

Exploring the Ideological Shift of Japanese Feminine Language:
Sentence-Final Particle *wa* in *Sailor Moon*

by

Allix Damalas

Department of Linguistics, University of Colorado at Boulder

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Thesis Advisor:

Kira Hall, Department of Linguistics

Committee Members:

Andrew Cowell, Department of Linguistics

Michiko Kaneyasu, Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations

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Abstract

In this thesis, I explore Japanese feminine language and its various indexical meanings in the popular fictional manga and anime series *Sailor Moon*. Feminine speech in Japanese society, often discussed in the literature as Japanese Women's Language, is ideologically associated with a fragile and soft-spoken woman, commonly summed up to index a stance of powerlessness. However, efforts to abolish negative stereotypes of femininity in Japan have emerged in two ways. First, women may tend to use neutral or masculine speech forms and ignore the expectation to perform femininity. Second, there are efforts to “re-ideologize” feminine language as indexing a stance of power, which may be observed by a woman's choice to use and contextualize feminine linguistic forms in a new way.

Since these diverse uses of feminine speech are not recognized in the ideology that surrounds Japanese Women's Language, I aim to illustrate the various indexicalities of Super-Feminine Sentence Final Particle *wa* in Japanese fictional language. Questions to be considered include the following: Are there efforts for re-ideologizing Japanese Women's Language and is this being portrayed in media? Is the dynamic use of natural feminine linguistic expression mirrored through different mediums in popular culture? What other stances besides fragility and soft-spokenness are portrayed through use of feminine linguistic variables? I will be examining in particular the Japanese feminine sentence-final particle *wa* and the contexts in which it is

uttered in the popular Japanese series *Sailor Moon*. The language used in this anime is the standard Tokyo dialect. In this series, this dialect is also shared by minor characters who exhibit what is called *yakuwarigo* ‘role language’, a linguistic variety that is said to be modeled after various linguistic stereotypes of regional identities, elderly Japanese men, foreigners living in Japan, and finally, gender (Teshigawa & Kinsui 2011). My analysis reveals that even though the female stereotype is portrayed when both *yakuwarigo* ‘role language’ and Japanese Women’s Language are used in media, many other qualities besides normative femininity are also indexed by main characters’ uses of feminine language forms, such as the Sentence Final Particle *wa*.

Introduction

Gendered language, particularly feminine language, is a frequently observed phenomena in the field of Japanese sociolinguistics. Cook (2008:21) says “voices of social identities presuppose cultural beliefs, knowledge and expectations in society.” These social meanings are created in both the speaker and recipient of an interaction. Mizumoto (2016:8) concludes from an extensive survey regarding Women’s Language in media that Japanese adult males understand Japanese Women’s Language (hereafter referenced as JWL) to be “representative of women,” and that a woman’s use of “feminine speech projects gentleness, pleasantness, romanticism, and sex appeal.” Additionally, scholars such as Gottlieb (2006), Inoue (2003), and Hiramoto (2010:235) have expressed that the use of JWL projects a publicly acknowledged stereotype of softness, weakness, uncertainty, and lack of aggression on behalf of the speaker. In contrast, the use of masculine forms is said to index traits of “assertiveness, strength, power and directness” (Matsugu 2008:185).

In other words, use of JWL creates an identity that agrees with normative femininity while the use of masculine forms is representative of normative masculinity. However, Abe (1995: 652) argues that indexed characteristics of JWL are informed by simplistic stereotypes and are not supported by concrete data. Okamoto (1997:809) additionally points out that “the choice of speech styles is a strategy based on a speaker’s consideration of multiple social aspects of the context (e.g. gender, age, intimacy, genre, domain, speech-act type) as well as on the speaker’s linguistic ideology, or beliefs and attitudes, concerning language use.” Matsugu (2008) similarly proposes that “the style [of] ‘women’s language’ is not simply opposed to ‘men’s and/or girls’ languages but rather is highly context-dependent and complex” (2008:199). Inoue (2003:329) theorizes these perspectives by stating that “no ideological notion is automatically stable or naturally permanent. Such a treatment does not allow linguistic variation and change.” There is now a burgeoning body of literature that accordingly seeks to define the actual indexicalities of JWL forms.

It is commonly said that JWL emerged from a movement of schoolgirls who developed a speech style that defied the communication norm during the Meiji era (Inoue 2002). This way of speech, referred to as *teyodawa*, was originally thought to be harsh and offensive for defying social norms and their expected female roles such as *ryōsai-kenbo* ‘good wife, wise mother’ (Teshigawara & Kinsui 2011). Despite the criticism that followed the development and use of *teyodawa* language, writers began to use this language style for female student characters. After the Meiji era, the spread of female characters’ use of *teyodawa* language through domestic novels and various forms of print media (magazines, advertisements) has contributed to establishing this language to be typical of women’s speech. Inoue (2002: 406) explains:

Through the process of writers actively indexicalizing the speech of female characters as generic and universal yet increasingly feminized... [this] elevation of schoolgirls' speech to the generic women's language, the voice of the modern gendered subject, was thus far from a natural history. ... [Yet despite this,] the domestic novel was clearly in a position to advance the nationalizing interests of the state apparatus by narrativizing and aestheticizing the state's ideal of modern Japanese women's role of 'good wife and wise mother'.

It is through the spread of this speech style in media that *teyodawa* language became the standard speech style of JWL and the source for female gender role language. The ideology of JWL expresses that certain utterance final particles—such as *wa*, *wayo*, *no*, *noyo*, *dawa*, *kashira*—mark softness, uncertainty, and have a “weak” affect. These are now considered “female” final particles and “came to be the gender marker of femaleness as a consequence of women complying with the socially-accepted and culturally-constituted gendered demeanor” (Inoue 2003: 319). Inoue says that the result of this transformation was “a new (metapragmatic) discursive space” that objectified a cultural meaning of femininity and as a result the condition under which indexing gender itself became available. Overtime, movements to resist gender norms started appearing in Japanese society.

According to Okamoto and Smith (2004) in their book *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology*, Japanese women's movements and their efforts to oppose gender ideologies started to emerge during the 1970's (see also Yukawa and Saito 2004:25). Abe (1995) illustrates an

example of this effort through word manipulation. The term *bai-shun* ‘prostitution’, for example, is standardly written as [売春] *bai-shun*. This translates to ‘selling spring’, which Abe says “very clearly takes the male perspective” because it is seen from the position of a woman ‘selling’ her self in sex-work. But by changing the first character [売] *bai* to [買] *bai*, the term becomes [買春] *bai-shun* ‘buying spring’ and shifts the perspective as a result. Instead of the male perspective of a sex-worker ‘selling’ one’s self, the new term expresses the sex-worker’s perspective of customers ‘buying’ their services. Abe explains this to be a method of feminist effort to eliminate the masculine unmarkedness of the Japanese lexicon. Other movements, such as what I call the *subversive* and *dominating* practices of JWL, are currently popular as a focus of this kind of research. The subversive approach can be practiced by women through the choice to use neutral and/or masculine forms, while the dominating approach sets to reclaim JWL to express a competing or alternative model of femininity in its use.

Offering empirical support for the latter, Inoue (2006) has found that some women use feminine speech as an “interactional strategy.” In particular, she argues that Sentence Final Particles (SFP) are “evidential markers” which are used to express speakers’ social attitudes or stances in a statement (Inoue 2002:394). Matsugu (2008) suggests that SFP *wa*, which is considered to be strongly feminine, holds the capacity to index multiple identities (see also Cook 2008:30, who argues that Japanese SFPs convey speech acts). Matsugu finds that multiple public-faces may be indexed by an interactional strategy of using feminine forms. From this, it is evident that SFP *wa* holds an emergent meaning. For instance, Matsugu concludes that one of the indexicalities of *wa* is to assert power. These findings illustrate a tension between the general indexicality associated with the form and the more local indexicalities, which push against

normative ideologies around feminine *wa*. Agreeing with these theories of emergence, I became interested in researching linguistic variation and change within the genre of Japanese animation (anime), the subject of this thesis.

Various theories claim anime may be reflective of real life. Consider Silvio's (2010:427) statement regarding the importance of anime to anthropology and social theory more generally:

...when considering *animation* in its broadest definition (as the projection of qualities perceived as human—life, power, agency, will, personality, and so on—outside of the self, and into the sensory environment, through acts of creation, perception, and interaction), This projection, like any human expression, requires a medium, and we can take the comparative study of techniques of animation—in art, in religion, in everyday life—as the goal of an anthropology of animation.

Extending this theory to speech, others such as Smith (1992:69) view anime as “a particularly clear field for the playing out of traditional cultural visions of men’s and women’s natures, and the language appropriate to these natures.” Furthermore, Gottlieb (2006:474) proposes that the media plays an important part in reinforcing certain patterns of speech and certain stereotypes about gendered speech. Based on these characterizations of anime and its potential creativity with respect to language diversity, this thesis seeks evidence of the re-indexicalization of feminine linguistic forms in the popular Japanese anime television series *Sailor Moon*, created by Naoko Takeuchi. This series has a target audience of young females, with a plot centered on heroines fighting against evil forces as well as their daily slice of life. A careful observation of various characters’ use of feminine *wa* in *Sailor Moon* suggests that the emergence of new

indexicalities and ideologies for JWL occurs in anime as well. This thesis theorizes that as an expression of a broader effort to shift language ideologies of Japanese feminine language, *Sailor Moon* will hold evidence that feminine SFP *wa* is actually multifunctional in its pragmatic indexicality and attributes to the dominative practice of ideology shifting.

Background

First, it is important to establish the particular *wa* being observed in this research. There are forms of gender neutral SFP *wa* most commonly heard in the Kansai dialect, particularly the dialect of speakers from Kyoto (Ogawa & Smith 1997:411). Teshigawara & Kinsui (2011) claim that in the fictional language of media, Standard Japanese (SJ), as the Tokyo dialect is the variety that is used most frequently for protagonists. Considering this, together with the fact that *Sailor Moon* is set in the Azabu-Jūban district of Minato-ku, Tokyo, it can be hypothesized that Kansai dialectal SFP *wa* will not appear in the data. Furthermore, there is a non-dialectal gender neutral SFP *wa* which differs from feminine SFP *wa*. According to McGloin (1990: 31), *wa* with falling intonation is typically uttered by males speaking modern Tokyo standard Japanese while rising intonation *wa* is “exclusively used by women.” It is this rising intonation *wa* which has been attributed to a submissive stance of the speaker to the addressee (Kitagawa 1977, cited in McGloin 1990). The *wa* of focus in this paper is the rising intonation *wa*, a sentence-final bound morpheme used in JWL.

The Japanese language is commonly said to have various degrees of gender marking, typically identified as Super-Feminine, Feminine, Neutral, Masculine and Super-Masculine

(Hiramoto 2010, Matsugu 2008:188). The use of linguistic forms in these different spectrums may index various identities in the manner described by Bucholtz & Hall (2005:594) in their theorization of the way identity emerges in interaction. In the background literature I have found multiple classifications of Japanese gendered linguistic forms, and from this literature I have compiled my own table, which categorizes common gendered forms into various “degrees” of Japanese gendered language (see Table 1 below).

super-feminine	feminine	neutral	masculine	super-masculine
わ <i>wa</i>	の <i>no</i>	ね <i>ne</i>		ぜ <i>ze</i>
わよ <i>wa yo</i>	のよ <i>no yo</i>	よ <i>yo</i>		ぞ <i>zo</i>
わね <i>wa ne</i>	のね <i>no ne</i>	もん <i>mon</i>		な <i>na</i>
だわ COP+ <i>wa</i>	V-てね V- <i>te ne</i>	さ <i>sa</i>		かよ <i>ka yo</i>
かしら <i>kashira</i>	でしょう <i>desho(o)</i>	かな <i>kana</i>	だろう <i>daro(o)</i>	
	あたし <i>atashi</i> *あたくし <i>atakushi</i>	私 <i>watashi</i> *わたくし <i>watakushi</i>	僕 <i>boku</i>	俺 <i>ore</i>

Table 1 : Gendered First-Person Pronouns & Sentence-Final Forms

Super gender forms are said to index hegemonic gender identities (Hiramoto 2010; Matsugu 2008), a process described by Ochs (1992) as indirect indexicality. Yet as Ochs explains, the individual degrees of gendered speech noted in Table 1 may also directly index stances taken in the immediate conversation (Ochs 1992; see also Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Hall & Bucholtz 2013). For example, Ueno (2006: 22) suggests that Super-Feminine forms are a polite

command form. Her analysis of fictional language reveals that hyper-feminine language appears when young females want to express their femininity, when characters have a noble background, or when characters are in formal conversations and with older female characters. Matsugu (2008), however, suggests these forms can be used to assert authoritative power and explains that the use of feminine language extends beyond the intention of sounding “soft and/or weakened” (197).

A significant way in which media plays an active part in reinforcing stereotypes of gendered speech is *yakuwarigo* ‘role language’. Proposed by Teshigawara & Kinsui (2011), the function of *yakuwarigo* is to establish minor characters and their relationship to the protagonist in order to help develop the plot of a fictional story. Due to these characters’ limited dialogue, they use linguistic stereotypes to portray stereotypic social roles that rely on shared knowledge between the characters and the audience to understand the identities. This approach is chosen to make the character background and personality types quickly accessible to the audience without a need for the storyline to establish these characters explicitly. Therefore, these linguistic stereotypes are “rooted in non-fictional language usage” (Teshigawara 2011:38-39). As mentioned above, common character types of *yakuwarigo* are elderly Japanese men, foreign speakers of Japanese, regional dialect speakers, and gendered types.

In *yakuwarigo*, the language type used for establishing female gender is *teyodawa* language of Meiji era. The deployment of *teyodawa* language is seen in sentence final forms, usually consisting of SFPs *wa*, *yo* and the utterance-final *te* form of a verb. Based off these characteristics of *teyodawa* language, I will first determine if a character is using *yakuwarigo*. Feminine *yakuwarigo* is said to index normative roles of Japanese women: for example, the

mother role known as *ryōsai-kenbo* ‘good wife, wise mother’ (Teshigawara & Kinsui 2011:49). Hiramoto (2010:236) claims that feminine *yakuwarigo* exhibits “the socially-accepted and culturally-constituted gendered demeanor” that is a “weak” or softening perception on behalf of the speaker. These characterized identities of *yakuwarigo* are created from actual identities that carry a widely known stereotyped language use in Japanese society. By having a minor character use *yakuwarigo*, the author is expressing the significance and relationship of these characters to the main characters via language stereotypes.

After conducting background research and reviewing data, I have categorized predominate uses of feminine *wa* as based off of theories and findings in the literature reviewed. These distinctive uses illustrate the methods used toward shifting language ideologies of JWL. Following the understanding that the affective stance of Japanese SFPs are multifunctional in “constituting speech acts as well as identity” of a speaker (Cook 2008:30), I have come to identify six forms of SFP *wa* related to femininity which are distinct in their direct indexical goals, yet all simultaneous indirectly index the speaker’s gender identity as a female (see Table 2). I identify and categorize SFP *wa* in the following ways: 1) delicate *wa*, 2) *yakuwarigo wa*, 3) assertion *wa*, 4) coaching *wa*, 5) monologue *wa*, 6) verbal act *wa*.

Stereotypic Femininity					Defying Stereotype
<i>Yakuwarigo wa</i>	Delicate <i>wa</i>	Monologue <i>wa</i>	Verbal Act <i>wa</i>	Coaching <i>wa</i>	Assertion <i>wa</i>

Table 2: SFP *wa* in the spectrum of ‘femininity’

First, 1) *delicate wa* could be understood as a speaker’s intention to imply gentleness, hesitancy, and lack of assertiveness. Cook says “the soft and gentle disposition [of this particle], is an expected affective disposition for females, [and] has a constitutive relation with the affective softness of *wa* to evoke the female gender” (2008:30). This may be thought of as the normative *wa*, the SFP which indexes the traditional ideology of Japanese femininity. Next, 2) *yakuwarigo wa* is uttered by minor characters who are directly indexing stereotypical social roles with the use of SFP *wa*. Various identities or social roles may be indexed with this SFP, such as (a) the mother figure aligned with the *ryōsai-kenbo* ‘good wife, wise mother’ expectation or (b) a ‘typical woman’ of Japanese society. These identities also entail the traditional ideology of femininity in Japan.

The 3) assertive *wa*, is uttered to directly index power and emphasize the content of the accompanied statement. McGloin has suggested this assertion *wa* to be a maker of emotionally charged emphasis in an assertion and is exclusive to the female gender as a result: “feminine *wa* directs this emotional emphasis toward the addressee, while the masculine does not....seek to engender emotional rapport” (1990: 32-33). In my analysis, however, I will not be as focused on the emotional aspect of assertion *wa* as much as the aggressive intent of the speaker. Next is 4)

coaching *wa*. Suggested by Matsugu (2008), coaching *wa* is similar to assertion *wa*, but I argue there is a distinction between this and the assertion *wa*. With coaching *wa*, the speaker of the SFP is performing their social role as an instructor, mentor, or teacher and this takes precedence over asserting the content of an utterance. The 5th, monologue *wa*, is coupled with a character's self-addressed utterance, commonly in isolation. Ueno cites Matsumoto (2002) and defines this *wa* as "an exclamation to express a speaker's light, self-addressed confirmation about the propositional content of a sentence," creating an open-endedness that attenuates a speaker's assertion (2006:17). Despite propositions that this *wa* is not indexical of gender (Kodama 2004), I argue that it is indeed indirectly indexing femininity if uttered with a rising intonation. The final *wa* category is 6) verbal act *wa*, which functions to convey sarcasm or express emotions, typically anger, on behalf of the speaker (Okamoto 1997:812). In the Findings and Analysis section of this paper, I will make observations from the data collected to see whether or not substantial evidence of these various forms of *wa* and their distinctive indexicalities exist in fictional language of anime.

Data and Methodology

The data analyzed in this study consists of transcriptions of fictional feminine speech used in the anime *Sailor Moon*. The story is set in modern day Tokyo, centered on protagonist Usagi and her friends (Ami, Rei, Makoto, Minako) as they live typical lives of eighth grade girls by day (Figure 1) but protect the world from evil forces as *senshi* 'warriors' by night (see Figure 2).



Figure 1 [Rei, Usagi, Ami, Makoto]



Figure 2 [Sailor Senshi]

The series follows the girls as they discover and grow in their destined identities as *senshi* under the guidance of a mentor awoken from the distant past, a cat named Luna. It is worth noting that for the purpose of establishing context in the data, I will make a distinction between the characters' daily names and *senshi* names when labeling speakers. Because of the main characters' schoolgirl/warrior dual lifestyle, I thought this anime to be a good source to investigate hypotheses of JWL and potential ideology shift, as well as the multiple pragmatic functions of feminine SFP *wa*. Due to the nature of the series, the characters, being young girls, are bound to use feminine forms, yet the scenes involving their warrior forms should evoke use of imperatives or generally assertive language. The various contexts of the series is prime for diverse language.

The data was collected in three different forms: a) the 1992 anime 美少女戦士セーラームーン *Bishōjo Senshi Sailor Moon*, b) the 2014 series called 美少女戦士セーラームーンクリスタル *Bishōjo Senshi Sailor Moon Crystal*, c) the printed manga 美少女戦士セーラームーン *Bishōjo Senshi Sailor Moon*, originally published by Kodansha Comics' *Nakayoshi* magazine in 1992. The official title translation of the series is 'Pretty Guardian Sailor Moon'. It should be noted that the manga has been released a total of 3 times, including two rereleases in 2003 and 2013. All editions of the manga are consistent with no changes to the plot or script but only minor aesthetic changes to the cover and artwork. This thesis will use the 2003 Kodansha Comics release for the manga source.

Since there are variations regarding details of the story throughout all three mediums, I aimed to transcribe dialogue from episodes that share the same plot for the best comparison of characters' speech. All three sources come from season 1 of the *Sailor Moon* series. Transcripts from the manga include acts 1-6, 8-10; episodes from the 1992 television series *Sailor Moon* include episodes 1, 8, 10, 22, 25, 33-35, and 44; and finally, episodes of *Sailor Moon Crystal* (2014) include episodes 1-6 and 8-10. Overall, my analysis examines 18 anime episodes with an approximate length of twenty-one minutes (excluding episode title screen and opening/closing theme music), totaling to approximately six hours and forty minutes of observed speech, as well as approximately three hundred and fifty pages of printed dialogue. For this study, I have transcribed all occurrences of SFP feminine *wa* seen and heard in the series. In addition to taking notes of the context in which the utterance of the SFP occurs, I then categorized the utterance of *wa* into one of the six categories listed based off the speaker's indexical intent and stance.

In an attempt to better understand JWL and feminine *wa* in natural speech, a survey asking women the contexts and intent with their personal use of *wa* was conducted. However, the results of the survey are deemed non-conclusive based on sample size and the inability to collect unbiased data. Despite this outcome, I was still able to learn a few key points from this experience: 1) it is not possible to ask someone to objectively reflect and report on their natural speech and language use; 2) individuals may not be conscious of language ideology shifts or redefinition of social identities in their language and society; and 3) the women who responded saying they do use rising intonation SFP *wa* in their speech were all over the age of 30. All in all, the survey attempt was a useful learning experience.

Findings & Analysis

To begin the analysis of my findings I will first focus on 1) delicate *wa*. This SFP's function is to directly index gentleness and lack of assertion. Characters often use delicate *wa* in colloquial speech and casual contexts:

D1 Luna to Usagi SMC ep1 15.26:

(1) L: あたしはルナ あなたを探していたのよ うさぎちゃん

atashi-wa runa anata-o sagashi-te-ita no yo usagi-chan
 1P.SG.FEM-P PN 2P.SG-OBJ V.PST FP FP PN

(2) L: バンソーコはがしてくれてたすかったわ

bansōko hagashi-te kure-te tasuka-tta wa
 N V V help-PST FP

ああされてるとしゃべれないし

aa sare-te-iru-to shabere-nai-shi
 V V.NEG

探知能力は鈍るし 困ってたの

tanchinōroku-wa niburu-shi koma-tte-i-ta no
N-P N worry-to be-pst FP

この変な男の子本当に悪ガキね

kono hen-na otokonoko honto-ni waru gaki ne
DEM ADJ-P N ADJ-P ADJ N FP

(3) L: 会えてうれしいわ

ae-te ureshii wa
to meet.POT glad FP

(4) U: おやすみ

oyasumi
CE
pretends to sleep

(5) L: うさぎちゃん 夢じゃないのよ!

usagi-chan yume-ja-nai no yo
PN-SFX N-COP-NEG FP FP
no response from Usagi

(6) L: 分かったわ 目をさまさせてあげる

waka-tta wa me-o samasase-te ageru
understand-PST FP N-P V
gives Usagi a broach

English Translation

(1) L: 'I'm Luna I've been searching for you Usagi-chan'

(2) L: 'You helped me by removing that band-aid *wa*
because (of it) I wasn't able to talk my powers
were weakened I was worried *no*
those strange boys sure are brats *ne*'

(3) L: 'Im glad I was able to meet(you) *wa*'

(4) U: 'goodnight'
pretends to sleep

(5) L: 'Usagi-chan this isn't a dream *no yo!*'
no response from Usagi

(6) L: 'I get it *wa* I'll just have to open your eyes'
gives Usagi a broach

In example D1, Luna is introducing herself to Usagi for the first time. Because Luna is a talking cat, Usagi is in disbelief of the situation, which is why she is not actively participating in this verbal interaction. In lines (2) and (3), Luna's use of *wa* is to portray a sense of gratitude. Also, because Luna is a cat, her gender identity is not obvious through her biological sex, physical

appearance, or bodily gestures. As a result, her speech style throughout the series is frequently gender marked, as seen in D1 (i.e., multiple SFP *wa*, use of feminine 1st person pronoun *atashi*). Gender markings are therefore used as a method to make Luna's gender identity evident.

In the series there is also a case of a biological male character using delicate *wa* to perform femininity: Zoisite is an effeminate male who works for the evil forces against the *senshi*. This character is established to be gay by his romantic relationship with his peer, Kunzite. Zoisite uses delicate *wa* mostly to index femininity and less so to soften his statements. In the example below, Zoisite introduces himself to Sailor Moon (Usagi in warrior form) during the midst of turning a human into an evil spirit to fight.

D2 Zoisite & Sailor Moon SM ep 25 18.00:

(1) SM: お待ちなさい!

omachi-nasai
POL.wait-IMP

(2) Z: *laugh*

ふふふ ちょっと遅かったわね セーラームーン
huhuhu chotto osoka-tta wa ne sērāmūn
(laugh) little late-PST FP FP PN

(3) SM: 誰なの あんた!

dare-na no anata
who-P FP 2P.SG

(4) Z: 自己紹介いたしますわ ダークキングダム

jikoshokai-itashimasu wa Dark Kingdom
V-to do.HUMB FP PN

四天王の 一人 ゾイサイト

shitenō-no hitotsu zoisite
PN-P one-NC PN

(5) SM: ええ!

eeh
EXP

(6) Z: あとは任せたわよ ようまゲーセー

ato-wa makase-ta **wa yo** yōma gēsē
after-P v.PAS-PST FP FP N PN
leaves the scene

English Translation:

(1) SM: 'stop!'

(2) Z: (laughing) 'hu hu hu a little late **wa ne** Sailor Moon'

(3) SM: 'who are you!'

(4) Z: 'I'll introduce myself **wa** I am one of the
Dark Kingdom's Four Heavenly Kings Zoisite'

(5) SM: 'huh!'

(6) Z: 'now the rest is left to arcade ghost **wa yo**'
leaves the scene

In example D2, Zoisite originally responds to Sailor Moon's imperative in a mocking tone accompanied by a subtle laugh. From this, it is evident *wa* is used to indicate his verbal act of sarcasm (ln. 2). Zoisite later switches his use of *wa* to index femininity in (4) and (6) as he is establishing his identity as an effeminate male while introducing himself for the first time to Sailor Moon. Since Zoisite's character is a part of evil forces it can be said that his method of using *wa* is not to soften the intensity of his statements to the *senshi*, but rather to index his gender identity as female. Ogawa & Smith's (1997: 411) observation of gay male speech in media does not show evidence of gay males using JWL but I propose that use of JWL is a conscious choice on the part of Zoisite. In all, delicate *wa*, which is used to directly index soft-spokenness, does appear in the language use of various characters in *Sailor Moon*, but evidence of *wa* with differing and opposing indexical functions is also abound in the series (such as assertion *wa*).

Next, evidence of the *yakuwarigo wa* and its characteristics as defined by Teshigawa & Kinsui (2011) did appear. This stereotypic use of linguistic forms was uttered by a variety of minor characters. It was most commonly heard by characters such as friends and family of the

protagonist, Usagi, as well as female characters whom were just passing through a scene. In *yauwarigo* these characters index different roles with their use of SFP *wa*: for example, a mother and a ‘typical’ Japanese female in the ideological sense:

Y1 Usagi & mom SM ep 1 11.50:

- (1) U: た~だいま~
ta~daima~
 FE
- (2) M: おかえりなさい 遅かったじゃないの
okaerinasai osoka-tta-ja-nai no
 FE ADJ-PST-COP-NEG FP
- (3) U: うん ちょっとね
un chotto ne
 little FP
- (4) M: さっき そこで海野君に会ったわよ
Sakki soko-de umino-kun-ni a-tta wa yo
 ADV N-P PN-SFX-P meet-PST FP FP
- テスト返してもらったんだって
tesuto keashi-te mora-tta-n da-tte
 N V V-PST COP-Q
- (5) U: っ。。。
ii
 Fill
- (6) M: 海野君 95点だったってね
umino-kun kyūjūgo-ten da-tte ne
 PN-SFX NC COP-Q FP
- (7) U: ああ そう ハハハ... すごいね~
aa sō hahaha sugoi ne
 Fill (laugh) ADJ FP
- (8) U: *internally* 海野のヤツ ベラベラしゃべんなよ
Umino-no yatsu bera-bera shaben na yo
 PN-P ADJ ONM V FP FP

(9) M: で? うさぎは何点だったの?

de? usagi-wa nan-ten da-tta no?
CNJ PN-P NC COP-PST FP

(10)U: うっ いや~ あの~ それが... 実は なんだ... その~

u iya~ ano~ sore-ga jitsu-wa nanda sono~
Fill

(11)M: 見せて

mise-te
IMP

(12)U: はい

hai
yes

(13)M: *yelling* ウーサーギー!

U-SA-GI-!
PN

(14)U: はい?

hai?
yes?

(15)M: こんな点とってきて もうおうちに入れてあげないわ!

konna ten to-tte ki-te mō ouchi-ni ire-te age-nai wa!
DEM N V V EMP POL.home-P bring V-NEG FP
kicks Usagi out of the house

English Translation:

(1) U: 'I'm home!'

(2) M: 'welcome home isn't it a little late?'

(3) U: 'yeah a little huh'

(4) M: 'earlier I met Umino-kun **wa yo** he said the tests were graded'

(5) U: 'eh...'

(6) M: 'Umino-kun said he said he got a 95'

(7) U: 'ah is that right? ha ha ha awesome *ne*'

(8) U: *internally* 'Umino that blabber mouth'

(9) M: 'and? what was your grade?'

(10)U: 'uh yeah um thats.. the truth is.. uh..'

(11)M: 'show me'

(12)U: 'yes' *hands over test*

(13)M: *yelling* 'U-SA-GI-!'

(14)U: 'yes?'

(15)M: 'bringing this kind of grade into this home is not allowed **wa!**'
kicks Usagi out of the house

In example Y1, the topic of conversation is focused on school, which is a typical parent-child interaction. Therefore, it is quite evident Usagi's mom uses SFP *wa* to index her role of *ryōsai-kenbo* 'good wife, wise mother'. Her speech is considered *yakuwarigo* because throughout the interaction she maintains use of the stereotypic linguistic forms in order to index and assert her social role in this conversation. The content of the interaction, in that it is such a typical child-parent interaction, further emphasizes the stereotype of motherhood. In Y1 (ln.15), however, the mom's use of feminine *wa* directly indexes assertion while still indirectly indexing her mother identity. It is clear by context of conversation and consistent choice of language forms that the mother character is fulfilling her role in relation to Usagi in the series.

Excerpt Y2 below, shows Usagi and her friends from school gossiping about a rumor. Out of all the characters in this scene, Yumi is the least developed character in the series. She lacks a significant role in any episode plot, unlike Naru, who appears a number of times in multiple episodes and is even at times the center of an episode's plot. Yumi receives no development through out the series; therefore, it can be concluded that Yumi's function as a character is to merely fulfill the role of a middle school girl and friend to Usagi. Her assigned role language and utterance of *wa* is used for the purpose of establishing her young schoolgirl identity:

Y2 Yumi to Naru, Usagi, & Ami SM ep 10 3.55

(1) Y: ねえねえ 知ってる? この路線バスのうわさ

ne ne shi-te-re koko-no rosen basu-no uwasa
 FILL V.PRS.PERF N-P N N-P N

(2) Y: 昨日さ 6時ちょっと過ぎにね 乗客の乗ったバスが

kinō sa roku-ji chotto sugi-ni ne jōkyaku-no no-tta basu-ga
 N P 6-SFX little ADV-P p N-P V-PST N-P

突然 消えちゃったんだって

totsuzen kiecha-tta-n da-tte
ADV V-PST COP-Q

(3) U: ええっ 何それ? おもしろそう!

eeh nani sore? omoshiro-sō!
FILL PRN PRN interesting-EV

(4) N: 面白そうじゃないわよ!

Omoshiro-sō-ja-nai wa yo!
interesting-EV-COP-NEG FP FP

(5) N: この先に仙台坂上って

koko-no saki-ni Sendaizaka nobo-tte
N-P PFX-P PN V

バス停があるでしょう

basutei-ga aru deshō
N-P V EXP

(6) U: うん 5本の坂があるところでしょ?

un go-hon-no saka-ga aru tokoro desho?
yea 5-NC-P N-P V N EXP

(7) N: そうよ その辺で 50人近くの人の乗った

sō yo sono hen-de gojū-nin chikaku-no hito-no no-tta
yes FP DEM N-P 50-NC ADJ-P N-P V-PST

バスが こつ然と消えちゃったらしいのよ

basu-ga kotsuzen-to kaecha-tta rashi no yo
N-P ADV-P V-PST EV FP FP

(8) U: い いいい...

e eeeh...
Fill

(9) Y: 警察は 大量誘拐事件じゃないかって

keisatsu-wa tairyō yūkaijiken-ja-nai ka-tte
N-P ADJ N-COP-NEG INT-Q

秘密にしてたらしいの

himitsu-ni shi-te-ta rashi no
N-P V-PRF-PST EV FP

(10) Y: でもね 事件を公表しちゃって

demo ne jiken-o kōhō shicha-tte
CNJ P incident-P announce to do-CNJ

捜査を開始したらしいわよ

sōsa-o kai shi-ta rashi wa yo
 investigation-P initiate to do-pst EV FP FP

(11)A: 呪われた6時のバスか...

noroware-ta roku-ji-no basu-ka
 V.PASS-PST 6-NC-P N-INT

(12)U: ドキッ!

doki!
 EXP

(13)N: 怖いわ

kowai wa
 scary FP

(14)U: ねえねえ 仙台坂の近くに 火川神社があるでしょう?

nene Sendaizaka-no chikaku-ni hikawajinja-ga aru deshō?
 hey PN-P ADJ-P PN-P V EV

あそこのお守り 厄よけで有名だよ 1つ買っといたら?

asoko-no omamori yakuyoku-de yūmē-da yo hitotsu ka-tta-i-tara
 N-P N N-P ADJ-COP FP NUM V-CND

(15)N: あっ そこんちの娘が靈感少女でね 占いとか

ah sokonchi-no musume-ga rēkanshōjyo-de ne urinai toka
 FILL N-P N-P N-P FP N CNJ

怖いくらいに当たるんだって

kowai kurai-ni ataru-n da-tte
 ADJ ADJ-P V COP-Q

(16)Y: お守りも かなり御利益あるらしいわよ

omamori-mo kanari koriyakuekiaru rashi wa yo
 charm-P ADV to benefit EV FP FP

(17)U: 買っちゃおっか

ka-cha-o-ka
 V.VOL

English Translation:

- (1) Y: 'hey hey do you know? there's a rumor of the bus route here'
- (2) Y: 'They say that yesterday a little after 6'o clock
 a bus and the passengers riding it have disappeared suddenly'
- (3) U: 'huh? whats that? sounds fun!'
- (4) N: 'it does not sound fun **wa yo!**'
- (5) N: 'you know there is a bus stop ahead of here
 called Sendaizaka Ue right?'
- (6) U: 'yeah the place where the five slopes are right?'

- (7) N: 'thats right I heard that a bus with about 50 passengers
just suddenly disappeared *no yo!*'
- (8) U: 'eeeeh...'
- (9) Y: 'the police assume its probably a mass kidnaping
and kept it a secret *no*'
- (10)Y: 'but *ne* they just announced the incident and have
started investigating *wa yo*'
- (11)A: 'a cursed 6'o clock bus...'
- (12)U: '(heart) thump!'
- (13)N: 'scary *wa*'
- (14)U: 'hey hey there is the Hikawa shrine thats not far
from Sendaizaka right? they're famous for their charms
that ward off evil what if we buy one?'
- (15)N: 'ah I heard there is a girl there with physic powers and
her fortune telling is very accurate'
- (16)Y: 'I heard their protective charms really work *wa yo*'
- (17)U: 'we should buy one'

On the other hand, although Naru is a less significant character compared to others, she is frequently involved in episode plots in addition to the development of her character that is established in early episodes of the series. I claim that Naru uses *teyodawa* language to establish her social identity, but unlike Yumi, as a result of Naru's significance, she is more likely to imitate natural speech with observable instances of diverse indexicalities with her use of feminine language. Her utterance of *wa* in line 4 above is not directly indexing her feminine identity nor social role; instead, she chooses to use the SFP to assert her stance in response to Usagi's naive statement (ln. 3). Overall, *yakuwarigo wa* is commonly used in the stereotypic speech of minor characters. But after reviewing the data, I am able to conclude that the more significant a minor character is, the more likely their speech will reflect natural language use, as I argue it does with the protagonist and main characters.

Turning attention to coaching *wa*, I chose to make a distinction of this SFP's indexicalities with that of assertion *wa* because of the social implications associated with teaching/mentoring roles indexed with the use of this *wa*. I argue this SFP is used by the speaker

to assert power and simultaneously index their dominance in social standing. In other words, this SFP emphasizes the social relationship of the participants and is uttered by someone of higher status to evoke their stance over the listener. This form is used most often by Luna due to her social standing as a mentor to the *senshi*, as in examples C1-C3 below:

C1 Luna & Usagi Manga Act 2

- (1) U: ルナ、ウチにいすわって あたしを監視する気？

runa, uchi-ni isuwatte atashi-o kanshi-suru ki?
Luna house-P to stay 1P.SG.FEM-P monitor.do feel

- (2) L: なにってんのっ!! うさぎちゃんは正義の戦士になった

nanni itte-n no!! usagi-chan-wa seigi-no senshi-ni natta
N V FP Usagi-SFX-P justice-P warrior-P be.PST

ばっかでしょ!? 敵はまだ 現れるわよっ!

bakka desho!? teki-wa mada awareru wa yo!
idiot EXP evil-P still meet.PAS FP FP

おしえなきやいけないコトいっぱいあるんだからっ

oshienakya ikenai koto ippai aru-n da kara
teach must N many is COP because

English Translation:

- (1) U: 'Luna, I feel you're staying at my home to monitor me?'
(2) L: 'What did you say!! You became a soldier of justice
you're kidding right!? There is still evil
to be met **wa yo!** (I'm here) because there are a lot
of things that I must teach you'

C2 Luna to Usagi Manga Act 2

- (1) L: うさぎちゃんセーラームーンに変身よっ!

Usagi-chan, sēramūn-ni henshin yo!
Usagi-SFX PN-P transform FP

それじゃ戦えないわ、はやくっ

sore ja tatakaenai wa hayaku
DEM COP fight.POT.NEG FP quickly

English Translation:

- (1) L: 'Usagi, transform into Sailor Moon yo!
You are not able to fight like that *wa* quicklyyy'

C3 Luna to Sailor Moon (Usagi) & Sailor Jupiter (Makoto) SM ep 25 20.55:

- (1) L: あなたが 四人目の戦士セーラージュピターよ
anata-ga yon-nin-me-no senshi sērājūpitā yo
2P.SG-P 4-NC-P N PN FP
- (2) SJ: セーラージュピター ?
sērājūpitā?
PN
- (3) L: セーラームーン 戦士は四人そろったわ
sēramūn senshi-wa yon-nin soro-tta wa
PN N-P 4-NC V-PST FP
- (4) L: あなたがリーダーとなってプリンセスを守るのよ
anata-ga rīdā-to na-tte purinsesu-o mamoru no yo!
2P.SG-P N-P V N-P V FP FP
- (5) SM: あたしがリーダー? !
atashi-ga rīdā?!
1P.SG.FEM-P N

English Translation

- (1) L: 'you are the fourth warrior Sailor Jupiter yo!'
(2) SJ: 'Sailor Jupiter?'
(3) L: 'Sailor Moon four warriors have united *wa*'
(4) L: 'you must become the leader and
protect the princess no yo!'
(5) SM: 'me the leader?!'

From the data, it seems Luna uses this *wa* form frequently to indirectly index her mentorship identity and her social standing. In example (C1), Luna is responding to Usagi's question insisting that it is necessary considering the implications of Usagi's new life. Since this interaction is early in the pair's relationship, Luna is establishing the parameters of the relationship by asserting her stance in using SFP *wa*. Luna explicitly expresses her obligation to teach Usagi many things regarding the responsibilities of being a warrior. The utterance of *wa yo* in line 2 is to emphasize the gravity of the scenario, as Luna urges Usagi to understand the

implications what she is saying. Luna is placing emphasis on this utterance to shift the interaction context and convey to Usagi when to respect Luna as a mentor.

In addition, coaching *wa* is commonly used by Luna to assert instruction by directly indexing a high level of intensity to the *Senshi* during battle. Example C2 takes place when the pair encounter an evil entity disguised as a teacher who is brainwashing students. In C2 Luna is using *wa* to perform her role as a mentor and instruct Usagi to transform into her warrior form in order to fight. Additionally, C3 shows Luna again commanding and guiding the *senshi*. The use of *wa* (ln. 3) is to indirectly command and evoke action as a response from the girls. As their mentor, Luna is informing and curating the group to be established in the way she sees fit. Since there is not another female character in the series who shares the same or similar social role as Luna, the example data for coaching *wa* is limited to utterances from Luna. However, considering that the coaching *wa* is also proposed by Matsugu (2008), it seems that the data supports the claim of this particular indexical function of SFP *wa*.

Moving on to the assertion *wa*, I argue that there is a distinction between coaching *wa* and assertion *wa*. Assertion *wa* indexes power and the SFP is uttered so the speaker may emphasize the content preceding the particle. On the other hand, coaching *wa* is used to indirectly index a position of authority and higher social status while directly indexing an assertion, commonly in the context of instruction. This assertion *wa* does not share the same function of indirectly indexing social precedence as the coaching *wa* does. While reviewing the data, I have found the assertion form is most commonly used by Rei and in many different contexts. Example A1 is uttered by Rei to Usagi while the girls are talking with Luna regarding

their mission and A2 occurred in the context of battle.

A1 Luna, Ami, Rei & Usagi SM ep 22 6.25:

- (1) L: 私たちは探しているプリンセスじゃないかと思ってっ！

watashi-tachi-wa sagashite-iru purinsesu janai-ka-to omo-tte
1P.SG-PL-P search.PRS.PERF princess COP.NEG-INT-Q think

- (2) U: まさか

masaka
EXP

- (3) A: ううん ルナの予感を一概に否定はできないわ

uun runa-no yokan-o hitē-ni-wa deki-nai wa
no PN-P N-P ADV-P-P v.POT.NEG FP

調べ必要をありそうね

shirabe hitsuyō ari sō ne
V ADJ V EV FP

- (4) U: どうやって、ダイヤ王女には護衛がたくさん付いてるわ

dō yatte daiya-wa ōjo-ni-wa goē takusan tsuiteru wa
how to do PN-P N-P-P N ADJ V.PRS.PRF FP

それに私たち晩さん会の場面には入れないのよ

sore-ni atashi-tachi bansankai-no bamen-ni-wa haire-nai no yo
DEM-P 1P.FEM-PL N-P N-P-P V.POT.NEG FP FP

- (5) R: そんなことはじゅぶんわかてるわ！

sonna koto-wa jubun wakatteru wa!
DEM N-P ADV understand.PRS.PRF FP

そこを頭を使ってなんとかするのが

soko-wo atama-o tsuka-tte nan toka suru-no-ga
DEM-P N-P N-CNJ N CNJ to do-P-P

私たちは^{しめい}使命でしょ！

watashi-tachi-wa shimei desho!
1P -PL-SUB mission COP.VOL

- (6) U: レ レイちゃんったら そんな怖い顔して

re rei-chan-ttara sonna kowai kao-shi-te
PN-CND DEM ADJ V

にらまなくても いいじゃない... ああ~ん！

niramanaku-temo ii-ja-nai aa-n!
V-CND ADJ-COP-NEG FILL

English Translation:

- (1) L: 'Im thinking she might be the princess we're searching for'
(2) U: 'no way!'
(3) A: 'no we cant ignore Luna's hunch **wa**
I think we should check on this'
(4) U: 'But how? (Princess) Dia will have a lot of body guards **wa**.
We won't be able to enter the hall where the party is'
(5) R: 'We are fully aware of that **wa**! our mission is to use
our brains to figure out a way around that right?!'
(6) U: *crying* 'R R Rei-chan it would be good if you didn't
glare at me with such a scary face! aa ah!'

A2 Rei to enemy& Luna SMC ep 3 19.00:

- (1) E: ふ ただの人間のたつ 生意気な
huh tada-no ningen-no tatsu namaiki-na
FILL ADJ.N-P N-P V ADJ-P
- (2) R: ただの人間じゃないわ! 私にも力がある!
tada-no ningen ja-nai wa! watashi-ni-mo chikara-ga aru
ADJ-P N COP-NEG FP 1p.SG-P-P N-P V
- これ以上 彼女たちを傷つけることは 許さない!
koreijyō kanajo-tachi-o kizutsukeru koto-wa yurusa-nai!
EXP 2P.FEM-PL-P hurt-P N-P V-NEG
- (3) R: 何なの これは?
nan na no kore-ha?
N FP FP N-P
- (4) L: ま 違いなわ レイちゃん!
ma chigainai wa rei-chan!
EMP CE FP PN-SFX
throws Rei a pen
- (5) L: それをかがげて マーズパワーメイクアップ って叫んで!
sore-o kakagete mazu pāwā meiku apu-tte saken-de!
DEM-P V-CNJ mars power make up-Q yell.IMP
- (6) R: *internally* わかるわ。今 私が 何をすべきか
wakaru wa ima watashi-ga nani-o subeki-ka
know FP N 1P.SG-P what-P CE-INT

English Transcription:

- (1) E: 'hm mortal human think you can fight'
(2) R: '(I'm) not a normal human **wa**! I also have powers!
(I) will not allow you to hurt those girls'

- (3) R: 'what was that?'
(4) L: 'There is no doubt *wa*! Rei!' *throws pen*
(5) L: 'hold this and yell mars power makeup!'
(6) R: *internally* 'I understand *wa* now what I should do!'

During this interaction, the Senshi are having a serious discussion with Luna regarding some research for their mission. Usagi is not as enthusiastic about their responsibilities, evident by her hesitation in lines 2 and 4. Ami's response (3) consists of delicate *wa* to soften her stance of opposition toward Usagi's negative opinion. Usagi then replies with reasoning for her hesitation but softens the statement by use delicate *wa* to not come across as completely stubborn and opposing to Ami's suggestion (3). Usagi's stance then angers Rei, causing her to lash out (5). Rei's choice to use *wa* is obviously not an attempt to soften but instead to assert her statement while indirectly indexing her identity as a warrior. Her statement (5) conveyed such a strong intensity that it caused Usagi to burst out into tears and vocalize that Rei is being too aggressive. In this context it is very clear that Rei strategically used feminine *wa* to assert her message. But it seems she is also indirectly indexing her warrior identity, which entails traits that oppose normative femininity such as strength, fighting, and an obligation to protect. This suggests that Rei chooses to use JWL but is re-indexing the *wa* to redefine her personal female identity and its entailments. Interaction A2 shows the same form of *wa* uttered to her enemy in the context of a battle. In line 2, Rei is using *wa* to aggressively index her strength before a doubtful enemy. Line 6 *wa* is a monologue *wa*, and Rei's choice to use it internally is not to perform her role as a female or warrior but rather to emphasize her self-affirmation of the situation and her understanding of new obligations.

Many other characters use this assertion *wa* in all mediums of the series. In example A3,

an excerpt from act 2 of the manga, Ami has not yet discovered her Senshi form but is struggling against the clutch of an evil entity who is scolding her before an attack.

A3 Ami to enemy Act 2

- (1) E: 亜美ちゃん!! おのれなぜ洗脳されぬ!!

ami-chan!! onore naze sennō-sare-nu!!
Ami-SFX 1P why brainwash.do-NEG

ディスクの勉強をサボったな!

disuku-no benkyō-o sabotta na!
disk-P study-P skip.PST FP

- (2) A: くるしい..... サボってなんかいないわ

kurushii..... sabotte nanka inai wa
pianful skipping EXP be.NEG FP

勉強は自分の力でやるものよ もうダメ.....

benkyō-wa jibun-no chikara-de yaru mono yo mō dame.....
study-P 1P.SG-P strength-P do thing FP EXP stop

English Translation:

- (1) E: 'Ami!! Why would one not brainwash!!
(You) skipped studying the disk na!'

- (2) A: 'painful..... ..not skipping *wa* Studying is something
you do by your own ability yo stop.....'

A4 Senshi vs Kunzite ep 44 18.35

- (1) SM: 意地悪なんかさせないわ (to enemy)

ijiwaru nanka sase-nai wa
Bully EXP do.CAS-NEG FP

- (2) K: セーラームーン まさか 多次元混乱世界に

Sērāmūn masaka taji moto konran sekai-ni
PN EXP ADJ Adj N N-P

吹き飛ばしたはずだ

fuki-tobashi-ta hazu da
v-PST EV COP

- (3) SJ: 世の中はあんたの 思いどおりにはいかないよ!

se-no naka-wa anta-no omoi dōri-ni-wa ika-nai yo
N-P N-P 2P.SG-P N CE-P-P V-NEG FP

(4) SV: おかげであたしたち 過去の記憶を取り戻せたわ

okagede atashi-tachi kako-no kioki-o tori-modosase-ta wa
CE 1P.FEM-PL past-P memory-P take.return-PST FP

(5) SMR: お礼を...

ore-o
example-P

(6) SMZ: いわせていただくわ

iwase-te itadaku wa
say.CAS give.HON FP

(7) K: ええー

ē
FILL

English Translation

(1) SM: 'I won't let you hurt (them) *wa!*'

(2) K: 'Sailor Moon?! No way! I sent you to the world of many dimensions you were supposed have disappeared!'

(3) SJ: 'Things in this world don't always go how you expect them'

(4) SV: 'thanks to you we have recovered our memories of the past *wa*'

(5) SMR: 'we will'

(6) SMZ: 'tell you now *wa*'

(7) K: 'ee-'

In example A3, Ami is using *wa* to assert her opinion and stance of refusal before the enemy.

Ami is known to be a genius and is always studying, so her statement (ln.2) defines this trait of her character. The use of *wa* (ln.2) establishes Ami's stance: it affirms her insistence that she did not skip her work and emphasizes her belief that true intelligence and strength lies in her method and use of computer programs. This battle context seems to be the most common for the assertive *wa* from various characters. The *senshi* typically use this form particularly when they make a firm stance and assert commands against their enemy. I suggest that the girls are also using this SFP to index a warrior identity that opposes normative femininity. I have found this assertion form is usually accompanied by tensed body language (such as a closed fist) and increased volume of speech (such as shouting). I believe there is substantial evidence in the

series that supports this ideology as assertion *wa* being a common form of SFP feminine *wa*.

The monologue *wa* is classified by the absence of a participant other than the speaker; therefore, it is self-addressed and uttered for emphasis of affirmation and understanding. This SFP is used often in various characters' speech and across all mediums of the series. In examples M1-M3 below, each character using *wa* utters the SFP in self-addressed speech:

M1 Usagi (in isolation to self)

(1) U: *spoken to self*

パパだわ あたしだって気付かずに 写真を撮ってる

papa-da wa atashi-da-tte kitsuika-zuni shashin-o to-tte-ru
N-COP FP 1P.SG.FEM-COP N-NEG N-P V.PRS.PRF

English Translation:

(1) U: 'It's papa **wa** he's taking pictures without realizing it's me'

M2 Usagi Isolated A1 P17

(1) U: 30点じゃね、ちょっとおねだりできないわね

sanjuu-ten-ja ne chotto onedari dekinai wa ne
thirty-NC-COP FP little beg do.POT.NEG FP FP

English Translation:

(1) U: '30 percent *ne*, kinda unable to beg (for money) **wane**'

M3 Zoisite SM ep 33 4.40:

(1) Z: *internal dialogue*

クンツァイトさま ほかの誰のためでもない

kunsaito-sama hoka-no dare-no tame-demo nai
PN-SFX-HON N-P N-P N-CNJ NEG

(2) z: あなたのために このゾイサイト命も

anata-no tame-ni kono zoisaito inochi-mo
2P.SG-P N-P DEM PN N-P

捨ててみせますわ

su-te-te mimasu wa
V-CNJ CND FP

English Translation

- (1) Z: *internal dialogue*
 'Kunzite-sama I do this for only you'
(2) Z: 'I will even give up my life for you *wa*'

In these examples, each character is free of any context in which they intend to publicly index femininity. In the context of M1, Usagi has disguised herself and snuck into a ball that her father is also attending for his job as a photographer. As Usagi is walking around she sees her father from a distance and utters M1 to herself. This use of *wa* is particularly interesting since it is possible to interpret this to be a delicate *wa* indexing normative femininity, due to the fact that Usagi is disguised as a princess in a ball gown. However, there is no one around Usagi to hear her statement. It is therefore unclear as to why she would use this SFP as delicate *wa* and index femininity; therefore, it must be only for the function of self-addressed confirmation. This function of self-addressed confirmation is more evident in example M2. Usagi has just left a jewelry store that is having a sale and wants to ask her parents for more allowance money. However, she leaves the store looking at an exam that she failed, which was returned to her while at school earlier that day. It is evident that in example M2, *wa* is uttered for self-addressed confirmation of Usagi's expectation that she will not be able to ask for a favor from her parents because of this failed exam.

With monologue *wa*, certain utterances are not even spoken out loud but are instead expressed as internal thought dialogues of the character. M3, for example, is not spoken, but expressed in Zoisite's thoughts. Zoisite thinks about his feelings for his partner, Kunzite, and uses *wa* to affirm his devotion to him. In all, this form of SFP *wa* only appeared in characters which also use delicate *wa*, in the normative sense, to index femininity. Other characters who do

not use SFP *wa* did not use monologue *wa*. Based off this data I support the argument that this monologue *wa* is used by a character not only for its basic function of affirmation to self, but also as a choice for these characters to maintain their identity with the female gender.

Finally, I conclude my review of *wa* with a discussion of 6) verbal act *wa* (SFP to perform a sarcasm or convey emotion). This SFP appeared multiple times through varied contexts in the collected data:

V1 Usagi Makoto, Rei, Ami SM ep 25 9.15:

(1) U: まこちゃん

mako-chan

PN-SFX

(2) M: 何?

nani?

what

(3) U: 紹介するね 今日 十番中学に

shokai-suru ne kyō juban chūgaku-ni

Introduce-do FP N PN Middle School-P

転校してきた 木野まことちゃん

tenkō-shi-te ki-ta

Transfer-do come-PST

(4) M: よろしく

yoroshiku

CE

(5) R&A: *simultaneously*

よろしく

yoroshiku

CE

(6) U: でね こっちは かしこい亜美ちゃんと

de ne kochi-wa kashikoi ami-chan-to

CNJ FP N-P ADJ PN-SFX-P

そして意地悪なレイちゃん

soshite ijiwaru-na rei-chan
then mean-P PN-SFX

(7) R: 誰が意地悪だって?

dare-ga ijiwaru da-tte
N-P mean COP-Q

(8) U: レイちゃん

rei-chan
PN-SFX

(9) R: 聞こえなかったわ 誰が??

kikoenaka-tta wa dare-ga??
to hear.POT-NEG FP N-P

(10)U: レイちゃん!

rei-chan
PN-SFX

(11)r: *yelling*

あたしが 何年 何月 何日 何曜日

atashi-ga nan-nen nan-gatsu nan-hi nan-yōbi
1P.SG.FEM-P PRN-NC PRN-NC PRN-NC PRN-NC

何時 何分 何秒に 意地悪をしたのよ!

nan-ji nan-hun nan-byō-ni ijiwaru-o shi-ta no yo!
PRN-NC PRN-NC PRN-NC-P mean-O do-PST FP FP

(12)U: *yelling* そういところが意地悪なのよ!

sōiu tokoro-ga ijiwaru-na no yo!
DEM N-P mean-P FP FP

English Translation:

(1) U: 'Mako-chan'

(2) M: 'what?'

(3) U: '(I'll) introduce you ne this is Kinō Makoto-chan she transferred to Juban Middle School today'

(4) M: 'nice to meet you'

(5)R&A: *simultaneously* 'nice to meet you'

(6) U: 'and ne this is the intelligent Ami-chan and then mean Rei-chan'

(7) R: 'who did you say was mean?'

(8) U: 'Rei-chan'

(9) R: 'I couldn't hear you *wa!* who??'

(10) U: 'Rei-chan!'

(11) R: *yelling* 'what year, what month, what day, what day of the week, what hour, what minute, what second was I mean no yo?!'

(12) U: *yelling* 'it's this kind of thing thats mean no yo!'

Rei's sarcastic utterance (V1) is accompanied by body language of eyes closed, eyebrows pointed in and down, hand to ear, leaning forward. On the level of utterance meaning, Rei has told Usagi in line 9, "I can't hear you, who (did you say was mean)?" But based on the context of the entire interaction, Rei has clearly heard Usagi yet chooses to remain sarcastic out of frustration in response to the rude remark. Rei's choice of using SFP *wa* makes the sarcasm evident to Usagi, the listener. Usagi plays into Rei's sarcastic attitude by repeating her name and raising her voice to emphasize that she believes Rei is mean. In (V2), Zoisite is speaking to Mamoru after intruding into his apartment via appearing on Mamoru's TV screen:

V2 Mamoru & Zoisite SM ep 34 4.50:

(1) Z: ステキな お部屋ね

suteki-na o-heya ne
ADJ-P POL-N FP

(2) M: はっ なぜ ここが?

ha naze koko-ga?
EXP why here-P

(3) Z: あら 正体さえ分かっちゃえば 調べは

ara shōtai-sae waka-tte shimaeba shirabe-wa
EXP identity-V know-CNJ EXP.V-P v-P

すぐに着きますわ ふふふ 衛ちゃん

sugu-ni tsukimasu wa hmhmhm mamoru-chan
ADV-P to arrive FP EXP PN-SFX

(4) M: ふん 何のようだ

hmm nan-no yō da
EXP what-P N COP

(5) Z: ねえ もう 正体もバレちゃってるんだし

nē mō shōtai-mo bare-cha-tte-ru-n da shi

hey EXP N-P V.PRS.PRF COP CNJ

こちらで決着をつけましょうよ

kokora-de kechaku-o tsukemashi-ō yo
N-P N-P V-VOL FP

(6) M: 決着だと?

kechaku da-to?
settle COP-Q

(7) Z: そう それぞれの虹水晶を懸けて

sō sore-zore-no nijizuisho-o kake-te
EXP CE-P rainbow crystal-P bring-CNJ

勝負しましょう 正々堂々と

shōbu shima-shō sē-sē dō-dō-to
game do-VOL CE-P

(8) M: いいぜ 受けて立とうじゃないか

ii ze uke-te-tatō-ja-nai-ka
good FP V COP-NEG-INT

(9) Z: そう いいコね

sō ii ko ne
EXP ADJ N FP

(10) Z: 場所はベイエリアの超高層ビル スターライトタワーで どう かしら

basho-wa beieria-no chōkōsō biru sutāraitotawā-de dō kashira
N-P bay area-P ADJ N PN-P how EXP.FEM

(11) M: いいだろう

ii darō
good EXP

(12) Z: じゃあきょうの夕方5時に待ってるわ

jā kyō-no yūgata go-ji-ni ma-tte-ru wa
FILL N-P N 5-NC-P V.PRS.PRF FP

おやすみなさい 衛ちゃん

oyasuminasai mamoru-chan
CE PN-SFX

leaves

English Translation

(1) Z: 'stylish room ne'

(2) M: 'hah why are you here?'

- (3) Z: 'ara once I found out who you were it was easy
to find you *wa* ha ha ha Mamoru-chan'
- (4) M: 'what do you want?'
- (5) Z: 'hey now that I know who you are lets settle
things from here *yo*'
- (6) M: 'settle?'
- (7) Z: 'right lets play a game for each other's
rainbow crystals fair and square'
- (8) M: 'good ze I'm in'
- (9) Z: 'right good boy *ne*'
- (10)Z: 'how about meeting at the Starlight Tower
the skyscraper building in the bay area *kashira?*'
- (11)M: 'should be good'
- (12)Z: 'ok I'll be waiting for you at 5 this evening *wa*
goodnight Mamoru-chan'
leaves

Throughout this entire interaction, Zoisite is very taunting, as he is actually just setting Mamoru up for a trap. Zoisite's use of *wa* in line 3 accompanies light laughter and (ln. 12) precedes a mocking 'goodnight'. In addition to the mocking tone, Zoisite's frequent use of suffix *-chan*, while reserved for a familiar person, is used in a condescending manner by Zoisite because he does not actually share a familial and friendly relationship with Mamoru. The use of *wa* in this example emphasizes the overall patronizing encouragement from Zoisite. Previously in example D2, for instance, Zoisite originally responds to Sailor Moon's imperative in a mocking tone accompanied by a subtle laugh: 'hu hu hu a little late *wa ne* Sailor Moon' (ln. 2). It is evident this *wa* is used to indicate his verbal act of sarcasm with the accompaniment of laughter. There is a significant contrast between this verbal act *wa* opposed to the delicate *wa* used by Zoisite to index femininity in example D2 (ln. 4) and (ln. 6) as he introduces himself to Sailor Moon.

Other verbal acts such as portraying emotion (e.g. anger) may be another intent behind a speaker's choice to use SFP *wa*.

V3 Rei & Usagi ep 10 12.30:

- (1) R: あら うさぎちゃん どうしたの?

ara usagi-chan dōshi-ta no?
EXP PN-SFX V-PST INT

- (2) U: あ あのね あたし 見ちゃったの 昨日もね

a ano ne atashi mi-cha-tta-no kinō-mo ne
FILL FP 1P.SG.FEM V-PST-P N-P FP

6時のバスが消えちゃったの

roku-ji-no basu-ga kae-cha-tta no
6-NC-P N-P V-PST FP

- (3) R: あなたまで ウチのおじいちゃんの せいだって言うの?

anata-made uchi-no ojī-chan-no sei da-tte iu no
2P.SG-P N-P N-SFX-P CE COP-Q V FP

- (4) U: ええ?

eeh?
FILL

- (5) R: 警官が何度も来たわ うるさくてしょうがないのよ

keisatsu-ga nan-do-mo ki-ta wa urusa-kute shō-ga nai no yo
police-P N-P come-PST FP ADJ-CNJ N-P NEG FP FP

- (6) U: ち 違うの そんな意味じゃなくって ただ レイちゃんなら

chi chigau no sonna imi-ja-nakutte tada rei-chan nara
V FP DEM N-COP-NEG ADV PN-SFX AUX

何か知ってるかな~ って思って...

nanka shi-tte-ru kana-tte omo-tte
N-INT V.PRS.PRF EXP-Q V

- (7) R: 知らないわ!

shira-nai wa
know-NEG FP

- (8) U: ご ごめんなさい... あたし レイちゃんと

go gomenasai atashi rei-chan-to
CE 1P.SG.FEM PN-SFX-P

お友達になりたいの ホントよ

o-tomodachi-ni nari-tai no honto yo
POL-N-P be-VOL FP EXP FP

- (9) R: いいから 帰って!

ii kara kae-tte
EXP V-IMP

(10) U: え ええ...ま また来るね さよなら~! はあっ はあっ...

eeh ma mata kuru ne sayōnara~! haa haa
 FILL ADV V FP CE FILL

(11) R: 冗談じゃないわ

jōdan ja-nai wa
 joke COP-NEG FP

English Translation:

- (1) R: 'ah Usagi-*chan* whats wrong?'
- (2) U: 'ah um I saw it! Yesterday the 6PM bus disappeared!'
- (3) R: 'are you saying its because of my grandfather?'
- (4) U: 'huh?'
- (5) R: 'police have come by many times *wa* its annoying'
- (6) U: 'n no... im not saying that I was just wondering
if you knew anything'
- (7) R: 'I don't know *wa!*'
- (8) U: 'S Sorry... I just want to become friends really *yo!*'
- (9) R: 'just leave!'
- (10)U: 'ehhh yeah see you later! '*runs away*
- (11)R: *self-addressed* 'this isn't a joke *wa*'

The *wa* in example V3 is clearly to establish anger upon Rei's behalf. Her utterance is accompanied with body language indicating this emotional stance (eyebrows pointed inward, raised volume of speech), which confirms the intent to express emotion with the SFP. She expresses anger and frustration over Usagi's accusations (ln. 7) and remorse for the situation of disappearing individuals (ln.11). The use of *wa* in this context is to convey these emotions to Usagi without appearing accusatory. Throughout the data, there is substantial evidence in support of the various verbal acts that can be indexed, such as sarcasm and expression of emotions like anger, by use of SFP *wa*.

It is also worth noting that there are a few biologically female characters who occasionally use Super-Masculine SFPs. Teshigawara & Kinsui have stated that "male language can be used for female characters in some comics featuring girls of high school age...[which]

may be viewed as a loosening of norms in contemporary society [but] may also [be considered] an example of a new identity created by shifting existing language resources” (2011:50). In the data for this thesis, Makoto makes use masculine SFPs primarily during battles, as seen below:

Z1 Sailor Senshi, Luna, Artemis SM ep 34 11.55:

- (1) SMS: ここが 問題のスターライトタワーね
koko-ga mondai-no sutāraitotawā ne
 DEM-P N-P PN FP
- (2) SJ: 別に どうってことないビルだけど
betsu-ni dō-tte koto nai biru dakedo
 ADJ-P V N NEG N CE
- (3) SMR: あっ うさぎちゃんと衛さんが エレベーターに
ah usagi-chan-to mamoru-san-ga erebētā-ni
 FILL PN-SFX-P PN-SFX-P N-P
- (4) SMS: ええ! どういうことよ
eeh dōiu koto yo
 FILL ADJ N FP
- (5) SMR: 扉は... 全部 封鎖されているわ
tobira-wa zenbu fūsa-sare-te-iru wa
 door-P ADV.N block-do.PAS-PRS.PRF FP
- (6) L: 中へ入れないってこと?
naka-e haire-nai-tte koto?
 inside-P enter-NEG-CNJ N
- (6) A: マズいな...
mazui na
 ADJ FP
- (7) SJ: わが守護 木星 嵐を起こせ 雲を呼べ
wa-ga shugo mokusei kaze-o okose kumo-o yobe
 1P.SG-P N N N-P V-CNJ N-P V-CNJ
- (8) SJ: いかずちを降らせよ!
ikazuchi-o furase yo!
 N-P V.IMP FP
- (9) SJ: シューブリーム サンダー!
sūparīmu sandā!

Supreme Thunder

(10) S: ああ...

aa

FILL

(11) SJ: 強行突破あるのみ 行くぞ!

kyōkōtoba aru nomi iku zo

force be SFX go FP

(12) S: あっ ああ...

a aa

FILL

English Translation

(1) SMS: 'here is the Starlight Tower with the problem *ne*'

(2) SJ: 'but it just looks like another building...'

(3) SMR: 'ah! Usagi-*chan* and Mamoru-*san* are in the elevator'

(4) SMS: 'huh! why *yo*?'

(5) SMR: 'all the doors are sealed *wa*'

(6) L: 'we cant get inside?'

(7) A: 'thats bad...'

(8) SJ: 'I call upon the clouds brew a storm bring down the lightning'

(9) SJ: 'My guardian Jupiter!'

(10) SJ: 'Supreme Thunder!' *strikes building*

(11) S: 'ah...'

(12) SJ: 'we'll just have to force a way in lets go *zo*!'

(13) S: 'uh...'

Example Z1 occurs when all of the girls are in their Senshi form trying to find a way to save Usagi from a trap. Sailor Jupiter (Makoto) chooses to channel her physical strength and magical powers to break into the building that was thought to be sealed of all entry points. After doing so she tells the *senshi* 'lets go *zo*!'. The masculine *zo* here is directly indexing Sailor Jupiter's power and strength and not indirectly indexing a masculine gender identity. In all of the transcribed data, Makoto never opts for JWL in her speech but consistently uses gender neutral language combined with the occasional use of SFPs which index hegemonic masculinity. Even in contexts where Makoto is conforming to normative feminine behavior, such as talking about a boy she has a crush on, there is a consistent subversive practice to avoid JWL. Based on Teshigawara &

Kinsui's (2011) theory regarding the use of masculine forms by female characters, I conclude the use of these masculine forms by these biologically female characters is a subversive practice. This supports the claim the both dominating and subversive practices are used in the series with the same purpose of re-ideologizing the feminine stereotypes associated with JWL in new ways.

Conclusions

Overall, my findings suggest substantial evidence to support the notion of six feminine *wa* forms. The distinction of these forms in popular media suggests a broad re-ideologization of JWL through two methods, dominating and subversive practices. Because this series is unique in its genre by breaking away from the highly formulated plot and character development that is typical in anime, I conclude that the fictional language used in this series is thoughtfully constructed to portray to redefine femininity and its entailments. The characters in *Sailor Moon* demonstrate the two practices that are responsible for reconstructing the ideology of JWL. The data shows that SFP *wa* is context-dependent and has an ability to index traits which oppose the typical ideology of normative femininity. First, characters use feminine forms to index social roles that have entailments of strength, wisdom, power, such as teacher and warrior. These social indexicalities oppose the Japanese female stereotype of women being seen as weak, uncertain, and powerless if using JWL. Second, other female characters choose to use neutral and/or masculine forms to index the same social role of being a female warrior which has entailments that defy normative femininity. To conclude, I have illustrated through my analysis of character

discourse in *Sailor Moon* that the Super-Feminine SFP *wa* is being re-indexicalized in innovative ways. With this research, I hope to extend readers' perceptions and understandings of femininity in Japan, as language ideologies evolve across generations of speakers to challenge pre-existing and widely conceived stereotypes.

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