Social Meaning in Virtual Space:
Sentence-final expressions in the Japanese popular mediascape

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Abstract

Often cited as one of the most salient indices of sociocultural meaning, “sentence-final expressions” (bunmatsu hyōgen) have long been a subject of analysis in Japanese linguistics. These units are a kind of what Bolinger and Sear (1981) more broadly refer to as an “audible gesture,” or a linguistic unit that conveys paralinguistic meanings, i.e. meaning that includes neither denotational nor propositional content. Named for their frequent and typical appearance at the end of utterances, in Japanese an immense number are deployed to a wide variety of sociocultural ends. Because of the large number of available expressions, however, previous research has struggled to develop a method of sociolinguistic analysis that is capable of capturing their multivalent nature. This is a difficulty that has been compounded by an array of different degrees of use, resulting in highly skewed levels of academic attention being given to certain expressions and nearly none to others.

In this dissertation, I explore alternate means of addressing the intersection of sentence-final expressions and sociocultural meaning through a hybrid approach that utilizes statistical methods informed by cultural analysis. Drawing on frameworks developed for understanding “role language” (Kinsui 2003) and “character language” (Sadanobu 2011, Kinsui and Yamakido 2015), the series of studies presented in this dissertation approach these expressions from the perspective of their role in the performance of characterological figures and the history of use that these expressions have within mass media genres. By utilizing mass media genres, in
particular popular entertainment media, I focus not simply on the use of these expressions, but the sociocultural ideologies that inform their use with regard to both creator and audience. Moreover, careful study of these expressions in popular media sheds light on the boundaries of their potential meanings, since we find them at work in such a variety of situations, ranging from the mundane to the fantastical.

After recounting research on language in media and the history of metalinguistic commentary on sentence-final expressions, Chapters 4 through 6 engage with three different popular media genres: manga (‘comics’), popular music, and anime (‘animation’). With a focus on audience design (Bell 1984), Chapter 4 examines the use of stylistic features associated with ‘young lady speech’ in yuri manga and the ways and degree to which their usage is associated with gender of the author, gender of the imagined target audience, and the role of a character within a narrative. Chapter 5, on the other hand, engages lyrics in popular music and the way that personae are constructed through sentence-final expression usage observed in lyrics performed by female ‘idol’ performers and singer-songwriters. Finally, in Chapter 6, I analyze ongoing indexical change in the sentence-final particle *wa* by taking a sociophonetic look at its usage among different character types of various genders and roles as they manifest in recent anime.

Each of these studies presents a close examination of the phenomenon it focuses on in a particular medium of popular culture. Taken together, these studies propose a more broad-based, holistic approach to sociocultural meaning in mass media genres as it is constructed through the multivalent indexical possibilities of sentence-final expressions. The linguistic units and usages that contribute to the construction of a persona, fictionalized or otherwise, are many, and in Japanese, sentence-final expressions provide a wide variety of options to that end. Analyzing not
only their use, but in the process exploring alternative means of researching their utilization in a variety of contexts will help establish and clarify the value of better understanding mass media discourse both as a target for linguistic inquiry and as a key part of our language socialization.
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Second, I owe my gratitude to the community of scholars I came to know at the Inter-University Center for Japanese Studies in the 2014-2015. Being able to interact with such a wide variety of Japanese-speaking scholars forever shaped my perspective on what it means to be an academic. I began that program committed to one linguistic subfield, but through my academic and research-oriented (mis-)adventures with other students in linguistics and media studies, I emerged in sociocultural linguistics. I would be somewhere and someone completely different (and much less interesting) without you all.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Japanese popular entertainment media has held a tight grip on global entertainment media production trends for the last 30 years. During the mid-2000s, anime was reported to have occupied as much as 60 percent of world cartoon broadcasts by some estimates (JETRO 2005), not to mention the popularity of other Japanese entertainment media genres in the form of manga, video games, pop music, live-action dramas, and character goods. Indeed, in a recent report by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, it was reported that Japan’s content industry is worth around 12 billion yen (approximately $120 million USD), the second largest industry worldwide next to only that of the United States (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 2016). Broadly referred to as Japan’s “Gross National Cool” (McGray 2002), the government under Prime Minister Koizumi (2001-2006) sought to capitalize on Japan’s status as an emergent cultural superpower by formally establishing a number of governmental committees focused specifically on the promotion of Japanese media culture (Iwabuchi 2015). It was in this way that what had been previously known as “Japan, Inc.” during the 1980s due to its position as an economic powerhouse, transformed into “Cool Japan,” the umbrella term that covers the range of soft power initiatives carried out in the name of promoting Japanese culture abroad.

Setting aside prominent criticisms of the Cool Japan initiative (e.g., Galbraith 2010, Snow 2013, Iwabuchi 2015, Boas 2016), not to mention both sexual harassment allegations and accusations of fund mismanagement against key management figures in the official Cool Japan
Fund (Nakamura and Taniguchi 2017, RocketNews24 2015), one phenomenon that this campaign’s existence positively speaks to is the recognition of the sociocultural power inherent within popular entertainment media. Since the mid-20th century, Japan’s popular media enterprises have expanded exponentially, a change due not only to technological advances that have made formerly expensive genres like animation cheaper to produce, but also due in part to the media phenomenon known as “media mix,” whereby a single intellectual property may be dispersed over multiple different genres for audience consumption (cf. Steinberg 2012). While it would be difficult to claim that media mix is necessarily unique to Japan at present (cf. Jenkins’s 2006 discussion of “media convergence” and “transmedia storytelling” in North America), in many ways Japan’s early adoption of this approach to popular media dispersion served as the framework by which it was able to develop globally. As discussed by Kusakawa (1981), the development of character-oriented merchandising in 1960s as a tie-in with the anime Tetsuwan Atomu (known in the US as Astro Boy) radically altered the relationship between commodities and advertisement, a change that ultimately coincided with global transformations in capitalism and media ecology. While previously, the consumption of a character was limited predominantly to its narrative of appearance, with the advent of tie-in goods (e.g., Meiji chocolate in the case of Tetsuwan Atomu), both ratings and sales of those goods increased due to what Steinberg (2012:19) refers to as “affective engagement” with those characters. Moreover, this increased visibility of fictionalized characters “environmentalized” them, increasing their overall ubiquity in daily life (Steinberg 2009:113-117, Galbraith and Karlin 2016:15-18).

Despite the intimate presence that popular media genres and their contents have come to occupy in day-to-day life, academic exploration into the linguistic components that make-up
these genres is still lacking. Stamou (2014) discusses in a literature review that critical analyses of language use in media genres has increased substantially since the turn of the 21st century, but as will be discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, the representation of research from this area in the broader field of linguistics is still profoundly small. Researchers (e.g. Jaffe 2011, Dynel 2011, Stamou 2014, Djenar 2015) have attributed this dearth to a historical privileging of spontaneous discourse in the field of sociolinguistics, not to mention anxieties concerning the maintenance of methodological boundaries between sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2008, Eckert 2008, Woolard 2008). However, scripted dialogue is a key site for engagement with linguistic stereotyping (e.g. Inoue 2003, Hiramoto 2008), providing insight into the multiple levels of language ideology inherent in the media creation process. It is in this area that Bell’s (1984, 2001) concept of “audience design” finds immense theoretical power, a framework that, when applied to scripted language, “indexes an imagined target audience on the assumption that this audience will find this particular style acceptable and attractive within genre constraints” (Androutsopolous 2012:304). This allows for the consideration not only of the linguistic phenomena themselves, but the examination of these phenomena at multiple levels of acceptability relative to where that work is situated within the greater mediascape.

As it is used by Appadurai (1990:298-299), the term “mediascape” refers to both “the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information” as well as to “the images of the world created by these media.” Indeed, “mediascapes…tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of stripes of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them (such as characters, plots and textual forms) is a series of
elements out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives” (Appadurai 1990:299). Based on Appadurai’s description of mediascapes more broadly, it is not hard to see how linguistic phenomena can play a role in the coconstruction of these “stripes of reality.” Within the context of the Japanese mediascape, the reason to engage in the analysis of popular cultural linguistic phenomena is twofold. First of all, there has historically existed a disconnect between linguistic practice and the description of these features within sociocultural linguistic literature. As with those studies discussed by Stamou (2014) in the literature review of linguistic research on televised media, so too has there been a general neglect of research on language in media in Japanese linguistics. Prior to the 1990s, linguistic research on sociocultural meaning in Japanese was limited predominantly to prescriptive ideologies as they pertain to Standard Japanese, a point that is elaborated on in Chapter 3. While this tendency was also evident in non-Japanese linguistics, in Japanese linguistics this trend resulted in a kind of accepted “fossilization” of certain meanings to certain features (i.e., sentence-final wa as necessarily “feminine”). Because of this, there is a considerable lack of work on the actual sociocultural range available to a number of linguistic features, a lack that is all the more visible with the immense growth of popular media content with increasingly fantastical settings, worlds, and speaking voices.

The second reason to analyze popular cultural linguistic phenomena is related to the first, but its basis is a largely pedagogical one. According to a 2004 Wall Street Journal article, the primary motivation for studying Japanese as a second language shifted during the 1990s. While the 1980s and early 1990s saw a higher proportion of students motivated by the promise of international business, over the course of the 1990s and into the 2000s, business-minded students moved to Chinese classes, while Japanese classes were filled more with those with an interest in
popular media. The article interviewed Yuki Sasaki, a Japanese instructor at the University of Georgia, who remarked, “It’s amazing how you could see the changes happening right before your eyes” (Parker 2004). In a study on Japanese language learning motivation, Northwood (2018) found that interest in popular culture not only inspired students to begin learning the language in the first place, but it served as a reason for students to continue to develop their skill. In her discussion, Northwood refers to the concept of “effortless-effort” to describe Japanese learners with an interest in popular culture—they are able to learn and practice engaging with a hobby, allowing for that learning to take place with little to no effort. Fukunaga (2006) refers to students with an interest in popular culture as “active” learners, as many of her students who entered the classroom with additional sociocultural linguistic knowledge acquired it from popular media sources. For example, she mentions a female student who chose the first-person pronominal *boku* for herself, saying that as a tomboy, she felt that it suited her better based on her encounter with a fictional female character who also used it. Compared to the arguably more “static” cultural knowledge that is often conveyed in textbooks and language classrooms (Kubota 2002), popular media is being produced constantly, and accordingly, adjusts with fluctuating social dynamics. Such a gap between traditional pedagogical materials and popular media is especially salient when considered with regard to the highly prescriptive, normative tendencies of gendered structures often presented in Japanese language textbooks (Siegal and Okamoto 1996, Kawasaki and McDougall 2003). Having only a prescriptive knowledge of linguistic resources as they are utilized in Standard Japanese is not adequate for today’s Japanese learners, students who have access to sociocultural knowledge about the language in a wide variety of settings.
Given the rapid expansion of the Japanese popular mediascape, and the opportunity that
fictionalized media sources provide for exploring the range of possible meanings accessible
through certain linguistic features, this dissertation focuses on “sentence-final expressions”
(*bunmatsu hyōgen*) and their role in the construction of what Agha (2007:177) refers to as
“characterological figures,” “image[s] of personhood that [are] performable through a semiotic
display or enactment (such as an utterance).” Often cited as one of the most salient indices of
sociocultural meaning (e.g. Kinsui 2003, SturtzSreetharan 2004, Nakamura 2007, Hiramoto
2010, Unser-Schutz 2015), sentence-final expressions are as numerous as they are multivalent.
Named for their frequent and typical appearance at the end of utterances, these units are a kind of
what Bolinger and Sear (1981) more broadly refer to as an “audible gesture” due to their primary
purpose in conveying paralinguistic meanings, i.e. meaning that includes neither denotational nor
propositional content. As discussed by Kinsui (2003, 2014) and Sadanobu (2011b), such
expressions work together with other linguistic features (e.g. intonation, lexical choice, pitch,
etc.) as well as non-linguistic semiotic resources to co-construct a kind of “character” or
“persona.” While each of these expressions may accomplish their own pragmatic goals, across a
dialogue or text it is possible to see how they work in conjunction with one another; each feature
occupies its own “indexical field” (Eckert 2008), any of its potential meanings waiting to be
activated with the situated use of related indices. Despite the breadth of their potential meanings,
however, it is precisely because of their function as indices of sociocultural meaning that
commentaries on their use have been contentious. Discussed at length in Chapter 3, many of
these sentence-final expressions have strong associations with prescriptive gender- and class-
based ideologies (e.g., sentence-final *wa*), and these associations have had a substantial impact
on the way that these features are traditionally discussed and researched. Even when considering these expressions in present-day, it is necessary to engage with these histories in some way due to their degree of metalinguistic awareness.

This dissertation proposes a characterological approach to sentence-final expression use, in particular as they manifest in popular media. Prior research on these expressions has either relied heavily on “real life” ideologies concerning these features (i.e., “Japanese Women’s Language,” “Men’s Language,” etc.) while neglecting to engage with other sociocultural meanings associated with these features. Additionally, research on language in popular media in Japan is already limited, and what research exists takes a largely qualitative approach. This dissertation utilizes quantitative and statistical models to address research questions, allowing for different kinds of questions to be asked of the data sets. Finally, the question of genre and audience are rarely part of analyses in research on language use in Japanese media. Given that language as it appears in media goes through multiple levels of what one can consider “acceptability checks,” particularly with regard to whomever is imagined as the target for that media, it is necessary to consider not only what kind of character the expressions construct, but by whom and for whom they are constructed. To engage with this theoretical issue, this dissertation applies the theoretical lens of “audience design” (Bell 1984, 2001) to the included case studies, analyzing a genre with a relatively narrow imagined audience (Chapter 4), one that seeks to maximize acceptability to a more general audience (Chapter 5), to a study that looks across multiple genres (Chapter 6).

The first case study in Chapter 4 examines the use of stylistic features associated with o-jōsama kotoba (お嬢様ことば ‘young lady-speak’) in yuri (百合 ‘lily’) manga, and the ways
that their usage associated with the gender of the author, gender of the imagined target audience, and the role of a character within a narrative. The term *yuri* refers to a fictional genre that focuses on same-sex romantic and/or erotic relationships between female characters, and its genre conventions draw on a number of sources, including mainstream *shōjo* (少女 ‘girl’) and fighting *shōjo* of the 1990s (e.g., Sailor Moon), but the source of particular relevance to this study is 20th century ‘S’ narratives (Nagaike 2010). These stories, which depicted romantic relationships between girls, were typically set at all-girls’ schools. Because only families of economic means were capable of sending their daughters to such schools in the early 20th century, this setting is associated with the frequent use the fictionalized register known as *o-jōsama kotoba* (cf. Kinsui 2003). This case study analyzes the use of *o-jōsama kotoba*-related linguistic features in the present-day *yuri* magazine known as *Comic Yuri Hime* (2005-present), the only commercially-owned manga magazine that features exclusively *yuri* narratives. Though *Comic Yuri Hime* is written by a majority female authorship for a predominantly female readership, starting in 2007 the editorial board also published *Comic Yuri Hime S*, a sister magazine that was optimized to cater to the flagship magazine’s male contingent. With two magazines managed by the same editorial board targeted at two different imagined audiences, the corpus comprised of *Comic Yuri Hime* and *Comic Yuri Hime S* across the years of their coexistence makes for prime circumstances in which to analyze the ways in which gender, authorship, and consumption interact with regard to the usage of certain linguistic features.

Next, the case study in Chapter 5 is an examination of sentence-final expressions as they manifest in popular music. Specifically, this study looks at the differences that may be observed between female idol performers and female singer-songwriters, both of which take drastically
different approaches to the construction of a “persona” within one’s lyrics. Female artists regularly switch between first- and second-person pronominals in their lyrics for a variety of reasons, a shift that has a varying effect on the utilized sentence-final expressions ([Dahlberg-]Dodd 2016). What the relationship is between such pronominals and their accompanying expressions lies in the different motivations behind the projected, mediated selves of idols and singer-songwriters. Singer-songwriters vary in the degree of agency they exercise over their projected personae, allowing for a wide degree of variation between artists. Idols, on the other hand, have highly manufactured public images; their purpose is less a strictly musical one and more as “all-around talents” (Aoyagi 2005:3-4) or “image characters” (Galbraith 2012:186), performing not only pop songs, but also dancing, acting in television shows, and using their image to advertise various products. With both singer-songwriters and idol singing groups regularly reaching the top of the Oricon charts, artists that belong to these groups provide an opportunity for the analysis of the way that speakers construct personae with sentence-final expressions and pronominals, and how these constructions interact with that artist’s projected self.

Chapter 6, the final case study in this dissertation, turns the media focus to animation. Instead of limiting analysis to any particular work, however, this chapter instead engages with a specific expression: sentence-final particle wa. Discussed in Chapter 3, sentence-final wa is part of the language ideological construct known as Japanese Women’s Language (JWL), but descriptions of its use in context are lacking. Most analyses limit commentary on wa to its use as a particle of “gentle assertion” for use by female speakers, but of particular interest to this study is the differentiation between “rising-tone wa” and “falling-tone wa,” the latter of which is
referred to as the more gender-neutral of the two. Rather than two different particles, this chapter instead asserts the intonation that accompanies the utilization of *wa* is instead related to that speaker’s intonation patterns more broadly in other, similarly assertive contexts. To explore this topic, this study analyzes a variety of different characterological figures across recent anime and their production of these particles. Such characters include that of the *o-jōsama* (お嬢様 ‘young lady’), figures with whom the female-specific usage is highly associated, but also includes such speakers as *gyaru* (ギャル ‘gal’), a female characterological figure who is known for their use of so-called “masculine” speech features (Miller 2004). Taking a characterological approach to the study of this sentence-final expression allows for the acquisition of a wide variety of data from across multiple speaking personae in fairly stable contexts, data that would be more difficult to obtain without scripted dialogue. Moreover, analyzing the use of *wa* across personae provides needed research into *wa*’s usage as a tool of characterological construction, rather than confining it to only the Japanese Women’s Language (JWL) construct.

Each of these case studies presents a close examination of the phenomenon it focuses on in a particular medium of popular culture. Taken together, these studies propose a broad-based, holistic approach to sociocultural meaning in mass media genres as it is constructed through the multivalent indexical possibilities of sentence-final expressions. The linguistic units and usages that contribute to the construction of a persona, fictionalized or otherwise, are many, and in Japanese, sentence-final expressions provide a wide variety of options to that end. Further, taking a characterological approach to the analysis of sentence-final expressions allows researchers to look beyond that expression’s ideological meaning in isolation, and instead examine how it works together with other semiotic resources to construct social personae more broadly. To
borrow the words of Maynard (2016:282-283), “The concept of character has become a central component of Japanese language culture. [They] surface in performance, and in our daily lives, these characters are presented as our speaking selves.” Putting such considerations at the forefront of sentence-final expression research allows us to clarify their use in the creation and conveyance of social meaning, informing not only language pedagogical methods, but also our understanding of the relationship among language, media, and our social worlds more broadly.
Chapter 2. Language, Media, and Social Meaning

Speaking as a person who came of age during a time in which access to various kinds of media increased dramatically, the greater popular mediascape feels like a nearly inescapable part of human society. Given the presence that entertainment media has in day-to-day life, one would expect that language as it is utilized therein would be more common as an area of linguistic inquiry. According to Stamou (2014:118-119), prior to the turn of the 21st century such studies were uncommon due to what Stamou describes as a tendency to view popular media and mass cultural discourse as “inauthentic.” Indeed, in an effort to capture the so-called “authentic speaker,” researchers in sociolinguistics have historically privileged spontaneous conversational discourse, circumstances that are likely due in part to anxieties concerning the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1972), the idea that the phenomenon under observation can be influenced by the presence of the researcher. Language researchers that fall under the more recent interdisciplinary umbrella of “sociocultural linguistics” have deconstructed this question of authenticity with regard to mass media discourse (e.g. Bucholtz 2003, Coupland 2003), but work that draws on fictionalized language or language in the media still remains underrepresented in the field of linguistics more broadly. At the 2018 Linguistics Society of America Annual Meeting, for example, only three presentations out of a total of 387 explicitly investigated mass media discourse. In the area of Japanese linguistics, the annual Japanese/Korean Linguistics Conference regularly has few if any sociolinguistic presentations; as of writing in late 2018,
while one poster presentation for the 2018 meeting featured research on fictionalized linguistic phenomena, prior to that the last one to include a presentation on language in media was the 22\textsuperscript{nd} iteration held in 2012. Meanwhile, at conferences devoted to broader approaches to sociocultural linguistics, it is possible to find a greater representation of research on language in media. The 10\textsuperscript{th} International Gender and Language Association Conference in 2018, for example, included twelve such presentations (out of ninety) in its program, and the 22\textsuperscript{nd} Sociolinguistic Symposium in 2018 featured twenty-eight presentations or colloquia (out of 572) that foregrounded an analysis of media or mediated (i.e., linguistic landscapes) language. The proportion of research on media language can rise with the inclusion of academic journals focused on sociocultural linguistics, though by no means uniformly: in 2019, *Language in Society* featured work on media language in six of its twenty-two published articles; while in 2019 and 2018, the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* featured only two such articles out of twenty-eight; and in the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, only one out of thirty-eight articles across 2019 and 2018.

The discrepancy in representation of media language research is clear when comparing broader linguistic conferences to those that narrow the focus to specifically sociocultural linguistics. Having been both on the receiving end of, and witness to, candid statements by senior researchers denigrating linguistic research on mass media discourse as unworthy of academic consideration, especially in the field of Japanese studies, it feels pertinent to address what exactly is gained in the field of linguistics by taking language in media into consideration. As discussed by Agha (2007:151), scripted language as it appears in popular media is at its core “metadiscursive,” providing linguists with insights into the ideological and semiotic processes involved in structuring discourse for a given genre, context, and in many cases, the imagined
audience of media content. “The organization of social life is shaped by reflexive models of social life,” writes Agha (2007:1-2), and part of this social life is the creation and consumption of mass media genres, whether for entertainment or otherwise. In this chapter, I provide an overview of approaches to mass media discourse in both sociocultural linguistics overall and specifically within Japan, beginning with a discussion of what it means for fictionalized dialogue to be “metadiscursive” and the analytical problems that arise with regard to the delineation of genre within media research. Additionally, because of this dissertation’s emphasis on the utilization of certain linguistic features in fictionalized dialogue, and what these features contribute to the semiotic construction of the entity using them, I put a special focus on research that engages with linguistic features as part of a greater indexical toolset in the creation of a speaking self. Researchers have used a number of terms in reference to these selves (e.g., ‘persona,’ ‘figure,’ ‘character,’ etc.), and the terminology varies relative to that researcher’s personal academic training as well as their analytical goals. Because of this, this chapter will review these approaches as they relate to popular cultural linguistic phenomena. Finally, after laying the theoretical groundwork, I look ahead to the series of case studies that this dissertation presents.

2.1. Scholarly Approaches to Language in Media
As an introduction to the typologies of research on language in media, Stamou (2014:122-123) begins by discussing two primary conceptual frameworks at use in research on language and society as a whole. Broadly divisable into the categories of “variationist” and “constructionist,” these frameworks differ primarily in their approach to the data under analysis and theoretical
assumptions regarding sociocultural categories in general. Variationism can be traced back to Labov’s (1966) seminal work on social stratification in New York City as it is reflected in the manifestation of the rhotic /r/. Research carried out within this framework is typically concerned with the way that social factors manifest in linguistic variation, and accordingly, may adopt more statistical models for exploring sociolinguistic questions (cf. Eckert 2012). Additionally, a general assumption within this framework is that the social categories under analysis within a given study exist prior to the acquisition of data itself. In contrast, constructionism draws the focus away from more static categories to the ways that speakers negotiate and produce social meaning through linguistic practice (cf. Coupland 2007).

With these two frameworks as a basis, Stamou (2014) categorizes research on language in media according to two typologies that correspond roughly to these frameworks. The first of these treats “fiction as a mirror of sociolinguistic style,” an approach that corresponds to the variationist framework. According to Dynel (2011), this approach relates to the traditional conceptualization of fictionalized dialogue as “inauthentic,” “scripted,” or “non-spontaneous,” resulting in an overall assessment of fictionalized dialogue as inherently less worthy of linguistic consideration compared to spontaneous discourse. As explained by Androutsopolous (2010:749), such an idea may be considered a “reflection fallacy,” i.e. the “expectation that local speech in the media be an (accurate) reflection of non-mediated language.” In contrast, the second framework discussed by Stamou (2014:123) approaches “fiction as a construction of sociolinguistic style,” a perspective that “focuses on the role of fictional discourse in actively shaping rather than reflecting…sociolinguistic reality.” In other words, rather than using “faithfulness” to spontaneous day-to-day discourse as a point of analytic departure, this
framework instead gives preference to the way stylistic practices co-construct “reality” within their respective contexts (cf. Bell 1992).

Generally speaking, in the seventy-two works included in the literature review by Stamou (2014), there is an observable diachronic trend: earlier studies often aligned themselves with the variationist paradigm and adopted the “fiction as mirror” approach, while more recent ones have tended toward the constructionist paradigm and the “fiction as construction” approach. This is, however, not to say that these approaches are necessarily mutually exclusive; indeed, in the case of languages or linguistic communities that are less often featured in studies on mass media discourse, addressing sociolinguistic reality is often necessary as a kind of theoretical bridge to talking about stylistic practice as constructed within its fictionalized context. For example, Inoue’s (2003) and Hiramoto’s (2009) discussions of the use of a kind of pseudo-Tohoku dialect among slave characters in the Japanese translation of Margaret Mitchell’s novel *Gone with the Wind* necessarily engage with this conflict. Especially when analyzing language use in translated works, discussing the translation of the speech of a stigmatized population requires interrogating the broader ideologies and stereotypes at work with regard to that population’s mediatized stylistic practices, and how those linguistic stereotypes reflect broader media treatment of that group as a whole. Shibamoto Smith and Occhi (2009) also grapple with the tension between spontaneous discourse and manufactured dialogue in their study on the 2005 Japanese drama *Wakaba*. This drama, which features female characters involved in heterosexual relationships in two different dialect-dominant areas of Japan, demonstrates the tenuous balance between evoking an “authentic” linguistic femininity and existing as an “authentic” dialect speaker, at least as far as mass media portrayals are concerned.
A critical point to keep in mind when considering Stamou’s (2014) literature review of research on language in media is the specific kind of media within focus. Namely, the only works that are included in Stamou’s review are those that have television shows, television commercials, and/or movies as the genre of analysis. Such a limitation presents a problem not only in Anglophone media research, but especially in Japanese popular media research. This is in part due to a concept that is known in Japanese media studies as “media mix” (e.g., Steinberg 2012), a term that refers to the mass media phenomenon of an intellectual property spanning multiple media representations. This is particularly common in media that is aimed at, or is at least inclusive of, children in its imagined audience. A notable example of this phenomenon is the Pokémon franchise which began in 1996 as a pair of video games for the handheld Game Boy gaming system. However, it has since come occupy space in the trading card game, anime, and manga markets, not to mention the existence of cross-promotions with a number of non-Pokémon products, as well as an annual multi-day event in Yokohama known as “Pikachu Outbreak!” that began in 2014 (“Jigyō Shōkai” 2018). Given such a potential to span multiple media types, methodological problems emerge when confining an analysis to only a single medium of transmission, particularly when discussing what does and does not “count” as mass media-related linguistic research. This is not to say, however, that there are not reasons to pursue linguistic questions as they relate to specific media representations. Dahlberg-Dodd (2018), for example, analyzes anime adaptations of works appearing in the shōnen (少年 ‘boys’) manga magazine Weekly Shonen Jump Shūkan Shōnen Janpu (週刊少年ジャンプ Shūkan Shōnen Janpu), the motivation for which stems from an intention to analyze sociophonetic performances of protagonists relative to their personal pronominal of choice; such an study would not be
possible without the phonetic information made available by the anime adaptations of these manga. Moreover, by working with the anime adaptations of manga, the works are self-selected to be those that were most popular within the magazine (Condry 2016).

Expanding the scope of this review beyond strictly “linguistic” studies, a number of other theoretical approaches come into focus. Due to historically conservative interpretations of field boundaries between sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology in Anglophone research (see Bucholtz and Hall 2008), not to mention boundaries between gengo seikatsu (言語生活 ‘language [and] daily life’) and shakaigengogaku (社会言語学 ‘sociolinguistics’) in Japanese research (cf. Shibamoto 1985), there are gaps in analysis in research on language and social meaning, especially where popular cultural linguistic phenomena are concerned. On the Anglophone side, Bucholtz and Hall (2008:404) attribute such divisions to “a deliberate rejection of methodological commitments perceived as being at odds with one’s own field,” resulting in, for example, neglect to incorporate analysis of linguistic form within linguistic anthropology (Woolard 2008), or a dearth of consideration for social meaning within variationist sociolinguistics (Eckert 2008). Approaches to language and sociocultural variables in Japanese language publications have a similar divide along disciplinary lines between gengo seikatsu and shakaigengogaku. The former, as discussed by Shibamoto (1985), falls under the umbrella of kokugogaku (国語学 ‘national language studies’), Japan’s homegrown variety of linguistics, a field whose primary concern has traditionally been description of the Japanese language and its history. As a subfield in kokugogaku, gengo seikatsu includes the study of the intersection of the Japanese language and different facets of daily life, including the utilization of honorifics and issues concerning the writing system. However, much like its larger umbrella of kokugogaku,
research in this area tends to take a more descriptive approach to linguistic phenomena in daily
life rather than consider these phenomena cross-linguistically or within the context of non-
Japanese linguistic frameworks. *Shakaigengogaku*, however, falls within *gengogaku* (‘linguistics’), the field of study that was imported from Anglophone academic traditions along
with its related methodological baggage in the 20th century. The breadth of the term
*shakaigengogaku*, however, is evident from the recent publication of the *Routledge Handbook of
Japanese Sociolinguistics*, indicating that *shakaigengogaku* includes studies ranging anywhere
from dialectology, language variation, and politeness, to language policy, literacy, and language
contact (Heinrich and Ohara 2019). Noteworthy, however, is the lack of consideration for media
language of any variety, not to mention only a single chapter that deals with the topic of gender
and language. The divide in Japanese language research manifests itself as a nearly complete
lack of consideration for work in sociolinguistics on the part of those in *kokugogaku*, and within
*shakaigengogaku*, an overreliance on traditional renderings of gender-oriented (and Standard
Japanese-based) linguistic phenomena, the latter of which is further discussed in Chapter 3.

Because of theoretical and methodological oversights that emerge (and have previously
emerged) from adherence to strict disciplinary boundaries, this dissertation takes an approach
that falls under the larger umbrella of “sociocultural linguistics.” This term was proposed by
Bucholtz and Hall (2008:404) in order to refer broadly to the “intellectual coalition for the study
of language, culture, and society” in light of recent movements toward more interdisciplinary
approaches to these subject areas. Such an approach allows for a more holistic consideration of
social meaning in mass media discourse, an area of inquiry in which any one (sub-)field alone is
insufficient to address the questions of linguistic ideologies as they are created, sustained, and consumed in a given mediascape.

2.2. Fictionalized Speech as a Topic of Inquiry

2.2.1. Personae and Registers

Within research on language in media more broadly, there exist strains of research that engage with the use of some combination of linguistic features to construct a speaking figure whose speech style, among other facets of their stylistic bricolage such as clothing, personality traits, etc., are semiotically intelligible at a sociocultural level by an observer. In the so-called “West,” some of the earlier commentaries in this vein may be seen in the work of literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1981a, 1984). Though Bakhtin’s overall approach to manifestations of language and its stylistic qualities was naturally from more of a literary studies perspective than a “linguistic” one, his thoughts on speech styles as they are utilized in written genres are nonetheless informative for research on language in media as a whole. In his essay “Discourse in the Novel,” Bakhtin (1981:324) explores what he refers to as “heteroglossia” in written texts, or “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way.” In other words, this refers to the use of stylistics on the part of the author in a way that allows for multiple distinct speaking voices to inhabit a single text. These styles, which he broadly refers to as “voices,” cover a wide variety of speakers, ranging from the kind of style used to characterize someone in a given profession or role (“social voice”) to something as minor as disambiguating between different characters within a narrative (“individual dialects” or “individual voices”). Agha (2005:39) draws on this discussion by Bakhtin, expanding his characterization of voice and
stylistics beyond Bakhtin’s focus on only written prose, and uses it as a way to talk about different speaker-actors that are constituted by means of linguistic semiosis. He divides the concepts discussed by Bakhtin into three categories: “contrastive individuation,” “biographic identification,” and “social characterization.” Agha’s (2005:44) descriptions of these categories may be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Description of segmentation and typification of voices from Agha (2005:44) (italics in original).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive individuation</td>
<td>Recognizing a voicing contrast, e.g., recognizing that metrical contrasts among text segments imply a difference of speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographic identification</td>
<td>Typifying an individuable voice as the speech of a biographic person, e.g., using a system of person deixis to link text segments to biographic identities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social characterization</td>
<td>Assigning an individuable voice a social character, e.g., using a metalanguage of social types to describe text segments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While not all of the categories presented in Table 1 are necessarily limited to fictionalized speech, it is possible to see how they might come into play. “Contrastive individuation,” for example, can result in a work as a means of easily differentiating among characters, a technique that is commonly used in works with a large cast. “Biographic identification,” on the other hand, is primarily a grammatical phenomenon, referring to the embedding of one’s speech in another’s speech by means of personal deixis (i.e., “She said, ‘I don’t want to go’” compared to “She said she doesn’t want to go”). Of the three categories described in Table 1, the one that finds the
greatest degree applicability in the research of fictionalized speech is the third, “social characterization.”

As defined in Table 1 above, “social characterization” is a category that applies to styles in which there exists an indexical link between linguistic features and social characters, or what Agha (2007:177) often refers to elsewhere as “characterological figures,” “image[s] of personhood that [are] performable through a semiotic display or enactment (such as an utterance).” Agha borrows this use of “figure” from Goffman (1974, 1981), who utilizes it in his discussion of participant roles in a conversation, differentiating it from the concept of the “ animator,” or the projected self. While Agha’s (2005, 2007) use of “figure” includes Goffman’s meaning, Agha specifies that in the case of characterological figures, they “manifest indexically through the mediation of speech stereotypes; they are not denoted at all” (Agha 2007:178). To put it differently, successful interpretation and projection of characterological figures relies on a degree of intertextual semiosis that is not necessarily required in the case of Goffman’s “figure.”

An important point to keep in mind is that a figure, “once performed, … is potentially detachable from its current animator in subsequent moments of construal and re-circulation” (Agha 2007:177). In the context of Agha’s discussion, this emphasizes that characterological figures are essentially guises that may be donned and then discarded with the completion of one’s narrative or interactive goals, at least in the case of spontaneous discourse. When analyzing language in fictionalized genres, however, this phenomenon of “detachability” results in still other phenomena that must be taken into consideration. The first is to what extent a given character’s speech mimics spontaneous discourse, since attempts for so-called “realism” on the part of the author can result in characters that may move in and out of fictionalized guises within
that fictionalized setting. Secondly, particularly in the case of supporting characters, that character may not remove or don a “guise” because that character essentially functions as an embodiment of that particular figure. As discussed by Lippi-Green (1997), the latter tendency was common in Disney intellectual properties when African American English (AAE) was used by characters who embodied various racist stereotypes; these characters did not turn AAE on-and-off, but rather, the style served as an index of the kind of character to expect based on pre-existing mediatized stereotypes.

It is in relation to the characterological figure concept that Agha (2005:45) positions his concept of “register,” a sub-category within social characterization that refers to styles which “operate more specifically in terms of categories of social-demographic classification.” In other words, while styles that fall into the category of social characterization are those in which that style is in some way indexically linked to aspects of that character’s personality, those that fall within the sub-category of register may be considered to extend beyond that particular text. Registers enjoy a degree of intertextual intelligibility that is not automatically guaranteed for other styles in the social characterization category. That being said, there is not a hard, exact line separating what can be considered a register and a style that may be too niche for a general audience, a matter that Blommaert (2015:105) refers to as a register’s “scale” or “scope of communicability.” The degree to which a given person may be familiar with a group of linguistic signs varies according to a number of factors, which makes formally classifying something as a register largely pointless without specifying the population of speakers under discussion.

Broadly speaking, Agha’s (2003, 2005, 2007) theoretical work on figures of personhood and registers has coincided with an overall increase in research on personae more broadly within
sociocultural linguistics in the last two decades. While research in this vein may not be explicitly or even necessarily focused on language in media, it is not hard to see that research on the adaptation and performance of different linguistically-conveyed “characters” is not far removed from that on linguistic phenomena within mass media genres. For example, Podesva’s work explores different linguistic aspects of an invokable gay identity in California through a number of linguistic features, including the utilization of falsetto (Podesva 2007), intonational contours (Podesva 2011a), and vowel formants (Podesva 2011b). D’Onofrio (2015), meanwhile, examines vowel position and the perception of a “Valley Girl” persona, not to mention Zhang’s (2008) study on the role of rhotacization in persona performance in Beijing Mandarin. A strand within this research area that is of particular interest to fictionalized language research is work that engages with “mock” versions of different social-demographic stereotypes. Based largely on interactions within American English, such research includes that on Mock Ebonics (Ronkin and Karn 1999), Mock Spanish (Hill 2001), Mock Asian (Chun 2004), and Mock Filipino (Hiramoto 2011), all of which involve heavy engagement with racist discourse as it relates to the utilizations of these styles. Most recently is Slobe’s (2018) study on Mock White Girl, which explores the semiotic resources utilized in the stylization of an American middle-class white girl persona. Each of these studies on mock personae necessarily engages with media representations of the speech styles under discussion. Slobe (2018), for example, explores three different genres of Mock White Girl as it appears predominantly in comedy sketches both on television and on YouTube. Hiramoto’s (2011) research on Mock Filipino addresses the use of this style by comedians who belong to Hawai’i’s Filipino population, and the way that local Filipinos use this style as a means of placing themselves above more recent Filipino immigrants. Chun’s (2004)
study of Mock Asian analyzes the use of this style by Asian-American comedian Margaret Cho to portray her mother and detach the style from its white supremacist origins. Ronkin and Karn’s (1999) work on Mock Ebonics discusses the style as it is used on the internet, while Hill’s (2001) Mock Spanish research looks at the style’s use across media genres as a way of discussing the division between public and private social spaces. Though none of these works are explicitly about media per se, nonetheless each of them engages with the media environment and the role that these genres play in propagating linguistic stereotypes, even if only indirectly.

Studies on personae that are constructed using a variety of different linguistic variables have increased in number in the last twenty years, a rise that corresponds with Stamou’s (2014) characterization of research on language in media overall. That being said, while such studies like those on mock personae often engage with the way that such personae reify racist or otherwise derogatory stereotypes, a close analysis of the media genre of appearance is typically tangential to the research question. Similarly, research that examines language use in media tends to orient more towards loosely defined stereotypes rather than mediatized registers or characterological figures across genre. This is not to say that omission of these aspects is an undesirable thing, but rather, that their omission reveals gaps in theoretical approaches to language in media (see Lippi-Green 1997 as a notable exception).

2.2.2. Character-Speak and Role Language

While consideration of characterological figures, particularly in mass media, may yet be limited in Anglophone literature on language in media, it is difficult to ignore the presence of the
concept of “character” (キャラクター kyarakutā or キャラクタ kyarakuta, also キャラ kyara¹) in research on Japanese popular media and its linguistic ecology. The reason for this stems from a strong research contingent on the concept of character more broadly in Japanese media studies, especially since the turn of the 21st century. One of the foundational works in this area is Azuma’s (2001) analysis of current media consumption habits through what he refers to as the “database.” Focusing primarily on the otaku (オタク ‘geek’) cultural figure of the early 1990s, Azuma (2001) argues that popular media narratives are consumed as derivatives, with re-readings and re-productions in the form of merchandise, spin-off works, and fan-created transformative works, giving life to characters beyond their narrative of origin if they had one to begin with at all. Aihara (2007) goes a step further, arguing that Japan as a whole is being subsumed by character culture, citing the prevalence of character-related goods among the general population as a cause for alarm. On the other hand, Uno (2008) argues the opposite, stating that at least in the case of kētaï² (ケータイ ‘mobile phone’) novels (ケータイ小説 kētaï shōsetsu), it is possible to observe what he calls “de-characterization” (脱キャラクター化 datsu kyarakutā-ka), the de-centralization of the character and their qualities in favor of the narrative itself, a phenomenon that he refers to overall as the “purification of the narrative” (物語の純化

¹ It is worth mentioning that some scholars maintain a theoretical difference between kyara and kyarakutā. One such scholar is Itō (2005:95), who uses kyara to refer to something that “gives the impression of existing as a personality.” However, kyarakutā goes one step further, on one hand being “based on the sense of existence that kyara evokes,” but at the same time making the “reader imagine its lifetime and life hidden in the (narrative) text.” (tr. Maynard 2012:49).

² This spelling is a reflection of Uno (2008) and Maynard's (2016) use of katakana ケータイ (kētaï), the script variant that is commonly used when the word is short-hand for a mobile cellular device. This version is derived from携帯 (keitai), the more formal kanji representation that may be attached to other nouns (e.g., 携帯電話 keitai denwa) to indicate that something is portable.
monogatari no junka). This is also a position supported by Maynard (2012, 2016) in her exploration of language use in this genre. Meanwhile, researchers like Senuma (2007) take a more neutral position, opting instead for a more classificatory approach to those characters recognized among the general population, regardless of genre.

Based on the prevalence of research discussing the extent to which the character as a phenomenon has become readily visible in both popular media and society as a whole, the significance of character in Japanese media studies is clear. Research on language in media is no exception to this trend, though the approach taken in the discussion of the character phenomenon depends on the academic tradition in which that research is situated. In the same sense that shakaigengogaku and gengo seikatsu had largely different aims, not to mention difficulties in interacting across field boundaries, so too do these various research approaches to the study of the concept of “character” have little interaction. First, publishing in both English and Japanese is Maynard (e.g. 2001, 2004, 2007, 2016), whose research focuses more broadly on pragmatics and style shifting through the lens of “character-speak” and what this concept and her findings can contribute theoretically to the academic conversation in those areas. She defines character-speak as “every aspect of communication employed in the creation and manipulation of characters,” stating that it involves “a rich creative use of the dynamic elements in language, including conversational interaction, narration, quoted speech, and internal monologue, as well as fictional and fictionalized variations” (Maynard 2016:2). Maynard typically takes a strongly qualitative approach in her research, stating that her reasons for pursuing specifically character-speak in her more recent works are not due to its “ubiquity, popularity, or its visibility in scholarly discourse,” but because “the concept of character points to other inherent and essential
aspects of pragmatics such as performance, especially through the artful use of language”
(Maynard 2016:70). Drawing on Goffman’s (1959) discussion of theatrical performance in the
presentation of the self, as well as Mead’s (1967 [1934]) theory of symbolic interactionism (i.e.,
the “I” versus the “me” in conversation), Maynard argues that a critical point of consideration
within the character-speak framework is the ability of a speaker to manipulate linguistic
characters or related characteristics to creative and ludic effect, be it in spontaneous discourse or
in scripted work. What qualifies as a character within this framework, however, has a wide
range; stating that character-speak “operates most prominently as an indexical sign” in the
Peircian (1992 [1868]) sense, she allows the term to cover anything with at least some kind of
expressive meaning, ranging from more widely recognized semi-formalized styles, such as those
that involve gender- or dialect-related variation, to more ephemeral, role-based styles like what
she calls the “cool-character” or “cute-character” (Maynard 2016:64). Maynard’s approach to
caracter-speak is situated within her greater framework of “fluid orality,” a term that she says
may be “best understood as polyphonic speech initiated not by an ideal autonomous speaker, but
by a multiple and often shifting interplay and overlay of speaking selves as characters” (Maynard
2016:4). This framework grew out of an earlier framework she referred to as “borrowed style”
(借り物スタイル karimono sutairu), which did not incorporate either genre or philosophical and
theoretical perspectives into analyses of linguistic phenomena in popular media sources (e.g.
Maynard 2004). The concept of character-speak, however, was developed specifically for
engaging with fictional and fictionalized language in popular media, and furthermore, to function
as “a vehicle for deepening our understanding of the speaker as a speaking person” (Maynard
2016:61). Most recently, she has used the character-speak framework to discuss linguistic
phenomena and stylistic shifting across a variety of media genres in her book *Fluid Orality in the Discourse of Japanese Popular Culture*, including light novels (ライトノベル raito noberu), けたい novels (ケータイ小説 けたい shōsetsu), television talk shows, manga, and television dramas (Maynard 2016).

In contrast to Maynard, who approaches language in popular media from the perspective of stylistic variation, pragmatics, and what the phenomena therein contribute to a larger theoretical conversation, Kinsui (e.g. 2003, 2007, 2011, 2014a) engages with language in popular media through more of a descriptive lens. In his (2003) monograph *Vācharu Nihongo* (ヴァーチャル日本語 ‘Virtual Japanese’), Kinsui introduced the term “role language” (役割語 yakuwarigo) which he defines as follows:

> “Role language”: a set of spoken language features (such as vocabulary, grammar, and phonetic characteristics) that can be psychologically associated with a particular character type. (Character’s attributes include age, gender, occupation, social status, appearance, and personality.)

(Kinsui and Yamakido 2015:30)

Drawing on his background in *kokugogaku*, specifically as a scholar of Japanese historical linguistics, Kinsui (2003) engages with certain fictionalized styles that are common to popular media, how they came to be used in their relative contexts, and their linguistic and situational origins. To that end, Kinsui (2003) takes up *hakase-go* (博士言 ぶっししゃいん ‘professor-speech’), お嬢様ことば おじょうさま kotoba (お嬢様ことば ‘young lady-speech’), and the comical use of Kansai dialect, not to mention larger concepts like the emergence of what is now considered Standard Japanese as the primary variety used by fictional protagonists. In a later work, *Kore mo Nihongo aru ka?* (コレもニホンゴあるか?})
日本語アルカ？ ‘This is Japanese, too?’), Kinsui (2014a) explores the origins of *aru yo kotoba* (アルヨことば ‘aru yo speech’), a kind of fictionalized style that has fallen mostly out of use but was previously used to characterize the speech of Chinese characters. In addition to Kinsui’s work, what can be considered a kind of yakuwarigo-boom has inspired a number of other studies that cover other phenomena. These studies include work on first-person pronominals in translations of non-Japanese speech on television (Ota 2011); linguistic typologies of *tsundere* (ツンデレ ‘hot-and-cold’) characters (Nishida 2011, Togashi 2011); a description of the use of the exclamation ‘oo!’ or ‘yaa!’ in *seiyōjin-go* (西洋人語 ‘Westerner speech’) (Yoda 2007, Nakamura 2013); not to mention a phonetic characterization of animated protagonists and antagonists across genres (Teshigawara 2007).

In addition to the yakuwarigo framework, there are also concepts such as what Sadanobu (2011b) calls the *hatsuwa kyarakuta* (発話キャラクタ ‘utterance character’) and *hyōgen kyarakuta* (表現キャラクタ ‘expression character’), which take comparatively broader approaches to characterological linguistic phenomena. As discussed in Kinsui and Yamakido (2015), a key part of the yakuwarigo framework is the *yakuwari* (役割 ‘role’) of that speaker within the narrative. More specifically, Kinsui’s (2003) framework refers not only to fictionalized speech phenomena, but emphasizes the role played by a given character utilizing these enregistered styles. Meanwhile, Sadanobu’s (2011a, 2011b) framework does not necessarily require that this role be part of a greater system of intertextual characterological semiosis. Rather, a given character’s speech may be novel to a particular character, but nonetheless indexes certain qualities about that character. Sadanobu (2011b:121) exemplifies this
phenomenon with an utterance character that he identifies as a “creature-from-the-planet-Pyoon,” and as such, inhabitants of this planet all end their sentences with *pyoon*, a unit that has no propositional content, but in this case it indexes its users as being of the same population (e.g., *Uso da yo pyoon* or ‘That’s a lie *pyoon*’). Kinsui and Yamakido (2015), in discussing the boundaries of *yakuwarigo* in comparison to other kinds of characterological linguistic phenomena, put such *kyara gobi* (キャラ語尾 ‘character word-endings’) in the broader category of “character language,” which they categorize in four representative types as seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Description of four representative types of “character language” as described by Kinsui and Yamakido (2015:32) and their provided examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>“A speech style that, while associated with a particular social or cultural group, is not widely enough recognized within the speech community at large to qualify as true role language.”</td>
<td><em>Tsundere</em> speech (Togashi 2011, Nishida 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>“A speech style in which a type of role language is unexpectedly adopted by a character who does not belong to the social or cultural group in which it is typically associated.”</td>
<td>Use of AAVE by non-African American characters; utilization expresses association of that character with mediatized African American stereotypes (Lippi-Green 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>“A speech style in which a type of role language is employed to express its speaker’s personality, rather than the stereotype of the social or cultural group with which it is associated.”</td>
<td>Regional dialect usage among protagonists (Kinsui, Tanaka, and Okamuro 2014)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The categorization above, though providing some clarity to Kinsui’s (2003) earlier definitions, is not without its analytical problems. For example, Kinsui and Yamakido (2015:32) state that in order for a register to be considered “true” role language (i.e., yakuwarigo), and not “restrictive” role language (Type I in Table 2), it needs to be “widely enough recognized.” At what point that “enough” begins, or rather, at what point a given register moves beyond “niche” to “mass culture” is unclear within the context of their paper. If we consider the remarks of Condry (2013:83) on the volume edited by Ito, Okabe, and Tsuji (2012), however, the contention between “niche” and “mass culture” is elucidated: “the path from niche to mass may first involve jumps from niche to niche. Indeed, this might be the key to a more accurate definition of ‘mass’: to see it as networked niches acting in unison.” In other words, creating a false division between mass and niche, or in this case establishing a “recognition” threshold that a yakuwarigo variety needs to clear, is not practically useful in the exploration of characterological figures and their stylistic qualities. The other categories in Table 2 above do not present such analytical difficulties, however. Type II, for example, refers to the application of a style that is indexically associated with a particular sociocultural group in the speech of a non-member of that group, resulting in an extension of that group’s mediatized stereotypes to the non-member. Finally,
Type IV refers to the novel use of a style, including kyara gobi, such as those mentioned in Sadanobu (2011b) above, in a given work.

A related concept that deals with a more specific phenomenon in this area is hōgen kosupure (方言コスプレ ‘dialect cosplay’), a term coined by Tanaka (2011) to refer to the use of dialect features by non-dialect speakers to achieve some narratological goal, a concept that also falls under the category of Type III in Table 2 above. To exemplify hōgen kosupure, Tanaka discusses in her work how Tohoku dialect speakers are often viewed as unsophisticated, or how Osaka dialect speakers may be seen as fun-loving straight shooters, and that these features extend to non-dialect speakers with their performance of these dialects. She also uses the term vācharu hōgen (ヴァーチャル方言 ‘virtual dialect’) (e.g. Tanaka 2016) to refer more broadly to this phenomenon whereby the social, secondary indexical associations a dialect has are detachable from that dialect’s politico-cultural origins. While her framework is not necessarily limited to popular media genres, it is readily apparent how vācharu hōgen has theoretical power in research on fictionalized speech varieties. In the book in which she initially proposes the hōgen kosupure concept, she discusses the treatment of dialects in governmental policy and language standardization movements, but in the latter half of the book she discusses dialect usage in television dramas, as well as its use in certain novels. Other works include Tanaka’s (2015b) analysis of Kyushu dialect in manga and her (2015a) discussion of dialect usage in the Lion King relative to character type.

Finally, while Kinsui (2003) may be one of the earlier works mentioned in this succession of literature that engages with the intersection of media genres, characterological figures, and linguistic stylistics, he was not the first to take up enregistered linguistic phenomena as a whole.
First discussed by Kikuzawa (1933) is a concept known as *isō* (位相 ‘phase’), a term initially borrowed from physics in order to describe the way that different linguistic styles may be observed depending on certain characteristics of the speaker, including age, gender, occupation, and so forth. The description seems similar to that of Kinsui’s (2003) *yakuwarigo* framework, and indeed, Tanaka (1999) even discusses many of the same styles as Kinsui (2003), including *bushi kotoba* (武士ことば ‘warrior speech’) and gender-related variation. A key difference between *isō* and *yakuwarigo*, however, is that a critical part of the *yakuwarigo* framework is the interpretation of these styles on the part of the consumer, while that is not a factor in discussion of *isō*. Additionally, even though many of the styles identified as *isō* live predominantly within texts, because *isō* has not been directly applied in the study of fictionalized genres, their media genre of origin is not factored into their discussion. Due to these circumstances, in many ways it is possible, indeed, illuminating, to think of the *yakuwarigo* framework as a kind of expansion on *isō*, introducing consideration for the process of mediation that language necessarily undergoes as it passes between speaker and listener, or in the case of media genres, creator and consumer.

2.3. Summary

Across both Anglophone and Japanese literature, it is evident that there are a number of different approaches that have emerged in various academic traditions that engage in some way with the idea of the constructed speaking self, particularly as that self serves narratological ends. Though not all of these approaches were developed with research on mass media in mind, the fact that each of the “voices” identified in these studies is either mediated or mediatized to some extent makes these approaches valuable to broader research on language in media, and, indeed, to our
understanding of language as one of many tools in a larger semiotic toolbox for the generation of the speaking voice. Whether discussing the concepts of persona or character-speak, each of these approaches necessarily incorporates the idea that a speaker-actor adjusts their linguistic output relative to the imagined expectations of an audience. In the context of the *yakuwarigo* framework, Yamaguchi (2007, 2011) discusses this navigation of such expectations using the terms “microcosmic communication” and “macrocosmic communication.” Of these, “microcosmic” refers to the propositional content of a given character’s dialogue, (e.g., “The dog is over there!”), whereas the “macrocosmic” refers to the social information conveyed in that line, such as if the character spoke with an accent or using a particular register, a facet that necessarily takes the author’s calculation of intelligibility and response on the part of the consumer into consideration. We can also consider this concept through the analytical lens of “audience design theory” (Bell 1984, 1992, 2001), whereby the language used in a particular work “indexes an imagined target audience on the assumption that this audience will find this particular style acceptable and attractive within certain genre constraints” (Androutsopolous 2012:304). While Bell (1984) originally drafted this framework in the context of face-to-face interaction, his later application of it to New Zealand news broadcasts (Bell 1992), not to mention its further extension by other scholars (e.g. Androutsopolous 2012), makes its value to research on fictionalized speech readily apparent.

Using the theoretical groundwork laid in this chapter, this dissertation will explore the utilization of sentence-final expressions in the construction of characterological figures in three different Japanese popular media representations: manga, popular music, and anime. Sentence-final expressions, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 3, are a locus of sociocultural
meaning, due in large part to their primary role in the indexical communication of discursive and pragmatic information. However, in order to discuss these expressions relative to sociocultural meaning, it is first necessary to understand how we as a field have arrived where we are in this discussion. In the next chapter, this dissertation explores the history of gendered commentary on the usage of sentence-final expressions. Gender-oriented linguistic prescriptivism has historically played a large role in discussions of language use, and the effects of this prescriptivism are still felt today in both Japanese language research and language pedagogy. It is due to these circumstances that, in order to discuss the ways in which sentence-final expressions contribute to the construction of characterological figures, it is first necessary to disentangle the history of gender-oriented commentaries as they relate to the usage of these expressions.
Chapter 3. Sentence-Final Expressions and Commentaries on their Use

In the previous chapter, I outlined the recent history of research on language in media in both the Anglosphere and Japanese in different academic traditions, and the way that these researchers have engaged with what we can think of as an indexically constructed “voice.” The previous chapter also highlighted what areas of research on language in media are as of yet underserved, particularly as these pertain to Japanese mass media genres. Such genres have historically served as a means by which indexical relationships between characterological traits and linguistic features have been established, perpetuated, and subverted. What those features are, or the combinations thereof are, depends on the nature of the character in question, not to mention the language and genre in which the media is experienced. Moreover, language in media necessarily involves multiple layers of linguistic expectation and awareness on the part of both the creator and consumer, with creators structuring linguistic patterns relative to their perception of the expectations of an imagined target audience, resulting in a complex web of linguistic stereotypes and ideologies.

This chapter focuses on one of the main linguistic resources that go into the construction of characterological figures and personae in Japanese: the sentence-final expression. As discussed at length in previous research on linguistic stereotypes and ideologies (e.g. Kinsui 2003, SturtzSreetharan 2004, Nakamura 2007, Hiramoto 2010, Unser-Schutz 2015), next to personal pronominals, sentence-final expressions are one of the most salient indexicals of
sociocultural meaning in Japanese, especially where gender, class, sexuality, and other related meanings are concerned. The stereotypes invoked by these indexicals, however, are not directly related to any inherent quality of that expression, but rather to its pragmatic meaning in context (Ochs 1992). Additionally, in the case of fictionalized speech patterns, the usage may also be a result of that feature’s history of use within a given literary or mass media genre (Kinsui 2003).

Because subsequent chapters focus on the part that these expressions fulfill in the different genres analyzed, it is first necessary to talk more generally about the pragmatic function that these expressions have and the critical discourses that surround their usages. After outlining their basic function and position within a clause, I will then discuss the history of gender-related commentaries concerning these expressions. While these expressions may index a variety of sociocultural meanings, prescriptive advice concerning their use typically relates to the sex and gender of the speaker. These stereotypes, especially as they pertain to female speakers, have historically found their basis in what was once considered a deterministic relationship between a speaker’s “masculinity” or “femininity” and some perceived inherent quality of the expression itself (e.g., “gentleness,” “coarseness”). This deterministic approach to sentence-final expression usage has presented difficulties for the analysis of their sociocultural meaning in context, as research in this area naturally references previous literature. Moreover, in Japanese linguistics there exists a history of relying on self-reflection to determine the sociocultural meanings of these expressions in a given situation, naturally resulting in a bias towards that speaker’s idiolect (cf. SturtzSreetharan 2004b). Given this history, reviewing the commentaries on the prescribed use of these expressions is necessary before taking up the semiotic roles they fulfill in today’s mass media content.
3.1. The Pragmatic Function of Sentence-Final Expressions in Practice

Japanese sentence-final expressions function as what Bolinger and Sear (1981:110) refer to more generally as “audible gestures,” a type of grammatical unit that conveys discursive or pragmatic meanings. Morita (2018:587) defines these units as “small lexemes that have neither denotational or referential meaning,” and states that they are named as such for their frequent and typical appearance at the end of sentences or utterances. While “sentence-final particle” is the most widespread way to refer to these units, it is worth noting that they may go by several names depending on the academic discipline of the researcher, including discourse particles, interactional particles, phatic markers, and affective particles (Hiramoto 2010, Morita 2018).

An example of their positioning and use may be seen below in Excerpt (1), a conversation between two characters in the 2018 anime series Sword Art Online Alternative Gun Gale Online (Studio 3Hz, 2018). The main character (L) is talking with her best friend (F) who has just recently created a character in the massively multiplayer online roleplaying game that L plays, and they are discussing purchasing items for F’s new character. The units that are traditionally considered sentence-final particles are bolded.

(1)  
F: *shojikin wa etto sen* [kurejitto ka]  
\text{money-in-possession TOP uhm one-thousand credits SFP}  
\text{‘My money is, let’s see… 1,000 credits, huh?’}

L: *baribari shoki kingaku da ne.*  
\text{clearly starting-period amount-of-money COP SFP}  
\text{‘That’s clearly the starting amount.’}

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3 Japanese title: ソードアート・オンライン オルタナティブ ガンゲイル・オンライン (Sōdo āto onrain orutanitibu gan geiru onrain)
F: sorrya warui!
that-TOP bad
‘I don’t want you to do that!’

L: sonna yakusoku shitenai!
that-kind promise was-not-doing
‘I never promised you that!’

In the above example, the two sentence-final particles that are used, ka and ne, are in bold. These particles, in conjunction with particle yo, are the most common ones to be introduced early in pedagogical materials due of their high prevalence in daily conversation across politeness registers (e.g. Jorden and Noda 1987, Banno et al. 2011, Makino and Tsutsui 2015). These are by no means the only ones, however. Even considering only Standard Japanese, there are several particles at one’s disposal in addition to ka, ne, and yo, such as na, sa, ya, no, wa, ze, zo, i, kashira(n), kke, and so forth, and the list expands further when dialect-specific particles such as be and bai are included (Morita 2018). One of the complicating factors associated with utilizing the term “particle” to refer to these, however, is the fact that it is not clear by what criteria all of those listed are “particles,” nor do they always occur sentence- or utterance-finally. For example,
sentence-final no when preceded by a verb in plain style (i.e., direct style or dictionary form) may function (and be analyzed) not as a particle, but as a predicate nominalizer, such as in the phrase doko ni iku no? (‘where is it that you are going?’) (Uyeno 1971, Jorden and Noda 1988). Another example is kashira(n), which may be parsed as the negative verb shiranu (‘do not/will not know’) preceded by the particle ka as an expression of uncertainty, making kashira(n) as a unit not truly a particle (Saji 1991:15). Finally, sentence-final particles are not the only sentence-final lexemes that express pragmatic meaning. Complementizers like mon(o) and koto (Morita 2018:588), as well as conjunctive particles like kara, shi, and kedo (Sakakibara 2008, McGloin and Konishi 2010, Sun 2017) also regularly occur sentence- or utterance-finally, and particularly in the case of the sentence-final occurrences of conjunctive particles, may take on new pragmatic implications.

In order to be inclusive of all pragmatic units that may occur at the end of an utterance, I utilize the phrase “sentence-final expression,” which corresponds to a term in Japanese with the same intended categorical breadth, bunmatsu hyōgen (文末表現). This is to refer not only to those lexemes that are traditionally classified as particles, such as yo, ne, and ka, but also those that may have more contentious histories of research with regard to their categorization (e.g. no and kashira(n)). This term also aims to include those that may have only recently taken on pragmatic qualities that suggest a particalization in process, such as sentence-final shi (e.g., McGloin and Konishi 2010). Finally, expanding the area of consideration allows us to consider a greater breadth of potential sociocultural and characterological meanings. This is because such meanings are conveyed not only with lexemes such as sentence-final particles, but also whether that lexeme is attached to a plain-style verb, a distal-style one, or some other social indexical
(honorifics, etc.). Furthermore, in the same way that using a particular sentence-final expression carries with it certain indexical associations, so, too, does the absence of such an expression. Returning again to Excerpt (1), it is possible to see the extra coverage this term offers. In addition to the bolded *ka* and *ne*, which are traditionally considered as sentence-final particles, the additional expressions under consideration may be found underlined. With the expansion from “particle” to “expression,” there is now an inclusion of *da*, the plain copula; *desho*, a shortened version of the tentative form of the polite copula; and plain-style endings without particle or other accompanying expression.

Given that these linguistic units have no denotational or referential meaning, what connotational or discursive role they fulfill demands attention. McGloin (1990:23) summarizes such roles succinctly when she states that sentence-final expression “can be said to create and/or maintain an interpersonal immediacy” in which “the speaker acknowledges the addressee as a cooperative participant in the give-and-take of the speech situation.” Indeed, she goes on to state that there are ultimately three functions of sentence-final expressions, none of which are mutually exclusive: insistence, confirmation, and rapport-building. Setting aside for a moment whether such a categorization covers all particles, or if such a categorization adequately accounts for the breadth of a single particle, McGloin’s (1990) categorization method nonetheless introduces how gendered and other sociocultural associations may be attached to the use of a given particle. Ochs (1992) discusses this phenomenon with regard to what she refers to as “direct” and “indirect” indexicality. Meanings that are directly indexed by a given particle could be some form of rapport or confirmation, as mentioned in McGloin (1990), but indirectly indexed information tends historically to relate in other sociocultural dimensions, and those may
become stereotypically linked to those directly indexed qualities. One of the main sociocultural dimensions with which speakers have historically associated the use of certain sentence-final expressions, even to the point of their use becoming selectively prescribed behavior, is gender (or in older literature, “sex”), a tendency that is due in large part to the hegemonic idealizations of those genders (or sexes) that become manifest for certain speakers through an individual’s choice of sentence-final expression, among other linguistic features. This tendency has informed a substantial portion of earlier scholarly literature on these expressions and their relationship to sociocultural meaning.

Due to the considerable baggage that sentence-final expression research carries with regard to gender and gender-related analyses, it is necessary to touch on this history before moving into a discussion of sentence-final expressions and their role in co-constructing personae and characterological figures in Japanese media. Because previous work on the emergence of language-oriented gender ideologies is voluminous (e.g., Okamoto and Shibamoto 2004, Endo 2006, Inoue 2006, Abe 2010, Maree 2013, Nakamura 2014, etc.), the following section will not attempt to rehash this history. Rather, it will approach the history of critical discourses about gender-associated speech specifically with regard to sentence-final expression usage. By first looking at the broader history of these linguistic units in public and scholarly discourses, we can lay the foundation necessary for discussing and analyzing ideologies that influence the use of these expressions today.
3.2. A History of Gender-Related Commentaries on Sentence-Final Expression Usage

Following World War II, media outlets such as newspapers and broadcasting stations often carried out surveys in order to gauge public opinion on Japanese language use at large in society (Endo 2006). What these surveys revealed is the fact that there existed a public awareness of language change in the form of a shift towards less sex-based differentiation overall. Fifty years apart, both linguist Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1942) and an anonymous op-ed writer for the November 2nd, 1992 issue of the *Asahi Shimbun* (as cited in Okamoto 1995) may be observed lamenting the same thing: the seeming neutralization of sex-related linguistic differences, particularly with regard to the speech of women. Kindaichi (1942:16), who seemed to consider Japanese Women’s Language (JWL) as a kind of unique, Japan-limited phenomenon unmatched through the world for its beauty, criticized educated Japanese women for “carelessly reject[ing] honorifics,” for him, “in order [for one] to become a full-fledged Japanese woman, one must first learn traditional women’s language.” The anonymous op-ed writer of 1992 felt similarly, asserting that the use of “men’s language” by a female professor he witnessed on television was “deplorable,” and such use caused him to “question her education level.” He then continued on to say that “in Japan, there is an attractive and adorable women’s language. If we teach men’s language to female foreigners, we will inevitably end up teaching the wrong Japanese culture” (cited in Okamoto 1995:297). For both of these writers, not only were sex-related linguistic differences to be preserved as an inherent, unchanging part of Japanese culture, but language change that would neutralize such differences was unconscionable.

This section will follow the history of gender- and sex-related metalinguistic commentaries focusing on sentence-final expression usage. As will be demonstrated below,
much of the discourse on language use along gender-related lines concerns female speakers, a tendency that is due to the historical construction of female speakers in Japan as a linguistic “other” (cf. Inoue 2006), simultaneously resulting in only limited amounts of commentary (and relatedly, research), on the linguistic habits of non-female speakers (SturtzSreetharan 2004a). This section will begin with early commentaries from the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1336-1573) Periods in which prescriptive commentaries on speech practice had less to do with specific linguistic features alone than with behavior more broadly construed, some of which manifested in speech. Over time, specific linguistic features began to feature in public commentary on language use, with sentence-final expressions entering these critiques in the Meiji Period (1868-1912). Thus contextualized, we then consider current approaches to linguistic difference and meaning-making, particularly as it relates to gender and gender-adjacent ideologies.

3.2.1. Pre-Modern Conduct Manuals and Etiquette Guides
The public critique of language use, particularly as it is used to denigrate the habits of women, is not unique to the modern period, or even to Japan in general. As is explained at length by Endo (2006), metalinguistic commentary policing the language use of women dates back to at least the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) when the social status of women was diminished, due at least in part to the popularization of sects of Buddhism that prominently featured writings expounding on the inherent sinfulness of women. One such example is found in the Tsuma kagami (妻鏡 ‘The Mirror for Wives,’ 1300), a collection of works by an author known as Mujū, a monk of the Rinzai sect. In it, he writes, “Human beings are foolish. It is written throughout the scriptures
that women in particular are very sinful. *Nanzan no Senritsushi* states that women are guilty of seven sins,” among them “lying,” “burning with desire and knowing no shame,” and menstruation (*NKBT* 1964:121, Endō tr. 2006:24). Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1352) also includes some commentary on the nature of women and their speech in his work *Tsurezuregusa* (<Paleo>Essays in Idleness</Paleo>), stating that:

(2) In fact, women are all perverse by nature…. They are clever talkers, but may refuse to utter a word when asked even some perfectly unobjectionable question. One might suppose this meant they were cautious, but they are equally apt to discuss, quite unsolicited, matters being passed over in silence. Their ingenuity in embroidering their stories is too much for the wisdom of any man, but when, presently, their fictions are exposed, they never perceive it. Women are devious but stupid. (Keene 1967:90)

The opinions of Mujū and Yoshida Kenkō quoted above exemplify the tendency during this period for commentary related to speech to deal more with behavioral practices as they were perceived to manifest themselves in speech, rather than to address specific linguistic features. Concern that was paid to women’s speech by male authors dealt not with the specifics of that speech, but rather, focused on the actions being accomplished (or not accomplished) by that speech.

In addition to such passages, in which the authors predominantly list the things they dislike about communication habits of women, the Kamakura and subsequent Muromachi (1336-1573) Periods also saw instances of linguistic practice prescribed in texts that could be considered instructional. For example, contemporary conduct manuals written by high-class women for their daughters as they prepared for marriage circulated among upper-class families (Nakamura 2014). One such author, Abutsuni (d. 1283), provided instructions to her daughter Ki
no Naishi in her text *Menoto no fumi* (乳母の文 ‘A Nursemaid’s Letters,’ 1283) to be “vague and noncommittal in regard to both oneself and others,” to “not show [her] emotions,” and to “not speak rashly, whatever the circumstances” (*NKB* 1910:11, Endō tr. 2006:24). *Menoto no sōshi* (乳母の草子 ‘A Nursemaid’s Book,’ late Kamakura 1185-1333), an instructional text for women serving at court, informed readers of the appropriate volume of the female voice in conjunction with other behavioral expectations:

(3) When [your daughter] is about ten years old, make sure she stays deep inside of the house and away from others. Bring her up [as a person] with a stable mind who speaks in a small voice. Do not let her do whatever she wants, speak roughly, or lounge near the porch. (*NKBJH* 1910:35, Nakamura tr. 2014:41)

The author of *Mi no katami* (身のかたみ ‘Half of the Body,’ Muromachi 1336-1573), also provided advice regarding the acceptable volume of a woman’s voice, as well as overall comportment of one’s mouth, stating that:

(4) The mouth, whether it be wide or narrow, should speak in a small voice. However good looking a mouth, it becomes ugly if it drips from the sides and laughs at funny things while wide open, with the tip of the tongue in motion and the hole of the throat visible. However bad looking a mouth, it will look good if it speaks slowly and in a low voice. (Hanawa 1932:254, Nakamura tr. 2014:41)

Thus, even instructions like these, issued by female authors on the linguistic behavior expected of women and girls, related predominantly to maintaining a lower pitch and soft speaking volume. Additionally, as is seen in the above excerpt from *Mi no katami*, there was also some prescription relating to the overall aesthetics of the mouth.
With the onset of the Edo Period (1603-1868) and the commercialization of printing and publishing came an increase in the circulation potential of written material. While conduct manuals such as those of the Kamakura and Muromachi Periods had readerships that were limited largely to the upper-class, the Edo Period saw a greater proliferation of written material across literate populations (which themselves had grown) more broadly, allowing for the dissemination of prescriptive language guides across class boundaries.

The written works critiquing language use that emerged in the Kamakura and Muromachi Periods did not, as mentioned, include much instruction concerning specific linguistic practice, but in the Edo Period, we see the beginnings of the propagation of prescription in the form of words that female speakers are to avoid, including words of Chinese origin. *Katakoto* (片言 ‘The Other Language,’ 1650), for example, stated that:

(5) The words of children, young men, and women should be in a soft, small voice. They should be in a low, small, and weak voice. Difficult, rough words are not suitable. Chinese words should be pronounced in their Japanese readings. (Shiraki 1976:17, Nakamura tr. 2014:44)

This precept regarding Chinese-origin words was echoed by later etiquette guides such as Umejima Sanjin’s *Fujin yashinaigusa* (婦人養草 ‘Writings to Educate Women,’ 1689) and Namura Jōhaku’s *Onna chōhōki* (女重宝記 ‘Record of Treasures for Women,’ 1692), the latter of which was one of the most popular from this time period (Nakamura 2014:44). In addition to such advice, however, *Fujin yashinaigusa* also included a section more generally instructing women to be “tasteful” in their language and not to “say anything that is of no benefit,” as well as a list of 121 different pairs of words that he heard women use and what they should be using.
instead (Endō 2006:26). *Onna chōhōki* took a similar approach but expanded on the list of prohibited words to include such lexical items as *hidoi* (‘cruel’), *nikui yatsu* (‘disgusting guy’), or *kebiru* (‘vulgar’), illustrating that lexical prohibition extended beyond only words of Chinese origin (Namura 1993[1692, 1693]:27). Women were also encouraged to use words that had come into existence through the style known as court-women’s speech (*女房ことば nyobō kotoba*), a style that began at least as early as the 14th century as a means of facilitating smooth communication among court women, many of whom came from various different dialect regions to work in the palace (Sugimoto 1998:20-21). Lexical items that originate with this speech style are recognizable by such features as the use of the polite prefix *o-* added to a word that conventionally described the intended referent, e.g., *o-hiya* (*o* + ‘cool’) in reference to *mizu* ‘water (for drinking),’ or the initial mora of the word for the intended referent followed by *moji* (‘letter’), e.g., *i-moji* ‘the *i*-letter’ for *ika* ‘squid’ (Sugimoto 1998:113-114). Features from this speech style ultimately became the foundation of the ideological construct now often referred to as Japanese Women’s Language (Washi 2004).

Observable above in Excerpt (5) from *Katakoto* is the fact that there did exist some linguistic prescription with regard to the speech of men, though the degree of emphasis was far less than that for female speech. For example, Namura’s corresponding male analogue of *Onna chōhōki*, known as *Nan chōhōki* (男重宝記 ‘Record of Treasures for Men,’ 1693), does not include an entire section dedicated to language prescription, while *Onna chōhōki* does. In the case of Excerpt (5), the prescription is aimed at young men, suggesting that this instruction had less to do with the sex of the speaker and more with the hierarchical status of young men relative to older ones. More generally, however, in the same way that female speakers were
prescriptively urged to utilize certain lexical items from court-women’s speech, male speakers were dissuaded from using those same items. By the Edo Period, what had formerly been court-women’s speech had become indexically associated either with female speakers or with the speech of the upper-class more generally, and contentions regarding these associations can be seen in writings concerned with who should and should not utilize lexical items from this style (Nakamura 2014). The text *Kagomimi* (籠耳 ‘Basket Ears,’ 1687) is one such example, in which the writer complains about the use of so-called “women’s speech” (i.e., *nyobō kotoba*) among otherwise normatively masculine men:

> (6) Among the kinds of speech, [we can distinguish] women’s speech. It is disgusting to see a nicely dressed warrior or merchant speak women’s speech without making this [gender] distinction. They are often observed saying *o-naka* for hara (‘stomach’), *hi-moji* for hidarui (‘hungry’), *ka-moji* for kami (‘hair’)…and so on. Watch your speech. (Mutō and Oka 1976:230, Nakamura tr. 2014:63).

As seen in the above examples, prior to the Meiji Period (1868-1912), critiques on language use rarely advocated for the use or non-use of specific linguistic features. In general, pre-Edo commentary focused on regulating behavior and ways of presenting the self that manifested linguistically, rather than features of speech per se. Once the Edo Period begins, and the availability of written material and literature consumers increases drastically, it is possible to see linguistic prescription extending to specific lexical items. The Meiji Period, however, brings with it commentaries on specific syntactic and semantic features with the movement towards the unification and standardization of spoken and written discourse styles.
3.2.2. Student Speech, Schoolgirl Speech, and Early 20th Century Language Standardization

The advice presented in conduct manuals and etiquette guides by no means stopped appearing with the onset of the Meiji Restoration (1868); such commentaries played a large role in the early Meiji Period, and indeed, continue to be published in various formats today (Endo 2006, Nakamura 2014). One change in metalinguistic commentary that comes at the beginning of the Meiji Period, however, is the emergence of an awareness of sentence-final expressions, thus signaling the beginning of their utilization as a target and tool of sex-based linguistic prescription. In 1872, the Meiji government issued a declaration that made schooling compulsory, and in 1879 issued a further declaration that girls and boys were forbidden from attending the same institutions. This resulted in female students who had briefly attended co-ed schools being forced to attend new, all-girls’ schools (Masabuchi 1981). With the expansion of educational opportunities, as well as this brief period of co-ed education, two different speech patterns entered mainstream discourse one after the other: student speech (書生ことば shosei kotoba) and schoolgirl speech (女学生ことば jogakusei kotoba).

Student speech, despite the gender neutrality the name might suggest, was used to refer specifically to the linguistic style characteristic of school-aged boys and young men who had undergone formal education. Little metalinguistic commentary, however, was focused directly on this speech style; rather, what attention we see paid to this style comes through the lens of its use by female students. Compared to the metalinguistic discourse of previous periods, which described speech styles more vaguely with such terminology as “rough,” “soft,” and so forth, or simply listed words that a speaker of a given sex should or should not use, it became more common in the Meiji Period for critics of language use to either quote or manufacture sample
conversations that exemplify the objects of their ire. A letter to the newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1875 is one such example, in which the writer positioned two female speakers within a hypothetical conversation using student speech (Soga 1875):

(7) a. **Kore wa** **boku no** **oji ga** **shōhō o hajimemashite senjitsu ittan boku ni** **hakama ni itase to itte tōyo saremashtita yo.**

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

b. **Kimi** **kitto hokudō e kotowari tamae**

   ‘You be sure to tell your mother that you refuse (marriage).’

a. **Eesu, eesu, eesu, eesu**

   ‘Yes, yes, yes, yes.’

With this example, it is possible to see that Soga’s (1875) qualms lay specifically with the use of student speech style by female speakers. More specifically, as classified by Komatsu (1974), the features typical of student speech that may be seen above in (7) in bold are 1) words of Chinese origin (e.g., *tōyo, shōhō, hokudō*), 2) foreign words of non-Chinese origin (e.g. *eesu*), 3) first-person pronominal *boku* and second-person pronominal *kimi*, and 4) the sentence-final expression *tamae* which functions as an honorific command. Other features that Komatsu (1974) highlighted include the address suffix -*kun* and the use of the ritually apologetic word *shikkei* (instead of the more broadly used *shitsurei*) when parting.
Another text from the Meiji Period that exemplifies the criticism aimed at female use of student speech is *Baika joshi no den* (梅香女子の伝 ‘The Tale of the Apricot Scent Girl,’ 1885) which ran in *Jogaku zasshi* (女学雑誌 ‘Magazine for Women’s Education’), a magazine dedicated to educating girls and women on “traditional” women’s virtues in a way that aimed to unite newly imported Western ideologies with pre-existing Japanese ones (Iwamoto 1885).

Meant to serve as a kind of moral tale, the narrative stars Ume, a stereotypically “good” female student, who is depicted so as to contrast with two stereotypically “bad” female students, neither of whom behaves in a normatively feminine manner and both of whom have lost interest in their studies. Furthermore, both of the “bad” students utilize the male-associated student speech while Ume uses none of those associated features. As pointed out by Nakamura (2014:114), the author of this tale uses linguistic style as an extension of other moral failings depicted of the bad students, and in the process positions student speech as an index of “bad” female students.

The use of this style by young female students did not disappear with the separation of male and female students into separate institutions in 1879, but with this policy comes a shift in focus to a different set of linguistic features for critique. Author Ozaki Kōyō (1994 [1888]), for example, remarks in an essay that in the preceding eight or nine years (i.e., 1879-1888), female elementary students had begun to use certain linguistic features among friends that stood out to him. In this essay, he includes several example sentences, drawing direct attention to the sentence-final expressions as the point of interest.

(8)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ume</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>mada</th>
<th>sakanakutte</th>
<th>yo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plum-blossoms</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>still</td>
<td>do-not-bloom</td>
<td>SFP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘The plum blossoms still have not bloomed.’

*Ara, mō saita no yo*

EXCL already bloomed NOM SFP

‘Ah, they have already bloomed!’

*Sakura no hana wa mada sakanai da wa*

crunch-blossom GEN flower TOP still do-not-bloom COP SFP

‘The cherry blossoms still have not bloomed.’

This style was known jointly as *schoolgirl speech* (女学生ことば *jogakusei kotoba*) and *teyo-dawa speech* (てよだわ言葉 *teyo-dawa kotoba*), the latter term due to its characteristic presence of both 1) the *te-*form of a verb or adjective followed by the sentence-final particle *yo* and 2) the plain copula *da* followed by sentence-final particle *wa*, both of which are observable above in Excerpt (8). Other regularly co-occurring features included the sentence-final expression *no yo*, also observable in (8), as well as the use of non-normative first-person pronouns like *atai* (Takeuchi 1907:24) or *boku* (Iwamoto 1890:594). Unlike student speech, which had an existing metapragmatic association with the speech of young male students, *teyo-dawa* speech did not have a widespread established indexical relationship with any particular group or persona prior to its use among young female students. Because of this, where critics would normally compare the female speaker’s style to, for example, that of a male speaker, when the subject of criticism utilized *teyo-dawa* speech, early critics struggled to find an attributable source other than simply the students themselves. Ozaki (1994 [1888]:4), for example, claims that “the daughters of lower-class vassals in Aoyama” used these features at the end of the Edo Period. Takeuchi Hisaichi (1907:24-26), on the other hand, attributes the origin of these features to geisha,
explaining their movement into schoolgirl speech through the marriage of geisha to high-ranking
government officials. What critiques such as these had in common was their attempt to denigrate
teyo-dawa speech by ascribing it an origin in the already denigrated lower-class. Though such
origin theories remain unsubstantiated (as noted by Nakamura 2014, Inoue 2006, Kinsui 2003),
the attempts in themselves indicate that metalinguistic awareness at the level of sentence-final
expressions was active with regard to this speech style. This awareness contrasts with the
awareness evident in the earlier historical record, in which critics commented predominantly on
lexical items and broader, more general stylistic qualities about the speech under discussion.

In addition to the critique of female use of student speech and the introduction of
schoolgirl speech to mainstream awareness, there is an additional area in which metalinguistic
awareness of linguistic resources is observable in this period. This awareness comes with the
pursuit of language standardization and unification of spoken and written practices around the
turn of the 20th century, a movement spurred in part by the desire to construct a homogenous
national identity during the periods surrounding the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and
the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) (Nakamura 2014). This movement, known as genbun itchi
(言文一致 ‘spoken/written unification’), existed in literary circles prior to the onset of the Sino-
Japanese War, but was ultimately co-opted by the state’s more nationalistic factions. The onset
of the nationalist turn for the movement can be seen in a lecture given by linguist Ueda
Kazutoshi (1867-1937) entitled Kokugo to kokka to (国語と国家と ‘National Language and the
Nation State’). In this speech, he re-introduced and sharpened the rhetoric of the pre-existing
language unification efforts under the term kokugo (国語 ‘national language’), emphasizing its
importance for uniting the populace and stating that “the Japanese language is the ‘spiritual
blood’ [精神的血液 seishinteki ketsueki] of the Japanese people” (Ueda 1968 [1894]:110). The following year, Ueda (1964 [1895]) called for the creation of what he termed hyōjungo (標準語 ‘standard language’), his translation of the German term Gemeinsprache that served as the inspiration for this concept.

As discussion of the construction of a standardized form of Japanese unfolded, one of the problems that emerged concerned which variety of Japanese to position as “standard.” Linguist Ōtsuki Fumihiko (1905:17), for example, argued that “the standard language should be the language of a metropolis, not some provincial location…. The speech of Kyoto, though good for women, can sound weak coming from men. Tokyo speech has vigor and people in the provinces tend to imitate it” (tr. Nakamura 2014:77). In other words, Ōtsuki asserted that while the standard language should reflect the language used in a major metropolis, of which the main options at the time were Tokyo or Kyoto, the speech used in Kyoto was such that it did not meet Ōtsuki’s expectations of stereotypically masculine speech. Despite the popularity of speech styles in Tokyo, some people involved in the decision making process voiced concern as to some of the linguistic variants found among Tokyo’s different styles, stating that “although Tokyo speech has a lively rhythm and power to impress people, [they] want to avoid the speech of inferior sections of Tokyo society” (Yamamoto 1965:246, tr. Nakamura 2014:81). The style ultimately chosen was “the speech spoken by educated Tokyo residents,” which interestingly, did not exist as an identifiable speech style to any specific group (Ueda 1964 [1895]:506). Members of Tokyo’s educated class did not necessarily hail from Tokyo; indeed, such speech reflected a range of regional varieties rather than something uniquely Tokyo, or even uniquely eastern Japanese (Tanaka 1983:156). In the words of Inoue (2006:91), the myth of standard Japanese as
originating with Tokyo’s educated class “served to naturalize the standard as an authentic voice by drawing on the authority of a hegemonic—if fractionated—social class.” Rather than educated male Tokyoites serving as the origin of the standardized form, the utilization of this style by educated male Tokyoites led to the positioning of the new Standard Japanese as the variety expected of an educated male speaker. Inoue goes on to point out that “such a semiotic inversion was instrumental in enforcing dialect reform at home and colonial education abroad.” To borrow the term coined by Anderson (1983), this idea of the educated male Tokyoite essentially became the figurehead of the “imagined community” of Japan’s newly modernizing nation-state.

While the linguistic construction of Japan’s so-called national language went well beyond concern with sentence-final expressions, writing about metalinguistic awareness around the turn of the 20th century without mentioning the standardization movement results in a lack of context for later ideological trends in linguistic matters. Certainly, it is possible to infer that some awareness existed with regard to sentence-final expressions in the metalinguistic discourse concerned with Tokyo versus Kyoto speech as a basis of standard Japanese, but the words and associated features themselves were not delineated explicitly. Rather, metalinguistic discussion took the shape of discussing linguistic styles describing the imagined speaker of that style rather than the linguistic tools at that speaker’s disposal. This tendency reveals itself, for example, in Ōtsuki’s (1905:17) discussion of the speech of Kyoto as sounding “weak coming from men” and more appropriate for female speakers, or in Ueda’s (1964 [1895]:506) disavowal of beranmē kotoba (a variant spoken in the downtown portions of Tokyo) as a viable candidate for the standardized variety.
Throughout all this, a point to note and keep in mind is the gendered nature of Japan’s choice for standardization. Discussed at length by Nakamura (2014), the choice for the standard variety was intentionally one that was ideologically consistent with the image of the educated male Tokyoite, not a female one. At the same time, however, women were expected to adhere to a different set of linguistic practices as extensions of their femininity: limited words of Chinese origin, a higher degree of formality, the use of a style known as asobase speech (あそばせ言葉 asobase kotoba), not to mention the avoidance of more “masculine” lexical items (Endō 2006). The contemporary movement towards language standardization, coupled with a disregard for critical discourses surrounding the continuation of a sex-based linguistic difference, female speakers of Japanese became further entrenched as a kind of linguistic other. The new standard Japanese voice reflected only that of the educated male Tokyoite, keeping the Japanese woman outside the realm of the “narrating” subject and firmly within the scope of the “narrated” object (Inoue 2006).

Through these three examples involving student speech, schoolgirl speech, and the language standardization movement, it is possible to see the overall tendencies of public metalinguistic discourse at a critical point in modern Japanese history. Increased contact with the United States and Europe spurred a desire for technological advancement, and as a result many societal changes pursued in Japan were executed as means of mimicking trends seen in nations with which Japan aimed to compete. These changes included the expansion of educational opportunities to both girls and boys, albeit eventually in separate schools, as well as the advancement of a standardized, nationalized form of the Japanese language. While these changes are by no means exhaustive, what each of them has in common is the way that they were
accompanied by widespread metalinguistic discourse. Prior historical commentaries were limited predominantly to language-adjacent behaviors or specific lexical items, but in the case of the female use of student speech and schoolgirl speech, we see the first commentaries that actually center on sentence-final expressions. The final example from this period that featured prescriptive discussions on language use, namely the movement towards a standardized nationalized language, for the most part did not focus on specific linguistic features so much as on the speakers, or imagined speakers, who those leading the movement intellectuals wanted to have perceived linguistically as representing the new face of a modernizing Japan.

3.2.3. Sex-Based Determinism and the Construction of “Japanese Women’s Language”

As discussed in previous sections, prescriptive advice on language use was initially conveyed primarily through conduct manuals and etiquette guides. Though the above discussion of such commentaries focused on their entry into public metalinguistic discourse and the typical method of prescriptive critique, the kind of commentary featured in media of this variety continues in a similar, albeit modernized, format even today; though, as with changes in metalinguistic commentaries in the early 20th century show, more recent critiques of language use tend to make at least some explicit mention of sentence-final expression usage (cf. Endō 2006, Nakamura 2014).

In addition to these predominantly mass media-level linguistic critiques and self-help guides, in the 20th century, linguists and other intellectuals also began to pay more attention to sentence-final expressions. In the previous section, I discussed three different areas in which particular linguistic features were historically subjected to metalinguistic critique, each of which
explicitly addressed female speakers. Of these, *teyo-dawa* speech again became an object of metalinguistic attention. Despite the degree to which Meiji intellectuals such as Ozaki Kōyō and Takeuchi Hisaichi expressed their distaste with this speech style’s utilization by schoolgirls, by the 1930s, *teyo-dawa* speech had undergone a process of indexical transformation. Rather than remaining strictly the voice of the Meiji schoolgirl, because of its reproduction in novels, magazines, and other media sources as the voice of school-aged girls in the late Taisho (1912-1926) and pre-war Showa (1926-1989) eras, *teyo-dawa* speech ultimately came to function instead as a sign of the ideal Japanese modern woman (Inoue 2006:108). Referring to this as a process of “resignification,” Inoue (2006:110-111) elaborates on this transformation, describing the shift in *teyo-dawa* as moving from speech that is “spoken,” i.e. overheard and reported, to speech that is “speaking,” “as if girls spoke directly to reader ‘friends.’” Linguistically, the style was also marked by the addition of socially distal endings *desu* and *masu* and other honorifics to mark politeness and deference, allowing it to function fully as one expected of an educated modern woman.

Due to this process of resignification, by the mid-20th century this speech style, which had begun its life as an object of critique as *teyo-dawa* speech had become more broadly known as Japanese Women’s Language (JWL). Descriptive grammars began to emerge during this period which were produced predominantly by linguists and other such language professionals. These guides, unlike coexisting contemporary etiquette guides, were less concerned with offering instruction on how to use the style than with instructing about that style and its features. Essays on JWL had appeared as early as the 1920s (e.g. Kikuzawa 1929), but the first academic book on the subject was not published until the late 1940s (Mashimo 1948). Continuing well into the
1990s, the main characteristic that unites writings on JWL during this period was the essentialization of JWL to a degree where it was regarded as an extension of one’s biological reality. In this view, Japanese women necessarily utilized JWL precisely because they are women, and as women, they enact certain social behaviors that manifest as features of JWL. This is clear, for example, in Mashimo Saburo’s (1948:3) definition of JWL (referred to as 婦人語 fujingo or ‘ladies’ language’ in his work) as simply “speech spoken by women.” Kindaichi Kyosuke, a linguist and contemporary of Mashimo, takes his summary of JWL a step further, not only essentializing JWL to a biological extension of Japanese women, but exceptionalizing what he perceived as the difference between male and female Japanese speech, stating that “we have never heard of such a subtle distinction being observed in the European languages, from English, German, and French, to Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit” (Kindaichi 1942:293). In this way, Kindaichi not only recapitulates the idea that women necessarily use JWL, but claims that Japanese specifically is unique because of what he perceives as a lack of similar sex-based differences in any other language. Kikuzawa Sueo, one of the earliest linguists to bring scholarly attention to JWL, had taken a similarly nationalistic approach, stating, “Women’s speech is characterized by its elegance, gentleness, and beauty. Moreover, these kinds of characteristics correspond with our unique national language” (Kikuzawa 1929:75).

Because Mashimo (1948) is the earliest stand-alone scholarly volume on the subject of JWL, his descriptions of JWL largely recapitulate the broader characteristics of women’s speech as posited by previous critics, including assertions such as the notion that female speakers have smaller vocabularies than male speakers, and that female speakers avoid words of Chinese origin, and so forth. Unlike earlier works, however, Mashimo paid attention explicitly to
sentence-final expressions, albeit relatively little when viewed within the context of the length of his volume as a whole. He broached the topic by stating that one of the grammatical characteristics of JWL is the “frequent use of special particles” (Mashimo 1948:54). In particular, Mashimo said that the use of these particles by Japanese women has a strong relationship with what Jesperson (1922:243) referred to as the “excessive use of intensive words and the exaggeration of stress and tone-accent to mark emphasis” in Jesperson’s discussion of English and French women. Table 3 below is an illustration of the particles that Mashimo addressed along with his accompanying example sentences.

Table 3. Sentence-final expressions used by female speakers according to Mashimo (1948:55-56).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Example Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(da) e</td>
<td>Kono tsutsumi no naka no mono wa nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘What’s inside this parcel?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>Watashi datte ikitai sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I want to go, too.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>Sukoshi nemutte goran nasai na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Please try to get a little sleep.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
Table 3 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Maa okusama, kusatori degozaimasu no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>well lady weed-pulling COP SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Why my lady, it’s weed pulling!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kore wa hontō ni jōbu desu no</td>
<td>this TOP truly sturdy COP SFP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘This is truly sturdy.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa</th>
<th>Kinō shibai e itta no sa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yesterday theatre to went NOM SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Yesterday, what I did was go to the theatre.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>da wa</th>
<th>Kitto ano hito ga tsugeguchi shita no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>surely that person SUB tattle did NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COP SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Surely it’s the case it’s that person who tattled.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>da wa ne(e)</th>
<th>Maa hen nan da wa ne(e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>well strange NOM COP SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Why, that’s strange is what it is!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne(e)</th>
<th>Anata wa tsuyoi no ne(e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2PP TOP strong NOM SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘You’re strong, huh?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo</th>
<th>Watashi mo iku no yo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1PP also go NOM SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I’m also going, actually.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne(e)</th>
<th>Anmari jikan ga kakatte wa tsukaremasu kara ne(e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excessive time SUB take TOP tire because SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Because taking too long will tire [you] out, huh?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo</th>
<th>Futta ato wa itsumo kō nan desu yo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fell after TOP always like-this NOM COP SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘This is how it always is after it rains/snows.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(da) wa</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>ippen ni</th>
<th>natsu</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>kite</th>
<th>shimaimasita</th>
<th>wa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>about-face</td>
<td>summer</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Summer has completely arrived.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitto</th>
<th>sō</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>wa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>surely</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>SFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It is surely the case.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne(e)</th>
<th>hontō ni</th>
<th>fukai</th>
<th>go-en</th>
<th>degozaimasu</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>ne(e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>truly</td>
<td>deep</td>
<td>connection</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>‘You truly have a deep connection, don’t you?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonna</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>iya</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>ne(e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that-kind</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>undesirable</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>‘That kind of thing is undesirable, huh?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo</th>
<th>Sonna</th>
<th>koto</th>
<th>iu</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>butsu</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>yo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that-kind</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>‘I will strike you if you say things like that.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the most part, the sentence-final expressions that Mashimo highlighted as being used by women are consistent with those highlighted by earlier writers such as those in Excerpt (8) above. Surprisingly, however, Mashimo opted to include sentence-final e (sometimes also seen as i) and sentence-final sa, both of which are more stereotypically associated with “masculine” speech these days (e.g. Makino and Tsutsui 2010). He clarified this choice, asserting that the expressions in this list do the work of demonstrating a speaker’s level of refinement, and certainly, this level decreases with the use of e and sa, a perception that existed even at the time of his writing. He stated, however, that they previously held a higher level of formality, but due to “the rule that formality decreases over time,” they developed less refined associations. To
compare with the above examples, Mashimo also included examples of what he perceived as the sentence-final expressions that male speakers use. These are listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Sentence-final expressions used by male speakers according to Mashimo (1948:56-57).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Example Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>Dō naru ka, sore ga mondai sa how become COMP that SUB problem SFP ‘It’s what is going to happen that’s the problem.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>Ano hito kara sukkari kiita yo that person from completely heard SFP ‘I heard everything from them.’ Yarareta no wa boku da yo did.PASS NOM TOP IPP COP SFP ‘It was me that was done in.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne(e)</td>
<td>Koko wa nigiyaka desu ne(e) here TOP lively COP SFP ‘It’s lively here, isn’t it?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na(a)</td>
<td>Sore wa taihen deshita na(a) that TOP difficult COP SFP ‘That was difficult, huh?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking specifically at the expressions mentioned, it is evident that Mashimo did not fully confine one set of sentence-particles to female speakers and the other to male speakers. As illustrated in Table 4, he also attributed use of ne(e), na(a), yo, and sa to male speakers, though it is possible to see differences in context of use. For example, among male speakers yo does not occur directly following nouns, while in his example sentences for female speakers, it does. Furthermore, the na(a) that he ascribed to female speech follows a command (goran nasai na),
while the one used by male speakers follows the distal perfective copula. He made no mention of
no, wa, or e usage among male speech.

After listing sentence-final expressions that he saw as being used by either male or female
speakers, Mashimo mentioned some changes that he had noticed. Most notably, he wrote that
among educated Tokyoites, the speech style of choice seemed to be leaning more towards one
characterized by the forms listed in Table 3 above rather than those in Table 4. Additionally, he
mentioned that on the radio, he had heard a high degree of no usage (as in his provided example
sō desita no), regardless of the sex of the speaker. Finally, he mentioned the common use of wa
among male speakers in the Osaka area (Mashimo 1948:57).

As one of the earliest scholarly sources to explicitly highlight sentence-final expression
usage, Mashimo (1948) provides a refreshing break from much of the previous discussion of
sentence-final expressions. Namely, he approached the forms from a descriptive perspective,
rather than a prescriptive one, even though he still engages in delineation of linguistic variation
along biological lines. An important thing to keep in mind, however, is that Mashimo’s examples
were not collected from anyone in particular, but rather fabricated by Mashimo himself for the
purpose of exemplifying and illustrating his own perceptions of the mentioned sentence-final
expressions. This is not to say that data based on self-reflection is invalid, but rather, that it
provides a different kind of information than perhaps the author may have intended; namely, his
data represents the perception of use rather than necessarily actual use. However, as will be
shown, this style of approach in gender- and sex-based discourse on sentence-final expressions is
quite common and has served as the model for much of the research in this area that emerged
during this period.
While some studies in the 1950s make mention of sentence-final particle usage (e.g., Iisawa 1956, Endo 1958), the next noteworthy development in the area of gendered perspectives on sentence-final expressions comes in the 1970s. Even outside of Japan, linguistic research on the relationship between language use and one’s sex quickly expanded during this period. The research approaches that emerged are typically classified into three major models: the deficit model, the dominance model, and the difference model.

The deficit model was put forth by Robin Lakoff (1975) in her work *Language and a Woman’s Place*, and this model argues that women’s language reflects and perpetuates a subordinate social position. The dominance model, on the other hand, asserts that male speakers dominate female speakers in conversation through interruption and by not responding to them, as well as other similar pragmatic moves (e.g. Zimmerman and West 1975, Fishman 1983). The difference model, on the other hand, contends that sex-based differences exist in speech due to distinctive sex-based subcultures acquired in childhood and adolescence (e.g. Maltz and Borker 1982, Tannen 1990). Regardless of the difference in approaches that these models constitute, they are all at their core attempting to account for a disciplinary history that had privileged speech as it is used among men, treating men’s language as the “standard” while women’s speech as a linguistic other.

Such a tendency is visible not only in literature on sex-based difference among English speakers, but in the literature on differences among Japanese speakers. Most notable from this period is Ide Sachiko’s oft-cited work *Onna no kotoba, otoko no kotoba* (1979), a monograph that covered not only differences within Japan but took a comparative look at sex-based linguistic variation across cultures. Given the length of her stand-alone volume, she naturally
engaged with several different aspects of JWL, including pragmatic behavior, lexical choice, and so forth, but she also highlighted sentence-final expression use. Stating that “sentence-final particles are units that express the feelings and emotions of the people who use them,” she explained that while the majority are used by “both sexes,” certain among them are used exclusively by one sex or another (Ide 1979:48). To this end, she used wa/no and ze/zo as exemplars of female speech and male speech respectively, though she did ultimately include other expressions with sex-exclusionary usage patterns in her analyses.

Something that we see in Ide (1979) that was less evident in earlier works on sex-related differences in sentence-final expression use is some attempt at describing the way that speakers use these expressions to make pragmatic moves. For example, she stated that the purpose of zo/ze is to “draw the attention of the interlocutor,” but that these particles also give the impression that the speaker is “looking down on” the interlocutor, and of the two, ze is the one that accomplishes this most strongly (Ide 1979:48). She went on to say that the particle yo also serves this purpose, and while available to both male and female speakers, male speakers use yo on its own (e.g. omoshiroi yo ‘it’s interesting’) whereas female speakers must use wa with yo in order to soften the assertion (e.g. omoshiroi wa yo ‘it’s interesting’). This wa, she stated, is exclusive to female speakers (Ide 1979:49-50). Sentence-final no, too, is exclusive to the speech of female speakers (though male children may also use it), and adding it to predicates results in the addition of a sense of “cuteness, niceness, and bit of childishness” (Ide 1979:50). Ide stated that no may also be used in conjunction with yo, but she did not specify any difference in either pragmatic or sociocultural meaning between yo and no yo. In this section on sentence-final expressions, Ide also took time to comment on sex-based differences in copula usage and
differences in commands. While in “formal settings,” speakers of any sex have access to the distal copula *desu*, she states that the use of the direct copula *da* on its own is only allowed in the speech of male speakers. For female speakers, *da* must be followed by *wa* (e.g. *kore wa hon da wa* ‘this is a book’). The reason that she provided is that female speakers “are expected to avoid strong, assertive utterances,” and the addition of sentence-final *wa* or avoidance of the direct copula all together are ways to avoid giving such an impression (Ide 1979:51). With regard to commands, both male and female speakers may use the -*nasai* or -*te* forms (e.g. *tabenasai* or *tabete* ‘eat’), but only male speakers may use the bare command form (e.g. *tabero*), which is too “direct” to be used in female speech (Ide 1979:52-53).

As with Mashimo (1948), the amount of space that Ide (1979) dedicated to sentence-final expressions is limited compared to the total length of the volume. At the same time, the number of studies that engaged with sentence-final expressions in a way that includes some aspect of their social meaning were also few and far between at the time. Uyeno (1971) is a notable exception to this, as she discussed at length the syntax and semantics of several sentence-final particles, but also made note of some of their sociolinguistic meanings. Uyeno (1971:127) argued that Japanese sentence-final particles can be divided into two main groups: those which “express the speaker’s insistence on forcing the given information” and those which “express compliance with the given information leaving the option of confirmation to the addressee.” With this in mind, she analyzed *wa, zo, ze, sa, yo*, which belong to the former category, and *ne(e)/na(a)*, which belong to the latter. While this is not an exhaustive list, she stated that her study is not concerned with a complete typological description of sentence-final particles but more with the “general syntactico-semantic aspects of them” (Uyeno 1971:48). Below in Table 5
is a summary of her remarks about each of the particles. Note that Uyeno (1971) grouped
\textit{ne(e)/na(a)} together in the same section as different manifestations of the same particle, so that
categorical choice is reflected in the table.

Table 5. Sentence-final particles and their social implications according to Uyeno (1971).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Usage &amp; Implications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| wa       | - **Sentence type**: Declarative sentences only (62).  
  ➢ Cannot “contain the verb of judgment \textit{daroo/desyoo}” but others (e.g. \textit{rasii, soo})  
  are grammatical (61-62)  
  - **Sentence style**: Can occur in both plain and formal style sentences (e.g., -\textit{masu}) (60)  
  - **Addressee**: 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person (60).  
  - **Implication**: Mild insistence of information X (69).  
  ➢ Also, that “the speaker is female or pretending to be a female, and provides the  
  utterance with a feminine tone” (68).  
  - **User**: Female speakers only (60).  
  ➢ Use by male speakers (i.e. co-occurrence with stereotypically male first-person  
  pronominal) results in ungrammaticality (60).  
  - **Relationship with addressee**: “Should not be used in speaking to an addressee with  
  whom the speaker maintains an official relationship” (69).  
  - **Particle co-occurrence**: May co-occur with particles \textit{yo} and \textit{ne}, and \textit{wa} occurs in left-  
  most position (63-64) |
| zo       | - **Sentence type**: Declarative sentences only (71).  
  ➢ Cannot “contain the verb of judgment \textit{daroo/desyoo}” but others (e.g. \textit{rasii, soo})  
  are grammatical (71-72)  
  - **Sentence style**: Restricted to plain style sentences (71).  
  - **Addressee**: “When the speaker is male it can be used with either a second person  
  addressee or a first person addressee; however, when a speaker is female it is used only  
  with a first person addressee” (70).  
  - **Implication**: Strong insistence of information X (74).  
  ➢ “May also be a warning or threat depending on the context” (75).  
  - **User**: Male or female (with conditions—see “addressee”) (70).  
  - **Relationship with addressee**: “Too strong to be conveyed to an addressee with whom  
  the speaker holds a formal relationship” (74).  
  - **Particle co-occurrence**: Cannot co-occur with any other particles (73). |
Table 5 continued

- **Sentence type**: Declarative sentences only (78)
- **Sentence style**: Both plain and formal style sentences (78).
- **Addressee**: 2nd person only (cannot be used in monologue) (77)
- **Implication**: Strong insistence of information X (but less than ze) (81)
  ➢ “Gives the effect of a friendly warning in certain…contexts” (82).
- **User**: “Used only by male speakers” (77)
- **Relationship with addressee**: Speaker “normally maintains either a buddy relationship or the so-called boss-henchman relationship with the addressee”
  ➢ Plain style: buddy
  ➢ Formal style: henchman addressing boss
- **Particle co-occurrence**: Cannot co-occur with any other particles (79).

sa
- **Sentence type**: Declarative sentences (including echo-statements (i.e. declaratives marked with to or tte) and some wh-questions (those with noun or nominalized sentential element as the predicate) (84-91)
  ➢ Only compatible “verb of judgment” is daroo/desyoo (85)
- **Sentence style**: Plain-style only (83-84)
- **Addressee**: 1st or 2nd person (98)
- **Implication**: Characterizes information X as “a matter of course” (83).
  ➢ Declarative: “May be interpreted as an insult or an expression of contempt” (96).
  ➢ Echo Statement: “Gives impression that “the reporter is indifferent to the original information or that it is unexpected or surprising to him” (96)
  ➢ Wh-Question: “A question of matter of course has the effect of demanding an answer from the addressee, or else, the question is too obvious to ask, that is, the case of a rhetorical question” (97).
- **User**: Male or female (83)
- **Relationship with addressee**: The fact that it’s restricted to plain style indicates that “the speaker holds an equal or higher social status with respect to the addressee. Since the particle sa implies a matter of course content to the statement, it is used only when a speaker and his addressee have a frank relationship or when the speaker is in a relationship with the addressee which allows him to make a statement which makes fun of the addressee’s ignorance of so obvious a matter” (84).
- **Particle co-occurrence**: Can only co-occur with ne (restricted to declarative) (93).

Continued
### Table 5 continued

| yo       | **Sentence type:** Can be used with almost all sentence types (i.e., declarative, interrogative, and imperative) with the exception of exclamatory statements (101).  
|          | - Use with commands softens the command and requests (101-102).  
|          | **Sentence style:** Both plain and formal style sentences (99).  
|          | **Addressee:** Most commonly 2nd, 1st also possible in certain cases (99).  
|          | **Implication:** “Implies moderate emphasis and gives the effect of a claim, a warning, advice, or a softened command or request, depending on the sentence type it is used with” (110).  
|          | - User: Male or female (99).  
|          | - **Relationship with addressee:** No status restriction, but “since [yo] implies the speaker’s insistence, the use of the particle is inappropriate when the speaker is in a position where he has no right to insist, or if his insistence results in impoliteness to the addressee” (100).  
|          | ✓ Also not used when X holds complete authority over Y (110).  
|          | **Particle co-occurrence:** wa, ne  
|          | ✓ When used with wa, “the speaker is female” (105).  
|          | ✓ When used with ne, “the implication will be that the speaker is well convinced of the truth of the matter to such an extent that he can insist on it by the use of the particle yo, and at the same time he knows that the addressee is aware of the matter as well and by appending the particle ne he leaves an option of confirmation to the addressee” (105).  

| ne(e), na(a) | **Sentence type:** Can be used with all sentence types (133).  
|             | ✓ Declarative: requests Y’s compliance  
|             | ✓ Orders/commands/requests: soften the tone of the order  
|             | ✓ Questions: soften the tone of the interrogation and modify it into a tone of wondering. May be rhetorical.  
|             | **Sentence style:** Both plain and formal style sentences (112).  
|             | **Addressee:** ne(e) – 2nd person by both sexes; na(a) – 1st or 2nd person if speaker male, 1st person for female speakers (except in commands) (112).  
|             | **Implication:** “The option of judgment on the given information is left to the addressee. Thus, these particles give the effect of softening the basic nature of each sentence type. As a result, the appropriate use of these particles reflects the speaker’s consideration of the addressee, and the addressee feels more participation in the conversation with mutual understanding. Thus, these particles may be called particles of rapport” (131-132).  
|             | - User: Male or female (with conditions—see “addressee”) (112).  
|             | - **Relationship with addressee:** Used to build rapport, so there are times when not appropriate (e.g. “a commoner, for example, will not use these particles in addressing the emperor, neither will a commander in speaking to a private” (113)). Otherwise broad usage.  
|             | **Co-occurrence:** wa, yo, sa
In terms of statements related directly to sex, Uyeno (1971) classified *wa* as used exclusively by female speakers, *ze* exclusively by male speakers, and *zo* available for both in monologue. The classification of *zo* as available to female speakers in any way conflicts with contemporary linguists’ discussions of language use among female speakers (e.g. Mashimo 1948, Kuno 1973, Ide 1979, Martin 1975) who typically attributed *zo* to only male speakers, at least within the constraints of presumably Standard Japanese.

Some reference grammars from this period that deal with Japanese more broadly also made mention of sentence-final expressions. Martin (1975), for example, elaborated at length on what he referred to as “sentence extenders,” including a far greater number than what was highlighted by Uyeno (1971) above. In addition to *wa, zo, ze, sa, yo*, and *ne(e)/na(a)*, Martin (1975:914-958) covered *ka, ya, i* (in the form of *kai* or *dai*), *ka na/ka ne, kamo (shirenai), kashira, kke, tte*, the negative command *na, mai, beshi, koto* and *no, tomo, ttara* and *tteba*, as well as several found predominantly in works written in Classical Japanese. Additionally, he made passing mention of sentence-final expressions that are limited to non-standard varieties of Japanese, something that many similar works neglected in favor of more standard varieties. Despite the breadth of Martin’s (1975) coverage, however, the bulk of his description was spent on the historical development of these particles and their base semantic usages rather than any aspects of their use as a sociocultural variable. Though, as with Uyeno (1971), particles such as *wa* were characterized as exclusive to female speakers, and *zo/ze* were discussed as utilized by only male speakers. Tanaka (1977:443), a reference work specifically on particles, also made mention of sex-based variation, and went as far as to consider those produced with a rising intonation as distinct entities from those produced with a falling intonation: “The *yo* that men use
has a falling intonation or ‘stress tone’; in contrast to this, there is a yo used by women, which has a slightly rising intonation. However, this always appears in combinatory forms such as wa yo, no yo, and koto yo.” As evidenced by these reference works, as well as more specialized works on JWL during the mid-20th century, research on sentence-final expressions was largely classificatory, assigning to expressions their imagined users on the basis of most typically sex, but also class and occasionally, geographic area.

Lakoff’s (1975) approach to accounting for sex-based linguistic variation, despite being critiqued for lack of rigorous experimental methodology, resonated with linguists working in the area of language and gender in the 1970s (Kitagawa 1977). As was the trend in English-oriented linguistics, so too in Japanese linguistics did such approaches to sex-based difference continue into the 1980s and early 1990s. Lakoff’s (1975) deficiency framework was particularly common among those who carried on research on politeness and how they perceived its intersection with sex, and many of these studies endeavored to provide a reason for the usage of JWL-associated features by female speakers, such as in the case of wa and kashira in Ide (1982), wa and no in McGloin (1986), as well as numerous studies that took up JWL features more broadly (Kitagawa 1977, Ide 1979, Reynolds 1985, Shibamoto[-Smith] 1985, Ide et al. 1987, Ide 1990).

An important thing to keep in mind with regard to research during the mid-20th century is that the bulk of sociocultural associations that were ascribed to certain speech forms were generated through self-reflection on the part of the writer rather than with reference to any pre-existing source or data-based study. In fact, with the exception of Martin (1975), even the example sentences used at this time to exemplify certain expression usage were all either entirely self-generated or generated with the assistance of, at most, a small handful of people. This is a
tendency that begins to wane in the 1980s with Shibamoto[-Smith]’s (1985) *Japanese Women’s Language*, a monograph that takes an extended, socio-syntactic look at the manifestation of JWL features among adult female speakers in Mitaka. However, according to Shibamoto[-Smith] (1985:61-62), conference presentations as early as 1974 (e.g. Jorden 1974, Takahara 1979, Hori 1979) were starting to pursue more rigorous studies of sociocultural linguistic issues, especially with regard to sex-based differences. In particular, such studies became the beginning of questioning the validity of framing JWL as an extension of one’s biology in the way that earlier descriptive grammars did.

This early empirical research into language and gender that came after self-reflective descriptive grammars was an important step for the field on the way to where it is now. While many of these studies suffer from small sample sizes, on the basis of which the researchers would often then extrapolate conclusions beyond what the data could fully support, the movement towards naturally occurring data, interviews, and quantitative/qualitative inference was critical. The late 1980s in particular marked a transitional period in the way that scholars approached research questions in the area of Japanese sociocultural linguistics. This transition is salient even within a single edited volume where included papers (e.g. Haig 1990, Wetzel 1988, Reynolds 1990) openly engage with the ideology of JWL as a lens through which language use among women is intelligible, while others within the same volume utilize JWL as a theoretical starting point with little critique. With the 1990s, however, comes the incorporation of post-structural feminist thought into the area of sociocultural linguistics, resulting in more widespread acceptance of one’s gender and related constitutive performances as the relevant analytical variable of choice rather than simply biological sex. Compared to the previous forty years, in
which a kind of biological determinism played a larger role in prescribing and predicting linguistic behavior than social and contextual factors, the move to gender was not smooth, and indeed, many of the more deterministic approaches continue to appear in Japanese linguistic work, especially in Japanese pedagogical materials. The following section will explore these changes and the ways in which post-structural feminist thought, as well as queer theory, shaped Japanese sociocultural linguistics and the discussion of sentence-final expressions therein.

3.2.4. Post-Structuralism and Sentence-Final Expressions as Tools of Performance

The introduction of post-structural feminism to sociocultural linguistics in the 1990s signaled a change in the way that sex was used as an analytic variable. In section 3.2.3., this chapter discussed how the bulk of studies prior to the 1990s treated biological sex an essential attribute of the speaking subjects under analysis, and indeed, even treated sex as a determining factor for one’s stylistic behavior in language. Studies that involve JWL, for example, have historically been structured in a manner that takes this ideological construct as an inherent feature of female speakers of Standard Japanese. This tendency is observable even in cases in which 1) the researcher commented on an age-grading effect on the prevalence of these features (e.g. Ide 1979, Shibamoto[-Smith] 1985) or 2) the researcher acknowledged the use of traditionally JWL-associated features by speakers outside of only middle- and upper-class Tokyo women (e.g. Mashimo 1948). An increased awareness of gender theory in sociocultural linguistic studies on Japanese did not automatically stop sex-based deterministic studies on JWL, but it is possible to see the emergence of studies on sentence-final expressions as tools of social expression and performance, be it gender-oriented or otherwise.
In 1990, Judith Butler wrote that “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of
gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its
results” (Butler 1990:25). Setting aside later arguments by both Butler and other gender studies
scholars that clarify the separate co-existence of gender identity and gender expression, the
revelation that gender as it relates to linguistic practice is less about what someone is and more
about what someone does had a critical effect on approaches to linguistic variation. Nakamura
(2014:20-21) highlights three such changes in the field brought on by this theoretical
development. First, since it is acknowledged that gender identity is something that a person does,
rather than seeking out gender-based linguistic differences, research objectives shifted explaining
ways in which that gender identities are constructed through linguistic practices. To this end,
Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) introduced the construct of a “community of practice” to the
field of sociocultural linguistics, a concept that was first proposed by Lave and Wenger (1991)
within the area of cognitive anthropology. As far as sociocultural linguistics is concerned, this
framework emphasizes the need to consider variation in language use within its local community
rather than consider a given feature in the context of a demographic that exceeds that of the
community. Secondly, due to the theoretical shift that resulted in an interpretation of gender
identities as something constituted through linguistic practice, greater emphasis was also placed
on the agency of the speaker in determining one’s own gender-oriented practice. Finally, rather
than the earlier tendency to document the “nature” of JWL (e.g., Mashimo 1948, Ide 1979,
Shibamoto-Smith 1985, McGloin 1990), newer research instead was likelier to investigate the
way that linguistic practices deviated from normative expectations, especially the way that these
practices “resist, subvert, or contest the existing power order” (Nakamura 2014:21). While some
research done prior to 1990 did indeed mention in passing that JWL features may appear outside of the expected middle-class, Tokyo-born female speaker (e.g. Mashimo 1948), or that perhaps there is an age-graded effect to the degree of utilization of JWL-associated features (e.g. Ide 1979), those passing comments remained on the sidelines until the 1990s.

Specifically in the area of sentence-final expressions, Elinor Ochs (1992) provided a revelation that sentence-final particles and other related pragmatic units were not direct indexes of gender (or any other sociocultural category), but rather, that these units suggested gender indirectly by directly indexing discursive or pragmatic features that are normatively associated with gender. In other words, to borrow her terminology, it is not that *ze* and *wa* directly index a “male” speaker and a “female” speaker respectively, but rather that they index “coarse intensity” and “delicate intensity” (Ochs 1992:341-342). Indeed, this change in perspective put forth by Ochs (1992) is apparent in studies on sentence-final expressions in the early 1990s. Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995) are two examples of this shift. Each of these studies examines different data sets, but their methodologies are similar in that they treat sentence-final expressions more as continuous, or scalar, variables (i.e., more or less feminine or masculine) rather than discrete, two-level categorical ones (“female” or “male”). This approach is ultimately still categorical, but compared to previous studies, their schema nonetheless allows for more analytical breathing room regarding normatively “masculine” or “feminine” utterances. The classifications used in their studies may be seen below in Table 6.
Table 6. Classification of sentence-final expressions by degree of gender association according to Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Association</th>
<th>Expression and Related Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Feminine</td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + wa + (Ø)(yo)(ne) (with high sustained intonation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- N/na-ADJ + yo (with high sustained intonation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- N/na-ADJ + ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- N/na-ADJ + no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + na)] no + (Ø)(yo)(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- kashira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Feminine</td>
<td>- N/na-ADJ + ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- V/i-ADJ + no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- te-form (request) + ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) + desho(o) (for expressing probability or seeking agreement or confirmation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>- V/i-ADJ + Ø (null particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- N/na-ADJ + Ø (null copula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + wa (with falling intonation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- V/i-ADJ + (Ø)(yo)(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + mon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- te-form (request)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) + janai (mild assertion/agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) + jan (mild assertion/agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) + ka na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- tte (complementizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Masculine</td>
<td>- V/i-ADJ + yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (n/na +) COP + (Ø)(yo)(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) + daro(o) (for expressing probability or seeking agreement or confirmation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- VOL + ka (invitation or offer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Masculine</td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + zo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- IMP (+ yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- V + na (+ yo) (negative command)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- [(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + COP)] + na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- monophthongization of -ai/-oi to -ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (V/N/i-ADJ/na-ADJ) (+ (na) no) + ka + yo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: where applicable, the grammatical forms referred to above should be understood to be in DIRECT style.
Of the expressions included in Table 6 that also make an appearance in Tables 3-5, one noticeable difference is the inclusion of a “falling intonation” wa as a neutral sentence-final expression. Previous literature, even if it mentioned the existence of a wa with falling intonation as a neutral option, fixated on the stereotypically female-coded one and ultimately gave little attention to the neutral-coded one. Okamoto and Sato (1992) also stated that Mizutani and Mizutani (1987) classified ka na and V/i-ADJ + ne as relatively masculine, and N/na-ADJ + Ø (null copula) as relatively feminine, all of which Okamoto and Sato (1992) reclassified as neutral.

Using the above schema, Okamoto and Sato (1992) analyzed the use of these features by female speakers across a range of ages who were living in the United States (18-23: n=7, 27-24: n=3, 45-57: n=4), while Okamoto (1995) surveyed the utilization among college-aged female students living in Japan (n=10). In the former study, Okamoto and Sato (1992) find that generally speaking, use of the features classified as moderately or strongly feminine was much higher among older speakers, while younger populations had a marked increase in number of neutral and moderately masculine forms. In the latter, Okamoto (1995) confirmed the results of Okamoto and Sato (1992) with speakers who were surveyed in Japan, but only with regard to the younger group.

To compile the above table, Okamato and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995) cited Shibamoto[-Smith] (1985), Mizutani and Mizutani (1987), and McGloin (1990) as their main sources on sentence-final expressions and related gender-oriented stereotypes. However, each of those works engaged with, at best, only a few of these lexemes. Moreover, each of their sources relied on self-reflection for assessing sentence-final expressions, and aside from Shibamoto[-
Smith] (1985), which uses naturally occurring data, the cited sources were essentially
documentations of ideologically-associated sentence-final expressions rather than examples of
use by any particular speaker (other than perhaps the authors themselves). For expressions not
covered by pre-existing literature, Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995) relied on their
own judgment. This self-reflection is accompanied by a caveat on their part, stating that this
classification is “by no means absolute,” and that “not all Japanese speakers (especially younger
ones) will agree with it completely” (Okamoto and Sato 1992:480). Indeed, their classifications
served the outlined purpose of functioning as a metric by which to compare broadly gendered
sentence-final expressions between speakers. Prior to these studies, discussion of the gendered
associations of certain sentence-final expressions was limited largely to only a handful of
particles, but Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995) compiled a much larger number on
the basis of which more quantitative research could be carried out.

With a way to quantify the relative level of “masculinity” or “femininity” in a given
person’s speech, Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Okamoto (1995) inspired a number of studies
that either investigated the Japanese speech practices of a given population (e.g. Phillips 2001,
SturtzSreetharan 2004, Abe 2010) or pursued questions concerning speech stylistics in the area
of popular media (e.g. Ueno 2006, Unser-Schutz 2015, [Dahlberg-]Dodd 2016, Redmond 2016).
That being said, despite Okamoto’s (1995:301) mention that this list was not meant to be
“exhaustive” and that “it is by no means absolute,” the provided classifications still ultimately
became the foundation of later research in quantifying relative degree of “masculinity” or
“femininity” in a given speech style. Some studies, such as Unser-Schutz (2015), updated parts
of the schema to reflect more recent conceptions of certain expressions, such as reassigning the
confirmatory *na* from “strongly masculine” to “moderately masculine,” as well as adding otherwise absent features like sentence-final *ya*. Otherwise, however, much of the schema remains unchanged from its drafting twenty-years prior.

In addition to the analytical complications that emerge with the fact that the schema in Table 6 has changed little over twenty years of application, the use of the terms “masculine” and “feminine” pose their own difficulties. As pointed out by Abe (2010), much of the discourse surrounding the classification of sentence-final expressions in literature prior to the 1990s stemmed from tautological interpretations of the use of these expressions; namely, because female speakers use a given feature, that given feature is automatically feminine, therefore female speakers use that feature. Some works have tried to avoid this tautology by utilizing the terms “gentle” or “delicate” and “blunt” or “coarse” in lieu of “feminine” and “masculine” (e.g. Jorden and Noda 1987, Ochs 1992) but the redressing of what had previously been categorized as “feminine” with the term “gentle” results in the same tautology wearing a different hat. Even with a change in terminology, terms like “gentle” and “delicate” or “blunt” and “coarse” are still normatively associated with hegemonic forms of “femininity” and “masculinity.” Simply changing the term, but then neglecting to comment on the use of features classified as “gentle” or “blunt” by the population at large (e.g., discussing not just *wa*-use by women, but its use by men as well), maintains the same tautological analysis.

For exploring the way that linguistically conveyed gender normativity is perpetuated in fictional sources, Okamoto’s (1995) classifications are still in many ways applicable. Indeed, as demonstrated through research on *yakuwarigo* (役割語 ‘role language’), background characters whose only distinguishing feature is “female” are often portrayed using stereotypically
“feminine” sentence-final expressions (Kinsui 2003). This is a tendency that is particularly salient in works translated into Japanese (Nakamura 2013). Nakamura (2014:15) illustrated how Ōshima Kaori, a prominent translator from English to Japanese, stated that she sometimes “translate[s] even the same words differently depending on whether they are spoken by a man or woman;” indeed, while she does not feel “controlled by the so-called women’s language,” she admits that her choice of words may be “unconsciously influenced by the norms of women’s language internalized in [her]self” (Ōshima 1990:43). As a recent example, the character Hermione from the Harry Potter series is translated with a highly stereotypical JWL-inspired speech style, despite the fact that the use of such a style is rare among 11-year old girls in daily conversation (Nakamura 2014:14). Among works that begin their lives in Japanese, however, a different trend is evident. Ueno (2006), for example, observed that in mainstream shōjo manga, the utilization of features traditionally classified as “strongly feminine” is uncommon across female characters, with younger characters being the least likely users of these features. Unser-Schutz (2015) found a similar result in her survey of both shōjo and shōnen manga relative to gender of the author, with shōjo works having fewer instances of “strongly” gendered features of any value compared to shōnen works, and female authors overall utilizing them less frequently than male authors.

Throughout the history of research on sentence-final expressions in Japanese, the target of inquiry has been nearly exclusively the female speaker of the standard variety of Japanese, but an analysis of non-Standard speakers by Sunaoshi (2004) reminded us that the standards of JWL do not meaningfully apply outside of middle- and upper-class female Tokyo speakers. In her analysis of the stylistic behavior of farm women in Ibaraki, she demonstrated that the gendered
metrics traditionally applied to female speakers within the context of Standard Japanese are no longer meaningful for some dialect speakers, particularly those for whom traditionally “masculine”-associated features like first-person pronominal ore or sentence-final zo do not necessarily read as any more or less “masculine” than anything other feature. In terms of gender, SturtzSreetharan (2004a, 2004b, 2006) provided some much-needed analysis of speech among male speakers in a way that does not simply mention it in passing in a study that is otherwise concerned with female speakers. Focusing on Kansai (western Japan) speakers, much of her research centers on the way that male dialect speakers construct and perform their masculinity using a variety of linguistic features, including sentence-final expressions. In particular, SturtzSreetharan (2004b) demonstrated that overall usage of stereotypically “strongly masculine” sentence-final expressions is quite low among Kansai men, with the college students she interviewed being the only users.

In addition to gaps in the literature as far as gender and non-Standard speakers are concerned, those who belong to gender- or sexuality-based minority groups have historically been overlooked when discussing the relationship between sentence-final expressions and social meaning. Abe’s (2010) monograph Queer Japanese provided a much-needed application of queer theory to research on linguistic practice in Japan. Including research on queer advice columns, conversation among regular patrons to Tokyo’s rapidly disappearing lesbian bars, stylistic practice and cross-dressing, camp, and o-nē kotoba (オネエことば ‘queen’s speech’), Abe takes a novel approach to gendered linguistic resources by interrogating exactly how gender comes into play in those situations. In her chapter on cross-dressing among sex workers in the early 20th century, for example, stereotypically “strongly feminine” sentence-final expressions
like those seen in Table 6 above were regularly utilized in the 1940s by danshō (男娼 lit. ‘male-female prostitute’) who self-identified as male in body (肉体 nikutai) and female in mind (精神 seishin). For this community of speakers, the utilization of particles such as wa, a null copula (e.g. iya yo ‘ugh!’) or the use of first-person pronominals such as watashi and atashi are not part of any sort of pre-determined biological reality, but rather, function as a way this community interacts amongst themselves and with customers.

Maree (2008, 2013a, 2013b) also called attention to queer Japanese linguistics in her close examinations of onē-kotoba, a speech style that utilizes such linguistic features as the normatively “strongly feminine” sentence-final expressions from Table 6. Rather than the female speakers that earlier linguists would associate with these features, o-nē kotoba is a parody of JWL that is “generally used by gay men in a performance of (hyper)femininity” (Maree 2008:67). Widely recognized in both queer communities and the larger mainstream, o-nē kotoba is characterized by Maree (2013b:99) as a flamboyantly theatrical style that serves as a kind of linguistic “drag.” Indeed, as illustrated through an ethnographic interview with two lesbian o-nē kotoba users in Tokyo, o-nē kotoba serves as a greater critique of gender expectations as a whole rather than conformance to dominant gender ideals (Maree 2008:68). According to the participants in Maree’s (2008:99) ethnographic interview, while o-nē kotoba may be similar in writing to o-jōsama kotoba (お嬢様ことば ‘young lady-speech’), another highly mediatized style known for its heavy use of stereotypically “strongly feminine” linguistic features, unlike o-jōsama kotoba, o-nē kotoba is performed with a kind of “drawl,” with speakers hanging on to the ends of words or phrases and elongating vowels for an exaggerated “dramatic effect.”
The introduction of queer theory and methods to sociocultural linguistic questions in Japanese assisted in distancing gender-related stylistic sociality from the sex-deterministic tendency that was prominent in research on sentence-final expressions prior to the 1990s. Indeed, as illustrated by Maree and Abe’s work cited above, even when analyzing these linguistic resources through the lens of queer theory, it is not that sentence-final expressions are necessarily neutral with regard to gender, but rather, that they may be used to various ends with regard to gender performance and in negotiating gender’s intersection with other sociocultural categories.

At the same time, there is something to be said for research on the gender ideological associations of these resources, but recent work in this area is limited. Ariizumi (2013) provided some insight on this front in a small study on the gender-associated stereotypes of Tokyo area college students. She presented fifteen participants with written prompts featuring an underlined sentence-final expression in two unrelated carrier sentences with limited context, and participants were asked to 1) state what gender they think the speaker is (two-level Likert scale), and 2) indicate if they felt that more women or men use that speech form (four-level Likert scale). Importantly, Ariizumi (2013) did not include a truly “neutral” option, forcing participants to rely on their initial impression regarding the perceived gender of the speaker and what gender utilizes a particular expression more. Using this methodology, Ariizumi analyzed the “gender identifactory tendencies” and “gender specificity” of a total of forty sentence-final expressions. Based on the responses of the participants, Ariizumi sorted the expressions into gender-based categories and the degree to which they belonged to those categories, calculating a numerical score that represents the degree to which a particular feature is associated with normative gender
stereotypes, with ‘1’ referring to items that are more specific to normative masculine speech and ‘4’ referring to items that are more specific to normative feminine speech. The outcomes of her survey may be seen in Table 7 below.

Table 7. The gender identifactory tendencies and gender specificity of select sentence-final expressions according to Ariizumi (2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Category (Specificity Score Range)</th>
<th>Sentence-Final Expression</th>
<th>Specificity Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Exclusive (&gt; 3.73)</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ+ wa yo</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + wa</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Female Specificity (3.40 – 3.67)</td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + na no</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + kashira</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + ne</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + yo</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + yo ne</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ + na)] no ne</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + na no yo</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + no yo</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Female Specificity (2.47 – 3.00)</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + ne</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + deshō ne</td>
<td>2.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + n deshō</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[(V/i-ADJ + n) or (N/na-ADJ)] + da mon</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + deshō</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + no (interrogative)</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + no</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + desho</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + wake</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + ka na</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + kara</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + yo</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
Table 7 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Male Specificity</th>
<th>[(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ)] + darō na</th>
<th>2.53</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + da yo</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-ADJ + n da</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + na</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[(V/i-ADJ) or (N/na-ADJ)] + darō</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V+ n da</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + no ka</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + da na</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + da</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Male Specificity</td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + kai</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + dai</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + yo na</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + zo</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + n da ze</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + n daro</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/i-ADJ + daro</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + daro</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Exclusive</td>
<td>N/na-ADJ + da ze</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt; 1.20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: where applicable, the grammatical forms referred to above should be understood to be in DIRECT style.

Though her survey involved only a small number of demographically similar participants, the results seen above raise some questions regarding the interaction of normative gender ideologies with the range of utilization among sentence-final expressions. The gender categories in the first column were constructed based on the results of the two-level Likert scale that asked participants to choose whether the stimuli were produced by a male or female speaker. Those expressions that are categorized as belonging to a particular gender category were arranged as such because
they had nearly unanimous answers across the participants (±2), while those that are “neutral” had a nearly even split. Nonetheless, based on the “specificity score” in the right column, it is possible to see that some of the “neutral” expressions have a perceived higher use among male speakers or female speakers than some of those categorized as “low male specificity” or “low female specificity.” Indeed, in the case of a number of the “low specificity” features, it is easy to imagine that participants relied on mainstream language ideology to determine whether the presented stimuli indexes a female or male voice, but then as a reflection of their experience, indicated whether female speakers or male speakers used that particular expression more.

Other than Ariizumi (2013), few studies since Okamoto (1995) have undertaken a critical reexamination of gender with regard to sentence-final expression use. Additionally, with the exception of works that integrate queer theory and methods into their approach (e.g., Maree 2013b, Abe 2010), much of the sociocultural linguistic work that involves sentence-final expressions has focused on dissecting the assumption of complete verisimilitude between gender ideology and gender practice. As a result, the field’s approach to language in media has advanced little beyond what Stamou (2014) refers to as the “fiction as mirror approach,” an approach that refers to studies whose main point is to illustrate how represented language differs from utilized language, revealing that there remains work to be done in the way that gendered meaning is constructed within context for certain groups or speakers.

3.3. Summary

Prescriptive linguistic commentary targeted at particular groups of speakers extends as far as back as the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) in Japanese, but much of this earlier awareness
pertained to language-adjacent behavior and the use of specific lexical items, and such commentary was disseminated through conduct books and etiquette guides. While they had limited range at first and were only available to the upper classes, the advancement of printing technologies during the Edo Period (1603-1868) made such guides on language use readily available to the population at large. Because of the lower social status that women endured, they were positioned as a linguistic “other,” resulting in linguistic prescription being predominantly applied to the linguistic stylings of female speakers.

Metalinguistic awareness of sentence-final expressions per se emerged later during the early Meiji Period (1868-1912) when public discourse focused on the speech of Japan’s newly emerging class of educated young women, a group of speakers that had traditionally held a much less visible position in the public sphere. Their use of expressions more normatively associated with young male speakers, and then eventually the use of such units as te yo and da wa in sentence-final position had no preexisting well-known indexical association with a given figure, and accordingly, they drew the attention of critics, becoming an outlet for anxiety for what was a quickly and significantly changing Japanese sociopolitical climate (Inoue 2006). Despite criticism, the figure of the young, educated woman featured prominently in popular culture, resulting in a shift in perception of this speech style from something denigrated to something accepted as the norm. Now commonly referred to as Japanese Women’s Language (JWL), this ideological construct became an object of attention in the post-war period as early linguists sought to simultaneously document the elements of this style as a cultural treasure unique to Japan while lamenting its perceived loss (e.g. Kindaichi 1942). This focus on JWL, as well as deterministically connecting to female speakers, continued until the 1990s when post-structural
approaches began to have an effect in sociocultural linguistics. As such, research that examines the ways in which social role interacts with the utilization of sentence-final expressions has generally concerned itself with the use of certain features by female speakers and their presumed inherent connection to a woman’s inherent femininity. The introduction of post-structuralism separated the speaker from the linguistic resource, allowing for the analytical distance necessary to examine the ways that speakers use features like sentence-final expressions to make sociocultural meaning.

Though sociocultural linguistics has advanced in its approaches to the intersection of language, gender, and other sociocultural categories, movements toward a post-structuralist approach to sentence-final expressions are not always reflected in other areas of discussion about language and gender. In particular, pedagogical materials aimed at both native speakers and non-native speakers alike have continued to adhere to the previous approaches to language use relative to gender. While some of the particles that are introduced early in works for non-native speakers such as yo and ne are generally devoid of mention of any gender-related information, wa is often characterized as either being “strongly feminine” (Miura and McGloin 2009:34) or used “by a female speaker” (Makino and Tsutsui 2015 [1989]:520). Only one source, Japanese: The Spoken Language (Jorden and Noda 1987), made any mention of a non-female speakers using wa. A similar trend is seen with zo and ze, characterized as used exclusively by “male speakers” by The Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar (Makino and Tsutsui 2010 [1989]:609) and The Dictionary of Intermediate Japanese Grammar (Makino and Tsutsui 2015 [1989]:520) respectively, or as “strongly masculine” or “typically masculine” in An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese (Miura and McGloin 2009). Of the commonly used Japanese language
learning resources in North America, references to linguistic change in the use of sentence-final expressions were found only in *Tobira* (Oka et. al 2009), a textbook aimed at advanced-level learners. Their comments are translated below in Excerpt (9).

(9) Recently, differences between men and women have decreased... women who use *wa* and *wa yo*, and men who use *ze* and *zo* are becoming fewer, but if a woman were to say ‘*ore mo hara hetta*’ or if a man were to say ‘*iya yo!*’ it would be surprising. Differences in the ways of speaking are decreasing, but please keep in mind that there are some expressions that are best not used. (Oka et al. 2009:29)

Though they mention that they have observed changes in the frequency of *wa* and *ze/zoo*, they nonetheless follow up their comments by stating that speakers deviating too far from normative gender ideologies is “surprising.”

While authors such as Oka et al. (2009) touch on the realities of language change and societal expectations about language use, gender normativity is often modeled passively and practiced actively in pedagogical materials through example conversations, drills, and exercises in a range of social situations. Kawasaki and McDougall (2003), for example, demonstrated in their survey of a number of common Australian Japanese language learning resources that female characters in learning materials often use a much higher proportion of normatively feminine sentence-final expressions (>50% of possible sentence-final expressions) than female speakers in natural conversation (between 4% for younger speakers and 28% for older speakers) (sourced from Okamoto and Sato 1992). Meanwhile, female characters had no instances of normatively masculine sentence-final expressions. Male characters, however, had predominantly neutral sentence-final expressions with a few normatively masculine ones, though at the time of writing, Kawasaki and McDougall (2003) had no study comparable to Okamoto and Sato’s
that analyzed expression usage among male speakers. An important thing to remember, however, is that such representations of gender normativity are not limited to language learning materials aimed at non-native speakers. According to Nakamura (2014), in addition to general etiquette guides, language textbooks aimed at native speakers of Japanese have also historically contained considerable explicit instruction in the use of certain sentence-final expressions by a given gender, and they continue to do so even today.

Despite commentary predicting and/or lamenting the end of gender- (or sex-) related differences in speech (e.g. Kindaichi 1942), such differences have not only persisted, but have thrived. The reason for persistence is likely in part those commentaries themselves as they are recapitulated in not only instructional materials like textbooks, but in mass media genres more broadly. Indeed, Inoue (2006) comments that as a Japanese speaker born in a dialect-dominant area, the primary medium through which she came into contact with Standard Japanese was media. More specifically, her experience with JWL growing up, she says, was through the mouths of not Japanese women on television, but of speakers who had been translated into Japanese. Translated works are especially rife with language that perpetuates hegemonic ideals of femininity and masculinity, an effect that is salient when comparing the earlier translated version of the novel Gone with the Wind (1957) with its translated movie script version (1994). While the earlier translation generally portrayed the leading male love interest Rhett Butler with more distal, normatively “neutral” speech, the 1994 version featured a Rhett Butler who used more casual, normatively “masculine” speech (as noted in e.g. Kinsui 2003, Nakamura 2007). Translated works also shed light on how linguistic ideologies intersect with race, such as in the use of Tohoku dialect by slave characters in Gone with the Wind (Hiramoto 2009), or the use of
more masculine speech by the runner Usain Bolt in television captions compared to other contemporary male runners (Ota 2011). The choice to use particular styles for certain figures in media, regardless of their original stylistic tendencies, reflects both the continued existence and persisting influence of such ideologies. Moreover, their presence in media gives these styles a platform, further ingraining them into the consciousness of the viewership.

As in the case of language that is utilized in mass media genres, language use in pedagogical materials and other similar guides that prescribe and privilege certain styles of language over others is necessarily mediated; linguistic ideologies do not exist in a vacuum, and indeed, there is at least one person, or perhaps a group of people, that determine that style’s appropriateness relative to the subject matter. Furthermore, at the receiving end exists at least one person, or perhaps a group of people, that reify that style’s acceptability. Though the studies that have emerged since the 1990s have provided some insight into changing ideologies and patterns of use among speakers, the scope of these studies has necessarily been limited to smaller populations due in large part to the qualitative approach that has been privileged in Japanese sociolinguistics. Additionally, very few of these studies have taken language in media into account in their explorations of language ideology. Mass media discourse, however, provides the analyst with the benefit of both representing and constructing linguistic acceptability and awareness for what is often a wide group of people, allowing for exploration of the interaction between language ideology and practice. With the history of critical discourse on sentence-final expressions, this dissertation explores in the following chapters ways in which the field can usefully approach popular cultural linguistic styles, and the ways in which such research can inform our approaches as a whole to language variation and change.
Chapter 4. Character Type and Audience Design in Japanese Yuri Comics

The previous two chapters laid the foundation for the three case studies included in this dissertation. Chapter 2 provided a background of previous and current approaches to research on language in media as is relevant to these studies, placing an emphasis on different approaches to the role of language in the overall semiotic construction of a “character” or “persona.” Chapter 3 discussed specifically sentence-final expressions and critical commentaries on their use through Japanese linguistic history. This chapter, however, is the first in a series that explores these topics at an applied level in Japanese media. More specifically, these chapters analyze different manifestations of sentence-final expressions, what they mean for their respective genres, and how social meaning is created and consumed through their use in context.

Utilizing the Japanese manga magazine Comic Yuri Hime, this chapter explores the use of certain sentence-final expressions as they differ according to reported gender of the author, gender of the imagined target audience, and the role of the character utilizing said expressions. Comic Yuri Hime, which has been in publication since 2005, is the only continuously running commercially owned manga magazine dedicated to yuri (百合 ‘lily’), a genre that centers on romantic and erotic relationships between female characters. Though written predominantly by women for an imagined female audience, from 2007-2010, the editorial board for Comic Yuri Hime simultaneously ran Comic Yuri Hime S, a sister magazine targeted at the minority male contingent of Comic Yuri Hime’s readership. With these changes in imagined audience in mind,
this study explores the utilization of sentence-final expressions during the period in which both magazines ran concurrently.

The sentence-final expressions under analysis are those typical of o-jōsama kotoba (お嬢様ことば ‘young lady-speech’), a fictionalized speech register characterized by its high density of stereotypically hyper-feminine sentence-final expressions. This register, which is said to trace its origins to early 20th century all-girls’ schools, has emerged as a kind of genre convention within yuri due to the influence of “S” narratives during the emergence of yuri as a more solidified genre. Given its history of use within the genre, and its easily identifiable sentence-final expressions, the use of o-jōsama kotoba is an appropriate departure point from which to analyze patterns of usage through the lens of audience design (Bell 1984, 2001). In particular, this study engages with these expressions at the level of character role within the narrative, unpacking utilization of these features by “main characters,” “love interests,” and “side characters,” allowing for a more fine-tuned analysis than has thus far been pursued in this still emerging area of research within Japanese linguistics.

This chapter begins by discussing the place that manga has in Japanese society, why this medium is worthy of linguistic consideration, and where yuri falls categorically as a genre. Then, I will move on to talk about the history of o-jōsama kotoba within the yuri genre and its genre predecessors, as well as where Comic Yuri Hime fits within this history. I will then discuss my data collection methods, the results of the statistical analysis, and my conclusions.
4.1. Manga, Language, and Genre Stylistics

With genres that appeal to essentially any demographic group, Schodt (1996) estimated that manga at that time comprised approximately 40% of published written material in Japan. Though more recent scholarship has commented on the falling readership of manga (e.g. Nakano 2009), even still, Unser-Schutz (2011) points out that because of the critical position that manga hold within the Japanese mediascape, i.e. as a component of the greater media-mix system (discussed in Chapter 2) through which intellectual properties are disseminated, manga continue to be a key unit of popular media consumption. The length of time that manga has been a variety of consumed media depends on one’s definition. Ito (2005), for example, dates manga back to 12th century scrolls that featured comical depictions of humans and animals, while other scholars (e.g. Shimizu 1991) define the origin of manga by the origin of the term itself, which was first used to refer to humorous single-frame block prints by Hokusai in the 18th century. Manga as we experience it today, namely as a sequence of images that tell a story, emerged in the post-World War II era as the cost of printing decreased drastically, making manga a kind of easy-to-produce entertainment form (Natsume 2007). Because this later technological development allowed for more cheaply produced extended narratives, the role of character construction, and with it linguistic style, in a given work increased dramatically.

Language as it occurs in manga is, for some speakers, noticeably different from that occurring in spontaneous discourse. As discussed by Unser-Schutz (2015), a 2008 survey by Japan’s Agency for Cultural Affairs reported that approximately 45.5% of respondents designated manga as one of the leading sources of influence on the speech of young people, ranking behind television as the top source (85.8%), one’s mother (73.9%), one’s father (69.3%),
and one’s friends (63.8%), respectively (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2010). Similar attitudes regarding the relationship between manga and broader language use has also been echoed in a number of linguistic studies. Endō (2001), for example, found that the college students she surveyed attributed the use of the normatively masculine pronominal boku among female speakers to manga consumption. Nakamura (2007) reported a related phenomenon, namely female elementary school students associating the use of the normatively masculine pronominal ore with the comically rude protagonist of the popular anime Crayon Shin-chan.

Despite this degree of awareness about language use in manga, linguistic researchers did not engage with the stylistic practices contained therein until relatively recently, likely for the same reason as with other mass media genres (see Chapter 2). Much like with linguistic research into other media forms, however, so, too did manga experience an uptick in analysis with the onset of the 21st century. Some of these scholars, such as Aizawa (2003) and Chinami (2001), found that the use of normatively feminine sentence-final expressions in shōjo manga, a genre aimed at young girls, has been decreasing. In a similar vein, Ueno (2006) illustrated that younger female characters in shōjo manga use relatively few normatively feminine sentence-final expressions and more neutral and normatively masculine ones, while older characters still exhibit evidence of overall more normatively feminine speech. Each of these studies, though limited to specifically shōjo, argue that works in this genre exhibit relatively realistic speech patterns.

Unser-Schutz (2015) follows up on this theme by comparing the use of variously gendered sentence-final expressions as they occur in popular shōjo and shōnen works, the latter being the male-oriented genre counterpart to shōjo. When comparing the two genres, she found that shōnen works use significantly more stereotypically highly feminine and highly masculine
sentence-final expressions than *shōjo* works, a result that supports Aizawa’s (2003) and Chinami’s (2001) assertions that the *shōjo* genre generally features relatively realistic speech patterns. In the area of *shōnen* works, however, Unser-Schutz’s (2015) study was unfortunately the first (and so far only) one to closely examine sentence-final expressions in a fictionalized environment. The only other published study to date that touches on linguistic phenomena in the context of *shōnen* works is Dahlberg-Dodd (2018), which examines the frequency and type of first-person pronominals used by protagonists in *shōnen* anime, but it does not explore sentence-final expression usage.

In addition to the above studies that generally take the “fiction-as-mirror” approach to language in media (cf. Stamou 2014), there also exists a vein of research on manga that takes the “fiction-as-construction” approach. Kinsui (2003) introduced the term *yakuwarigo* (役割語 ‘role language’), a term that refers to the phenomenon by which the stylistic characteristics of a given character’s speech index the personality type and role of that character within a given narrative. With the subsequent advance of research on *yakuwarigo*, a number of studies have been published that touch on linguistic phenomena that may occur in the text of manga, but it is worth remembering that many of these studies do not necessarily focus on a given linguistic phenomena with respect to a specific genre (e.g. Nishida 2011, Togashi 2011, Kinsui 2014, Robertson 2015, Robertson 2018).

Using an approach that explores the use of sentence-final expressions relative to genre, this chapter focuses on intercharacter dialogue in the context of *yuri*, a genre of fictional works that center on same-sex romantic and erotic relationships between female characters. Relatively new as a genre in the formalized sense, studies on *yuri* are few, but have emerged nonetheless in the
past decade (e.g. Kawasaki 2014, Nagaike 2010), including a special issue of the literary magazine *Yuriika* (ユリイカ ‘Eureka’) focusing on the genre and its consumption. As noted earlier, the data under evaluation in this chapter are from the magazine *Comic Yuri Hime* and its short-lived sister publication, *Comic Yuri Hime S*. For most of its existence, the flagship magazine *Comic Yuri Hime* has been the only mainstream publication owned by a major publisher that is dedicated specifically to this genre. Its position as such makes this magazine a prime target for not only *yuri*-oriented research, but also for inquiries into linguistic stylistic practices as they interact with audience design theory in popular media (Bell 1984, 2001), whereby the language of a given work “indexes an imagined target audience on the assumption that this audience will find this particular style acceptable and attractive within genre constraints” (Androutsopolous 2012:304). In order to analyze the utilization of certain stylistic features in *yuri* publications such as *Comic Yuri Hime*, however, it is first necessary to understand some of the history of *yuri* as a whole to give context to present day stylistic tendencies.

4.1.1. The Origin of the *Yuri* Genre

Though it is not inaccurate to define *yuri* as a genre of fictional works about same-sex romantic and erotic relationships between female characters, such a definition is imprecise due to the fact that it does not convey the trajectory by which *yuri* became what it is today. According to Nagaike (2010), the genesis of a so-called “pure,” or unified *yuri* genre came about in 2003 with the publication of the magazine *Yuri Shimai*, the predecessor to *Comic Yuri Hime*. That said, neither the term *yuri* nor the motifs represented within the pages of *Yuri Shimai* simply appeared
out of nowhere. As discussed by Welker (2008:52), the term *yuri* itself was introduced to the popular culture sphere as a way to refer to queer female sexuality in 1976 by Itō Bungaku, the editor of gay men’s magazine *Barazoku*. At the time, there was not a substantial presence of magazines aimed at women who love other women, resulting in a sizable female readership of *Barazoku* (薔薇族 lit. ‘rose tribe’). In accordance with the theme of the magazine’s title, the editor created a column called *Yurizoku no heya* (百合族の部屋 lit. ‘lily tribe room’) to provide a space in the magazine for voices of the female readership. While that is certainly not the genesis of the term *yuri* as a metaphor for female sexuality, even in Japan (see Kawasaki 2014), it is, however, the point at which *yuri* entered the Japanese popular culture sphere as a means of referring to queer female sexuality. Fluctuations in what “counts” as *yuri* media have been inevitable since its introduction, including appearances of the term in the titles of male-targeted pornography in the 80s, but its flexibility has decreased in recent years due to the continuous publication of *Comic Yuri Hime*, not to mention the intermittent publication of special *yuri* editions of other manga magazines (Kawasaki 2014). As the only *yuri* magazine owned by a mainstream publisher as of 2018, as well as for much of its existence, it has come to function as a voice on what qualifies as *yuri* in the greater popular culture sphere.

In terms of genre convention, the current themes and styles of storytelling typical of *yuri* can be traced back to several places, including mainstream *shōjo* manga and fighting *shōjo* anime of the 1990s (e.g. Sailor Moon), but the most important to this study the influence of “S” culture of the 20th century (Nagaike 2010). “S”, which can stand for ‘sister,’ ‘soeur,’ or ‘Schwester,’ is a term that was first used as early as 1926 to describe a strong homosocial bond or romantic friendship between girls. That being said, according to Hiruma (2003), the so-called
“discovery” of homosexuality among women can be dated back to the high-profile double-suicide of two girls in 1911 who were said at the time to be in an “S” relationship, demonstrating that these relationships were not necessarily platonic. “S” relationships are portrayed in several yuri predecessor narratives, such as the works of Yoshiya Nobuko, whose serialized novel Hana monogatari (花物語 ‘Flower Tales’) appeared in the girls’ magazine Shōjo gahō (少女画報 ‘Girls’ Illustrated Magazine’) from 1917-1924 and depicted emotional and often overtly sexual bonding between girls at an all-girls’ school. A slightly later novel is Otome no minato in 1938 (乙女の港 ‘Maiden’s Port’), which was originally attributed to Kawabata Yasunari but found in 1989 to have been originally written by his assistant Nakazato Tsuneko (Maser 2015: 42). More recently is Maria-sama ga miteru (マリア様がみてる ‘The Virgin Mary is Watching’) by Konno Oyuki, a serialized novel that was published across 32 volumes between 1998 and 2012. While none of these works were considered yuri in name at the time of writing (though the latter two were explicitly written as “S” novels), what each of these have in common with the others is their setting at an all-girls’ school, a motif that extends into the works that appear in Comic Yuri Hime.

The genre convention of setting “S” narratives (and eventually many yuri narratives) in all-girls’ schools has resulted in a high usage of the fictionalized register known as o-jōsama kotoba. Yoshiya Nobuko’s work Hana monogatari, for example, was known for its flowery portrayal of an all-girls’ school in not only narrative description, but in the stylistic qualities in the language of the appearing characters (Nagaike 2010). Though later “S” works like Otome no Minato did not necessarily utilize this speech to quite the same extent, certain of its key features continued to appear well into modern “S” (and by association, yuri) narratives. It is possible to
think of this process in terms of what Bruner (1991:18) calls “narrative accrual,” a term that refers to the way by which repetition of particular activities, events, behaviors, or as the name suggests, narratives, ultimately results in the creation of “a ‘culture’ or a ‘history’, or more loosely, a ‘tradition.’” Although Bruner (1991) used this term in reference to the construction of narrative in conversation, such a term also has theoretical power when discussing emergent genre conventions. Notable examples of the continued use of features associated with *o-jōsama kotoba* are the use of the word *o-nēsama* (‘older sister’ with a polite prefix and honorific suffix) to refer to female students older than oneself, as well as an overall greater occurrence of stereotypically feminine-coded sentence-final particles than other *shōjo* works.

Regarding current uses of *o-jōsama kotoba*, a casual Google search reveals that this register presently enjoys a high degree of metalinguistic awareness, including books marketed to teach readers this register (e.g. Katō 2017), as well as Takamatsu Nana, a comedian who specializes in the performance of the *o-jōsama* persona. However, the amount of scholarly work that has explored this style is highly limited. As of writing, the only work is that of Kinsui (2003), in which he explores the literary origins of this register, but he does not elaborate on the current status of *o-jōsama kotoba* despite the continued existence of the *o-jōsama* figure itself. Such a gap in the literature suggests that before discussing *o-jōsama kotoba*’s position in the history of *yuri*, it is necessary to discuss the register itself.
4.1.2. O-Jōsama Kotoba: Past and Present

In what is presently the only scholarly work that discusses this fictionalized register, Kinsui (2003) approaches o-jōsama kotoba from the perspective of its historical origins and its ensuing enregisterment in fictional genres. “Enregisterment,” as mentioned in Chapter 2, is a term that refers to the “process whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users” (Agha 2005). When discussing linguistic stylistic practices in fictionalized genres that make the move from their respective points of emergence to becoming a recognizable, indexically meaningful style, the concept of “enregisterment” has strong theoretical value. In the case of o-jōsama kotoba, Kinsui (2003) pinpoints its origin in the late 19th and early 20th century jogakusei kotoba (女学生ことば ‘schoolgirl speech’), which was known jointly as teyo-dawa speech due to the characteristic presence of both 1) the te-form of a verb or adjective followed by the sentence-final particle yo and 2) the plain copula da followed by sentence-final particle wa. As discussed in Chapter 3, the exact origin of this speech style is historically unidentified (as noted by Kinsui 2003, Inoue 2006, Nakamura 2014), but intellectuals during the late 19th century, who openly denigrated such speech patterns, attributed its original speakers to Edo Period sex workers who had married and borne children with men of the upper class. Despite such critiques, teyo-dawa became strongly associated with its perceived users, and as such, writers such as Natsume Sōseki utilized this style to represent schoolgirl characters in their works, and commercial magazines also used it as a means of speaking to an imagined schoolgirl audience. The critical point for the eventual formation of the yuri genre, however, was Yoshiya Nobuko’s application of this style through her heavy use of the all-girls’ school as a narrative setting and the flowery language that
accompanied it. To that end, an important point to remember is that the schoolgirl figure that was the target of linguistic denigration by period intellectuals was not simply any girl who attended an educational institution, but rather, were children of financial means. Because only the daughters of financially and socially privileged families were able to attend school, having an educated daughter became a status symbol for families in the upper class (Inoue 2006, Endo 2006).

During the early 20th century, language as it appeared in the newly forming *shōjo* genre and the mainstream linguistic expectations projected onto female speakers were not noticeably different. As discussed in Chapter 3, the increased usage of *teyo-dawa* to represent the speaking voice of school-aged girls in magazines and other mass media resulted in an extension of the expectations of *teyo-dawa* speech beyond only young female students. Because of its continued use as a means by which to both portray and give voice to the turn-of-the-century female student, by the 1930s the style had undergone a process of resignification. Rather than a denigrated side-effect of women more widely becoming educated, this speech style became the foundation for the voice of idealized womanhood in a newly modernizing Japan (Inoue 2004, 2006). Certain of these features, however, did not become part of the greater JWL ideological construct as it is discussed metalinguistically by the mid-20th century. For example, though the *da wa* portion of *teyo-dawa* is commonly given as a representative feature of JWL, in the post-war period, both -*te yo* and sentence-final *koto* had a noticeably lower presence in female speech represented in mass media works (Kinsui 2003:163).

In his attempt to define *o-jōsama kotoba* in a way that explicitly distinguishes it from JWL (which he refers to as 女性語 *josei-go*, or ‘women’s language’), Kinsui (2003) relies heavily on
the usage of the -te yo and koto sentence-final expressions. In each of his examples of o-jōsama kotoba in the post-war period, the only features that he highlights are those two expressions, despite indicating other features (e.g., da wa) in earlier, pre-o-jōsama kotoba examples. The reason that he gives for this is that though other features may also be used by o-jōsama characters, -te yo and koto are highly marked for that character type, while in his view, features like da wa are also associated with JWL more broadly making them inappropriate for consideration as o-jōsama kotoba. This is an approach that he does not necessarily take with other fictionalized registers such as hakase-go (博士語 ‘professor speech’), a style that utilizes a number of the features that appear in other registers (e.g., washi, the copula ja), but he still counts them as features of hakase-go ultimately. Rather than necessarily exclude linguistic features that overlap with other registers, this study asserts that it is critical to consider the overall package of sentence-final expressions that contribute to the o-jōsama as a characterological figure. To borrow the words of Eckert (2008:454), sentence-final expressions each belong to their own “indexical field,” or “a constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable.” In other words, while sentence-final -te yo and koto may be highly marked for the o-jōsama figure, the use of only those features are in practice not enough to evoke the character as a whole. Rather, it is through the combination of a variety of features that the figure may be activated within a narrative. An approach to o-jōsama kotoba that focuses only on -te yo and koto neglects to consider the linguistic change that has occurred to result in current o-jōsama figures, characters that have by no means disappeared from the Japanese popular mediascape.
An additional point to keep in mind regarding Kinsui’s (2003) discussion of o-jōsama kotoba is that within the yakuwarigo framework, a role language variety is inherently linked to that character’s role in the narrative. As discussed in Chapter 2, the yakuwarigo framework is an approach to language in media that focuses not only the way that the situated use of certain linguistic resources may evoke a set of personality traits in the linguistic construction of characterological figures, but as Kinsui and Yamakido (2015) have discussed more recently, how those linguistic resources index a particular character type with a regular, expected role within a narrative. Kinsui’s (2003) approach to o-jōsama kotoba falls within this yakuwarigo framework. According to Kinsui (2003:170-171), the o-jōsama character in a given narrative tends to occupy the role of either the “shadow,” the villain or other character that presents as an obstacle to the goals of the protagonist, or the “ally,” a character that serves as an assistant to the protagonist (cf. Vogler 2007). The o-jōsama figure (and its associated speech features) under analysis in this study, however, are not only those that appear as “shadows” or “allies” within their respective narratives, but the fictionalized character more broadly. This means that rather than the yakuwarigo framework, a more apt framework is that of the “character language” framework (e.g., Sadanobu 2011), where the focus of analysis is not on that character’s role in the narrative, but rather on the broader figure of that character and its linguistic characteristics. The reason for this stems from the typical setting of yuri narratives. Given that a majority of them within this chapter’s dataset take place within the context of an all-girls’ school, it can be expected that o-jōsama kotoba is used not by only a few characters, but as a means of co-constructing the all-girls’ school chronotope (i.e., ‘time-space’) as a whole (cf. Blommaert 2015).
Current o-jōsama figures, meaning female characters who are of a wealthy background and exhibit overall more “refined” social habits, have noticeably different speech patterns from their peers in recent media works. Looking outside of yuri, this difference is particularly evident in works that feature a large number of female characters. The anime K-ON! (Kyoto Animation, 2009-2010), for example, features a main cast of four high school girls who are in their school’s keion-bu (軽音部 ‘light music club’). Of these characters, the only one who exhibits a speech style even approaching o-jōsama kotoba (including sentence-final wa, combinations like no ne and no yo, sentence-final kashira, etc.) is Tsumugi, the daughter of a company president whose family owns multiple villas around Japan as well as one in Finland. Compared to her friends, she boasts relatively refined hobbies, and many of the jokes that are made at her character’s expense relate to her wide-eyed participation in so-called “normal” activities (e.g., ordering fast food, having a part-time job) that are virtually unheard of within the context of her privileged upbringing.

The Fate franchise (Type-Moon, 2004-present) also has a similar differential distribution of feature usage across its female cast members. The only characters that exhibit use of stereotypically “feminine” features are those who have financially privileged upbringings within formal magician families. Female characters without such upbringings, such as the so-called “servants” summoned from the past to fight battles or female characters without wealthy families, do not utilize these sentence-final expressions. The series A Certain Scientific Railgun

4 The Fate franchise, broadly construed, revolves around sorcerous “masters” who summon magical construct “servants” from various points in world history to fight on their behalf in the so-called “Holy Grail War.” The franchise has since expanded far beyond this original premise.

5 Japanese title: とある科学の超電磁砲 To aru kagaku rērugan
(Kazuma Kamachi, 2007-present) also exhibits this distribution. The main character Mikoto and her best friend Kuroko both attend a highly prestigious all-girls’ middle school, and they both exhibit a high usage of o-jōsama kotoba features. Between the two, Kuroko’s is a highly exaggerated form of o-jōsama kotoba, referring to Mikoto not only as o-nēsama (お姉様 ‘older sister’ with the polite prefix and honorific suffix), and she makes ample usage of such structures as sentence-final desu no, desu wa, and honorifics that would seem odd in a non-fictional conversation. In the case of Kuroko, however, they provide a sense of refinement and class. Mikoto’s other friends, who attend a different school, do not utilize nearly as many such features, if any at all, a mark of their attendance at a less prestigious, co-ed school.

Such examples as these suggest that, while Kinsui (2003) is resistant to considering features that overlap with JWL as part of o-jōsama kotoba, not doing so limits our ability to see the effects of these features in establishing their respective characterological figures in context. This is due to the fact that JWL and o-jōsama kotoba belong to entirely different categories as far as collections of linguistic features are concerned. Unlike o-jōsama kotoba, which is a fictionalized register, JWL is a language ideological construct that has historically been expected of female speakers. In other words, there is no characterological figure or persona associated with JWL in the way that there is for o-jōsama kotoba, making an analysis of its features in fictionalized genres inappropriate without a sufficient theoretical justification (for such an approach, see Ueno’s 2006 exploration of JWL in shōjo more broadly). Second, this study proposes that rather than attempting to draw a hard line between JWL and o-jōsama kotoba, we pay more attention to the frequency of utilization of such features, since the issue is not entirely one of sentence-final expression type. Not only is this phenomenon observable among those o-
jōsama that appear in the anime works mentioned above, but it is also evident in the chat-based communication application for smart phones known as LINE. In this application, users may download different sets of comical “stamps” that are based on different characters and include various common phrases said in chat-based conversations. At the time of writing, the search function yielded 273 different results for the term o-jōsama (お嬢様). The benefit of observing these resources for taking up different personae is that it provides a look into the way that users present basic, common phrases such as greetings, apologies, etc., utilizing the guise or stance associated with different personae. In the case of o-jōsama kotoba, such expressions range from the common use of go-kigenyō as a greeting, a phrase with a strong indexical rassociation with the o-jōsama persona, to different ways of expressing common chat-based phrases such as ‘Are you busy?’ (Ima o-hima kashira?).

Many o-jōsama kotoba performances involve the use of the socially distal style (i.e., desu and masu endings), but performances are by no means limited to it. Indeed, it is possible to think of o-jōsama kotoba as scalar rather than inherently categorical. While the distal style-endings followed by stereotypically “feminine” sentence-final expressions such as sentence-final wa, no yo/ne, kashira are more marked for the o-jōsama persona, deploying these same features with a direct style predicate does not deactivate this persona. A representative list of the kinds of

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6 The indexical relationship between go-kigenyō, o-jōsama kotoba, and the all-girls’ school chronotope is especially apparent in an interview that Aoyagi Mihoko conducted with Konno Oyuki, the author of Maria-sama ga miteru, for the yuri-centered special edition of literary magazine Eureka. In it, Konno remarks, “For high school and junior college, I attended an all-girls’ school. So, it felt like the story of somewhere I had been” (高校・短大と、五年間女子校だったんです。ですから、自分のいたところのお話の感覚でした). Aoyagi: “By chance, did you use go-kigenyō and such at those all-girls’ schools…?” (もしかして、女子校ではあいさつが「ごきげんよう」だったり…?). Konno: “Sorry, neither one was that o-jōsama of a place (laughs)” (すみません、そんなにお嬢様なところじゃありませんでした(笑)) (Konno 2014:35).
sentence-final expressions observable in these LINE stamps may be seen below in Table 8, a list that includes both direct and distal styles even within the same stamp sets. The difference between distal and direct styles within *o-jōsama kotoba* is also evident in the anime examples mentioned earlier, with more exaggerated examples of *o-jōsama kotoba* (e.g. Kuroko from *A Certain Scientific Railgun*) existing alongside less exaggerated but nonetheless frequent users of stereotypically “feminine” sentence-final expressions (e.g. Mikoto from the same work).

Table 8. A representative list of *o-jōsama kotoba* sentence-final expressions as portrayed in LINE stamp sets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Example with English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wa</em> ϕ</td>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O-migoto desu wa!</em> (‘Impressive!’)(^A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Shō shō okuremasu wa</em> (‘I’m going to be a little late’)(^D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ki ni iranai wa</em> (‘I don’t like it’)(^B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Yaru ki ga okinai wa</em> (‘I can’t summon the will to do it’)(^B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo</em> and/or <em>ne</em></td>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Maa maa desu wa ne</em> (‘It’s so-so’)(^C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Okorimasu wa yo?</em> (‘I’ll be angry’)(^D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Shikata nai wa ne</em> (‘There’s no helping it’)(^E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ii wa nee</em> (‘That’s nice, isn’t it?’)(^B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no</em> ϕ</td>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nan desu no?</em> (‘What is it?’)(^A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sō desu no?</em> (‘Is it so?’)(^E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo</em> and/or <em>ne</em></td>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Okottemasu no yo</em> (‘I’m angry’)(^A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Shinpai desu no yo</em> (‘I’m worried’)(^B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
Table 8 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>null copula yo and/or ne</td>
<td><em>Ara, suteki ne</em> (‘My, that’s wonderful’)D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Uso... Sonna no uso yo!</em> (‘No way... That can’t be true!’)G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto</td>
<td><em>Suteki desu koto</em> (‘That’s delightful’)E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nante kawaii koto</em> (‘How cute!’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addresser honorifics in direct style</td>
<td><em>O-negai shite kudasaru?</em> (‘May I make a request?’)A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Honki de osshateru no?</em> (‘Are you serious?’)B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Asobi ni irasshain na</em> (‘Come over and hang out!’)C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kashira</td>
<td><em>Dō iu o-tsumori kashira?</em> (‘What do you intend?’)D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ima o-hima kashira?</em> (‘Are you perhaps free right now?’)C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōdai</td>
<td><em>Isoide chōdai</em> (‘Please hurry.’)A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Motto kamatte chōdai</em> (‘Please pay more attention to me’)B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>command -nasai</td>
<td><em>Genki dashinasai yo!</em> (‘Cheer up!’)C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hayaku henji o yokoshinasai</em> (‘Send me a reply quickly’)D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Yoroshikute?</em> (‘Is it okay?’)E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ikaga nasatte?</em> (‘How is it?’)A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td><em>Yoroshikute yo</em> (‘It’s okay’)D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nan de mo nakutte yo</em> (‘It’s nothing’)G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudasaimashi (*)</td>
<td><em>Okoranaide kudasaimashi!</em> (‘Please don’t be mad at me!’)C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asobase (*)</td>
<td><em>Gomen asobase</em> (‘I’m sorry’)D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamasu (*)</td>
<td><em>Muri zamasu</em> (‘It’s no use’)B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Yurusai zamasu!</em> (‘I won’t forgive you!’)B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source key: A – ‘O-jōsama kotoba desu no’ (Yoshida Akari); B – ‘O-jōsama kotoba desu no 2’ (Yoshida Akari); C – ‘Wagamama o-jōsama no hitokoto sutanpu’ (PUU); D – ‘Ikemasen, Arisa-sama!’ (BroadBank); E – ‘O-jōsama no tame no gōka fukidashi sutanpu’ (nejimakidori); F – ‘Sekai ichi utskushii neko’ (BAMBI); G – ‘O-jōsama usagi 2’ (KOHEI)
* - Uncommon feature in across sets.
Comparing the features in Table 8 above with those considered to be “moderately/strongly feminine” in Table 6 and/or to have a high female specificity score (Table 7), it is possible to see that there is some overlap. Table 8, however, engages with more than only those either traditionally categorized as sentence-final particles, including command forms -nasai and chōdai, as well as taking into account the use of addressee honorific forms in direct style. These expressions, which are not traditionally taken into account in current literature on characterologically-oriented linguistic styles and registers, play a crucial role in helping to evoke this character type.

4.1.3. Comic Yuri Hime

The data under analysis are from Comic Yuri Hime and its sister magazine, Comic Yuri Hime S. Comic Yuri Hime is written by a majority female authorship for a predominantly female readership, a fact that is reflected in its slogan on every issue until 2011: danshi kinsei (‘no boys allowed’) followed by two exclamation points, as shown below in Excerpt (10).

(10) 男子禁制!!:少女と少女のヒミツの純愛コミック
Danshi kinsei!!: Shōjo to shōjo no himitsu no jun'ai komikku
‘No boys allowed!!: A comic about the secret, pure love between girls’

It ran quarterly beginning in 2005, became a bimonthly publication in 2011, and monthly in 2017. In 2008, a readership survey was conducted, requesting that readers volunteer information about their gender and age through a mail-in postcard. While this form of survey is certainly not the most reliable, it still provides an estimate of who is reading, or at least purchasing, the magazine. According to Sugino (2008), Comic Yuri Hime in 2008 had readership that was 73%
female and 27% male. In terms of age, 27% of readers were under 19, 27% between 20 and 24, 23% between 25 and 29, with the remaining 23% above 30. This suggests that Comic Yuri Hime, at least at the time of survey, was consumed predominantly by women who were over 20 years of age.

In an effort to cater to their minority male readership, the editorial board for Comic Yuri Hime decided in 2007 to also publish Comic Yuri Hime S. Its male-targeted nature is reflected in the slogan on the front, danshi kinsei (‘no boys allowed’) followed by an exclamation mark and a question mark, making a direct reference to Comic Yuri Hime’s slogan and calling its validity into question (Excerpt 11).

(11) 男子禁制!?:君のハートを狙い撃ちする CUTE x LOVELY コミック誌 Danshi kinsei!?: Kimi no hāto o neraiuchi suru CUTE x LOVELY komikkushi ‘No boys allowed!?: A CUTE x LOVELY comic magazine that snipes your heart’

The magazine ran quarterly from 2007 through 2010, merging once more with Comic Yuri Hime in 2011. While age data is no longer available for this magazine, the self-reported gender make-up was 38% female, 62% male (Sugino 2008).

4.2. Methods

4.2.1. Corpus Organization

The corpus under analysis consists of 10 total manga magazines across both Comic Yuri Hime and Comic Yuri Hime S during their years of coexistence prior to 2011. Comic Yuri Hime, which began in 2005, has 6 included issues, while Comic Yuri Hime S with its 2007 start date has only 4. The structure of the corpus is heavily inspired by a work by Unser-Schutz (2011) in which she
introduces her own methods for compiling textual information from manga. As pointed out by both Ingulsrud and Allen (2009) as well as Unser-Schutz (2011), one of the main difficulties in creating a text-based corpus of something as visual as manga is the fact that it requires substantial data entry by hand as current text-scanning software does not extract information from manga-based texts accurately. An additional concern is the variety of textual information available, which can extend beyond only that represented in type in a formal speech or thought bubble. To account for these differences, linguistic information in this corpus was coded as indicated in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Summary of categories by which textual information is organized in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lines</td>
<td>Any data represented in type found in an unbroken speech bubble. This text is generally accepted be to spoken aloud by the character indicated and may include anything from speeches and announcements to conversations between friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughts</td>
<td>Any data represented in type found in a speech bubble that may either 1) have dots or small bubbles going towards the characters or 2) have a dotted-line outline rather than a solid outline. This text represents the inner thoughts of the characters, and other characters are not privy to this information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narration</td>
<td>Any data represented in type that is found outside of a speech bubble or within a square caption. This text may either be in the character’s “voice” where it functions as a means of explaining the story or their mindset at the time, or this text may be without a particular speaker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary</td>
<td>Any data that is handwritten onto the page by the artist or author. This text may be either self- or other-directed, and it often supports the text that appears in type. Sometimes this text is used for the purposes of a side-comment by a given character, and two characters may even exchange a brief side conversation in this way.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One of the major departures from Unser-Schutz’s (2011) organizational methodology is a reliance less on the content of the utterance and more on its visual representation. For example, Unser-Schutz defines the difference between “narration” and “thoughts” as primarily one of content rather than appearance. “Thoughts,” she states, may occur with “in squares or whited-out space in the background,” much like narration, but she confines “narration” specifically to those whose perceived target is the audience rather than interior monologue (Unser-Schutz 2011: 223). In the corpus compiled for this study, however, because it is not uncommon for the speech of the main character to move between styles of representation during sections of interior monologue, utterances are categorized according to visual representation; that is, utterances coded as “thoughts” have “thought bubbles” of some kind, while “narration” has either a square caption or is free floating on the page.

An additional difference between Unser-Schutz’s (2011) schema and the one used for this study lies in the treatment of onomatopoeic data. While Unser-Schutz (2011) fully categorizes all onomatopoeia, this study instead includes only those that correspond to utterances that are presented as orally produced by the characters. For example, breathing (haa haa) is included in this data set, but psychomemes such as heart-pounding (doki doki) or nervous fretting (hara hara) are not. The reason for this relates to the point of this corpus as well as the study overall. Unlike Unser-Schutz (2011), who is in pursuit of a broader means by which to construct a textual corpus of manga data, this study is predominantly concerned with interactional information and linguistically-oriented characterological performance. Psychomimes, inanimate phonomimes, and phenomimes were judged to be outside of this scope.
In addition to the categorization of textual information, the characters responsible for those utterances were also categorized. Because this corpus has as a primary motivating factor the occurrence of certain linguistic features relative to a character’s role in a given story, that role was also recorded with each utterance. Characters were divided into three categories: main characters, love interests, and side characters. Whether or not a character in a given story was categorized as a main character was based on either that character’s explicit categorization as such in meta-information about that story (i.e., the character is listed as the 主人公 shujinkō, ‘main character’) or by being the primary narrator of that story. Indeed, because this data set includes many stand-alone one-shot narratives, it was common for the main character to introduce herself explicitly as such in the first few panels. Additionally, stories that had more than one main character did not appear in this data. Love interests, on the other hand, were determined as such based on their relationship with the main character, such as if the two characters are explicitly involved in a romantic relationship, or if main character is heavily fixated on a given character; in nearly all stories examined, this was a relationship that was made explicit. It is also worth noting that love triangles (i.e., romantic entanglements that unwillingly involve more than two parties) were highly uncommon in this data. Furthermore, only one series included in the data set did not have a clear love interest that held the romantic attention of the main character. Finally, side characters were any characters that did not belong to either of the other two categories.

In addition to the above categories, each utterance is annotated with 1) the title of the work, 2) issue information, 3) the author and their reported gender, 4) the gender of that publication’s target audience, 5) information about the character speaking including gender,
name, and role. For the gender of the author, publicly available information was used as many authors write under pseudonyms that are frequently ambiguous at first glance. In the event that the author did not have a determinable gender, they were annotated as such and excluded from the data. The target audience gender was determined by the magazine itself, with *Comic Yuri Hime* having a female target and *Comic Yuri Hime S* a male target.

Finally, in addition to the above metadata that accompanies each utterance, each entry is annotated for the sentence-final expression used in that utterance, when such are present. In the event of a particularly long utterance that contains more than one sentence-final expression, the entries were split such that there was only one such expression per entry in the corpus.

4.2.2. Description of the Data Set

Due to the breadth of communicative text included within the corpus, some exclusions were made for the purposes of analysis in this study. For starters, because sentence-final expressions are at their core interactive in nature, text coded as “thoughts,” “narration,” and “commentary” were excluded, leaving only deliberately spoken lines. Additionally, though their appearances were rare in this data set, all lines spoken by male characters were also excluded. Finally, any work written by an author whose gender was not publicly available on the internet was excluded. This left a total of 96 different works with a total of 51 authors under consideration. A breakdown of these authors by their variously gendered target audiences may be seen below. Several of the authors have written for both audiences, so the numbers in Table 10 below add up to 56, not 51.
Table 10. Number of authors writing for the respective audiences by gender after exclusions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female Author</th>
<th>Male Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Target</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Target</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To analyze the utilization of *o-jōsama kotoba* related sentence-final expressions, the use of an expression was marked with a ‘1’ while a ‘0’ indicated non-use. The expressions that were coded as *o-jōsama kotoba* are indicated below in Table 11. Which expressions were classified as such was informed nearly entirely by sentence-final expressions that find use in the *o-jōsama* persona as discussed section 4.1.2. and in particular, Table 9.

Table 11. Sentence-final expressions that are coded as *o-jōsama kotoba* within the *Comic Yuri Hime* corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles and Nominalizers</th>
<th>Other Expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[distal/direct] + <em>wa</em> (+ <em>yo</em> and/or <em>ne</em>)</td>
<td>-nasai(mase)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[distal] + <em>no</em></td>
<td>[direct] addressee honorifics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[distal/direct] + <em>no</em> + (<em>yo</em> and/or <em>ne</em>)</td>
<td><em>chōdai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[distal/direct] <em>koto</em></td>
<td><em>kudasaimashi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[distal/direct] <em>mono</em></td>
<td><em>-te</em> (interrogative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[null copula] <em>yo</em> and/or <em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>-te + yo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[distal/direct] <em>kashira</em></td>
<td><em>-asobase</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>-zamasu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Results and Analysis

Table 12 below illustrates the mean frequency (percentage) of *o-jōsama kotoba* (OJK) sentence-final expression usage by total number of lines. The data is presented according to the gender of the author and the gender of the imagined target audience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female Author</th>
<th>Male Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main Characters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Target</td>
<td>3.747%</td>
<td>4.107%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Target</td>
<td>2.817%</td>
<td>5.630%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Love Interests</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Target</td>
<td>5.144%</td>
<td>7.652%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Target</td>
<td>8.392%</td>
<td>5.370%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Side Characters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Target</td>
<td>11.079%</td>
<td>7.272%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Target</td>
<td>9.370%</td>
<td>13.401%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at only the raw percentages of use, it is possible to see that across the board, side characters appear to be portrayed with a higher frequency of OJK sentence-final expressions. Main characters generally have the lowest frequency of usage, and love interests fall somewhere between the two. It is also worth noting that there is some categorical overlap; for example, love interests portrayed by female authors writing for a male target audience typically had a higher degree of OJK sentence-final expression use than side characters written by male authors writing for a female audience. When we look specifically at particular author-target combinations, certain patterns emerge. For example, for same-gender author-target combinations, side
characters have a noticeably higher instance of OJK sentence-final expressions than either main characters or love interests. Cross-gender combinations, however, have different patterns, with love interests appearing to have a higher instance of OJK sentence-final expressions in the male author-female target, while female author-male target combinations utilize main characters with noticeably fewer OJK sentence-final expressions than the other character types.

In order to determine whether these descriptive observations are statistically significant, this study analyzed the data with a mixed-effects logistic regression model using the *lme4* library in the software package R (Bates et al. 2015; R Core Team 2017). The dependent variable was the use (1) or non-use (0) of an OJK feature (binary), and the fixed effects were character role, author gender, and target audience gender. The model also included a random intercept for author, which accounts for the fact that several authors appear more than once in the data set across multiple narratives. A random intercept for title has also been included in an earlier version of the model, but due to model convergence issues, and the fact that the author intercept accounted for a larger amount of variation in the data, the title intercept was removed. Finally, this model was run using sum contrasts rather than the more typical treatment contrasts, the default option in R. As a result, for simple effects (character type, author gender, and target audience gender), each factor is analyzed according to the overall average log-likelihood of usage of OJK expressions.

In Figures 1-3 below, data is presented with the log-likelihood of OJK use on y-axis. A point to keep in mind when viewing these figures is that the lower (i.e., more negative) its likelihood, the less likely an expression is to be used. A complete representation of all simple effects, two-way interactions, and three-way interactions can be seen in Table 22 in Appendix A.
at the end of this dissertation. The discussion of this data will begin with simple effects and then move to higher order interactions from there.

4.3.1. Simple Effects

Relative to the mean log-likelihood of OJK sentence-final expression usage across the data set, the only significant factors are main characters and side characters (p < 0.001) as seen in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Each simple effect relative to the intercept (-2.801), which represents the mean of all these values.

Based on Table 5 above, this result is expected, as it is also observable there that main characters generally have lower usage rates of OJK expressions, while side characters have higher usage rates. Of the two significant factors, main characters are significantly less likely to utilize OJK sentence-final expressions than the overall mean, while side characters were significantly more
likely to do so. None of the other simple effects are significantly different from the mean. The error bars in Figure 1 below represent one standard error of the mean, while the horizontal line represents the mean of all the main effects.

4.3.2. Two-Way Interactions

Of the two-way interactions, there are significant interactions between the main character role and the author gender ($p = 0.008$) and between the side character role and author gender ($p = 0.008$). These effects may be seen below in Figure 2.

![Figure 2. Two-way interaction data between author gender and character type.](image)

The ‘x’ in each bar represents the sum of the effect of the two factors taken separately, and the error bars represent one standard error of the mean. Bars in which the ‘x’ does not overlap with
the error bar are significant, while those that overlap are not significant. “FA” refers to “female author,” and “MA” refers to “male author.”

In the case of the interaction between the main character role and author gender, main characters written by female authors are less likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions, and main characters written by male authors are more likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions. However, in the case of the interaction between side characters and author gender, the direction of effect is the opposite. Side characters written by female authors are more likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions, while it is the side characters written by male authors that are less likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions. Finally, there was no significant interaction between love interests and author gender. In the remaining two two-way interaction groups, character type and target gender and target gender and author gender, no significant interaction effects were seen.

4.3.3. Three-Way Interactions

This model has a number of different of statistically significant three-way interactions which may be seen in Figure 3 below. As with Figure 2, the ‘x’ in each bar represents the sum of the effect of the two factors taken separately, and the error bars represent one standard error of the mean. Bars in which the ‘x’ does not overlap with the error bar are significant, while those with overlap are not significant. “FA” refers to “female author,” and “MA” refers to “male author.” Similarly, “FT” refers to “female target,” and “MT” refers to “male target.”
Most notable among these interactions is the one between author gender, target gender, and the love interest role (p < 0.001). The love interest character type was not involved in any significant interactions at the two-way interaction level, nor was the mean log-likelihood of OJK sentence-final expression use among love interests significantly different from the mean across the data. However, given the existence of a three-way interaction involving author gender, target gender, and the love interest character type, it is possible to see that when predicting the log-likelihood of OJK sentence-final expression usage among love interests, both author gender as well as target audience gender are critical. Authors writing for cross-gender audiences are significantly more likely to utilize OJK sentence-final expressions when writing love interests,
while authors writing for same gender audiences are significantly less likely to do so. There is also a significant three-way interaction between author gender, target gender, and the main character role ($p = 0.041$), with authors writing for cross-gender audiences more likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions, while those writing for same-gender audiences are less likely to use them. The remaining three-way interaction between author gender, target gender, and the side character role is not significant.

4.4. Discussion

Considering the output of the mixed-effects logistic regression model, a number of different observations can be made. First, across the model, main characters are significantly less likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions regardless of gender of either the author or the target audience. This result is consistent with observations made by Kinsui (2003) and Lippi-Green (1997) regarding the tendency for main characters in a given work to use the least marked form of speech, which in this data set, means that the main characters were less likely to utilize OJK sentence-final expressions compared to the other character roles, resulting in less fictionalized and more “realistic” speech patterns. On the other end of the spectrum, side characters were significantly more likely to use these expressions regardless of the gender of either the author or target audience. Within a given narrative, side characters may or may not have names, and their actual role within the story can vary from directly supporting the main character to being a nameless passerby with a single line. Given that the setting of a bulk of these stories is either an all-girls’ school or somewhere similar, it is possible to see how OJK sentence-final expression usage manifests among these characters, many of whom are little more than speaking
background entities that exist for the purpose of fleshing out the setting. To borrow the terminology employed by Blommaert (2015), these side characters with high OJK sentence-final expression usage contribute to the construction of the chronotope of the all-girls’ school, serving as one of many possible indices that constitute this fictionalized space.

At the level of two-way interactions, the only significant interactions observed are those between author gender and the main character role and between author gender and the side character role. When written by female authors, main characters are significantly less likely to utilize OJK sentence-final expressions, while main characters written by male authors are more likely to do so (p = 0.008). In the case of side characters, we see the opposite effect, with male authors being less likely to utilize OJK sentence-final expressions, and female authors being more likely to do so (p = 0.008). This effect results in a greater degree of difference between these two character roles in the case of female authors, while the difference between main characters and side characters as written by male authors is less divergent. In the case of female authors, it is possible that the lower degree of OJK expression use among main characters reflects those authors’ experiences with female speakers more generally, while the same cannot be said for male authors. On the other hand, for side characters, it is likely that female authors are adhering more to generic conventions within yuri of using the all-girls’ school as a narrative setting, resulting in side characters that have a higher degree of OJK expression use. This narrative setting is much less frequently used in works by male authors, however, which may reflect their overall lower likelihood of ascribing these expressions to side characters in their works.
Among three-way interactions, we see the role of love interest emerge in a significant interaction with author gender and target audience gender (p < 0.001). Despite not being significant as a simple effect or being involved in significant any two-way interactions, when both author gender and target audience gender are taken into account, an effect is observable. Authors writing for same-gender audiences use fewer OJK sentence-final expressions, while authors writing for cross-gender audiences use more. Meanwhile, the opposite effect is observable for main characters (p = 0.042), with authors writing for a same-gender audience more likely to use OJK sentence-final expressions, while those writing for a cross-gender audience are less likely to do so. The direction of both of these effects results in love interests and main characters with largely similar speech patterns when the work is written for a same-gender audience, but for cross-gender audiences, these effects move in the opposite direction from one another. While it is difficult to interpret these results without consulting the authors directly, one possibility is that those writing for cross-gender audiences may be more likely to exaggerate linguistic stylistic differences between main characters and love interests, while those writing for same-gender audiences do not. In the case of *yuri*, what this could indicate is a tendency among authors writing for cross-gender audiences of trying to more heavily differentiate the speech styles of the members of a romantic pairing (i.e., in a way that is seen in heterosexual romantic narratives, cf. Shibamoto Smith and Occhi 2009), whereas those writing for a same-gender audience do not feel that such a differentiation is necessary.

Overall, this data reinforces the idea that the main character typically has the least marked, or least characterologically stylized, form of speech, likely as a means for allowing easier self-identification on the part of the imagined reader (e.g. Kinsui 2003, Lippi-Green 1997). One thing
that is observable in this data that is not necessarily evident without statistical models is the role that the gender of the target audience and the gender of the author play in the application of certain fictionalized speech patterns. Additionally, this data demonstrates the extent to which speech style may vary across character role, an exploration that is made easier by the tendency of yuri narratives to feature primarily female characters. So far, what little linguistic work has been done on mass media genres looks either predominantly at age-grading effects (Ueno 2006) or large-scale genre differences in gendered sentence-final expression usage (Unser-Schutz 2015). There exist a few studies that analyze sentence-final expression usage in heterosexually oriented genres (e.g. Occhi et al. 2010; Shibamoto Smith and Occhi 2009), but with the exception of one smaller study on pronominal usage in a boys’ love (BL) magazine (Redmond 2016), no linguistic work has been carried out on fictionalized genres that feature same-sex romantic relationships, illustrating how much work remains to be done in this area. Finally, the bulk of studies that analyze language use in mass media genres overwhelmingly take the “fiction-as-mirror” approach, placing the focus of analysis on the ways in which a given set of works either does or does not represent spoken day-to-day conversation. This study, on the other hand, approaches OJK in yuri from the “fiction-as-construction” approach, concerned not with the relationship between represented speech and spontaneous dialogue, but rather the degree to which a fictionalized register is applied according to the genders of the author and imagined target audience. For these reasons, through the analysis of OJK sentence-final expression usage relative to author, target audience, and character role, this study provides a much-needed glance into the question of audience design and fictionalized representations of language in popular media genres.
4.5. Summary

Despite Bell’s (1984) coinage of the concept of audience design in the early 1980s, the application of this framework to language in specifically Japanese media is as of yet highly uncommon. This study explored this area by analyzing its use within a relatively niche genre by focusing on the fictionalized register o-jōsama kotoba and how authors of different genders apply the register in their construction of characters for their respective imagined target audiences. In the context of this study, the protagonist of a given narrative has the least characterologically marked stylistic pattern, a finding that echoes previous observations by Kinsui (2003) and Lippi-Green (1997). Moreover, side characters in these narratives, who range from best friends of the protagonist to nameless characters that appear only once, are significantly more likely to utilize these features than either the protagonist or the target of their romantic affections. These findings suggest that greater statistical research is necessary into the utilization of fictionalized speech patterns in mass media texts not only by their use, but by their users within that text. Additionally, the existence of two-way and three-way interactions that involve the authors and the target audiences further illustrates the need to consider the context of that work’s creation when analyzing the linguistic ecology within.

This study speaks not only to the utility, but to the significant promise of exploring mass media language through the lens of both its creators and its imagined consumers. In a more niche genre like yuri, a subset of shōjo that has its own set of genre-based expectations, neglecting to consider creator and consumers in analysis is inappropriate, especially given the relatively small size of the yuri audience compared to a genre like boys’ love (BL), which despite having a
similar origin in shōjo, has experienced more widespread appeal than yuri (Welker 2008). For the yuri genre, part of this set of genre expectations has been the usage of OJK sentence-final expressions, a linguistic style that accompanies the frequent use of the all-girls’ school as the setting of these narratives. The extent of this style’s application, however, varies by gender of the author and gender of the imagined audience, indicating the influence of these factors in the application of or adherence to intertextual references within yuri.

This case study approached sentence-final expressions from the perspective of their use by a characterological figure and an author’s decision to utilize that figure in a given genre. In particular, because of the relatively niche nature of the yuri genre, Bell’s (1984, 2001) concept of audience design played a large role in the inclusion of that figure within a given narrative. The next case study in this dissertation, however, takes a more general approach to the idea of audience design; namely, in the area of pop music, the goal is not necessarily to cater to a specific audience as with yuri, but to maximize popularity across audience demographics. With this in mind, the next chapter explores the use of sentence-final expressions in the construction of a lyrical “persona,” and viewing these features in conjunction with the first-person pronominal utilized by a given artist.
Chapter 5. Sentence-Final Expressions and Personae in Japanese Pop Music

In this dissertation’s exploration of sentence-final expressions and their utilization in popular media genres, Chapter 4 took a look at the role that audience design plays with regard to sentence-final expression usage relative to character role within yuri narratives. In addition to providing information about the way that differently gendered authors structure same-sex female relationships as they are written for variously gendered audiences, the data also illustrated in what ways the concept of audience design can inform the utilization of a characterological figure with a history of use within a genre. This chapter, however, takes a broader approach with regard to an imagined audience, changing the frame of analysis from a relatively niche genre like yuri to one that seeks to maximize popular appeal: pop music.

Better understood as a degree of consumption rather than as a specific genre, what constitutes “pop” in Japan has undergone a number of changes over the course of the 20th century due not only to shifts in popular taste, but also to the importation of music genres and technology from abroad. Musically, pop music does not exist in a vacuum, and such factors as the long history of influence of music from the United States (Bourdighs 2012) and the more recent influx of music and other pop culture genres from Korea (Kuwahara 2014) have had a profound impact on the output of Japan-based artists. This study, however, does not approach pop music from a musical perspective per se, but rather from the perspective of its artists and the personae they construct in their song lyrics through the situated use of certain linguistic
resources. More specifically, this study focuses on female idol groups, performers who have public images that are heavily regulated by their production companies, and how the personae that emerge in their lyrics differ from those of female singer-songwriters, artists who have a much higher degree of artistic agency. In an analysis of the use of sentence-final expressions and their relationship with first- and second-person pronominals, this chapter elucidates the role that these expressions play in the production of commercial, gendered personae for mass consumption.

5.1. Idol Culture and Artistic Agency in Pop Music

For a discussion of the way that personae are constructed in Japanese pop lyrics, it is first necessary to describe the specific position that idols hold within the greater pop music soundscape. Particularly now, a time in which groups owned by AKS (i.e. AKB48 and its sister and rival groups) have dominated the Oricon charts since at least 2011, it is virtually impossible to talk about pop music without acknowledging the degree of space occupied by idols. Though the concept of “celebrity” has existed in Japan as long as widespread media consumption itself, idols occupy a separate category entirely within the greater popular mediascape. Comprised of both male and female celebrities, idols are essentially fictionalized and commodified “image characters” used to sell anything from music and movies to candy and laptop computers (Galbraith 2012:186). Not only music performers, idols typically perform as “all-around talents (tarento),” showcasing their abilities in dancing and acting as well (Aoyagi 2005:3-4). While the

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7 Originally beginning in 1967 as Original Confidence Inc., Oricon Inc. was established in 1999 as a holding company at the head of a corporate group (Oricon Entertainment Inc.) that provides statistics and other information on media production and sales in Japan.
majority of idols are living humans (despite their heavily regulated public images), with the rise of virtual idols in the form of Vocaloids (personified digital instruments) like Hatsune Miku, it is evident that the position of the idol need not be filled by a living person (Black 2012).

For the examination of linguistically constructed personae in pop lyrics, this study focuses on female idol groups, due to the differences in both the media’s and the music industry’s approach to idols on the basis of gender. Specifically, today’s male groups typically maintain the same members from inception to disbandment (e.g., SMAP, TOKIO, Arashi), allowing male groups to age with the members themselves. The majority of the longer-lived female groups, however, cycle out members when they become “too old” through a system known as “graduation.” This results in performing groups that essentially never age, perpetually maintaining the precarious balance between chastity and emerging sexuality that is common in media portrayals of adolescent girls (Aoyagi 2005). Because of this carefully curated public image, combined with a largely static age-range, female idol groups make for a useful source of linguistic data on language expectations.

According to record producers, the term “idol” originally entered Japanese in the 1960s with the release of the French movie Cherchez L’idole. The Japanese version Aidoru o sagase (アイドルを探せ ‘In Search of an Idol’) was so popular that it inspired a record producer to create the genre “idol-pop,” which maximized the promotion of adolescent personalities (Aoyagi 2005). Prior to the emergence of this genre, then-pop music was largely performed by artists whose lyrical content was aimed at adults and focused on more mature content, but with the emergence of idol-pop, with its light-hearted topics and highlight on adolescence, the association between the performers themselves and the concept of adolescence more broadly was born.
1971, according to Kimura (2007:260), can be thought of as the “first year of the idol era” (アイドル元年 aidoru gannen) with the debut of the group Three Young Girls (三人娘 Sannin Musume), which consisted of members that were known for their friendliness rather than being particularly beautiful or talented the way that stars were (Galbraith and Karlin 2012). Between 1971 and 1975, around 700 idols debuted (Okiyama 2007:260), but it is the 1980s that is known as the “golden age of idols” (アイドルの黄金時代 aidoru no ōgon jidai), when between 40 and 50 new idols could debut within a given year (Galbraith and Karlin 2012). Indeed, Nakamori (2007:9) goes so far as to call the 80s the “death” of stars (i.e., celebrities known for their beauty and talent) due to the surge in idol popularity. Because the bubble economy status of the 80s resulted in a media environment centered largely around consumerism, this created the perfect conditions for idol culture to thrive in advertisements, television shows, and endorsements. It was also during the 80s that the Onyanko Club, the first female idol group for a specifically male audience, was formed (Kimura 2007:259). Produced by Yasushi Akimoto, the eventual creator and producer of AKB48 and its associated acts, the original 52 members of Onyanko Club were chosen from guests on the television program All Night Fuji: High School Girl Special on the basis of their personality traits (Galbraith 2012:187-188). After creating their own television show (夕やけニャンニャン Yūyake Nyan Nyan ‘Sunset Meow Meow’) on which the girls did little more than play simple games and answer questions, the group reached a kind of cult status, inspiring numerous similar groups and setting off a “high school [female] student boom” (女子高生ブーム joshi kōsei būmu). Moreover, despite the fact that the performers were either high school-age, or pretending to portray someone of high school-age, numerous facets about the
group were overtly sexual, including the name of one of their most popular songs, “Sērafuku o nugasainai de” (‘Don’t Take Off My School Uniform’) which was a top five hit (Galbraith 2012:188).

Due to market saturation, scandal, and competition from other varieties of music, the period from the late 1980s through the early 1990s is known as the “idol ice age” (アイドル氷河期 aidoru hyōgaki) or “winter time of idols” (アイドル冬の時代 aidoru fuyu no jidai) (Galbraith 2012). It was during this period that according to Galbraith (2012:192), idols “became a form of kitsch with [their] colorful, frilly costumes and childish flouncing.” Nonetheless, in 1997 the group Morning Musume was formed, one of the idol groups featured in this study, largely due to the fan response to a grassroots campaign launched by the original five members of the group. Tsunku, the producer of both Morning Musume and former producer of the Hello! Project (the group’s umbrella organization), states in his book that one appeal of Morning Musume was as a return to the golden age of idols from the 1980s, as well as a resistance to 1990s street culture, in which female performers had become too “self-possessed” for that degree of media attention (Tsunku 2000:98-99). In 2005, former Onyanko Club producer Yasushi Akimoto held auditions for an idol group founded on the idea of “idols that you can meet,” creating a group that performed daily in a dedicated theater (Galbraith 2019). Offering such attractions as handshaking events that allowed fans and supporters to meet the idols (in exchange for having bought a physical CD), AKB48 is able to provide a closer sense of connection between idol and fan (Matsutani 2010). While Morning Musume peaked between 1999-2004, AKB48 was able to better respond to the affective desires of its fans, quickly overshadowing groups produced by the Hello! Project (Galbraith and Karlin 2012). AKB48 now has over 800
members, including a large number of sister groups based in other cities and countries in East and Southeast Asia, as well as four so-called “rival groups” (Galbraith 2019).

Though Morning Musume started with only five members, it eventually grew to its current eleven members, a phenomenon that is common among female idol groups. Meanwhile, while Onyanko Club was the first group to maintain a high number of performing individuals with its 52 members, it is by no means the only one to do so, a fact that is evidenced by the numerous groups owned by AKS that also have a high number of members. According to Galbraith (2012:188), this trend has occurred largely because having more members in a given group makes it statistically more likely that fans will be able to find someone that they can latch on to, eliminating much of the work required to predict fan tastes at a given moment. Furthermore, by creating a false sense of competition between groups and individuals owned by the same company, that company increases its revenue overall.

In a discussion concerning ways in which members are recruited to Hello! Project groups, the producer Tsunku stated that he tends to choose the “less beautiful and talented girl” because they are more likely to try harder to earn fans, and they are less resistant to being produced. Additionally, according to him, the ideal idol candidate needs to be “obedient” and lack a strong sense of self and give her agency over entirely (Tsunku 2000:53). In other words, an idol must allow her producer (in this case, Tsunku) to “decide [her] image, draw out [her] character, and produce an idol from [her] raw material” (Galbraith 2012:193). In the case of AKS groups, fans are given “elective” agency to decide which AKB48 members are the most popular, which should be in which groups or sub-groups, and so forth; 1.16 million votes were cast in the election that was held in June 9th, 2011 (Galbraith and Karlin 2012:22). The way that an idol gets
to be voted into a group or sub-group by fans is by fans perceiving some difference from other members in that group that fans can rally around, such as a regional affiliation or personality trait. This phenomenon is known as “pseudo-individuation” (Adorno 1991:87), meaning that idols differ based only on a set of statistics, measurements, and personality points, which attract fans to one idol or another, but ultimately at a larger level the idols still fit into the same proverbial mold and are marketed to the same crowd (Ōtsuka 2010; Galbraith 2012:189). This mold was particularly salient with the surprise introduction of Aimi Eguchi, referred to by producer Yasushi Akimoto as the “ultimate idol.” Appearing on the cover of Weekly Playboy and in a commercial for Glico ice cream in 2011, Aimi was merely a computer-generated image character produced from composite parts of other idols in the group (Galbraith 2012:193).

Given the way that members are chosen for groups that are part of either the Hello! Project or AKS, it is evident that these female performers have an extremely low degree of artistic agency. Indeed, their images as a whole are highly regulated, not only artistically, but professionally, resulting in occasional conflicts between the contractual public image of the idols and their personal lives. For example, in 2013 Minegishi Minami, member of the female idol group AKB48, was discovered to have a romantic relationship. Because engaging in romantic relationships violates the “chastity clause” of their contract with AKS, not only did Minegishi have to publicly apologize for her actions, but she was demoted from being a full member of the group and shaved her head as penance (Kitabayashi et al. 2013). More recently, Yamaguchi Maho, a member of NGT48 (a sister group of AKB48), was assaulted by two men at her home in December 2018, and she openly criticized AKS for their lack of appropriate response to the incident despite Yamaguchi’s claims that members of the group had been in contact with the two
men before the incident (Kyodo News 2019). This unfolded after she publicly apologized in January for revealing that the assault happened at all, an incident that AKS had been keeping under wraps. Ultimately, Yamaguchi resigned from the group (Mainichi Japan 2019).

By comparison, singer-songwriters enjoy a substantial degree of personal and artistic freedom. Indeed, the reason that the lyrics of singer-songwriters are positioned in this study in comparison with that of idols is because relative to female idol groups, whose artistic agency is virtually nonexistent, female singer-songwriters experience the highest degree of agency among commercially successful artists who are still part of major production and record labels. While certainly any artist is to some extent at the whims of their jimusho (事務所 lit. ‘office’), the production company to which they belong, there is nonetheless a degree of variability by artist (Marx 2012). Ayumi Hamasaki, for example, belongs to the record label Avex, and she has been discussed has having immense personal control over her public image and artistic content, a freedom that is perhaps afforded to her by the fact that in 2002, Hamasaki was responsible for 42.6% of Avex’s overall revenues (Cullen 2002). Utada Hikaru has enjoyed a similar degree of agency; she released her her debut album “First Love” at the age of 17, which quickly rose to the top of the Oricon charts (Brasor 2009, Chu 2018). Having been born and raised largely in the United States, Utada brought a more R&B inspired tone to the otherwise bubbly Japanese music scene. The Japan Times, in a glowing article on Utada’s accomplishments, named her as one of the most influential pop artists of the decade (though the article is much less kind to her contemporaries) (Brasor 2009).

Given the stark degree of difference in the way that female singer-songwriters navigate the pop music soundscape compared to idols and idol groups, the question arises as to whether a
similar degree of difference might be evident in their lyrical content with regard to such
gendered resources as sentence-final expressions. The next section discusses the artists and
groups under discussion in this study, as well as the methods used to analyze first- and second-
person pronominals and sentence-final expressions in their song lyrics.

5.2. Methods

The previous section outlined the recent history and current state of the Japanese popular music
scene, and in particular, how female idol groups and issues of artist agency feature within it.
With this history in mind, this study explores the use and construction of linguistic personae in
pop music. While the study in the previous chapter engaged with a more strictly defined
characterological figure by way of the o-jōsama (お嬢様 ‘young lady’), this study instead takes
a broader approach to the use of linguistic features to co-construct a semiotically intelligible
voice in the form of a gendered persona. As discussed at length in section 2.2.1., a persona may
be understood as that which is performed (and is thus removable) by a speaking figure (Goffman
1981, Agha 2007). In the case of Agha’s (2007) characterological figures, the performed persona
and the speaking figure are may not be meaningfully different (i.e., as with the o-jōsama figure),
especially in short fictional narratives. However, for living, breathing musical performers, the
persona that may be hypothetically enacted through lyrics is necessarily temporary. The study
presented in this chapter analyzes sentence-final expressions and their relationship to first- and
second-person pronominals as a means of exploring the activation of gendered personae in pop
music lyrics, as well as the way that the utilization of these features varies with the performative
role of idols when compared with the substantially more independent singer-songwriters. This
section will first outline the methods used for analyzing sentence-final expression usage, and then will follow with a description of first- and second-person pronominals with relation to these expressions and to gendered linguistic stereotypes more broadly.

For sentence-final expressions, this study codes for the use (1) or non-use (0) of a given category of expression as outlined below in Table 13. This approach was chosen because of the relative brevity of song lyrics, which makes the accumulation of enough counts of an individual expression difficult to achieve without a much larger database. Furthermore, this study is less concerned with the use of certain features than with those that are more broadly associated with larger, more stereotypical gendered categories. To categorize these expressions according to gender-based stereotypes, this study draws inspiration from the results of Ariizumi’s (2013) analysis of perceptions of gendered meaning in sentence-final expressions relative to the idea of “gender identifactory tendencies,” i.e. the tendency of those surveyed to ascribe a particular linguistic unit to a given gender category. Ariizumi’s (2013) analysis consists of the categories “female exclusive,” “high female specificity,” “low female specificity,” “neutral,” “low male specificity,” “high male specificity,” and “male exclusive.” For the purpose of this study, both “female exclusive” and “male exclusive” are folded into “high female specificity” and “high male specificity” due to the low population of “female exclusive” and “male exclusive” categories as seen in Table 7 in Chapter 3 (i.e., only V/i-ADJ+wa (yo) and N/na-ADJ+da ze, respectively). Additionally, because this study is concerned with the gendered personae constructed from these expressions, the “neutral” category was not included in the analysis schema. Finally, due to the high usage rate in the data set of bare commands (e.g. tobe! ‘fly!’ from tobu ‘fly, will fly’), as well as negative commands constructed with na (e.g. tobu na! ‘don’t
fly!’), those expressions were added to the schema in the category of “high male specificity” in line with their relative placement in Unser-Schutz’s (2015) similar categorization. The schema used for this analysis may be seen in Table 13 below. It is worth noting that this schema is by no means intended to be exhaustive of all possible sentence-final expressions. Rather, because of the design of the study, a given song only needs to include one of the above features in order to qualify for a “use” (1) in that category, though a song having only one instance of a feature in that category was uncommon.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Female Specificity (HFS)</th>
<th>Low Female Specificity (LFS)</th>
<th>Low Male Specificity (LMS)</th>
<th>High Male Specificity (HMS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kashira</td>
<td>da mon</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>command form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/na-ADJ+na no</td>
<td>desho</td>
<td>da (yo/na)</td>
<td>dai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/na-ADJ+na no (yo/ne)</td>
<td>deshō (ne)</td>
<td>darō (na)</td>
<td>daro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/na-ADJ+ne</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ+ne</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ+na</td>
<td>kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/i-ADJ+no ne</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ+no (qu)</td>
<td>V/i-ADJ+no ka</td>
<td>na- neg. command form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa (yo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/i-ADJ+no yo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/na-ADJ+yo (ne)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for such an approach to sentence-final expressions stems from the fact that each of the artists included within this data set have enjoyed a high degree of appeal across audience demographics, an appeal that is by no means accidental. Rather, unlike the relatively
niche data under discussion in the previous chapter, popular music is by its very nature optimized to appeal the largest number of potential listeners. Linguistically, this is similar to the way that the protagonist of a given narrative generally has the most standard, least marked speech style relative to the speaker and its target audience (Lippi-Green 1997, Kinsui 2003). When the target audience is ostensibly everyone, it is a safe assumption that the linguistic features used will call on the most widely held gendered stereotypes within the lyrics, especially where idol performers and their management companies are concerned.

5.2.1. First- and Second-Person Pronominals in Japanese

While sentence-final expressions are the focal point of this dissertation, for the purpose of this study it is also necessary to discuss the usage and associations of first- and second-person pronominals in Japanese. Much like sentence-final expressions, the number of available first- and second-person pronominals is vast, with usages that vary based on the social rank of those involved, the formality of the situation, dialect, gender, and speaking in terms of fiction, the era in which a work occurs. In both Japanese sociolinguistic literature (e.g. SturtzSreetharan 2004, Miyazaki 2004, Unser-Schutz 2015) and pedagogical materials (Banno et al. 2011, Miura and McGloin 2009), first- and second-person pronominals are discussed as arguably the most gendered index of sociocultural meanings, and as with sentence-final expressions, have been the target of a high degree of prescriptive attention, especially in earlier literature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men’s Speech</th>
<th>Women’s Speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal</strong></td>
<td>watakushi</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plain</strong></td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>watashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Other-]Deprecatory</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ide (1997), for example, offers a classification of first-person pronominals in Standard Japanese, presented in Table 14 above. Miyazaki (2004), meanwhile, takes a different approach to the classification of gendered meaning as conveyed by first-person pronominals, which is based on her fieldwork in a Japanese junior high school. She has noted that in practice, students have varying interpretations of first-person pronominals. Table 14 above would assume that all female speakers use a pronominal in the right column, while all male speakers use one in the left column, but Miyazaki’s interviews with students revealed that people intentionally choose pronominals according to not only their perceptions of gendered meaning with regard to those pronominals, but according to other social perceptions (e.g., if it sounds “cool”), or in some cases, if they felt that a given pronominal was too “grown-up” for use by someone of their age (e.g., watashi by preteens). With these interviews in mind, she summarized the students’ approach as represented in Table 15 below.
Table 15. A representation of self-referential pronominal usage according to dominant gender ideologies versus the usages of junior high school students in Tokyo (Miyazaki 2004:261).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gendered ideologies</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ore/boku</td>
<td></td>
<td>watashi/atashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students’ patterns</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>boku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In her fieldwork, Miyazaki (2004) noted that students regardless of gender utilized some combination of the four pronominals in the “students’ patterns” section of Table 15 above. This includes a group of girls who used *ore* and *boku* exclusively (while appearing frightening to their non-ore/boku classmates), as well as a boy who used both *atashi* and *boku*. Additionally, *uchi* was used by female students as an alternative to *atashi*, or even in conjunction with it, as a means of avoiding any otherwise feminine baggage they felt did not suit their own gender expression.

Stereotypical use of second-person pronominals can also be categorized according to similarly gendered categories, with the pronominal varying according to the gender of both the user and the target. Shibamoto Smith (2005), for example, offers the following categorization of normative second-person pronominal usage in her study on female-targeted heterosexually romantic texts. As illustrated in Table 16, compared to male speakers who have access to a variety of second-person pronominals, women “traditionally” only have access to *anata* and its more familiar counterpart *anta* in Standard Japanese.
Table 16. Normative usages of Japanese second-person pronouns relative to gender and formality (Shibamoto Smith 2005).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>formal</th>
<th></th>
<th>informal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>anata</td>
<td></td>
<td>anta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>anata</td>
<td>kimi</td>
<td>omae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(anta)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kisama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>temee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is not to say, however, that this schema reflects the actual usage of these pronouns in practice, as both female and male speakers make use of all the pronouns above in a variety of situations as desired. Normatively speaking, however, in the way that anata is frequently ascribed only to female speakers in conversation as both a formal and “familiar” second-person pronominal, kimi is often classified as its male equivalent (compared to, for example, the “intimate” male counterpart omae and other-deprecatory kisama and temee) (Takahara 1992).

A point to keep in mind with relation to first- and second-person pronouns is that where possible, it is common to opt for a zero form rather than any specific pronominal due to the fact that these pronouns are not strictly grammatically necessary (Shibamoto Smith 2005). For example, for speakers who are struggling with their gender identity, or are trying to conceal it in the workplace, it is possible to speak in a way that avoids usage of a first-person pronominal completely (Abe 2010). Indeed, in Miyazaki’s (2004) data, one of the male students did not use a first-person pronominal within earshot for her entire fieldwork period. Also, it is common to address someone by their name and/or title rather than some version of a second-person pronominal. These circumstances make any use of first- or second-person pronouns
inherently marked, though the degree of markedness depends on the pronominal under
discussion. With song lyrics, because artists do not typically refer to themselves by name within
the song, nor do they have access to the name or title of a hypothetical addressee in the lyrics,
such pronominals as those discussed above are the only available options for first- and second-
person reference.

5.2.2. Data Set
The artists chosen for analysis in this study were selected due to their high degree of popularity
and visibility in the pop music mediascape. For the idol groups, this means that three groups
were selected from AKS and three from the Hello! Project, though at present, the AKS groups
occupy the overwhelming majority of idol-pop as it is played today. The AKS groups featured in
this study are the flagship group AKB48, the second oldest sister group SKE48, and AKB48’s
official rival group, Nogizaka46. The Hello! Project groups are the flagship group Morning
Musume followed by the next two highest selling groups, Berryz Kobo and ANGERME
(formerly S/mileage). The singer-songwriters that were selected for this study were chosen for
the substantial popularity experienced during their careers, and they are meant to exemplify the
degree of difference among individuals in the broader category of singer-songwriters. The ones
that appear in this study are Ayumi Hamasaki, Kana Nishino, Koda Kumi, Utada Hikaru, and
YUI. The names are represented according to their preferred professional English-language
representation, regardless of name order in Japanese.

In order to systematically acquire lyrics for this small corpus-based analysis, this study
compiled songs from the top 20 singles from each artist and group as according to the official
Oricon website (http://www.oricon.co.jp), which also served as the source for the lyrics themselves. Because it is common for singles by Japanese artists to include not only the namesake track, but also one or two “coupling” tracks, all songs on a given single were included in the data. In the case of the groups owned by AKS (AKB48, SKE48, and Nogizaka46), this resulted in 60 tracks each, as every single included three total tracks, but for other groups or artists, the number was not always consistent. Additionally, the various artists and groups used for analysis do not belong entirely to the same time period, though they overlap considerably. For example, idol groups owned by AKS tend to be highly prolific, allowing for a larger data set over a smaller period of time. Singer-songwriters, however, generally have a slower speed of artistic output, making it necessary to include those artists with longer careers in order to acquire enough data for analysis. Because of this, the singer-songwriters included in the data set necessarily have a larger period over which their lyric data was drawn. Table 17 below illustrates both the number of tracks included for each artist or group, as well as the range of years from which these tracks originate.

Table 17. The idol groups and singer-songwriters included in the data set under analysis, as well as the number of songs included for each along with the range of years covered by these songs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Songs (#)</th>
<th>Years (Range)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKB48</td>
<td>idol (AKS)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2011-2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKE48</td>
<td>idol (AKS)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2010-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nogizaka46</td>
<td>idol (AKS)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2012-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning Musume</td>
<td>idol (Hello! Project)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1998-2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
Table 17 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Type (Project)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berryz Kobo</td>
<td>idol (Hello! Project)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2008-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGERME</td>
<td>idol (Hello! Project)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2010-2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayumi Hamasaki</td>
<td>singer-songwriter</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1999-2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kana Nishino</td>
<td>singer-songwriter</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2009-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koda Kumi</td>
<td>singer-songwriter</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2003-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utada Hikaru</td>
<td>singer-songwriter</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1998-2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUI</td>
<td>singer-songwriter</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2006-2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also worth noting that songs were included only a single time within the data set. This exclusion was made because some artists (e.g. Utada Hikaru, Ayumi Hamasaki) often included remixes of previous singles on newer releases, but lyrics were rarely meaningfully changed between versions of that song. This data set also excluded any songs that were written in non-Standard Japanese (e.g., Kansai dialect used in western Japan), as the schema being used to analyze sentence-final expression use only meaningfully applies to Tokyo-area Japanese. With these exclusions, 516 total songs are included in the data set, with 307 from idol groups and 209 from singer-songwriters.

Overall, the corpus is structured as follows: 1) name of the artist/group, 2) type ("idol" or "singer-songwriter"), 3) title of the song, 4) year of release, 5) name of lyricist, 6) type of lyricist ("self" or "other"), 7) first-person pronominal, 8) second-person pronominal, 8) high female specificity (HFS) expression use (0 or 1), 9) low female specificity (LFS) expression use (0 or 1), 10) low male specificity (LMS) expression use (0 or 1), and 11) high male specificity (HMS)
expression use (0 or 1). As a reminder, “0” refers to the use of any expression within that
category in the context of a single song, while “1” denotes that an expression within that
category occurred at least once. It was possible for a song to have expressions from multiple
categories represented.

5.3. Results

5.3.1. Idol Lyrics

Before discussing the sentence-final expressions used by idols, it is first necessary to touch on
their first- and second-person pronominals. This section will discuss the idol groups by their
overarching production company (i.e., AKS or Hello! Project) as each group exhibits their own
idiosyncrasies in the portrayal of lyric-based personae.

Figure 4 below illustrates first-person pronominal use in the songs of AKB48, SKE48, and
Nogizaka46, all of which are owned by AKS. Pronominals were counted only once per song,
even if they occurred multiple times.
Two of the songs by SKE48 featured more than one kind of first-person pronominal, but because the second pronominal was included only briefly within a clearly quoted section, those songs were both coded for only the primary voice in those songs. For each of these groups, the pronominal that exhibited the highest degree of usage was overwhelmingly *boku*, which as discussed above, is normatively associated with male speakers. *Boku* was followed by *watashi*, the first-person pronominal more typically associated with a female speaking voice, as well as one instance each for AKB48 and SKE48 of *ore*, the first-person pronominal classified as most masculine in Table 15. Between 10% (SKE48) and 25% (Nogizaki46) of the songs examined had no first-person pronominal at all.
Figure 5 below shows a use pattern for second-person pronominals that is similar to that of the first-person pronominals.

Figure 5. The type and number of second-person pronominals observed in the lyrics of AKB48, SKE48, and Nogizaka46 within the data set.

Namely, the most common second-person pronoun used by these groups is the normatively male-associated *kimi*. *Anata*, the one more typically associated with female speakers is the second most common, and AKB48 and SKE48 songs had a handful of instances of *omae*, a second-person pronoun classified as both for male speakers and more “informal” than *kimi* according to Table 16. Finally, between 25% (AKB48) and 35% (Nogizaka46) of songs had no second-person pronoun.
Within the lyrics of groups owned by AKS, the percentage of cooccurrence of first-person pronominals with second-person pronominals revealed a notable pattern of use. Table 18 below is an illustration of the percentage of cooccurrence for these pronominals across AKS groups.

Table 18. The percentage of cooccurrence for each first-person pronomin al with each second-person pronomin al across AKS groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1PP</th>
<th>2PP</th>
<th>anata</th>
<th>kimi</th>
<th>omae</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>57.14%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.04%</td>
<td>40.82%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28/49)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1/49)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(20/49)</td>
<td>(49/49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81.63%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.37%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(80/98)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18/98)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(98/98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2/2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2/2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 18, there exists a high percentage of cooccurrence between certain first-person and second-person pronominals pairs, especially in the case of boku and kimi, in which over 80% of occurrences of boku are accompanied by kimi. For watashi, while maintaining a similar relationship with anata (with the exception of a single song which used watashi with omae), the rate is only a little over half of all occurrences of watashi. Finally, the few occurrences of ore are always accompanied by second-person omae.

A similar pattern of correspondence is observable in the sentence-final expressions used with these pronominals. Figure 6 below is a representation of the rate of occurrence of the sentence-final expressions outlined in Table 13 as they relate to first- and second-pronominal
used within that song. Recall that for each song in the data set, the song was coded with a “1” for use of a certain analysis category and a “0” for non-use, regardless of the number of times expressions from a given category appeared within that song. Accordingly, the closer a value is to “1,” the more frequently expressions from a certain category cooccurred with a given pronominal across that data. Note also that because it is possible for a given song to include expressions from more than one category, the rate of pronominal cooccurrence for a given pronominal will not add up to 1. First-person pronominals are indicated by a “circle” data point with a solid line, second-person pronominals are indicated by a “triangle” with a dashed line, and the average rate of use regardless of pronominal is indicated by the black dotted line.

Figure 6. Distribution of sentence-final expression usage in AKS group lyrics according to first-person and second-person pronominals.
As shown in Figure 6, different patterns of rate of cooccurrence are observable when we select for specific pronominals. Both watashi and anata demonstrate peaks in rate of cooccurrence with LFS sentence-final expressions, as well as an elevated rate with HFS ones, while boku and kimi have peaks with LMS sentence-final expressions with an elevated rate with HMS ones. Given the heavy rate of cooccurrence of these pairs illustrated in Table 18, and the rate of cooccurrence of these pairs with certain categories of sentence-final expressions, the data from the AKS groups suggests a tendency of normatively feminine watashi and anata to occur with expressions with a higher degree of female specificity, while normatively masculine boku and kimi tend to occur with expressions with a higher degree of male specificity.

In the case of Morning Musume, Berryz Kobo, and ANGERME, somewhat different first- and second-person pronominal use patterns are observable. The observed pronominals across their lyrics may be seen in Figure 7 below. None of the included from Hello! Project groups featured more than one type of pronominal within a given song.
Figure 7. The type and number of first-person pronominals observed in the lyrics of Morning Musume, Berryz Kobo, and ANGERME within the data set.

Compared to the AKS groups, there is a larger degree of variability between the three groups, and an overall wider variety of first-person pronominals was observed in their lyrics. For example, atashi made the occasional occurrence in the lyrics of both Morning Musume and ANGERME, as well as an appearance of the first-person pronoun uchi, which is only remarked upon in the data from Miyazaki (2004) in Table 15 above, though not in more traditional characterizations of available Japanese first-person pronominals. Moreover, the dominant first-person pronoun is watashi rather than boku, which occupies a much smaller proportion of pronominals used than among AKS groups.

Second-person pronominal use by Hello! Project groups was also observably different from that of the AKS groups, as shown in Figure 8 below.
As with first-person pronominals, there is a larger degree of difference across the three groups than with the AKS groups. One thing that is immediately noticeable, however, is the much more frequent use of *anata* in Morning Musume’s lyrics compared to those of both the other Hello! Project groups and the AKS groups. Additionally, the use of *kimi* is not nearly as high for these groups than it was for AKS groups. Indeed, the Hello! Project groups have an overall lower usage of second-person pronominals altogether, with only Morning Musume having a usage rate of over 50%.

Different patterns are observable in the Hello! Project data in the area of pronominal occurrence as well. Unlike the AKS groups, each of which have a strong preference for using certain first-person pronominals in conjunction with certain second-person pronominals (e.g.,...
boku with kimi, watashi with anata), this tendency is not as strong, though still present, in the Hello! Project group data. Table 19 below is a summary of these pronominal cooccurrences.

Table 19. The percentage of cooccurrence for each first-person pronominal with each second-person pronominal among Hello! Project groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2PP</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anata</td>
<td>kimi</td>
<td>omae</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
<td>21.82%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38.18%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22/55)</td>
<td>(12/55)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(21/55)</td>
<td>(55/55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3/6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3/6)</td>
<td>(6/6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1/1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1/1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the AKS groups, watashi is used in conjunction with both anata and kimi, though boku still only occurs with kimi (despite a much lower presence overall as seen in Figures 7 and 8). Additionally, there was not an example of omae that cooccurred with a first-person pronominal.

Despite the different tendencies for pronominal cooccurrence observed between groups owned by the two companies, the overall pattern for sentence-final expression usage relative to the more common pronominals (i.e., watashi and boku, anata and kimi) are largely the same. Figure 9 below is an illustration of these usage patterns. As with Figure 6, first-person pronominals are indicated by a “circle” data point with a solid line, second-person pronominals are indicated by a “triangle” with a dashed line, and the average rate of use regardless of pronominal is indicated by the black dotted line.
As with the AKS group data observed in Figure 6, different patterns of rate of cooccurrence are observable when we select for certain pronominals. Indeed, with the Hello! Project data as well it can be seen that both *watashi* and *anata* have peaks in use with expressions that have a higher degree of female specificity, while *boku* and *kimi* again have peaks in use with expressions that have a higher degree of male specificity. The use of LMS expressions is not quite as pronounced with *kimi* as *boku* in this data set, an outcome that is due perhaps to its more frequent cooccurrence with *watashi* than observed in the AKS group data. Nonetheless, there is a visible difference between *kimi*’s typically cooccurring sentence-final expressions compared to those cooccurring with *watashi* and *anata*, which are so similar that their lines virtually overlap.
To analyze the idol data as a whole, this study utilized a series of eight logistic regression models in order to estimate the log-likelihood that a given pronominal is used in conjunction with each of the four sentence-final expression categories. As with the data in Chapter 4, this data was also analyzed using the *lme4* library in the software package R (Bates et. al 2015; R Core Team 2017). Because both first-person pronouns *watashi* and *boku*, as well as second-person pronouns *anata* and *kimi*, saw substantial use across this data set, the models were fitted using a subset that includes only these pronouns. Others, such as *ore* and *omae*, did not occur enough times to provide meaningful information about their ability to predict sentence-final expression use. In these models, the dependent variables are the frequency of use of that given sentence-final expression category (binary; use “1” and non-use “0”), and the independent variables are first- and second-person pronouns. An earlier version of this model took a mixed-effects approach with artist as a random slope, but because that slope accounted for zero variance, the slope was removed and the model was simplified. Additionally, the two types of pronouns are analyzed in separate models due to concerns about a high degree of covariance, which may be seen in Tables 15 and 16 above. This results in a total of four different models for first-person pronouns and four different models for second-person pronouns.

First, using a series of four chi-square difference tests to compare a model with the first-person pronominal factor with the base model, it can be seen that first-person pronouns significantly improve the model’s ability to predict sentence-final expression usage for each of the four categories: HFS ($\chi^2(1) = 89.571$, $p < 0.001$), LFS ($\chi^2(1) = 66.275$, $p < 0.001$), LMS ($\chi^2(1) = 57.126$, $p < 0.001$), and HMS ($\chi^2(1) = 11.674$, $p < 0.001$). Looking at the individual logistic regression models, it is first necessary to discuss a problem that occurs with the first-
person pronominal model predicting HFS expressions. As illustrated in Figures 6 and 9 above, the frequency with which boku appears with these expressions is 0%. With zero occurrences, while it is possible to see that first-person pronouns contribute significantly the model as a whole, analyzing at the level of individual factors (i.e., watashi and boku) is more difficult. Consequently, it was not possible to include this particular model in analysis, though the relationship between HFS in the idol data and the use of watashi is readily observable in Figures 6 and 9. For the remaining seven models, such a problem did not prevent analysis. For LFS expressions, watashi is a significant positive predictor of expression use (p < 0.001), while for LMS and HMS expressions, boku is a significant positive predictor of expression use (p < 0.001 and p = 0.003, respectively).

A series of four additional chi-square difference tests indicate that second-person pronouns also significantly improve the model’s ability to predict sentence-final expression usage for each of the four categories: HFS ($\chi^2(1) = 56.447$, p < 0.001), LFS ($\chi^2(1) = 39.978$, p < 0.001), LMS ($\chi^2(1) = 31.460$, p < 0.001), and HMS ($\chi^2(1) = 12.210$, p < 0.001). In the logistic regression models, anata is a significant positive predictor of HFS and LFS expression use (p < 0.001 for both), and for LMS and HMS expressions, it is boku that is the positive predictor (p < 0.001 and p = 0.006, respectively). The full results of these analyses may be seen in Table 23 in Appendix A at the end of this dissertation.

In summary, pronominal use in the lyrics of idol groups showed a strong tendency to appear as certain pairs. Watashi and anata, both of which are typically expected of female speakers, most commonly occurred with one another, and both of these pronouns were significant positive predictors for both LFS and HFS expression use. Similarly, boku and kimi,
which are more normatively associated with male speech, most commonly occurred together, and both were significant positive predictors for LMS and HMS expression use. In other words, gendered linguistic resources tended to occur with like-gendered resources in idol group lyrics.

5.3.2. Singer-Songwriter Lyrics

In contrast to the idol group data in 5.3.1., the way that singer-songwriters utilize first- and second-person pronouns in conjunction with sentence-final expressions is more individualistic. Because of this, after illustrating their first- and second-person pronominal usage, this section will discuss each of the five featured singer-songwriters in turn rather than grouping them by company as was done with the idol groups.

Figure 10 below is a representation of the first-person pronouns used by each of the five artists under discussion in this section. Three of the artists regularly used two different first-person pronouns within a given song, and because these uses occur outside of explicitly quoted sections, both pronouns were included in the data represented in Figure 10. These occurrences will be discussed in more detail following Table 20. Across this data set, it is possible to see that there is not a single first-person pronoun that occurs with uniform frequency across all five artists. While overall the most common is watashi, YUI never uses it, instead opting for either atashi, the more casual variant of watashi, or simply a null pronominal for the majority of her songs. Furthermore, four of the artists used boku in some way, though the way that they used it varied greatly. For example, although Utada Hikaru used it as a first-person singular pronominal, Ayumi Hamasaki employed it primarily in its plural form as either boku-
tachi or boku-raq. Finally, only Kana Nishino made use of the first-person pronominal *uchi*, albeit only sparingly.

Figure 10. The type and number of first-person pronominals observed in the lyrics of Ayumi Hamasaki, Kana Nishino, Koda Kumi, Utada Hikaru, and YUI within the data set.

Second-person pronominals also show variation in use across artists, but the variety of appearing pronominals is much lower than in the case of the first-person ones. Four of the artists in this data set make substantial use of *kimi* with a usage range falling between 40%-50%, with the exception of YUI who has approximately equal usage of *kimi* and *anata* (around 20%). There was also a wide range of *anata* use, as Kana Nishino used it in only 19% of her songs, but Koda Kumi using it in over 45% of hers. Finally, YUI uses no pronominal at all in nearly half of her songs, but the other artists use a pronominal at least 25% of the time.
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Table 20 below is a summary of the percentage of cooccurrence between first- and second-person pronominals arranged according to each singer-songwriter.
Table 20. The cooccurrence rate for each first-person pronominal with each second-person pronominal in the lyrics of Ayumi Hamasaki, Kana Nishino, Koda Kumi, Utada Hikaru, and YUI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1PP</th>
<th>2PP</th>
<th>anata</th>
<th>kimi</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayumi</td>
<td>watashi/atashi</td>
<td>52.6% (10/19)</td>
<td>36.8% (7/19)</td>
<td>10.5% (2/19)</td>
<td>100% (19/19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>11.1% (1/9)</td>
<td>66.6% (6/9)</td>
<td>22.2% (2/9)</td>
<td>100% (9/9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishino</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>17.9% (7/39)</td>
<td>64.1% (25/39)</td>
<td>17.9% (7/39)</td>
<td>100% (39/39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uchi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (2/2)</td>
<td>100% (2/2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koda</td>
<td>watashi/atashi</td>
<td>51.7% (15/29)</td>
<td>37.9% (11/29)</td>
<td>13.8% (4/29)</td>
<td>100% (29/29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (2/2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (2/2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikaru</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>47.4% (9/19)</td>
<td>42.1% (8/19)</td>
<td>15.8% (3/19)</td>
<td>100% (19/19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>25.0% (2/8)</td>
<td>62.5% (5/8)</td>
<td>12.5% (1/8)</td>
<td>100% (8/8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUI</td>
<td>atashi</td>
<td>56.3% (9/16)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43.8% (7/16)</td>
<td>100% (16/16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66.6% (2/3)</td>
<td>33.3% (1/3)</td>
<td>100% (3/3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For artists that use both watashi/atashi and boku, there is a broad tendency to use anata more with watashi/atashi and kimi with boku, mirroring the trend seen in the idol lyrics above in Tables 15 and 16. Unlike the idol lyrics, however, the tendency is not absolute. Furthermore, a feature that is seen among singer-songwriters that was not seen among idols is the presence of
more than one type of first- or second-person pronominal within a given song. Utada Hikaru in particular regularly uses both *watashi* and *boku* within the same lyrics, even in close succession to one another as in Excerpt (12) below from Utada Hikaru’s song “Hikari.”

(12) *Mirai* wa *zutto* *saki* da *yo*
future TOP by far ahead COP SFP
*Boku* ni mo *wakaranai*
1PP to also understand not
“The future is far ahead | Even I don’t understand”

*Kansei* sasenaide *motto* *yoku* *shite*
completion do.not.CAUS more good do
*Wan shiiin* *zutsu* *totte* *ikeba* *ii* *kara*
Scene each take go.1F good because
*Kimi* to *iu* *hikari* ga *watashi* no *shinario*
2PP called light SUB 1PP GEN scenario
*utsushidasu*
project
“Make it better without completing it | Because it’s okay to shoot one scene at a time | The light called ‘you’ reflects my scenario”

More commonly is the use of both *watashi* in either its singular or plural form (i.e., *watashi-tachi*) while using *boku* only in its plural (i.e., *boku-tachi* or *boku-ra*), a pattern that was common for both Utada Hikaru and Ayumi Hamasaki. One such example is from another of Utada Hikaru’s songs, “COLORS,” which can be seen in Excerpts (13) and (14) below.

(13) *Boku-ra wa ichiji mayoinagara yorisotte*
1PP.PL TOP temporarily while.hesitating come together
*Are kara hitotsuki oboeteimasu ka*
that since one month remembering QU
“Though hesitating, we got closer | It’s been a month—do you remember?”
シロイハタワアキラメタトキニデカケザスノ
white flag TOP gave up when only display SFP

今ノワタシワアナタノシラナイイロ
now GEN 1PP TOP 2PP GEN know.not color

“You only wave a white flag when you’ve given up | I am now a color that you don’t know”

Another example comes from Ayumi Hamasaki’s song “Boys & Girls,” where she uses both watashi-tachi and boku-tachi to delineate a “we” along gendered lines as shown below in Excerpts (15) and (16).

(15)  カガヤキダイシタ  boku.tachi  o  dare  ga
start to shine.PERF 1PP.PL ACC who SUB
Tomeru koto nado dekiru darō
stop thing etc able to COP
ハバタキダイシタ karetachi o dare ni
started to flap 3PP.PL ACC who to
Tomeru kenri ga atta no darō
stop right SUB had GEN COP

“I wonder who can stop us (bokutachi), who’ve just begun to shine | I wonder who has the right to stop them (male), who’ve just begun to fly”

(16)  カガヤキダイシタ watashi.tachi nara
started to shine 1PP.PL if
Itsuka ashita o tsukamu darō
someday tomorrow ACC seize COP
ハバタキダイシタ kanojo-tachi nara
started to flap 3PP.PL if
Hikaru ashita o mitsukeru darō
shine tomorrow ACC find COP

“I wonder, if it is us (watashi-tachi) who’ve just begun to shine, if we’ll seize tomorrow someday | I wonder if it is they (female) who’ve just spread their wings, they’ll find a tomorrow that shines”
Kana Nishino, who does not use *boku* in her lyrics, has a different set of first-person pronominals that overlap in usage. Rather than *boku*, she will often use the singular form of *watashi*, but use *uchi* in its plural (*uchi-ra*), typically as a female-exclusive plural first-person pronominal. A prime example of this usage of can be seen in her song “GIRLS GIRLS” in Excerpts (17) and (18) below.

(17) *Hontō* no *watashi* o misete ageru let it go
real GEN 1PP ACC show give [English]
“I’ll show you the real me Let it go!”

(18) *Uchi.ra* always in hype clothes
1PP.PL [English]
“We’re always in hype clothes”

Though Table 20 above illustrates that while there are general tendencies of cooccurrence with first- and second-person pronominal usage, the use of multiple different first- or second-person pronominals within a given song, not to mention a greater tendency in the idol lyrics to overlap across the tight *watashi/anata* and *boku/kimi* pairings, suggests that these pronominals are not necessarily coconstructing a kind of gendered persona in the same way. To analyze this, however, it is first necessary to examine sentence-final expressions as they cooccur with these pronominals. As with the pronominal cooccurrence data, the sentence-final expression data is also presented by artist.

Figure 12 below illustrates the distribution of sentence-final expression usage in Ayumi Hamasaki’s lyrics. As the Figure shows, though first-person pronominals *watashi/atashi* peak in
use with LFS expressions, so do both second-person pronominals *anata* and *kimi*. There is also a peak for *boku* over LMS expressions.

Figure 12. Distribution of sentence-final expression usage in Ayumi Hamasaki’s lyrics according to first-person and second-person pronominals.

In the case of Kana Nishino, however, all pronominals show peaks in cooccurrence with LFS expressions. Recall that she did not utilize *boku* in her lyrics, and because *uchi* only appeared in two of the songs included in the data set, it was not included in Figure 13 below.
Koda Kumi also used *boku* only sparingly, so it was not included below in Figure 14. However, all remaining pronominals show peaks in cooccurrence with LFS expressions, resulting in a distribution that is quite similar to Kana Nishino’s in Figure 13 above.
In the case of Utada Hikaru, though she does make use of *boku* in her lyrics, it has an equivalent rate of occurrence with both LFS and LMS expressions. Her other pronouns generally seem to peak over LMS expressions, though rate-wise the peak is not all that different from that for the occurrence of LFS expressions.
Finally, the rates of sentence-final expression cooccurrence in YUI’s lyrics are similar to those seen above. For all pronominals other than *boku*, there is a peak in cooccurrence for LFS expressions, while *boku* is the only one that reveals a peak in cooccurrence with LMS expressions.
Based on Figures 12 through 16, it is possible to see that for those artists who utilize *boku*, there is to some extent a visible peak in cooccurrence with LMS expressions, while there is no similar peak for either of the second-person pronominals *anata* and *kimi*, both of which exhibit cooccurrence rate peaks with LFS expressions. To check this data using statistical models, a series of eight mixed-effects logistic model was fit using the lyric data aggregated across all five of the singer-songwriters. As with the model for the idol lyric data, the dependent variables were each of the sentence-final expression categories, while the independent variable was first- or second-person pronominal usage, respectively. Additionally, these models each included a random slope for artist to account for by-subject variation. Finally, this analysis was conducted.
on a subset of the data that includes only first-person pronouns \textit{watashi} and \textit{boku} and second-person pronouns \textit{anata} and \textit{kimi}.

Compared to the idol lyric data in which first- and second-person pronouns were significant predictors for sentence-final expression usage for each of the models, a series of eight chi-square difference tests reveals that for the singer-songwriter data, the same pronouns were significant predictors for only two of the eight models. First-person pronouns were a significant predictor of sentence-final expression use for only HMS expressions ($\chi^2(1) = 6.398, p = 0.011$), and second-person pronouns were a significant predictor of sentence-final expression use for only HFS expressions ($\chi^2(1) = 9.708, p = 0.002$). Though they did not reach the threshold for significance, first-person pronouns were also marginal predictors for LFS expressions ($\chi^2(1) = 3.771, p = 0.052$) and LMS expressions ($\chi^2(1) = 3.740, p = 0.053$). Where first-person pronouns were significant predictors, \textit{boku} was a significant positive predictor of HMS expression use ($p = 0.015$), while in the case of second-person pronouns, \textit{anata} was a significant positive predictor of HFS expression usage ($p = 0.004$). The full results from these models may be seen in Table 24 in Appendix A at the end of this dissertation.

Overall, the singer-songwriter data did not exhibit the same gendered tendencies that the idol lyric data did. While there was a general tendency for the \textit{watashi/anata} and \textit{boku/kimi} pairs to cooccur, as pairs they were not significant predictors of sentence-final expressions of any particular gender specificity in a systematic way. Compared to the idol lyric data, in which there was a strong tendency for gendered linguistic resources to occur with like-gendered resources, in the singer-songwriter data such a tendency was weak if observable at all.
5.4. Discussion

As illustrated in Section 5.3. above, pronominal usage in idol lyrics demonstrates a high degree of regular cooccurrence in certain pairs, and these pronominals are all significant predictors for the use of certain categories of sentence-final expressions. Reinforcing this high rate of pronominal cooccurrence, those that may be understood to belong to a particular pair (i.e., \textit{watashi/anata} and \textit{boku/kimi}) all show the same direction of effect within their respective pairs when analyzed as predictors of sentence-final expression use through a series of eight logistic regression models. In comparison, the singer-songwriter lyric data does not demonstrate the same tendency. While there is an overall tendency for \textit{watashi} to appear with \textit{anata}, and \textit{boku} with \textit{kimi}, these were not absolute pairings, nor did the tendency extend to all artists included in the survey. Additionally, in only two of the eight models are pronominals significant predictors of sentence-final expression usage, and in those two, the pronominals under discussion are predictors for different sets of expressions.

Given this high cooccurrence rate of \textit{watashi/anata} and \textit{boku/kimi}, both of which have been discussed relative to gender-normative patterns of language use by Ide (1997), Miyazaki (2004), Shibamoto Smith (2005), and others, this cooccurrence rate alone suggests the activation of a gendered persona with their utilization in idol lyrics. However, in addition to their cooccurrence, \textit{watashi/anata} and \textit{boku/kimi} are both significant positive predictors for the use of HFS/LFS and HMS/LMS expressions respectively, resulting in a persona that is constructed not only through pronominals, but through their situated use with the associated normatively gendered sentence-final expression categories. To put it differently, in songs where idols use \textit{watashi/anata}, the songs are coded as being from a normatively female perspective, while those
with *boku/kimi*, a normatively male perspective. In *yakuwarigo* terms (Kinsui 2003), their songs can be considered to be divided into those that utilize “*onna no ko kotoba* (女の子ことば ‘girl speech’)” and “*otoko no ko kotoba* (男の子ことば ‘boy speech’),” the terms for generic speech styles that index youthful, gendered speakers. In addition to the strong tendency for gendered linguistic resources to cooccur with like-gendered resources, this division by gendered categories is further reinforced by the content of the lyrics, many of which make explicit reference to female- or male-coded perspectives. One such example that uses *boku/kimi* may be seen in the SKE48 song “*Pareo wa emerarudo*” (‘the Pareo is emerald’) in Excerpt (19) below.

(19)  
\[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Otona} & \text{ni} & \text{natta} & \text{shōjo} & \text{yo} \\
\text{adult} & \text{to} & \text{became} & \text{girl} & \text{VOC} \\
\text{Kinō} & \text{made} & \text{to} & \text{yesterday until} & \text{from} \\
\text{somewhere} & \text{chigau} & \text{ne} & \text{differ} & \text{SFP} \\
\text{Boku} & \text{wa} & \text{kimi} & \text{ni} & \text{koi} & \text{o} & \text{shite} & \text{shimatta} \\
\text{1PP} & \text{TOP} & \text{2PP} & \text{with} & \text{love} & \text{ACC} & \text{do} & \text{completed} \\
\end{array} \]

‘Girl who became an adult | Compared to yesterday | You’re somehow different | I fell in love with you’

Even from only this excerpt, it is evident that the song is written from the perspective of a male character who has fallen in love with a female character. Another *boku/kimi* example comes from the AKB48 song “*Kimi ni uedingu doresu o...*” (‘To you, a wedding dress’) in Excerpt (20) below.

(20)  
\[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Zutto} & \text{yume} & \text{o} & \text{mitteita} \\
\text{always} & \text{dream} & \text{OBJ} & \text{was seeing} \\
\end{array} \]
This song, also written from a male perspective, describes that male character’s desire to give the female object of his affection an expensive gift (e.g., a diamond) despite being unable to afford such things. Meanwhile, Excerpt (21) below is Nogizaka46’s “Maa ii ka?” (‘well, whatever?’), an example of a watashi/anata song with a female-coded perspective.

(21) Anata wa itsumo itteta yo ne?
    2PP TOP always was-saying SFP
Sekai de ichiban shinyū da tte
    world in number-one best-friend COP COMP
Ima no ima made shinjiteta kedo
    now GEN now until was-believing but
watashi no motokare to uvaki shita?
    1PP GEN ex-boyfriend with cheat did

‘You were always saying it, right? | That I was your best friend in the world | I believed it all the way until now but | Did you cheat with my ex-boyfriend?’
Written from the perspective of a female character having a conversation with her female friend, this song focuses on their shared feelings for a mutual male acquaintance.

In this data set, it was also possible for lyrics to have voices embedded in them that were conveyed through differently gendered resources. One such example from the idol lyrics is from SKE48’s “Hōkago reesu” (‘Afterschool race’) in Excerpt (22) below. While the song as a whole uses boku/kimi (and their related sentence-final expressions), there is a portion at the end where a watashi-voice is inserted.

(22) Kimi yori saki ni tsuita yo
2PP than before arrived SFP

Jitensha o boku wa oshinagara
bicycle OBJ 1PP TOP while-pushing

mezashita gōru no benchi e
aimed-for goal GEN bench to

Tokoro ga kimi ga ita n da
but 2PP SUB existed NOM COP

Egao de boku ni nagekissu
smile with 1PP to blow-a-kiss

Watashi no hō ga suki yo
1PP GEN direction SUB like SFP

Yoyū no koibito rēsu
leisurely GEN lover race

‘I arrived before, before you | While I was pushing the bike | To the goal we set, the bench | But, there you, you were | With a smile you blew me a kiss | “I love you more” | The leisurely race of lovers’

In this example, the narrator maintains the male-coded tone throughout in both pronominal usage and sentence-final expression usage. The only exception is in the penultimate line, which features an abrupt shift to first-person pronominal watashi and the use of a null copula with
sentence-final particle *yo*, both of which are coded for a female speaker, suggesting an instance of quoted speech.

Compared to such instances like those above in which idol lyrics explicitly code for a narrator of a specific gender, none of the singer-songwriters utilize such a technique in their lyrics. Though there is a general preference for the *watashi/anata* and *boku/kimi* pairs for the artists in which all of these pronominals are represented, the divide is not absolute, nor is such a divide reflected in the sentence-final expression analysis. *Boku* is the only one of the pronominals that has noticeable variation from the rest of the pronominals, but this variation is not consistent across all artists. Furthermore, unlike the *boku/kimi* pairing that was observable in idol lyrics, in the singer-songwriter data the second-person pronominals *anata* and *kimi* had similar rates of cooccurrence with the four sentence-final expression analysis categories. These results, combined with the fact that first- and second-person pronominals in the lyrics of singer-songwriters do not predict as much sentence-final expression use to the same extent as they do in idol lyrics, suggests that unlike idols, the singer-songwriters are not slipping in and out of gendered personae with the use of differently gendered linguistic features.

It is important to remember that the phenomenon of constructing and performing as a particular gendered persona is not specific to the idol groups in this study. Known more broadly as “cross-gender performance,” the practice of an actor or musician of one gender performing as another is common cross-culturally, especially in theater where female actors may have been discouraged or prohibited from performing on stage but the work nonetheless featured a female character as a part of the plot. In Japan, this practice was first most notably common to the noh and kabuki theater traditions, and then later to the all-female Takarazuka Revue which featured
female actors playing male roles (cf. Robertson 1998). In terms of music, this practice is readily observable in enka, one of the generic predecessors to today’s popular music. Yano (2002) writes that while it was most common for female performers to perform “women’s songs” and male performers “men’s songs,” the categories of which were determined through not only content but also language use, it was not unusual for singers of one gender to perform songs from the perspective of another. She gives the example of “Funa uta” (‘Sailor’s song’), a man’s song made famous by female singer Aki Yashiro, who was “known for performing in a full, floor-length evening gown and sparkling tiara” (Yano 2002:156). Yano notes that in Yashiro’s performance, she gives no indication that it is a man’s song, singing it “as she would any love song, in a straightforward manner” (Yano 2002:157). This kind of performance was not limited to female performers of enka; male performer Shin’ichi Mori, for example, was known for his tuxedo-clad performances of women’s songs. On the other hand, there have also been those singers who, in their performance of cross-gender songs, endeavored to fully embody a “feminine” or “masculine” performance, illustrating the wide variety of approaches to the performance of cross-gender songs.

When idols in this data set perform male-coded songs or female-coded songs, there is no observable difference in their embodied performances. The music videos that accompany the tracks used for this data do not vary in their unwavering focus on the idols themselves, and the idols do not alter their behavior according to the gender of that song’s narrator. This being the case, one wonders about the intended effect of these cross-gender songs, especially in the case of the AKS groups where boku/kimi songs constitute the majority of their repertoire, the entirety of which is credited to the same lyricist: their producer Akimoto Yasushi. One possibility, to
borrow an interpretation from Yano’s (2002:157) discussion of Shin’ichi Mori’s performances of women’s songs, is that their performance of male-coded function as an indication to their male fans that the singers understand the feelings of young, adolescent men (i.e., the archetypal boku-man), increasing their appeal to this demographic group. Either through their performance as adolescent women through female-perspective songs, or through the performance of adolescent men through the male-perspective songs, the idol groups effectively capitalize on the idea of youth through their performance of these voices. This effect is compounded by the fact that due to the rotating nature of both the groups owned by AKS and the Hello! Project, neither of these groups functionally age, forever maintaining the adolescence that they sell to their fans.

5.5. Summary
This study analyzed the use of sentence-final expressions and first- and second-person pronominals in popular music as they are used to construct a persona in the lyrics of a given artist. Female performers, both idol and non-idol, show variability in the pronominals that may appear in a given set of lyrics, with no artists using the same pronominals at all times. Of particular note is the use of both watashi (and its variants) and boku in lyrics, with the latter being a normatively masculine pronominal. Though the possibility of a “gender-neutral” usage of boku has been touched on in previous literature (Nakamura 2008), outside of Dahlberg-Dodd (2016) there has not been a close analysis of this usage. This study indicates that for idols, boku is not coded as gender-neutral; rather, it works together with relevant LMS and HMS expressions to construct a male speaker as the narrator of a given song. Singer-songwriters, on the other hand, show a usage that suggests a sort of gender-neutrality, as boku appeared predominantly in
its plural form. Indeed, Ayumi Hamasaki explicitly positioned boku’s plural equivalent in contrast to watashi’s plural equivalent, the latter of which was used to indicate a specifically female-coded “us” with the former as an “us” that includes, but is not limited to, a female perspective. The difference between a “gender-neutral” occurrence of boku and a male-coded one is possible in this study because of the consideration of sentence-final expression usage relative to dominant ideologies about those expressions’ gender identifactory tendencies (Ariizumi 2013).

This case study, through the analysis of first- and second-person pronominals and their cooccurrence with normatively gendered categories of sentence-final expressions, illustrates the different ways that these features interact in the lyrics of female idol groups and female singer-songwriters. Furthermore, this study contributes to the broader discussion of the representation of gendered meaning in popular music more broadly. The final case study in this dissertation changes focus to yet another popular media representation, anime, and uses it as a medium for close analysis of the intonation of sentence-final wa, a particle that has long served as an exemplar of the Japanese Women’s Language (JWL) ideological construct. In previous literature, this particle is often divided into two types: the rising-intonation wa, which is the one attributed to JWL, and falling-intonation wa, which is for use by anyone regardless of gender. However, such analyses have historically taken overly simplistic approaches to gendered meaning, a tendency that is reflected in the discussion of this particle even in literature on characterological styles that employ it. Using characters from anime, this study analyzes both the situated use of wa among characters regardless of gender, the pitch contour of this particle, and how that contour relates to other particles in the same category of use.
Chapter 6. The Sociophonetics of Sentence-Final *Wa* and its Characterological Usages

The two case studies in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation analyzed sentence-final expression usage in the construction of two different kinds of speaking figures. In the first study, the focus of discussion was the characterological register of *o-jōsama kotoba* and its utilization in the *yuri* genre. The second, broadening the scope to gendered persona, analyzed the interaction between personal pronominals and sentence-final expressions in the lyrics of female idol groups and female singer-songwriters. Rather than comparing data across a range of sentence-final expressions, as in the first two studies, this final study presents a close analysis of sentence-final *wa* as it is used by different characterological figures in anime.

As discussed in Chapter 3, sentence-final *wa* has traditionally served as an exemplar of the Japanese Women’s Language (JWL) ideological construct, and uses that do not fit this construct have subsequently received less academic attention. If such variation is mentioned at all in the previous literature, the researcher typically makes an intonational distinction between JWL-*wa* and non-JWL-*wa*, with the former characterized as having a rising intonation and the latter, a falling. That being said, as discussed in the study of the use of *o-jōsama kotoba* in *yuri* manga in Chapter 4, the application of a language ideology like JWL to broader characterological performances presents analytical difficulties. In an exploration of sentence-final *wa*, this chapter analyzes its use among different characterological figures in anime, a medium that allows for the simultaneous exploration of this particle’s characterological qualities and its phonetic
manifestations. More specifically, this study will compare sentence-final *wa* with the particle more commonly associated with assertion, sentence-final *yo*, and interrogate the extent to which the intonational distinctions made with regard to sentence-final *wa* are truly a pragmatic distinction or rather a broader, more characterologically informed one.

6.1. Commentaries on Sentence-Final *Wa*

The bulk of linguistic commentary on sentence-final *wa* has historically been through the lens of its use in Standard Japanese, a tendency that is evident in a variety of language resources including dictionaries, pedagogical materials, and other reference guides. The *Kadokawa National Language Dictionary* (*角川国語大辞典*, *Kadokawa kokugo daijiten*), for example, characterizes sentence-final *wa* as a particle that is “used [by women] to express gentle emotion, assertion, or determination” (Tokieda and Yoshida 1982). Pedagogical and reference materials aimed at non-native speakers of Japanese also tend to present brief, limited descriptions of *wa* and its linguistic function, and much like the entry in the *Kadokawa*, lean heavily on dominant gender ideologies concerning its use. The reference grammar *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*, for example, characterizes *wa* as “a sentence particle used in weak assertive or volitional sentences by a female speaker” as in the provided example “*watashi mo ashita no pāti ni iku wa*” (‘I am also going to the party tomorrow *wa’*) (Makino and Tsutsui 2015 [1989]:520). Earlier in the same volume, they state that *wa* “is only affixed to declarative sentences by female speakers” as in the example *atashi, ureshii wa* (‘I’m happy *wa’*), and that its use “gives the sentence a feminine flavor and sometimes expresses a light assertion” (Makino and Tsutsui 2015 [1989]:47). Commentary in the textbook *An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese* is
similarly restrictive, classifying wa as “‘strongly feminine’ both alone and in conjunction with [sentence-final] yo/ne/ne” (Miura and McGloin 2009:34). Though they clarify that this particular wa has a rising intonation, they do not elaborate or specify how it may differ from one with a falling intonation. *Japanese: The Spoken Language* offers a little more elaboration on this front, stating in the main text that sentence-final wa as it is “pronounced with upward intonation in sentence-final position, or followed by sentence-particles yo or ne(e), is one example of truly feminine speech” (Jorden and Noda 1987:228, italics in original). In a footnote, however, they add that wa is also “commonly used by men” when pronounced with a “flat intonation,” but there is no further elaboration on this point.

Generally speaking, it is not uncommon for pedagogical materials to provide either little or reductive information on the sociocultural implications of certain linguistic phenomena. In the case of sentence-final wa, there is a long history in linguistics and language-oriented commentary of using this particle as an exemplar of the Japanese Women’s Language ideology, a history that was discussed at length in Chapter 3. The difficulty of including accurate, fine-grained information on such sociocultural implications of language use, however, stems from the fact that compared to information on more structural linguistic features, sociocultural information not only has a tendency of changing relatively quickly, but attempting to generalize sociolinguistic expectations to a large population can result in inaccurate information. An acknowledgement of the realities of language change is evident in the advanced language textbook *Tobira*, which includes the following statement in its discussion of gendered usages of certain sentence-final particles. Excerpt (23) below is also quoted in (9) in Chapter 3, but for ease of access it has been repeated here.
Recently, differences between men and women have decreased… women who use wa
and wa yo, and men who use ze and zo are becoming fewer, but if a woman were to say
‘ore mo hara hetta’ or if a man were to say ‘iya yo!’ it would be surprising. Differences
in the ways of speaking are decreasing, but please keep in mind that there are some
expressions that are best not used. (Oka et al. 2009:29)

Rather than teaching any specifics regarding gendered meaning, Tobira’s advice for students is
to avoid potentially socially-charged lexemes like wa and ze/zo all together. While this is
certainly one way to negotiate swiftly changing gender ideologies in the kind of written material
that is used for multiple years, it raises the question of where non-native speakers are to learn the
sociocultural implications that accompany certain linguistic structures. In the case of wa, this is
an especially salient problem given the purported existence of a version with rising intonation for
female use and another with falling intonation that is gender neutral, but the latter is rarely if at
all represented in more popular commentaries on the language.

In academic work that mentions wa, a similar trend is evident albeit typically with more
elaboration. As discussed in Chapter 3, prior to the 1990s, the bulk of sociolinguistic research on
language and gender tended toward a more classificatory approach; in other words, language as
it was used by women was considered “women’s language,” and as such, research used this idea
as the starting point for the analysis of linguistic difference on the basis of sex. Given that wa has
been historically treated as one of the primary exemplars of JWL, discussions of this particle
have unfolded largely in the same vein as those evident in recent pedagogical and grammar
materials. This tendency is particularly noticeable in literature from around the time that the
approach to sentence-final expressions and gender began to shift. McGloin (1990:30), for
example, states that wa is “generally associated with feminine speech,” and it is used by “a
female speaker addressing someone intimate to her (e.g. family members, close friends), as well as someone not so intimate to her.” In McGloin’s (1990:25) discussion of the femininity that she finds inherent in wa, she states that this sense “lies in a sense of conversational rapport [it] create[s] between the speaker and the hearer.” She does take care to mention that previous literature (e.g. Mio 1958, Martin 1975, and Kitagawa 1977) has mentioned how wa with “a falling intonation…is occasionally used by male speakers of modern standard colloquial Japanese, especially older men,” and she goes on to state that according to Kitagawa (1977), both the wa produced with falling intonation and that produced with a rising intonation are functionally the same, both of which convey “a sense of ‘insistence’ on the part of the speaker” (McGloin 1990:31).

As approaches to language and gender in Japanese sociocultural linguistics turned from the classificatory approach to one that focuses more on how language is used to accomplish certain social goals, the approach to sentence-final wa also changed, even if only indirectly. This change becomes more evident after the publication of Ochs (1992), in which she argues that particles like wa do not directly index a particular gender, but rather indirectly index gender through certain qualities that are stereotypically associated with that gender. According to Ochs (1992), in the case of wa, the quality that is indexed with its use is “delicate intensity,” which is more stereotypically associated with female speakers than with male ones.

The shift in perspective that is illustrated by what Ochs (1992) proposed categorically changed the approach used by many sociocultural linguists in discussing sentence-final expressions more broadly, but this change has not necessarily extended to other subfields of linguistics or language research. Indeed, it is common in the area of pragmatics, for example, to
feature relatively conservative views on sentence-final expression usage by gender. Ogi (2017), for example, includes an extensive section that discusses the pragmatics of sentence-final *wa*, but states at the outset that the “*wa* as discussed in the current study is used exclusively by female speakers,” and the study does not touch on any other variations in *wa*’s use. Moreover, the study includes discussion of the particle’s “*onna-rashisa*” (女らしさ ‘womanliness’) without elaboration, illustrating that while perhaps pragmatic analyses of *wa* may have advanced, the gender commentary incorporated in non-sociolinguistic studies on this particle has changed little.

This is not to say that there have been no studies that engage in a critical analysis of the sociocultural implications of *wa* usage, though such studies are few and far between. Matsuoka (2010), for example, asserts that it is common regardless of gender to use sentence-final *wa* to 1) express that the extent of something is extreme relative to one’s expectations and 2) to express one’s feelings or to state one’s value judgement relative to that thing. Matsuzaki (2017) also provides some insight on what can be called “neutral *wa*” (汎性語「わ」 hanseigo *wa*), directly referencing its history of use by people regardless of gender by invoking literary sources published as early as the Edo and Taisho Periods. Other than these two relatively brief studies, however, there has not been recent work that interrogates previous assumptions about the utilization of sentence-final *wa* and its sociocultural indexical associations.

6.2. Sentence-Final *Wa* and Characterological Figures

Characterologically speaking, sentence-final *wa* finds use among a number of different figures in fiction, though academic work specifically on these characterological functions is still limited. The primary source at present is the relatively short entry on *wa* in the *Yakuwarigo shōjiten* (役
*The Concise Dictionary of Role Language*), which refers to *wa* as a particle “used by characters behaving as women” as a means of expressing or confirming one’s feelings and that it is accompanied by a rising intonation (Kinsui 2014b:198). The entry elaborates that it is part of *onna kotoba* (*女ことば* ‘women’s speech’) and is used widely regardless of socioeconomic class. *Onna kotoba*, as well as its male counterpart *otoko kotoba* (*男ことば* ‘men’s speech’), are named such because they are used predominantly to indicate little more than that a character is a particular gender, and because of this, they both rely on heavily stereotypical speech features relative to the genre in which they appear. For example, as discussed by Unser-Schutz (2015, 2019), *shōnen* works (i.e., those that are targeted at young and adolescent boys) tend to feature more stereotypical speech styles according to the more fantastical settings that tend to be used in the genre. Meanwhile, because *shōjo* works have a heavier focus on interpersonal relationships as well as settings that have a firmer basis in reality, speech styles that are used in such works have a higher tendency of resembling those used in day-to-day spontaneous discourse. This effect is especially salient in *shōnen* works because of the extreme ratio of female characters to male characters (e.g., 1:33 respectively in the animation *One Piece*) (Unser-Schutz 2019). *Onna kotoba* (which Kinsui also refers to as *onna no ko kotoba* *女の子ことば* ‘girl speech’) is often exemplified as (17) below (Kinsui 2003:v).

(24) | Sō | yo, | atashi | ga | shitteru | wa |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>IPP</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>knowing</td>
<td>SFP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It is so, I know.’
The *Yakuwarigo shōjiten* entry makes mention of the use of *wa* in *jogakusei kotoba* (‘schoolgirl speech’) of the late Meiji and early Taisho periods, but not, for example, of present-day *o-jōsama kotoba* (‘young lady speech’). In Chapter 4 above, I discussed my disagreement with Kinsui’s (2003) method of categorization of *o-jōsama kotoba* and its classificatory limitation to the two criteria of sentence-final *koto* and -*te yo*, so those arguments will not be repeated here. In his discussion of *o-jōsama kotoba*, however, he identifies *jogakusei kotoba* as its generic origin, a style in which sentence-final *wa* was a key identifying feature; sentence-final *wa* certainly has not disappeared from that style’s present-day descendent, *o-jōsama kotoba*. Accordingly, for the sake of analyzing *wa*-usage in this study, present day *o-jōsama kotoba* is used due to its greater level of availability and relevance with regard to linguistic stereotypes as they are mediated through anime. An example of its usage can be seen below in (25) in an excerpt from the anime *A Certain Scientific Railgun* (2009-2010) as spoken by the character Shirai Kuroko.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Watakushi & no & nōryoku & o \\
1PP & GEN & ability & OBJ \\
komarimasu & wa & o-wasure-ni natte & forget \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It would be troubling if you forgot my abilities.’

An additional area that the *Yakuwarigo shōjiten*’s entry touches on is differences in sociocultural indexical associations with relation to pitch change of the speaker. In addition to the *wa* “used by characters behaving as women” as a means of expressing or confirming one’s
feelings, the entry states that there is also one with a falling intonation that used by speakers regardless of age, gender, socioeconomic class, or geographical origin. This wa is similar in function to the one with a rising intonation, meaning that both of these wa function as a means of putting “the focus on the speaker’s feelings or intentions” with regard to their utterance, but with the falling intonation results in “a somewhat rough manner of speaking” due to the sense of brushing off the other person involved in the conversation. Paradoxically, when used by the average person this wa comes across as “coarse” or “impolite” (粗野 soya), though its use by someone of a higher status results in a sense of “pomposity” (尊大さ sondaisa) (Kinsui 2014b:199-200).

It is important to remember that the Yakuwarigo shōjiten’s entry on wa is by no means exhaustive with regard to the types of characterological figures who make use of this sentence-final particle. One such example that is not included in this entry is o-nē kotoba (オネエことば ‘queen’s speech’), a type of speech style that makes heavy use of normatively “strongly feminine” sentence-final expressions (including sentence-final wa). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Maree (2008:67) describes o-nē kotoba as a parody of Japanese Women’s Language that is “generally used by gay men in a performance of (hyper)femininity.” In the broader Japanese queer community, this style can be considered a kind of linguistic “drag” because of its flamboyantly theatrical style (Maree 2013b:99). The style is not the same as either onna kotoba or o-jōsama kotoba, however, as o-nē kotoba is typically performed with a kind of “drawl” that is not heard in either of these speech styles. The characterological figure that is associated with
this style, the o-nē⁸, enjoys wide cultural appeal in a variety of popular culture genres⁹, making the analysis of o-nē kotoba critical to the overall discussion of wa. An example of wa-usage by this style can be seen below in (26), which is an excerpt from the character Fire Emblem in the anime Tiger and Bunny.

(26) **Hansamu** ga torimidasu no mo muri nai
handsome SUB get-flustered NOM also understandable
wa SFP

“It’s natural for even Mr. Handsome to lose his composure.”

Outside of Standard Japanese, sentence-final wa also finds utilization in mediatized representations of Kansai dialect spoken in western Japan. Mentioned in SturtzSreetharan (2004b) in her discussion of sentence-final expression usage among men, sentence-final wa occupies a position of relative gender-neutrality in Kansai compared to its characterization in more mainstream metalinguistic commentaries of wa-usage. As discussed at length by Jinnôchi and Tomosada (2005), the popularity of Kansai-style comedians has had a profound impact on the consumption of both the Kansai dialect and mediatized Kansai personae more broadly. Indeed, Ota and Takano (2014) argue that this effect is part of the larger phenomenon of what can be considered “supra-local” features being adapted outside of their original dialect area; in

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⁸ O-nē literally translates to “older sister,” but when discussing o-nē kotoba, it corresponds more closely to “queen” in the camp sense.

⁹ That being said, this appeal often comes at the expense of meaningful, authentic representation for sexual and gender minorities. The reason for this stems from the fact that within a given fictional narrative, o-nē characters are often positioned targets for comedy, “entities who are liked for their queerness but mainly viewed as somewhat amusing, yet in a way pitiful” (Górniak 2015:138). Such representation results in LGBT people having mixed thoughts regarding mediatized representations of the style, ranging anywhere from positive (e.g. Maree 2008) to having a strong resistance to it (e.g. Abe 2010).
the case of Kansai dialect, according to Jinnōchi and Tomosada (2005), this effect is seen not due to any decrease in the prestige of Standard Japanese, but due to positive associations with Kansai-style comedy more broadly. While current stereotypes of mediatized Kansai speakers have their roots in the Edo Period, today’s stereotypes concerning Kansai speakers truly emerged with the spike in popularity of manzai-style comedic routines in the 1980s (Kinsui 2003). Now, figures in media who use Kansai dialect tend to be portrayed as boisterous, albeit fun-loving characters, an image that reflects the influence of comedy as the root current Kansai dialect stereotypes.

A final, non-Standard style that sees use of sentence-final wa is known by both the terms rōjin-go (老入語 ‘elder speech’) or hakase-go (博士語 ‘professor speech’). In contrast to a number of fictionalized styles that have their basis in current sociocultural linguistic stereotypes, rōjin-go has continued its existence strictly in media due to the circumstances surrounding its enregisterment. According to Kinsui (2003:27), the style has its origins in the speech patterns of older men who belonged to scholarly professions and lived in Edo (present-day Tokyo) in the late 18th century. Such speakers had recently moved from the old capital area of Kamigata (roughly, present-day Kansai), and despite moving to Edo, maintained relatively conservative linguistic practices relative to their new Edo surroundings. These speakers were represented in fiction with their distinctive speech styles, and ultimately the style itself came to represent either an aging professor-like figure (in the case of hakase-go) or an elderly speaker in general (rōjin-go), and it now finds use among characters regardless of gender. With this style, while sentence-final wa is observable, its variant wai is perhaps the more common variant (Endō 1990, Kinsui 2003).
As it stands, these are the only characterological figures that have been explicitly discussed with regard to sentence-final *wa* usage, even if mention of such usage is only in passing, but they are by no means the only ones. One such example may be found in the speech used by *gyaru* (ギャル ‘gal’), a constantly evolving subculture of young women and teenage girls. Miller (2004:231) describes *gyaru* as figures with “gender-transgressing identit[ies] and language style[s]” that “challenge longstanding norms of adolescent femininity.” While Miller does not get into specifics regarding what characteristics or linguistic features are prominent in *gyaru-go* (ギャル語, the speech used by *gyaru*), their gender transgression generally entails the use of linguistic features that are seen at odds with normative feminine practices. Such features, especially among mediatized *gyaru*, often include the use of the sentence-final *wa* with a falling intonation, which will be further illustrated through the data in this study.

Based on the number of different characterological figures that make use of some version of sentence-final *wa*, it is evident that there exists a need for examination of this sentence-final particle in situated use. Existing literature is limited largely to work in which 1) the scholar relies nearly exclusively on self-reflection in discussions of the sociocultural implications of sentence-final *wa*, and/or 2) the presented data is largely hypothetical or limited to a small, localized group of speakers. Because of these circumstances, the current study is a preliminary investigation of pre-existing assertions with regard to sentence-final *wa*, and the ways in which these assertions manifest in different categories of characterological figures in anime.
6.3. Methods

The purpose of this study is two-fold: 1) to engage with assertions of the existence of both rising and falling intonation “versions” of a single sentence-final lexeme wa, and 2) to explore this particle’s use among different common characterological figures as a means of better accounting for its indexical potential. To this end, this study analyzes wa-usage across four different characterological figures in anime, and how the phonetic manifestation of wa compares with that of sentence-final yo. Previous literature that explores wa’s pragmatic functions has discussed wa in conjunction with sentence-final yo, positioning both of these lexemes as “particles of assertion” (e.g. McGloin 1990) or “monopolistic” interactional particles (Ogi 2017), both of which the speaker may use to “invite the hearer’s involvement” and “through which he/she is committed to enhance his/her position as a deliverer of content and feeling conveyed in the utterance” (Ogi 2017:125). The similar function of these two particles, as well as the high frequency of occurrence of sentence-final yo, makes them appropriate for comparison at the level of pitch contour. That being said, because of this comparison with yo, a few characterological figures were excluded from analysis despite being prominent wa users due to differences in yo usage (e.g., stereotypical Kansai dialect characters who often do not use it at all). The character types and characters included in this study may be seen below in Table 21.
Table 21. Categories of characterological figures and the characters used for the collection of sentence-final *wa* and sentence-final *yo* intonational contours.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character type</th>
<th>Character name</th>
<th>Anime</th>
<th>Actor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| *Onna* (*no ko*) | Nami             | **EN:** *One Piece*  
**JP:** ウンピース *Wan pīsu*  
*(Toei Animation, 1999-present)* | Akemi Okamura |
|                  | Yōko Littner     | **EN:** *Gurren Lagann*  
**JP:** 天元突破グレンラガン *Tengan toppa guren ragan*  
*(Gainax, 2007)* | Marina Inoue |
|                  | Asuna Yūki       | **EN:** *Sword Art Online*  
**JP:** ソードアートオンライン *Sōdo āto onrain*  
*(A-1 Pictures, 2012)* | Haruka Tomatsu |
| *O-jōsama*       | Kuroko Shirai    | **EN:** *A Certain Scientific Railgun*  
**JP:** とある科学の超電磁砲 *To aru kagaku no ōdenmagun*  
*(J.C. Staff, 2009-2010)* | Satomi Arai  |
|                  | Myne/ Malty S. Melromarc | **EN:** *The Rising of the Shield Hero*  
**JP:** 盾の勇者の成り上がり *Tate no yūsha no nariagari*  
*(Kinema Citrus, 2019-present)* | Sarah Emi Bridcutt |
|                  | Rin Tōsaka       | **EN/JP:** *Fate/stay Night: [Ultimate Blade Works]*  
**(ufotable, 2014-2015)* | Kana Ueda |
| *Gyaru*          | Yuzu Aihara      | **EN/JP:** *citrus*  
**(Passione, 2018)* | Ayana Taketatsu |
|                  | Gyaruko          | **EN:** *Please Tell Me! Galko-chan*  
**JP:** おしえて！ギャル子ちゃん *Oshiete! Gyaruko-chan*  
*(Feel, 2016)* | Azumi Waki |

Continued
Table 21 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character Type</th>
<th>Character Name</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Anime Name</th>
<th>Studio</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gyaru</td>
<td>Yukana Yame</td>
<td>EN: My First Girlfriend is a Gal</td>
<td>JP: はじめてのギャル Hajimete no gyaru</td>
<td>Yuki Nagaku</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(NAZ, 2017)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>O-nē</td>
<td>Leeron Littner</td>
<td>EN: Gurren Lagann</td>
<td>JP: 天元突破グレンラガン Tengen toppa guren ragan</td>
<td>Masaya Onosaka</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gainax, 2007)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nathan Seymour</td>
<td>EN: Tiger &amp; Bunny</td>
<td>JP: タイガー＆バニー Taigā ando banī</td>
<td>Kenjiro Tsuda</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sunrise, 2011-2014)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Grell Sutcliff</td>
<td>EN: Black Butler</td>
<td>JP: 黒執事 Kuroshitsuji</td>
<td>Jun Fukuyama</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(A-1 Pictures, 2008-2010)</td>
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</table>

The characters included in the study were chosen based on a variety of parameters depending on the character type. It is worth remembering, however, that as with the data collected for Chapter 4, these characters are by no means intended to be exhaustive, but rather exemplars within their respective characterological categories. In the case of gyaru and o-nē, characters either self-identified as that character type, as is often the case with gyaru characters, or were identified by others as having qualities of that character type, which was common with o-nē. O-jōsama characters were chosen for their socioeconomic background and other characterological cues, as well as for their prominence in their respective narratives to allow for greater ease in acquiring sociophonetic data. O-jōsama characters are often identified within their narratives as belonging to that particular character type, though this tendency is not absolute.
Finally, onna (no ko) characters are those who are the primary female lead in an otherwise male-dominated, male-targeted work, a tendency that is less common for o-jōsama, who often appear among a large number of other female characters. It is common for onna (no ko) to appear in either a fantasy work (e.g. One Piece, Gurren Lagann) or in a work that takes place predominantly in a fantasy setting within an otherwise non-fantastic world (e.g. Sword Art Online). In the former case, the featured female characters are also typically the only female characters, at least at their introduction, raising the question of where they would have learned their gendered speech style if not for some strange biologically-encoded “femaleness” that compels them to speak as such. From the perspective of fictionalized speech, however, it can be seen that these characters are simply marked as “female” in an otherwise mostly male cast, with issues of their presumed language socialization being entirely tangential to the broader world-building of that narrative.

For each character, the first ten occurrences of both sentence-final yo and sentence-final wa were analyzed. In order to be a candidate for analysis, the particle had to be the final occurring particle in the sentence-final expression (e.g., sentence-final particle combinations wa ne or yo ne would not viable for analysis). Furthermore, tokens in which the two particles cooccurred (wa yo) were excluded from the data. Phonetically, only instances in which the particle was performed with a calm voice (i.e., not in moments of extreme vocalization such as crying, yelling, etc.) were included in order to acquire more consistent acoustic measurements. Data involving pitch, or the fundamental frequency (F0), were acquired using the program Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2019). For each intonational contour, the window of analysis began with the onset of either the /w/ or /y/ was measured and ended at the termination of voicing. Within
this window, the maximum and minimum pitch values were recorded with the aid of the pitch tracker. The difference between these measurements was calculated, and based on the result, that instance of the particle was classified as having either a “rising” or “falling” intonation.

6.4. Results

6.4.1. Direction of Pitch (F0) Change

Direction of pitch change for each of the four character types is illustrated in Figure 16 below. Both o-jōsama and o-nē characters demonstrated a strong preference for rising intonation regardless whether the particle was wa or yo. This was not a tendency that extends to onna (no ko) or gyaru characters, however. In the case of onna (no ko), they had a nearly 50/50 split in rising and falling sentence-final yo, but a markedly stronger preference for the use of rising intonation with sentence-final wa. With gyaru characters, the opposite was observed: though approximately 65% of sentence-final yo tokens were manifested with rising intonation, less than 10% of instances of sentence-final wa were. In the Figure below, rising intonations are indicated by the darker shades, while falling intonations are indicated by the lighter ones.
Using the *lme4* library in the software package R, a logistic regression model was fitted to analyze the data presented in Figure 17 (Bates et al. 2015; R Core Team 2017). The dependent variable was intonation type (rising, falling), while the independent variable was character type. A preliminary version of this model was a mixed-effects version that included a random slope for character in order to account for by-subject variation, but because the slope accounted for zero variance in the data, it was removed. Using sum-contrasts coding, it can be seen that each of the character types (*onna (no ko)*: \( p = 0.029 \); *o-jōsama*: \( p < 0.001 \); *gyaru*: \( p < 0.001 \); *o-nee*: \( p = 0.049 \)) has frequencies of rising or falling intonation that are significantly different from the average rate of rising or falling intonation across all levels. This result suggests that character type plays a large role in a given character’s sentence-final intonational tendencies. The full table
of information on this model may be found in Table 25 in Appendix A at the end of this dissertation.

6.4.2. Degree of Pitch (F0) Change

In addition to direction of pitch change, this study also evaluates degree of pitch change. Illustrated below in Figure 18 is the direction of intonation associated with sentence-final wa for the four character types. The data is presented in a violin plot, which is similar to a box-and-whisker plot in that the box in the middle corresponds to the 2nd and 3rd quartiles (middle 50%) of the data with a horizontal line that represents the median, two vertical lines that represent the 1st and 4th quartiles, and dots that indicate data outliers. The difference lies in the addition of the horizontal “violin” portion, which corresponds to the kernel probability density; wider sections of the plot represent increased likelihoods that data will take on a given value, and vice versa for negative sections.
Based on this Figure, it is possible to see a few trends that are less apparent in the categorical representation of Figure 17 above. For example, though *onna (no ko)* characters used both rising and falling intonation with sentence-final *wa*, they also had the greatest range of usage with regard to pitch change. Moreover, though *o-nē* characters used exclusively rising intonation with sentence-final *wa*, that data was heavily concentrated in the 0-150 Hz range.

The pitch difference in manifestations of sentence-final *wa* was by fitting a linear mixed-effects regression model using the *lmer4* library in the software package R (Bates et. al 2015; R Core Team 2017). Pitch difference (Hz) was the dependent variable, character type the independent variable, and a random slope for character was included in order to account for
within-type differences between characters. Using a chi-square difference test to compare the chi-square statistic for the base model with that of a version of the model with character type as a predictor, it can be seen that character type significantly improves the ability of the model to predict degree of pitch change in manifestation of sentence-final *wa* (*χ²*(3) = 20.636, *p* < 0.001). A series of post-hoc tests with Bonferroni-Holm correction reveal that *gyaru* characters have a significant, negative relationship with pitch difference in comparison to each of the other character types (*p* < 0.001 for all three), but no such significant difference existed between any of the other pairs of character types.

In contrast, Figure 19 below illustrates degree of pitch difference in manifestations of sentence-final *yo* by character type.
As with the model used for sentence-final *wa*, a linear mixed effects regression model was fitted using the *lmer4* library in the software package R in order to determine the degree to which pitch difference is predictable according to character type (Bates et. al 2015; R Core Team 2017). The same model structure was used for this model, with pitch difference (Hz) as the dependent variable, character type as the independent variable, and a random slope for character in order to account for within-type differences between characters. Using a chi-square difference test to compare the chi-square compare the chi-square statistic for the base model with that of a version of the model with character type as a predictor, it can be seen that character type significantly improves the ability of the model to predict pitch degree of pitch change in manifestation of
sentence-final yo ($\chi^2(3) = 12.963, p < 0.001$). A series of post-hoc tests with Bonferroni-Holm correction reveal that o-jōsama characters have a significantly higher degree of pitch difference with sentence-final yo than both o-nē characters ($p = 0.008$) and onna (no ko) characters ($p = 0.001$). There is no significant difference between any of the other pairs of character types.

6.5. Discussion

In an analysis of the categorical data on direction of pitch change of sentence-final wa and yo, the most notable result is the fact that using exclusively rising or falling intonation with either sentence-final particle is not the most common usage pattern. Other than o-nē characters, who used only the rising variant of wa, each of the character types used some combination of both the rising and falling variants. Furthermore, the likelihood of each character type using a particular sentence-final intonation contour for wa or yo was predictable through a generalized mixed effects regression model, suggesting that intonation type is inherently linked to the characterological figure utilizing those particles.

The analysis of the continuous data on degree of pitch change provides further insight on this data. As observed in the categorical data, the use of rising or falling intonation is not necessarily the same for both wa and yo. Though Figure 17 illustrated that o-nē and o-jōsama characters demonstrated strong preferences for rising intonation for both sentence-final wa and yo, gyaru and onna (no ko) characters demonstrated an intonational preference only in the case of sentence-final wa. This suggests that direction of pitch change plays a role in the characterization of each of these figures, but at the same time, there appears to exist a stronger relationship between sentence-final wa and direction of intonation than exists for sentence-final wa.
Indeed, it is observable in Figures 17 and 18 that intonational direction is not unrelated to manifestations of wa; unlike sentence-final yo, which had distributional patterns closer to 50% in character types like that of the onna (no ko), in the case of wa, there was a preference for one direction or the other that corresponded with character type.

Overall, what this analysis illustrates is that in mediatized representations of certain stereotypes, speakers most commonly use a mix of rising and falling intonation for sentence-final wa and yo, though preferences for one or the other are observable. Given that such a pattern is exists even in the scripted speech of animated representations of these stereotypes, it is not hard to imagine that a similar tendency may be observable in spontaneous dialogue as well. That being said, recall that previous researchers have commented on differences in the sociocultural indexical associations of rising intonation versus falling intonation with sentence-final wa (e.g. Kinsui 2014b, McGloin 1990). Nearly all character types featured in this study, however, use a combination of intonational patterns with sentence-final wa, but it would be odd to assume a drastic shift in characterization or attitude with a change in direction of particle intonation. This suggests that perhaps the typological line drawn between “types” of wa is less of a hard distinction and more of a general tendency, though this is an area that demands further interrogation.

6.6. Summary

This study examined sentence-final particle wa and its relationship with intonational direction as it is utilized by four different characterological figures. When placed in contrast with sentence-final particle yo, which functions similarly as a discourse marker, it can be seen that wa has a
stronger relationship with direction of pitch change than yo. However, in contrast to comments in previous literature suggesting otherwise, the divide between rising and falling wa was not absolute, nor was the degree of rising and falling consistent across character types. Based on this initial study, it can be seen that there is work to be done on sentence-final wa, not to mention on the relationship between sentence-final intonation and sociocultural meaning more broadly. Sociophonetic studies in this area are as of yet uncommon (see Anderson et al. 2007, Hiramoto 2010 for notable exceptions), despite scholarly commentary on the importance of sentence-final expressions for the characterization of a speaker’s utterance. Furthermore, though not included within this study, this researcher has noticed an increase of male use of sentence-final wa in popular media, even among speakers who are 1) otherwise speakers of Standard Japanese and 2) young adults and teenagers. While outside the scope of this particular study, this, too, is an area that demands investigation.

In contrast to the other case studies in this dissertation, this final study was more exploratory and took a relatively broad approach to the medium in question. Indeed, this study engaged with anime not as part of a genre-based analysis, but rather for the sociophonetic and characterological information that it can provide. Even still, as a source of linguistic data, anime enables one to analyze easily what linguistic information is selected and deployed as part of an intentional, scripted representation of a character. Additionally, rather than analyzing multiple sentence-final expressions as they belong to a given analytical category, this study focused on the dynamic, situated use of sentence-final wa in the speech of individual characters. This particle has been long due for close linguistic analysis both in spontaneous speech and as a tool of characterological performance and construction. The findings reported in this chapter confirm,
it is hoped, the promise of examining the sociocultural effects of sentence-final *wa* as it is deployed in interaction.
Chapter 7. Conclusion

Drawing on the popular media genres of manga, pop music, and anime, this dissertation explored a number of significant sociolinguistic variables at work in the Japanese popular mediascape and the way that these variables contribute in the construction of characterological figures and personae. Though research has emerged in recent years that engages with popular cultural linguistic resources in this manner, as discussed in Chapter 2, research in this area is still vastly underrepresented in the field of sociocultural linguistics more broadly. The reason for this stems not from current researchers simply having different research proclivities, but rather from the fact that there still exists resistance to research on language as it is used in media. To quote a recent anonymous reviewer for a conference paper proposal, “The use of media language as a viable data source is…questionable.” Though perspectives like the one this comment speaks from are gradually being outflanked by a growing recognition of the importance of engaging with language in media, there remains much work to be done both within the field and with fellow researchers.

A key point of consideration in this dissertation is the application of a characterological approach to the analysis of linguistic resources as they are deployed in fictionalized genres. As discussed in Chapter 3, previous research has focused primarily on the relationship that sex and gender have with linguistic features, but other sociocultural indexical values have received noticeably less attention. The problem that emerges from this lack of scholarly inquiry is the fact
that resources like sentence-final expressions are inherently multivalent with regard to sociocultural meaning. In other words, though they may stereotypically index certain pragmatic meanings or stances that are linked to gender, those meanings can also intersect stereotypes regarding socioeconomic class, race, age, dialect, and so forth. This is an intersection that is especially salient in the discussion of o-jōsama kotoba in Chapter 4, as that characterological style indexes not only a female speaker, but one of a particularly high degree of economic means with a privileged background. This intersection is also salient in the preliminary exploration of sentence-final wa in Chapter 6. Though this particle has traditionally been used as a kind of exemplar of the language ideological construct Japanese Women’s Language (JWL), it finds use among a variety of different character types, and its sociophonetic qualities when deployed vary with those types.

An additional benefit to taking a characterological approach to linguistic phenomena in fictionalized genres is the ability to analyze more general gendered personae as well. As shown in Chapter 5 in the exploration of the normatively gendered resources used in the lyrics of female idol groups and female singer-songwriters, simply taking an approach that classified their usage of sentence-final expressions and personal pronominals as more or less feminine/masculine would have obscured the different patterns of usage evident between the two groups. On one hand, the idol groups most typically used like-gendered resources together, creating an explicitly gendered persona, singer-songwriters did not, revealing instead usage patterns that were substantially more individualistic. This analysis was greatly aided by the choice to approach these bundles of stereotypically gendered linguistic resources together, revealing that for idol groups, whose public images and artistic output are heavily regulated by their production
companies, a reliance on more so-called “traditional” conceptions of gender is critical to their artistic brand.

As a conclusion of this dissertation, this chapter will begin by reviewing the findings and analyses of each of the included case studies. Then, I will discuss media consumption and its relationship to linguistic consumption broadly, and conclude with a brief description of my goals for future research on the semiotic potential of popular cultural linguistic phenomena.

7.1. Overview of Case Study Findings

In an effort towards addressing the dearth of literature on language use in Japanese popular media, as well as increasing the representation of research on popular cultural language, this dissertation engages with linguistic variables in three different media genres.

The first case study in Chapter 4 is an exploration of the characterological register known as o-jōsama kotoba and its history of use in the yuri genre through the lens of audience design (Bell 1984, 2001). Though yuri has its generic origins in the greater shōjo genre, it has existed as a formalized genre only since approximately 2003 with the publication of the first yuri-dedicated manga magazine, Yuri Shimai. Yuri is conventionally defined as a genre that centers on romantic and erotic relationships between female characters, though the creators and consumers of yuri have varied historically in accordance with the magazine of a given yuri narrative’s publication. This case study focuses on Comic Yuri Hime (2005-present), the successor magazine to Yuri Shimai. Comic Yuri Hime is written predominantly by women for a majority female audience, but in an effort to appeal to its minority male readership, the editorial board also ran a male-targeted version of the magazine, Comic Yuri Hime S, from 2007 through 2010. Having the same
editorial board managing two versions of the magazine with explicitly different target audiences allowed for this case study to examine the role that the gender of the author, the gender of the imagined target audience, and the role of the character under analysis play in the utilization of the hyper-feminine speech style *o-jōsama kotoba* in the construction of *yuri* narratives.

Using a linear mixed effects model, the results of the first case study illustrate that the author, their imagined audience, and the role of a given character all play a role in predicting the utilization of a particular speech style. First, regardless of the gender of either the author or target audience, main characters are significantly less likely to use *o-jōsama kotoba* ($p < 0.001$), while side characters are significantly more likely to do so ($p < 0.001$). This is a result that confirms assertions in previous literature (Kinsui 2003, Lippi-Green 1997) that protagonists typically have the least-marked speech style within a given narrative.

Second, the model shows that there is a two-way interaction between author gender and main characters ($p = 0.008$) and author gender and side characters ($p = 0.008$). Female authors writing main characters are less likely to use *o-jōsama kotoba*, though when writing side characters, are more likely to use it. Meanwhile, the opposite effect is observable for male authors: main characters more likely to use *o-jōsama kotoba* and side characters less likely to use it. It is with this result that we begin to see how the choice to use *o-jōsama kotoba* may intersect with an author’s gender. Female authors, while less likely to ascribe this style to a main character, are more likely to utilize it for side characters, perhaps coinciding with a higher incidence in their work of all-girls’ schools as a setting. Meanwhile, while male authors may use more *o-jōsama kotoba*-related features with their main characters, their side characters are less likely to use them.
Finally, this model reveals significant three-way interactions between author gender, target gender, and the love interest role (p < 0.001) and between author gender, target gender, and the main character role (p = 0.041). For love interests, authors writing for a cross-gender audience were significantly less likely to utilize o-jōsama kotoba, while those writing for same-gender audiences were more likely to utilize it, illustrating perhaps a kind of hesitance to use o-jōsama kotoba when writing for cross-gender audiences that is not reflected among same-gender audiences. For main characters, authors writing for cross-gender audiences are more likely to use o-jōsama kotoba, while those writing for same-gender audiences are less likely to do so. These three-way interactions, especially the one involving love interests, illustrate clearly the correlation that author gender and gender of the target audience can have with linguistic decision making on the side of the creator of a given narrative.

As of writing, the only linguistic research on o-jōsama kotoba is that included in Kinsui’s (2003) introduction of the concept of yakuwarigo (役割語 ‘role language’), a work in which o-jōsama kotoba is treated as a means of indexing a particular character type across genres. This case study, however, analyzes the use of o-jōsama kotoba and its related figure, the o-jōsama, specifically within the genre of yuri, exploring both its history of use within the genre and its continued use as a generic trope. Furthermore, this study also contributes to academic work on the use of characterological, gendered speech styles in manga. Unser-Schutz’s (2015) discussion of gendered sentence-final expressions in shōjo and shōnen manga has added considerably in this area, and the current case study expands on her approach by incorporating consideration of authorship, audience, and the character speaking.
The second case study took a broader approach to the speaking figure by exploring gendered personae in today’s pop music. Focusing on the lyrics of female idol groups and female singer-songwriters, this case study explored the use of gendered first- and second-person pronominals with ideologically gendered sentence-final expressions. These two groups were chosen for analysis because of their vast degree of difference with regard to artistic agency. Compared to female singer-songwriters, who have a varying level of control over their image and musical output, idol groups have virtually none. For the purposes of this case study, this agency difference is reflected in the level of input each artist or group has in their lyrical content. While singer-songwriters, as their title suggests, compose at least some if not all of their lyrics, idol lyrics are instead managed by a different entity outside of the group, most typically their producer.

With this background in mind, this study explored the usage of ideologically gendered sentence-final expressions in lyrics from both of these groups, and how this usage corresponds with first- and second-person pronominal usage. In the case of the idol groups, first- and second-person pronominals are statistically significant predictors of sentence-final expression usage according to normative gender ideologies (p < 0.001 for each of the four analytical categories). In other words, songs that utilize first-person boku and second-person kimi are significantly more likely to have normatively masculine sentence-final expressions, while songs that utilize first-person watashi and second-person anata are significantly more likely to have normatively feminine sentence-final expressions.

This degree of correspondence between pronominals and sentence-final expressions is expected, given that the lyricists for each of the idol groups are most typically their older, male
producers, who are themselves likely writing from a position of imagined “female” and imagined “male” voices. Additionally, the use of a male persona as seen in the idol lyrics is not unheard of in Japanese music history. As discussed by Yano (2002), having explicitly gendered songs performed by a cross-gender performer is a tendency that is also seen in *enka*.

Singer-songwriters, on the other hand, show much more individualistic usage patterns. Unlike in the lyrics of idol groups, first- and second-person pronominals are not necessarily predictors for sentence-final expression use. Indeed, first-person pronouns are only significant predictors of “high male specificity” expressions ($p = 0.011$), while second-person pronouns were only significant predictors for “high female specificity” expressions ($p = 0.002$). Singer-songwriters in this study readily switch between using the normatively feminine *watashi* and the normatively masculine *boku* with little if any change in sentence-final expression usage, and for some artists, this switch happens within even the same song. In combination with the thematic content of the lyrics more generally, this lack of correspondence indicates that for singer-songwriters, the usage of normatively masculine *boku/kimi* does not necessarily suggest the switch to a “male” perspective in the lyrics. Indeed, in many of its appearing contexts, both *boku* and *kimi* suggest a more gender-neutral use than an explicitly gendered one, an emergent usage of these pronouns that has been commented on in previous literature (e.g. Nakamura 2008) but has yet to be otherwise critically explored.

The case study on song lyrics explores both the role of specific linguistic features in constructing a gendered persona, as well as situations in which the use of those same features may not construct that persona. Artists who perform in the pop music realm are often the target of a high amount of image-based scrutiny which the artists in question have a varying degree of
control over. For idols, much of their image is involved in the commodification of their adolescence and youth, an idea that becomes increasingly separated from the individual being marketed due to the immense number of members that are a part of any given idol group (cf. Galbraith 2012). Singer-songwriters, on the other hand, are allowed to have a higher degree of agency over their artistic output, a fact that is reflected in what the data from this study reveals: their deeply individualistic approach to both pronominal use and sentence-final expression use. Overall, research in this area contributes to a larger conversation on the creation and perception of gendered personae and the way that those personae are consumed by pop music listeners.

The final case study in Chapter 6 is a preliminary, close examination of the sociophonetics of sentence-final particle *wa* as it is used by a variety of characterological figures in anime. Previous literature on sentence-final *wa* has tended towards traditional, highly normative interpretations of this particle, and literature that explores its use in context among speakers is scarce. Furthermore, existing literature frequently puts emphasis on a hard difference between *wa* as it is produced with a rising intonation versus a falling intonation, but commentary on this difference is nevertheless impressionistic at best. This study, by analyzing the use of sentence-final *wa* among four different character types (*onna* (no ko), *o-jōsama*, *gyaru*, and *o-nē*), provides an initial exploration at the manifestation of intonational differences as they correspond with different varieties of exaggerated gender-related performances. This study chose anime for the high degree of scriptedness that necessarily goes into dialogue construction for appearing characters, and because, unlike manga, it provides its own aural dimension.

For analysis, this study compares the use of sentence-final *yo* with the use of sentence-final *wa* among these character types. The reason for doing this stems from the fact that previous
literature frequently discusses these particles as being the same type or having the same function, with *wa* claimed to functioning as little more than a “feminizing” or more emotive version of the two particles when used with a declarative statement. However, unlike *wa*, *yo* does not have the same degree of commentary concerning the direction of pitch change that coincides with its usage, despite having a similar pragmatic function. This study shows that while certain character types may demonstrate a preference for rising or falling intonation with *wa*, the only character type that uses exclusively one or the other is *o-nē*. Additionally, this tendency for rising or falling intonation roughly corresponds with the same tendency in *yo* usage for certain character types (*o-jōsama* and *o-nē*), but not others (*onna (no ko)* and *gyaru*). Moreover, an analysis of the degree of pitch change reveals the variability that exists with rising or falling manifestations of both *yo* and *wa* that is significantly predictable by character type (*yo*: $\chi^2(3) = 12.963$, $p < 0.001$; *wa*: $\chi^2(3) = 20.636$, $p < 0.001$). These results illustrate that previous either-or, black-and-white approaches to sentence-final *wa* and its use do not address the variability that this particle can exhibit in practice, especially as observed among different mediatized figures.

This study, with its move away from analysis within a specific genre, shows the kind of data that research on language in media can contribute to complement studies done of the same phenomena in non-media settings. Despite continued pockets of resistance to the analysis of fictionalized or otherwise mediated linguistic phenomena, exploring the performative and ideological dimensions of a given linguistic unit in other genres a community creates and consumes provides an opportunity to truly explore that unit’s potential in a way that is more difficult with spontaneous speech. Furthermore, from the perspective of Japanese linguistics specifically, a great deal of particle research is dedicated to such lexemes as *yo* and *ne*, a reality
that reflects their high degree of use. But, the flip side of this coin is that those sentence-final particles that have a lower degree of use in day-to-day conversation are underrepresented in the literature. Being open to the use of popular media in collecting linguistic data increases our opportunities to study many of these otherwise uncommon linguistic variables.

7.2. Media Consumption as Linguistic Consumption

Any study that involves language in media has had to carry out the necessary work of justifying fictionalized discourse as a topic of linguistic inquiry (cf. Stamou 2014). As Jaffe (2011:563) states in her study on the portrayal of American English dialects in the documentary “Do You Speak American?”, “one of the foundational premises of this literature is that media productions…simultaneously produce (or constitute) ideologies about the nature of language as well as the people who produce, consume, and/or are represented by [it].” These points of interest are echoed in the yakuwarigo and related character language frameworks (e.g. Kinsui 2003, Sadanobu 2011b, Kinsui and Yamakido 2015, Maynard 2015) in which the role of linguistic stereotypes and genre-related expectations is a key point of interest. The existence of these perspectives on the part of both researchers in Japan and outside of it demonstrates a willingness in research on language in media to consider both the linguistic ideologies of the creator of a given work and the expectations of a hypothetical, imagined target audience. Indeed, much of the discussion on the importance of fictionalized discourse falls back on these concepts, though in practice, when it comes to analysis linguistic research in this vein tends to lean more heavily on the representation of language rather than its reception. A few such examples in the area of Japanese sociocultural linguistics include Hiramoto (2013), who analyzes the variously
gendered stylistic patterns assigned to different characters in the anime *Cowboy Bebop*, and Ueno (2006), who explores the use of traditionally feminine-coded sentence-final particles in *shōjo* manga according to the age of the characters speaking. Indeed, the reliance on ideologically gendered linguistic resources on the part of media creators is particularly salient in works localized to Japanese from other languages, an effect that is illustrated by Inoue’s (2003) and Hiramoto’s (2009) discussions of the linguistic portrayal of characters in *Gone with the Wind*, and the societal implications that linguistic stylistics have with regard to gender and race in this work.

While researchers such as those mentioned above have done critical work that views on language in media as representative of greater sociocultural ideologies, an area that still awaits and warrants greater discussion is the relationship between consumer and the consumed. Research that is situated in media studies more broadly has engaged with this topic, particularly with regard to Japanese popular media (e.g. Condry 2013, Lamarre 2018), but these discussions have not been placed overtly in conversation with the topic of language use in said media. In his work *Anime Ecology*, Lamarre (2018) speaks of the production of a “parasocial field,” or affective like-social attachments to media figures, with the consumption of popular media. Originally introduced by Horton and Wohl (1956), the concept of parasociality has made few inroads into sociocultural linguistic studies of fictionalized speech. As Lamarre (2018:28) is careful to point out, however, “our media have definitively eroded a binary opposition between real sociality and media sociality. The parasocial has its own social reality…. [This] parasocial field is one on which nonhuman actors may be ontologically distinguished from humans in their mode of existence yet are not different from them essentially or substantially.” A consideration
for parasocial relationships as part of an individual’s greater social experience has the potential to play an important role in sociocultural linguistic research; indeed, as media studies shows us, the relationship between media and the consumer is more complicated than simply a division between “social” and “non-social.” Moreover, parasociality as part of an individual’s greater social experience has the potential to play an important role in sociocultural linguistic research. Language socialization does not occur in a vacuum divorced from the greater mediasphere of an individual’s existence, and to ignore the role that media influence has on the development of one’s language ideologies and practice is to ignore a critical area of language and social development.

7.3. Directions for Future Research

Keeping in mind the fact that both creator and consumer play critical roles in determining the kind of language that appears in a given work, there remain a variety of different facets of media production, consumption, and language ideology that demand scholarly attention. This dissertation primarily examined linguistic phenomena from the perspective of the creator and how they imagine their respective audiences, and the included studies were naturally limited by their methodology. Possible areas of expansion within these studies include interviews with those with the power to make decisions on the language use in their respective genres, such as editors and writers in the case of the yuri study or lyricists in the case of the pop music one. Furthermore, while it is possible to extrapolate as to the kind of consumer that is imagined on the part of the creators, in these case studies the voice of the actual consumer is not part of the study.
As with the creators, a possible direction for expansion includes interviews with those who consume these media.

Looking beyond only those studies included within this dissertation, an area that demands further inquiry is 1) what resources speakers (both media professionals and otherwise) use to construct characterological figures, and 2) how these resources manifest sociophonetically. This dissertation included one preliminary study on this area on sentence-final *wa*, but the possibilities for exploration far exceed only that particle. As with sentence-final expression research more generally, scholarly work in this area has rarely explored beyond gender as the sociocultural variable of analysis, though some recent studies have emerged. Teshigawara (2003, 2007), for example, offers an exploration of the phonetic difference between protagonists and antagonists across different anime series, and Starr (2015) engages with the acoustic properties of a style she refers to as “sweet voice” and its use among different female voice actors. There is also Redmond’s (2016) study of the role of pitch (F0) in the construction of “boyishness” by female voice actors playing male roles in anime, as well as Sleeper’s (2017) smaller study on the performance of fatness and *fujoshi* (腐女子 lit. ‘rotten women’) in the anime *Kiss Him, Not Me* (私がモテてどうすんだ Watashi ga motete dō sun da, Brain’s Base, 2013). Though sociophonetic studies on language in media have been increasing, those that investigate Japanese language ideologies at the level of individual speakers are still scarce. To my knowledge, the only published articles in this area are Hiramoto (2010) and Anderson et al. (2007), which examine the interaction of prosody and gender stereotyping with regard to sentence-final *yo* and *ne*, respectively.
In an examination of three different genres of popular media, this dissertation has explored but a small fraction of the linguistic variation that exists in the venues where speakers engage with, participate in, and consume fictionalized genres every day. Language as it is mediated through popular culture is critical to understanding the representation and reification of stereotypes, and in many ways, what we see in media is representative of the very ideas and images that we find most salient in day-to-day living. Given the realities of media consumption and creation, and the parasocial relationship that consumers develop with their consumed media, actively refusing to include the study of popular cultural linguistic phenomena is to ignore large swathes of potential scholarship on the greater cognitive processes at work in day-to-day human social interaction. With continued effort on the part of today’s researchers, both current and emerging, it is my hope that the body of research on language in media will continue to grow and expand.
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Podesva, R. J. (2007). Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a


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Yamaguchi, H. (2011). *Yakuarigo no ekorogii: Tanin kyara to konteki no kankei [Ecology*
of role language, or how to be somebody else in non-narrative contexts]. In Kinsui S. (ed.), *Yakuwarigo kenkyū no tenkai* [Advances in Role Language Research]: 27-47. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.


Appendix A: Supplementary Data Tables
Table 22. Coefficients, standard error, z-value, and p-values of a mixed-effects logistic regression model using the *Comic Yuri Hime* dialogue corpus. Dependent variables are character type, author gender, and target audience gender, and independent variable is rate of *o-jōsama kotoba* use. There is also a random intercept for author (SD 0.738) and sum contrasts coding.

| Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| (Intercept) | -2.801 | 0.135 | -20.740 | <0.001 *** |

**SIMPLE EFFECTS**

| Effect | Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|--------|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| char (LI) | 0.061 | 0.062 | 1.014 | 0.311 |
| char (MC) | -0.509 | 0.064 | -7.950 | <0.001 *** |
| char (SC) | 0.446 | 0.062 | 7.245 | <0.001 *** |
| authGen (F) | -0.094 | 0.134 | -0.702 | 0.483 |
| authGen (M) | 0.094 | 0.134 | 0.702 | 0.483 |
| target (F) | -0.085 | 0.100 | -0.850 | 0.395 |
| target (M) | 0.085 | 0.100 | 0.850 | 0.395 |

**TWO-WAY INTERACTIONS**

| Effect | Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|--------|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| char (LI):authGen (F) | 0.006 | 0.062 | 0.094 | 0.925 |
| char (MC):authGen (F) | -0.168 | 0.064 | -2.628 | 0.008 ** |
| char (SC):authGen (F) | 0.162 | 0.062 | 2.637 | 0.008 ** |
| char (LI):authGen (M) | -0.006 | 0.062 | -0.094 | 0.925 |
| char (MC):authGen (M) | 0.168 | 0.064 | 2.628 | 0.008 ** |
| char (SC):authGen (M) | -0.162 | 0.062 | -2.637 | 0.008 ** |
| char (LI):target (F) | 0.004 | 0.062 | 0.063 | 0.950 |
| char (MC):target (F) | 0.070 | 0.064 | 1.087 | 0.277 |
| char (SC):target (F) | -0.073 | 0.062 | -1.194 | 0.232 |

Continued
### Table 22 continued

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### THREE-WAY INTERACTIONS

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Table 23. Coefficients, standard error, z-value, and p-values for eight logistic regression models using the idol lyrics data set. Dependent variables are categories of sentence-final expression use (as detailed in the analysis schema in Table 13), and independent variables are first-person pronominals and second-person pronominals, respectively.

|                         | Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|-------------------------|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| **FIRST-PERSON PRONOMINALS** |          |            |         |          |
| HFS (high female specificity) |          |            |         |          |
| FPPcatboku             | NA       | NA         | NA      | NA       |
| FPPcatwatashi          | NA       | NA         | NA      | NA       |
| LFS (low female specificity) |          |            |         |          |
| FPPcatboku             | -1.372   | 0.467      | -6.899  | <0.001 *** |
| FPPcatwatashi          | 1.852    | 0.467      | 6.899   | <0.001 *** |
| LMS (low male specificity) |          |            |         |          |
| FPPcatboku             | 3.714    | 0.764      | 5.448   | <0.001 *** |
| FPPcatwatashi          | -0.448   | 0.764      | -5.448  | <0.001 *** |
| HMS (high male specificity) |          |            |         |          |
| FPPcatboku             | -0.916   | 0.571      | 2.983   | 0.003 **  |
| FPPcatwatashi          | -2.621   | 0.571      | -2.983  | 0.003 **  |
| **SECOND-PERSON PRONOMINALS** |          |            |         |          |
| HFS (high female specificity) |          |            |         |          |
| SPPcatanata            | 0.932    | 0.511      | 6.820   | <0.001 *** |
| SPPcatkimi             | -2.554   | 0.511      | -6.820  | <0.001 *** |
Table 23 continued

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Table 24. Coefficients, standard error, z-value, and p-values for eight logistic regression models using the singer-songwriter lyrics data set. Dependent variables are categories of sentence-final expression use (as detailed in the analysis schema in Table 13), independent variables are first-person pronominals and second-person pronominals respectively, and there is a random slope for artist.

| Coefficient | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|-------------|------------|---------|----------|
| **FIRST-PERSON PRONOMINALS** | | | |
| **HFS (high female specificity) (random slope SD = 0)** | | | |
| FPPcatboku | -2.079 | 0.787 | -1.107 | 0.268 (n.s.) |
| FPPcatwatashi | -1.208 | 0.787 | 1.107 | 0.268 (n.s.) |
| **LFS (low female specificity) (random slope SD = 0.382)** | | | |
| FPPcatboku | -0.055 | 0.571 | -1.950 | 0.051 (marginal) |
| FPPcatwatashi | 1.059 | 0.571 | 1.950 | 0.051 (marginal) |

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Table 24 continued

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Table 25. Coefficients, standard error, z-value, and p-values of a generalized logistic regression model analyzing direction of intonation for sentence-final particles *yo* and *wa* in the anime character type data set. Dependent variable is intonational direction, and independent variable is character type. There is also sum contrasts coding.

| Character Type           | Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr (>|z|) |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| (Intercept)              | 1.206    | 0.189      | 6.393   | <0.001 *** |
| charType (onna (no ko)) | -0.587   | 0.269      | -2.183  | 0.029 *   |
| charType (o-jōsama)     | 1.433    | 0.412      | 3.482   | <0.001 *** |
| charType (gyaru)        | -1.493   | 0.278      | -5.374  | <0.001 *** |
| charType (o-nē)         | 0.648    | 0.328      | 1.969   | 0.049 *   |