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REALITY AND IDEOLOGY: THE USE OF GENDER INDEXING FEATURES IN REALITY TV

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

REALITY AND IDEOLOGY:
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REALITY TV

This article analyzes 4 episodes of the Japanese reality television program *Terrace house: Aloha State* for instances of gender indexing language to investigate the gap between actual speaker usage of these features and the linguistic ideology surrounding their usage as is perpetrated and perpetuated by media. Specifically, the gender indexing features which will be investigated to accomplish this are sentence final particles and first-person pronouns. Instances of these linguistic features are typically presented as features of gendered language, but as will be demonstrated, this does match their actual usage by speakers. I set out to answer three research questions, (1) what is the frequency with which Japanese-speakers actually use gender indexing features on *Terrace House*, (2) how are these forms being used by the speakers to take stances and construct identity, (3) is there a gap between the linguistic ideology behind these gender indexing features and their reality that can be determined through examining how they are attributed to speakers through English translated into Japanese subtitles. Discourse analysis is an incisive methodology for this study as I intend to show the relationship between discourse and gender & linguistic ideology.

KEYWORDS: Japanese, *Terrace House*, gender, pronouns, sentence final particles

Steven James Gerencser

Dec. 6, 2021

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Introduction

In every social interaction, we are constantly making decisions which express a range of social meanings (Holmes, 1997). Sounds, which are linguistically meaningless, begin to derive social significance from distribution and as this social significance is acquired, it begins to be associated with a particular group (Holmes, 1997). Japanese is a language with dozens of varieties based on region, class, age, and gender. Whether or not each variety represents how people actually speak, each variety has an idealized set of linguistic features and an accompanying socio-psychological group identity for the speakers (Sato, 2018). Any of these varieties may differ in terms of pitch accent, vocabulary, grammatical constructions, and discourse particle usage and their intersectionality is rich in the terms of possible sociolinguistic research.

Of these Japanese varieties, perhaps the most researched features are the distinctions between male and female speech patterns. Many languages exhibit speech differences between men and women, but recent investigations into the topic have revealed that these speech distinctions have been greatly exaggerated in Japanese (Miyazaki, 2004; Sunayoshi, 2004; Abe, 2004; Lunsing & Maree, 2005). This increasing recognition that the actual linguistic behaviors of male and female speakers do not necessarily conform to an idealized gendered language shows a gap between linguistic reality and ideology.

Of the verbal practices associated with gendered speech in Japanese, the most salient are the use of sentence final particles and first-person pronouns (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 415). Particles in Japanese are short words following the noun, verb, adjective, or sentence they modify. Some have grammatical functions, marking the grammatical case of the preceding word, others can indicate that the preceding sentence is a question, while

others, those of interest to this study, can be used in stance taking and emphasize such stances as empathy or assertion (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 417). First-person pronouns in Japanese index various aspects of the interaction such as formality and gender (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 417), thus are a promising means to examine how gender is constructed in Japanese. Very few linguistic features directly index gender and have an affective stance at their core which has become gendered over time (Ochs, 1992). Traditionally, Japanese behavioral norms are highly gendered which has led to systemic gender stratification in which women play a de facto inferior role. Women are disproportionally under-represented in positions of power and disadvantaged in the labor market, while also having social expectations to raise children and take care of aging relatives (Sugimoto, 2002, pp. 153-160). The relation between the social meaning of gender and language can be seen in how so-called men's language and women's language have become culturally idealized ways of speaking without necessarily having grounding in actual linguistic practice.

Research Questions

In this thesis I am concerned with three main questions: (1) what is the frequency with Japanese-speakers use gender indexing features in speech on *Terrace House*, a Japanese reality program, (2) how are these forms are being used by the speakers to show stance and identity, (3) lastly how are gender indexing features are inserted into Japanese translated from English? To accomplish this, I will use the dialogues of the speakers in *Terrace house: Aloha State,* a Japanese reality television series set in Hawaii, to examine the frequency with which speakers use gender indexing features, specifically sentence final particles and first-person pronouns. This data will then be examined in two ways,

first as tokens and frequencies and also using discourse analysis for the conversations in which they occur. Special attention will be paid to how speakers use these features to negotiate their identities and make stances. Lastly, I will compare these to how gendered language is attributed to speakers through translating spoken English into Japanese in the subtitles of the series.

A variety of definitions for stance has been suggested by sociolinguistic researchers to define their conceptions of stance (Englebretson, 2007, p. 1). For Ochs, specific linguistic forms directly index stance, which entail such as certainty, friendliness, empathy, or intensity. These stances, in turn, are linked to social categories, such as gender. Thus, the social meaning of some speech actions helps to constitute gender meaning in that society (Ochs, 1992). This study will use Du Bois' (2007, p. 163) definition of stance, which is "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field."

There are a few parts of this definition which should be examined in more detail. Firstly, "Stance is a public act by a social actor" refers to stancetaking being a social action, comprised of the speaker and an audience, but is also subjective (Du Bois, 2007). Stance also entails "simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects," meaning that any single stance act contains evaluation, positioning, and alignment as different aspects of that stance act rather than these three being different types of stance (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). Lastly, stance is "with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" meaning that stance is done with respect

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to a stance object. Du Bois (2007) suggests his definition can be glossed by an imaginary stance taker as "I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you" (p. 163).

Literature Review

Sociolinguistic inquiries into Japanese and gender date back to some of the earliest work in the field. In Lakoff's ground-breaking work *Language and a Woman's Place* (2004 [1972]), she often references Japanese to provide examples of gendered speech distinctions, with good reason. Lakoff (2004 [1972]) also deals with Japanese, this time examining gender indexing discourse particles in depth. Japanese uses particles in a variety of situations, including fulfilling the same semantic role as prepositions do in English. One of the most salient features of gendered speech in Japanese are the use of sentence-final particles (SFP). SFPs typically occur after the verb, and as Japanese is a SOV language, these are predominantly sentence final. SFPs are empty of semantic value and therefore are sometimes wrongly described by some as meaningless. Far from being so, these SFPs are markers for "contextually-linked linguistic phenomena" which add subtlety and politeness to discourse (2004 [1972]). It is also important to note that the use of SFPs is not required for sentences and the number of possible times that the SFPs can be used and are not, far exceeds the actual number of times they are used (Sreetharan, 2004).

Japanese SFPs are typically presented as occurring within a masculine-feminine continuum with overlap in the middle (Sreetharan, 2004; Siegal & Okamoto, 2003). Typically, the SFP *wa* is associated with femininity (Jorden & Noda, 1987, p. 228; Tsujimura, 2014, p. 417; Inoue, 2002) and the particles *zo* and *ze* as strongly associated

with masculinity (Sreetharan, 2004; Tsujimura, 2014, p. 417). Consider the examples in (1)-(3), modified from Tsujimura (2014, p. 418);

1)
   1. Kaeru <u>zo</u>.
      Return.
      "I will go home"
   2. Iku <u>ze</u>.
      Go.
      "I will go"
2)
   1. Satoo-san-wa   kuru   <u>kasira</u>
      Mr Satoo-Top   come   Q
      "I wonder if Mr. Sato will come"
   2. Basu-ga   kita   <u>wa.</u>
      Bus-nom   came.
      "The bus has come"
   3. Asita   yasumu   <u>no</u>
      Tomorrow   be absent
      "I will be absent tomorrow"
3)
   1. Iku <u>yo</u>.
      Go
      "I will go."
   2. Kuru <u>ne</u>.
      Come
      "You are coming, aren't you?"

The underlined SFPs in (1) are primarily associated with masculine speech and those in (2) are primarily associated with feminine. Of course, the use of these SFPs is not as straight-forward as indexing masculinity or femininity; there are few features of language which "directly and exclusively index gender" (Ochs, 1992). What is being gendered is the stance which the SFP indexes within an interaction. For example, as the SFP *wa* indexes a stance which is empathetic or soft, it has become associated with feminine language as the hegemonic gender and linguistic ideology prescribes this as an appropriate and correct way for a woman to speak (Okamoto, 1997). *Zo* and *ze* convey

insistence and aggression, and therefore is prescribed as an inappropriate way for a woman or girl to speak, but acceptable for a man. The particles in (3) are not strongly gender indexing, and therefore are not of much interest in the present study but may be referenced later as they can work in conjunction with more strongly gender indexing SFPs.

Table 1 is adapted from Sreethran (2004), but also considers information from Siegal & Okamoto (2003) and Tsujimura (2014). This table is intended to portray the stereotypical gender categorization of standard SFPs rather than actual speech practices of Japanese speakers. This table represents culturally idealized ways of speaking according to the literature on the topic and therefore this chart is meant only as a way of representing these culturally idealized notions rather than an accurate description of language, therefore when discussing these particles as a phenomenon of gendered linguistic ideology, rather than as a grammatical term, the term 'gender indexing SFPs' will be used. The terms 'strongly masculine,' moderately masculine,' 'strongly feminine,' and 'moderately feminine' will be used to convey the extent to which these SFPs are indexically linked to gender. Once again, these are culturally idealized notions of how people speak and is not necessarily how people actually use these features. A variety of sources was used in determining the strength of the gender ideology behind each SFP, most notably Siegal & Okamoto (2003), Tsujimura (2014), Sreethran (2004), Okamoto (1997), and Abe (2004).

SJ Sentence final particles				
Strongly masculine	Moderately masculine	Neutral	Moderately feminine	Strongly feminine
Zo, ze, na	Kai; ka na; yo na; sa; jan/yan	yo ne; ne; yo	Te ne, no	Kashira; wa; no (yo)(ne); wa (yo)(ne); nano (yo)(ne);

Note. adapted from "Students, sarariiman (pl.), and Seniors: Japanese Men's Use of 'Manly' Speech Register." C. Sreetharan (2004) *Language in Society*, 33(1), 81-107.

Rather than analyzing these particles as occurring on a masculine-feminine continuum, Jordan & Noda (1987) suggest that items such as SFPs be plotted onto a blunt-gentle continuum (p. 228). In this model, the sentences in (3) would index "blunt, virile, tough and aggressive" (Jordan & Noda, 1987, p. 228) while those in (2) index "gentle, empathetic, and soft" (Jordan & Noda, 1987, p. 228). These in turn, can be plotted onto gender ideologies in standard Japanese (SJ), which result in them being indexically linked to gender and thought of as a feature of gendered speech. It might be useful at this stage to use Ochs's (1992) model for indexing (p. 342-343) which describes two kinds of relations between language and gender. The first of these is a direct indexical relation which is a personal pronoun or kin term which directly references gender (p. 243). The second relationship relates gender to language through some other social meaning which in turn helps to constitute gender meaning. According to Ochs (1992) some of these social meanings are more central than others and "help to constitute other domains of social reality." In other words, linguistic features' (lexicon, morphology, syntax, etc.) relationship to gender is mediated by other features such as stance, acts, and activities in this index. Because some SFPs are able to index authority, aggression, status, and

assertion and others can assert warmth, and empathy, these are mapped onto hegemonic conceptions of gender (Sreetharan, 2004).

Pronouns in Japanese are also gender indexing and can index both the gender of the speaker as well as the context of the interaction (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 417; Sreetharan, 2006). There are also dialectal variations for first-person pronouns. The following table 2 shows first-person pronouns used in SJ. Though *jibun* is often described as a reflexive pronoun (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 255), I have elected to include it here as it has been shown to be salient as a first-person pronoun in some communities (Sunaoshi, 2004; Sato, 2018).

Table 2, SJ First-person pronominal forms by gender and context

SJ First-person pronominal forms by gender and context					
Gender	**Context**				
	Formal				Informal
Male	*ware watakushi*	*watashi*	*boku*	*jibun*		*ore*
Female	*watakushi*	*watashi*			*atashi*	

Note. Adapted from "Ware in a Japanese Conversation". Sreetharan, C. (2006). *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 16*(2), 173-193.

Though all of the pronouns in the list mean the English equivalent of "I", they index various aspects of the speaker. For example, in a longitudinal study, Miyazaki (2004), found that junior high school boys use inner group status as a marker for who can use the more blunt, masculine pronoun *ore* rather than the more formal *boku*. In the same study, Miyazaki found that junior high school girls were more likely to use *ore* when taking an assertive stance (Miyazaki, 2004).

To better understand some aspects of Japanese linguistic behavior, it may be useful to explore the concept of *wakimae*. This word is a noun derived from a verb meaning "to know one's place" and perhaps the closest English equivalent to the term is "discernment" (Ide & Yoshida, 1999). *Wakimae* refers to adhering to social and situational norms of behavior, including linguistic norms (Ide & Yoshida, 1999). Thus, using polite language in situations to signal one's place in a hierarchy can show overlap with women's language. By indexing "the speaker's identity as a member of the society" adherents of *wakimae* signal their understanding of social positioning via others by their linguistic choices (Ide & Yoshida, 1999). That these forms coincide is not coincidental; women's speech in Japan forces women to speak in a way that indexes a cooperative rather than assertive stances "helps to keep women in submissive silence and on the other hand seduces them into using the stereotypical feminine speech style, which most likely protects them from criticism" (Yukawa & Saito, 2004).

Women's language

Women's verbal practices are sometimes called *onna kotoba*, women's dialect, or *joseigo*, female language. It is important to note that this term is extremely broad and ignores a good deal of intersectionality with class, region, and occupation (Sunaoshi, 2004, p. 187). It may be best to think of *onna kotoba* as a feature of SJ that is highly associated with the metropole of Tokyo and used by those that reside in or wish to associate themselves with the values and norms of Tokyo (Sunaoshi, 2004, p. 200; Inoue, 2006). As has already been mentioned SFPs and pronouns serve an important role in the idealized construction "women's language", but these features can extend to syntactic structures such as right dislocation (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 415), word choice (Lunsing &

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Maree, 2004), the avoidance of certain forms such as imperatives (Abe, 2004), and pitch (Ide & Yoshida, 1999).

Inoue (2006) traces how the style of speaking now known as women's language became so strongly associated with gender over time. Using archival materials, Inoue demonstrates how this mode of speech, which is sometimes referred to in the text as *teyo-dawa* language after the two SFPs most closely associated with women's language at the time, was originally associated with lower class samurai and geisha. The corpus from which Inoue pulls her data dates from the 1888s to 1908 and consists of magazines targeted towards women and girls. The male authors of the time regard women's and schoolgirls' use of this language with anxiety and heavily mark this style as lower class and ungrammatical (Inoue, 2006). By this time, the *teyo-dawa* language has become enregistered as schoolgirls' speech. From 1910 onwards, this manner of speaking shifted, and became to be associated with women. Through advertising aimed at women, Inoue (2006) argues that the perception of women's language has changed and women are now respectable consumers rather than errant, lower-class school girls.

The distinction behind gender indexing speech in Japanese lies in the prescribed behavioral roles by three primary forces; Westernization, Confucianism, and Shinto-Buddhism (Spiridon, 2011; Tanaka, 2008; Inoue, 2004, p. 60). These three institutions mutually reinforced a male hierarchy by casting men as protectors, leaders, and the heads-of-households. This system can still be seen in the words of the Japanese language. For example, a traditional term for one's wife is "kanai" which is a compound of the characters for "house" and "inside". A traditional word for husband is "shujin," which is synonymous with "lord".

This social inequality is perpetuated by the ways in which women are expected to use language (Lakoff, 2004 [1972]) and these expectations can also serve to perpetuate traditional gender norms which have led to this inequality (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003). Gender stratification in Japan has had very real consequences for the women of that country; it is clear that women are expected to play de facto inferior social roles (Reischauer and Jansen, 1995). Women's use of language, therefore, helps to designate their roles and status within society. Lakoff (2010) draws attention to the extent that the inequalities of society are mirrored in linguistic differences in men's and women's speech; "Allowing men stronger means of expression than are open to women further reinforces men's position of strength in the real world" (p. 45). Women's speech in Japan forces women to speak in a respectful style and as subordinates (Yukawa & Saito, 2004).

There are prescriptive reactions when women's speech deviates from the norms of female speech, for example, please consider this letter to the editor from *Asahi Shinbun*, a major newspaper in Japan;

> In addition to the use of childish words and final rising intonations, young women have even started using men's language. Speaking in men's language is one thing, but there are girls who even use dirty words . . ., which makes me wonder how in the world their parents and teachers are raising them. But then, their mothers are also actively using men's language. On TV, I even saw a female professor using men's language proudly; I felt it was deplorable and questioned her educational level.... for men it seems as tasteless as eating sand or grafting bamboo on a tree .... 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 (as cited in Siegal & Okamoto, 2003).

As Siegal & Okamoto (2003) point out, the women this author has in mind are those that belong within a specific socio-political hierarchy. In order to signal their inclusion in this hierarchy, they must use language to demonstrate their acceptance of traditional gender roles which place women in a de facto inferior position (Sugimoto, 2002, p 155).

Okamoto (1997) found that female students aged 18-20 were far less likely to use strongly feminine SFPs such as *kashira* or *wa* compared to middle-aged women. An exception to this was in reported speech from their mothers or female teachers, further establishing traditional women's language as an indexical linked to middle-aged women (Okamoto, 1997). Some members of the younger participant group explained that they see "feminine speech [as] elegant and nice, but they don't want to use it" because it sounds "formal" which makes "speech acts indirect or less assertive which in turn may be interpreted as indexing distance" (Okamoto, 1997). This group also showed tendencies to sparingly use strongly masculine forms (Okamoto, 1997). This contrast in gendered speech practices depicts a generational and social dimension in gender indexing speech.

Men's language

In the cultural representation of Japanese men, the focus has been primarily on the figure of the *sarariiman* (Roberson, 1998). This borrowing, from the English "salaryman," is associated with white-collar, middle-class men that work for Japanese major companies or bureaucratic institutions (Roberson, 1998; Sreetharan, 2004), stereotypically associated with the major metropoles of Tokyo and Osaka. The *sarariiman* has come to represent an idealized masculinity in Japanese society (Roberson, 1998) and is a mature adult with responsibilities, and more importantly, a representative of his company (Sreetharan, 2004) in both public and private life. When first joining a company from college, new *sarariiman* go through rigorous training programs, including ones in "linguistic and social behavior" during which they learn "appropriately neutral and polite speech" (Sreetharan, 2004) This becomes problematic however, when this form of masculinity is assumed across the whole of cultural and social space as it is often

represented in western and Japanese texts. Rather interestingly however, the mode of speech associated with Japanese male speech is not the language of the hegemonic *sarariiman*, who prefer to "avoid using rough, vulgar forms, preferring to appear neutral and nonthreatening" (Sreetharan, 2004).

Sreetharan (2004) found that all adult men of various groups are generally using gender neutral forms far more often than gender indexing forms. Central to this study is the notion of life stage, in which one's life-stage membership is a salient marker for usage of gender indexing forms. Sreetharan (2004) divides participants into students, salarymen, and retirees. Sreetharan's findings indicate that students, the youngest group, are more likely to use strongly masculine forms. This difference is explained by the older life stage members being involved in communities of practice which constrain the use of these forms (Sreetharan, 2004). Sreetharan draws a parallel between her work and Eckert's (1989) studies of Detroit students; students do not have much capital or power other than their language; consequently, they utilize various forms in order to present themselves as outside of the hierarchy of the school's corporate structure (2004). The forms allow young students to "carve out a niche of authoritative and social identity" which are not imparted to him via his life stage (2004) or via *wakimae.*

In a further study, Sreetharan (2006) proposes a model in which various linguistic strategies, such as first-person pronouns and SFPs, are used to construct stances and positions from sets of gender indexing forms. These forms are combined to "create a package of discourse markers that enable the men to construct particular identities across different topics and interlocutors" (Sreetharan, 2006). These form into "models of masculinity" such as the "elder brother" and "manly man" (Sreetharan, 2006).

Complicating Gender Indexing features in Standard Japanese

Sunaoshi's (2004) study of farm women's discourse in Ibaraki providence, found that "Japanese women's language" was not part of the speech repertoire" of her participants (p. 200). She described her data regarding her participants' use of language as "empowerment" (p. 195). They typically used features, including pronouns, heavily associated with masculine Japanese speech (p. 193). It seems that these women used their local dialect with elements of standard Japanese mixed in when necessary, indicating that gender is not necessarily the most salient part of their identity (p. 200). It is worth considering however, that in a survey of Japanese attitudes to regional dialects, Ibaraki dialect is seen as 'rough,' 'not suitable for young women,' and 'difficult to comprehend' (as cited in Sunaoshi, 2004, p. 191). Ibaraki dialect's lack of women's language may contribute to its perceived lack of prestige.

In a study by Abe (2004), it was found that in the language as used by women at lesbian bars in Tokyo and found the common use of the linguistic features associated with male speech patterns among participants (p. 218). In particular, masculine-indexing first and second-person pronoun usage, the use of imperatives (usually reserved for men), and masculine-indexing SFPs. This is important because Abe convincingly argues that these speakers are rejecting forms that they find overly feminine and moving towards neutral and masculine forms (p. 218). According to Abe, this appropriation of men's linguistic resources allows them to support their identities as lesbians, but also to express "powerfulness" (Abe, 2004, p. 218). In her words, "some lesbians at bars recognize the assumed dominant power associated with masculine speech" (Abe, 2004, p. 218).

Similar findings by Miyazaki (2004) indicated a similar process was at work in a junior high school. Miyazaki's research on the topic of gender indexing first-person pronouns indicated that personal pronoun usage was incredibly complex and at odds with traditional gender ideology (2004, p. 270). The students, both male and female, "variously went along with, contested, and continually negotiated the ideology of gendered language in their daily… interactions" (Miyazaki, 2004, p. 270). Miyazaki calls attention to the importance of peer groups in these interactions (pp.262-264) and demonstrates that their uses of pronouns was deeply related to the social groups they moved in at their school.

In these instances, we have seen examples of speech communities contesting the ideology of gendered language use in SJ. The prescriptive and ideological descriptions of gendered language communities are constantly negotiating their own identities in terms of gender in relation to the hegemonic power. Because of asymmetrical status of gender in Japan, language that marks strong assertion has come to be associated with male speech (Sreetharan, 2004).

Media and Gender Indexing Language

An emerging line of research in Japanese linguistics is the study of role languages or *yakuwarigo*. This field examines the connection between character-types in fiction and the linguistic variables associated with them. Japanese is a language with dozens of varieties, with each variety having an idealized set of linguistic features with socio-psychological group identities for the speakers (Sato, 2018). By portraying a character using a register associated with a variety, idealized or not, will let an audience infer the type of character portrayed (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012). In this way, the register is

almost like a character shorthand, giving a sketch of the character's personality, social

status, gender, nationality, and/or motivations in a simple sentence.

The following example is adapted from Teshigawara & Kinsui (2012):

1.1 Sō-ja   washi ga shitte   oru-zo
1.2 that's right.COP   I.SUB am knowing   be-SFP
1.3 Yes, I know.

2.1 Sō- yo   atashi ga   shitte   iru-wa
2.2 that's right-SFP   I.SUB   am knowing   be-SFP
2.3 Yes, I know.

3.1 Sō-da   ore ga   shitte-ru-ze
3.2 that's right.COP   I.SUB   am knowing-be-SFP
3.3 Yes, I know.

Though each of these utterances are functionally saying the same thing, they use different

SFPs, copula constructions, first-person pronouns, and verbs of being to convey their

character types. The speaker in 1 is an elderly male speaker, 2 is a female speaker, and 3

is a macho male speaker (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012). This is not a recent

phenomenon, some researchers have noted that the way some characters speak in

classical works such as *Genji Monogatari*, *The Tale of Genji*, can be considered a role

language (as cited in Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012). Teshigawara & Kinsui (2012) also

note the register of the feline protagonist in Natsume Soseki's influential *Wagahai wa*

Neko de Aru, or *I am a Cat,* could also be considered a role language. The first-person

pronoun in the title (and preferred pronoun of the cat), *wagahai*, conveys an almost

aristocratic arrogance and self-regard, and the *de aru* copula is an archaic high-register

phrasing of 'to be'. The main character, a female cat, also uses features of the *teyo-dawa*

language throughout the novel (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012).

It is also worth noting that this is not an exclusively Japanese phenomenon. Yamaguchi (as cited in Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012) gives several examples of how role languages operate in English. These are "eye dialect, using stereotyped pidgin varieties; manipulating personal pronouns; and phonological manipulation" (as cited in Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012). Examining the fictional speech of Rubius Hagrid in the lauded *Harry Potter* series, we can see both examples of eye dialect and use of a stereotyped variety. In chapter 4 Hagrid asks, "Couldn't make us a cup o' tea, could yeh? It's not been an easy journey" (Rowling, 1997, p. 47). Hagrid's eye dialect is supposed to imitate a West Country English variety, with spellings like "yeh" for "you" representing a nonstandard pronunciation associated with speakers of that variety. Hagrid also uses "us" as first-person object pronoun, a nonstandard usage stereotypically employed by several nonstandard English varieties, an example of using stereotyped pidgin varieties in a role language.

Despite the increasing gap between an idealized men's and women's language and linguistic reality, characters continue using it in media and popular culture, particularly young ladies of good family, a role which Teshigawara & Kinsui, (2012) term *ojōsama,* young mistress. There is also now a greater variety of potential registers to assign to a female character. "[These] can range from traditional female language to something like male language, depending on the genres, character attributes (especially age), creators, etc." (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012). Among the most conservative are foreign works translated in Japanese where female characters still speak using traditional women's language (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012).

Nakamura (2012) highlights what he sees as the four main problems of women's language, though to a certain extent some of these problems also affect male language. These are 1) heterogeneity of women's linguistic practices, 2) women's language being the norm, 3) artificial value assigned to women's language, and 4) women's language as perpetuated by media, (pp. 379-383) which is of the most interest to this study. As has been mentioned, Japanese gendered language is an idealized set of features which has a tenuous link to an historical linguistic reality, yet speakers of Japanese are easily able to articulate features of these varieties. This is because this knowledge is often acquired from fictionalized conversations in media such as books and translated media (Nakamura, 2012, p. 384), and anime and manga (Inoue, 2006). Using examples from celebrity interviews and translations from fiction, Nakamura (2012) points out that "Paradoxically, it is the translated speech of non-Japanese women that helps preserve the tradition of Japanese women's language" (p. 385).

In the world of manga, Ueno (2006) conducted a study on female characters' speech patterns in *shojo* (young women's) and ladies' manga and magazines and found that older women in these magazines seem to use more traditional women's language, with the exception of expressing strong emotions such as anger and frustration. Another notable exception is that of female teachers who are depicted as using masculine forms to speak to their male students, probably using masculine forms to assert themselves (Ueno, 2006). Young women in *shojo* appear to diverge from traditional language usage, perhaps because they are unaware of their social obligations and expectations (Ueno, 2006).

Inoue (2016) argues that we are in the midst of another massive change in regard to "women's language. In order to show how the mode of enregisterment is changing, Inoue

shows how the culture of conspicuous consumption was linked to linguistic forms of the upper-class women in the bubble economy. The gradual disappearance of prescriptive manuals and anxieties about women's speech in "the lost decade" concurred with the gradual decrease of conspicuous consumption in the post-bubble economy (Inoue, 2016). Despite this disappearance, the stereotyped style of women's speech from this era still exists conspicuously in the world of manga and anime (Inoue, 2016). In this world, linguistic differences, along with other difference, are treated as potential combinatorial element which can be "reconfigured to be pure difference that is flexibly embedded in new contexts and is available to anyone and to any use" (Inoue, 2016). This undermines the linkage between metapragmatic framing of speech and their indexical social identity. Whereas once these formed and indexed an ideal femininity, these forms are falling back from second order indexicality to a more social indexicality (Inoue, 2004).

Methods

Participants

The language under investigation in this series is that produced by men and women participating in the Japanese Reality TV show *Terrace House: Aloha State*. The 10 participants have been placed into two groups based on age, in the younger group, ages range from age 18-27 and the participants are evenly split between male and female speakers. The most substantial content of the program focuses on them and their interactions and activities as they go about daily life together in the eponymous terrace house. The older group, consisting of the four oldest participants, with ages ranging from 35-55, is found in the studio within the program, where they watch the group of housemates at the same time as the viewer and periodically the program will cut back to

them as they briefly interpret and discuss the actions of the housemates. Typically, they open and close the show, reviewing important material and events, and the program will return to their commentary two or three times per episode.

Though there has been extensive research done with gender indexing features of Japanese, none of these have focused on how liminal populations such as *hāfu* use these features, though many discuss how L2 learners use them. *Hāfu* refers to biracial people, but this word has a complex nuance in Japanese and refers to individuals who are biracial and usually mixed-race Japanese. The word is a borrowing of the English word "half," and the half refers to being only half Japanese. In this way, the term has a slightly different nuance than biracial, as a biracial person without a Japanese parent would simply be a foreigner (Oshima, 2014). My impression and experience of the word is that it often refers to mixed-race Japanese and European or Japanese and American individuals, possibly because their visible difference in appearance does not allow them to choose whether to conceal their status (Oshima, 2014). *Hāfu* of mixed Asian ancestry, however, have the option whether to be open about their ancestry or not (Oshima, 2014). There is no available data for the population of *hāfu* people in Japan because no such details are collected by the Japanese census (Oshima, 2014). The somewhat derogatory nature of the word *hāfu* lead to a proposed alternative of *daburu* from the English word "double", however, many people of this group thought that the term sounded too "self-assertive" (Oshima, 2014). Despite the fact that are other possible terms to use, none of these are in wide use, even among *hāfu* themselves. Therefore, I will continue to use the term in this paper as it is the most widely recognized, albeit problematic, term.

Half and non-native, non-Japanese speakers of Japanese are a growing population in Japan but remain liminal. An interesting element of this study will be the extent to which foreign language familiarity and biracial identity affects the use of SFPs; of the 10 participants being analyzed, eight are native Japanese speakers, and two use Japanese as a second language with a very high proficiency. Of the eight native Japanese speakers, two are *hāfu*. One of these, Naomi, identifies herself as Japanese, despite being born in America, and living there for seven years as a child and throughout the series displays discomfort with using English.

This linguistic distribution of subjects is also highly interesting because not only will we be able to examine the speech patterns of young Japanese, but also the extent to which influences from other languages affect competency with these particles or to which language instruction using traditional gender norms in standard spoken Japanese are reproduced (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003). In an analysis by Siegal and Okamoto (2003) the researchers show that in Japanese bilinguals' identity construction and negotiation and how these affect language uses are very complex (Sato, 2018) and it will be interesting to see how they negotiate identity.

In the program, *hāfu* racial status appears to be a highly salient category of identity for the speakers. They attempt to determine one another's racial status within minutes of first meeting each other. Of all the gender indexing features of Japanese, I have selected pronouns and SFPs to analyze because of their strong association with gender and their relative frequency.

 Based on conversations between themselves, all participants present themselves as heterosexual and cisgender and are interested in pursuing heterosexual relationships. Two

participants, Avian and Lauren, speak English natively and Japanese at a very high level.

Most of the younger group of participants also speak English at varying degrees of

proficiency. Three of the six participants in this group are *hāfu* with two further

participants being non-Japanese. This information is summarized in table 3.

Participants						
Name	Gender	Occupation	Age (at beginning of series)	First language	Birthplace	Parents' Nationality
Lauren	Female	artist, model	18	English	Massachusetts, USA	European/ Chinese
Yuya	Male	aspiring actor, student	18	Japanese	Yokosuka, Japan	American/ Japanese
Avian	Female	Sales clerk	26	English	Hawai'i, USA	Chinese/ Taiwanese
Eric	Male	carpenter, aspiring business owner	27	Japanese	Hyogo prefecture, Japan	Japanese/ American or European
Naomi	Female	undecided	23	Japanese	America (raised in Japan from age 7)	American/ Japanese
Yusuke	Male	musician, student	18	Japanese	Tokyo, Japan	Japanese
Yū	Female	Television personality/ actress	55	Japanese	Tokyo, Japan	Japanese
Yamasato	Male	Comedian/ Television personality	39	Japanese	Chiba, Japan	Japanese
Tokui	Male	Comedian	41	Japanese	Kyoto, Japan	Japanese
Babazono	Female	Comedian/ actress	35	Japanese	Osaka, Japan	Japanese

Materials

Terrace house: Aloha State is a Japanese reality television series set in Hawaii. The series is part of the *Terrace House* franchise and was co-produced by Japan's Fuji Television and Netflix and originally aired from November 2016 until August 2017. In the series, six strangers, three young men and three young women, share a house and go about their daily lives together. The contestants are typically aged from their late teenage years till late twenties and develop romantic relationships and friendships together. Though the franchise has featured non-heterosexual housemates, the housemates from this series all seem to be heterosexual based on their conversations and the relationships the pursue. They lead relatively normal lives and continue going to work and school while participating in the program. The housemates are free to leave the house whenever they want. The original group of six housemates are together for a total of ten episodes. A group of commentators, the older group, watch the program in a studio, ostensibly as the same time as the viewer and periodically the program will cut back to them as they briefly interpret the actions and motivations of the housemates.

Many reviewers have drawn attention the differences between *Terrace house* and the typical fare of American reality television (Rivera, 2018; Aroesti, 2017; Ridker, 2017). Most of the episodes revolve around mundane daily activities such as going to get coffee together or making a trip to Costco (Ridker, 2017). There is very little melodrama and tension (Ridker, 2017), and where this does occur participants never yell or shout at one another (Rivera, 2018).

Television is an extraordinarily popular form of mass media in Japan (Sugimoto, 2010, p. 251). An NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute poll has indicated that more than

90% of participants watched television at least once a day and 96% watched television at least once a week (2010). As Lakoff (2004 [1972]) notes, "The speech heard… on television mirrors the speech of the television watching community: if it did not … it would not succeed" (p. 40).

There is an element of artificiality about reality television and Terrace House in no exception. In an interview with *Metropolis Magazine,* Lauren Tsai, one of the speakers whose language shall be examined said, "It was non-scripted, but at the same time it was extremely scripted. We only filmed a couple hours a day and not even every day, so what you say is what they tell you to say, like 'talk about that thing' or 'talk about how you feel about that person.' So they don't tell us exactly what to say, but they know what kind of story they want to edit in their minds" (Siegel, 2017). Though the program is not scripted, the situations have a degree of artificiality. However, the linguistic production and choices made remain those of the speakers and although the material filmed is edited to present a cohesive narrative, there is no reason to believe that that which is cut out involves the speakers speaking differently than what is shown in the program.

Procedures

To answer the proposed research questions, I will analyze the dialogue of the program for tokens of masculine and feminine SFPs and pronouns. I am not as interested in neutral SFPs, as I expect their occurrence to be very high with both male and female speakers (Sreetharan, 2004). I will then use discourse analysis to examine the situations and contexts in which the speakers on the television program to gain a clearer idea of how speakers are using gender indexing language in conversation to negotiate their identities and make stances. Specifically, I will be looking for tokens of moderately feminine

particles like *-no* and the strongly feminine particles like *wa* (Sreetharan, 2004). As for masculine SFPs, I will search for the strongly masculine *zo* and *ze* particles and other particles described as moderately masculine (Sreetharan, 2004). I will be examining the first four episodes of the program, which was filmed over four weeks.

After collecting and presenting information about which gender indexing features participants use and the frequency with which they do so, I will compare this to how gendered language is attributed to various speakers through translating spoken English into SJ in the subtitles of the series. Various author (Inoue, 2016; Siegal & Okamoto, 2003; Okamoto, 1997) have pointed out the worrying gap between gender and linguistic ideology as portrayed by media and the actual uses of gender indexing features by real speakers.

Analysis

Firstly, the subtitle files for *Terrace House: Aloha State* will be downloaded. Tokens of interest will be searched for using Notepad++ and regular expressions. Regular expressions promise to useful in this context as SFPs are usually utterance final, which can be accounted for using regular expressions, and should constrain the potential results to those most likely to be SFPs. Once a token is found, the researcher will go to the corresponding time in the episode to confirm the existence of this token. In order for a token to be counted, it must firstly be audible. If a token is present in the subtitles, but inaudible, it will not be included. The token also must not be present in reported or quoted speech, else it will be disqualified. First-person pronouns occurring with a pluralizing morpheme or pluralized through reduplication will also be counted as a token for that pronoun.

The data will be discussed in two different ways; Through token counts of the discourse

particles and careful examination of several of the conversations in which they occur.

Token counts will allow for analysis of general trends in the use of these particles and

discourse analysis promises to be an incisive tool for investigating how these tokens are

being used in a social context and analyzing emergent themes and patterns that arise in

these interactions. Conversations which highlight how stance and identity interrelate with

gender and racial status will be especially emphasized.

Assigning a gendered ideology to these pronouns reflects the literature on the subject,

most prominently Sreethran (2006), Abe (2004), and Miyazaki (2004). The tokens that

will be examined in first-person pronouns and a short explanation for each follows:

Watashi- can be use by both male and female speakers (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 415), though

male speakers tend to use this variant only in formal situations such as the workplace. An

even more formal variant, *watakushi*, also exists, however it is not salient in the data, as

one might expect. Female speakers also use *watashi* in informal speech (Tsujimura, 2014,

p. 416).

Atashi- Another variant of watashi, *atashi* is high linked to female speakers, though is

more explicitly feminine (Lunsing and Maree, 2005, p. 97). Crucially, the only difference

between *atashi* and *watashi* is in the production of the variable. *Watashi, atashi,* and for

that matter *watakushi* are all indicated by the same kanji: 私. This means that for each

occurrence of this token, the speaker's production will need to be analyzed to determine

which has been produced.

Boku- very associated with male speakers, *boku* is a more formal variant of the first-person pronoun, though not quite as formal as *watashi* (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 416). This variant can also be used informally (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 416).

Ware – often occurs with reduplication, making it *wareware,* indicating a first-person plural. *Ware* is associated with masculine speakers and formality (Sreethran, 2006).

Jibun- though technically a reflexive pronoun that can be used as such by either gender, there are some precedents for conceptualizing *jibun* as a masculine pronoun and has been demonstrated to be a salient first-person pronoun in some communities (Abe, 2004, p. 212). It seems to index masculine pursuits such as sports, army, or police (Abe, 2004, p. 212). For *jibun*, care will be taken that all counted tokens are being used by speakers as first-person pronouns and ambiguity surrounding a particular token will result in that token not being counted.

Ore- the most informal variant of the first-person pronoun. This pronoun is indexed as highly masculine and is used only in very casual situations, such as a discussion between close friends (Tsujimura, 2014, p. 416).

The SFPs that will be examined in this study are as follows;

Na- The use of *na* being examined in this study is exclusively the sentence-final *na*, as this particle can also be use grammatically with adjectival nouns to indicate an attributive function or as a negative imperative. *Na* can be used to indicate inward reflection, subtly introduce a topic, or to seek confirmation (Sakata, 1991).

Zo and *ze* – both particles are strongly associated with male speakers, conveying insistence, authority, and aggression (Sreethran, 2006). Sreethran (2006) found that these

particles are only show themselves a few times in discourse, and only were used between males students, her youngest participants.

Jan and *yan* – a contraction of *janai*, itself a contraction of *dewanai*, a negative copula construction. Can operate as a tag but also as an assertion. *Yan* appears to be a regional variant associated with the Kansai region.

Kana – combination of the question denominator *ka* with the SFP *na*. indicates that one is asking oneself something without requiring the other party to respond (Sakata, 1991).

Yone – combination of the SFPs *yo* and *ne*. Indicates insistence or assertion coupled with a request for confirmation.

No- softens a declarative or can be used with rising intonation as an interrogative (Sakata, 1991).

Wa - softens assertions or declarations (Sakata, 1991), subtle differences exist between rising and falling intonation with this particle (Sreethran, 2006).

Noyo – a combination of the particle *no* and the particle *yo*. The nuances of *no* have already been examined and *yo* indicates assertion of what the speaker knows or believes but can also be used to indicate completion of an action, or direct a listener's attention (Katagiri, 2007).

Results

Table 4, First-person pronoun use by individual speaker

First-person pronoun use by individual speaker (token count | % total)												
	Indexically female				Indexically male							
Speaker (M/F)	atashi		watashi		Jibun		Ore		boku		ware	
Avian (F)	**7**	77.8%	**2**	22.2%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Lauren (F)	**6**	28.6%	**15**	71.4%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Naomi (F)	**3**	42.9%	**4**	57.1%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Eric (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**3**	13.6%	**19**	86.4%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yusuke (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**4**	33.3%	**6**	50%	**2**	16.7%	**0**	0%
Yuya (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**19**	100%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yū (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yamasato (M)	**0**	0%	**1**	12.5%	**3**	37.5%	**0**	0%	**3**	37.5%	**1**	12.5%
Babazono (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**1**	100%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Tokui (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**2**	66.7%	**1**	33.3%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%

Table 3 presents the tokens for first-person pronouns used by speakers throughout the examined episodes. The token count has been bolded to increase readability. The pronouns maintain their strong indexical links to gender. This table also captures an interesting generational shift amongst male speakers; The male speakers from the younger group, Yuya, Yusuke and Eric, use the first-person pronoun *ore* most frequently,

between 50% and 80% of their total pronoun usage. As a proportion, tokens of *ore* make up 83% of their total first-person pronoun usage as a group. There is only one token of a member of the older generation using *ore*. Largely, it seems that first-person pronouns maintain a strong indexical link to the gender of the speaker.

Yusuke has an interesting amount of variation in his usage of first-person pronouns. He is the only speaker of the younger generation to use *boku*, though this only accounts for 16.7% of his total first-person pronoun usage. Like the other male speakers of the younger generation, his preferred pronoun is *ore*, which accounts for 50% of his total output.

Table 5, Masculine gender indexing SFP use by individual speaker

Masculine gender indexing SFP use by individual speaker (token count | % total)											
	Strongly Masculine				Masculine						
Speaker	ze		zo		kana		na		jan/yan		sa	
Avian (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**2**	12.5%	**5**	41.6%	**3**	25%	**3**	25%
Lauren (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**2**	28.6%	**4**	57.1%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Naomi (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**7**	21.2%	**4**	12.1%	**6**	18.2%	**2**	6.1%
Eric (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**5**	12.8%	**17**	43.6%	**9**	23.1%	**1**	2.6%
Yusuke (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**16**	50%	**6**	18.8%	**1**	3.1%	**1**	3.1%
Yuya (M)	**1**	1.6%	**3**	4.8%	**0**	0%	**17**	27%	**20**	31.7%	**11**	17.5%
Yū (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**3**	18.8%	**4**	25%	**2**	12.5%
Yamasato (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**1**	3.6%	**11**	39.3%	**0**	0%	**12**	42.9%
Babazono (F)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Tokui (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**3**	20%	**12**	80%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%

Feminine gender indexing SFP use by individual speaker (token count | % total)								
	Feminine		Strongly feminine					
Speaker	no		wa		noyo		wane	
Avian (F)	**3**	18.8%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Lauren (F)	**1**	14.3%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Naomi (F)	**11**	33.3%	**2**	6.1%	**1**	3%	**0**	0%
Eric (M)	**2**	5.1%	**5**	12.8%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yusuke (M)	**7**	21.9%	**1**	3.1%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yuya (M)	**10**	15.9%	**1**	1.6%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Yū (F)	**4**	25%	**2**	12.5%	**0**	0%	**1**	6.3%
Yamasato (M)	**1**	3.6%	**2**	7.1%	**1**	3.6%	**0**	0%
Babazono (F)	**3**	100%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%
Tokui (M)	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%	**0**	0%

Tables 5 and 6 examine the production of different SFP tokens by different speakers.

Despite the emphasis on gender indexing speech in much of the literature, these results

support the view that Japanese speakers do not use these forms in a way that is consistent

with the hegemonic gender ideology. It seems that the actual use of SFPs among

Japanese men and women, does not conform to prescriptive classifications. For the

younger group, between 58-91% of SFPs used gender index as masculine. This group as

a whole was much more likely to use masculine SFPs, though they still eschewed

strongly masculine forms, besides Yuya. Of the younger group, the only female

participant to use any SFPs described as strongly feminine was Naomi, who had two

tokens of *wa* and one of *noyo*. Of the older generation, the only female participant to use

SFPs indexed as strongly feminine was Yū, who also uses them sparingly, only at 19% of

her total usage of SFPs. The older group did not use any strongly masculine gender

indexing SFPs at all, but most did use SFPs indexed as moderately masculine. Of the SFP

tokens counted for most of this group, between 56-84% of tokens were described as

indexing as moderately masculine. Babazono is something of an outlier as she only has

three tokens of *no*, which makes her usage 100% of forms indexing as moderately

feminine. The younger male group also generally eschewed strongly masculine SFPs

except for Yuya who had 4 tokens of strongly masculine SFP use. Yuya had the most

tokens of gender indexing SFPs, with 63 tokens total. His usage of the strongly masculine

forms is less than 7% of his total output of SFPs.

SFPs and First-person pronouns in context

First-person pronouns seem to have generally retained their indexical link to gender, thus

to investigate how they are being used, I would like to examine the output of Yusuke,

who has the highest variation in pronouns of any speaker. The first conversation is taken

from the first episode when the members of the younger group are touring the house for

the first time. The situation they are in specifically is choosing beds in the men's

bedroom.

Conversation 1

Eric:	1.1	俺はもう どこでも寝れるからみんな決めて
	1.2	ore.wa mou doko demo nereru kara minna kimete
	1.3	I can sleep anywhere, you guys can choose

Yusuke:	2.1	<u>自分</u>も別にどこでも かまいませんよ
	2.2	<u>jibun</u>.mo betsuni dokomo kamaimasen.yo
	2.3	I can also sleep anywhere, it doesn't matter

Yuya:	3.1	じゃあ
	3.2	jā
	3.3	alright

Eric:	4.1	ほんまに？
	4.2	honma.ni?
	4.3	Really?

Yuya:	5.1	じゃあ<u>俺</u> ここで
	5.2	jā <u>ore</u> koko.de
	5.3	Alright, I'm here

Eric:	6.1	じゃあ<u>俺</u> ここで
	6.2	jā <u>ore</u> koko.de
	6.3	Alright, I'm here

| All: | 7.1 | Laughter |

Yusuke:	8.1	もう２人とも速攻これで みたいな
	8.2	mou futaritomo sokkō kore.de mitaina
	8.3	Jeez, you guys act fast, looks like I'm here

	9.1	じゃあ<u>僕</u> ここで
	9.2	jā <u>boku</u> koko.de
	9.3	Alright, I'm here

Eric:	10.1	いい？ 大丈夫？
	10.2	ī? Daijoubu?
	10.3	Is that okay?

Yusuke:	11.1	大丈夫っす
	11.2	daijobu ssu
	11.3	It's fine

In this conversation there's an interesting contrast between the first-person pronoun choice between the speakers. Both Eric and Yuya use *ore* throughout the conversation while Yusuke is using *boku* and *jibun*. At one point, in lines 5-6 both Eric and Yuya use

the same phrase, *jā ore koko de,* to claim a bed, but when Yusuke claims his bed in line 9

he use this phrase, he substitutes *boku* rather than using *ore*, indicating a very conscious

substitution. At face value this seems very similar to Miyazaki (2004) study which

examined Japanese language and gender at a middle school and found that boys regarded

as stronger and more powerful used *ore*, while others used more plain masculine

pronouns. The word Yusuke uses to describe their quick claims is *sokkō*, which has the

connotation of an attack or quick advance, suggesting perhaps their greater agency.

However, I would also suggest there is an element of formality and social distance, which

is not unrelated. As the youngest member of the group, he feels the need to use more

mature and polite language to demonstrate his maturity and therefore his right to interact

with the older members, at least initially. It is also revealing that his only other use of this

pronoun is also in the first episode. This usage follows below in conversation 2. The

situation in which this conversation occurs is Yusuke, an aspiring musician, has just

played a song for his housemates on the ukulele.

Conversation 2

Naomi:	1.1	フー すごーい
	1.2	fū sugōi
	1.3	Wow, amazing!
Lauren:	2.1	イエース
	2.2	iēsu
	2.3	Yes!
Yusuke:	3.1	ちょっと僕は失礼します
	3.2	chotto boku.wa shitsurei shimasu
	3.3	please excuse me
Yuya	4.1	すごい
	4.2	sugoi
	4.3	amazing

In this conversation, *shitsurei shimasu* is a formal expression, though there are less formal alternatives available, Yusuke has again chosen to be more formal in both his speech and pronoun usage. Use *ore* in this situation might be considered as rude as he has just been praised and this pronoun is very informal. This is the only other use Yusuke has of this pronoun and afterwards switches exclusively to using *ore* and *jibun*. As his relationships with his housemates grow, Yusuke feels more comfortable using the more informal variants.

In conversation 3, Naomi and Yuya are sitting on a bench on the seaside discussing how a major motivation in their coming to America was to practice and improve their English language skills. The conversation is notable as it highlights the contrasting uses of the *yo* and *zo* SFPs.

Conversation 3

Naomi:	1.1	テラスハウスにさ住みたいって思った理由
	1.2	Terasuhausu.ni sa sumitai.tte omotta riyuu
	1.3	One of your reasons for coming on Terrace House
	2.1	１個は語学<u>やん</u>か
	2.2	Ikko.wa gogaku <u>yan</u>.ka
	2.3	Was studying language, wasn't it?
	3.1	語学留学やんか
	3.2	Gokauryuugaku yan.ka
	3.3	Studying language in a foreign context, wasn't it?
	4.1	何か他の理由ってある<u>の</u>？
	4.2	Nanka hoka no riyuu.tte aru.<u>no</u>?
	4.3	Did you give any other reason?
Yuya:	5.1	ない
	5.2	Nai
	5.3	Nope

Naomi:	6.1	何もないの？それだけ？
	6.2	Nanimonai.no? sore dake?
	6.3	Nothing else? That's it?

Yuya:	7.1	英語勉強して
	7.2	Eigo benkyou shite
	7.3	Studying English

	8.1	俳優になる それだけ
	8.2	Haiyuu.ni naru sore dake
	8.3	I want to be an actor, that's it.

Yuya:	9.1	何で？ 何かあんの？
	9.2	Nande? Nanika an.no?
	9.3	Why? Something up?

Naomi:	10.1	いや, 聞きたかった
	10.2	Iya, kikitakatta
	10.3	No, just wanted to know

Yuya:	11.1	何だっけ？ 理由
	11.2	Nanda.kke? riyuu
	11.3	What was your reason again?

Naomi:	12.1	私？
	12.2	Atashi?
	12.3	Me?

	13.1	同じような感じだよ
	13.2	Onajiyouna kanji da yo
	13.3	Almost the same thing actually

	14.1	英語 思い出したいから
	14.2	Eigo omoidashitai kara
	14.3	I want to refresh my English

Yuya:	15.1	英語 思い出したい…
	15.2	Eigo omoidashitai…
	15.3	Want to remember English…

	16.1	働いたら すぐだぞ
	16.2	Hataraitara sugu da zo
	16.3	(you'll remember) as soon as you start working

	17.1	いつからだっけ？５日に面接で？
	17.2	Itsu kara da.kke? Itsuka.ni mensetsu de?
	17.3	When was that did you say? In five days you interview?

Naomi:	18.1	５日に面接
	18.2	Itsuka.ni mensetsu
	18.3	I interview in five days

This conversation's topic reflects Yuya and Naomi's newly forming relationship, preliminarily exploring each other's interests and personalities. Naomi's initial uses of SFP *yan* as a tag work to introduce a potential topic for discussion while also asking for more elaboration on known information about her conversation partner. She then uses *yo* to strike an empathetic stance and align herself with Yuya by revealing that she also has ambitions to improve her English skill. Her use of this SFP in this context is one of revealing information that might not be known by her interlocuter and highlighting this surprising information. Yuya then uses the *zo* SFP to assert his expertise on the topic, insisting that she will be able to better remember her English when she begins to work. Yuya's use of the *zo* particle here also works to mark a change in topic. Such a strongly assertive stance is similar to "getting the last word" and allows him to change the topic back to Naomi's work, which Naomi accepts. This specific instance of the particle allows Yuya to control the flow of the conversation, thus his usage is in accordance with the hegemonic linguistic ideology behind the gender indexing SFPs. By using *zo* in the interaction, he is marking a more dominant position in the interaction for himself.

Elsewhere Yuya uses masculine SFPs to exaggerate his utterance, such as in conversation 4. The context of the conversation is three of the housemates, Lauren Yuya, and Naomi, experiencing the house pool for the first time. Yuya is already in the pool on a float, Naomi entering, and Lauren not yet in.

Conversation 4

Naomi:	1.1	あっ 冷たい 冷たい
	1.2	A! tsumetai tsumetai
	1.3	Oh! Cold cold

Yuya:	2.1	戦争しよう<u>ぜ</u>
	2.2	Sensou shiyou <u>ze</u>
	2.3	Let's battle

Naomi:	3.1	いいよ　どうやって？
	3.2	ii yo　dou yatte?
	3.3	Okay, how (should we battle)?

	4.1	ひっくり返ったほうが負け
	4.2	Hikurikaetta houga make
	4.3	First to get flipped loses

Here Yuya uses the stereotypically masculine SFP *ze* in an exaggerated manner. Of course he does not actually want to battle, merely interact with Naomi in a playful way. He adds *ze* to his utterance to make it clear that his aggression is exagerated and that, while his invitation is real enough, he is not seriously trying to fight. In this context, *ze* retains its indexical link to aggressive, rough, manly language (Sreetharan, 2004), but Yuya has successfully undermined this meaning by making his statement so exaggerated that it sounds ridiculously manly, almost like the words of an action hero or gangster in anime or a video game. This creative use of the SFP shows an metapragmatic awareness of its register and indexical links by the speaker and the speaker's choice to use this particular feature, rather than as an expression of true gender identity, is exaggerated. Though some tokens are used to exaggerate by Yuya, others retain their meaning and serve specialized purposes in conversation, giving nuance and elegance to utterances that might otherwise be misinterpreted. In conversation 5, Yuya is chatting with Eric when

Yusuke arrives, presumably from school or another activity. The conversation happens

relatively recently in the series and the participants don't know each other well yet.

Conversation 5

Eric:	1.1	おっ 来た
	1.2	O! kita
	1.3	Oh! You're here
Yusuke:	2.1	おっ お疲れ
	2.2	O! otsukare
	2.3	Oh! You must be tired
Yuya:	3.1	いや 疲れてない<u>わ</u>
	3.2	Iya tsukarete nai <u>wa</u>
	3.3	Nope, not tired at all
All:	4.1	(Laughter)

Eric initially greets Yusuke who responds with the traditionally greeting *otsukare* to both

Eric and Yuya. This greeting is somewhat difficult to contextualize as there is not a good

English equivalent. It is a more casual contraction of *otsukaresama deshita* or

otsukaresama desu. The *tsukare* component means 'tiredness', the *o* is a beautification

prefix which also implies the word is something belonging to the interlocuter rather than

the speaker. Lastly the *sama* suffix is an honorific. Altogether this means something like,

"you must be tired after working so hard" and is usually said to work colleagues or

someone with whom you are working with to accomplish a shared goal. The greeting is

appropriate for Eric, who works during the day, but not for Yuya, who at this point in the

series is not working or attending school. Yuya responds with *iya tsukarete nai*, 'No, I'm

not tired,' followed by the *wa* SFP. Yusuke's greeting could be interpreted by Yuya as

pointed sarcasm about Yuya not being employed or going to school, thus Yuya's

response with *wa* acting as a softener gently draws attention to the fact that the greeting is

not appropriate for him while also demonstrating that he is not offended by the remark. Had Yuya chosen to use a different SFP such as *yo* or *ze* or none at all, his response may have been perceived as aggressive or pointed, but by using the *wa* particle he lets all participants understand he is making a joke at his own expense and is simultaneously not offended. Though this particle is indexed as being a feature of female language, in this context, the particle serves to circumvent a potential point of tension and simultaneously make a joke amongst male peers. This example clarifies that the speaker's linguistic choice is a strategy that is based on social aspects of the conversation rather than their gender.

The last conversation featuring spoken SFPs to be examined is one between Naomi and Lauren. This is quite a complex interaction and shows how different SFPs can work in conjunction in conversation to show differing degrees certainty, assertion, and emphasis. In this interaction, Naomi approaches and seats herself at the kitchen table where Lauren, a keen artist, is drawing in her sketch book.

Conversation 6

Naomi:	1.1	すごいね
	1.2	Sugoi <u>ne</u>
	1.3	That looks awesome

Lauren:	2.1	全然 (laughter)
	2.2	Zenzen (laughter)
	2.3	Not at all (laughter)

Naomi:	3.1	どんどん… 増えていくよ
	3.2	Dondon … fuete iku <u>yo</u>
	3.3	It keeps getting better as you go

| Lauren: | 4.1 | ありがとう |
| | 4.2 | Arigato |

	4.3	Thank you

Naomi:	5.1	本当 すごい<u>わ</u>
	5.2	Hontou sugoi <u>wa</u>
	5.3	It really is good

Lauren:	6.1	おお 本当？
	6.2	Oo hontou?
	6.3	Oh? Really?

When Naomi initiates conversation with Lauren, she starts with a compliment, followed by the *ne* SFP. In this context, *ne* is being used to make a proposition with limited certainty (Morita, 2006), almost like a tag, which leads to an interaction with quite a complex subtext. By using *ne* Naomi leaves Lauren enough "elbow room" to disagree with her initial assessment of the worth of Lauren's art. If Naomi hadn't used *ne* here or had substituted a different SFP conveying more insistence, to disagree with Naomi's assessment would constitute a disagreement with Naomi. Instead, Lauren can disagree with Naomi's initial compliment as Naomi thought she would. This denial lets Naomi revise her original assessment of the art without explicitly disagreeing with Lauren. This time Naomi uses *yo* at the end of her utterance to convey more assertion to her evaluation. *Yo* is a stronger SFP which indicates assertion in this instance (Katagiri, 2007). Lauren accepts the compliment with a simple reply thanking Naomi. Naomi wants to insist on her evaluation, but not as assertively as to force Lauren to refuse again and lastly uses the SFP *wa* to gently insist on her high opinion of Lauren's art.

Gender Indexing speech in translation

Throughout the series, gender indexing speech is used in the subtitles when translating from spoken English to written Japanese, especially attributing strongly feminine speech to women. This essentializes a distinct women's language and as demonstrated, does not

reflect the actual speech of Japanese women, as their use of these features cannot be
related directly to gender as has been seen.

A quite conspicuous example of this can be seen in an English conversation between
Avian and her mother at their place of work. The subject of the conversation is Avian
meeting her housemates for the first time. The brackets ( ) will indicate that the contained
speech is presented as a translation from the English, which is being spoken for the
duration of the three following conversations.

Conversation 6

mother:	1.1	Mika, how was last night, everything okay?
	1.2	(ミカ 昨日はどうだった？)
	1.3	Mika kino.wa doudatta?

Avian:	2.1	Everything went fine
	2.2	(ええ 順調だった<u>わ</u>)
	2.3	Ee junchou datta.<u>wa</u>

mother:	3.1	How's the house? The house nice?
	3.2	(家は素敵だった?)
	3.3	Ie.wa suteki datta?

Avian:	4.1	so nice!
	4.2	(それがとっても素敵<u>なのよ</u>)
	4.3	Sore.ga tottemo suteki.<u>nanoyo</u>

mother:	5.1	Beautiful house? How's everyone, they're all nice?
	5.2	(みんな優しい？)
	5.3	Minna yasashii?

Avian:	6.1	Everyone's nice
	6.2	(うん みんな優しい<u>わ</u>)
	6.3	Un minna yasashii.<u>wa</u>

mother:	7.1	You try cooking for them?
	7.2	(料理はしてる<u>の</u>？)
	7.3	Ryori.wa shiteru.<u>no</u>?

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Avian:	8.1	I'll try cooking for them, okay?
	8.2	(みんなに作ろうかなって思ってる<u>わ</u>)
	8.3	Minna.ni tsukurou kana tte omoutteru.<u>wa</u>

In this conversation, the SFP *wa,* which is indexed as being strongly feminine, is attributed to Avian three times. In Avian's actual speech she has not once used this specific SFP, or any SFP indexed as strongly feminine, in any of the episodes examined. Additionally, Avian is attributed the *nanoyo* SFP, gender indexed as being strongly female, which no speaker actually used during the course of the four episodes examined. To her mother is attributed the SFP *no,* described as moderately feminine.

Throughout the literature review, it has been demonstrated that SJ has been highly gendered and that compared with men, women are generally expected to play subordinate social and labor roles (Sugimoto, 2002) and therefore their speech must mark this expectation (Yukawa & Saito, 2004). Though there is an academic consensus that there exists wide variation within gender groups (Miyazaki, 2004; Sunayoshi, 2004; Abe, 2004; Lunsing & Maree, 2005), other studies have pointed out the increasing gap between linguistic reality and gender ideology in media such as manga and anime (Inoue, 2016), textbooks (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003), and various other media (Okamoto, 1997) which perpetuate a hegemonic gender and linguistic ideology of gendered language.

In conversation 6, these particles are not being used meaningful to translate a subtext or nuance to the interaction, they are being attributed to female speakers as a prescribed linguistic norm. The frequency of their usage in this conversation far outstrips their usage by any speaker examined in this study. These usages are based on direct indexicality; in other words, because they are women, they should speak like women. Rather than adding

to the conversation, these particles are a symptom of the hegemonic gender ideology at work in Japanese media (Inoue, 2016; Okamoto, 1997).

This theme is further examined in following conversation between Lauren and a female co-worker at their place of work, Banan, as they work. Banan appears to be a banana-based smoothie café and as they talk, they work peeling bananas. The subject which they are discussing is Lauren's first week at the house.

Conversation 7

Co-worker:	1.1	Working here at banan's like, you make so many friends
	1.2	(このバナンで働いてると みんな知り合いだから)
	1.3	Kono banan.de hataraiteru.to minna shiriai dakara
Lauren:	2.1	yeah
Co-worker:	3.1	because everybody knows everybody, you get more friends
	3.2	(いっぱい友達ができる<u>わよ</u>)
	3.3	Ippai tomodachi.ga dekiru.<u>wayo</u>
	4.1	So how's it been since you've been living here? Like, is everyone nice?
	4.2	(それで住み始めてどう？みんないい人？)
	4.3	Sorede sumihajimete dou? Minna ii hito?
Lauren:	5.1	Since like moving into the house?
	5.2	(今の家に引っ越してからって事？)
	5.3	Imano ie.ni hikkoshite kara.tte koto?
Co-worker:	6.1	Yeah, is everyone…
Lauren:	7.1	Uh.. yeah, I mean, I like everyone…
	7.2	(私は みんな好きよ)
	7.3	Watashi.wa minna suki.yo
Co-worker:	8.1	How many girls again?
	8.2	(女の子は何人いるんだっけ？)
	8.3	Onnanoko.wa nannin iru.dakke?

Lauren:	9.1	It's three girls including me and three boys,
	9.2	(女子は私を入れて３人 男子が３人)
	9.3	Joushi.wa watashi.wo irete sannin danshi.ga sannin

Co-worker:	10.1	Are any of the boys cute?
	10.2	(男の子はかっこいい人いる？)
	10.3	Otokono.wa kakko ii hito iru?

Lauren:	11.1	Um... I don't think anyone's my type to be honest,
	11.2	(正直言うと タイプの子はいなかった<u>わ</u>)
	11.3	Shoujiki iu.to taipu.no ko.wa inakatta.<u>wa</u>

	12.1	I mean, it's only been a week,
	12.2	(でも まだ１週間だからわからないけどね)
	12.3	Demo mada isshukan dakara wakaranai kedone

| Co-worker: | 13.1 | yeah |

Lauren:	14.1	so I don't want to dismiss it.
	14.2	(ちょっと様子見ね)
	14.3	Choto yousumine

Co-worker:	15.1	You should bring everyone out here for Banan
	15.2	(みんなをバナンに連れて来たら？)
	15.3	Minna.wo banan.ni tsuretekitara?

Lauren:	16.1	I know, I'm gonna make them come here and eat it
	16.2	(そう ここに来させて食べさせたいの)
	16.3	Sou koko.ni kitasasete tabesasetaino

	17.1	Everyone really wants to come
	17.2	(みんな来たがってる<u>のよ</u>)
	17.3	Minna kita.ga.tteru.<u>noyo</u>

Co-worker:	18.1	I think, yeah, I think we're good on bananas
	18.2	(バナナもこれくらいでいいんじゃないかな)
	18.3	Banana.mo kore kurai.de ii.n.janai.kana

Lauren:	19.1	This is a lot of bananas…
	19.2	(すごい<u>量</u>のバナナだ<u>わ</u>…)
	19.3	Sugoi ryou.no banana da.<u>wa</u>

In this conversation, Lauren is attributed as using three SFPs indexed as strongly

feminine. In the episodes examined, she has not ever actually used any of the SFPs

attributed to her through translation in this conversation, or any other SFP described as strongly feminine. In fact, there is only one token of her using and SFP indexed as moderately feminine, the SFP *no*, in the four episodes examined. That she is attributed these features is not reflective of her actual speech, rather, these features are being treated as a direct indexical link to Lauren's gender. Lauren's co-worker is also depicted as using feminine language, using the SFP *wayo*, which is also indexed as strongly feminine.

A last example of this is a conversation between Lauren, Avian, and Eric, following a disagreement. Lauren is proposing sharing a pot of coffee, rather than a group hug, to emphasis there are no lingering bad feelings about the interaction.

Conversation 8

Lauren:	1.1	I'm, like, gonna make some coffee because I need to be awake a little bit longer and I'm tired.
	1.2	(もうちょっと起きてなきゃいけなくて 疲れてるからコーヒー作る<u>わ</u>)
	1.3	Mou chotto okite nakyaikenakute tsukarete kara kōhii tsukuru.<u>wa</u>
Avian:	2.1	Okay, that's fine
	2.2	(そう<u>なのね</u>)
	2.3	Sou.<u>nanone</u>
Lauren:	3.1	If, if you want we can share a pot of coffee, I think that's Close enough
	3.2	(みんなでコーヒーをシェアしてハグした事にしよ)
	3.3	Minna.de kōhii.wo shea shite hagu shita koto.ni shio
Avian:	4.1	I'm gonna go
	4.2	(もう行く<u>わ</u>)
	4.3	Mou iku.<u>wa</u>
Eric:	5.1	\<Laughter\>
Avian:	6.1	That was really nice of you guys, group hug
	6.2	(ハグできないなら ハグしたつもりで)
	6.3	Hagu dekinai nara hagu shita tsumori.de

Eric:	7.1	Okay, air hug
	7.2	(ハグしたつもりね)
	7.3	Hagu shita tsumori.ne

Eric:	8.1	Okay, let's go
	8.2	(じゃあ<u>俺ら</u>も行くか)
	8.3	Jaa <u>orera</u>mo iku.ka

Once again, through translation, Avian and Lauren are attributed strongly feminine features that neither speaker uses. The delicate social situation shown here makes the usage of SFPs which index as strongly feminine more appropriate as these forms can convey empathy and soften assertions (Jordan & Noda, 1987, p. 228), however, Naomi and Avian are still the only speakers in the conversation to use these forms. Eric, who has the most uses of SFPs described as strongly feminine of any speaker examined, almost 18% of his total output, uses none of these for the entire duration of the conversation. To Eric is attributed the pronoun *ore*, which is indexed as being strongly masculine, though this may also be appropriate as it also conveys casualness (Streethran, 2004) and is consistent with his real-world usage of this pronoun.

Discussion

The frequency with which speakers use gender indexing features is highly variable and is likely a result of weighing many different factors such as stance, gender, social situation, conversational turn-taking, and interlocutor.

Gender seems to have the most bearing on selection of first-person pronouns; male and female participants generally select pronouns based primarily on their gender. For male participants of the younger group, the most popular choice for personal pronouns is *ore*, perhaps because of the more casual nature of their interactions. Yuya, exclusively uses

the *ore* pronoun, Eric and Yusuke both occasionally use *jibun*, and Yusuke is the only member of the group to use *boku*, though these tokens account for only 17% of his total first-person pronoun usage. Yusuke's use of *boku* is quite interesting as it conveys a formality and social distance that the other speakers lack in their interactions with each other. It is likely that as the youngest member of the group, he feels the need to use more mature and polite language to demonstrate his maturity and therefore his right to interact with the older members. Seniority is an important principle in Japanese society and his use of the more formal pronoun demonstrates his awareness of his own place with respect to his housemates. Eric is somewhat in the opposite situation, as the oldest member of the household and having already attained a career, he can always be at his ease among his less senior housemates, conveyed by his use of the more casual pronouns *jibun* and *ore.* In the older group, Yamasato uses a wide range of first-person pronouns including *ware*, the only speaker to do so, and *watashi*, the only male speaker to do so.

Characterizations of the gender indexing SFPs in SJ seems to be greatly exaggerated and are not reflective of how and why these are being used by actual speakers. This is in accordance with the findings of previous researchers such as Siegal & Okamoto (2003), Miyazaki (2004), Sunayoshi (2004), Abe (2004), Lunsing & Maree (2005). Sreetharan, (2004). Stereotypical characterizations of men's and women's linguistic practices are symptomatic of a larger gender and linguistic hegemonic ideology that seeks to prescribe gendered linguistic norms. It seems that generally all speakers, regardless of gender, prefer using SFPs which index as moderately masculine. Only two of the female speaker's whose language was analyzed used SFPs described as strongly feminine, and

the frequency of their usage was far below their usage of SFPs which as indexically moderately masculine.

Avian and Lauren do not use any SFPs described as strongly feminine. As shown in the literature review, notably Okamoto (1997), there is a greater awareness of gender indexing forms used by the older generation by the younger generation which consequently avoids these. Another possibility is that having learned Japanese in the classroom and at least partially from Japanese language textbooks where gender indexing speech styles are often overemphasized (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003), the nonnative speakers Naomi and Lauren see these forms as reenforcing "oppressive and stereotyped hegemonic gender structure" (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003). As non-native, non-Japanese speakers of Japanese, they may see themselves as outside of the Japanese hegemonic ideology of gender and therefore the prescriptive norms of the language do not apply to them.

Naomi is the only female member of the younger group to ever use SFPs which index as strongly feminine, such as in conversation 3. This can be linked to her constructed identity as a Japanese woman. The following conversation is taken from one of the roommates' first interactions.

Conversation 9

Naomi: 1.1   わー フランク奈緒美ロレインっていいます
           1.2   Waa Furanku Naomi Rorain tte iimasu
           1.3   Oh Frank Naomi Lorain PART. Said.POLITE
           1.4   Oh, I'm Naomi Lorain Frank

	2.1	よろしくお願いします
	2.2	Yoroshiku onegaishimasu
	2.3	Well favor.POLITE
	2.4	Let's get along well together

Everyone:	3.1	お願いします
	3.2	onegaishimasu
	3.3	favor.POLITE
	3.4	Let's get along

Eric:	4.1	ちなみに どこのハーフですか?
	4.2	Chinamini dokono Hāfu desuka?
	4.3	By the way where from hāfu are you?
	4.4	By the way, where's your other half from?

Naomi:	5.1	アメリカと日本のハーフです
	5.2	Amerika to nihonno hāfu desu
	5.3	America and Japan's half am
	5.4	I'm half American and half Japanese

Eric:	6.1	へえー
	6.2	Hee
	6.3	Wow

Lauren:	7.1	出身は日本?
	7.2	Shusshinwa nihon?
	7.3	Origin.TOP Japan?
	7.4	Are you from Japan?

Naomi:	8.1	いや 出身がアメリカで
	8.2	Iya shusshinga Amerikade
	8.3	No Origin.EMPH America.LOC
	8.4	No, I'm originally from America

	9.1	７歳以降は
	9.2	Nanasai ikō wa
	9.3	Seven years old from
	9.4	From seven

	10.1	ずっと 日本にいたんで
	10.2	Zutto nihonni itan de
	10.3	Totally Japan in was
	10.4	I lived totally in Japan

11.1　全然もう めっちゃ
11.2　Zenzen mou meccha
11.3　Wholly by now very
11.4　And so by now I really

12.1　日本人な感じですね
12.2　Nihonjinna kanji desu ne
12.3　Japanese person.ATT feeling am, TAG
12.4　Feel like a Japanese person

The conversation begins with Naomi introducing herself and being greeted by her roommates with the ritualistic Japanese response to an introduction. Eric, recognizing her foreign sounding surname, asks where her non-Japanese parent is from. Naomi responds that she was originally from America, but has lived in Japan from the age of seven and feels that she is Japanese. Despite having a presumably English-speaking parent and having lived in the country for a significant time in her childhood, she displays great discomfort using English and converses almost exclusively in Japanese. As Naomi is *hāfu*, meaning having one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent, and describes herself as feeling Japanese, her greater use of features associated with Japanese women may be a way for her to claim membership in both these groups and enact her gender and racial identity by adhering to the linguistic gender norms of SJ.

Not only are male speakers more likely to use masculine gender indexing particles, but also feminine ones. Yuya by far has the widest range of SFPs and his usages are quite interesting; His exaggerated use of the *ze* particle in conversation 3 show a metapragmatic understanding of gender in linguistic choices and seems to be related to Inoue's (2016) discussion of gender indexing language in film and television and the archetypical characters that use it. Yuya also uses stereotypically 'masculine' SFPs normally such as in conversation 3, where he uses *zo* to assert his authority on a subject,

then change the conversation's subject. This is perhaps the best demonstration of why these particles are stereotypically indexed as masculine; what is being gendered here is not the particle itself, but the authority to speak on a subject and dictate the flow of conversation, represented by using that particle. Yuya also uses SFPs to add subtly to his discourse. His use of *wa* in conversation 5 allows his interlocuter a face-saving 'out' from a potentially embarrassing situation. As Eckert (1989) has shown, some younger males must have rough and "manly" forms in order to create their identities in lieu of other means. As a young man not involved in education or employment for a significant part of the episodes examined, Yuya's only means of deriving a gendered social identity are through his interactions with his housemates.

Throughout the series, when translating from spoken English to written Japanese in the subtitles, feminine gender indexing speech is often attributed to female speakers that don't necessarily use these forms in their own Japanese conversation. This is especially worrying as it serves to essentialize a distinct register of women's language. This study supports the findings of Inoue (2016) and Siegal & Okamoto (2003), that although there is wider acknowledgement of variation within gender categories, simultaneously a hegemonic gender and linguistic ideology in media perpetuates an ideology of a distinct women's language. The motivation behind the inclusion of gender indexing SFPs in the translation is not meaningful in terms of providing nuance or subtext, female speakers are depicted as speaking like women simply because they are women. Rather than adding to the conversation, these particles are a symptom of the hegemonic gender ideology at work in Japanese media (Inoue, 2016; Okamoto, 1997).

There seems to be a large gap between the ideology of how women should speak and how they actually speak. Inoue (2016) points to increasing awareness of "role-based languages" amongst linguists studying language varieties in Japanese media;

> "Stereotypical utterance-ending forms appear in manga and anime that are assigned not only to the characters of women and men but also those of elderly people, peasants, scientists, feudal lords, and samurai, et cetera. Well-known anime characters are also distinguished by their signature utterance-ending forms, to the extent that hearing a particular ending form immediately reminds one of the specific anime character."

Japanese women's language, as it has been described, does not match the actual output of female speakers of Japanese examined in this study. As has been seen here, attributing women's language to speakers by translating their speech output into it perpetrates and perpetuates a gendered linguistic ideology, essentializing gender; in other words, they are women, so they should speak like women.

Conclusion

In this paper I have examined the frequency with which two groups used gender indexing features of Japanese. I have also examined motivations and stances behind Japanese speakers' usages of first-person pronouns and SFPs. Largely, my study exemplifies that the motivations behind using gendered speech is quite complex. Rather than being able to tie their usage to a particular social variable, i.e. gender, it relies on the speakers' selection based on multiple social aspects of the conversation, of which gender is only a part. Stance, seniority, identity, social situation, and conversational turn-taking all play a role. I have also demonstrated that speakers seem to have a meta-pragmatic awareness of how these features are used and can use them ironically or to add emphasis and assertion to one's statements.

My third research question, investigating into how gender indexing language is inserted into translations of speakers' spoken English into Japanese subtitles reveals an alarming gap between gendered linguistic ideology and reality. Female speakers are attributed feminine gender indexing SFPs at a frequency and number that far exceeds their actual usage by the same speakers. This is symptomatic of a gendered linguistic hegemonic ideology that seeks to prescribe and perpetuate gendered linguistic norms, regardless of it being unreflective of actual language use.

More research should be done into investigating Japanese translation of gender through subtitles and voice dubbing of foreign media to see if these finding are similar. Of particular interest would be looking at how masculine gender indexing language, specifically SFPs and pronouns, is put into the mouths of various characters in genres like action. There were not any instances of this happening in my study, but this may well be the result of the study being carried out in a genre where most people seem polite and nonaggressive. Another attribute to be studied in this way is how the speech of social classes is represented through subtitles and voice dubbing of foreign media. As has been discussed, what is thought of as women's language today was mostly a construction of women of the metropolitan elite and is shared by the hegemonic masculinity of the salaryman figure. The stereotypical 'men's language' is that of other masculine cultural figures such as the *bōsōzoku*, a member of a motorcycle gang youth subculture composed of disadvantaged working-class youths, or that of the *yakuza*, a gangster also stereotypically of lower social class. If Inoue's (2016) observation continues to hold true, linguistic differences in this context will also be treated as potential combinatorial element to define stereotypical characters.

Appendix: Transcription

The approaches to transcription taken in this thesis are meant to clarify relevant information in the transcribed conversations and examples. When relevant, grammatical information is included. These conventions can be found in table 7 below.

When grammatical information is not relevant, the following convention will be used: the first line will be the actual utterance of the speaker in the original Japanese, whenever possible, these transcriptions will reference the subtitles for the exact characters used in their transcription. This is because there are often multiple ways to write a word in SJ and with different combinations of *kana*, phonetic scripts, and *kanji*, logographic script. These differences can give slightly different nuances to the utterance and therefore affect the way potential readers may interpret the transcripts. The second line will present the same content in English characters to make the transcription available to a wider audience. These approximations follow the Hepburn *rōmaji* system, or the systematic use of Roman character to write Japanese, which is based on English phonology. The Hepburn system is the most popular *rōmaji* system outside of Japan and familiar to most people who have studied the language. One slight change to this system will be consistently writing vowel combinations forming a long sound with a macron. Another small change will be appending particles to the words they modify, to be indicated with a period, rather than presenting them as their own words. Elsewhere in the text, Japanese words written in romaji are italicized to indicate they are non-English words. Any relevant SFPs to be discussed after the conversation will be underlined in both the original Japanese and *rōmaji* lines to draw the reader's attention to them. The last line of a transcribed sequence will present the same information with an English translation. I

have studied Japanese for several years and resided for a substantial time in the country and believe I have the necessary qualifications to present this information accurately. When I cannot convey the nuance of a key phrase with a simple translation, I will provide the nuance in the text.

When examining English that has been translated into Japanese subtitles, the first line of the utterance will be presented in the original English, followed by a line that presents the same material in Japanese. This line is taken directly from the subtitle file and also has brackets ( ) to indicate this. The last line will present this same information in *rōmaji.* Once again, any relevant SFPs will be underlined in both the original Japanese and *rōmaji* lines to draw the readers' attention.

Grammatical Transcription Conventions	
TOP	Topic marker
SUB	Subject marker
COP	Copula construction
SFP	Sentence final particle
POLITE	Polite verb ending
EMPH	Emphasis

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Vita

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Born and raised in rural Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Graduated Warwick High School in 2010 and began attending King's College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania in the fall semester of that year. While there, developed an interest in foreign languages and literature and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in professional writing with a minor in English Literature. After graduation, took a teaching position in Ibaraki-ken, Japan for 18 months, and developed proficiency in that language. Returned home in early 2016 to pursue a Master's in English literature at West Chester University part-time, but after taking several courses in linguistics, decided to pursue a degree in that area. Applied and was accepted at University of Kentucky for the MALTT program. Began attending University of Kentucky in Fall 2018 and began working as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the WRD department. During the course of his work there, has contributed to the departmental textbook. Has also presented twice at the University's CKLiC conference. In November 2021, successfully defended his thesis, "Reality and Ideology: Gender Indexing Features in Reality TV" in partial fulfillment of graduation requirements.