subgroup, use their language according to many more factors than what is assumed appropriate for their gender. Furthermore, the second part of my study consists of questionnaires which the three subjects responded to and deals with issues such as their own perceptions of their language use and of their femininity. Here, I attempted to draw lines between their language use and their identity and I found that factors such as age, desires to be perceived as certain traits, and relationship to addressee can affect language use.

Conclusively, speakers play with and manipulate language – they subvert, convert, and adapt to preexisting norms and social expectations, and the outcome of their language use is an expression of their identity, which is an intricate notion constituted by countless factors including social status, age, gender, what traits they wish to convey, and so on. Lastly, it is essential to keep in mind that it is impossible to make certain connections between language use and identity and gender, however, this thesis explores some theories which could be interesting for further research.

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1 Introduction

Japanese women's language is a concept encountered in many areas ranging from Japanese daily life, media and fiction, to language studies. Additionally, an increasing amount of foreigners are, not only becoming interested in Japan and its culture, but developing strong connections with Japan, often through the study of the Japanese language and Japanese area studies. Thus, a better understanding of what Japanese 'women's language' is should be essential for all Japanese language students, and perhaps for all Japanese natives as well. What is it, how has it developed, and is it, in fact, a real language in real speech? Endō (2006) notes that students of Japanese usually believe whatever is written in their language textbooks, but that they should be better informed of these gendered language differences and what they really are. For instance, one text claims that "[Japanese] is divided into women's language and men's language according to the language user's sex" (Katō, 1989, in Endō, 2006, p. 1), another that "a characteristic of the Japanese language is that men and women use different expressions" (Tamamura, 1995, in Endō, 2006, p. 1), however these texts do not go deeper into giving definitions of what these gendered languages are. Endō further claims that she, as a Japanese native speaker, a Japanese language educator, and a Japanese language researcher, does not believe that her language use differs much from that of men. Do Japanese women, then, use this so-called 'women's language'? Or is language use more connected to the individual's identity than to prescribed notions of what kind of language one should use?

1.1 Motivation

Almost since the beginning of my Japanese studies I have been instructed to use specific linguistic elements that correspond to my gender, something which I had not encountered previously in other language studies.¹ I thus became interested in understanding why I, as a woman, should be instructed to speak in a certain manner. Although I am clearly not a Japanese native speaker and can therefore not represent any sort of standard female speaker, I have almost always used, for instance, neutral and moderately masculine sentence-final particles, and by no means have I ever used any feminine ones. And continuously I have been instructed by my teachers while studying in Japan to use more feminine versions. This applies

¹ I have, however, often been instructed by my family and others in my close surroundings to not curse, say harsh words, and so on, because I am female. I have always found this odd and never agreed to it, and thus this topic has become of great interest to me.

to other feminine features such as first-person pronouns as well. However, it always felt unnatural to me and thus I became immensely interested in investigating how native Japanese women actually speak and how they identify themselves with their choice of language use. How do they shape their language use in relation to identity and gender?

1.2 Thesis aims

The main aim of this thesis is to examine how Japanese women really speak in contrast to the ideological women's language. I will examine how the ideological women's language has been constructed throughout history and see how young Japanese women really speak through an analysis of tape-recorded conversations focusing on gendered sentence-final particles. Furthermore, I want to examine how Japanese women's real language use relates to factors such as social roles, age, social expectations, norms, and, perhaps most importantly, identity and gender.

1.3 Structure

This thesis has the following structure: Chapter 1 is this introduction. Chapter 2 examines the notions of identity and gender (with a focus on performing identity/gender), as well as how they relate to language. Also, universal concepts of women's language are explored, as well as the notions of femininity and masculinity. Chapter 3 consists of an analysis of the history of Japanese women's language and discusses whether it is a language ideology or if it has evolved through real speech. Chapter 4 examines the concept of role language in Japanese media and fiction and discusses how it relates to language ideology. Furthermore, it reviews several previous studies on real language use by Japanese women in relation to age and role, and discusses these findings in comparison to role language. Chapter 5 consists of my study of tape-recorded conversations and attempts to find how three subjects use gendered sentence-final particles in real conversations (without analyzing each occurrence of a particle). I also analyze their sentence-final particles in relation to the addressee's gender. Chapter 6 depicts questionnaires which the three subjects responded to after my analysis of their speech in the tape-recorded conversations. Here, I attempt to draw lines between their language use from the results in Chapter 5 and their own perceptions of notions such as identity, gender, and femininity from the questionnaires, as well as from theories in the previous chapters. Chapter 7 consists of a summary of the findings in this thesis and concluding remarks.

2 Identity, gender, and language

Before going into depth about Japanese women's language in terms of its history, ideology and actual language use, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the concepts of identity and gender and how they relate to language.

2.1 Defining identity and gender

In contrast to essentialism, which sees identity and gender as fixed traits that reside in each individual, social constructivism sees that there is no such thing as an absolute self. For instance, whereas the essentialist stance sees women as a group that share the same psychology and whose "experiences are a product of their 'woman-ness'" (Stokoe, 2000, p. 553), social constructivism "examines people's own understandings of identity and how the notion of inner/outer selves is used rhetorically, to accomplish social action" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 4). In other words, in social constructivism there is no such thing as an 'absolute self' that is hiding behind discourse,² rather, identity is created and understood through discourse – the inner self is constructed through the outer actions. Because social constructivism most rightly represents this thesis and my view on identity and gender in general, I will hereby use this stance in relation to the concepts of identity and gender throughout this thesis. This leads us into defining what the notion of identity really is. The following definitions are taken from Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 50):

According to social constructivism, identity is:

. . . not a universal of nature or culture but a question of performativity. (Barker and Galasinski, 2001, p. 87)

. . . best viewed as the emergent product rather than the preexisting source of linguistic and other semiotic practices. (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 588)

² Discourse denotes systems of thoughts which are made up of ideas, actions, attitudes, practices, and beliefs that systematically construct individuals and how they speak. It centers on the idea of how power relationships are expressed through the use of language, and the link between language and power. A discourse can further be understood as a system of statements that center on common meanings and values (see Coates, 1996, p. 239).

. . . the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a rigid regulatory frame which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a ‘natural’ kind of being. (Butler, 1990, p. 33)

. . . produced and sustained by human agents in interaction with one another. (Hare-Mustin and Maracek, 1990, p. 533)

Furthermore, Taylor claims that “[o]ne cannot be a self on one’s own” (1989, in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 24), and Hegel ([1807] 1977, in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 24) believed that, because of outside factors, one can never be entirely free or autonomous, but that there is always a requirement of submission to an ‘other’. Thus, the self is created as a fluid process through stimuli from the outside which shape and validate the self’s existence. Social identity theory claims that a self is defined through its identification with a group, and it explores the concepts of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’. Identities are, in this sense, “constituted through a process of *difference* defined in a relative or flexible way dependent upon the activities in which one is engaged” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 25). Simply put, for instance, in a group of five men and one woman, the woman is the ‘different’, the ‘out-group’, and thus her identity becomes ‘female’. Gender, then, is an essential part of identity. Where the essentialist approach sees gender as a fundamental, essential part of the individual and supports that there are fundamental differences between men and women, the social constructivist stance sees gender as a social construct, and Ochs notes that “[g]ender ideologies are socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk, particularly through verbal practices that recur innumerable times in the lives of members of social groups” (Ochs, 1992, p. 336). In this sense, the concept of gender centers on the idea that men and women are sociocultural transformations of biological categories and processes. Thus, “gender is not an attribute of individuals but a way of making sense of transactions. Gender exists not in persons but in transactions; it is conceptualized as a verb, not a noun” (Crawford, 1995, p. 12), see 2.2 for a more detailed account.

2.2 Performing identity

When discussing identity as a performance, it is conceptualized as a verb – performing gender means *doing* gender. Feminist sociologists such as West and Zimmerman (1987, in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) first started speaking of ‘doing gender’ in the 1980s. For the concept of

identity (gender) and performativity, Judith Butler has claimed that the gendered subject is endlessly produced through discourse and thus it lacks stability and existential coherence. “[I]dentity is a *discursive* practice, a discourse we both inhabit and employ, but also a *performance* with all the connotations of non-essentialism, transience, versatility and masquerade that this implies” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 33), and in Butler’s own words, “there is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (Butler, 1990, in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 33).

Although there is significant variability in the genetic, anatomical, and hormonal factors that form the foundation for the terms ‘female’ and ‘male’, biological sex should not be mistaken for gender. Gender is what society makes out of the raw material of biological sex. This process of gendering individuals starts already from birth, or even before. Once the fetus’ or infant’s biological sex is discovered, society immediately starts the process of gendering, such as, for instance, with the pink and blue blanket. This blanket, then, represents the infant’s gender and this infant is then treated, not as a generic human, but either as a boy or a girl from the very start. Because gender is a determining ideology in which narratives or scripts are created, gender distinctions are spread throughout society. Most often, the discourse of gender involves the construction of femininity and masculinity as polar opposites and the realization of the resulting differences (see Crawford, 1995, p.13).

2.2.1 Performing feminine identities

“One is not born a woman, one becomes one.” (de Beauvoir, 1973, in Butler, 1986, p. 35)

When dealing with the concept of gender, certain traits, interests, and behaviors are associated with each sex and are assumed by society as appropriate for that sex. Gender is thought to be dichotomous; one can be either ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’. Much of the psychology of women and gender has been focusing on the effects of internalized subordination. Research shows that women, in comparison to men, lack a sense of personal entitlement and are, much more often than men, satisfied in subordinate positions, getting less paid for the same work, and are much more likely to suffer with their own body image and develop illnesses such as depression and eating disorders. Thus, Crawford argues that “[g]ender, then, is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Women *are* different from men. Yet, paradoxically, this is not because they are

women. Each of us behaves in gendered ways because we are placed in gendered social contexts” (Crawford, 1995, p. 16). In society, even in what appears to be identical situations, women and men are faced with different norms and expectations and thus act differently. “Therefore, if women try *not* to ‘do gender,’ they will confront the social consequences of violating these norms and expectations” (Crawford, 1995, p. 16). In other words, many women behave the way they are expected to behave and speak the way they are expected to speak in order to avoid the social consequences of breaking these expectations.

Similarly, Coates paraphrases *doing femininity* as ‘doing being a woman’, and explains the notion of ‘doing gender’ as “presenting ourselves to others as a gendered being” (Coates, 1996, p. 232). Furthermore, she notes that the woman we perform is not always the same woman. The ‘she’ that is changing her baby’s nappies is one kind of woman, while the ‘she’ that attends meetings at work is another. This change in performance is a change required by the different audiences, as well as driven by our own need or preference for acting in different ways. For instance, Coates analyzed a conversation between three 16-year old girls who commented on their friend Sarah’s makeup. Several consecutive sentence tokens consist of overtly complimenting Sarah, and Coates emphasizes this as a typical routine of support by female friends and thus, these girls are performing one kind of femininity. Also, they are “co-constructing a world in which the putting on and wearing of make-up is a normal part of doing femininity, and looking nice/looking good is an important goal” (Coates, 1996, p. 234). The conversations we have in our everyday lives give us the opportunity to act out all our different modes of being – in this case, all the versions of femininity. Coates concludes that this is because language plays such an important part in constructing our experience of what femininity is and how it is expressed.

Thus, when a woman applies lipstick, she is doing female gender. In this sense, gender is performed, and applying lipstick is what constitutes the gender and not the opposite – that being a woman means one needs to apply lipstick. This means that even when a man applies lipstick, he is doing female gender, or, perhaps more appropriately, he is acting feminine. The same applies to language and conversation; if a linguistic feature is conceptualized as a feminine feature, a man who utters this feature can, in a sense, be doing or performing female gender.

2.3 Gender and language

Before post-structural feminism in the 1990s, models representing the relationship between language and gender claimed that gender was the cause of one’s practices – a woman speaks politely because she is a woman. However, with feminists such as Butler, gender became the effect of practice – one speaks politely in order to construct a specific identity (see Nakamura, 2011, p. 3).

I want to note that there are two main relations between gender and language. The first is the content of the language – what is being said, such as conversation topics and type of talk, and the second is specific linguistic features. In my thesis, I am going to focus on the latter relation. Ochs (1992) notes that when relating sociocultural constructions of gender to social meanings of language, a very crucial issue develops: there are only a few features of language that directly and exclusively index gender. What she implies is the following: there is a difference between direct and indirect indexing. Linguistic features index, for instance, coarse intensity (connotations such as aggressiveness, superiority, and assertiveness) or delicate intensity (connotations such as inferiority, submissiveness, and lack of decisiveness), which are direct indexes, while male and female gender are indexed indirectly through these direct indexes. She portrays this phenomenon with an example from Japanese using the coarse and strongly assertive sentence-final particle *ze* to index masculinity and the gentle, softening sentence-final particle *wa* to index femininity.

Linguistic form	Direct index	Indirect index
<i>ze</i>	coarse intensity	male “voice”
<i>wa</i>	delicate intensity	female “voice”

Table 1. Indexing gender in Japanese

In this sense, there is no direct index from *ze* to men’s language or from *wa* to women’s language, but these sentence-final particles (SFPs) become associated with gender because their direct indexes often represent male or female gender socially. Thus, the relation between language and gender is not fixed, but rather “mediated and constituted through a web of socially organized pragmatic meanings” (Ochs, 1992, p. 341-342). Ochs further concludes the following:

Knowledge of how language relates to gender is not a catalogue of correlations between particular linguistic forms and sex of speakers, referents, addressees and the like. Rather, such knowledge entails tacit understanding of (1) how particular linguistic forms can be used to perform particular pragmatic work (such as conveying stance and social action) and (2) norms, preferences, and expectations regarding the distribution of this work *vis-à-vis* particular social identities of speakers, referents, and addressees. To discuss the relation of language and gender in these terms is far more revealing than simply identifying features as directly marking men's or women's speech (Ochs, 1992, p. 342).

In other words, relating language to gender according to Ochs means that the relation is fluid and is being defined by social images of what represents masculinity or femininity. This theory is highly applicable to the concept of Japanese women's language when examining its history and development, especially with, for instance, *teyo-dawa* speech (see 3.3), which initially was seen as a rough and ugly-sounding speech style, but was socially transformed into a very feminine one.

2.4 General features of women's language

The beginning of the term 'women's language' began in the 1970s with Robin Lakoff's search for specific features of women's speech. Her book *Language and women's place* from 1975 has been very influential on further research on this notion. The linguistic features she applied to 'women's language' (particularly English) have been reevaluated in newer research (for instance, see Crawford, 1995) and found to not be as clear-cut as she had implied. However, her findings have, indeed, been so influential as to be cited in works for decades. Following are the linguistic features she appointed to women's language (Lakoff, 1975, in Crawford, 1995, p. 24-25):

1. Specialized vocabulary: women use more precise terms for colors (such as 'plum' and 'mauve') and they have a broader vocabulary in areas which are often dominated by women (such as 'whipstitch' in sewing and 'knead' in cooking). Needless to say, this also applies to men in areas which are dominated by men.

2. 'Empty' adjectives: women tend to use adjectives which convey emotion rather than intellectual thought ('adorable', 'divine', and the more contemporary 'sweet' and 'cute').
3. Expletives: women use softer expletives ('Darn!' and 'Oh, dear!') where men use coarser ('Oh, shit!').
4. Intonation: women have more variation in pitch and intonation in general. Also, they tend to exaggerate more (what Lakoff calls 'speaking in italics') and often use a rising intonation in what are considered declarative statements, which creates a sense of uncertainty and indecisiveness:

'Excuse me, you're sitting on my coat?'
5. Tag questions (midway between a statement and an outright question): women tend to use the following type of tag questions when stating a claim but not having enough confidence in the truth of the statement:

'The way prices are rising is awful, isn't it?'
6. Hedges: women often use hedges ('You know', 'Well', 'Sort of') as an apology for even being assertive at all.
7. Hypercorrect grammar: women tend to ignore coarser terms ('ain't) and are more precise in their pronunciation ('going' instead of 'goin'')
8. 'Superpolite' forms: women use indirect requests more than men:

'I wonder if you would mind passing me the fork.'
9. Joke-telling and humor: It is believed³ that women do not have a sense of humor and when trying to make a joke, they often miss the punch line.

After Lakoff sparked off research on gender and language, more attributes were examined. These include interruption (it is often claimed that men interrupt more than women), topic control (that men decide topics more often while women resort to attention-seeking devices such as 'Guess what'), talking time (that men tend to talk more than women), use of silence (that women tend to use minimal responses such as 'mhm' while listening whereas men tend to be completely silent), and so on. Although these claims are somewhat valid, deeper analysis of speech patterns shows that conversation patterns and styles change according to many factors such as who the listener(s) is/are, how the speaker wants to present her-/himself, and conversation strategies and aims. However, as research into gender and language has progressed, there has been a need for broader insight which does not focus solely on gender

³ In this case, specifically in middle-class American society.

differences, but, rather, on other factors that participate in a speaker's evaluation of his or her own speech. These include social status, role, ethnicity, age, social context, etc., and they contribute to the process of selecting language in interactional settings (see Coates, 2004).

2.5 Constructing gendered language

When constructing a gendered identity in interaction, one participates in a continuously creative process; however, "it is a process which draws on the participants' familiarity with the significance of particular choices" (Holmes, 1997, p. 196). Human beings use language in face-to-face interactions as a means of expressing, challenging, creating, and subverting a large part of social meanings, "but they draw on established sociolinguistic norms in doing so" (Holmes, 1997, p. 196). In other words, although language use is a somewhat creative process, we are influenced by factors such as norms and social expectations.

Interestingly, these norms and social expectations are installed in the individual's mind from a very early age. As I mentioned in 2.2, the process of gendering begins at a very early age – all the way from infancy with concepts such as pink for the girl and blue for the boy. Similarly, the gendering of language also begins from an early age (see Coates, 2004, ch. 9). Learning how to speak is, in a way, learning how to be a member of a specific culture. Since it is safe to claim that most cultures distinguish women's and men's roles in many areas, when children first learn to speak, one of the things they learn is the particular role assigned to them on the basis of their biological sex. Coates explains this as a two-way process: "in becoming linguistically competent, the child learns how to 'do' masculinity or femininity in a particular speech community; conversely, when children adopt a particular linguistic behavior as part of their performance of masculinity or femininity, they perpetuate the social order which creates gender distinctions" (Coates, 2004, p. 148).

Moreover, before children reach puberty, their vocal tracts differ only according to the child's size and not in relation to sex, and thus, theoretically, the frequency of their voices should be the same. However, research shows that children begin to 'sound like' girls and boys even before puberty; in other words, before there are any actual anatomical differences, children start mimicking eventual anatomical differences as a way of performing gender appropriately (see Coates, 2004, p. 150). Although it has been widely established that girls acquire linguistic skills before boys, newer research shows that this superiority is not as

marked as was believed in the past. Coates notes that the acquisition of performing masculinity and femininity in our society means to use gender-appropriate language, among other things. In her study on children's acquisition of language, she concludes that there are five ways in which this socialization is achieved:

1. Through explicit comment on specific areas of linguistic behavior (e.g. swearing, politeness, verbosity).
2. Through adults giving established models of linguistic difference for children to identify with.
3. Through adults speaking differently according to the child's sex (e.g. adults tend to interrupt and lisp more when speaking to girls).
4. Through adults having different perceptions of the child depending on its sex (e.g. adults expect girls to be more linguistically competent).
5. Through adults having different responses to boys and girls even when they use the same linguistic strategy (e.g. boys who argue and talk in an assertive manner are much more likely to achieve a positive response from adults than girls are).

Thus, as children learn to acquire language, they are faced with outside factors which shape their speech patterns and linguistic competence. Use of language is by no means an innate quality, but an on-going social process shaped by environmental stimuli forming one's language into 'appropriate' gender-specific language (see Coates, 2004, p. 169-170).

As Ochs (1992) claims that specific linguistic features such as the Japanese particles *wa* and *ze* indirectly index gender (see Table 1), other features such as tag questions and high pitch do not only serve pragmatic functions, but also express a variety of social meanings, including gender identity. Again, these features index gender indirectly through directly indexing specific social meanings (e.g. social acts, social activities, stances). According to Holmes, each individual's subjectivity "is constructed and gendered within the social, economic and political discourse to which [he or she is] exposed" (Holmes, 1997, p. 202). In other words, from a social constructivist view, identifying the function of linguistic forms in a specific context is essential because "someone using a facilitative tag, or supportively overlapping another's speech, or providing positive agreeing verbal feedback, is doing gender very differently from someone using a challenging tag, disruptively interrupting, and using a neutral or non-committal feedback" (Holmes, 1997, p. 202). However, in order to more appropriately understand the linguistic realizations of gender, there is a necessity for an

evaluation of the way in which individuals express or construct their gender identities in particular interactions in specific social settings. For instance, in western culture, those with power often have the right to speak for longer periods of time, interrupt others, use somewhat insulting jokes, and so on. Because those in powerful positions are often men, these features of language are encoded as ‘masculine’. Thus, the above-mentioned features are indirectly indexing ‘masculinity’ and contribute to the concept of *doing* gender – *doing* being a man. By contrast, those who are powerless usually speak less assertively, are cautious in expressing their views, tend to be tentative, and so on. Because women often occupy powerless positions, social meanings such as the above tend to be associated with the female gender and encode ‘femininity’ (see Holmes, 1997, p. 203). As Holmes notes,

[a] social constructionist approach explores how people use linguistic forms associated with particular social groups, such as women and men, and linguistic devices and strategies associated with or symbolizing particular social dimensions or stereotypes, such as feminine or masculine behaviors – gendered behavior patterns – in particular interactions (Holmes, 1997, p. 204).

In this sense, people use language as a means of creating, constructing, and reinforcing specific social identities, and language is a tool used to negotiate expectations, norms, and discourses which define femininity and masculinity in a particular culture or community at a particular time in history. Using language to express and construct specific identities means using different linguistic features according to the social meanings we want to present. Language, then, becomes a tool for the construction of our identity, or, more appropriately, identities – our different ‘selves’.

2.6 Language and different ‘selves’

Each individual has access to many different discourses, such as patriarchal discourses (which presume the superiority of males) and conservative discourses (which advocate the status quo and denounce change), and it is these different discourses that enable us to perform our different selves. The use of language is dynamic because we make choices when we speak. Cultural and social changes are possible simply because we do not use the discourses which are available to us uncritically, but participate in creating the social meanings. Each time we speak, we are indirectly saying, ‘This is (a version of) me’, and as Coates (1996, p. 240)

argues, we are also saying, ‘I am a woman’ because ‘I/me’ is, according to her, always gendered. Language participates in the construction of our different ‘selves’ because different discourses or interactional settings position us differently in relation to the world.

Furthermore, Nakamura (2002) argues that the different gendered identities (or ‘selves’) each individual expresses in various discourses is closely connected to gender ideologies, as in the following:

Gender Relations \leftrightarrow Gender Ideologies \leftrightarrow Gender Identities

By ‘gender relations’ she means the gender-related power structures which persist in our society. By ‘gender ideologies’ she refers to the gender-related norms about discourse and by ‘gender identities’ she refers to “the level of actual discourse practices in which subjects actively (re)construct a variety of gender identities” (Nakamura, 2002, p. 14). According to this view, gender ideologies both restrict and provide various resources to discourse practices. What we associate with a specific gender influences our linguistic practices according to the expectations of that gender. Thus, for instance, a Japanese woman can perform a range of identities by choosing to either use or not use various linguistic features within the notion of ‘women’s language’ which is a vehicle of Japanese gender ideologies. Accordingly, many Japanese women use *watashi* ‘female first-person pronoun’ instead of *boku* ‘male first-person pronoun’ automatically because they think it is the right way to use their language, and not because they are forced to speak in that way (see Nakamura, 2002, p. 12). On the one hand, gender ideologies affect our linguistic practices and the creation of gender identities, while on the other hand, linguistic practices maintain, subvert, and transform already existing gender ideologies. This is why gender ideologies are never fixed, but partake in a continuously changing circle interconnected with gender identities and gender relations.

Moreover, language is a resource we can play with and manipulate to create certain selves, and in Nakamura’s words, “[o]ne can invent, create, and improvise a variety of gender identities in discourse practices” (Nakamura, 2002, p. 17). Although there are persisting gender ideologies in most cultures which influence our own identity perceptions and the choices we make in language use, a speaker has the choice of utilizing specific gendered linguistic features according to the identity image she or he wants to present. Similarly, Gal notes that

[s]peakers redefine and play with language so that within particular social contexts (and within implicit counterideologies) demeaning lexical items can be recast as terms of solidarity. Similarly, stereotypically or prescriptively ‘male’ forms, when used by women, can index youthfulness, liveliness, and nonconformity (Gal, 1995, p. 178).

In the case of Japanese ‘women’s language’, where the features are associated with heterosexual, grown-up, and middleclass women, young girls (see Miyazaki, 2004) and lesbians (see Abe, 2004) often avoid using these specific features. This is a means for them to construct alternative feminine identities, although these alternative speech styles are often confined to private, personal interactions. The speakers change their language according to the identities they wish to create in specific social contexts. After examining the speech patterns of lesbians in Tokyo bars, Abe finds that they use a range of category names for themselves in order to distinguish themselves from others, and she concludes that the gender identities of these lesbians are not certain, natural, or fixed, and that they use masculine speech styles in such a complex way so that they express a variety of “context-dependent meanings related to their lesbian identities and relationships” (Abe, 2004, p. 218).

2.7 Conclusion

According to the social constructivist stance, identity is not a fixed trait, but a performative quality, and gender, which is a large part of identity, is conceptualized as a verb – *doing* gender. I have discussed how the process of gendering begins from a very early age with gender representations such as pink for girls and blue for boys. Similarly, children’s language abilities and speech styles are shaped by adults’ comments and responses to what appropriate gender language is. We are taught what is feminine and what is masculine and construct our identities through these notions. Although we have seen how very few linguistic features directly index gender (see 2.3), the indirect indexes of gender create our gender identities through the gender ideologies which persist in society. Holmes concludes that “recent research in language and gender clearly indicates the importance of focusing not on biological sex, nor even on the culturally constructed category of gender, but rather on the diverse realizations of the dynamic dimensions of masculinity and femininity” (Holmes, 1997, p. 217). In sum, language is an essential tool for our different identities or ‘selves’ to be realized, and we construct different versions of ourselves through creative use of linguistic features.

3 History of Japanese women's language

“‘Women’s language’ refers not so much, and, not only, to concrete speech forms associated with a feminine speech style, but rather to a network of sites, practices, and discourse that produce the metapragmatic knowledge of how women speak (or how women should speak)” (Inoue, 2004, p. 39-49). In other words, women’s language is a term dealing with discourse about how women should speak rather than a term dealing with women’s actual language use. This is essential to keep in mind when dealing with Japanese women’s language. However, in order to understand more of the ideology behind this women’s language, it is necessary to examine the history behind its construction.

Records of ancient language in Japan (Heian period 794-1185 A.D.) show differences in social status, but not in gender.⁴ For instance, in *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji) by Murasaki Shikibu, there is a dialog between a married couple where the wife is scolding the husband. Because of the nature of the conversation, the wife uses rougher language whereas the husband uses polite language. Moreover, in an ordinary dialog between another couple, the language has no gender differences. Thus, throughout *Genji monogatari* there are many discernible differences in social status, but none in gender-related language (see Endō, 2006, p. 8-9). It was not until the Kamakura and Muromachi periods that gendered language became an actualization in Japan, and thus my analysis will begin with these periods.

3.1 Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1192-1573)

It is quite difficult to determine how people in the medieval period actually spoke, since the only traces of the spoken language of the time are written versions, which are not necessarily equivalent to actual language use. However, written versions of female spoken language can at least give us clues about how women were supposed to speak, especially how people altered their spoken language depending on the addressee. Various literary texts⁵ depict, for instance, women who use honorifics in addressing men, while men do not use honorifics at

⁴ There are a few references to ‘men’s language’ and such in works such as *Makura no sooshi* (The Pillow Book) by Sei Shōnagon, completed in about 1017, however, they do not give concrete examples but merely indicate that there are some gender differences in speech styles (see Endō, 2006, p. 7-8).

⁵ Such as *Konjaku monogatari shū* (Tales of Times Now Past), a collection of stories from the 12th century.

all. Another example can be found amongst people of higher status where men were encouraged to use *yo* and women *wo* when making replies. Thus, in the medieval period, gender differentiation in the spoken language became evident (see Endō, 2006, p. 26-30). Amidst the distinction of gendered languages, women's language started to become significantly formalized with the establishment of *nyooboo-kotoba* 'court ladies' language'. The *nyooboo-kotoba* is an argot language: a "language used exclusively among members of a specific group to foster closer relationships and unity within the group while at the same time weakening relationships with those on the outside" (Endō, 2006, p. 31). Thus, this 'court ladies' language' erupted mainly because of a need for communication between women of different social classes while working together at the imperial palace, and "[i]t could be thought of as a type of linguistic innovation, whereby accents and so forth are subsumed into a common code" (Sugimoto, 1967, in Endō, 2006, p. 32). The *nyooboo-kotoba* can be summarized into seven main methods of word formation:

- (1) addition of the honorific prefix *o-* to existing words (*yu* "hot water" --> *o-yu*)
- (2) abbreviation of existing words (*takenoko* "bamboo shoot" --> *take*)
- (3) addition of *moji* to abbreviations of existing words (*shinpai* "worry" --> *shin-moji*)
- (4) addition of *mono* to words related in concept to existing words (*udon* "thick white noodles" --> *o-naga-mono* "long things")
- (5) creation of words conceptually related to the characteristic color, shape, and/or nature of the original words (*iwashi* "sardine" --> *murasaki* "purple")
- (6) addition of words or syllables to parts of existing words or conceptually related words (*azuki* "azuki beans, red beans" --> *aka-aka* "red-red")
- (7) avoidance of the Chinese pronunciation of words of Chinese origin (*kaji* "fire" --> *akagoto* "red thing")

Nyooboo-kotoba spread widely as young women of lower classes became employed in the homes of the nobility, and the daughters of this nobility were married off to feudal lords. Further spread went from the homes of the feudal lords to the daughters of the townsfolk working for them. Thus, women of all social statuses became familiar with this language. Ultimately, it was used to raise one's status. Once a woman of any status became acquainted with it, she became more desirable in the marriage market and her future seemed brighter.

Surprisingly, it began to be used by some men as well. In this case, as well, it was a tool to raise one's status, but at the same time, with a slight arrogance (see Endō, 2006, p. 32-37).

Interestingly, although people believed that this *nyoobo-kotoba* gave a sense of elegance and refinement, and that it was a language well suited for the expression of femininity, it was not always perceived with such positive attitudes. In fact, scholar and poet Tayasu Munetake (1715-71) stated that “[i]t is the way of the world that people's language should change, but nothing is more appalling than the speech of women. They rephrase fine old expressions in dreadful new terms and convert beautiful old phrases into ones of Chinese origin. Such language use can be forgiven if the new word replaces a coarse term, but it is extremely disturbing that these new words are worse than those previously used” (in Endō, 2006, p. 35). Naturally, this is a representation of the male perspective on women's language.

3.2 Edo period (1600-1868)

From the 17th to the 18th centuries, Confucian ideologies of male domination over women infiltrated the higher classes as Chinese classics became the main focus of samurai's study. Male domination over women indicated, among other things, linguistic domination in terms of stricter rules for female speech. As with the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, it is impossible to decipher exactly how women spoke in the Edo period, but again, some deductions can be made from written texts of spoken language. Nevertheless, it is difficult to make generalizations of women's language at the time since women of different social classes in different situations had very different speech styles. In other words, women's actual language use “varies infinitely depending on factors such as the speaker's social class or occupation, who she is talking to, and the aim of the conversation. The category of “women's language use,” however, functions to lump together the infinite variety of women's linguistic acts and declare it “the same language use” (Nakamura, 2003a, p. 33). Furthermore, what is extremely important to understand when dealing with the concept of women's language is that it is constructed mainly through disciplinary books and other instructional media, and not through the natural evolution of speech.

The return to Confucianism indicated a focus on the language prescribed in women's ethical and disciplinary books. These books served as a means of teaching women how to live ‘correctly’ and incorporated books on many more aspects of women's lives than simply

language use. Whereas in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods disciplinary books were written mainly for the writers' daughters and other female family members who were preparing for marriage, the disciplinary books in the Edo period had a much wider audience and were published in large amounts. The center of these disciplinary books consisted of *shigyō* 'four behaviors'; *fu-toku* 'female morals,' *fu-yō* 'female appearance,' *fu-kō* 'female skills' (such as sewing and penmanship), and *fu-gen* 'female language.' The teachings of *fu-gen* were institutionalized as the 'correct' way for women to speak, and therefore this 'female language' was considered crucial to the domination over women. These disciplinary books advised women to speak as little as possible, and when speaking, to use a soft, small, and clear voice (see Nakamura, 2003a, p. 25-26). Although women were advised to speak as little as possible, they were encouraged to use *yamato kotoba*⁶ when speaking. This was mostly the case with upper class women, whereas commoners continued to use neutral language (almost identical to the speech of their male peers) (see Endō, 2006, p. 47, 53).

Another contributor to the subsequent women's language is the language of the pleasure quarters (*yuujōgo*). The Edo Shogunate had authorized three pleasure quarters and by the end of the 18th century, 6,000 prostitutes were working in these districts which were located in Edo (Tokyo), Kyoto and Osaka. Prostitutes were brought from all over the country from areas which did not use honorifics and had their own regional dialects. In order to erase these regional language differences, a 'quarters dialect' was created. Most of the language created by these courtesans was honorific and necessary to use when speaking to customers. Following is an example of a conversation between a prostitute and her customer from *Satonamari* (Dialect of the Quarters, 1789):

Joroo: *Kinoo Mukoojima he ikinshita ga (=ikimashita ga), isso omoshiroo arinshita (arimashita). Wacchi (=watashi) isso samurai ni naritoo ariisu (arimasu).*

Prostitute: "Yesterday, I went to Mukojima. It was amusing. I'd like to be a samurai."

Kyaku: *Kitsui awaseyoo sa.*

Customer: "That would be difficult!"

Joroo: *Oya, bakarashii. Honni samurai ni naritakute nariisen (=narimasen).*

⁶ Words created during the Edo period, which are, in fact, almost identical to *nyooboo kotoba*, and not what we call *Yamato kotoba* or *wago* in contemporary Japanese, which are words of native Japanese.

- Prostitute: "Oh, you're silly! I really mean to become a samurai."
- Kyaku:* *Naze?*
- Customer: "Why?"
- Joroo:* *Ai sa, samurai wa ne, arimosenu ikusa wo ukeotte chigyoo to yara wo totte inansu (=oraremasu) kara sa.*
- Prostitute: "Well, because samurai live by the spoils of wars that in fact have not been fought, you know." (Endō, 2006, p. 51)

As an example of how common women of the time spoke, I will refer to a dialog between a married couple from Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *Onna goroshi abura no jigoku* (A Woman's Murder, the Hell of Oil). Here, the woman uses honorific forms such as *konasama* 'the honorable one before me' when speaking to her husband, and *mairau*, the humble form 'come/go,' when telling her own daughter to leave (where she does not need to use humble expressions). The husband, on the other hand, speaks to her in plain form, except only once in the case of *mairau*. These speech styles, or at least similar ones, are reoccurring in many of the works written during the Edo period (see Endō, 2006, p. 40-41). However, not all female characters in literary texts of the time used honorifics exclusively. Noble women would often speak to their servants in a harsher manner, often similar to male speech. Also, women often used *ore*⁷, which was gender-neutral at the time, when referring to themselves. Analyses of literary texts of the time can also show that women of different social classes spoke in different manners. The speech of the general populace was not as the instructed language in disciplinary books. In every period, there is a difference between the speech of the upper and lower classes. What is interesting about the language in Japanese society after the Meiji Restoration (see 3.3) is that these two speech forms converged.

As a conclusion to her analysis of women's disciplinary books, Nakamura states that "the accumulation of these discourses categorized women's language use as a socially meaningful topic distinctive from other language-uses," and she calls it "the category of 'women's language use;' it is a linguistic gender ideology historically constructed by discourse" (Nakamura, 2003a, p. 32). Lastly, it is important to note that the category of 'women's language use' of the time often centered around the issue of whether women should speak at all, and if so, to speak in a low voice. Thus, the category of 'women's language use'

⁷ A male first-person pronoun in contemporary Japanese.

was quite different from the concept of ‘women’s language’ that we have today which is characterized by particular grammatical, lexical, and stylistic patterns.

3.3 Meiji period (1868-1912)⁸

Although the *nyooboo-kotoba* can be said to have opened the doors for women to have their own ‘secret’ language, and that the discourse and disciplinary books in the Edo period created a focus on women’s speech, it is the women’s language that was institutionalized in the Meiji period that forms the basis of the ideological women’s language today (see 4.1).

The Meiji Restoration⁹ changed the entire social system. An educational system and ideas of human rights flooded in from the West and were promulgated by intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi. He criticized misogynistic behavior stating that “men are human beings, and women, too, are human beings” (see Endō, 2006, p. 57). During the process of modernizing the country after almost three hundred years of seclusion, the Meiji government had their main focus on ‘nationalization,’ which, in fact, was completely sex-differentiated since women and men “were constructed into two categories of citizens” (Nakamura, 2006, p. 273). This process of nationalization was further strengthened by the construction of *hyoojungo* ‘standard Japanese’ (*kokugo* ‘Japanese national language’) which was considered necessary for the unification of speech and writing so that Japan could, among other things, better import and spread Western knowledge. Although the standard language was established to create unity in the nation, it was conceptualized as ‘men’s national language.’ Men represented workers and soldiers and women confinement with their roles as mothers and wives. Naturally, with the separation of the sexes, the Japanese language separated as well into male and female language¹⁰ (see Nakamura, 2006, p. 273).

In the beginning of the Meiji period, with ‘The School System Law’ of 1872, women were officially able to become students, and their position was quite equal to their male peers. The female students wore the same attire as the male, which consisted of *hakama*, trouser-style kimono, and their language was ‘male language.’ Following are two excerpts from a conversation between two female students in a letter to the Yomiuri Newspaper in 1875:

⁸ The Taishō period (1912-1926) was not significantly different in its history of the Japanese language and thus goes under the chapter of the Meiji period as the language ideology spans over both periods.

⁹ When the Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown and the emperor was brought back to power.

¹⁰ Again, I would like to emphasize that the distinction between male and female language was an ideology, not necessarily practiced as such.

(a) *Kore wa boku no oji ga shoohoo o hajime mashite senjitsu ittan boku ni hakama ni itase toitte tooyo sare mashita-yo.*

‘My uncle started a business and gave me a roll of cloth the other day saying I should have a *hakama* [made out of it].’

(b) *Kimi kitto hokudoo e kotowari tamae.*

‘You must tell your mother that you will not marry.’

Eesu, eesu, eesu, eesu.

‘Yes, yes, yes, yes.’ (Nakamura, 2006, p. 275)

The girls use *boku*, the male first-person pronoun, *kimi*, the male second-person pronoun, Chinese words such as *tooyo* ‘give,’ *hokudoo* ‘mother,’ and *shoohoo* ‘business,’ *tamae*, the imperative form of the honorific auxiliary *tamau*, and the imported word ‘yes’ – all characteristics of ‘male language’. However, after 1879 the situation changed drastically with ‘The Imperial Rescript on Education’ which was against Westernization and announced the start of ethical education based on Confucianism. While disciplinary books in the Edo period instructed women to speak as little as possible, in the Meiji period, the focus moved to how they should speak (with many restrictions).¹¹ The Meiji media quickly took advantage of these disciplinary books and criticized the use of ‘male student language’ by female students. This criticism is very evident in novels where ‘bad female students’ were characterized by their use of ‘male student language’ and ‘good female students’ by polite, feminine language (see Nakamura, 2004, p. 45-47). For instance, in the novel *Baika joshi no den* (The Story of Miss Apricot Scent) (Iwamoto, 1885), there is an evident contrast between the speech of Ume, who is a good girl, and Sawayama and Tanaka, who are bad girls.¹² The bad girls use many features of ‘schoolboy speech’ whereas Ume never does:

Sawayama: boku-ra, iya, shoo-ra wa kore o michibikite toosee fuu ni suru gimu ga arimasu ze.

‘We have a responsibility to lead them and liberalize them.’

Tanaka: Sawayama-kun, sonnani shiranu fuu o shi-tamau na.

¹¹ For instance, *Shoogaku shuushinkun* (Elementary School Moral Precept) of 1880 states that women’s language means using language selectively, that women should not use rough language, and to speak after thinking so as to not say the wrong things. Furthermore, *Sooga shoogaku onna reishiki* (Illustrated Elementary School for Women’s Manners) of 1882 gives the following instructions: “When you speak, do not speak in too high a voice nor too low a voice, do not speak too slowly or too rapidly. What you should always watch is the use of immoderate words and popular words in front of others. Even if you hear those words used, try not to use them yourself” (Nakamura, 2003b, p. 16-17).

¹² It is important to keep in mind that *Baika joshi no den* is a work of fiction and thus does not represent actual language use, but rather a somewhat exaggerated version of female and male speech.

‘Mr. Sawayama, do not pretend to know so much.’

Ume: *Sawayama-san, sakujitsu wa makoto ni arigatoo gozai mashita*
‘Miss Sawayama, thank you very much for yesterday.’ (Nakamura,
2006, p. 276)

Throughout the novel, both Sawayama and Tanaka use ‘male student language’ when they are speaking to each other without the presence of Ume, whereas when Ume appears, they switch to polite, feminine language so as to be in accordance with Ume’s speech. Thus, according to Nakamura (2004), this story shows two things about female language; (1) “‘male student language’ and ‘polite language’ are used as linguistic symbols to make the distinction between depraved female students and decent, normal female students” (as both Sawayama and Tanaka lost interest in their studies whereas Ume remains excited about learning), and (2) “even for the depraved female students, ‘polite language’ is recognized as the norm” (as both Tanaka and Sawayama naturally switch to ‘polite language’ when Ume is present) (Nakamura, 2004, p. 47).

Another example of a dialog, again from a novel and thus not real life speech, emphasizes the difference between polite female speech and superior, casual male speech. This example is taken from Tokutomi Roka’s *Hototogisu* (The Cuckoo, 1898) and is a conversation between a married couple, Namiko and Takeo:

Namiko: *Anata, o-tsukare asobashita deshoo.*
‘You must be tired, dear.’

Takeo: *Nami-san koso kutabiretaroo. Oh kirei, jitsu ni rippa da. . . . Hontoo ni Nami-san ga koo kimono wo kahete iru to, mada kinoo kita hanayome no yoo omofu yo.*
‘Nami-san, it is you who must be tired. You look beautiful, really splendid. . . . Nami-san, when you wear a kimono like this, it makes me feel like you are still my young bride who came only yesterday.’

Namiko: *Anna koto wa. . . . Sonna koto wo ossharu to itte shimahimasu kara.*
‘Saying such a thing. . . . If you say that, I’m going to end up leaving.’

Takeo: *Ha ha ha ha. Moo iwanai. Iwanai. Soo nigen de mo ii ja nai ka.*
‘Ha, ha, ha, ha! I won’t say it again. I won’t. But you don’t have to run away like that, do you?’

Namiko: *Ho ho ho. Chotto kigahe wo itashite mairimasu yo.*

‘Ho, ho, ho! I’m going to go and get changed.’ (Endō, 2006, p. 68-69)

In this excerpt, we can see that Namiko uses elegant honorifics such as *ossharu* ‘say’ and *O-tsukare asobasu* ‘be tired’ and highly humble expressions such as *kigahe wo itashite mairu* ‘go and get changed.’ Takeo, on the other hand, although he uses the honorific title Namiko-san, speaks to his wife in casual language such as *kutabiretaroo* ‘you’re probably dead tired,’ *ja nai ka* ‘isn’t it?’ and *omofu yo* ‘(I) think.’

Around the same time as the ‘The Imperial Rescript on Education’ came out (1879), some female students started using new sentence-final particles – *teyo*, *dawa*, and *noyo*, and thus this ‘schoolgirl speech’ is often called *teyo-dawa* speech. To begin with, it was heavily criticized by the media as well as in personal settings. Following are some examples:

(1) *Ume wa mada saka-naku-tteyo.*

‘The apricot has not yet bloomed.’

(2) *Sakura no hana wa mada saka-nain-dawa.*

‘The cherry flowers have not yet bloomed.’

(3) *Ara moo saita-noyo.*

‘Oh, [it has] already bloomed.’ (Nakamura, 2004, p. 48)

Although there was a push towards equality between the sexes in terms of education and rights, there was still a heavily prevailing ideal of women’s language and how women should by no means speak like men. Even though Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who established the Christian-orientated Meiji School for Women and begun publishing *Jogaku zasshi* (Journal of Women’s Education) in 1885 (see Endō, 2006, p. 58), used the school and the magazine to promote gender equality under the eye of God, he still saw women’s language as something in need of retaining and polishing:

The language of women is generally elegant . . . and their delicate pronunciation and polite intonation cannot be matched by men. However, it seems that rough, impolite, offensive, and ugly-sounding words have entered women’s vocabularies recently. . . .

It is not so distracting when women speak with men, because they then exercise restraint. However, when women gather and talk among themselves,

they seem to use words that are not at all praiseworthy [...] I doubt one can maintain a noble and elegant character with words like these.” (Endō, 2006, p. 62-63)

Moreover, what is highly interesting about *teyo-dawa* speech is that most of its criticism was from the male perspective. As Endō argues, “[t]o anyone who has heard present-day Japanese adults criticize the speech of students and young girls as “rough and impolite,” these criticisms from over a hundred years ago sound very familiar. In any period of history, men seem to find women’s innovations in language difficult to accept” (Endō, 2006, p. 63).

Accordingly, it becomes rather necessary to ask why these female students started using such sentence-final particles at all. As 1879 was the year that ‘The Imperial Rescript on Education’ was issued and Confucianism was institutionalized, it is only quite natural to assume that the *teyo-dawa* speech erupted as “a resistance to the contradiction of Confucian education which claimed equal opportunity for both sexes, on the one hand, but required different roles for female and male on the other” (Nakamura, 2004, p. 49). Although the use of *teyo-dawa* speech and ‘male student language’ by female students was often criticized, it functioned as a resistance in which female students liberated themselves from the ‘good-wife-wise-mother’ norm of ‘polite language.’ As *teyo-dawa* speech was becoming more common and spreading further and further among middle and even upper class women, despite all the resistance, it finally became recognized as women’s language. As a consequence, traces of *teyo-dawa* speech are found in women’s language even in contemporary Japan.

3.4 Shōwa period (1926-1989)

In the beginning of the Shōwa period, before the second world war, so-called *modan gaaru* ‘modern girls’ and *modan booi* ‘modern boys’ started to change the customs of society. *Modan gaaru* erupted as a rebellion against the traditional view on Japanese women who were expected to act as patrons of ‘good-wife-wise-mother’ or decent school girls and use polite women’s language. The *modan gaaru*, then, started cutting their hair short, wearing Western-style clothing, and showing great enthusiasm for Western culture in general. *Moga* (abbreviation of *modan gaaru*) started using *kimi* (a masculine and very casual second-person pronoun) when addressing men and *boku* (a masculine first-person pronoun) when referring to themselves (see Endō, 2006, p. 75-76).

The following is an excerpt from Chieko Muramatsu's novel *Shinoyama Shikako no ichi shitai* (An appearance of Shinoyama Shikako, 1989) where the main character is a *moga*:

Otoko no yoo ni ikatsui kata de, habattaku sayuu e kaze wo kirinagara guigui mi o yosete kuru nari,

Moving freely, strong shouldered like a man, she steadily and rapidly approached,

Kimi kaa

“It’s you!”

Sooshite wa ha ha to oozappa na warai wo hanatta

Then, she let out a boisterous laugh.

Ossoroshiku samui na. Yarikirenee. Oi, taku, ogoranai kaa.

“It’s awfully cold, isn’t it? I just can’t stand it! Hey, treat me to a taxi, will you?”

Ja, taku ni suru kedo, sono kawari.

“All right, I’ll treat you but what’ll you do for me?”

Un. Negiru no wa hito da yo. Ii yo, umaku yatte yara.

“Well, I’m the one who should dicker. Never mind. I’ll do the right by you, O.K.?”

(Muramatsu, 1989, in Endō, 2006, p. 76)

This main character who is “strong shouldered like a man” uses *kimi* when addressing the woman that she speaks to, *hito* instead of the singular first-person pronoun *watashi*, exclusively male speech forms of the time such as *wa nee, yarikirenee, kaa*, and the abbreviation for *takushi* (taxi), *taku*.

Schoolgirls during the pre-war era often used ‘bad language’ as a rebellion against the elegance and politeness continuously forced upon them. Social critic Michiko Dan (1943, in Endō, 2006, p. 79) found that schoolgirls used *asobase* (the imperative of a polite form of the verb ‘to do’) when speaking to parents and other adults, whereas they added the highly vulgar *-yagare* to *asobase* when talking amongst each other simply to amuse themselves by using bad language. Thus, although intellectuals still argued that women should use refined, elegant language, it became difficult to maintain the separation of male and female speech all the way down from elementary school.

The studies of women’s speech began in the 1920s with focus on ‘courtesans’ speech’ of the Edo period and ‘court ladies’ language’ of the Muromachi period. In fact, the first scholar to ever consider women’s language an object of national language research was

Kikuzawa Sueo in 1929. He saw *nyooboo-kotoba* as the ideal of women's speech due to its courteous and feminine qualities. In other words, this is an ideology¹³ of women's speech rooted in language policy. In the 1930s, the NLA (National Language Association) was founded to help support the Ministry of Education's language policies. Shortly after its foundation, a women's wing (with female members) was established which targeted educated middle-class women and advocated the ideal of 'women's speech' (see Washi, 2004, p. 81-83).

Furthermore, in 1941, the Ministry of Education published *Reehoo yookoo* (Essentials of etiquette) originally as a textbook for secondary schools but was used by all people of all classes as a guide to manners. Section 5 was about language use and it included the following:

2. For the first person, *watakushi* 'I' should normally be used. In addressing a superior one may on occasion use one's surname or given name. Men may use *boku* 'I' when addressing a social equal, but not when addressing a superior.
3. For the second person, when addressing a superior one should use an honorific appropriate to rank. When addressing an equal one should normally use *anata* 'you.' Men may also use *kimi* 'you.' (Washi, 2004, p. 78-79)

In other words, women had few options in language choice, whereas men had several. The aim of the state was not to control language use, but "to reinforce hierarchical social relations and gender roles by regulating language" (Washi, 2004, p. 79). The strengthening of hierarchical social roles was the state's way of preparing for a total war.

However, the ideal of women's speech that the NLA women's wing propagated differed slightly from the ones the *Reehoo yookoo* and male scholars propagated. The women saw women's language as a means of expressing achievement of a high status in society, whereas men saw women's language as a tool for sexual charm alongside beautiful looks:

Say there is a lady. She possesses the beauty of a flower [. . .] What would it be like if that lady then opened her mouth and spoke in *beranmee kotoba*? Alas! Her lovely countenance and arching brow would lose their luster; her good garb would appear a sham. Thus decorous language is more beautiful still than fair looks. (Otsuma, 1929, in Washi, 2004, p. 87)

¹³ "[A] body of knowledge turned to a particular political purpose" (Washi, 2004, p. 84).

This women's speech was realized as an element of the state's national language policy backed by scholars in national language research. Within this dynamic lies the significance: women's language was an establishment in the cooperative relationship between women's leaders and state language policy. The standard to be followed by all women was based on the idea of how the language of educated middle-class women and female students in Tokyo was realized. Thus, "it is crucial to recognize that "female speech" is an artificial construct serving state interests in an ideology of femininity, a construct that was developed largely as a state project during the war years but which was also strongly supported by elite women during this period" (Washi, 2004, p. 88).

Pre-war and post-war Japan and its language realities were quite different. At the end of World War II, Japanese society and its people had changed significantly. Men, who had been out to war, had been replaced by women in factories. These women, then, became breadwinners of their families and thus took over their husbands' position. Naturally, with the change of social roles, women's language changed as well. They were working alongside men in factories and therefore their language became rougher, more vulgar, and very similar to their male peers' speech. Some people began to question the use of women's language altogether now more than ever, and, interestingly, journalist Suzuki Bunshirō radio broadcasted in 1948 that women's language should be completely abolished. His speech centered on the equality of the sexes and how women and men need to have equal rights in all manners. Also, he proposed specific grammatical structures that he encouraged women to use instead of the traditional ones. One example is the use of *de arimasu* (the formal form of the copula) instead of *de gozaimasu* (the more polite form). He was much ahead of his time since there are traces of women's language even in contemporary Japan (see Endō, 2006, p. 83-84).

Although the change in women's language was not the self-conscious reform Suzuki had advocated, there was indeed a great change. This change was not only a great change in women's language, but also a conversion between women's and men's language. In other words, as scholar Yazaki Genrō noted in 1960, "women's language is becoming rougher . . . while, on the other hand, men's language is becoming softer. . . . Although it is not clear if women's language is coming to resemble men's, or men's language is coming to resemble women's, whichever the case may be, the gap between them is gradually shrinking" (in Endō, 2006, p. 86). Boys and even men began to use feminine particles such as *no* as in *soo deshita*

no ‘that’s right,’ *yo* as in *soo desu yo*¹⁴ ‘that’s right!’ and *no ne* as in *soo datta no ne* ‘that’s right, isn’t it?’

Interestingly, in Japanese literature, even today, there is such a phenomenon as gender-specific language and role language in general (although the language does not represent actual language use). This is very evident in literature from the Shōwa period where commentators often refer to novels as illustrations of how simple it can be to distinguish women’s and men’s language. For instance, it is rather self-evident for Japanese speakers that (2) and (4) are uttered by a male character, whereas (1), (3), and (5) from a female character:

(1) *Anata, anata nara doo suru?*

“Dear, what would you do if it happened to you?”

(2) *Doo suru tte nani ga da ne?*

“What do you mean, what would I do?”

(3) *Moshimo, anata no booya ga korosareta to shitara, yappari sekentei wo massaki ni kangaeru?*

“If your son were killed, would you first wonder what the neighbors will think?”

(4) *Baka na koto wo iu mon ja nai yo.*

“This isn’t something you would make stupid remarks about.”

(5) *Sonna shinpai shita koto nai no?*

“Haven’t you ever had those kinds of worries?” (Kindaichi, 1988, in Endō, 2006, p. 95)

However, towards the end of the Shōwa period we can find more and more examples of novels where the characters refrain from this gender-specific language and the distinction between male and female speech is much smaller. A small sample of a conversation between two characters in Yoshimoto Banana’s *Kicchin* (Kitchen, 1988) shows how the genders of the characters could be reversed and the dialog would sound just as natural:

(1) *Ame ga furu ka na watashi ga iu to.*

“I said, ‘Wonder if it will rain,’ and...”

(2) *Iya, harete kurun ja nai? Sooichiroo wa itta.*

¹⁴ The sentence-final particle *yo* is not seen as a feminine particle in contemporary Japanese and neither is this particular construction, however, it was seen as such before and around the time of the war (see Endō, 2006, p. 85).

”Sooichiroo said, ‘No, it should begin to clear up, don’t you think?’ (Yoshimoto, 1988, in Endō, 2006, p. 96)

As already mentioned, while women’s language was evolving towards male language, men’s language was evolving towards women’s language. Sentence-final particles such as the feminine *no yo ne* (see 5.4) became more common for men to use than previously, and likewise for sentence-finals endings such as the masculine *ja nai yo* for women.

Lastly, when dealing with an ideology such as women’s language it is quite interesting to see how the populace perceived women’s more masculine speech style. Surveys conducted towards the end of the Shōwa period have led to some interesting findings. One survey conducted by NHK (Japan’s government-sponsored broadcasting system) in 1980 asked respondents what they think about the language of women of the time. 68% replied that women’s language had become rougher. The same survey was conducted again in 1986, and this time, the percentage of people who replied that women’s language had become rougher was only 53. Conclusively, it is safe to say that the society had become more accustomed to the changes in women’s language as well as more accepting of it (see Endō, 2006, p. 86-87).

3.5 Women’s language today

In this section, I will briefly account for contemporary ideological women’s language, see Chapter 4 for more details.

As Hiramoto notes, “[i]deologically, use of JWL [Japanese women’s language] evokes an image of the urban, sophisticated, educated, and non-working class woman” (Hiramoto, 2010, p. 101-102). From a language ideology point of view, Japanese women’s language has been linked to the image of a middle-class educated woman, and its speaker generally represents the ideal woman. This language ideology is a cultural construct of ‘how women should speak’ instead of ‘how women actually speak.’ Inoue (2003) quite accurately describes the dual relationship between language ideology and real language use:

Who most commonly speaks the most authentic women’s language? The answer is paradoxical: one ‘hears’ Japanese women’s language not so much from living bodies of Japanese women, as from imaginary voices. These voices, attributed to various alterities, are metalinguistically represented through several intertextual practices such

as reported speech and quotation. The most common sites of these reports and quotations of women's language are female characters in novels, movies, TV shows, drama scripts, animation and computer games. (Inoue, 2003, p. 315)

The main elements of contemporary Japanese women's language include gendered sentence-final particles (SPFs), personal pronouns, word usage (including honorifics and more polite language in general), and intonation and high-pitched voice.

3.6 Conclusion

After a careful analysis of the history of Japanese women's language it is safe to conclude that a distinctive women's language has not always existed. I have discussed how women's language did not exist in ancient times, but was created from the medieval period and onwards. The contributors to the ideological women's language that lingers in contemporary Japanese society include the *nyooboo kotoba* from the Muromachi period, the disciplinary books and *yuujiyogo* of the Edo period, the 'back to Confucianism' and the strengthening of gender roles (including gendered language) in the Meiji period with the development of *teyodawa* speech, as well as the *Reehoo yookoo* and the NLA women's wing's propagation of women's speech in the Shōwa period.

Japanese women have for centuries been instructed on how to use their language, although these instructions have often deviated from the ways in which women naturally speak. In 4.4, we will examine how women actually speak, however, it is important to note that Japanese women often use the language they are ideally supposed to use so as to not oppose society. Even today, Japanese women call their husbands *shujin* 'master' so that they will not be seen as strong-willed or arrogant although they often dislike the term. Similarly, junior high school girls use *boku* to refer to themselves, but change to *watashi* because they are often scolded by their parents and teachers (see Miyazaki, 2004). It is dishonest to have to alter one's speech in order to fit society's expectations and quite unfortunate for the ones who have to undergo this alternation. However, fortunately, contemporary young women do not feel chained by the 'women's language' of the past and have started to "claim a genderless, relaxed language style" (Endō, 2006, p. 112). Perhaps the day when women can express themselves in any style they wish is soon to come.

4 Fictional/role language vs. real speech

The previous chapter on the history of Japanese women's language shows how the development of a distinct women's language evolved throughout centuries. However, it also emphasizes that its development was created mainly through discourse and disciplinary books and thus is an ideology of Japanese women's language. In this chapter, I will examine the concept of role language (see Kinsui, 2007) and how it is used in fiction and media (because fictional language is where we can find traces of ideological language¹⁵) and see how these findings relate to the analysis of Japanese women's actual language use. First, however, it is necessary to give an overview of the features of the ideological Japanese women's language.

4.1 Features of Japanese women's language

There are many features of the ideological Japanese women's language, however, for the purpose of this study, I will focus only on the main ones:¹⁶

- First-person pronouns:

Following is a table depicting the various gender-marked first-person pronouns in Japanese:

	Women's speech	Men's speech
Formal	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
	<i>atakushi</i>	<i>watashi</i>
Plain	<i>watashi</i>	<i>boku</i>
	<i>atashi</i>	
Deprecatory	∅	<i>ore</i>

Table 2. Gender-marked first-person pronouns

Watakushi is the most polite and formal version of all first-person pronouns and it is used by both genders. *Watashi* is a formal first-person pronoun for men, but a plain pronoun for women. The male equivalent to the plain *watashi/atashi* for women is *boku* (see Miyazaki,

¹⁵ Although Japanese role language is somewhat 'made up', there are traceable connections between speech styles of specific character types and real language use or ideological language.

¹⁶ Others include intonation, pitch, vocabulary (softer and more delicate words), etc.

2004). Associated with high masculinity and often with domination is the male first-person pronoun *ore* and there is no such equivalent for women (see 6.2 for untraditional uses).

- Politeness and honorifics

Women are expected to speak more politely, cooperatively and indirectly than men (although research finds that this is not necessarily the case (see Okamoto, 2004)), and to use honorifics more often than men. Following is an example of the difference between the expected male language and the expected female language. It is illustrated by an excerpt from a book written by a male author on how to write letters. (1) is how a woman should write a letter and (2) is how a man should write a letter:

(1) (From a woman to her nephew, congratulating his marriage engagement)

Haruki-san, go-konyaku omedetoo-gozaimasu. Saikin no anata no yoosu kara sore to naku kanjite wa i- mashita ga, konna ni hayaku konyaku to wa bikkuri-suru yara odoroku yara, nan to itte o-iwai no kotoba o okur-imashoo ka. . . .

‘Haruki, congratulations on your engagement! I had a feeling [that you might] from the way you have been behaving recently, but I’m very surprised that you got engaged so fast. What kind of congratulatory words shall I give you?’

(2) (From a man to his nephew, congratulating him on his engagement)

Masaki-kun, konyaku-shita soo da ne. Omedetoo. Sore to naku kanjite wa ita kedo, konna ni hayaku to wa bikkuri-suru yara odoroku yara, nan to itte o-iwai no kotoba o okur-oo ka. . . .

‘Masaki, I heard that you got engaged. Congratulations! I had a feeling [that you might], but I’m very surprised that it came so fast. What kinds of congratulatory words shall I give you?’ (Okamoto, 2004, p. 42-43)

The excerpts show how the woman is using more honorifics and polite forms (*-gozaimasu*, *-mashita*, *okur-imashoo*, *-san*) and the man is using more casual informal language (*-kun*, *omedetoo*, *okur-oo*).

- Sentence-finals forms/particles

The Japanese language has sentence-final particles denoting emotions and different attitudes toward the uttered sentence (see 5.4), something which does not have equivalents in English

(although it can be argued that tag questions such as ‘isn’t it’ can be similar to some of the Japanese sentence-final particles).

4.2 A misconception

Before getting deeper into this chapter, I would like to point out a slight ‘misconception’ about Japanese women’s language. In recent decades there has been a lot of focus on Japanese women’s speech styles, especially the speech styles of young women. The older generation is not reluctant to show their displeasure of young women’s speech.¹⁷ Newspapers are good examples of the public’s complaints on how women’s language has become masculine and too rough, and not as feminine and delicate as it used to be. Although research has shown that the older generation speaks more ‘feminine’ than the younger generation (see 4.4.4), there is, indeed, a slight misconception in Japan about women’s language. Many people believe that Japanese women have for centuries used a very feminine and delicate speech style, and that this refined speech style has dwindled over the last few decades. Interestingly, this is a false belief as the actual language use has for a large part of history been very different from the ideology and many women have never used the recommended women’s language (see Chapter 3). Women’s language is a concept which was heavily advocated during the Meiji period (it was advocated before as well, but especially during this period), created for political reasons, but was never a realistic depiction of women’s actual speech. Commoners often used male language although they were advised not to according to the ideal of the speech of upper- and upper-middleclass women in Tokyo (see Nakamura, 2010, p. 25). Although these upper- and upper-middleclass Tokyo women often used the ideological women’s language in many situations, by no means was this language a national phenomenon. This moves us into the question of how the actual language use of contemporary Japanese women is. However, before I begin the analysis to answer this question, I am going to give an overview of so-called *yakuwarigo* ‘role language,’ which is the link between spoken language and character type and is found in fiction and media.

¹⁷ As may be expected, the older generation complains about all young people’s speech styles, which is a phenomenon found rather universally when dealing with new dialects, speech forms, and street slang. It seems that the elderly often have a struggle accepting young people’s ways.

4.3 Role language (*yakuwarigo*)

Yakuwarigo is a term coined by Kinsui as “[s]ets of spoken language features (vocabulary and grammar) and phonetic characteristics (intonation and accent patterns) psychologically associated with particular character types” (Kinsui, 2003, in Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 37). It is often the case in Japanese fiction and popular culture that a character’s speech style varies greatly according to characteristics such as age, gender, social status, residence, birthplace, occupation and looks. Thus, the speech style of a certain character helps portray what type of character it is. Examples of firmly established character/role types in Japanese fiction include the young lady of a good family, the elderly male, and the Chinese person.

These various types of role languages are often quite different from actual speech. Some, such as the speech styles of animals and aliens (who do not have actual human speech in reality), are purely imaginary, whereas others, such as the elderly male and the young girl from a good family, stem from non-fictional usage and their origins can, in fact, be traced. Teshigawara and Kinsui explain the formation of role language as follows:

From actual language usage, individuals acquire knowledge about the relationship between a particular variety of the language and its speakers, then categorize and reinforce this knowledge. What is important here is that this kind of knowledge does not remain with a particular individual; rather it disseminates among people and is shared by the community. When such conditions are met, role language becomes established as a linguistic stereotype and an effective communication tool. Role language will then begin circulating in fiction, which now becomes a means for the audience to acquire knowledge about role language. In this way, once established, role language self-perpetuates in fiction, regardless of reality. (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 40)

4.3.1 Elderly male role language

In the case of elderly male role language, often in Japanese *manga*, an elderly man, usually with a cane and/or facial hair, will almost always use a set of lexical items including the verb of existence *oru* (instead of *iru*), the copula *-ja* (instead of *-da*), the negative *-n* (instead of *-nai*), and the first-person pronoun *washi* (instead of *watashi*, *boku*, or *ore*). Without the use of these lexical items, the atmosphere could be damaged. Interestingly, relating this particular

role language to reality, its speakers are only found in western Japan even though characters from Tokyo and other places speak it as well. The origins of this particular speech style, on the other hand, can be traced back to the late 18th century in Edo (Tokyo). Older males such as scholars and doctors would use a more traditional dialect in Kyoto and it stood out in contrast to the changing and more modern Edo dialect which was developing among the younger generation. This distinction between the older and the younger generation was emphasized by the media and therefore it became firmly established and has led to the conception of elderly male role language in contemporary Japan (see Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 44-46).

4.3.2 Young female role language

Firstly, young female role language in Japanese fiction should not be seen as a representation of real speech although it has, arguably, originated from an actual speech style. A large influence on modern women's language has come from *teyo-dawa* speech 'schoolgirl speech' which erupted in the Meiji period (see 3.3). Initially, *teyo-dawa* speech was seen as a vulgar speech style for young women and was heavily criticized by the media, however, in the end, it was accepted as it had established itself firmly among upper- and middleclass women. Thus, *teyo-dawa* speech went from being a rough and vulgar speech style to an established women's language. Furthermore, the spread of *teyo-dawa* speech was highly influenced by novels. Writers took use of this speech style in their fiction which caused its spread among women who read novels and, consequently, it became an established speech style for female characters (see Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 49). As Nakamura (2004) notes, novelists who strived for *genbun-ichi* 'unification of written and spoken language,' which became a concept in the beginning of the Meiji period, tried to distinguish various characters by their different speech styles. Therefore, to describe and distinguish different characters, the writers used various sentence-final particles. Here, *teyo-dawa* speech became a very useful tool to characterize young women (see Nakamura, 2004, p. 51-52).

Interestingly, Nakamura (2004) finds that the knowledge and opinion the public had of *teyo-dawa* speech was constructed by fiction and media and did not evolve naturally from young women's actual language use. And more importantly, she states that the speaker's knowledge of gendered language, which is, arguably, constructed by media and fiction (i.e. ideologically constructed), constrains and influences the speaker's actual language in the interaction of gendered language and actual language use. In other words, she claims that it

was not until after *teyo-dawa* speech “became a linguistic resource to characterize young women in novels, [that] actual women began to use it” (Nakamura, 2004, p. 53). In terms of language ideology, then, elderly male role language and young female role language are very different. While young female role language is rooted in language ideology, elderly male role language is used only for language play when a certain character type is developed, and has no connections to language ideology.

In contemporary Japan, the traces of women’s language are rarely found in actual speech, but continue to infiltrate the speech style of young women from good families in popular culture. This is especially evident in translations of foreign novels where female characters almost exclusively use *teyo-dawa* speech. Similarly, male language is sometimes used for female high school students to portray their fluid identity (see Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 50). Nakamura (2007) proposes that this change in contemporary society where female high school student characters use male language is an example of a new identity created by a shift in already existing language resources (also see Miyazaki, 2004).

4.3.3 Role language in translation/subtitling

As already mentioned, role language is especially evident in translated novels and dubbed and subtitled movies. Here, the translator is in charge of creating an often stereotypical speech style from the characteristics of a certain character.

Novels

Following are some examples from translated novels from English to Japanese where there are no role language characteristics in the originals. For instance, in *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* by J. K. Rowling (in Nakamura, 2010), one of the main female characters, Hermione, utters the following in the Japanese translation:

‘Maa, anmari umaku ikanakatta wa ne. Watashi mo renshuu no tsumori de kantanna jumon o tameshite mita koto ga aru kedo, minna umaku itta wa. Watashi no kazoku ni mahoozoku wa dare mo inai no. Dakara, tegami o moratta toki, odoraita wa.’ (in Nakamura, 2010, p. 22-23)

Here, Hermione uses the feminine SFPs *wa* and *no* (see 5.4) whereas the original English version does not contain any equivalents to these. Thus, the feminine linguistic features in the

Japanese translation have been added by the translator. Similarly, in *The Hobbit* by J. R. R. Tolkien (in Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011), the speech of Gandalf, an elderly male character, carries features of elderly male role language:

'Mochiron-ja . . . Anta wa, makotoni sutekina hito nan-ja yo. Baginzu-dono. Washi wa, kokoro kara anta ga suki-ja...' (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p. 44)

Gandalf's speech style includes the copula *-ja* and the first-person pronoun *washi* which are features of elderly male role language as shown in 4.3.1, whereas the English original has no such features.

Dubbing/subtitling

Now I would like to briefly turn to dubbing and subtitling in media and how the translators use different speech styles according to how they perceive the speaker and what type of character the speaker is. Broadcasts of sports events such as the Olympics are great examples of role language in subtitling. Ōta's (2011) study of the translated interviews with foreign winner athletes of the Beijing Olympics of 2008 shows a frequent use of role language. She found a pattern of the role language in translation and has divided them into five categories (1) superstar (male), (2) queen, (3) rival, (4) strong/dark character, and (5) weak contestant.¹⁸ She finds that the role language of a 'superstar' (a male who wins a gold medal) includes the strongly masculine first-person pronoun *ore*, the sentence-final particle *sa* (see 5.4) and the explanatory predicate *-nda*. Whereas the casual male first-person pronoun *boku* may not seem strong and assertive enough to be assigned to a superstar, *ore* is assertive and tough enough, and therefore it better represents the speech of a winning male. The 'queen' is a female gold medal winner and her language is very feminine, including the sentence-final particles *wa* and *no*, the cause-giving *mono* (5.4), and the polite neutral first-person pronoun *watashi* (often assigned to women in plain speech). Interestingly, Ōta argues that the speech of the 'queen' contains women's language features such as *wa*, not so as to express her femininity, but to show her winning arrogance and an attitude which looks down on others. Therefore, she argues, through this feminine language, the 'queen' shows her strength (also see 4.4.1).

¹⁸ I will only get into the first two categories only so as to show how the selection of role language works, but I will not explain all of them in detail since it is not so relevant for my study.

4.3.4 Manga

As *manga* is one of the main elements in Japanese popular culture, it undoubtedly has a great influence on its readers in many areas. Language use, naturally, is one of them. Again, *manga* is a medium where role language is firmly established. The reader can easily decipher whether a certain character is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ through its speech style, and the reader will then naturally associate a certain speech style with a certain character type (see Yoshi, 2010). This association develops through the writers’ repeated use of a certain speech style for a certain character type, which creates a set image of this relation. This set image further influences the reader’s judgment in reality. Yoshi (2010) argues that language in media/fiction influences reality much more than reality influences media/fiction. Moreover, gendered language is highly evident in *manga*, and, for instance, the feminine sentence-final particle *wa* is frequent in the speech of female characters. However, there are also many instances of male language use by female characters and female language use by male characters. Interestingly, when young female characters use male language, it serves as a tool for creating a certain mood (such as a dark and serious mood) or to give clues about the character’s self-identification. *Manga*, then, can serve as a means for younger readers to develop their own identity through the characters that they are introduced to.

Shōjo and ladies manga

Ueno (2006) examined the language of female characters in *shōjo* ‘girls’ *manga* (written for girls) and *ladies manga* (written for adult women) in relation to gender identities. She chose these genres as their readers and writers are mainly female, and she notes that they use certain techniques to show that they know what the reader is like and that they speak the ‘same language’ as the reader. The represented gender identities of female characters often reflect the characteristics of the desired readership, and *manga* “may influence the readers in framing their gender identities as well as their linguistic behavior” (Ueno, 2006, p. 17). She examined nine *manga* magazines – four *shōjo* and five *ladies manga* – all published in 2003 or 2004, focusing mainly on sentence-final forms. These were classified into five categories; strongly feminine, moderately feminine, strongly masculine, moderately masculine and neutral. She based her classifications mainly on Okamoto’s (1995) classification scheme (see 4.4.2) and added the forms which Okamoto did not have from other studies. Her analysis focuses on gendered speech forms which appear only in casual and not formal conversations because

most SFPs are not used in formal conversations and thus the gendered language is not as analyzable. She divided the characters into three groups; teens, 20s, and 30s and above and examined the speech styles according to age. Also, she examined the speech styles in *shōjo* and *ladies manga* separately.

Age group	SF	MF	SM	MM	N
teens	8.4%	15.1%	4.1%	20.2%	52.2%
20s	37.6%	17.3%	2.3%	7.5%	35.3%
30s and above	33.9%	24.8%	0%	5.5%	33.8%

Table 3. Gendered sentence-final forms in *shōjo manga*.

Age group	SF	MF	SM	MM	N
teens	6.7%	13.1%	2%	41.4%	36.8%
20s	26.8%	22.9%	1.2%	6.3%	42.8%
30s and above	36.8%	20.1%	0.8%	10.3%	32%

Table 4. Gendered sentence-final forms in *ladies manga*.

Comparing Table 3 to Table 4, we see that the speech patterns of female characters are quite similar in *shōjo* and *ladies manga* magazines. In both magazines, teenage characters use MM and N sentence-final forms more often than MF. Moreover, characters in their 20s and 30s and above use SF and MF sentence-final forms much more often than MM in both types of *manga*. Lastly, all age groups use SM forms the least of all. On the other hand, turning to the differences of the two types of *manga*, Ueno found that the teenage characters used MM forms much more often in *ladies manga* than in *shōjo manga*, and both feminine forms less in *ladies manga*. In other words, female teenage characters are portrayed more masculine in *ladies manga* than in *shōjo manga*. Characters age 30s and above use MM forms much less in *shōjo manga* than in *ladies manga*, which means that older female characters are portrayed more feminine in *shōjo manga* than in *ladies manga*.

Ueno concludes that the linguistic behaviors of the characters in *manga* may send a signal to the readers that the use of feminine speech comes with age. Interestingly, *ladies manga* originated from the desire of former *shōjo* readers for a more mature type of *manga*. In sum, “the traditional notion of gender still seems to exist and to be reinforced in the context of *manga*” (Ueno, 2006, p. 24).

4.3.5 TV dramas

TV dramas are yet another area where fictional ‘orality’ contributes to stereotyping language. Mizumoto (2010) finds that the feminine features such as the SFPs *wa*, *wa + yo*, *no + yo*, noun + *yo* (without the copula *-da*), *-da + wa*, and so on are much more present in TV dramas than in real life. After analyzing the speech of female characters and real women in their 20s and 30s, she finds a significant difference. Table 5 shows the percentage of feminine SFPs occurring in TV dramas in contrast to real conversation, and serves as an illustration to demonstrate and point out the ratio between the two.

SFP	Real conversation	TV drama
<i>kashira</i>	0.25 %	2.12 %
<i>ne</i>	0.79 %	3.34 %
<i>yo</i>	0.89 %	9.87 %
<i>no + yo</i>	3.92 %	11.34 %
<i>wa</i>	0.25 %	18.84 %

Table 5. Real conversation vs. speech in TV dramas

The biggest difference is the use of *wa* which occurs only 0.25% in real conversation in contrast to 18.84% in TV dramas.

Home dramas

Shibamoto (1987) conducted a study comparing two sets of data. One consisted of tapes of natural conversation among groups of female friends who speak standard Japanese and the other of videotapes of TV dramas called *hōmu dorama* ‘home dramas’ which are mild soap-operas. One of her reasons for choosing TV dramas is that the actors are not speaking lines memorized from a script, but, rather, they have only been instructed as to how the scene will progress while they themselves are in charge of creating the actual utterances. As Shibamoto notes, in these dramas, “men are expected to be ‘more manly’ and women ‘more womanly’ than they need be in real life” (Shibamoto, 1987, p. 40). Her analysis includes several linguistic features; however, I will only look into the results of the female characters’ SFP usage. The division of the utterances was threefold; feminine particles, neutral particles and those that had no SFPs attached.

Age of speaker	Conversational tapes		Television tapes	
	Tokens	%	Tokens	%
20-35	88/250	38.2	123/257	47.8
35-50	67/250	26.8	45/147	30.6

Table 6. Feminine SFPs in real conversation vs. home dramas

Although there are no dramatic differences between the use of feminine SFPs in the real conversations in comparison to the home dramas, there is an evident rise in the latter, especially in the group of 20-35 year old women. Shibamoto explains the reason for older women's less frequent use of feminine SFPs is that after a certain age, feminine SFPs are seen as coquettish and that their use is less appropriate for older women than for younger women (in contrast to the findings in 4.4.4. and 4.4.5). Moreover, she emphasizes that the reason for the percentage of younger women's use of feminine SFPs not being as much greater in home dramas as expected is that one character, a rather boyish young woman, used a speech style which diverged greatly from the norm, and her statistic brought down the number. If we were to exclude this character, the use of feminine SFPs by the younger group in the home dramas would rise to 90.5% – a much more significant finding and also more in accordance with what is expected.¹⁹

Conclusively, women speak more feminine when told to recite lines than they do when they speak naturally. Statistical analysis of quotidian discourses shows that women do not speak in the same manner as they do in media. As Adachi notes, “even though Japanese women's language is a myth, it is still genuinely valued: Shibamoto concludes that if the media portrayed the way women really speak, their language would sound so abrupt that it would displease the audience. There is a gap, then, between how women *speak* and how they are *expected to speak*” (Adachi, 2002, p. 577-578).

4.4 Real language use

After a thorough analysis of the history of Japanese women's language with its linguistic ideology (see Chapter 3), and the concept of role language in fiction and media (see Chapter 4.3), I am now turning to actual language use in real life conversation. How do Japanese

¹⁹ This points to the importance of dividing female speakers into subgroups when dealing with speech styles.

women really speak? Over the last couple of decades there has been a large pool of scholars researching this question. I have already touched on some statistics of women's real language use in 4.3.5, but a more detailed analysis is necessary. Following are some of the questions to be addressed; do women speak differently in different situations? Do women speak differently according to their age? What about status and role, and even identity?

4.4.1 Speech style and vantage theory

Many scholars have researched the phenomenon of speech style in Japanese according to social position and context (see Reynolds, 1990, Okamoto, 1997, and Adachi, 2002) and especially interesting here is Adachi's (2002) article on Japanese women's speech style and vantage theory. The vantage theory was first developed by MacLaury (1997, in Adachi, 2002) and has proven to be very useful for many areas such as semantics and ethnohistory. Aoyagi (1995, in Adachi, 2002) has further used the theory as a challenge to the traditional views on sociolinguistic style and politeness. He claims that Japanese speakers choose a speech style "through a dynamic and cognitively based negotiation about levels of propriety between addresser and addressee within a predetermined social power hierarchy" (Adachi, 2002, p. 575). Ide and Inoue (1992, in Adachi, 2002) on the other hand, claim that Japanese women choose their speech style based on their own social status or position instead of on the relationship between the speaker and the listener. They report that women in the workplace use the same speech style regardless of the listener's status.

This brings us to Adachi and her application of the vantage theory to two sets of data. The first is what she calls 'manifestations of social power' and applies to Japanese working women. The second she calls 'resistance to subordination' and applies to female university students who have yet to reach the stage of professional or domestic lives. These two groups complement each other in showing that Japanese women do not choose their speech style solely based on social position or status, but rather through "an interaction of perspectives, intuitions, established social positions, prescribed linguistic rules, and negotiated meanings" (Adachi, 2002, p. 576). She claims that women choose their speech style in order to achieve power in a world highly dominated by men.

In all natural conversations there is a natural negotiation by the speaker who accommodates the expectations of the listener(s). A speaker will negotiate the expectations while preserving her or his own preferences until the focus of the speech style is fixed.

Factors such as ethnicity, social position, and gender are evaluated until the focus is reached. Since Japanese women negotiate their speech style in a male-dominated society, Adachi proposes four coordinates which participate in this negotiation: the set images of politeness, which are rank (R) and persona (P) (such as sex, age, and so on), and the fluid emphases on similarity (S) (in-group) and difference (D) (out-group). She argues that these four coordinates are the main coordinates which influence the speaker's negotiation.²⁰ After a careful analysis, Adachi finds that the range of polite speech forms among people of the same rank show much greater variety than among people of different rank. On the other hand, conversations between people of different rank are limited to only a few speech forms so as to locate themselves towards central power. Thus, a persona who is marked a 'woman' and 'very peripheral' in a workplace will then choose polite speech styles in order to consolidate a more central position.

Japanese working women's speech styles

Using a polite speech style in Japanese has been seen as a tool for showing respect and creating a distance between the addresser and the addressee, so therefore, theoretically, a person of lower rank should use a polite speech style when speaking to someone of higher rank more often than the opposite. However, Ide and Inoue (1992, in Adachi, 2002) find contradictory results; that female company executives use the same polite speech style when addressing anyone, higher-ranking as well as lower-ranking addressees. They also find that women of higher status use polite language more often than women of lower status. In sum, these women use polite language, not to show respect to the addressee, but to manifest their own dignity and display their own qualification for higher status. Therefore, a female receptionist and a female executive will have different speech styles; the receptionist will use less polite speech forms than the executive.

Female university students' speech styles

While career women in Japan use polite language, young university students have a rather different way of speaking. Some scholars, such as Okamoto (1995a and 1995b) show how university students speak in a neutral to moderately masculine manner and argue that the reason behind this phenomenon is rather simple: as the years of university attendance are the

²⁰ I have chosen to not go into detail about Adachi's vantage theory and how she comes to her conclusions because it is out of the scope of this thesis.

years in a woman's life when she does not have a specific role in society, she is free and not constrained by social expectations, her use of a less restrained speech style is a tool against social power in a male-dominated society. Since women in Japan are already 'behind' men in society, female university students protest against the feminine language imposed on them because they have the freedom to do so in these 'role-lacking' years (i.e. they are neither mothers and wives nor career women). As these young women are getting an education equal to men they find it appropriate to use similar speech styles. This speech style by female university students is called *joshi-daisei kotoba*. Interestingly, this *joshi-daisei kotoba* is a conscious language choice and although they get criticism for it, they can get away with it.

Furthermore, Adachi (2002) points out that although these young women resist what is imposed on them, they do not fully adopt male speech. They still view themselves as women, so instead of blindly adapting male speech, they modify it and demonstrate their own femininity in a new way according to their own sense of identity.²¹ For instance, these female students lengthen last vowels (*Iku-zoo* 'I'm going' + masculine sentence-final particle drawing attention/showing assertion) whereas their male peers usually speak in a monointonational manner. Lastly, as these female students graduate and no longer belong to this 'genderless' period, they move on to new roles in their lives and their speech styles adapt accordingly.

4.4.2 Okamoto's study on university students

Okamoto (1995b) collected five tape-recorded informal conversations, each between two female university students who were close friends; a total of ten subjects, all between 18 and 20 years of age. Each conversation was transcribed to the point of 150 consecutive sentence tokens for each speaker (with the exception of the first five minutes), and with a focus on feminine, masculine and neutral sentence-final forms. She classified each sentence-final form as strongly feminine, moderately feminine, strongly masculine, moderately masculine, or neutral:

- Strongly feminine: * The particle *wa* (with rising intonation) or its variants (*wa ne*, *wa yo*, *wa yo ne*): *Iku wa*. 'I'm going.'

²¹ A fifth coordinate for identity (I) has been added to Adachi's four coordinates in 4.4.1 since university students have greater opportunities to incorporate their own identities into their speech styles than professional women.

- * The particle *no* after a noun or *na*-adjective in a statement: *Ashita na no*. ‘It is that it is tomorrow.’
- * The particle *no* followed by *ne* or *yo ne* for seeking confirmation or agreement; the particle *no* followed by *yo* for assertion: *Ashita na no ne?* ‘It’s that it’s tomorrow, isn’t it?’
- * The particle *kashira* ‘I wonder’: *Kuru kashira?* ‘I wonder if he’s coming.’
- Moderately feminine:
 - * The particle *no* after a plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective for emphasis or explanation in a statement: *Iku no*. ‘It’s that I am going.’
 - * The auxiliary *desho(o)* for expressing probability or for seeking agreement or confirmation: *Iku desho?* ‘You are going, aren’t you?’
- Strongly masculine:
 - * The particles *ze* and *zo* for assertion: *Iku ze*. ‘I’m going, I tell you.’
 - * The plain imperative form of a verb alone or followed by *yo*: *Ike*. ‘Go.’
 - * The phonological form *ee* instead of *ai* and *oi*: *Shiranee*. (*Shiranai*.) ‘I don’t know.’
- Moderately masculine:
 - * The particle *yo* after a plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective for assertion: *Iku yo*. ‘I’m going, I tell you.’
 - * The auxiliary verb *-da*²² alone for declaration (or its variants – *da ne*, *-da yo*, or *-da yo ne*: *Ashita da*. ‘It’s tomorrow.’
 - * The verb *-oo ka* for an invitation or offer: *Ikoo ka?* ‘Shall we go?’
- Neutral:
 - * The plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective for assertion: *Iku*. ‘I’m going.’
 - * The particle *yo* followed by *ne* for seeking agreement or confirmation: *Iku yo ne?* ‘You are going, right?’
 - * The negative auxiliary verb *-ja nai* for mild assertion or to seek agreement: *Ashita ja nai?* ‘It’s tomorrow, isn’t it?’

²² Perhaps more correctly classified as the copula.

* The negative auxiliary *-jan* (a contracted form of *-ja nai*) for mild assertion or to seek agreement: *Ashita jan?* ‘It’s tomorrow, isn’t it?’

* The particles *ka na* ‘I wonder’: *Iku ka na.* ‘I wonder if he is going.’

* The gerundive form of a verbal alone or followed by the particle *ne* or *sa* (when accompanied by a sentence-final intonation and/or semantic completeness): *Iko to omotte (ne/sa).* ‘I thought I would go.’

* The exclamatory particle *naa*: *Ii naa.* ‘How nice.’ (Okamoto, 1995b, 301-302)

Her results are very interesting and rather contradictory to the use of sentence-final forms in fiction and media, as well as in language ideology. Although the use of gendered sentence-final forms varied from individual to individual, the combined uses for all ten subjects were as follows:

Sentence-final forms	Total tokens used (%)
Feminine forms	12.3
Moderately feminine forms	7.8
Strongly feminine forms	4.5
Masculine forms	18.9
Moderately masculine forms	17.5
Strongly masculine forms	1.4
Neutral forms	68.8
Total	100.0

Table 7. Female university students’ use of gendered SFPs

Table 7 shows that the subjects used mainly neutral forms, and masculine forms more often than feminine forms. Clearly, female university students do not use the same speech style as role language suggests. Furthermore, most of the feminine forms used are moderately feminine forms; most commonly a verb or *i*-adjective followed by *no* and the auxiliary *desho(o)*:

(1) *Uun, ichi-gatsu ni wa moo kaette kuru no.*

‘No, I will already be back in January.’

(2) *Shoogaku-juken desho.*

‘That’s an entrance exam for elementary school, right?’

Moreover, out of all the strongly feminine forms, the most frequent ones were *no ne* and *na no*, whereas *wa* (with rising intonation), which is cited as the most typical feminine form throughout most literature, only occurred twice throughout the entire data set. Interestingly, in addition to these two instances of the feminine *wa*, there were six other instances which were used within quotations of older women’s speech (such as the speaker’s mother or teacher):

(3) *Sono roku-nin ni wa moo kekkoo gooka-na mono agechau wa yo to ka ittee.*

‘She said, “I will then give quite luxurious things to those six people.”’

Another typical feminine form, *kashira*, was only used once (in all the other cases its neutral counterpart *kana* was employed).

Moving on to masculine forms, the two most frequently used were the copula *–da* and its variants (such as *–da yo* and *–da yo ne*) and the particle *yo* (preceded by a plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective).

(4) *Jaa kore wa pittari da yo.*

‘Then this (book) is perfect (for you).’

(5) *Demo ryuukoo wa [oe] owanai hoo ga ii yo.*

‘But it’s better not to follow the fashion.’

The participants used a few strongly masculine forms (the smallest percentage of all forms) and following are a couple of examples:

(6) *Iya datte tooi zo.*

‘But it’s far away.’

(7) *Gondoro ja nee, gondora (laughter).*

‘It’s not *gondoro*, it’s *gondora* (gondola).’

Okamoto also notes that in addition to the masculine sentence-final forms (which was the focus of the study), the subjects used many other masculine expressions such as *aitsu* ‘that

guy', *kuu* 'eat/chow down', *bakayaroo* 'stupid' and *yabai* 'troublesome.' Here is an excerpt of a conversation between two of the subjects in the study:

(8) Speakers 4 and 5 discussing a part-time job involving questionnaires:

SP 4: *Baito.*

'It's a part-time job.'

SP 5: *Baito ka. Ii jan, sore.*

'Oh, it's part-time job. That's good, isn't it?'

SP 4: [laughter]

SP 5: *Nani, yareba ii jan.*

'What? You should do it, don't you think?'

SP 4: *Iya, hyaku-nin da yo.*

'But I have to ask 100 people.'

SP 5: *Un, karui mon jan.*

'Yeah, it's easy, isn't it?'

SP 4: *Iya, hyaku-nin de ichi-man-en da yo.*

'But it's (only) 10,000 yen for (asking) 100 people.'

SP 5: *Ichi-man-en? Ichi-man-en kaa.*

'10,000 yen. Oh, it's 10,000 yen.'

SP 4: *Hyaku-nin yaru no wa muzukashii tte yuu uwasa da yo.*

'I heard that it's difficult to get 100 people.' (Okamoto, 1995b, 303-306)

Conclusively, Okamoto finds that the speech styles of the subjects in her study are hardly feminine, but range from neutral to moderately masculine.

4.4.3 Japanese women's speech in diverse gender roles

Takano (2000) investigated the so-called 'myth' of a same-speech community in Japan and focused his study on the speech of professional Japanese women "who represent the most dynamic sector of the female population of today's society" (Takano, 2000, 51) as well as full-time housewives in natural conversation. His subjects consist of 17 women; six full-time employed women in managerial positions (positions usually occupied by men), five full-time employed women in non-managerial positions (mainly office clerks), and six full-time housewives. The variables he examined are ellipsis of the topic marker *wa* and sentence-final

forms. Dealing with ellipsis of the topic marker *wa* (which is a feminine linguistic feature), Takano finds that “variable phenomena [...] are not only constrained by such social factors as occupational categories but involve the dimension of stylistic differentiation, which must also be taken into account as an intersecting variable” (Takano, 2000, 66). Looking at the second variable, Takano finds that there is a great deal of individual variation in the uses of the various sentence-final forms, which means that the “individual distributions can be accounted for in terms of neither systematic generational nor class-linked correlations” (Takano, 2000, 66-68). Furthermore, he finds that there is a general tendency of working women (especially the ones who are in managerial positions) to produce longer segments of speech, whereas housewives tend to speak with more fragmental utterances.

It can be argued that the speech of housewives has developed through activities and routines which the subjects are likely to encounter in their local communities, and because their social groups often consist of same-sex locals. Similar background and much of the same knowledge leads to a reduction of code and there is a much greater dependence on implicit meaning. Working women, on the other hand, correspond with many people from different social networks and demographic backgrounds where there is less mutual understanding, and thus their language becomes ‘richer’ than that of housewives.

4.4.4 Okamoto’s study on younger vs. older women

In this study, Okamoto (2010) compares the speech of two groups of women. One group consists of 18-20 year old university students²³ and the other of 43-57 year old married women.²⁴ There are ten participants in each group – a total of 20. The recordings consist of five conversations in each group, and each conversation is between two participants from the same group. The first five minutes of each conversation were left out and the following 150 sentence tokens were transcribed. The focus of the study is sentence-final forms and they are divided into three categories; feminine, masculine, and neutral:

²³ The results of the 18-20 year olds are from the study in 4.4.2.

²⁴ There is no information about the participants’ occupation since the aim is to find differences between two age groups, and not according to status or role (occupation).

Sentence-final forms	Age: 18-20	Age: 43-57
Feminine forms	12.3%	36.3%
Masculine forms	18.9%	12.3%
Neutral forms	68.8%	51.4%
Total	100%	100%

Table 8. Use of gendered sentence-final forms by younger vs. older women

Table 8 shows that both the younger women and the older women used mainly neutral sentence-final forms. On the other hand, the younger women used more masculine forms than feminine, and the older women used more feminine forms than masculine. There were also some individual differences. Within the younger group, eight out of ten used masculine forms more than feminine (which means that two subjects used the opposite), and within the older group, nine out of ten used feminine forms more often than masculine (which, then, means that one middle-aged woman used masculine forms more often than feminine).

4.4.5 Philips' study on younger vs. older women and the effect of addressee's gender

Philips (2001) conducted a study consisting of two parts with the following hypotheses: (1) young Japanese women use fewer feminine-sounding sentence-final forms than older women and (2) women use more feminine-sounding sentence-final forms with a female addressee than with a male addressee.

For the first hypothesis, Philips tape-recorded informal speech between six university students, ages 18-21, and six middle-aged women, ages 44-46 (two and two subjects of each age category in each conversation – six recorded conversations altogether). For all the twelve subjects, Philips found that neutral forms were used most often (62.3%), followed by feminine forms (28.1%) and finally by masculine forms (9.67%). Notably, moderately feminine forms were used more often than strongly feminine ones (17.5% vs. 10.6%), and none of the subjects used strongly masculine forms. In relation to age difference, Philips found, among other things, that the younger subjects did not use *wa* and *kashira* (see 5.4) at all, and that the older group used strongly feminine forms much more frequently than the younger group. There were no significant differences in the use of masculine forms between the two age groups, except *-da + ne*, *-da + yo + ne*, which were used much more frequently by the younger group.

For the second hypothesis, Philips tape-recorded casual speech of 12 young women, six who she taped conversing with a female and six with a male. Her aim was to see whether the subjects' use of sentence-final forms would be different depending on the addressee's gender. Previous research has shown that both women and men tend to use stronger gender-appropriate sentence-final forms when speaking to someone of the same gender, and more neutral ones when speaking to someone of the opposite gender (see Peng, 1981, in McGloin, 1990, p. 25). The total results of all 12 subjects are as follows: they used neutral forms most often (73.1%), followed by feminine forms (13.8%), then followed by masculine forms (13.1%). Moderately feminine forms were used a lot more frequently than strongly feminine forms (12% vs. 1.8%), and none of the subjects except one used any strongly masculine forms. Then, relating the results to the addressee's gender, Philips found that there were no significant differences in the subjects' use of sentence-final forms:

Form	UM	KY	NM	IY	IK	YU	AR	OS	KE	SM	YI	MJ
	With female						With male					
SF	1	1	2	6	1	0	2	2	3	0	1	3
MF	6	4	18	19	12	10	18	9	23	4	15	6
All F	7	5	20	25	13	10	20	11	26	4	16	9
SM	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
MM	19	13	9	3	24	10	11	13	18	15	10	10
All M	19	13	9	3	24	10	13	13	18	15	10	10
N	74	82	71	72	63	80	67	76	56	81	74	81

Table 9. Use of sentence-final forms and addressee's gender in % (Philips)

For this thesis, I conducted a similar study to see if my three subjects' use of gendered SFPs varied depending on addressee's gender, and in 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8, I will present the results.

4.5 Conclusion

After a careful analysis of the ideological women's language and how role language (which is sometimes almost invented language) is represented in fiction and media in comparison to the real language use by Japanese women, it is safe to say that there are great differences. In

media and fiction, language is manipulated to stereotype certain characters, to create effects (such as certain moods), and to speak to specific audiences in ways they will relate to. We have seen how the role language of young women (from good families) has developed from the linguistic ideology and compared it to the real language use by young university students. Whereas young women's role language proves to be highly influenced by *teyo-dawa* speech from the Meiji period and is thus very feminine, real young women's speech is rather neutral, and even moderately masculine.

We have seen how the concept of same-speech among Japanese women is a 'myth,' and instead, women choose their language according to many more factors than merely being a woman. These include age, status, occupation, identity, and so on, and the vantage theory seems to be highly applicable. While female university students speak less restrained by social norms and use a language similar to their male peers, older women, housewives as well as working women, choose their speech styles more in accordance with their positions and roles. Lastly, we have seen how the gender of the addressee is not a significant factor determining speech style.²⁵

In the next chapter, I will depict my field work, analyze the results and compare my results with the findings in this chapter.

²⁵ However, Philips' (2001) study on the effect of addressee's gender only explores the speech of young university students and fails to give representative results of women of all ages, social status, etc. Moreover, I will explore this claim further in my own study in Chapter 6.

5 Recordings and analysis

Before I proceed with an analysis of the findings in my recorded conversations I am going to introduce my field work and the method I used, followed by giving an overview of the sentence-final forms and sentence-final particles²⁶ that I will be looking for.

5.1 Method

My study consists of tape-recorded conversations of three Japanese female university students and their conversation partners. I conducted the recordings in Tokyo during the summer of 2012. Altogether, there are six taped conversations, each being 50 minutes long. Each of the three subjects engaged in two conversations – one conversation with a female friend and the other with a male friend. Table 10 is an overview of the conversations.

Conversations	Subjects
1	Ayame + female
2	Ayame + male
3	Mayumi + female
4	Mayumi + male
5	Rumi + female
6	Rumi + male

Table 10. Overview of tape-recorded conversations

The focus of the recordings is the speech of the three subjects and not their conversation partners. The conversation partners are simply there for conversational purposes, as well as for being gendered beings.²⁷ In this chapter, I will be looking at the specific SFPs that the subjects use throughout the conversations, whereas in Chapter 6, I will be analyzing their use of various SFPs found in this chapter in relation to their own perception of their speech style and their gendered identities. For this purpose, I have chosen to have one conversation with a female friend and one with a male friend. In this sense, I may be able to obtain findings in terms of the subjects' use of language in relation to the addressee's gender.

²⁶ I will refer to both as SFPs from now on so as to simplify the concepts.

²⁷ For the purpose of Chapter 6.

The conversations were taped in either coffee shops/school cafeterias or empty class rooms (one was, in fact, taped over Skype). I presented the subjects with the information beforehand (such as that they can talk about whatever topics they find natural), but I did not inform them about the aim of the study. If I had informed them that I was going to analyze their use of SFPs, their speech would have been much more conscious and I would not have been able to gather natural speech for the purpose of my study. Finally, I turned on the tape-recorder and left the room so that the participants would feel more at ease and could have a more natural conversation.

After gathering all the tape-recorded conversations, my supervisor introduced me to a Japanese exchange student at my university who helped me transcribe each conversation since my non-native Japanese skills can, by no means, match those of a Japanese native. After the transcription process was finished, I analyzed the sentences in terms of gendered SFPs and my statistics are presented from 5.6 and onwards. Lastly, I want to note that my study is a qualitative study looking in-depth at the speech style and speech behavior of three female subjects in relation to their identity and gender and is not necessarily valid as a quantitative representation of Japanese female university students' speech styles.

5.2 Overview

Table 11 is an overview of all the SFPs that occur in the recorded conversations (and the presence or absence of the preceding copula *–da*) which are relevant in this study of gender-marked speech.²⁸ They are also classified in terms of their level of femininity/masculinity and I will explain why they belong to the categories that they do in 5.4.

²⁸ I have not taken into account particles such as the interrogative *ka* because it does not carry any connotations of gendered speech, but is rather a neutral particle used by both genders as a means of letting the listener(s) know that what is being said is a question. (Notably, there are certain sentence structures ending in *ka* which are found more in masculine speech, see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, 218-221). However, I have chosen to take account of the interrogative *no* because it is more relevant in the study of gendered speech as well as to distinguish it from the softening explanatory *no*. Also, I have not included nominal and adjectival predicate endings such as *–da* (the copula) on their own (without a following particle) because I have chosen to analyze only particles (auxiliary verbs) and what precedes them, if it is relevant in terms of gender-marking.

Strongly feminine	Moderately feminine	Strongly masculine	Moderately masculine ²⁹	Neutral
N / na - adj. + <i>yo</i>	N / na - adj. + <i>ne</i>	<i>ze</i>	N / na - adj. + <i>da-ne</i>	V / i - adj. / other +
N / na - adj. + <i>yo-ne</i>	softening	<i>zo</i>	V / i - adj. / other ³²	<i>ne</i>
N / na - adj. + <i>na-</i> <i>no</i>	explanatory <i>no</i>	<i>daro(o)</i> ³¹	+ <i>yo</i>	interrogative <i>no</i>
<i>wa</i> ³⁰	<i>deshoo</i>		N / na - adj. + <i>da-yo</i>	<i>daro(o)</i>
softening	<i>mono/mon</i>		V / i - adj. / other +	<i>kana</i>
explanatory <i>no</i> + <i>ne</i>			<i>yo-ne</i>	<i>wa</i>
			N / na - adj. + <i>da-</i>	
			<i>yo-ne</i>	
			<i>na</i>	
			<i>sa</i>	

Table 11. Sentence-final forms and level of femininity/masculinity

5.3 Adjectives, nouns, and adjectival nouns

There are two kinds of adjectives in Japanese; adjectives and adjectival nouns (see Tsujimura, 2007, p. 119, 125). The first kind of adjectives (often referred to as *i*-adjectives³³) are identified by several conjugational endings, such as the affirmative non-past tense which ends in *-i* (hence the name), the non-past negative ending *-ku-na-i*, and the past tense ending *-kat-ta*. Following is an example of the conjugational pattern of adjectives with the word *utsukushii* ‘beautiful’ (1), and how it is conjugated in a predicate position (2) in comparison to in a pronominal position (3).

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) a. non-past | <i>utsukushi-i</i> |
| b. non-past neg. | <i>utsukushi-ku-na-i</i> |
| c. past | <i>utsukushi-kat-ta</i> |
| d. past neg. | <i>utsukushi-ku-na-kat-ta</i> |

²⁹ More correctly: moderately masculine to neutral, because the lines are often blurred. See 5.5.

³⁰ No instances of the strongly feminine *wa* in my recordings, but I have added it in the classification because it is the most represented feminine particle in most literature and also in the linguistic ideology, as well as to contrast it with the gender-neutral *wa* which does occur in my recordings.

³¹ No instances of the strongly masculine *daro(o)* in my recordings, but I have added it in the classification to distinguish it from the neutral *daro(o)*.

³² Other is referring to various preceding particles such as *deshoo*, *daro(o)*, *wa*, and so on. I am putting these in the same category as *i*-adjective because *i*-adjectives do not have the copula *-da*, but stand alone.

³³ Often called *i*-adjectives in textbooks such as Banno, et al. (1999).

(2) *Ano hito wa utukusii.* (adjectival predicate)

‘That person is beautiful.’

(3) *Utukushii hito.* (adjective)

‘Beautiful person.’

The second kind of adjectives are the adjectival nouns (often referred to as *na*-adjectives³⁴) which end in *-na* when preceding a noun (4) and in *-da* (can be omitted) (5) when serving as the nominal predicate.

(4) *Kirei-na kami.*

‘Pretty paper.’

(5) *Kono kami wa kirei (-da).*

‘This paper is pretty.’

The name adjectival noun may seem contradictory but is in fact highly descriptive because this class of words is similar to adjectives in that they modify the nouns that follow them, are themselves modified by preceding adverbs, and are similar to nouns in their conjugational pattern. (6) is an example of the conjugational pattern of nouns and adjectival nouns with the words *hon* ‘book’ and *kirei* ‘pretty.’

(6)	nouns	adjectival nouns
a. non-past	<i>hon-da</i>	<i>kirei-da</i>
b. non-past neg.	<i>hon-ja-na-i</i>	<i>kirei-ja-na-i</i>
c. past	<i>hon-dat-ta</i>	<i>kirei-dat-ta</i>
d. past neg.	<i>hon-ja-na-kat-ta</i>	<i>kirei-ja-na-kat-ta</i>

Comparing the conjugational pattern of (1) and (6), it is easy to see that adjectival nouns are conjugated in the same way as nouns and not adjectives, and thus, in a sense, they function as nouns (as illustrated in (5)). Lastly, I want to note that I will refer to the adjectival nouns as *na*-adjectives and the adjectives as *i*-adjectives in this thesis.

³⁴ See Banno, et al. (1999).

5.4 Sentence-final particles (SFPs)³⁵

- Yo has eight different functions, but they all share one characteristic; the addressee does not have the information that the speaker is trying to convey. *Yo* is thus used to draw the addressee's attention to this information. It can be used by both genders, however, the sentence structure and function determines which gender should use it. The structure: [Sentence (both in the *desu-masu*-style and *da-dearu*-style) + *yo*] can be used by both female and male speakers, whereas [N *yo*], [...*no yo*], [...*te yo*], [...*koto yo*], and [...*wa yo*]³⁶ can only be used by female speakers. However, when giving requests (other than the *te*-form) and giving information or drawing attention, *yo* is used by male speakers (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 246-249).
- Ne is poly-functional and its function is determined by the context. It is usually used to display feelings of being impressed, mild warnings, soft insistence, an intimate question, and agreement. All in all, it softens a statement and invites the hearer to confirm. *Ne* is a neutral particle and is used commonly by both genders, however, it can be heard even more frequently in the speech of women as it passes freely after phrases throughout the sentence. In this case, it is attached to constituents/entities such as adverbs, adverbials, nouns, and postpositional phrases throughout the sentence and creates an emphasis of the preceding entity – it is not an SFP in this case (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 230-232; Martin, 1975, p. 916).

Although *yo* and *ne* are particles used by both genders, men are supposed to use them directly after polite and plain forms of the copula, verbs, and adjectives, whereas women are supposed to use them in more limited patterns, such as the following:

V + *no*, *wa* + (*yo*) (*ne*) –

(*Iku no yo ne* or *Iku wa yo ne* instead of (male) *Iku yo ne*)

N + (*na*) *no* (*yo*) (*ne*), (*yo*) (*ne*) –

(*Hon-na no yo ne* or *Hon yo ne* instead of (male) *Hon-da yo ne*)

³⁵ I am referring to all the sentence-final forms (including auxiliary verbs such as *dar(o)*) as sentence-final particles so as to gather all into one group and simplify the reference.

³⁶ These are sentence-final forms which are not particularly used by females in present-day Japan, but are features of *teyo-dawa* speech which is the basis for the ideological women's language. These constructions (besides N + *yo*) are not found in my recordings.

- **No** is poly-functional and it generally carries connotations of femininity, although it can be used by men equally in some cases. When *no* is used as an interrogative, it does not connote femininity, but is used by both genders simply to mark questions. However, when statements are ended with the particle *no* it functions as an explanatory device and there is an indication of softness and gentleness, and thus *no* is associated with the female gender (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 234).
- **Na** is used by both genders when expressing feelings such as being impressed, happy, and sad, when designating strong desire or wish for something, and when wanting to state something in a milder intonation. However, when asking for confirmation (like *ne*) and when attempting persuasion, *na* is mainly used by male speakers. Although *na* can have a similar function to *ne*, it is much more ‘rustic’ and ‘vigorous’ and thus associated somewhat more with the male gender (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 230; Martin, 1975, p. 916).
- **Kana** is “[a] sentence-final particle that indicates a self-addressed question or a question addressed to an in-group member” (Makino and Tsutsui, 1995, p. 90-92). *Kana* is usually uttered by male speakers, however, female speakers tend to use it as well in casual speech. The feminine counterpart is *kashira*.³⁷
- **Wa** has three functions: it is used (1) when listing miscellaneous actions/happenings, and the speaker is expressing her/his emotions with exaggeration, (2) as an indication of emotions, in which case it can be used equally by males and females, however, with different intonations (the feminine *wa* with a rising intonation – the masculine with a falling intonation), and (3) a marker of femininity, which is used to make statements softer and more feminine (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 240-242). “At the end of unstylized sentences, the particle *wa* is almost exclusively a woman’s item and it helps give female speech its characteristically feminine flavor” (Martin, 1975, p. 920).

³⁷ *Kashira* is a combination of the question marker *ka* and the word *shira*, which is the short version of *shiranai* ‘I don’t know’. *Kashira* is attached to a sentence when one is wondering something about oneself. The expression is mostly confined to women’s speech (found very rarely in natural speech); men prefer *kana* (see Martin, 1975). *Kashira* it is not included in my list of analysis because it does not occur at all in the recordings.

- ***Daroo (deshoo)*** is an auxiliary verb and is the tentative form meaning ‘probably, I think.’ It has two main functions, one neutral and one strongly masculine. The gender-neutral is where the speaker is uncertain about future states and events, as in:

(1) *Ashita wa ame ga huru-daroo.*

‘It will probably rain tomorrow/I think it will rain tomorrow.’

In this sense, *daroo* is used as a softening device when the speaker does not wish to make a certain statement. Also, it is attached to questions when wanting the question to sound softer. Here, *daroo* is neutral and is used by both genders; however, when shortened to *daro* it is used mainly in casual masculine speech (see Maynard, 2009, p. 259-260). The other function of *daroo* is used for confirmation in blunt masculine style (rising intonation). The shorter version *daro* is used in very casual situations. This confirmative use of *daroo* is limited to male speech such as in:

(2) *Moo takusan tabeta-daro?*

‘You already ate enough, didn’t you?’ (Maynard, 2009, p. 117-118)

However, the confirmative and strongly masculine *daroo* is rarely heard in conversation, but usually found in written form (see Iori, et al., 2001, p. 207). Moreover, *deshoo* is the polite version of the casual *daroo*. It is often used instead of the copula *-da/-desu*³⁸ when asking a question since it makes the question seem less domineering and the speaker becomes less straightforward and shows consideration to the listener(s).

(3) *Shinjuku eki wa doko deshoo ka?*

‘Where is Shinjuku station?’

It is also often used to show sympathy to someone or understanding of someone else’s feelings, such as in the following:

³⁸ *-desu* is the polite form of *-da*

(4) *Isogashii deshoo ne.*

‘Oh, you must be busy.’

When *deshoo* is used for confirmation (with rising intonation) it is neutral to moderately feminine in contrast to the confirmative *daroo* which is strongly masculine. As with *daro*, the more casual version of *daroo*, *desho* is the shorter and more casual version of *deshoo*.

(5) *Ano toki ne, moo ku-ji han datta- desho?*

‘At that time, it was already 9:30, wasn’t it?’ (Maynard, 2009, p. 71, 117)

- **Mono (mon)** is the colloquial synonym for *kara*, meaning ‘...and so’ or ‘because...’ (cause/reason) and is treated as a particle because it is attached to the copula. *Mono/mon* is usually distinguished in three different nuances: criticism, coquettish behavior and being impressed. The speaker of *mono/mon* in coquettish manner is almost always female and thus it is a rather feminine particle (Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 225-226; Martin, 1975, p. 968).
- **Sa** is “[a] sentence-final particle used in highly informal speech by male speakers to express different degrees of assertion ranging from a light touch comment up to opposition or imposition” (Makino and Tsutsui, 1995, p. 358). The particle is ego-assertive and is used to express the meaning of ‘indeed’, ‘believe you me’, or ‘let me tell you’. *Sa* is, in fact, too frank and even vulgar to be used with the polite speech style. However, it is also used by both males and females in a non-sentence final position to draw the hearer’s attention to something (such as *ne*). In this case, *sa* is much more informal than *ne*, and, in fact, “[t]he excessive use of such *ne* and *sa* in a single sentence leads to vulgarity” (Makino and Tsutsui, 1995, p. 362).
- **Ze** is a male gender marker and is used to draw attention with or without being arrogant. It marks intimacy and is therefore used among close friends. If used outside the circle of close friends, it can sound rude and very abrupt (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 250).

- **Zo** has five functions. Two of them, drawing attention while cautioning and marking a monologue are mainly used by men. The last three; rhetorical statements, scolding, and emphasizing are used by both genders³⁹ (see Katsuki-Pestemer, 2003, p. 250).

5.5 Feminine ↔ masculine

The strongly feminine:

- a noun/*na*-adjective without the copula *–da* followed by the particle(s) *yo* or *yo + ne*
- a noun/*na*-adjective without the copula *–da* followed by the post adnominal *na* followed by the softening explanatory *no*
- the emotive particle *wa* (rising intonation)
- The softening explanatory *no* followed by *ne*

The moderately feminine:

- a noun/*na*-adjective without the copula *–da* followed by *ne*
- the softening explanatory particle *no*
- the tentative *deshoo*
- the particle *mono/mon* which gives cause or reason

The strongly masculine:

- the attention-drawing *ze* and *zo*⁴⁰
- the confirmative *daroo(o)*

The moderately masculine to neutral⁴¹:

- a noun/*na*-adjective as a predicate ending in *–da* followed by *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne*
- a verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *yo* or *yo + ne*
- the emotive particle *na*

³⁹ I have classified it as strongly masculine and not neutral because there are no instances of the gender-neutral *zo* in my recordings.

⁴⁰ Can be used by women, see 5.4.

⁴¹ I have decided to classify the moderately masculine and the neutral particles into one group because some of them are often interchangeable and the division between them is often barely there, as well as because various scholars classify them differently. For instance, Ueno (2006) classifies a verb/*i*-adjective followed by *yo* as moderately masculine whereas Katsuki-Pestemer (2003) classifies it as neutral.

- the ego-assertive particle *sa*

The neutral:

- a verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *ne*
- the interrogative *no*
- the uncertain *dar(o)*
- the self-addressing question marker *kana*
- the emotive particle *wa* (falling intonation)

5.6 Analysis of Ayame’s SFP usage

5.6.1 Overall findings

Table 12 is an overview of Ayame’s SFPs divided into the five rough groups; strongly feminine, moderately feminine, strongly masculine, moderately masculine/neutral and neutral, and depicts each group of particles according to how many times they occurred within the conversations. Table 13 depicts the occurrence of particles in percentage. Table 14 is the combination of all feminine and all masculine/neutral particles.⁴²

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	9	6
Moderately feminine	8	12
Strongly masculine	0	0
Moderately masculine	30	37
Neutral	46	46
Total	93	101

Table 12. Ayame’s use of SFPs per occurrence

⁴² The layout of 5.7 and 5.8 is the same as 5.6 so I will not repeat the information there.

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	9.5%	6%
Moderately feminine	8.5%	12%
Strongly masculine	0%	0%
Moderately masculine	32.5%	36.5%
Neutral	49.5%	45.5%
Total	100%	100%

Table 13. Ayame's use of SFPs in percentage

	With female	With male
All feminine	18%	18%
All masculine and neutral	82%	82%
Total	100%	100%

Table 14. Ayame's use of all F vs. all N/M in percentage

There are two overall findings in Ayame's conversations. The first is that she used mainly neutral and moderately masculine SFPs in both conversations. This is a result that was highly expected in accordance to previous research on the language use of university students.⁴³ The second finding (Table 14) is that there is no difference in percentage of her use of all feminine SFPs in the two conversations. However, she used more strongly feminine SFPs with the female friend than with the male friend (9.5% vs. 6%) and more moderately feminine SFPs with the male friend than with the female friend (12% vs. 8.5%). Lastly, there are no instances of strongly masculine SFPs in any of the conversations, and slightly more moderately masculine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend (36.5% vs. 32.5%). I now want to turn to examining each type of SFP she used (without going into details of each occurrence).

⁴³ See 4.4.2 and 4.4.4.

5.6.2 Noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne*/*na* + *ne*

		With female	With male
SF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>na</i> + <i>no</i>	8	4
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo</i>	0	1
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	0	0
MF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>ne</i>	0	4
<u>All F</u>		<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
MM/N	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da</i> + <i>ne</i>	3	7
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da</i> + <i>yo</i>	0	3
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da</i> + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	8	1
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>

Table 15. Ayame's use of noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne*/*na* + *ne*

First, I want to address the instances where nouns/*na*-adjectives are succeeded by the post adnominal *na* and followed by the softening explanatory *no*. This is a strongly feminine construction, and there are eight instances of it in the conversation with the female friend and only four with the male friend. Ayame used the masculine constructions (with *-da*) more often than the feminine constructions (without *-da*) in all cases in both conversations (except for noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *yo* in the conversation with the female friend where she uses none). Although she chose to use the feminine versions a few times, the use of masculine versions dominated. Lastly, Ayame used the feminine constructions almost equally in both conversations (eight with the female friend vs. nine with the male friend), however, all the feminine constructions that she used with the female friend are restricted to noun/*na*-adjective + *na* + *no*.

5.6.3 Verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne*⁴⁴

All these constructions are rather neutral, especially verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *ne*. On the other hand, verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *yo* or *yo* + *ne* can be seen as slightly more masculine (see Ueno, 2006), especially verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* because it does not have the agreement-seeking SFP *ne* attached (which can be used as a softener to the more assertive *yo*). Since *yo* is a particle used for drawing attention, the ideal for women’s language would be to add a softening particle such as *wa* (ex. *Iku wa yo*. ‘I’m going.’) to create a more feminine version. However, verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *yo* or *yo* + *ne* is not necessarily seen as a particularly masculine construction because *yo* is mainly used when giving new information, and therefore it is classified as a neutral one.

Moving on to Ayame’s conversations, Table 16 is an overview of her results of verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *ne*, *yo* or *yo* + *ne*.

		With female	With male
N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>ne</i>	32	12
MM/N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i>	1	12
	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	8	7
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>41</u>	<u>31</u>

Table 16. Ayame’s use of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne*

These results indicate mainly that the content of the two conversations was different and are not as relevant for the study of gendered speech as the other constructions. In the conversation with the female friend, Ayame was relatively quiet (since her conversation partner was quite talkative) and so many of her utterances consist of “*Ii ne*” (*ii* meaning ‘nice’ or ‘good’) and “*Sugoi ne*” (*sugoi* meaning ‘great’ or ‘wonderful’), which also explains the high number of verb/*i*-adjective/other followed by *ne* in the conversation with the female friend. In the conversation with the male friend, he was rather quiet and so Ayame’s utterances consist more of questions (so as to keep the conversation going), but I will get back to this in 5.6.4.

⁴⁴ Although the findings related to verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne* are not as relevant for the study of gender-related language as the other constructions, I have still chosen to account for them in my thesis for two reasons: (1) there are some differences in the use of this construction in the conversations with the female friends in comparison to the ones with the male friends, and (2) my findings might still be relevant for some future research.

Lastly, she used the slightly masculine verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* more often in the conversation with the male, whereas with the female she had the agreement-seeking *ne* attached most often. However, again, this relates more to the content of the conversation than to gendered speech. A sentence with only *yo* is used when giving the listener new information, whereas when *ne* is attached, the speaker is seeking agreement from the listener.

5.6.4 The rest of the SFPs

I distinguish between three kinds of *no* in this section; the interrogative *no*, the softening explanatory *no*, and the softening explanatory *no* followed by *ne*. Furthermore, the SFPs *zo*, *na*, *sa*, *kana*, *daroo*, *deshoo*, *mono/mon*, and *wa*⁴⁵ are also included:

		With female	With male
SF	softening explanatory <i>no</i> + <i>ne</i>	1	1
MF	softening explanatory <i>no</i>	6	1
	<i>deshoo</i>	2	7
<u>All F</u>		<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
MM/N	<i>na</i>	10	7
	<i>kana</i>	5	11
N	<i>daroo</i>	0	1
	interrogative <i>no</i>	9	21
	<i>wa</i>	0	1
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>24</u>	<u>41</u>

Table 17. Ayame's use of the rest of the SFPs

Conclusively, Ayame's use of all feminine SFPs per occurrence is the same in both conversations. Moreover, her use of all moderately masculine and neutral SFPs is much more frequent in the conversation with the male friend. As mentioned previously, Ayame asks plenty of questions in the conversation with the male friend and so her use of the interrogative *no* is frequent with 21 times vs. nine times in the conversation with the female friend. So far, I would conclude that the use of the SFPs in this section is relatively random.

⁴⁵ Not all of these SFPs are found in Ayame's conversations, but they are found in Mayumi's and Rumi's conversations.

5.7 Analysis of Mayumi’s SFP usage

5.7.1 Overall findings

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	9	6
Moderately feminine	29	31
Strongly masculine	1	0
Moderately masculine	66	60
Neutral	60	50
Total	165	157

Table 18. Mayumi’s use of SFPs per occurrence

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	5.5%	4%
Moderately feminine	17.5%	20%
Strongly masculine	0.5%	0%
Moderately masculine	40%	38%
Neutral	36.5%	38%
Total	100%	100%

Table 19. Mayumi’s use of SFPs in percentage

	With female	With male
All feminine	23%	24%
All masculine and neutral	77%	76%
Total	100%	100%

Table 20. Mayumi’s use of all F vs. all N/M in percentage

Just as Ayame, Mayumi used mostly neutral and moderately masculine SFPs in both conversations. Again, this was expected. The other finding, also similar to Ayame, is that there is only 1% difference in Mayumi’s use of all feminine particles in the two conversations (23% with female vs. 24% with male). Furthermore, she used more strongly feminine SFPs in the conversation with the female (5.5% vs. 4%) and more moderately feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male (20% vs. 17.5%). There is only one instance of a strongly

masculine SFP in the conversation with the female, and none with the male. Lastly, she used moderately masculine SFPs more often in the conversation with the female (40% vs. 38%).

5.7.2 Noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne/ na + ne*

		With female	With male
SF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>na + no</i>	8	5
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo</i>	0	0
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo + ne</i>	0	1
MF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>ne</i>	1	0
<u>All F</u>		<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
MM/N	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da + ne</i>	7	3
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da + yo</i>	8	10
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>-da + yo + ne</i>	10	10
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>25</u>	<u>23</u>

Table 21. Mayumi's use of noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne/ na + ne*

Firstly, Mayumi used noun/*na*-adjective followed by the post adnominal *na + no* more often in the conversation with the female friend than with the male friend, and her use of all feminine SFPs is greater in the conversation with the female. Moreover, just as Ayame, she used the masculine constructions (with *-da*) more often than the feminine (without *-da*). However, in Mayumi's case, the gap between the added *-da* and the omitted *-da* is much greater than in Ayame's case.

	Ayame		Mayumi	
	With female	With male	With female	With male
F: without <i>-da</i>	0	5	1	1
M/N: with <i>-da</i>	11	11	25	23

Table 22. Ayame's vs. Mayumi's use of noun/*na*-adjective +/- *-da*

Whereas Ayame used the masculine version more often than the feminine to a certain degree, Mayumi used the masculine version far more often than the feminine one. The last notable finding is that Mayumi's use of/lack of copula *-da* is similar in both conversations. In other words, she used both constructions rather equally in both conversations.

5.7.3 Verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne*

		With female	With male
N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>ne</i>	22	23
MM/N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i>	8	27
	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo + ne</i>	14	7
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>44</u>	<u>57</u>

Table 23. Mayumi's use of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne*

Interestingly, Mayumi's results are similar to Ayame's in that she used verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* more often in the conversation with the male friend than with the female friend, and verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo + ne* more often in the conversation with the female than with the male. However, again, this relates more to the difference of the conversational content than to gendered speech styles since she had more shared information with the female (thus the added *ne*) and more new information with the male (thus only *yo*).

5.7.4 The rest of the SFPs

		With female	With male
SF	softening explanatory <i>no + ne</i>	1	0
	softening explanatory <i>no</i>	17	4
MF	<i>deshoo</i>	5	18
	<i>mono/mon</i>	6	9
<u>All F</u>		<u>29</u>	<u>31</u>
SM	<i>zo</i>	1	0
MM/N	<i>na</i>	10	2
	<i>sa</i>	9	1
<u>All M</u>		<u>20</u>	<u>3</u>
N	<i>kana</i>	12	11
	<i>daroo</i>	6	3
	interrogative <i>no</i>	16	20
	<i>wa</i>	4	3
<u>All N</u>		<u>38</u>	<u>37</u>

Table 24. Mayumi's use of the rest of the SFPs

Mayumi’s use of all feminine SFPs is very similar in both conversations (29 vs. 31). Her use of strongly masculine and moderately masculine SFPs is much more frequent in the conversation with the female friend (20 vs. 3), whereas her neutral ones are rather equally distributed in the two conversations (38 vs. 37).

5.8 Analysis of Rumi’s SFP usage

5.8.1 Overall findings

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	3	9
Moderately feminine	7	18
Strongly masculine	0	2
Moderately masculine	65	68
Neutral	71	85
Total	146	182

Table 25. Rumi’s use of SFPs per occurrence

Levels of femininity/masculinity	With female	With male
Strongly feminine	2%	5%
Moderately feminine	5%	10%
Strongly masculine	0%	1%
Moderately masculine	44.5%	37%
Neutral	48.5%	47%
Total	100%	100%

Table 26. Rumi’s use of SFPs in percentage

	With female	With male
All feminine	7%	15%
All masculine and neutral	93%	85%
Total	100%	100%

Table 27. Rumi’s use of all F vs. all N/M in percentage

Again, there are two overall findings: the first being the same as with Ayame and Mayumi; namely that Rumi used mostly neutral and moderately masculine SFPs. The other finding is that, in contrast to Ayame and Mayumi whose percentage of feminine SFPs is almost equal in the two conversations, Rumi used almost twice as many feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend than she did with the female friend. Furthermore, she used 2% strongly feminine and 5% moderately feminine SFPs with the female, whereas she used 5% strongly feminine and 10% moderately feminine SFPs with the male. There are only two instances of strongly masculine SFPs in the conversation with the male and none with the female, and Rumi’s use of moderately masculine SFPs is more frequent in the conversation with the female friend than with the male friend (44.5% vs. 37%).

5.8.2 Noun/*na*-adjective (-*da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne/ na* + *ne*

		With female	With male
SF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>na</i> + <i>no</i>	3	8
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo</i>	0	0
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	0	1
MF	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + <i>ne</i>	1	2
<u>All F</u>		<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
MM/N	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + - <i>da</i> + <i>ne</i>	2	3
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + - <i>da</i> + <i>yo</i>	4	13
	Noun/ <i>na</i> -adjective + - <i>da</i> + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	12	1
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>

Table 28. Rumi’s use of noun/*na*-adjective (-*da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne/ na* + *ne*

Concerning the construction noun/*na*-adjective followed by the post adnominal *na* followed by *no*, it occurs more than twice as much in the conversation with the male friend than it does with the female friend. Furthermore, as with the other two subjects, Rumi added -*da* more often than she omitted it, and she used the masculine versions more in the conversation with the female (18 vs. 17) and the feminine versions more with the male (3 vs. 1). In sum, just as Ayame and Mayumi, Rumi used the masculine constructions more often than the feminine, however, unlike Ayame, Rumi and Mayumi used the masculine constructions far more often than the feminine in both conversations.

5.8.3 Verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne*

		With female	With male
N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>ne</i>	22	29
MM/N	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i>	17	27
	Verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo + ne</i>	11	6
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>50</u>	<u>62</u>

Table 29. Rumi's use of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo + ne*

Again, although these constructions are not highly relevant in terms of femininity and masculinity, as I explained in 5.4 about *yo* and in 5.6.3, verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* or *yo + ne* can be seen as slightly masculine. In Rumi's case, she used verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* more often in the conversation with the male and with *yo + ne* more often with the female, just as Ayame and Mayumi. I find it interesting that all three subjects were more often adding the agreement-seeking *ne* to the attention-drawing *yo* when speaking to females, and leaving it out when speaking to males (although this is also a way to give new information).

5.8.4 The rest of the SFPs

		With female	With male
SF	softening explanatory <i>no + ne</i>	0	0
	softening explanatory <i>no</i>	0	4
MF	<i>deshoo</i>	3	6
	<i>mono/mon</i>	3	6
<u>All F</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>
SM	<i>zo</i>	0	2
MM/N	<i>na</i>	7	8
	<i>sa</i>	12	10
	<i>kana</i>	21	24
N	<i>daroo</i>	11	1
	interrogative <i>no</i>	16	25
	<i>wa</i>	1	6
<u>All M/N</u>		<u>68</u>	<u>76</u>

Table 30. Rumi's use of the rest of the SFPs

Rumi’s use of all feminine SFPs is more than twice as frequent in the conversation with the male friend as with the female friend. Furthermore, her use of all masculine and neutral forms is also greater in the conversation with the male. However, she used the neutral *daroo* notably more often with the female than with the male.

5.9 Conclusion

The two overall findings with all the subjects are somewhat similar. The first finding applies to all three subjects; they used mostly moderately masculine and neutral SFPs in all conversations. The second finding is that Ayame and Mayumi each used almost equally as many feminine SFPs in both conversations (Mayumi used 1% more with the female friend than with the male), whereas Rumi used more than twice as many feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend than she did with the female friend.

Femininity/ masculinity	Ayame		Mayumi		Rumi	
	With female	With male	With female	With male	With female	With male
All F	18%	18%	23%	24%	7%	15%
All M/N	82%	82%	77%	76%	93%	85%

Table 31. All three subjects’ overall use of all F vs. all M/N in percentage

Moving on to a more detailed conclusion, all three subjects used the copula *-da* with nouns or *na*-adjectives more often than they omitted it in all conversations. Whereas Mayumi’s use of the feminine versions (without *-da*) in the two conversations is distributed equally, Ayame and Rumi used the feminine versions more often in the conversation with the male (especially Ayame) than they did with the female. Moreover, Ayame and Mayumi used the noun/*na*-adjective + *na* + *ne* more often in the conversation with the female, whereas Rumi used this construction more often with the male.

Femininity/ masculinity	Ayame		Mayumi		Rumi	
	With female	With male	With female	With male	With female	With male
<i>-na</i> + <i>no</i> (F)	8	4	8	5	3	8
without <i>-da</i> (F)	0	5	1	1	1	3
All F	8	9	9	6	4	11
with <i>-da</i> (M)	11	11	25	23	18	17
All M	11	11	25	23	18	17

Table 32. All three subjects’ use of noun/*na*-adjective (*-da*) + *ne*, *yo*, or *yo* + *ne/na* + *ne*

Furthermore, in the case of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* or *yo* + *ne*, all three girls used only the attention-drawing *yo* (new information) more often in the conversation with the male and added the agreement-seeking *ne* to *yo* more often with the female. This is not a particularly relevant finding for the study of gendered speech, but rather an indication of the different conversational contents in each conversation. However, *ne* is also a softening particle and it serves to soften the somewhat more assertive *yo*-statements.

Levels of femininity/ masculinity	Ayame		Mayumi		Rumi	
	With female	With male	With female	With male	With female	With male
verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>ne</i>	32	12	22	23	22	29
verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i>	1	12	8	27	17	27
verb/ <i>i</i> -adjective/other + <i>yo</i> + <i>ne</i>	8	7	14	7	11	6
All M/N	41	31	44	57	50	62

Table 33. All three subjects' use of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo*, *ne*, or *yo* + *ne*

Lastly, Rumi used all of the remaining feminine SFPs (except *no* + *ne* which she did not use at all) more often in the conversation with the male friend than she did with the female friend, whereas Ayame's and Mayumi's results are very similar/equal in both conversations.

Femininity/ masculinity	Ayame		Mayumi		Rumi	
	With female	With male	With female	With male	With female	With male
All F	9	9	29	31	6	12
All M/N	24	41	58	40	68	76

Table 34. All three subjects' use of the rest of the SFPs

Conclusively, the results of the recorded conversations in my study seem to be in coherence with the results of previous research on the study of gender-marked speech (especially that of SFPs) of female university students in casual conversations. As Okamoto (1995), Okamoto (2010), and Philips (2001) found that female university students use mainly neutral and moderately masculine SFPs, my study concludes likewise.

Lastly, one essential question remains to be concluded: How do my findings of use of gendered SFPs in relation to addressee's gender relate to Philips' (2001) findings in 4.4.5? Philips' aim was to find out whether female speakers' use of gendered sentence-final forms changes according to the gender of the addressee with the hypothesis that female speakers use

more feminine-sounding sentence-final forms when the addressee is female. Nevertheless, she found that the addressee’s gender does not affect the use of sentence-final forms (see Table 9). In my study, I have aimed at finding an answer to the same question, and following are my results:

Form	Ayame			Mayumi			Rumi		
	With female			With male					
SF	9.5	5.5	2	6	4	5			
MF	8.5	17.5	5	12	20	10			
All F	18	23	7	18	24	15			
SM	0	0.5	0	0	0	1			
MM	32.5	40	44.5	36.5	38	37			
All M	32.5	40.5	44.5	36.5	38	38			
N	49.5	36.5	48.5	45.5	38	47			

Table 35. Use of SFPs in relation to addressee’s gender in percentage

Table 35 shows that there are no significant differences in the use of gendered SFPs in relation to the addressee’s gender. Looking closely at the results, we can see that one of the subjects, Rumi, used less feminine SFPs in the conversation with the female, however, all in all, I would conclude that there are no generalized differences but rather individual nuances in use of gendered SFPs in relation to addressee’s gender (or, perhaps, other contributing factors such as relationship to addressee rather than gender). I will be looking closer at the effect of addressee’s gender on individual differences in the speech styles of my subjects in Chapter 6.

6 Questionnaires and analysis

The second part of my study consists of the three subjects' perceptions of and reactions to their own language use through a questionnaire. We have already seen how my subjects' results statistically relate to previous research,⁴⁶ but the questions of why these subjects got the results that they did and how these findings relate to the concepts of identity and gender remain unexplored. These are some of the questions I will be analyzing in this chapter. Essential to note before I begin the analysis is that it is impossible to make specific claims that link the use of SFPs to identity. Identity is expressed through a great amount of different factors, verbal as well as non-verbal,⁴⁷ and use of SFPs is merely a tiny percentage of all the contributing factors. In my analysis, then, I will attempt to make some significant findings which may have any sort of connection to identity; however, any definite claims relating use of SFPs to identity will not be made. Nevertheless, first, I want to briefly look into a couple of previous studies which are relevant for this analysis.

6.1 Okamoto's interviews and 'young people's language'

Okamoto (2010) interviewed female university students about their use of 'masculine' language and found that her subjects do not use typical features of women's language (such as *keigo* 'honorific language' and feminine SFPs *wa* and *kashira*) during their years of university attendance while conversing with other students (which we have already discussed, see 4.4.2). However, she notes that her subjects did, in fact, use *keigo* while speaking to her in the interviews. Her subjects explained that they change their speech style according to who they are speaking to. They claim that when speaking to teachers and parents they use more feminine language, but more masculine when speaking to their peers, which is quite typical for female university students. Furthermore, they claim that the speech style they use when speaking to their peers is not 'men's language', but rather what is termed *wakamono no kotoba* 'young people's language'. This speech style is quite genderless in the sense that there are few differences in the speech styles of females and males. For instance, young women's

⁴⁶ See 4.4.2, 4.4.4, 4.4.5, and 5.9.

⁴⁷ The verbal ones consist of general factors such as vocabulary, minimal responses, interruption, voice-quality, hedges, cursing, and so on, and more specific to the Japanese language are factors such as pitch, intonation, first-person pronouns, second-person pronouns, *keigo* 'honorific language', etc. The non-verbal ones consist of factors such as gestures, clothing, posture, smell, eye contact, etc.

use of SFPs such as *zo* and *-janee* (the shortened version of the negative copula *-janai*), which are generally classified as masculine linguistic features, instead, are features of this ‘young people’s language’. Thus ‘young people’s language’ is a common language for young females and males, and stands in contrast to the greater differences which are highly visible in ‘men’s language’ and ‘women’s language’, which are speech styles women and men adapt to when they become older and inhabit specific social roles (Okamoto, 2010, p. 140-141).

6.2 Miyazaki’s study on use of first-person pronouns

Miyazaki (2004) conducted a study on the use of first-person pronouns by Japanese junior high school girls and boys and found that they use quite different first-person pronouns than what is prescribed according to language ideologies. Following is a table illustrating the gendered first-person pronouns:

	Women’s speech	Men’s speech
Formal	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
	<i>atakushi</i>	<i>watashi</i>
Plain	<i>watashi</i>	<i>boku</i>
	<i>atashi</i>	
Deprecatory	\emptyset	<i>ore</i>

Table 36. Gender-marked first-person pronouns

Miyazaki finds that both girls and boys use many first-person pronouns other than those that are prescribed to their genders – some girls use *boku* and even *ore* and some boys use *boku*, *watashi* and *washi* (see 4.3.1). She concludes that use of first-person pronouns depends on many factors other than gender – such as group membership (being in a popular group or an out-group) and group status (being the leader of the group or a follower). She further concludes that each individual’s first-person pronoun use is deeply linked to the specific school and its structure. Identity, gender, power, relationships, and so on all participate in the selection of use of first-person pronouns. Lastly, she concludes that no student is an entirely free agent in the selection of first-person pronoun use, and states that

[a]lthough girls' and boys' use of first-person pronouns are often at odds with the traditional language ideology, gender ideology nonetheless affected the complex mass of pragmatic meanings of such pronouns. Girls' masculine pronoun use, for instance, was at times well received but at other times dismissed as crazy. A boy's feminine first-person pronoun use was ridiculed and sometimes severely punished. Girls and boys continually have to negotiate their speech and identity in a complex field of gender and power. (Miyazaki, 2004, p. 270).

In other words, there are so many factors contributing to the selection process of linguistic features (whether the selection is conscious or not because speakers are not necessarily conscious of their own speech). However, the analysis of why certain linguistic features are used is never one-sided because the speaker's selection process consists of a web of factors which intricately work together in order to produce an outcome.

6.3 Method

I conducted this part of the study through questionnaires consisting of 14-15 questions which I sent out to the subjects after having finished the analysis of the tape recordings. As I sent out the questionnaires, I informed the participants to only answer the questions that they feel they have an honest answer to, so as to not create answers where they naturally have none. This prevents them from giving false replies and, indeed, I find it much more satisfactory to not have an answer than to have a false one. Therefore, the questions and answers I go into detail in the following analysis are only the ones which have been answered and are noteworthy. The questions include family background, the relationships with the two conversation partners, the subjects' own perceptions of their speech styles in terms of gendered SFPs, what sort of characteristics they wanted to convey to the female and male conversation partners, and their own feelings about their femininity. Firstly, I will give a review of the responses to the questions and discuss the findings subject by subject, and secondly, I will analyze these findings overall in hopes of finding connections to identity and gender.

6.4 Ayame's questionnaire

6.4.1 Background and relationships to conversation partners

Ayame is from Hokkaido,⁴⁸ but moved to Tokyo about 4-5 years before the time of the recordings. At the time of the recordings (summer of 2012), she was 25 years old, had recently finished her undergraduate degree, and was preparing for entrance exams to graduate law school. Her father is the sole breadwinner of the family, her mother is a housewife, and her younger brother an undergraduate student. Ayame has known the female conversation partner for about four years from when they worked together at a part-time job. They do not see each other very often since they stopped working together; however, they still have a close friendship and can talk to each other casually about topics such as boyfriends and their intimate lives. Ayame has known the male conversation partner for about three years. They met at university and started dating not long after meeting each other. They continued dating for about two years. At the time of the recordings, they were no longer together, but still kept a close friendship (he had graduated and moved away to another city for work and so they decided to break up but stay friends). While they were studying together they saw each other almost every day, but since he moved away they mostly talk over Skype.⁴⁹

6.4.2 Feminine vs. masculine SFP usage

After showing Ayame the results of her SFP usage, which, in total, consists of 18% all feminine SFPs and 82% all masculine and neutral in both conversations,⁵⁰ I asked her if she thought that there were any significant differences in her speech with the male friend and the female friend, and if so, what these differences may be. Also, I asked whether she thought differently about her speech style before and after she saw the results. She responded that she does not think consciously about the addressee's gender, and that she uses the same type of language regardless, especially when she knows the listeners well. In this case, she knows both of the conversation partners quite well. Because she knows them so well, her language was relaxed and she did not distinguish between her speech style when speaking to the female

⁴⁸ Notably, although the subjects come from different parts of Japan, I have not taken their regional (if any) speech differences into account in any of the analysis throughout this thesis. Taking regional differences into account could, in fact, have given some insight that might have altered some results in relation to gendered speech, and this could be an interesting point for further research.

⁴⁹ Their conversation was taped over Skype.

⁵⁰ For exact tables see Table 12, Table 13, and **Error! Reference source not found.**

and male friend. Furthermore, she replied that she is not surprised by the results of her speech style analysis, and said that this is rather similar to what she had expected.

I attached a detailed overview of the results from her recorded conversations⁵¹ and asked if she found any interesting elements herself and if there is anything in the results that is different from what she had expected. She replied that she used a lot more of the interrogative *no* than she had expected;⁵² however, she did not specify what she meant here.⁵³ Also, she replied that she was not conscious of her speech style while speaking, but that she did expect her results to be as they were. Moreover, I included a table classifying the various SFPs in terms of level of femininity/masculinity⁵⁴ and asked if she agreed with my table of classification. She replied that she agrees almost entirely, but that she feels that *desho(o)* can sometimes be used in a masculine way and that this is determined by intonation. I will add that the masculine *desho* is shorter in pronunciation and does not carry the feminine rise in intonation that the longer *deshoo* carries; however, this will not be accounted for in this thesis. Following are Ayame’s overall results and serve here as a reference:

	With female	With male
SF	9.5	6
MF	8.5	12
<u>All F</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>
SM	0	0
MM	32.5	36.5
All M	32.5	36.5
N	49.5	45.5
<u>All M/N</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>82</u>

Table 37. Ayame’s overall results in percentage

⁵¹ For exact tables see Table 15, Table 16, and Table 17.

⁵² 9 times with female friend vs. 21 times with male friend. The difference is due to the nature of the conversations: she asked more questions in the conversation with the male than with the female.

⁵³ She could have potentially meant that she did not think that she had asked so many questions in general, or that when she had asked a question, she did not use *no*, but rather rising intonation at the end of the sentence which is used to mark questions in Japanese. This is unspecified.

⁵⁴ See Table 11.

Ayame’s results in use of all feminine and all masculine and neutral SFPs are identical in the two conversations (18% vs. 82%). As we have seen in 4.4.2, 4.4.4, and 4.4.5, female university students use neutral to moderately masculine SFPs far more than feminine. As discussed in 4.4.1, Adachi (2002) explains the phenomenon that female university students use more masculine language than older women as a phase in their lives where they are free from social constraints and are not as expected to use specific linguistic features as women who have set roles (such as career women or housewives). Female university students’ use of masculine speech serves as a resistance to male superiority. However, as Adachi further emphasizes, although female university students resist patriarchy by using more masculine language, they do not adopt it blindly. We can see from Ayame’s results that she has not used any strongly masculine SFPs but has, in fact, used a few strongly feminine SFPs. In sum, she has not fully adopted male speech; she has chosen some masculine SFPs but not rejected use of feminine SFPs (which aligns with previous research on female university students). Adachi explains this as a case of “[female university students] modify[ing] male speech to demonstrate femininity in their own way” (Adachi, 2002, p. 587).

6.4.3 Desired perceptions

When asking Ayame how she wanted to be perceived by the two participants, she replied the following by adding X’s to the traits in Table 38. We can see that she wants to be perceived quite differently by the female than the male. Out of the 30 traits, she wants to be perceived as 18 different by the female and 14 by the male, and only six of these overlap.

	Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M
1	Outgoing	X		11	Ambitious	X	X	21	Efficient	X	X
2	Funny	X		12	Assertive	X		22	Capable	X	X
3	Interesting	X		13	Thoughtful	X	X	23	Determined		X
4	Sexy	X		14	Kind	X	X	24	Dependable		X
5	Popular	X		15	Humble			25	Disciplined		
6	Feminine	X		16	Sensitive		X	26	Sincere		X
7	Tomboyish		X	17	Responsible	X	X	27	Reliable		X
8	Smart		X	18	Successful	X		28	Punctual		
9	Reserved		X	19	Sophisticated	X		29	Talented		X
10	Direct	X		20	Independent	X		30	Other _____		

Table 38. Traits Ayame wants to convey to her conversation partners

We see that she wants to be perceived as ‘sexy’ and ‘feminine’ by the female friend and ‘tomboyish’ by the male friend.⁵⁵ Previous research (see Coates, 1996, p. 52; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 52) has shown that women tend to become more feminine when speaking to women than they do when speaking to men. This is often realized through conversational topics. Women tend to talk about ‘girly things’ such as makeup, fashion, dating, and so on more often with women than with men. In this sense, Ayame’s conversation with the female was more feminine than with the male since they talked a great deal about boyfriends, dating, and shopping. Additionally, Ayame’s use of strongly feminine SFPs is higher in the conversation with the female friend than with the male friend, and the opposite with moderately feminine SFPs. Similarly, looking at her use of moderately masculine SFPs, we can see that they occur more often in the conversation with the male friend than with the female friend. Therefore, although her use of all feminine and all masculine and neutral SFPs is the same in both conversations, her use of strongly feminine, moderately feminine, and moderately masculine SFPs is backing up the claim that women speak in a more feminine manner when speaking to other women than to men. These results can, perhaps, also be related to her desire to be perceived as ‘feminine’ by the female and ‘tomboyish’ by the male.

Another striking finding (which, again, is not necessarily realized through language) consists of some opposing desired perceptions by the two conversation partners. Ayame wants to be perceived as the following by her two conversation partners:

Female	Male
Direct	Reserved
Independent	Dependable
Assertive	Sensitive

Table 39. Opposing desired perceptions

In contrast to her desire to be perceived as ‘feminine’ by the female and ‘tomboyish’ by the male, the desired perceptions in Table 39 indicate differently. Here, she wants to be perceived as masculine traits by the female and feminine traits by the male. It is perhaps safe to suggest

⁵⁵ Highly essential to note here is that the desired perceptions are not necessarily desired or obtained through speech. There are other factors through which she could want to be perceived as ‘feminine’ or ‘tomboyish’ (clothing, appearance, attitude, posture, conversational topics and even other linguistic features such as tone, pitch, use of first-person pronouns, and so on). Thus, it can be difficult to connect her use of SFPs with desired perceptions. However, since I am only looking at gendered SFPs, I will not get into any of the other factors.

that Ayame wants to be perceived as more feminine by the male and more masculine by the female, in contrast to her desire to be perceived directly ‘feminine’ by the female and directly ‘tomboyish’ by the male. Conclusively, the perceptions a speaker desires from the listener are not always clear-cut, but can be contradicting. Thus, in conversation, we participate in an on-going process of expressing our identities by adapting, conforming, or rejecting ideas of what constitutes being a gendered being, and we play with and manipulate language to perform feminine and masculine identities. Noteworthy, femininity and masculinity are not binary opposites, but flexible and mutually dependent constructs.

6.4.4 Femininity

The final part of the questionnaire asks about the subject’s own perception of her femininity and whether she is more or less feminine when speaking to a male than to a female. Ayame replied that she does not think that she speaks in a feminine manner so often and emphasized that she speaks even less feminine when speaking to good friends. Lastly, she noted that she is not conscious in her use of feminine expressions and that she had already expected her speech style to be more masculine than feminine. Although she claims that she does not think about her femininity and is not conscious in her use of feminine expressions, she notes that she speaks less feminine to good friends than to people who she knows less or has to show respect to (such as teachers and parents). Therefore, since she knows her two conversation partners quite well, her language is less feminine than it would have been under different circumstances. Also, Ayame’s desired perceptions may not be related to linguistic features (although they could have been related to other linguistic features than the ones I examined). For instance, that she wants to be perceived as feminine by the female friend could have been conceptualized through conversational topics, attitude, body language, and so on.

6.5 Mayumi’s questionnaire

6.5.1 Background and relationships to conversation partners

Mayumi is from Chiba prefecture and studies in Tokyo, but commutes from Chiba every day. At the time of the recordings (summer of 2012) she was 22 years old and had recently started her graduate degree at Tokyo University law school. Her father is a lawyer, her mother a housewife, and her younger brother an undergraduate student. Mayumi has known her female

friend since they both entered law school (about a year) and they have been attending classes together every day. They have mutual girlfriends and are a part of a girl group who study together. Mayumi further noted that she really likes this particular female friend, but that she is sometimes jealous of her competence.⁵⁶ She also emphasized that they are good friends because they respect each other. Mayumi has known her male conversation partner since the spring of 2008 when they started studying together as undergraduate students (they were classmates in the economics department). For the first two years they were close friends in a group of about ten students who would often spend time together. Then, from spring 2010, they started dating and continued dating until after the recordings and questionnaires were finished. They know each other's families quite well and are very open about themselves to each other. When they were undergraduate students they would see each other two to three times a week, but since he became a full-time worker and she a law school student, they only see each other once a week.

6.5.2 Feminine vs. masculine SFP usage

As Mayumi's use of SFPs was very similar to Ayame's in terms of femininity vs. masculinity, the questions in their questionnaires are identical. After showing Mayumi the results of her SFP usage, which, in total, consists of 23% all feminine and 77% all masculine and neutral SFPs in the conversation with the female friend, and 24% and 76% respectively in the conversation with the male friend,⁵⁷ I asked if she thinks that there are any notable differences in her speech with the male friend and the female friend, and if so, what these differences may be. I also asked whether she thought differently about her speech style before she saw the results as she did after. She replied that she was quite surprised. She had not thought that her use of feminine and masculine SFPs was so similar in both conversations. She emphasized that she thought that her speech was softer (more feminine) when speaking to her male friend and stronger (more masculine) when speaking to her female friend. Moreover, I attached a detailed overview of the results from her recorded conversations⁵⁸ and asked if she found any significant elements herself and if there is anything in the results that is different from what she had expected. She responded that her use of verb/*i*-adjective/other + *yo* was a lot greater in the conversation with her male friend than with her female friend (27 vs. 8), but that this is

⁵⁶ Here, I assume she means academic competence, however, it is not specified.

⁵⁷ For exact tables see Table 18, Table 19, and Table 20.

⁵⁸ For exact tables see Table 21, Table 22, and Table 23.

due to the nature of the conversation. She emphasized that *yo* is attached to a sentence when the speaker is not looking for a reply. In the conversation with the male friend, there were a lot of instances where she was telling him a story and did not seek responses. Also, she had no reply to the question about whether the results were as she had expected because she has not really given SFPs much thought.

I included the same table classifying the various SFPs in terms of level of femininity/masculinity⁵⁹ as I had attached to Ayame’s questionnaire, and asked if she agreed with my table of classification. She replied that thinks the classification is not necessarily wrong, but that there are gendered nuances to the same SFPs, such as intonation and pitch. She noted that we cannot decipher femininity and masculinity only through use of SFPs, but through these other nuances that should be taken into consideration as well.

Following are Mayumi’s overall results in her two conversations:

	With female	With male
SF	5.5	4
MF	17.5	20
<u>All F</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>
SM	0.5	0
MM	40	38
All M	40.5	38
N	36.5	38
<u>All M/N</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>76</u>

Table 40. Mayumi’s overall results in percentage

Mayumi’s use of all feminine and all masculine and neutral SFPs is almost the same in percentage in both conversations (23% vs. 24%). As I pointed out in 6.4.2 about Ayame’s results, Mayumi’s results indicate the same: as previous research has shown, female university students use neutral to moderately masculine SFPs much more than feminine SFPs. Looking at the table in more detail, Mayumi used more strongly feminine SFPs with the female friend and more moderately feminine SFPs with the male friend. However, she also

⁵⁹ See Table 11.

used more strongly masculine and moderately masculine SFPs with the female friend. In other words, she had more of the two opposite ends in the conversation with the female friend; however, the differences between the two conversations are so small they do not represent any specific significant findings.

6.5.3 Desired perceptions

As Ayame, I asked Mayumi how she wants to be perceived by her two conversation partners:

	Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M
1	Outgoing	X		11	Ambitious			21	Efficient	X	
2	Funny	X		12	Assertive			22	Capable	X	
3	Interesting	X	X	13	Thoughtful	X	X	23	Determined		X
4	Sexy		X	14	Kind	X	X	24	Dependable	X	X
5	Popular	X		15	Humble			25	Disciplined		
6	Feminine		X	16	Sensitive	X	X	26	Sincere	X	X
7	Tomboyish		X	17	Responsible	X	X	27	Reliable	X	X
8	Smart	X	X	18	Successful	X	X	28	Punctual		
9	Reserved			19	Sophisticated	X		29	Talented	X	
10	Direct	X	X	20	Independent	X	X	30	Other _____		

Table 41. Traits Mayumi wants to convey to her conversation partners

Mayumi wants to be perceived somewhat differently by her female friend and her male friend; however, not as differently as Ayame. Out of the 30 traits, she wants to be perceived as 19 by the female and 16 by the male, and as many as 12 of these overlap. There are a few fairly contradicting traits worth noting. Unlike Ayame, who expressed that she wants to be perceived as ‘feminine’ and ‘sexy’ by the female friend and ‘tomboyish’ by the male, Mayumi wants to be perceived as all three by her male friend. Interestingly, although these desired perceptions seem contradictory, she might desire to be perceived as such in different areas (for example, ‘feminine’ in her speech style and appearance, but ‘tomboyish’ in her hobbies and interests). Furthermore, she selected more traits she wished to be perceived as by her female friend than her male friend (boyfriend). The reason for this could be because she knows her female friend much less than she knows her boyfriend and would like to impress her more, as well as because she is sometimes jealous of her, as mentioned in 6.5.1.

6.5.4 Femininity

The final part is about the subject's own perception of her femininity, how feminine she thinks she is, and whether she is more or less feminine when speaking to a male friend than to a female friend. Mayumi replied that she thinks she is not as feminine as average girls, and that she has been told many times that her way of thinking is rather masculine – more logical than emotional. She also noted that when she speaks to her male friend (or, more correctly, her boyfriend), the pitch of her voice is higher than when she speaks to her female friend (or other female friends in general). Thus, she claimed that although the use of gendered SFPs is rather similar in the two conversations, the intonation and pitch of her voice become higher when speaking to her boyfriend and so she sounds more feminine.

Moreover, she noted that she had thought her language would be more feminine in the conversation with the male friend than with the female friend. She also mentioned that she had expected her speech to be stronger (more masculine) with the female friend and softer (more feminine) with the male friend, and that it surprised her that the results in the two conversations were so similar. Interestingly, in contrast to Peng (1980, in McGloin, 1990) who found that both women and men tend to use more gendered sentence-final forms when speaking to someone of the same gender than someone of the opposite, and Philips' study showing that there are no significant differences in the speech of female university students when speaking to males as with females, Mayumi expected to speak more masculine with the female and more feminine with the male. As already mentioned, this can relate to her relationship with the male conversation partner. Because he was her boyfriend at the time she might have wanted to sound and act feminine so as to appear attractive to him. Perhaps her expectations of her own speech style would have been different if he had been only a friend. However, she pointed out that she had not thought much about her SFP usage, which means that she might have expected her speech style to be gendered according to pitch and intonation (or other linguistic features) and not necessarily SFPs. Thus, intonation and pitch can here serve as vehicles for the femininity/masculinity that she wants to present.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ I have not analyzed her tone and pitch in this study and so I cannot conclude anything specific about this claim.

6.6 Rumi's questionnaire

6.6.1 Background

Rumi is from Tokyo and has lived there her whole life.⁶¹ She was only 18 years old at the time of the recordings (summer of 2012) and was a first-year university student. Her father is a salary man (a Japanese term for a white-collar businessman), her mother a housewife, and her younger brother a high school student. Rumi has known both of her friends since April of the same year (about three months). She met the female at a welcome party for new students, but they barely know each other, and the male in an English class (he is her senior). Their friendship is mostly restricted to chatting while at campus.

6.6.2 Feminine vs. masculine SFP usage

After showing Rumi the results of her SFP usage, which in total consists of 7% all feminine and 93% all masculine and neutral SFPs in the conversation with the female friend, and 15% and 85% respectively in the conversation with the male friend,⁶² I asked her slightly different questions than I asked Ayame and Mayumi. This is due to her much higher use of all feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend than with the female friend. First, I asked why she thinks she used different SFPs with her male friend than with her female friend.

Following, I asked if she had any other significant comments on her results. She replied that she knows the male better than the female and that she has talked a lot more with him. She further claimed that the reason for her use of different SFPs was because she knows the male better than the female (although I am not sure in what way she thinks these two factors relate to each other).⁶³ Also, she noted that she had not expected that she would use more feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male than with the female.

Additionally, as with the other two subjects, I attached a detailed overview of the results from Rumi's recorded conversations⁶⁴ and asked if she found any significant elements

⁶¹ Interestingly, the Japanese exchange student who helped me with the transcriptions of the taped conversations had asked me if Rumi is from the Kansai area because she felt that her speech style was in some ways similar to the Kansai dialect. Perhaps this has a connection with Rumi being a Japanese-born Chinese? However, this point is left unexplored since it is outside the scope of my thesis.

⁶² For exact tables see Table 25, Table 26, and **Error! Reference source not found.**

⁶³ If her claim is accurate, her case is opposite of, for instance, Ayame who claimed that she speaks less feminine when she is close friends with the addressee (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

⁶⁴ For exact tables see Table 28, Table 29, and Table 30.

herself and if there is anything that is different from what she had expected. She responded that she had not expected to use *kana* so often (21 with female vs. 24 with male) and *daro(o)* so often with the female friend (11 vs. 1) because she does not know her very well, and she thought she usually attaches *daro(o)* when speaking to close friends. Nevertheless, *daro(o)* is often used in conversation when one is hesitant and does not wish to sound very abrupt, which could explain her frequent use of it in the conversation with the female, who she knows less than the male. I included a table classifying the various SFPs in terms of level of femininity/masculinity⁶⁵ and asked her if she agreed with my table of classification. She responded that she does not think that the *daro(o)* she used is neutral, but rather strongly masculine.⁶⁶ She further added that if she were to change anything she would take into consideration what she calls ‘the sharpness of the language’, that is, intonation and pitch.⁶⁷

Following is a table showing Rumi’s overall results:

	With female	With male
SF	2	5
MF	5	10
<u>All F</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>
SM	0	1
MM	44.5	37
All M	44.5	38
N	48.5	47
<u>All M/N</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>85</u>

Table 42. Rumi’s overall results in percentage

In contrast to the other two subjects, Rumi’s overall results are fairly different in the two conversations. Her use of all feminine SFPs is more than double in the conversation with the

⁶⁵ See Table 11.

⁶⁶ As explained about *daro(o)* in 5.4, when used to express uncertainty, it is a neutral particle, and when used to confirm, it is a strongly masculine particle. However, in Rumi’s conversations, all her cases of *daro(o)* are used to express uncertainty and thus they are all neutral. Although I have mentioned that the shortened version of this *daro(o)*, *daro*, can be found in masculine speech, after a careful analysis of Rumi’s uses of *daro(o)*, I (with the help of my supervisor) have found that they are all neutral.

⁶⁷ This is similar to Mayumi’s comment; however, I do take intonation into consideration with *wa* and *daro(o)*, see 5.4.

male friend (15% vs. 7%). These results, then, stand in contrast to Philips' (2001) study which finds that female university students' use of gendered SFPs is not significantly different according to the addressee's gender (see 4.4.5). The question of why her use of all feminine SFPs is so different arises, but it does not necessarily mean that it is related to gender. As Rumi claimed that she speaks more feminine to the male because she knows him better, we could make a possible generalization that female university students speak more feminine when they know the addressee well. This generalization can be deducted from Rumi's claim and her results (15% vs. 7%) as well as from Ayame and Mayumi's cases⁶⁸ where they both know all the conversation partners quite well and have higher use of all feminine SFPs in all conversations than Rumi. In sum, then, (1) Rumi's percentage in use of all feminine SFPs is lower than that of the other two subjects because she does not know the conversation partners well, and (2) her percentage of all feminine SFPs is higher in the conversation with the male than the female because she knows him better. However, I emphasize that this claim is impossible to make for certain based on my study and results, but I mention it as a possibility which could be interesting to look deeper into in further research.⁶⁹

6.6.3 Desired perceptions

	Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M		Traits	F	M
1	Outgoing		X	11	Ambitious	X		21	Efficient		
2	Funny		X	12	Assertive	X		22	Capable		X
3	Interesting		X	13	Thoughtful			23	Determined		
4	Sexy	X		14	Kind			24	Dependable		
5	Popular			15	Humble			25	Disciplined		
6	Feminine	X		16	Sensitive	X		26	Sincere		X
7	Tomboyish			17	Responsible			27	Reliable		
8	Smart		X	18	Successful		X	28	Punctual		
9	Reserved	X		19	Sophisticated	X		29	Talented		
10	Direct		X	20	Independent			30	Other ____		

Table 43. Traits Rumi wants to convey to her conversation partners

⁶⁸ Although Ayame's results can indicate that young females speak more feminine when they know the addressee better, she claimed, in fact, that she speaks less feminine when she knows the addressee well. Her results and her own comment are contradictory.

⁶⁹ I have only tested this claim on three subjects which is not satisfactory for a generalization. Moreover, there are many other linguistic features than SFPs that measure femininity which means that the results could have been statistically different if I had measured other feminine features as well. Therefore, this possible pattern serves merely as a thought to keep in mind and by no means does it represent a conclusive claim.

Rumi wants to be perceived quite differently by her female friend than she does by her male friend. Out of the 30 traits, she wants to be perceived as only five by her female friend and twice as many by her male friend, but not a single one of these overlap. Based on her selected traits, and in contrast to her results in use of gendered SFPs, it seems that she wants to be perceived as more feminine by the female friend and more masculine by the male friend:

Female	Male
Feminine	Direct
Reserved	Ambitious
Sensitive	Assertive
	Successful
	Capable

Table 44. Significant desired perceptions

This is quite opposite of Ayame’s desired perceptions (Table 39) because she chose more feminine traits that she wants to be perceived as by the male friend and more masculine traits by the female friend. Again, these characteristics can be linked to other factors than SFPs (for instance, other linguistic features or non-linguistic factors such as appearance and behavior). Interestingly, although Rumi’s desired perceptions by the male friend indicate that she wants him to perceive her as more masculine than feminine, her use of SFPs indicate differently. As she herself has noted, she knows the male friend better than the female friend and this fact could have had some say in her use of all feminine SFPs. Essential to note about Rumi’s conversations is that her results in use of language are not necessarily as representative of her natural, casual, and relaxed speech as if she had known her two friends over a longer period of time as the other two subjects have. In other words, since she has known both of them only a few months, her speech pattern may still be somewhat unnatural (as Ayame mentioned, she speaks less feminine when speaking to close friends).

6.6.4 Femininity

For the section about femininity and Rumi’s own perceptions of it, including whether she thinks she is more or less feminine when speaking to a male friend than a female friend, she replied that she does not care much about femininity. She has a lot of male friends, and so she

finds it very comfortable to speak to them; indeed just as comfortable as to female friends. Lastly, she noted that the reason why her level of femininity in terms of SFPs was different in the two conversations could be because she does not know the female friend very well, which makes her tense, and thus her speech becomes less natural. Other than that she used more than twice as many all feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend, she used less all feminine SFPs in both conversations than the other two subjects:

	With female	With male
Ayame	18%	18%
Mayumi	23%	24%
Rumi	7%	15%

Table 45. The subjects' use of all feminine SFPs

One interesting reason for this difference in use of all feminine SFPs between Rumi and the other two subjects might, in fact, be age. Rumi was only 18 at the time of the recordings, whereas Ayame and Mayumi were 25 and 22 respectively. As I have already discussed in 4.4.1 and 6.1, speech styles change according to and depend on social roles, status, age, identity, and so on. Because Rumi entered university only a few months before the recordings, she represents those young women who are fairly free from social norms and expectations, and are not as expected to use feminine language as older women. Even though Ayame and Mayumi are also university students and represent the same group, they are, in fact, older, they have already entered or are preparing to enter graduate law school, and are serious students with respectable careers ahead of them. In contrast, Rumi is an undergraduate student who has recently graduated high school and has not yet matured into a student with specific career goals. Her language, then, might be less constrained by social norms and expectations for how women should speak (see 4.1).

6.7 Conclusion

After having analyzed the three subjects' questionnaires and discussed the various significant findings, it has become very clear that making a generalization is rather impossible. Why a subject speaks the way she speaks is dependent on countless factors which engage in the process of selecting speech styles, patterns, and specific linguistic features, in fact, far more

factors than I have even had the chance to touch upon. Some of these are conscious, other subconscious. Nevertheless, I have discussed the subjects' use of SFPs in relation to previous research and the significant responses in the questionnaires, and attempted to discover some relevant findings.

Firstly, the subjects' use of gendered SFPs is in accordance with previous research which finds that female university students use more neutral and masculine than feminine SFPs. I have explained that the reason for this is that young women are rather free in society and not as constricted by social expectations as older women. Secondly, Ayame and Mayumi used almost the same percentage of all feminine SFPs in the two conversations, and through the analysis of their questionnaires we have seen that this is perhaps because they know the male friend (boyfriend/ex-boyfriend) very well and can speak quite casually. Rumi, on the other hand, used more than twice as many feminine SFPs with the male friend than with the female friend. This could have been caused by her recent acquaintance (three months) with both conversation partners, and so her speech may not be as natural as if she had known them for a longer period of time. Also, Rumi's use of 15% all feminine SFPs in the conversation with the male friend may not be as significant as her use of only 7% with the female friend (because, if we look at Table 45, we can see that 7% is what stands out the most). Here, a possible claim could be that since she knows the female friend the least, she uses less feminine SFPs. Thirdly, I have found that Rumi used less feminine SFPs in both conversations than the other two subjects, and this could be a result of her age. Because she is younger and has recently graduated high school, her speech style is more 'boyish' since she does not have to worry about the consequences of using 'boyish' language at her age. The other two subjects who are older and are attending/preparing to attend law school have to adapt more to social expectations of behaving appropriately for their gender (including expectations through gendered language ideologies). As Crawford (1995) emphasizes, "if women try *not* to 'do gender,' they will confront the social consequences of violating these norms and expectations" (Crawford, 1995, p. 16).

Nevertheless, although I have seen some potential patterns and attempted to make concluding statements about them, there is no such thing as a definite conclusion in a case like this. Language is a tool for expressing our identities and we play with language to convert, adapt, and subvert gender ideologies. Again, I would like to quote Gal (1995):

[s]peakers redefine and play with language so that within particular social contexts (and within implicit counterideologies) demeaning lexical items can be recast as terms of solidarity. Similarly, stereotypically or prescriptively 'male' forms, when used by women, can index youthfulness, liveliness, and nonconformity. (Gal, 1995, p. 178)

In sum, my subjects have subconsciously (perhaps sometimes consciously) played with language in an intricate web of what is expected of them, how they desire to be perceived by the addressees, as well as their own perceptions of their gendered identities, and produced the specific results which we have discussed. When speaking of identity, there is no such thing as an 'absolute self', rather, identity is created and understood through discourse – the inner self is constructed through the outer actions. As Nakamura (2002) has pointed out, gender relations, gender ideologies, and gender identities are interconnected factors which never exist on their own, but mutually affect each other in a never-ending process in society.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Thesis aims

In this thesis, I have attempted to examine how the actual language use of Japanese women (specifically, use of gendered sentence-final forms/particles – SFPs) compares to the ideology of Japanese women’s language, and I have endeavored to find a connection between identity and use of SFPs through theories of identity, gender, and language, as well as previous research on language use by female university students.

7.2 Summary

In Chapter 1, I presented the aims of this thesis, my motivation behind this topic, and the structure of the thesis. In Chapter 2, I discussed the notions of identity and gender, as well as how they relate to language. I found that gender ideologies inevitably contribute to language use because we construct gendered language from an early age due to social expectations, as well as by being treated as gendered beings by adults. Furthermore, I have discussed how language rarely indexes gender directly, but rather, indirectly through direct indexes such as high pitch, aggressiveness, delicate tone, etc., which are indexes that are connected to gender ideologies. In other words, for instance, the Japanese sentence-final particle *wa* directly indexes softness and delicacy, which thus indirectly indexes femininity because softness and delicacy are feminine traits. Language, then, is a tool which a speaker manipulates and plays with to present a certain ‘self’, or even, different ‘selves’ according to the desired perceptions one has by the addressee(s).

In Chapter 3, I examined the history of Japanese women’s language with a strong emphasis on its existence being a language ideology, and not necessarily that it has been practiced as such. Japanese women’s language evolved through as mixture of women making a common speech code (*nyooboo kotoba*) and through instructions by male intellectuals in disciplinary books advising women to speak as little as necessary and in soft, delicate manners (with many more restrictions), and was further developed with *teyo-dawa* ‘schoolgirl’ speech and more disciplinary books. Conclusively, I have examined how women have throughout centuries spoken quite differently from the ways in which they have been instructed, and, in fact, their speech has often resembled that of their male peers.

In Chapter 4, I looked at the concept of *yakuwarigo* ‘role language’ in fiction and media, and compared it to real language use. I found that ‘role language’ has some traces from historical language uses and that it is quite different from actual language use. For instance, the role language of young female characters is rather dissimilar to the language use by real young women. However, role language is used daily in media and fiction all over Japan and, inevitably, it affects people’s own language use. Furthermore, I examined the actual language use by Japanese women in previous research and found that many factors contribute in the process of selecting speech styles or patterns. These include age (younger vs. older women), role (housewives vs. career women), and residency (women residing in different areas are bound to have different speech), etc. Conclusively, fictional speech is quite different from real speech. Lastly, I found that female university students have a rather neutral, or even slightly masculine, speech style because they represent the free individuals in society since they are not yet restricted by social expectations for their language use such as, for instance, career women are.

In Chapter 5, I accounted for my field work which consists of six tape-recorded conversations between three subjects (Ayame, Mayumi, and Rumi) and their two conversation partners (one female and one male) and endeavored on an analysis of their speech in terms of gendered SFPs. The first main finding is that all three subjects used mostly neutral to moderately masculine SFPs in both conversations, which is consistent with previous research. The second main finding is that Ayame and Mayumi used almost equally as many feminine SFPs in both conversations each, whereas Rumi used more than twice as many in the conversation with the male friend (15% with male friend and 7% with female friend). I explore this further in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 6, I examined the questionnaires which the three subjects had replied to about their own perceptions of their language use, the characteristics which they desire to be perceived as by their conversation partners, and their own sense of femininity. This chapter is an attempt to connect the results in Chapter 5 to the responses in the questionnaires in reference to identity and gender. In sum, there are three main findings. The first finding is that all three subjects used gendered SFPs in accordance with previous research: mostly neutral to moderately masculine SFPs. They are young and rather free from social expectations regarding language ideology; however, they are not altogether free from gendered language ideology because their results do in fact show that they used feminine SFPs as well (7%-

24%). The second finding is that Rumi's use of feminine SFPs (7%) in the conversation with the female friend is the one that stands out, which could possibly indicate that young women speak less feminine when they do not know the addressee well, since the other subjects used more feminine SFPs and they know their conversation partners well.⁷⁰ The third finding is that Rumi uses fewer feminine SFPs in both conversations than the other two subjects and that her age might be the cause. She is younger and so her speech is less restrained by language ideology – she is more 'allowed' to be 'boyish' and does not have to worry much about behaving or speaking gender-appropriately as the older subjects do.

7.3 Concluding remarks

It is expected that women speak more feminine when they do not know the addressee(s) well and less feminine when they do. However, I discussed in Chapter 6 that it might be the case that Japanese female university students speak more feminine when they know their conversation partners well. Thus, it would be highly interesting to research further and test this hypothesis. In order to test this hypothesis, then, there are several factors which would need to be examined. First, there are many more linguistic features which index femininity other than SFPs. These include intonation, pitch, first-person pronouns, vocabulary, and so on, and they should be taken into account when testing the hypothesis. Moreover, several other variables should also be tested when attempting to make the generalization. For instance, there would be a need to increase the number of subjects (and conversation partners) since three subjects fails to give a representative generalization. Also, it would be interesting to test subjects of different ages as well as to test the speech of subjects according to the different degrees of friendship with their conversation partners (if they are merely acquaintances, have been friends for some time, have been very close friends for many years, have dated/are dating).

7.4 Conclusion

Identity, gender, and language are interconnected components working in a mutually dependent web of many contributing factors, such as age, social status, role, residency, social

⁷⁰ This is a very loose claim and merely represents a possibility (by no means is it a conclusive finding). Also, it stands in contrast to what is expected; that young women use more feminine language when speaking to someone that they do not know well so as to be more in accordance with language ideology.

expectations, norms, and so on. Identity, then, is not an innate quality, but a performance. Gender is not something that we are, it is something we perform. It is conceptualized as a verb, not a noun – we are *doing* gender. As we have seen with the three subjects in my study, although young women use neutral to moderately masculine language, they do not fully adapt to male speech, but continue to use feminine linguistic features as well. Here, I want to quote Crawford (1995) again: “[g]ender [...] is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Women *are* different from men. Yet, paradoxically, this is not because they are women. Each of us behaves in gendered ways because we are placed in gendered social contexts” (Crawford, 1995, p. 16). In this sense, gender ideologies inevitably affect our speech, whether consciously or subconsciously, and whether we decide to convert to these ideologies, subvert, or manipulate. Although we may wish to think of ourselves as free agents, we are, indeed, shaped through social expectations and norms in many ways.

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