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# **Japanese Women's Language**

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## ABSTRACT

Japanese women's language has a long history. At first, it was created by women themselves. Its important characteristic was the avoidance of Chinese words. As time went on, men took advantage of women's language to condition women.

For the most part, contemporary women's language was established in the Meiji period, reflecting prewar values. Therefore women's language has traits such as a higher level of politeness than men's language, sentence final particles to soften the statement, and avoidance of assertive and imperative forms and of derogatory expressions. Women born after the war, who were educated based on the ideal of sexual equality, began to feel awkward using women's language.

Evidence of gender difference in language was obtained from the analyses of survey results and of two TV programmes. Most feminine expressions are used predominantly by women, and most masculine expressions are used predominantly by men. Women use politer expressions than do men in the situations surveyed. However, some contrasting tendencies were also demonstrated. Two feminine expressions which strongly demonstrate femininity (*no* when used with polite forms, and *kasira*) are not used by many women. Two masculine expressions which do not have derogatory connotations but function to show solidarity, *dekkai* and *umai*, are used by many women. One feminine expression which has emotional function but does not sound feminine, *Ussoo!*, is used by many men. Women's and men's social roles are beginning to overlap, so too therefore are women's speech and men's speech.

From comparisons of the results between Japan and New Zealand, it was verified that in general women's speech is less feminine and men's speech is less masculine in New Zealand compared with that in Japan. This would appear to be a result of the influence of New Zealand society, in which gender difference in social roles is small and there are many mixed-sex interactions. As far as ways to ask a favour of a person are concerned, generally speaking, both women and men in Japan use politer expressions than women and men in New Zealand, respectively. This would appear to be a result of the strong reflection of the importance attached in Japan to conforming to social conventions (a phenomenon labelled "discernment" by some authors, and called *wakimae* in Japanese).

It was certified that most women and men in both Japan and New Zealand regard women's language as necessary. Even though the gender difference in roles is becoming smaller, there is little possibility of the gender difference in language disappearing, as well as the gender difference in social roles in Japan. This is because *wakimae* is deep-rooted in Japanese people's minds.

It seems likely that, in the future, stereotyped feminine expressions which demonstrate femininity, and masculine expressions which have derogatory connotations, will be abandoned. However, Japanese people will leave the gender difference in language to a certain extent, because of their desire for discernment.

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## Introduction

It is said that there are salient differences between women's language and men's language in Japanese.

Makino (1990) claims that in written Japanese discourse, females tend to show greater empathy towards readers than do males. From his experiments conducted in 1978, he found four differences in empathy towards the readers: *No da* construction, parenthetical remarks, abrupt openings, and personalised statements about the discourse subject. Makino explains that the *no da* construction does express the speaker's or writer's unilateral empathy with a state or an action, but it does not express direct empathy with other humans, especially with the listener / reader. In his experiment the male writers used *no da* 2.8 times more than the female writers, when telling the Cinderella story, therefore the male writers apparently lack proper empathy compared to the female writers. With regard to parenthetical remarks, Makino explains thus, parenthetical remarks are a forcible imposition of the writer's *evaluative* ideas upon the reader, therefore the total lack of such parentheticals in the female Cinderella stories appears to show that females tend to be more empathetic towards their readers than males are. Makino states that in both the Cinderella story and the letter writing experiment, female writers tend to become close to the reader at the beginning, by introducing empathetic references in the prologue, and by using the classic *mukasi mukasi* as a kind of story-prologue to avoid an abrupt beginning. Makino also found that female writers used personalised statements 1.8 times more often, passive voice, with the referent as surface subject 4.2 times more often than male writers, when writing a newspaper article on a hypothetical traffic accident. He explains that personalised statements have a function to invite the reader to empathise with the referent, and the passive construction indicates writers empathy with the victim.

On the other hand, Kumagaya (1996) concludes in her research that women are beginning to assert themselves, so that the gender difference in writing style is becoming less significant. She examined 'Koe' and 'Hitotoki', "letters to the editor", in the Asahi, national newspaper, throughout one month (October) each year from 1955 to 1995. She selected four items, *watasi* (I), *omou* (I think), *desu-masu* forms (polite forms) and references to one's relatives. It has been pointed out in previous studies that these four are often used by women when writing. She concluded that after 1975 fewer women used *omou*, and more men than before used polite forms, and that therefore the difference in expressions between women and men was becoming less.

It is thought that in regard to listening and reading, there are also gender differences in interpretation. However, research in these fields has not been carried out to any great extent. Therefore this study will focus on spoken language, in which the gender difference appears most obviously.

Japanese women's language has a long history. Contemporary women's language has been influenced by prewar values, such as Confucianism, patriarchy and militarism. After the Second World War, the ideal of sexual equality was introduced to school education. It is plausible that some of the forms of women's language that reflect prewar values have been abandoned by women who were educated on the basis of postwar values. The purpose of this thesis is to find out which expressions of Japanese women's language are predominantly (sometimes exclusively) used by Japanese women, and why they use them. Features of women's language will be discussed with evidence from literature and a survey conducted specifically for this thesis. It is presumed that Japanese people living in New Zealand are affected by New Zealand culture and society, and that therefore their language might be somewhat different from the language of Japanese people living in Japan. The difference in usage of Japanese language between Japanese living in Japan and Japanese living in New Zealand will be discussed.

In Chapter 1, the theoretical framework followed in the preparation of the questionnaire, women's language in English, and the women's status both in Japan and New Zealand are summarised. In Chapter 2, the history of Japanese women and their language is examined to find origins of contemporary women's language. In Chapter 3, some features of Japanese women's language are discussed. In Chapter 4, the results of the survey are analysed. The difference in actual usage of language between women and men, and the difference between Japan and New Zealand is discussed. In Chapter 5, in order to reinforce the evidence from the survey, a soap opera and a documentary are analysed.

## Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, firstly the theoretical framework followed in the preparation of the questionnaire will be summarised. Later, for the sake of comparison of the survey results between Japan and New Zealand in Chapter 4.5, women's language in English and contemporary women's status in both countries will be discussed.

### 1. Women's language in Japanese

Makino (1996 : 70-73) discusses the difference between women's speech and men's speech in Japanese language in his series of *Uti to soto no gengobunkagaku*. He states that gender differences are more notable in Japanese language than in other languages. According to Makino, in general, the situation in which people use language to express their gender is that in which they are intensely conscious of the opposite sex and want to emphasise this difference. He mentions seven areas in which gender difference in spoken language is most conspicuous: interjections, vocabulary, sentence final particles, personal pronouns, *aizuti* (affirmative responses given by the listener in the course of a conversation), honorific expressions and syntax. A summary of his theory as it applies to Japanese follows.

It is natural that gender difference is found in interjections, because interjections express direct emotion. *Ara!* (Oh dear!), *Maa!* (Oh dear!), *Suteki!* (Lovely!) and *Ussoo!* (Really!) are feminine expressions, on the other hand, *Che* (Tut), *Kuso!* (Shit!) and *Bakayaroo!* (Stupid fool!) are masculine expressions. However, *Ussoo!* is used by some men, and *Bakayaroo!* is beginning to be used by some women. Men use interjections more often than women.

With regard to lexical items, there are still gender differences, although the number of words is limited. *Dekkai* (big) and *~te yagaru* (~ing form) are male vocabulary. From earliest times Chinese words have been used more frequently by men; however women are also beginning to use them more often.

Sentence final particles, *zo* and *na* are characteristically used by men, whereas *no*, *wa* and *kasira* are characteristically by women. *Wa* is rarely used by the younger generation. Peng (1981)<sup>1</sup> claims that *ne* and *no* are more often used by women than men. *Ne* and *no* have the function of leading the listener into a conversation. It appears that women are more sympathetic than men and therefore use these more often.

Next, in terms of personal pronouns, *Ata(ku)si* (I) is used by women, while first person pronouns, *wasi*, *assi*, *boku* and *ore*, and second person pronouns, *omae*,

*temee*, *kimi* and *kisama* are used by men. *Kimi* is used by women occasionally. It is generally agreed that women do not acknowledge an addressee as an inferior, and communicate sympathetically with everyone, therefore women do not have second personal pronouns which express their real intentions, except *anata*. Although many young couples refer to their partners by name or nickname, among elderly couples, generally husbands call their wives *omae* or by name, and wives call their husband *anata*.

Ide (1979)<sup>2</sup> claims that women use *aizuti* such as *hai* (yes), *soo desu ka* (is that so?), *hontoo ni* (really) and *hee* (indeed) to express their agreement, twice as often as men. This also suggests a difference between women and men in the degree of sympathy level. (Makino noted that many more women than men nodded their agreement during his lectures.)

According to Ide's minutely detailed research (1985)<sup>3</sup>, women use politer expressions than men when they are talking to a workplace inferior, same-status colleague, friend, spouse or delivery person. There are few differences between women and men when they are talking to a workplace superior, their daughter's or son's teacher, the instructor of a hobby group, a child, neighbour, spouse's friend, or parent at a P.T.A. meeting. As long as honorific expressions are used, sex difference is hard to identify.

Shibamoto (1985)<sup>4</sup> found four main differences in syntax between women and men. These are as follows. Firstly, women use a type of adjectival sentence in which the adjective stands alone or is followed by sentence final particles, 6.3 times as often as men. Secondly, men produced 10.8 percent more subject nominals with copular predicates than women, 18.9 percent more with adjectival predicates, and 9.4 percent more with one-place verbal predicates. Thirdly, women use inverted sentences 2.7 times as often as men. Fourthly, women more often delete the case markers for subject noun phrases and for direct objects.

*Zaamasu* forms and *asobase* forms (which are used exclusively by some women living in the residential sections of Tokyo) are feminine expressions. The prefix *o-* is used to beautify basic words connected with food, clothing and shelter. This usage of the prefix *o-* is more often used by women than men.

For the questionnaire, interjections, vocabulary, sentence final particles, personal pronouns, ways to ask a favour of a person, and the prefix *o-* were selected. Because interview is the best way of researching syntax and *aizuti*, these two areas were omitted from the survey questions. *Zaamasu* and *asobase* forms were also omitted, because the use of these forms is limited to specific women. As well as the expressions which Makino mentions, some additional expressions were added to the survey questions. Sources of the

expressions are as follows.

Morita (1991 : 70) notes the masculine interjections, *Yaa* (Hi) and *Yoo* (Hi) in addition to the interjections which Makino mentions. From Ujiie (1991 : 139) the feminine interjection, *Kawaii!* (Cute!) and neutral interjections, *Are?* (Oh?) and *Oya?* (Oh?) were included.

Jugaku (1979 : 65) contrasts men's language, *hara* (the stomach), *heru* (to feel hungry), *umai* (delicious) and *kuu* (to eat), with women's language, *onaka*, *suku*, *oisii* and *taberu*. The sets *Hara hetta* and *Onaka suite*, *Umai* and *Oisii*, and *Mesi o kuu* and *Gohan o taberu*, were included. Morita (1991 : 70) claims that in general women prefer gentle expressions such as *totemo/tottemo* (very) and avoid using literary expressions like *kiwamete* and *hanahada*. These three expressions were likewise added.

As *no* with polite forms is exclusively feminine, that plus a neutral sentence final particle, *yo* (with both plain and polite forms), also were included.

Although Makino does not mention third person pronouns, gender differences have been observed in these as well. Morita (1991 : 69) identifies a masculine expression, *aitu* (that fellow). A neutral expression, *ano hito* (that person) and a more polite expression, *ano kata* were also added to the questionnaire. Because *assi* is not used by many men, this word was omitted.

For the prefix *o-*, nine words used relatively often by women at the time of his survey in 1952 were selected from a list compiled by Shibata (1978). Although *su* (vinegar), was not included in his survey, he gave it as an example of a word which is often used with *o-*, therefore it, too was added. Horii (1990 : 62) claims that gender difference is more obvious in words which can be used both with and without *o-*. His examples, *o-tya* (Japanese tea) and *o-kome* (uncooked rice) were also included.

In the interview with Usami, Reynolds (1995. 08 : 34) states that American people do not know exactly what women's language is; on the other hand, Japanese people who are studying in the United States, when asked what is characteristic of Japanese women's language, can answer correctly with an example of women's language. In the questionnaire in Question 1, the respondents were asked whether there is a gender difference in the Japanese language.

Makino claims that people express gender in language when they are conscious of the opposite sex. In order to examine his claim, the female respondents were asked in which circumstances they use women's language.

Most female linguists who have written about women's language are critical of stereotyped feminine expressions. Reynolds (1995. 08 : 38) suggests that women should acquire a functional language to clearly tell the addressee what they want. In order to collect ordinary people's opinions, the respondents were asked to answer whether women's language is necessary or not.

## 2. Women's language in English

In comparing the survey results in Japan with those obtained in New Zealand, it is necessary to understand gender differences in English.

Robin Lakoff (1975 : 7) defines the meaning of women's language as both language restricted to women, and language descriptive of women alone. She (1975 : 53-57) summarises the forms that she sees as comprising "women's language" as follows :

1. Women have a large stock of words related to their specific interests, generally relegated to them as "woman's work".
2. "Empty" adjectives like *divine, charming, cute...*
3. Question intonation where we might expect declaratives.
4. The use of hedges of various kinds.
5. The use of the intensive "so".
6. Hypercorrect grammar: women are not supposed to talk rough.
7. Superpolite forms: women are supposed to speak more politely than men.
8. Women don't tell jokes.
9. Women speak in italics, and the more ladylike and feminine you are, the more in italics you are supposed to speak.

Lakoff (1975 : 19) notes that a word that may be used to refer to either women or men, when applied to women assumes a special meaning that, by implication rather than by outright assertion, is derogatory to women as a group.

Spender (1980) accepts Lakoff as one of the early feminists who began to explore women's language; however she is critical of Lakoff's argument. Spender (1980 : 8) criticises Lakoff's view that "in comparison with the (ostensibly) forceful and effective language of men, women are tentative, hesitant, even trivial, and are therefore 'deficient'." Spender (1980 : 36-37) explains women's politeness as follows: as there is a social expectation that 'subordinates' should be more polite than their 'superiors', it is nothing less than consistent that women should be more polite than men. However, she claims (1980 : 38) that "the findings of women's politeness have not been refuted could be an indication of the pervasiveness of patriarchal assumptions rather than proof of women's 'politeness'."

Maltz and Borker (1982 : 205) conclude that basically, girls learn to do three things with words : (1) to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, (2) to criticise others in acceptable ways, and (3) to interpret accurately the speech of other girls. They also conclude (1982 : 207) that speech for boys seems to have three uses : (1) to assist one's position of dominance, (2) to attract and maintain an audience, and (3) to assert oneself when other speakers have the floor. They identify (1982 : 213) five areas in which the sexes are likely to possess different rules so that miscommunication results : (a) Women seem to see questions as a part of conversational maintenance ; men seem to view them primarily as requests for information. (b) Women's rules seem to call for an explicit acknowledgement of what has been said and making a connection to it ; men seem to have no such rules and in fact

some male strategies call for ignoring the preceding comments. (c) Women seem to interpret overt aggressiveness as personally directed, negative, and disruptive ; men seem to view it as one conventional organising structure for conversational flow. (d) Women have a system in which topic is developed progressively and shifts gradually ; men [seem to] operate with a system in which topic is fairly narrowly defined and adhered to until finished and in which shifts between topics are abrupt. (e) Women tend to discuss problems with one another, sharing experiences and offering reassurances ; men, in contrast, tend to hear women, and other men, who present them with problems as making explicit requests for solutions, and they respond by giving advice, by acting as experts, lecturing to their audiences.

Holmes (1992 : 167) describes gender differences in language as follows: “in Western communities where women’s and men’s social roles overlap, the speech forms they use also overlap...They use different quantities or frequencies of the same forms...Both the social and the linguistic patterns in these communities are sex-preferential...women tend to use more of the standard forms than men do, while men use more of the vernacular forms than women do.” Holmes (1992 : 321) argues that “Analyses which take account of the function of features of women’s speech often reveal women as facilitative and supportive conversationalists, rather than as unconfident, tentative talkers.” In a radio programme Holmes<sup>5</sup> explains women’s greater use of standard forms than men thus : “Standard forms are generally easier to understand, therefore by using more of them women are taking account of the listeners’ needs and ensuring what they say is intelligible. Standard forms are also associated with more education and higher social status. By using more standard forms, women treat the listeners as well-educated people.” Holmes (1984 : 154-155) found in her research that women use more tags which can be categorised as primarily expressing solidarity or ‘positive politeness’ than any other meaning, and they use three times as many of these tags as men do, therefore women tend to put considerably more effort than men into maintaining and facilitating conversation and discussion. She explains (1992 : 329): “Women’s cooperative conversational strategies, however, may be explained better by looking at the influence of context and patterns of socialisation. The norms for women’s talk may be the norms for small group interaction in private contexts, where the goals of the interaction are solidarity stressing — maintaining good social relations. Agreement is sought and disagreement avoided. By contrast, the norms for male interaction seem to be those of public referentially-oriented interaction.” She also claims (1992 : 336-342) that the use of an additional suffix to signal ‘femaleness’, the use of forms such as *he* and *man* as generic forms, and the use of the suffix *-man* reflect society’s view of women in many English-speaking communities—women are often assigned subordinate status by virtue of their gender alone, and treated linguistically as subordinate, regardless of their actual power or social status in a particular context.

Loveday (1986 : 299-300) states that “Loveday (1981)<sup>6</sup> found that Japanese female subjects adopted a falsetto mode, while males took a low pitch profile. This contrasted with

the performance of English informants of both sexes, whose pitch level were less differentiated, suggesting that the Japanese sex-role expectations are more rigid than those prescribed by English norms." Loveday (1986 : 301) also points out that "Japanese females are generally expected in formal situations to talk much less than males or even remain silent." Holmes (1992 : 324) points out the similar view in English-speaking communities thus : "In a wide range of contexts, particularly non-private ones such as television interviews, staff meetings and conference discussions, where talking may increase your status, men dominate the talking time."

### 3. The status of Japanese women

Today Japanese women have great freedom. Because of economic growth and the development of electrical appliances, wives who once were tied to home can now do culturally enriching activities in their spare time, or can work outside the home to fulfil themselves. Compared to women's rich and fulfilled lives, men's lives are stressful because of being chained to the company. Iwao (1993 : 07) states an interesting comment : The Confucian ethic of the three obediences formerly binding women<sup>7</sup> could be rewritten today as the three obediences for men: obedience to mothers when young, companies when adult, and wives when retired.

After the Second World War, equality of the sexes was guaranteed by the Japanese Constitution, which was enacted in 1947. However, women born before the war were brought up by parents with prewar values, in which men were superior and women were inferior, and the *ie*, "household", system (a hierarchy, with the father at its head) was absolute. Women were expected to conform to the ideal pattern expressed in the phrase *ryoosai-kenbo* (literally: good wife and wise mother). In the *ie* system, everyone's roles are determined vertically. Women of this generation sometimes use honorifics to their husbands and are critical about young women's speech. The worlds of women and men in this generation were far apart, therefore women had autonomy and independence in their own world, and they were content with their roles as wives and mothers.

On the other hand, the generation born after the war was educated based on the ideal of sexual equality at school<sup>8</sup>. The women of this generation therefore sought out husbands on an equal basis, or as friends. It is a characteristic of their speech that they rarely use honorifics to their husbands but often use feminine expressions. Iwao (1993 : 22) argues that the lives of the women of the first postwar generation (born between 1946 and 1955) have been profoundly affected by postwar values and institutions and bear witness to the transition between traditional sex roles and behaviour and those of the "liberated" woman of the post industrial age. The husbands of this generation still define the roles of women along traditional lines.

Although most Japanese women live primarily on their husband's income, they hold the purse strings of the household and enjoy economic independence. Therefore most women begin working in order to pursue their identity as an individual, but they are reluctant to become a breadwinner at the sacrifice of their freedom. Iwao (1993 : 87) points out that electronic banking is undermining the status of fathers and their authority within the family without any compensating change in the awareness and behaviour of fathers themselves.

Once children are born, most Japanese couples begin to call each other by family-centred names, *otoosan* (father) and *okaasan* (mother). This practice shows that parental roles dominate over the roles of husband and wife. Supporting children's education is an important element of a Japanese women's role as mother. However, when children enter primary school, women begin working to seek their identity. Most women content themselves with part-time status in order to maintain the household chores. Studying at university, working full-time, resignation for child rearing, and reentry into the labour force became a common female life cycle. Tanaka (1995 : 306) claims that "Less-educated women are more likely to be movers between the home and the labor market. Four-year university graduates are more likely to be polarized into two groups, career seekers and full-time housewives." Government tax policy also makes wives content themselves with part-time status. Within the earning limits, they do not have to pay any income tax and are covered by their husband's national health insurance and annuity. Caring for the elderly is another factor which keeps women as part-time workers. On the other hand, career-oriented women who chose *soogoosyoku*, "management-track positions", are expected to fit into a workplace where they work long hours and transfer if necessary. Consequently these women are divided into a small elite group separate from the others.

Among the younger generation, whose parents are the first postwar generation, alongside an increasing number of women who enter the work force and attain fulfilment, men have also begun to pursue more freedom. Men are no longer solely responsible for household income. They can now seek careers which suit their abilities, and enjoy quality of life. This generation, both women and men, desire more time for family and leisure. The younger generation of men are more cooperative with housework and childrearing, and more easily approachable by women, than the older generations. This change has also appeared in their speech, use of polite and modest expressions, and avoiding rough language.

#### **4. The status of New Zealand women**

In New Zealand, like other developed countries, the number of women entering the job market has been increasing. Increased affordable child care services, prepared food, laboursaving devices, and the opportunity to share domestic responsibilities with partners or family members<sup>9</sup> lead to higher participation rates of women in paid work. The gradual breaking down of barriers, with women moving beyond the roles of wife and mother, has

motivated women to enter the labour force. The number of partnered women who are the sole breadwinners for their families has increased. A revolution in contraceptive technology has also opened up new opportunities for women. It has provided women with access to more effective means of control over the number and the timing of births. Greater equality in employment opportunities and in pay<sup>10</sup> encourages women to achieve economic independence and to take control over their lives. However, women continue to provide most of the unpaid work, especially domestic labour.

Marital dissolution by divorce and separation has increased and more women are delaying marriage or not marrying at all. Longer periods of formal education and increased career opportunities for young women are the main factors in the postponement of marriage. De facto unions have become more common in recent years. Women living in non-traditional, non-nuclear family and household types, such as sole-parent families, step-families or blended families, couples without children and women living alone, have been increasing. Simultaneously, women are having fewer children and beginning their childbearing later than before.

Separation as a means of ending an unsatisfactory marital relationship has become more commonplace<sup>11</sup>. The majority of children involved in marriage breakups are placed in the custody of their mother, although this proportion has declined recently. The number of divorced women who are living in a de facto relationship has increased.

Single parent families have been the fastest growing family type in New Zealand in recent years. The majority of single parents are women. A major factor in the predominance of women single parents has been the steady increase in recent years in never-married parents, which is largely a female phenomenon. Another factor is the greater likelihood of mothers taking custody of children after a marriage has ended.

Despite the growth in women's part-time employment, the proportion of women in full-time work is still greater than the proportion in part-time work. Overall, women are much more likely than men to work part-time. Many women work part-time when their youngest child is less than five year old, and start working full-time when the youngest child reaches school age. In general, the more education a woman has the more likely she will enter into the labour force. The most common reasons why women work full-time, are extra family income, as well as the enjoyment and satisfaction gained from paid employment.

The majority of employed women work in the service sector. Men continue to dominate supervisory and managerial positions, while women are concentrated in the lower rank positions. Although the number of women who are self-employed has increased, they are still much less likely than men to be self-employed. Women's representation in a number of professional occupations characterised by high status or high pay has increased.

## 5. Summary

Comparing the Japanese language with English, it seems that in Japanese there are many more expressions restricted to either one sex or the other. Moreover the concept that women should use women's language is accepted as a matter of course more strongly in Japanese society than in English-speaking communities. To avoid making any strong statement is a characteristic of women's language in both Japanese and English, but Japanese women's language has neither assertive nor imperative forms. This shows that Japanese women's language reflects social expectations of women and restricts women more strongly. When a woman fails to behave *onna-rasiku*, "as expected of women", she is criticised by its being said, *onna no kuse ni*, "in spite of being a woman". However, two similar aspects are observed between the two languages. Women's speech is more polite or more cooperative than men's speech, and terms used to talk about women indicate women's lower status both in Japanese and English.

Ide and McGloin (1990 : i-ii) explains Japanese people's ways of thinking as follows : "among highly developed industrial countries Japan is unique in that feminism has not revolutionized people's ways of thinking and living. Though it has had a certain influence, most people stick to old ways. The reason might lie in assumptions about what it is to be a man or a woman in Japanese society. In Western societies interaction is carried out on the basis of individualism and egalitarianism. Instead of claiming the same status and role as men, Japanese women prefer a complementary vision of status and role differences, giving them equal dignity, despite differences in form...social and psychological factors dependent on the variable of gender in Japanese are complex and cannot be reduced to questions of power and status only."

In developed countries people are sensitive about gender discriminations because of the influence of feminism. Working outside, delaying marriage and childbearing, and having fewer children are common tendencies among contemporary women both in Japan and New Zealand. They have begun to seek roles other than wife and mother. Compared with New Zealand, Japanese society is less prepared to support working women. Inadequacy of child care services and the public care system for elderly people makes it difficult for women to work full-time. Severe working conditions at Japanese companies keep men away from helping with housework, and keep women away from full-time jobs. Under the seniority system men get higher salary than women, because most women have to resign for child rearing. New Zealand women seem more likely to be independent and career-oriented, and to demand equality with men. Japanese women, on the other hand, are more likely to seek freedom to enjoy their lives, rather than competing with men in order to get the same status as men.

## Notes

1. Peng, F.C.C. (ed.)  
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2. Ide, S.  
Daigakusei no hanasi kotoba ni mirareru danzyo sai. Monbusyoo kagaku kenkyuui tokutei kenkyuu, 'genko', Peng han tyuukan hookoku, 1979.
3. Ide, S. and others  
Zyosei no keigo no genko keisiki to kinoo. Monbusyoo kagaku kenkyuui seika hookokusyo, 1985.
4. Shibamoto, J.S.  
Japanese women's language. New York, London etc : Academic Press, Inc, 1985.
5. 'The language of gender', 3rd programme of series 'The Language Net'. National Radio, 1997, 07.  
(This programme was recorded several years ago.)
6. Loveday, L.  
Pitch, politeness and sexual role. Language and Speech 24 : 71-89, 1981.
7. The three obediences for women: obedience to parents when young, husbands when married, and sons when old.
8. The situation is in the process of improving, but inequality of the sexes still exists in school systems ; separate registers for boys and girls in which the boy's roll always comes first, difference in mandatory subjects between the sexes, sexism and gender stereotyping in textbooks, and so forth.
9. In many families, boys and girls are expected to do different tasks at home. Mothers are still the primary care givers, both of children and other dependents. Fathers spend much less time on child care than women, take most responsibility for outdoor tasks. The Ministry of Women's Affairs (1992 : 17).
10. In Japan The Equal Employment Opportunity Law came into force in 1986. However, the act imposes on employers only the duty to make efforts to treat women equally with men.
11. Compared with New Zealand, Japanese couples are less likely to get divorced. Dissatisfaction in marital relationship alone is not usually regarded as a sufficient reason for divorce, and continuing to meet their parental obligations is more important. Another factor contributing to the low divorce rate is the difficulty for women to be financial independent.

## Chapter 2 History of Japanese Women and Their Language

In this chapter, the historical development of Japanese women's language as well as their status will be examined to find the origins of contemporary women's language. Although this thesis focuses on spoken language, for the historical background it has been necessary to rely on literary sources.

### 1. Ancient times (up to twelfth century)

In ancient times, Japan was a matrilineal society. Amaterasu, the female sun god, is regarded as the supreme deity and the original ancestor of the Japanese imperial family. Some Shinto female shamans had religious and political powers. Until the end of the Nara period (710-794), Japan was sometimes ruled by empresses. However, from the last years of the Nara period, Confucianism began to permeate society, consequently the Confucian doctrine of *Dan-Son Jo-Hi*, "men superior, women inferior", began to take root in Japanese society. Women's roles in the Court were reduced and women began to be eliminated from the pivotal role of politics. For that reason in the Heian period (794-1192) women's speech also began to be restricted.

Endo (1997 : 28-29) argues that any tangible difference in vocabulary and grammar between women's language and men's language cannot be observed, but various taboos in women's way of speaking, such as that women should speak slowly in an undertone but neither logically nor intellectually, are mentioned in the works of Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shonagon, and this shows that women's speech was restricted as a reflection of their social status in the Heian period.

Chinese characters were introduced into Japan in about third or fourth century, since there was no indigenous writing system in Japan. Japanese was translated into Chinese and written down in Chinese characters. In the ninth century, *hiragana*, which was made up from certain Chinese characters in order to represent the Japanese syllabary, was created. However, public servants and priests regarded Chinese characters as formal orthography, and used Chinese words and characters to show their superiority. Only people who belonged to the class in power could learn Chinese. From the beginning of tenth century women began to be discouraged from learning and using Chinese. Women in the upper classes were encouraged to be educated especially in the arts and poetry so that they could be found a place at court. They could read and write in Japanese. Since *hiragana* are phonograms, women were able to express their true emotions in writing. As a result, women composed marvellous literature, which could not have been produced without the creation of *hiragana*. *The Tale of Genji*, a novel by Murasaki, was written in *hiragana* in the eleventh century.

In *The Tale of Genji*, Murasaki makes one of her female characters use Chinese words to indicate the character's intelligence. Because she uses Chinese words often, this character is kept at a distance by men. This anecdote illustrates a social expectation of those days—that women should not use Chinese words, but rather Japanese words which were considered softer.

## 2. Mediaeval times (twelfth century to sixteenth century)

Warriors employed by the nobility expanded their power, and late in the twelfth century they became the leaders of the country. The leading warrior was virtual ruler of Japan, while the emperor was nominal ruler. The rule of the warrior class lasted until late in the nineteenth century. A warrior's wife was expected to be subservient to her husband, just as he was to be subservient to his lord. Compared to upper-class women, peasant women had greater freedom and more equality with peasant men. However, their lives were difficult because of their daily hard physical tasks and poverty.

In the Kamakura period (1192-1392), as Buddhism prospered, women began to be discriminated against as a sinful sex or an inferior sex. Obedient women who did not assert themselves were considered desirable. The gender difference in language became distinct, whereas in the Heian period differences in language were mainly based on status. In the Muromachi period (1392-1573), male chauvinism can be seen in *kyoogen*, a form of drama, in which wives use honorifics to their husbands.

From the 14th century to the 16th century, *nyooboo*, "court women", were using their own language for food, utensils and their personal belongings. This language is called *nyooboo-kotoba*, "the language of court women". An important characteristic of *nyooboo-kotoba* is avoiding Chinese words and using softer words, basically the same as Japanese words, which have their origins in the time before the introduction of Chinese. Besides this, abbreviations, the prefix *o-*, the suffix *-mozi*, repeated words, and words named from colour or shape, are features of *nyooboo-kotoba*. Politeness and euphemisms are an elegant characteristic of *nyooboo-kotoba*; on the other hand, abbreviations and repeated words indicate its naive traits.

In the beginning, *nyooboo-kotoba* was a kind of secret language used at court. However, as time went on, it gradually came to be used by ordinary women as an elegant and soft women's language.

### 3. The Edo period

In the Edo period (1603-1868), the Tokugawa *shoguns* used the Confucian system to create a stable central government. Hierarchical order is an important element in Confucianism; older is superior to younger, male to female, and certain occupations to others. The physical freedom of women to move about came to be strictly regulated. Women's inheritance and property rights were curtailed. Although during the Heian period it was common that the husband came to live at his wife's home, in the Edo period the wife had to move to her husband's home. Education for women was limited to basic reading and mathematical skills, and artistic skills such as calligraphy and flower arranging. Moral education encouraged women to be modest, to be obedient to their husbands and not to express their opinions. These restrictions were most heavily imposed on women of the warrior class.

Educational books for women, such as *Onna Tyoohooki* (1692) and *Zyotyuu Kotoba* (1712), were published, and not only women's behaviour but also women's language was regulated. In other words, these books served to discipline women, with patriarchy as a base for that discipline. The ideal of women's language was as follows: women should use polite language and *yamato-kotoba*, which was derived from *nyooboo-kotoba*; women should not use Chinese words, men's language (which was used by warriors in Kanto region) or the fashionable slang of the day. Women's language was regarded as being the same as children's language.

Endo (1997 : 99) argues that since Chinese words are logical and definite as well as sounding stronger than Japanese words, men thought that Chinese words were not suitable for women, and that men prohibited women from using slang because they hated women taking part in worldly affairs.

In the Edo period, *yuuzyo* (prostitutes) created their own professional language called *yuuzyo-kotoba*, "harlots' language". Most of the content of *yuuzyo-kotoba* were honorifics, which were essential to express deference towards their patrons. Some of *yuuzyo-kotoba*, for instance *zaamasu* and *asobase* were taken over by the upper-class women as refined language in the Meiji period (1868-1912).

### 4. The Meiji and the Taisho periods

In 1867 the feudal government returned its power to the Emperor, and in 1868 a new government was formed with the Emperor Meiji at its head. In the Meiji period, western culture, and the ideology of equality of the sexes, were introduced. However, the reality was far from the ideal. There were inequalities in suffrage, employment, education and family law. The ideology of equality of the sexes stimulated women's self-knowledge. A women's rights movement began in the 1880 s—although it made little headway until the end of the

Second World War.

In 1872 the Japanese government declared in the Fundamental Code of Education that everyone should be educated. However, financial reasons often prevented children of poor families, especially girls, from attending school. Higher educational opportunities for girls were limited by lack of financial support from the government and by parents' fears that higher education could make daughters more rebellious. Although in the early 1870s the curriculum for girls and boys was roughly the same, in the 1880s Confucian values were emphasised again. The goal of women's education was to make a woman a "good wife and wise mother".

Mashimo (1969 : 40) explains that women were influenced by women's college education which implanted femininity in their minds, so that women's language reflected this characteristic of *onna-rasiku*, "as expected of women". Women's language thus had features such as a higher level of politeness than men's language, because women's social status was considered lower than men's. Therefore it was more indirect, having special sentence final particles to soften the whole sentence, and no assertive form. Moreover, until the Meiji period, restriction in language was only among the educated class. However, in the Meiji period, compulsory education was adopted and women were educated in the traditional "good wife and wise mother" pattern. In the late 1880s Nationalism conquered Japanese society, women were forced into the role of giving birth to and bringing up loyal citizens for their country under a patriarchal system. In the middle of the Meiji period, many women's magazines were published. Most of them preached the "good wife and wise mother" ideal as the model for women's existence. When women did not use soft and polite expressions, or they stated their opinions clearly, they became the focus of criticism.

Although the gender difference in language among ordinary people was not distinct in the Edo period, this difference began to appear in novels in the Meiji period. In those works honorifics are often used by women towards men but not vice versa. It is since the Meiji period that the distinction between women's language and men's language has become as clear as it is today.

Endo (1997 : 147-149) compares women's speech in the Meiji period to contemporary women's speech, and reaches the conclusion that women in the Meiji period more often used polite expressions, like *watakusi* and *gozaimasu*, honorifics and higher degree honorifics. She argues that society and education compelled women to use politer language in the Meiji period, therefore current women's speech can be interpreted positively as a result of women's liberty and using their own language.

## 5. The Showa and the Heisei periods

In the beginning of the Showa period (1925-1989), in which militarism and decadence existed together, modern girls, who adopted Western customs and the idea of equality between the sexes, used to use men's language, while on the other hand, the military government used Confucian ideas of hierarchy and loyalty to strengthen its policies, which required that soldiers should obey and give loyalty to the emperor, and wives should do the same to their husbands. When the Second World War began, it was considered that women's duty was to guard the home front. Towards the end of the war, women began to change their skirts or *kimono* to more active *monpe*, "women's work pants". In such circumstances, women's behaviour, as well as their language, became more active. Women, who looked after their home and workplace in men's absence, gained confidence and emerged into society. As was seen in Chapter 1.3, since the end of the war women have come to be freed from prewar values and to seek autonomy; consequently their language has become closer to men's language and vice versa.

During the process of its development, contemporary women's language has been strongly influenced by the education and social conditioning of women by men. Recently it has often been said that young women's speech has been corrupted. However, this change in language results from the giving of direct expression to emotions. If the social expectation of women is that they should use feminine expressions, not to do so means to be impolite, rude or inappropriate. Usami (1995. 08 : 39) claims that in Japanese society, there is a tendency to fit everyone into a role based on standard values. The word *onna-rasiku* illustrates this fact. The expression *onna no kuse ni* exists for criticising a woman who fails to behave as is expected of women.

Reynolds (1990 : 135-136) points out two types of mixed-sex interactional situations where the objective conditions for conflict are inherent : a situation in which a female speaker is superior in social status to a male speaker and a situation in which both sexes are supposed to have equal status. In the former situation, a woman in a superior position is expected to signify her authoritative power in her language, but female speech does not provide a means to this end. However, Reynolds obtained evidence in her interviews that women are attempting, subconsciously, to resolve the conflict, mostly by defeminising their speech within limits. In the latter situation, Reynolds asserts that the odds are in favour of male speakers in any competition in informal speech. Reynolds (1990 :137) also claims that especially in Japan, where the desire for harmony is so deep-rooted in the culture that deviating from the cultural norm—destroying the harmony—is almost suicidal. Endo (1997 : 178-190) conducted a survey of speech in work places in 1993 and found that the difference in level of politeness appears according to status and not to gender.

In the past women were told to avoid using the fashionable slang of the day, however in 1970 s many new words began to be created by young women and came were used by women and men. These words have a function of solidarity, in the same way as *nyooboo-*

*kotoba*. Yonekawa (1997.03 : 62) argues that from the late 1970 s the Japanese economy changed from production to consumption, and language, which used to be a device to restrict people or to express ideology, became a subject of play. This was the result of young people's rejection of the values of adult male-oriented society. Endo (1997 : 217-218) warns that while women obtained the power of creating new words; on the other hand, in the "bubble economy" they were taken as a commercial base, and incited to participate in the market, and that as well as their newly-coined words, they themselves also were exploited. It would seem that contemporary society causes a state of mental conflict for women. In other words, women are caught between their demands for freedom to express themselves and restrictions imposed by adult male-oriented society. Endo (1990 : 40) claims that "young girls' speech patterns have become 'less feminine'...by rejecting 'feminine' speech forms", and that "many men, particularly young men, seem to be abandoning the use of certain words and verb forms associated with masculine speech forms...and are adopting, instead, the politer 'feminine' speech forms."

## 6. Summary

In ancient times Japan was a matrilineal society. However, with the permeation of Confucianism and Buddhism, women began to be regarded as an inferior sex. Women were educated to be modest and to be obedient to their husbands. At first, Japanese women's language was created by women themselves. Compared with men's language, into which many Chinese words were introduced, women's language, which was created from Japanese words, was softer. As time went on, men took advantage of women's language to condition women. Therefore women's language reflects femininity, with its characteristics of a higher level of politeness than men's language, its special sentence final particles to soften the statement, and the lack of an assertive form. For the most part, contemporary women's language was established in the Meiji period. Therefore it is considered that the characteristics of so-called women's language reflect prewar values. This means that, as long as women use women's language, their status is regarded as inferior to men. Although after the Second World War equality of the sexes was guaranteed by the constitution, Japan is still a male-oriented society, because positions of authority are occupied mainly by men. It is men that create social norms and impose them upon women. In the late twentieth century it seems that women are caught in a struggle between the desire to express themselves freely and the restrictions imposed by society.

## Chapter 3 Features of Japanese Women's Language

In this chapter, some features of Japanese women's language, and language descriptive of women will be discussed. From these features social expectations of women will be argued.

### 1. Sentence final particles

Sentence final particles are often used in conversations and express the speaker's various feelings. Japanese sentence final particles can be classified into three groups, feminine, masculine and neutral, according to a gender characteristic. It is considered that *wa*, *no* and *kasira* are feminine, *zo* and *na* are masculine, and *yo* and *ne* are neutral.

*Zo* and *yo* are used when expressing information which belongs to the speaker, to an addressee. *Zo* strongly emphasises the speaker's statement, and hence is used by men, and by superiors to inferiors, such as husband to wife, father to child, or teacher to student. *Yo*, on the other hand, indicates a mild emphasis. Therefore, *yo* can be used by inferiors to superiors if the relationship is intimate, for example child to parent. McGloin (1990 : 28) argues that *yo* used with the plain form is still more typical of men's speech, and that women would have to add *wa* or the polite form to soften the assertive force of *yo*.

*Na* and *ne* are used to seek confirmation or agreement from the hearer. McGloin (1990 : 26) argues that in declarative sentences, particle *ne* and *na* can be appended to a proposition which exclusively belongs to the speaker's territory of information and that these particles are used to seek rapport—to establish an empathic conversational context with the addressee. *Na* imposes the speaker's point of view upon the addressee more strongly than *ne*. Hence *na* is used by superiors, while *ne* is used by inferiors. *Na* and *ne* also have the function of creating rapport between the speaker and the hearer.

McGloin (1990 : 33) claims that the feminine *wa*<sup>1</sup> seeks to engender an emotional rapport, an atmosphere of empathetic feeling between the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, Ide (1990 : 76) explains the double nature of the meaning and function of the morpheme *wa* as follows : "it is the softening function of the particle *wa* (negative politeness strategy) that makes it possible to create an atmosphere of sharedness (the effect of positive politeness strategy)." Takahara (1991 : 71) argues that the particle *wa* in female speech gives a softening effect to demonstrative statements. She also states (1991 : 72) that "since the particle *wa* is shared with neutral speech as well as regional male dialects, the normal falling tone of the *wa*-marked female demonstratives will diminish sex distinctions. The question intonation of the female demonstrative utterances, therefore, resolves this linguistic dilemma. Moreover, the question intonation of the *wa*-marked female utterances agrees with the social

norm of women's communicative behaviour: appearing not assertive but uncertain and receptive instead."

Although *no* is often used in interrogative sentences by both women and men, *no* in declarative sentences and *no* with polite forms are used predominantly by women. McGloin (1990 : 35) explains *no* thus : "its femininity lies in the function of *no desu* to present a proposition as relevant to the hearer, to create an atmosphere of shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. This has a conversational effect of involving the hearer and establishing rapport with the hearer. Women use *no* more widely than men use *n(o) da*. This is because women tend to be more positively polite—i.e., women tend to pay more attention to the hearer's desire to be liked, to be positively regarded. Thus, women tend to seek to establish and/or maintain more conversational rapport with the hearer. *No* serves this function by creating a conversational rapport between the speaker and the hearer." Takahara (1991 : 68) claims that "The *no*-marked utterances in Japanese female speech which resemble English tag questions may have developed at the expense of syntactic integrity in order to meet the social requirement for women's communicative behavior to be noncommittal and nonassertive."

*Kasira* creates uncertainty and makes the statement soft. *Ka na* and *desyoo ka* are equivalent expressions to *kasira*. Takahara (1991 : 74) analyses *kasira* thus : "The analysis into the components of *ka* 'question marker' and *sira*, however, reveals that the phrase does not indicate a question but signals a hedge. The second component *sira* is homonymous with the negative verb stem *sira-nai* 'don't know'. Thus the illocutionary force of the question is cancelled with *sira* 'don't know', resulting in the speaker's stating her lack of knowledge...The corresponding male phrase *ka na* 'I wonder' also signals the speaker's uncertainty, but in comparison with the feminine form *ka sira*, the sense of *ka na* is quite different in that the particle *na* is merely an interjection which accompanies the speculative mood of the speaker."

It appears that masculine sentence final particles are used to express the speaker's emotion strongly, whereas feminine sentence final particles are used to make the speaker's statement softer or more cooperative. McGloin (1990 : 29) claims that "Just as male speakers of inferior status cannot use strongly assertive particles...women cannot strongly impose their views on the addressee by using these particles." These features illustrate that women are linguistically treated as the inferior sex. McGloin (1990 : 37) also argues that "*wa* and *no* are essentially positive politeness strategies and that positive politeness strategies are also a very important aspect of women's speech in Japanese."

## 2. Personal pronouns

Ide (1990 : 44) states that “in Japanese personal identity is flexible and dependent on the position of speaker in relation to hearer within a given situation. This flexibility of person references may be said to be a crucial determinant of social behavior of the Japanese.”

There is a difference in the repertoire of personal pronouns between women and men in Japanese. Firstly, a difference in the degree of formality can be observed in first person pronouns. *Watasi* is used by women in informal situations, while it is used by men in formal situations. Secondly, there are pronouns at the deprecatory<sup>2</sup> level, *ore*, *omae*, *temee*, *kisama* and *aitu*, in men’s vocabulary, while there are none in women’s vocabulary. Ide (1990 : 74) argues that categorical differences in the repertoire of personal pronouns lead to women’s automatic expression of deference and demeanour<sup>3</sup>.

The difference in the degree of formality illustrates the social expectation of women, in which women are required to be more polite. No deprecatory words in women’s vocabulary illustrates women’s good demeanour.

## 3. The prefix *o-*

The prefix *o-* is used with basic vocabulary concerning food, clothing and shelter. When the prefix *o-* is used for a thing which belongs to somebody else, it has an honorific function. On the other hand, when the prefix *o-* is used indiscriminately, or for a thing which belongs to the speaker, it has a beautifying function.

Ide (1990 : 75) explains that “women have no label to mark their social position. High and prestigious linguistic forms are generally associated with high social class. Thus, women tend to be interested in the use of higher forms expressed by beautification or hypercorrected honorifics in order to show higher social class than they actually belong.”

## 4. Avoidance of assertive and imperative forms, and of vulgar expressions

Usami (1995. 08 : 34) points out the deletion of the assertive auxiliary verb, *da* in female speech.

*Yuube nemurenakatta no.* (female speech)

*Yuube nemurenakatta n da.* (male speech)

(I could not sleep last night.)

Usami also claims that women are supposed to request even when they wish to command.

*Hayaku kite yo.* (female speech)

(Please come quickly.)

*Hayaku koi yo.*

(male speech)

(Come quickly.)

Usami explains that women's language reflects social expectation of women, in which women should neither assert nor command. Takahara (1991 : 79-80) explains female imperatives such as *kite (yo)* and *konaide (yo)* thus : These are constructed of incomplete verb phrases consisting of the *te/de*-marked verb stem and an isolated occurrence of the *te/de*-marked verb phrase is syntactically anomalous, semantically senseless, and communicatively ambiguous. She also points out that female requests have fewer varieties than male requests and that the female imperatives have no place in speech situations which are socially elevated or involve complex personal relationships. Reynolds (1995. 08 : 35) argues that men's language is suitable for use when quarrelling, while women's language is not, so that the language is symbolic of a relationship in which men can deal with women by force, but women cannot show they are offended.

Takahara (1991 : 79) argues the difference in the construction of interrogatives between women's speech and men's speech as follows : "a repertoire of female questions is severely limited in comparison with male speech due to a deficiency in the interrogative syntax of women's speech. Women's interrogatives are essentially demonstrative statements in shape, and the illocutionary force of questions depends on such paralinguistic devices as intonation or context of situation."

The above arguments confirm that there is a difference between women's language and men's language in the degree to which assertion, injunction, interrogation and abuse can be expressed. This leads to the fact that women are discriminated against linguistically.

Ide (1990 : 74) points out that women's speech lacks expressions of profanity or obscenity, and that the deprecatory suffix *yagaru*, sentence final particles, *zo* and *ze*, and phonological reduction forms, such as *dekee*, having a derogatory connotation, are men's vocabulary. She argues that "women, having no access to those vulgar expressions automatically sound like person with better demeanor."

## 5. Terms used to talk about women

8 derogatory terms for women will be chosen from Cherry (1987) and Endo (1989), and their explanations will be summarised.

*demodori* (returnees)

The women called *demodori* may still follow the tradition of moving back in with their parents, but they can never fully revert to their former respectable status because they are divorced.

*kanai* (house-insider)

When Japanese men talk about their own spouses, they ordinarily use *kanai*. Older men use *gusai*, “my foolish wife”, humbly in formal situations. On the other hand, women describe their spouse without honorifics as master, *syuzin*.

*umazume* (stone woman)

The word *umazume* means a woman who is infertile. It is written with characters for stone and woman and can also be read as “non-birthing woman”.

*zyoryuu* (female stream)

*Zyoryuu*, literally “female stream or style” is tacked onto job titles when a woman does work that Japanese tradition assigns to men. The resulting words make a frivolous impression, such as *zyoryuu sakka*, “authoress”, *zyoryuu gaka*, “lady artist”, and *zyoryuu bungaku*, “ladies’ literature”.

*syokuba no hana* (office flowers)

Japanese female employees, in general, are characterised by their short-lived blossoming. A woman of any age can be an office lady, while office flowers must be young enough to serve as decorations for brightening and softening the predominantly masculine office environment.

*miboozin* (the not-yet-dead people)

When a woman’s husband dies in Japan, she is called a *miboozin*. Many Japanese use this word unconscious of its literal meaning, but the original implication was that once a woman’s husband is dead, she has outlived her purpose and has nothing left to do but await death herself.

*syuutome* (mother-in-law)

Placing the “female” ideogram beside the symbol for “old”, creates the Japanese word for mother-in-law, a powerful position that loomed larger than life in the traditional Japanese family structure.

(Cherry)

*kikoku-sizyo* (children who have returned from abroad)

*Kikoku-sizyo* is used when referring to children who have returned from abroad. Some dictionaries state that the word *sizyo* is derived from son and daughter. However, from its Chinese characters, it can also be interpreted as child and woman.

This term reflects the fact that, in the feudal period, women were regarded as children.  
(Endo)

Nakamura (1990 : 153) argues that “sexual connotations are brought out by both *onna* and *otoko* in certain contexts, but that the possibility of interpreting the term without sexual connotation in the same contexts is commonly restricted to *otoko*.” She also claims (1990 : 156) that other female terms, *zyosi* and *huzin* evade the negative meaning ‘sex object’, but they are not positive terms. She claims that “The use of *zyosi* to an adult woman means that the speaker regards the woman as immature”, and that “The negative connotation carried by ‘elegance’ in *huzin* is ‘elderliness’.” She explains (1990 : 157) a middle status female term, *zyosei* as follows : “its meaning is best captured as the one between *onna* (stylistically least formal term with the strongest connotation ‘sex object’) and *huzin* (stylistically most formal term with the weakest connotation ‘sex object’, and the strongest connotations ‘elegance’ as well as ‘elderliness’.) That *zyosei* can be used in more contexts than the other three terms means that it is considered the most positive. This positive value, however, is gained only negative by virtue of *zyosei*’s lesser negative connotation.”

A married woman is usually treated as a wife, except by her friends, family members, or acquaintances through her job, even if she is a career woman. Once she has a child, she is addressed and referred to as *~-tyan no oba-tyan*, “~’s mother”, by children, and referred in the same way by adults when they talk to children. The above illustrates women’s role in Japanese society.

From terms descriptive of women, women’s social status in a male-oriented world can be observed.

## 6. Summary

Feminine sentence final particles make female speech softer or more cooperative, therefore these final particles reflect restrictions on women imposed by society, and women’s positive politeness strategies. Avoidance of the deprecatory level of personal pronouns, assertion, injunction and abuse in female speech indicates social expectation of women, *onna-rasiku*. Women’s frequent usage of the prefix *o-* shows the politeness of female speech and the fact that women tend to suggest higher social class than that to which they belong because they have no social status. From terms descriptive of women, it can be seen how women are treated in a male-oriented world. These illustrate that Japanese women’s language keeps women in traditional roles.

## Notes

1. In standard Japanese, older men often use *wa*, which has no emotional emphasis toward the addressee, while feminine *wa* does. In order to distinguish the two, McGloin uses an expression, “the feminine *wa*”.
2. The word “deprecatory” was quoted from Ide (1990 : 73).
3. Ide explains that deference concerns the sentiment of regard toward the recipient, while demeanour concerns the sentiment of regard toward the actor him/herself to show how well-behaved a person he/she is. (1990 : 72)

## Chapter 4 Results of Survey

### 1. Introduction

Language reflects society. People usually choose appropriate language in response to the age, sex and status of the addressee, as well as to the formality of the situation. Recently it has been said that young women's speech has been corrupted. Generally speaking, in Japanese society, women are expected to speak *onna-rasiku*, "as expected of women", as well as to behave *onna-rasiku*. With regard to women's language perhaps there is a difference between actual usage and social expectation. Some feminine expressions appear to be hardly ever used by women these days. Some masculine expressions may occasionally be used by women and vice versa. For this survey a questionnaire was devised based mainly on feminine expressions, but including some masculine expressions, in order to examine whether masculine expressions are being used by women, in spite of women's being expected not to use them in Japanese society.

In Chapter 4.3, the results of the survey conducted in Japan will be analysed. The difference in actual usage of feminine expressions as well as masculine expressions between women and men will be discussed. In Chapter 4.4, the results of the survey conducted in New Zealand will be analysed. The results will be discussed in the same manner as in Chapter 4.3. Then, in Chapter 4.5, the results from Japan and New Zealand will be compared. It is supposed that Japanese people living in New Zealand will be affected by New Zealand culture and society, and that this phenomenon may exert some influence upon their language. The difference in actual usage between Japan and New Zealand will be discussed.

### 2. Method

This study focuses only on the spoken language. In July 1996, a survey was made of women's language as used by native speakers living respectively in Japan and in New Zealand. A questionnaire [see Appendix 1] was distributed to 120 Japanese native speakers, both women and men, of whom 60 were living in Japan and 60 in New Zealand. Of the 50 completed questionnaires returned from Japan, 31 of the respondents lived in the Tokyo area and 19 in the Osaka area. 40 completed questionnaires were returned from New Zealand, with all respondents living in Christchurch. Respondents were from various age groups, occupations and levels of education.

## 2.1. Correlates

### Age group

Age	<u>Japan</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
20 -- 29	9	7	5	4
30 -- 39	16	3	12	8
40 -- 49	4	8	5	0
50 -- 59	1	0	6	0
60 -- 69	0	0	0	0
70 -- 79	2	0	0	0
Total	32	18	28	12

### Occupation

#### Women

	<u>Japan</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>
housewife	16	housewife	9
university student	7	teacher	5
unemployed	6	tour guide	4
company director	1	travel agent employee	3
bank clerk	1	company employee	2
no reply	1	librarian	1
		secretary	1
		office worker	1
		no reply	2

#### Men

	<u>Japan</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>
company employee	7	company employee	3
university student	7	teacher	2
manager	1	tour guide	1
self-employed	1	tour coordinator	1
dentist	1	tour operator	1
qualified chef	1	self-employed	1
		shop assistant	1
		unemployed	1
		student	1

Level of education

	<u>Japan</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
postgraduate graduate	0	0	2	1
university graduate	11	8	7	7
junior college graduate	6	0	5	0
vocational school graduate	3	0	5	0
senior high school graduate	4	1	5	2
university student	7	8	0	0
no reply	1	1	4	2

District of origin

	<u>Japan</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Kanto region	12	10	12	7
Kansai region	14	4	7	2
Shikoku region	2	1	0	1
Tokai region	2	0	2	0
Chugoku region	1	1	1	0
Hokuriku region	1	0	0	1
Chubu region	0	1	0	0
Hokkaido	0	1	1	0
Tohoku region	0	0	2	1
Kyushu region	0	0	2	0
no reply	0	0	1	0

Number of years resident outside Japan

Years	Women	Men	Total
0-5	12	8	20
6-10	10	3	13
11-15	5	0	5
16-20	0	0	0
21-25	0	0	0
26-30	1	0	1
no reply	0	1	1
Total	28	12	40

## 2.2. Survey questions

Nine questions were asked of the respondents.

\* Frequency of usage was recorded as Often—Sometimes—Never

Question 1 : Do you think women's language is different from men's language?

If yes, give examples.

Question 2 : Do you use any of these expressions? interjections

Question 3 : Do you use any of these expressions? vocabulary

Question 4 : Do you use any of these expressions? sentence final particles

Question 5 : Do you use any of these expressions? personal pronouns

Question 6 : How do you ask a favour of a person?

Question 7 : Do you use any of these expressions? prefix *o-*

Question 8 : In which situation do you use women's language? (female only)

Question 9 : Do you think women's language is necessary?

Question 10 : Do you have any further comments to make in relation to this survey?

### 3. Results of the survey conducted in Japan

#### 3.1. Question 1 [A. *Do you think women's language is different from men's language?* B. *If yes, give examples.*]

28 women out of 32 and all 18 men replied that Japanese women's language is different from men's language. 3 women replied that women's language is not different from men's language. 1 woman did not reply.

The areas in which respondents feel that women's language is different from men's language are as follows:—

<u>Language area</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>
sentence final particles	18
politeness level	4
simpleness, directness and bluntness of male speech	5
vocabulary	4
softness and indirectness of female speech	4
personal pronouns	3
intonation	2

This result shows that most respondents, both women and men, recognise the difference between women's language and men's language. Considering that most respondents are aware of lexical differences, it appears that Japanese language is sex-exclusive and it reflects sex-exclusive social roles as mentioned in Holmes (1992 : 166).

#### 3.2. Question 2 [*Do you use any of these expressions? interjections*]

It is said that interjections reflect clearly the difference between women's language and men's language. Twelve interjections were chosen for the survey.

- a. *Ara!* (Oh dear!) is a feminine expression.
- b. *Maa!* (Oh dear!) is also a feminine expression.
- c. *Suteki!* (Lovely!) is usually said by women.
- d. *Ussoo!* (Really!) is commonly used by young women.
- e. *Kuso!* (Shit) is a swearword and it is said that women should not use this expression.
- f. *Bakayaroo!* (Stupid fool!) has the force of a swearword and women are expected not to use his expression.
- g. *Che* (Tut) is a rude expression and is usually used by men.
- h. *Yaa* (Hi) and i. *Yoo* (Hi) are masculine expressions.
- j. *Kawaii!* (Cute!) is an expression which tends to be used frequently by young women.
- k. *Are?* (Oh?) and l. *Oya?* (Oh?) are neutral expressions.

Table 1 shows the frequency of usage of each interjection. The frequency of usage was calculated thus: Often—10, Sometimes—5 and Never—0. These scores were added together and the average was calculated. Table 2 shows the average scores for each interjection.

Comparing the average scores, it can be seen that feminine interjections are used predominantly by women, masculine interjections are used more often by men, and neutral interjections are used by both women and men with almost the same frequency. Considering

Table 1 The frequency of usage of each interjection

	Women				Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>Ara!</i>	10	19	3	0	2	0	16
b. <i>Maa!</i>	8	16	7	1	0	1	17
c. <i>Suteki!</i>	6	15	9	2	0	1	17
d. <i>Ussoo!</i>	11	14	7	0	1	9	8
e. <i>Kuso!</i>	4	5	23	0	7	9	2
f. <i>Bakayaroo!</i>	0	8	23	1	2	13	3
g. <i>Che</i>	1	5	25	1	1	10	7
h. <i>Yaa</i>	4	6	21	1	4	8	6
i. <i>Yoo</i>	3	3	25	1	9	3	6
j. <i>Kawaii!</i>	18	13	1	0	2	6	10
k. <i>Are?</i>	21	10	0	1	10	7	1
l. <i>Oya?</i>	3	14	13	2	1	11	6

Table 2  
The average scores for  
each interjection

	Women	Men
a. <i>Ara!</i>	6.09	1.11
b. <i>Maa!</i>	5.16	0.28
c. <i>Suteki!</i>	4.50	0.28
d. <i>Ussoo!</i>	5.63	3.06
e. <i>Kuso!</i>	2.03	6.39
f. <i>Bakayaroo!</i>	1.29	4.72
g. <i>Che</i>	1.13	3.33
h. <i>Yaa</i>	2.26	4.44
i. <i>Yoo</i>	1.45	5.83
j. <i>Kawaii!</i>	7.66	2.78
k. <i>Are?</i>	8.39	7.50
l. <i>Oya?</i>	3.33	3.61

age groups, feminine expression b (the average score is 1.67) is hardly used by women in the 20-29 age group, and d (the average score is 5.71) is often used by men in the 20-29 age group. Given the sex-exclusiveness of Japanese language, one might expect the women's scores for e, f, g, h and i to be zero. However, in this instance it would appear that women use the masculine expressions e, f and g when talking to themselves (thus not offending anyone and hence not breaking social norms), and that h and i do not have derogatory connotations, but function to create solidarity when being used in appropriate situations.

Reynolds (1995: 08 : 36) states that women have no vocabulary which readily expresses their anger and frustration. This result supports her claim. Most women never use e, f and g, which would express their anger or frustration. Even when they get angry, they cannot use expressive vocabulary as strongly as men can, and they have to control themselves or use feminine expressions which are much softer. It seems that language restricts women in a male-oriented society.

### 3.3. Question 3 [*Do you use any of these expressions? vocabulary*]

In Question 3, eleven expressions were chosen.

- a. *dekkai* (big) is a masculine expression for *ookii* (big).
- b. *te yagaru* (~ing form) is a vulgar expression for *te iru*.
- c. *go-han o taberu* (to eat a meal) is a neutral expression.
- d. *mesi o kuu* (to eat a meal) is a masculine expression for *go-han o taberu*.
- e. *o-naka suita* (I am hungry) is a neutral expression.
- f. *hara hetta* (I am hungry) is a masculine expression for *o-naka suita*.
- g. *oisii* (delicious) is a neutral expression.
- h. *umai* (delicious) is a masculine expression for *oisii*.
- i. *hanahada* (very) and j. *kiwamete* (very) are both literary expressions.
- k. *totemo* (very) and *tottemo* (very) are softer in tone.

Table 4 shows that masculine expressions, except a, are hardly ever used by women. Contrasting c with d which is a masculine expression of c, the men's average scores are almost equal. The same results were produced comparing e and f, and g and h. Therefore it is considered that men usually have more choice in language. Although both i and j are used infrequently by both women and men, some women use them. Reynolds (1990 : 136) states that a female speaker who is superior in social status to a male speaker uses *sikasi*, the conjunction "however / but" commonly used in male speech / public discourse, instead of *desukere-do*, *kere-do*, *kedo*, *demo*, conjunctions with the same semantic function as *sikasi* but more commonly used in female speech / conversational discourse, in order to signify her authoritative power in her language, when sentences are not explicitly directed towards the

Table 3 The frequency of usage of each expression

	Women			Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>dekkai</i>	3	17	12	11	6	1
b. <i>te yagaru</i>	1	4	27	5	7	6
c. <i>go-han o taberu</i>	28	4	0	7	7	4
d. <i>mesi o kuu</i>	0	1	31	7	9	2
e. <i>o-naka suite</i>	4	17	11	10	5	3
f. <i>hara hetta</i>	1	4	27	12	5	1
g. <i>oisii</i>	28	4	0	11	6	1
h. <i>umai</i>	0	1	31	14	4	0
i. <i>hanahada</i>	0	7	25	2	4	12
j. <i>kiwamete</i>	2	9	21	2	7	9
k. <i>totemo / tottemo</i>	22	8	2	5	6	7

Table 4 The average scores for each expression

	Women	Men
a. <i>dekkai</i>	3.59	7.78
b. <i>te yagaru</i>	0.94	4.72
c. <i>go-han o taberu</i>	9.34	5.83
d. <i>mesi o kuu</i>	0.16	6.39
e. <i>o-naka suite</i>	3.91	6.94
f. <i>hara hetta</i>	0.94	8.06
g. <i>oisii</i>	9.34	7.78
h. <i>umai</i>	0.16	8.89
i. <i>hanahada</i>	1.09	2.22
j. <i>kiwamete</i>	2.03	3.06
k. <i>totemo / tottemo</i>	8.13	4.44

addressee. *Hanahada* and *kiwamete* have the same tone as *sikasi*, and *totemo / tottemo* have the same tone as *desukere-do*. Both women and men use k, but it seems that women use it more frequently. It appears that women use softer expressions, in accordance with the expectation prevalent in Japanese society.

It is said that *dekkai* is a masculine expression, however Table 3 shows that nearly two thirds of female respondents use it. It seems that women are beginning to use *dekkai*. *Dekkai* does not have a derogatory connotation, but it functions to show solidarity in

informal situations. Usami (1995. 08 : 37) mentions that male students felt they were equal to and in good company with female students, when the females used the same language as them. 5 out of 7 female student respondents answered that they often or sometimes use *dekkai*. It is considered that they use *dekkai* when they feel it is more suitable than *ookii* in interactional situations.

### 3.4. Question 4 [*Do you use any of these expression? sentence final particles*]

Gender differences in speech can be observed also in sentence final particles. Ten sentence final particles were chosen for Question 4. Sentence final particles, *zo* and *na*, making the speaker's statement strong, are considered to be men's vocabulary. Sentence final particles, *kasira* and *wa*, having the function of making speech softer, are regarded as feminine expressions. *No* is becoming common in men's speech when it is used in an interrogative sentence, but *no* used in a declarative sentence and *no* used with polite forms are considered to be feminine. Sentence final particles, *ne* and *yo* are neutral. These sentence particles can create and maintain an interpersonal immediacy.

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| a. <i>Iku zo</i> (I am going.)                    |             |
| b. <i>Itta na</i> (You went, didn't you?)         |             |
| c. <i>Iku ne</i> (You are going, aren't you?)     | plain form  |
| d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i> (You are going, aren't you?) | polite form |
| e. <i>Iku yo</i> (I am going, you know.)          | plain form  |
| f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i> (I am going, you know.)      | polite form |
| g. <i>Iku kasira</i> (I wonder if s/he is going.) |             |
| h. <i>Ikimasu no</i> (I am going.)                | polite form |
| i. <i>Iku no</i> (I am going.)                    | plain form  |
| j. <i>Iku wa</i> (I will go.)                     |             |

Compared with the average scores, masculine particles are used predominantly by men, and feminine particles, except h, are used much more often by women.

*No* used with polite forms is regarded as women's language; however only one woman, a housewife and in the 70-79 age group, answered that she used it sometimes. It seems that *no* with polite forms is not used by most women nowadays, but is a stereotyped female particle. The similar phenomenon can be observed for *kasira*, since female respondents in the 20-29 age group hardly use this expression (the average score is 1.67).

A comparison of a and e shows that, while women use e much more often than a, men use a more often than e. Considering that *zo* emphasises the speaker's statement more strongly

Table 5 The frequency of usage of each sentence final particle

	Women				Men			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply
a. <i>Iku zo</i>	3	6	23	0	12	6	0	0
b. <i>Itta na</i>	2	5	25	0	7	6	5	0
c. <i>Iku ne</i>	16	14	2	0	1	3	14	0
d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i>	6	13	13	0	2	4	12	0
e. <i>Iku yo</i>	21	11	0	0	6	11	1	0
f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i>	12	12	7	1	2	7	9	0
g. <i>Iku kasira</i>	4	11	17	0	0	0	18	0
h. <i>Ikimasu no</i>	0	1	30	1	0	0	18	0
i. <i>Iku no</i>	3	15	13	1	1	1	15	1
j. <i>Iku wa</i>	8	18	6	0	1	0	17	0

Table 6 The average scores for each sentence final particle

	Women	Men
a. <i>Iku zo</i>	1.88	8.33
b. <i>Itta na</i>	1.41	5.56
c. <i>Iku ne</i>	7.19	1.39
d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i>	3.91	2.22
e. <i>Iku yo</i>	8.28	6.39
f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i>	5.81	3.06
g. <i>Iku kasira</i>	2.97	0
h. <i>Ikimasu no</i>	0.16	0
i. <i>Iku no</i>	3.39	0.88
j. <i>Iku wa</i>	5.31	0.56

than *yo*, this result shows that women's speech is less assertive than men's. With regard to f, women's greater use of this than men shows that women's speech is less assertive than men's, because polite forms have a function to soften the assertive force of *yo*. The neutral particle *ne* is used more often by women than men. Since this particle has a function to encourage the addressee to join in the conversation, it appears that women are more supportive conversationalists.

### 3.5. Question 5 [*Do you use any of these expression? personal pronouns*]

The repertoire of personal pronouns of women and men is different in Japanese. Seven different first person pronouns, six second person pronouns and three third person pronouns were chosen for Question 5.

In formal situations, *atakusi* (I) is regarded as women's vocabulary, and *watasi* (I) as men's, while *watakusi* (I) is available to either sex. In informal situations, *watasi* and *atasi* (I) are regarded as women's vocabulary, and *boku* (I), *ore* (I) and *wasi* (I) as men's.

With regard to second person pronouns, only *anata* (you) and *anta* (you) are in women's language. *Anta* is a less formal expression than *anata*. Pronouns at the deprecatory level, *omae* (you), *temee* (you) and *kisama* (you) can be heard in men's speech but not in women's. *Kimi* (you) is used predominantly by men.

Table 7 The frequency of usage of each personal pronoun

	Women			Men			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply
<u>First person</u>							
a. <i>watasi</i>	26	5	1	3	9	5	1
b. <i>atasi</i>	9	10	13	0	0	17	1
c. <i>watakusi</i>	1	14	17	2	8	7	1
d. <i>atakusi</i>	1	1	30	0	1	16	1
e. <i>boku</i>	0	1	31	6	5	6	1
f. <i>ore</i>	0	0	32	12	6	0	1
g. <i>wasi</i>	0	1	31	2	3	12	1
<u>Second person</u>							
a. <i>omae</i>	1	3	28	11	6	0	1
b. <i>temee</i>	1	1	30	5	7	5	1
c. <i>kimi</i>	3	8	21	6	6	5	1
d. <i>kisama</i>	0	2	30	2	7	8	1
e. <i>anata</i>	17	13	2	4	5	8	1
f. <i>anta</i>	5	14	13	7	5	5	1
<u>Third person</u>							
a. <i>aitu</i>	2	9	21	11	5	1	1
b. <i>ano hito</i>	27	5	0	7	9	1	1
c. <i>ano kata</i>	3	25	4	2	3	12	1

Table 8 The average scores for each personal pronoun

	Women	Men
<u>First person</u>		
a. <i>watasi</i>	8.91	4.41
b. <i>atasi</i>	4.38	0
c. <i>watakusi</i>	2.50	3.53
d. <i>atakusi</i>	0.47	0.29
e. <i>boku</i>	0.16	5.00
f. <i>ore</i>	0	8.82
g. <i>wasi</i>	0.16	2.06
<u>Second person</u>		
a. <i>omae</i>	0.78	8.24
b. <i>temee</i>	0.47	5.00
c. <i>kimi</i>	2.19	5.29
d. <i>kisama</i>	0.31	3.24
e. <i>anata</i>	7.34	3.82
f. <i>anta</i>	3.75	5.59
<u>Third person</u>		
a. <i>aitu</i>	2.03	7.94
b. <i>ano hito</i>	9.22	6.76
c. <i>ano kata</i>	4.84	2.06

*Aitu* (that fellow) is a masculine expression for *ano hito* (that person). *Ano kata* (that person) is a more polite expression than *ano hito*.

Firstly, observing first person pronouns in Table 8, it is judged that women usually use a or b and that men use e or f in informal situations. Taking formal situations into account, the women's total score for c and d is much lower than the men's total score for a and c. It is considered that women have less opportunity to attend formal situations.

Secondly, looking at second person pronouns, pronouns at the deprecatory level are rarely used by women. This result shows women's good demeanour<sup>1</sup>.

Thirdly, as for third person pronouns, women's higher scores in b and c, and lower score in a show that women use more polite expressions than men. This indicates women's deference and good demeanour.

### 3.6. Question 6

According to Ide (1985)<sup>2</sup>, women use politer expressions than men when talking to workplace subordinate, same-status colleague, friend, spouse or delivery person.

In Question 6, respondents were asked to fill out five questions as follows:

- A. How do you ask your subordinate to take a photocopy? If you are not working, imagine yourself being in this situation and write how you think or you would ask him/her.
- B. How do you ask your same-status colleague to do the same task as in Question A? If you use different expressions depending on the colleague's sex, write both examples.
- C. How do you ask your friend to lend you a book? Write two sentences asking both a woman and a man.
- D. (Only for a married person) How do you ask your spouse to come here?
- E. What do you say to a delivery person, after you get a parcel.

#### 3.6.A. [How do you ask your subordinate to take a photocopy?]

In Question 6.A, quite a few variations of linguistic forms were collected. Table 9 represents the number of respondents and the variations. Table 9 shows that the top one is the least polite and the bottom one is the most polite. *Totte kure* is an arrogant expression. Linguistic forms from *totte (kite)* to *totte tyoodai* are plain, from *totte kudasai* to *totte kuremasen ka* are polite, and the other three expressions are humble expressions. In table 10, linguistic forms are divided into four groups, arrogant, plain, polite and humble, and numbers show the percentage of people who use them.

Table 10 shows that women use politer expressions than men. 8 women use humble expressions, even though they are superior to the addressees. 5 women are housewives in the 30-39 age group, 2 are university students in the 20-29 age group, and 1 is a housewife and in the 70-79 age group. It is considered that the 7 women under the age of 39 use humble forms in order to keep aloof rather than to indicate prewar norms, when women were an inferior sex. It appears that women keep distance by using polite expressions in order to signify their authority.

In a vertical society superiors do not need to use humble expressions to their subordinates. However, in a society in which positions of authority are still normally occupied by men, a woman in authority (being still expected to behave *onna-rasiku*) would risk arousing criticism (thus jeopardising her authority) by using arrogant expressions that would be acceptable if used by a male superior. The replies in Table 10 appear to suggest that women in positions of authority deal with this problem by using humble expressions in order to create distance, which in turn reinforces their authority.

Table 9 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.A

	Women	Men
<i>totte (kite / oite) kure</i>	0	2
<i>totte (kite)</i>	0	4
<i>totte oite ne</i>	1	0
<i>totte kureru?</i>	3	1
<i>totte kurenai? / kuren?<sup>3</sup></i>	0	3
<i>totte kureru kana</i>	1	1
<i>totte moraeru kana</i>	1	0
<i>totte moraeru kasira</i>	1	0
<i>totte tyoodai</i>	2	0
<i>totte kudasai</i>	10	4
<i>totte kuremasu ka</i>	0	1
<i>totte moraemasu ka</i>	4	0
<i>totte kuremasen ka</i>	0	1
<i>totte itadakeru?</i>	1	0
<i>totte itadakenai kasira</i>	1	0
<i>totte itadakemasu ka</i>	6	0
No reply	1	1
Total	32	18

Table 10 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.A

	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	12%
plain	29%	53%
polite	45%	35%
humble	26%	0%

### 3.6.B. [How do you ask your same-status colleague to take a photocopy?]

Table 11 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Totte (kite) kure*, *totte kurenai ka* and *totte kure yo* are arrogant expressions. From *totte (kite)* to *totte moratte ii?* are plain expressions, and from *totte kudasai* to *totte kudasaimasen ka* are polite expressions. *Totte itadakemasen?* and *totte itadakemasu ka* are humble expressions.

Table 11 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.B

	Female colleagues		Male colleagues	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>totte (kite) kure</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>totte kurenai ka</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>totte kure yo</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>totte (kite)</i>	4	7	4	6
<i>totte (kite) ne</i>	4	1	2	0
<i>totte kureru?</i>	4	0	2	2
<i>totte moraeru?</i>	2	0	2	0
<i>totte kurenai?</i>	1	2	0	2
<i>totte moraeru kana</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte hosii'n da kedo</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte tyoodai</i>	1	1	0	1
<i>totte moratte ii?</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte kudasai</i>	5	3	8	2
<i>totte moraemasu?</i>	2	0	3	0
<i>totte moraemasu ka</i>	1	0	2	0
<i>totte kuremasen ka</i>	0	2	0	1
<i>totte kudasaimasen ka</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>totte itadakemasen?</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte itadakemasu ka</i>	4	0	7	0
No reply	0	2	0	1
Total	32	18	32	18

Firstly, a comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 12, shows that women use politer expressions than men when asking both female and male colleagues to do something. This result shows women's better demeanour.

Secondly, in a comparison of percentages between asking female colleagues and asking male colleagues, Table 12 shows that both women and men use politer expressions to the opposite sex than to the same sex. Table 13 is the result of the comparison of each respondent's reply towards a female colleague and a male colleague. Looking at individual responses, it is also judged that both women and men tend to use politer expressions when asking the opposite sex to do something than the same sex. These results indicate that both women and men keep distance from opposite sex addressees by using polite expressions.

Table 12

The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.B

	Female colleagues		Male colleagues	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	0%	3%	18%
plain	59%	69%	31%	64%
polite	25%	31%	44%	18%
humble	16%	0%	22%	0%

Table 13 A comparison of each respondent's reply toward a female colleague and a male colleague

	Women	Men
Use the same expression with a female and a male	19 (60%)	10 (62.5%)
Use a politer expression with a female than a male	3 ( 9%)	6 (37.5%)
Use a politer expression with a male than a female	10 (31%)	0 ( 0%)
No reply	0	2

### 3.6.C. [How do you ask your friend to lend you a book?]

Table 14 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Kasite kure*, *kasite kure yo* and *kasite kureru ka* are arrogant expressions. From *kasite* to *kasite moratte mo ii?* are plain, and from *kasite kudasai* to *kasite moraemasu ka* are polite expressions. *Kasite itadakemasu ka*, *kasite itadakemasen?* and *kasite itadakenai desyoo ka* are humble expressions.

Firstly, a comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 15, shows that women use politer expressions than men. This result shows women's better demeanour.

It can be seen from Table 15, women use politer expressions with male friends than with female friends. On the other hand, looking at men's percentages, it is difficult to form a conclusion from men's percentages in Table 15.

Next, examining Table 16, it is observed that women tend to use politer expressions to the opposite sex than to the same sex, but men are more likely to use the same expressions to both female and male friends.

Table 14 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.C

	Female friends		Male friends	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>kasite kure</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>kasite kure yo</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>kasite kureru ka</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>kasite</i>	4	7	3	6
<i>kasite yo</i>	2	1	0	4
<i>kasite ne</i>	4	3	2	0
<i>kasite kureru?</i>	4	1	2	1
<i>kasite moraeru?</i>	7	0	5	0
<i>kasite kurenai?</i>	0	1	2	1
<i>kasite moraeru kana</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>kasite tyoodai</i>	4	1	4	1
<i>kasite moratte mo ii?</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>kasite kudasai</i>	2	1	6	3
<i>kasite kuremasu ka</i>	0	1	0	0
<i>kasite moraemasu?</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>kasite moraemasu ka</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite itadakemasu ka</i>	1	0	2	0
<i>kasite itadakemasen?</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>kasite itadakenai desyoo ka</i>	0	0	1	0
No reply	1	1	1	0
Total	32	18	32	18

Table 15 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.C

	Female friends		Male friends	
	Women	Men	Women	Man
arrogant	0%	6%	3%	11%
plain	84%	82%	61%	72%
polite	10%	12%	26%	17%
humble	6%	0%	10%	0%

Table 16 A comparison of each respondent's reply toward a female friend and a male friend

	Women	Men
Use the same expression with both a female and a male	15 (48%)	10 (59%)
Use a politer expression with a female than a male	4 (13%)	4 (23%)
Use a politer expression with a male than a female	12 (39%)	3 (18%)
No reply	1	1

### 3.6.D. [How do you ask your spouse to come here?]

Only married people were asked to answer Question 6.D. 22 women and 9 men answered. Table 17 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Kite kure* is an arrogant expression. From *kite* to *kite tyoodai* are plain, and *kite kudasai* and *kite kuremasu ka* are polite expressions.

A comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 18 shows that women use politer expressions than men. Women's non-use of arrogant expressions indicates that women keep to the social norms, which are that women should not use imperatives. Two female respondents in the 40-49 age group replied polite expressions. It seems that the traditional norm, that a wife should pay deference to her husband, still exists among this generation.

Table 17 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.D

	Women	Men
<i>kite kure</i>	0	3
<i>kite</i>	7	4
<i>kite yo</i>	2	1
<i>kite kureru?</i>	4	0
<i>kite kurenai?</i>	2	0
<i>kite moraeru?</i>	0	1
<i>kite tyoodai</i>	5	0
<i>kite kudasai</i>	1	0
<i>kite kuremasu ka</i>	1	0
Total	22	9

Table 18 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.D

	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	33%
plain	91%	67%
polite	9%	0%

### 3.6.E. [What do you say to a delivery person, after you get a parcel?]

In Question 6.E, four different expressions were collected. They are *Gokuroosama* (Thank you for your trouble), *Otukaresama* (You must be tired), *Osewasama* (Thank you for your trouble) and *Arigatoo* (Thank you). Table 19 represents the number of respondents and the variations. The variations in Table 19 can be divided into four groups, depending on the degree of politeness level. From *Gokuroosan* to *Arigatoo gokuroosan* are curt expressions, and from *Gokuroosama* to *Gokuroosama, arigatoo* are plain expressions.

Table 19 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.E

	Women	Men
<i>Gokuroosan.</i>	0	2
<i>Doomo.</i>	2	0
<i>Doomo, gokuroosan.</i>	0	1
<i>Arigatoo, gokuroosan.</i>	0	1
<i>Gokuroosama.</i>	4	2
<i>Otukaresama.</i>	0	1
<i>Doomo arigatoo.</i>	1	0
<i>Gokuroosama, arigatoo.</i>	1	0
<i>Gokuroosama desu.</i>	1	0
<i>Gokuroosama desita.</i>	12	6
<i>Otukaresama desu.</i>	0	1
<i>Osewasama desita.</i>	3	0
<i>Arigatoo gozaimasita.</i>	3	2
<i>Gokuroosama desu, arigatoo gozaimasita.</i>	1	0
<i>Otukaresama desita, arigatoo gozaimasu.</i>	1	0
<i>Osewaninarimasita, arigatoo gozaimasita.</i>	1	0
<i>Arigatoo gozaimasita, doomo gokuroosama de gozaimasita.</i>	1	0
No reply	1	2
Total	32	18

Table 20 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.E

	Women	Men
curt	7%	19%
plain	19%	19%
polite	71%	62%
hyperpolite	3%	0%

From *Gokuroosama desu* to *Osewa ni narimasita*, *arigatoo gozaimasita* are polite expressions, and *Arigatoo gozaimasita*, *doomo gokuroosama de gozaimasita* is a hyperpolite expression.

A comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 20 shows that women speak more politely than men. A respondent who replied using a hyperpolite expression is in the 70-79 age group and all her replies to questions from 6.A to 6.E (except 6.D) were the most polite of all 50 respondents. Ide (1990 : 73) claims that women use higher linguistic forms than the assessed politeness levels towards a delivery person, in order to express the speaker's demeanour how well behaved a person she is. The result of women's higher usage of polite expressions shows that women are more concerned in displaying their good demeanour than men.

### 3.7. Question 7 [*Do you use any of these expression? prefix o-*]

The prefix *o-* has an honorific or a beautifying function. The different usage of the prefix *o-* can be found between women and men, when examining words which can be used both with *o* and without *o*. Twelve words were chosen for the survey.

Table 21 shows the frequency of usage of each word. The frequency of usage was calculated in the same manner as Question 2. Table 22 shows the average scores for each word. All the women's scores were higher than the men's scores. Taking into account that most female respondents have no label to mark their social position, it is considered that women often use beautification honorifics in order to suggest a higher social class than to which they actually belong, as Ide (1990 : 75) mentions. Or it seems that women more often pay deference towards addressees.

Table 21 The frequency of usage of each word

	Women				Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>o-tya</i> (Japanese tea)	31	0	0	1	17	1	0
b. <i>o-kome</i> (uncooked rice)	31	0	0	1	13	3	2
c. <i>o-syooyu</i> (soy sauce)	28	3	0	1	7	3	8
d. <i>o-su</i> (vinegar)	31	0	0	1	11	1	6
e. <i>o-kane</i> (money)	30	0	1	1	16	2	0
f. <i>o-kyaku</i> (a guest)	26	4	1	1	13	4	1
g. <i>o-sio</i> (salt)	25	6	0	1	6	4	8
h. <i>o-mikan</i> (a mandarin)	11	5	15	1	0	3	15
i. <i>o-tomodati</i> (a friend)	19	11	1	1	1	6	11
j. <i>o-tyanoma</i> (a living room)	17	8	5	2	11	1	6
k. <i>o-sasimi</i> (sliced raw fish)	29	2	0	1	9	3	6
l. <i>o-seibo</i> (a year-end present)	31	0	0	1	15	3	0

Table 22 The average scores for each word

	Women	Men
a. <i>o-tya</i>	10.00	9.72
b. <i>o-kome</i>	10.00	8.06
c. <i>o-syooyu</i>	9.52	4.72
d. <i>o-su</i>	10.00	6.39
e. <i>o-kane</i>	9.68	9.44
f. <i>o-kyaku</i>	9.03	8.33
g. <i>o-sio</i>	9.03	4.44
h. <i>o-mikan</i>	4.35	0.83
i. <i>o-tomodati</i>	7.90	2.22
j. <i>o-tyanoma</i>	7.00	6.39
k. <i>o-sasimi</i>	9.68	5.83
l. <i>o-seibo</i>	10.00	9.17

### 3.8. Question 8

In Question 8, only female respondents were asked to reply to five questions as follows:

- A. In which situation do you use women's language?
- B. In what mood do you use women's language?
- C. What topics do you talk about, when you use women's language?
- D. With whom do you talk in women's language?
- E. What kind of clothes do you wear, when you use women's language?

#### 3.8.A. [*In which situation do you use women's language?*]

28 women responded to this question. Of these, 13 said they use women's language on public occasions; 9 responded in private situations; 4 at no specific time; 2 gave other examples besides these (1 stated that she uses women's language both privately and publicly when she has male companions. 1 stated that she uses women's language when she is with her elders).

In the case of the examples of private situations from the replies, it is considered that they use women's language in order to promote rapport. Furthermore, some respondents seem to consider women's language as feminine and use it to emphasise their femininity. It seems that on private situations women's language is used with female acquaintances to show solidarity and with male acquaintances to emphasise femininity. Considering the examples of public occasions, it seems that they consider women's language as polite language to express deference and demeanour.

#### 3.8.B. [*In which mood do you use women's language?*]

24 women responded to this question. Of these, 6 use women's language while in a relaxed mood; 9 while in a strained mood; 4 use it unconsciously; 3 while in both relaxed and strained moods; 2 gave examples besides the above four (1 stated in an ordinary mood. 1 stated that she used it except when angry).

Considering replies from both extremes, a relaxed mood and a strained mood, some respondents seem to consider women's language as a device for creating distance, and some seem to consider it as a device for creating rapport.

#### 3.8.C. [*What topics do you talk about, when you use women's language?*]

21 women responded to this question. Of these, 14 use women's language with any topic;

4 use it with everyday topics; 3 use it with serious topics. Taking into consideration that 14 respondents answered any topic, it seems to be difficult to conclude what topics women talk about when they use women's language.

### **3.8.D. [*With whom do you talk in women's language?*]**

26 women responded to this question. Of these, 8 use women's language with friends or family members; 11 use it with people other than friends and family members; 2 use it with anyone; 5 gave examples other than the above 3 (2 stated with males. 1 of the 2 mentioned an older male. It seems that women's language is used to express their femininity. 2 stated with elders or with males whom they liked. Their answers seem to reflect both politeness and femininity. 1 stated with the people from her company).

It is considered that the respondents who answered with friends or family members interpret women's language as a means to show their solidarity. It is considered that the respondents who answered with people other than friends and family members interpret women's language as polite language to show deference or to display their demeanour. The respondent who gave genteel people as an example, seems to consider women's language as refined language.

### **3.8.E. [*What kind of clothes do you wear, when you use women's language?*]**

25 women responded to this question. Of these, 7 use women's language when wearing formal dress; 4 use it when wearing casual dress; 13 use it regardless of clothing; 1 uses it when in uniform (she is a bank clerk). It is considered that when they are in formal dress including Japanese traditional clothing on formal occasions, they use more polite language, and that when they are dressed up, they use women's language to emphasise their femininity. It is supposed that respondents who answered casual dress use women's language on a daily basis, and they interpret women's language as a means to promote rapport.

## **3.9. Question 9**

### **3.9.A. [*Do you think women's language is necessary?*]**

29 women and 18 men responded. Of these, 24 women and 16 men considered that women's language to be necessary; 5 women and 2 men answered in the negative.

### 3.9.B. [*What do you think about women who do not use women's language at all?*]

Respondents who answered in the affirmative for Question 9.A were asked to reply to this question. 23 women and 15 men responded. Of these, 6 women and 4 men stated that they do not mind because it is a personal matter; 17 women and 10 men replied negatively; 1 man stated that he does not mind when the use is business-related. From his reply, it is difficult to determine whether he is positive or negative.

The following represents the number of respondents and their negative comments about women who do not use women's language.

#### Women

Lack of femininity, vulgar or uneducated	10
Disappointing that women do not use softer language	3
Depends on the time and the place	2
Those in their twenties and teenagers should use more polite language	1
A sense of incongruity	1

#### Men

Lack of femininity or unrefined	3
They are not women	1
Women should use women's language	2
Badly brought up	1
Unpleasant	1
Hard to feel comfortable with, some doubt about their upbringing	1
Cold-hearted	1

### 3.9.C. [*What do you think about women who often use women's language?*]

Respondents who answered in the negative for Question 9.A were asked to reply for this question. 1 woman gave a negative reply. 3 women stated that it is a personal matter.

These results show that most respondents, both women and men, think that women's language is necessary. It appears that Japanese language is sex-exclusive and that most Japanese people accept it as a matter of course.

#### 4. Results of the survey conducted in New Zealand

##### 4.1. Question 1 [A. *Do you think women's language is different from men's language?* B. *If yes, give examples.*]

26 women out of 28 and 11 men out of 12 answered that Japanese women's language is different from men's language. 1 man answered in the negative. 2 women did not reply.

The areas in which respondents feel that women's language is different from men's language are as follows:—

<u>Language area</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>
sentence final particles	14
softness, thoughtfulness and gentleness of female speech	7
vocabulary	5
expressions	4
personal pronouns	4
interjections	3
intonation	2
prefix <i>o-</i>	2
politeness level	1
the deletion of assertive auxiliary verb, <i>da</i> in female speech	1
imperative expressions in male speech	1
gender	1
impression gained from speech used	1
non-specific	1

This results shows that there is a recognition of the gender difference in speech among Japanese people.

##### 4.2. Question 2 [*Do you use any of these expressions? interjections*]

Table 23 shows the frequency of usage of each interjection. The frequency of usage was calculated thus: Often—10, Sometimes—5 and Never—0. These scores were added together and the average was calculated. Table 24 shows the average scores for each interjection.

Comparing the average scores, it can be seen that feminine interjections, except *d*, are used much more often by women, masculine interjections are used much more often by men, and neutral interjections are used by women and men with almost the same frequency. Although it is said that *d* and *j* are commonly used by women, it seems that they are also used by men, especially men in the 20-29 age group (the average score for *d* is 6.25, and *j* is 3.75). Since they have emotional functions but do not demonstrate femininity, even if men use them, they are not regarded as effeminate. The low scores for *e*, *f* and *g* show that language restricts women's options for expressing anger or frustration, for the sake of men's convenience.

Table 23 The frequency of usage of each interjection

	Women			Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>Ara!</i>	14	8	6	1	3	8
b. <i>Maa!</i>	9	14	5	1	2	9
c. <i>Suteki!</i>	7	10	11	1	0	11
d. <i>Ussoo!</i>	4	14	10	3	6	3
e. <i>Kuso!</i>	1	7	20	5	7	0
f. <i>Bakayaroo!</i>	1	2	25	1	6	5
g. <i>Che</i>	2	6	20	3	5	4
h. <i>Yaa</i>	0	7	21	2	5	5
i. <i>Yoo</i>	1	3	24	2	5	5
j. <i>Kawaii!</i>	18	7	3	2	4	6
k. <i>Are?</i>	21	7	0	7	3	2
l. <i>Oya?</i>	6	11	11	3	4	5

Table 24 The average scores for each interjection

	Women	Men
a. <i>Ara!</i>	6.43	2.08
b. <i>Maa!</i>	5.71	1.67
c. <i>Suteki!</i>	4.29	0.83
d. <i>Ussoo!</i>	3.93	5.00
e. <i>Kuso</i>	1.61	7.08
f. <i>Bakayaroo!</i>	0.71	3.33
g. <i>Che</i>	1.79	4.58
h. <i>Yaa</i>	1.25	3.75
i. <i>Yoo</i>	0.89	3.75
j. <i>Kawaii!</i>	7.68	3.33
k. <i>Are?</i>	8.75	7.08
l. <i>Oya?</i>	4.11	4.17

#### 4.3. Question 3 [*Do you use any of these expressions? vocabulary*]

Table 26 shows that masculine expressions, except a and h, are hardly ever used by women. Contrasting c with d, e with f and g with h, the differences in the men's scores are much smaller than women's. Therefore it is considered that men usually have more choice in

language.

Table 26 shows that men use i and j more often than women, though the differences are not very large, and that women use k more often than men. It can be said that women tend to use softer language.

Table 25 shows that approximately two thirds, and half of female respondents use *dekkai* and *umai*, respectively. It seems that these two masculine expressions are becoming a part of

Table 25 The frequency of usage of each expression

	Women			Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>dekkai</i>	3	15	10	5	7	0
b. <i>te yagaru</i>	0	1	27	1	7	4
c. <i>go-han o taberu</i>	24	3	1	7	5	0
d. <i>mesi o kuu</i>	1	2	25	5	5	2
e. <i>o-naka suite</i>	24	4	0	7	4	1
f. <i>hara hetta</i>	3	4	21	8	4	0
g. <i>oisii</i>	26	2	0	8	4	0
h. <i>umai</i>	4	9	15	11	1	0
i. <i>hanahada</i>	0	6	22	0	4	8
j. <i>kiwamete</i>	1	9	18	2	4	6
k. <i>totemo / tottemo</i>	17	7	4	5	5	2

Table 26 The average scores for each expression

	Women	Men
a. <i>dekkai</i>	3.75	7.08
b. <i>te yagaru</i>	0.18	3.75
c. <i>go-han o taberu</i>	9.11	7.92
d. <i>mesi o kuu</i>	0.71	6.25
e. <i>o-naka suite</i>	9.29	7.50
f. <i>hara hetta</i>	1.79	8.33
g. <i>oisii</i>	9.64	8.33
h. <i>umai</i>	3.04	9.58
i. <i>hanahada</i>	1.07	1.67
j. <i>kiwamete</i>	1.96	3.33
k. <i>totemo / tottemo</i>	7.32	6.25

women's vocabulary. These expressions do not have derogatory connotations, unlike *te yagaru*. It is considered that women use these expressions when they feel these expressions are more suitable than neutral expressions in order to create solidarity.

Yonekawa (1997.04 : 61) states an interesting example. One day he was asked by a student, '*Sensei, mesi kuwaremasu ka*', "Teacher, will you have a meal?" This student used masculine expressions and an honorific form together. This usage of honorifics is incorrect, and *~reru* form is the lowest level of honorifics. Yonekawa analyses that students give weight to intimacy rather than to deference, therefore they choose a positive politeness strategy, using a lower degree of politeness level or slang. Honorifics and polite forms reflect Japanese vertically-structured society, and keep distance. It is often said that the number of young people who cannot use honorifics correctly has been increasing. It appears that they do not stick to traditional ideas of *zyooge kankei*, "hierarchical relationships", but they tend to regard creating rapport as more important. This tendency can also be seen in women's speech.

#### 4.4. Question 4 [*Do you use any of these expressions? sentence final particles*]

Compared with average scores, masculine particles are used predominantly by men, and feminine particles, except *h*, are used much more often by women, and neutral particles are used by women and men with almost the same frequency.

The women's average score for *h* is rather low. If women use *no* to create a conversational rapport, it is more likely that they use *no* with plain forms, since polite forms

Table 27 The frequency of usage of each sentence final particle

	Women				Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>Iku zo</i>	1	6	20	1	9	3	0
b. <i>Itta na</i>	2	6	20	0	3	7	2
c. <i>Iku ne</i>	11	12	5	0	5	5	2
d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i>	6	15	7	0	3	4	5
e. <i>Iku yo</i>	18	9	1	0	9	3	0
f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i>	10	16	2	0	2	7	3
g. <i>Iku kasira</i>	4	11	13	0	0	0	12
h. <i>Ikimasu no</i>	0	3	25	0	0	1	11
i. <i>Iku no</i>	2	14	12	0	0	3	9
j. <i>Iku wa</i>	5	10	13	0	0	0	12

Table 28 The average scores for each sentence final particle

	Women	Men
a. <i>Iku zo</i>	1.43	8.75
b. <i>Itta na</i>	1.79	5.42
c. <i>Iku ne</i>	6.07	6.25
d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i>	4.82	4.17
e. <i>Iku yo</i>	8.04	8.75
f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i>	6.43	4.58
g. <i>Iku kasira</i>	3.39	0
h. <i>Ikimasu no</i>	0.54	0.42
i. <i>Iku no</i>	3.21	1.25
j. <i>Iku wa</i>	3.57	0

have the function of keeping distance. *No* with polite forms emphasises the speaker's refinement, but if it is used in inappropriate situations, it sounds snobbish. Therefore there is a tendency for this usage to disappear. As far as g and j are concerned, they are hardly used by women in the 20-29 age group (the average score for g is 1, and j is 2). Men's zero score in relation to these particles shows that they are restricted in use to women, therefore they demonstrate femininity. It is plausible that young women tend to avoid those expressions.

#### 4.5. Question 5 [*Do you use any of these expressions? personal pronouns*]

Firstly, observing first person pronouns in Table 30, it is judged that women usually use a or b and that men usually use e or f in informal situations. Taking formal situations into account, the women's total score in c and d is much lower than the men's total score in a and c. It appears that women have less opportunity to attend formal situations.

Secondly, looking at second person pronouns, while all pronouns at the deprecatory level are rarely used by women, d is rarely used by men. This shows women's good demeanour.

Thirdly, with third person pronouns, the differences between women's scores and men's scores for b and c are not great. However the difference in a is great. It is considered that men can choose an appropriate pronoun according to the situation.

Table 29 The frequency of usage of each personal pronoun

	Women				Men			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply
<u>First person</u>								
a. <i>watasi</i>	22	5	1	0	8	4	0	0
b. <i>Atasi</i>	8	5	15	0	0	0	11	1
c. <i>watakusi</i>	3	12	13	0	3	5	4	0
d. <i>atakusi</i>	0	1	27	0	0	1	10	1
e. <i>boku</i>	0	0	28	0	4	8	0	0
f. <i>ore</i>	0	0	28	0	7	5	0	0
g. <i>wasi</i>	0	0	28	0	0	0	12	0
<u>Second person</u>								
a. <i>omae</i>	0	2	26	0	6	4	1	1
b. <i>temee</i>	0	2	26	0	1	3	8	0
c. <i>kimi</i>	0	7	21	0	3	6	3	0
d. <i>kisama</i>	0	2	26	0	0	1	11	0
e. <i>anata</i>	11	10	7	0	2	6	4	0
f. <i>anta</i>	5	10	13	0	0	4	8	0
<u>Third person</u>								
a. <i>aitu</i>	0	7	20	1	7	4	1	0
b. <i>ano hito</i>	24	4	0	0	7	5	0	0
c. <i>ano kata</i>	4	13	10	1	3	4	5	0

Table 30 The average scores for each personal pronoun

	Women	Men
<u>First person</u>		
a. <i>watasi</i>	8.75	8.33
b. <i>Atasi</i>	3.75	0
c. <i>watakusi</i>	3.21	4.58
d. <i>atakusi</i>	0.18	0.45
e. <i>boku</i>	0	6.67
f. <i>ore</i>	0	7.92
g. <i>wasi</i>	0	0
<u>Second person</u>		
a. <i>omae</i>	0.36	7.27
b. <i>temee</i>	0.36	2.08
c. <i>kimi</i>	1.25	5.00
d. <i>kisama</i>	0.36	0.42
e. <i>anata</i>	5.71	4.17
f. <i>anta</i>	3.57	1.67
<u>Third person</u>		
a. <i>aitu</i>	1.30	7.50
b. <i>ano hito</i>	9.29	7.92
c. <i>ano kata</i>	3.89	4.17

## 4.6. Question 6

### 4.6.A. [How do you ask your subordinate to take a photocopy?]

In Question 6.A, quite a few variations of linguistic forms were collected. Table 31 represents the number of respondents and the variations. Table 31 shows that the top one is the least polite and the bottom one is the most polite. Linguistic forms from *totte* to *kopii o-negai sitai'n da kedo* are plain, and from *totte kudasai* to *totte kudasai masu?* are polite expressions. In Table 32, linguistic forms are divided into two groups, plain and polite, and numbers show the percentage of people who use them.

Table 32 shows that women use politer expressions. The women's higher usage of polite expressions shows that women's better demeanour than men.

Table 31 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.A

	Women	Men
<i>totte (kite)</i>	2	3
<i>totte kureru? / kureharu?<sup>4</sup></i>	5	2
<i>totte moraeru?</i>	1	0
<i>totte kurenai? / kurehen?<sup>5</sup></i>	2	3
<i>totte tyoodai</i>	2	0
<i>kopii o-negai<sup>6</sup></i>	1	0
<i>totte kureru kasira</i>	1	0
<i>kopii o-negai sitai'n da kedo<sup>7</sup></i>	0	1
<i>totte kudasai</i>	11	2
<i>totte kuremasu?</i>	1	0
<i>totte kuremasu ka</i>	2	1
<i>totte moraemasu ka</i>	1	0
<i>totte kuremasen ka</i>	1	1
<i>totte kudasai masu?</i>	1	0
No reply	1	0
Total	32 <sup>8</sup>	13 <sup>9</sup>

Table 32 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.A

	Women	Men
plain	45%	69%
polite	55%	31%

#### 4.6.B. [How do you ask your same-status colleague to take a photocopy?]

Table 33 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Totte kurehen ka* is an arrogant expression. From *totte yo ne* to *totte moraitai'n da kedo* are plain expressions, from *totte kudasai* to *totte kudasai masen?* are polite expressions, and *totte itadakemasen?* is a humble expression. A comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 34 when asking both female and male colleagues to do something, shows that women use politer expressions than men. This result shows women's better demeanour.

Table 33 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.B

	Female colleagues		Male colleagues	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>totte kurehen ka</i> <sup>10</sup>	0	0	0	1
<i>totte yo ne</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte</i>	2	2	2	3
<i>totte kite ne</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte kureru?</i>	8	3	8	1
<i>totte moraeru?</i>	2	0	1	1
<i>totte kurenai? / kurehen?</i>	2	4	3	3
<i>totte moraehen yaro ka</i> <sup>11</sup>	0	1	0	0
<i>totte kureru kasira</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte moraeru kasira</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>totte moraitai'n da kedo</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>totte kudasai</i>	4	2	5	2
<i>totte kureharimasu?</i> <sup>12</sup>	1	0	0	0
<i>totte kureharimasu ka</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>totte moraemasu?</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>totte moraemasen?</i>	2	0	2	0
<i>totte kuremasen ka</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>totte kudasai masu?</i>	2	0	2	0
<i>totte kudasai masen?</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>totte itadakemasen?</i>	0	0	1	0
No reply	1	0	1	0
total	29 <sup>13</sup>	13 <sup>14</sup>	30	13

Table 34

The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.B

	Female colleagues		Male colleagues	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	0%	0%	8%
plain	64%	85%	52%	69%
polite	36%	15%	45%	23%
humble	0%	0%	3%	0%

Table 35 A comparison of each respondent's reply toward a female colleague and a male colleague

	Women	Men
Use the same expression with a female and a male	19 (70%)	9 (75%)
Use a politer expression with a female than a male	0 ( 0%)	2 (17%)
Use a politer expression with a male than a female	8 (30%)	1 ( 8%)
No reply	1	0

Secondly, in a comparison of women's percentages between asking female colleagues and asking male colleagues, Table 34 shows that women use politer expressions with male colleagues than with female colleagues. On the other hand, looking at men's percentages, even though arrogant expressions are used only with male colleagues, when asking female colleagues to do something they make use of less polite expressions compared with male colleagues.

Table 35 is the result of the comparison of each respondent's reply toward a female colleague and a male colleague. Looking at individual responses, it is judged that women tend to use politer expressions when asking male colleagues than female colleagues to do something, while men usually use the same expressions with both female and male colleagues.

One man wrote a very interesting comment. He said that he chooses an appropriate expression depending on the relationship that he has with the other person, not depending on their sex or status level. It seems that his opinion reflects the influence of New Zealanders' values.

#### 4.6.C. [How do you ask your friend to lend you a book?]

Table 36 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Kasite kure yo* is an arrogant expression. From *kasite* to *kasite moraitai'n da kedo* are plain, and from *kasite kudasai* to *kasite kudasai masen ka* are polite expressions.

Firstly, a comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 37, shows that

Table 36 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.C

	Female friends		Male friends	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>kasite kure yo</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>kasite</i>	2	3	2	4
<i>kasite yo</i>	0	1	1	1
<i>kasite ne</i>	2	0	1	0
<i>kasite kureru?</i>	6	3	5	4
<i>kasite moraeru?</i>	2	0	1	0
<i>kasite moraeru kana</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite kurenai?</i>	5	2	4	1
<i>kasite kurenai kana</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>karite ii?</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite hosii'n da kedo</i>	0	2	0	0
<i>kasite tyoodai</i>	1	1	1	0
<i>kasite moratte mo ii?</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite moratte mo ii kana</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>kasite moraitai'n da kedo</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite kudasai</i>	1	0	2	0
<i>kasite kudasaru?</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite moraemasen ka</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite kudasai masen?</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>kasite kudasai masen ka</i>	0	0	1	0
No reply	1	0	3	0
Total	28	12	28	12

Table 37 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.C

	Female friends		Male friends	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	0%	0%	8%
plain	85%	100%	76%	92%
polite	15%	0%	24%	0%

Table 38 A comparison of each respondent's reply toward a female friend and a male friend

	Women	Men
Use the same expression with both a female and a male	19 (76%)	7 (59%)
Use a politer expression with a female than a male	2 (8%)	4 (33%)
Use a politer expression with a male than a female	4 (16%)	1 (8%)
No reply	3	0

only women use polite expressions. This result shows women's better demeanour.

It can be seen from Table 37, both women and men use politer expressions with the opposite sex than with the same sex. On the other hand, Table 38 shows that most women use the same expressions with both female and male friends and that men tend to use politer expressions with the opposite sex than with the same sex.

#### 4.6.D. [How do you ask your spouse to come here?]

Only married people were asked to answer Question 6.D. 16 women and 6 men answered. Table 39 represents the number of respondents and the variations. *Kite miro yo* is an arrogant expression. From *kite* to *kite tyoodai* are plain and *kite kudasaru?* is a polite expression.

A comparison of percentages of between women and men in Table 40 shows that men can

Table 39 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.D

	Women	Men
<i>kite miro yo</i>	0	1
<i>kite</i>	10	3
<i>kite yo</i>	1	1
<i>kite kureru?</i>	1	0
<i>kite kurenai?</i>	2	1
<i>kite tyoodai</i>	1	0
<i>kite kudasaru?</i>	1	0
Total	16	6

Table 40 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.D

	Women	Men
arrogant	0%	17%
plain	94%	83%
polite	6%	0%

command their spouses, but that women do not. 1 female respondent in the 50-59 age group replied using a polite expression. It seems that prewar values influence this generation.

#### 4.6.E. [What do you say to a delivery person, after you get a parcel?]

In Question 6.E, three different expressions were collected. They are *Gokuroosama* (Thank you for your trouble), *Osewasama* (Thank you for your trouble) and *Arigatoo* (Thank you). Table 41 represents the number of respondents and the variations.

The variations in Table 41 can be divided into three groups, depending on the degree of politeness level. From *Doomo* to *Gokuroosan*, *arigatoo* are curt expressions, from *Gokuroosama* to *Doomo gokuroosama* are plain expressions, and from *Sumimasen* to *Doomo Arigatoo gozaimasita* are polite expressions. Some replies using English expressions were collected. However, it seems difficult to compare English with Japanese, therefore these replies were not counted.

Table 41 The number of respondents and the variations for Question 6.E

	Women	Men
<i>Doomo.</i>	2	0
<i>Arigatoo.</i>	1	1
<i>Gokuroosan, arigatoo.</i>	0	1
<i>Gokuroosama.</i>	4	3
<i>Osewasama.</i>	1	0
<i>Doomo, arigatoo.</i>	1	2
<i>Doomo, gokuroosama.</i>	2	0
<i>Sumimasen.</i>	1	0
<i>Gokuroosama desu.</i>	3	1
<i>Gokuroosama desita.</i>	4	2
<i>Osewasama desita.</i>	3	0
<i>Ookini<sup>15</sup>, gokuroosan desita.</i>	1	0
<i>Doomo, gokuroosama desita.</i>	1	0
<i>Arigatoo gozaimasita.</i>	3	0
<i>Doomo, arigatoo gozaimasu.</i>	1	0
<i>Doomo, arigatoo gozaimasita.</i>	4	0
No reply	2	3
Total	34 <sup>16</sup>	13 <sup>17</sup>

Table 42 The percentage of people who use each politeness level for Question 6.E

	Women	Men
curt	11%	18%
plain	22%	55%
polite	67%	27%

A comparison of percentages between women and men in Table 42 shows that women speak more politely than men. This result shows that women are more concerned in their demeanour.

#### 4.7. Question 7 [*Do you use any of these expressions? prefix o-*]

Table 43 shows the frequency of usage of each word. The frequency of usage was calculated in the same manner as Question 2. Table 44 shows the average scores for each word. The women's scores and the men's scores for a, b, d, e, f and l are almost the same.

Table 43 The frequency of usage of each word

	Women				Men		
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No reply	Often	Sometimes	Never
a. <i>o-tya</i> (Japanese tea)	26	1	0	1	12	0	0
b. <i>o-kome</i> (uncooked rice)	24	3	0	1	11	1	0
c. <i>o-syooyu</i> (soy sauce)	23	2	2	1	3	9	0
d. <i>o-su</i> (vinegar)	18	7	2	1	7	3	2
e. <i>o-kane</i> (money)	25	2	0	1	12	0	0
f. <i>o-kyaku</i> (a guest)	23	2	2	1	11	1	0
g. <i>o-sio</i> (salt)	13	10	4	1	3	4	5
h. <i>o-mikan</i> (a mandarin)	2	7	18	1	0	1	11
i. <i>o-tomodati</i> (a friend)	11	12	4	1	1	6	5
j. <i>o-tyanoma</i> (a living room)	12	9	6	1	5	3	4
k. <i>o-sasimi</i> (sliced raw fish)	22	4	1	1	5	7	0
l. <i>o-seibo</i> (a year-end present)	25	2	0	1	11	0	1

Table 44 The average scores for each word

	Women	Men
a. <i>o-tya</i>	9.81	10.00
b. <i>o-kane</i>	9.44	9.58
c. <i>o-syooyu</i>	8.89	6.25
d. <i>o-su</i>	7.96	7.08
e. <i>o-kane</i>	9.63	10.00
f. <i>o-kyaku</i>	8.89	9.58
g. <i>o-sio</i>	6.67	4.17
h. <i>o-mikan</i>	2.04	0.42
i. <i>o-tomodati</i>	6.30	3.33
j. <i>o-tyanoma</i>	6.11	5.42
k. <i>o-sasimi</i>	8.89	7.08
l. <i>o-seibo</i>	9.63	9.17

Table 43 shows that these words, except d are often used by most women and men. Therefore it can be considered that the different usage of the prefix *-o* between women and men is difficult to find in words which are commonly used with *o*. Looking at other words, c, g, h, i, j and k, all the women's scores are higher than the men's. It appears that women more often pay deference towards addressees, or are more concerned to demonstrate refinement, than men.

#### 4.8. Question 8

##### 4.8.A. [In which situation do you use women's language?]

22 women responded to this question. Of these, 7 said they use women's language on public occasions; 9 responded in private situations; 4 at no specific time; 2 gave examples besides the above (1 stated that she uses it when her companion often uses it and that she does not use it with men. 1 stated that she tries not to use it).

Considering the examples of private situations from the replies, it seems that they use women's language in order to promote rapport. In the case of the examples of public occasions, it is considered that they use women's language in order to express deference and demeanour.

#### **4.8.B. [*In which mood do you use women's language?*]**

21 women responded to this question. Of these, 11 said they use women's language while in a relaxed mood; 4 while in a strained mood; 2 while in any mood; 4 gave examples besides the above three (1 stated that she used women's language when she felt unconfident. It is considered that she makes use of the softness or non assertiveness of women's language. 1 stated that she altered her language to fit the style of the companion whom she was talking to. 1 stated that she used it when she was expected to behave as a mother or a wife. 1 stated that she used it when she was exaggerating her femininity).

Considering replies from both extremes, a relaxed mood and a strained mood, some respondents seem to consider women's language as a device for creating distance, and some seem to consider it as a device for creating rapport.

#### **4.8.C. [*What topics do you talk about, when you use women's language?*]**

18 women responded to this question. Of these, 11 use women's language with any topic; 4 use it with everyday topics; 1 uses it with serious topics; 2 gave examples besides the above three (1 stated love stories. 1 stated that she uses women's language when trying to imitate a comedian). Taking into account that 11 respondents answered any topic, it seems to be difficult to conclude what topics women talk about when they use women's language.

#### **4.8.D. [*With whom do you talk in women's language?*]**

24 women responded to this question. 10 use women's language with friends or family members; 7 use it with people other than friends and family members; 2 use it with anyone; 5 gave examples besides the above three (1 stated with people who have an equal level of education. 1 stated with females. 1 stated with people whom she wants to be liked by or whom she respects. 1 stated with seniors or children. 1 stated with people who often use women's language).

It is considered that the respondents who answered with friends or family members, interpret women's language as a means to show their solidarity. It is considered that the respondents who answered with people other than friends and family members, interpret women's language as polite language to express deference and demeanour. Looking at one respondent's answer, with her seniors or children, it seems to reflect both politeness and intimacy.

Some respondents replied with males, however, they also mentioned on public occasions, elderly males or males whom they met for the first time. Therefore they seem to use women's language to be polite rather than to express their femininity.

#### 4.8.E. [*What kind of clothes do you wear, when you use women's language?*]

20 women responded to this question. 8 use it when wearing formal dress; 1 use it when wearing casual dress; 11 use it regardless of clothing.

It is supposed that when they are in formal dress, including Japanese traditional clothing on formal occasions, they use more polite language, and that when they are dressed up, they use women's language to emphasise their femininity. It seems that 1 respondent who answered casual dress interpreted women's language as a means to promote rapport.

#### 4.9. Question 9

##### 4.9.A. [*Do you think women's language is necessary?*]

21 women out of 28 and 12 men out of 12 in New Zealand answered that women's language is necessary. 5 women answered in the negative. 2 women answered that it may or may not be necessary.

##### 4.9.B. [*What do you think about women who do not use women's language at all?*]

18 women and 12 men responded. 6 women and 2 men gave positive replies; 12 women and 8 men replied negatively. 1 man stated that he does not mind when the use is business related; however, he wants a women to use women's language in a dating situation. 1 man stated that he does not mind; however, when a woman behaves like a man and uses rough language, he said he feels sad. From the two men's replies, it is hard to determine if they are positive or negative.

The following represents the number of respondents and their negative comments about women who do not use women's language.

##### Women

Rough, blunt, spirited and rude	6
Unnatural and a sense of incongruity	3
Feminist	1
Businesslike	1
Women and men are equal but women's role is different from men's	1

##### Men

Lack of femininity or good sense	3
Strange, insipid or rude	3
Feminist	1

Badly brought up

1

**4.9.C. [*What do you think about women who often use women's language?*]**

1 woman replied with a positive comment, "It sometimes sounds refined depending on how they use it." 1 woman replied negatively, "I think they have been brought up in an environment where women's language was used. 1 woman replied that it is a personal matter.

## 5. Comparison of the results between Japan and New Zealand

Yoshizumi (1995 : 190) argues that Western societies, such as the United States, tend to be “couple oriented,” and Japan is a same-sex-oriented society. Compared with those in Japan, Japanese people living in New Zealand have more opportunities to interact in the mixed-sex social setting. Moreover, it is considered that for people living overseas the solidarity of compatriots is more important than that of same-sex relationships. Holmes (1992 : 373) claims that “The people you interact with most often may also influence your speech — your social network of regular contacts will therefore indicate the potential range of linguistic influence on your speech.” If it is the case, the speech of Japanese people living in New Zealand must be influenced by the opposite sex more strongly than in Japan.

In a vertical society, like Japan, status or power differences are absolute, while in New Zealand they are not. It is usual that superiors and subordinates call each other by their first names, when the status difference is not great. Considering the working environment in New Zealand, there is a strong likelihood that Japanese people will work with New Zealanders. Consequently New Zealanders’ values also influence the atmosphere at the work place. Gender difference in social roles in New Zealand is also not as great as in Japan.

With regard to language, Japanese is sex-exclusive, while English is sex-preferential. Ide (1990 : 64) points out that “For the Japanese people, linguistic politeness is mainly a matter of conforming to social conventions for a choice of linguistic forms. Hill et al. (1986 : 348)<sup>18</sup> call this ‘discernment’ (*wakimae*, in Japanese).”

It is posited that women’s speech in New Zealand is somewhat different from women’s speech in Japan, and that the same holds for men’s speech also. Because the respective lengths of time that the New Zealand participants had lived outside Japan, the relationship between the number of years abroad and language usage was not explored.

### 5.1. Question 1 [A.*Do you think women’s language is different from men’s language?* B.*If yes, give examples.*]

A surprising result was that 3 women living in Japan and 1 man living in New Zealand replied that women’s language is not different from men’s language. However, it is interesting to note that in regard to Question 9.A [*Do you think women’s language is necessary?*], one of these women gave no reply, while the other two answered in the negative. Thus, although for Question 1.A they denied that women’s language existed, for Question 9.A they made comments about women who use women’s language. While this appears to be contradictory, a possible explanation may be that while they admit the existence of women’s language which is different from men’s language, they do not use it or try not to use it. Therefore their interpretation of women’s language is the language that they actually use.

The man who answered in the negative for Question 1.A, for Question 9.A contradictorily stated that women's language is necessary. His comment for Question 9.B. [*What do you think about women who do not use women's language at all?*] was that he did not mind when it was business related, but that in a dating situation he wanted a woman to use feminine language. He also replied that he thought there is no difference between men's language and women's language for business. It would seem that, in order to reply to Question 1, he thought about language only as used in business situations, where polite language is normally used. As long as only polite forms are used, there is little difference between women's language and men's language.

In Question 1.B most respondents living in both Japan and New Zealand pointed out the gender difference in the repertoire of language, and some mentioned the differences in aspects of female and male speech.

In Question 1, the respondents' attitude rather than actual usage was questioned. Japanese native speakers who live in New Zealand must surely be affected by New Zealand society and English language. It is assumed that their attitude toward Japanese women's language is therefore also influenced. All respondents in New Zealand, except the man quoted above (who, in fact, did perceive a difference beyond business occasions), noticed the gender difference in language; on the other hand, three women in Japan did not. Although this result seems to contradict the above assumption, it can also be considered that in circumstances in which English is used, where the gender difference in language is subtle, Japanese expatriates became even more aware of it in Japanese. Another interpretation is that the gender difference in language has become more and more controversial in Japan, therefore the number of women living in Japan who use the same language as men intentionally has been increasing. Nevertheless, as far as the results of Question 1 are concerned, it seems too early to conclude that the attitude of Japanese native speakers living in New Zealand, toward Japanese women's language is affected by their adopted culture.

## 5.2. Question 2 [*Do you use any of these expressions? interjections*]

Table 45 shows the difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 2 and Table 24. (+) shows that Japan scored higher than New Zealand. (-) shows that New Zealand scored higher than Japan. Since k and l are neutral expressions, they are not considered here.

Two interesting differences in results between Japan and New Zealand appear for men's scores. First, all the men's scores for feminine expressions indicate (-). Secondly, the men's scores for e and g indicate (-), while the scores for f, h and i indicate (+). Taking into account that e and g are usually uttered by people when talking to themselves, men in Japan are more likely to use masculine interjections in interactional situations. In Japanese society,

Table 45 The difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 2 and Table 24

	Women	Men
a. <i>Ara!</i>	0.34 (-)	0.97 (-)
b. <i>Maa!</i>	0.55 (-)	1.39 (-)
c. <i>Suteki!</i>	0.21 (+)	0.55 (-)
d. <i>Ussoo!</i>	1.70 (+)	1.94 (-)
e. <i>Kuso!</i>	0.42 (+)	0.69 (-)
f. <i>Bakayaroo!</i>	0.58 (+)	1.39 (+)
g. <i>Che</i>	0.66 (-)	1.25 (-)
h. <i>Yaa</i>	1.01 (+)	0.69 (+)
i. <i>Yoo</i>	0.56 (+)	2.08 (+)
j. <i>Kawaii</i>	0.02 (-)	0.55 (-)
k. <i>Are?</i>	0.36 (-)	0.42 (+)
l. <i>Oya?</i>	0.78 (-)	0.56 (-)

traditional norms for gender are still deep-rooted in people's minds, especially among men. This peculiarity is reflected in the results in Japan, the greater use of masculine expressions, and the lesser use of feminine expressions. It seems that men's speech in New Zealand is influenced by women's speech more strongly than in Japan, owing to more frequency of interaction with women.

### 5.3. Question 3 [*Do you use any of these expression? vocabulary*]

Table 46 shows the difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 4 and Table 26. Since c, e and g are neutral expressions, they are not considered here.

Two interesting points can be observed in Table 46. All the women's scores for masculine expressions, except b, indicate (-). *Te yagaru* is usually used for showing the speaker's power or to express disdain towards the referent rather than showing solidarity. Therefore it appears that women in New Zealand use masculine expressions more often than women in Japan in order to promote solidarity. (+) in the men's score for b and (-) for k show that men's speech in New Zealand is more gentle than in Japan. These results show that women's speech and men's speech are becoming closer in New Zealand compared with Japan. It is conceivable that the frequency of mixed-sex interactions and the smaller difference in gender in New Zealand society influence their speech.

Table 46 The difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 4 and Table 26

	Women	Men
a. <i>dekkai</i>	0.16 (-)	0.70 (+)
b. <i>te yagaru</i>	0.76 (+)	0.97 (+)
c. <i>go-han o taberu</i>	0.23 (+)	2.09 (-)
d. <i>mesi o kuu</i>	0.55 (-)	0.14 (+)
e. <i>o-naka suite</i>	5.38 (-)	0.56 (-)
f. <i>hara hetta</i>	0.85 (-)	0.27 (-)
g. <i>oisii</i>	0.30 (-)	0.55 (-)
h. <i>umai</i>	2.88 (-)	0.69 (-)
i. <i>hanahada</i>	0.02 (+)	0.55 (+)
j. <i>kiwamete</i>	0.07 (+)	0.27 (-)
k. <i>totemo / totemo</i>	0.81 (+)	1.81 (-)

#### 5.4. Question 4 [*Do you use any of these expression? sentence final particles*]

Table 47 shows the difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 6 and Table 28.

Firstly, examining women's scores, an interesting point can be observed in the score for j. Nearly half of the respondents in New Zealand answered that they never used j, while less than one fifth of respondents in Japan did. Even among respondents from the 20-29 age group, only 3 out of 9 women in Japan answered never, whereas in New Zealand 4 out of 5 did. Considering *wa* is a women's positive politeness strategy, the greater use of *wa* in Japan reflects a same-sex-oriented society.

Secondly, examining men's scores, two interesting points can be observed in Table 47. Feminine particle *no* has the function of establishing conversational rapport. Unlike *no* used with polite forms, even if men use *no* with plain forms, they are not regarded as using transvestite language. It is an influence from women's speech that men are beginning to use this usage. The men's greater use of i in New Zealand shows that men's speech is influenced by women's speech more strongly than in Japan. Only one man in New Zealand and only one man in Japan answered that they use h and j, respectively. This data is too small, therefore these feminine particles are not considered here. As far as neutral particles are concerned, all scores indicate (-). Taking into account that these particles have the function of creating an empathetic interaction, men in New Zealand are more likely to be cooperative conversationalists.

Table 47 The difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 6 and Table 28

	Women	Men
a. <i>Iku zo</i>	0.45 (+)	0.42 (-)
b. <i>Itta na</i>	0.38 (-)	0.14 (+)
c. <i>Iku ne</i>	1.12 (+)	4.86 (-)
d. <i>Ikimasu ne</i>	0.91 (-)	1.95 (-)
e. <i>Iku yo</i>	0.24 (+)	2.36 (-)
f. <i>Ikimasu yo</i>	0.62 (-)	1.52 (-)
g. <i>Iku kasira</i>	0.42 (-)	0
h. <i>Ikimasu no</i>	0.38 (-)	0.42 (-)
i. <i>Iku no</i>	0.18 (+)	0.37 (-)
j. <i>Iku wa</i>	1.74 (+)	0.56 (+)

From the results for Question 4, it is observed that women's speech is becoming less feminine, and men's speech is becoming more cooperative in New Zealand than in Japan. It appears that this has resulted from the greater opportunity of mixed-sex interactions in New Zealand.

### 5.5. Question 5 [*Do you use any of these expression? personal pronouns*]

Table 48 shows the difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 8 and Table 30.

For first person pronouns, Table 48 shows that women in Japan use b and d more often than in New Zealand. Taking into account that these pronouns are rarely used by men both in Japan and New Zealand, they seem feminine. It can be seen that women's speech in Japan reflects femininity more clearly than in New Zealand.

Looking at men's scores for a and c, which are both used by men in formal situations, the scores for both a and c indicate (-), in addition to that the differences are large. It is assumed that in a vertical society people are more likely to use formal expressions. These results contradict this assumption. A plausible explanation can be found in the respondents' occupations. In Japan 7 out of 18 respondents were students, while in New Zealand 2 out of 12 were respectively a student and an unemployed person. Students and the unemployed have less opportunity to interact in formal situations. It seems that this difference produced the above result.

Observing masculine expressions, e, f and g, e indicates (-), while f and g (+). Taking

Table 48 The difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 8 and Table 30

	Women	Men
<u>First person</u>		
a. <i>watasi</i>	0.16 (+)	3.92 (-)
b. <i>atasi</i>	0.63 (+)	0
c. <i>watakusi</i>	0.71 (-)	1.05 (-)
d. <i>atakusi</i>	0.29 (+)	0.16 (-)
e. <i>boku</i>	0.16 (+)	1.67 (-)
f. <i>ore</i>	0	0.90 (+)
g. <i>wasi</i>	0.16 (+)	2.06 (+)
<u>Second person</u>		
a. <i>omae</i>	0.42 (+)	0.97 (+)
b. <i>temee</i>	0.11 (+)	2.92 (+)
c. <i>kimi</i>	0.94 (+)	0.29 (+)
d. <i>kisama</i>	0.05 (-)	2.82 (+)
e. <i>anata</i>	1.63 (+)	0.35 (-)
f. <i>anta</i>	0.18 (+)	3.92 (+)
<u>Third person</u>		
a. <i>aitu</i>	0.73 (+)	0.44 (+)
b. <i>ano hito</i>	0.07 (-)	1.16 (-)
c. <i>ano kata</i>	0.95 (+)	2.11 (-)

into account that *ore* and *wasi* display masculinity, men's speech in New Zealand appears to be less masculine than in Japan.

For second person pronouns, the most distinct difference in women's results appears in the score for c. It is most likely that women use *kimi* when addressing a male subordinate. Although most respondents in Japan are not working, Japan scored higher than New Zealand. Examining students' replies, 4 out of 9 students in Japan answered that they use c often or sometimes. It seems that the higher score in Japan was produced by their replies. It appears that the students' greater use of *kimi* reflects the seniority in Japanese universities. Next, looking at men's scores, all pronouns at a deprecatory level, a, b and d, indicate (+). This result indicates men's better demeanour in New Zealand compared with Japan.

For third person pronouns, the men's score for a indicates (+), whereas the scores for b and c indicate (-). Again these show men's better demeanour in New Zealand compared with Japan. It seems that (+) in the women's score for a resulted from the housewives' greater use of this in the 30-39 age group. 7 out of 16 housewives in this age group in Japan

answered that they use it often or sometimes, while 1 out of 7 did in New Zealand. A possible explanation is that they use *aitu* when referring to their husbands in conversations with female friends.

From the results of Question 5, which indicated the influence of one sex's speech on that of the other, women's speech is becoming less feminine and men's speech is becoming more polite in New Zealand compared with Japan. The women's greater use of *kimi* in Japan reflects the seniority in Japanese society.

## 5.6. Question 6

### 5.6.A. [How do you ask your subordinate to take a photocopy? ]

It may safely be said that replies using arrogant expressions and humble expressions in Japan reflects the Japanese vertical society. In a status-based community, like Japanese companies, where differences are emphasised, people are more likely to display their status or power in language.

### 5.6.B. [How do you ask your same-status colleague to take a photocopy? ]

Firstly, a comparison of women's percentages in Table 12 and in Table 34 shows that women in Japan use politer expressions compared with women in New Zealand. It appears that this result reflects Japanese social convention, *wakimae*, "discernment", more strongly in Japan than in New Zealand.

Secondly, looking at men's results, Table 35 shows that most male respondents in New Zealand use the same expressions with female and male colleagues. This shows that men in New Zealand choose an appropriate expression independently of the addressee's sex. It appears that men's speech is affected by the society in New Zealand, where the gender difference is not as great as in Japan.

### 5.6.C. [How do you ask your friend to lend you a book? ]

Firstly, a comparison of women's percentages between the two countries in Table 15 and Table 37 shows that women in Japan use politer expressions compared with women in New Zealand. Examining men's percentages, the same result is observed that men in Japan use politer expressions than men in New Zealand. It appears that women and men in Japan have a better knowledge of *wakimae*, "discernment" than women and men in New Zealand, respectively.

Secondly, in a comparison of women's percentages, Table 16 and Table 38 show that in Japan the score for using a politer expression with a male than a female is much higher, and the score for using the same expression with both a female and a male is much lower. These results indicate that women in Japan are more likely to keep distance from men compared with women in New Zealand. It appears that women's speech in Japan reflects the same-sex-oriented society. With regard to men's percentages, a distinct difference can not be found.

#### **5.6.D. [*How do you ask your spouse to come here?* ]**

A comparison of women's percentages in Table 18 and Table 40 shows that women in Japan use politer expressions compared with women in New Zealand.

A comparison of men's percentages in Table 18 and Table 40 shows that men in Japan make use of less polite expressions compared with men in New Zealand.

Considering that some of their spouses in New Zealand are not Japanese, the results of Question 6.D, therefore demonstrate that the gender difference in society is reflected in their speech more strongly in Japan than in New Zealand.

#### **5.6.E. [*What do you say to a delivery person, after you get a parcel?* ]**

A comparison of women's percentages in Table 20 and Table 42 shows that women in Japan use politer expressions compared with women in New Zealand.

A comparison of men's percentages in Table 20 and Table 42 shows that men in Japan use politer expressions compared with men in New Zealand.

From the results of Question 6.E, it can be seen that both women and men in Japan are more concerned with a display of good demeanour than women and men in New Zealand, respectively.

#### **5.7. Question 7 [*Do you use any of these expressions? prefix o-*]**

Table 49 shows the difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 22 and Table 44.

The most significant result in Table 49 is that all the women's scores show (+). Considering that most female respondents in Japan are not working, this result reflects that they are more concerned to appear to belong to a higher social class than that to which they actually belong.

When the men's scores are examined, it can be seen that only g, h and j indicate (+). It appears that women's speech influenced men's speech more strongly in New Zealand than in Japan, because of their more frequent mixed-sex interactions.

Table 49 The difference in scores between Japan and New Zealand calculated from Table 22 and Table 44

	Women	Men
a. <i>o-tya</i>	0.19 (+)	0.28 (-)
b. <i>o-kome</i>	0.56 (+)	1.52 (-)
c. <i>o-syooyu</i>	0.63 (+)	1.53 (-)
d. <i>o-su</i>	2.04 (+)	0.69 (-)
e. <i>o-kane</i>	0.05 (+)	0.56 (-)
f. <i>o-kyaku</i>	0.14 (+)	1.25 (-)
g. <i>o-sio</i>	2.36 (+)	0.27 (+)
h. <i>o-mikan</i>	2.31 (+)	0.41 (+)
i. <i>o-tomodati</i>	1.60 (+)	1.11 (-)
j. <i>o-tyanoma</i>	0.89 (+)	0.97 (+)
k. <i>o-sasimi</i>	0.79 (+)	1.25 (-)
l. <i>o-seibo</i>	0.37 (+)	0

## 5.8. Question 8

### 5.8.A. [In which situation do you use women's language? ]

From the analysis of Question 8.A, it can be seen that about half of the respondents in Japan use women's language during the course of public occasions, while in New Zealand about one-third of the respondents do. Approximately one-third of the respondents answered on private situations in Japan, while in New Zealand approximately two-fifth of the respondents answered this way. From this, it appears that women's language is more acceptable on public occasions in Japan compared to New Zealand. In other words, women in Japan are more likely to regard women's language as polite language compared with women in New Zealand. And some respondents in Japan use women's language to emphasise their femininity.

### 5.8.B. [In what mood do you use women's language? ]

When the results of Question 8.B are compared, it can be seen that while over half the respondents in New Zealand use women's language while in a relaxed mood, only one-quarter of the respondents in Japan do so. On the other hand, while approximately one-third of the respondents in Japan use women's language while in a strained mood, only one-fifth of respondents in New Zealand do so. It is judged that women in New Zealand tend to use women's language more often to promote interaction compared with women in Japan.

### **5.8.C. [*What topics do you talk about, when you use women's language?* ]**

By comparing the results of Question 8.C, it can be seen that most respondents in both countries use women's language with any topic. While three women in Japan answered serious topics, only one woman in New Zealand answered in this way. However this data is not enough to conclude that women in Japan use women's language more often with serious topics than women in New Zealand. Therefore as far as topics are concerned, a distinct difference between Japan and New Zealand cannot be observed.

### **5.8.D. [*With whom do you talk in women's language?* ]**

A comparison of the results of Question 8.D shows that nearly half of the respondents in Japan use women's language with people other than friends and family members, while in New Zealand fewer than one-third in this way. Less than one third of the respondents in Japan replied with friends or family members, on the other hand, in New Zealand more than 40 percent of the respondents replied in this way. It is considered that women in Japan tend to use women's language more often to express deference and demeanour compared with women in New Zealand. Some respondents in Japan use women's language to express their femininity.

### **5.8.E. [*What kind of clothes do you wear, when you use women's language?*]**

Contrasting the results of Question 8.E, more women answered in formal dress in New Zealand than in Japan, however this difference is not great. Moreover more than half of the respondents both in Japan and New Zealand use women's language regardless of what they are wearing. Therefore a significant difference between Japan and New Zealand can not be found. Although some respondents in both Japan and New Zealand appear to use women's language to emphasise their femininity when they are dressed up, the difference between the countries is too small to be significant.

## **5.9. Question 9**

### **5.9.A. [*Do you think women's language is necessary?* ]**

From the results of Question 9.A, the men in New Zealand seem to believe more strongly than the men in Japan in the necessity of women's language.

**5.9.B. [*What do you think about women who do not use women's language at all?* ]**

From a comparison of the results of Question 9.B, it can be seen that only a quarter of the female respondents in Japan but one-third of the female respondents in New Zealand are positive. It seems that the women in New Zealand are more open-minded toward women who do not use women's language at all than are the women in Japan. This is consistent with the results of women's lesser usage of feminine expressions in New Zealand.

When the men's replies are compared, it can be seen that approximately a quarter of the male respondents in Japan but only one sixth of the male respondents in New Zealand are positive. It appears that the men in Japan, may be more permissive toward women who do not use women's language at all than are the men in New Zealand. This result is not consistent with the New Zealand cultural influence upon men in New Zealand. A possible explanation is that they seek interactions with female friends and business relationships on an equal basis, however they seek femininity in their partner. It is considered that in circumstances in which feminism has revolutionised society more strongly than in Japan, Japanese expatriates yearn for femininity even more.

**5.9.C. [*What do you think about women who often use women's language?*]**

1 woman in Japan assumed a critical attitude toward women who often use women's language, while 1 woman in New Zealand made sarcastic remarks. However this data is too small to reach a conclusion.

**5.10. Question 10 [*Do you have any further comments to make in relation to this survey?*]**

Some interesting and useful comments [See Appendix 2] were received in reply to Question 10 from both Japan and New Zealand.

## 6. Summary

From the results both in Japan and in New Zealand, it has been shown that most feminine expressions are used predominantly by women and that most masculine expressions are used predominantly by men. However some noteworthy results were also found. Two feminine expressions (*no* when used with polite forms, and *kasira*), which strongly demonstrate femininity, are not used by many women. Two masculine expressions (*dekkai* and *umai*), which do not have derogatory connotations but function to show solidarity in informal situations, are used by many women. A feminine expression, *Ussoo!*, which has emotional function but does not sound feminine, is used by many men. These phenomena are remarkable especially among the young generation. Young people do not stick to traditional gender norms, but regard creating rapport as more important.

From the replies to Question 6, it is obvious that women use politer expressions than do men in the situations surveyed. This shows women's good demeanour rather than women's inferior status, because men tend to use politer expressions when asking women to do something than when making similar requests of men. From the replies to Question 8, two contrasting functions of women's language were confirmed; to promote rapport, and to express deference or demeanour. In addition to the above, it was shown that most women and men acknowledge the existence of women's language in Japanese and regard women's language as necessary.

Although these are some exceptions in the results between Japan and New Zealand, in general, in Japan women's speech is more feminine, and men's speech more masculine, than that of their counterparts in New Zealand. Feminine expressions are used to promote rapport among women, or sometimes to display their femininity towards men. Masculine expressions are used to show solidarity among men, or to display their superiority towards inferiors. The Japanese same-sex-oriented society gave both women and men more opportunities to interact with the same sex, thus these expressions are more often used in Japan than in New Zealand. In Japanese society, in which the difference in roles between women and men is still distinct, femininity and masculinity are reflected in their speech. With regard to Question 6, generally both women and men in Japan use politer expressions than women and men in New Zealand, respectively. This would appear to be a result of the strong reflection of discernment and demeanour in Japan. Japanese people living in Japan tend to use politer expression to the opposite sex than to the same sex. It appears that the same-sex-oriented nature of society in Japan is reflected in their speech. As far as Question 6.A is concerned, replies using arrogant expressions and humble expressions in Japan reflect the Japanese "vertical society" referred to above (p. 66). From the replies to Question 8, Japanese women in New Zealand are more likely to use women's language to promote rapport compared with women in Japan.

## Notes

1. In this thesis, “demeanour” is used in a special sense developed by Goffman (Goffman 1968 : 56-77, cited by Ide 1990 : 72), meaning “the element of a person’s ceremonial behavior typically conveyed through deportment, dress and bearing which serves to express his/her personal quality of desirability. Deference concerns the sentiment of regard toward the recipient, while demeanor concerns the sentiment of regard toward the actor him/herself to show how well-demeaned [*sic*] a person he/she is.” (Ide, loc. cit)
2. Ide, S. and others.  
Zyosei no keigo no gengo keisiki to kinoo. Monbusyoo kagaku kenkyuui seika hookokusyo, 1985.
3. *Kuren* is Osaka dialect for *kurenai*.
4. *Kureharu* is Kyoto dialect for *kureru*.
5. *Kurehen* is Osaka dialect for *kurenai*.
- 6.7. In order to fill out a questionnaire easily, *kopii o totte* was written on the forms. If nothing was written on it, more respondents might reply using variations such as 6 and 7.
- 8.9. Some respondents wrote two types of variations. Both variations were counted. Because the variations belong to a different politeness level, for this reason the total number is more than the total number of respondents.
10. *Kurehen ka* is Osaka dialect for *kurenai ka*.
11. *Moraehen yaro ka* is Osaka dialect for *moraenai kana*.
12. *Kureharimasu* is Kyoto dialect for *kuremasu*.
- 13.14. Some respondents wrote two types of variations according to the different politeness level. Both two variations were counted. Thus the total number is more than the total number of respondents.
15. *Ookini* is Osaka dialect for *arigatoo*.
- 16.17. Some respondents wrote two types of variations according to the different politeness level. Both two variations were counted. Thus the total number is more than the total number of respondents.
18. Hill, B. and others  
Universals of linguistic politeness : Quantitative evidence from Japanese and American English.  
Journal of Pragmatics 10 : 347-371, 1986.

## Chapter 5 Evidence Found in TV Programmes

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked about their actual usage of language. However, it is possible that the respondents' replies in fact might not be an accurate reflection of their actual usage. In order to check the evidence found in Chapter 4, in this chapter an episode of a Japanese soap opera and a documentary are analysed.

### 1. Evidence found in a soap opera

#### 1.1. Introduction

The second episode (50 minutes' duration) of a soap opera titled *Mahiru no Tuki*, "The midday moon", are used. The four main characters are as follows: Naoki, a man in his late twenties working in his own laundry business; Goro, a man older than Naoki (in his late thirties) who teaches primary school pupils in his own private school; Mae, Naoki's new girlfriend, a woman in her mid twenties, who is seeking a job as an announcer; and Mariko, Mae's nurse and a friend of Naoki and Goro, a woman in her mid-twenties.

In the conversation between Naoki and Goro, masculine expressions are often used. Because Naoki is Goro's junior, Naoki uses politer language than Goro. When Goro talks to Mariko, he uses fewer masculine expressions. When Mariko talks to Mae, she often uses feminine expressions. On the other hand, when she talks to Goro and Naoki, she uses fewer feminine expressions and sometimes uses masculine ones. Since Mae and Naoki have known each other for only a short period, they sometimes still use polite forms, and therefore the difference between the language of the two is not great.

The dialogue of the episode contains 405 sentences. Of these, 225 are spoken by women, and 180 by men. 90 are in polite forms.

#### 1.2. Interjection

The interjections selected for the questionnaire were not used in the drama. However, some differences in the usage of interjections between women's speech and men's speech can be observed.

Mariko uses *Nee* (I say) five times when addressing both a woman and a man. On the other hand, Goro uses *Oi* (Hey) when addressing Naoki. *Nee* is used more frequently by women, although it is sometimes used by men. *Oi* is a masculine expression and has a derogatory connotation.

Goro, Naoki and Mariko (in this case Mariko is pretending to be Naoki), use *Ya*, *Iya*, *Iiya* and *Iya iya* (No), on the other hand, women use *Ie* and *Uun* (No). Compared with

*Iya, Ie* is a gentle expression. This illustrates the point that women tend to use gentle expressions.

### 1.3. Vocabulary

The vocabulary examples selected for Question 3 of the questionnaire are not used in the dram, but some different masculine expressions are used.

*Nee*, in this case a phonological reduction form of *nai* meaning “not” and having a derogatory connotation, is used by Goro and a rapist. *Nee* is used when Goro is talking to Naoki and by the rapist when he is about to rape Mae.

Naoki often uses *su*, a reduction form of *desu*. A male employee in Naoki’s laundry also sometimes uses it. *Su* is often used by men in the Tokyo area.

The male employee in Naoki’s laundry uses a slang word, *tikuru*, “let on”. *Tikuru* is often used by young men and sometimes by female high school students.

### 1.4. Sentence final particles

There are many examples of feminine, masculine and neutral sentence particles in the drama.

*Zo* is used by the rapist to Mae, by Goro to Naoki and Naoki’s employee, and by Naoki to his sister; this is a particle used by men to women, or to their inferiors.

*Na* and *da na* are sometimes used by Goro to Naoki; Mariko sometimes uses *na* and *da na* when talking to herself but not to other people. It seems that *na* is used by women when talking to themselves.

*Ne* with plain forms is often used by women to women. Mariko sometimes uses *ne* with another sentence final particle. Although *ne* is sometimes used by men, in male speech it is used with an assertive auxiliary verb, *da* or a masculine reduction form, *su*.

*Yo* is used by women seven times with another sentence particle *no*, three times with *wa*, three times with a request form, *~te*, and once followed an adjective. On the other hand, *yo* is used by men ten times with an assertive auxiliary verb, *da*, three times with a masculine reduction form, *su*. Goro once says ‘*Nani yo*’ (What?) to Mariko. This usage is regarded as feminine expression, because of the deletion of the assertive auxiliary verb, *da*.

*Kasira* is not used. As a substitute for it, *ka na* is used twice by Mariko to Mae and Naoki, and once by Goro to Mariko. It is possible that *kasira* is rarely used by young women.

*No* is used by women four times in an interrogative sentence and twenty times in a declarative sentence. On the other hand, it is used three times in an interrogative sentence by

men to women. Goro uses *no* in a declarative sentence to Mariko once. *No* with polite forms did not occur.

*Wa* is used six times by women to both women and men. *Wa* is not used by men.

It seems that *zo* and *na* are used predominantly by men, while *no* in a declarative sentence and *wa* are used predominantly by women, and that *kasira* is hardly ever used by young women. In terms of neutral sentence final particles, men seem to use them often with the masculine expressions, *da* or *su*, while women seem to use them with the feminine expressions, *wa*, *no*, or in a request.

### 1.5. Personal pronouns

With regard to first person pronouns, in informal situations women always use *watasi*, while men always use *ore*.

The second person pronouns *anata* and *anta* are used by women. *Anta* is used by Mariko to Naoki's male employee and by a mother to her daughter. *Temee*, *omae*, *kimi* and *anata* are used by men. *Temee* is used by the rapist to Mae, *omae* is used by Goro to Naoki and to Naoki's employee, *kimi* is used by Naoki to Mae, and *anata* is used by Naoki to his mother. Naoki's mother left her husband and children more than ten years ago, hence Naoki's attitude toward her is somewhat cold.

The third person pronouns, *kanozyo* (she), *kare* (he) and *sono ko* (that girl) are used in informal situations by Mariko and *kata* (person) is used in a formal situation. *Kanozyo* is used referring to Mae, *kono hito* (this person) is used by Naoki referring to his mother, *sono hito* (that person) is used by Naoki's male employee in reference to a stranger, and *koitu* (this fellow) is used by Goro referring to Naoki.

The difference in usage of personal pronouns between women's language and men's language is very clear.

### 1.6. Ways to ask a favour of a person

Data in connection with Question 6.A, D and E of the questionnaire could not be collected in the drama.

With regard to Question 6.B, a female nurse uses the formal expression, *~te kudasai* (please do) to Mariko, as a same-status colleague.

In terms of Question 6.C, Mariko uses plain expressions, *~te yo*, *~te ii* (may I) and *yarasete* (let me do it) to Goro and to Naoki. On the other hand, Goro uses arrogant expressions, *siro yo* (do it) and *nagero* (throw) to men. Naoki uses polite expressions,

*~te kudasai* on the phone and plain expressions, *ka na* (I wonder) and *~te hosii'n da* (I want you to ~) to Mae.

As far as Question 6.C is concerned, it can be seen that the women use politer expressions than men.

### 1.7. The prefixes *o-* and *go-*

With regard to the prefix *o-*, enough data could not be collected. Mariko uses *go-kazoku*<sup>1</sup> (your family) to Mae when they meet for the first time. Mae used *go-yooken* (things to be done) on an answering machine. Mae uses *o-kane* to Mariko, and Naoki used *o-iwai* (a celebration) to Mae. The first two are honorifics and the other two are usually used with the prefix *o-*. Therefore there is insufficient data from which to draw a conclusion.

### 1.8. Situations in which women's language is used

Firstly, considering the conversations between Mariko and Mae, Mariko often uses feminine expressions, especially feminine sentence final particles. She seems to use them in order to promote rapport. Mae was raped, injured and taken to the hospital, hence she will not open her mind easily to Mariko. Mariko is using women's language and speaking in a soft tone to ease Mae's tension. Women's language seems to play a part in this situation. Mae, on the other hand, does not use women's language, and sometimes uses polite forms. Mariko seems to be sometimes in a relaxed mood and sometimes in a strained mood. She uses women's language in relation to any topic and also when in uniform.

Secondly, considering the conversations among Mariko, Goro and Naoki, although Mariko sometimes uses masculine expressions, she also uses feminine expressions concerning any topic, in both a relaxed mood and a strained mood, and whether in uniform or casual clothes.

Thirdly, Naoki's mother often uses women's language to Naoki and his sister concerning any topic. She seems a little bit nervous and wears smart clothes.

The above three situations are examples of women using women's language with any topic, while wearing any kind of clothing, and in any mood.

It appears that women usually use women's language in private situations and with friends or family members. However, when they want to promote rapport they use it on public occasions and with females with whom they are not very familiar. There were no scenes in which women emphasised their femininity.

## 2. Evidence found in a documentary

### 2.1. Introduction

The 50 minutes-documentary titled *Dokumento Nippon—Hanahenro hutari no tabizi*, “Document Japan—pilgrimage; a journey of couples”, are used. Four couples in their fifties on a pilgrimage appeared in this documentary. The conversation between couples, and their discussions with the interviewer (female), containing 172 sentences, are analysed. Of these, 96 are from the conversation between couples, and 77 are from the interviews.

All of the couples are typical Japanese couples. The men in their fifties, who have been working very hard for their companies, see their retirement as beginning in a few years. They are beginning to be worried about their lives after the retirement. Their wives, on the other hand, during the long absence of their husbands from home, have found their own lives and have been enjoying their freedom. For retired men, who are hopeless at housework and have had no particular interests besides their work, their wives are their only hope. The number of retired men who are divorced by their wives has been increasing. A phrase uttered by one woman in this documentary symbolises the relationship between couples of this generation. ‘*Nure-otiba ni naranaide ne*’, “Please don’t become a dead wet leaf.” It is hard to sweep wet leaves off the ground. A dead wet leaf is a metaphor of a useless dependent retired husband. It was surprising that one man begged his wife to take care of him, using feminine expressions, ‘*Watasi mo daizi ni site ne.*’ (Underlines mark feminine expressions.) These four couples went on a pilgrimage in order to do something together, thinking about their couple-oriented lives in the future. The number of couples who go on a pilgrimage has been increasing.

### 2.2. Conversation between couples

30 sentences are spoken by women, and 66 by men. Of these, 2 used by women are polite forms; 3 by men. Polite forms are used by a woman when pointing out mistakes to her husband. On the other hand, polite forms are used by two men when encouraging their wives.

Significant differences in the usage of interjections, vocabulary, personal pronouns (data was insufficient), ways of asking a favour, and the prefix *o-* could not be observed. However, two distinct differences appear for sentence final particles, and the assertive auxiliary verb, *da*.

*Na* is used 4 times by men, none by women. On the other hand, the softer particle, *ne* is used 22 times by men, 11 times by women. Taking into account that the number of women’s utterances is less than half of men’s, *ne* is used by both women and men with almost the same frequency. With regard to *yo*, men use it 7 times, whereas women use it only once, moreover used with *ne*. *Yo* used with a plain form still has an assertive force, hence it seems

that it is used more often by men than women. There are 13 sentences without final particles. Of these, 8 are used by men; 5 by women..

In connection with the assertive auxiliary verb *da*, men use it 11 times, while women use it 3 times. Women use *da* without sentence particles, therefore it is hard to determine if these utterances were directed to the speakers themselves or to others. Men use it only 3 times in the same manner. The deletion of *da* appears once in women's speech and 2 times in men's speech. Of these, a man use *ne* with the deletion of *da* once. This usage is regarded as feminine. It is interesting to note that this usage is used 3 times by women when quoting the dialogue directed to female addressees. Other feminine expressions are also quoted in the same situation. It seems that women's language is used by females with other females.

### 2.3. The talks with the interviewer

28 sentences are spoken by women, and 49 by men. Of these, 17 are in polite forms used by women; 25 by men. This means that approximately 60 % of women's, 50 % of men's sentences are in the polite form.

Firstly, looking at the polite forms, differences in the frequency of usage of neutral sentence particles between women's speech and men's speech can be observed. *Ne* is used 8 times (47%) by women; 12 times (48%) by men. *Yo* is not used by women, while it is used 6 times by men. *Yo ne* is used 6 times (35%) by women; 4 times (16%) by men. It seems that women use *ne* to soften the assertive force of *yo*.

Secondly, examining the plain forms, two interesting differences can be observed. Men use *ne* more often than women. They use *ne* 4 times at the end of a sentence; 18 times in the middle of a sentence, while women never use *ne* at the end of a sentence; 4 times in the middle of a sentence. *Ne* is often used in the middle of a sentence between friends and by adults to children. The men's greater use of *ne* in the middle of a sentence reflects that the men treated the interviewer as if she was a child. Another difference is the usage of *to* at the end of a sentence in men's speech; it was not used in women's speech. This usage of *to* has the function of avoiding assertiveness in their speech, but is somewhat formal. Thus men tend to use it more often than women.

From the analysis, features of women's politer speech can be observed. This resulted from the difference in the attitude towards the female interviewer between women and men.

### 3. Summary

Interjections and vocabulary selected for the questionnaire were not used in the drama. However, different examples of one feminine expression and several masculine expressions were found. With regard to sentence final particles and personal pronouns, results similar to those of the survey were obtained. One interesting aspect noted was that women often use neutral sentence final particles with feminine expressions, while men use them with masculine expressions. It was demonstrated that women make more use of polite expressions than do men when making a request of friends. In terms of the prefix *o-*, not enough data could be collected. Lastly, it was shown that women use women's language in any mood, with any topic and when wearing any kind of clothing. They usually use it in private situations and with friends or family members. However when they wish to promote rapport, they use it on public occasions and with females with whom they are not very familiar.

The differences in the level of assertion and politeness between women's speech and men's speech could be seen in the documentary. When couples interact on an equal basis, they will avoid feminine expressions and masculine expressions. It appears that women's politer speech showed their deference and general demeanour towards the interviewer more than the men's speech.

In mixed-sex interactions both feminine and masculine expressions are not used as often as in same-sex interactions. However, there are clear gender differences in language in any interactions—personal pronouns and absence of derogatory expressions in female speech. As far as those differences are concerned, Japanese language still keeps women in traditional norms. This is because Japanese people think that women's role is different from men's and that women should behave and speak *onna-rasiku*.

### Notes

1. *Go* is used with words of Chinese origin in place of *o*.

## Conclusion

In ancient times Japan was a matrilineal society. However, as Confucianism and Buddhism prospered, women began to be discriminated against as an inferior sex. Consequently women's speech also began to be restricted. It was considered desirable that women should speak slowly in an undertone but neither logically nor intellectually, and that women should not use Chinese words but rather Japanese words which were softer.

During the 14th century court women created their own language. Its traits were: avoidance of Chinese words, politeness, euphemisms, abbreviations and repeated words. As time went on, it gradually became generalised among ordinary women. This change was not spontaneous but was an example of how men disciplined women.

In the Edo period women's behaviour and speech were most heavily restricted. Moral education encouraged women to be modest and obedient and not to express their opinions.

In the Meiji period nationalism conquered Japanese society, women were educated in the traditional "good wife and wise mother" pattern. Under the influence of the ideology of equality of the sexes, a women's rights movement began. However it made little headway until the end of the Second World War.

Contemporary women's language was established almost entirely in the Meiji period, reflecting the social expectation of women, that is, femininity. Women's language has characteristics such as a higher degree of politeness than men's language, sentence final particles to soften the statement, and avoidance of assertive and imperative forms and of derogatory expressions. After the war equality of the sexes was guaranteed by the constitution. Women born after the war were educated based on the ideal of sexual equality at school. They sought out husbands on an equal basis. Therefore they began to feel awkward using women's language. Some women have doubts about referring to their husbands as *syuzin*, which originally means "my master". The traditional *ie* system collapsed, and the status of fathers and their authority within the family have become weaker and weaker, those of mothers are becoming stronger and stronger. Women in a superior position to men have difficulty showing their authority in language. At present women are beginning to assert themselves, and this appears in their speech.

From the survey results, evidence of gender differences in language was obtained. Women use much more seldom than men interjections that express anger and frustration. This illustrates that women are still forced to keep this traditional norm in their speech. Women tend to use softer expressions. This has been the norm for women since the Heian period. Women's lesser use of derogatory expressions, and greater use of politer expressions, indicate their good demeanour. Women's greater use of the prefix *o-* shows that they are more concerned to demonstrate refinement or that they more often pay deference towards addressees. With regard to sentence final particles, women's speech is softer and more cooperative compared with men's speech. This is because that women are educated to

be modest and not to assert themselves, but also that women themselves prefer to communicate smoothly. In Japanese society everyone is expected to play a role based on standard values. Japanese people prefer keeping harmony to breaking it. Even though women have become aware of the inconvenience of women's language, they are unable to discard it, because it is *wakimae*, "discernment" that makes women to use it.

From the analyses of the survey and the TV programmes, some tendencies were demonstrated. The feminine expressions of *kasira*, and *no* with polite forms, are rarely used by young women. *Kasira* emphasises the speaker's uncertainty and femininity. The corresponding male phrase *ka na* does not have derogatory connotations, therefore it is plausible that women are beginning to use *ka na* as substitute for *kasira*. With regard to *no* with polite forms, if women use *no* to create a conversational rapport, it is more likely that women use *no* with plain forms. Because polite forms have the function of keeping distance. *No* with polite forms also emphasises the speaker's femininity. Therefore there is a tendency for *no* with polite forms to disappear.

Some masculine expressions, such as *dekkai* and *umai*, are beginning to be used by women. These masculine expressions do not have derogatory connotations, but they function to show solidarity when they are used in appropriate situations. Therefore it seems that women are beginning to use *dekkai* and *umai*.

Women make good use of women's language depending on the situation. When they wish to promote rapport, they use its aspects of softness and cooperation. When they wish to create distance, they use its aspects of politeness. They sometimes use its femininity when they want to emphasise their femininity.

In addition to these, some feminine expressions such as *Ussoo!* and *Kawaii* are beginning to be used by men. Women are beginning to adopt masculine expressions, while men are beginning to adopt feminine expressions which do not demonstrate femininity. Women's and men's social roles are beginning to overlap, thus women's speech and men's speech are also beginning to overlap. This phenomenon is clearer in New Zealand than in Japan. This indicates the New Zealand cultural influence.

Lastly, it was certified that most women and men in both Japan and New Zealand recognise the existence of women's language in Japanese and regard women's language as necessary. Even though the gender difference in roles is becoming smaller, there is little possibility of the gender difference in language disappearing, as well as the gender difference in social roles in Japan. This is because *wakimae* is deep-rooted in Japanese people's minds. A good example is that adult women will not use the personal pronoun *boku* (I). If a woman use *boku*, most Japanese people think that she is claiming she is a man. To use the same expressions as the opposite sex does not mean the equality of the sexes for Japanese people.

From comparisons of the results between Japan and New Zealand, it was verified that generally speaking women's speech is less feminine and men's speech is less masculine in New Zealand compared with that in Japan. This would appear to be a result of the influence of the New Zealand society, in which gender difference in social roles is small and there are many mixed-sex interactions. In other words, the Japanese same-sex-oriented society makes women's speech more feminine and men's speech more masculine in Japan compared with New Zealand. The "vertical society" is reflected in their speech in Japan, because they tend to display their social status and power in language. Discernment is reflected more strongly in their speech in Japan than in New Zealand, because they use politer expressions.

It seems likely that, in the future, stereotyped feminine expressions which demonstrate femininity, and masculine expressions which have derogatory connotations, will be abandoned. More and more women have confidence, their speech is becoming more and more assertive. For Japanese women, equality of the sexes does not mean playing the same roles as men, but seeking their own freedom and autonomy. In Japanese society, individualism is not as welcome as in Western society. Japanese people accord great value to harmony. Therefore they will leave the gender difference in language to a certain extent, because of their desire for discernment and harmony.

## APPENDIX 1 The Questionnaire

このアンケートは「女言葉」に関する修士論文のためのものです。ご協力くださいました方のプライバシーを守るため、お名前はお聞きしませんが、年齢など最初の項目は必要不可欠な資料となりますので、必ずご記入下さいますようよろしくお願いいたします。

年齢      1.      ~19                      2. 20~29                      3. 30~39  
               4. 40~49                      5. 50~59                      6. 60~69  
               7. 70~79                      8. 80~

性別      男 ・ 女                      職業      \_\_\_\_\_

お差し支えなければ最終学歴をお書き下さい。      \_\_\_\_\_ 在・卒

出身地      \_\_\_\_\_ 都・道・府・県

日本にお住まいの方—今お住まいの都道府県      \_\_\_\_\_ 都・道・府・県

その都道府県での在住年数      \_\_\_\_\_ 年

N.Z.にお住まいの方—N.Z.及び海外での在住年数      N.Z. \_\_\_\_\_ 年

その他の外国 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

\*\*\*\*\*

これからお聞きする質問はすべて、ご自分自身で使われるか使われないかをお答え下さい。一般的に使われているか使われていないかを問うものではありません。また、書き言葉ではなく、話し言葉だけをお考え下さい。

1. A 女言葉と男言葉は違うとお思いですか。      (はい・いいえ)

B Aで「はい」とお答えになった方、具体的にどこが違うとお考えですか。

2. 感嘆詞（感動、応答、呼掛けを表わす言葉）には男女の差がよく表われると言われていますが、以下の感嘆詞をお使いになることがありますか。

1ーよく使う、2ー時々使う、3ー全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |   |      |         |   |        |         |
|---|------|---------|---|--------|---------|
| a | あら！  | (1・2・3) | b | まあ！    | (1・2・3) |
| c | すてき！ | (1・2・3) | d | うっそう！  | (1・2・3) |
| e | くそっ！ | (1・2・3) | f | バカヤロー！ | (1・2・3) |
| g | ちえっ  | (1・2・3) | h | やあ     | (1・2・3) |
| i | よお   | (1・2・3) | j | かわいい！  | (1・2・3) |
| k | あれ？  | (1・2・3) | l | おや？    | (1・2・3) |

3. 次の言葉についてお尋ねします。

1ーよく使う、2ー時々使う、3ー全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |   |          |         |   |       |         |
|---|----------|---------|---|-------|---------|
| a | でっかい     | (1・2・3) | b | ～てやがる | (1・2・3) |
| c | ご飯を食べる   | (1・2・3) | d | 飯を食う  | (1・2・3) |
| e | お腹すいた    | (1・2・3) | f | はらへった | (1・2・3) |
| g | おいしい     | (1・2・3) | h | うまい   | (1・2・3) |
| i | はなはだ     | (1・2・3) | j | きわめて  | (1・2・3) |
| k | とても/とっても | (1・2・3) |   |       |         |

4. 終助詞（文の終わりに使う「ね、の」等）にも男女の差がよく表われると言われていました。

1ーよく使う、2ー時々使う、3ー全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |   |                             |         |   |         |         |
|---|-----------------------------|---------|---|---------|---------|
| a | 行くぞ                         | (1・2・3) | b | 行ったな    | (1・2・3) |
| c | 行くね                         | (1・2・3) | d | 行きますね   | (1・2・3) |
| e | 行くよ                         | (1・2・3) | f | 行きますよ   | (1・2・3) |
| g | 行くかしら                       | (1・2・3) | h | 行きますの   | (1・2・3) |
| i | 行くの（質問する時に使われる「の？」ではありません。） |         |   | (1・2・3) |         |
| j | 行くわ（上昇イントネーション）             |         |   | (1・2・3) |         |

5. 人称代名詞（人を指す時に使う言葉）に関してお伺いします。

自分自身

1 一よく使う、2 時々使う、3 全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |        |         |        |         |
|--------|---------|--------|---------|
| a わたし  | (1・2・3) | b あたし  | (1・2・3) |
| c わたくし | (1・2・3) | d あたくし | (1・2・3) |
| e 僕    | (1・2・3) | f おれ   | (1・2・3) |
| g わし   | (1・2・3) |        |         |

相手

1 一よく使う、2 時々使う、3 全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |       |         |       |         |
|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| a お前  | (1・2・3) | b てめえ | (1・2・3) |
| c 君   | (1・2・3) | d 貴様  | (1・2・3) |
| e あなた | (1・2・3) | f あんた | (1・2・3) |

第三者

1 一よく使う、2 時々使う、3 全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

- |       |         |
|-------|---------|
| a あいつ | (1・2・3) |
| b あの人 | (1・2・3) |
| c あの方 | (1・2・3) |

6. 話す相手が部下、同僚、友人、配偶者、配達人の時、女性の方が男性より丁寧に話すと言われています。

A 書類のコピーを取ってくれるように部下に頼む場合、何とおっしゃいますか。お勤めでない方も、もし、このような状況だったら自分はどうか、どう言いたいかを想像してお書き下さい。

コピーを取って\_\_\_\_\_。

B Aと同じ事を同僚に頼む場合はどうでしょうか。相手が男性か女性かによって異なる場合、両方共、お書き下さい。

男性の同僚……コピーを取って\_\_\_\_\_。

女性の同僚……コピーを取って\_\_\_\_\_。

- C 友達に本を貸してくれるように頼む場合、何とおっしゃいますか。相手が男性か女性かによって異なる場合、両方共、お書き下さい。

男性の友達……本を貸して\_\_\_\_\_。

女性の友達……本を貸して\_\_\_\_\_。

- D 結婚なさっている方のみお答え下さい。配偶者に、こちらに来るように頼む場合、何とおっしゃいますか。お書き下さい。

こっち（こちら）に来て\_\_\_\_\_。

- E 宅配便などの配達の人に、荷物を受け取った後、何とおっしゃいますか。お書き下さい。（ご苦労様、ありがとうございました等）

7. 衣食住に関する語に「お」を付けて丁寧に言うことがよくあります。

- 1ーよく使う、2ー時々使う、3ー全然使わないの中から1つお選び下さい。

a お茶	(1・2・3)	b お米	(1・2・3)	c お醤油	(1・2・3)
d お酢	(1・2・3)	e おかね	(1・2・3)	f お客	(1・2・3)
g お塩	(1・2・3)	h おみかん	(1・2・3)	i お友達	(1・2・3)
j お茶の間	(1・2・3)	k お刺身	(1・2・3)	l お歳暮	(1・2・3)

8. 女性の方のみ、お答え下さい。一般に、人は場面・状況、心理状態、話題聞き手との上下関係に応じてふさわしい言い方をすると思われます。どんな場合に女言葉が使われますか。

- A どのような場面・状況（例えば、公の場で、プライベートな集まりなどで）に使われますか。

- B どのような心理状態の時（例えば、リラックスしている時など）使われますか。

- C どのような話題で使われますか。
- D どのような人と話している時、使われますか。
- E どのような服装の時、（例えば、和服の時は女らしい話し方をするなど）使われますか。

9. 男性の方も女性の方もお答え下さい。

- A 女言葉は必要だと思われますか。 （はい・いいえ）
- B Aで「はい」とお答えになった方、女言葉を全く使わない女性に対してどうお感じになりますか。
- C Aで「いいえ」とお答えになった方、女言葉をよく使う女性に対してどうお感じになりますか。

10. 女言葉に関して、または、このアンケートに関して、ご意見、ご感想などございましたら、何でもお書き下さい。

アンケートにご協力いただきまして誠にありがとうございました。

## APPENDIX 2 Comments received in reply to Question 10

Some interesting and useful comments were received in reply to Question 10. Their replies were as follows:

### Women in Japan

- \* I usually do not think about women's language very much, so I have learned something from this survey. (40-49 age group, a housewife)
- \* The difference between women's language and men's language may be less in about twenty years. I think my way of talking will gradually change with age. (30-39 age group, an employed)
- \* It made me think about women's language. (30-39 age group, a housewife)
- \* I think language has been corrupted recently. I want to teach my children to be able to use appropriate language from their childhood. (30-39 age group, a housewife)
- \* I am very interested in language, so I enjoyed answering the questions. (30-39 age group, a housewife)
- \* It seems that the difference between women's and men's language is not great. I do not know exactly what the differences are. (20-29 age group, a university student)
- \* I think it depends on each person, so I considered women's language from my own point of view. I always want to pay attention to speech and I am very interested in what is appropriate language for me. (20-29 age group, a university student)
- \* It was interesting because I have never thought about women's language before. (20-29 age group, a university student)
- \* This is the first time I have answered this kind of a questionnaire. I sometimes become sad when I am watching television because language has been corrupted so much. I really appreciate your enthusiasm. (70-79 age group, a housewife)
- \* I think the use of women's language has been decreasing rapidly. (40-49 age group, a company director)
- \* Interesting. (30-39 age group, an employed)
- \* It was hard to think seriously about women's language. Because I have not thought consciously about it. (30-39 age group, a housewife)
- \* To people who use standard Japanese, my Kawachi (an area of Osaka prefecture) dialect sounds coarse and unfeminine, but I think women's language in Osaka dialect is very sexy. (20-29 age group, a bank clerk)

### Men in Japan

- \* I think the original usage of Japanese language has been forgotten as women's behaviour has become more active and lacking in traditional refinement.  
(40-49 age group, a company employee)
- \* It was very interesting and I enjoyed myself. (40-49 age group, a qualified chef)
- \* I think only Japanese has this distinctive women's language but I am interested in how foreigners feel about Japanese women's language.  
(20-29 age group, a university student)
- \* I think women's language is a device to emphasise femininity and is related to a current problem—gender discrimination. (20-29 age group, a university student)
- \* Women's language may not be necessary with regards to efficiency and rationality, but with regard to sentiment it is useful for smooth communication.  
(40-49 age group, a company employee)
- \* I usually do not pay much attention to it, but I feel women's language is used often.  
(40-49 age group, a company employee)

### Women in New Zealand

- \* I think exceedingly polite language is not necessary, and even though women and men are equal, it is a part of Japanese culture and I do not think the usage of women's language makes their status lower. Women's language sometimes relieves tension in a conversation. It is better not to use it often with one's seniors because I feel it is not respectful and not rational.  
(50-59 age group, a librarian, 10 years in New Zealand)
- \* I usually use women's language unconsciously, so I wonder what women's language is. I feel strange when I hear men use it.  
(50-59 age group, a travel agent employee, 15 years in New Zealand)
- \* I have not lived in New Zealand for a long time, so my opinion is similar to the opinions of people living in Japan. I have often heard that primary and high school female students' language has been changing for several years. I suppose there is a tendency that the younger generation will not use women's language.  
(30-39 age group, a housewife, three months in New Zealand)
- \* This has made me think about women's language again. As I am unaware of using it or listening to it. (30-39 age group, a housewife, six years in New Zealand)
- \* I understand vaguely we have women's language in Japanese, but I do not know clearly what women's language is. For instance, whether language used by transvestites can be regarded as women's language or not.  
(30-39 age group, a housewife, seven years in New Zealand)

- \* I think stereotyped women's language such as ~ *kasira*, and ~ *no ne* are not necessary but both women and men should use polite language according to the time and the situation. (30-39 age group, a teacher, four years in New Zealand)
- \* I am also very interested in this topic. I think it is also interesting to compare women's language with culture.  
(20-29 age group, an office worker, four years in New Zealand)
- \* For women, using women's language and men's language properly itself is a device to express their feelings.  
(20-29 age group, a tour guide, one and a half years overseas)

### Men in New Zealand

- \* I found it very difficult to answer the questions.  
(30-39 age group, a shop assistant, nine years overseas)
- \* Gender discrimination has to be resolved. But it is a fact that men and women are different. I think women's soft speech, which is not apparent in men's speech, will not be taken over. (30-39 age group, a teacher, four years in New Zealand)
- \* I think there is no difference between men's language and women's language for business. I would like to ask you about your useful references and opinion for our business. (20-29 age group, a company employee, two years overseas)

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