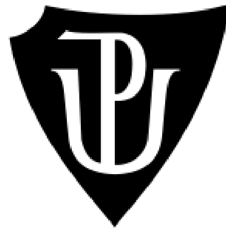
PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

Faculty of Arts

Department of Asian Studies



Hana Kloutvorová

TEENAGE GIRLS AND FEMALE *SHŌJO MANGA* CHARACTERS: CONTINUITY OR DIFFERENCE IN THE USE OF JAPANESE SOCIO-PERSON DEIXIS?

(DOCTORAL DISSERTATION)

Supervisor: doc. Mgr. Ivona Barešová, Ph.D.

OLOMOUC 2020

Annotation / Anotace

Jméno a příjmení:	Mgr. Hana Kloutvorová
Katedra:	Katedra asijských studií
Obor studia:	Jazyky a kultura Číny a Japonska
Vedoucí práce:	doc. Mgr. Ivona Barešová, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2020

Název práce:	Dospívající dívky a ženské postavy v *šódžo manze:* Souvislost nebo rozdílnost v užívání socio-personální deixe?
Anotace práce:	Práce se věnuje porovnání užití výrazů sociopersonální deixe pro první a druhou osobu mezi japonskými studentkami ve věku 12–15 let a postavami ve vybraných komiksech pro dívky (*šódžo manga*). Práce z pragmatického hlediska mapuje používané výrazy a sleduje do jaké míry jazyk postav odráží jazyk čtenáře a zda naopak může jazyk postav ovlivňovat míru užívání např. maskulinních výrazů japonskými dívkami.
Klíčová slova:	*šódžo manga*, lingvistika, japonština, první osoba, druhá osoba
Title of Thesis:	Teenage girls and female *shōjo manga* characters: Continuity or difference in the use of Japanese socio-person deixis?
Annotation:	The presented work focuses on the comparison of the use of socioperson deictic expressions for the first and second person among Japanese students aged 12–15 years and characters in selected comics for girls (*shōjo manga*). From a pragmatic point of view, this work maps which terms are being used and studies the extent to which the language of the characters reflects the language of the readers and whether the language of the characters can influence the use of, for example, masculine expressions by young Japanese girls.
Keywords:	*shōjo manga*, linguistics, Japanese, first person, second person

Declaration

Declaration of originality

I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation by myself, using only literature and sources cited below.

…………………………….	…………………………….
date	signature

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Ivona Barešová, for not strangling me whenever I came to her with less than I had promised.

A major part of work on this study was preparing and conducting a survey among Japanese students, which would not have been possible without the help and support of numerous people and organizations. I would namely like to present my thanks to the Toshiba International Foundation and the European Association of Japanese Studies for making my research stay in Japan possible; to Yukiko Itō at Gakushūin Women's College, Yūsaku Oteki at Aichi Shukutoku University, to Paul Churton at Kyōto Sangyō University, and to Takayuki Watanabe at Palacký University for all their help with contacting the host schools. I would also like to extend my thanks to Tomáš Kloutvor and Reiko Ishihara for helping me with printing the survey materials. I would also like to acknowledge the warm hospitality of principals, teachers and students of Gakushūin Girls' Junior and Senior High School, Ushiku Shiritsu Ushikuminami Junior High School, Aichi Shukutoku Junior High School and High School, Hieizan Junior High School, Kyōto Sangyō University Junior and Senior High School, Hiroshima Daigaku Fuzoku Chūgakkō Kōtō School and Nagakute Shiritsu Minami Junior High School. The students' genuine willingness to offer me, a stranger, a glimpse of their world, was essential for my research.

I would like to thank Kristýna Vaňkátová for helping me make sense of all the numbers and statistics. I am also deeply grateful to Lianne Barnard for undertaking the tedious task of proof-reading what I wrote.

And last but not least, my heartfelt thanks go to my amazing friends and to my loving family – especially to my parents for not disinheriting me when I announced I wanted to pursue a PhD degree.

Contents

Annotation / Anotace....................................2

Declaration....................................3

Acknowledgements....................................4

Contents....................................5

Japanese transcription....................................10

Abbreviations....................................11

List of charts and tables....................................12

1. Introduction....................................14

1.1 Objectives of the study....................................14

1.2 Grounding and methodology of the study....................................15

1.3 Organization of the study....................................17

2. Area of research....................................18

2.1 Person deixis and social deixis....................................18

2.1.1 Person deixis..18

2.1.2 Social deixis..20

2.2 Socio-person deixis in Japanese..22

2.2.1 Words for first person and second person in Japanese................22

2.2.1.1 First person..22

2.2.1.2 Second person..27

2.2.1.3 Reference and address..31

2.3 Japanese women's language..34

2.4 Linguistic practices of young women...37

2.5 Manga (Japanese comics)...41

2.5.1 S*hōjo manga*..42

2.5.2 Manga as a medium, the language of the visual..........................44

2.5.3 Functions of language in manga..47

2.5.2 Manga and *yakuwarigo*..49

3. Research questions...52

4. Methodology..54

5. Findings...59

5.1 First person in the language of junior high school girls...........60

5.1.1 Interactions with adults..62

5.1.2 Interactions with other students and peers...................................63

5.1.3 Interactions with one's parents..65

5.1.4 Interactions with one's siblings..66

5.1.5 *Uchi*: A comparison across junior high schools............................67

5.1.6 The concept of *amae* and the use of one's name.........................68

5.1.7 Discussion...71

5.2 Second person in the language of junior high school girls.......74

5.2.1 Interactions with adults..75

5.2.2 Interactions with other students and peers...................................76

5.2.3 Interactions with one's parents..78

5.2.4 Interactions with one's siblings..79

5.2.5 Discussion...80

5.3 First and second person in *shōjo manga* as perceived by junior high school girls...82

5.3.1 Expressions for the first person in *shōjo manga*...........................83

5.3.2 Expressions for the second person in *shōjo manga*......................85

5.4 Analysis of the *shōjo manga* corpus chosen..............................87

5.5 The language of *shōjo manga* characters...................................89

5.5.1 The language of protagonists...90

5.5.1.1 First person in the language of protagonists..............................91

5.5.1.2 Second person in the language of protagonists.........................93

5.5.2 The language of major characters..99

5.5.2.1 First person in the language of major characters.......................99

5.5.2.2 Second person in the language of major characters................101

5.5.3 The cases of Chihaya and the '*burikko*'.....................................105

5.5.4 The language of minor characters..106

5.5.4.1 First person in the language of minor characters.....................107

5.5.4.2 Second person in the language of minor characters................108

5.5.5 Discussion..110

5.5.6 *Shōjo manga* and *yakuwarigo*, the use of *uchi*(*ra*)......................111

6. Analysis summary..114

7. Conclusions..122

Bibliography..124

Corpus data sources....................................138

Abstract in Czech / Abstrakt v českém jazyce..139

Annexes...143

Annex no. 1 Survey blank form..143

Annex no. 2 Graphs of all survey results..152

Japanese transcription

Japanese words and example sentences are notated in italics and transcribed using the modified Hepburn system of Romanization. Long vowels are transcribed using macrons as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō* and particles are transcribed as *wa*, *e*, *o*. In case of colloquial elongation (e.g., second person *omae* is realized as *omē*) and emphatic elongation, transcription using macrons is used. If lengthening of a vowel is marked by irregular/non-standard graphic realization in the original manga text, such elongation is transcribed using a colon. The transcription of manga texts preserves the original punctuation.

Abbreviations

2SG	Second person singular
POL	Polite form
TOP	Topic marker
QUE	Question marker

List of charts and tables

Fig. 1 Pronominal inventory of Modern Japanese
Fig. 2 Expressions according to communicative situations
Fig. 3 Pronominal expressions for the second person
Fig. 4 Second person pronouns according to Takahara
Fig. 5 Students' interpretation of gender-specific language ideology
Fig. 6 First person use among young women as adopted from Sepehribady
Fig. 7 Categories of linguistic data in manga
Fig. 8 Functions of dialogue in fiction
Fig. 9 *Yakuwarigo* varieties
Fig. 10 The use of first person expressions (total)
Fig. 11 First person in interactions with adults
Fig. 12 First person in interactions with one's peers
Fig. 13 First person in interactions with one's parents
Fig. 14 First person in interactions with one's siblings
Fig. 15 The use of *uchi* in junior high schools
Fig. 16 The use of second person expressions (total)
Fig. 17 Second person in interactions with adults
Fig. 18 Second person in interactions with one's peers
Fig. 19 Second person in interactions with one's parents
Fig. 20 Second person in interactions with one's siblings
Fig. 21 Frequency of reading *shōjo manga*
Fig. 22 Perceived use of expressions for the first person in *shōjo manga*
Fig. 23 Perceived use of expressions for the second person in *shōjo manga*
Fig. 24 Individual *shōjo manga* works
Fig. 25 Primary means of self-reference among the protagonists
Fig. 26 Second person – protagonists (interactions with adults)
Fig. 27 Second person – protagonists (interactions with peers)
Fig. 28 Second person – protagonists (interactions with family)
Fig. 29 Second person – protagonists (soliloquy)
Fig. 30 First person – major characters (interactions with peers)
Fig. 31 First person – major characters (other interactions – soliloquy)

Fig. 32 Second person – major characters (interactions with peers)
Fig. 33 Second person – major characters (other interactions)
Fig. 34 First person – minor characters
Fig. 35 Second person – minor characters

1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives of the study

In recent years, manga (Japanese comics) has increasingly been gaining popularity with Western readers. The Japanese word "manga" has even been establishing itself as a loan word in the vocabularies of many languages. Manga is therefore one of the most recognized means with which Japan deploys its considerable soft power[1] in the world. In Japan, manga's popularity also draws voices of criticism. Language change among young Japanese speakers, the emergence of new trendy words and also the use of more masculine language by girls are often attributed to young people consuming perhaps too much manga. Unser-Schutz (2015, 224) notes that in surveys conducted by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs in 2007 and 2001 respectively, 45% of respondents thought manga has influenced the language used by young Japanese people. While these claims could be dismissed as inter-generational friction or just folk theory, they still call for more in-depth analyses of the linguistic characteristics of manga.

The present study aims to offer insight into first and second person expressions found in the language of fictional characters in *shōjo manga* (lit. girls' comics) while simultaneously recognizing that there is a difference between real life discourse and fictional discourse. *Shōjo manga*, comics targeted at a teenage girl readership and featuring teenage girl protagonists, is one of the most popular genres of Japanese comics. This work will help answer the question as to what extent *shōjo manga* reflects the language of its teenage girl audience and to which degree it employs elements of *yakuwarigo* (lit. role language) or character language.

While there have been studies concerning the linguistic characteristics of manga

1 The term 'soft power' was first coined by Joseph Nye in the 1990s and refers to an indirect power which has "the ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye 2004, 5). One of the sources of soft power can be found in popular culture.

– Hiramoto (2013) researched gendered expressions in manga and Unser-Schutz in her inspiring work (2015) focused on first person pronouns and sentence-final particles in manga for both boys and girls – a study focusing more closely on the relationship between the language of contemporary young female readers of manga and that of teenage manga characters is absent. This work should fill this gap by building on the data of socio-person expression usage by both contemporary teenage girls and by teenage characters in *shōjo manga*. By looking into how the language used in manga compares to the speech of female junior high school students, the potential of *shōjo manga* for the subversion of ideals of traditional gendered speech can be evaluated. This study maps out the socio-person deictic expressions found in *shōjo manga* and also endeavours to answer the question as to what extent the targeted readership is aware of the expressions used by *shōjo manga* characters. To fulfil this goal, a complex approach combining several methods was necessary.

1.2 Grounding and methodology of the study

The number of studies that focuses particularly on the relationship between real-life language and the language of manga, is also still quite low. Since manga was often perceived as a highly visual medium, its linguistic characteristics were until recently not the focus of scholarly studies. The lack of works in the past focusing solely on the language in manga could be also attributed to the fact that there has not been a sufficient framework enabling researchers to analyse fictional language which has specific characteristics that are different from real-life language. However, since Kinsui's recent development of the concept of *yakuwarigo* (lit. role language, 2003), scholarly research focusing on fictional language has experienced a boom. *Yakuwarigo* can mostly be found in popular media as a means of establishing a fictional character through language. It connects stereotypical characteristics with stereotypical language, sometimes by utilizing obsolete, non-traditional or dialectical elements that can

generally no longer be found among the speakers of contemporary Japanese. *Yakuwarigo* can thus create an almost paradoxical situation, where the audience recognizes a non-traditional use of certain language features as typical for a certain type of character. *Yakuwarigo* establishes a standard for how, for example, a fictional samurai, scientist or alien should speak.

Arguably, first and second person terms are one of the most salient features of *yakuwarigo*. It is a well-known fact that the Japanese language offers its speakers a large inventory of self-reference and address terms. The usage of each expression in conversation is not only influenced by the social variables of the speaker (gender, age, status, education, regional origin), but is also motivated by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer; by the formality of the communicative situation or the communicated topic; and even by the speaker's own preferences. These factors make the system of Japanese socio-person deixis very complex (especially when compared to the relatively less complicated systems in Indo-European languages). Notably, the speech of Japanese men and women often tends to be viewed through the lens of a gender specific language ideology where the usage of gender-appropriate self-reference and address terms plays a significant role.

To be able to tell whether (or how) the language in manga deviates from the speech of its audience, it is necessary to shed some light on the language usage of teenage girls. I drew both on the data concerning the usage of socio-person expressions among young Japanese women collected by other scholars and on the data collected by myself during a survey on self-reported use of first and second person expressions conducted among junior high school students. Using data from both quantitative and qualitative research will help to reduce the limitations of self-reported evaluation.

Subsequently, I created a corpus of popular *shōjo manga* based on the information concerning reading habits of female junior high school students. However, rather than a corpus of *shōjo manga* work, I created a corpus of teenage *shōjo*

manga characters based on the relative popularity of the works those characters appear in. Afterwards, their usage of first and second person expressions was analysed and compared with the data regarding the use of socio-person deictics by actual young teenage female speakers of Japanese.

1.3 Organization of the study

The presented thesis is structured as follows: **Chapter 2** describes the area of research and presents the relevant literature. It is further divided into subchapters dealing with the topics of socio-person deixis; words for first person and second person in Japanese; Japanese women's language; the linguistic practices of young women; the phenomenon of *shōjo manga* and the concept of *yakuwarigo*. **Chapter 3** summarizes the aims of the thesis and offers more detailed questions, that were to be answered during the course of my study, and Chapter 4 discusses the methods used. The findings are then presented in two subsequent chapters. The first subchapters of **Chapter 5** introduce the results regarding the use of first and second person expressions by female junior high school students and comment on how these results are relevant to the next stages of the study. They also offer some observations about trends and tendencies found in the language of junior high school girls. The latter subchapters of **Chapter 5** deal with the creation of the *shōjo manga* corpus and the socio-person deictic terms appearing in the speech of female *shōjo manga* characters. In the final section, which is **Chapter 6**, I present answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this study. In **Chapter 7**, I discuss the results of the analysis and offer some concluding remarks.

2. Area of research

2.1 Person deixis and social deixis

“Meet me here at noon tomorrow with a stick about this big,” (Fillmore 1975, 39) is now a classic anecdotal example of what is generally understood as deictic expressions. Words such as *me*, *here*, *tomorrow* or *this* cannot be interpreted without knowledge of the extralinguistic context of the utterance. Levinson (1983) further defines deixis as:

> “The ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance.” (54).

The study of deixis occupies significant space in philosophical approaches to language and cognition, in pragmatics and semantics and also in the study of context. Bühler (2011 [1934]) recognizes three traditional types of deixis – spatial, temporal and personal with the speaker constituting the deictic centre (in Bühler’s terminology referred to as *origo*), while Fillmore (1975), Lyons (1977) as well as Levinson (1983) also identify discourse deixis and social deixis. The former is a linguistic device to refer to other utterances within a certain discourse. The latter points to social relationships between the speaker and the addressee or to other social distinctions. Empathetic or emotional deixis, first observed by Lakoff (1974), concerns the use of demonstratives utilized to convey the speaker’s emotional standpoint to a referent.

2.1.1 Person deixis

Levinson gives the following definition of person deixis in his influential *Pragmatics* (1983, 62):

> “Person deixis concerns the encoding of the role of participants
> in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered.”

The first person I is "the individual who utters the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance I" (Benveniste 1973, 218) and the second person stands in opposition to the first person as a hearer and addressee. Benveniste also further notes in his famous structuralist work on the nature of pronouns, that since the third person is not a direct participant in the interaction, the third person is thus inherently anaphoric, and as Marmaridou (2000, 74) explains, "deixis and anaphoricity are prototypically incompatible phenomena", meaning the third person is treated within the boundaries of spatial deixis. In the present study, I also follow this distinction and focus only on the first and the second person.

Person deixis is often manifested in the system of personal pronouns. However, in pro-drop languages, such as Romance languages or languages from the Slavic family, personal deixis sometimes tends to be indicated only by verbal inflection. In Japanese, which is by some considered as belonging to another specific category of pro-drop languages, there is no person and number agreement marking found on the verb (Lee and Yonezawa 2008, 734), but as many scholars have pointed out (e.g., Shibatani 1990; Hinds 1986; Martin 1988), subject omission or ellipsis is very common in the Japanese language, especially in casual spoken discourse.

Words for first and second person in Japanese are often considered to be unusual in a number of respects, especially when compared to the pronominal system of Indo-European languages (for details concerning person-designating terms in Japanese, see Chapter 2.2). This has led some scholars to suggest that Japanese does not have a category of personal pronoun (Ono and Thompson 2003, 322). On this subject Sugamoto (1989) takes a functional approach and introduces a concept of "pronominality". According to her, pronominality is not a discrete distinction between nouns and pronouns, but a scalar one and is based on morphological, semantic, implicational and referential properties with nominality at one end of the scale and pronominality on the other. Siewierska (2004, 9) summarizes the properties of the pronominal extreme of the scale as: being a member of a closed class

(in comparison to an open class at the nominal end of the scale); the lack of morphological constancy (no capacity to take morphological extensions); the lack of semantic specificity; the lack of stylistic and sociolinguistic implicative properties; the expression of grammatical person; and the inability to take modifiers and restrictions on reference interpretation. According to Sugamoto, Japanese pronouns and reflexives are less pronominal than their English counterparts (Sugamoto 1989, 287) as Japanese pronouns show no declination and no grammatical number. Japanese pronouns are, however, able to take suffixes (such as suffixes to indicate plural -*tachi*, -*ra* etc.) and they are also able to employ modifiers (such as for example, *watashi no daijina anata*, lit. my indispensable you). Sugamoto's function-based scale can shed light on the ongoing debate about whether the Japanese language in fact has personal pronouns by offering the possibility of the existence not of two discrete grammatical categories of pronouns and nouns, but of a noun-pronoun continuum.

2.1.2 Social deixis

Fillmore (1975) defines social deixis as those devices within an utterance that reflect social relations between the speaker and the addressee. Fillmore deals with the social and the person deixis simultaneously. Levinson, on the other hand, treats social deixis as separate from personal deixis and states that social deixis "concerns the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly of the aspects of the social relationship held between speaker and addressee(s)" (1983, 63). Brown and Gilman's *The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity* (1960), which is one of the classics of this field, looks closely into the relations between so-called T and V pronouns in some European languages, but without using the term social deixis yet. However, Brown and Gilman's work establishes address terms and the contrast between various forms as one of the key topics and prototypical examples of social deixis. Their (nowadays much contested) findings show that the non-reciprocal use of certain types

of second person pronouns encodes power-based relations and the reciprocal use of pronouns may convey solidarity.

In Japanese, there is a wide range of possible pronominal reference terms and while it is often mentioned that besides pronominal first and second person, there also exist the possibility of using nominal terms such as kinship terms or social role terms, these are very rarely studied in-depth in literature concerning Japanese words for self-reference or address. While reference to the speaker or the addressee by proper names, kinship terms and social role terms are reserved only for specific contexts (such as baby talk) in Indo-European languages, this is different in Japanese where due to politeness rules, their frequency is much higher and they are often expected to be utilized when addressing someone of a higher social status. It is apparent in Japanese that one's pragmatic choice of a person-marker is subject to two overlapping areas, namely person deixis and social deixis. No neutral first person pronoun similar to "I" or a second person term similar to the English "you" exists in Japanese. Marmaridou (2000) views person deixis as having a social grounding and proposes that participant and social roles in the speech event should be approached as a unity. In accordance to Brown and Levinson, Marmaridou notes that in Modern Greek or French, the use of plural pronominal forms marks social distance and using singular forms marks social proximity. This also means it is impossible to address someone without encoding the social distance between the speaker and the addressee at the same time (2000, 81):

> "It is neither analytically necessary, nor theoretically desirable, to distinguish between participant roles and social roles in the speech event, since the occurrence of one pragmatic parameter automatically presupposes the occurrence of the other" (Marimadou 2000, 74).

Marmaridou then coins the term socio-person deixis to cover the area where deixis simultaneously serves to identify participants in the communicative act and also points to their social roles. She uses Lakoff's cognitive concept of metaphor and understands social distance as a spatial distance (centre vs. periphery) and the speaker is thus socially constructed the same way as they are constructed spatially in deixis discourse

(Marimadou 2000, 101). Since both address and reference terms may vary according to the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer (or the third person), it is almost an imperative that each person receives several different addresses. The implications of the same address term may also differ based on who uses this address (cf. Dickey 1997).

It seems that in Japanese, which demonstrably lacks neutral (that is socially or otherwise unmarked) pronominal or nominal first and second person terms, it would be impossible and also counter-intuitive, to treat personal and social deixis separately.

2.2 Socio-person deixis in Japanese

In the Japanese language, a large inventory of first person referencing forms can be utilized to mark the speaker-participant of the speech act. In fact, as many as 51 individual first person forms were counted diachronically, out of which 22 are still in use in contemporary language (Ishiyama 2008, 144; Christofaki 2018, 75). The Japanese language is not the only language in the East and South-East Asian region which exhibits such characteristics. Similar phenomena can be observed in, for instance, Vietnamese (e.g., Luong 1990), Thai, Burmese (e.g., Cooke 1968) and Korean (e.g., Koh and Sohn 2006). The existence of such a wide range of expressions confirms that there are certain semantic, stylistic and socio-cultural implications in their use. In Japanese, only designating the speaker is not sufficient and additional information is demanded to be conveyed in the word.

2.2.1 Words for first person and second person in Japanese

2.2.1.1 First person

Tables similar to the one below can be found in many works concerning person

reference (cf. Ide 1975, 1982, 1990, Shibamoto Smith 2003; Fujii 1977). Various person markers from modern Standard Japanese are divided according to two fundamental principles controlling their organization – that is the degree of politeness each form conveys (at speech level); and the gender of the speaker.

	Formal ◄			► **Informal**	**Derogatory**
1st person					
Male speaker	*watakushi watashi*		*boku*	*ore*	
Female speaker	*watakushi*	*watashi*		*atashi*	
2nd person					
Male speaker	*anata*		*kimi anta*	*omae*	*temē kisama*
Female speaker	*anata*			*anta*	*omae anta*

Fig.1 Pronominal inventory of Modern Japanese (based on Shibatani 1990, 371; modified by Ishiyama 2012, 2)[2]

It is apparent that there are at least five distinct forms for the first person in modern Standard Japanese: *watakushi*, *watashi*, *boku*, *ore* and *atashi*. Most scholarly works usually limit themselves to listing only these five as the most frequent examples and only mention that there might be other possibilities. However, this table can hardly cover the whole spectrum of expressions for first person designating terms that can be found across the Japanese language. For instance, Ide in her work on the language of women notes that women of a higher class may use *atakushi* instead of *watashi* (1975, 131). Fujii (1977) also includes *washi* and *uchi* in the list of first person singular forms. In comparison, Martin (1988, 1076–1077) lists over twenty first person terms: *watakushi*, *watashi*, *atakushi*, *atashi*, *watai*, *wate*, *wai*, *atai*, *wacchi*, *a(s)shi*, *wa(s)shi*, *boku*, *ore*, *ora*, *oira*, *onore*, *uchi*, *jibun*, *kochira*, *kocchi*, *koccha*, *kochitora*, *ware;* and several other literary items, such as *yo*, *sessha* or *shōsei*. This only illustrates the rich variety of possibilities available to every speaker of Japanese.

2 Ishiyama (2012) uses the term derogatory for the expressions *temē* and *kisama.* In Shibatani's work, these are not included at all. Ide (1989) classifies *omae* and *kisama* as deprecatory (but does not include *temē)* – see Fig. 3.

The dictionary definition of *watakushi* is “a polite personal pronoun used by both women and men especially when speaking to one’s superior or during a formal occasion” (Daijirin dictionary). The word originally meant “private, self or private matters” in contrast to “public or public matters” (Ishiyama, 2008, 68–70). It established itself as a first person singular reference item as late as in Edo period and it still retains its original meaning (*ibid*., 70). Martin (1988, 1076) remarks that the use of *watakushi* may sound rather stiff.

A phonologically reduced variant of *watakushi* is *watashi*, which is described as “used in less restrictive situations than *watakushi* and is presently the most common word for the first person used both by women and men” (Daijirin dictionary). Ide (1982) notices that while the male *watashi* carries an honorific meaning, the female usage does not (compare with the table above). Despite being labelled as common, *watashi* is regarded as feminine and hardly used by men unless at formal occasions (Lee and Yonezawa 2008, 754).

Atashi also emerged due to the phonological reduction of *watakushi* (Ishiyama 2008, 85) and is described as “a personal pronoun less formal than *watashi* used mostly by women” (Daijirin dictionary). Martin (1988, 1076) observes that in rapid speech by men, *atashi* may spontaneously appear.

Boku is defined as “a first person pronoun used by men to refer to themselves, especially in the presence of a person of equal or lower status, and as such it is not used during formal occasions” (Daijirin dictionary; Daijisen). The term itself originally meant servant and Ishiyama mentions it was first adopted as a speaker designating term during the late Meiji period by male students (2008, 73–77). Martin (1988, 1076) claims *boku* is preferred by most male speakers in neutral communicative situations.

Ore is defined as a “first person pronoun coarser than *boku* and used by men during unrestrained speech within their peer/friend group when speaking to a subordinate” (Daijirin dictionary).

Speakers usually refer to themselves using more than one expression and their choice varies according to factors not limited only to formality but also by gender. Suzuki (1986) uses the example of a middle-aged male elementary school teacher (below) to show how many potential forms may be utilized in various communicative situations.

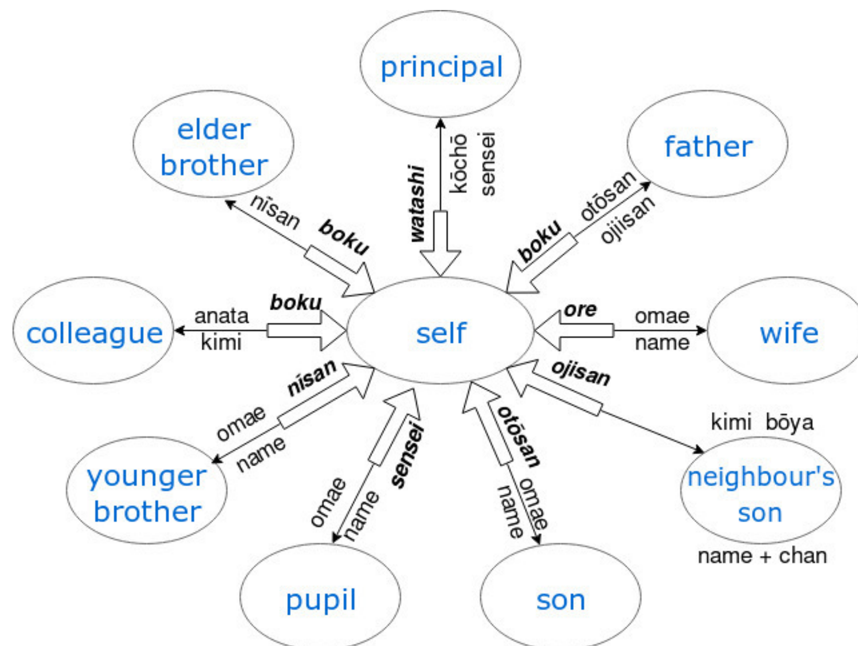


Fig.2 Expressions according to communicative situations (adapted from Suzuki 1986)

Gender and formality are however not the only factors that compel the speaker to use a particular self-reference form. When speaking with his direct superior, Suzuki's model speaker refers to himself by using *watashi*, which conveys a relatively high level of formality when used by men. In a communicative situation which included the speaker and his colleague, father or elder brother, the speaker may utilize *boku*, which is less formal than *watashi*, but not as coarse as *ore*, which he would use when speaking to his wife. *Boku* can be used when the other interlocutor is either not very close (a colleague) or close but socially superior (a father, an older brother), while *ore* is reserved for cases with an intimate and/or subordinate interlocutor (a wife). The relative

intimacy of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee seems to play a significant role in the choice of each expression. Further, the use of *nīsan* (older brother), *ojisan* (lit. ‘uncle’) or *sensei* (lit. ‘teacher, master’) can be seen in Suzuki’s example from interactions with younger family members, his pupils and a neighbour’s son:

> “In conversation with relations below himself the speaker may use as a self-specifier the term indicating his own relationship to the addressee” (Suzuki 1986, 146).

Through the practice of what Suzuki (1986, 146 and 148) calls ‘empathetic identification’, that is the process of self-identification through the eyes of the addressee or a third party, the speaker employs a kinship term (*otōsan*, ‘father’) or their own rank or status (*sensei*) as a self-reference term according to which the addressee would use as a term of address towards them. In English, a similar phenomenon to empathetic identification can be observed during baby talk (cf. Dickey 1997). Suzuki’s hypothetical speaker shows that the potential for being used as a self-reference term lies not only in so-called pronouns or person nouns but also in such expressions as kinship terms, one’s occupational title or status terms for special professions (*sensei*), or even in one’s own name. The use of kinship terms or one’s rank or title to refer to the first person often tends to be only briefly mentioned and not developed further in literature dealing with personal reference in Japanese.

It is also not uncommon that variations of self-reference occur during the same discourse. Lee and Yonezawa (2008, 759) demonstrated that even during the same communicative situation, the speaker changed their first person term according to the relative formality of a topic discussed (*watakushi* to introduce themselves, *boku* to talk about their own interests during an interview). In Suzuki’s example above, the speaker is an adult male, but as other studies confirm, the speaker’s age influences the choice of a self-reference expression: be it in the use of one’s name before the acquisition of pronominal reference by young children (cf. Ide 1990, Ito 2005) or

a variation between generations in the use of masculine terms (cf. SturtzSreetharan 2009). The regional origin of the speaker is another important factor. Martin (1988, 1077) for instance, lists *uchi* as a word for oneself used by women in the Kansai area. Tsai (2018) also notes the non-traditional usage of *washi* by young women in Kansai and Sunaoshi (2004, 193) shows that in the speech of female farm workers in Ibaraki the gender differences found in Standard Japanese are not observed.

It can be concluded that the choice of each self-reference term represents a combination of factors, such as the speaker's gender, age, social position or status; the regional variety of their spoken language; the relationship with the addressee on an axis of intimacy; the formality of the communicative situation and also the relative formality of the topic; the context of the utterance and perhaps also the fashion trends and personal preferences of the speaker (cf. metapragmatic comments of participants in Miyazaki 2004). As Christofaki (2018, 77) aptly observes:

> "Making a choice from among this extensive array requires some conceptual commitment from the speaker."

This flexibility in self-referencing terms is one of the key language behaviours of Japanese language speakers.

2.2.1.2 Second person

Similarly, a large repertoire of pronominal expressions is available to refer to the second person (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). Notwithstanding this fact, the general rule is to avoid using pronominal address toward a person who is superior in social status, as such a use may be seen as impolite or contemptuous. Kinship terms (e.g., *otōsan*, 'father'), occupational terms and titles (e.g., *sensei*, 'teacher') are instead preferred (Shibatani 1990, 372; McClure 2000, 234). For example, Fujii (2013, 25) compares two surveys dealing with how husbands address their wives and notices that while the presence or absence of other family members may affect the choice of a particular

expression[3], almost a quarter of husbands would still opt for a kinship term (either *mama*, *okāsan* or *obāchan* based on the age of the couple) even when no other family member was witnessing the interaction with their wives. This clearly illustrates the persistence of a preference for kin terms even in private moments in the most intimate relationships.

The large variety of pronominal expressions creates a situation where the choice of an address form gives a direct cue for the social relationship existing between the interlocutors (socially superior – inferior); the relative intimacy (distant – close relationship), as well as for the level of formality of the particular communicative situation. The age and gender of both interlocutors also motivate the selection. Most works involving modern Standard Japanese list five or six second person pronominal expressions: *anata*, *anta*, *kimi*, *omae*, *kisama* and/or *temē*. However, this selection is not complete, Barke and Uehara (2005, 304) counted as many as 140 second person singular expressions in the Japanese language during a span from the Nara period (710–794) to the present day.

Ide (1989) differentiates among formal, plain and deprecatory terms according to politeness levels and the gender of the speaker:

	Men's speech	**Women's speech**
Formal	*anata*	*anata*
Plain	*kimi* *anta*	*anata* *anta*
Deprecatory	*omae* *kisama*	

Fig.3 Pronominal expressions for the second person (Ide 1989, 13)

As seen above, *anata* is considered formal for men but for women it can be both formal and plain. Note that in women's speech no deprecatory second person expressions such as *kisama* or *omae* can be found.

3 The choice of expression in the presence of other family members seems to be strongly influenced by the phenomenon Suzuki (1986) called empathetic identification (see the Fig. 2 in the previous chapter).

Contemporary Japanese dictionaries define *anata* as a slightly honorific second person expression used to address a person of the same or lower social status. It can also be used by women to convey intimacy (wives using *anata* towards their husbands) and it is "considered to be the most polite among the pronouns of address in use, even though it cannot usually be used with anyone higher in status than one's equal" (Barke and Uehara 2005, 308). *Anata* was originally a distal demonstrative (Ishiyama 2008; Hashiguchi 1998), which developed first into a third person designating term and later into a second person marker, and as Yamaguchi (2015, 120) observes, this transition from spatial to personal "is captured as the change from spatial distance to social distance".

Anta developed from *anata* and is defined as an expression often used with a somewhat familiar addressee or an addressee of a lower status (Weblio).

Kimi is the only expression that survived from Old Japanese until today (Barke and Uehara 2005, 306) and originally meant "lord, ruler"[4]. In contemporary Japanese, it is usually defined as an expression used by a male speaker towards one's equal or someone of lower status.

The mutual use of *omae* is frequently observed in informal interactions among male friends and according to Mogi (2002, 16), *omae* can be employed to represent intimacy in cases where the addressee is of the same or lower social status as the speaker.

Takahara (1992) proposes a model based on Brown and Gilman's power semantics, in which pronominal forms are divided into formal and common, which are further categorized as intimate or familiar. The table of Standard Japanese second person according to Takahara is as follows:

4 The original meaning of *kimi* is retained, for example, in the Japanese national anthem titled "*Kimi ga yo*".

Common				Formal
Intimate		Familiar		
Male	Female	Male	Female	
omae	*anta*	*kimi*	*anata*	*anata*

Fig.4 Second person pronouns according to Takahara (Takahara 1992, 119)

Takahara distinguishes the morphologically identical, but semantically separate formal *anata* and the familiar female *anata* to explain the two vastly different pragmatic uses of *anata*. They are a) formal gender neutral and b) feminine informal expression used with a close addressee (for example one's husband). Takahara does not include *kisama* and *temē*, both derogatory expressions, in her model. *Kisama* and *temē* are in fact extreme examples of another characteristic of pronominal words for second person in Japanese: *kisama* originally derived from the word for 'nobility' (Ishiyama 2008, 7), while *temē* is a phonologically reduced variant of *temae.* Originally both *kisama* and *temae* conveyed a high degree of politeness. Barke and Uehara (2005, 306) note that Japanese pronominal second person forms are susceptible to semantic downgrading. Since *anata*, which in most works figures as a gender-neutral formal expression, is in fact only rarely used in daily life (cf. Barešová and Kloutvorová 2016; Yonezawa 2017), it can be concluded that there is no truly neutral formal second person form. This also explains the need of Japanese speakers to look elsewhere for second person address forms and they utilize personal names, kinship terms or occupational and status terms as second person reference or address instead. Fujii (2013, 26–28) in her work illustrates several instances, where the speakers actually have trouble finding suitable address terms in interactions and completel refrain from using any. Some speakers even deliberately (and painstakingly) look for ways to circumvent using them. While this might be seen as understandable when the speakers have no information about the addressee and thus by non-addressing they avoid causing social solecism, Fujii's findings quite interestingly present speakers who, in fact, have difficulty with addressing their closest family members. This demonstrates the significant role the speaker's psychological stance plays in choosing a suitable second person

expression.

2.2.1.3 Reference and address

Reference is one of key terms for the study of linguistic semantics and pragmatics and in the classic logical tradition, it is the ability of linguistic expressions to relate to the entity in the real world (Finegan 2011, 209). However, Yule (1996, 24) points out that successful reference does not necessarily depend on a literary or grammatically correct relation between characteristics of referent and the respective referring expression and that it may be tied to a social dimension. He adds:

> „The key to making sense of reference is that pragmatic process whereby speakers select linguistic expressions with the intention of identifying certain entities and with the assumption that listeners will collaborate and interpret those expressions as the speaker intended.“ (*ibid.*, 24)

Address is the "speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s). It does not include (…) linguistic means of opening interaction or of establishing first contact" (Braun 1988, 7), and forms of address are expressions (or phrases) that are utilized for addressing (*ibid.*, 7). Address forms can thus be nouns (proper nouns, kinship terms), pronouns or verbs. As many scholars (e.g., Dickey 1997; Morita 2003; Schegloff 1996; Yonezawa 2017) have pointed out, address and reference should be distinguished in analysis as they possess different systemic functions as well as speech-community specific conventions.

While being aware of the importance of the argument presented above, I decided to use the terms reference and address interchangeably when discussing the second person in this work. The reasons for this choice are multiple, but they are all tied to one of the salient characteristics of the Japanese language – the strong tendency for ellipsis (cf. Hinds 1982; Ono and Thompson 2003; Nariyama 2003). Japanese has no grammatical requirement for subject or object to be overt, meaning they are frequently unexpressed. The prevalence of ellipsis creates situations where syntactically required

reference may be omitted, and similarly, post-positional particles are also often left unexpressed. In these situations, the identification of whether the individual expression was used as a vocative or as a second person reference can be rather ambiguous, and as Morita (2003, 369) aptly summarizes, the peculiar characteristics of Japanese pronominal expressions (in comparison to those in Indo-European languages) play a significant role in the fact that the lexical overlap between address and reference terms in Japanese is larger than in, for example, English. This can be illustrated firstly with examples containing a nominal expression, which can also be used as an address term (examples 1–3), and secondly, with examples with a pronominal expression (examples 4–6):

(1) *Sensei wa itsu ikimasu ka.*

2SG teacher-TOP when go-POL QUE

When will you/teacher go?

(2) *Sensei Ø itsu ikimasu ka.*

2SG teacher (TOP) when go-POL QUE

When will you/teacher go?

(3) *Sensei, Ø Ø itsu ikimasu ka.*

Teacher (2SG) (TOP) when go-POL QUE

When will you go, teacher?

(4) *Anata wa itsu ikimasu ka.*

2SG anata-TOP when go-POL QUE

When will you go?

(5) *Anata Ø itsu ikimasu ka.*

2SG anata (TOP) when go-POL QUE

When will you go?

(6) *Anata, Ø Ø itsu ikimasu ka.*

You (2SG) (TOP) when go-POL QUE

When will you go?

Examples (1) and (4) do not contain any vocatives and have the second person reference expressions, *sensei* (lit. teacher) and *anata* in a topical position. In sample sentences (2) and (5) *wa* as a topic marker is unexpressed and in the last pair of sentences (3) and (6) *sensei* and *anata* are both used as address forms in a vocative position and a second person reference together with the topic marker *wa* are both omitted. As Yonezawa (2017, 12) notes, in an actual utterance, sentences (2) and (3), and (5) and (6) are impossible to distinguish and it cannot be interpreted if the case is a second person reference use or an address use. Since this study rather than exploring various connotations of address and reference, is more concerned with which expressions appear in either real-life or fictional interactions regardless of the position of the expression within an individual utterance, all uses of second person socio-deictics are included and not separated.

The other reason for my choice of interchangeable use of the terms reference and address may be self-evident. Since one of the key parts of this study was presenting a survey concerning the use of first and second person by teenage girls aged 12–15 years, tasking them also with distinguishing between vocative and other uses of each separate expression would prove to be extremely straining, if not impossible, and presumably would not render high-quality data, which in effect would have negatively impacted on the overall results. Due to this, it would also not be productive to continue distinguishing reference and address in the subsequent corpus analysis.

2.3 Japanese women's language

Gendered specific languages, i.e., men's language – *otoko kotoba* or *danseigo*, and women's language – *onna kotoba* or *joseigo*, are sometimes believed to be an inherent characteristic of the Japanese language. The most frequently listed gender differences are the phonetic aspects of language, such as a higher voice pitch among women speakers (e.g., Ohara 1999; Yuasa, 2008); differences at the morphological level; the frequency of use of honorifics (e.g. Ide, 1982; 1989); the use of sentence-final particles (e.g., Okamoto 1995); and a lexicon which utilizes different expressions for first and second person (e.g., Miyazaki 2004; SrutzSreeharan 2009). These language features of men's and women's language were often associated with characteristics which were thought to be reflecting traditional differences between men and women (Nakamura 2006, 271).

When first encountering the notion of women's language, many may assume that it is the result of a long continuous tradition, which evolved, changed and grew while being handed down from mother to daughter and which can be traced back to the earliest stages of the Japanese language. Scholars such as Blommaert (1999), Inoue (2006), Nakamura (2014), Endō (2006) only recently redefined women's language as a language ideology and challenged the myth of women's language and the idea of women's language as a continuum of specific features which links its origins to the language of court women of the 14th–16th century (so-called *nyōbō kotoba*), *yūjogo*, the language of women in Edo period pleasure quarters, and the language of Meiji school girls (*teyodawa* speech), respectively. Nakamura (2008; 2010; 2014, 9) argues that the ideology of women's language was in fact developed during the first half of the 20th century and spread during the Second World War – the period when women's language had become part of the ideology of the superiority of the Japanese language and served as a link to the imperial tradition. Nevertheless, this myth of a continuous tradition of language specific to Japanese women has become part

of the discourse about the language use of women, and any language change in the speech of (especially young) women tends to be viewed through the lens of this ideology as a deviation from an ideal gendered speech. Nakamura sums it up as follows:

> "Women's language is such a salient and hegemonic notion that it has always attracted national attention in Japan. National surveys on Japanese language, conducted annually by a governmental agency and a national broadcasting corporation, often ask people whether women and men should speak differently, whether women use feminine linguistic features of women's language, and whether women should speak women's language. People incessantly write letters to newspapers criticizing and complaining about the rough speech of women they witnessed in a train, on the street, and in a store, claiming that these women destroy Japanese language." (Nakamura 2014, 1)

The stereotypes connect this polite and "feminine" language to qualities of a "feminine and respectable" woman, an epitome of a socially desirable womanhood. Using "unfeminine" speech styles is, however, often equated to a lack of a proper upbringing (Yukawa and Saito 2004, 24). It has also been observed that the idea of "appropriate" speech is perpetuated by Japanese mothers themselves and some of them take pains to ensure their daughters are using "refined" language (e.g., Hendry 2016, 243–244; Adnyani 2017; Ito 2005). However, as per Inoue, there exists a "strong cognitive dissonance" in how Japanese women's language is experienced by Japanese women since "the majority of women do not speak 'women's language' and, yet, they recognize it as their own language" (Inoue 2003, 316). While it is necessary to note that while Japanese women do not form an unanimous homogenic speech community, to many women, especially young women, or women from regional peripheries (e.g., Sunaoshi 2004), this "proper" feminine speech style, as it is preserved in the static set of norms and vocabulary of women's language, does not reflect the way they actually speak.

It is however important to note that certain elements which are now generally considered to be the core of women's language can in fact be directly linked to a process of "transformation of female students into schoolgirls" (Namakura 2006, 272) in the late Meiji period. Both Nakamura (2014) and Inoue (2006) trace how the first reported and

criticized instances of schoolgirl speech (speech of Meiji female students, a newly emerged group) resembled *shōsei kotoba* – the speech of male high school students (Inoue 2006, 64) since it also included the person-designating terms *boku* and *ore* (Nakamura 2014, 111). This happened because young women were studying alongside their male peers and the separate social identity of a "schoolgirl" has not yet been formed (ibid., 106, 108). Later on, *jogakusei kotoba* (schoolgirl speech) or *teyodawa speech* (called this because of its typical utterance endings) emerged. Once condemned by contemporary intellectuals as vulgar and "jarring to one's ears" (Inoue 2006, 37), *teyodawa* speech, which was first used by female students as a means of resistance to the official doctrine (Nakamura 2014, 276–277), was established as the essence of women's language through a process, during which originally 'othered' female students appeared as characters in novels as symbols of a new type of sexuality (Nakamura 2014, 281) and later on, as a new type of ideal Japanese modern woman (Inoue 2006, 99–100). Schoolgirls emerged as protagonists of *katei shōsetsu* (lit. 'domestic novel') and as these schoolgirls came from elite families, they fitted the image of a new female character and their speech style was featured in abundance in dialogues of these domestic novels (ibid., 99).Through these fictional characters *teyodawa* speech spread among the female readership and eventually was mimicked as a symbol of modernized urban life and adopted as the language of middle-class or upper-class women (Nakamura 2014; Inoue 2006, 108). Inoue (2006, 108) rightly claims: "The schoolgirl speech came to be transformed into modern Japanese women's language in and through the realm of consumption."

Nowadays, manga and television as examples of mass popular culture, are often blamed for having an adverse effect on the language of young generations (Unser-Schutz 2015, 224). The usage of masculine expressions by young female speakers is often seen as a loss of culturally significant and authentic women's language (see e.g., Okamoto 1995). It can be concluded here that there is hardly any other social group whose language practices were and still are more scrutinized than that of young

women. It is possible to trace the intertwining relationship between the enregisterment of "feminine speech", to the media they consumed.

2.4 Linguistic practices of young women

Compared to English-speaking children, Japanese children are slower in acquiring pronominal forms for self-reference (Kimura 1972, 136, cit. in Ide 1990, 44). The use of one's first name or nickname as the first self-referencing term is not fundamentally different from children speaking, for example, English since it is the form reflecting the input the children receive from others. What does differ is the perseverance of those forms among the Japanese. Boys start using the socially expected term *boku* when around 3 years old, while girls start using *watashi* slightly later (Nishikawa 2003, 26; Ito 2005). However, girls tend to retain the use of one's name much longer while simultaneously using other forms as well. Girls' conscious resistance to conform to social norms by using other than socially expected words can happen from as early as around 6 years of age (Ito 2005) and not only parents, but also peers, seem to be the key factor for enforcing the social norms even among kindergarten children, as children do correct other children's "gender-inappropriate" words at quite a high rate (Nakamura 2001, 34).

In her widely cited field study, Miyazaki (2004) focused on the use of terms for self-reference during informal interactions among students of a junior high school during the years 1997–2001. She showed that as many as 7 out of 17 girls reported using the masculine first person forms of *boku* and *ore*. Miyazaki argues that the non-traditional use of *boku* and *ore* reflects a negative attitude towards societal norms as well as follows the dynamics of the peer group the speaker belongs to. Girls in their metapragmatic comments also state they do not use certain feminine forms – *watashi* or *atashi* – because they perceive them as too feminine or too formal. The traditional concept of gendered speech places *watashi*/*atashi* and *ore*/*boku* at the opposite ends

of the feminine to masculine spectrum. The students in Miyazaki's study thought *atashi* to be the most feminine and *ore* to be the most masculine. And some of the respondents also adopted a new form – *uchi* – to refer to themselves. They placed *uchi* and *boku* more towards the neutral centre of the feminine-masculine scale and perceived *uchi* as casual and less feminine.

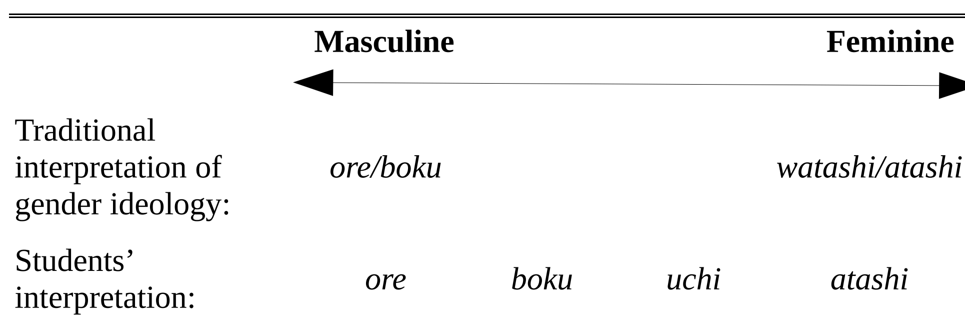


Fig.5 Students' interpretation of gender-specific language ideology (Miyazaki 2004, 261)

In an education environment survey among public junior high school students in the Kanagawa prefecture conducted by Honda in 2011, girls using *boku* amount to 1.2% and *ore* users were 3.8%. This means only about 5% of girls opted for a masculine first person form. Honda's findings contrast with that of Miyazaki (2004), in which 41% (seven out of seventeen) girls from the examined class used masculine terms for self-reference at some point. However, in Miyazaki's case study the overall number of respondents was much lower than in Honda's work, which also affected the distributional ratio. Honda also observed that over 66% of girls were using *uchi*, which made *uchi* the most frequently used first person form. The use of one's name or nickname (13%) exceeded the use of both *atashi* and *watashi* (Honda 2011, 61).

There is however almost a gap of a decade between Miyazaki's (2004) and Honda's (2011) studies, which may account for the strong tendency of the girls in Miyazaki's target speech community to utilize masculine expressions when compared to Honda's. Besides the influence of a particular speech community (the social dynamics of each *gakkyū*, class) on the language of individual speakers, temporary

language trends influenced by a celebrity, an idol or a popular fictional character may have played a significant role in the upsurge of masculine expressions among junior high school girls during late 90s and early 00s.

Uchi, which literally means “inside”, was sometimes used by women in the Kansai region as a first person reference but as can be seen from Fig. 1 (Pronominal inventory of Modern Japanese), it is not considered part of Standard Japanese or of women’s language. Hishikari (2007, 46) argues that the current use of *uchi* by young women was influenced by the Kansai dialect, while Miyazaki (2004, 260) suggests it is a newly created term in the Tōkyō area. According to Miyazaki, the use of *uchi* is quite prominent among girls (2004, 260). The respondents, who were in senior high school at the time Hishikari (2007) conducted her study, answered they would use *uchi* when speaking to their friends in 57% of cases and reported that this number would have been even higher (64%) when they were in junior high school (Hishikari 2007, 36). Similarly, in a 2008 study among elementary school students, 49% of girls claimed they would use *uchi* when talking to their friends (Saegusa 2009, 99) and female university students in a subsequent study would also admit to using *uchi* in conversation among friends when they attended junior high school (*ibid.*, 102). Additionally, Nohara (2015) when conducting her research on the use of first person expressions during both face-to-face conversations and interactions on various social networking services (on social website and services such as LINE, Twitter, Facebook etc.), noticed not only that a prominent number of young women would use *uchi* in face-to-face conversations, but they would also admit to using it online. The plural from *uchira* was in fact used more frequently than all other plurals (ibid., 100) – possibly also due to *uchira* being easy and economic to type when using a smartphone or a keyboard. Arguably, the formal *watakushi* and *atakushi*, and perhaps even *watashi* do not seem to fit the context of casual interaction among peers. Since some girls also certainly perceive *atashi* as too feminine, the need to look elsewhere for a form that would feel “appropriate” for casual daily use explains the relatively high

frequency of the use of *uchi*.

To demonstrate the development of first person use among young women more clearly on particular interactants, we can draw on the data from Sepehribady's survey (2013): Sepehribady investigated the use of self-reference forms when interacting with one's parents in five groups of women (5th year elementary school students, 2nd year junior high school students, 2nd year senior high school students, 2nd year university students, working professionals) each with 25 respondents (see the table below). While elementary school girls most frequently refer to themselves by their nicknames, junior high students opt both for nicknames and *uchi*. Girls at senior high school prefer *uchi*, but they also utilize the feminine *atashi* as well. Young women at university level choose the casual feminine *atashi* and at the start of their professional lives, their chief form of choice becomes *watashi*. While it is permissible for young girls to still use the non-standard forms, the societal expectations of young women are reflected in their choice of a first person expression.

1st person form	**Elementary**	**Junior High**	**Senior High**	**University**	**Working professional**
watashi	-	2	3	5	12
atai	-	2	1	-	-
atashi	1	2	5	8	2
uchi	4	5	8	3	3
jibun	-	1	2	-	-
one's name-*chan*	2	2	-	-	-
one's name	5	2	-	2	2
one's nickname	8	5	2	1	1
one's nickname-*chan*	2	2	-	-	-
kinship term (*onē-chan*)	-	-	1	-	-
N/A	3	2	3	5	5
Total	**25**	**25**	**25**	**25**	**25**

Fig. 6 First person use among young women as adopted from Sepehribady (Sepehribady 2013, 116)

The rejection of the feminine *atashi* by some students can be also interpreted

as avoidance to be perceived as "performing *burikko*" behaviour, which Miller (2004, 150) defines as a display of overly feminine, childish and innocent behaviour by a woman in a situation where such behaviour is not deemed appropriate, often in connection to the speaker's age. While girls who prefer to use masculine self-reference terms can be criticized or corrected by peers and authority figures, the opposite end of the scale, that of being too feminine, may also be subjected to criticism by one's peers.

The continuous use of a first name or a nickname, which was the earliest form of self-reference acquired by children, is not taken as a constituent of women's language ideology but is rather perceived as indexing childishness. Kajino (2010, 169–171) notes that young women who opt for these expressions do it mostly in a context which would fall in the category of *uchi* in the *uchi-soto* dichotomy – that is chiefly among members of one's family. She also argues that the use of one's name indexes both femininity and childishness, which in this case are not to be separated (*ibid.*, 173).

2.5 Manga (Japanese comics)

The once omnipresent printed manga is steadily declining in Japan (Kamei 2018; Berndt and Berndt 2015, 229). Where seeing commuters reading manga magazines was once a common sight on Japanese trains or in the subway, manga now competes for the consumer's attention with more readily available (and more portable) smartphone games, instant messengers and social networks. While the manga market itself is rapidly adapting towards various platforms for online distribution, this does not mean the printed manga is fading to obscurity as it still made 166.6 billion yen sales in 2017 (The Japan Times, Feb 26 2018). However, in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Berndt and Berndt 2015, 227–228), the focus of print sales itself has moved from manga magazines (phonebook-like magazines of several hundred pages featuring multiple stories usually published by one or two chapters, printed on thin recycled

paper) to *tankōbon* (lit. independent books, reprints of individual successful works serialized by volumes containing several chapters intended for being collected) (Berndt and Berndt 2015, 227–228).

Together with its popularity among readers, manga has also in recent decades started to receive scholarly attention not only in Japan but also outside of it (e.g., Natsume and Takeuchi 2009; Gravett 2010; Johnson-Woods 2010; MacWilliams 2008; Schodt 2011 etc.). The attention of researchers is often drawn to manga's unique visual style, iconography, visual representations, recurring tropes or themes (e.g., Saitō 2011; Thomas 2012 etc.), or from sociological perspectives to the increasing popularity of manga in U.S., European or other Asian markets (e.g., Brienza 2016; Shiraishi 2013 etc.) and also by the cultural phenomenon of fandom (e.g., Tsai 2016; Wood 2013 etc.).

2.5.1 S*hōjo manga*

Many scholars trace the origins of manga to the satirical scrolls, *Chōjū giga* (transl. to English as *Scrolls of Frolicking Animals*) painted during the first half of the 12th century (Brenner 2007, 1; Ingulsrud and Allen 2009, 36). The coining of the word manga itself is often attributed to Hokusai during the late Edo period (Ingulsrud and Allen 2009, 38). However, manga as it exists now, is a post-war phenomenon. The early history of what is now considered s*hōjo manga*, a genre of manga intended for a readership of young women, is closely related to the development of manga in general and comics for boys specifically with the notable influence of pioneering post-war creators such as Tezuka Osamu (Brenner 2007, 7).

The most salient aesthetic features of *shōjo manga*, namely big shimmering eyes and floral decorations, are directly connected to pre-war *shōjo* magazines and later on also with works of the influential artist and manga author, Takahashi Macoto. *Shōjo*

manga established itself as a genre during the 1960s and later on critics started to value it, especially with the emergence of the so called "Fabulous Forty-niners" (in Japanese *Nijūyonen gumi*), a group of young female manga creators (Kálovics 2016, 6). Since that time *shōjo manga* has become manga for young women drawn by young women. Currently, female authors make up the majority of all *shōjo manga* authors.

Shōjo manga is arguably one of the most popular of the many genres of manga. In 2016, almost 31 million copies of *shōjo manga* magazines were sold in Japan (according to the 2017 AJPEA report). As the genre's name itself suggest, *shōjo manga* stories are targeted at a female readership and feature young female protagonists, corresponding to the age of its intended audience. The narrative usually centres on how these protagonists navigate friendships, romance and the challenges of growing up while simultaneously focusing on the emotions and the inner development of the characters as well. Stories are often set in ordinary daily life, but fantasy or historical settings are not an exception either. Traditionally, for a story to be classified as *shōjo manga*, it should appear serialized in a *shōjo manga* magazine (magazines marketed at the teenage girl audience). Ten years ago, in 2009, there were as many as 40 different *shōjo manga* magazines (and 27 manga magazines intended for boys) published in Japan (Aoyama 2010, 4). Some *shōjo manga* magazine had a narrow intended audience, but others were much wider in scope. This number has however dropped to 33 magazines in 2016 (AJPEA 2017). Even though the market for printed manga magazines is getting smaller, the phenomenon of *shōjo manga* is still strongly present in Japanese popular culture, with movie adaptations based on popular works appearing in cinemas every year. *Shōjo manga* as a genre is quite extensive and includes many subgenres to the point where the lines between what can be and cannot be classified as *shōjo manga* are quite blurred. In this work, I decided to use the traditional classification for printed *shōjo manga*, and I consider those works which were serialized in *shōjo manga* magazines, republished as *tankōbon* in a *shōjo manga*

re-edition and featuring a teenage girl protagonist as *shōjo manga*[5].

2.5.2 Manga as a medium, the language of the visual

Unlike traditional novels, manga places a strong emphasis on the visual part of storytelling, which places manga intuitively closer to films and animated cartoons, especially Japanese *anime*[6] with which it continues to be very closely intertwined (popular manga being often reproduced as *anime* and vice versa). However, contrary to the more camera-like visual style of classic Western comics, where the movement of the story follows the linear flow of rectangular frames forming each comic page, Japanese manga, and especially *shōjo manga* is quite well-known for its creative use of comic frames such as two page frames or images, which might be completely overflowing the frames (Prough 2018, 107). This leads some authors to claim that "reading manga means reading images" (Schirato and Webb 2004, 99) and that readers while reading and understanding manga, start with the graphic images and titles and only afterwards proceed on to the lexico-grammatical level. However, when the readers were asked to mark the process of their eye movement with a pen, the results demonstrated that the prevailing strategy of reading was to focus on the text in the speech balloons and only afterwards pay attention to the facial expressions of the characters appearing as those expressions also conveyed important information about the narrative (Ingulsrud and Allen, 2009, 129). The experiments with tracking the eye movements of manga readers also seem to indicate that while visuals guide the readers through the story, readers pay close attention to the text in the speech bubbles (cf. Rigaud, Le, Burie, Ogier, Ishimaru, et al. 2016) and

5 In this light, the presented work does not deal with *BL (boys' love) manga* (sometimes also referred to as *shōnen ai manga* or as *yaoi manga*), often considered a subgenre of *shōjo manga*. The reason for this is quite prosaic – as the *BL manga* deals with romantic and/or sexual relationship between male characters, it tends to feature only a very limited number of female characters in general.

6 The expression *anime* when used in the West is usually interpreted as animation originating in Japan (or more loosely as animation in the visual style of Japanese animation), while in Japanese *anime* (abbreviation of *animēshon*) can be used to describe all animation regardless of its origin.

as Mikkonen (2017, 241) points out, the utterances mark stages in the story that require the reader's attention and the speech bubbles and their positioning creates a rhythm, an order with which to attend to the text. Manga is dealt with as belonging to the category of multimodal media (e.g., Schwartz and Rubinstein-Ávila 2006, 41; Mikkonen 2017, 226), that is media combining several modes of communication (the utterances interacting with other elements of the image) and requiring its audience to be literate in all the codes used to fully process and understand the meaning. It is necessary to note at this point that these characteristics are especially applicable to a manga type referred to as a *sutōrī manga*, that is the manga driven by plot as opposed to *gyagu manga*, short self-contained comic strips.

The linguistic data in manga can be found not only in speech and thought bubbles, but also in other forms appearing on the pages of each manga. Unser-Schutz (2011) in her interesting paper on the visual style of the texts and their characteristics distinguishes between eight categories of text built on an analysis of her manga corpus. These categories divide the texts in manga between their visual style and the environment they appear in (type of bubble or directly as part of the drawing).

Category	Environment	Characteristics	Text
Lines	Unbroken speech bubbles	Audible information; primarily dialogue but some onomatopoeia as well	Generally type
Thoughts	Dot-tailed speech bubbles; squares or white-out space; directly on the background	Characters' inner voices; are not audible to other characters; do not directly address the reader	Generally type
Narration	Square captions; directly on the background	Text informing readers of plot development, location, etc.; primarily descriptive in nature, often featuring privileged information unknown to characters; can be in any person; is not audible or accessible to characters	Generally type
Onomatopoeia	Directly written on background	Do not form full sentences; are not spoken by anyone; are	Stylized, graphic

		mimetic of real world sounds or describe the nature or atmosphere of a scene	handwritten text
Background text	Part of drawing	Text written as a part of the scene; is not actually vocalized, such as advertisements, building names, etc.; appear as text to characters	Graphically incorporated into drawing
Background lines/thoughts	Directly written on background, sometimes marked by straight lines	Text representing secondary lines or thoughts; it is impossible to tell whether they are vocalized; often jokes, criticism or other non-essential information	Handwritten
Comments	Directly written on background, sometimes marked by arrows or stars	Notes or jokes about characters or items; supply privileged information about the scenes that has not been otherwise made available to the readers; generally non-essential information	Generally handwritten
Titles	In captions; directly on background	Titles or subtitles of the chapter or series name; author's names	Generally type

Fig. 7 Categories of linguistic data in manga, Unser-Schutz (2011, 6)

Unser-Schutz argues that the visual style of the text (type or handwritten, appearing in bubbles or as authorial comments in background etc.) gives the manga literate audience clues about the function of the text and the importance for the narrative (2011, 5; 9). The change of type of font or other visual characteristics (size, style[7]) of the writing can also denote certain aspects of the utterance (emphasize meaning of a phrase, imply loudness of voice, metaphorically reflect the speaker's emotional state etc.), by which the limitations inherent in the classic representation of spoken word found in literary fiction, can be reduced (Mikkonen 2017, 233). As Ingulsrud and Allen's experiment (2009, 129) have shown, at their first reading of manga, the majority

7 For a more in-depth study of connotations of different scripts (syllabaries *hiragana* and *katakana* or *kanji*) in Japanese manga and how these scripts are used as indexes of characters' identities and voices, I recommend Robertson's (2017 and 2019) papers.

of the audience focused mostly on the text located inside the speech bubbles. This implies that the readers were indeed guided by the visual style of the text.

As this presented work aims to deal with the speech of manga characters, the primary focus will be on what Unser-Schutz classifies as “Lines”, that is the audible information. However, as the character’s thoughts are presented as audible to the reader, and the narration in *shōjo manga* is often presented in the first person form and directly linked to the main character, these will be included in the analysis as well. In cases where it is both possible to determine which character the background lines the readers are supposed to associate with, and the lines themselves are legible[8], these shall be analysed as well. This will ensure that the maximum amount of linguistic data that belong to the characters’ speech, is collected.

2.5.3 Functions of language in manga

As was mentioned before, the language used in manga differs from the non-scripted language spoken by actual speakers in many respects. These differences are closely intertwined with the functions dialogue has in fiction. The key scholars focusing on dialogue in fiction, namely in films and TV series, are Kozloff (cf. 2000) and Bednarek (cf. 2017). While they target telecinematic discourse, many of their findings can be applied to other types of fiction as well, with manga being an apt candidate as its dialogues offer certain similarities to those found in television series or films (manga’s close relationship with animation can be used as proof to support this claim).

Bednarek (2017, 134) subdivided dialogue into one character dialogue (monologue, aside, voice-over narration), two character dialogue (dyadic interaction) and multiple character dialogue (multiparty interaction). In *shōjo manga*, the narrator is very often homodiegetic (the protagonist herself), and both dyadic and multiparty

8 Which may not sometimes be the case, as background lines are usually hand-written in small font, and that makes them prone to lose some of their legibility in the process of reprinting the work into *tankōbon* format.

interactions appear. Kozloff and Bendarek then look more closely at the functions dialogue can have in fiction and offer the following list outlining the key elements of narrative that dialogue contributes to:

Functions relating to the communication of the narrative
Anchorage of the diegesis and characters; anchorage of modality
Communication of narrative causality
Enactment of narrative events
Control of viewer evaluation and emotions
Character revelation (including character traits and character relationships)
Adherence to the code of realism
Functions relating to an aesthetic effect, ideological persuasion, commercial appeal
Exploitation of the resources of language: poetic use of language, jokes/humour, irony, on-screen verbal storytelling, linguistic innovation, intertextuality
Thematic messages/authorial commentary/allegory
Opportunities for star turns
Functions relating to the serial nature of TV narratives
Creation of continuity

Fig. 8 Functions of dialogue in fiction (Bednarek 2017, 134, based on Kozloff 2000)

Dialogue in manga is thus essential to the construction of a fictional world and a narrative, as well as for establishing a character’s personality. Moreover, Bednarek’s addition to Kozloff’s list regarding the TV series – the creation of continuity – suits manga very well since they are often serialized chapter by chapter (and volume by volume). It is, of course, necessary to note, that not all the functions Kozloff and Bednarek proposed are applicable to manga. The lack of a sound element, as well as of other factors of moving images together with no opportunity for actor’s work are unique to comics and are balanced by the vital role of the arrangement of speech bubbles and characteristics of the text (Mikkonen 2017, 240).

2.5.2 Manga and *yakuwarigo*

There can be no doubt that a gap exists between actual spoken language and the language of fictional characters. In natural speech, speakers are influenced by several facets of a communicative situation, which results in an utterance containing elements from various layers of the speaker's idiolect. Conversely, scripted language usually does not involve typical elements of natural speech such as hesitations, interruptions and repetitions. Scripts are often carefully crafted with the intention to be comprehensible to the audience (Dynel 2011, 46). Manga, and comics in general, often use condensed, or wilfully distorted – i.e., simplified or exaggerated – visuals. Bramlett (2012, 183) adds:

> "A linguistic investigation of language in comics, then, should consider the balance of 'realism' in the language the characters produce and the amount of linguistic 'exaggeration and simplification."

Fictional characters are often intended to be identifiable as belonging to certain subgroups according to the language they use (Hiramoto 2013, 51). This means that when there is a script, stereotyping necessarily occurs. To achieve the effect of natural (and thus less stereotypical) speech, the author needs to devote a significant amount of time to more nuanced characterization, which may be possible only in the case of main characters. In the case of minor characters, it is often more economical as well as more 'reader-friendly' in terms of comprehensibility, to choose stereotypical language, called *yakuwarigo* (Kinsui 2003, 32), which helps the audience quickly to identify the role each character plays in the narrative and enables readers to associate the language used with stereotypical characteristics of each character type. *Yakuwarigo* (lit. role language) is often found (but not limited to) in the so-called popular media such as manga or anime and can be further defined as:

> "a set of spoken language features (such as vocabulary, grammar and phonetic characteristics) that can be psychologically associated with a particular character type" (Kinsui 2003, 205).

Yakuwarigo cannot be interpreted as a reflection of reality (Kinsui 2003, 38). While role

language is constructed using elements of non-fictional language to portray established types of characters, it is highly improbable that actual people who fit the character type would produce utterances containing those linguistic elements associated with their particular character type (Teshigawara and Kinsui 2011, 38). As Kinsui also points out, the speech of a protagonist of a given work tends to conform to the standard (i.e., is the least marked with the use of *yakuwarigo* elements) (2003, 66–67). Hiramoto (2013, 74) also analysed how desirable characters in the popular anime *Cowboy Bebop* are visually and linguistically represented and observed that desirable characters speak normatively ideal gendered language forms. Furthermore, Shibamoto Smith (2004, 115) also argues that the use of normative gendered language by fictional heroes and heroines of (hetero)romance is a direct index of heterosexual attractiveness. While this linguistic femininity/masculinity in romance may not be classified directly as *yakuwarigo* per se as it was developed by Kinsui, it is very close to this phenomena in a sense that linguistic elements are used to directly signal specific character traits and work as a cue for the reader.

Yakuwarigo can further be divided into registers or varieties based on six subgroups (Kinsui 2014, cit. in Kinsui and Yamakido 2015, 32–33):

Subgroup	Type
i. Gender:	male language, female language, gay male language
ii. Age/Generation:	elderly male language, elderly female language, middle-aged male language, young speaker's language, boy's language, schoolgirl language, gal language
iii. Social class/occupation:	wealthy woman's language, young-lady-from-a-good-family language, boss language, formal-speech language, king/noble language, powerful person's language, butler's language, army language, comedian's language, doctor's language, (young-dancing-girl-of-Kyōto language, maid language, yakuza (gangster) language, delinquent-girl's language, sumo-wrestler language
iv. Region/nationality/ethnicity:	Ōsaka language/Kansai language, rural language, Okinawan language, Owari language, Tosa language, Nagoya language, Kyūshū language, Kyōto language, arimasu-language, aruyo-language, pidgin, broken language, Chinese language
v. Pre-modern:	Edo language, princess language, Kyōto-Ōsaka

	language, court-noble language, live-in student language, merchant-class language, ninja language, samurai language, prostitute language, *jī* (old chaperone) language, downtown language
vi. Imaginary creatures:	alien language, god language, ghost language

Fig. 9 *Yakuwarigo* varieties

Female language (originally *onna kotoba*) as a set of stereotypical gendered elements may be applicable to female characters in the broadest sense as a signal of a fictional character's gender. Inoue (2003, 315) even goes as far as to claim that nowadays *onna kotoba* (or *joseigo*) used by female characters in fiction has become an example of the most authentic women's language, creating a rather paradoxical situation. In the case of the young female *shōjo manga* characters that are the focus of this work, *ojōsama* language (in the table listed as young-lady-from-a-good-family language and which in fact evolved from the speech of Meiji schoolgirls); schoolgirl language, gal language and the speech of delinquent girls might be of special interest as these are most likely to appear. In terms of first person use, *atai* implies a low-class uneducated woman or a member of a girl-gang (Kinsui 2014, 5–7), while *watakushi* and *atakushi* (Kinsui 2014, 204) are often attributed to an *ojōsama* character.

Since the number of works which started to approach fictional language from the perspective of *yakuwarigo* has recently been experiencing an upsurge[9], it is, however, necessary to note that not all fictional utterances involving somewhat peculiar or non-traditional linguistic elements can be classified as *yakuwarigo*. Kinsui and Yamakido (2015, 32) posit that while *yakuwarigo* is attributed to recognized social or cultural subgroups, a speech style that is not widely recognized by readers as *yakuwarigo* or does not correspond to any social or cultural subgroup while still containing non-standard patterns or elements, should be classified as character language. Character language can be employed to express the personality or other traits of a particular character needed for certain roles in a story (*ibid.*, 33) and can thus be viewed as part of a complex means of characterization.

9 The majority (if not all) of works use the general framework developed by Kinsui et al.

3. Research questions

The essential characteristic of *shōjo manga* is that it features young female protagonists who in some ways might resemble the intended audience. Considering the enormous numbers of new *shōjo manga* titles appearing almost daily either in print or in a digital format, relatable protagonists or characters with whom the readers are able to identify themselves might prove to be the key to the success of a particular story. As Iguarta aptly observes: “For entertainment to be able to exist, a basic need must be satisfied: the need to come into contact with or relate to media characters” (Iguarta 2010, 347). Identification, which enables the audience to perceive the story through the eyes of the character and adopt the character’s beliefs, goals or traits as their own, can more precisely be defined as “an imaginative process that is evoked as a response to characters presented within mediated texts (Cohen 2006, 184).” While there can be no doubt that identification with media characters is a complex and multidimensional process, several scholars have pointed out that there exists a positive correlation between a perceived similarity with the character and whether the reader identifies with that character (Van Krieken, Hoeken and Sanders 2017, 3). Besides the visual elements (such as an overall character design, facial expressions or gestures), the language in *shōjo manga* gives readers information about each particular character. This suggests that among factors that may affect the possibility of a reader perceiving similarities with a specific character, the language used by this character could also play its role.

Words to call oneself and the second person are both one of the most salient features of yakuwarigo and character language, and part of a complex pragmatic meaning where each individual speaker creates their own and the other’s use of first and second person expressions. In light of the overview given in previous chapters and drawing on the anecdotal opinion of the general public that manga is detrimental to the speech of the young generation and that it influences the use of masculine

expressions among girls, the presented dissertation thesis will focus on answering the following questions:

i. Does *shōjo manga* promote traditional/stereotypical usage of a gender specific language? Or does the speech of teenage girl characters in fact contain a significant number of masculine socio-person forms?

ii. Which socio-person deictic expressions can be found in *shōjo manga* (first and second person)? How many forms does an individual female manga character use? How varied are those forms? And does *yakuwarigo* or character language play a major role in the distribution of certain personal reference forms?

iii. Does the speech of manga characters reflect the trends in the speech of junior high school girls?

iv. Is the targeted readership aware of the forms used in this medium?

4. Methodology

To be able to answer the questions posed above and to shed some light on the relationship between the language of real speakers and the virtual language of manga, a complex approach was necessary. In order to understand to what extend the language in *shōjo manga* reflects and also influences the language of contemporary teenage girls, I decided a comparative method based on both qualitative data and quantitative analysis was the most appropriate. Data regarding the linguistic practices of junior high school students (teenage girls aged 12–15 years) were collected through a self-report questionnaire. Since the shortcomings of language research relying only on self-reported information are quite well-known, I have, in order to minimize them, also drawn on findings of other scholars dealing with the linguistic practices of teenage girls (see Chapter 2.4).

To paint a clearer picture of the speech of characters in *shōjo manga*, I decided to create a corpus of ten *shōjo manga* titles and to analyse the usage of person-designating terms by fictional characters through a method resembling the self-report survey intended for actual speakers (i.e., judge the usage by similar criteria) to enable the most accurate evaluation of the possible influences between *shōjo manga* and the language of teenage girls.

According to the data available from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 1,692,397 girls were enrolled in both state and private junior high schools (MEXT 2019) in 2016. For such a large population, it was determined that to achieve a 95% confidence level with a 4% margin of error, a sample size of 600 respondents would be needed (Bartlett, Kotrlik, Higgins 2001).

A two-part survey was prepared and conducted among junior high school female students between January and March 2018 at seven, mostly private, junior high schools located in several major cities around Honshū island: Gakushūin Girls' Junior and

Senior High School, Ushiku Shiritsu Ushikuminami Junior High School, Aichi Shukutoku Junior High School and High School, Hieizan Junior High School, Kyōto Sangyō University Junior and Senior High School, Hiroshima Daigaku Fuzoku Chugakkō Kōtō School and Nagakute Shiritsu Minami Junior High School. In total, 712 reply sheets were collected from respondents from the first to the third year (aged 12–15) and mostly from urban middle-class or upper middle-class families. Subsequently, 701 responses were further analysed (the remaining 11 answer sheets were returned incomplete or were otherwise unusable).

The aim of the survey was threefold. Firstly, the survey results would present an insight into the awareness of the usage of first and second person expressions among teenage girls based on the self-reported evaluation. Secondly, more accurate knowledge about the girls' reading habits and preferred *shōjo manga* titles and magazines was acquired. And lastly, data about what socio-person expressions students perceive as being used by s*hōjo manga* charcters were gathered. Below I describe in detail the contents and methods used in the survey.

In the first part of the survey, the respondents were presented with six tables: three concerning the first person and three about second person terms. In the horizontal row of the table, options for various interlocutors were chosen to represent the possible relationships the respondents are likely to enter along the axes of social distance (social status, age) and psychological distance (unknown person, close person). These possible conversation partners were divided into groups by tables: "adults", "peers" and "family" to make the design of the survey easier to follow. The vertical row of the table included various options for first person, and second person use. The self-reference terms or address terms were chosen based on previous scholarly works concerning socio-personal deixis in the Japanese language and their relative frequency (see Chapter 2.2). However, to draw respondents' attention to non-standard possibilities, terms such as *atai* (for the first person) or *temē* (for the second person) etc. were also included. The final version of the survey included first person expressions (*watashi*, *atashi*, *atai*,

uchi, jibun, boku, ore, one's name and one's name suffixed by *-chan*) and second person expressions (*anata*, *anta*, *kimi*, *omae*, *temē*). Respondents were also able to add their own term/s, in case they felt the terms presented did not include their preferred expressions. The purpose of the table was for the respondents to evaluate their awareness of their usage of a given word according to a frequency scale from 1 (never) to 2 (sometimes), 3 (often), and 4 (always).

The second part of the survey was concerned with students' reading habits and their favourite manga titles. They were asked to judge how often they read manga either as printed media or by using the internet or smartphone applications. After that they were asked to choose from a list of comic magazines the titles they read and also to write the title(s) of their favourite manga. The purpose of these questions was to evaluate more accurately which manga works the students read, in order to subsequently create a corpus of manga titles, which would reflect more truly what the respondents consume and which works may possibly have a stronger influence on their speech.

With the purpose to understand to what extent Japanese junior high school students are aware of first and second person terms used in the media they consume, the girls, who admitted they read comics for girls, were asked to pretend they are their favourite manga character and choose an appropriate term to write in a speech bubble from a manga image (scene). The girls were presented with two scenes (the usage of the first person and the second person respectively). The scenes were set in a casual environment and depicted two female characters who could be interpreted as being teenagers roughly of the same age. These settings would then enable me to find out which terms the students are most likely to assign to the speech of fictional characters who most closely resemble the respondents in terms of gender and age.

Furthermore, to evaluate to which extent the teenage girls perceive the expressions in manga as similar to those they would admit using themselves, the obtained data on the self-reported use and the perceived use of the first and second

person in manga were to be tested for statistical significance[10]. For this testing only the data from girls who would admit reading *shōjo manga* were used and since the characters appearing in the manga scenes were teenagers, the data on interactions with peers were considered relevant.

In the final step, a corpus of *shōjo manga* was created based on the results of the survey and the language of those female manga characters who were of the same age as the respondents, was analysed. The analysis was designed to resemble the first section of the survey in order to allow for the subsequent comparison to be as accurate as possible. The usage of first and second person expressions was approached from the perspective of interactions with peers, family and adult figures. One of the characteristics of this media is the presence of narration and the possibility of the inner thoughts/inner monologues of a fictional character being accessible to the audience through a soliloquy. Soliloquys, which typically occur quite frequently in *shōjo manga* narratives, were not omitted and were included in the analysis as well as a special category labelled as "Soliloquy" which was not applicable to the survey among the junior high school students[11]. The data for the soliloquy category were collected from narration captions, thought bubbles and in some cases, also from background thoughts (see Chapter 2.5.2 for textual data classification) and in the vast majority of cases the soliloquy category was relevant only to protagonists (simply because other types of characters were not producing these texts). Special attention was also paid to the distinction between protagonists, who as Kinsui mentions (2003, 66–67), should use the Standard language, and other characters, whose language I hypothesized, should contain elements of *yakuwarigo*.

The term '*shōjo manga* character corpus' is probably more apt than '*shōjo*

10 Statistical significance is the probability of two variables being related to each other. Its testing is performed by rejecting or accepting the null hypothesis, which hypothesizes there is no relationship between the variables. This test provides a p-value, which shows the likelihood of the results being explained only by random chance. Statistically significant is a p-value of 5% or lower.

11 Including the use of first and second person expression in thoughts and inner monologues was evaluated as being too complex a question to incorporate into survey intended for the junior high school girls, while in manga these data are relatively easily accessible.

manga corpus', because of the method chosen to analyse the speech of the characters. As was mentioned above, a method similar to the tables, which were presented to the female junior high school students in order to evaluate their perceived use of each respective person-designating term, was used for my investigation of fictional speech. Every token (overt use of a person-designating term by a specific teenage *shōjo manga* character) was classified by its hearer mirroring the options in the survey. The results were examined while taking into account the type of character in question (stereotypical character) and their role in the narrative (protagonist, major character, minor character). In all but one of the titles included in the corpus, the narrator's voice provided by textual data in square captions, was the protagonist herself, thus blurring the line between what can be considered a soliloquy and a narration – in other words the majority of narrators were homodiegetic. These data were included in the soliloquy category as well.

The characters whose speech was analysed were selected based on their age: only those characters, who could be interpreted as being either junior high school students or senior high school students (that is aged from 12 to 18), were chosen for the analysis. I disregarded other characters to keep the data more compatible with the topic of the thesis and the age of the survey respondents. For the corpus, the first volumes of the manga that were most frequently listed by the respondents were collected. The first volume usually contains four or five individual chapters and provides readers with an exposition as to the main gist of the plot together with an introduction of the characters who are generally relevant also in further chapters as the story progresses. The nature of manga publishing, however, prevents the first chapters to be only a prologue or a mere introduction – the success of first chapters often determines if the story continues to be serialized in the manga magazine and is subsequently reprinted as a *tankōbon.* As the first volume also often features the basic information regarding the characters' age, setting of the story etc., they are ideal for analysis.

5. Findings

The following section introduces the results of the survey conducted at seven Japanese junior high schools together with data regarding the analysis of a *shōjo manga*. Firstly, I will briefly summarize the outcome of the survey and comment on it while taking into account the linguistic practices of young Japanese women (see Chapter 2.4). After this, I will introduce the results of the second part of the survey concerning the reading habits of teenage girls and their perception of person-designating expressions used by fictional characters in *shōjo manga*. Lastly, I will present remarks about the creation of the corpus of *shōjo manga* followed by its analysis.

The graphs present the ratio of how many of total respondents would admit to utilizing/not utilizing each respective expression. In cases where the overall calculated percentage is 1% or lower, the numerical value is not visualized in the graph. Similarly, the values for the option “Don’t know” are depicted using only white blank space without figures.

5.1 First person in the language of junior high school girls

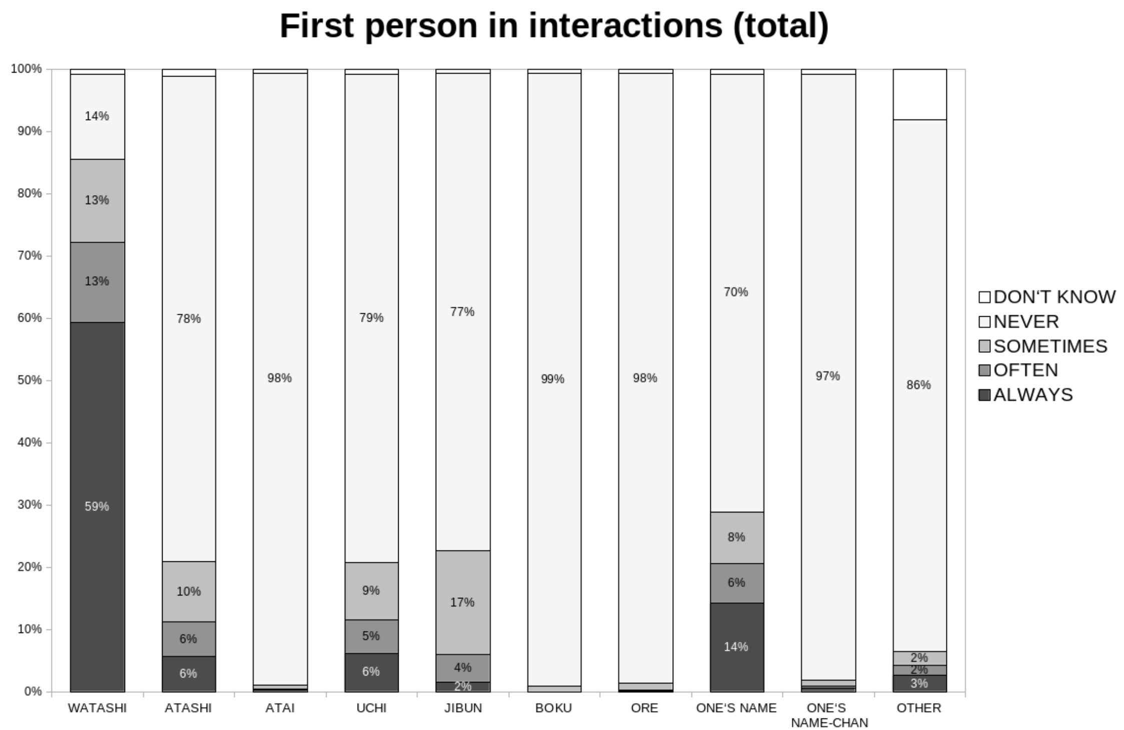


Fig. 10 The use of first person expressions (total)

As apparent from the chart above, the use of one's first name, which is often neglected in surveys and scholarly works concerning first person use, precedes the use of all other pronominal types of self-reference with the exception of *watashi* and as it was discussed in section 2.4, rather than femininity, the use of one's name indexes childishness (Kajino 2010).

The reported usage of the self-reference terms *watashi* and *atashi*, which women are expected to use when speaking Standard Japanese, is 85% and 21% respectively. When looking across the data for various interactants, at least 37% of respondents thought of *watashi* as a primary means of self-reference. However, a trend showing that the more intimate the relationship, the less *watashi* is employed, was observed in the data, which reflect the relative formality of the form. For the more casual *atashi*, no such tendency could be perceived – the use of *atashi* is quite stable throughout all the categories of various hearers. The high frequency of *watashi* can be also influenced

by the students’ family background (mostly middle or upper middle class) and shows the students’ awareness of *watashi* being the most “appropriate” self-reference form to be used by women.

The results also show that the number of female junior high school students who would admit to using the traditionally masculine first person forms *ore* and *boku* is not significantly high and, in fact, these terms are used only sporadically. The total use of *uchi* settles around 20%.

The reported total use of *jibun*, originally a reflexive, reaches around 20% (all frequencies of use combined). While some of the reported frequency of use is most probably linked to the use of *jibun* as reflexive (this theory is also supported by the data concerning the use of *jibun* in manga), *jibun* can also be perceived as one of the gender neutral terms which do not exhibit as much femininity as *watashi* or *atashi* (e.g., Abe 2010, the use of *jibun* by young female employees at a lesbian bar).

The use of first person forms shows a large variability and the range is not limited to forms traditionally perceived as feminine or only to forms from Standard Japanese. Nevertheless, the results show that the girls who admitted to using masculine expressions were rather few in number. Then again, the terms *watashi* and *atashi*, which women are expected to use when speaking Standard Japanese, make up 85% and 21% respectively. The use of one’s name precedes the use of all other pronominal types of self-reference with the exception of *watashi.*

5.1.1 Interactions with adults

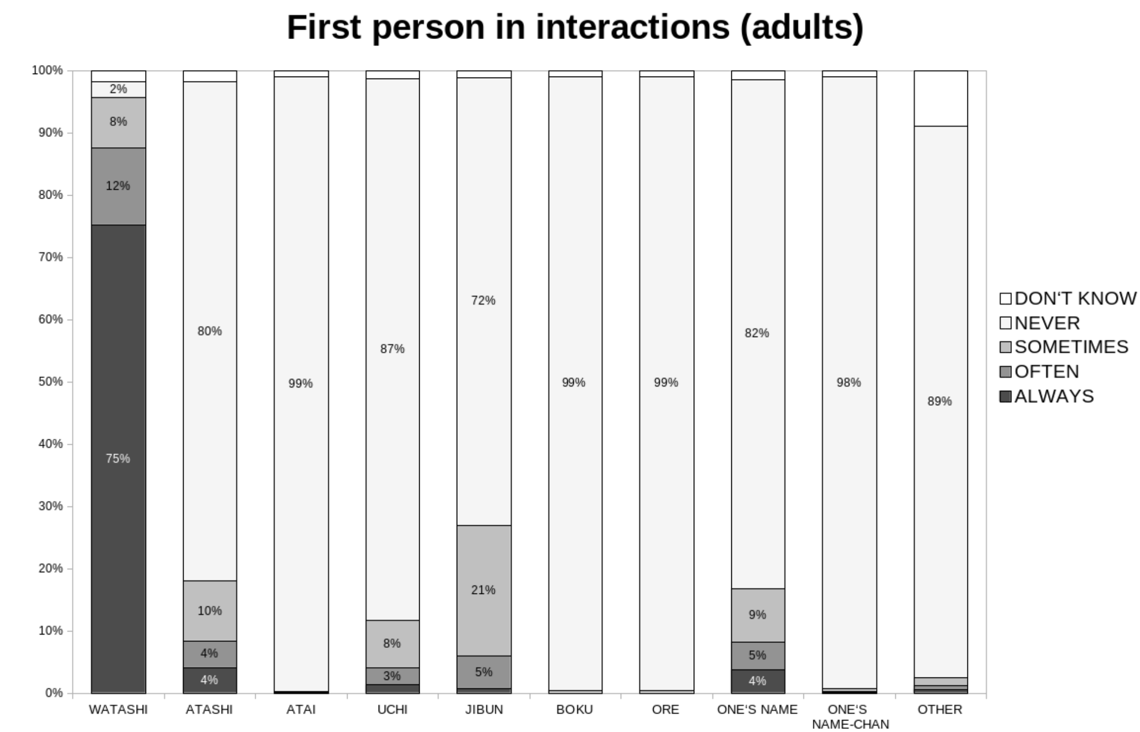


Fig. 11 First person in interactions with adults

In interactions with adults, i.e., complete strangers (unknown adults), rather unfamiliar adults, teachers and school principals, there is a strong prevalence of the use of *watashi*. Over 75% of respondents reported they would always use *watashi* to refer to themselves and in total 95% admitted to using *watashi* at some point when conversing with these interactants.

The total of almost 12% use of one's name to refer to themselves, can be explained by the addition of interaction with known adults in this group, which can also include the girls' relatives or parents of their friends, where the girls feel it would be possible to use terms which may not be permissible in interaction with unknown adults or in more formal situations.

The students reported using *jibun*, a reflexive that can also be used as a first person form, mostly in the context of all-male sports or militaristic groups. This can be influenced by the students including also the reflexive use of *jibun* as the percentage,

showing the use of *jibun* is very similar among all categories of interactants. But the overall neutrality of *jibun* may be a good option to use instead of *watashi*. It has been observed in a previous study that older students may occasionally utilize *jibun* when interacting with their teachers (Saegusa 2009, 103), precisely because of its neutral nature.

As for the self-reference terms which several students filled in themselves as an alternative to those given in the answer sheets, the formal *watakushi* appeared the most often, showing the students being aware that certain situations and interactions require a higher degree of formality. In general, it can be said that during interaction with adults, the girls "play it safe" and follow social rules and do not employ non-traditional self-designating terms.

5.1.2 Interactions with other students and peers

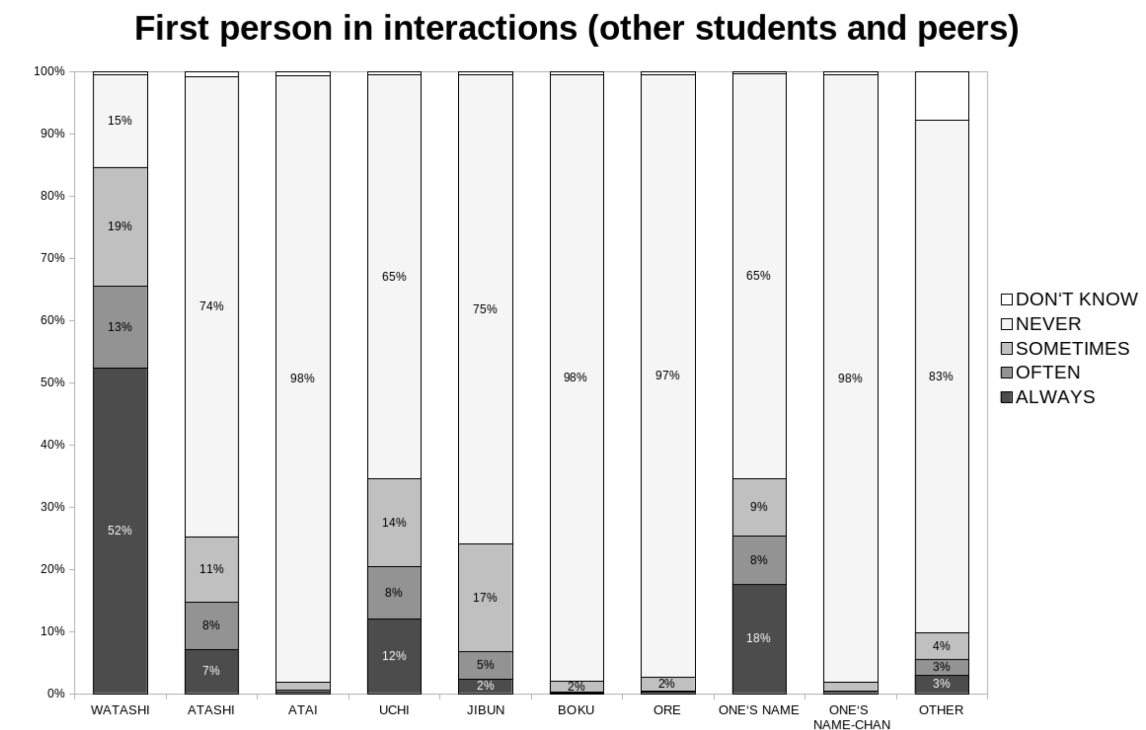


Fig. 12 First person in interactions with one's peers

The next category included interactions with classmates and friends of both

genders, and it was the category with the highest admitted frequency of use of masculine first person forms. 2% of respondents would admit to using *boku* and 2,7% of girls actually chose the more masculine *ore*, which makes the findings similar to those of Honda (2011). It is important to know that in this category, the girls who would always use *watashi* in interactions would be only slightly over 50% (compared to, for instance, over 75% during interactions with adults), which may reflect the perceived position of *watashi* as being too formal for casual conversations.

The use of *uchi,* a form which previous studies connected with interactions with peers, is comparable with the use of one's name – both are around 35%. This category of interactions was also the most diverse with regard to the number of self-designating terms the girls added to the list – various nicknames as well as the use of one's surname were reported especially when interacting with classmates. The pronominal forms *wai*, *ware*, *washi* and *kocchi* were also reported. The girls do not limit themselves to the use of traditionally feminine terms and are more than willing to experiment, using for example, terms that are typically associated with the language of older men (*washi*).

5.1.3 Interactions with one's parents

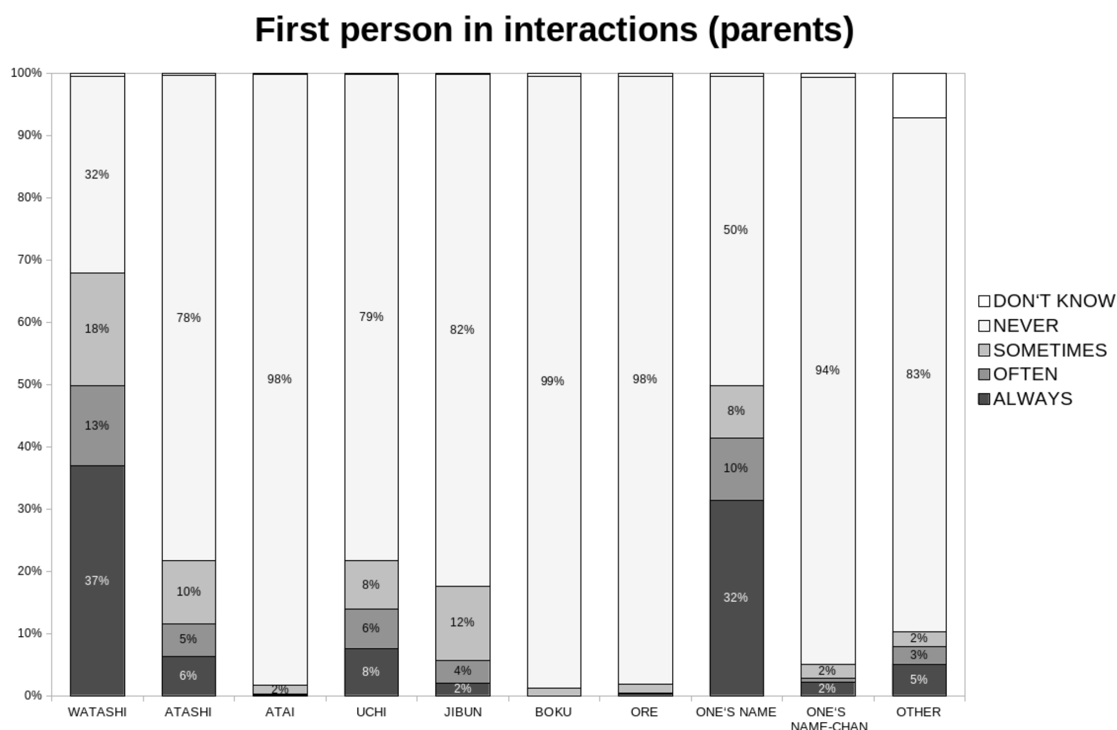


Fig. 13 First person in interactions with one's parents

During their interaction with their parents, almost 50% of the girls would admit to using one's name for self-reference and in total 5% of them would use their own names suffixed with -*chan*, which is perceived as the most childish. This continuous use of names not only indexes the intimacy of the relationship, but also implies the long-term stability of this first person expression. The speaker simply continues using the first term they acquired. And as I also suggest in this chapter (see below), the prevalence of self-reference by one's name might be influenced by Japanese *amae* behaviour. The use of one's name is almost comparable to the use of *watashi*. Only 37% of teenage girls would admit to using *watashi* all the time.

In Sepehribady's (2013) findings, cited in Chapter 2.4, 25% of the respondents reported using *uchi* as a self-reference; another 25% utilized their nicknames; and all other options (including pronominal expressions as well as names, names and nicknames suffixed with -*chan*) reached 8% respectively. However, as seen above, both

watashi and the use of one's name reached higher frequencies in the presented findings. While the prominence of one's name over nicknames in this study's findings can be explained by the respondents not distinguishing between name and nickname when filling in the survey (as they were not explicitly presented with nicknames as an option), the higher frequency of *watashi* appearing in the results is presumably influenced by larger number of respondents participating in this study.

5.1.4 Interactions with one's siblings

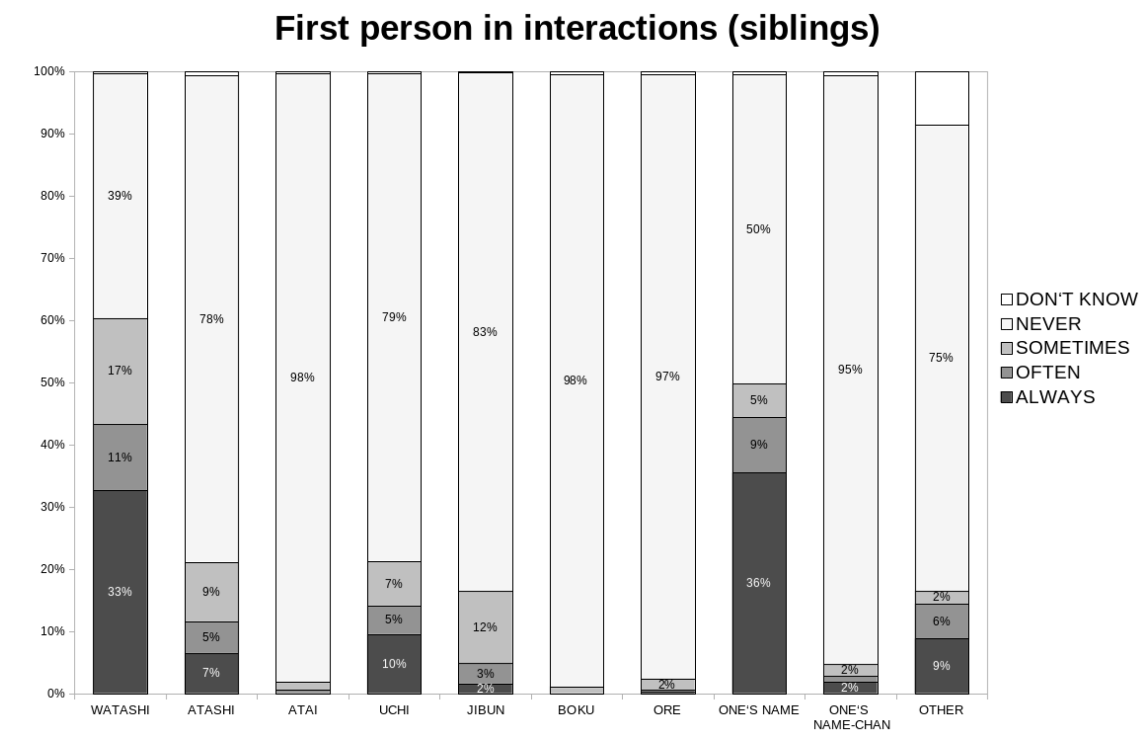


Fig. 14 First person in interactions with one's siblings

For interactions with one's siblings the girls who would admit using *watashi* all the time (amount to 32.6%, and in total of all frequencies of use, *watashi* would reach 60%. In comparison to situations where the interactant would be one of the girls' peers, the overall uses of *atashi* and *uchi* here are lower. This can be explained by a portion of use of these terms being substituted by the girls employing one's name, as almost one half of the girls would use their name to refer to themselves when talking to their

siblings). Over 7% of the respondents would admit using an expression not mentioned among the options. In this category of interactants, the most prominent of self-reference terms the girls added themselves were kinship terms from the viewpoint of a younger sibling which includes various words for older sister (*onēchan*, *nēne*). Suzuki (1986) calls this phenomenon 'empathetic identification' (see section 2.2.1.1) – the process of self-identification through the eyes of the addressee or a third party, in this case from the perspective of the youngest sibling of the family.

5.1.5 *Uchi*: A comparison across junior high schools

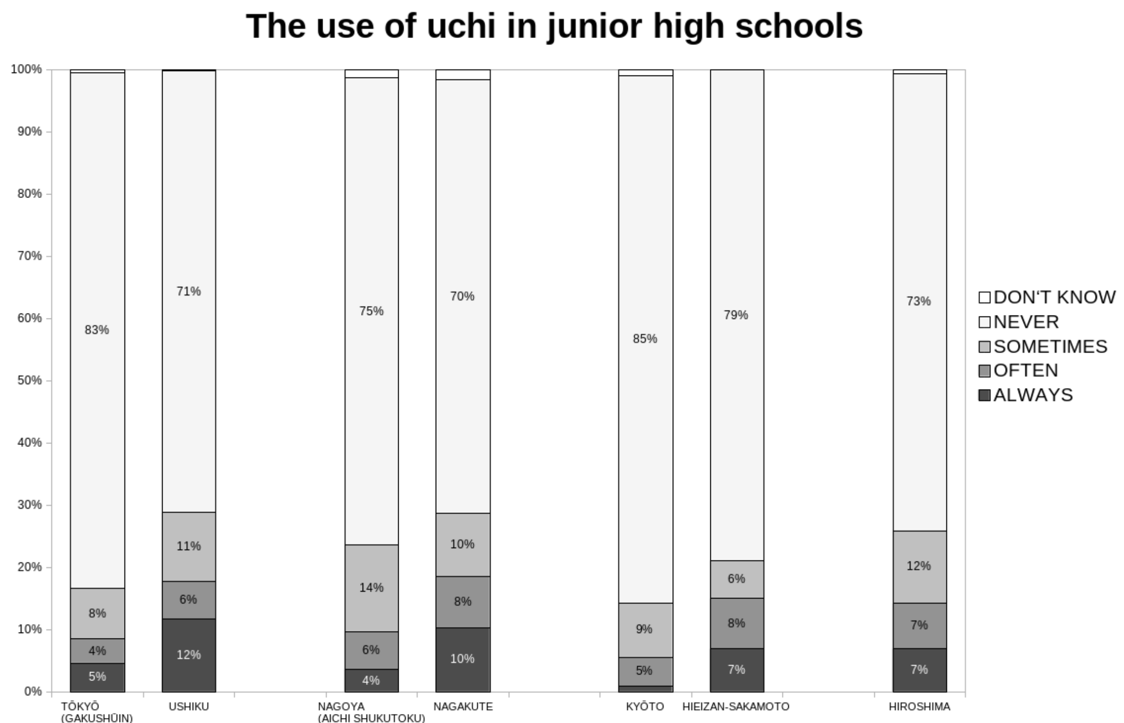


Fig. 15 The use of uchi in junior high schools

As was mentioned above, there does not seem to be a consensus among scholars regarding the origins of the use of *uchi* (Miyazaki 2004; Hishikari 2007; Kinsui 2014). Because previously conducted studies as well as the results of the presented survey suggest that *uchi* is rather popular among Japanese young women, I decided to compare the results of the distribution of the total use of *uchi* as a first person expression among

the girls as arranged by each individual school. The aim of this comparison was to evaluate the possible influence of the Kansai dialect on the choice of a self-reference term since it is often cited as a source of the increased adoption of *uchi*. While the schools were mostly located in urban or sub-urban areas, with respondents belonging largely to middle-class and upper middle-class families, the surrounding language community may impact how the respondents perceived their own use of first person expressions.

From the charts above concerning the total perceived use of *uchi*, it is obvious that while the distribution varies school by school (schools are grouped by their location on the island of Honshū), there seems to be no statistically relevant increase of *uchi* in the results from the surveys conducted at schools in Kansai area. In fact, the schools where the respondents claim they use *uchi* the least, can be found both in the Kantō and in the Kansai area. These data point to the fact that the distribution is not impacted by the major dialect of the area the survey was conducted in, but rather it is affected by the speech community of each particular school (trends among the students, mutual influences among peers).

5.1.6 The concept of *amae* and the use of one's name

When comparing the linguistic practices of young Japanese female speakers mapped out by previous studies, notably Sepehribady's (2013) and Kajino's (2010) papers, which both include the otherwise understudied use of one's name (or nickname) to refer to oneself, and the presented results, it is apparent that the use of one's name for self-reference remains relatively prominent among Japanese girls and young women[12]. The continuous use of one's name when interacting with family members does not simply point out to long-term use of this expression in the family environment

12 Quite interestingly, the permissible use of proper name by young unmarried women can be similarly observed in Indonesian (Engelbretson 2007, 82).

because in the case of boys and young men[13], the tendency to retain the use of one’s name after reaching the late elementary school age is usually not observed (cf. Ito 2005; Sepehribady 2013). Both Kajino (2010) and Hishikari (2007) notice the use of one’s name is the most prevalent in family settings, that is inside the context of *uchi*, yet this use of proper name cannot be interpreted as a type of empathetic identification with one’s parent – that is child using the point of view of their parent to refer to themselves – as the empathetic identification is a phenomenon occurring in a reversed situation, where the family members adopt a perspective of the youngest child to refer to themselves. In fact, Kajino (2010, 172) even notes that some mothers are opposed to their adult daughters starting to prefer using pronominal expressions in the family setting over the use of one’s name – they felt their daughter are suddenly distancing themselves from the family and household intimacy. This claim suggests that an explanation different from empathetic identification is necessary.

The concept of *amae* was first developed by the psychologist, Takeo Doi, in his 1971 book *Amae no kōzō* (lit. *the structure of amae*; translated into English in 1973 as *The Anatomy of Dependence)* and consequently *amae* has been applied to Japan and the Japanese by scholars from various disciplines, and despite the fact that Doi’s work has also received intense scholarly criticism, it is sometimes still considered to be the key to understanding the Japanese psyche. The word *amae* (noun) is derived from the verb *amaeru* meaning “to depend and presume upon another's benevolence” (Doi [1973]). Doi characterizes *amae* as an “indulgent dependency”, a child’s attitude and behaviour towards their parents, their mother in particular. Doi used this concept in psychoanalysis to describe the need for intimacy and dependence on others, and according to him *amae* can be likened to a child behaving selfishly in the assumption that the parents will indulge them. And as Behrens (2004, 2) adds:

„*Amae* is always relational and often involves the desire to be accepted for

13 It is however to add a necessary remark, that the language of boys and young men seems to be chronically understudied in Japanese. The reason may still be somewhat prevalent idea of androcentric unmarked Standard (cf. Nakamura 2008).

> asking for something that one is perfectly capable of doing oneself. Therefore dependency on others (for something one is incapable of doing), I argue, does not constitute *amae*."

Amae is thus an interpersonal process and not limited to an affective parent-child relationship and it is often assumed that it is extensively applied to subsequent Japanese social bonding, such as teacher-student, supervisor-subordinate, wife-husband and that these relationships emulate the primary mother-child experience (Smith and Nomi 2000).

The continuous use of one's name observed among young Japanese female speakers might thus be regarded as one facet of *amae* behaviour. While self-reference by proper name by a speaker, who is past pre-school age, directly indexes childishness (Kajino 2010, 171–172), it does not mean the speaker is trying to imitate a child or regress to an infant state. It might rather be interpreted as a need for *amae* and acceptance of their role, as those who should let the other *amayakasu* them (lit. 'let the others indulge them') and denotes a request for indulgence. This idea can be supported by one of Kajino's informants, who stated she actually stopped using her name to refer to herself in order to "become an independent working woman" (Kajino 2010, 172), thus rejecting the idea of dependence on her parents.

The absence of proper name first person reference in the speech of Japanese young men[14] may be attributed to disparate societal and cultural norms applied to different genders. The young women may rely on *amae* in a more linguistically direct sense than men to navigate the complexity of their relatively "powerless" status in society. As was understood from the survey result, the use of one's name precedes the use of all other pronominal types of self-reference with the exception of *watashi.* To support these tentative suggestions made here concerning the connection of the first name use with the concept of *amae*, a more in-depth study with the focus solely

14 The use of a proper name reference is observed only among very young male children (see e.g., Ito 2005), but remains unmentioned in other studies concerning the first person use of adult men, suggesting it is not used by men at all or only in cases so very limited they do not draw scholarly attention.

on the somewhat under-researched proprial and/or nominal means of self-reference would be highly beneficial for our understanding of Japanese first person pragmatics.

5.1.7 Discussion

In accordance with Honda's (2011) and Sepehribady's (2013) findings, the presented results show that the majority of Japanese junior high school students do not seem to utilize the so-called masculine first person forms of *ore* and *boku* very often. In fact, only 40 girls out of a total of 701 reported they would use them at some point. Those who would, would opt for them in relatively safe interactions within their circles of family and friends. The category of interactions with peers was also the most diverse regarding the number of person designating terms the girls themselves added to the list – various nicknames as well as the use of one's surname were reported especially when interacting with classmates. The pronominal forms *wai*, *ware, washi* and *kocchi* were also reported. The girls do not limit themselves to the use of traditionally feminine terms and are more than willing to experiment, using, for example, terms (*washi*) that are often traditionally associated with the language of older men. Martin (1988, 1076) describes *washi* as "a popular self-designation term for rustic old men and for sumō wrestlers or baseball players of any age." Tsai (2018, 20), however, discusses *washi* as used by a female speaker as an index of both the Kansai dialect and of friendliness. Since the girls in the presented study who admitted to using *washi* were mostly from the Kantō area, I suggest that the usage of *washi* among young female speakers can be interpreted as an index of friendly and casual speech (perhaps *washi* is now undergoing a development in a manner similar to the more frequently used *uchi*). One of the respondents also commented that she uses the traditionally masculine *ware* and *wai* as they engender a feeling of being frank and honest.

Wai, a first person form, which dictionaries often describe as a dialectical

reduced variant of *washi* and Martin (1988, 1076) associates with Ōsaka Japanese, is as such usually not included in studies mapping out the language of female speakers. However, in her recent study, Tsai (2018) observed the use of *wai* in the language of a young fashion vlogger originating from the Kansai area. Tsai (2018, 28) further links the use of *wai* with the vlogger, Momona, overtly expressing her regional origin and notices the slang/casual characteristics of *wai*. Yet in the survey data, *wai* was used by respondents coming both from Kansai and Kantō. In fact, the majority of *wai* users were students directly from the Tōkyō metropolitan area, which suggests that when used by young female speakers, the interpretation of *wai* as a dialectical form, may not be applicable to all of its uses. However, when browsing Japanese knowledge sharing services (such as Yahoo! Chiebukuro[15]) or popular news portals or media, we find that where commenters and authors discuss the upsurge of the use of *wai* by teenage girls in several topics (e.g., sirabee.com, Nov 23 2019), they connect the contemporary use of *wai* with the speech of various netizens or famous vloggers and YouTubers. While these (mainly) folk theories are yet to be reflected in scholarly literature, they may tentatively help to explain the occurrence of *wai* among the teenage girls. *Wai* could be used because of the possible influence of internet speech communities, where the rigid social rules blur in favour of a more direct casual style. The use of *wai* may, therefore, possibly index slang and casual use. Hence, the above metapragmatic comment of the respondent about the image of frankness connected with *wai*.

The use of *uchi*, a newly emerged self-reference form, which according to the students is perceived as less feminine than *watashi* and *atashi* and thus probably more befitting for the most casual of conversations, varies between 12% to 35%, while the highest frequency of use was reported in interactions between friends and classmates. This trend of use seems to correspond with data from previous studies. *Uchi* appeared in the language of students of both of the Kantō and Kansai regions.

The reported use of *jibun* was around 20%, while its frequency of use was

15 Yahoo! Chiebukuro is one of the major knowledge-sharing online communities, similar to its English counterpart Yahoo! Answers.

the highest with adults. While some of its reported frequency of use is most probably linked to the use of *jibun* as reflexive, *jibun* can also be perceived as one of the most gender neutral terms. *Jibun* does not exhibited as much femininity as *watashi* or *atashi* (see Abe 2004 on the use of *jibun* by young female employees at a lesbian bar). More meta-data and recordings of daily interactions would show the trends in the use of *jibun* more clearly.

The casual feminine *atashi* (perceived as the most feminine by girls in Miyazaki’s study) keeps to around 20% of the total use. The more formal *watashi* was reported as the most frequently used first person. To at least 37% of respondents, *watashi* is a primary means of self-reference throughout all the data. However, a tendency showing that the more intimate the relationship, the less *watashi* is employed, was observed, which reflects the relative formality of the form. For the more casual *atashi*, no such tendency can be seen and the use of *atashi* is quite stable throughout all the categories of various hearers. The high frequency of *watashi* can also be influenced by the students’ family backgrounds (mostly middle or upper middle class). It also suggests an awareness by the girls of *watashi* being the most “appropriate” self-reference form to be used by women.

The use of one’s first name, which is often neglected in surveys and scholarly works concerning first person use, plays a quite prominent role in choices for self-reference during interactions with one’s parents and siblings, as well as in interactions between friends. Rather than femininity, the use of one’s name indexes childishness and through it, the use of one’s name implies a high degree of intimacy with the interlocutor. However, to some girls, one’s name is simply their primary expression of self-reference and they opt for it regardless of the *uchi/soto* context, which is as Kajino (2010) suggested.

The results show that a large variability can be found in the use of first person forms and the range is not limited to forms traditionally perceived as feminine or only to forms from Standard Japanese. Self-reference is a balancing act between societal

expectations, creation of solidarity and rapport within a peer group and individual preference.

5.2 Second person in the language of junior high school girls

The following section deals with the results concerning the perceived use of second person forms by the female junior high students. Firstly, as in the previous section, graphs representing the overall results are included, and after that, the graphs for interactants divided by axes of social and psychological distance are presented together with more detailed comments.

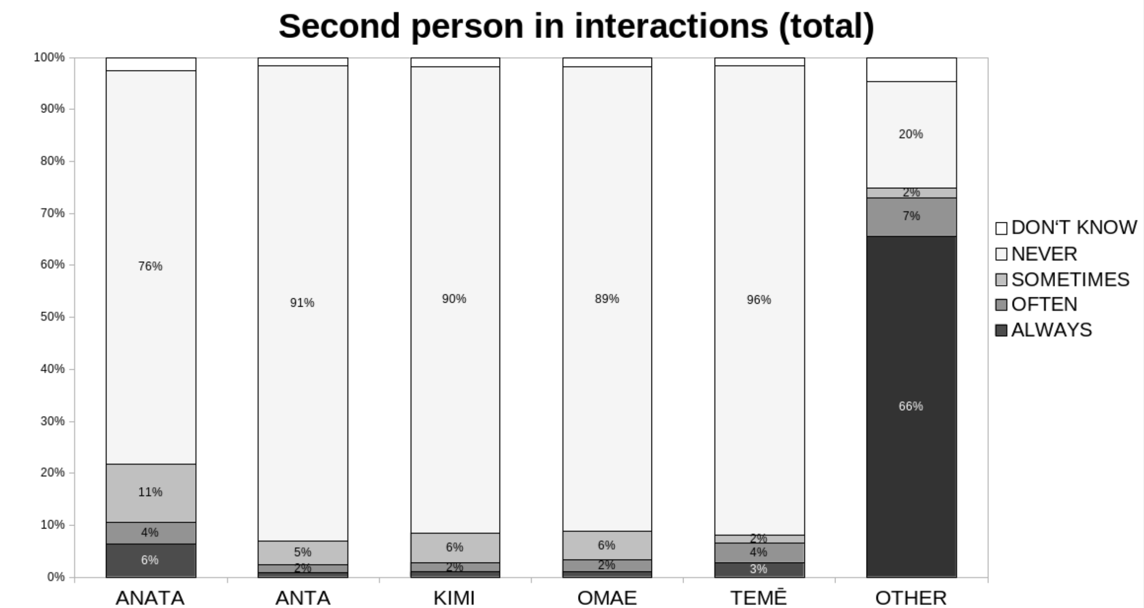


Fig. 16 The use of second person expressions (total)

The total results for all interaction partners which were included in the survey indicate a strong preference for nominal second person forms. The girls specifically included nominal expressions, such as status or occupation terms, in the survey option "other". These findings are in accordance with the general rules of Japanese politeness (see section 2.2.1.2). Out of the pronominal second person expressions, *anata* stands out – this phenomenon shall be addressed in detail in the sub-sections concerning more specific uses towards given interactants. Furthermore, in this total overview, the other

pronominal expressions (with the exception of the contemptuous *temē*) – *anta*, *kimi*, *omae* exhibit a very similar distribution regarding their perceived use by the respondents and this general trend also needs to be commented on further in the following sub-sections, as, in fact, for each interactant subgroup, the respondents quite unsurprisingly have shown more distinctive preferences for particular second person terms.

5.2.1 Interactions with adults

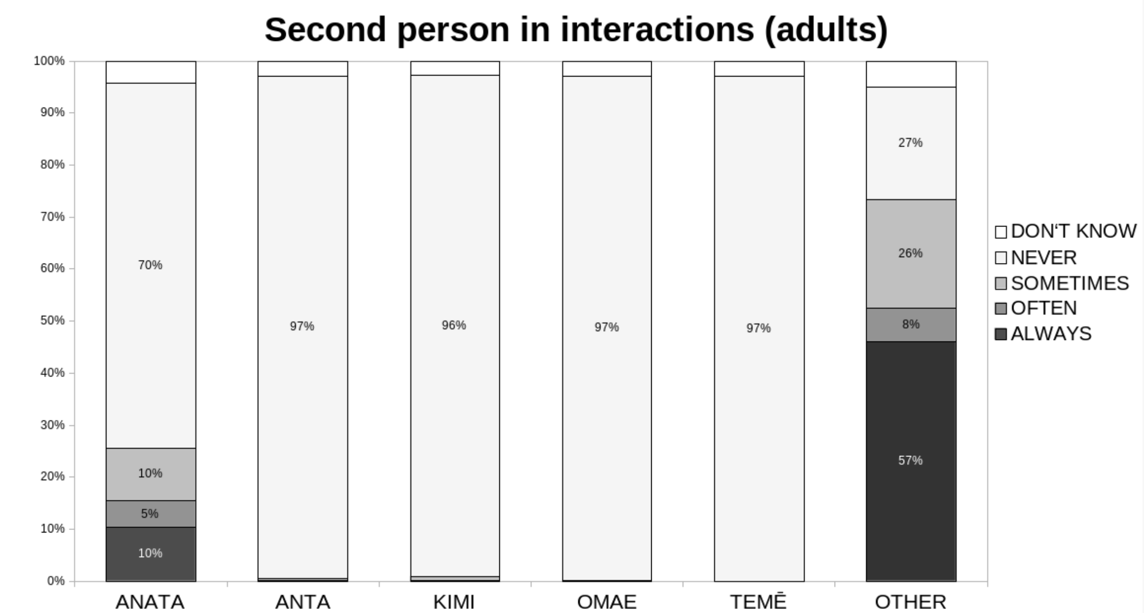


Fig. 17 Second person in interactions with adults

This subgroup includes unknown adults, known but unfamiliar adults, teachers and school principals and as the chart shows, a higher use of *anata* as a form of address towards these interactants was found. However, when looking at the individual charts for each addressee from this category (see the Annex no. 2), the actual perceived use of *anata* reaches significant numbers only when the addressee is either a completely unknown adult or a known but unfamiliar adult. In the case of teachers and school principals, the girls would rather opt for the occupational terms *sensei* or *kōchō sensei* (lit. principal) respectively. The relatively high perceived use of *anata* can be interpreted by *anata* being regarded by the respondents as the only pronominal expression that can

be used towards an unknown person without committing a social solecism. This is supported also by direct comparison with the data for interactions when the addressee is not a complete stranger but an adult the respondents were acquainted with (*kaomishiri otona*, lit. 'adult whose face they know by sight'), where *anata* is now used in fewer cases in favour of nominal expressions. For junior high school students all adults should be seen as socially superior and thus the use of other pronominal expressions (such as *anta*, *kimi* etc.) does not seem to be considered by the respondents in interactions with adults – which is in accordance with the cornerstone rule of Japanese politeness (i.e., to avoid pronominal address towards one's social superior).

5.2.2 Interactions with other students and peers

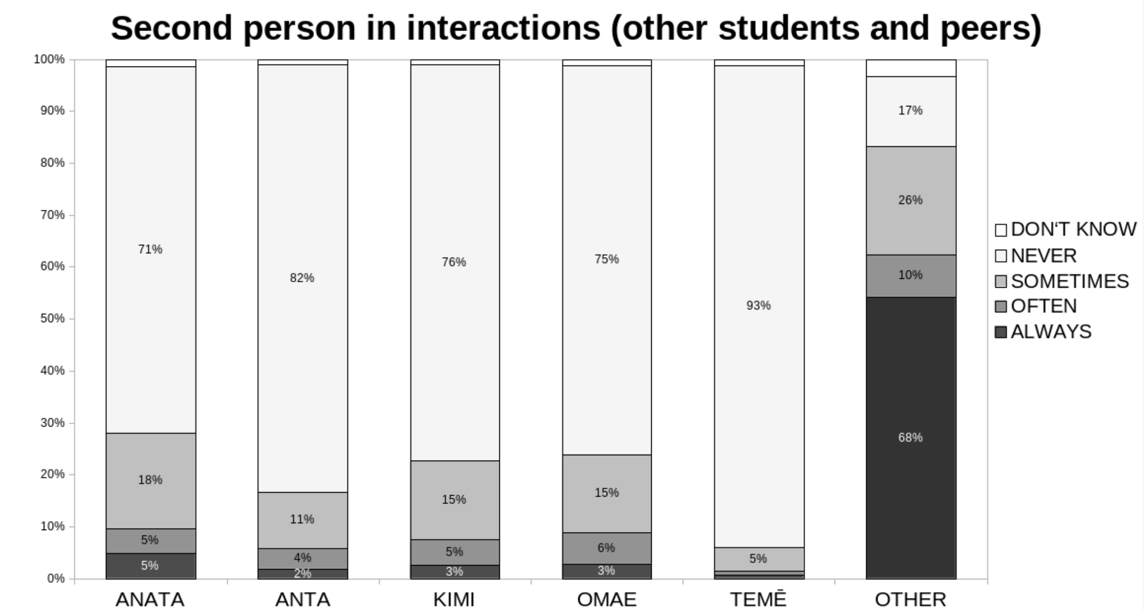


Fig.18 Second person in interactions with one's peers

These graphs show the results of which expressions the girls assume they use when talking to their peers – that is classmates and friends of both genders. Compared to the data concerning all possible addressees, a tendency towards a relatively higher frequency of pronominal second person expressions can be observed. This is motivated

by minimal social, and most probably, also minimal psychological distance, of which the respondents seem to be aware of, allowing them to convey, for example, their emotional stance through the chosen expression.

The respondents selected *anata*, *kimi* and *omae* as the pronominal expressions they would use most frequently. Their perceived use of *anata* is in accordance with Takahara's (1992) classification of *anata* as a reciprocal female familiar deictic (see section 2.2.1.2). Barešová and Kloutvorová (2016, 56) observed that in an informal speech among good friends, *anata* can be used as a means of joking or to emphasize a joke.

Kimi is usually categorized as an expression used mostly by males towards their peers, juniors, inferiors and intimate friends. As it expresses a familiar attitude, it seems the girls considered *kimi* as already adopted into their registers as well.

Omae is usually characterized as an informal masculine expression, and when used among young men it generates solidarity and a sense of rapport. As Shimotani (2012) in her study notes, *omae* can also convey an emotional stance and it is often used in conflict talk. The high frequency of its perceived use might point to an actual increase in use of this second person form which used to be considered a part of the informal masculine register. The use of *omae* among close friends is motivated by the desire to create a sense of rough camaraderie.

The category of one's peers (together with interactions with one's siblings) is also a subgroup where the respondents would admit to using *temē*, a vulgar/contemptuous expression. Due to its low formality and vulgarity, the use of *temē* is without doubt limited only to conflict talk (and also possibly to crude jokes aimed at very close friends).

5.2.3 Interactions with one's parents

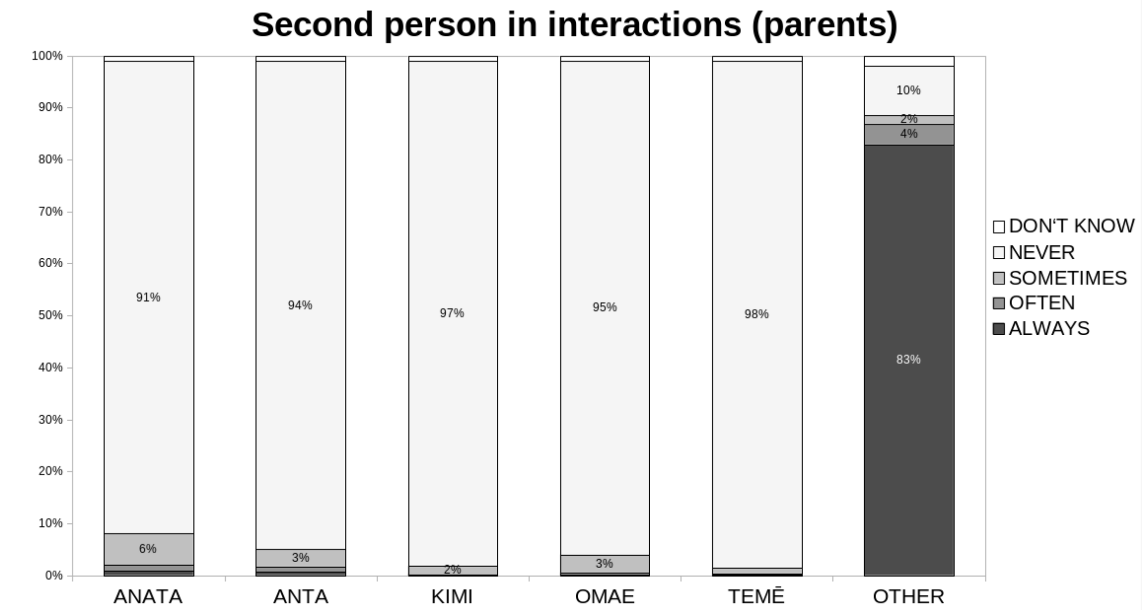


Fig. 19 Second person in interactions with one's parents

The general tendency during interaction with one's mother or father was to strongly prefer kinship terms (in most cases *okāsan* or *mama* for mother, and *otōsan* or *papa* for father) over pronominal expressions. This tendency corresponds to the basic rule of thumb for intra-family interactions as explained by Suzuki (1986) – a speaker cannot use personal pronouns towards a relative older than them. Among the respondents only about 8% in total would admit using *anata* towards their parents, or more specifically, towards their mothers. Barešová and Kloutvorová (2016, 55) observed that if young Japanese used *anata* towards their mothers, it would be during an argument or quarrel. According to Shimotani (2012), *anata* can be interpreted as an expression indexing epistemic primacy and its use in conflict talk suggests the speaker's objective stance (the speaker has epistemic primacy over the addressee and is in a position to give judgement/evaluation).

5.2.4 Interactions with one’s siblings

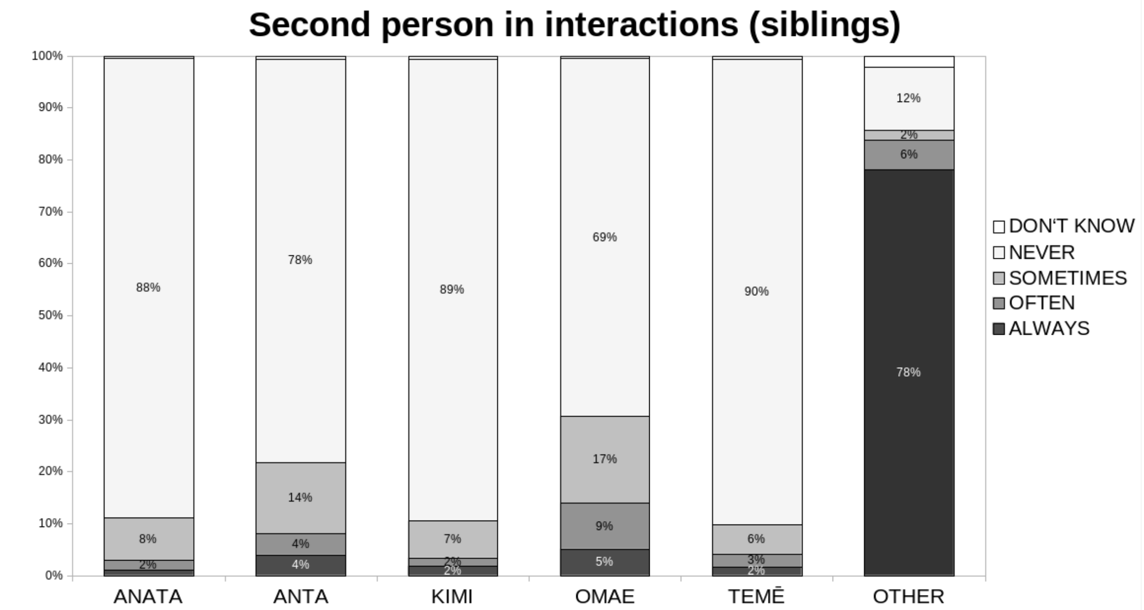


Fig. 20 Second person in interactions with one’s siblings

The distribution of nominal second person expressions follows the schema explained by Suzuki (1986): older siblings are addressed or referred to by kin terms (variations of *onēsan* – older sister, and *onīsan* – older brother), younger siblings by their names or nicknames. To one’s both psychologically and socially closest family members, the girls would admit using pronominal expressions in a comparatively higher rate than towards other interactants with the exception of one’s friends and classmates. However, the distribution of preferred pronominal expressions in these two subgroups is not identical. While the respondents would claim to use *anata*, *kimi* and *omae* most frequently towards their peers, in case of siblings *anata* and *kimi* are mentioned almost 50% less often than the most prominent *anta* and *omae*. *Anta* is defined as an expression used by female speakers towards a lower (female) addressee and in this context when looking at individual charts, it is apparent that the perceived use of *anta* towards younger siblings is in fact higher than towards older siblings. There seems to be an inclination towards using *anta* in addressing a younger sister – these findings support the argument about *anta* characteristics.

The use of *omae* reaches 30% in total and this relatively high number is also influenced by the respondents admitting opting for *omae* in interactions especially with their younger siblings. One reason for using *omae* is arguably its use in conflict talk as an emotive second person expression (cf. Shimotani 2012) and the other might be the use of *omae* as an expression to be used towards an addressee of a lower status than oneself.

Temē, an expression usually avoided by contemporary Japanese, emerges in interactions with siblings. Almost 10% of respondents are inclined to think they sometimes use this form towards their brothers and sisters. As relationships between siblings sometimes bring about highly emotional situations (conflicts), it may reflect general family dynamics. Interestingly, for both *omae* and *temē*, younger brothers were listed as being the most frequently addressees of these expressions by the respondents. This may suggest the female respondents have a strong need to assert themselves over their younger male siblings.

5.2.5 Discussion

The observed trend to follow the fundamental rule of Japanese politeness and generally prefer nominal expressions (listed as among the "other" option by the respondents) was already commented on in the beginning of section 5.2. The frequency of pronominal expressions *anata*, *anta*, *kimi*, *omae* and *temē* is directly affected by an addressee's location on axes of social and psychological distance. *Anata* was more often mentioned in interactions with completely unknown addressees – both adults and peers – as in this context its use sometimes cannot be avoided and is interpreted as permissible by the respondents. On the opposite end of the scale are interactions with teachers, school principals and also older schoolmates, *senpai*, who are socially superior and thus the respondents avoid using *anata* and, in fact, other pronominal expressions towards them. However, the respondents admitted to using

anata also towards their friends and classmates. This may seem to be in accordance with Takahara's (1992) model of second pronominal system, where *anata* is also classified as a reciprocal female familiar deictic. Yet as Shimotani (2012) suggested *anata* can be used also from a position of peistemic primacy (during an act of giving advice or criticism etc.) and Barešová and Kloutvorová (2016) observed jocular uses of *anata*. Yet in ineractions with siblings, which can be seen as both socially and psychologically close, the respondents preferred other pronominal expressions.

The girls favoured less formal *anta* for interactions with their friends and younger siblings, supporting the interpretation of *anta* as a second person expression to be used towards one's equal or social inferior. When comparing the use of *anta* towards younger siblings and towards friends of both genders, the respondents felt they use *anta* (and also *anta*) slightly more towards their sisters and female friends than their brothers and male friends, which suggests the girls in these interactions stayed in feminine territory.

Kimi and *omae*, which are traditionally classified as masculine expressions appeared mostly in interactions between friends and siblings. In case of addressing one's male siblings, the respondents listed the masculine expressions slightly more often than for interactions with female siblings. This seem in support of the suggestion stated above, that the girls reach for traditionally masculine linguistic repertoire when they need to assert themselves (for example in conflict talk). *Kimi* also appears in interactions with an unknown addressee of the same age as the speaker (see Annex 2). This may indicate that some the girls feel confident that *kimi* will not offend such an addressee and probably opt for *kimi* also due to the possibility of the feminine *anta* to be used in conflict talk (Shimotani 2012, 65). The overall highest occurrence of pronominal expression was thus found in interactions with both socially and psychologically closest addressees, i.e., friends and siblings – and in these interactions the respondents admitted to using both expressions classified as feminine and masculine.

5.3 First and second person in *shōjo manga* as perceived by junior high school girls

The second part of the survey started with questions about the reading habits of the students. Those girls who stated they never read *shōjo manga* either in print or in digital versions were filtered out: In total, out of 701 respondents 385 read *shōjo manga* in print, and 337 read it online or via smartphone apps at least once a year. Some girls were readers of only exclusively one print type (either digital or paper). Some consumed both and inferring by the number of readers, the rise of the popularity of digital print is quite apparent. As can be seen in the table below (Fig. 21), digital print is the most popular medium for frequent manga consumption (at least once a week) – this might be due its easy portability and immediate accessibility.

	Paper print	**Digital print**
At least once a week	30.4%	43.6%
At least once a month	26.5%	24.3%
At least once a year	43.1%	32%

Fig. 21 – Frequency of reading *shōjo manga*

In the next stage of the survey, the readers of manga were presented with two *shōjo manga* scenes and were asked to imagine they are their favourite *shōjo manga* protagonist and were asked to select a first or second person expression respectively to fit the presented manga scenes. The presented image depicted two female *shōjo manga* characters, who could be interpreted as friends or at least as schoolmates. It was expected that if the respondents' experience with the medium includes frequent encounters with extreme first or second person usage (such as the use of masculine expressions or other non-standard words), they would probably include them in their answers, and if not, they would build on their awareness of their own use. The results of these survey questions are below.

5.3.1 Expressions for the first person in *shōjo manga*

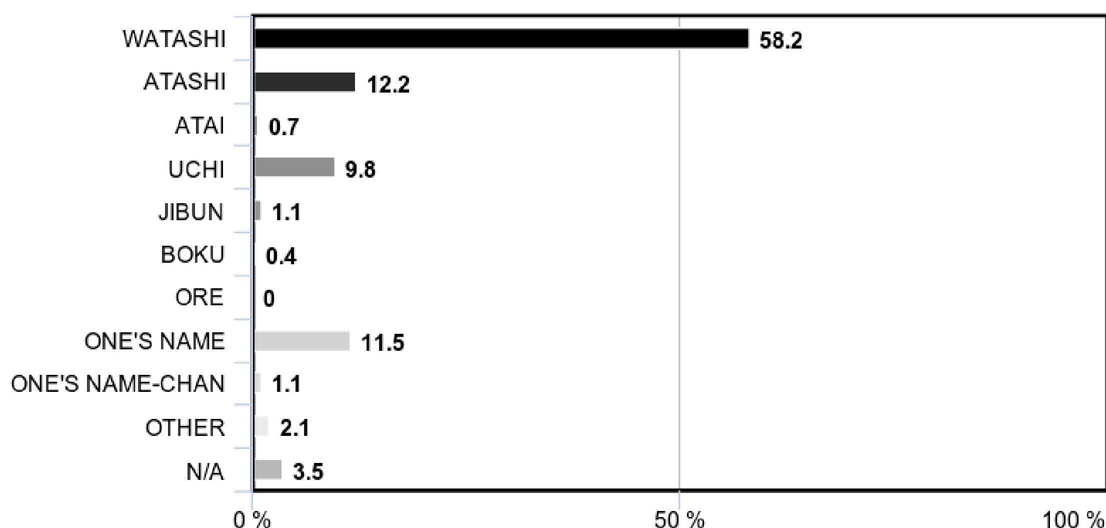


Fig. 22 Perceived use of expressions for the first person in *shōjo manga*

In the manga scene where I elicited first person expressions, 58% percent of respondents chose *watashi* and 12% picked *atashi* as their choice of first person. 11% of junior high school students imagined that their favourite character used her own name to refer to herself and almost 10% of respondents selected *uchi*. The masculine *boku* was used only once and the strongly masculine *ore* was not selected at all. (The same applies to other expressions often perceived as masculine such as *washi*, which some students themselves admit using in real life.)

As the manga scenes depicted characters who were most likely to be interpreted as peers, the results were compared to the preferred first person expressions the respondents chose for interactions with their own peers in the first part of the survey. It was observed that the ratio of the chosen expressions was very similar.

The most marked difference is the very low use of *jibun* attributed to fictional characters, which can be explained by the fact that *jibun* was shown in a topical position for the selection in the manga scene. The interactions table where the respondents

probably included all possible positions and uses (such as reflexive) of *jibun* in their self-report, accounts for this effect. Another notable difference is the frequency of the use of *atashi*, *uchi* and one's name. While the students prefer *uchi* over other expressions during their interactions with their peers, they select *atashi* as the second most frequent expression in the manga scene. *Atashi*, which is considered a stereotypically feminine casual expression, suggests conforming to the ideology of women's language. This and the absence of masculine expressions suggest the respondents in fact tend to ascribe slightly more Standard language or more traditional language to the manga protagonists than they would choose for themselves.

The data for real-life interactions with classmates, friends of the same and opposite gender and the choice of first person expression in the manga scene were tested for statistical significance and in all cases, the p-value was lower than 0.1% meaning there is very high probability those data are related and in correlation. The data clearly suggest that the choices of first person expression in both parts of the survey were related to each other and the students do perceive the language of manga protagonists to be relatively close to their own.

5.3.2 Expressions for the second person in *shōjo manga*

For the second manga scene, the respondents were asked to choose a second person expression. The chart showing the total distribution of all available second person options is shown below.

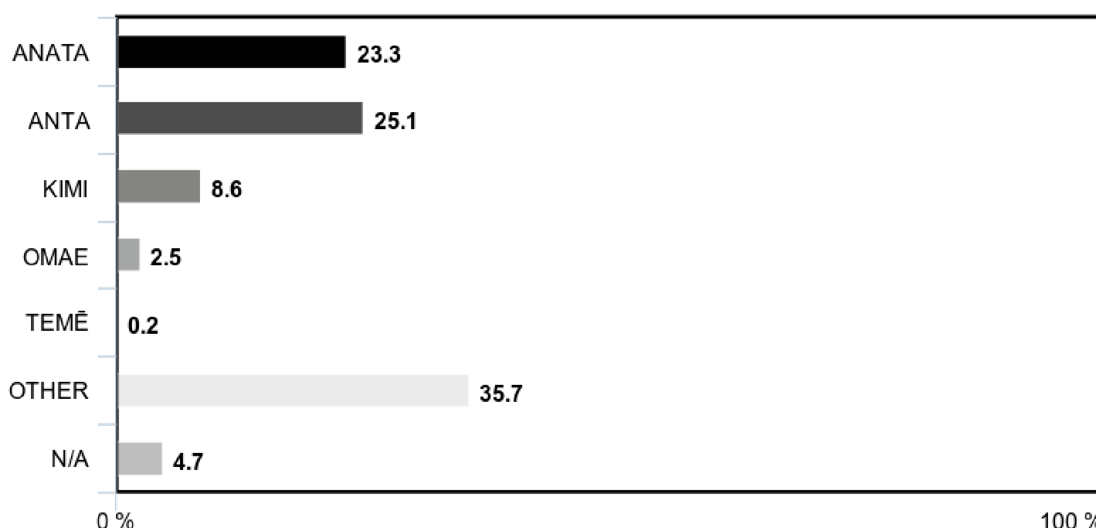


Fig. 23 Perceived use of expressions for the second person in shōjo manga

For characters in girls'manga, the respondents would opt for expressions relatively similar to those they judge they use frequently themselves – that is, they would select the option "other" supplying it with an addressee's name or nickname, in several cases suffixed with *-chan*. This was however followed by *anta* and *anata*, expressions both Ide (1989) and Takahara (1992) categorized as feminine. Quite interestingly, the respondents would opt for these feminine expressions more often in the manga scene than they would do for real-life interactions, which would imply seeing the manga character as more linguistically feminine than themselves. The students would admit to using *anata* towards their peers, but in the case of *anta* they would do so only in a more limited number of instances. *Anta* is categorized as a feminine expression used by female speakers to female addressees of equal or lower status.

The interpretation that *anata* might be still perceived as the most neutral second person deictic (see Chapter 2.2.1.2) cannot be extended to *anta* as well, and therefore it is very likely their choice was influenced by reading *shōjo manga* and based on their experience with the media they formed their idea about what terms a *shōjo manga* character would use. The results point to a very low use of *omae* as in the previous chapters, where the data about the perceived use of second person show the girls admitted to "sometimes" using *omae* in real-life conversation with their peers.

In her case study of gendered expression in popular anime Hiramoto (2013) claims that the degree of linguistic normativity in the speech of anime characters correlates with how they are visually represented and how desirable/undesirable these characters are. I demonstrated that manga readers among junior high school girls perceive the use of second person by their favourite *shōjo manga* main characters as slightly more feminine than their own, which may partially support Hiramoto's claim concerning desirability. As Kinsui (2003) pointed out, the main characters in popular media should speak the least marked variety of Japanese in terms of *yakuwarigo* use and it seems the girls tend to perceive the language used by characters in *shōjo manga* as similar to their own and yet they are more reluctant to assign strongly masculine expressions to characters than they are to ascribing them to themselves. These results suggest that in the minds of Japanese junior high school girls there exists an image of how a *shōjo manga* heroine is supposed to speak and the language of these manga characters still at least partially conforms to the ideals of gendered speech.

5.4 Analysis of the *shōjo manga* corpus chosen

Questions about the respondents' favourite *shōjo manga* magazines and individual works of *shōjo manga* were included in the second part of the survey. The number of listed favourite *shōjo* comics was considerable – in total, over 270 individual *shōjo manga* titles were listed by the students. The following table includes the ten most frequently listed works and these works were therefore afterwards used for the *shōjo manga* corpus from which a *shōjo manga* character corpus was derived. These works are at the same time also the most popular *shōjo manga* recently on the market.

	Title	Author	First published	Magazine
1	*Aoharaido*	Sakisaka Io	2011	Bessatsu Māgaretto
2	*Chihayafuru*	Suetsugu Yuki	2007	BE LOVE
3	*Haru matsu bokura*	Anashin	2014	Dezāto
4	*Orange*	Takano Ichigo	2012	Bessatsu Māgaretto
5	*Tsubasa to hotaru*	Haruta Nana	2014	Ribon
6	*Sutorōbo ejji (Strobe Edge)*	Sakisaka Io	2007	Bessatsu Māgaretto
7	*Omoi, omoware, furi, furare*	Sakisaka Io	2015	Bessatsu Māgaretto
8	*Romanchika Kurokku (Romantica Clock)*	Maki Yōko	2012	Ribon
9	*P to JK*	Miyoshi Maki	2012	Bessatsu Furendo
10	*Hana yori dango*	Kamio Yōko	1992	Māgaretto

Fig. 24 Individual *shōjo manga* works

All of these ten most popular titles the respondents chose as their favourites fall into the school life subgenre of *shōjo manga*, dealing mostly with day-to-day lives of the protagonists in a realistic (or a semi-realistic) high school setting. The only slight deviation from these characteristics is the manga *Orange* by Takano Ichigo, which also contains sci-fi elements while still taking place in a high school environment. This manga also gained significant popularity outside of the typical *shōjo manga* readership and after its serialization in *Bessatsu Māgaretto* magazine was suspended, it continued in a *shōnen manga* magazine *Gekkan akushon* (*Monthly Action*) (Komikku Natarī, 2014), thus becoming an example of the blurring of lines between the genres of *shōjo*

manga and *shōnen manga*.

Another subgenre appearing in the list of the most popular titles, is sports manga. However, while sports (namely basketball) play a significant role in the narratives of the manga *Haru matsu bokura* and *Tsubasa to hotaru*, it is not the female protagonist who plays basketball herself but actually her love interest (and her male friends). The role of the protagonist in reaching the sport achievement (usually typical for sports manga genre) lies in giving support or as a cheering fan rather than in direct participation in the sporting match itself. The manga *Chihayafuru* centers on the protagonist taking part in a competitive *karuta* (a traditional Japanese card game).

The high school setting also implies the protagonists and other female characters are intended to be older (usually 15–17 years old) than the junior high school girls forming part of the manga audience, who are in the focus of this work. The exceptions being manga *Chihayafuru*, which starts when the protagonist is 12 years old and still in an elementary school, and manga *Romantica Clock*, where the protagonist is a junior high school student.

The corpus comprises the first *tankōbon* volumes of the works listed above. However, in the case of the manga *Chihayafuru*, the first volume takes place when the protagonist is an elementary school student, and for this reason the second volume, featuring mostly scenes from senior High School with parts of the narrative returning to junior high school and to elementary school through flashbacks was favoured to keep the age of the characters analysed more consistent.

The method of using tables for various interactants similar to the ones used in the survey posed several problems when applied to linear narratives. The first being the over-lapping categories of relationship which certain characters shared (e.g., an older schoolmate, *senpai*, could also be interpreted as a good friend); the next complication I find are dialogues featuring more than two characters in different

relationships with each other (a characteristic which is typical for real-life interactions as well) with utterances addressed to all/more than one of them, and lastly the transformation of a relationship between characters, which means a change on the axis of psychological distance and sometimes also on the axis of social distance during the course of the narrative (e.g., from an unknown person to a friend, or in the case of social distance when a character's previously unknown occupational or social status is revealed). These problematic instances, of course, can similarly be found in real-life interactions as well. However, in the survey they were assessed and solved by the respondents themselves. In view of this, a change in the way character refers to themselves or directly refers to/addresses another character often indexes a narrative event. I treated all the problematic instances individually with the aim to minimize the loss of potentially significant information.

5.5 The language of *shōjo manga* characters

This section deals with the results of my analysis of the *shōjo manga* corpus. A mixed method integrating both quantitative and qualitative data was used. This section is structured as follows: Firstly, I offer several comments regarding certain choices that were made when dealing with the data. Next, I focus on first and second person expressions used by characters in the corpus. The characters are divided into three categories (as was explained above): protagonists, major characters and minor characters. Several remarks commenting on specific usage are presented next. Lastly, the degree of utilization of *yakuwarigo* elements is debated in the discussion.

While it has been discussed (e.g., by Dickey 1997) that second person reference and address (vocative) are not identical, they are not dealt with here separately as the focus of this study is not a difference in connotations and function between these two uses, but rather whether they are in fact used in fictional discourse at all.

The instances where *uchi* was used unmarked with the plural meaning "our/my;

our in-group" were recorded but were not included in the subsequent analysis of the results. The following utterance is an example of semantically plural use:

(1) *Uchi no baito saki kekkō kakkoi hito ōi n da*

There is a lot of pretty cool people at the part-time job of mine/ours.

(*Omoi omoware, furi furare*, vol. 1)

Similarly, reflexive uses of *jibun* with the meaning "oneself, by oneself" were also noted down during the analysis but are not included in the detailed commentary on the results.

(2) *Aite no koto waruku ieba jibun ga takami ni tatteru kibun ni naru no kamoshirenai kedo*

You may feel yourself on a higher ground if you talk bad about someone.

(*Aoharaido*, vol.1)

The main focus of this study are singular forms. When either the pronominal or nominal expressions appeared in the data in a plural form (that is suffixed with *-tachi* or *-ra*), they were also taken into account, and afterwards classified and counted as an instance of their singular counterpart.

5.5.1 The language of protagonists

In total, the speech of 11 main characters was analysed – this number was reached because the manga *Omoi omoware, furi furare* features not one protagonist, but two female protagonists. Both these characters were producing text not only in speech bubbles, but also thought bubbles and narration and provided the reader with two perspectives and opinions on romance and friendship, and therefore both were included in this category[16]. While the general rule is that the protagonists naturally generated

16 Even though, Akari, the second of the two main characters, produced less of the text falling into soliloquy category, a significant part of the narrative is focalised through her, which points out to the fact she should also be "read" (and classified) as a protagonist.

the biggest amount of texts in all the manga titles selected, not all expected interaction partners included in the tables for analysis could be found for the protagonists and quite unsurprisingly the biggest amount of linguistic data was available for interactions with peers. Some unexpected interactions, such as a soliloquy of an interaction with a house pet, was also found.

5.5.1.1 First person in the language of protagonists

Watashi, arguably the most unmarked first person expression a female speaker of Standard Japanese can utilize, was the primary means of self-reference for all but one of the protagonists. The only exception was Tsukushi from *Hana yori Dango*, a heroine of a now classic manga first published in 1992, who employed *atashi* throughout all the analysed material. The cases of other first person expressions change are very sporadic, in other words, the protagonists do not change their first person based on a situational context, emotional stance or on their interaction partner. The other occasionally utilized expressions were *uchi* and *jibun*, *uchira* (used twice) and *jibunra* (once), and the plural form derived by suffix *-ra*. The use of *jibunra* is illustrated below.

(1) *Jibunra mo burriko surya i: ja n*

We should all pretend to be cute.

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, *Aoharaido*, vol. 1)

Self-reference by one’s name, which is one of the most preferred first person expressions among the junior high school girls especially for interactions with one’s closest family member and friends, appeared only once[17] in the data. It was an instance of a humorous usage with an honorific suffix *-sama* by Akane (*Romantica Clock*) during an interaction with her brother. *Asshi*[18,] a contracted variant of *atashi*, occurred

17 The second instance occurring in the text was not during an interaction with a family member, but during a soliloquy, during which the protagonist Futaba (*Aoharaido*) reflected about her past and spoke about “a new Futaba being born”. That is not in a direct self-reference.

18 While Kinsui (2014, 11–12) categorizes *asshi* as either a *yakuwarigo* for members of *yakuza*, or an element of *Edo kotoba (language of Tōkyōites)*, these *yakuwarigo* uses are not applicable

only once in the manga *P to JK*, when Kako, the protagonist, at that time posing as a 22-year old woman, was announcing to her future love interest (a young policeman) and possibly to other members of the group date party that she is going home.

(1) *N ja asshi wa kore de!!*

So bye, I am going!!

(interaction with a known adult, *P to JK*, vol. 1)

Besides *asshi*, no other non-standard expressions appeared in the speech of main characters. Moreover, no masculine pronominal expressions were encountered.

Protagonist	**Tokens (total)**	**First person expression**
Futaba *(Aoharaido)*	65	*watashi*
Chihaya JHS *(Chihayafuru)*	25	*watashi*
Chihaya SHS *(Chihayafuru)*	2	*atashi*
Mitsuki (*Haru matsu bokura*)	45	*watashi*
Naho *(Orange)*	47	*watashi*
Tsubasa *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	59	*watashi*
Ninako *(Strobe Edge)*	53	*watashi*
Yuna *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	54	*watashi*
Akari *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	51	*watashi*
Akane *(Romantica Clock)*	55	*watashi*
Kako *(P to JK)*	22	*watashi*
Tsukushi *(Hana yori dango)*	46	*atashi*
	524	

Fig.25 Primary means of self-reference among the protagonists

The overall variation of choice of first person is thus markedly low. Several factors presumably contribute to this result. One factor may be the characterization of the protagonists themselves – they are mostly depicted as hard-working individuals often with a positive attitude, and even if they are in some cases perhaps shy or slightly

to the usage in the corpus.

withdrawn, or on the other hand, perhaps too spirited and overly vigorous, none of them can be seen as an extreme or a member of a specific or marginal social subgroup or subculture. They are all in fact very “normal”, making them typical (hetero)romance heroines (e.g., Shibamoto Smith 2004; Shibamoto Smith and Occhi 2009). Thus, their assigned self-reference expressions are the most standard. As the findings from the survey among the actual speakers of Japanese presented in the previous chapter suggest, *watashi* remains the first choice self-reference word for at least two thirds of the girls. This implies that the least marked *watashi* might have been chosen for the protagonists to promote the readers’ identification with the characters. Technical aspects of manga as a medium may have caused the limited range of self-reference expressions found. This will be further explored in the Discussion at the end of this sub-chapter (Section 5.5.4).

5.5.1.2 Second person in the language of protagonists

The following section deals with the use of second person by protagonists of the manga included in the corpus. The data were divided based on the interactants into four groups: interactions with adults (apart from family), interactions with peers, interactions with family members and second person occurrences in soliloquy.

The interactions featuring a protagonist and an adult character were rather limited and even if they appeared in the narrative, they did not feature the elements which are the focus of this thesis. As indicated by the following table, with the exception of the manga *P to JK*, the number of tokens in the selected titles is very low.

Protagonist	**Tokens (total)**	**Second person expression**
Futaba *(Aoharaido)*	0	-
Chihaya SHS *(Chihayafuru)*	1	*sensei* (100%)
Chihaya JHS *(Chihayafuru)*	0	-
Mitsuki (*Haru matsu bokura*)	2	*masutā* (100%)
Naho *(Orange)*	0	-
Tsubasa *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	0	-
Ninako *(Strobe Edge)*	0	-
Yuna *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	0	-
Akari *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	0	-
Akane *(Romantica Clock)*	1	*sensei* (100%)
Kako *(P to JK)*	16	name-*kun (68.75%), omawarisan (31.25%, onēchan (6.25%)*
Tsukushi *(Hana yori dango)*	0	-
	20	

Fig. 26 Second person – protagonists (interactions with adults)

Observing the data in the right column of the table, in most instances, it is very easy to guess the identity of the interactants, as the protagonists followed the general rule of Japanese politeness and used socially acceptable occupational terms for them – teachers (*sensei*), owner of a café the protagonist worked in (*masutā*), policemen (*omawarisan*). No pronominal expressions occurred in the corpus – this also conforms to the findings from the survey, where the respondents admitted using pronominal terms in interactions with adults only very sporadically.

The following table presents the total of 279 tokens occurring in interactions between peers, which largely due to the genre of manga titles collected, was unquestionably the most productive category regarding the use of second person.

Protagonist	Tokens (total)	Second person expression
Futaba *(Aoharaido)*	23	*name (34.8%),* *surname-kun (47.8%),* *surname-san (4.4%),* *name-chan (13%)*
Chihaya JHS *(Chihayafuru)*	0	-
Chihaya SHS *(Chihayafuru)*	38	*name-san (2.6%),* *nickname-chan (13.2%),* *name (84.2%)*
Mitsuki (*Haru matsu bokura*)	34	*anata(tachi) (5.9%),* *surname-san (2.9%),* *surname-kun (38.2%),* *name-san (8.8%),* *name-chan (23.5%),* *nickname-chan (20.6%)*
Naho *(Orange)*	21	*name (100%)*
Tsubasa *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	24	*surname-kun (16.7%),* *name (8.3%),* *nickname (33.4%),* *nickname-kun (12.5%),* *senpai (29.1%)*
Ninako *(Strobe Edge)*	8	*name (100%)*
Yuna *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	31	*surname-san (6.5%),* *surname-kun (16%),* *name-kun (6.5%),* *name-chan (71%)*
Akari *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	20	surname-*kun (55%),* name *(45%)*
Akane *(Romantica Clock)*	33	*anata* (12.1%), surname-*kun* (3%), name-*chan* (24.2%), name (60.1%)
Kako *(P to JK)*	3	*anta(tachi) (33.4%),* name *(66.6%)*
Tsukushi *(Hana yori dango)*	44	*anata(tachi) (31.8%),* *anta(tachi) (20.5%),* surname-*san (6.8%),* *surname (2.3%),* name-*chan (22.7%),* name *(4.5%),* *socchi (2.3%),* *baka (6.8%),* *obocchan (2.3%)*
	279	

Fig. 27 Second person – protagonists (interactions with peers)

During these interactions, the protagonists predominantly preferred nominal expressions

(names). Yet in the speech of the protagonists of *Romantica Clock* and *Hana yori dango*, and to a limited extent also the protagonist of the manga *P to JK*, a tendency to use the pronominal expressions *anata* and *anta* more frequently can be observed. This fact can be interpreted by the confrontational nature of these characters, or rather by the confrontational nature of the scenes in each respective manga. In the narrative, Tsukushi (*Hana yori dango*), who uses pronominal forms most often, deals with a hostile environment of an elite urban high school and becomes a target of bullying by a powerful clique of popular boys and adopts a strongly assertive attitude, which is reflected also in her use of pronominal expressions (and also nominal derogatory terms):

(1) *Antatachi no shōne atashi ga tataki naoshite ageru*

I'm gonna whip your personalities into shape!

(interaction with a classmate, *Hana yori dango*, vol.1)

(2) *Anta soredemo otoko na no?!*

You call yourself a man?!

(interaction with a classmate, *Hana yori dango*, vol.1)

As seen in the table above, no expressions classified as masculine occurred in the interactions between protagonists and their peers.

When comparing the data above with the answers of the respondents (see Chapter 5.3) concerning perceived use of second person in manga, it can be suggested that the readers seem to be aware of the second person expressions used in manga. This suggestion is supported by the respondents choosing mostly the pronominal expressions *anata* and *anta* and the option 'Other', which in most cases should be seen as a choice of nominal expression. While the distributional ratio of these expressions is not identical with the corpus data, it is not coincidental either.

The third category of data were tokens appearing during interactions between

the protagonist and her family members, which were interactions also quite limited in number in the majority of the manga titles, the only exception being the manga *Romantica Clock* where the plot centres on a relationship between two siblings – Akane and her twin brother Aoi – and thus features more scenes taking place within the protagonist's family home.

Protagonist	**Tokens (total)**	**Second person expression**
Futaba *(Aoharaido)*	0	-
Chihaya JHS *(Chihayafuru)*	1	*okāsan (100%)*
Chihaya SHS *(Chihayafuru)*	0	-
Mitsuki (*Haru matsu bokura*)	0	-
Naho *(Orange)*	0	-
Tsubasa *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	3	name *(100%)*
Ninako *(Strobe Edge)*	0	-
Yuna *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	0	-
Akari *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	11	*anta (9%),* *okāsan (36.4%),* *name (54.6%)*
Akane *(Romantica Clock)*	40	*anta (37.5%),* full name *(2.5%),* name *(45%),* *mama (12.5%),* *obāchan (2.5%)*
Kako *(P to JK)*	4	*otōsan (100%)*
Tsukushi *(Hana yori dango)*	0	-
	59	

Fig. 28 Second person – protagonists (interactions with family)

The results shown in the table above include interactions with a mother (Chihaya, Akari), a father (Kako), a younger brother (Akari, Tsubasa), a younger sister (Akane) and a grandmother (Akane) and the trend of second person use is quite clear – for family members older than themselves, the protagonists employ kinship terms, for younger family members they opt for names.

The pronominal expression *anta* (used by Akari and Akane) were utilized

in interactions with siblings – in both cases brothers (the age difference between the siblings was minimal in both cases – several months in the case of Akari and her stepbrother and minutes/hours in the case of Akane and her twin brother).

The last category of second person tokens are somewhat peculiar cases of them being used in a soliloquy, that is in a protagonist's inner monologue or as part of her thoughts, which were not audible to other characters.

Protagonist	**Tokens (total)**	**Second person expression**
Futaba *(Aoharaido)*	1	*anata (100%)*
Chihaya JHS *(Chihayafuru)*	0	-
Chihaya SHS *(Chihayafuru)*	3	*name (100%)*
Mitsuki (*Haru matsu bokura*)	7	*name-kun (14.3%), name-chan (85.7%)*
Naho *(Orange)*	0	-
Tsubasa *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	4	surname-*kun (25%),* name-*chan (75%)*
Ninako *(Strobe Edge)*	0	-
Yuna *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	3	name-*kun (33.4%),* name-*chan (66.6%)*
Akari *(Omoi, omoware, furi, furare)*	0	-
Akane *(Romantica Clock)*	0	-
Kako *(P to JK)*	0	-
Tsukushi *(Hana yori dango)*	4	*omae*(*ra*) (25%), name (50%), *bakayarō* (25%)
	22	

Fig. 29 Second person – protagonists (soliloquy)

In their soliloquys, the protagonists usually silently address their friends or love interests and in these cases, they mostly utilized the same expressions as they would in audible speech. The exception is Tsukushi (*Hana yori dango*), who preferred *anta* in direct confrontation (see Fig. 27), but would employ the masculine *omaera*: in her monologue:[19]

19 This time audible, as it is a cry of frustration with her classmates yelled from the top her lungs but not

(1) *Omaera nanka eiyō kata de shinjimae*'

You idiots, just die of over-nutrition!

(soliloquy, *Hana yori dango*, vol. 1)

When Futaba (*Aoharaido*) directly addresses her lost and newly found classmate (and love interest), she uses his surname with the suffix -*kun.* Later on she switches to using his given name only, but during the time she is not sure of his identity due to his behaviour (even though she has already addressed him as her former classmate), she expresses her doubt in a thought bubble by utilizing *anata* – an expression customarily used towards a completely unfamiliar addressee:

(1) *Anata dare desu ka?*

Who are you?

(soliloquy, *Aoharaido*, vol. 1)

5.5.2 The language of major characters

The major characters in the analysed manga were usually defined by their relationship to the main characters where they very often served as close friends, friends or classmates[20], meaning the linguistic data regarding their speech was mostly collected from interactions happening within peer groups. For this reason, the information presented here was divided into two separate tables, one summarizing the use of first person and second person expressions respectively in interactions with peers, the second an overview of uses in remaining interactions. This method of presentation was chosen mostly due to the rather limited data for the other types of interactions.

5.5.2.1 First person in the language of major characters

The first table below contains the data regarding the use of the first person

addressed directly to any character.

20 Asai Yuriko (*Hana yori dango*) and Wakana (Romantica Clock) are exceptions – they are antagonistic characters.

in interactions with peers. The second table presents the use in other interactions (to be more precise, it contains only the data concerning the use of first person in soliloquy by one character). 97 tokens were gathered in total.

Major characters	**Tokens (total)**	**First person expressions**
Asumi *(Aoharaido)*	8	*watashi* (25%), *uchi(ra)* (75%)
Chie *(Aoharaido)*	1	*uchira* (100%)
Yūri (*Aoharaido*)	8	*watashi* (100%)
Chihayafuru JHS	0	-
Kanade *(Chihayafuru* SHS)	7	*watashi* (100%)
Reina *(Haru matsu bokura)*	9	*atashi* (88.9%) *uchi* (11.1%)
Azusa *(Orange)*	10	*watashi* (20%), *atashi* (40%), *uchi(ra)* (40%)
Takako (*Orange)*	13	*watashi* (46.1%), *atashi* (7.7%), *uchi(ra)* (46.1%)
Yuri *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	5	*watashi* (100%)
Sayuri *(Strobe Edge)*	4	*watashi* (100%)
Omoi, omoware, furi, furare	0	-
Karin (*Romantica Clock)*	9	*watashi* (100%)
Wakana (*Romantica Clock)*	7	*watashi(tachi)* (100%)
Mikado *(P to JK)*	3	*atashi* (33.3%), *uchi(ra)* (66.7%)
Asai Yuriko *(Hana yori dango)*	3	*atashi* (66.7%), *watashi* (33.3%)
Makiko *(Hana yori dango)*	4	*atashi(tachi)* (100%)
Yūki *(Hana yori dango)*	4	*watashi* (25%), *atashi(tachi)* (75%)
	95	

Fig. 30 First person – major characters (interactions with peers)

Major characters	**Tokens (total)**	**First person expressions**
Kanade *(Chihayafuru)*	2	*watashi* (100%)
	2	

Fig. 31 First person – major characters (other interactions – soliloquy)

When compared to the data regarding the speech of protagonists, it is apparent that self-reference is slightly more varied in the case of major characters. Not only in the ratio of primary forms of self-reference – *watashi* versus *atashi* – but also in the variation the individual characters employ. Quite interestingly, a plural form – *uchira* – which was found only very rarely in the linguistic data of the protagonists, seems to be more popular with the other major characters. One of the typical usages of *uchira* can be illustrated by the following example, in which Azusa (*Orange*) implores the main character Naho to participate in a softball game:

(1) *Naho ga dokan to hitto uttara* <u>*uchira*</u> *yūshō da yo*

If you can bat a strong safe hit, we will win.

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, *Orange*, vol.1)

The plural form *uchira* in this example is used in a casual interaction and denotes a group of classmates. In the second example shown below, *uchira* is used while gossiping about an absent member of a group of girl-friends and indicates the speaker and the hearer:

(2) *Futaba tte sa an kurai joshiryoku hikui kara issho ni irare n da yo nē* <u>*uchira*</u>

Because Futaba's girlishness is so low, we can let hang out with us.

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, Aoharaido, vol.1)

However, beside the three aforementioned forms (*watashi*, *atashi*, *uchira*), no other self-reference expressions were observed in the collected data.

5.5.2.2 Second person in the language of major characters

A total of 160 second person tokens belonging to characters categorized as major were collected from the corpus. Out of these, 153 appeared in interactions with characters who fell into the category of peers (that is friends or classmates),

the remaining 6 occurred during other types of interactions.

Major characters	**Tokens (total)**	**Second person expressions**
Asumi *(Aoharaido)*	14	*anta* (7.1%), name (92.9%)
Chie *(Aoharaido)*	10	*anta* (10%), name (90%)
Yūri *(Aoharaido)*	4	*anata(tachi)* (25%), surname-*san* (75%)
Chihayafuru JHS	0	-
Kanade (*Chihayafuru* SHS)	1	surname-san (100%)
Reina *(Haru matsu bokura)*	9	surname-*san* (33.3%), name-*chan* (66.7%)
Azusa *(Orange)*	24	*anata* (8.4%), name (79.1%), name-*kun* (12.5%)
Takako (*Orange)*	4	name (100%)
Yuri *(Tsubasa to hotaru)*	3	name (66.67%), *soko* (33.34%)
Sayuri *(Strobe Edge)*	9	*anta(tachi)* (22.2%), name (77.8%)
Omoi, omoware, furi, furare	0	-
Karin *(Romantica Clock)*	29	*anta(tachi)* (69%), name (27.6%), *yōseisan* [21](3.4%)
Wakana (*Romantica Clock)*	7	*anata* (28.6%), *anta* (14.3%), name-*san* (28.6%), name-*kun* (28.6%)
Mikado *(P to JK)*	8	name (37.5%), name-chan (12.5%), *temē (*12.5%*),* *kimi (*12.5%*) ,* *bakako(*12.5%*),* *kabimusume (*12.5%*)*
Asai Yuriko *(Hana yori dango)*	8	*anata (12.5%),* *anta* (12.5%), surname-*san(tachi)* (75%)
Makiko *(Hana yori dango)*	13	surname-*san* (7.7%), name-*chan* (92.3%)
Yūki *(Hana yori dango)*	9	*anta* (11.1%), name (88.9%)
	153	

Fig. 32 Second person – major characters (interactions with peers)

21 Karin uses the term *yōseisan* (lit. Mr. Fairy) to address her friend as a hint to his Halloween costume.

While an inclination towards the use of nominal expression can be perceived in the language of major characters, a tendency to address their peers (very often friends or classmates) by the pronominal expressions *anata* and *anta* is apparent. The transition from nominal expression to pronominal always indexes a change in the character's stance towards the addressee. In the first example, Yūki (*Hana yori dango),* the protagonist's long-time friend, refers to the protagonist by her name during a short reminiscence. In the second example, which occurred during the same conversation scene, Yūki expresses her disbelieve about the protagonist's unfavourable description of her school's famous boy clique.

(1) *Tsukushi tte sa chūgaku n toki gakkyū i' in yatte ta n ja n*

You worked as a class president at junior high school, right?

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, *Hana yori dango*, vol. 1)

(2) *Anta kitanai wa nē*

It's you, who is nasty.

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, *Hana yori dango*, vol. 1)

However, as some of the major characters can be interpreted as acting as the voice of reason, or if not reason, then a voice of a more pro-active attitude, they are sometimes used to criticise the main character's behaviour. An example of such a character is Karin (*Romantica Clock*). She is the only character who prefers pronominal (*anta*) forms to nominal, as she often points out or corrects the protagonist's faults. Mikado (*P to JK*) goes even further and once she utilizes the derogatory term *temē* with strong masculine connotations when she reprimands her best friend. In this particular scene, Mikado is annoyed by the protagonist's low spirits (caused by her being rejected by her love interest):

(1) *Nanka mō bunnaguru zo temē*

You idiot, I'm gonna beat your ass.

(interaction with a friend of the same gender, *P to JK*, vol. 1)

Her annoyance and radical stance toward her best friend's feelings is depicted by the use of *temē*. Besides *temē* Mikado also used two other insulting (or derogatory) terms towards Kako in a different scene. In both cases it is again to harass the protagonist to get her out of her dejection. The social and psychological distance between both interlocutors is small, meaning that these uses are permissible and do not create (strong and lasting) offense with the addressee.

Major characters	**Tokens (total)**	**Second person expressions**
Reina *(Haru matsu bokura)*	1	name-*chan* (100%)
Karin *(Romantica Clock)*	2	*okāsan* (50%), name-*chan* (50%)
Mikado *(P to JK)*	3	*anta* (33.3%), *temē* (33.3%), *nēchan (33.3%)*
	6	

Fig. 33 Second person – major characters (other interactions)

The interactions listed above included a soliloquy (Reina) and interactions with a mother (Karin), a known adult (Mikado), a known child (Karin), and an older sister (Mikado). The second use of *temē* was by the best friend of the protagonist of the manga *P to JK*. Her utterance is aimed at a young policeman. However, rather than a part of a dialogue, it should be interpreted as a background comment to the main interaction ongoing between the said policeman and the protagonist.

(1) *Temē otome no yūki shikato ka yo'*

You bastard, do you ignore maidenly courage?!

(interaction with a known adult, *P to JK*, vol. 1)

Similarly, the use of *anta* by the same character happens also during the interaction

with the policeman, who is the protagonist's love interest. In comparison with the second person use of other major characters, Mikado (*P to JK*) uniquely employs a more aggressive speech style utilizing expressions classified as masculine (*kimi*, *temē*).

5.5.3 The cases of Chihaya and the '*burikko*'

Chihaya, the main character of the manga *Chihayafuru* (volume 1), appears briefly as an 18-year old young woman on a two-page spread and in one panel in a short prologue. The remaining five chapters contain a volume-length flashback to the time when the protagonist was an elementary school student and found her passion for *karuta*, a Japanese card game, through an encounter with one of her classmates. The second volume then follows Chihaya in high school, but again with flashbacks to both her elementary school and junior high school years.

Chihaya as senior high schooler uses *watashi* as her primary (and only) means of self-reference. In this she is no different from the majority of analysed protagonists. Chihaya both as an elementary school student and as a junior high school student (presumably[22]), uses *atashi* as a primary self-reference form. This transition from the casual feminine *atashi* towards the more formal *watashi* denotes Chihaya's maturing.

(1) *Okāsan* <u>*atashi*</u> *D kyū de yūshō shita n da yo*

Mum, I won in the D group!

(JHS student Chihaya, interaction with her mother, *Chihayafuru*, vol.2)

(2) <u>*Watashi*</u> *wa buji ni kōkōsei ni natta*

Without trouble I became a high school student.

(SHS student Chihaya, soliloquy, *Chihayafuru*, vol.2)

22 The data of Chihaya as a junior high school student are unfortunately extremely limited.

However, it is necessary to note that another protagonist, namely Futaba from *Aoharaido*, whose story also starts with the opening chapter taking place during her junior high school days, consistently uses only watashi throughout the analysed material. And similarly, Akane from *Romantica Clock*, who remains a junior high school student (except a few short reminiscences about her childhood in chapters 1 and 3) for the duration of the whole narrative, also primarily uses *watashi*. So, while in the case of Chihaya, the author decided to depict the protagonist's aging also by the change of her choice of first person, it is not a universally utilized strategy and could rather be perceived as an artistic choice.

The manga *Aoharaido* features Yūri, the main protagonist's classmate, who eventually becomes the main heroine's friend as the story progresses. She is ostracized by the other girls in her class and is directly branded as a '*burikko*' by them due to her popularity among boys. This her female classmates perceive as a direct result of Yūri's overly feminine behaviour. However, while it is possible to argue that, in comparison to the other teenage girls of this manga, Yūri's speech might be considered slightly more feminine, this fact is not reflected in Yūri's utilization of first and second person expressions, which bear no significant differences to that of other characters. Inversely, Yūri is not labelled negatively as a *burikko* due to her use of first and second person expressions.

5.5.4 The language of minor characters

The female characters appearing in the selected manga who were classified as minor were chiefly classmates or schoolmates appearing in the background. They were mostly left unnamed and their minor role in the narrative was often marked also by how they were visually depicted (drawn in less detail, typified). In the majority of instances their input for the story were cases of isolated utterances. This also means the data acquired from their speech are relatively scarce, limited mostly to interactions

with other class/schoolmates. For this reason, minor characters appearing in the corpus are dealt with here as a bulk by individual manga titles (not as individual characters). This does not mean the individual utterances were not regarded as belonging to a particular character during the time of the analysis, as the minor characters are those who show the highest possibility of the occurrence of *yakuwarigo*, but rather, the findings are here presented in a summarized manner.

5.5.4.1 First person in the language of minor characters

The table below shows the total number of first person expressions utilized by the minor characters together with the percentage of use of each respective expression.

Minor characters	**Tokens (total)**	**First person expressions**
Aoharaido	1	*watashi* (100%)
Chihayafuru JHS	2	*atashi* (100%)
Chihayafuru SHS	0	-
Haru matsu bokura	5	*atashi* (60%), *jibun* (20%), *uchi(ra)* (20%)
Orange	2	*watashi* (100%)
Tsubasa to hotaru	1	*watashi* (100%)
Strobe Edge	10	*watashi(tachi)* (90%), *onēsama* (10%)
Omoi, omoware, furi, furare	2	*watashi* (100%)
Romantica Clock	3	*watashi(tachi)* (100%)
P to JK	0	-
Hana yori dango	10	*atashi* (60%), *watashi(tachi)* (40%)
	36	

Fig. 34 First person – minor characters

The interactants in all instances of minor characters included friends, classmates, older and younger schoolmates; once, an unknown person of the same age; once

a teacher, and once a younger brother. In other words, the interactions were happening mostly within a minimal social distance and very often within also a relatively small psychological distance. As seen in the table above, *watashi* prevailed as the most recurrent first person term, with the feminine casual *atashi* being the second most frequent. With exception of one isolated use of *uchira* and *jibun*, no non-standard expressions, or masculine expressions appeared in the corpus. The only nominal self-reference is found in the speech of Mayuka[23], an older sister of the protagonist's friend in *Strobe Edge*. In her speech Mayuka jokingly reminds her brother to entertain her during their meeting.

(1) *Nani yo. Motto yorokobi nasai yo. Sekkaku onēsama ga kite ageta no ni.*

What's this? Be more cheerful since your big sister generously came to see you.

(interaction with a younger brother, *Strobe Edge*, vol.1)

In the following conversation Mayuka uses *watashi*, which leads to the assumption that it is her primary self-reference expression even during interactions with her brother.

5.5.4.2 Second person in the language of minor characters

When examining the use of second person expressions, it is apparent that while it could be expected that the minor characters might employ non-standard pronominal second person variants more often, in reality, there exists an almost unanimous tendency to use nominal expressions such as personal names or surnames, either with honorific suffixes or without.

23 While Mayuka is supposed to be working as a model, she is her brother's and the main heroine's senior only by two years, which leaves her within the scope of interest of this study.

Minor characters	Tokens (total)	Second person expression
Aoharaido	2	surname (50%), name (50%)
Chihayafuru JHS	3	surname-*san* (66.7%), name-*chan* (33.3%)
Chihayafuru SHS	4	surname-*san* (25%), nickname-*chan* (25%), nickname-*kun* (50%)
Haru matsu bokura	10	surname-*san* (60%), surname-*kun* (30%), name-*kun* (10%)
Orange	8	name (100%)
Tsubasa to hotaru	6	surname-*san* (50%), name (50%)
Strobe Edge	11	*anta* (9.1%), name (81.8%), name-*chan* (9.1%)
Omoi, omoware, furi, furare	2	surname-*san* (100%)
Romantica Clock	10	surname-*san* (80%), name-*senpai* (10%), *senpai* (10%)
P to JK	0	-
Hana yori dango	3	surname-*san* (100%)
	59	

Fig. 35 Second person – minor characters

The only instance of utilization of a pronominal expression was the use of *anta* in the manga *Strobe Edge*, where one of the protagonist's friends chastises her for accidentally cheering for a boy from a rival class during a sports match.

(1) *Chotto anta, sore wa shōjikisugi'*

Hey, this was too honest of you.

(interaction with a friend, *Strobe Edge*, vol.1)

The presented data lead to the conclusion that from the perspective of self-reference and second person reference expressions, the speech of minor characters can be seen as employing almost exclusively expressions categorized as feminine.

5.5.5 Discussion

As apparent from the tables and the commentary above, there is a strong general tendency towards a low variation of self and second person reference terms in the speech of characters in the collected data. In other words, each individual *shōjo manga* character usually utilizes only one primary self-reference expression and very often also a quite limited number of second person words. This tendency is the most prevalent in the case of main characters. Also, the change in an address term is often a direct index of a narrative event or used to depict a change of psychological stance of the character. In the case of protagonists, a change in the second person address term (e.g., from a surname suffixed with the honorific *-san* to a personal name without suffixes) indicates a change on the axis of psychological distance. The biggest variation in second person reference/address terms was observed among the major characters. In their case a transitioning between the use of an interactant's name and pronominal expression rather indicated a change in psychological stance (a momentary change on the psychological axis).

One of the reasons for the low variation among the used expressions is the nature of *shōjo manga* narratives. The discourse in *shōjo manga* follows the code of realism, and while the discussed topics often include the character's emotions, the speech remains casual as would be expected from teenagers. Moreover, while an appearance of a new character or progress in an existing relationship is often one of the key elements of the plot, the character groups are stable on the axis of social distance and relatively stable on the axis of psychological distance. Together with the low social gap, it makes the use of more formal expression (i.e., *watakushi* for women; *watashi* for men) unnecessary. There is no switching between codes.

Shibamoto Smith (2004) during her research on the use of gender normative language in romance fiction aimed at adult women noticed that romance heroines in *happī-endo* (lit. happy-end) romance stories used *watashi* more often than

the protagonists of tragic romance novels who used other feminine expressions such as *atashi*, *uchi* or even one's name more often. Shibamoto Smith then suggest that:

> "Women in love should stick to *watashi* rather than turning to more "feminine" forms of self-reference. Certain kinds of hyperfemininity are, it seems, not desirable." (Shibamoto Smith 2004, 123)

Her findings do indeed correspond to the results of the corpus analysis presented in this study, as the *shōjo manga* protagonists also largely used *watashi* for self-reference. As romance was one of the main, if not fundamental, themes in all of the analysed *shōjo manga* works, it can be assumed that a trend similar to adult romance stories is at play here as well. Moreover, as Hiramoto (2013) also links the use of gender normative expressions with a fictional character's desirability, it is very likely that a romance story heroine regardless of her age should present herself by use of the most prestigious *watashi* to convey her feminine attractiveness.

The technical explanation for this relatively low variation in first and second person reference is its use as a reader-friendly device. Using one primary means of self-reference and being stable in the use of the second person towards individual addressees may help the reader to easily ascribe each utterance to its producer even in scenes where the speech balloons are either placed too far from the character, or have no tails linking them with their speakers or appear in a panel otherwise devoid of speaking entities. It would be beneficial to see whether a bigger variation in person markers is found in manga aimed at an older and more experienced readership.

5.5.6 *Shōjo manga* and *yakuwarigo*, the use of *uchi*(*ra*)

While the speech of all *shōjo manga* characters exhibits at least to some extent characteristics of *onna kotoba* (listed as 'female language' in the *yakuwarigo* table Fig. 9), there was overall no significant occurrence of pronominal expressions typical for *yakuwarigo* belonging to a more specific social group or subgroup (e.g., *ojōsama*

language or a delinquent girl language) or idiosyncratic non-standard pronominal expressions, implying they are part of specific character's idiolect, i.e., character language. Even though the manga *Hana yori dango* takes place at an elite urban high school, no character uses the self-reference expressions *atakushi* or *watakushi*, which are directly categorized as typical for the *ojōsama* language (Kinsui 2014, 204). However, in comparison with other manga works, a relatively higher occurrence of sentence-final particles categorized as part of *onna kotoba* (*noyo*, *wayo* etc.) is in fact present in the speech of female characters in *Hana yori dango*. This may, however, be explained also by this work being older than *shōjo manga* works included in the corpus (*Hana yori dango* was first published in 1992, while the rest of the titles originates from 2000–2015).

In the analysed corpus, several characters used *uchi* and the plural form *uchira* as the first person expressions. Kinsui in his dictionary of *yakuwarigo* expressions defines *uchi* as a first person pronoun in Kansai dialect, often used by women, where the original idea of *uchi* meaning literally household, home expanded to identify first person as well (2014, 25). He subsequently identifies two main uses of *uchi* as *yakuwarigo* – the first is its utilization in the Ōsaka/Kansai dialect for characters of young women (*ibid.*, 25); the second is a use of *uchi* as an element of *gyarugo* (lit. language of *gyaru*, *gals*)[24] a language of young female fashionistas and as Kinsui notes, in this case, its second person counterpart is *anta* (*ibid.*, 26).

The language of the analysed major and minor characters did not contain other elements of *gyarugo* (such as popular abbreviations or copula). Neither could the characters be immediately placed as *gyaru* by visual clues (typical fashion and styling choices) meaning they were not intended to be depicted as members

24 A loanword g*yaru*, from an English word "girl", is nowadays usually understood as a term for a member of a fashion subculture which experienced its heyday during late 1990s and early 2000s. Consequently, *gyarugo* is viewed as a sociolect of these extravagant fashion-conscious young women. It emerged in the Shibuya area, and as such it is a part of *wakamono kotoba*. For further information regarding *gyaru*/*kogyaru* slang and features, see for example Miller (2004b) or Tanabe (2005). Miller (2011) also further explains the use of subversive script, so-called *gyaru moji* (lit. 'gyaru characters'), during electronic communication among young Japanese women.

of the *gyaru*/*kogyaru* subculture. However, drawing on the close relation between *gyarugo* and *wakamono kotoba* (lit. young people's language) or *shinhōgen* (lit. 'new dialects') in general (Miller 2004b, 232), I suggest the use of the first person expression *uchi*, or more precisely its plural form *uchira*, and the second person *anta* by *shōjo manga* characters does not fall into the *yakuwarigo* category, but rather denotes a very casual speech act performed by a character who can be perceived as active, lively and vigorous (as a counterpart to a more studious or serious type of character).

6. Analysis summary

The analysis of the use of first and second person among junior high school girls and by *shōjo manga* characters conducted in the previous chapters is now used to discuss the questions posed in Chapter 3.

Question i. Does *shōjo manga* promote traditional/stereotypical usage of a gender specific language? Or does the speech of teenage girl characters in fact contain a significant number of masculine socio-person forms?

I demonstrated that the female characters in manga do not often venture into the masculine socio-person deictic territory, and while *shōjo manga* works follow the code of realism with regard to the use of casual speech by their characters, and with regard to the employment of pronominal second person expressions to convey the character's psychological stance towards the addressee (e.g., criticism, conflict talk), this was still (mostly) done within the realms of gender normative expressions, and masculine forms were used only in a very limited number of cases.

When it comes to the use of masculine first person expressions, no character could be labelled as *orekko* or *bokukko* (lit. "girl using *ore*" and lit. "girl using *boku*"). The results of the *shōjo manga* corpus analysis as they were presented in the previous chapter, reveal that all protagonists used first person expressions (that is *watashi* and *atashi)*, which are when used in an informal context, classified as feminine. Uses of other expressions (still categorized as feminine) by the protagonists appeared only in a limited number of isolated cases. No masculine self-reference expressions were used either by the protagonist, or by other female characters. Masculine self-reference terms were used neither as a primary self-referencing expression, nor as a secondary means of first person deixis. I also suggest that the use of *watashi* by 90% of the protagonists is in correspondence with Shibamoto Smith's (2004) findings

concerning romance novel heroines and that the overall use of traditionally feminine first person terms in *shōjo manga* implies that the genre is conforming to the ideology of gendered language. In this sense, *shōjo manga* can be considered a medium promoting traditional gender specific usage of socio-person deictic terms.

Question: **ii. Which socio-person deictic expressions can be found in *shōjo manga* (first and second person)? How many forms does an individual female manga character use? How varied are those forms? Does *yakuwarigo* or character language play a major role in the distribution of certain personal reference forms?**

The findings of the corpus analysis have shown that the number of socio-person deictic forms each individual character uses in various contexts is, in fact, rather limited. The majority of *shōjo manga* protagonists utilize only one self-reference expression throughout all the data, and (90% of the time it is *watashi)*. Additionally, among other types of characters (major and minor) *atashi*, an expression categorized as feminine, also occurs often. The plural form of *uchi* – *uchira* appears in the speech of major characters and I suggest this use implies very casual speech by active, vigorous characters pointing towards a group they identify with.

Quite interestingly, it is not the protagonist, but major characters (and also minor characters), who show a bigger variation in self-reference use. In the majority of interactions the protagonists of shōjo manga constantly used only one self-reference expression. Very few cases of the utilization of other first person words could be found. The strong prevalence of *watashi* among the protagonists is also in concurrence with Shibamoto Smith's (2004, 122) findings regarding the use of self-reference expressions among adult romance heroines. The characters categorized as major, that is mostly friends and schoolmates of the protagonists, used more than one self-reference expression – often as their main first person expression in combination with the plural form *uchira*. Two characters from the manga *Orange* used three individual expressions (*watashi*, *atashi*, and the plural form *uchira*), but they were, however, an exception.

The overall number of second person expressions the characters used in their speech may give an impression of a bigger variation. However, *shōjo manga* characters tend mostly to use one or two expressions toward each respective addressee. The most consistently used expressions are often nominal, i.e., the addressee character's name or surname usually with a honorific suffix. When the relationship between the interlocutors

changes during the narrative, this change is reflected in one nominal form being replaced by another. In the case of major *shōjo manga* characters, the tendency to have a repertoire consisting of two second person expressions to be used with their peers, is noticeable – one is a generally used nominal expression and the other is a pronominal form (mostly *anata*, *anta*) which the character utilizes during conflict talk or to voice criticism.

I argued that the low variation and consistency in the use of the first and the second person might be also influenced by the technical aspect of the medium – the low variation may also be a device helping the reader navigate the panels and speech bubbles.

The elements of a blanket *yakuwarigo* category – that is *onna kotoba* (women's language), which is based on the ideology of gender normative speech, and is generally used for female characters (unless they are characterized as belonging to a specific subgroup by employing a more distinct *yakuwarigo* type) – did in fact play a notable role in the use of first and second person. In other words, the characters in *shōjo manga* utilized deictic expressions which are considered to be elements of women's language. Notwithstanding what has just been said, the more specific *yakuwarigo* types as outlined in section 2.5.2 had little to no influence on the choice of socio-person deictic terms by *shōjo manga* characters. I also suggested that the use of *uchi*, or more precisely *uchira,* by a certain type of character (brisk and active friend of a protagonist), is more frequent, but this usage is not considered a part of the existing *yakuwarigo*.

Question iii. **Does the speech of manga characters reflect the trends in the speech of junior high school girls?**

While it could be expected that the language used in fiction would differ vastly from that produced naturally by actual speakers of Japanese, and that it would feature a considerable amount of non-standard expressions, medium-specific terms and masculine words, some having a negative influence on the speech of young Japanese women, the findings of this study suggest general trends and tendencies in the language of teenage girls are reflected in the speech of characters of *shōjo manga*.

The most substantial similarities were observed in the use of the second person. Both the respondents of the survey and the manga characters appeared to follow the basic politeness rule of Japanese – to try to avoid pronominal address and to give preference to nominal expressions. For the pronominal second person, the expressions as listed in order of frequency by the junior high school students, were *anata*, *kimi*, *omae*, and *anta.* The characters in manga used *anta* and *anata* most frequently. The most marked difference is thus the near absence of *kimi* (only one instance of usage of *kimi* appeared in the corpus) and *omae* (used only once in the plural form *omaera*) in the speech of *shōjo manga* female characters.

It was proven that both junior high school girls and female characters in manga do not employ traditionally masculine first person terms. None was observed in the speech of manga characters, while among the respondents only 4% would admit to using them. Junior high school girls reported using a relatively large spectrum of self-reference expressions, but this was not observed among the fictional characters. Real-life interactions between peers or among family members were quite rich with self-reference expressions the respondents admitted to using. Here *watashi*, *uchi*, *atashi*, one's name and *jibun* were the most frequently listed words. This spectrum was not fully reflected in the language of fictional characters: *Uchi*, a newly emerged first person form, was used in singular form in a very limited number of cases and its plural form *uchira* appeared as a term designating a group the speaker explicitly counted

herself a part of. Self-reference using one’s first name appeared only in a few isolated cases.

It can thus be concluded that *shōjo manga* only partially reflects the reported tendencies in the language of teenage girls.

Question iv. **Is the targeted readership aware of the forms used in this medium?**

To satisfy this question, the respondents were presented with two manga scenes, where they were asked to select first and second person terms their favourite manga protagonist would use. In general, the results indicate that girls favour very similar options to those they admit using themselves and therefore they see the usage of socio-person deictics as similar to their own.

In case of first person expressions, the ratio of the respondents' answers is as follows: *watashi* 58%, *atashi* 12%, one's name 11% and *uchi* 10%. However, when comparing these statistics with the findings from the *shōjo manga* corpus, a marked difference can be observed. While the perceived prevalence of the use of *watashi* by protagonists and similarly the occurrence of *atashi*[25] is supported by the data from the corpus, neither instances of a protagonist primarily using her own name, nor a protagonist using *uchi* to frequently refer to herself, exist in the corpus data[26]. Even though it may be argued that *uchira*, the plural form of *uchi*, was observed in the speech of *shōjo manga* major characters, the same cannot be said for self-reference by one own's name.

For the second person, 35% of the respondents would in the manga scene use a nominal expression, 25% *anta*, 23% *anata*, 8.6% *kimi* and 2.5% *omae*. The relatively high percentage of nominal expressions and feminine expressions *anta* and *anata* is observed also in the analysis of the corpus, which points out to the respondents' awareness of expressions used in *shōjo manga*. However, the appearance of *kimi* among the respondents' answers can be explained by the respondents being influenced by their own usage of this expression. As I showed, *kimi* occurred only once in the *shōjo manga* corpus. In comparison with the corpus data, the speech of *shōjo manga* protagonists tends towards a high use of nominal expressions, whereas the use of nominal and pronominal expressions as perceived by the teenage girls, is more balanced. However,

25 Out of 11 protagonists, one character uses *atashi*. It is also partially used by another character.
26 Both *uchi* and own's name were extremely isolated and rather specific in the manga corpus.

the popularity of pronominal second person options may also be accounted for by the fact that in the survey the respondents were not given any information regarding the depicted characters’ names and relationship, thus the respondents relied on their interpretation of what they saw in the manga image, and while not having an addressed character’s name, they opted for pronominal expressions.

The respondents’ experience as readers of *shōjo manga* presumably influenced their caution in choosing masculine pronominal expressions. They are at least partially aware that the use of expressions traditionally characterized as masculine in *shōjo manga* is generally very low and limited only to isolated cases of second person. The respondents seem to feel the language of *shōjo manga* characters is somewhat close to their own, yet they still perceive it as slightly more feminine.

7. Conclusions

Natural unscripted speech would without doubt always present a more diverse and varied picture than the language of fiction, which is limited not only by our restricted ability to copy natural speech in script and by the author's imaginative powers, but also by various cultural, ideological and editorial restrictions. The present study has in previous chapters compared the speech of teenage girls based on a self-report survey to the speech of *shōjo manga* characters from a corpus of manga titles the respondents themselves listed as their favourites.

Manga has been criticized for using language defying the norm. While it was expected that fictional characters would use language defying the normative ideology of gendered language and that *shōjo manga* characters would to some extent employ masculine socio-person deictic terms, the presented study has however shown that it is, in fact, the actual speakers of Japanese who use a more varied language when it comes to gendered expressions. Although the amount of both first and second person masculine expressions the junior high school girls admitted to using was still somewhat limited (especially in the case of self-reference), the results of the survey among the teenage girls suggest that the vast majority of junior high school students do not seem to utilize the so-called masculine first person forms *ore* and *boku* very often, even in interactions with their peers. The respondents were even more reluctant to ascribe those terms to their favourite *shōjo manga* protagonist. These data clearly show that Japanese junior high school girls do not associate masculine self-referencing terms with *shōjo manga*.

The so-called masculine second person expressions, *kimi* and *omae*, as well as the derogatory *temē* appeared in the survey mostly in the context of interactions between peers (friends, classmates etc.) and with younger siblings. The respondents would occasionally ascribe these expressions to *shōjo manga* characters, but yet in the corpus these words were found only in extremely limited instances. Apart from

this, the language use of readers and their heroines remained relatively alike in their use of feminine language elements.

In fact, junior high school girls tend to perceive the language of protagonists as closer to Standard Japanese than the language they reported they themselves used. This seems in support of Kinsui's statement that protagonists should use language which is un-marked with regards to *yakuwarigo*. *Shōjo manga* thus can be perceived to be a medium with very little, if any, subversive power when it comes to the use of the first and second person forms.

In point of fact, the socio-person forms appearing in the *shōjo manga* corpus tend to be more traditionally feminine than those appearing in the respondents' answers. This means that *shōjo manga* is an unlikely source of masculine expressions. The consumption of this medium therefore hardly has any influence on the possible use of masculine first and second person terms by female students. This can be explained by editorial choices where characters are made to refrain from using expressions which may be frowned upon: Characters shun both masculine expressions and also self-reference by one's name (which I suggested can be viewed as a facet of *amae* behaviour in the case of actual teenage speakers). This study concludes that *shōjo manga* should be viewed as a medium that maintains the status quo of appropriate gender-specific language.

Bibliography

‘Anta’. *Weblio.*[online] Available at: https://www.weblio.jp/content/あんた [Accessed 12 Dec. 2019].

Abe, Hideko. 2010. “Lesbian Bar Talk.” In H. Abe *Queer Japanese*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010, 33–51.

Adnyani, Kadek Eva Krishna. 2017. “Do Japanese Mothers Talk Differently to Daughters than Sons?: A Study of Bikago (Beautified Speech).” In *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 134, 73–77.

Aoyama, Tomoko, et al. 2010. “Shōjo Manga: Past, Present, and Future—An Introduction.” In *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, 38, 3–11.

Barešová, Ivona and Kloutvorová Hana. 2016. “The Use of the Second Person Anata as Perceived by Current Japanese University Students.” In *Czech and Slovak Linguistic Review*, 2, 46–60.

Barke Andrew and Satoshi Uehara. 2005. “Japanese Pronouns of Address: Their Behavior and Maintenance over Time.” In S. Ide and R. Lakoff (eds.), *Broadening the Horizon of Linguistic Politeness*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 301–313.

Bartlett, James and Joe Kotrlik and Chadwick Higgins. 2001. “Organizational Research: Determining Appropriate Sample Size for Survey Research.” In *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal.* 19(1), 43–50.

Bednarek, Monika. 2017. “The Role of Dialogue in Fiction.” In M. Locher and A. Jucker (eds.) *Pragmatics of Fiction*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter Mouton, 129–158.

Behrens, Kazuko Y. 2004. “A Multifaceted View of the Concept of Amae: Reconsidering the Indigenous Japanese Concept of Relatedness.” In *Human Development*, 47(1), 1–27.

Benveniste, Èmile. 1973. *Problems in General Linguistics, Miami linguistics series*. University of Miami Press.

Berndt, Enno and Jaqueline Berndt. 2015. “Magazines and Books – Changes in the Manga Market.” In J. Berndt (ed.) *Manga: Medium, Art and Material*, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 227–239.

Blommaert, Jan. 1999. “The Debate is Open.” In J. Blommaert (ed.) *Language Ideological Debates*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyer, 1–38.

Bramlett, Frank. 2012. “Linguistic Codes and Character Identity in Afro Samurai.” In F. Bramlett (ed.) *Linguistics and the Study of Comics*, London: Palgrave Macmillan,183–209.

Braun, Friederike. 1988. *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenner, Robin. 2007. *Understanding Manga and Anime*. Westport: Libraries Unlimited.

Brienza, Casey. 2016. *Manga in America: Transnational Book Publishing and the Domestication of Japanese Comics*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Brown Roger and Albert Gilman. 1960. “The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity.” In T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*. Cambridge: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 253–276.

Bühler, Karl. 2011. *Theory of Language: The representational function of language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cohen, Jonathan. 2006. “Audience Identification with Media Characters.” In J. Bryant and P. Vorderer (eds.), *Psychology of entertainment.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 183–197.

Cooke, Joseph. 1968. *Pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Linguistics.

Daijirin Daisanban. 2006. Akira Matsumura (ed.). Tōkyō: Sanseidō.

Daijisen. 2012. Akira Matsumura (ed.). Tōkyō: Shōgakukan.

Dickey, Eleanor. 1997. “Forms of Address and Terms of Reference.” In *Journal of Linguistics*, 33(2), 255–274.

Dynel, Marta. 2011. “Stranger than Fiction?: A Few Methodological Notes on Linguistic Research in Film Discourse.” In *Brno Studies in English*, 37(1), 41–61.

Doi, Takeo. 1973. *The Anatomy of Dependence*. Tokyo, New York: Kodansha International.

Endō, Orie. 2006. *A Cultural History of Japanese Women's Language*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.

Englebretson, Robert. 2007. “Grammatical Resources for Social Purposes: Some Aspects of Stancetaking.” In R. Englebretson (ed.) *Colloquial Indonesian Conversation*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 69–110.

Fillmore, Charles. 1975. *Santa Cruz lectures on deixis: 1971*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Finegan, Edward. 2011. *Language: Its Structure and Use*. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning

Fujii, Akihiro. 1977. “The First and Second Person Pronouns in Japanese – From the Sociolinguistic Perspective – .” In *Kagawa Daigaku Ippan Kyōiku Kenkyū*, 11, 41–63.

Fujii, Yoko. 2013. “Social Indexicality of the “Zero” Form of Address Terms in Japanese: The Interpretation from the Amae Concept on the Basis of “Inseparable Self and the Other”.” In *Journal of Faculty of Humanities*, 62, Japan Women's University, 23–34.

Gravett, Paul. 2010. *Manga: 60 Years of Japanese Comics*. New York: Collins Design.

Hashiguchi, Miki. 1998. “On the History of the Japanese Second Person Pronoun Anata.” In *Annals of fitness and sports sciences*, 19, 55–63.

Hendry, Joy. 2016. “The Use and Abuse of Politeness Formulae: Some Social Implications.” In J. Hendry (ed.) *An Anthropological Lifetime in Japan: The Writings of Joy Hendry*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 239–249.

Hinds, John, 1982. *Ellipsis in Japanese*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research,

———. 1986. *Japanese: Descriptive Grammar*. London/Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm.

Hiramoto, Mie. 2013. “Hey, You're a Girl?”: Gendered Expressions in the Popular Anime, “Cowboy Bebop”. In *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 32(1), 51–78.

Hishikari, Chika. 2007. “Jishō daimeishi no shiyō ni kan suru chōsa kenkyū: shutoken no jakunensō wo taishō to shite” [A Survey of the Use of First-person Pronouns by Young People in the Tōkyō Metropolitan Area]. In *Tōkyō Joshi Daigaku Genkyo Bunka Kenkyū*, [online] 16, 33–49. Available at: https://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110007172900 [Accessed 15 Jul. 2018].

Honda, Yuki. 2011. *Gakkō no kūki: Wakamono no kibun* [The Atmosphere at Schools: Young People’s Mood]. Tōkyō: Iwanami.

Christofaki, Rodanthi. 2018. “Expressing the Self in Japanese.” In K. Jaszcolt and M. Huang (eds.) *Expressing the Self: Cultural Diversity and Cognitive Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 72–87.

Ide, Sachiko. 1975. “Language of Inferior Status: A Universal Feature of Women's Language.” In *Studies in English and American Literature: Essays in Honour of Professor Tano Jodai's Eighty-Eighth Birthday.* Department of English, Japan Women's University, 312–320.

———. 1982. “Japanese Sociolinguistics: Politeness and Women's Language.” In *Lingua*, 57(2–4), 357–385.

———. 1989. “How and Why Do Women Speak More Politely in Japanese?” In *Studies in English and American Literature*, 24, 1–19.

———. 1990. “Person References of Japanese and American Children.” In S. Ide and N. Hanaoka McGloin (eds.) *Aspects of Japanese Women‘s Language*, 1st ed., Kurosio Publishers, 43–63.

Igartua, Juan-José. 2010. “Identification With Characters And Narrative Persuasion Through Fictional Feature Films.” In *Communications*, 35(4), 347–373.

Ingulsrud John and Kate Allen. 2009. *Reading Japan Cool: Patterns of Manga Literacy and Discourse*. Lexington Books.

Inoue, Miyako. 2003. “Speech Without a Speaking Body: “Japanese Women’s Language” in Translation.” In *Language & Communication*, 23(3–4), 315–330.

———. 2006. *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ishiyama, Osamu. 2008. *Diachronic perspectives on personal pronouns in Japanese*. Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo, doctoral dissertation.

Ito, Rika. 2005. “Boku or Watashi: Variation in Self-reference Terms Among Japanese Children.” In *RANS. Internet-Zeitschrift*

für Kulturwissenschaften, [online], 16. Available at: http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/01_4/ito16.htm [Accessed 15 Jul. 2018].

Johnson-Woods, Toni. 2010. *An Anthology of Global and Cultural Perspectives*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Kajino, Sakiko. 2010. "Indexing Intimacy, Childishness and Femininity through Non-Pronominal Self-Reference in Japanese." In *Proceedings of the 6th Biennial International Gender and Language Association Conference*, Tokyo: Tsuda College, 164–176.

Kálovics, Dalma. 2016. "The Missing Link of Shōjo Manga History: The Changes in 60s Shōjo Manga As Seen through the Magazine *Shūkan Margaret*." In *Kyōto Seika Daigaku Kiyō*, 49, 3–22.

Kamei, Keiichi. 2018. *Pirate Sites Loot Japanese Publishers' Manga Sales*. [online] Nikkei Asian Review. Available at: https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Business-trends/Pirate-sites-loot-Japanese-publishers-manga-sales [Accessed 5 May 2019].

Kinsui, Satoshi. 2003. *Vācharu Nihongo: yakuwarigo no nazo* [Virtual Japanese: Enigmas of Role Language]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Kinsui, Satoshi (ed.). 2014. *Yakuwarigo shōjiten* [Consice Dictionary of *Yakuwarigo*]. Tōkyō: Kenkyūsha.

Kinsui, Satoshi and Hiroko Yamakido. 2015. "Role Language and Character Language." In *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*, 5(2), 29–42.

Koh Haejin and Ho-min Sohn. 2006. "Chapter 12. Usage of Korean Address and Reference Terms." In *Korean Language in Culture and Society.* University of Hawai'i Press, 132–154.

Komikku Natarī (website). 2014. "Takano Ichigo 'Orange' yaku ichinen buri no saishinwa, Gekkan akushon ni" [The latest chapter after a one year break: Takano

Ichigo's Orange in Monthly Action Magazine]. [online]
Available at: https://natalie.mu/comic/news/110591 [Accessed 10 September 2019]

Kozloff, Sarah. 2000. *Overhearing Film Dialogue*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lakoff, Robin T. (1974). "Remarks on This and That." In *Papers from the Tenth Regional Meeting*, Chicago Linguistic Society, 345–356.

Lee, Duck-Young and Yoko Yonezawa. 2008. "The Role of the Overt Expression of First and Second Subject in Japanese." In *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 733–767.

Levinson, Stephen. 1983. *Pragmatics (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Luong, Hy V. 1990. *Discursive Practices and Linguistic Meaning: The Vietnamese System of Person Reference*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Macwilliams, Mark. 2008. *Japanese Visual Culture*. New York: M.E. Sharpe

Marmaridou, Sophia. 2000. *Pragmatic Meaning and Cognition*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Martin, Samuel E. 1988. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co.

Maynard, Senko K., 2001. "Expressivity in Discourse: Vocatives and Themes in Japanese." In *Language Sciences*, 23, 679–705.

McClure William. 2000. *Using Japanese: A Guide to Contemporary Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mikkonen, Kai. 2017. "Dialogue in comics: Medium-specific features and basic narrative functions." In J. Mildorf and B. Thomas (eds.) *Dialogue across Media*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 225–250.

Miller, Laura. 2004a. “You are Doing Burikko!.” In S. Okamoto and J. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 148–165.

———. 2004b. “Those Naughty Teenage Girls: Japanese Kogals, Slang, and Media Assessments.” In *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 14(2), 225–247.

———. 2011. “Subversive Script and Novel Graphs in Japanese Girls’ Culture.” In *Language & Communication*, 31(1), 16–26.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. 2019. *Monbukagaku tōkeiyōran (Heisei 28 nenban): Monbukagakushō* [Education, Culture, Sports, and Science Statistics Handbook (2016 Edition)]. [online]
Available at: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1368900.htm
[Accessed 21 May 2019].

Miyazaki, Ayumi. 2004. “Japanese Junior High School Girls’ and Boys’ First-Person Pronoun Use and Their Social World.” In S. Okamoto and J. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 256–274.

Mogi, Norie. 2002. “Japanese Ways of Addressing People.” In *Investigationes Linguisticae*, 8, 14–22.

Morita, Emi. 2003. “Children’s Use of Address and Reference Terms: Language Socialization in A Japanese-English Bilingual Environment.” In *Multilingua*, 22(4), 367–395.

Nakamura, Keiko. 2001. “Gender and Language in Japanese Preschool Children.” In *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 34, 15–43.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2006. “Creating Indexicality: Schoolgirl Speech in Meiji Japan.” In D. Cameron and D. Kulick (eds.) *The Language and Sexuality Reader*. London/New York: Routledge, 270–284.

———. 2008. “Masculinity and National Language: The Silent Construction of a Dominant Language Ideology.” In *Gender and Language*, 2(1), 25–50.

———. 2010. “Affect and Gender in Colonialism: Emotional Attachments to Japanese Women’s Language.” In *Proceedings of the 6th Biennial International Gender and Language Association Conference IGALA6*. Tokyo: Tsuda College, 7–16.

———. 2014. *Gender, Language and Ideology: A Genealogy of Japanese Women’s Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nariyama, Shigeko. 2003. *Ellipsis and Reference Tracking in Japanese*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Natsume, Fusanosuke and Takeuchi Osamu (eds.), 2009. *Mangagaku nyūmon* [Introduction to Manga Studies]. Kyōto: Minerva shobō.

Nishikawa, Yukiko. 2003. “Kodomono jishōshi no tsukaiwake: “ore” to iu jishōshi ni chakumoku shite” [The Use of Self-reference by Children: With the Focus on Self-reference Expression “Ore”]. In *Hattatsu shinrigaku Kenkyū*, [online], 14(1), 25–38. Available at: https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jjdp/14/1/14_KJ00001023943/_article/-char/ja/ [Accessed 15 Jul. 2018]

Nohara, Kanako. 2015. “Daigakusei no ichininshō no shiyō ni tsuite kenkyū” [The Use of the First Person Pronoun by Japanese College Students]. In *Utsunomiya kyōwa daigaku toshi keizai kenkyū nenpō*, 15, 91–122.

Nye Jr., Joseph. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs.

Ohara, Yumiko. 1999. “Performing Gender through Voice Pitch: A Cross-cultural Analysis of Japanese and American English.” In U. Pasero and F. Braun (eds.) *Wahrnehmung und Herstellung von Geschlecht*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 105–116.

Okamoto, Shigeko. 1995. “Tasteless Japanese. Less ‘Feminine’ Speech Among Young Japanese Women.” In K. Hall and M. Bucholtz (eds.), *Women and language: Gender articulate; language and the socially constructed self*, New York/London: Routledge, 297–328.

Ono Tsuyoshi and Sandra Thompson. 2003. “Japanese (W)atashi/Ore/Boku ‘I’: They’re Not Just Pronouns.” In *Cognitive Linguistics*, 14, 321–347.

Prough, Jennifer. 2018. “Reading Images, Visualizing Texts: Teaching Visual Analysis through Manga.” In *ASIANetwork Exchange*, 25(2), 100–116.

Rigaud, Christophe, Thanh-Nam Le, J.-C Burie, J.-M Ogier, Shoya Ishimaru, et al. 2016. “Semi-automatic Text and Graphics Extraction of Manga Using Eye Tracking Information.” In *12th IAPR Workshop on Document Analysis Systems (DAS)*, Santorini, Greece, 20–125.

Robertson, Wesley. 2017. “He’s More Katakana than Kanji: Indexing Identity and Self-presentation through Script Selection in Japanese Manga (Comics).” In *Journal of Sociolingustic*, 21(4), 497–520.

———. 2019. “Scripted Voices: Script’s Role in Creating Japanese Manga Dialogue.” In *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, 10 (1), 87–105.

Saegusa, Yūko. 2009. “Nihongo bogowasha no jishō ninshō daimeishi ni tsuite – shōgakusei, daigakusei e no chōsa kara –” [Self-reference Personal Pronouns among Japanese Native Speakers – from a Survey among Elementary School Students and University Students]. In *Ireoil munhak* (JALALIDA), 44, 99–107.

Sales of Digital Manga Overtake Print Editions in Japan for First Time. 2018. [online]. *The Japan Times*. Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/02/26/national/sales-digital-manga-overtake-print-editions-japan-first-time/ [Accessed 10 Mar 2019].

Schegloff, Emanuel. (1996). “Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-interaction: A Partial Sketch of a Systematics.” In B. Fox. (ed.), *Studies in Anaphora*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 437–485.

Schirato, Tony and Jen Webb. 2004. *Understanding the Visual*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.

Schwartz, Adam and Eliane Rubinstein-Ávila. 2006. “Understanding the Manga Hype: Uncovering the Multimodality of Comic-book Literacies.” In *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 50(1), 40–49.

Sepehribady, Azam. 2013. “Nihongo ni okeru jishō hyōgen” [Self-reference Expressions in Japanese]. In *Nihongo/Nihongo kyōiku kenkyū*, 4, 109–128.

Shibamoto Smith, Janet. 2003. “Gendered Structures in Japanese.” In H. Marlis and H. Bussmann (eds.), *Gender Across Languages: The Linguistic Representation of Women and Men.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 201–225.

———. 2004. “Language and Gender in the (Hetero)Romance: “Reading the Ideal Hero/ine through Lover’s Dialogue in Japanese Romance Fiction.” In S. Okamoto and J. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 113–130.

Shibamoto Smith, Janet and Debra J. Occhi. 2009. “The Green Leaves of Love: Japanese Romantic Heroines, Authentic Femininity, and Dialect.” In *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(4), 524–546.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1990. *The Languages of Japan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shimotani, Maki. 2012. “Shizen kaiwa ni okeru nininshō daimeishi ‘anata’ ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu: Ninshikiteki yūisei (Epistemic Primacy) o fumaete” [A Study of the Second Person ‘Anata’ in Natural Conversation: From the Perspective of

Epistemic Primacy]. In *Kansai Gaikokugo Daigaku Ryūgakusei Bekka Nihongo Kyōiku Ronshū*, 22, 63–96.

Shiraishi, Saya. 2013. *Gurōbaruka shita nippon no manga to anime* [Globalized Japanese Manga and Anime]. Tōkyō: Gakujutsu shuppankai.

Schodt, Frederik. 2011. *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press Inc.

Siewierska, Anna. 2004. *Person*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics.) Cambridge, New York, Port Melbourne, Madrid & Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Herman and Takako Nomi. 2000. "Is Amae the Key to Understanding Japanese Culture?" In *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, [online], 5. Available at:

https://www.sociology.org/ejs-archives/vol005.001/smith-nomi.html

[Accessed 10 Oct 2019]

SturtzSreetharan, Cindi. (2009): "'Ore' and 'Omae': Japanese Men's Uses of First- and Second-Person Pronouns." In *Pragmatics*, 19, 253–278.

Sugamoto, Nobuko. 1989. "Pronominality: A Noun-pronoun Continuum." In R. Corrigan, F. R. Eckman and M. Noonan (eds.), *Linguistic Categorization*, 1st ed., Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 267–291.

Sunaoshi, Yukako. 2004. "Farm Women's Professional Discourse in Ibaraki." In S. Okamoto and J. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 187–204.

Suzuki, Takao. 1986. "Language and Behavior in Japan: The Conceptualization of Personal Relations." In T. Sugiyama Lebra, W. P. Lebra (eds.) *Japanese Culture and Behavior*, University Press of Hawaii, 142–157.

Takahara Kumiko. 1992. “Second Person Deixis in Japanese and Power Semantics.” In *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 2, 117–128.

Tamaki Saitō. 2011. *Beautiful Fighting Girl.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tanabe, Kazuko. 2005. “Speech Patterns of Japanese Girls or Gals: Symbol of Identity & Opposition to Power.” In *Queen Mary's OPAL #3 Occasional Papers Advancing Linguistics*. Queen Mary University of London.

Thomas, Jolyon. 2012. *Drawing on Tradition: Manga, Anime, and Religion in Contemporary Japan*. University of Hawaii Press.

Tsai, Karen. 2018. *Washi, Momo: Nontraditional Pronoun Usage by a Kansai Japanese Vlogger.* University of California Santa Barbara, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Tsai, Yi-Shan. 2016. “The Characteristics of Manga Fan Communities – Preliminary Observations of 16 Teenage Manga Readers in the UK.” In J*ournal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, 7(4), 417–430.

Ukyō Sonojirō. 2019, Nov. 23. “Mezamashi terebi de ichininshō ‘wai’ o shōkai mo senmonka ‘hiyaku shita hōsō’” [Mezamashi TV introducing first person ‘wai’, expert says the show jumps to conclusions]. *sirabee.com* [online] Available at: https://sirabee.com/2019/11/23/20162204093/ [Accessed 5 March 2020]

Unser-Schutz, Giancarla. 2011. “Language as the Visual: Exploring the Intersection of Linguistic and Visual Language in Manga.” In *Image [&] Narrative*, 12(1): Visual Language of Manga, 167–188.

———. 2015. “Influential or Influenced? The Relationship between Genre, Gender and Language in Manga.” In *Gender*, 9(2), 223–254.

Van Krieken, Kobie, and Hans Hoeken and José Sanders. 2017. “Evoking and Measuring Identification with Narrative Characters – A Linguistic Cues

Framework.” In *Frontiers in Psychology*, [online] , 8. Available at: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5507957/ [Accessed 5 May 2019]

Wood Andrea. 2013. “Boys' Love Anime and Queer Desires in Convergence Culture: Transnational Fandom, Censorship and Resistance.” In *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, (4)1, 44–63.

Yamaguchi, Toshiko. 2015. “The Historical Development of Person Markers in Japanese: The Roles of Linguistic Signs.” In *Language Sciences*, 47, 117–128.

Yonezawa, Yoko. 2017. *Nexus of Language and Culture: A Study of Second Person Reference Terms in Japanese with Special Focus on Anata ‘You’*. Australian National University, doctoral thesis.

Yuasa, Ikuko Patricia. 2008. *Culture and gender of voice pitch: A sociophonetic comparison of the Japanese and Americans*. London: Equinox.

Yukawa, Sumiyuki and Masami Saito. 2004. “Cultural Ideologies in Japanese Language and Gender Studies. A Theoretical Review” In S. Okamoto and J. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23–37.

Yule, George. 1996. *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zenkoku shuppan kyōkai (AJPEA). 2017. *Shuppan geppō* [Monthly Publication Report]. [online] Available at: https://www.ajpea.or.jp/book/2-1702/index.html [Accessed 5 May 2019].

Corpus data sources

Anashin. 2014. *Haru matsu bokura*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Haruta, Nana. 2014. *Tsubasa to hotaru*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

Kamio Yōko. 1992. *Hana yori dango*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

Maki, Yōko. 2013. *Romanchika Kurokku*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

Miyoshi, Maki. 2013. *P to JK*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Sakisaka, Io. 2007. *Sutorōbo ejji*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

———. 2011. *Aoharaido*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

———. 2015. *Omoi, omoware, furi, furare*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Shūeisha.

Suetsugu, Yuki. 2008. *Chihayafuru*, 2 maki. Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Takano, Ichigo. 2013. *Orange*, 1 maki. Tōkyō: Futabasha.

Abstract in Czech / Abstrakt v českém jazyce

V japonštině existuje komplexní systém socio-personálních deiktických výrazů – výrazů pro první a druhou osobu. Mluvčí vybírá z širokého repertoáru těchto výrazů na základě mnoha faktorů, mezi něž patří nejen věk, gender, regionální příslušnost, společenský vztah k adresátovi, formálnost situace či formálnost komunikovaného tématu, ale i vlastní preference mluvčího. Zároveň však v japonštině existuje také idealizovaný koncept genderově správné řeči (tzv. *mužská řeč* a *ženská řeč*), jehož prizmatem je mnohdy nahlíženo na jazyk reálných mluvčích, zejména na jazyk dívek a mladých žen. Ten je pak často hodnocen, zda vyhovuje ideálu ženské řeči, jejímž výrazným prvkem je i právě užití socio-personální deixe.

Média a mezi nimi i manga (japonský komiks) jsou veřejným míněním často považována za zdroj maskulinních výrazů v jazyce mladých žen. Tato práce se zaměřuje na vztah mezi jazykem v *šódžo manze*, tedy manze cílené na dospívající dívky, a jazykem samotných dospívajících dívek. Cílem práce bylo zodpovědět následující otázky: Podporuje *šódžo manga* tradiční streotypní užívání genderově specifického jazyka, či naopak jazyk dívčích postav v *šódžo manze* obsahuje větší množství maskulinních výrazů socio-personální deixe? Jaké výrazy socio-personální deixe (výrazy pro první a druhou osobu) lze nalézt v řeči dívčích postav v *šódžo manze* a kolik těchto výrazů jednotlivé postavy užívají? Hraje *jakuwarigo* (jazykové stereotypy používané pro charakterizaci postav; teorii *jakuwarigo* pak rozvinul Satoši Kinsui) významnou roli v distribuci některých výrazů? Reflektuje jazyk postav japonských dívčích komiksů trendy, které lze nalézt v jazyce dospívajících dívek? A jsou si čtenářky *šódžo mangy* vědomy výrazů používaných v tomto médiu?

Za cílovou skupinu čtenářek byly zvoleny dospívající dívky ve věku 12–15 let (studentky nižších středních škol). Nejprve byly zmapovány předchozí studie věnující se řeči mladých žen s důrazem na užití socio-personální deixe. Tato data pak byla doplněna o výsledky sebeposuzovacího dotazníku, jehož účelem bylo zaplnit některá

bílá místa – zejména v použití druhé osoby. Dotazník, jehož respondentkami bylo celkem 701 dívek ze sedmi škol, zjišťoval, jaké výrazy socio-personální deixe používají studentky během interakcí s různými adresáty, kteří byli zvoleni na základě os společenské a psychologické vzdálenosti (škála se tak pohybovala od osob zcela neznámých po rodinné příslušníky). Ve druhé části dotazníku byly zjišťovány čtenářské návyky dívek se zaměřením na *šódžo mangu* (jak často a jaké tituly dívky čtou) a povědomí o užití výrazů pro první a druhou osobu dívčími postavami v komiksech. Na základě výsledků druhé části dotazníku byl vytvořen korpus *šódžo mangy* a v něm vystupující postavy dospívajících dívek byly analyzovány z hlediska používaných výrazů pro sebe-referenci a pro druhou osobu.

Výsledky dotazníku mezi realnými mluvčími ukázaly, že počet studentek nižších středních škol, které by pravidelně používaly maskulinní výrazy pro první osobu *boku* a *ore*, byl poměrně malý. Nejčastěji dívky přiznávaly užívání těchto výrazů v neformálních interakcích mezi spolužáky a spolužačkami a přáteli. Krom výrazů *wataši* a *ataši*, které jsou tradičně považovány za součást ženské řeči, poměrně význačná část dívek volí použití vlastního jména či přezdívky k sebe-referenci, a to nejen pro komunikaci v rodinném prostředí, ale i v interakcích mezi svými vrstevnicemi a vrstevníky. Sebe-reference pomocí vlastního jména bývá často hodnocena jako typická pro malé děti a dětinská v případě užití staršími mluvčími, nicméně respondentky označily tento způsob deixe první osoby jako druhý nejčastější. Navrhuji proto, že zde lze toto užívání interpretovat jako jeden z aspektů *amae* (psychologický fenomén, který rozpracoval Takeo Doi a který je vysvětlovaný obvykle jako touha po blízkém kontaktu a závislosti na druhých). Dalším výrazem, který dívky uváděly zejména pro interakce s vrstevníky, bylo *uči*, výraz, u něhož někteří autoři (např. Hishikari 2007) vnímají jako zdroj popularity oblast Kansai. Nicméně porovnání výsledků *uči* v jednotlivých školách ukázalo, že distribuce *uči* mezi respondentkami není závislá na regionu, v němž se škola nachází (*uči* se objevovalo v odpovědích dívek jak z oblasti Kantó, tak z oblasti Kansai). Celkově respondentky ale zmínily poměrně

široké spektrum výrazů, které pro sebe-referenci používají.

V případě výrazů pro druhou osobu respondentky vysoce preferovaly nominální výrazy (tedy například jména, slova pro rodinné příslušníky či tituly), distribuce pronominálních výrazů se lišila v závislosti na adresátech. Nejčastěji respondentky označovaly *anata*, a to nejen pro cizí osoby, kdy je použití z hlediska pravidel japonské zdvořilosti přípustné, ale také během komunikace s vrstevníky, kdy může být *anata* použito ke kritice adresáta. Výrazy *kimi* a *omae*, které jsou tradičně považovány za součást mužského jazyka, dívky používaly v interakcích s vrstevníky a s mladšími sourozenci. *Omae* vyjadřuje emotivní postoj a může být tak použito i během rozepře.

Postavy dospívajících dívek vystupujících v korpusu utvořeném z deseti titulů *šódžo mangy*, které respondentky uváděly nejčastěji jako oblíbené, byly za účelem analýzy použití výrazů socio-personální deixe rozděleny do tří kategorií – protagonistky, hlavní postavy a vedlejší postavy – neboť prvky *jakuwarigo* by se dle Kinsuie (2003) měly nejčastěji objevovat v jazyce vedlejších postav. Protagonistky pro první osobu osobu používaly v naprosté většině výraz *wataši*, pouze jedna z protagonistek jako primární používala výraz *ataši*. V řeči protagonistek se další slova pro první osobu prakticky neobjevovala. V řeči hlavních postav (obvykle ve funkci spolužaček či kamarádek protagonistky) a vedlejších postav se kromě již zmíněných *wataši* a *ataši* objevuje ještě *uči*, respektive jeho tvar v plurálu *učira*. Maskulinní výrazy, jakými jsou například *boku* či *ore*, se v jazyce dívčích postav neobjevují vůbec. Ukazuji, že používání výrazu *wataši* většinou protagonistek, je v souladu se závěry Shibamoto Smith (2004) ohledně jazyka protagonistek romantické literatury, kde hrdinky pro sebe-referenci užívají nejstandardnější výraz *wataši*, a zároveň poukazuje i na zjištění Kinsuie, který upozorňuje, že celkově je řeč protagonistů z hlediska *jakuwarigo* nejméně příznaková. Výraz *uči*, respektive *učira*, na který Kinsui pohlíží jako na prvek *jakuwarigo* mladých žen ze subkultury *gjaru*, zde tuto funkci neplní, ale přesto lze mezi dívčími postavami, který jej používají, pozorovat shodné charakterové rysy (temperamentní, aktivní dívky).

Pro druhou osobu dívčí postavy z velké části preferují nominální výrazy (nejčastěji jména či příjmení postav s připojenými honorifickými sufixy). Řeč protagonistek celkově obsahovala relativně nízký počet pronominálních výrazů, ovšem v promluvách hlavních a vedlejších postav byly nominální výrazy doplněny také o *anata* a *anta*, tedy slova pro druhou osobu, která jsou tradičně řazena mezi femininní. *Kimi*, *omae* (a vulgární *temé*) se v řeči všech dívčích postav objevily pouze v ojedinělých izolovaných případech.

Ač bylo možné očekávat, že *šódžo manga* bude obsahovat větší množství maskulinních výrazů socio-personální deixe, a tím pádem je názor veřejnosti na vliv mangy na zvýšující se užívání tradičně maskulinních výrazů mladými ženami oprávněný, při porovnání dat z analýzy korpusu a dotazníku, je z celkových výsledků patrno, že ve skutečnosti tomu tak není. Jsou to naopak skutečné mluvčí japonštiny, které ve svém projevu přiznávají častější užívání maskulinních výrazů oproti řeči postav z *šódžo mangy*. Přestože i mezi respondentkami byl pouze omezený počet dívek, které používaly pro první osobu maskulinní výrazy, v *šódžo manga* korpusu dívčí postava užívající maskulinní výrazy nevystupuje vůbec. Stejně tak se v korpusu neobjevila žádná z postav, která by primárně používala pro sebe-referenci vlastní jméno, a i počet výskytů mezi mluvčími relativně populárního *uči*, byl v dívčích komiksech relativně omezený. I ve výsledcích dotazníku respondentky připisovaly jazyku postav v *šódžo manga* o něco vyšší míru femininity než jazyku, který užívaly samy. Tato práce tedy ukázala, že jazyk v japonských komiksech pro dívky přímo neovlivňuje navyšování frekvence maskulinních výrazů v jazyce mladých žen. Naopak *šódžo manga* jako médium stále udržuje tradičnější pojetí phledu na gendrově specifický jazyk.

Annexes

Annex no. 1 Survey blank form

Note: Pages 10–11 of the survey are not relevant to the topic of this work and as such are not included in the annex.

Palacký University Olomouc

少女マンガにおける人称代名詞の使用に関するアンケート調査
2018 年 1 月 ~ 3 月、中学 1 年 ~ 3 年用

はじめまして、ハナ・クロウトヴォロヴァーと申します。現在、チェコのオロモウツ市にあるパラツキー大学で人称代名詞の使用について研究しております。今回のアンケート調査にご協力をいただけますようお願いいたします。

パラツキー大学哲学部アジア学科大学院生
ハナ・クロウトヴォロヴァー (Hana Kloutvorová)
メール・アドレス：[redacted]

本アンケートには、二つの部分があります。最初に、日常会話の自称詞（「私」「あたし」「ぼく」などの一人称表現）と対称詞（「あなた」「きみ」などの二人称表現）の使い方について質問します。その次にあなたが読んでいるマンガについて質問します。
本アンケートには、下記のような表がいくつか出てきます。ご回答するときに、

まったく使わない場合は、あてはまる空欄に **1** と記入してください。
場面によって使うかたまに使う場合は、あてはまる空欄に **2** と記入してください。
よく使う場合は、あてはまる空欄に **3** と記入してください。
いつも使う場合は、あてはまる空欄に **4** と記入してください。
分からない、答えられない場合は、あてはまる空欄に **5** と記入してください。
その相手がいない場合は、あてはまる空欄に **✘** と記入してください。
「その他」の場合は、上記の記号の横に簡単に呼び方も記入してください。

記入例

	母	父	姉	兄	弟	妹
あなた	2	1	5	5	✘	5
あんた	2	1	2	3	✘	1
きみ	1	1	2	4	✘	3
おまえ	2	1	2	2	✘	4
てめえ	1	1	2	2	✘	4
その他（具体的に）	4 ママ	3 おとうさん	3 名前ちゃん	3 あだ名	✘	2 名前

本アンケートには、あてはまるものを１つ選んで、☐ チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてくださいという設問もあります。そのときは、このように ☑ ご回答ください。

回答者の ID 番号：________

Palacký University Olomouc | Faculty of Arts
Křížkovského 511/10 | CZ 771 47 Olomouc | Czech Republic | T: +420 585 633 620
www.ff.upol.cz

はじめに、あなたご自身のことをお聞きします。

あてはまるものを１つ選んで、☐ チェックボクスに✔チェックマークをつけてください。

	☐ 女子	☐ 男子		
学年	☐ 1年	☐ 2年	☐ 3年	
年齢	☐ 12 歳	☐ 13 歳	☐ 14 歳	☐ 15 歳

第1部

自称詞（「私」「あたし」「ぼく」などの一人称表現）について質問します。

1.　下記の大人と話すときに、どのような自称を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	まったく知らない大人	顔見知りの大人	先生	校長先生
わたし	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたし	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたい	☐	☐	☐	☐
うち	☐	☐	☐	☐
じぶん	☐	☐	☐	☐
ぼく	☐	☐	☐	☐
おれ	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前ちゃん	☐	☐	☐	☐
その他（具体的に）	☐ ____	☐ ____	☐ ____	☐ ____

2. 自分と同じくらいの年齢の人と話すときに、どのような自称を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	まったく知らない同い年の人	先輩	同級生	同性の友人	異性の友人	後輩
わたし	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたし	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたい	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
うち	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
じぶん	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ぼく	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
おれ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前ちゃん	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
その他（具体的に）	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______

3. ご家族と話すときに、どのような自称を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	母	父	姉	兄	弟	妹
わたし	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたし	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
あたい	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
うち	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
じぶん	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ぼく	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
おれ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
自分の名前ちゃん	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
その他（具体的に）	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______	☐ ______

次に、対称詞（「あなた」「きみ」などの二人称表現）について質問します。

4.　下記の大人に対してどのような対称の言葉を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	まったく知らない大人	顔見知りの大人	先生	校長先生
あなた	☐	☐	☐	☐
あんた	☐	☐	☐	☐
きみ	☐	☐	☐	☐
おまえ	☐	☐	☐	☐
てめえ	☐	☐	☐	☐
その他（具体的に）	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿

5.　自分と同じくらいの年齢の人に対してどのような対称の言葉を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	まったく知らない同い年の人	先輩	同級生	同性の友人	異性の友人	後輩
あなた	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
あんた	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
きみ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
おまえ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
てめえ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
その他（具体的に）	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿	☐ ＿＿＿

6.　ご家族に対してどのような対称の言葉を使いますか。

1 = まったく使わない **2** = 場面によって使う かたまに使う **3** = よく使う **4** = いつも使う **5** = 分からない、答えられない **✘** = その相手がいない

	母	父	姉	兄	弟	妹
あなた	□	□	□	□	□	□
あんた	□	□	□	□	□	□
きみ	□	□	□	□	□	□
おまえ	□	□	□	□	□	□
てめえ	□	□	□	□	□	□
その他（具体的に）	□ ____	□ ____	□ ____	□ ____	□ ____	□ ____

第2部

次に、あなたが読んでいるマンガやマンガに出てくる言葉について質問します。

1.　**少女マンガ**（女子向けのマンガ）の雑誌または**少女マンガ**の単行本を読みますか。

あてはまるものを１つ選んで、□ チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてください。

1 □ 少なくとも週に１回読む

2 □ 少なくとも月に１回読む

3 □ 少なくとも年に１回読む

4 □ まったく読まない

2.　**少女マンガ**をインターネットまたは携帯電話/スマートフォンで読みますか。

あてはまるものを１つ選んで、□ チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてください。

1 □ 少なくとも週に１回読む

2 □ 少なくとも月に１回読む

3 □ 少なくとも年に１回読む

4 □ まったく読まない

3.　どのような**少女マンガ**の雑誌を読みますか。

下記のマンガ雑誌の中から、読むマンガ雑誌を選んで、 チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてください。✔はいくつでも構いません。（少女マンガをまったく読まない方は何も記入する必要はありません。）

1 ☐ まんがホーム	1 ☐ マーガレット
1 ☐ なかよし	1 ☐ ちゃお
1 ☐ LaLa（ララ）	1 ☐ Cheese!（チーズ）
1 ☐ 花とゆめ	1 ☐ ショウコミ （Sho-Comi）
1 ☐ りぼん	1 ☐ ベツコミ
1 ☐ フレンド	1 ☐ プリンセス
1 ☐ Cookie	1 ☐ Asuka

1 ☐ その他 （雑誌名を書いてください）

4.　一番好きな**少女マンガ**を教えてください。作品名を空欄に記入してください。

（少女マンガをまったく読まない方は何も記入する必要はありません。）

1

2

3

以下の設問の状況を想像して、質問に答えてください。

5. あなたが好きな**少女マンガ**の主人公の女の子だったら、以下のような場面ではどのよな自称詞を使いますか。

空欄の吹き出しにあてはまるものを１つ選んで、☐ チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてください。
（少女マンガをまったく読まない方は何も記入する必要はありません。）

画像: http://www.rinmarugames.com/

1 ☐ わたし、焼きそば食べたい！

2 ☐ あたし、焼きそば食べたい！

3 ☐ あたい、焼きそば食べたい！

4 ☐ うち、焼きそば食べたい！

5 ☐ じぶん、焼きそば食べたい！

6 ☐ ぼく、焼きそば食べたい！

7 ☐ おれ、焼きそば食べたい！

8 ☐ （自分の名前）、焼きそば食べたい！

9 ☐ （自分の名前ちゃん）、焼きそば食べたい！

10 ☐ （その他、具体的に）________、焼きそば食べたい！

6.　あなたが好きな**少女マンガ**の主人公の女の子だったら、以下のような場面ではどのような対称詞を使いますか。

空欄の吹き出しにあてはまるものを１つ選んで、□ チェックボックスに✔チェックをつけてください。
（少女マンガをまったく読まない方は何も記入する必要はありません。）

画像: http://www.rinmarugames.com/

1 □ あなたもポッキー食べる？

2 □ あんたもポッキー食べる？

3 □ きみもポッキー食べる？

4 □ おまえもポッキー食べる？

5 □ てめえもポッキー食べる？

6 □ （その他、具体的に）________もポッキー食べる？

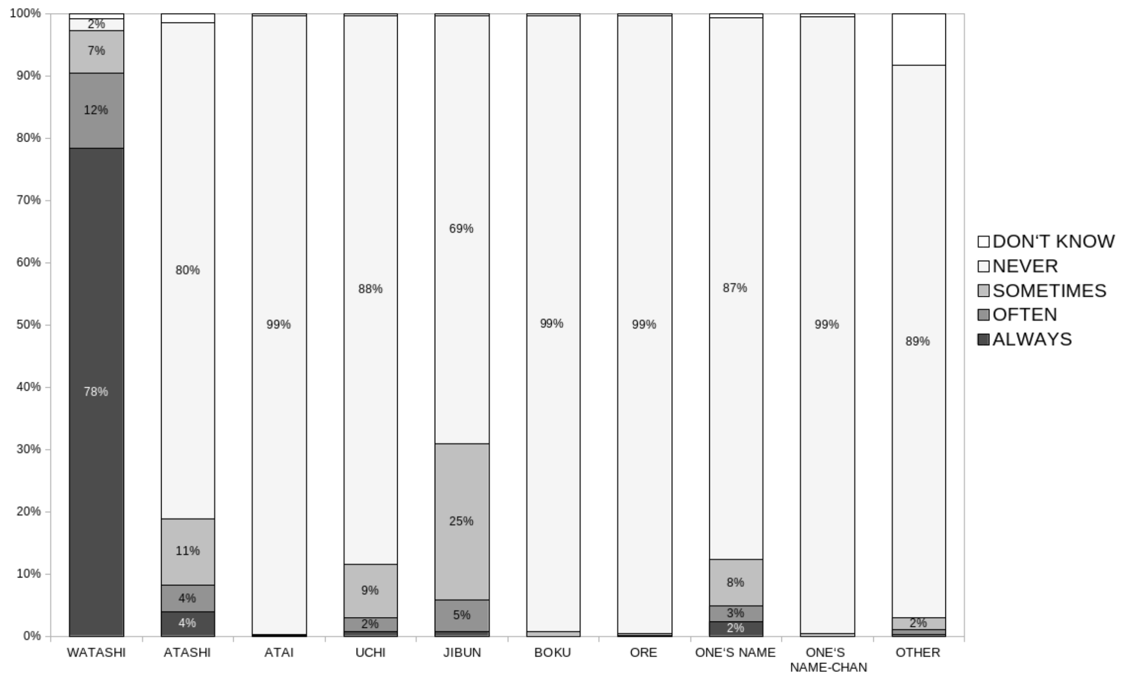
13.　本アンケートについて何かコメントがあれば、記入してください。

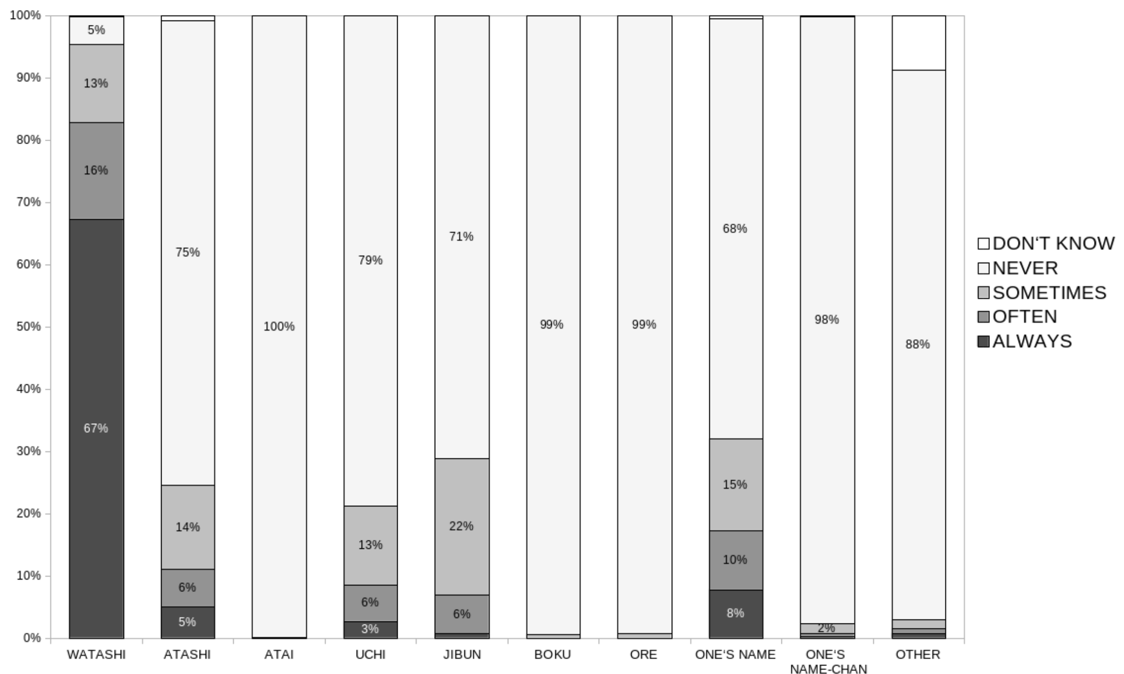
以上で調査は終了です。

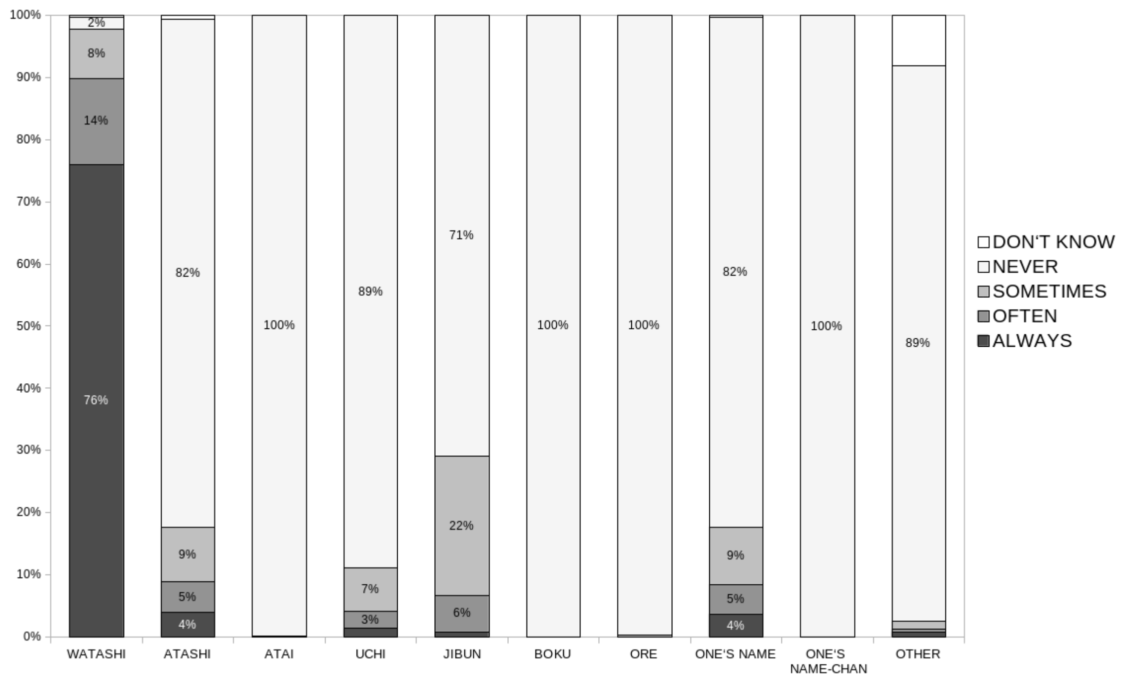
ご協力ありがとうございました。この用紙をアンケートの担当者に提出してください。

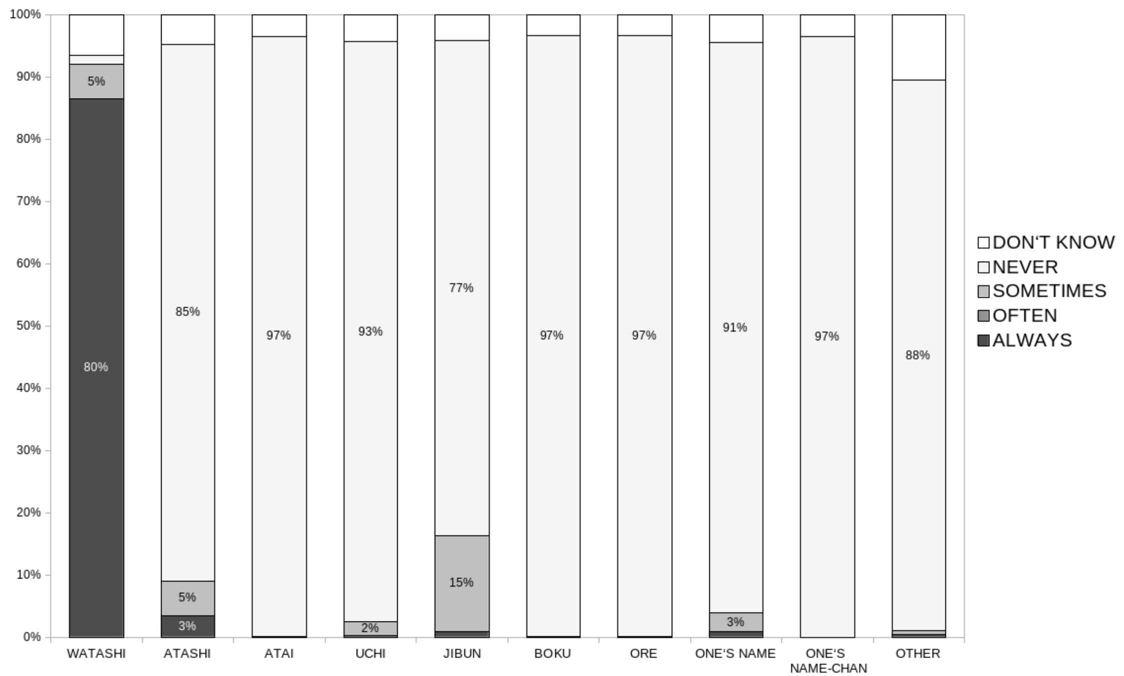
Annex no. 2 Graphs of all survey results

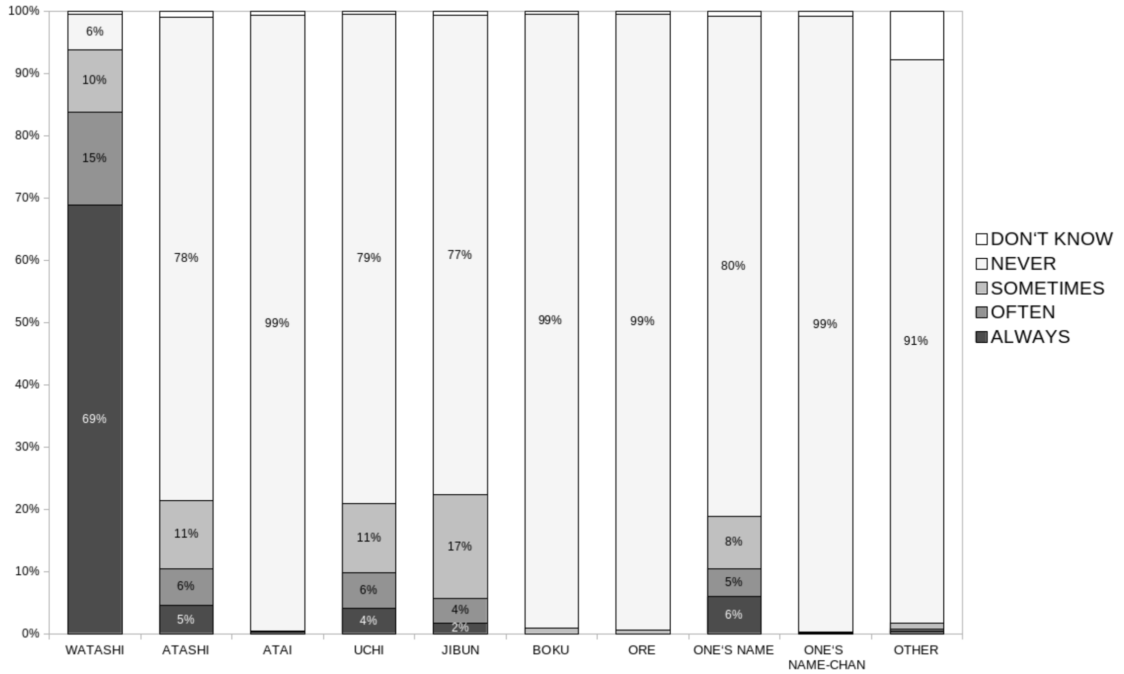
First person in interactions



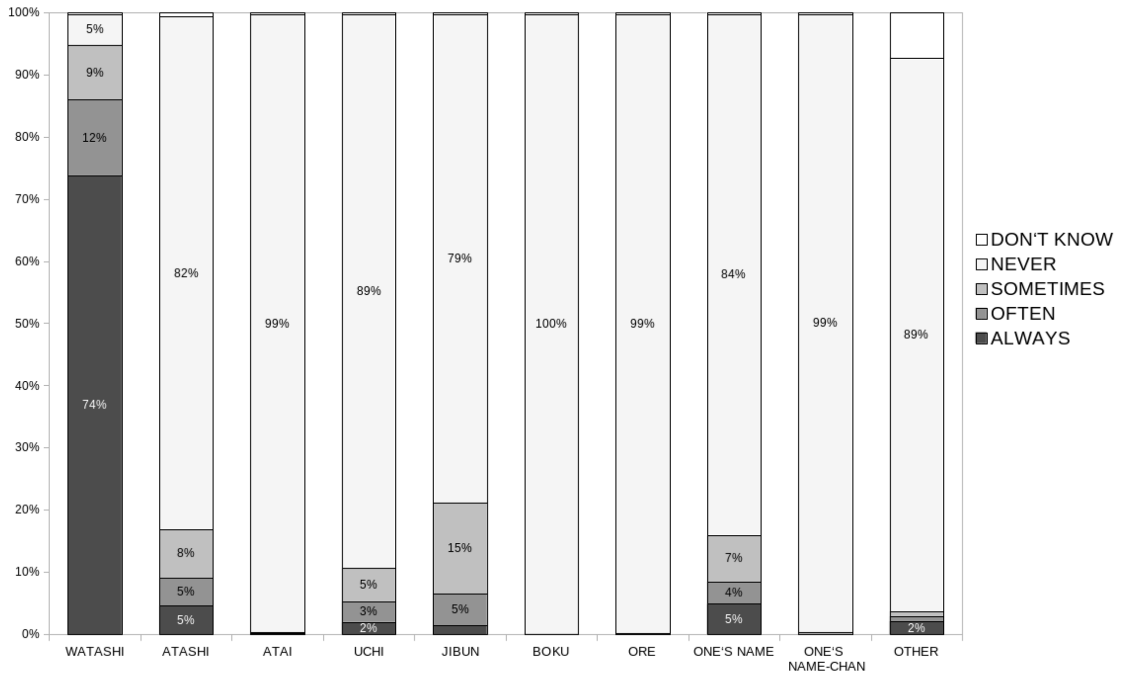



First person in interactions (teachers)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
2%
8%
14%
76%
82%
9%
5%
4%
100%
89%
7%
3%
71%
22%
6%
100%
100%
82%
9%
5%
4%
100%
89%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

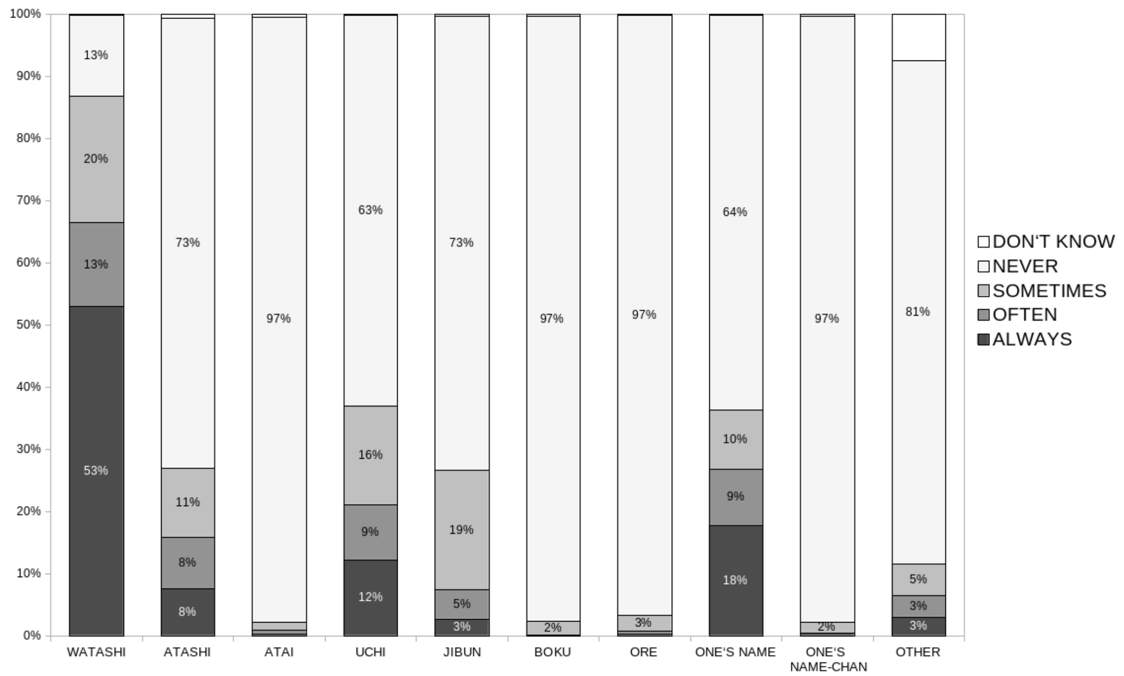

First person in interactions (school principal)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
5%
80%
85%
5%
3%
97%
93%
2%
77%
15%
97%
97%
91%
3%
97%
88%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

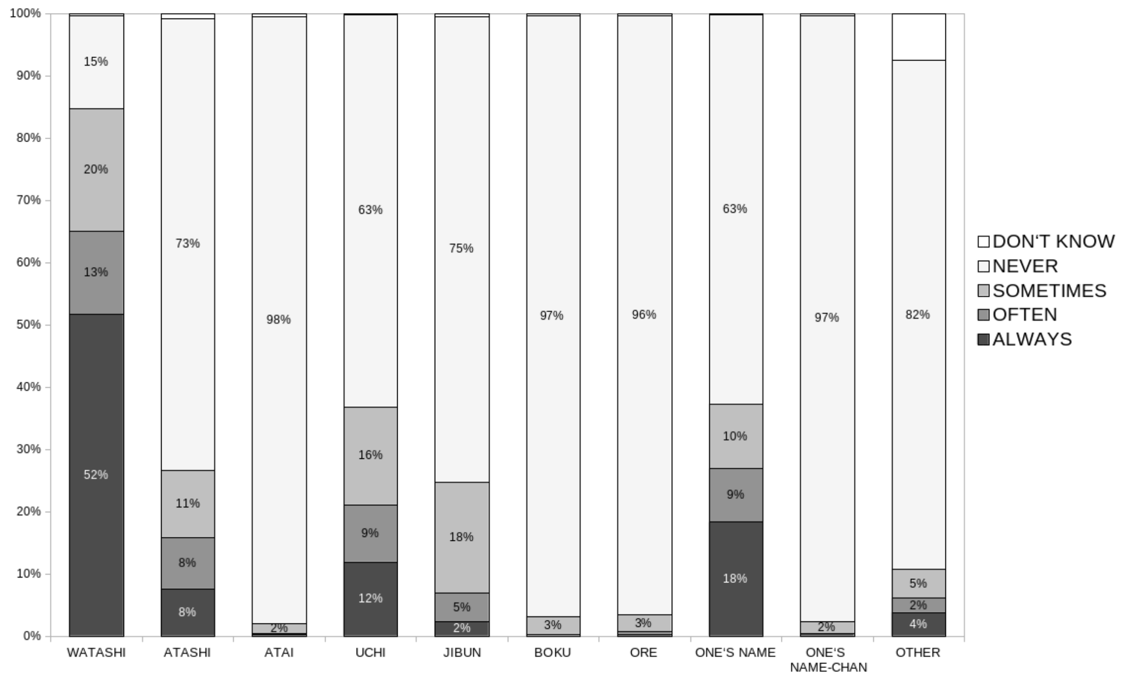


First person in interactions (unknown person of the same age)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

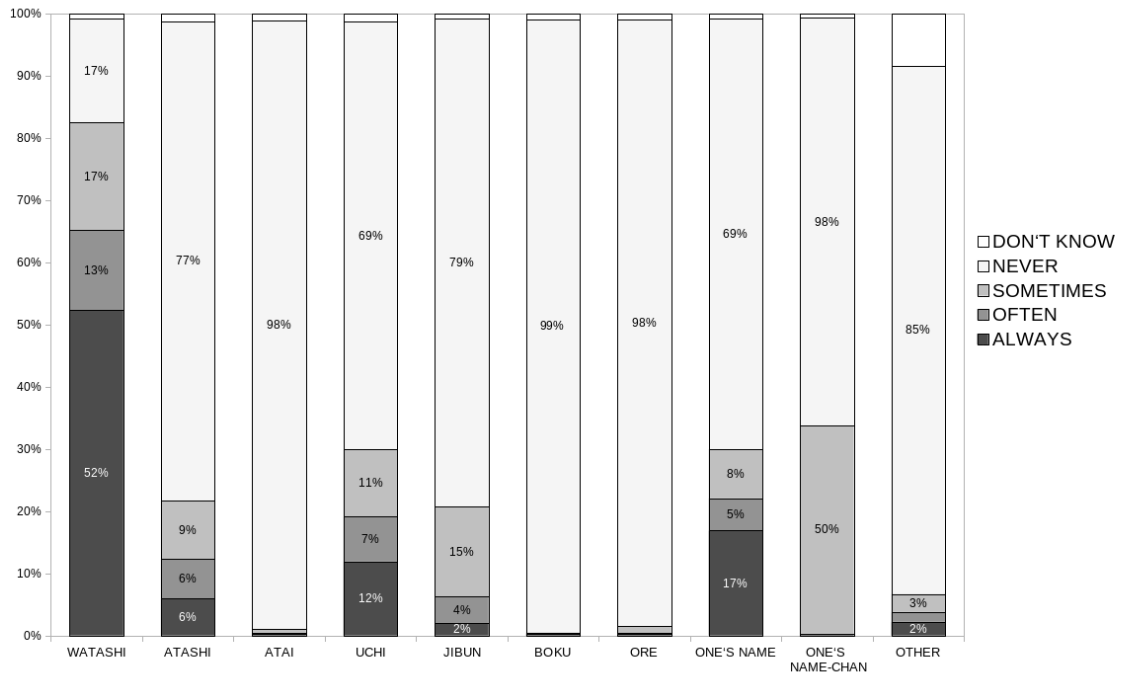


First person in interactions (older schoolmates, senpai)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

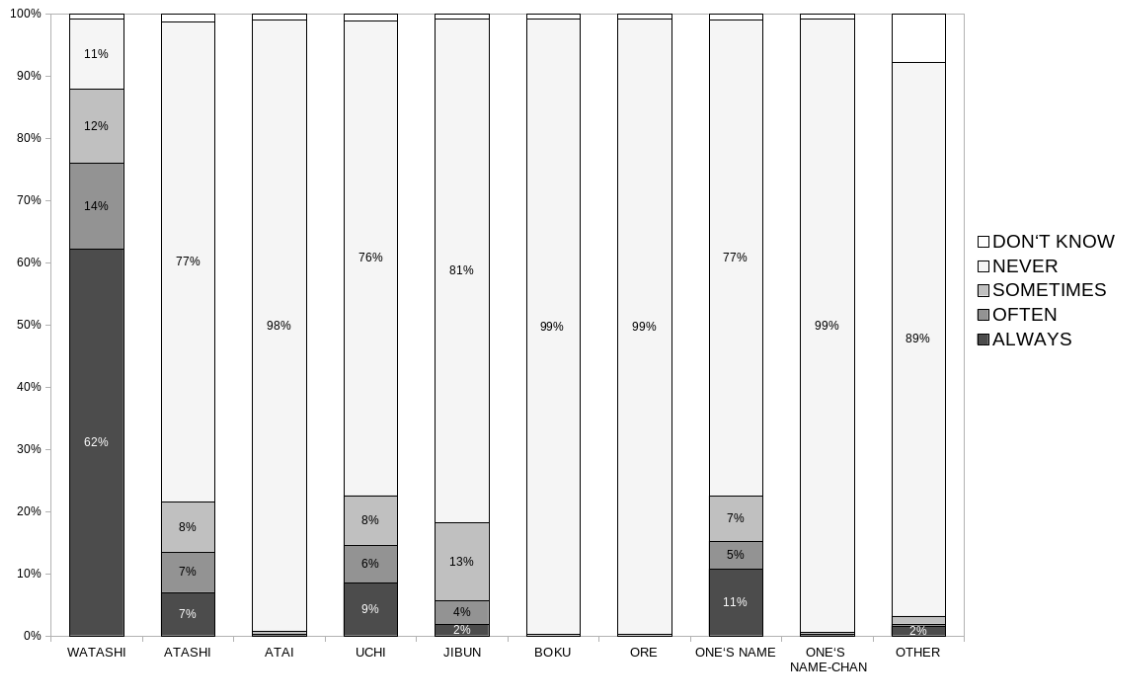

First person in interactions (classmates)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
13%
20%
13%
53%
73%
11%
8%
8%
97%
63%
16%
9%
12%
73%
19%
5%
3%
97%
2%
97%
3%
64%
10%
9%
18%
97%
2%
81%
5%
3%
3%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

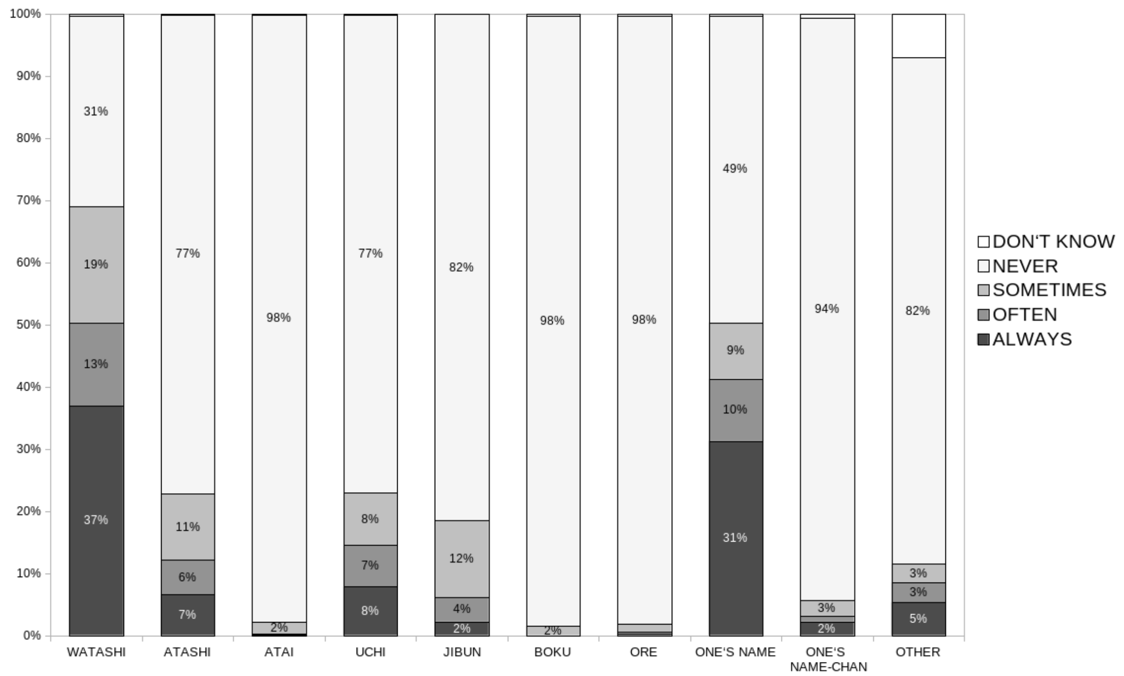

First person in interactions (friends of the same gender)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
15%
20%
13%
52%
73%
11%
8%
8%
98%
2%
63%
16%
9%
12%
75%
18%
5%
2%
97%
3%
96%
3%
63%
10%
9%
18%
97%
2%
82%
5%
2%
4%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

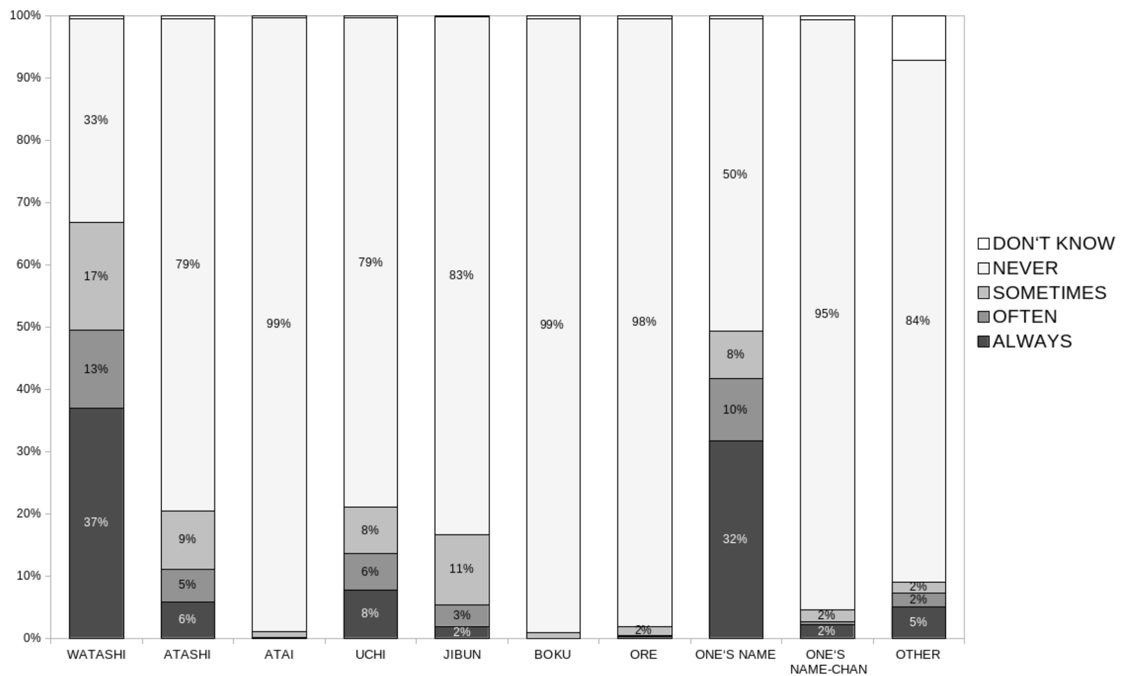
First person in interactions (friends of the opposite gender)

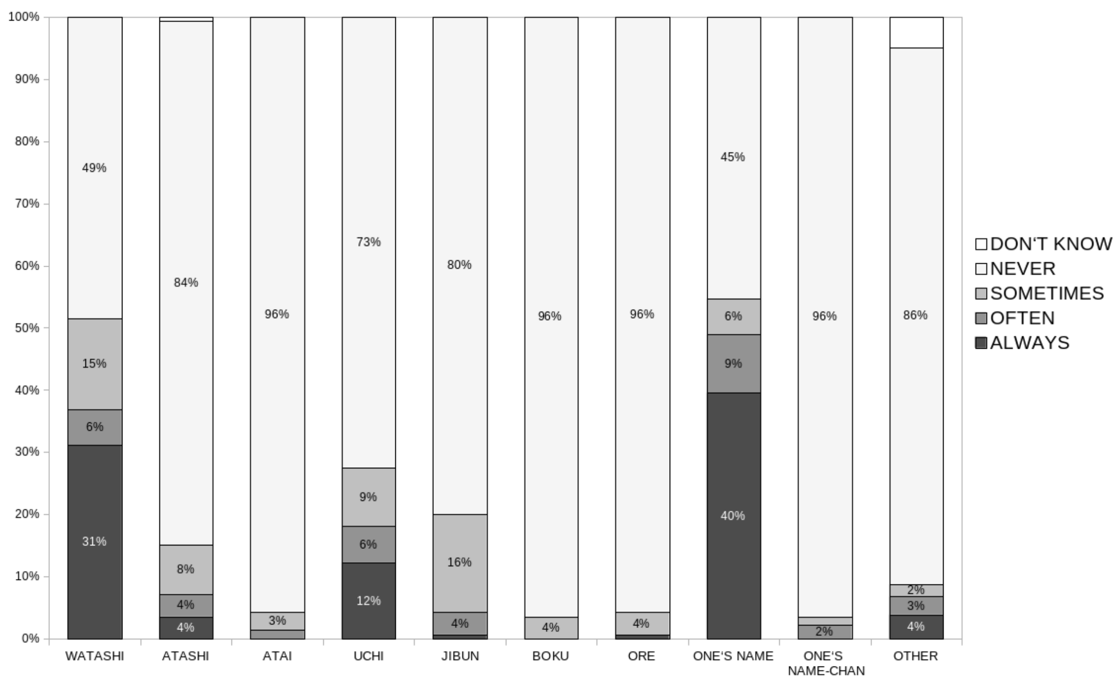


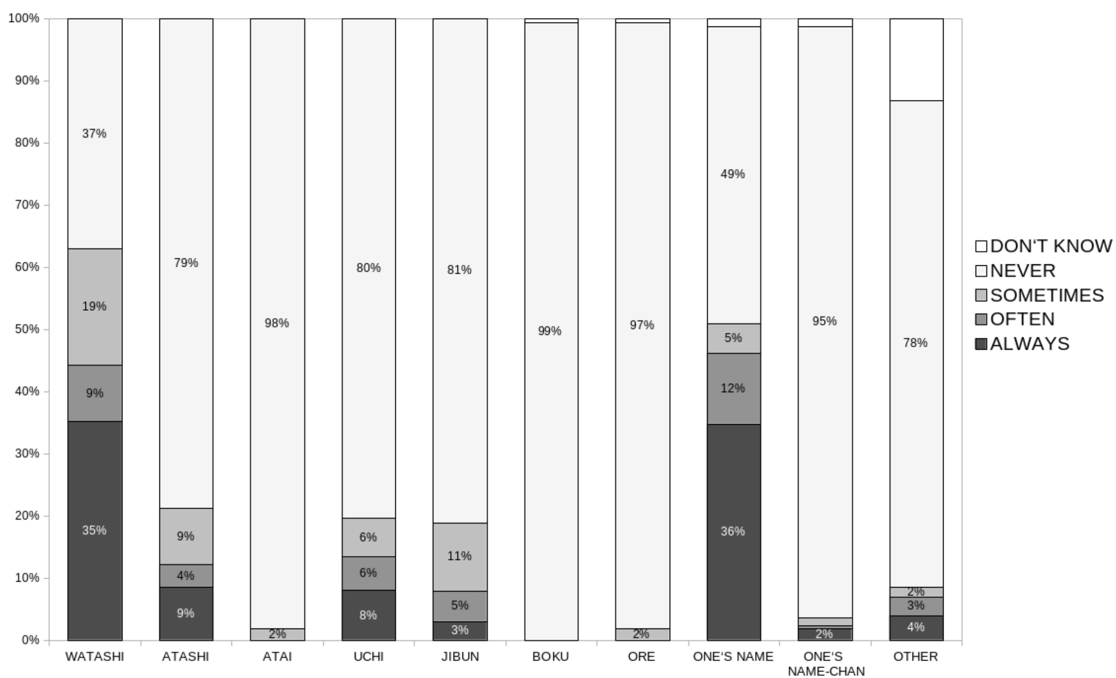
First person in interactions (younger schoolmates, kōhai)

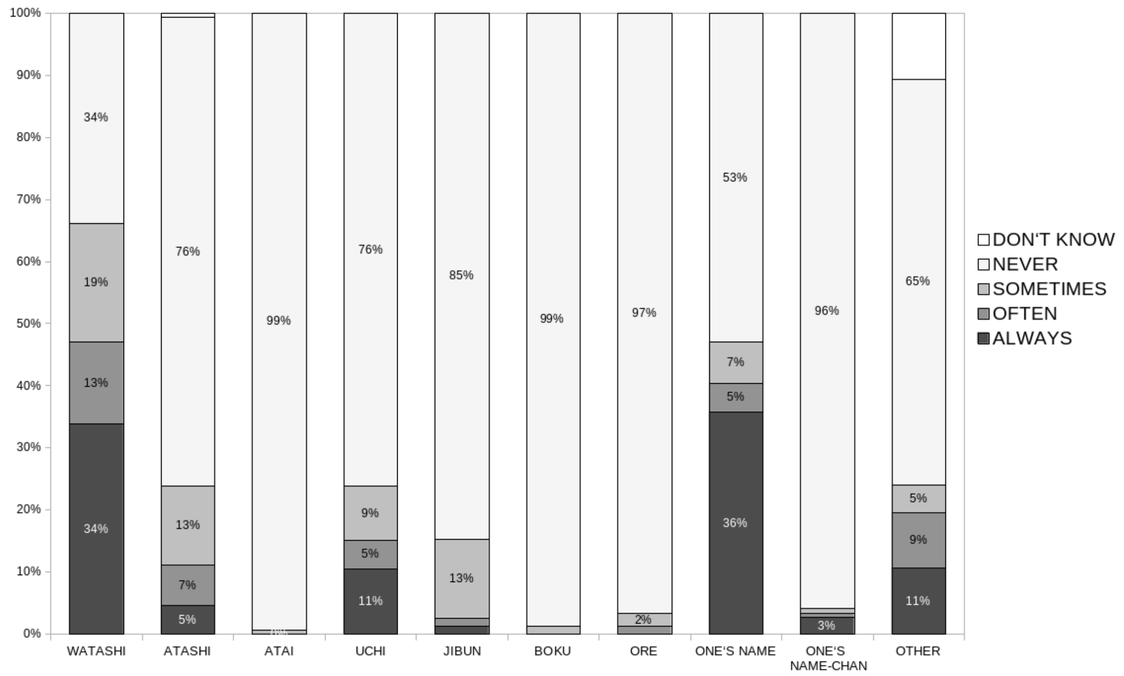


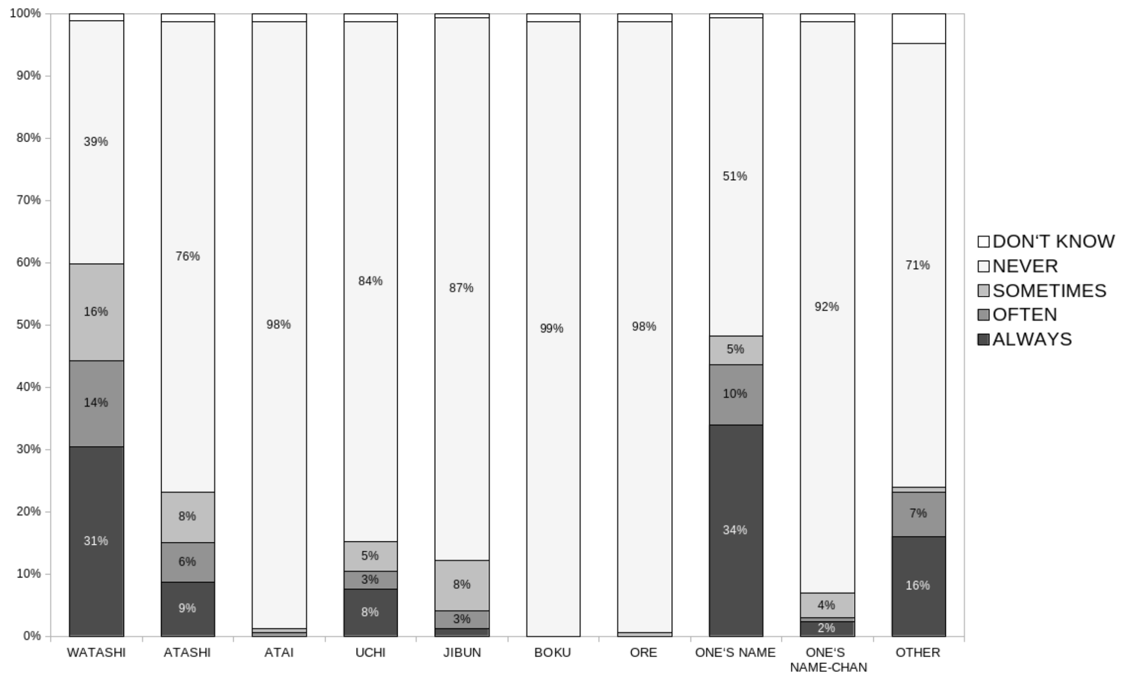

First person in interactions (mother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
31%
19%
13%
37%
77%
11%
6%
7%
98%
2%
77%
8%
7%
8%
82%
12%
4%
2%
98%
2%
98%
49%
9%
10%
31%
94%
3%
2%
82%
3%
3%
5%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


First person in interactions (father)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
33%
17%
13%
37%
79%
9%
5%
6%
99%
79%
8%
6%
8%
83%
11%
3%
2%
99%
98%
2%
50%
8%
10%
32%
95%
2%
2%
84%
2%
2%
5%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

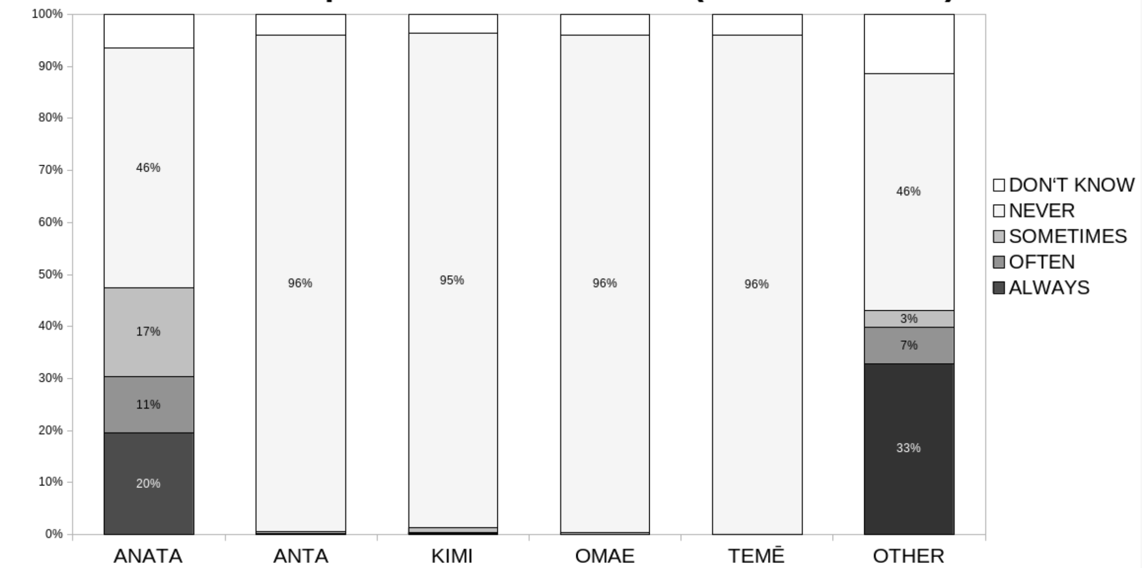

First person in interactions (older sister)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
49%
15%
6%
31%
84%
8%
4%
4%
96%
3%
73%
9%
6%
12%
80%
16%
4%
96%
4%
96%
4%
45%
6%
9%
40%
96%
2%
86%
2%
3%
4%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

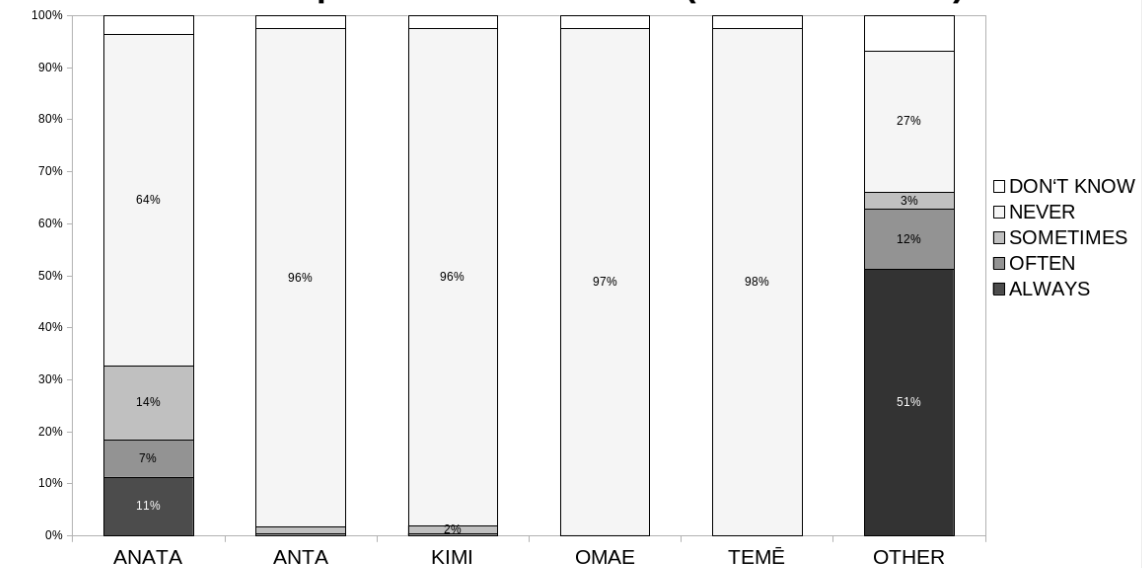

First person in interactions (older brother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
37%
19%
9%
35%
79%
9%
4%
9%
98%
2%
80%
6%
6%
8%
81%
11%
5%
3%
99%
97%
2%
49%
5%
12%
36%
95%
2%
78%
2%
3%
4%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

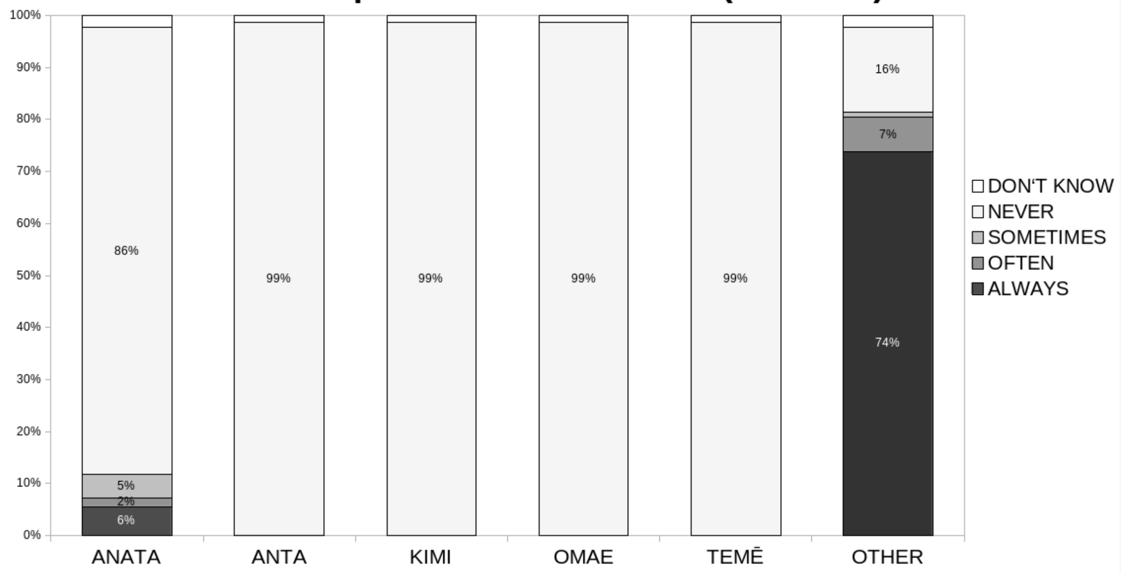

First person in interactions (younger sister)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS
34%
19%
13%
34%
76%
13%
7%
5%
99%
76%
9%
5%
11%
85%
13%
99%
97%
2%
53%
7%
5%
36%
96%
3%
65%
5%
9%
11%

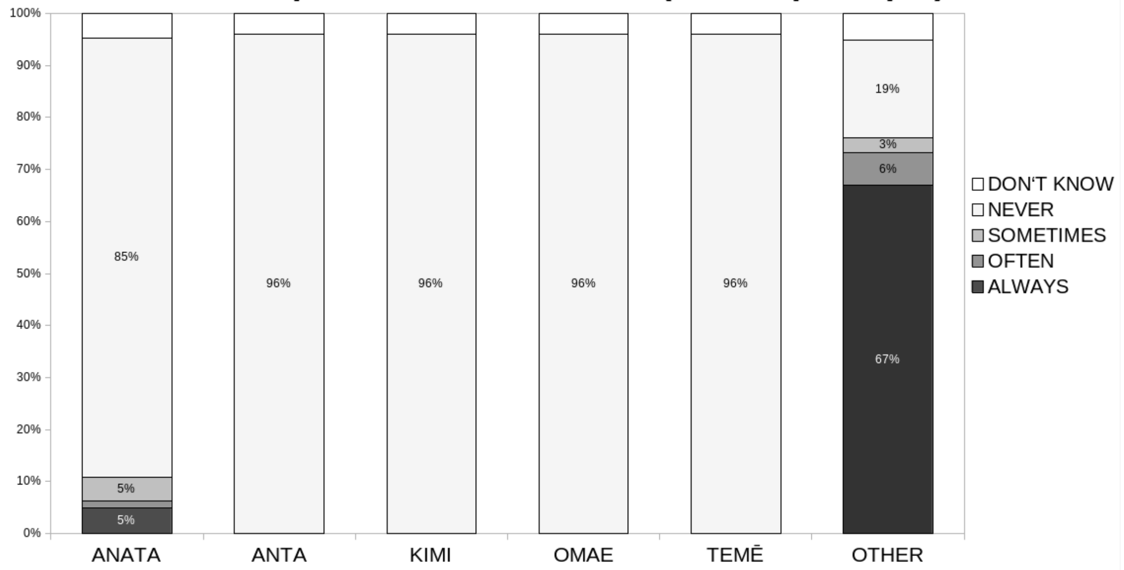

First person in interactions (younger brother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
WATASHI
ATASHI
ATAI
UCHI
JIBUN
BOKU
ORE
ONE'S NAME
ONE'S NAME-CHAN
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS
39%
16%
14%
31%
76%
8%
6%
9%
98%
84%
5%
3%
8%
87%
8%
3%
99%
98%
51%
5%
10%
34%
92%
4%
2%
71%
7%
16%

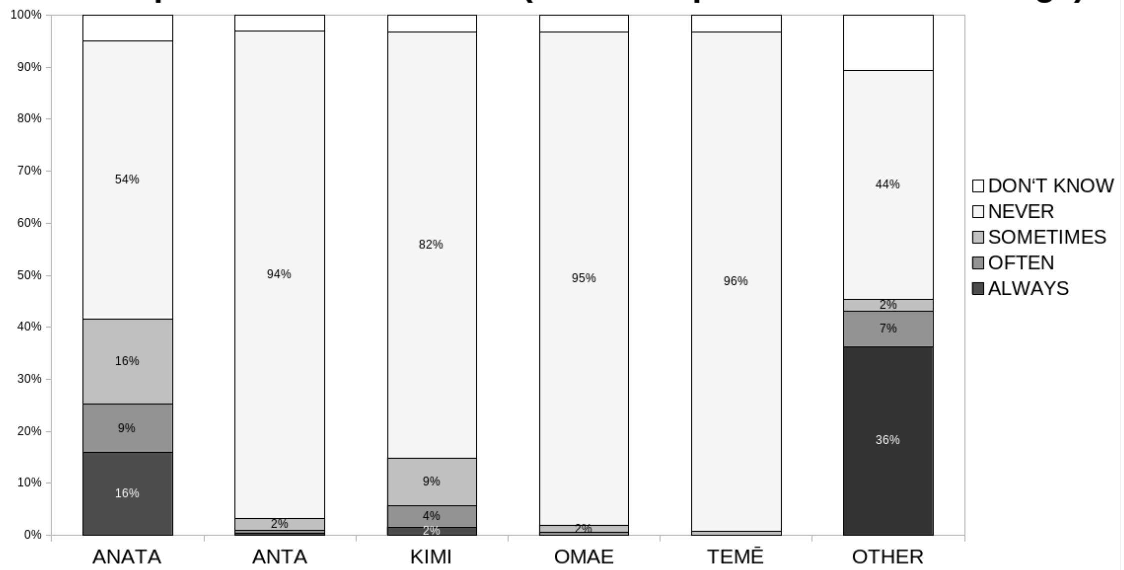
Second person in interactions



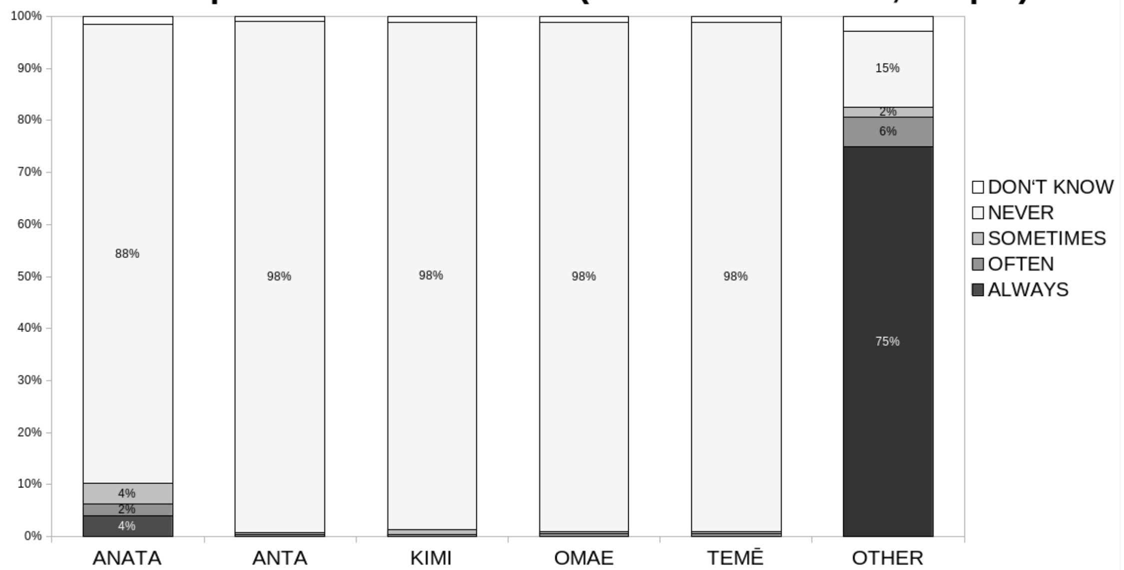



Second person in interactions (teachers)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
86%
5%
2%
6%
99%
99%
99%
99%
16%
7%
74%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

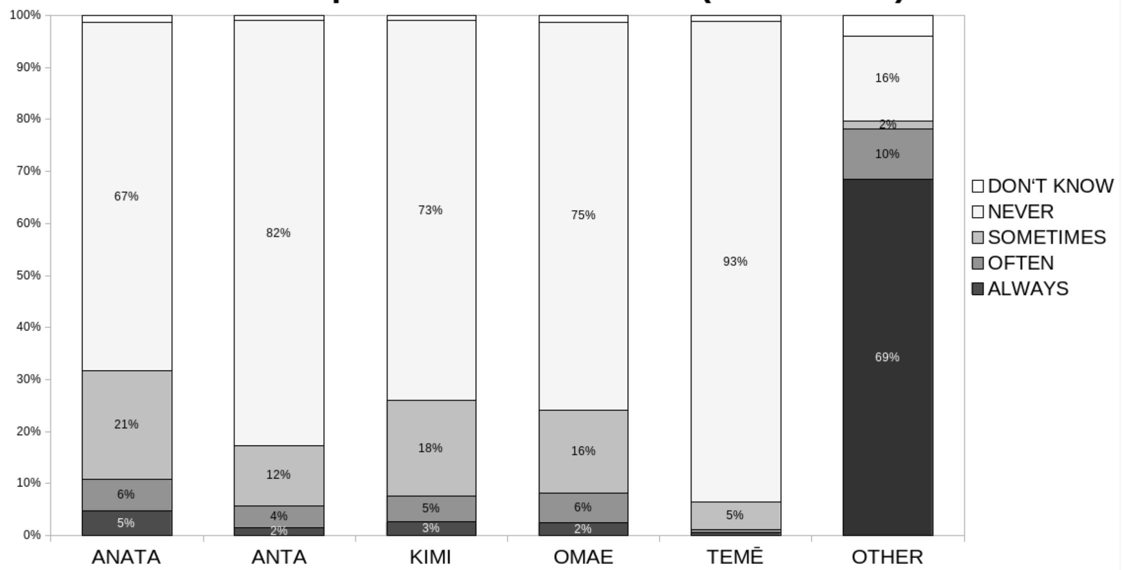

Second person in interactions (school principal)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
85%
5%
5%
96%
96%
96%
96%
19%
3%
6%
67%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

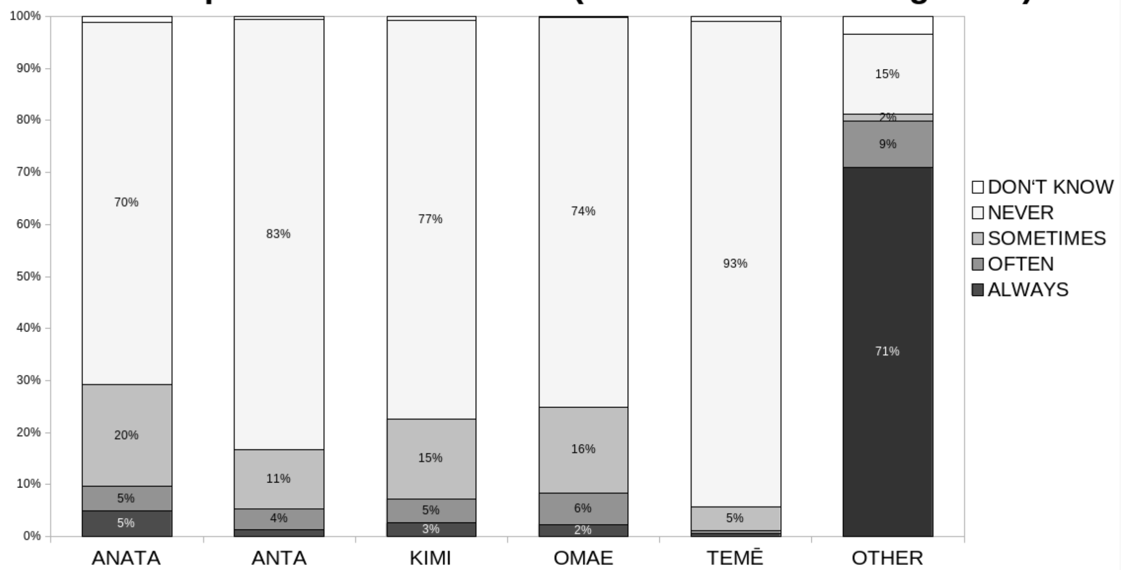


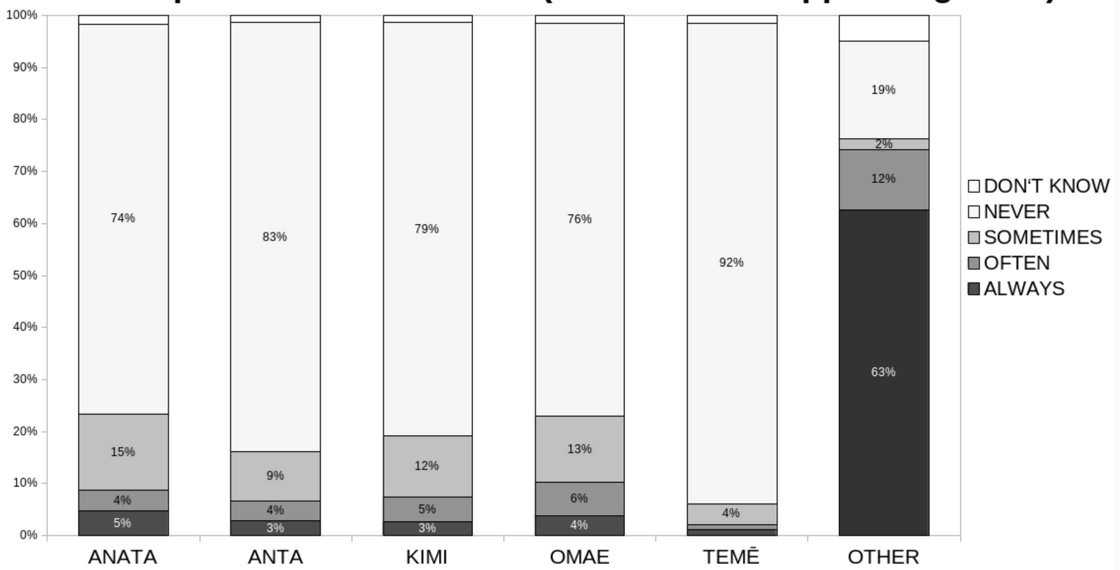
Second person in interactions (unknown person of the same age)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
54%
16%
9%
16%
94%
2%
82%
9%
4%
2%
95%
2%
96%
44%
2%
7%
36%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

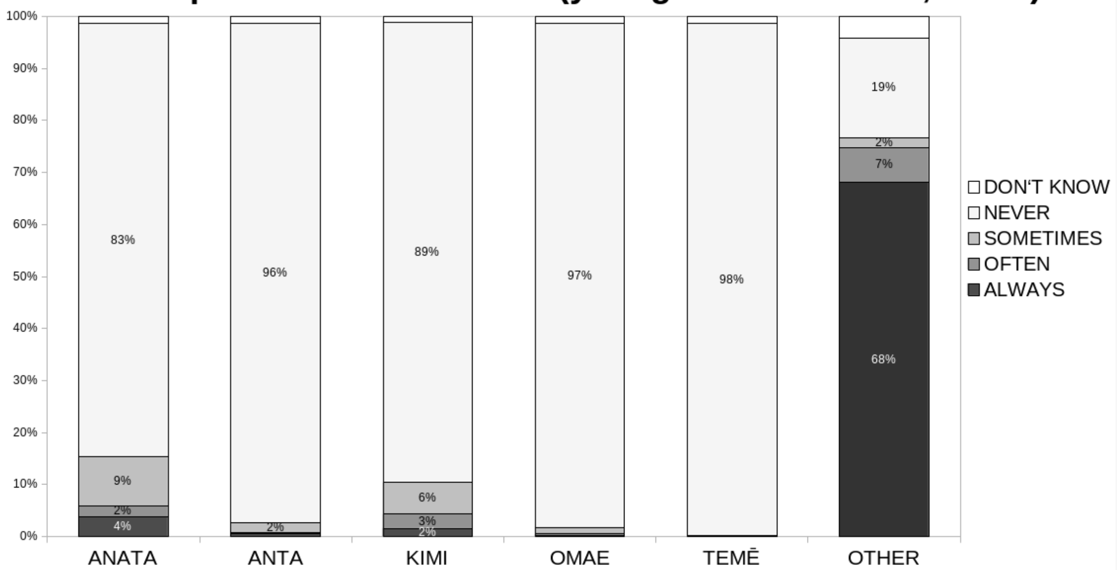


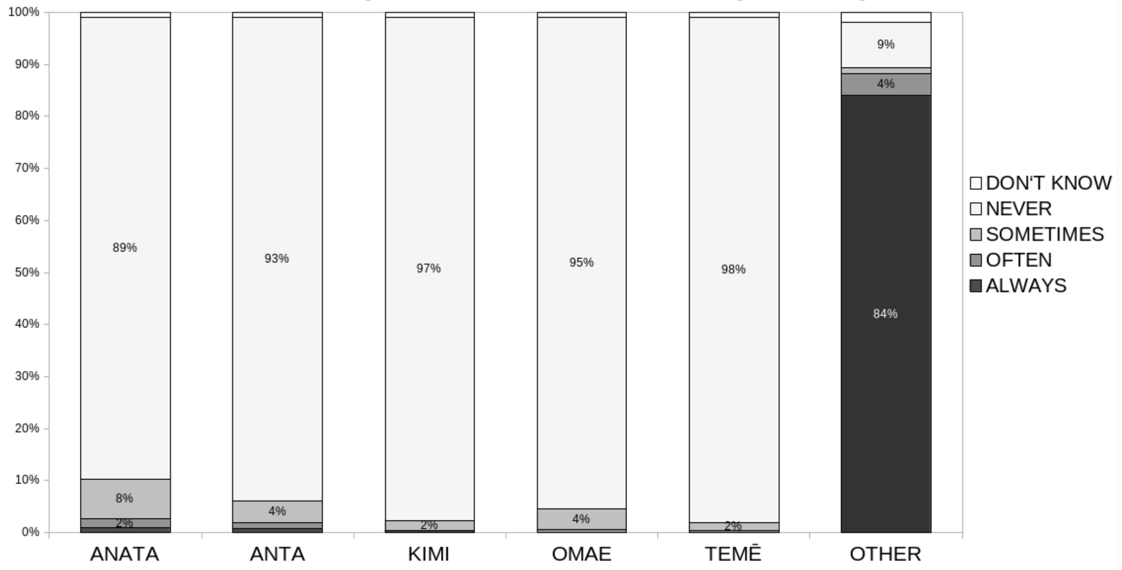
Second person in interactions (older schoolmates, senpai)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
88%
4%
2%
4%
98%
98%
98%
98%
15%
2%
6%
75%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

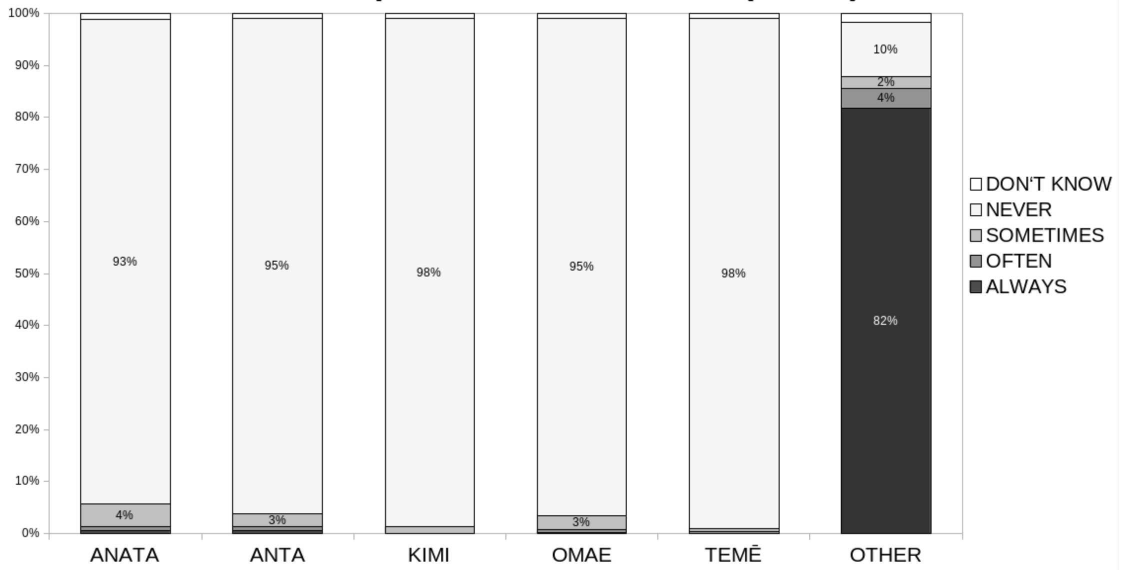

Second person in interactions (classmates)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
67%
21%
6%
5%
82%
12%
4%
2%
73%
18%
5%
3%
75%
16%
6%
2%
93%
5%
16%
2%
10%
69%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

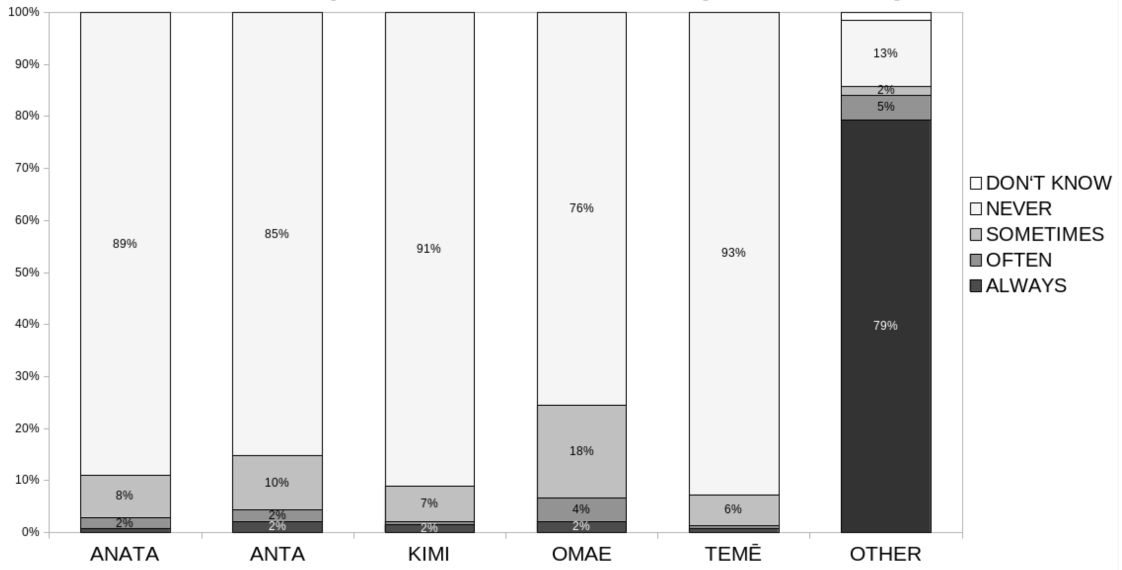

Second person in interactions (friends of the same gender)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
70%
20%
5%
5%
83%
11%
4%
77%
15%
5%
3%
74%
16%
6%
2%
93%
5%
15%
2%
9%
71%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

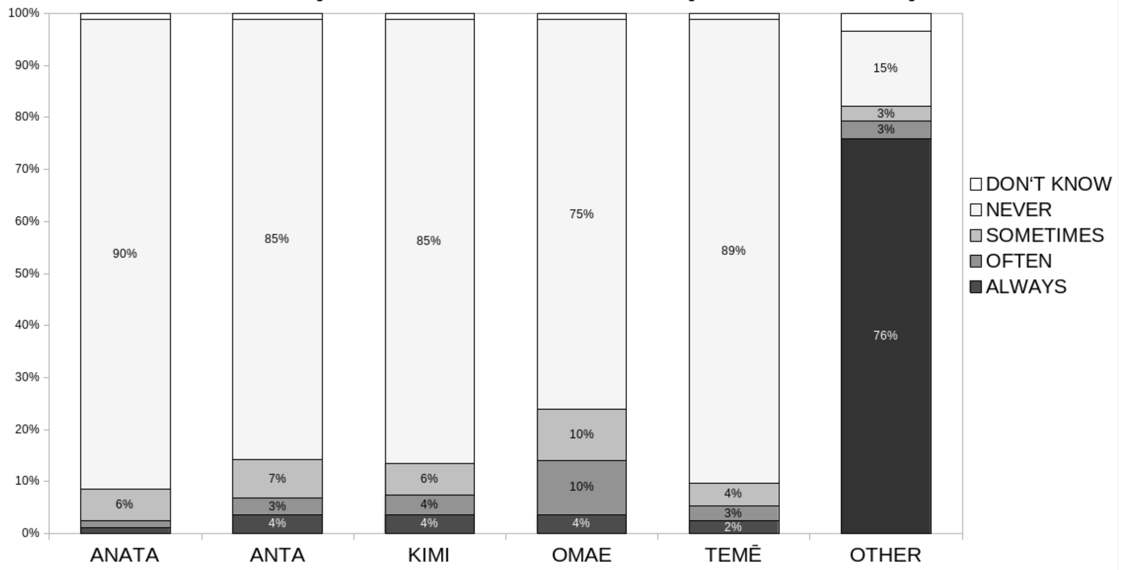

Second person in interactions (friends of the opposite gender)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
74%
15%
4%
5%
83%
9%
4%
3%
79%
12%
5%
3%
76%
13%
6%
4%
92%
4%
19%
2%
12%
63%
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

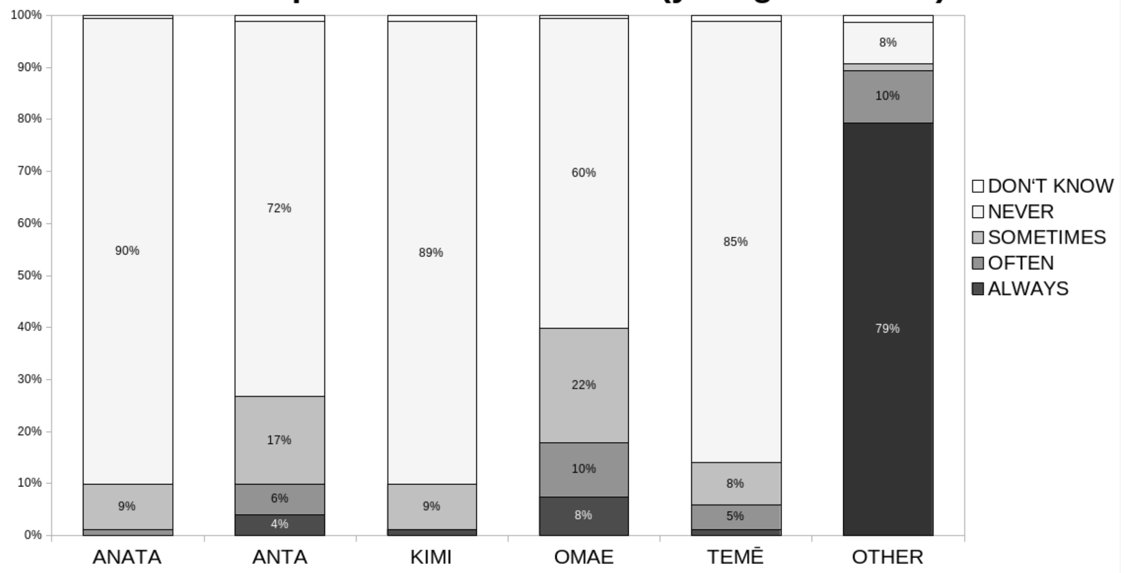

Second person in interactions (younger schoolmates, kōhai)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
83%
9%
2%
4%
96%
2%
89%
6%
3%
2%
97%
98%
19%
2%
7%
68%
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS

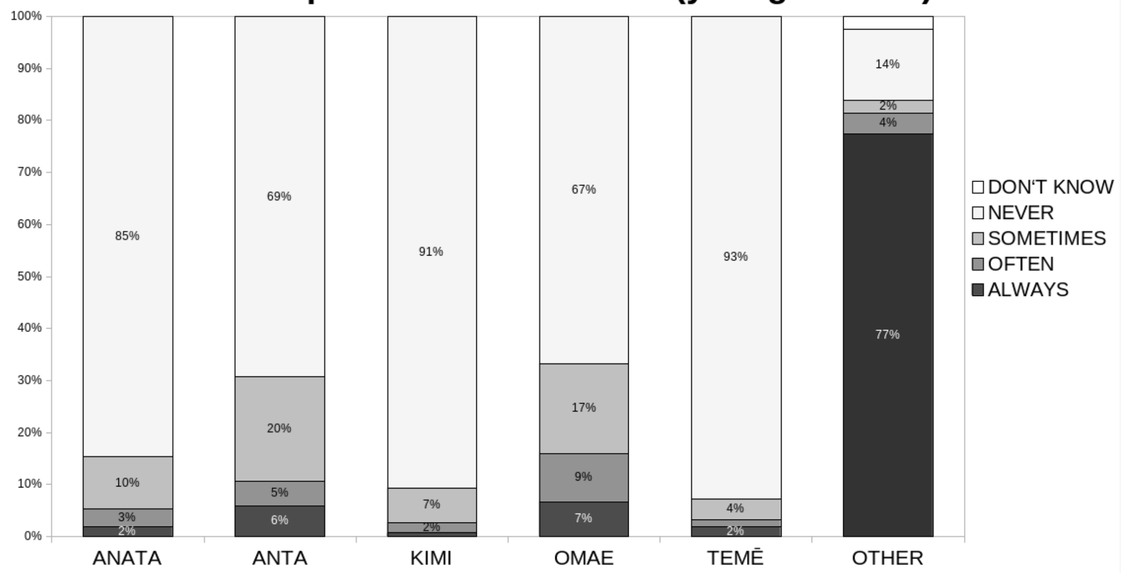

Second person in interactions (mother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
89%
8%
2%
93%
4%
97%
2%
95%
4%
98%
2%
9%
4%
84%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


Second person in interactions (father)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
93%
4%
95%
3%
98%
95%
3%
98%
10%
2%
4%
82%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


Second person in interactions (older sister)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
89%
8%
2%
85%
10%
2%
2%
91%
7%
2%
76%
18%
4%
2%
93%
6%
13%
2%
5%
79%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


Second person in interactions (older brother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
90%
6%
85%
7%
3%
4%
85%
6%
4%
4%
75%
10%
10%
4%
89%
4%
3%
2%
15%
3%
3%
76%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


Second person in interactions (younger brother)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
90%
9%
72%
17%
6%
4%
89%
9%
60%
22%
10%
8%
85%
8%
5%
8%
10%
79%
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS


Second person in interactions (younger sister)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
ANATA
ANTA
KIMI
OMAE
TEMĒ
OTHER
85%
10%
3%
2%
69%
20%
5%
6%
91%
7%
2%
67%
17%
9%
7%
93%
4%
2%
14%
2%
4%
77%
DON'T KNOW
NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALWAYS