JAPANESE INSTRUCTORS' PERSPECTIVES ON GENDERED SPEECH INSTRUCTION

by

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(Under the Direction of Linda Harklau)

ABSTRACT

This qualitative research study investigates post-secondary Japanese instructors' experiences and perspectives towards Japanese gendered speech which mirrors gender ideology of Japanese society. Little scholarship has focused on the instructors' complex attitudes towards gendered speech. This study attempts to answer three research questions:

a. How are teachers' perspectives about gender roles and gendered speech influenced by their own professional backgrounds and personal situations?

b. How have the Japanese instructors taught or not taught gendered speech in their classes? What is the role of Japanese popular media (J-pop) in teaching gendered speech in their classrooms?

c. Do Japanese instructors believe it is possible for students to negotiate languages to shape their identities by detaching *gengoshigen* ('language resources') from gender norms?

Utilizing individual interviews and focus group meetings, this study explored instructors' diverse viewpoints towards gendered speech. Based upon findings, implications are drawn for further research and for Japanese language pedagogy.

INDEX WORDS: Japanese gendered speech, Japanese pop culture, *gengoshigen* ('language resources'), becoming

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DEDICATION

I am dedicating my dissertation to all Japanese instructors who are pursuing the best pedagogy for their students.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Gender has been composed in an arrangement of relations and has been developing over time to characterize female and male, femininity and masculinity and has been "structuring and regulating people's relation to society" (Eckert & MacConell-Ginet, 2013). Femininity and masculinity have been culturally and socially constructed over the course of people's performing (Butler, 1997) and shaped by "expectations, prescriptions, and prohibitions enforced through a system of rewards and punishments" (Cameron, 2019). Parents put girlish clothes in pastel pink on baby girls, and they may take Barbie dolls away from their baby boys. Japanese women's magazines and etiquette books advise women on how to be feminine. If living our lives peacefully is our humble but utmost goal, we may not be able to ignore normativity, which is an integral factor to be in accordance with our societies.

Japan is famous (or infamous) for its patriarchal society, which is originally rooted in Confucianism. In this society, younger people need to show respect to the older people. Under Confucian influence, in moral books, scholars of the Meiji era asserted that differences between men and women are distinctive and that "the husband goes outside to pursue his business, while the wife stays inside to perform the housework" (Sekiguchi, 2010). The scholars in the Meiji era established social norms in which women are expected to submit to men (Sekiguchi, 2010; Inoue, 2006). Such a Japanese patriarchal ideology, which has been retained in Japanese society, has strongly shaped not only people's behaviors but also their language, resulting in feminine

language forms that are spoken by women and masculine language forms that are spoken by men.

Since I left my native country of Japan and became a Japanese teacher in the U.S, I have frequently encountered situations that left me pondering how the Japanese language, which has been strongly shaped by Japanese hierarchal society rooted in unequal gender status, developed peculiar characteristics that set it apart from other languages. For example, Japanese women's spoken language, a language variety that has traditionally been used by women, is specifically different from men's speech at all levels of language – phonology, semantics, morphology, syntax, and discourse features (Inoue, 2006). One notable uniqueness of Japanese women's speech, for instance, is the addition of beautification prefixes (general term: *satoo*, added beautification prefix: ***o****satoo*) and sentence ending particles (e.g., *ne, yone, wa, dawa*) to make sentences sound feminine. Speaking in a high pitch is also thought to be a notable feature of Japanese women's speech.

Throughout the long history of Japan, women's speech has been politically, socially, and educationally shaped by the ideology that women should be gentle, obedient, and polite. Inoue (2006) stated, "Gender is a system of ideological representation, allocating meanings and positions to concrete individuals and rendering them gendered subjects as men and women," and "language [use] is necessarily a social relation involving both a semiotic system and social action" (Inoue, 2006, p.13). That is, gender is represented and constructed by people's use of speech, so the choice of whether to use gendered speech is an important factor in determining people's positioning in society. Language is like a mediator to negotiate both the social world and personal world, namely, society versus individuals. For instance, without intention, I tend to use more women's speech, whenever I am situated in formal settings, because I do not want to

be thought of as rude and want to show my respect for other speakers. By using women's speech, which accounts for socially appropriate politeness, I unconsciously try to index myself as an established member of Japanese society. As women use gendered speech more, we are more inclined towards the gender norms of our society, and at the same time, we are submitting to the Japanese hegemonic structures.

It is likely that not only women but also men may cast doubt on the notion that only men can use blunt speech. Sturtz (2004)'s study revealed that in reality male speakers tend to use more neutral speech than men's speech, which "expresses stereotypical (or old-fashioned) masculinity". Even they occasionally used women's sentence ending particles. From this result, Sturtz (2004) wrote that the notion of traditional Japanese men's speech (this study's case, men's sentence ending particles) is ideological, and does not necessarily reflect actual language usage.

Thinking about such characteristics of gendered speech, I also assume that not every student's gendered identity is cisgender or heterosexual and consider the implications for how I should (or should not) teach gendered speech to students in my classrooms. Arimori (2020) recommended the promotion of a more inclusive learning environment for Japanese learners to make every student feel comfortable from the viewpoint of a member of the LGBTQ+ community. As a language educator like Arimori (2020), I frequently feel that I was caught in a dilemma between my denial of gendered speech that mirrors unequal gender roles and ideologies that have been constructed by the Japanese patriarchy versus the needs of teaching pragmatic language use which enables speakers to fit into Japanese society. Whether such a dilemma is soluble or not, I have been seeking the best way of teaching gendered speech while being aware of the demands that arise from my classroom's inclusiveness.

Generally, Japanese textbooks, like the majority of other foreign language textbooks, tend to portray stereotypical gender descriptions through character depictions and language use (Sunderland, 2000/ 2019; Siegal & Okamoto, 2003; Arimori, 2020). In addition, from a lexical viewpoint, a male first-person pronoun, *boku*, is found in relatively early chapters of most of the Japanese textbooks. Thus, Japanese learners encounter gendered speech in many forms if their instructors use such textbooks.

Then I began to wonder how other Japanese language teachers in the U.S. taught Japanese gendered speech in popular Japanese textbooks and workbooks. Though we can find numerous studies that investigate gendered speech (e.g., Inoue, 2006; Nakamura, 2008) or instruction of Japanese culture which has shaped gendered speech (e.g., Kubota, 2003), few researchers studied the instruction of gendered speech. Therefore, the following two studies are worthy to note. The first study, by Siegal & Okamoto (2003), was the first to investigate Japanese gendered speech instruction through textbooks, a teacher survey, and learner-based data. However, their study did not cover the most current popular textbook, *Genki*, and their teacher survey was relatively small and conducted by using only a questionnaire. Another researcher, Bohn (2015), also conducted a questionnaire with 220 Japanese learning students and 18 Japanese instructors. Bohn (2015)'s study mainly focused on the students' perspectives towards gendered speech and corresponding instruction. However, this type of survey data collection makes it difficult to capture complex perspectives that may be held by Japanese instructors towards gendered speech instruction. I wondered how instructors would treat gendered speech in their classrooms or if they thought that the instruction of gendered speech was important. I wanted to hear Japanese instructors' candid voices that were shaped by their diverse backgrounds, stances, and teaching experiences by interviewing them. I was particularly

interested in how non-native Japanese speaking instructors, who grew up in American society and were not heavily influenced by the obvious traditional patriarchy and formality that Japanese society maintains, perceive gendered speech and the instruction of such speech. I wonder how their perspectives differ from those of native Japanese-speaking instructors.

Language can be a marker of our positioning in society and has symbolic power to affect "impression management and emotional manipulation" (Kramsch, 2021). Language has a significant role in shaping people's identities, and people's discourses are implicated in societal values and relations (Gee, 2015). Language can be a tool that molds people into societal norms but can also facilitate people's emancipation from fixed societal values. Miyazaki (2004) studied how one group of Japanese junior high school female students intentionally avoided the use of feminized language and used more boyish language to distinguish themselves from polite and feminine gender norms. As Japanese women became economically empowered in the modern Japanese society by the Equal Employment opportunity Law in 1986, reorganization of gendered labor division caused "a crisis of moral order that gender difference upholds" which "prompted anxious narrative accountings" (Inoue, 2006). At the same time, women's language corruption was also discussed in the media and as well as in scholarly literature (Inoue, 2006). Then were such women's language usage changes reflected in the current Japanese textbooks? And did the changes influence Japanese gendered speech instruction as well? I wonder if it is possible for Japanese instructors to teach a variety of speech which is consistent with pragmatic use of modern native Japanese speakers in addition to the traditional Japanese language that is found in textbooks. If that type of connection is possible, what might such a pedagogy look like?

Another unanswered question about gendered speech instruction in Japanese is the effect of Japanese pop culture. We know that J-pop attracts people worldwide (Freedman & Slade,

2023) and it seems that because of its popularity, viewers and readers of J-pop encounter a variety of Japanese words, phrases, and speech. In fact, in my classes, male students frequently referred to themselves as *ore*, which is mostly used by Japanese men in casual settings. Whenever I asked the male students where they learned this, they answered that they acquired the word in manga and anime. I suppose that students have encountered a variety of speech that is used by characters of J-pop, whether such uses are employed in a socially appropriate zone or out of that zone.

Then questions began to arise in my mind. If instructors choose to teach not only gendered speech but also mismatching gendered speech usage, which are frequently found in J-pop, what will happen to the students? By showcasing a variety of speech usage, could Japanese instructors facilitate students' exploration of multiple social identities? If Japanese instructors use their own form of Japanese, can students form another social identity which is unknown? In order to answer these questions, I interviewed Japanese instructors and analyzed their responses while adopting a conceptual framing integrating the notion of *gengoshigen* ('language resources') as discussed by Japanese researchers Nakamura (2010) and Arimori (2020), with post-structuralism theorists' Deleuze and Guattari's concept of *becoming*.

The study focuses on the following research question:

What are the perspectives and experiences of one group of Japanese as foreign language teachers regarding the ***instruction*** of Japanese gendered speech?

Sub-questions include:

a. How are teachers' perspectives about gender roles and gendered speech influenced by their own professional backgrounds and personal situations?

b. How have the Japanese instructors taught or not taught gendered speech in their classes? What is the role of Japanese popular media (J-pop) in teaching gendered speech in their classrooms?

c. Do Japanese instructors believe it is possible for students to negotiate languages to shape their identities by detaching *gengoshigen* (‘language resources’) from gender norms?

Four chapters will follow this chapter. Chapter 2 will review scholarship in three areas relevant to this study: 1) Japanese gendered speech, 2) second language teachers’ characteristics and gendered speech instruction, 3) *Gengoshigen* (‘language resources’) and identity exploration through language, in accordance with the notion of Deleuzian Guattarian’s -*becoming*. Chapter 3 will describe methodological framework and the backgrounds of Japanese instructors who participated in this study. Chapter 4 will reveal results that were derived from interviews with Japanese foreign language teachers. The dissertation will end with Chapter 5 which provides the summary and implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Three main areas of scholarship are relevant to the research questions that are asked in this study:1) Japanese gendered speech, 2) second language teachers' professional and personal characteristics and gendered speech instruction, 3) *Gengoshigen* ('language resources') and Deleuzian Guattarian's -*becoming*, which are conceptual frameworks of this study.

Japanese gendered speech

Although languages for each gender, male and female exist, Japanese society has singled out women for disciplinary scrutiny, including how and when they should speak. Japanese patriarchal society and its product, speech-- especially women's speech--is constructed through ideology of gender.

From this perspective, in this section I will focus on more women's speech than on men's speech. First, many researchers have pointed out that women's speech has been metapragmatically constructed by gender ideology in Japanese society (e.g., Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2008; Okamoto, 2018). Japanese women's speech has more prescriptive characteristics rather than descriptive ones (Okamoto, 2018) because the normative ideals of women's speech are strongly accounted for in scholarly books or media across the long history of Japan (e.g., Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2008; Okamoto, 2018). In the next section, I will review Japanese women's speech in general by following its evolutionary footsteps.

Japanese women's speech history

Japanese women's speech has a long, multi-faceted, and fascinating history. The first documentation of gender specific women's speech in Japanese occurred at approximately at the beginning of 15th century. It was called *nyooboo kotoba*, and was used only by court ladies (Okimori, 2017). The court ladies tended to use euphemistic expressions which were like jargon, and specific vocabulary that was not widely used among women of that era. Hence, *nyoobo kotoba* of that era was not an archetype of modern Japanese women's speech. Then, in the feudal Edo era (1603-1868), the language used by ladies' chambers of feudal lords and court nobles came to be considered more genteel, soft, and feminine, and gradually permeated the speech of merchants' families. It is thought that such language was the original source of women's speech (Okimori, 2017). Inoue (2006) traces the beginnings of modern Japanese women's speech to approximately 1887 and the advent of schoolgirl speech. Specific sentence final particles, such as *teyo* and *dawa* were favorably used by elite schoolgirls, *jyogakusei*, who were attending women's secondary schools, so the speech that schoolgirl used as also called *teyo-dawa* speech (Inoue, 2006, p.39). At first, the schoolgirl speech was thought to be vulgar, rude, and frivolous because of skipping honorifics, such as polite sentence ending particles, such as d*esu, masu* (e.g., Inoue, 2006; Okimori, 2017). However, such criticism was accompanied by criticism of the educated schoolgirls themselves because before that era, women had been treated as outsiders or subordinate to men, the dominant group of the Japanese society, who enjoyed the benefits of receiving education (Inoue, 2006). However, after language modernization, *genbun'itchi*, 'the write as you speak', movement was born through the efforts of intellectuals in the Meiji and Taisho eras, and schoolgirl speech began to ideologically represent a language that was used by urban middle class women in novels. The schoolgirl speech in turn, became an "elevated as part

of the essential linguistic habitus" (Inoue, 2006, p.108) for Japanese women aspiring to middle class status. Inoue (2006) contends that the schoolgirl speech, which was once not respected, became a symbol of voices of modern women and ascended to the so-called beautiful women's speech, which manifested an ideology in which language and gender should be conserved.

Women's speech characteristics

The use of honorifics by Japanese speakers is generally influenced by their affective stance towards the context. That is, whether to use or not use honorifics or polite forms depends on what persona Japanese speakers intend to present in any given context (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016). Regardless of age, gender, or seniority, Japanese people tend to use the language that is most context- appropriate and fitting for their personae. However, the existence of gender-differentiated language forms in Japanese is irrefutable. In particular, stylistic and linguistic features of speech used by women cannot be explained only by Japanese people's affinity for politeness, and have been socially and historically constructed "for disciplinary attention" (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016).

The following table is a summary of women's speech features that were addressed by Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016, P.213).

Table 2.1: Scholarly characterizations of *josei go* [women's speech]

General stylistic features	
Most frequently noted	Polite; gentle/soft, refined/elegant
Other	Verbose; indirect, unassertive, imprecise, emotional empathic
Specific linguistic features	

Most frequently noted	Lexical	First-person pronouns (e.g., *atashi*). Second-person pronouns (e.g., *anata*)
	Morphological	sentence final particles (e.g., *wa. kashira*), honorifics, (e.g., *o*-verb-*ni maru*), 'beautification' prefix -*o*
Other	Phonological	large pitch range, high voice pitch, rising intonation in sentence-final position, avoidance of particular phonological reductions (e.g., *umee*)
	Lexical	interjections (e.g., *ara, maa*, 'oh'), avoidance of vulgar expressions (e.g., *kuu* 'eat'. *chikushoo* 'damn'), avoidance of Sino-Japanese words
	Morphological/syntactic	indirect directive forms (e.g., Verb-*te*), incomplete sentences

(Retrieved from Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016)

The women's speech features above show that Japanese women's behaviors and language usage often relate to politeness, elegance, gentleness, and powerlessness. Avoidance of vulgar expressions and preference of indirect forms are similar to the statement that was given by

Lakoff (1975), who was a pioneer of studies of women's English language usage. For example, Lakoff (1975) stated that women tend to use "empty" adjectives, such as *divine, charming, cute,* and tag questions. They try to be nice by avoiding asserting themselves strongly. Japanese gendered speech scholars (e.g., Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016; Nakamura, 2010) frequently cite Lakoff (1975), suggesting a significant influence. Therefore, the above-mentioned stylistic features of women's speech characterized by Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith also seemed to derive in part from Lakoff's socio-linguistics approach of characterizing women's speech.

It is worth noting that one of the features, Japanese women's high voice pitch, is also strongly associated with politeness to maintain *wakimae* (a Japanese term meaning 'discernment'), which is "used to describe the practice of polite behavior according to social convention" (Yuasa, 2009). To avoid threatening listeners and confronting them, Japanese women conventionally use a high voice pitch.

The following example implies another type of connection between women's language use and politeness. Smith (1992) investigated the ways of talking between two instructors, one female and the other male, on two educational TV programs in Japan. In both TV programs, the instructors used a great number of directives to viewers and also to their assistants in their instructions. The female cooking instructor frequently used hyper polite ways of requesting or commanding by using some part of traditional women's speech. In contrast, the male carpentry instructor used less polite ways of commanding, such as use of the 'let's" form. Smith notes that "women in such positions, (in this case instructors), continue to select speech levels suggestive of social powerlessness" (p.74). Even though the instructor has authority and expertise to teach cooking on the TV program, she seems to be sensitive to the choice of the language which does not sound rude or arrogant. She carefully mediates between her status in the power position and

her utterances, which do not sound like those of a person in a high position. She maintains a subordinate status.

The stylistic features in Table 2.1 are generally based on researchers' introspections and responses to a self-reported survey, so these features may be impressionistic through personal observation. Okamoto (2018) argued that it is better not to characterize these descriptors as strictly linguistic forms, but rather to think of them as forms which are used in diverse situations to construct *onnarashii hanashikata* 'feminine ways of speaking'.

Japanese gender roles, ideology, and the notion of "Good wife, good mother", *ryoosai kenbo*

The phrase "*Ryoosai kenbo*: Good wife and wise mother," which was coined by a Meiji era educator, Masanao Nakamura, has always been the center of a national ideology which maintains how women should act appropriately in Japanese society. Koyama (2012) described this ideology as follows: "[This ideology meant] the emergence of a model of the ideal women that conformed to the sexual division of roles placing men at work and women at home" (p.75). That ideology also indexes women as model citizens who can support the nation-state through their nature, housework, and childbearing (Koyama, 2012, p.75). For example, Japanese "*asadora*, morning home dramas" or "*taiga dorama*, historical dramas", which have always attracted many television viewers (especially older viewers), have depicted "the notion that women, even as they work, should prioritize the role of wife and mother" (Freedman, 2018). The female protagonists, who are kind, polite, and selfless, speak Japanese women's speech.

Despite this national ideology promoting certain varieties of women's speech, in reality the speech use of Japanese women varied regionally. Inoue (2006), who grew up in a rural area of Japan, mentioned that she heard traditional women's speech only in televised dramas. The women in Inoue's hometown, which was in the country, did not use women' speech at all, so

Inoue thought that women's speech was used in a limited fashion by women or girls in middle-class families of Tokyo or used exclusively by the characters in televised dramas.

In addition, Japanese female fashion magazines frequently featured conservative values and showed a variety of pretty and feminine clothes as if to suggest to readers that women's happiness comes from marrying a financially promising man, supporting him, and raising children as a stay-at-home housewife. In such magazines, we can see examples of how young women wear clothes to attract men, who live in wealthy suburban towns, or sometimes pictures of fashionable and feminine mothers and daughters are featured as examples what to wear. In addition, Okamoto & Smith (2008) drew on examples of Japanese self-help books which teach women how to be attractive through the way they talk. Such a notion is implied in the titles of the books they studied, such as: *Josee no utsukushii kaiwajyutsu* ('Women's beautiful ways of speaking and conversational techniques') (Shimodaira, 2004), *Hanashi-joozu na onna ni umarekawaru hon*: *Jooshi, dansee ni hanashi o sunnari tsutaeru kotsu* ('A book to help you be reborn as a 'well-spoken' woman: Tricks to communicating smoothly with bosses and men') (Urano, 2004), and *Onna no kiryoo wa kotoba shidai* ('Women's charm depends on their language') (Hirose, 1984) (Okamoto & Smith, 2008, p.93-94). Okamoto & Smith stated that the writers of these books did not explicitly mention specific linguistic forms to encode the qualities of the instruction of language use but described "what women should do in particular interactions with specific examples that use stereotypical Standard Japanese *joseego* forms" in order to make women appear to be obedient, polite, and elegant (Okamoto & Smith, 2008). The publications "teach the readers how to appear womanly and to be successful in the wifely role" (Hayashi, 1997) and attempt to confine women in the traditional image of a dependent and subordinate role. As schoolgirl speech was elevated to the essential language or urban middle-class women's

language, the speech became increasingly signified as “the voice of the adwoman and the consumer whom women speech addressed” (Inoue, 2006). Inoue described this phenomenon as follows:

> The mutual aestheticization and normalization of consumption and nationalism were enabling conditions in which (women’s speech) came full circle to be connected with ‘good wife and wise mother’ and thus to be rearticulated as the ideal language of the female national citizen through the mediation of commodity of fetishism. (Inoue, 2006, p.155)

Thus, Japanese women have been politically educated by magazines, books, media, and in-group members who are women.

To give a personal example, my own mother has always been polite and feminine and used women’s speech and a sweet voice whenever she spoke. In addition, since I was small, she frequently explained to me the notion of “Good wife, and wise mother” while I pretended to listen to her seriously. (At some point, I became somewhat tired of listening to her talking about this topic.) Keeping their home clean and healthy, preparing delicious meals for their family, and providing some sort of home education, Japanese women diligently have kept on working on what they need to do best for supporting their families. The social sphere of Japanese women seems to be limited to the domestic because of such a devotion to their family. Mori (1997) stated that Japanese women has been “expected to work hard and make many sacrifices. Everything they do is for the good of the house and her family (the word means both a house and lineage or family), not for her own pleasure” (p,91). Mori noted that, ironically, the home that they were devoted to creating was not their own space and it was only “a pure, empty space” (p.94). Mori’s mother always showed her happy faces only in shopping, doing haircuts, and

visiting art galleries in only public spaces. The details of Mori's mother's miserable life in her home with her husband were skipped here, but various negative reasons explained why she could not find happiness in her home. Although Mori's mother's case may be exceptional, a great number of Japanese women may be able to find happiness and enjoyment in places other than their homes. Interestingly, we can now observe the change in the topics in women magazines, such as quick cooking recipes for working women or advice on what Japanese women need to wear for job interviews. The writers choose topics which could appeal to women in the workforce outside of their homes. Then what is the current situation of Japanese modern women who entered the workforce beyond their homes? If modern Japanese women began to change, did women's speech change as well? In the next section, I will explore answers to the question and also expand the topics to Japanese pop culture in which transitions in language use are frequently demonstrated.

Modern Japanese women and their involvement in Japanese economy

In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Japan experienced a bubble economy, which was "a period of formidable economic growth and inflated stock and real estate prices during which new capital was invested and business expanded" (Inoue, p.170). Because of the labor shortage that was caused by this phenomenon, the influx of women into the workforce became evident. Furthermore, thanks in part to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1986, which promised equal working opportunities and treatment to women, a great number of Japanese women began pursuing full-time careers. Around the Equal Employment Opportunity Law era, Takahashi (1988) investigated language use among men, women in work force, and housewives, and found that women in the workforce used language that is much closer to that of men than that of women who are not in the workforce (housewives). The women in the workforce used such

language even in private conversations. According to Takahashi (1988), women's speech had been strongly connected to that of housewives because relatively newly established status as housewives was heightened by women's speech use. In order to accomplish the position of role model of *ryoosai kenbo*, women's speech is indispensable for housewives.

Another policy which had the potential to be a wind at women's backs was "womenomics," which was instituted in 2015 by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Japanese law professor Goto (2016) explained this law:

> It requires companies with 301 or more employees to analyze the current situation in the following areas, 1) the share of women in recruitment, 2) the difference in the duration of employment between men and women, 3) working hours, 4) the ration of women to men in management positions, and to set numerical targets for at least one of the categories.

Following the Japanese government's support for women in the workforce, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity law, women in the workforce began to consume significant amounts of merchandise. They bought expensive brands of clothes and bags, ate at fine dining restaurants while drinking and smoking, and simultaneously the bubble economy surfaced. While portraying women as an aggressive consumer, at the same time Japanese media constructed an image of a seemingly more innocent, pure, and polite counterpart, *Ojoo sama,* who were daughters of wealthy and upper-class families. Shortly thereafter, the bubble economy collapsed, and at the same time, the popularity and admiration of *Ojoo sama* had faded. Women's speech used by *Ojoo sama* also began to be treated sarcastically. The image of *Ojoo sama* and their overt usage of women's speech was found only in the media (Inoue, 2016). This sarcastic treatment of women's speech was emblematic of the rupture of women's speech.

Current language use by modern Japanese women

Analyzing readers' comments in Japanese newspapers, Inoue (2006) found that "women's linguistic corruption was a perennial topic" (p.175). Readers lamented that young women's language use had become vulgar and rude and that the pitch of their voices was like men's. The readers were explicitly concerned that modern women's language use was impolite and mentioned that such language use was strongly influenced by the change of modern women's societal status. Inoue (2006) also drew on a report by the National Language Council (2000). The report included a public opinion survey that was conducted in 1995 by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan. The results showed that 44.1 percent of the respondents answered that they preferred gender difference in language use. In the process of drafting the final report, according to the minutes of the council's meeting, members of council commented that "gender difference in language use is a matter of identity", and that "women's speech is used as an expression of one's identity even if women are equal to men", and that "listening to women's speech makes them feel gentleness and richness and pleasure" (Inoue, p.198-199). The members of the council thought that women's speech was a positive marker of identity although they did not mention that women were compelled to mark their identities by using women's speech.

What, then, is the status quo of modern Japanese women's language use? Do women or girls use a language which sounds vulgar to everyone and everywhere as the readers of the newspaper lamented? Kobayashi (2007) conducted a survey of junior college female students about their perspectives towards their daily language use. Kobayashi asked the respondents about their use of slang when they were teenagers. Their perspectives about one form of slang, *chigeeyo,* were noteworthy. This slang, *chigeeyo,* is a variant of the word *chigauyo* ('No, it's wrong') and has been used by young teen interlocutors in casual conversations. This use of slang

does not sound polite and is generally a language form that is used by men. A respondent answered about her use of *chigeeyo* as follows:

> Respondent 1: In my case, I do not use such vulgar language to my female friends. However, to my male friends, I use this, though I know it sounds vulgar.
>
> Respondent 2: Generally, I use vulgar language in a lively and casual atmosphere to make the conversations more lively or exciting. I would think that these terms are used as an indication that their relationship is intimate and close. Avoiding formal and ritual ways and trying to have close relationships with friends makes me use such slang.

Kobayashi (2007) found that the respondents differentiate their use of vulgar men's speech on a case-by-case basis. She also mentioned that the young speakers like the respondents, who grew up in modern Japanese society, and gradually pursued gender equality, tended to use men's speech with male friends. Through such use of language, they may index themselves as having the equal status of their counterparts, men, or boys. Use of men's speech, which may sound impolite, can be appropriate in the casual and intimate settings of their generation, such as conversing with close female friends.

Miyazaki (2004) observed interactions among students in a class of Japanese junior high school students. Usually, from elementary school to high school, classes are called *gakkyu,* which consists of the same cohort of students throughout a school year. Since students in the class are the same members every year, cliques naturally form, and each clique shows distinguished characteristics and identities. For example, regarding the use of first-person pronouns, the students of a female peer-group used the first-person pronouns from men's speech to denote the solidarity of the group members. The female students mentioned that female first-person pronouns, such as *watashi* or *atashi*, were too formal to use in informal conversations.

They used *watashi* only in formal settings, such as in writing assignments. The female students also mentioned that their teachers and parents discouraged them from using men's speech because women's use of men's speech sounded rude. At the same time, male students sometimes used female first-person pronouns when they tried to act silly or index themselves as unusual. Miyazaki (2004) described their complex use of gendered speech as follows:

> Girls and boys variously went along with, contested, and continually negotiated the ideology or gendered language in their daily interactions. Each student brings both individual and group perspectives to the class arena, creating a dynamic, changing assemblage of meanings, around gender, power, relationships, and identity. (p.270)

Their language use changed depending on their groups' climate or their perspectives towards gender ideology. Female students in this research rarely used women's speech and seemed to avoid being regarded as feminine and rebelled against societal norms.

While Kobayashi (2007) and Miyazaki (2004) focused on the language use of young people, Matsumoto (2004) analyzed conversations among middle-aged stay-at-home mothers in Tokyo. Matsumoto examined how these mothers, all members of the PTA at a local public school, negotiated and pursued alternative femininity. Matsumoto (2004) analyzed their conversations, which occurred in a car in relation to a sports event. Matsumoto observed that the participants skillfully used a variety of speech styles. Sometimes, they used expressions which were mainly used by teens to indicate their forceful stances. The women used such expressions in displaying frustration or accommodating other's opinions. On the other hand, they also used soft and delicate expressions to display "a friendly and deferential style" (p.250). Matsumoto (2004) observed that: "it is likely that there were also times when the mothers' choices of expressions were motivated by the desire to portray themselves as current and anti-conformist, or

traditional and classy" (p.251). Using a variety of speech styles, these women displayed multi-dimensional linguistic personae, which might align with the fact that modern women were given a variety of choices, such as having jobs or not, marrying or not, and having children or not. Middle-aged women who might be greatly influenced by conservative gender ideology seemed to begin departing from the stereotypical gender norms.

The last example of modern Japanese women's language comes from Inoue (2006). She investigated conversations among women who worked for a company in Tokyo, Japan. The first woman observed was working in a management post. She used the *desu* & *masu* form, which did not sound too casual or too polite, to male or female subordinate or to her superiors and mentioned a "stay-in-the middle strategy" (through the use of *desu* & *masu* form) (p.235) that was appropriate for every context in the workplace. Avoiding using specific sentence ending particles such as *dawane* or *yo,* which were thought to be one of the most distinctive features of women's speech, this manager kept her stance neutral. This process may have come from her calculated strategy which including avoiding conflicts with male colleagues, bosses, or subordinates because her neutral language was neither too polite nor too imperious. Other women including secretaries also chose not to use women's speech in casual conversations among other women. However, on occasions when the women had to show some sort of respect to the other speaker, they used very formal and polite forms; that is, a code-switching strategy surfaced. A secretary who was from a rural northern area of Japan frequently used traditional women's speech. Most people in the northern area of Japan use a specific dialect which differs from traditional Japanese. The secretary mentioned that once she became accustomed to speaking traditional Japanese, other people's use of the northern dialect sounded rude when she returned to her rural hometown. Inoue (2006) argued that by acquiring standard Japanese and

becoming a speaker of Japanese women's speech, the secretary tried to be perceived as "the idealized image of urban middle-class women" (p.270). Overall, except for the aforementioned secretary who favored women's speech, most of the female workers in Inoue's study only used women's speech in sarcastic ways with exaggerated intonation rise while enjoying banter. Using women's speech in sarcastic ways, most of the female workers signaled that Japanese women's speech was not their voice, which is regarded as classy middle-class women's language (p.264).

Japanese women currently do not generally conform to the stereotypical gender norms, and they meta-pragmatically differentiate their language usage depending on contexts and regionalities. Since the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was promulgated, Japanese modern women have pursued more freedom and opportunities while challenging women's speech and portraying it as outdated. How, then, does Japanese popular media, which has historically strong connections with women's speech, reflect such challenges and resistances towards women's speech? In the next section, women and girls' language use in J -pop culture will be discussed.

Women's language and J-pop culture

Japanese culture, particularly pop culture, such as anime, games, manga, TV shows, and movies, has been globally recognized as cool cultural representations of modern Japan. The viewers of the Rio Olympics might be impressed with Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe's appearance on the stage of the closing ceremony of the Rio Olympics wearing the costume of a famous video game character, "Super Mario". The Japanese government utilized J-pop culture "as a strategy for revitalizing Japan's economy and promoting the country to the rest of the world under the Cool Japan/creative Industry policy administered by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) and other initiatives such as the public-private Cool Japan Fund" (Iida &

Takeyama, 2018). Undoubtedly, J-pop culture is an integral element in the culture of modern Japan.

Women in Japanese televised dramas

In the mid-1980s, women's active employment became a much-discussed topic of Japanese society, and this topic has become a dramatic trope in Japanese televised dramas. These Japanese TV dramas, called trendy dramas (*torendii dorama*) emphasized a fashionable lifestyle (trend), romance, and friendship (Freedman, 2018). I myself had been absorbed in watching such televised dramas with excitement. One of the trendy dramas, *Tokyo Love Story* (Ota, 1991), was influential in the early 1990s of Japan and changed a stereotypical female character's image from that of a subordinate quiet woman to an active energetic working woman. The young heroine, Rika, grew up in Los Angeles, a place that Japanese viewers undoubtedly admired, and became an important employee of a company in Tokyo. In contrast, a male main character, Kanji, grew up in the countryside of Japan, moved to Tokyo and started to work as one of Rika's junior co-workers. Rika addressed Kanji without an honorific title suffix from day one although it was unusual for female workers to address male workers without such honorifics.

Although not categorized as a trendy drama, *Shomuni*, ('power office girls', Funazu, 1998), aired in the 1990s during Japan's economic recession and was based on the manga of the same title and gained great popularity with many readers and viewers. The plot, in which female office workers are demoted from various departments to a small office in the basement of the building, satirizes workplace hierarchies (Freedman, 2018). In the original manga version, the heroine, Chinatsu, uses rude and impolite men's speech being seen as an arrogant and impolite office worker. Both female characters, Rika and Chinatsu, broke the image of submissive and dependent Japanese women that had been depicted in the long history of Japanese TV dramas.

Kinsui and *Yakuwari go*, role language

In consideration of the relation between language use and characters in J-pop, it is integral to discuss *yakuwarigo* (‘role language’) theorized by Kinsui (2003).

Kinsui (2003) was a pioneer in investigating language use in Japanese media and noted that characters’ language use varied according to the attributes of the person (e.g., age, gender, social status, profession, region of the characters, birthplace or residence, personality, appearance). Readers or viewers can immediately infer the type of characters’ roles whenever they read or hear the statements that the characters make (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2011). The spoken language or phonetic characteristics which are associated with specific characters are called *yakuwari go*, or “role language,” a term coined by Kinsui (2003). By having characters use various types of role languages, creators imprint the characters’ personalities into readers’ or viewers’ minds.

For example, a heroine in a popular girl’s comedy manga, who is a young daughter of a financial magnate consistently uses hyper-polite women’s speech, so readers can infer that the character grew up in an affluent, high-class family (Suzuki, Y., 1988, ‘*Shiratori Reiko de gozaimasu*’). Such hyper-polite women’s speech is no longer used by modern, ordinary young girls, so the heroine is recognized by readers as a comical and somewhat odd character. This character indeed represents *Ojoo sama* that is generally only found in Japanese media that I mentioned in the literature review of Modern Japanese women and their involvement in Japanese economy section.

Japanese video games and women

Japanese video games have attracted a great number of fans from children to adults worldwide. We can observe that through the long history of Japanese video games, female

characters in the video games tend to use a specific role language, such as women's speech. However, in recent years not every female character in video games uses women's speech. Their language use has become closer to that of modern women's language use. Most of the game creators are male, so the games mainly reflect men's viewpoints. In particular, role-playing games seem to strongly reflect a male gender ideology. Sakurai (2001) analyzed female characters' language usage in the simulation game "*Tokimeki* Memorial" and found that most of the female characters, who were cheerful and energetic, did not use Japanese women's speech. Such female characters might be ideal women's images for the game creators even though the characters used rude and impolite speech. The use of cross-gendered language by characters is called *moe* elements, 'characterological empathy' on the part of the character according to Nozawa (2013). Sakurai also studied another video game, "*Sakura Taisen*" ('Sakura Wars'), whose story is set in 1923, during The *Taisho* era of Japan. In contrast, to "*Tokimeki* Memorial," female characters in this game use traditional women's speech, and Sakurai hypothesized that because this game's setting is not modern Japan, the women in the game use traditional women's speech. In this sense, women's speech might be represented as an artifact of the past.

Manga and Japanese women

In Recent decades, manga has become a huge business. It is considered as one of the most important Japanese cultural exports to the world today and is read and loved by a variety of readers (Ito & Crutcher, 2014). Manga reflects social and cultural reality (p.45), and because of its commercial successes with readers of every age group, the influence of manga on readers cannot be underestimated. As manga gained global popularity, several research studies investigated how gender roles and language use have been depicted in manga by male and female writers.

Ueno (2006) researched how women's speech was used in Shojo and manga for ladies. The results revealed that Shojo manga (manga for girls) used more neutral or somewhat moderate men's speech than Ladies manga (manga for adult women) does. Overall, most of the female characters in manga for ladies use women's speech. According to a survey that was conducted by Ozaki (1998, cited in Ueno, 2006), older respondents perceived women who use men's speech as "uneducated and willing to look masculine merely because it is fashionable". In contrast, younger respondents regarded women's use of men's speech to be acceptable because it sounded independent and assertive (Ozaki, 1998, cited in Ueno, 2006). Since the writers of manga intend to attract more support from older female readers who have conservative values of gender, they employ female characters who use more conservative women's speech.

Unser-Schutz (2015a) investigated how gender was portrayed differently in Shojo manga and Shonen manga (manga for boys). Generally, Shonen manga is written primarily by male writers, and most Shojo manga is written by female writers. Unser-Schutz (2015a & 2015b) found that in Shonen manga, most of the main characters were men or boys and that the stories were profoundly action-oriented. In addition, women or girls were only featured as side characters. In contrast, Shojo manga, uses few main characters, and the number of male and female main characters is almost equal. The topics of Shojo manga mainly focus on friendship and romance among such characters. For example, in the popular Shojo manga *Nana*, written by Ai Yazawa (2000), the story examined the friendship between two girls named Nana. Another noteworthy finding is that female characters in Shonen manga use women's speech more frequently to portray the characters as feminine or girlish. Contrarily, female characters in Shojo manga use more neutral speech or moderate men's speech, which is consistent with modern Japanese women's language usage. Unser-Schutz (2015a) hypothesized that Shonen and Shojo

manga, which were written by authors who are mostly the same gender of the readers, mirrored the authors' own life experiences to help readers to learn values through manga (p.146). Thus, the different female images n Shojo and Shonen manga reflect writers' differing gender ideologies that are rooted in their own experiences or values. Female characters in Shonen manga are more feminine, and those in Shojo manga prefer more diverse and neutral stances.

Nevertheless, recently some changes in character settings have been observed in Shonen manga. The writers of popular Shonen manga have begun to write female characters who are older and stronger than male protagonists, and characters are no longer side characters. In such manga, the male protagonists cannot defeat the female characters immediately even though they may try to with determination (Fujimoto, 2013). In addition, such strong female characters have gained popularity not only from male readers, but also from female readers who admired the characters as ideal images of themselves. Kinsui (2003) theorized that female characters frequently spoke women's speech as yakuwarigo ('role language') to depict stereotypical female norms. However, as the aforementioned research shows, the use of women's speech in J-pop culture, especially that in video games, is not conventionally homogenous, and is greatly influenced by various factors, such as writers' or readers' age and gender. Indeed, female characters and their language use in J-pop culture have begun to change as empowered modern Japanese women parted ways with conventional women's speech. The female characters' language use became more neutral and the boundary between men's and women's speech became more blurred.

Second language teachers' characteristics and gendered speech instruction

A second area of scholarship that is relevant to the research questions in this study pertains to language instructors' experiences with and attitudes towards the instruction of gendered language. Researchers have suggested that second language instructors' characteristics, identity, and standpoints strongly affect their instructional stances. Back (2019) investigated world language teachers' agency regarding their use of target language and found out that "teacher positioning plays important roles in performing agency, but these positionings are also mediated by contexts and experiences. Therefore, similar positionings may result in different actions". Back (2019) developed a theoretical framework to illustrate that a mix of instructors' positioning, philosophy, performance, and experiences merge and execute agency in the instructors' discourse. (See Figure 2.1).

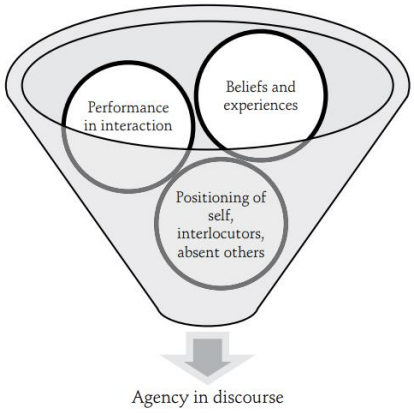

Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework in the Back's (2019) study

Therefore, instructors' diverse characteristics, identities, and stances must be important factors in the evaluation of how to teach gendered speech. In the next section, I will examine how such instructors' traits are mirrored in classrooms, and studies of Japanese gendered speech instruction will follow.

Gender and native and non-native foreign language instructors

Serious discussions have examined the favorability or teaching effectiveness between native and non-native second language teachers. Generally, native speakers seem to be more favored by second language learners. As Pennycook (1994) stated, native speakers are regarded as people with "a complete and possibly innate competence in the language" (p. 175). Native speakers who were born in the country and naturally gained the mother tongues might be valued as model speakers. Pennycook (1994) discussed:

> There is a close correspondence between holding citizenship of a country and being the native speaker of one mother tongues, that inheriting of this language automatically confers a high level of proficiency in all domains of the language, and that there is a rigid and clear distinction between being a native speaker and not being so. (p.176)

Nevertheless, while studies overall (e.g. Hertel & Sanderman, 2009; Tsuchiya, 2020) suggest that native speaker teachers may have advantages in terms of pronunciation and imparting cultural knowledge, studies have also found advantages for non-native speakers in areas, such as ability to explain syntax and vocabulary explicitly as well as empathy and ability to identify students' needs.

Based on these studies, I questioned whether native or non-native speaker status might affect instructors' attitudes towards and uses of gendered speech in the classroom. Specifically, despite such native speaker fallacy studied by Pennycook (1994), I wondered whether non-native speaker instructors might feel freer than native speaker instructors to adapt to or resist women's speech expectations.

The assets of non-native speakers (instructors and students)

Canagarajah (2007) shed a positive light on multilingual speakers, such as non-native speakers. He noted that lingua franca speakers' use of language is hybrid and fluid, and their pragmatic competence and flexible practices could facilitate active communication in a social context.

Another researcher, Mori (2020), investigated perceptual differences between native and non-native Japanese speaking teachers for Kanji instruction. Japanese Kanji characters are very complicated, so for learners of Japanese it may not be easy to memorize how to write Kanji characters correctly. Mori (2020)'s finding shows that non-native teachers perceive "the efficacy of sound, memory, and context-based strategies higher and morphological analysis lower" than native speaking teachers do. Mori stated that this conclusion is the result of non-native teachers' experiences as advanced L2 learners:

> The non-native participants' higher ratings for sound, memory, and context-based strategies, for instance, may reflect the areas on which they have been working as advanced L2 learners and their belief that L2 students need instructional support in those areas. (p.569)

Non-native speaking teachers can present "a strategic language learner model" (p. 569) by providing metacognitive instruction regarding different orthographic processing schemes" (p. 569). Non-native language teachers who share the students' L1 can provide appropriate metacognitive instructions which can facilitate the learning of Kanji characters more clearly and easily.

Although not directly pertaining to Japanese language teachers, one study (Makino, 2018) about Hideo Levy, a non-native writer of Japanese literature, is worth noting to shed light

on non-native speakers' innovative observation skills. According to Makino, the novelist Levy did not write novels from a native Japanese speaker-like viewpoint (assimilationist) but from a dissimulating, cross-bordering viewpoint. That is, Makino (2018) describes that Levy's trans-bordering cognitive skill as a bilingual speaker could make Levy notice what native speakers tended to overlook. Hence, we might speculate that bilingual speakers' metacognitive skills may lead non-native Japanese instructors to apply innovative Japanese language instruction.

Instructors' gender differences

Although the effect of foreign language teachers' gender on their teaching styles has not been studied in depth by researchers, gender (female or male) may be another factor that shapes their instruction or teaching stances. Lawrence & Nagashima (2020) explored how the intersectionality of gender, race, and native-speaker status influenced foreign language teachers' identities. Adopting an auto-ethnographic research method, they collected data about their own experiences as English instructors at a university in Japan. Nagashima was a female, bisexual, non-native speaker of English, and Lawrence was a heterosexual, male, white, native speaker of English. The study addressed how the instructors' approaches of introducing the topic drawing on the topic of sexual orientation into classrooms varied depending on each instructor's preference. The bisexual female instructor hesitated to mention the topic due to fear of disclosing her sexual identity, but the straight white male instructor favored bringing the topic into the classroom in an attempt to be inclusive.

Overall, few studies exist on relationships between instructors' gender and their perspectives on teaching, so more future research to investigate this topic is needed.

Feminist standpoints and pedagogy

Lastly, since gendered speech is the central concern of my study, instructors' viewpoints on feminism could be an important factor to consider in the evaluation of instructors' performance as teachers. Researchers have studied links between second language pedagogy and gender (e.g., Pavlenko, 2004; Vandrick, 2017), and pursued feminist pedagogy and research. Vandrick (2017) has stated that feminist research "means that researchers are aware of the larger historical, sociological, psychological, and educational contexts of issues that affect lives and careers and investigate how these manifest themselves in language teaching settings." Yoshihara (2017) investigated instructors' feminist self-positioning and these instructors' pedagogies in more detail. The statements of research participants in Yoshihara's qualitative study indicated that the instructor's feminist stance was an important factor to adopt a critical feminist pedagogy. Yoshihara (2017) mentioned that all feminist instructors in the study, who were sensitive towards gender inequality, perceived that implementing gender topics was integral for their classrooms to enable students' awareness of the issues of unequal social status of women.

Japanese textbooks and attitudes of Japanese instructors

Another factor that might affect Japanese instructor attitudes towards and use of gendered speech is commonly used textbooks. The popular Japanese textbook *Genki* published its third edition in 2021. Yoshida (2023) compared representations of gender and sexual orientation over the three editions. Though the newly published third edition still keeps heteronormative representations of characters, "vocabulary or content related to homosexuality, such as *resubian* 'lesbian' and *gei* 'gay', or visual representations of clearly identified homosexual couples, are nonexistent across all three editions" (Yoshida, 2023). However, the stance of the third edition seems to be slightly changed. For example, in the third edition, the textbook includes a gender-

neutral vocabulary, such as *paatonaa* (‘partner’) in addition to the gender normative vocabulary, *kare* (‘boyfriend’) and *kanojyo* (‘girlfriend’) (Banno et al., 2021). Furthermore, some discriminatory descriptions of diverse sexualities were deleted. Nevertheless, Yoshida (2023) pointed out that the presence of a word, *chikan* (‘sexual offender’, ‘pervert’) along with an image of a man touching a male character’s buttocks illustrates “homosexuality only in relation to deviant behavior and the criminal act of nonconsensual sexual touching of a stranger, and it further marginalizes homosexuality”. As this example illustrates, the third edition still takes an ambivalent, if not discriminatory stance towards gender diversity and sexual orientation. More research is needed on how biased gender attitudes in Japanese textbooks affect instruction of gendered speech.

Gendered speech instruction

Siegal & Okamoto (2003) pioneered the research area of Japanese gendered speech. Investigating teachers’ views and attitudes, Seigal & Okamoto (2003) proposed “the need to reconceptualize language teaching to consider not only ideologies of gender but also ideologies regarding non-native speakers using Japanese”. Another researcher, Bohn (2015), conducted a similar study. Bohn (2015) implied that students encountered gendered speech in Japanese media, and their approval and disapproval of learning gendered speech were almost equally divided. In addition, Bohn (2015) revealed that Japanese instructors’ preference of teaching gendered speech varied depending on their institutions of employment.

While the aforementioned studies used questionnaires, other studies have addressed more complex attitudes of JSL (Japanese as a second language) speakers and their use of Japanese. Siegal (1996), for example, conducted a case study of a white woman who was studying in Japan. The woman tried to be polite and deferential while conversing with her professor and used

an epistemic modal, *deshoo,* many times. However, *deshoo* should actually be avoided in speech to a superior. Siegal (1996) pointed out that her use of *deshoo* was rooted in her intention of being regarded as a researcher who is in a position semi-equal to that of the professor and not as a student. The use of *deshoo* mirrored the woman's perception of her professional relationship with her professor.

Scholars have also addressed Japanese gendered speech by examining men's speech. For example, Brown & Cheek (2017) analyzed the use of the first-person pronouns by advanced level male Japanese learners from the United States. Each participant used different male first person pronouns which suited persona that they wanted to adopt. For example, a student who wanted to be viewed as a *nikushoku* ('carnivorous'), American man was using *ore*, which seems to be more masculine. In contrast, other students used *boku* because they wanted to be regarded as socially appropriate polite males. Another researcher, Itakura (2008), also conducted a study of the use of speech by male Japanese learners. The study implied that the use of men's speech by male speakers was perceived as not only "the quality of Japanese masculinity but also of group solidarity and native speaker status in the language and culture", so teaching men's speech in detail is indispensable (Itakura, 2008).

The teaching of sociocultural and sociolinguistic language use is integral to the responsibilities of language educators. However, societally appropriate language that conforms to norms should be considered carefully because it has been constructed by societal ideologies or hegemonies. As one alternative, Fairclough (1992) notes that critical language pedagogy attempts to develop students' awareness of language learning like an awareness towards issues in the world. Fairclough (1992) stated:

> It [language study] highlights how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes which people are often unaware of. It criticizes mainstream language study for taking conventions and practices at face value, as objects to be described, in a way which obscures their political and ideological investment.

Researchers (Bohn, 2015; Siegal & Okamoto, 2003; Ohara et al, 2001; Brown & Cheek, 2017; Itakura, 2008) have implied that Japanese learners benefit from being taught a variety of speech, such as women's and men's speech that are used in varying contexts. They also suggested advantages of infusing Japanese pop culture into Japanese classrooms as authentic materials that show variety of languages and contexts. J-pop can promote students' critical language awareness because of its popularity and influential power (Bohn, 2015; Siegal & Okamoto, 2003; Ohara et al, 2001; Brown & Cheek, 2017). For instance, in order to elicit students' critical language awareness, instructors should show differing speech in varying contexts, such as older versus contemporary movies (Bohn, 2015).

Gengoshigen and Deleuzian Guattarian's -*becoming*

What is *gengoshigen*, language resources?

Japanese gendered language research has progressed greatly in the last four decades (Okamoto, 2018). Among notable researchers of gendered language, Momoko Nakamura (1955-), a linguist, became distinguished because of her popularity not only in academia but also among regular readers. Nakamura has published numerous books in which she elucidated the relationships between language and gender. Not only does she author her own books, but Nakamura is also one of translators of the book, *Kotoba to sekushuaritii* ('Language and sexuality') (2009) originally written by Cameron & Kulick (2003). Giving lectures and being a

keynote speaker at conferences in Northern America (UBC Asian Studies, 2021) also indicate Nakamura's popularity in the field of linguistics worldwide.

Nakamura (2010) has argued that our identities are not the cause of language performance but the effect of language performance. We differentiate and use a variety of languages to construct our identities. Race, age, locality, occupation, contexts, and language are intertwined with each other (Nakamura, 2010). However, in doing so, we need some sort of resources from which we create the performance of languages. Nakamura (2007 & 2010) suggested a concept dubbed *gengoshigen* ('language resource'), which maintains that our societies establish knowledge or resources in relation to language. A specific use of language can strongly relate to a specific group. Similarly, Kramsch (2021), citing Lakoff (1987) and Slobin (1996), noted, "it is not that the way we speak determines the way we think, but that in order to speak at all, we need to think in categories that are unconsciously recognized and accepted by the members of a speech community." For example, in the sentence *gohan yo* ('It's dinner.'), the addition of a female sentence-ending particle, *yo* relates with femininity, and in the sentence *gohandazo* ('It's dinner.') the addition of a masculine sentence-ending particle relates with masculinity. The identities that are constructed by utilizing a language resource in socially appropriate ways (e.g., women's use of women's speech) harmonize with societies' expectations. The quantity of *gengoshigen* that we can use may be limited. However, we create different identities by shifting or mismatching the limited *gengoshigen* as if crossing borders which divide our socially assigned arenas. In this sense, Nakamura (2007 & 2010) stated that *gengoshigen* should be in fact equally accessible by everyone regardless of gender, class, or regions where people live.

Arimori (2020), who has researched the intersection of gender, sexual diversity, and Japanese language education, has pursued an inclusive learning environment for Japanese learners from the viewpoint as an LBGTQ teacher himself. Arimori (2020) mentioned that he occasionally encountered uncomfortable moments in and outside of his Japanese classrooms because of teaching materials and problematic content that were handled poorly by teachers including himself. Indeed, expressions in the textbook that he mentioned are based on a dichotomous view of gender. Arimori (2020) also felt uncomfortable with the negative descriptions of gender non-normativity in the textbook.

Arimori (2020) recognized Nakamura's concept, *gengoshigen* as a social constructivist stance and implied, "By introducing the concept of *gengoshigen* into the classroom, we can provide space for learners to explore, negotiate, and establish their gender and sexual identities in Japanese" (p.365-6). He also noted, "By changing the focus to difference by factors such as age, gender, and regional background, we can help learners strengthen their own ability to access to this language resource" (Arimori, 2020, p.366).

Our identities can be created, as Butler (2007) noted that gender is constructed by verbal and nonverbal performance. For example, gender parody (e.g. drag-queen) is an imitation of an identity which is blurred and made unrecognizable by a parodic figure (Butler, 2007). The act of drag queens "constitutes a fluidity of identities that suggests an openness to resignification and recontextualization; parodic proliferation deprives hegemonic culture and its critics of the claim to naturalized or essentialist gender identities" (p.188). Drag queens may wear excessive make-up, high heels, false eyelashes, and artificial large breasts, but simultaneously do not cover a moustache. Such drag acts that integrate feminine and masculine identities challenge people's perspectives towards natural sexuality and destroy the conventions that pass naturally from body

to gender (Colebrook, 2004). That is, by doing (performing) drag acts, the drag queens can construct their gender, which is not essence, and also their identity, which is free from conventions in hegemonic society. We can be what we want to be by disrupting ideology or normativity of fixed gender or gender roles not only by nonverbal performance but also by craftily using *gengoshigen* in mismatching ways.

Becoming

The notion of departing from normativity and exploring new identities as mentioned by Nakamura (2007, 2010) and Arimori (2020) resonates with the ideas of poststructuralist theorists who criticize our structured societies and the mechanisms that are constructed by power. In particular, the concept of *becoming* as theorized by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) may be the key to open the door for seeking our multiplicities. The following is Deleuze and Guattari's description of the idea of *becoming*.

> "Becoming is a rhizome, not a classificatory or genealogical tree. Becoming is not imitating, or identifying with something" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 239).
>
> "Becoming is to emit particles that take on certain relations of movement and rest because they enter a particular zone of proximity. Or it is to emit particles that enter that zone because they take on those relations" (p.273).

My understanding of Deleuze and Guattari's *becoming* is that people who are marginalized in our society, such as women, people of color, people who are socioeconomically disadvantaged, and others are categorized as "molecular" or "minor." On the other hand, the majority, whose status is stable and recognizable, are defined as "molar" which are "regimes of power, where becoming is fixed and fitted into pre-existing categories" (Coleman &Ringrose, 2013) and small particles are not mobile in such concentrated environment. The "molecular" and "minoritarian"

are akin to small (imperceptible) particles which can easily osmose and symbiose, and their movements are unpredictable. Heterogeneous elements can compose, “the multiplicity of symbiosis and becoming” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.249). For example, if we consider ourselves as “minor, molecular” attracting each other, which have positive relations by assemblage with other “minor, molecular” elements (other human beings, animals, nature, and so on), then such phenomenon can lead to a metamorphosis-like positive change that challenges the majority. This process can be *becoming*.

I will draw on the following example as how a group of minoritarians earned positive change, *becoming,* by deftly using academic power. In a country in which women are treated as invisible, “an all-girls robotics team” known as “Afghan Dreamers” that was formed by Afghani girls showed us girls’ power which de-territorialized the space where they were confined. They formed a team and participated in an international robotic competition that was held in Washington DC to represent Afghanistan and showed us their engineering talent which was traditionally spared for boys. These Afghani girls worked together, brought their knowledge, connected with each other, and became someone other than girls who were marginalized by patriarchal apparatus (United Nations Sustainable Development Group, 2023). I recognize these girls’ academic voyage as *becoming-woman*. That is, Deleuze and Guattari’s *becoming-* encourages us to spiritually metamorphose from imperceptible selves to someone or something with effective power which can change hierarchal structures and conventional notions.

Braidotti (2002) stated, “Deleuze had proposed not to reduce the act of thinking to reactive critique. Rather, thinking can be critical to the active and assertive process of inventing new images of thought” (p.124) and “thinking, for Deleuze, is instead lived at the highest possible power” (p.124). If we practice thinking, speaking and writing creatively, such a change

could facilitate our overcoming of assigned gender roles and defiance of old conventions (Lorraine, 1999).

Braidotti (2011) also noted that gender difference and gendered bodies, which have been challenged by feminists, are in fact important:

> Sexual difference is not a problem that needs to be explained in relation to an epistemological paradigm that assumes a priori sameness and a dialectical frame of pejorative difference. It is rather the case that sexual difference is just an embodied and embedded point of departure that signals simultaneously the ontological priority of difference and its self-organizing and transforming. (p.147)

Because body and mind are strongly connected with each other, sexual differences are a fundamental force of thinking. To pursue self, "not One" (Braidotti, 2011), we may need to embrace sexual differences in Braidotti's words. We can go beyond the sphere of hierarchy (patriarchy) by thinking wisely and positively. Then, finally minoritarians may be able to transform ourselves into becoming someone else who has the potential of metamorphosing into multiple identities.

If sexual difference is not a problem, it must be a "self-organizing, transforming power" (Braidotti, 2011), and the difference in language use between genders may also be a foundational force of a new way of thinking. Considering the different language uses between genders as a priori *gengoshgen* ('language resource'), can we explore multiple identities? My dissertation will proceed by pursuing this pivotal and seemingly insoluble question.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study was guided by the following research question:

What are the perspectives and experiences of one group of Japanese as foreign language teachers regarding the ***instruction*** of Japanese gendered speech?

Sub-questions included:

a. How are teachers' perspectives about gender roles and gendered speech influenced by their own professional backgrounds and personal situations?

b. How have the Japanese instructors taught or not taught gendered speech in their classes? What is the role of Japanese popular media (J-pop) in teaching gendered speech in their classrooms?

c. Do Japanese instructors believe it is possible for students to negotiate languages to shape their identities by detaching *gengoshigen* ('language resources') from gender norms?

Methodological framework

This proposed study was conducted by employing a constructivist grounded theory by Charmaz (2005). Charmaz describes this research method: "what constructivist grounded theorists see and hear depends upon their prior interpretive frames, biographies, and interests as well as the research context, their relationships with research participants" (p.509). Constructivist grounded theory researchers take a reflective stance instead of merely objectively reporting phenomena or reality. Adopting their own past and current experiences or knowledge,

constructivist grounded researchers “wrestle with data, make comparisons, develop categories, engage in theoretical sampling, and integrate analysis” (p.510). Charmaz (2021) emphasizes the importance of 'methodological self-consciousness' in constructivist grounded theory, which involves reflective examination of the researcher's role and actions during the research process. Researchers co-construct with participants moving forward to determine answers to research questions. As a Japanese instructor myself, it would be difficult to objectively analyze what other Japanese instructors mentioned without preconceptions and self-consciousness. Therefore, I thought this type of grounded theory method, “standing behind our participants and looking over their shoulders” (Charmaz, 2021), was most suitable for my study.

In addition to constructivist grounded theory, I adopted the visual analytics tool, situational analysis, as proposed by Clarke (2005), aiming to offer a fresh examination of data from a postmodern perspective. Charmaz (2006) argued that analyzing silences underlying data is integral at the individual, societal, and organizational levels. Thus, she introduced Clarke’s situational analysis as a new grounded theory tool which can show “action, and inaction, voices and silences at varied levels analysis”. Clarke (2005) stated that situational analysis addresses “demands for empirical understanding of the heterogeneous worlds emerging from this ‘fractured, multi-centered discursive system’ of new world orderings” (p.2). Three modes of situational analysis are 1) situational maps, 2) social worlds or arenas or maps, and 3) positional maps for sorting out the collected data within these maps. These concept maps could facilitate the achievement of greater clarity of research directions with the use of small but detailed portraits. Clarke (2005) mentioned, “the maps…are not necessarily intended as forming final analytic products” (p.83). Thus, I mainly utilized Clarke’s (2005) mapping strategies for sorting out discursive elements, such as voices and silences, action and inaction, human and non-human

things, that surrounded Japanese instructors and also identifying the situations in which those elements are located. To illustrate, Figure 3.1 shows my project map after proceeding through several steps of creating arena maps.

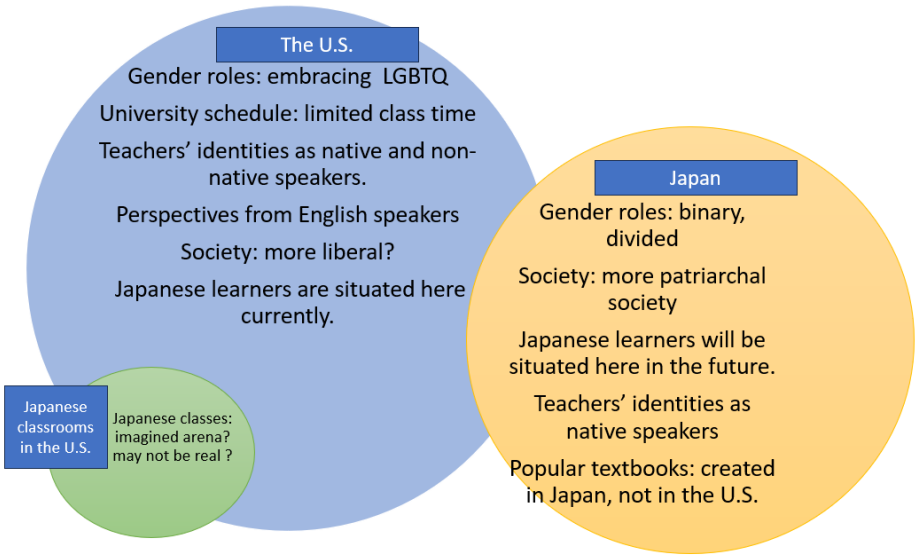

Figure 3.1: The project map: The arenas of Japanese instructors

Participation selection

Following full institutional review board (IRB) approval, I sought participants who were teaching Japanese at post-secondary institutions. I decided to recruit Japanese instructors at institutions of higher education because they typically have more control over curricular choices than teachers at primary and secondary schools. According to Maxwell (2013), this sample selection type is "purposeful selection" for gathering of potential participants who are experts in providing information in relation to the researchers' goals. Maxwell (2013) suggested, "To ensure that the conclusions adequately represent the entire range of variation, rather than only the typical members or some 'average' subset of this range," "maximum variation sampling" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) would be beneficial. Maxwell (2013) stated, "This is best done by defining the dimensions of variation in the population that are most relevant to your study and systematically

selecting individuals or setting[s] that represent the most important possible variations on these dimensions" (p.98). Thus, I decided to recruit native Japanese speaking and non-native Japanese speaking female, male, or non-binary (if applicable) post-secondary instructors who had differing teaching and learning histories of Japanese, so data could be collected from heterogenous demographics. I set this study's sample size at a minimum of ten teachers.

Data collection

Recruiting participants

I recruited research participants by sending out an email (Appendix A) that invites instructors to participate in the study. In the invitation letter, the researcher introduced her background, and the purpose of this study followed. Potential participants were guided to click on a Qualtrics link (Appendix B) which included an informed consent form and a questionnaire. The questionnaire requested participants' age, gender, years of teaching, their first language, and experiences with living or studying in Japan. This invitation letter was sent among the members of the Southeastern Association of Teachers of Japanese (SEATJ), who are participants of a gender workshop held in summer 2022, referrals of potential participants, and my personal contacts. Once potential participants responded to the researcher, the date of the online individual interview, which was the next step, was discussed by email. In the meantime, a profile matrix was created to examine similarity or dissimilarity in the respondents' demographics.

Participant Demographics

Eleven instructors responded to the email and agreed to participate in this study. The first category, gender identity was based on the answer to a question that was given in the individual interview, "Which pronoun would you like to be called by, such as she or her, he or him or they or them?" The second, third, fourth, and fifth category, such as native or non-native Japanese

speakers, years of teaching Japanese, their institutions' locations, and years of living in Japan, were based on the responses in the Qualtrics's questionnaire and the individual interviews. Detailed demographics of the participants are shown in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2.

Table 3.1: Participants' demographics

	Self-described gender identity	Native or non-native Japanese speaker	Years of teaching Japanese	The location of the institution where the instructor teaches
Kanako	she/her/her	Native	23 years	Southeast
Maya	she/her/her	Native	Over 20 years	Mid-west
Pablo	he/him/his	Non-native	10 years	Southeast
Tomoko	she/her/her	Native	18 years	Southeast
Haruko	she/her/her	Native	11 years	Southeast
Ken	he/him/his	Non-native	18 years	Southeast
Hiroshi	he/him/his	Native	24 years	Northeast
Chieko	she/her/her	Native	20 years	Southeast
Sakiko	she/her/her	Native	19 years	Southeast
Yuichiro	he/him/his	Native	12 years	Northwest
Amy	She/her/her	Non-native	5 years	Southeast

Table 3.2: Participants' length of residence in Japan

	Years of living in Japan
Kanako	22 years: until graduation from college
Maya	22 years: until graduation from college
Pablo	3 years: one year as an exchange student and two years of graduate school
Tomoko	22 years: until graduation from college
Haruko	24 years: until obtaining graduate degree
Ken	4 years: two years of JET program and two years of graduate school
Hiroshi	25.5 years: three and a half years of working for a company after the graduation from college
Chieko	22 years: until graduation from college
Sakiko	22 years: until graduation from college
Yuichiro	28 years: six years of working for a company after graduation from college
Amy	5 years: PhD program in Japan

Step 1: Online individual interview

The first step was an individual interview. This individual interview format was based on semi-structured interviewing, so I asked all participants the same set of twelve questions in the same order (Appendix C). In addition, I asked follow-up questions to earlier interviewees, if necessary. Fontana & Frey (2005) mentioned that the purpose of interviewing is "to obtain a rich, in-depth experiential account of an event or episode in the life of the respondent" (p.698). An empathetic stance is an unavoidable phenomenon in qualitative research. Increasing numbers of researchers acknowledge that interacting as a person with the interviewee is necessary (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Fontana & Frey (2005) noted, "Interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but rather active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results" (p.698). As a Japanese instructor who has experienced difficulties and joy through teaching Japanese, I attempted to inquire about the participants' perspectives and experiences in an empathetic manner.

Through my previous experiences with research interviews, I believed that in-person, face-to-face interviews would likely promote more active discussions than interviews in virtual settings. However, because of the cost of traveling to interview out-of-state participants and possible time constraints of interviewees, virtual interviews turned out to be more reasonable for both the interviewer and interviewees. Thus, I conducted all interviews by Zoom. The interviews were recorded and saved to my computer.

Step 2 Small focus group interviews

Following the individual interview with each participant, I conducted virtual small focus group interview meetings with respondents who had indicated that they were willing to

participate in the second step. A typical focus group went through the following procedures outlined by Gilbert and Matoesian (2021):

> Focus groups typically consist of a neutral moderator, who facilitates discussion by asking questions on a given topic, and several interviewees, who provide their opinions. The moderator may select a particular recipient to speak, or recipients may self-select to respond to the topic question (or both). Once the topic is exhausted, the moderator typically poses a new question and the system applies recursively until the end of the session, a session usually lasting one to two hours.

Morgan (2012) stated that "sharing and comparing" is an integral aspect of interaction among focus groups and "this process of sharing and comparing provides the rare opportunity to collect direct evidence on how the participants themselves understand their similarities and differences" (Morgan, 1997). In order to initiate the focus group sessions, I provided the participants with concrete starter questions to promote active discussions. In addition, I played the role of moderator to assist "with the ongoing group dynamics" (Morgan, 2012, p.170) rather than leading discussions. For designing questions, it is recommended that the questions move from more specific to more general topics. The questions proceed through three steps to elicit the following knowledge in order to promote generating and contextualizing, such as "1) episodic knowledge, 2) categorical knowledge, 3) abstract knowledge" (Morgan, 2012, p.171). The approach of eliciting from episodic knowledge to abstract knowledge illustrates "the common process of organizing concrete categories into more abstract concepts, which can in turn be organized into more complex conceptual frameworks. This architectural metaphor of creating a 'conceptual framework' reflects a progressive co-construction of meaning" (Morgan, 2012, p.171). The questions that guided the focus group discussions are listed in Appendix D. Seven

participants agreed to participate in the focus group interviews, and they were divided into two small groups: Group 1 consisted of three instructors, and Group 2 consisted of four instructors. Table 3.3 details the members of the two focus groups.

Table 3.3: Focus group demographics

Group1	Kanako, Maya, Pablo
Group 2	Tomoko, Haruko, Ken, Hiroshi

Data analysis

After the individual meetings and small focus group meetings concluded, the recorded video and audio were transcribed using Microsoft Word and Zoom transcribing features. I also utilized notes in a physical notebook during the interviews because notes could provide me with additional detailed information or contexts of conversations while I reviewed the video and audio recordings later. Before starting coding, I worked on sorting out, organizing, and identifying connections among various elements surrounding Japanese instructors, such as native and non-native instructors, the popular Japanese textbook Genki and other textbooks, or classrooms in the U.S. and Japan, just name a few. Subsequently, participants' interview transcripts were categorized sentence-by-sentence or phrase-by-phrase with NVivo coding tool (initial coding). Then those codes were integrated into one group or placed as subcategories. Having a clearer vision of the connections among those conceptional elements, I frequently referred to the situational maps while working on this coding process. Similarities and differences of those codes were then refined and clustered to develop theoretical descriptions along with the three research questions (focus coding).

Validity

To enhance study validity, many qualitative researchers utilize "triangulation" which is "collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods" (Maxwell, 2013, p.128). The application of two data collection methods, such as individual interviews, group discussions and confirming interview answers with participants later is one "validity-testing strategy" (Maxwell, 2013, p.128).

However, citing Fielding & Fielding (1986), Maxwell also mentioned that even the triangulation method may possibly result in some biases and sources of invalidity, so we should not be overcredulous. Maxwell suggested that we should find specific ways to deal with "what particular sources of errors or bias might exist" (p.128) and not just rely on triangulation.

Olesen (2005) mentioned that many feminist researchers have searched for new ways of validity by appreciating their self-reflectivity or partiality which could contradict positivist's viewpoints. For example, Lather (1993) suggested several types of transgressive validity framings that qualitative researchers could apply. One of her framings is called rhizomatic validity, which is based on the strategies of post-structuralism philosophers, such as Derrida, and Deleuze and Guattari. Lather stated, "It [the Derridean concept of deconstruction] undermines stability, subverts and unsettles from within; it is a vocation, a response to the call of otherness of any system, its alterity" (p. 680). Lather (1986) suggested the possibility of postpositivist inquiry to challenge conventional research. Placing triangulation at the head of the list, Lather drew upon construct validity, face validity/member checks, and catalytic validity as an emancipatory qualitative researcher's core validating methods. Construct validity refers to a notion of theory construction that is accomplished by a contribution of systematized reflexivity which indicates "how a priori theory has been changed by the logic of data" (p.67). Catalytic validity refers to

how the "research process re-orients, focuses, and energizes participants" and raises their consciousnesses (p.67). Notably, this process is similar to the notion of *becoming* by Deleuze & Guattari in which researchers and participants alike could experience some transcendent changes through the study heuristically.

Lather (1993) cited Australian educational theorist McWilliam's (1994) work as an example of emancipatory critical research. McWilliam (1994) investigated the paternalistic environment and associated policies in which pre-service teachers had experienced teaching, learning, and socializing. McWilliam analyzed pre-teachers' texts and amplified their variety of ever-silenced voices. She utilized face validity/member check by participants and catalytic validity through which participants realized their thoughts which had been unnoticed so far by co-constructing (co-theorizing) with the researcher. In the study, McWilliam took a rhizomatic journey (p.681) by socially interacting with participants among "intersections, nodes, and regionalizations," leading to multi-centered complexity. Lather (1993) wrote about McWilliam's study:

> Ranging across rather standard attitudinal surveys, dialogic reciprocally self-disclosive interviews, and sustained interaction, McWilliam works to de-center both her own expertise and the participants' commonsense about teaching practice. (p.681)

While adopting both basic methods (e.g., interviews and focus group discussions), I mainly focused on the catalytic (becoming) validity. Through discussions that were exchanged with other focus group participants and by being interviewed individually, the participants were able to shed new and different light on their perspectives of gendered speech and the instruction of gendered speech. My hope was that the whole process of this study could be a catalyst for raising my consciousness and that of the participants. Richardson & St. Pierre (2005) stated that in

postmodernist qualitative research, instead of solely relying on triangulating, a crystalizing approach could be applied because of its power of extending beyond conventional and common-sense analysis. Richardson explains:

> The central imaginary [for 'validity'] is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionality, and angles of approach……. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays casting off in different directions. (p.963)

My understanding is that the notion of crystallization is similar to the notions of "becoming", "nomadic" and "rhizome" theorized by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), which are not structured and can embrace transcendence of ourselves. Accordingly, I believed that if participants recognized something unknown about themselves as language educators and therefore took some new approaches to teaching Japanese in their future classrooms, this study would be validated. Even after collecting data and finishing the writing of my dissertation, my research journey has "no beginning and no end but always been", and the experiences and knowledge that have been obtained through this study return again and again (St. Pierre, 2000). I continue pursuing a seemingly insoluble answer as to whether people's societally fixed subjectivities can be liberated through rhizomatic language use.

As a result of this research process, I developed an analysis that focused on three research sub-questions. In the following three chapters, I present and address each of these research sub-questions in turn. Chapter 4 discusses instructors' perspectives towards gender roles. Chapter 5 focuses on how instructors teach or do not teach gendered speech. Chapter 5 investigates

instructors' opinions regarding whether *gengoshigen* ('language resources') can be detached from societal norms.

CHAPTER 4

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON JAPANESE GENDER ROLES AND GENDERED SPEECH

In this chapter I address the first research question: "How are teachers' perspectives about gender roles and gendered speech influenced by their professional backgrounds and personal situations?"

Perspectives about gender roles

I thought that exploring the instructors' perceptions about Japanese gender roles was important for the study to be able to identify their positioning towards divided Japanese gender roles, which are closely related to gendered speech. Thus, I began interviews by asking participants, "Tell me about your impressions of gender roles in Japanese culture. Can you give me an example of something that you have seen or experienced that makes you think about gender roles?"

Every instructor stated that men's and women's roles in Japanese society were generally divided. Kanako described men and women's roles as "For my generation's friends, even if they work outside, housework is mostly the wife's job, and child-rearing is still the mother's job." Native Japanese female instructors, Kanako and Chieko, mentioned that they had opportunities to witness unchanged Japanese women's roles when they met friends or family members. Kanako mentioned that when she returned to Japan and met her female Japanese friends, she realized how well Japanese women took care of child-rearing and household chores independently without the help of their husbands. Kanako's friend said, "I've already made

dinner for my family before coming here." In the case of Kanako herself, since her husband does not cook at all, she cooks all of the meals for her family. Her daughter, who was born in the U.S. with her American husband, sometimes suggested that she not do all of the household chores by herself and that she should let her husband do house chores more often. From this anecdote, I think that Kanako is no exception in terms of the Japanese ideology of womanhood: "good wife, good mother". The observation of another native female, Chieko, align with Kanako's comments in that she frequently found Japanese divided gender roles on Internet or in conversations with Japanese friends when she returned to Japan as did Kanako.

Eight native Japanese instructors reported that such traditional gender roles existed in their own families when they were growing up. For example, Yuichiro said:

> Well, I was born in the Showa era, so I guess I grew up in the environment of the so-called typical men and women roles. Japan. At that time, my mother was a full-time housewife, and there were three children including me, and my father went to work early in the morning and worked in Tokyo. I think he spent about an hour and a half going to work, but it was about three hours round trip, so he would go early in the morning and come back at night before the kids went to bed or after going to bed. I guess it was like coming home after work with a drink and coming home by train. It was a family where my mother stayed at home and raised her children all the time. Maybe in my generation, that's the norm. That is the basic household role of men and women. The man goes out, the woman stays at home.

Non-native Japanese instructors also believed that male chauvinism and traditional Japanese gender roles still persist in modern Japanese society. They described a distinctive Japanese office culture in which female workers were treated differently compared to male office

workers. For instance, Pablo witnessed unequal expectations of women and men in terms of their clothing. Companies expect female workers to wear dark-colored suits and high-heels, while male workers wear suits and flat shoes.

> I don't see a reason why women should have to wear heels to go into the office where obviously men do not. What do you call uniforms? Yes. It's *Seihuku*. High heels and black or blue suits are very much business culture clothes for women that they're required to wear in Japan. But the shoes do seem a little ridiculous, so there's definitely a lot of gender bias for women's roles.

Participants' beliefs tended to align with other recent research and media reports about gender double standards in Japanese workplaces. For example, Haefelin (2019), a German-born author and a commentator on Japanese TV, reported that Yumi Ishikawa, who was an activist, actress, and also author, had begun the #KuToo movement. Ishikawa submitted a petition with eighteen women's signatures to the Japanese government to stop coercing women to wear high heels in workplaces. #KuToo is a pun that integrates two words, *MeToo* and *kutsu*, which means '*shoes'* in Japanese. Japanese women felt uncomfortable about being placed in this unequal situation in terms of workplace outfits, but it seems that they finally spoke up about this matter.

Another non-native Japanese, Ken, described female employees' roles at a Japanese university campus. He noted, "When I was in Tochigi for the JET program, that was 20 years ago, when guests, *okyakusama*, came to the Board of Education, it was always the women who had to make the tea and serve the tea to the guests."

In Japanese office culture, female workers are frequently asked to serve tea whenever guests come. Such female workers are called tea pourers, *Ochakumi*, pejoratively. Of course, they were not hired as workers who serve coffee or tea to their bosses or guests, but because they

are women, they tend to be asked to do so. Female native Japanese Kanako, who worked at a company during a brief period as a contract employee, supported this aspect: “At that time, I was in an era that it was okay if a young girl served a cup of tea with a smile while working on not so rigorous assignments.” Painter (1996) described that Japanese companies tended to hire women for temporary jobs but hire men for higher ranking jobs. Companies seem to assign more important jobs to men and rely more on them than on women according to Kanako’s experience.

Another female instructor, who was a nonnative speaker of Japanese, described gender inequality in a university work environment. Amy enrolled in a university located in Tokyo for her PhD program of *jyoohoo gakka,* which is similar to information studies in the U.S. She stated that Japan had very strict gender roles and ideas about gender. The institution where she was a student and worked as a teaching assistant was prestigious and also bureaucratic because it is a national university in Japan. She stated that the politics of the national university were very male dominated:

> When I was working and learning at that university, I saw almost all of my professors were men. There were a few female professors, and because of that, I think it's a very tough environment for female professors. The female professors were very intense. As a result, I think they have to protect themselves, maybe. Then I switched to teaching at a different private university and taught there for two years. There were lots of female colleagues, lots of women in leadership roles. My boss was also a woman.

Amy’s experience agrees with that has been reported in Japanese media. For example, the newspaper *Mainichi* (Jan. 18. 2023) reported that the average ratio of female professors among Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development member countries was 45%, but

Japan ranked lowest at 35 %. Also, it reported that the presence of female professors at national universities in Japan was only 16%.

Compared to other countries, how does the Japanese gender gap actually rank? Global Gender Gap Report (2023) compared each country's women's economic participation and opportunities, education attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. The gender gap "scores can be interpreted as the distance covered towards parity. Cross-country comparisons support the identification of the most effective policies to close gender gaps" (World Economic Forum, 2023). According to the report, the United States ranks 43 while Japan ranks 125. Therefore, Japan's gender gap is almost three times larger than that of the U.S. Sakiko commented about the gender gap:

> Since men have the right to make all the decisions, there are few opportunities for women's opinions to be reflected in Japanese society. Since the percentage of women in positions to hold decision-making power is very low in Japan, men take everything with them. It is a fact that women's opinions are not reflected, and women are not aware of that fact. Of course, men are not aware of such unbalanced power, but I think that Japanese women are also not aware of such a gender gap.

Sakiko had once taught a class on Japanese culture, and stated that because of teaching such a class, she became very sensitive towards gender inequality in Japan.

Native Japanese male instructors' perspectives about gender roles in Japan were mostly in harmony with other instructors' perspectives, but they stated that women's expectation of men to participate more in households seemed to be a current trend in modern Japanese families. Hiroshi stated:

> It seems that they (Japanese gender roles) are divided so much, but also, they may not be. I have such an impression these days. I myself don't have children, and I'm just with my wife. I have a feeling that couples should help each other.

Another native Japanese male instructor, Yuichiro observed:

> What I am talking about may be universal common sense, but if we say something about gender which sounds unfair, such statements are treated as problematic. So, my impression is that unbalanced notions about gender roles have been changed these days.

The statements above seem to indicate that native Japanese male instructors view Japanese differentiated gender roles from a critical perspective as a result of living and working in the United States, which is far removed from Japan geographically and ideologically.

In sum, interestingly, differing opinions between female and male native Japanese instructors were observed. Native Japanese instructors' statements seemed to be strongly shaped by their current living situations. While the majority of female instructors were aware of unequal gender roles which has been the undeniable status quo, there was no disputing that at least one female native Japanese instructor still maintained Japanese women's ideology of *ryosaikenbo* ('Good wife, Good mother'), at home even if she had moved to the U.S. In contrast, male native Japanese instructors seemed to be more aware of women's empowerment and tended to cultivate opinions about gender roles that were different from the Japanese differentiated and unequal gender roles.

Usage of gendered speech

Japanese gendered speech has been strongly connected with the gender ideology of Japanese society. In this section, I investigate instructors' attitudes about if and when to use gendered speech.

Female instructors' opinions

As I wrote in Chapter 2, many stylistic and linguistic features have been associated with Japanese gendered speech. Among these features, the most popular and frequently used lexical feature is the first-person pronoun. The salience of pronominal use in gendered language can be illustrated by English speakers' recent practice to provide their preferred third person pronouns in order to identify genders (e.g. she/hers/her, he/his/him, or they/their/them). Table 4.1 lists the types of first-person pronouns used in Japanese by gender and degree of formality.

Table 4.1: Types of first-person pronouns in Japanese

	Formal	**Neutral**	**Informal**
Male Speaker	*Watashi or watakushi*	*boku*	*ore*
Female speaker	*watakushi*	*watashi*	(atashi)

In this section, I will analyze instructors' perspectives on the use of first-person pronouns and other gendered speech features in Japanese.

In answer to my interview question, "Which Japanese first-person pronouns do you use?", all female instructors answered that they used *watashi* (or *atashi*) as their first-person pronoun. Kanako stated that since there were many opportunities to meet female Japanese instructors at her own university campus, conferences, and local professional meetings, female instructors tended to use more women's speech unintentionally. Only Haruko, who grew up in the Kansai or western area of Japan, mentioned that she occasionally used *uchi* in casual settings in addition to using *atashi*. *Uchi* is considered to be a dialectal pronoun mostly used by women

or girls who live in the western region of Japan, but this use has become more popular among young girls nationally in casual situations.

As for other morphological and lexical linguistic features associated with women's speech, such as sentence final particles (e.g., *ne, yo, dawa, wa, kashira),* or interjections, (e.g., *ara, maa),* they stated that they did not use such features at all. Indeed, they did not use such features while conversing with me.

Non-native Japanese instructor Amy stated that she used *watashi* but thought that she was neither a user of feminine speech nor a user of blunt speech.

> I don't use *atashi* and cutie stuff like that because it feels cute. It feels a little bit insincere because I don't. I don't feel that way, so I don't want to express myself that way. Does that make sense? I don't see myself as a cute young girl, so I don't want to talk like a cute young girl. I want to talk in a more neutral way. Also, I actually avoid pronouns as much as I can, so I find myself deleting pronouns. If I can avoid *watashi*, I will avoid it.

One well-known aspect of Japanese language is the ability to drop first, second, and third person pronouns if the sentence meaning is intelligible without them. This grammatical feature of Japanese has been explored extensively from a politeness perspective, but it can also be used to avoid gendered pronominal usage.

Tomoko, who had researched women's speech, regarded women's speech from the perspective of a researcher. As a preface to her perspective, she explained characteristics of women's speech from her researcher's viewpoint. She stated that women's speech was a social construct, so the speech has been constructed by society, media, and government throughout the long history of Japan:

> Women's speech exists as a realistic social construct, and gendered speech is actually applied by men and women in their daily lives. There is also an imaginary part. Yes, there are some fantasized parts which only appear in fiction, but there are still parts that are used in real life.

She also mentioned her complicated feelings about the use of women's speech:

> I grew up being told not to use blunt speech. Well, when I was young, around the age of 20, I was a little disgusted by the difference between men and women in Japan. That's why I came to the United States. So, there was a time when I tried to get as far away from verbal femininity as possible, but after all, since I am a woman as an identity, within me there are some parts that I have to use, and parts that I have used in the history of my whole life, but there are parts that I am still resisting. It's kind of complicated. However, now that I am in middle age, there is an unconscious part that I have to speak politely as a Japanese woman and as a Japanese teacher, so from such a perspective that speaking politely is a feminine way of speaking, I speak in a feminine way.

Women's speech is closely associated with politeness. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2013) noted that Japanese women's use of polite speech was linked to women's refinement and propriety, and was actually a manifestation of constraints that came from societal control. Tomoko might feel constrained by societal control or patriarchal ideology and attempt to resist women's speech. Both Amy and Tomoko's resistance to women's speech seem to have been shaped by their previous professional experiences. Amy had taught a sociology-related media studies course, and Tomoko had done research on women's language and had taught a sociolinguistics course.

Sakiko's perspective was likewise shaped by her life experience. In her case, she had lived in a French-speaking country for about five years to study French. She explained that when

she used French, which has grammaticalized feminine and masculine forms, she became very conscious of the similarities with grammaticalized gendered differences in the Japanese language:

> Well, it's impossible to get feminine forms and male forms out of the French language. It's the same thing for Japanese. I think it's absolutely impossible to eliminate them completely. I think it's absolutely impossible to completely decimate the notion of gender, if we think about the language. So that's why I'm accepting. I think we have to fix it now, for example, using *kangoshi* [nurse, gender neutral] instead of *kangohu* [nurse, female only] and things like that. Language is socially connected to this kind of awareness, so we had better be aware of it and fix it. I think it is better to fix things that may cause gender discrimination by saying that.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, Braidotti (2011a) theorized that sexual differences may be a foundational force for "self-organizing and transcending" ourselves. Sakiko affirmed differing gender because of the existence of the grammatical gender difference in French language. She also insisted that gender discrimination in language should be remedied and recommended that we should be aware of and raise our voices against discrimination. Women would need solidarity to challenge the normative position by having voices. Braidtotti (2011b) mentioned, "The starting point is the recognition that *Woman* is a general umbrella term that brings together different kinds of women, different levels of experience, and different identities," and "What is being empowered is women's entitlement to speak, not the propositional content of their utterances.". That is, speaking up by women has the power to change fixed gender dichotomy in our society.

Another instructor, Tomoko also noted:

> Well, there are many aspects of the word of identity. So, in terms of my identity as a Japanese teacher, there are parts of me that consciously try not to use women's language in my speech, but from the perspective of my identity as a Japanese woman, there are situations where I have to use it. However, I don't use that so-called very strong feminine word, so as I said earlier, if the idea is that speaking politely is a feminine language, I think I use feminine language.

Overall, in interviews, these female instructors spoke in a way that would be considered polite and womanly. These ways of speaking were not conspicuously feminine, but the instructors never used casual or masculine sentence ending particles which sound "rough" to the Japanese. They did not use feminine sentence ending particles or interjections, but their ways of speaking were clearly different from the socially accepted ways that men speak in Japanese.

Male instructors' opinions

The male instructors' answers to the question about their own pronominal usage were more varied. As Table 4-1 shows, male speakers of Japanese have a somewhat more varied range of pronouns to choose from than women do, including *watashi* (formal), *boku* (neutral) and *ore* (casual). Non-native Japanese instructor Ken answered that he mostly used *boku* and sometimes used *watashi*. At the small group meeting, he volunteered to read an English article and said, "*Watashi ga yomimashooka*. (Shall I read the passage?)" His sentence gave the impression of being more polite and soft by using the first-person pronoun *watashi*. Another non-native Japanese, Pablo, stated that he mostly used *watashi*, but with his friends he used *boku*:

> So, I'd probably still use *watashi* more than anything, just because it's polite. And as a human, I'd like to tend on the polite side in Japan…I think it sounds slightly feminine if men use it. The feminine aspect is related to politeness, because women are expected to

> be more passive and more polite than men. But obviously the word itself is not feminine or means female in any way, and men should use *watashi* in certain situations, or even use *watakushi* [a much politer version of *watashi*]. Obviously, if you're talking like that, you would be seen as a polite person.

From Pablo's statements, I sensed that he tended to err on the side of being polite. He explained this was because as a foreigner, he did not want to be regarded as rude. Pablo and Ken gave another reason why non-native male speakers of Japanese may have preferred these forms. They stated that their friends in graduate schools in Japan were mostly women, so they did not have many opportunities to encounter men's speech or to use men's speech. However, Ken noted that he sometimes tried to use men's speech rather than using speech which sounded feminine. Therefore, their choice of whether to use men's speech was made on a case-by-case basis rather than solely in terms of Japanese gender norms.

As for native speaker Yuichiro, he stated, "For students, it is always in accordance with the textbook. I call myself, *watashi*. Well, I use polite language. If it's between Japanese friends, I use *ore* or *boku*, and *daze* or *daroo*, so-called men's speech." Another native speaker, Hiroshi, stated he tend to default to *ore*, which is generally used by men in casual settings. He stated that if anything, he was a men's speech user, because in casual settings he tended to use men's sentence ending particles, such as *daze and daroo,* the same particles that Yuichiro used with his Japanese friends. Furthermore, Hiroshi reported that he used men's speech even with his students. In his advanced Japanese class, there were several heritage Japanese speakers. When he talked to those heritage speakers, he said that he used men's speech even more. Hiroshi stated, "I use men's speech with students a lot, and because of this, they learn real casual speech. It looks interesting for them to hear such speech that they have not heard before. They told me that I need

to talk more in that way." His students' preference for him to use men's speech is noteworthy and suggests that men's speech is under-represented in Japanese textbooks, but that students are eager to learn it. For example, Itakura (2008) points out that men's speech could be an "important device for forming solidarity with male Japanese colleagues and clients and thereby gaining a range of professional advantages in intercultural contexts" while demonstrating advanced linguistic skills. Therefore, Itakura (2008) noted that Japanese language learners could benefit from being taught men's speech.

Notably, however, Hiroshi did not use such men's speech in the interview, so I asked him why. He answered, "Since this is an interview, and well, this is the first time to speak to you. I think this is a formal situation. But in the future, I may be a little casual to be a little closer to you, but I feel that I may use words that would surprise you if I could talk stupidly in a more open way." That is, according to him, men's speech is mostly saved for more casual contexts.

In all, each first-person pronoun that was used by these native male instructors exactly aligned with the categories in Table 4-1. Both male native instructors used different speech in different situations in which various factors are intertwined, such as varying degrees of familiarity among interlocutors or contexts that conversations are performed.

Is Japanese sexist?

I will conclude this chapter with the instructors' answers to the question of whether Japanese is sexist. In unison, non-native Japanese instructors expressed that sexism more or less exists not only in Japanese but also in all languages. Pablo noted:

> I think probably the phenomenon of gendered speech does tie to sexism and patriarchy in all languages. Even English, which is not a gendered language, still has sort of a gender bias. Women tend to use more passive voice than active voice, things like this. So that's

> definitely from a patriarchal perspective. I think it was influenced by patriarchy and all cultures throughout history in the world. So far, I'm pretty sure every major culture in America or in the world has basically been patriarchal.

These instructors' perspectives echo those of scholars who have examined sexism in language. For example, Lakoff (2004) reported that women are "socialized to believe that asserting themselves strongly isn't nice or ladylike, or even feminine." According to Bolinger (1980), "Sexist language is an example of the way a culture or society transfers its values from one group to another and from one generation to the next. Sexist attitudes stereotype a person according to gender rather than individual merits." From Bolinger's viewpoint, indeed, Japanese gendered speech may fall into the category of sexist language.

In contrast with the non-native instructors, most of the native Japanese instructors did not think that Japanese was a sexist language; rather, they felt that the Japanese language reflects Japan's long multiple-stage history. However, Tomoko believed that it could be discriminatory to ask someone to speak women's or men's speech. She thought that imposing such a sanction on others was discrimination. Similarly, in looking at social media about Japanese gendered language, I found a thread on a Japanese online community platform, *hatsugenkomachi* (https://komachi.yomiuri.co.jp/topics/id/1110692/, 6/9/23), which was posted by a young girl. She complained that her mother always rebuked her because of her use of language. The mother frequently told her, "Because you are a girl, you need to use polite speech!" The young girl asked why only women or girls need to use polite language. Why are men or boys allowed to use more blunt speech? This case suggests that using gendered language is a form of internalized oppression that is passed along from mothers to daughters in the process of child rearing. Women such as this girl's mother perpetuate the notion that women need to be more polite and

that women are not allowed to act like men. The cause for women's being placed in a subordinate group may be rooted in the girl's own group, women.

CHAPTER 5

GENDERED SPEECH INSTRUCTION AND JAPANESE POP CULTURE

In this chapter I address the research questions, "How have the Japanese instructors taught or not taught gendered speech in their classes?" "What is the role of Japanese popular media (J-pop) in teaching gendered speech in their classrooms?"

I asked instructors to tell me more about their classroom contexts, perceptions about gendered speech instruction, and incorporation of J-pop in the classroom. I begin with a discussion of their textbooks because textbooks determine in part instructors' options for teaching about gendered speech in their classrooms.

Textbooks

Table 5.1 lists the textbooks that are used in the instructors' current courses and in their past courses.

Table 5.1: Textbooks used by instructors

	Genki	**Nihongo Quartet**	**Nakama**	**Japanese: The Spoken Language**	**Other**
Current	8	2	1	0	• Self-published textbook authored by other faculty in the department-1
Past	0	0	2	2	• Tobira-1

					• Yookoso-1 • Learn Japanese-1

Both textbooks, *Genki* (third edition, Banno, E.et al., 2021) and *Nihongo Quartet* (Yasui, A., et al., 2019), are relatively new. *Genki* is very frequently used in post-secondary Japanese courses worldwide. As the list shows, in the past, instructors used a variety of textbooks, but now *Genki* seems to predominate. I asked the instructors, "How does the textbook that is used in your classrooms address gendered speech?" Most instructors asserted that little gendered speech was found in their current textbooks, such as *Genki* or *Nihongo Quartet*. Tomoko stated that intention of the textbooks is to have students learn standard Japanese from the beginning, so deviations from standard Japanese, such as gendered speech or dialects, would not be appropriate for beginners. Yuichiro also mentioned that the stance of the authors of *Genki*, in order to avoid deviations from standard Japanese., remained the same towards gendered speech even in the newly published third edition. Maintaining neutrality may be one of the reasons why *Genki* is so popular in Japanese classrooms worldwide. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to *Genki*'s approach. For example, in *Genki*, gendered speech appears in the use of a first-person pronoun *boku* (equivalent to *I* in English and is used mostly by men) and in a conversation between a mother and daughter in which the mother was using a female sentence-ending particle *yo*.

Pablo, whose first language is Spanish, pointed out differing attitudes towards diversity between publishers of Japanese textbooks and publishers of Spanish textbooks:

> I don't think Japanese publishers' textbooks' goal is to explore gender and culture within the language. I think the content of the Japanese textbooks is pretty standard, though I

> would imagine more Spanish speaking textbooks right now focus on more inclusive content being such a big thing.

He also mentioned Japanese publishers' didactic attitudes, such as not including multiple cultural aspects of language, and he thought that such an issue would never become a topic unless the publisher felt there was a reason for it to be included. His perspectives toward Japanese textbooks are supported by Yoshida's (2023) study which found that the content of the popular textbook, *Genki,* does not deviate from the standard.

However, gendered speech is frequently observed in the textbook *Japanese spoken language* (Jordan & Noda, 1987) that was used by two of the instructors in the past. I had also used the textbook until recently. For example, the textbook shows a phrase that is used in a casual setting, "*ii wayo*" and explains the phrase as "which is feminine or gentle" (p.221). Hiroshi reflected about the content of such gendered speech:

> At that time, the book showed the very old forms; or example, male forms were used by males, and when it came to the polite word for women, it would be the so-called *Kyarago* [i.e., language used by specific characters in popular Japanese media or novels], the language of *Yamanote* [i.e., language thought to be used by daughters and wives in an upper middle-class area of Tokyo]. The textbook uses it. So that's what I taught. When I was teaching that, I didn't have much doubt about it. When they wrote the textbook, I heard that the professors at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics had already checked the dialogues on the textbook, so I think there were things like that of the era.

Maya mentioned that she used *Yookoso*! 2nd ed. (Tohsaku, 1999) in the past, which includes an explicit explanation of women's speech and a female sentence-final particle in an

additional grammatical note. The note states that the sentence final particle *no* is used mainly, but not exclusively, by female speakers and children. In contrast, the third edition of *Yookoso!* (Tohsaku, 2006) deleted that note from the book and took a more neutral stance. The third edition mentions gendered speech only in the personal pronoun section and explains, "[Personal] pronouns have varying levels of politeness, and some are used only by or in reference to women or men, so you must be careful in selecting which pronouns use."

In all, instructors felt that a trend appears to exist in the newer textbooks, including *Genki* and *Nihongo Quartet*, to use less gendered speech than the older textbooks, such as *Japanese Spoken Language* or *Yookoso!* 2nd edition. The changes in these textbooks seem to parallel trends towards modern Japanese women's empowerment and reorganization of gender roles (Takasaki, 1988, Inoue, 2006).

Teaching gendered speech

Instructors' perspectives

I also asked the instructors whether and how they taught gendered speech features in their classrooms. Most of the instructors answered that since the first-person pronoun *boku* was introduced relatively early in the *Genki* textbook (Chapter 5), they have taught that pronoun. For example, female native Japanese Chieko stated, "Well, it [*boku*] is in the chapter of the textbook, and it is also included in the vocabulary quiz, so I teach it as the textbook writes, but after that, I do not teach it separately. I don't tell them when to use it unless asked." Another female native Japanese, Haruko, reflected that when she taught casual forms to her students for the first time, she often explained specific sentence ending particles that students would often hear, such as ___*dawa* and____ *yo* that are used by women.

In terms of the non-native Japanese instructors, Pablo described teaching the first-person pronoun *boku*:

> They introduced the word *boku,* and in parentheses next to the word, I think it says "male". So I will teach it to my students. This is not a male word. *Boku* does not mean male version of *I.* It is just used mostly by men comparatively and is more accepted in social situations by men than women.

Non-native Ken, who himself uses *boku*, "Mostly, the gendered speech I teach them is, if you're a man you can use *boku* or *ore* which are more casual [than *watashi*]." From these non-native male instructors' statements, non-native male instructors tended to clearly explain how gendered speech, in this case *boku,* is used and in which contexts.

However, one instructor insisted on not teaching gendered speech. Maya answered,

> I don't teach them at all. About 20 years ago, there was a section explaining that the specific ending particle was used by women in textbooks. I may have mentioned that, but I've never done it with a drill or anything like that. I don't teach students that women use these words.

She intentionally tried to avoid teaching gendered speech.

Japanese native male Hiroshi, who had worked at an institution in a Middle Eastern country for three years, shed a different light on teaching gendered speech. He reflected that his stance on teaching gendered language at an institution in the Middle East had been different from his current U.S. teaching stance. The students in his Japanese courses there had all been female students who wore hijabs, and sex-segregated education was the norm, so his teaching approach had to accommodate the culture of the country:

I don't really know what the real Arab culture is, but men are only men and women are only women for the people of the country. Therefore, from the beginning, I taught, “You are women, so these are the words used by women.” And I taught that there was men’s speech as well.

After analyzing instructors’ responses to questions about gendered speech instruction in individual interviews, I sought to arrive at more specific answers about how they would actually teach. Therefore, for the small group meetings I selected a listening comprehension dialogue from the most recent edition of the *Genki* workbook (Banno, et al., 2021) to play for the instructors to elicit their reflections as to how they would incorporate gendered speech into their curriculum and teaching practices. In contrast to the textbook, the *Genki* workbook occasionally features gendered speech in listening comprehension dialogues. Interestingly, in the textbook, the authors maintained their neutral-inclined stance by continuing to use formal styles, but in the workbook, they frequently used casual styles for dialogues.

The following is the script of the dialogue played at the meetings. It features a couple, Taro and Hanako. Bold letters indicate gendered speech which is used by Taro as men’s speech and by Hanako as women’s speech.

Taro：Hanako san, suki**dayo**. (Hanako, I love you.)

Hanako: arigatoo Taro san. **watashi** mo Taro san ga suki**yo**. (Thank you, Taro. I love you, too.)

Taro: hayaku Hanako san to kekkon shitai. **boku** ga mainichi oishii asagohan o tsukutte age**ruyo**. (I want to marry you as soon as possible. I will make a delicious breakfast every day.)

Hanako: asaokitatoki, beddo de koohii ga nomitai. (When I wake up, I want to drink coffee in bed.)

Taro: jyaa maiasa, koohii de hanakosan o okoshiteage**ruyo**. (Then, I will wake you up with coffee.)

Hanako: arigatoo. Ano, Taroo san. (Thank you, Well, Taro…)

Taro: doo shitano. (What?)

Hanako: **watashi** sooji ga sukijya nai**no**. (I am not good at cleaning.)

Taro: shinpai shinaide. **boku** ga shiteagerukara. (Don't worry. I will do it for you.)

Hanako: hontoo? Jyaa **watashi** kaimono suru. Tokidoki kaisugirukedo, kaimono nara dekirutoomou. (Are you sure? Then I will be doing groceries.)

Taro: ano, Hanako san. **boku** no shatsu ni airon wo kaketekureru? Kaisha de Hanako san ga airon o kaketekureta shatsu o kitainn**da**. (Hanako, will you iron my shirts? I want to wear the shirts you iron.)

Hanako: ee, iikedo. Sentaku wa shite**ne**. (Yes, I will, but please do the laundry.)

Taro: Un. (Ok.)

Maya had a strong negative reaction towards this dialogue. She maintained that no modern Japanese women talk like Hanako these days, so her speech sounded like a parody or a conversation in anime. Maya stated, "So, in the old days, when there was no Internet, I think students would have thought women had to talk like this, but now, students say, 'Haha, parody. Haha, that's terrible.' I guess students think like that." However, Kanako disagreed with Maya's opinion. Kanako pointed out that students might not be able to determine whether such Japanese poems or songs were semantically and phonologically authentic, so they would likely not be able

to determine if conversations in the *Genki* workbook were really used in native Japanese speakers' daily lives as well.

Other instructors in the small group meetings also noted that contemporary Japanese women no longer use such apparent women's speech. The instructors also suggested example instructions and additional semantics and contextual information that they might provide to their students if they used the sample dialogue in their classrooms. For example, one said, "Let students know that gendered speech exists in Japanese. This is a wonderful opportunity to inform students of the existence of gendered speech." Another said that they might "Present a different version of the dialogue which accurately reflects the current language use of native speakers. Make students aware of the difference between real language use and fictional use" (e.g., real language use vs. languages that is used in Japanese pop culture). A third said that instructors might "Elicit students' intercultural awareness by pointing out Taro and Hanako's gender roles which may be different from those of American men and women. For example, Taro wants to wear a shirt without wrinkles as a male office worker, so he asks Hanako to iron his shirt. Taro expects Hanako to be a traditional Japanese housewife, but the conversation ends contrary to Taro's expectations."

It is important to clarify that most of the instructors insisted that they did not teach students to use gendered speech, but instead they taught about the cultural perceptions of gendered speech. The instructors explained to students in which context gendered speech was generally used. Non-native Pablo described his perspectives about gendered speech instruction and the importance of politeness in Japan:

> I don't specifically teach gender language. I teach about the perception of gender language in Japan and tell my students that they can use any pronouns they want because

> they all mean *I* and that's it. We would just use certain ones in certain situations. I teach about politeness a lot, and we definitely focus a lot on being polite in Japan, because that's how Japanese works.

Native Japanese speaker Tomoko also emphasized the need to avoid causing students to have assumptions which maintain that men and women should use only assigned gendered speech. Since she teaches a sociolinguistics class called “Japanese Language and Society” in addition to teaching regular language classes, she explained more about gendered speech in the sociolinguistics class than in regular language classes:

> Although men often use *boku*, it does not mean that women should not use *boku*. However, in Japan, men’s speech and female speech exist which include speech forms that men tend to use and other forms of speech that women tend to use. I would say that by using this, you may be judged as masculine or feminine. However, if I go too deeply about that topic, I will run out of time. In that normal language class, I stop at that point.

Most of the instructors pointed out that their classes did not have sufficient time to teach additional cultural or contextual backgrounds beyond language instruction. According to the statements by the instructors, their classes met only three to four and a half hours per week on average. Within those hours, the instructors are required to teach three to six chapters out of the total twelve chapters of the *Genki* textbook, so it makes sense that they cannot spend much time explaining the intricate backgrounds of linguistic deviations in addition to teaching standard Japanese language.

Lastly, one native female instructor, Amy, took an overtly feminist perspective about students’ need to learn gendered speech:

> I'm a gender studies person. And there's actually there's an English language manga. It's not a Japanese manga called Magical Girl *Ore*, and it's about a Trans Boy. So he was assigned female at birth. But he is a boy inside, and he's told. No, you're a magical girl, and he's like, no, I'm not. I'm a boy. I'm a magical boy, so it's about gender and stuff. I think students need to understand it in order to understand like, what's going on. They love talking about this stuff. I think it's really interesting. I mean, they're also American. So they talk a lot about gender stuff, and they're fascinated by it.

Amy's expressly feminist stance clearly informed her perspective on gendered speech instruction. This is congruent with Yoshihara (2017)'s study (see Chapter 2) which revealed that the instructor's feminist stance is associated with their adoption of a critical feminist pedagogy.

Overall, the instructors evidenced a variety of perspectives about gendered speech instruction. Non-native Japanese instructors reported a slightly greater tendency to teach about how Japanese people use gendered speech (e.g., *boku* or *ore*) and in which contexts. Nevertheless, I did not find any clear associations between gendered speech instruction and instructors' backgrounds, such as gender and native or non-native speakers. However, their perspectives varied depending on their teaching stances which had been nurtured by their various experiences of teaching Japanese or living in Japan.

Students' reactions to gendered language instruction

I also asked instructors how students reacted when they were taught some sort of gendered speech. Maya reflected on her students' lack of reactions: "It was like, 'oh.. really.', that was it. I didn't tell girls they needed to say that women's speech. It [her instruction] was just like giving information and that's all."

However, other instructors pointed out students' various reactions when they encountered gendered speech for the first time. For example, Tomoko stated that every year she taught the first-person pronouns, such as *boku* or *watashi*, they asked her "what do you mean?" and kept asking if they should use *boku* or *watashi*. Many instructors also mentioned that male students asked them how to differentiate *boku* and *ore* when they learned *boku*. This jibes with my own experience as an instructor, in which many male students have used *ore* for writing assignments even though I never taught the word in the class. According to the instructors, and also in my case, students mentioned that they frequently encountered use of *ore* by male characters in manga or anime. Indeed, Japanese pop culture's influence on our students is remarkable.

From my own teaching experience, I surmised that Japanese pop culture may be a key factor in gendered speech instruction because of its popularity and the characters' diverse and cross-gender language use (e.g., Sakurai, 2001). Therefore, the next section presents the instructors' perspectives regarding the incorporation of Japanese pop culture into their classrooms. Later in the section, approaches to teaching gendered speech while embracing students' diverse identities with J-pop as a resource will be explored.

The power of Japanese pop culture

Most of the instructors remarked that they watched or read some sort of Japanese pop culture (e.g., anime, manga, television programs, films, games). The medium that the majority of the instructors used was YouTube, but other streaming platforms were also used. Yuichiro, who majored in mass media to study pop culture and its trends, had worked for a television station in Japan. Therefore, he was very interested in Japanese pop culture (J-pop) trends and actively sought out a variety of Japanese films and TV shows via Netflix, Hulu, Amazon prime, and Crunchyroll (a platform for anime). Non-native Ken used TV Japan which is a Japanese TV

channel that is broadcast in the U.S., to watch *asadora* (popular dramas broadcast in the morning by Japanese public broadcaster NHK). Playing old Japanese games, such as *famikon* (a videogame console created by the game company *Nintendo*) was another of his favorite J-pop related pastimes.

Native Japanese Hiroshi suggested that J-pop's distinguishing characteristics attract audiences and listeners worldwide. He used the example of Tatsuro Yamashita, who is a Japanese singer songwriter. While he was most active in the 1980s, he still seems popular among not only Japanese listeners but also listeners worldwide. Hiroshi stated,

> I'm a big fan of Tatsuro Yamashita and listen to his songs a lot. I'm not sure if Japan was doing something that was ahead of its time a very long time ago, or if it was like the so-called Galapagos syndrome which was like that you dig up what you think is good, dig and dig, dig and dig, and get out to the other side of the world, and meet new people. But I think that Yamashita was strongly influenced by American pop, and he mixed it with Japanese songs and polished it to his heart's content.

"Galapagos syndrome" refers to the notion of a form of Japanese perfectionism which has been developed and cherished while being secluded from other countries or societies. The term is generally used negatively to describe the phenomenon of pursuing perfection to answer Japanese people's demands even at the risk of incompatibility with global markets. However, in his statement, Hiroshi cited the word in a more positive way and suggested that Japanese pop music was popular because of how it mixed cultural influences and was developed through a protracted creative process.

In addition to Japanese pop music, Hiroshi drew on another example, *Fune o amu* (English title: The great passage), which is a story about editors, who have great love for words, dedicate themselves to the creation of a new dictionary:

> It's almost like you can find such a story only in Japan. That's my impression. It would be nice if the craftsmen could work hard to satisfy what they pursue and they can live with that. Then if you put it in the public, everyone thinks it is amazing. I'd like to think that's the kind of Japanese craftmanship image I have.

This instructor's comment echoes some of the literature about why J-pop has been so popular. Craig (2000), for example, stated one facet of J-pop is "an extraordinarily high standard of artistic skill and craftmanship." Also, J-pop's innovativeness and creativity heavily rely on "the cross-fertilization between old and new, native and foreign, one genre and another" (Craig, 2000) like Yamashita did.

Gender roles in Japanese pop culture

In this section, I explore the instructors' answers to the question, "How does pop culture either reflect or resist traditional gender roles?" The instructors mostly thought that characters in J-pop mirrored traditional gender roles. For example, native Japanese Chieko stated that in anime and manga, women's body shape was overly emphasized by writers, and stereotypical men's speech and women's speech, which are likely no longer used by modern Japanese people, were assigned to each character. What Chieko mentioned was congruent with the idea of *Yakuwarigo* ('role language') by Kinsui (2003) that characters' languages vary depending on the characters' attributes in J-pop. In general, female characters give the impression that they are polite and feminine by using women's speech, and male characters give the impression of being energetic and blunt by using men's speech.

However, while traditional gender roles are evident in J-pop, instructors occasionally found different images of women in J-pop characters. For example, Pablo noted that movies by the celebrated animator and director Hayao Miyazaki through Studio Ghibli (n.d.) present strong female characters by taking initiatives on several occasions. Pablo noted,

> I think Miyazaki was always, maybe trying to say, you know basically being a feminist without having to say he's a feminist, if that makes sense, because his characters are always very strong women who are, you know, kicking butt, doing impressive things. And I grew up with that as well. So maybe that was part of the part of what shaped my understanding of how women could be in Japan, or it could be perceived. through some of his characters.

Ken also mentioned TV drama in connection with strong female characters. NHK's *asadora* ('drama'), popular morning drama, tends to feature strong-willed female characters as protagonists. Ken mentioned, "There are a lot of female protagonists in *asadora*. They often do things that contradict what maybe they're supposed to do. For example, the current *asadora*'s setting is an airplane company." Freedman (2018) noted that "these dramas [*asadora*] exemplify the ethic that hard work and perseverance will be rewarded even under difficult situations. Indeed, the *asadora,* titled M*aiagare* [Fly high], that Ken noted depicted the female protagonist's efforts to establish a company while overcoming a great deal of obstacles.

Haruko drew on an example of anime in which a young female character was using *boku* as her first-person pronoun. The female character displayed characteristics that opposed those of traditional female characters. Haruko stated that the female character was depicted as a middle school aged young girl who has what the Japanese call *chuunibyoo* ('middle school second year syndrome'). *Chuunibyoo* is not a real disease, but a phenomenon in which early teenagers

pretend to be disaffected or badly behaved to say, “I do not conform to the rules of society” because of their excessive delusion or self-consciousness. Such specific traits are common in teenagers (Orikon news, 2015). It is evident that this *chuunibyoo*-like language use in the J-pop that was mentioned by Haruko reflected the recent phenomenon of junior high schoolers’ cross-gender first person pronoun usage that was investigated by Miyazaki (2004) and was cited in the literature review, Chapter 2.

Japanese pop culture as teaching materials in classrooms

All instructors reflected that they implemented some sort of Japanese pop culture in their Japanese as a foreign language classroom in the U.S. J-pop is popular for young American people, and students can access it easily thanks to the Internet. Even though instructors stated that they never taught men’s speech in their classes, blunt pronouns mostly used by men, such as *ore*, *omae* (second person pronoun), and *kisama* (second person pronoun), were occasionally used by students. The instructors suspected that students acquired such words from manga or anime that they read or watched without knowing the contexts in which Japanese people use these forms in the real world. The following is the statement by Ken regarding his attempts to attract students’ interests by showing a PowerPoint in which a scene of manga was embedded:

> I often use manga to show examples of grammar points they're doing before class begins. I have a PowerPoint that has some manga frames or sentences from NHK News. If my students didn't know or care about manga at all, I probably wouldn't use it. But because so many of them like pop culture, I think using it keeps them interested.

Pablo stated that J-pop is a good source of material to teach not-so-popular Japanese culture or history which is mostly not taught in textbooks. For instance, characters of Hayao Miyazaki’s movie *Princess Mononoke* are thought to depict Japanese indigenous people, the

Ainu. Pablo and Ken utilized innovative and profound teaching strategies, such as incorporating manga-embedded PowerPoint or Miyazaki's movies in the classrooms, that other native speaking instructors did not mention. These practices are consistent with the findings of the study by Mori (2020) who stated that non-native speaking instructors can show innovative strategies by providing metacognitive instruction.

The instructors' statements can be categorized into two major reasons why they utilized J-pop as their teaching material which was beneficial to the instruction of gendered speech. The first was showing a variety of speech which was not in the textbook. For example, Haruko observed:

> I often emphasize whether they [sentences or quotes in J-pop] are used in reality or not. After all, there is an anime about Demon Slayer, which is popular, but if I talk about it, I emphasize that the era is Taisho, so the words they are using are definitely old words, so there are many words that modern Japanese would never use. So, the reason why they are using those words is because the times are different.

Similarly, Hiroshi said that the textbook didn't necessarily indicate to students that:

> There is something called women's speech and men's speech. Moreover, there is a possibility that it is actually a character language (role language). There is a language which is different from the *Genki* textbook that they learn.

Instructors also used J-pop to elicit students' cultural (or critical language) awareness. For example, Instructor Yuichiro said, "Well, I use that [J-pop]to go deeper, for example, the historical background or the social background of Japanese pop culture. I often delve into that and use that J-pop to gradually introduce Japan's deeper cultural values. For example, I use manga or anime."

Tomoko reported, “I use them in sociolinguistics classes. Showing a scene as a teaching material, I ask what kind of feminine language is there or men’s? How is it used? “Amy tied J-pop to gender and media studies by saying, “So, in media studies, it's really important to talk about gendered speech. It [J-pop] expresses certain characteristics, too. So silly, young, old, strict, Yakuza [Japanese gangster], you know, like, whatever it's like expressing. So, though at a very superficial level, I teach it as a kind of element to media studies. I would say, yeah, we're analyzing gender and media.”

Tomoko and Amy have taught sociolinguistics-related classes and so have a special interest in language variation. According to their statements, it seems that instructors who are teaching such classes benefit from the use of J-pop because of the role language that characters use. Implementation of J-pop into classrooms could make students aware that Japanese has gendered speech. Moreover, it could promote students’ critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1992) of a strong connection between speech and societal norms in Japan.

CHAPTER 6

DETACHING *GENGOSHIGEN* (LANGUAGE RESOURCES) FROM GENDER NORMS

This chapter addresses the research question, "Do Japanese instructors believe it is possible for students to negotiate languages to shape their identities by detaching *gengoshigen* ('language resources') from gender norms?" Instructors' perceptions about *gengoshigen* are investigated.

Can *gengoshigen* be detached from gendered identities?

At the small group meetings, I read two excerpts that elaborated on Japanese linguist Nakamura's (2010) notion of *gengoshigen*, or language resources, and the idea of mismatching use between language and identities. The first excerpt is from Nakamura.

Excerpt 1

> わたしたちが　言語行為によって　さまざまなアイデンティティーを表現しているとすれば、社会には言語行為に先立ってアイデンティティーを表現するための材料、つまり言語資源があることになる。そのひとつに　特定の言葉づかいと特定の集団のむすびつきがある。日本では、"わたしおなかへったわ"は、女性性、"おれ、ハラへったぞ。"は男性性とむすびついている。ジェンダーだけではない。わたしたちは　さまざまな　年齢、職業、出身地域、階級の集団と結びついた言葉づかいの知識をもっていて、これらの知識を資源として利用することでさまざまなアイデンティティーを表現する。同時にこの資源には　今ある資源しか使えないという制限もある。制限があるから　創造が生まれる。私たちは、かぎ

られたアイデンティティと結びついた資源をさまざまに組み合わせたり、ずらしたりしながら、多様なアイデンティティーを表現するというう形をとる。（中村桃子：ジェンダーと言語学、２０１０）

[If we express various identities through the speech act, then society has materials to express identities before the speech act, that is, the linguistic resources (gengoskigen). One of them is the connection between the use of specific language and certain groups. In Japan, watashi onakahetta wa (I'm hungry) links with femininity, ore hara hettazo (I'm hungry) links with masculinity. It's not just about gender. We have knowledge of ways of using languages associated with groups of different ages, occupations, regions, and classes, and we use this knowledge as a resource to express different identities. At the same time, this resource has limitations in that we can use only existing resources. Because there are limitations, creativity is born. We express diverse identities by combining and shifting resources linked to limited identities in various ways (Nakamura, 2010).]

The second excerpt below is from Arimori (2020), who used Nakamura's notion of *gengoshigen* to advocate for inclusive Japanese classrooms.

Excerpt 2

When discussing gendered expression and identity, the concept of *gengoshigen* (Nakamura 2007), or language resource, is useful. This language resource is an aggregate of various speech styles from which an individual chooses a certain way to speak depending on the identity they want to express in a given situation. For example, in everyday practice the same individual speaks differently as a parent, a friend, a customer, a professional, and so forth. Nakamura extends this concept of language resource to

> gendered expression and regards male language and female language as elements of *gengoshigen* to which everybody, regardless of gender, has equal access. While the essentialist view of language assumes that men and women speak differently because of their sex or gender, this social constructivist concept enables us to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express our diverse identities. By introducing the concept of *gengoshigen* into the classroom, we can provide space for learners to explore, negotiate, and establish their gender and sexual identities in Japanese (Arimori, 2020).

After reading the two excerpts, I asked instructors, "Do you think that it's possible to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express diverse identities, as Arimori wrote? If so, how can we achieve this goal in our classrooms?" There was some difference in opinion between the two small groups on this topic, so here I discuss their opinions separately.

Small Group 1

The instructors in Group 1 generally felt that detaching language from gender in instruction might be difficult, but this process could be possible. Kanako compared Japanese learners' nonnormative language usage with her own use of profanity as an ESL speaker:

> I saw Americans doing it many times, then I thought, oh, at times like this, with this kind of expression, in this kind of tone, swear word [F-word] is not going to upset the other person, it's going to be something that they can laugh with, and how to put it, who will judge, and so on. Even if you know it, I think it's difficult to learn it unless you actually used many times, so for example, students who actually use *zo*, *wa*, or *boku* may be able to achieve the effect they want. Or because language is something that you use to talk to someone and use with someone, if the other person reacts the way you think they do, you would think "yes!". But… if the other person is like, "Huh?", I think that you haven't

> mastered it yet, or haven't mastered how to use it. I think it may be possible to detach *gengoshigen* from gender norms, and, also, I want students to be able to experience it, but I think it's difficult.

Pablo suggested if the authors of the textbooks could include a supplemental chapter on a variety of speech in a textbook in addition to standard language, students could explore various speech registers in order to express exactly what they want:

> If somebody were to put out a supplemental chapter on all types of ways that you could express the same ideas, I think that would be really cool to implement in the classroom. Just make an example sentence. And then here's how you could express it, more masculine or aggressive, and more soft and more passive, and then show them to students. And then students could analyze that. And just show students that these are options, because that typically doesn't come up in a textbook…… If you don't know what your options are, you're going to default to whatever one thing you are taught.

Both Kanako and Pablo supported Arimori's idea, "to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express our diverse identities," if learners could have various opportunities to learn and utilize such resources.

Maya mentioned that she also supported showing students a variety of speech by drawing on the notion of agency: "So, I always encourage student's agency and I always present knowledge of various types of speech. So, [Japanese pronouns for] *he* uses this and that, and then you choose." However, she shed new light on Arimori's idea by citing Bonny Norton's theory of language and social capital. Norton (2019) stated, "Learners invest in the target language if they anticipate acquiring a wider range of symbolic and material resources that will increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. Investment thus signals a learner's commitment to learn

a language, given their hopes for the future and their imagined identities." Based on Norton's idea, Maya insisted that it is a well-established fact that obtaining social capital is important for nonnative speakers who become sojourners in another society:

> However, I always agree that it is difficult for students to understand unless they experience it in Japan. To my students, I always tell them because there are consequences to the use of languages which does not fit common sense or values of Japanese society, so they should use them responsibly at their own risk. Well, even if an American student goes to Japan and says "~*no* [this sentence ending particle should be used only in informal contexts.]," everyone may say "Oh, because you are a foreigner." It is because of elite bilingualism. But if immigrants living in Japan say *soonano*, they won't have access to social capital.

Guerrero (2010) defined elite bilingualism as "people choosing the language they want to learn" and is often associated with sojourners, people who will visit but not make their lives in other societies. However, its counterpart, folk bilingualism, is "the result of the contact of ethnic groups who have to become bilingual involuntarily in order to survive; here they do not have a choice, they just have to learn the language of the setting where they live." That is, Maya characterized language learning situations of American learners in Japan as elite bilingualism and language learning situations of immigrants who are living in Japan as folk bilingualism. Proponents of only one unified, standard language tend to marginalize languages which are variants of standard language that are used primarily by immigrants. Heinrich (2012) pointed out that Japan was no exception to language nationalism after the Meiji restoration (1868) to establish a modern nation-state. Heinrich (2012) also noted that such modern ideology of language was "strengthening and promoting the center while neglecting the margin which has

ethnic, geographical, social and linguistic aspects" (p. 175). Indeed, if such national language idealism still exists in Japan, students need to defy being treated as a visitor in order to pursue social capital.

Pablo also supported Maya's opinion: "If you speak like X, you are going to be like X right? Because that gets you further in life. It makes you more successful. That's not agency anymore."

In sum, Group 1 ended up with the position that even though it might be possible for Japanese learners to detach *gengoshigen* from societal norms by learning a variety of speech via Japanese instruction, at the same time, there was the risk that they could not access social capital. They stated that there were two choices for Japanese learners. One was conforming to societal norms to access social capital, and the other is taking risks and resisting societal norms to pursue a variety of identities.

Small group 2

The instructors in Group 2 gave me a variety of opinions after reading the two excerpts. Ken, who has used the *Japanese Spoken Language* textbook (Jordan & Noda, 1987), mentioned that the textbook posits two different kinds of speech, gentle and blunt. The textbook asserts, "We have a continuum, which ranges from language which is markedly blunt, virile, tough, and aggressive through a neutral point to style which is markedly gentle, empathetic, and soft. The extremes are those few patterns used almost exclusively by one sex or other," but "there are occasions when men use a softer, more emphatic style of the kind traditionally identified as 'feminine' and occasions when women elect to speak in a rougher, blunter, 'masculine' style" (p.228). Ken wondered if the concept that Nakamura (2010) and Arimori (2020) noted might be similar to what Jordan & Noda (1987) explained.

Yuasa (2009) studied the relationship among gender, politeness, and voice pitch. She drew on the 1995 *New York Times* article by Kristof which revealed that women's voices raise when they want to be polite. The counterparts, Japanese men tend to use "deep-voiced, rough-style of speaking" (p.139) to emphasize the masculinity of their speech. However, the Japanese men use wider pitch range voice (higher voice) in speaking to more inner-circle interlocutors to create camaraderie. Japanese speakers change their voices in order to show respect or solidarity by responding to social expectations. Tomoko agreed with Ken's opinion, but she wondered if it is possible to explain all connections between speech and femininity or masculinity elaborately. Japanese teachers might have to spend a great amount of time to show such connections one by one. For example, Japanese teachers need to teach sentence-ending particles, *yo, wa* or *ne,* which make sentences gentle and to connect with femininity:

> I think we can probably take some time to teach the original meaning of gendered speech and then detach it from gender. I think that will require a fairly high level of knowledge and comprehension from students.

Haruko wondered if instructors could teach such intricate connections or limitations that native speakers have known since they were children. She thought that the scope of such detailed content may fall beyond language classes. Haruko stated:

> As it is written in Nakamura (2010), there is a restriction that you can only use what is in the resource, there is a restriction that the gentle speech used by women is *wa*, and the word which is blunt used by men is *zo*. Therefore, we pick it up and use it within the restriction. I think it's certainly important to be able to do that correctly. However, I think it is difficult to teach them how to pick them, and to teach them which ones to use for a

> situation. This is more about studying identity than language. I feel like this is a bit out of the language class.

In addition, Haruko emphasized that Japanese teachers need to teach students the negative impact that cross-gender language use can create. The students might give the impression of being impolite and that there is a risk that they may be thought of as a person lacking common sense of conventional use of the Japanese language. Her statement is consistent with the statement of Maya in Group 1.

In my interview with Haruko, I offered my opinion that Arimori's idea of detaching *gengoshigen* from gender norms was consistent with the concept of *Boku*-girls (Nishida, 2011; Endo, 2018) in which girls used men's first pronoun, *boku* in terms of cross-gender language usage. They use "a unique speech style and its associated group identity can be constructed by manipulating the gender-based linguistic boundaries" (Endo, 2018). In response, Haruko said:

> I often say to my students that Japanese people are sensitive to TPO [The place and occasion], and they change the way they speak for different contexts. That's why *boku* girls don't say *boku* every day, but they may say *watashi* in the office. Even the man who uses *ore* in his daily life would use *boku* or *watashi* when he goes to work.

In sum, in contrast to Group 1, most of the instructors of Group 2 reflected that it might not be easy for students to separate *gengoshigen* from societal norms, because to do so, within limited instruction times, instructors would need to show both a variety of speech and how that speech is used in a variety of social contexts. An instructor was also worried that students would be confused by being taught such a variety of speech styles and their backgrounds in addition to the standard Japanese in textbooks. The students' mastery of Japanese may not be sufficient to

obtain a great command of mismatching of language resources and subjectivities that may be expected by Japanese society.

However, Group 2 did not agree completely on this issue. Hiroshi provided a different insight about teaching students a variety of speech,

> I don't know what the proper Japanese is, but there is a consensus that we should teach what students can use which is not embarrassing when they are in Japan. However, maybe such an idea is extra care like by father or mother. I sometimes think a little bit about whether such instruction is like the care of meddling parents. I wonder if students are envisioning learning Japanese that includes things which may not be so-called proper Japanese.

Indeed, I would suggest that our students, non-native speakers of Japanese, would expect that learning Japanese may extend beyond standard Japanese in our classes. Students have already encountered a variety of speech forms via media, such as anime and manga, so they may have more interest in those language variants.

As a summary, the most instructors in Group 2 stated that it might be difficult to teach a variety of speech forms during their regular class time, but at the same time an instructor reflected that students actually want to learn such speech which is frequently found in Japanese media.

In the next section, I will explore non-native Japanese speakers' potential to be able to utilize a form of speech which is not molded by societal norms.

Rhizomatic potentialities of nonnative Japanese speakers

In interviews I asked instructors **"**Do you think that non-native speakers might have more latitude in choosing whether they use gendered speech?" Instructors generally agreed that they

do. Haruko, a native Japanese instructor mentioned that native Japanese instructors might be more sensitive in terms of the forms of language that are used in classrooms than non-native instructors might be. She stated that the native Japanese instructors might always think that they should use *watashi,* which could be used by everyone as a standard first-person pronoun. Native Japanese instructors tended to follow language use which was found in textbooks. Haruko stated that she tried to use formal or standard Japanese in her classrooms, and when she was outside of her classrooms, she used more casual Japanese in private situations.

Another native Japanese speaker, Sakiko, pointed out differences between native and non-native speakers in terms of aspects of linguistic and metalinguistic processing. She noted that non-native speakers' semantic language processing differed from that of native speakers, who acquired the language from birth without paying much attention to their own language use.

> I think that people who speak Japanese natively all acquired the language on an unconscious level. But somehow, Japanese learners learn the language one by one by processing it in their consciousness, so those who don't like it (gendered speech) probably try to eliminate them. Especially those who are influenced by the Western feminist approach.

Indeed, non-native speaker Amy's statement supported Sakiko's opinion. Amy, who explicitly claimed a standpoint as a feminist, mentioned that she intentionally avoided using speech which was too feminine when she spoke Japanese while studying in Japan. Speaking about her own experiences in Japan, she also found that non-native speakers had freedom of language choice:

> When native speakers are speaking to each other, there's nuance and very specific word choices that they can sense or pick up on. It's very subtle. So, I think there is little word choice among native speakers. Everybody notices, and you know it's a tone of voice. It's

> a pause before you pick the word *you*. You can hear it when you're a native speaker. But as a non-native speaker, I'm just trying to be understood. I also think if I do something creative, like saying *ore* or *boku,* I do feel that native speakers will think, "Oh, she made a mistake" like it won't be interpreted the same way. I think I do feel freedom in choosing language. I also think I feel some freedom from hierarchy because gendered speech to me is connected to hierarchical speech.

One Japanese language and gender researcher, Meryl Siegal (personal communication, 2023), similarly observed that she did not pay much attention to how she used gendered speech in Japanese because she was focused primarily on avoiding errors and being understood by others. In Amy's case, she felt that a particular kind of agency was associated with being a non-native speaker and a freedom to reject both women's speech use and the patriarchal hierarchy of Japanese society. Ken also noted that when he studied abroad for the first time, he did not think about using gendered speech because he thought that his Japanese skill level was not as good as native level at that time. Another non-native speaker, Pablo, provided his perspective regarding non-native speaker latitude:

> I have good friends. With them I'll change languages for fun. Sometimes it's fun just to speak as a foreigner which is different. It's fun to use any old pronouns, such as *ware, wagahai,* you know, just for fun with your friends. They're [the Japanese people] not going to be offended by it. It's kind of fun just to change because it's something we don't have in the English language. So, it's fun to change in the Japanese language.

The first-person pronouns *Ware* and *wagahai* that were mentioned by Pablo are generally thought of as archaic pronouns that are no longer used by modern Japanese people. They are now only found in novels, anime, manga, and TV dramas that are set in historical eras. Therefore, if

modern people use those pronouns currently, they may sound comical, and Pablo enjoyed playing on words by using somewhat comical first-person pronouns. Through their statements above, Amy and Pablo attested that non-native speakers had more latitude in choosing non-normative language, including use of gendered speech or not, without being perceived as impolite or offensive as a native Japanese speaker might. Their opinions concur with Kramsch (2003), who noted that non-native speakers have advantages and contributions that native speakers cannot have: "Users of tongues other than their own can reveal unexpected ways of dealing with the cross-cultural crashes they encounter as they mitigate between languages. Far more interesting are the multiple possibilities of self-expression of language."

The following statement by Hiroshi summarizes the potential of our students as non-native speakers:

> When students start using the Japanese they learned, I wonder if there is a possibility that people who are not native speakers will find different ways of saying *watashi* 'I' which was not found in the original Japanese. Well, native speakers may deny this, but whenever students are constantly asking me how they should express *watashi* 'I', I begin to think there is such a possibility. I also really feel that when they become accustomed to the Japanese environment where this kind of bomb exploded, some new and unimaginable *watashi* 'I' would be born. I understand students' expectations towards Japanese instruction by me, and I would say, "Since you guys are already talking about Japanese, I'm trying my best to tell you that because you're a member, you should think about it together. I don't know if that's correct, though."

That is, Hiroshi implied that his students might be able to find a new use of *watashi* 'I' that native Japanese speakers have not imagined. In his vision, there would be two opposite

environments (situations) for students. One would be the instructor's classroom where they would learn Japanese and explore language forms. The other would be their future lives in Japan where they would use Japanese that they had learned. In his Japanese classroom, Hiroshi would ponder with his students about how to use Japanese gendered speech forms in ways which suited students' identities. Such knowledge could then become foundational language resources which could be adeptly utilized by students in Japan. Exploring various Japanese words, speech and pragmatics, Japanese learners would be able to find unexpected speech use. Mixing and mismatching Japanese, they would find the best way to express themselves.

Instructors stated that it might not be easy for students to detach *gengoshigen* from gender norms because of the Japanese society's expectations of gender normativity and the deficiency of adequate Japanese language proficiency as non-native speakers. However, instructors nonetheless felt that they should teach students a variety of Japanese speech registers, so the students could expand their foundational proficiency for their future lives in Japan. Learning a variety of experiences by using Japanese, students might be able to find different ways of using Japanese which would be consistent with their identities without feeling the conscious or unconscious limitations that native speakers may always feel.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation evolved from my own questions and concerns about teaching Japanese gendered speech as a Japanese language instructor at an American university. I have always tried to create an inclusive environment for every student, but I have been concerned that some students may feel uncomfortable encountering speech which has a strong connection with Japanese society's patriarchy. For those students, is teaching gendered speech beneficial? Such a seemingly insoluble question was a driving force for this study. In this study, I examined how other Japanese instructors perceived gendered speech and its role in their instruction. A methodological framework using grounded theory and Clarke's (2005) situational analysis was used to explore the variety of teaching contexts in which Japanese instructors were placed, the complexities that they experienced in teaching gendered language, and stances that they took on it. Clarke, expanding and regenerating the grounded theory after the postmodern turn, defined the method:

> If modernism emphasized universality, generalization, simplification, permanence, stability, wholeness, rationality, regularity, homogeneity, and sufficiency, then postmodernism has shifted emphases to partialities, positionalities, complications, tenuousness, instabilities, irregularities, contradictions, heterogeneities, situatedness, and fragmentation-complexities. (p.xxiv)
>
> The methodological implications of the postmodern primarily require taking situatedness, variations, differences of all kinds. (p.xxviii)

Clarke added a postmodern concept to embrace “irregularities, heterogeneities”charm (Clarke, 2005) and complexities which were congruent with participants’ diverse answers and backgrounds.

Eleven Japanese instructors who were teaching at post-secondary institutions agreed to participate in this qualitative study. The participants included both native and non-native speakers of Japanese and both female and male instructors. They were all interviewed individually by Zoom. After the individual meetings, seven instructors agreed to participate in two small group meetings that I facilitated, where they discussed the topics with their groupmates in more depth. The study addressed three main research topics: 1) teachers’ perspectives about Japanese gender roles and gendered speech; 2) gendered speech instruction and Japanese pop culture; and 3) whether it is possible to detach gendered *gengoshigen* (‘language resources’) from gender norms. In this final chapter, I will synthesize and interpret the findings which were given in the previous chapters. I note this study’s limitations and provide implications for future studies and Japanese language pedagogy.

This study began by reviewing the long history of Japan in which gendered norms for language developed. Since Japanese society’s historically divided gender roles and unequal gender status have been linked with gendered speech, I investigated instructors’ perceptions of both gender roles and gendered speech.

In terms of gender roles, this study found that instructors uniformly thought that divided gender roles were evident in Japanese society. However, two male Japanese native speaker instructors argued that such separation of gender roles has been gradually eroding as women’s empowerment has become observable. Indeed, modern Japanese couples have begun to divide

the responsibilities of traditionally assigned gender roles almost equally and to help each other with household chores.

In terms of gendered speech, I found that instructor perspectives seemed to be influenced by their demographic characteristics, specifically their own gender and status as native or non-native speakers of Japanese. Instructors' teaching experiences and research interests also affected perspectives.

Native speaking female instructors seemed to prefer *watashi* as their first-person pronoun. However, they did not use extremely feminine female sentence ending particles, which are now perceived as particles that only fictional characters or older women would use. There was a variety of opinions and preferred usage forms. In particular, I found that having a background in sociolinguistics or sociology related to media studies seemed to influence participants' stances. The two instructors who had these backgrounds also took explicitly feminist stances and avoid using women's speech because of its associations with the patriarchy of Japanese society and the unequal status of women.

Male instructors reported using a variety of male first-person pronouns, such as *boku, ore,* and neutral *watashi,* and differentiated these pronouns depending on casual or formal settings. One nonnative male instructor's usage was unique and notable because he used *washi* and *ware*, dated or archaic masculine pronouns that modern Japanese speakers no longer use. Male instructors reported using more varied pronouns than female instructors did, perhaps in part because male first-person pronouns have more variants.

Instructors were also asked to describe how they taught gendered speech in their own classrooms. Instructors were found to have a variety of personal preferences towards, and experiences with, explicitly teaching gendered speech. I asked participants in the two small

groups to listen to an audio except from a Japanese language workbook in which a young woman used women's speech. Following this audio prompt, I elicited their opinions and recommendations on teaching gendered speech. They suggested that it is useful for instructors to: 1) inform students of the existence of gendered speech; 2) have students be aware of difference between real language usage and fictional ones in which gendered speech is more frequent; and 3) elicit students' intercultural awareness by pointing out the ideology and culture of Japanese society underling gendered speech. It is important to note that instructors also made it clear they did not teach how to use gender speech but gave more priority to the perceptions of gendered speech. However, sadly, they also noted that they did not have enough class time to teach gendered speech or the contexts in which gendered speech was used.

In terms of the connection between Japanese pop culture and gendered speech, instructors reported that they took advantage of J-pop to show linguistic variants which were not found in textbooks. They also suggested that J-pop might also be used to elicit students' critical language awareness, because a great amount of *yakuwarigo* (role language used in J-pop media) is strongly associated with gendered speech.

Small group discussion meetings also addressed whether it was possible for students to detach *gengoshigen* ('language resources') from gender norms. Instructors agreed that it might be possible if students have adequate opportunities to master a wide variety of speech registers and be able to utilize such speech in various situations, but it would nevertheless be difficult. Instructors also mentioned that notion of accessing social capital by using languages in socially conforming ways was well accepted by society. Instructors believed that it was a risk for Japanese learners to detach *gengoshigen* ('language resources') from gender norms, because such gender norms were shaped by societal values and ideology.

One of the small groups also observed that while instructors are eager to do their best to supports their students, they may not have enough classroom time to provide elaborate explanations of the subtleties of Japanese gendered speech forms. One instructor in this group pointed out the potentially positive side by viewing this discussion topic from the students' point of view. The instructor stated that actually students might want to learn more about language variants, such as gendered speech, than we imagined because of their frequent encounters with such speech through J-pop.

Finally, in interviews all of the instructors were asked if non-native speakers might have more latitude in choosing whether to use gendered speech. One non-native female instructor felt that her being a non-native speaker of the language gave her freedom in planning her curriculum. When the non-native female instructor used *boku* or *ore* for her first-person pronoun, people likely thought that she was making mistakes rather than treating her as a renegade who abandoned social order because she was not a native speaker who was expected to know subtle nuances that were acquired through living in Japanese society for many years. Another non-native instructor mentioned that non-native speakers had a privilege to some extent to use first-person pronouns in fun ways. In addition, a native instructor mentioned that non-native speakers process language in more metalinguistic and conscious ways than native speakers do. In all, there seems to be a consensus that non-native speakers, whether they are students or instructors, have more social freedom to choose whether they use gendered speech than native speakers.

Implications of this study

Before starting this study, I did not have a positive perspective towards gendered speech. I associated it with Japanese societal ideology and patriarchy even though I have used women's speech since I was very young. However, after interviewing instructors through this study, I

found that my perception of gendered speech has changed and is less negative. Every instructor kindly and sincerely answered my questions in a polite manner by using gendered speech to some extent. Their use of Japanese never diverged from Japanese linguistic norms. Their choices of language never deviated from the so-called socially appropriate language category. As Pablo explained to his students, prioritizing being polite is integral in Japanese society regardless of age or gender. Indeed, gendered speech and polite language are intertwined and clearly share common ground. Thus, because use of polite language is the consensus in communicating with Japanese speakers, we cannot disregard gendered speech which sounds polite.

The perspectives of Sakiko, who also speaks French, towards women's speech fascinated me. She acknowledged gender difference while speaking French, because the notion that gender is not separable from the French language in which grammatical gender, such as feminine and masculine forms, have strong connections to gender. Although Japanese does not have grammatical gender, Japanese speakers are always conscious about gender as long as they use gendered speech. In that sense, without being aware of gender difference, we cannot discuss gendered speech and its instruction.

For feminists, accepting gender difference may be a shackle that prevents crusading to pursue equal status and power that men have already obtained. Being aware of gender differences may be ominous for feminists' pursuits. However, Braidotti (2002) wrote that women need to accept the irreversible difference and to think of it as "the condition of possibility" (p.26) to create legitimate "multi-centered, internally differentiated female feminist subjectivity without falling into relativism" (p.26). Käll (2006) analyzed Braidotti's sexual difference framework as "a central element on different levels of identification and the becoming of subjectivity, while at the same time recognizing that sexual difference is not the only central element, but one which

intersects with others." Affirming sexual difference is a starting point to move toward and explore multiple subjectivities. That is, through utilizing sexual difference as a central measurement, we are able to recognize sexual variants and multiple subjectivities. Briaidotti's theory can be applicable for not only feminist theory but also for pursuing positive and transcendent use of Japanese gendered speech. By affirming the existence of gendered speech, we are able to be aware of the difference between standard language and linguistic variants which are outside of norms. Also, we are able to notice potential gender-mismatching language use by deftly utilizing gendered speech. Then gendered speech could lead us to metamorphose into multiple subjectivities by using Japanese in unexpected ways.

Most of the instructors mentioned that it was important to teach various forms of speech use and the contexts in which the speech was used. For example, in addition to teaching gendered speech and those contexts, they may teach young girls' use of the boyish first-person pronoun as long as they have adequate instruction time to teach such speech in detail. Without learning such speech intricately, students cannot identify how to use speech is consistent with their diverse identities, whether such usage is categorized as pro-social or anti-social. Since such speech is mostly not found in textbooks, use of additional materials, such as Japanese pop culture, which is popular among students, must be integral to an instructor's curriculum. There are diverse types of characters in J-pop, and such diverse characters use diverse languages as well. Therefore, use of J-pop in Japanese classrooms could promote not only language skills but also students' critical language awareness. While students are learning characters' role languages (*yakuwarigo*) which excessively stress ideal images of gender, they could become aware of the gender ideology or patriarchy that is hidden beneath characters' use of language.

At the end of the meeting of Group 2, the instructors mentioned that they expected that their students would surprise them in a positive way by living in Japan and using the Japanese that were taught by their instructors. Students could deftly adopt cross-gendered speech usage which is not a one-size-fits-all approach to express their multiple identities, even though such out-of-the norm usage would likely be criticized or devalued by Japanese society. Deleuze & Guattarri (1987) noted, "Becoming and multiplicity are the same thing. A multiplicity is defined not by its elements, nor by a center of unification or comprehension. It is defined by the number of dimensions it has; it is not divisible; it cannot lose or gain a dimension without changing its nature" (p.249). Flieger (2000) also defined Deleuze & Guattari's *becoming* as being in the middle of a process that is moving forward to anti-system and "aims at tensile transformation and transgression of identity" (p.43). Hiroshi mentioned that use of a variety of forms of Japanese language could facilitate students' expression of someone else who they have never imagined to become. He described this realization as *kotoba no kosupure*, which is costume playing with language. Students can be girls, boys, women, men, or someone who is imperceptible by speaking a variety of forms of Japanese. That is, students can be *becoming* any of such subjectivities by using Japanese language forms that they learned in the instructors' classrooms.

In asking their final thoughts about the meetings, I gave a question to all of the instructors, "Do you think that your perspectives and instruction about gendered speech will change after this group discussion?" Most of the instructors answered that before the individual and small group meetings, they did not think much about how to teach gendered speech. However, through meeting with other instructors and hearing other instructors' opinions, the instructors' stances became more intentional and sensitive towards gendered speech. From such

comments, I believe that the meetings could be a catalyst to change the instructors' prior gendered speech instruction or to prompt them to find other instruction which may be new to them. Thus, the study has catalytic validity. The instructors stated that there were not adequate opportunities to candidly discuss with instructors from early generations or instructors whose native language is different from theirs, so the meetings were very beneficial for them. As the instructors noted, their instructional time was not sufficient to include the incorporation of additional materials in relation to the instruction of linguistic variants. They may feel explicit and implicit limitations or pressures in relation to the power of the upper-level administration at their place of employment. However, following the advice of another notable post-structuralism philosopher, Foucault (1980/2000), instructors may be able to apply invented or innovative approaches to defy such limitations or pressures (St. Pierre, 2004). Instructors can transform their teaching materials or content via a rhizomatic process which consists of "lines or trajectories open to becoming" (Conley, 2000). Thus, I hope what the instructors experienced in this study can facilitate their movement beyond conventional instruction. Deleuze & Guattari (1987) argued, "Becoming is not imitating," "never in equilibrium", and "mobile". The instructors will not adhere to ordinary instruction and after many twists and turns, they will discover the best form of instructions for their students. I believe that they will be *becoming-Japanese instructors*.

Suggestions for future research

Expanding participants' teaching regions beyond the U.S. would be a potential area for future research because instruction of Japanese would likely vary in differing countries depending on how each society reflects traditional gender roles or if the instructors' home languages reflect grammaticalized gender differences. For instance, as I noted in Chapter 5, an

instructor mentioned his differing teaching positioning when he taught at a university in a Middle Eastern country, which was rooted in the country's gender ideology.

Also, instructors who teach at institutions in Japan may have experiences which differ from those of instructors who teach in the U.S. Perspectives of instructors at Japanese institutions towards gendered speech might have been shaped by the more overt gender ideology and patriarchy of Japanese society, so their instruction might be affected by such perspectives as well. For instance, as Amy noted, the university where she was working was a very patriarchal workplace. Female faculty at the university might not hold their heads high. The majority of upper-level positions at the university were occupied by male faculty. Therefore, faculty of both genders may give antipodal teaching philosophies because of their opposing social statuses, so investigating those faculty members would present a potential research topic. Faculty of both genders would likely provide a variety of opinions on gendered speech from differing viewpoints.

Another potential research area would be to compare students' perspectives towards gendered speech, who learn Japanese in differing countries, Japan and the U.S. The students' perspectives towards Japanese language would be varied, because of the two countries' differing societal values and gender ideology. Finally, interviewing authors of Japanese textbooks about their stances towards gendered speech would be also important to gather information about future directions for teaching gendered speech in Japanese classrooms.

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Appendix A

Invitation email

Dear_____,

I am contacting you to confirm your participation in a research study, “Japanese instructors’ perceptions and attitudes about teaching Japanese gendered speech” under the supervision of my advisor, Dr. Linda Harklau. The scheduled meeting with the researcher (Taeko Namura) for an individual interview is on [date] at [time] by zoom. It will take about 45 minutes.

I am really excited to meet you virtually. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at tn17946@uga.edu. Again, thank you so much for signing up for this research. I really appreciate it.

Kind regards,

Taeko Namura (Contact Information: tn17946@uga.edu)

The advisor of this research, Dr. Linda Harklau (Contact information: lharklau@uga.edu)

Appendix B

Informed consent form and questionnaire in Qualtrics

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

CONSENT FORM

[Japanese instructors' perspectives on Japanese gendered speech instruction]

We invite you to take part in a research study. The information in this form will help you decide if you want to be in the study. Please ask the researcher(s) below if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

Principal Investigator:	Name: Dr. Linda Harklau Department: College of Education Language and Literacy Education Contact: lharklau@uga.edu	**Co-Investigator:**	Name: Taeko Namura Department: College of Education Language and Literacy Education Contact: tn17946@uga.edu

As a Japanese language educator teaching in the U.S. myself, I frequently feel difficulties to teaching Japanese gendered speeches. Therefore, I would like to investigate how other post-secondary Japanese instructors perceive the gendered speeches and how they implement instructions of the gendered speeches in their Japanese courses.

If you agree to be in our study, please answer a short questionnaire (its time commitment: 10-15 minutes) after signing on the consent form. Then an initial individual interview will be conducted and video-recorded by zoom. You will also be asked to be in small focus-group discussions. These discussions will be video-recorded by zoom (or by audio-recorded face-to-face discussion if applicable). The internet is an insecure medium, but we will exercise utmost caution to the internet connection to protect your privacy, confidentiality, and identities.

You do not have to be in the study if you don't want to: it is your choice. You can change your mind at any time and there will be no penalty. The interviews may happen over the span of one to a few months depending on the participants' schedule, if you agree. 10 $ Amazon e-gift card will be provided if you only participate in an initial individual interview. 20 $ Amazon gift card will be provided if you participate in both an individual interview and small focus-group discussions.

Talking about Japanese gendered speech may be a sensitive topic. You do not have to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. You can stop participating in the conversation at any time.

We will be careful to keep your information confidential. However, your identity will be known to other focus group participants and the researcher cannot guarantee that others in the group will respect the confidentiality of the group. There is always a small risk of unwanted or accidental disclosure. We will strongly ask you and all the focus group members to keep the discussion

confidential and not discuss what happened during the focus group outside the meeting. The conversations and the focus groups will be video-recorded and transcribed only with your permission.

Any notes, recordings, or transcriptions will be kept secure. The files will be encrypted, and password protected. You can decide whether you want your name used.

• I give my consent to have discussions recorded: ____ (initial)

After we complete the interviews and focus groups, we will remove anything that identifies you. The recordings will be destroyed after the transcription is complete. We may continue to keep and use the de-identified transcripts for conference or training, and may share them with other researchers for future studies.

• I give my consent to have de-identified transcriptions of recordings used in conference or training.: ____ (initial)

If you have any questions about the study, contact [Taeko Namura, tn17946@uga.edu] If you have any complaints or questions about your rights as a research volunteer, contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at IRB@uga.edu or 706-542-3199.

If you are over 18 years old and agree to participate in this research study, please sign below:

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

*__Please keep one copy and return the signed copy to the researcher.__

Questionnaire

1. Years of teaching: _____years
2. Native or non-native Japanese speaker: Native Non-native
3. Course levels you have taught: Elementary/Beginner I II Intermediate I II
   Advanced I II Other ( )
4. The next step is a one-to-one interview with the researcher, and a group interview follows that. Will you be able to participate both the individual interview and a group meeting?
   Yes No

Appendix C

Individual short interview

a. If you would not mind, could you tell me how you would like to be called by the following pronouns? (e.g., she/her, he/him, they/them, etc..)

   まず、自分はどういう名前（代名詞）でよばれたいですか。

b. Tell me about your Japanese language history roughly.

(Follow-up question: Have you spent very much time living in Japan? When? What part(s) of Japan?)

どのくらい　日本で過ごされましたか。いつごろですか。どこで、過ごされましたか。

c. Tell me about your impressions of gender roles in Japanese culture. (Follow-up question: Can you give me an example of something that you have seen or experienced that makes you think that?) How would you think about Japanese culture? Are you familiar with the culture? If so, how?

   ずばり、日本の女性、男性の役割（性役割）についての印象（それに対しての意見）はどうでしょうか。どうして、そのように思われますか。なにか、実際の経験によって、そう思われますか。それは　なんでしょうか。

d. Do you use Japanese gendered speech yourself? Can you give me some examples? What kinds of feelings and attitudes do you have about Japanese gendered speech yourself? (Follow-up question: Do you always use gendered speech in Japanese, or do

you use it selectively? If selectively, in what contexts? Another follow-up: Do you think your own gender identification affects your attitudes towards gendered speech?)
実際に、女性語(男性語)を使われますか。どんな女性語・男性語でしょうか。いつも使われますか。それともときどきでしょうか。日本の方と話す時はいつも女性語・男性語を使われますか。学生に対してはどうでしょうか。女性語・男性語を使われるとき、どんな気持ち、態度になりますか。ご自分のアイデンテイテイーが　女性語・男性語を使うことに影響していると思われますか。

e. Tell me about some of the gendered speech features you teach in your own classroom? How do you teach gendered speech features? Can you give me an example?
How have your students reacted?

男性語、女性語を教室で教えられていますか。もしそうなら、それは　どういう男性語女性語ですか。どういう場合に　女性語・男性語を教えられましたか。女性語・男性語を教えたときの　学生の反応は　どうでしたか。

f. What's your attitude towards teaching traditional gendered speech in Japanese? Do you feel difficulties in teaching the speech? Is it important to teach students these language features?
教室で、男性語女性語を教えることについてのご意見をお聞かせください。
それを教えることは　難しいでしょうか。また、それを教えることは　重要だと思われますか。また、その理由をお聞かせください。

g. How does your textbook and curriculum want you to address gendered speech?

先生が教室で使っている教科書は　どのように　女性語・男性語を扱っていますか。

h. Tell me about your experience with Japanese pop culture. What kinds of manga, anime, or Japanese TV dramas do you read or watch? (Follow-up question: In your experience, how does pop culture either reflect or resist traditional gender roles? How about in terms of gendered language?)

日本のポップカルチャーに対する印象をお聞かせください。

マンガ、アニメ、日本の TV ドラマとかを　見たりされますか。日本のポップカルチャーは　どのように　伝統的な性役割を扱っていると思われますか。ステレオタイプ的な　女性男性を表しているでしょうか。それとも、それとは逆のキャラクターを表しているでしょうか。

i. Tell me more about how you incorporate pop culture in your own classroom teaching. How might the influence of teaching the sort of gendered speeches in the classroom be?

教室で、日本のポップカルチャーをとりいれていらっしゃいますか。日本のポップカルチャーをとりいれることは、女性語・男性語を教えるのに、有益でしょうか。それとも、逆でしょうか。

j. In your experience, how does Japanese pop culture consumption influence students' Japanese learning? How about in terms of gendered speech? Is the influence positive or negative?

先生のクラスで教えている経験の中で、どのように日本のポップカルチャーが生徒たちの日本語学習に影響をあたえているでしょうか。また、どのように日本

のポップカルチャーが、学生たちが女性語・男性語を知ることに　影響をあたえているでしょうか。

k. Is standard Japanese language sexist?　Or the phenomenon to use gendered speeches is sexist?

ずばり、伝統的な　日本語（女性語・男性語をふくむスタンダードな日本語）は性差別でしょうか。

l. Do you think non-native speakers might have more latitude in choosing whether they use gendered speech?

日本語が第二言語者は、女性語男性語に対して、より自由に使う（or 使わなくする）ことができると思いますか。

Appendix D

A small group interview

1. Do you think that your textbook and curriculum are enough to facilitate students to explore a variety of speeches? Why?
2. Please tell me your reflections about a dialogue I will play. (I will play dialogues and show its scripts.) How would you (or did you) teach this dialogue to your student? Would you (or did you) provide additional information (backgrounds) besides the dialogue's text? (e.g., stereotypical gender roles, Yakuwari go/role languages. etc..)

   Example 1: Genki Workbook Chapter 16—A

   太郎：はなこさん、すきだよ。

   はなこ：うれしい。たろうさん。わたしもたろうさんがすきよ。

   たろう：はやく花子さんとけっこんしたい。ぼくが、まいにち、おいしいあさごはんをつくってあげるよ。

   はなこ：朝起きた時、ベッドで　　コーヒーがのみたい。

   たろう：じゃあ、まいあさ、コーヒーではなこさんをおこしてあげるよ。

   はなこ：ありがとう。あの、たろうさん。

   たろう：どうしたの。

   はなこ：わたし、そうじがすきじやないの。

   たろる：しんぱいしないで。ぼくがしてあげるから。

はなこ：ほんとう？じゃあわたしかいものする。ときどき、かいすぎるけど、買い物ならできると思う。

たろう：あの、はなこさん。ぼくのシャツにアイロンをかけてくれる？会社で、はなこさんがアイロンをかけてくれたシャツをきたいんだ。

はなこ：ええ、いいけど。。せんたくはしてね。

たろう：うん。

3. Do you think that male students also need to learn feminine speeches? What would you think about that men or boys use more feminine language?

4. What would you think about the phenomena that Japanese girls or woman use boyish languages which might sound rude and non-polite? (e.g., Boku girls)

5. Would you think that we need to teach language usage which are “out of the norm” like the usage of “Boku girls”? Or not？Why? Is teaching such usage beneficial for students? Or confusing?
6. What do you expect students’ reactions or outcomes being taught only standard languages like the ones found in textbooks?

   たとえば、教科書で教えているスタンダードな日本語だけ学んで日本に留学したりした場合、学生はどうなると思いますか。
7. Tell me about your perspectives for “*gengoshigen*” (‘language resource’).

   [Example 1]

言語資源：わたしたちが　言語行為によって　さまざまなアイデンティティーを表現しているとすれば、社会には言語行為に先立ってアイデンティティーを表現するための材料、つまり言語資源があることになる。そのひとつに　特定の言葉づかいと特定の集団のむすびつきがある。日本では、“わたしおなかへったわ”は、女性性、“おれ、ハラへったぞ。”は男性性とむすびついている。ジェンダーだけではない。わたしたちは　さまざまな　年齢、職業、出身地域、階級の集団と結びついた言葉づかいの知識をもっていて、これらの知識を資源として利用することでさまざまなアイデンティティーを表現する。同時にこの資源には今ある資源しか使えないという制限もある。制限があるから　創造が生まれる。（中村桃子：ジェンダーと言語学、２０１０）

[Example 2]

When discussing gendered expression and identity, the concept of *gengoshigen* (Nakamura 2007), or language resource, is useful. This language resource is an aggregate of various speech styles from which an individual chooses a certain way to speak depending on the identity they want to express in a given situation. For example, in everyday practice the same individual speaks differently as a parent, a friend, a customer, a professional, and so forth. Nakamura extends this concept of language resource to gendered expression and regards male language and female language as elements of *gengoshigen* to which everybody, regardless of gender, has equal access. While the essentialist view of language assumes men and women speak differently because of their sex/gender, this social constructivist concept enables us to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express our diverse identities. By introducing the concept of

gengoshigen into the classroom, we can provide space for　learners to explore, negotiate, and establish their gender and sexual identities in Japanese.　（Arimori、J. 2020. *Toward More Inclusive Japanese Language Education: Incorporating an awareness of Gender and Sexual Diversity among Students*.）

8. Do you think that it's possible to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express diverse identities as Arimori wrote? If so, how can we do it in our classrooms?

9. Is it appropriate for us to teach out-of-norm speeches? (e.g., Boku girls) Is teaching such speeches beneficial for students, or not? （質問の繰り返しになりますが、今言語資源について読まれた後、この質問をどう思われますか。）

10. In consideration of detaching language from gender, favor, seniority, or membership of our societies, do you think that students could balance two concepts, "social capital/ e.g., being polite, using standard languages" and "diverse identities/ e.g., boku girls"? How can we facilitate students to do so?
11. Do you feel that you could become different identities while using different Japanese speeches? (Identity-switching?) 例：突然、女性語を使ったりした場合
12. Do you think that your perspectives and instructions about gendered speeches will be changed after this group discussion?
13. Please describe your ideal student image living in Japan after taking your Japanese courses.

    [Question of instructors' final reflections]

14. Do you think that your perspectives and instructions about gendered speeches will be

changed after this group discussion?