

JAPANESE LESBIAN SPEECH:  
SEXUALITY, GENDER IDENTITY, AND LANGUAGE

By  
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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the relationship between gender and language in Japanese through the often ignored lens of sexuality. Although linguists are increasingly examining these issues for American gay, lesbian, and bisexual speakers, little similar research has been done in Japan. Lesbians, in particular, are relatively invisible in Japanese society. Examining these women, who do not fit neatly into the hegemonic gender ideology, illuminates how speakers can project a specific identity by displaying or rejecting prescriptive gender-specific linguistic norms of Japanese.

I analyzed data recorded from interviews with both Japanese lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women, looking for differences in frequency and range of use of pronouns and sentence-final particles and for phonetic differences in terms of average pitch height and width. I also considered the results of a perception experiment undertaken to investigate the effect of pitch height and width on Japanese speakers' perceptions of sexuality.

Although Japanese speakers were generally unable to identify a cohesive lesbian stereotype, especially in terms of language use, the perception experiment indicated that both average pitch height and width significantly affect judgments on whether a voice sounds lesbian or heterosexual. Tokens judged to be lesbian were also judged to be more masculine and less emotional than those judged to be heterosexual. Analysis of the interview data showed that lesbian participants produced an average pitch height that was significantly lower than that of heterosexual participants. In terms of gendered morphemes, lesbians were significantly more likely to use masculine morphemes than

heterosexual women, both for sentence-final particles and first-person pronouns, and were significantly less likely to use the feminine first-person pronoun *atashi*. Finally, correlations showed that speakers who instantiate gender through the use of gendered-morphemes also do so through manipulations of pitch.

Although Japanese lesbians are still fairly closeted and interviewees maintained that there are no cultural stereotypes for this group, significant differences in pitch and gendered-morpheme usage were still apparent. These lesbian/bisexual women did not appear to be mimicking men's language, but instead seemed to be rejecting hegemonic femininity and many of the cultural and linguistic stereotypes that accompany it.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Japanese has been argued to have clearly defined speech registers that are distinct to men and women (e.g., Ide 1979, 1982, 1990; Jugaku 1979; Kindaichi 1957; McGloin 1990, 1997; Reynolds 1985, 1990; Shibamoto 1985, 1989, 1990; Smith 1992a, 1992b). These are prescriptive categories that are salient to Japanese native speakers. Deviations from these norms, especially for women, are marked enough to warrant disapproving comments about girls using ‘rough’ masculine language. Some of these aspects—such as encouraging children to use gender-appropriate language—are directly taught. Others are probably acquired through the natural process of children observing and mimicking adults, such as the readily apparent tendency of women to speak with an elevated pitch. Regardless, these differences in both pitch and gendered morphemes have been well documented by linguists, especially in the case of women’s language.

Differences in Japanese speech registers for men and women have been argued to include the use of honorifics, terms of address, sentence-final particles, politeness strategies, and directives, among others (e.g., Ide 1982, 1997; McGloin 1990, 1997; Mizutani & Mizutani 1978; Reynolds 1985, 1990; Shibamoto 1985, 1987; Sunayoshi 1994). However, generalizing all women into a single category, ignoring factors such as age, social status, occupation, and education, has been criticized as problematic because it ignores these other factors that also influence language choice. As Inoue (1994) argues, contemporary women’s language is neither universal for Japanese women, nor identical

with the earlier women's language many of these prescriptive categories are believed to be from. More recent research on Japanese has supported this view by presenting a range of speech styles utilized by a variety of Japanese women (e.g., Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith (eds.) 2004).

A speaker's identity is comprised of a variety of features, not merely limited to sex or gender. This results in a fluid state that is negotiated as we interact with others in our communities (Wenger 1998). Okamoto (1994) argues that "Japanese women's choice of speech styles is a complex process involving the simultaneous consideration of multiple social attributes associated with identity and relationships. ... Japanese women strategically choose particular speech styles to communicate desired pragmatic meanings and images of self" (578).

Despite the fact that women have been found to utilize language in ways that do not reflect the prescriptive ideological norms, these norms are still very salient to speakers, and an understanding of them is necessary to make the strategic choices Okamoto discusses. With this in mind, in this dissertation, I investigate how a more fluid notion of gender and alternative sexualities influences the choice of speech styles to reflect identity. Research into the language of Japanese homosexual speakers is a relatively new area. I have chosen to examine the speech of Japanese lesbians both to provide a better understanding of the connection between sexuality and language for these women, as well as to document how they function within these prescriptive norms of women's language.

## 1.2 Research Questions

In this dissertation, I investigate the links between sexuality, gender identity, and language use for Japanese lesbians. Crucial to this investigation is the question of how this group of women—who differ from the mainstream only in terms of sexuality—fit within the more general societal category of Japanese women and what function language plays in this process. I investigate concepts such as ‘femininity,’ ‘family,’ and what it means to be a woman from the perspective of modern Japanese women, both lesbian and heterosexual. I consider, in particular, how lesbians align themselves in relation to modern normative views of these concepts.

My research questions include the following. How is sexuality, or more specifically, lesbianism, framed within modern Japanese society? How do members of this sexual minority group align themselves with modern society through manipulation of ideological language norms? Specifically, do lesbians utilize the so-called “gender-specific” language patterns of Japanese in a manner that is different from that of heterosexual women of similar socioeconomic backgrounds? Are patterns previously indicated to be specific to Japanese lesbian speech—such as non-standard pronoun use—evident for all speakers, or are they a reflection of the speaker’s own gender alignment, openness about her sexuality, or other factors? Are there sociophonetic differences apparent for lesbian speakers, such as pitch height and pitch width, and, if so, are speakers consciously aware of these differences?

My hypotheses are that Japanese lesbians as a group will integrate patterns and lexical items from both so-called male and female speech in a manner specific to those



who share this sexual identity, and in so doing establish a linguistically marked group identity. This expressed identity will manifest itself more strongly for speakers who are ‘out.’ For straight women and the more closeted lesbians, the language will conform more closely to socially accepted norms for Japanese women. There will, however, be variation within the group of lesbian speakers as a result of differing gender identities.<sup>1</sup> Overall, lesbian voices will exhibit lower pitch than non-lesbians of comparable socioeconomic, age, and dialect backgrounds, and lesbians will also produce a narrower pitch range than their heterosexual counterparts. I further hypothesize that there will be a correlation between these three factors; a lesbian who speaks with a lower average pitch and narrower pitch width/range will show a greater tendency towards non-standard feminine speech patterns in terms of sentence-final particles (SFP) and pronoun usage.

### 1.3 Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. The remainder of this chapter outlines my methodology for data collection. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the pertinent research related to women’s language and status in Japan. Here, I also provide the reader with background on traditional and modern views of women and femininity in Japan, exploring both previous literature as well as responses collected during the interview process and my fieldwork in Japan. Chapter 3 examines research on homosexuality both for North American English speakers and for Japanese, specifically exploring the ways in which Japanese lesbians are said to utilize specific language

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<sup>1</sup> Lesbian women are often categorized into gender roles, such as *neko* ‘femme’ and *tachi* ‘butch’. Although these are categories that have been losing saliency in the West over the past couple of decades, they are still utilized in Japan, as indicated by how often these words come up in conversations among Japanese lesbians.

features and overall impressions of the status and perception of lesbians in Japan. Chapter 4 presents an examination of the frequency and range of use of gendered morphological/lexical markers by the lesbian and heterosexual participants. In Chapter 5, I present the results of a perception study undertaken to investigate the effect of pitch height and width on the perception of sexuality for female Japanese voices, also discussing correlations between perceived sexuality and personality traits. Chapter 6 discusses the results of the phonetic analysis of the voices recording during the interviews in terms of average pitch height, maximum and minimum pitch, and pitch width, as well as the correlations between them. Finally, in Chapter 7, I discuss the overall results of my findings, ending with suggestions for future research related to this topic.

## 1.4 Data and Methodology

### 1.4.1 Participants

For the purpose of this study, I recruited both lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual Japanese women living in the greater Tokyo area. My intention was to record only speakers of the Tokyo dialect, all of comparable age, education, socioeconomic, and second language background. In reality, however, this was extremely difficult as the Tokyo lesbian community is quite limited and fairly closeted. Even among those women willing to speak with me, not all would consent to recorded interviews. Those who were willing to be recorded for interview purposes were often hesitant to record their daily conversations. Therefore, in the end, I interviewed and recorded all willing participants. While the variability of the subjects in terms of hometown, age, marital status, and other sociological factors is not desirable, the two groups ended up being relatively comparable

in terms of these factors. For example, age range seemed to be the biggest difference between participants, but there were comparably aged participants in both groups. A detailed breakdown of these differences is listed in Appendix A.

Although the dictionary definition of a lesbian seems on the surface to be fairly straightforward, in reality, it is not a feature that is clearly definable.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this study, I define a lesbian as someone who self-identifies as such. As Wegner (1998) argues, identity is constructed in social contexts, so the temporality of identity is more complex than a linear notion of time (154). This is one reason why I argue that it is the self-definition of lesbian/heterosexual that is the important feature distinguishing these groups. These women self-identify both when volunteering for the interview as well as by explaining and defining their identities as part of the ‘lesbian’ community within Japanese society. Because my investigation is based on subjects who identify with a certain group, the feature that is most important is that they believe they belong to this group. For this reason, I also included bisexual women who were involved in long-term relationships with women and were members of this community.

Participants were recruited in one of three ways: from social networking sites (SNS), such as *mixi*, *myspace*, and *facebook*;<sup>3</sup> contacts made in the community itself, such as at Tokyo queer events and locales;<sup>4</sup> and finally through a word-of-

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<sup>2</sup> See Queen (1997) for an in depth discussion on the difficulty of defining ‘lesbian’ and ‘lesbian community.’ See also Wong, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2002) and McConnell-Ginet (2002).

<sup>3</sup> *Mixi.jp* is a Japanese SNS equivalent to MySpace or Facebook, both of which are only relatively recently used in Japan and available in Japanese, and therefore usually only used by people comfortable with English. *Mixi*, however, is entirely in Japanese and as a result is basically limited to Japanese and foreigners living in Japan who speak Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> This included gay and lesbian bars in Ni-Chōme, the gay district in Shinjuku, Tokyo, as well as Chestnut & Squirrel, a lesbian bar in Shibuya, Tokyo; a weekend retreat for Japanese and international lesbians in

mouth/snowball effect, which was by far the most helpful way of finding willing participants. In total, I was able to record interviews with thirteen lesbian speakers.<sup>5</sup> I also recorded seven heterosexual women of comparable ages and backgrounds to the lesbian participants as a control group. These women were found through a combination of personal contacts and word-of-mouth. In addition to these twenty women, I spoke with a variety of Japanese men and women about their views on sexuality and the status of women in Japan.

#### 1.4.2 Data Collection

The data used for this study was recorded during a participant-investigator interview between each participant and either myself or a research assistant.<sup>6</sup> The participants were either heterosexual or self-identified lesbian/bisexual women. Because of the differing backgrounds between the two groups in relation to the topic of the interview, i.e., homosexuality in Japan, identical questions could not be asked of every participant. General background questions about hometown, work, family, and future plans were asked of participants in both groups. Additionally, I asked both groups about their views on the status of women in modern Japanese society, differences in expected roles for men and women, and the meaning of femininity and masculinity. Heterosexual

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the greater Tokyo area; and in-person meetings of an online lesbian group from the SNS mixi.jp. See Chapter 3 for a description of Ni-Chōme, and the breakdown of gay and lesbian bars there.

<sup>5</sup> One lesbian speaker was discounted from analysis because of her tendency to switch to English periodically, despite the use of Japanese by the researcher and periodic requests to speak in Japanese. I hypothesize that this a result of being a part of a more international lesbian community as well as perhaps being more comfortable discussing issues related to sexuality in English. Regardless, the excessive use of English interfered with the interview enough that the results were not comparable to the other participants.

<sup>6</sup> Both the researcher and the assistant are Western women who are fluent non-native speakers of Japanese. Therefore, even in the event that the addressee had a direct effect on the data, the overall influence would be comparable between both sets of interviews.

participants were asked some questions related to sexual orientation, such as whether they had ever had even a passing interest in a member of the same sex, if they knew or suspected a classmate or colleague was homosexual and why, and what they felt were stereotypical gay and lesbian behaviors and language use. Lesbian/bisexual participants were also asked additional questions. For example, they were asked to explain their coming-out story, whether they hid their sexuality, and if so how, and whether they planned on having a traditional marriage and children in the future. Questions were designed with the intent of prompting subjects to provide extended answers, with little to no back and forth with the interviewer. In Japanese, a complete lack of back-channel feedback is unnatural, but it was kept to a minimum. Although the interviewers began with a list of questions, we allowed the conversation to flow as naturally as possible, encouraging the participants to discuss whatever related topics they were interested in talking about. The primary goal was to record clear speech that could later be analyzed for phonetic and morphological differences.<sup>7</sup>

Interviews were audio-recorded<sup>8</sup> in a private location, one-on-one wherever possible. All speakers were recorded at 41.1 kHz and 16 bit with two Countryman Isomax microphones, one ear-mounted and one lapel. The microphones were powered by a Phantom PH-1A power supply which was then fed into an Edirol R-09 digital recorder. Initially, the ear-mounted microphone was placed on the subject and the lapel

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<sup>7</sup> The primary purpose of the interview was to collect high quality recordings of participants' speech. Comparable responses were not necessary for comparison of lexical elements such as pronouns, and sentence-final particles, nor for phonetic analysis of the speech segments.

<sup>8</sup> My initial intention was to also make video recordings of the interviews. However, even though they were told they had the option of not allowing the video recordings to be used for research purposes, the majority of lesbian women I spoke with were too uncomfortable with the idea of having a video-recording made of themselves talking about sexuality.

microphone on the interviewer. However, after a couple interviews, I found that it was better to have two microphones picking up the subjects' speech because occasionally they would tug at one, moving it from the initial setup location. Backup recordings were made with a digital MD player and a lapel and multidirectional microphone. These were placed in an unobtrusive location on the table near the subject and interviewer.<sup>9</sup> The length of interviews ranged from 30 to 70 minutes; interviews with the heterosexual women tended to be shorter overall.

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<sup>9</sup> For ethical reasons, all subjects had to be aware they were being recorded. However, in order to decrease the effect of the equipment, I placed many objects around the table so the microphones and recording devices were not as apparent.

## 2. JAPANESE WOMEN'S LANGUAGE

### 2.1 Introduction

Within the so-called gender-specific speech registers of Japanese, research has focused on relationships between gender and sentence-final particles (SFP) (e.g., McGloin 1990; Okamoto & Sato 1992; Shibatani 1990; Siegal & Okamoto 1996), differences in the realizations of politeness strategies (e.g., Ide 1990), and directives (e.g., Smith 1992a; Sunaoshi 1994). Women's use of gender-specific speech registers is often viewed as the result of women's lower social status (e.g., Ide 1982; Reynolds 1985) but can also be argued to be a linguistic embodiment of positive traits of 'femininity' in Japan (e.g., Ohara 1992). However, this overall categorization of 'women's language' as a whole ignores, as Jorden (1990) points out, the range of linguistic choices utilized by Japanese women. Recently, there has been a move to research and document cases of women's language that do not conform to these generalizations (e.g., Jorden 1990; Matsumoto 2002; Miyazaki 2002, 2004; Ochs 1993; Okamoto 1994, 1995, 1996; Okamoto & Sato 1992; Ozaki 1998; Sunayoshi 2004).

Researchers often cite the Meiji construct of *ryōsai kenbo* 'good wife wise mother' as the main influence on the establishment of modern women's roles in Japan (e.g., Smith 1983). Although I agree that this is an important influence, I am interested in its effect not only on women's roles, but also on understandings of masculinity and, more important for the current research, femininity, which in turn influence language choice for women within the 'gender-specific' language dichotomy of Japanese.

In this chapter, I will first review the position of Japanese women in society, both from a historical perspective beginning in the Meiji Era and a modern perspective, mainly presented through the eyes of my interview subjects, discussing societal expectations of women as well as ideas of ‘femininity.’ I then discuss specific features related to modern ‘gendered’ language for women. First, however, I give an overview on Western research related to gender and language, in order to frame Japanese women’s language within the larger picture of gender and language, as well as to establish the frame within which I am examining my data.

## 2.2 Historical and Modern Views of Women in Japan

### 2.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I present the changing roles of women from the Meiji period (1868-1912), which is when the basis for current ideas of women and femininity became established,<sup>10</sup> to the modern views discussed by my interview participants. I discuss the influence of the state on women’s roles at various points in history, the changing views of family over time, and finally the concept of ‘femininity’ and its relationship with gender and sex within Japanese culture.

### 2.2.2 Women and the State/Society

From the Meiji period, there has been a move towards clearly defining roles and expectations related to both men and women. Although these beliefs may have been in practice before this point, the fact that the government officially took a stance and

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<sup>10</sup> The Meiji era is the period in which Japan opened itself up to the West and the government began unification of the country. Examples of unification efforts include a new constitution, language reform (*gen’bun itchi*), and government-sponsored schooling.



enacted policies to influence sex and gender roles played an important role in how pervasive these views became within society.

The Meiji Constitution of 1890 stated outright for the first time that only male heirs could succeed to the throne. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 upheld the Confucian view of a state based on hierarchy and obedience, with the family as the basic unit of society. Family, school, and other institutions were viewed as inseparable from the functioning of the state, with explicit expectations placed on women to enact a specific role. That role was defined by the government and further reinforced by society (e.g., Smith 1992a). These were not passive expectations, but resulted in changes such as new school curriculums and women receiving public notice for their failure to live up to societal expectations in terms of behavior, language, or even their roles as perpetuators of the Japanese race.

Pre-WWII education for women was explicitly designed to prepare them to become a *ryōsai kenbo* ‘good wife and wise mother’ (e.g., Fukuya 1969, Murai 1969, Nolte 1983, Smith 1987), restricting the role of girls and women primarily to the home and family. In terms of their duty to the state, women were supposed to serve their men and families and maintain the continuity of the Japanese patriarchal family system (Hara 1995: 97). Mori Arinori, the first Minister of Education in 1887, argued that it was women’s education that was the basis of the success or failure of the nation. “The models for women are a mother nurturing her child; a mother teaching her child; her son coming of age and being conscripted to go to war and leaving his mother with a goodbye; a son fighting bravely on the battlefield; and a mother receiving a telegram

informing of her son's death in the war" (as cited in Morosawa 1978: 23-24). Here we clearly see the roles defined by the government for women throughout their lives. Under the Japanese constitutional system, notions of a gendered hierarchy within the family were made explicit and the family itself was politicized, rather than being seen as a private haven (Mackie 2003). This is one aspect of sexual polarization (Lebra 1984)—role specialization—assigning women to the domestic domain and men to the public domain (Rosaldo 1974).

Although Kameda (1995) argues that this long history of education based on the premise of preparing women for the domestic role of 'good wife and wise mother' is being replaced by one that promotes gender equality (107), we still see an emphasis in contemporary society on women getting married and having children. "Education for girls, although compulsory, was viewed as a resource to facilitate marriage to white-collar, middle-class men... higher education, especially two-year college education, is still considered to be a more valuable resource in the marriage market than in the labor market" (Tanaka 1995: 305-306). As many of my interview subjects pointed out, women still do not advance as far in their careers because of the unspoken assumption that they will quit work at some point to marry and have children. One woman even said that it was the fault of the women employees who are hired by companies for the same positions as men. She viewed these women as not being as willing to dedicate time or effort to their jobs, or undertake tasks they found disagreeable, because they knew the job was only temporary—once they married or had children they would quit. The male employees, according to her, were building a base for their future career advancements.

Even in contemporary Japan, we read about the role of the mother in her children's educational success. There is pressure on women to correct the decreasing birth rate. This is in addition to the prevalent views of womanhood by families and peers. Even though the pervasive slogan of *ryōsai kenbo* has mostly fallen out of use, the influences of it still affect women today. One interviewee actually described her mother in a positive light as the 'typical' 'good wife wise mother' of her generation, having graduated from college, married, and then dedicated herself to her family as a fulltime housewife.

Otsuji Kanako, an assembly woman from Osaka, who also happens to be the first openly lesbian government official in Japan, argues that 'the problem is that this society is being built by fifty- and sixty-year-old-men' (Chambers 2007: 175). As a result, policies needed to enable or encourage change that benefits women are not being established, and historically there has been a clear government hand in training women to enact a specific role in society. This is still apparent in government debates on childbirth, as discussed in section 2.2.3 below. Even in examining contemporary popular culture, we see stereotypes of women's roles portrayed similar to those that were expected in the Meiji Era. Suzuki (1995: 79) found that married women characters on television are usually shown "in their 'places': in housekeeping roles—cooking, shopping, laundering—and as the caretakers of husbands and children." Commercials also depict women in the role of housewife and mother, and other shows such as cooking programs reinforce the notion that "girls do the cooking, boys do the eating" (Kameda 1995: 110).

According to the majority of my interview participants, all of whom are college educated, expectations remain that women are in charge of the domestic sphere, despite possibly working outside the home. By and large, the wife is seen as being responsible for cooking, cleaning, laundry, and all matters related to the running of the house. There was mention of the husband helping out, but the idea was that he is responsible for working and taking care of the family financially, and that anything he might do around the house is ‘extra,’ rather than expected. In terms of any division of labor within the domestic sphere, the husband might be in charge of the yard, taking the garbage out, or cleaning up after dinner. But this was only mentioned by one participant as a possibility in her childhood home, not something that occurred regularly. Mothers were also generally connected to discipline, with many of the women I spoke to saying their mothers were stricter than their fathers, often scolding them. This is an interesting contrast to the stereotypical personality traits discussed in research on Japanese society (e.g., Sugihara & Katsurada 2000; van Bezooijen 1996). What seem to be considered female traits—such as being eager to soothe hurt feelings, not using harsh language and being soft-spoken—are not necessarily what are attributed to ‘mothers.’

### 2.2.3 Marriage and Family in Japan

As touched on briefly above, marriage and family are extremely interconnected with the expected roles of women. Historically, the family became a political target of the Meiji government, with women’s importance being linked to bearing children who would support the nation at war (Ohinata 1995). “The family itself came to be seen as the basic servant of the state...the responsibility for developing a “rich country and

strong army” was shifted first from the state to the family and then within the family to women” (ibid. 200).

Emphasis for women remained on motherhood throughout the Taishō Period (1912–1926). It was stressed that the mother’s responsibility was to raise a child who would be able to serve society in a positive way. “When it comes to the education of our children, we must keep uppermost in mind not the education they receive from society, nor the education they receive at school, but rather the education they receive at home. And the one most responsible for this is, of course, the mother...if a mother neglects her child’s education, the child will not grow up to be anything commendable or respectable” (Shimoda, cited in Ohinata 1995: 201). According to Yoshizumi (1995), women’s status improved after WWII, but they found it difficult to find stable, financially sustaining jobs. “For a woman who wanted children, the lack of an adequate system of social security for mothers and children served to make marriage almost a social necessity, rather than a matter of choice” (184). Even in the 1970s, women were expected to shoulder the responsibility for raising their children and taking care of elderly family members, once again stressing the importance of motherhood, regardless of whether they also worked outside the home.

Even today, the state is concerned with women’s accountability in marriage and birth rates. According to Tanaka (1995), the average number of children born dropped to 1.57 in 1989 and the average age of first marriage rose to a record high: 28.5 for men, and 25.8 for women (Ministry of Health and Welfare’s vital statistics of Japan for 1989, cited in Tanaka 1995). Since the mid-1970s, there has been an increased delay in

marriage and a drop in the birth rate, corresponding to the increase of opportunities outside the family for Japanese women. Based on Tanaka's findings, women who postpone marriage to their thirties are most likely to be pursuing careers. With the decreasing birth rate, and the resulting social issues, such as a quickly aging population and dwindling pension funds to support them, the pressure on women to marry and have more children earlier is said to have increased. Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori has even been quoted as saying that women who do not have children do not deserve pensions: 'It is truly strange to say that we have to use tax money to take care of women who don't even give birth once, who grow old living their lives selfishly' (*Taipei Times* 2003; Chambers 2007: 173).

These types of issues show that Japanese society still places great emphasis on marriage and motherhood. However, Yoshizumi (1995) argues that today marriage is more a matter of personal choice. Due to changes in postwar society, variant forms of the traditional family structure have arisen; the "pseudo-single-mother family," in which the father, though legally present, is in fact too busy to spend much time with his family, and the "latent-disorganization family," or "domestic divorce," in which a husband and wife continue to remain legally married in spite of the fact that a conjugal relationship no longer exists" (183).

Even in traditional marriages, men are inclined to expect that the women, regardless of working outside the home, should still arrive home first and prepare dinner for their husbands (ibid. 185). Men are seen to occupy the primary social and economic position within the family, and half of married women and most men regard housework

and child rearing as “women’s work” (ibid. 185). Although for many younger couples in their 20s and 30s, both the husband and wife may work outside the home, it is still considered the woman’s responsibility to juggle housework and raising the children with her profession.

The construction of family itself is also something that has changed over time. Originally, the *ie* ‘family’ was the norm; “a vertical composite form of nuclear families, one from each generation” (Morioka 1967: 597) or a “series of first sons, their wives and minor children” (Johnson 1964: 839). Contemporary family units may appear to be typical nuclear families, but they still have the potential over time to become three-or-more-generation families. In the *ie* system, only a single child may inherit the house assets (such as property and head of household status) and become the sole link between generations while all the other children must leave the house (Lebra 1984: 20).

I found the question of the definition of family to be an important one, considering the lack of legal support for forming same-sex partnerships in Japan.<sup>11</sup> For the majority of interviewees, the tendency was, as expected, to define ‘family’ along the lines of their personal experience. Most felt that just living with someone did not constitute family, and that you remained a part of your natal family until you formed a new family unit. The mechanism for forming this new family was often difficult for the interviewees to define; although almost no one mentioned a legal declaration as the basis of marriage, it was clear that even lesbian participants felt that living with a significant

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<sup>11</sup> It is still quite rare, and a marriage ceremony between same-sex couples is not considered legally binding. However, some homosexual couples in Japan have found a work around by creating legal documents outlining rights for their partners in terms of things such as inheritance and hospital visits, rights automatically granted in heterosexual marriages (e.g., Maree 2001, 2004).

other was not equivalent to marriage, unless a child is produced from the union. Even in the situation of a traditional marriage between a man and woman, it seemed to be important for children to cement the new family—there is a strong feeling that a ‘family’ must include more than one generation to be definable as such. In this, we continue to see the strong connection between marriage and parenthood.

As for why women are not marrying until later, one participant (heterosexual) in her early 30s claimed she was not ready to get married because there were too many fun things to do in the city. She suggested that her friends who live in the countryside married at an earlier age because there is less to do and they seemed either to get pregnant and therefore be pressured to marry or to get married because there were no other options for them.

#### 2.2.4 ‘Femininity’ in Japan

Inoue (2006) argues that ‘gender is a system of ideological representation, allocating meanings and positions to concrete individuals and rendering them gendered subjects as men and women’ (13). Often, the way these ‘gendered subjects’ are defined by society is through their ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity.’ This stress on ‘feminine’ behavior for women is very strong in Japan, with pressure for women to behave *onna rashiku* ‘femininely’ (e.g., Endo 1995; Reynolds 1991), which includes not just appearance or action, but also an *onna rashii* ‘feminine’ speech style, characterized by “politeness and tentativeness and the use of special vocabulary (including verb forms) and sentence structures as well as by a distinctive tone of voice and carriage” (Endo 1995: 29). The result of this is seen in the differences between male and female speech



registers in Japanese (e.g., Ide 1979, 1982, 1990; Jugaku 1979; Kindaichi 1957; McGloin 1990, 1997; Reynolds 1985; Shibamoto 1985, 1990; Smith 1992a), as well as variation in pitch height (e.g., Ohara 1992; Yuasa 2002). In the Meiji government, along with the emphasis on moral education and education for ‘good wives wise mothers,’ girls were encouraged to maintain the proper usage of a distinctively women’s language, being instructed to speak in soft, low, gentle voices, as if one were talking to a small child, and to refrain from using sharp, mean, annoying, “masculine” words or expressions (Endo 1995: 38-39).

In terms of characteristics of ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’ outside of language expectations, Kashiwagi has reported that, during the Meiji Era, Japanese boys were generally raised with the expectation that they would be “active, brave and strong,” while girls were brought up to be “obedient, polite, and non-argumentative” (1973, as cited in Kameda 1995). Contemporary positive characteristics for women include being dependent, emotional, romantic, cute, tender, warm, dedicated, submissive, cheerful, and peaceful (e.g., Ohara 1992; Suzuki 1995). Traits considered as expressions of “masculinity” are activeness; intelligence; the ability to think, plan and control; creativity; courage; and violence (Suzuki 1995: 80). Sugihara and Katsurada (2000) found that the most attractive masculine characteristics for contemporary Japanese college students included independence, assertiveness, leadership, and athleticism. In contrast, attractive characteristics for women were being gentle, cheerful, and affectionate and loving children. These ideologies are reinforced through

characterizations of men and women in television dramas, *anime*, *manga*, and other aspects of popular culture.

In my own research, I have found that when women are portrayed as behaving outside this social norm of ‘feminine’ behavior, they are typically being shown in a negative light (Camp 2005). In the Japanese television drama, *Kimi wa petto*, the main female character is portrayed as extremely masculine in behavior. She is successful at work, educated, driven, and very intelligent. The problems she experiences in the drama are directly related to these ‘masculine’ features; her boyfriend leaves her for a girl who is dependent and emotional, and her therapist points out that her issues relate to her inability to cry or be emotional (*Kimi wa petto*). Very few interviewees gave personality characteristics when explaining ‘masculinity’ or ‘femininity’, instead describing feminine women as having a certain appearance, speaking in a certain way, and, as more than one participant indicated, liking pink. Overall, stereotypically *onna rashii* ‘feminine’ women were described as having a certain quiet demeanor, being modest, and not competing with men. One lesbian participant also defined ‘feminine’ as being equal to being ‘family oriented.’ *Otoko rashii* ‘masculine’ men, on the other hand, were described as being reliable, calm, composed, and strong. Women, both heterosexual and lesbian, often said their first crush, when on a boy, was the result of his being good at sports, an indication that this is a characteristic attractive in men. Being ‘masculine’ also means, according to these women, that the man provides for his family and wife or girlfriend.

## 2.3 Gender and Language

### 2.3.1 Introduction

The tendency to distinguish language in terms of gender in linguistic descriptions of Japanese is much greater than we see for English. Why this may be is perhaps a bit unclear, but it is a categorization that is culturally salient for Japanese society, not just researchers, as seen by the prevalence of the topic of ‘young women using masculine language’ in newspapers and media and by the ability of the general populace to comment on ‘how women speak’ or ‘how women should speak.’

Japanese has been argued to have a clear demarcation of speech along gender boundaries, with grammatical linguistic differences more extensive than those found in most European languages (e.g., Ide 1979, 1982, 1990; Jorden & Noda 1987; Jugaku 1979; Kindaichi 1957; Ohara 1992; McGloin 1990; Martin 2004; Mizutani & Mizutani 1987; Reynolds 1985; Shibamoto 1985, 1987, 1990; Smith 1992a, 1992b). As discussed above, the hegemonic ideology also includes a highly gendered view of social roles—i.e., women are still perceived to be the primary caregivers in the family. Along with such socially expected roles come certain stereotypical personality traits believed to be characteristic of each gender: men are assertive, competitive, and dominant, while women are nurturing, cooperative, and submissive.

Overall, women’s language is found to be more polite, gentle, soft-spoken, nonassertive and empathetic than that of men (Okamoto 1995), resulting in the characterization that women exhibit lower social status and powerlessness. In Japanese, these differences manifest linguistically through the use of self-reference and address

terminology as well as other lexical items, sentence-final particles, honorifics, pitch, segmental phonology, and intonation. For example, Japanese women have been shown to exhibit a much higher fundamental frequency than expected based on the size of their vocal cord (van Bezooijen 1995). Japanese girls learn their expected female role by mimicking the higher pitch of their older female role models, perpetuating these stereotypical features. This type of learning is purported to take place during childhood (e.g., Maltz & Borker 1980, Graddol & Swann 1989). Coates (1986: 121) agrees, arguing that "in becoming linguistically competent, the child learns to be a fully fledged male or female member of the speech community; conversely, when children adopt linguistic behavior considered appropriate to their sex, they perpetuate the social order which creates gender distinctions."

Gendered forms in Japanese, as mentioned above, occur at all levels of speech, from phonology to pitch to syntactic differences. In section 2.3.3, I briefly explain certain gendered aspects of the Japanese language, such as personal pronouns and sentence-final particles.

### 2.3.2 Gender/Sex and Language

The terms 'gender' and 'sex' are often used interchangeably, even in academic circles. However, especially for the purposes of this research, which considers the possibility of a varying range of identities within a single sex, it is important to distinguish between the two. Sex is typically used to differentiate men and women in a physiological sense, such as chromosomes and anatomy (e.g., Fausto-Sterling 1992; Kessler & McKenna 1978). This ends up being a binary categorization, which is

problematic not just when considering that biological sex does not always separate neatly into two categories, but also when viewing sex through the lens of gender. The term 'gender,' on the other hand, has been used by researchers to include a general set of cultural ideas about appropriate behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, roles, and positions; to describe social and positional differences between women and men; and to characterize role allocation in institutions, interactions between people, and cognition of individuals (e.g., Unger & Crawford 1992). Gender is involved in the negotiation of relationships (e.g., Deaux & Major 1987; West & Zimmerman 1987) and is also internalized through frequent performance of 'sex-appropriate' behavior (e.g., Bohan 1993). Taylor & Miller (1994) argue that academics have utilized the term 'gender,' which is inclusive of these social factors, to account for variation in social differences that separate men and women more than the male-female biological dichotomy. Therefore, gender can be viewed as a complex system, involving, as McConnell-Ginet (1983: 384) notes, personal traits, roles, and class, among other factors and their relation to biological sex. Although biological sex could be argued to be a universal category applicable across cultures, gender is an extremely culturally specific concept.

Since comparisons of this sort, either linguistic or cultural, are usually made between women and men, and do not consider individuals who do not fit neatly in these categories, differences when found are typically ascribed to biological sex, despite the use of terminology such as 'gender,' which is argued to involve power dynamics more than do biological labels. As a result, this once again maps the categories of 'gender,' which are still generally viewed as binary, onto biological sex. However, the term

‘gender’ can also refer to the traits of ‘masculinity’ or ‘femininity,’ concepts which can be applied across biological sex, although not equally,<sup>12</sup> and in fact, are most likely the source for much of the speech variety seen within these male/female speech registers.

Linguistically, gender<sup>13</sup> differences have been the subject of much research in European languages. Beginning with some of the first studies of gender in interaction, the ‘female register’ (Lakoff 1975) was hypothesized to mark women’s subordinate status socially—which served to reinforce stereotypical attributes of dependency, incompetence and timidity for women. Additional research supported this male-dominance hypothesis (Thorne & Henley 1975) of gender-related speech differences, indicating differences in a variety of areas, including interruption (e.g., Tannen 1990; Zimmerman & West 1975), back-channel responses (e.g., Dittman 1974), and topic introduction and change (e.g., Fishman 1983; West & Garcia 1988). More recent studies have argued against many of these findings. This is the result of a shift from the previous focus on differences related to gender dominance to considerations of accommodation (Bilous & Krauss 1988), as well as analysis of differences found in mixed- and single-sex encounters when viewed from a supposed gender imbalance.

Differences related to pitch and production have also been widely examined. As fundamental frequency is determined by mass, size and tension of the vocal folds, with

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<sup>12</sup> For example, a ‘masculine’ woman versus a ‘masculine’ man would not embody exactly the same traits. It can more accurately be imagined as a scale, where a ‘masculine woman’ may be more ‘masculine’ than a ‘feminine man,’ but does not reach into the ‘masculine man’ range. This is exemplified by the difference between the terms *otoko rashii* ‘masculine’ and *otokoppoi* ‘mannish’. Although both terms imply the same meaning of ‘masculine/manly’ in English, the former can only refer to men while the latter can refer only to a woman.

<sup>13</sup> As mentioned, the bulk of this research mapped sex onto gender and looked at differences between men and women, albeit considering the power differentials involved, not at differences within a single sex related to a range of genders.

thinner, shorter and tenser vocal folds producing higher pitches (van Bezooijen 1996), women in general use higher pitches than men. Further, it has been shown that there is more variety in fundamental pitch frequency—in both sexes—than can be accounted for by anatomical structures such as vocal-fold size and vocal cord length (Perry, Ohde, & Ashmead 2001). Adult males have been found to speak with lower vocal pitch, and women with higher vocal pitch, than would be expected from vocal cord size, presumably in order to conform to gender<sup>14</sup> stereotypes (Sachs, Lieberman, & Erickson 1973). Other research has found that although fundamental frequency offers the most salient clue for gender identification, listeners are able to determine gender even when the F0 is suppressed (e.g., Coleman 1971, 1973) or filtered (e.g., Lass, Almerino, Jordan, & Walsh 1980), when speech is whispered (e.g., Bennett & Weinberg 1979), or in situations where F0 ranges are very similar, as with preadolescent children (e.g., Bennett 1981; Ingrisano, Weismer, & Schuckers 1980).

### 2.3.3 Pronouns

Research has indicated that first and second person pronouns in Japanese show a clear gender-differentiation (e.g., Horii 1990; Ide 1979, 1990, 1997; Peng 1973), as summarized in Figure 1, below.

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<sup>14</sup> Here, too, ‘gender’ is being used to refer to a category equivalent to ‘sex.’ This reflects the idea that ‘women’ as a group embody ‘femininity.’ No studies have looked at pitch related to gender differences within a single biological sex.

Figure 1: Differences in gender categorization of Japanese first- and second- person pronouns.

Categories	Feminine	Neutral	Masculine
First-Person	<i>atakushi</i> <i>atashi</i> <i>uchi/uchi</i> (NS) <i>atai</i> (NS) <sup>15</sup>	<i>watakushi</i> <i>watashi</i>	<i>boku</i> <i>ore</i> <i>jibun</i> <i>wagahai</i> (NS) <i>washi</i> (NS)
Second-Person	<i>anta</i>	<i>anata</i>	<i>kimi</i> <i>omae</i> <i>kisama</i> <i>otaku</i> <i>temee</i>

(Adapted from Ide 1990: 73)

The gender categorization in Figure 1 shows not necessarily how speakers use pronouns in Japanese, but rather, the ideological norms about how pronouns should be used. When just considering the standard forms, men mainly use *boku* and *ore* while women use *atashi* and *watashi*. *Uchi*, although often argued to be a non-standard feminine pronoun used mainly in the Kansai dialect, has gained popularity in other areas. Miyazaki (2002, 2004) found that junior high school girls from the Tokyo area are using this pronoun, one which she argues has not made its place in the gender ideology represented in Figure 1, but which young girls are using as a feminine—although more gender neutral—pronoun than *atashi*. However, considering that the non-standard variety has a clear feminine reading and that the young boys in her study are not using this pronoun, I think without more in-depth study it is difficult to argue that *uchi* falls into

<sup>15</sup> NS = Non-Standard Form



the neutral category.<sup>16</sup> Kanamaru (1997) argues that *jibun* is a reflexive pronoun, and that its use as a personal pronoun is both old-fashioned and masculine, being associated with sports, the military, or the police force.

Ide (1979) further argues that these forms vary in formality, with the neutral forms *watashi* and *watakushi* being treated differently by men and women, as shown in Figure 2 below. The same form when spoken by a man is rated as more formal than when spoken by a woman, with no deprecatory pronoun option for women.

Figure 2: Differences in formality of standard masculine and feminine first-person pronouns.

	Feminine	Masculine
Formal	<i>watakushi</i> <i>atakushi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
Plain	<i>watashi</i> <i>atashi</i>	<i>watashi</i> <i>boku</i>
Deprecatory		<i>ore</i>

(Adapted from Ide 1997; Miyazaki 2004)

Japanese language textbooks, at a minimum, include a prescriptive explanation of the gender differences between *watashi* and *boku*, and usually a discussion of the formality differences between *watakushi* and *watashi* (e.g., Jordan & Noda 1987; Makino, Hatasa & Hatasa 1998; Mizutani & Mizutani 1977). The other first-person pronouns are rarely mentioned.

However, as Matsumoto's (1996) diachronic study of Japanese feminine speech indicates, even young girls of the Meiji Era (1868-1912) expressed resistance to this

<sup>16</sup> However, I do agree with her statement that it is less feminine than *atashi*. Gender readings of these pronouns do not fit neatly into three categories, as exemplified by the variance in neutral pronouns between male and female speakers, shown in Figure 2.

dominant ideology by rejecting the normative female register and using language more commonly associated with men. More recently, young women express resistance by ignoring the normative differentiations between female/male language, for one, utilizing typically masculine first person pronouns such as *boku* and *ore* (Miyazaki 2002, 2004). Children may learn what registers are socially appropriate, but they have the power to manipulate these norms to their own purpose. However, these nontraditional linguistic practices are not individualistic, determined solely by personal preferences or attitudes, but are instead relational (Miyazaki 2002: 369). Girls “must determine how much group support they have in order to decide how far they can stretch their creative speech...constantly negotiat[ing] their group affiliations and linguistic practices...in the present and over time” (ibid. 369). This suggests that once they enter adult society, the ideological norms would become more important and they would then be less likely to utilize ‘masculine’ pronouns than they did as children,<sup>17</sup> an indication of the negotiation of a speaker’s shifting status and identity (Maree 2007).

One heterosexual speaker stated that she used *boku* in school to place herself on the ‘same level’ as her male peers. In her case as well, it was something many of her classmates were also doing, and so could be argued to be common within that community of practice. One lesbian interviewee said she used *boku* when she was in her 20s, but would not do so now. Apart from her, all of my lesbian interviewees said they would never use masculine pronouns or masculine forms, with one emphasizing that she was a woman, so why would she use such forms? From my observations in the field, it is the

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<sup>17</sup> This is similar to Japanese speakers learning correct honorific forms once they graduate and enter the workplace.

young butch lesbians (*tachi*) who, while trying to figure out how their nonstandard identity fits within the societal framework, often strongly reject these norms, embracing a masculine persona in terms of both language and appearance. The lesbian interviewee mentioned above, by her own description, fell within this category when she was younger. However, she eventually adapted to the speech patterns associated with women's language. It is not that there are not tokens of masculine speech in lesbian speech (which will be discussed in Chapter 4), but rather that lesbians are not generally actively/consciously rejecting the societal category of *onna rashii* 'feminine' in their interactions. As Miyazaki (2002) notes, one of the young girls in her study does not use *ore* outside of school, mainly because her mother would disapprove, showing she is aware of the cultural norms and flouts them only in certain environments.

#### 2.3.4 Sentence-final Particles

Another commonly discussed difference in terms of gender is the usage of sentence-final particles (SFP) (e.g., Ide 1979, 1982; Martin 2004; Mizutani & Mizutani 1987; Shibamoto 1987; Shibatani 1990; Reynolds 1975), shown in the chart below. The function of SFPs has been found to indicate speakers' emotions and attitudes such as doubt, caution, and confirmation; encouraging rapport between speech participants, achieving a close monitoring of the feelings between speech participants and expressing one's own masculinity and/or femininity (e.g., McGloin 1997; Martin 2004; Makino & Tsutsui 1986; Okamoto & Sato 1992; Matsumoto 1996). Although typically found at the end of utterances, Early research has argued that these differences are related to gender, with particles falling into male, female, or neutral (used by both sexes with no marked

distinction) categories. Prescriptive representations of SFPs in Japanese language textbooks categorize forms into male and female, with less focus on the neutral forms (Makino, Hatasa & Hatasa 1998; Mizutani & Mizutani 1977; Jorden & Noda 1987; Tohsaku 1994). However, as Okamoto (1995) indicates, these may be broken down further into a five-category system, as indicated in Figure 3, below.

Figure 3: Examples of sentence-final forms, separated into five categories from ‘extremely feminine’ to ‘extremely masculine.’

Extreme Feminine ←			→ Extreme Masculine	
Copula+ <i>wa</i>	Verb(te-form)+ <i>ne</i>	Verb(plain)+ <i>ne yo</i>	Copula+ <i>ne</i>	Verb+ <i>na</i>
Copula+ <i>wa yo</i>	Verb(plain)+ <i>no</i>	<i>yone</i>	Copula+ <i>yo</i>	<i>zo</i>
Copula+ <i>wa ne(e)</i>	<i>desho(o)</i>	<i>kana</i>	Copula+ <i>yone</i>	<i>ze</i>
Copula+ <i>wa yone</i>			<i>daro(o)</i>	<i>ka yo</i>
<i>kashira</i>				

(based on Okamoto 1995; Shibamoto 1987)

Research has found that both men and women utilize SFPs typically associated with the opposite gender, although women more often utilize ‘masculine’ forms than men utilize ‘feminine’ forms. As a result, this scale seems to be one of power rather than one of gender. Instead of male-female, the continuum would spread from gentle/non-assertive to assertive/powerful. This cross-gender usage is especially true of young women who are recently using ‘masculine’ SFPs as well as ‘masculine’ first person pronouns (Okamoto 1995). As Matsumoto (2002) notes, newspaper columns reported observations that young women were using the rougher forms that are ideologically

men's language. However, one participant from Okamoto's (1995) study argued that she was not in fact using 'men's speech' but '*wakamono no kotoba*' or 'young persons' speech,' indicating that the difference is one of generation, not gender (313).<sup>18</sup> As with the findings related to pronoun use by young girls (Miyazaki 2004), this would support the power argument that young women may no longer accept the submissive role of older generations of women, instead viewing themselves as equal to boys their own age.

This manifests itself in their use of the same language as their male peers to "put themselves on the same level" (314), indicating both power and status. 'Power' is something possessed and wielded by the individual. Wetzel (1988), however, argues there is no appropriate equivalent terminology for this concept in Japanese. In Japan, power is a role or position, not an attribute of a person. As Abe utilizes the term, power is not "an absolute or static term but ... relational and processual" (Abe 2004: 207) which is negotiated through submission to or resistance against force among participants (Foucault 1990). The emphasis is on interaction within the power structure. Japanese relationships work on the multidimensional role of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group), related to the degree of intimacy with addressees, and *omote/ura* (front/hidden), which reflects the connection to society (Lebra 1984, 1992; also see Maynard 1997 for a discussion of *uchi/soto* in interaction). *Uchi* (in-group) members tend to use language to create feelings of solidarity and distance themselves from *soto* (out-group), regardless of gender. Therefore, language choice indicates both *uchi/soto* relationship, as well as the gender

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<sup>18</sup> It could be argued that '*wakamono no kotoba*' would indicate a shift in the use of gender ideals related, at the very least, to language use. The question arises, however, whether these forms are abandoned by these relatively young speakers when they enter adult society, in the form of a job or marriage.

status of participants. These relationships are ever-shifting depending on setting, participants, and audience. For example, the interaction of a mother with her young son would be realized differently at home (*ura*) and in a public setting (*omote*), such as the grocery store. Equally so, there would be a difference between the close mother/son interaction and that occurring between two strangers, when interacting in public versus private settings. As a result, power is not something someone ‘holds over’ someone else, but as Wetzel notes, something that can shift, existing in a particular individual in a given sphere based on this multidimensional scale.

However, if these ‘feminine’ and ‘extremely feminine’ forms are associated with softness or timidity, in contrast to the association of aggressiveness with the ‘masculine’ forms, these forms can be argued to be a way of applying a power dynamic to the interaction. As discussed above, one heterosexual interview participant argued that she and her fellow female classmates used *boku* in school as a way to even the playing field between the girls and the boys. They felt they could not be treated on the same level if they were using a different form of language. This was a conscious choice to utilize a lexical item specifically used by male peers, but only in a limited set of contexts. Although there are a range of ‘male’ forms that are recognized by native speakers, it seems the same conscious choices were not being made to utilize these other language features, such as SFPs, in the same manner.

It is also interesting to note that the opposite does not seem to hold true. Although previous findings, as well as anecdotal evidence, have shown that young women will utilize forms from the masculine side of the scale, aside from discussions of

gay men's speech, there seem to be no observations of men 'speaking like women.' Whether this does not occur or, less likely, whether it passes by unnoticed is unclear without further study.

### 2.3.5 Intonation and Pitch

McConnell-Ginet (1983) argues that intonation may be the key linguistic feature in determining masculinity and femininity, at least for English speakers. She rejects the lay belief that intonation reflects "natural" or "biological" differences in gender, instead arguing that American children learn to speak with stereotypically "masculine" or "feminine" intonation because of expectations of gender-appropriate behavior. Coates (1986: 121) argues that "in becoming linguistically competent, the child learns to be a fully fledged male or female member of the speech community; conversely, when children adopt linguistic behavior considered appropriate to their sex, they perpetuate the social order which creates gender distinctions." For example, Japanese girls learn their expected female role during childhood through observing and mimicking the elevated pitch of their older female role models (e.g., Graddol & Swann 1989). Conversely, Japanese boys mimic male role models to reproduce the lower pitches of older males. Most studies on relationships between pitch or contour and personality or gender focus on gender as equivalent to sex, when viewed as a binary, heterosexual category. This prompts the current investigation into pitch in Japanese lesbians' speech.

Although women overall exhibit higher fundamental frequency than men, Japanese women in particular have been reported as having a higher pitch than American women overall (van Bezooijen 1995), related to the soft and high tone of voice reported

to be a feature of Japanese women's language (e.g., Horii 1990; Ide 1990). Van Bezooijen found that differences in pitch level for women reflected both the physiology of the speaker and culturally related personality traits. For the higher pitch (of three pitch samples), both Japanese and Dutch speakers perceived the speaker to be shorter, weaker, more dependent, and modest than the corresponding lower pitch samples. Her study further found there to be a cultural difference in what pitch levels are viewed as attractive by listeners—for Dutch, the lower and medium pitches were viewed as more attractive, while the high and medium pitches were considered more attractive for Japanese listeners. Ohara (1992) concludes from her study of native Japanese speakers speaking both English and Japanese that speakers may modify their pitch in order to convey a particular image or to conform to stereotyped expectations prescribed by their society. As each culture assigns different values, these would be realized differently when speaking different languages. There are no equivalent studies examining the effect of pitch on perception of personality for male speakers, either in English or Japanese.

Van Bezooijen (1996) further investigated the relation between pitch and personality traits. By altering the pitch to high, original and low, she found that four of her nine original personality scales showed significant correlations between pitch and perceived personality—modest/arrogant, low prestige/high prestige, sensitive/insensitive and emotional/rational. Additionally, lower pitch was associated with a less feminine type of personality (deemed more independent, more arrogant, more prestigious, less sensitive and more rational) while the higher pitch evoked perceptions of femininity (more dependent, more modest, less prestigious, more sensitive, and more emotional).



For the results of a similar perception study done with Japanese male and female voices, please see Chapter 5.

Certain personality traits, such as modesty, innocence, dependence, subservience, and helplessness, are traditionally more valued for women in Japanese culture than in North American culture (Smith 1992a), and that these types of traits are related to physical and psychological powerlessness. Higher pitch is related to smaller physiological size (Graddol & Swann 1989; Ohala 1994), exhibited in more powerless animals such as mice. Consequently, traits which are considered powerless become connected to things with higher pitch. As these traits (e.g., smallness and subservience) are said to be valued in Japan, young Japanese girls and women seem to be raising their pitch to project socially desired personality traits for women and to conform to gender standards (van Bezooijen 1996). Smith's study is centered on assumptions about social values of particular traits for women. In the previous section, we can see support for the idea that the idea of femininity is generally standard among Japanese speakers, whether women choose to embody that ideal or not.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Although the stereotypes of women's language and men's language are salient for everyone who speaks Japanese, in actual practice the speech of men and women in Japan does not always clearly follow these prescribed gender norms, with a marked shift toward the use of more neutral particles by younger generations of women (e.g., Matsumoto 1996; Okamoto & Sato 1992; Okamoto 1996; Ozaki 1998). It is apparent that the dichotomy of 'women's language' versus 'men's language' is too static and monolithic.

It discounts variety within these two categories that may result from a variety of factors, such as age, status, gender identity, and sexual orientation. However, we can also see that the role for women established and promoted by the government during the Meiji period is still salient in Japanese society today. Even as times have changed, however, except for a brief period in the 1980s, pressure has been put on women to marry and have children, focusing on the domestic sphere at the expense of jobs and advancement outside of the home. Modern women are still pressured to marry and have children instead of pursuing careers, with the government placing the responsibility for the declining birth rate, and all the related social problems, on the shoulders of women. Such social/familial roles for women pressure even lesbians to consider having traditional marriages and children, both as a way to hide their 'deviant' sexuality, and because of the necessity for women to receive the support of a male spouse in order to have a stable future.

### 3. (HOMO)SEXUALITY AND LANGUAGE

#### 3.1 Introduction

Although research has shown that Japanese speakers do not always conform to the hegemonic ideologies discussed in Chapter 2, these norms, both for gender roles and language, are salient for the population as a whole. In my interviews, I heard reference to ‘natural’ (*shizen*) families and couples, excluding homosexual couplings, and more than one person I spoke with pointed out that Japanese people do not like things or people that are ‘different.’ With societal and government pressure to both live and work for the good of the nation and, on a more individual level, to perpetuate the family line through marriage and children, people who fall outside the ‘natural’ sexual orientation have difficulty negotiating their place in society, at best. According to Maree (2008), homosexuality prompts notions of masculine women and feminine men, which in Japan is stereotyped as much by the use of extreme gendered speech patterns as by flamboyant drag, both of which reflect an exploitation of these ideological norms.

It is important to understand how Japanese gay men and lesbians place themselves within mainstream society, which has already been shown to have concrete ideas of gender roles and notions of femininity. I will first explore this in section 3.2, discussing previous research as well as observations from my fieldwork and responses from the interviews with both lesbian and heterosexual women. I then explore language research related to sexual orientation, first looking at studies based on English (section 3.3), and then specifically looking at research on homosexual language for Japanese speakers

(section 3.4). Although this dissertation is mainly concerned with Japanese lesbian language, it is important to also consider how Japanese gay men manipulate, or are viewed as manipulating, the same hegemonic ideals lesbians are faced with, and how they place themselves within the mainstream society. This will give a clearer picture of the comparative status of lesbians in contemporary Japan.

## 3.2 Sexuality in Japan

### 3.2.1 Overview

Homosexuality is less visible in Japanese culture, especially for lesbians, than in the West. There are historically neither the cultural or religious dictates against same-sex couples in Japan that we often see in North America, nor as large of a political movement either for or against gay rights. Western conceptions of sexuality were imported along with modernization during the Meiji era, including a specific law against male homosexual practice (Watanabe 1989: 121). However, Yoshizumi (1995) argues that gay culture is now generally accepted, citing the popularity of both Kabuki (all male) and Takarazuka (all female) theater, where both male and female roles are played by the same sex, as well as the lack of public opposition to gay bars (192). Admittedly, for Takarazuka, as discussed by Robertson (1998, 2004), there is more of a lesbian component involved, with fans reading homoerotic subtexts into both the performances and the lives of many of the performers. Many of the lesbians I spoke with suggested popular Takarazuka actresses as examples of famous lesbians in Japan, although how well-known these women are outside the fan base is unclear.

In actuality, homosexuality is neither culturally nor officially supported, with no legal support for same-sex marriages (Maree 2001, 2004) or recourse for discrimination related to sexual orientation. “Spiritual closeness between individuals of the same sex is accepted, but sexual relations between such individuals is repudiated, and homosexuals are viewed as perverts and treated in a discriminatory manner” (Yoshizumi 1995: 192). It is interesting that Japanese people seem to be more aware of issues related to *nyuu haafu*, male to female transsexuals, than those of homosexuality. Topics of TV variety shows in Japan have included travelling to Southeast Asia to interview Thai women who had either completed or were planning on gender reassignment surgery as well as those that focus on Japanese men who were living as women, discussing the surgeries they had undergone and how successful they were at being ‘beautiful’<sup>19</sup> women. However, in no way did these shows address alternative sexualities, instead treating them as a source of shock and amusement for the audience.

Issues of alternative sexualities have received increasing awareness in recent years. In 2007, Kanako Otsuji, an openly lesbian politician from Osaka, made a run for a national government seat in 2007.<sup>20</sup> Around the same time, the American television drama “The L Word” (Showtime, 01/18/04-03/08/09), which centered on issues of lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people living in Los Angeles, was both released on DVD and broadcast on cable in Japan. Fuji TV also ran a drama which was, in part,

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<sup>19</sup> Consider similarities with American talk shows, such as Maury Povich, where audience members are to decide whether contestants on the show are actually transsexual men or women (e.g., “Man or woman...Are they ballroom babes or dancing dudes?” 7/11/06).

<sup>20</sup> How well-known her sexual orientation was to the general public outside of Osaka is unclear. However, as many interviews were conducted while she was campaigning, it was surprising that none of the heterosexual women listed her as a ‘famous Japanese lesbian.’

about a young Japanese woman exploring her sexuality, bringing up topics of lesbianism as well as gender-identity disorder<sup>21</sup> (Last Friends, Fuji TV, 4/10/08-6/19/08). Previous to this, there had been gay male characters represented on TV, both as positive role models and as a source of comedy,<sup>22</sup> but few lesbian characters. NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) also ran a short series on gay and lesbian culture in Japan,<sup>23</sup> and all of a sudden, the previously ignored subculture of lesbian women seemed to become a topic of conversation. Up until this point, when speaking to heterosexual Japanese about my research, the response was almost uniform that, although they knew there were lesbians in Japan, they did not personally know any and could not think of any famous lesbians. The lack of openly lesbian Japanese in the public eye is a clear contrast to the openly gay men and male-to-female transgender television celebrities, whom no one had trouble naming.

As mentioned, lesbianism in Japan has been less well documented and more marginalized than male-male homosexuality (e.g., Abe 2004; Moonwomon-Baird 1985, 1997; Watanabe 1990). Women's movements in both Europe and the US have embraced lesbianism as one aspect of the movement, but "in the Japanese case...lesbianism has thus far not been taken up as an issue. In fact, it is only just recently that groups championing lesbian and gay rights and liberation have surfaced" (Yoshizumi 1995: 192). There are

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<sup>21</sup> Although this was much discussed in the lesbian community I was conducting fieldwork in, being one of the first times that lesbianism was addressed in a Japanese television program, in the end the lesbian character decided that she actually wanted to become a man.

<sup>22</sup> *Haado Gei* 'Hard Gay' is one example of this. This was a character played by Sumitani Masaki, a TV personality who frequented the prime time variety shows. However, many fans were surprised when he married a woman in November of 2006, apologizing to his fans and explaining that he had to be true to himself.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.nhk.or.jp/heart-net/lgbt/>

several organizations for sexual minorities, but the majority of those that are active in defending gay rights seem to cater mostly to men. OCCUR,<sup>24</sup> an organization active in furthering gay rights in Japan, supports all sexual minorities. When I observed the English conversation class they offered, however, there was only a very low ratio of lesbians (2 out of 25), suggesting this is not a group that draws the lesbian community. Others focus on support for lesbians, including Regumi-studio (<http://regumi.sakura.ne.jp/>), a lesbian feminist group; LOUD (Lesbians of Undeniable Drive, <http://www.space-loud.org/loud/>) in Tokyo; and QWRC (Queer and Women's Resource Center, <http://www.qwrc.org/>) in Osaka (Kamano & Khor 2008: 163). Finally, there is PA/F space (Performance, Art, and Feminism, <http://www.pafspace.com/>) in Tokyo, which serves as a base for events and activities for LGBTs (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people).

However, very few of the lesbians I spoke with utilized any of these resources, nor did they seek out other support groups for sexual minorities. The majority seemed to find resources online, either through lesbian social networking sites (SNS)<sup>25</sup> or groups for sexual minorities on Japanese SNS communities such as mixi.jp. Most lesbian participants explained in their interview that they found information about lesbian/gay bars online. Others either met lesbian/bisexual women on social networking sites, both general and those geared towards lesbians only, or made themselves available in such

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.occur.or.jp/> Ishikawa-Building 2nd Floor, 6-12-11 Honcho Nakano, Tokyo 164 Japan, (813) 3383-5556, FAX 3229-7880. The staff at OCCUR were very helpful when I met with them at the beginning of my fieldwork. They sponsor the Tokyo Gay and Lesbian Film/Video Festival and other gay activist events.

<sup>25</sup> The majority of lesbian SNS communities/dating sites are still geared towards the international scene, although some are bilingual, and lesbian resources in Japanese are increasing.

online communities to help other women looking for resources.<sup>26</sup> The first lesbian group I contacted during my fieldwork was an SNS community I joined on mixi.jp.<sup>27</sup> After group members exchanged messages on the community page, the facilitator set up *ofukai* ‘offline meetings,’ which were basically private parties at drinking establishments in Tokyo.

This group was comprised of an interesting mix of bi-curious women (some of whom were in committed relationships with men), lesbians who were both single and in couples, and young women who had just recently graduated from high school who seemed to be exploring their sexual identities for the first time. It was my first experience with the lesbian community in Japan and I was surprised at some of the preconceived notions these women had about lesbians. At least a third of the group at the first offline meeting I attended told me they had never had any sexual experience or attraction to women, aside from what they described as *akogare*, which in this case seemed to mean admiration more than longing. One woman said she did not feel attracted to men, which made her feel *hen* ‘different’ or ‘strange,’ and that was why she joined this group. This woman was part of a much smaller group of five women (one woman who identifies as a lesbian, three women who joined the group out of curiosity, and the researcher) who after the party went to a lesbian bar in the gay area of Tokyo. At this bar, we discussed further what these women thought about lesbians. One said that

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<sup>26</sup> One of the most popular is OutJapan.com, a community that currently has over 2000 members.

<sup>27</sup> The Japanese SNS mixi.jp differs from western SNS such as facebook or myspace in that members join various ‘groups’ or ‘communities’ that express their interests. These groups are visible to anyone looking at your page and function to tell other users about your personality, hobbies, and interests. Many lesbians I spoke with said they had at least two mixi.jp pages because they did not want their friends, family, and coworkers to know they were gay. This was one way they stayed closeted but were able to interact with the lesbian community, while staying closeted.



she thought lesbians were just women who felt very close to other women, but that they didn't have sex with each other or "do things like kiss." When one lesbian woman offered to kiss her, she reacted negatively, laughing and saying *iya da* "No way!" and holding her hand up to keep the other woman back. It is undoubtedly possible that this bi-curious woman was just being playful, or that she was uncomfortable participating in such a public kiss. However, this, along with the surprise of the other speaker when the lesbian assured her that lesbians do engage in sexual relations, made me wonder if these women did not have a different understanding of 'lesbian' than is commonly understood in America. Over the next few months, this bi-curious woman frequented the lesbian bars in the gay district and became a source of knowledge about the area for this group of women.<sup>28</sup> As Kamano & Khor (2008) found in their investigation of how lesbian women meet in Japan, there was a range of types of relationships women were seeking, from friendship to looking for a potential partner. However, through this process, some women "developed a clearer lesbian identity [while] forming a relationship with another woman" (ibid. 164). The lack of lesbianism in the public eye and the difficulty women in Japan have finding resources inevitably means that a clear understanding of their sexuality and related identity cannot fully form until they enter the gay/lesbian community, something which is difficult for many Japanese women to do. This is apparently the case with the bi-curious woman mentioned above.

Gay bars have been argued to be significant in providing a space for developing and maintaining one's identity as a member of the gay community (e.g., Abe 2004;

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<sup>28</sup> To the best of my knowledge, however, she remained single, expressing interest only in friendship with other members of the community.

Ootsuka 1995; Read 1980). In Japan, because the gay community is still relatively hidden from society, these bars become even more important. Tokyo's gay area, Ni-chōme<sup>29</sup> in Shinjuku, is relatively well-known, and contains the largest concentration of gay bars inside Japan. According to Abe (2004), when she did fieldwork in 1999/2000, "there [were] 217 gay bars in Ni-chōme. By contrast, there [were] 12 lesbian bars in Ni-chōme and one in San-chōme in Tokyo, four in Osaka, and one each in Kyushuu and Hokkaido" (208). In terms of lesbian bars in the gay district of Tokyo, at last estimate there were about six strictly women-only bars and another six that sometime let in male "friends of the establishment." There are other lesbian establishments that allow men in for a higher cover charge and a few that are run by women where the clientele is mixed—approximately 15 total for these two groups.<sup>30</sup> Most bars I visited in Ni-chōme were small, seating at most 15 to 20 people. Also, these bars are often difficult to find without help—there is a map available in Ni-chōme that lists many of them, but many are still difficult to find without an introduction.

The majority of the lesbian bars I visited were strictly women-only, although this also included male-to-female transgendered individuals.<sup>31</sup> There is also one outside of Shinjuku that is open only on Wednesday evenings, and caters to a mix of Japanese and foreign expatriate lesbians. It is here that I made the majority of my contacts during my

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<sup>29</sup> Literally 'Second Block'.

<sup>30</sup> This information is based on personal communication with an informant who works in one of the lesbian bars in Tokyo.

<sup>31</sup> I never experienced a man trying to enter one of these establishments, so I am not clear how this would be dealt with. When I tried to enter a 'men-only' gay bar, however, I was stopped at the door and told explicitly no women were allowed. This sort of segregation is not unusual in Japan, at least from my perspective as a foreigner. I have had similar experiences trying to go into a bar and being told 'no foreigners allowed.'

fieldwork. Tokyo has a bigger gay community than any of the other large cities in Japan, which is one reason given by many gay and lesbian Japanese for why they moved to Tokyo.

In my experience, as Abe (2004) found, sexuality was often explicitly referenced in these bars. Straight girls (*nonke*) were allowed, but they were marked as such, either in introductions, or as part of the information given when they were being talked about. Some members of the community also specifically asked whether new customers liked Japanese or foreign girls,<sup>32</sup> whether they were *neko* (femme) or *tachi* (butch), and if they were bisexual. One British woman I spoke with said she was uncomfortable having her sexuality questioned so explicitly, something which she had not experienced in the gay community in England.

The classifications of *neko* and *tachi*, which have lost some of their importance in Western lesbian culture, still seem important to the lesbians I interviewed. However, when I asked these women to specifically define these terms for me, I was given a range of answers, from sexual roles like ‘top’ (*tachi*) and ‘bottom’ (*neko*), which come originally from gay sexual roles, but take on the meaning of dominant and passive for lesbian couples, to a categorization of appearance, with *tachi* appearing more masculine and *neko* more feminine. Indeed, when asked if they could easily identify other lesbians on the street, most said that *tachi* were easy to pick out, based on their masculine appearance or language use, but that *neko* blended in with heterosexual women.

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<sup>32</sup> This question was common in the more international lesbian community, but I heard it asked in other bars as well, perhaps prompted by my presence.

### 3.2.2 Japanese Lesbian Identity

Based on early interactions I had with Japanese speakers about my research, I began to question whether understandings of lesbian identity in North America were comparable to that of Japan. The community I participated in during my fieldwork had an international component to it, which made me wonder if it was different from the ‘typical’ Japanese lesbian community. Although undoubtedly some of my participants, such as those who had been dating foreign women or who had studied abroad, might have had a slightly broader view on some of the issues related to sexual minorities, I found that there was a large international slant throughout the gay community in Tokyo. One example of this is the use of foreign terminology to refer to sexual orientation. There is a wide range of non-foreign terminology that has been used to mean ‘homosexual’ in general—*dooseiyoku* ‘same-sex desire,’ *doosei no ai/koi*, both meaning ‘love of same sex,’ and *dooseiai* ‘same-sex love’ (Furukawa 1995, 1994; Hiruma 2003, as cited in Curran & Welker 2005; Valentine 1997a). For lesbians, though, terminology is of foreign origin, shifting from *resubosu ai* (Lesbos love), *resubian* and *rezubian* (lesbian), to the shortened form *rezu* that began to be used in the 1970s (McLelland 2005). Both *rezubian* and its abbreviated form *rezu* are commonly understood to refer to women who perform same-sex sex scenes in pornography (Ishino & Wakabayashi 1996). Chalmers (2002) found that many lesbians preferred the term *daiku* (dyke), which, according to one woman she spoke with, is easily used to refer to lesbians when outside lesbian circles because to the majority of Japanese, it has the meaning of ‘carpenter’, and because it

carries no negative connotation. I observed many lesbians openly using the term *daiku* in a playful manner, supporting Chalmer's findings.

The majority of the heterosexual women who participated in my interviews suggested *dooseiai*, *rezubian* or *rezu* as the most common terminology used to refer to lesbians. The lesbians I spoke with for the most part agreed, although a large number of these women also listed *bian* (the second half of *rezubian*) as the term they commonly use to refer to themselves. The terms I commonly heard used in the community were *bian* and *daiku* (dyke).<sup>33</sup> None of them discussed the pornographic reading of *rezubian* or *rezu*. This may not be as salient for either these women in particular, or the terminology may be shifting in nuance to a more neutral meaning.

### 3.2.3 Stereotyping of 'Lesbians' in Japanese Culture

Overall, there seemed to be a lack of a clear stereotype of lesbianism by either the lesbian or heterosexual women I spoke with. There was no stereotypical characterization of speech, appearance, or attitude, in contrast to Japanese gay culture, which was easily stereotyped by all participants. This is not to say that their representations of gay culture in Japan were accurate, but these speakers had an easily accessible understanding of how gay men behaved, spoke, and looked, as well as typical occupations. Gay men were characterized as feminine, speaking with a high pitched voice, using *onee kotoba*,<sup>34</sup> and

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<sup>33</sup> I suspect there is some nuance difference in usage. My general impressions are that *daiku* has a more *tachi* (butch) component to it, whereas *bian* is more neutral. However, as both come from English words, it is difficult to be sure. When I contacted one of my informants about this question, she admitted that she did not really understand how *daiku* was used in Japanese, preferring the 'generic' term *bian*.

<sup>34</sup> *Onee kotoba* is described by Maree (2004) as "drag queen talk" and Valentine (1997a) labels it 'sister language' or 'sissy speech' (105).

working in occupations such as beautician, or in the theater or other performing arts. The majority of speakers were able to mimic ‘gay men’s speech,’ speaking in a high voice with a wider pitch range<sup>35</sup> and using sentence-final particles that are considered to be part of women’s speech. One participant said that she felt gay men spoke more like *obaasan* ‘grandmothers’ than typical women’s speech. Another woman stated that gay men have a speaking style similar to that of girls, using stereotypical feminine features such as *~shichiyatta noo*, *~na no yone*, and *~na noo*. She also emphasized the lengthening of the final vowel, one feature that is marked in *onee kotoba*. Generally, participants who mimicked what they considered to be gay speech did so with an artificially elevated pitch,<sup>36</sup> using stereotypically effeminate gestures.

When the same question was posed about lesbians, the only heterosexual participants who could provide any sort of stereotype were those who had met someone who was openly lesbian, and they admitted they were basing their perceptions on this one person, or on something they had seen in a television drama or movie. When pressed, heterosexual women generally suggested that lesbians who take the *otokoyaku no hito* ‘male role’ used extremely masculine, often coarse, forms, such as *ore* ‘I (deprecatory, masculine)’ and sentence-final particles (SFPs) that are ideologically masculine, such as *da ze* and *da yone*. Lesbians I spoke with also had trouble identifying Japanese lesbian stereotypes. It is possible that they were more hesitant to stereotype the group, being aware of a range of personalities and types who identify as ‘lesbian,’ but they too were

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<sup>35</sup> Because these were single utterances, I did not measure the pitch height or range, but based on both my own perceptions and what participants explained to me, they were both raising their pitch and widening their range for their impressions.

<sup>36</sup> This is based on my perception, not phonetic measurement.

able to provide a cohesive representation of Japanese gay men. One woman said that most *futsuu* ‘regular’ lesbians would not use masculine speech patterns, and that *femu* ‘femme’ lesbians are indistinguishable from straight girls. This suggests a lack of a clear stereotypical understanding of ‘lesbian’ in Japanese society,<sup>37</sup> resulting in a lack of ‘group identity’ with which these women can identify.

Lunsing (2005) argues that Japanese women may have fewer problems with appearing masculine, a typical western representation of lesbians, than some gay men have with being seen as feminine. He argues that this may be the result of sexism still present in Japanese society, causing masculinity to be evaluated more positively than femininity. However, based on the hegemonic norms given by all my interview participants, which show a clearly defined traditional gender role for women, as well as the negative experiences some lesbians described related to using ‘inappropriate’ masculine language when they were growing up (e.g., Lunsing & Maree 2004), I question whether this is an accurate representation.

Lesbians do seem to pass unnoticed much more frequently than gay men. Many Japanese I spoke with were aware of, or suspected, a primary or secondary school male classmate who was gay, although their bases of these judgments were widespread—from ‘effeminate’ language use and behavior to a lack of male friends. The only interviewees who identified someone as lesbian did so based on the admission of the person in question. Kamano & Khor (2008) note that because of the apparent similarities between

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<sup>37</sup> This is in contrast to the West, where there seems to be a common impression of both ‘lesbian’ and ‘gay,’ although more people offer two opposing stereotypes for lesbian, describing both the stereotypical ‘butch’ and ‘femme’ personas, something which is not as discussed for gay men.

lesbians and (heterosexual) single women, especially since Japanese women are waiting longer to marry, lesbians often go by unnoticed. One lesbian participant referred to this, shown below in (1), saying that it was easier for two women to date unnoticed by society, whereas Japanese men could not get away with this.

- (1) *kawaisoo na no ga,*  
*onna no ko wa futari de dizuniirando ni ikeru kedo,*  
*otoko ga futari de dizuniirando ni ittara zettai gei da to iwareru.*  
*kawaisoo da ne.*

(Raiko, L7)

What is sad is that two women can go to Disneyland together but if two men go to Disneyland, [people say] they are absolutely gay. It's sad.

Lunsing (2005) found that there is also a perceived shift in both the appearance and attitude of women who identify as lesbian in Japan, at least according to his informants. One lesbian he spoke with criticized younger lesbians for only playing at being lesbian, by which she meant that they “looked and behaved in too feminine a manner” (ibid. 90), which could make it easier for these women to pass unnoticed in society. One older lesbian I spoke with seemed to agree with this view.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the women I spoke with, both lesbian and heterosexual, showed little flexibility as far as what counted as a family unit. I found this surprising, having expected lesbians to have a broader understanding of the concept of ‘family,’ but the heterosexual norm still seemed pervasive for the women I interviewed. It seemed these women were not interested, or could not imagine, having the equivalent of a ‘marriage’ with another woman. Even when I asked women who were in long term relationships if they were thinking about marriage, many responded to the question with the assumption that marriage meant male-female and so did not apply to their current



relationships. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, women are waiting longer to marry and have children, so this is not unique to lesbians. Kamano & Khor (2008) found that while these changes in marriage ages for women and women's attitudes towards marriage 'may show a weakening of some core heterosexual norms, other forms of partnership or ways of forming a family, such as cohabitation and lone-parenthood, are not gaining in popularity' (162). Chalmers (2002) found that lesbians she interviewed do not like the idea of *kazoku* 'family', which implies blood relationship, and are shifting away from this norm to form 'family-type' living arrangements, although these did not seem to be based on the traditional ideas of marriage.

In his study of lesbian magazines in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Welker (2008) found that lesbians were placing personal ads looking for a variety of relationships—"seeking an 'older sister' sometimes explicitly requested one willing to 'spoil' them, to 'hold' them, or—particularly among advertisers who described themselves as a 'cat' (*neko*) or 'kitten'—to 'rear' them" (54). He suggests that the majority of these women were looking for someone to 'take the lead' because they themselves had little sexual experience of their own. These women did not seem to be looking for long-term stable relationships, perhaps because of societal pressure for a traditional marriage, or because there was no possibility of same-sex marriage in Japan.<sup>38</sup> The pairing of an older, more experienced lesbian with one who is younger and looking for someone to take care of them is not uncommon. At the first *ofukai* 'offline party' I attended, there was one lesbian couple that exemplified this. The *tachi* 'butch' half of the couple was a woman

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<sup>38</sup> Maree (2001) gives an interesting account of her experiences creating a legal arrangement with her Japanese partner as a way to bypass marriage laws in Japan.

who was comparatively older than the rest of the women, probably in her mid to late 40s. She was dressed in pants and a shirt that could be considered, especially for Japan, very masculine. Throughout the party, she remained sitting on the couch, lounging back, observing her girlfriend socializing. The *femu* ‘femme’ half of the couple was a young woman in her early 20s. She was very feminine looking, with long hair and wearing makeup, dressed in such a way that her body was on display, in very short shorts and a tight tank top. The appearance this couple projected was similar to what Welker (2008) discusses.

### 3.3 Sexuality and Language

#### 3.3.1 Overview

Studies on language use have found systematic influences of age, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status on variation in speech production (e.g., Docherty & Foulkes 2005), with listeners using variation to ascertain a talker’s ethnicity (e.g., Purnell, Idsardi & Baugh 1999), regional dialect (e.g., Clopper & Pisoni 2004; van Bezooijen & Gooskens 1999), and sex (e.g., Lass, Almerino, Jordan & Walsh 1980). Along the same lines, researchers have begun investigating both perceptions of sexual orientation and production of gay/lesbian/bisexual (GLB) speech. Looking specifically at GLB speech enables linguists to better understand how speakers utilize language norms to construct identities, in this case GLB, and negotiate their position within mainstream society. It also reinforces, especially for Japanese, that ascribing language differences based merely on the sex of the speaker is not sufficient for understanding the mechanism behind linguistic forms.

Even for English speakers, much more attention has been focused on gay speech than that of lesbians. Topics studied include pitch and contour (e.g., Gaudio 1994; Smyth, Jacobs, & Rogers 2003), speech production (e.g., Munson 2004, 2006; Pierrehumbert et al. 2004), and speech perception (e.g.; Munson 2007; Gaudio 1994). In Japanese linguistics, however, this is a neglected area of study for both gays and lesbians.

### 3.3.2 GLB Language Research on English Speakers

Overall, research has found that males tend to use less of the pitch range available to them and to shift their pitch less frequently than females (e.g., Fichtelius, Johanson, & Nordin 1980; Gilmore et al. 1992). However, Avery's and Liss's (1996) analysis of more versus less masculine-sounding speech indicated no differences in fundamental frequency between their groups. Their findings suggest that pitch alone does not provide sufficient cues to allow listeners to infer sexual orientation or degree of masculinity/femininity.

Anecdotal reports claim that listeners can determine sexual orientation just by listening to someone speak. Gay speech is said to often exhibit a higher contour pattern or 'more dynamic pitch range,' higher pitched voices, and lisping, in general, sounding more like women. Gaudio's (1994) study examined the meaning behind this idea of "sounding gay." His experiment indicated that, though most participants exhibited "gaydar," correctly identifying gay speakers, gay and straight men did not differ in terms of pitch range (F0) or fluctuation frequency, measured by calculating the mean, median, maximum, and minimum fundamental frequency (F0) values. Though subjects were able

to identify the gay speakers, the lack of differences in these measurements indicates that there is some other factor that is responsible for a man "sounding gay."

Other production research has shown differences between GLB and heterosexual speech (e.g., Linville 1998; Munson 2007; Munson et al. 2005). Pierrehumbert et al. (2004) investigated difference in vowel space between GLB and heterosexual speakers, showing that gay/bisexual men exhibited a general hyperarticulation of F1/F2 acoustic vowel spaces and lesbian/bisexual women retracted variants of particular vowels. Munson et al. (2005) also showed differences in vowel production between GLB speakers and their heterosexual peers, with gay/bisexual men producing a higher F1 frequency and lesbian/bisexual women a lower F1 and F2 frequency for certain vowels. Their study also included a perception experiment showing that GLB voices were more likely to be judged as sounding GLB than heterosexual voices. Neither of these studies found English-speaking GBL and heterosexual speakers to differ in either mean F0 or F0 range, suggesting that the differences are instead socially conventional ways of speaking that convey sexual orientation, learned by members of the community.

Smyth et al. (2003) also support the notion that listeners can identify the sexual orientation of a speaker from speech and make judgments of masculinity, but they did not find significant correlations between mean F0 and these judgments. However, they did find that sexual orientation and masculinity/femininity highly correlated for listener judgments. They hypothesized that vocal pitch played a role for listeners when making judgments of masculinity/femininity, but not sexual orientation.

Munson (2007) supports this claim that perceived sexual orientation is not the same as perceived masculinity in men's speech for English speakers. Overall, gay men's speech style does not appear to be a globally feminine speaking style, nor does lesbian/bisexual women's speech appear to be globally masculine (Pierrehumbert et al. 2004; Munson 2007; Munson et al. 2005; Smyth et al. 2003). Munson (2007) found that judgments of women's perceived sexual orientation correlate strongly with perceived height, perceived speech clarity, and perceived femininity, which supports Smyth et al.'s (2003) hypothesis that visual cues interact with phonetic markers to reinforce judgments of sexual orientation (346). Munson (2007) also determined that perceived sexual orientation in men significantly correlates with perceived masculinity, but this correlation is weaker than the correlation between sexual orientation and femininity for women. In Chapter 5, I present the results of a similar perception study for Japanese.

Although there is more research done on gay speech than that of lesbians, topics of lesbian speech patterns in English have included analyses of coming-out stories (e.g., Wood 1997; Liang 1997), voice characteristics (e.g., Moonwomon-Baird 1985, 1997; Pierrehumbert et al. 2004; Queen 1997; Waksler 2001), and identity construction (e.g., Liang 1997, 1999; Neumann 1997). Lesbian speech has fewer stereotypes than gay speech, but it is generally categorized as being more monotone than heterosexual women, more resembling typical male speech patterns.

In her study examining lesbian voices, Moonwomon-Baird (1985) found that native English-speaking heterosexual women tend to use higher pitch levels than lesbians, with the average height of peak pitch for lesbians being lower than that of heterosexual

women. Further, heterosexual women use a greater pitch range overall, with lesbians utilizing a "tighter" pitch range, indicating less distance in the peaks and valleys of the contour. However, her results are limited as she analyzed only four speakers' speech in total. Queen (1997) also found that stereotypical lesbian speech included a "narrow pitch range and generally 'flat' intonation patterns" (240). This seems to indicate a pattern opposite to that of gay men. In other words, gay men are assumed to speak more like women and lesbian women are reported to speak more like men, at least in terms of pitch and contour. However, Waksler's (2001) findings show that lesbians and straight women did not show any significant difference in pitch, and in fact, lesbians had a slightly greater mean pitch range than straight women. This indicates that, as Avery and Liss (1996) found, something other than pitch is providing cues to determine sexual orientation. The methodology for these studies did not vary drastically, indicating that more extensive research is required to clarify these conflicting results. As mentioned above, Pierrehumbert et al. (2004) found that GLB speakers of English produced vowels differently than their heterosexual counterparts. Their study seems to indicate that homosexual and bisexual speech patterns reflect "learned manipulation of the phonetic space" (1908). This finding seems to be consistent with the perception mentioned above that homosexual speakers learn to model the speech of the opposite sex and indicates that speech patterns do not reflect a direct biological impact on speech production. Munson & DeBoe (2003) also found that lesbian/bisexual women produced more contracted vowel spaces than heterosexual women and gay/bisexual men produced more expanded vowel spaces than their heterosexual counterparts.

### 3.3.3 GLB Language Research on Japanese Speakers

As discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese has a wider range of so-called gender-specific features available than English, including morphemes such as sentence-final particles (SFP) and pronouns. These elements that make up ‘women’s language’ and ‘men’s language’ in Japanese continue to reinforce contemporary notions of gender-appropriate speech (Maree 2008). Although these features have been extensively studied for a variety of groups of Japanese speakers, there have been very few studies on Japanese language and sexuality (see, however Lunsing & Maree 2004; Maree 1997; Ogawa & Smith 1997; Valentine 1997a, 1997b).

Japanese gay men’s language is often characterized as ‘effeminate,’ with gay men generalized as using *onee kotoba* ‘older sister speech’ which is accompanied by wider intonational contours and ideologically feminine language, such as certain SFPs (e.g., rising-intonation *wa*) and pronouns (e.g., *atashi* and even the more neutral *watashi*, which is more commonly used by women than men in casual settings). Not all gay men employ this speech style, with some gay men intentionally using masculine pronouns to keep from appearing feminine (Lunsing & Maree 2004). Ogawa & Smith (1997) also found that gay Japanese men, although they used a wide range of gendered forms, did utilize some pronouns that are considered feminine and used SFPs that are considered ‘relatively feminine’ by Japanese speakers. Although they examined only two speakers, they hypothesize that SFPs seem more likely to be playing a part in the development of ‘gay male’ language conventions than other features such as pronoun use.

As discussed previously, participants in the current study were more able to stereotype Japanese gay men's language patterns than those of lesbians. When asked to mimic gay speech, I perceived the majority of speakers as raising their pitch higher than their normal speaking voices, and speaking with a distinctly wider contour.

Recently, there has been an increased investigation into lesbian language in Japan (e.g., Abe 2004; Lunsing & Maree 2004; Maree 2008; Welker 2008). Abe's (2004) study of lesbian language in bar settings suggests that lesbians utilize first person pronouns previously argued to be masculine, such as *jibun*, *boku*, and *ore*. However, she contends that this does not indicate that the speaker identifies with men, but is an "appropriation of masculine resources" (213). Further, these women do not exclusively use 'masculine' language, but in fact appear to be manipulating these gendered speech norms in different contexts. This may be an indication that they are utilizing these linguistic features to overtly express or hide their identity in given situations. Younger bar employees in their early twenties exclusively listed *jibun* 'oneself' as their favorite first-person pronoun. This runs counter to my experience, where only one lesbian participant listed this as a possible first-person pronoun. In reality, many did use *jibun* during the interview (see Chapter 4), but the fact that they typically do not mention it as an option suggests that it is not a conscious choice. As the heterosexual participants were, for the most part, not utilizing this pronoun, perhaps the lesbian use is an appropriation of a language norm they picked up in the lesbian community. It is important to realize that Abe's (2004) study of first-person pronouns mainly focuses on workers in the lesbian bars where she



conducted her fieldwork. In this context, speakers were likely to be performing a lesbian identity—it is difficult to hypothesize how they would speak in different environments.

Other studies have also investigated pronoun/self-referent use among homosexual speakers. Lunsing & Maree (2004) found that one speaker persisted in referring to herself with her first name and the diminutive *chan* typically attached to girls' names, "Marina-chan" even as an adult to avoid using the pronoun *watashi*—"to Marina, *watashi* is not merely a first-person pronoun; it is an expression of heterosexist femininity...and patriarchal space" (104). Welker (2008) found that one lesbian wrote into *Allan*,<sup>39</sup> "I (*ore*) am a female who wishes I had been born male" (55). This woman is clearly utilizing the coarse masculine pronoun *ore* as a reflection of her gender identity. In Welker's survey of advertisements for pen-pals in this magazine over a two-year period, the most commonly used first-person pronouns were *watashi* (30 to 40 percent) and *boku* (10 percent), with some tokens of *ore* and very few of *atashi* (ibid. 55). This supports the hypothesis that lesbian speakers are rejecting forms that they feel are too feminine, instead adopting masculine or neutral forms. One employee from Abe's (2004) study says she uses *jibun* because *atashi* and *watashi* exhibit too much femininity. However, this speaker noted, as did a few of the lesbians I spoke with, that using *boku* or other 'masculine' first person pronouns would mean they identified with men. One of lesbian participants in the current study said "I'm not a man, so why would I use *boku* or *ore*? I'm a woman." This is an interesting contrast to young heterosexual girls who

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<sup>39</sup> *Allan* (Aran; 1980-1984) was a magazine targeted at lesbians in Japan.

manipulate these first-person pronouns to express their identity or to ‘even the playing field’ with male peers (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this).

In addition to utilizing ‘male’ language forms, or at least rejecting overtly feminine ones, Maree (2008) found that two lesbians had reappropriated *onee kotoba*, a form often employed by Japanese gay men. One speaker claimed to use it in opposition to the more masculine style of language used by many lesbians. This use includes stereotypically feminine forms, but spoken in an exaggerated manner, with extreme intonation rising sharply—“based on men’s parodying of stereotypical women’s language” (ibid. 71). It then becomes a parody of women’s language, not a reproduction of feminine norms. Another lesbians explained that she specifically uses feminine pronouns such as *atashi* to emphasize that she is a women, although she does not “possess ‘many so-called feminine characteristics’ (*josei-teki to iwareru yoo na yooso wa sukunai*)” (ibid. 76). These examples show that not all lesbians consciously reject the feminine language norm or use masculine forms instead. Even utilizing masculine forms does not mean that lesbians want to be identified as men. However, their language choices, whether it is the use of masculine first-person pronouns, which Abe (2004) argues may be an appropriation of men’s resources, or embracing feminine linguistic forms to offset their own perceived distance from the feminine norms of society, shows that Japanese speakers are aware of the implication of speech forms in terms of image projection.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Although there have been linguistic investigations of variation related to a range of factors, such as sex, age, and ethnicity, differences related to sexual orientation are a relatively new area of research. Prevalent gendered and sexualized stereotypes of language use in English generally mean that lesbians and gay men may alternately embrace the existing stereotypes of “masculine lesbians” and “effeminate gay men” or remain invisible as sexual minorities to those who do not see past these stereotypes (Valentine 1997a). For Japanese GLB speakers, who have a decidedly more concrete set of gendered language ideologies from which to choose, this seems perhaps less an option of complying with mainstream stereotypes of homosexuality, which are decidedly lacking in Japan, at least for lesbians, but perhaps more a rejection of the prescriptive masculine/feminine norm. This seems to be more likely for lesbian speakers since femininity is generally viewed as relatively weak and powerless, especially in Japanese culture. Interview responses showed that lesbian women, in particular, seem more likely to both view negatively and reject the feminine norms, such as appearance and behavior, which might in turn result in a rejection of the normative feminine speech register.

The majority of studies on pitch variation for GLB speakers showed no measureable differences from those of heterosexual speakers. However, pitch has been argued to be at least in part a cultural construct, with Japanese women exhibiting a higher mean pitch than female speakers of other languages (e.g., van Bezooijen 1996), with a higher pitch correlating with judgments of femininity. Therefore, it is possible that pitch is more likely to be manipulated by Japanese speakers than seen in other cultures.

Differences between lesbian and heterosexual women in terms of both average pitch and pitch range will be presented in Chapter 6.

This chapter has examined the treatment and status of gay/lesbian/bisexual (GLB) Japanese in contemporary Japan, looking both at linguistic research related to English GLB speakers in the West, and the smaller subset of research related to GLB Japanese speakers. Overall, GLB research in Japanese has focused more on lexical differences between heterosexual and GLB speakers than on phonetic differences between the two groups. Chapters 4 and 6 present the results of an investigation into the interview data collected during my fieldwork, revisiting lexical differences (Chapter 4), and examining phonetic differences related to pitch for lesbian and heterosexual women (Chapter 6), while Chapter 5 presents perception differences of sexual orientation and gender-based personality traits for Japanese speakers.

## 4. GENDERED MORPHEMES

### 4.1 Introduction

In Chapters 2 and 3, I discussed the background of women's language and sexuality in Japan to give an overview of gender norms and societal expectations of women, both in terms of roles as well as language use, and where Japanese lesbians have been situated within these norms. In this chapter, I examine the usage of gendered morphemes for both the lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual participants in my study. I will first discuss my research question and hypotheses in section 4.2, describe the methodology for how tokens were coded (section 4.3), and then present and discuss the results for pronoun usage (section 4.4) and sentence-final particles (section 4.5). Conclusions are discussed in section 4.6.

### 4.2 Research Question and Hypotheses

Although previous research has indicated that Japanese lesbians utilize masculine morphemes which heterosexual women do not use, the majority of these studies relied on reported data from informants, not an examination of naturally occurring speech (see Chapters 2 and 3 for a discussion of these studies). Therefore, in this chapter, I examine the use of first-person pronouns and sentence-final particles (SFP) that occur in natural speech of Japanese women, both lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual, to look for actual differences in usage of feminine, neutral, and masculine morphemes related to the sexual orientation of the speaker. Based on previous research, my hypotheses are as follows:

1. Lesbian/bisexual speakers will be less inclined to use feminine pronouns than their heterosexual counterparts. Further, lesbians will utilize masculine pronouns, which heterosexual speakers will not do.
2. Lesbian/bisexual speakers will have less of a tendency to use feminine SFPs than heterosexual women and a greater tendency to use masculine SFPs, with heterosexual women using very few masculine SFPs overall.

### 4.3 Methodology and Coding

All nineteen interviews<sup>40</sup> were recorded, as discussed in Chapter 1, transcribed, and examined for tokens of gendered morphemes related to pronouns and sentence-final particles (SFP). I discuss the methodology for coding these tokens in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 below. All data was analyzed using an ANOVA, with sexual orientation of speaker (lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual) as the between-subjects factor. Separate ANOVAs were run for first-person pronoun use, overall usage of sentence-final particles, and for the usage of masculine, feminine, and neutral sentence-final particles. Correlations between pronoun and sentence-final particle usage and pitch measurements are discussed in Chapter 6, along with results of the acoustical analysis.

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<sup>40</sup> One interview of the twenty recorded was discarded because of excessive English use by the interviewee. Although I could still examine the Japanese portions for tokens of gendered morphemes, because there were not enough continuous Japanese utterances produced by this speaker in a row, I could not phonetically analyze the data.

### 4.3.1 Coding and Categorization of Pronouns

#### 4.3.1.1 Coding of Pronouns

Although there are also gendered morphemes for the second-person pronouns, speakers did not often use them during the interviews. Within the limited tokens in the data, all occurred as a part of quoted speech and took the neutral form of *anata*, except for one token of *anta* which was quoted as gay (male) speech and one *omae*, which was quoted as lesbian/bisexual speech. Because they appeared in quoted speech, they did not fit within my criteria, discussed below. Therefore, I only examined tokens of first-person pronouns for this study.

I analyzed transcripts for all tokens of first-person pronouns which were not produced as part of a quotation or in an embedded clause. This was done even if the speaker was quoting herself,<sup>41</sup> or giving a quoted example, such as when the interviewees were discussing possible differences in lesbian/bisexual speech. However, although they were not counted in final tallies, interesting examples of first-person pronoun usage that appeared in embedded clauses/quotations will be discussed separately in section 4.4 below. In all nineteen interviews, the only first-person pronouns used in other-directed speech were *watashi*, *atashi*, *uchi*, and *jibun*. Although the null pronoun is an option for Japanese speakers, unlike in English, I did not consider these in my tallies. Example (2) shows an example of typical null pronoun use in Japanese, with the speaker omitting both

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<sup>41</sup> Interesting cases involving tokens within quotations will be discussed in sections 4.4 and 4.5. However these were not included in the total counts of the first-person pronouns.

‘she’ in the first intonational phrase, and ‘I’ in the second. Omitted portions are noted in the translation by the use of brackets.<sup>42</sup>

- (2) *aa-*  
*zettai soo da ne tte omotte toka.*  
*sugoi otoko no ko ppoi.*

(Raiko, L7)

**[I]** think "Oh, **[she]** has to be one."  
 Really like a boy.

The more common first-person pronouns *watashi* and *atashi* were generally straightforward to code. All tokens of these that were not in quoted speech were tallied. Occasionally it was difficult to determine whether the token was *atashi* or *watashi*. In any questionable cases, I coded conservatively, labeling tokens as the neutral *watashi* rather than marked-feminine *atashi*. Tokens of *uchi* and *jibun* were less straightforward to code and are discussed below.<sup>43</sup>

Eight participants utilized tokens of *uchi*, which were used to refer to one’s own family or company, in the sense of ‘in-group’ uses of *uchi*. All could be replaced with *watashi* with no change in meaning, but for the most part, the use of *uchi* was unnecessary because the sense of ‘in-group’ was inherent in what followed. In example (3), *uchi*, which has been argued to mean ‘home,’ is used to modify *ie*, home/family, indicating that the speaker is specifically referring to her own family in contrast to the ‘typical’ family she had just described.

<sup>42</sup> For a list of transcription conventions, please see Appendix B.

<sup>43</sup> During all steps of analysis, with any questionable cases, I consulted multiple native speakers for their opinions on my judgments.



(3) **uchi** no ie wa chigau no ne.

(Toshiko, L8)

It's that **my** family is different, you know.

Example (4) also shows *uchi* being used to refer to one's own family. Here, there is no contrast set up. The speaker is just describing the makeup of her family.

(4) **uchi** no oneechan wa,  
saikin yatto kekkon suru koto ni natta n da kedo.

(Ayumi, L2)

It's that **my** older sister finally decided to get married recently.

Finally, one speaker, from Tokyo, used *uchi* to refer to the company she works for when describing her job, shown in (5).

(5) **uchi** no kaisha ni kanshite ieba,  
kekkoo oopun da to omoimasu.

(Kimiko, L3)

[I] think if you're talking about **my** company, it's pretty open.

Tokens of *uchi* only occurred in possessive constructions, followed by the genitive particle *no* and a noun, never as the stand-alone subject of a sentence.

Tokens of *jibun* were counted only if they were functioning as first-person pronouns referring to the speaker, not in a quotation. *Jibun* was not considered a pronoun if it was acting as a reflexive, a pronoun which refers back to an antecedent noun phrase, even if it was being used reflexively to refer to the speaker, because there is only one option available to a speaker in this sense. Consider examples (6) and (7), from my data, which show the reflexive usage of *jibun*.

- (6) *minna mo rikai shiyoo to shitenai shi,*  
*inai mono da to omotteru.*  
*ite mo,*  
*terebi no naka dake no sekai.*  
***jibun** no tonari ni wa zettai inai to omottete,*  
*itara sugoi kimochi warui to iu hito ga ite.*

(Raiko, L7)

Nobody's trying to understand, and [they] think [we] do not exist. Even if [we] exist, it's just in the world of television. [They] think that there's no way [we] are right next to **them**, and some people say that it would be disgusting if [we] were.

- (7) *toku ni atashi no itoko mo,*  
***jibun** no suteppu no musuko ga gei da to wakatte,*  
*maa,*  
*musuko dakara,*  
*aishitai to omou.*

(Raiko, L7)

And, especially, my cousin found out that **his** stepson was gay, and, well, [he] wants to love [him] because it's [his] son.

In (6), *jibun* refers back to the group as a whole *minna* ‘everyone.’ In (7), the *jibun* is referring to *atashi no itoko* ‘my cousin.’ Both are clearly reflexive uses of *jibun*. Because the subject, especially in pronoun form, is often omitted in Japanese, it was occasionally difficult to determine whether *jibun* referred to an omitted antecedent or if it was standing alone as a pronoun.<sup>44</sup> In unclear cases, I did not count *jibun* in my tally of first-person pronouns.

In the following example (8), *jibun* is used to refer to a generic person, much as we use ‘one’ or ‘they’ in English. The following is taken from the Ayumi’s (L2)

<sup>44</sup> Native speakers I consulted often had difficulty making judgments on *jibun* tokens.

response to the question, ‘what difficulties do modern women face in Japan?’ The tokens of *jibun* that are not highlighted are the standard reflexive usage of *jibun* discussed above.

- (8) *gendai no onna no hito tte,*  
*jibun ni,*  
*sugoku kashiteru mono ga,*  
*nanka,*  
*mokuhyoo tte iu ka,*  
*koo denakya ikenai tte iu fuu ni,*  
*omotteru no ga,*  
*sugoku kata sugite,*  
*de,*  
*sore wa,*  
*jibun ga honto ni koo jibun no naka kara kuru,*  
*shoodoo ja nakute,*  
*shakai toka,*  
*media toka de,*  
*torizata sareteru no ni,*  
*jibun no zoo wo chikazukeyoo tte iu yoo na?*  
*soo iu kanji ga,*  
*a-*  
*un,*  
*mirareru to omou.*

(Ayumi, L2)

For women today, what the biggest burden on them could maybe be is [their] goals. Things like thinking [they] have to be a certain way. It’s too rigid. And them trying to approach the image of the self that is expected by things like society and the media rather than something that comes from the true self? [I] think it’s like that kind of thing.

In the following examples (9) and (10), the same speaker uses *jibun* as a pronoun. When asked whether she told her parents about her sexuality, Ayumi (L2) responded with the following:

(9) *unto,*  
 ...  
*soo da nee.*  
*setsumei,*  
 ...  
*shita to omou.*  
*un.*  
*mazu okaasan ni yutte no kanaa.*  
*otoosan-*  
*otoosan wa,*  
*sugoi kowakatta kara,*  
*itsu mo.*  
*kowai,*  
***jibun** ga kowai tte iu imeeji ga atta kara,*  
*anmari,*  
*otoosan ni wa.*  
*demo,*  
*otoosan wa sugoku,*  
*sapootibu datta.*

(Ayumi, L2)

Um. That's right. [I] explained [to them], [I] think. Yeah. First, [I] think [I] told my mom. My dad...because my dad is really scary, always. Because **I** have this scary image of him. [I] didn't really [tell] my dad. But, my dad was really supportive.

Another speaker used the pronoun in the same way when discussing whether she was lesbian or bisexual.

(10) *ima wa rezubian da to omou,*  
***jibun** wa.*

(Sachi, L4)

Now, [I] think **I**'m a lesbian.

In the following example (11), it is clearly being used as a first-person pronoun when the speaker is describing the makeup of her family.

(11) *haha to **jibun** desu.*

(Kyoko, L6)

It's **me** and my mom.

In (12), the speaker is offering a description of the stereotypical lesbian, which she feels resembles her own appearance.

- (12) *tenkeiteki na rezubian no imeeji wa,  
kami no ke wa wariai mijikai,  
shootokatto,  
jibun mo soo desu kedo.  
de...*

(Kyoko, L6)

The stereotypical image of a lesbian is relatively short hair, a short cut. The same as mine but, and...

And finally, in the following example (13), Natsuko (L5) is describing what she views as her ‘gender’ role in her same-sex relationship.

- (13) *jibun wa,  
josei to tsukiatteite,  
dochira ka to iu to,  
dansei na no de,  
watashi wa shyuunyuu ga nai no de,  
shyuunyuu wa jibun no bun shika hataraitenai node,  
toku ni kanojyo oyoshinatte wa imasen ga,  
dochira ka to iu to,  
seishinteki na men de,  
tsuyoku attari toka,  
sapooto shitari toka,  
shiteimasu.*

(Natsuko, L5)

When **I** date a girl, if [I] had to say, [I have] the male role, but because I have no income, because [I] only work enough to get enough income for myself, [I’m] not really supporting [my] girlfriend. But, if [I] had to say, [I’m] supportive and strong and the like on an emotional level.

In short, *jibun* was coded as a first-person pronoun in cases where it could be replaced only by a first-person pronoun like *watashi* that does not allow a reflexive reading.

#### 4.3.1.2 Categorization of Pronoun Tokens

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research has categorized Japanese first-person pronouns into feminine, neutral, and masculine. Aside from the usage of *jibun*, there were no masculine tokens of other-directed pronouns in my data. Although *jibun* has been reported to be a ‘masculine’ pronoun (e.g., Abe 2004; Ide 1979, 1997), as used within Japanese military ranks and other authoritative occupations, such as the police force, this usage of *jibun* has not been adequately discussed in previous literature to clearly differentiate masculine usage from neutral usage. The following is a constructed example showing the typical masculine usage of *jibun*.

(14) *jibun*      *ga*      *iku*      *ssu*      *yo*.<sup>45</sup>

**I**’m going (I tell you).

In the above example (14), multiple elements indicate a masculine speaker—the first-person pronoun use of *jibun* and the contracted copula *ssu*. However, without additional masculine morphemes or other contextual clues, defining *jibun* as a masculine pronoun seems problematic as there is no clearly defined difference between male and female usage. First-person pronoun tokens of *jibun* that appear in my data are not always coupled with additional masculine morphemes to help clarify categorization, and all Japanese informants consulted categorized typical tokens of *jibun* as neutral.<sup>46</sup> It is possible this pronoun is shifting in usage, but without a further in-depth examination, it is

<sup>45</sup> Constructed example provided by a Japanese informant.

<sup>46</sup> Native Japanese speakers had a very clear intuition as to what constituted ‘masculine’ and ‘non-masculine’ *jibun* tokens. However, it seems they were looking at surrounding context to give them additional information before deciding. It seems possible that it is not the pronoun *jibun* itself that is masculine, but the topic or other grammatical elements it is coupled with. This requires further study to definitively answer whether *jibun* is masculine or neutral.

difficult to determine how it is shifting, or for which groups. Therefore, in order to reflect the prescriptive categorization of these pronouns, *jibun* tokens were categorized as masculine, as shown in Figure 4 below.

Similarly, upon consulting with native speakers, *uchi* as it is used in my data is widely felt to be a neutral pronoun, although previous research (e.g., Ide 1979; Miyazaki 2002, 2004) has indicated it to be a non-standard feminine first-person pronoun. The difference appears to be the implied membership in a group (example 15), rather than reference to a single individual (example 16), as well as the fact that it is used in possessive constructions rather than standing alone as a subject, as indicated in the following examples.

- (15) ***uchi*** *no haha mo,*  
*chichi to kekkon shite,*  
*otoko to kekkon suru ikooru shiawase de wa nai tte iu no wa,*  
*kanojo ga sore wo shoomei shiteru wake dakara.*  
 ...

(Misao, L12)

***My*** mom also, she married dad and [she] said ‘marriage to a boy doesn’t equal happiness,’ based on the evidence of her marriage...

- (16) ***uchi***,  
*gakkoo ikitakunai nen.*<sup>47</sup>

***I*** don’t want to go to school.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Miyazaki (2002, 2004) categorized *uchi* as a feminine pronoun, although less so than *atashi*. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I categorized all pronoun tokens of *uchi* as feminine.

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<sup>47</sup> Constructed example provided by a native speaker of the Kansai dialect.

The masculine pronouns *boku* and *ore* were referenced in the interviews as possible first-person pronouns that lesbians might use, but they were not used by speakers in the interviews. I included these, along with the second-person pronoun category shaded in Figure 4, because these tokens were also used in quoted speech, but they were not analyzed quantitatively.

Figure 4: Prescriptive gender categorization of first- and second-person pronouns in Japanese.

Categories	Feminine	Neutral	Masculine
First-person	<i>atashi</i> <i>uchi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>jibun</i>
			<i>boku</i> <i>ore</i>
Second-person	<i>anta</i>	<i>anata</i>	<i>omae</i>

#### 4.3.2 Coding and Categorization of Sentence-final Particles

For the purpose of this study, sentence-final particles (SFP) were coded and tallied for each speaker, and percentages of particle use separated by category—masculine, neutral, and feminine—were examined for differences based on the sexual orientation of the speaker. Recent sociolinguistic research on Japanese SFPs clearly shows that there is a shift occurring in women’s use of SFPs, resulting in a tendency to categorize a larger number of SFPs previously felt to be masculine as neutral. However, in order to examine patterns of lesbian/bisexual versus heterosexual women’s language use in terms of gendered morphemes, I adopted the more traditional prescriptive



categorization that is found in second language textbooks and dictionaries.<sup>48</sup> These gender divisions are salient for all Japanese speakers. Even if they themselves do not adhere to them, they are aware of the image presented through the use or non-use of particular forms.

Although some SFPs, such as *ne*, can basically occur anywhere within an utterance, in order to look at overall percentage use of SFPs, I did not include these types of particles. However, in this data, *ne* occurring within an utterance was relatively uncommon, with only a couple of speakers producing utterance-internal *ne* a few times each.<sup>49</sup> For this study, SFPs were only counted after final forms that were listener-directed. Final forms are defined here as having a finite verb form with intonation-final prosody. SFPs were not counted if they occurred in direct quotations, even if the quotation did not have a final quotation verb form attached. An example of this is shown in the highlighted line in (17), below.

- (17) *watashi sugoku josei rashii to omotta onna no ko wa,*  
***kono kappu kawaii ne** (MASC<sup>50</sup>),*  
*minna soo da ne (MASC),*  
*soo da ne (MASC) tte iu kedo,*  
*kanojo wa soo yo ne (FEM).*  
*nante kawaii n daroo to omotte,*  
*dokidoki shichatta.*

(Raiko, L7)

This girl who I thought was extremely feminine;  
 [when I said] ‘**this cup is cute, right** (MASC)?’  
 Everyone [else says] ‘It’s [cute], isn’t it (MASC)?’,

<sup>48</sup> For a complete list and description of SFPs occurring in this data, please see Appendix C.

<sup>49</sup> This is most likely because of the interview-format, as well as because the interviewer attempted to limit vocal interaction with the native Japanese speaker in order to get clean speech recorded with little or no overlap.

<sup>50</sup> This form could be considered neutral since the feminine alternative *kawaii wa ne* ‘it’s cute right?’ is not widely used anymore.

[they] say ‘It’s [cute], isn’t it (MASC)?’,  
 but she [says] ‘it’s so [cute] (FEM)’.  
 [I] somehow thought ‘isn’t [she/that] adorable?’  
 and my heart started pounding.

Although the utterance is missing a quotative verb, such as *to iimasu* ‘say,’ it is clearly implied. Therefore, even though Raiko is quoting her own speech, this was not included in my tally. Nor were the subsequent two lines, which were also quotations of reported speech lacking a quotative verb.

I also did not include SFPs that occurred in embedded clauses, even if they were not direct quotes, such as those that precede *to omou*. Although it is likely that there are differences in SFP usage in these clauses, there are additional factors that make them incomparable to listener-directed SFP usage. Consider the following example (18).

- (18) *ima wa kekkon shite mo,*  
*shigoto o shiteiru hito ga iru tte sugoku shitta shi,*  
*soo yatte ikeru naa to omou kana to omoimashita.*

(Mai, H3)

Now [I] really understand that there are people who work even though  
 [they're] married, and wondered if [they] think they can continue doing it.

In (18), the two SFPs, *naa* and *kana*, which precede the quotative thought marker *to omou* were not counted because both were embedded. However, I did not count clauses as embedded if they preceded forms such as *to*, *tte*, *to iu*, *to omoimasu* or *desu* which were functioning as discourse markers. These differ from the non-discourse marker usage of the forms because they are used to indicate the speaking turn is over.<sup>51</sup> They are

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<sup>51</sup> This usage of *to*, *tte*, *to iu*, *to omoimasu* or *desu* as a discourse marker indicating that the speaker is relinquishing the floor is often times unclear and requires further study.

also often marked by a pause between the preceding clause and the following form, pitch contour reset, or a combination of the two. This indicates, in part, that these forms are functioning as discourse markers, not final verb forms, and therefore do not embed the preceding utterances. Finally, I counted combinations of SFPs which have been grammaticalized as a single SFP, such as *ka* and *na(a)* becoming *kana*, as one token.

Because the null use of SFPs was also examined, I counted all non-embedded final forms as locations of possible SFP usage, including both direct and distal verb forms. Although speakers sometimes end utterances with a final *-te*, which may be a technique for avoiding SFP use, in the interview format, it was difficult to distinguish between final *-te* forms, utterances that were interrupted by the speaker, and tokens of self-repair. When the *-te* ending exhibits final prosody, it is easier to categorize as a final form. However, some speakers who habitually used the *-te* endings also produced tokens with extreme boundary pitch movement (Maeda & Venditti 1998), which in this data was frequently exhibited by an increase of pitch at the end of an utterance. Therefore, it was often impossible to distinguish between a final *-te* form and a continuing *-te* form. This was occasionally the case with final finite forms as well, with speakers utilizing rising intonation *han-gimon* ‘half-question’ prosody at the end of the utterance, but as they ended in a final finite form, these were counted as possible SFP locations. Because of the difficulty in clearly identifying final *-te* forms, I did not include them in my final count.

In cases of post-posing, or moving a sentence element out of its canonical word order to follow the final verb, I did not count the post-posed element as a separate utterance, instead counting the verb that preceded the post-posing as the final form of the

utterance. Post-posing is clear by the continuing intonation contour between the preceding finite form and the subsequent post-posed intonation unit. In these cases, there is no reset of pitch between the two phrases. An example of a postposed utterance is shown in (19).

- (19) *watashi kurisuchan da shi,*  
*michibiite ageta yo,*  
*tengoku ni.*

(Raiko, L7)

I'm a Christian, and [I] led [her], to heaven.

In cases where an element was repeated twice in quick succession for emphasis, I only counted the finite verb form once as a possible SFP location, such as in example (20).

- (20) *shinai,*  
*shinai.*

(Raiko, L7)

[I] don't. [I] don't.

If the element was repeated after a pause, or repeated in response to further prompting, I counted each occurrence as a possible SFP location.

#### 4.4 Results for First-person Pronouns

##### 4.4.1 Quantitative and Statistical Analysis

In order to examine patterns, I took the averages of pronoun use for each speaker (see Table 2) and averaged across speakers based on sexual orientation (see Table 1). For the analysis of pronouns, I did not consider the null option, so the sum of percentages for each group/speaker totals one hundred percent.

Table 1: Average first-person pronoun usage by gender category of pronoun and by sexual orientation of speaker.

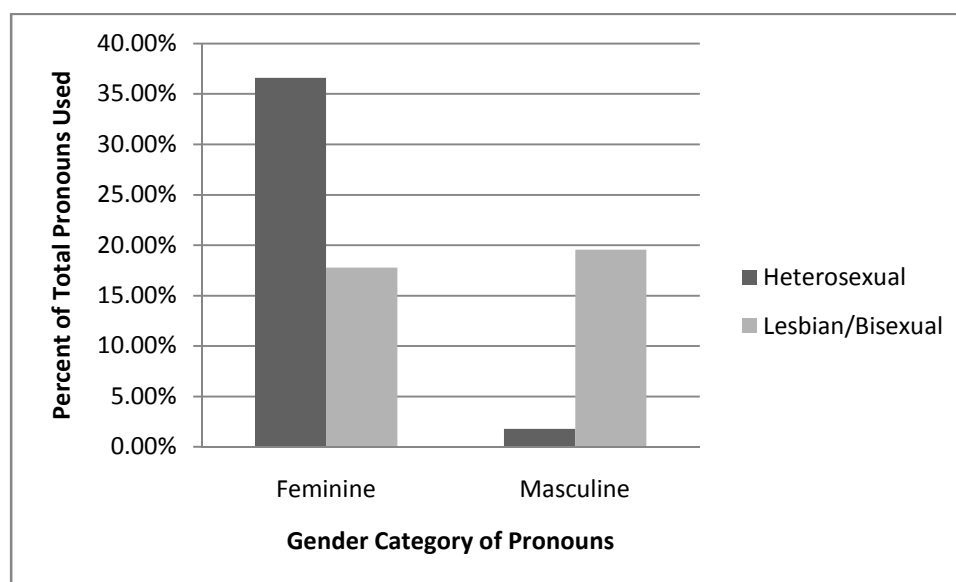
	Feminine		Neutral	Masculine
	<i>atashi</i>	<i>uchi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>jibun</i>
Heterosexual	36.20%	0.40%	61.61%	1.79%
	36.60%			
Lesbian/bisexual	11.96%	5.78%	62.41%	19.85%
	17.74%			

A clear overall difference in pronoun use related to sexual orientation of the speaker is apparent, as seen in Table 1 above. Figure 5 shows the difference between the two groups in the use of masculine and feminine pronouns. On average, heterosexual women utilized the feminine pronoun *atashi* 36.2% of the time, while lesbian/bisexual women only used it 11.96% of the time. This difference was statistically significant ( $F(1,18)=8.558$ ,  $p<.01$ ). This indicates a tendency of lesbian/bisexual women to avoid using a pronoun that is markedly feminine, supporting the hypothesis that lesbian/bisexual speakers will move away from feminine morphemes. Even considering the possibility that *uchi* may be considered a feminine first-person pronoun, the effect of sexual orientation on percent use of feminine first-person pronouns still reaches significance ( $F(1, 18)=4.465$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

Differences in percentages for the neutral *watashi* were very similar between the two groups, which is unsurprising since both men and women utilize this pronoun. However, lesbian/bisexual speakers had a higher rate of usage for both *uchi* ( $F(1,18)=4.918$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and *jibun* ( $F(1,18)=6.015$ ,  $p<.05$ ) overall. Total counts and

percentage usage of first-person pronoun separated by gender category for each speaker are presented in Table 2, below.

Figure 5: Comparison of lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women in terms of average masculine and feminine pronoun use.

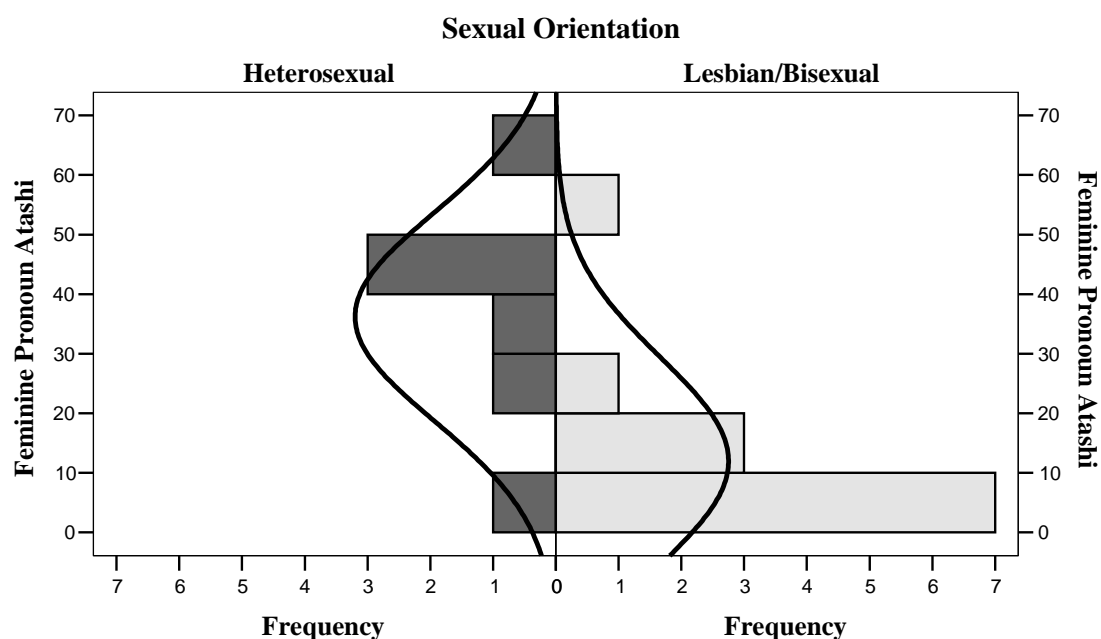


With the exception of speaker L1 (Aiko), the tendency for lesbian/bisexual speakers to use a lower percentage of the feminine pronoun *atashi* than heterosexual speakers as a group (36%) holds true across the group. Further, almost half the lesbian/bisexual speakers did not use the feminine pronoun *atashi* at all, while all heterosexual speakers used it, although for two speakers (Fujiko, H2 and Hanako, H5), the overall numbers were low.

Table 2: Total number of tokens and percentages of first-person pronoun by gender category for each speaker, separated by sexual orientation.

			Total Pronouns	Feminine				Neutral		Masculine	
				<i>atashi</i>		<i>uchi</i>		<i>watashi</i>		<i>jibun</i>	
heterosexual	H1	Chikako	30	12	40.0%	0	0.0%	18	60.0%	0	0.0%
	H2	Fujiko	36	3	8.3%	1	2.8%	32	88.9%	0	0.0%
	H3	Mai	22	8	36.4%	0	0.0%	14	63.6%	0	0.0%
	H4	Michiko	24	10	41.7%	0	0.0%	11	45.8%	3	12.5%
	H5	Hanako	20	4	20.0%	0	0.0%	16	80.0%	0	0.0%
	H6	Seiko	29	18	62.1%	0	0.0%	11	37.9%	0	0.0%
	H7	Minako	60	27	45.0%	0	0.0%	33	55.0%	0	0.0%
lesbian/bisexual	L1	Aiko	23	13	56.5%	2	8.7%	4	17.4%	3	13.0%
	L2	Ayumi	16	3	18.8%	3	18.8%	7	43.8%	3	18.8%
	L3	Kimiko	18	0	0.0%	1	5.6%	10	55.6%	6	33.3%
	L4	Sachi	33	3	9.1%	0	0.0%	16	48.5%	4	12.1%
	L5	Natsuko	24	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	17	70.8%	6	25.0%
	L6	Kyoko	10	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	7	70.0%
	L7	Raiko	36	10	27.8%	0	0.0%	23	63.9%	3	8.3%
	L8	Toshiko	14	0	0.0%	1	7.1%	13	92.9%	0	0.0%
	L9	Shizuko	5	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%
	L10	Yumi	42	6	14.3%	6	14.3%	23	54.8%	7	16.7%
	L11	Sayuki	34	2	5.9%	0	0.0%	24	70.6%	5	14.7%
	L12	Misao	70	0	0.0%	3	4.3%	55	78.6%	9	12.9%

Figure 6: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on percentage of use for the feminine first-person pronoun *atashi*, separated by sexual orientation.



Only one heterosexual speaker used *uchi* (Fujiko, H2) and *jibun* (Michiko, H4), with percentages being low for both. Almost half of the lesbian/bisexual speakers utilized *uchi* as a pronoun in the possessive form, although the percentages were relatively low across the board, with five speakers producing zero tokens. Utilization of *jibun* as a pronoun was much more common, with only two lesbian/bisexual speakers producing zero tokens. One was Shizuko (L9), who only produced a total of five first-person pronouns during her interview, all of which took the neutral form *watashi*. The other speaker who did not use *jibun*, Toshiko (L8), also used only *watashi* tokens, with the exception of one *uchi* token.

What is interesting to note is that there seems to be a preference for variety in first-person pronoun usage in Japanese. Aside from the one speaker who tended to avoid



first-person pronoun use altogether, all speakers showed some variety in their forms. Heterosexual speakers typically switched between *atashi* and *watashi*, with more use of the latter (neutral) form. Lesbian/bisexual speakers, even when avoiding the use of the feminine form *atashi*, showed variety by using *uchi* and *jibun* much more often than their heterosexual counterparts who were using *atashi*. For the most part, lesbian/bisexual speakers who utilized both *uchi* and *jibun* as first-person pronouns used the masculine pronoun *jibun* more than the feminine *uchi*.

The frequency of *jibun* usage for lesbian/bisexual speakers is interesting. Although in theory, this higher usage of *jibun* by the lesbian/bisexual participants supports the hypothesis that lesbian/bisexual speakers would be more inclined to utilize masculine first-person pronouns, such as *jibun* (e.g., Abe 2004), the fact that native speakers I consulted labeled the tokens as neutral makes this analysis problematic. Unarguably, there is a clear pattern of higher percentage usage of *jibun* for lesbian/bisexual speakers, but no other masculine tokens, such as *boku* or *ore*. This seems to suggest there is some additional reason for lesbian/bisexual speakers to use *jibun*.

One possible explanation is that *jibun* is being used to speak about oneself in a more detached sense. Although, to the extent possible, comparable questions were posed to both lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual participants, the underlying topic of sexual orientation was undoubtedly more sensitive for the lesbian/bisexual participants. One speaker utilized *jibun* heavily when discussing her coming-out story, perhaps lessening

the emotionality of the topic for this speaker. However, it was also used by participants when discussing their family, a usage that heterosexual participants did not share.

#### 4.4.2 Notable Pronoun Usage

Although I did not count tokens that appeared in a quotation, even when the speaker was quoting herself, the following example shows an interesting use of the feminine pronoun by a lesbian/bisexual speaker in response to being asked in what ways she might hide her sexuality.

(21) *dakara,*  
*minna de otoko no hito no hanashi ni nattara,*  
*atashi koo iu hito taipu toka yutte mitari.*  
*kareshi nani shiteru tte kikaretara,*  
*kanojo nan da keredo,*  
*un,*  
*atashi no kareshi wa ne tte yuttari toka.*

(Raiko, L7)

So, when everybody starts talking about guys, [I] try saying things like "This is my (FEM) type," and if asked what [my] boyfriend does, it's actually [my] girlfriend, but [I] say things like "Well, my (FEM) boyfriend, you know."

While Raiko did utilize *atashi* approximately 28% of the time, the specific repeated use of the feminine pronoun in example (21) seems marked. Her response to the question was meant to convey that she would refer to her girlfriend as a 'boyfriend' as a way to hide her sexual orientation. She would also provide general response, rather than specifically indicating that her 'type' is a woman. By using the very feminine pronoun *atashi*, she suggests that her language shifts towards the feminine side of the scale when hiding her sexual orientation.

The same speaker utilized markedly masculine speech when mimicking what a lesbian speaker might sound like. Asked how she might recognize other lesbians in society, she answered with the following example.

(22) *saikin wa tsutaya ni iku to,*  
*eruwaado no mae ni iru hito toka,*  
*aa-*  
*gei da ne to omottari toka,*  
*yappari tachi no ko ga iru to wakaruru nanka,*  
*tabun onna no ko toka gaarufurendo to denwa shitete,*  
*omae ga inakattara sa, watashi dooyatte ikiteikun da yo tte yutte,*  
*aa-*  
*zettai soo da ne tte omotte toka.*  
*sugoi otoko no ko ppoi.*

(Raiko, L7)

Recently when [I] go to Tsutaya, sometimes [I] think "Oh, that person's gay" when [I] see someone in front of the "L Word" (display), or when there's a butch girl, talking on the phone to probably a girl or a girlfriend, saying "How could **I** (NEUT) live without **you** (MASC)?" [I] think "Oh, [she] has to be one." Really like a boy.

Here, her specific use of *watashi* is probably not a word-for-word quotation of what the woman said, but a representation of speech that features that the speaker Raiko feels are 'lesbian.' The sentence-final particles in this example will be discussed below, but it is interesting to note her use of the second-person pronoun *omae*, a clearly masculine form. This speaker also said later that she felt only women who wanted to become men would use *boku* or *ore*, and that even very 'butch' lesbians would not use these forms because they are women. It is also notable that this speaker used the neutral pronoun *watashi* in clear contrast to the feminine form *atashi* she used in her quoted example of how she hid her sexual orientation from others.

## 4.5 Results for Sentence-final Particles

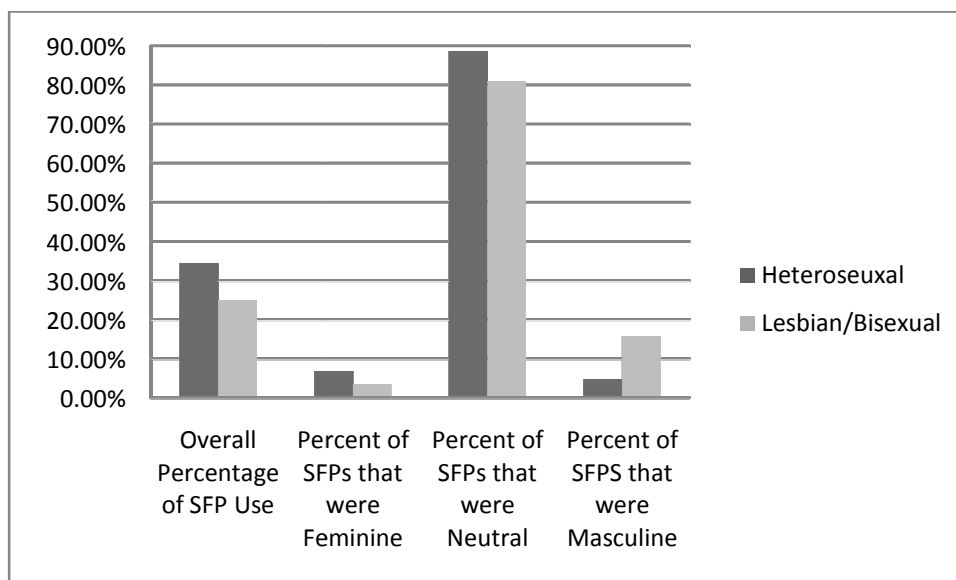
### 4.5.1 Quantitative and Statistical Analysis

Sentence-final particle (SFP) use averaged by group and for each individual is presented below in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. The numbers for the masculine, neutral, and feminine categories are also presented as percentages of the total number of sentence-final particles used by speaker. Because of the extremely low number of SFPs that fell into the ‘strongly feminine’ categories, I included both the ‘very feminine’ and ‘moderately feminine’ tokens in the ‘feminine’ category. There were no tokens of ‘strongly masculine’ SFPs in my data. These numbers were then averaged together, across speaker based on sexual orientation, to get an overall picture of the pattern of SFP use between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women, as shown below in Table 3, and also shown in Figure 7.

Table 3: Averages of percentage of feminine, neutral, and masculine sentence-final particles (SFP) used and overall SFP usage (total, masculine, neutral, and feminine), separated by sexual orientation of speaker.

	Percentage of overall SFP use	Feminine	Neutral	Masculine	
Heterosexual	34.31%	2.18%	30.60%	1.53%	Percentage out of all final forms
		6.77%	88.59%	4.64%	Percentage of total SFP
Lesbian/ bisexual	24.89%	0.77%	20.34%	3.78%	Percentage out of all final forms
		3.44%	80.91%	15.65%	Percentage of total SFP

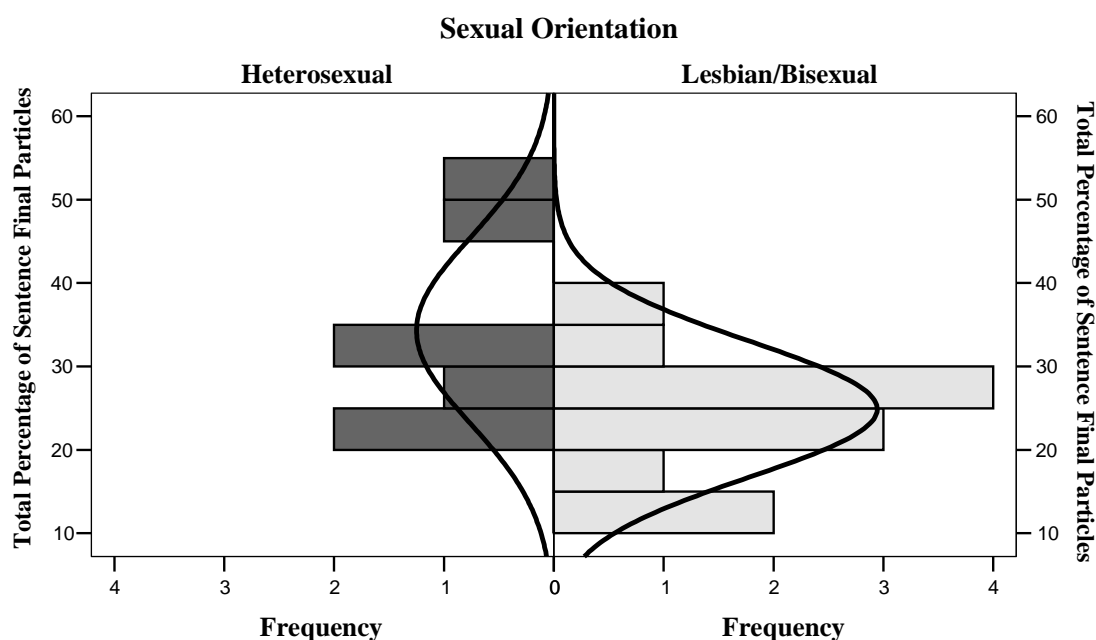
Figure 7: Comparison between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women for sentence-final particle (SFP) use, both for overall SFP use and separated by gender category.



As seen in Table 3 above, heterosexual women use sentence-final particles approximately 10% more often than lesbian/bisexual women, a significant difference ( $F(1,18)=4.521, p<.05$ ). When considering the percentage of sentence-final particles that were feminine, neutral, or masculine, both groups overwhelmingly used neutral SFPs, although heterosexual women used neutral SFPs approximately 8% more often than lesbian/bisexual speakers. It is unsurprising that both groups used a high percentage of neutral SFPs, as marked feminine or masculine SFPs have been found to occur less often in natural conversation (e.g., Okamoto 1994). However, there is a very clear difference in overall use of masculine and feminine SFPs between the two groups. The average use of feminine particles for heterosexual women was 6.77%, while lesbians used them only 3.44% of the time, although the effect was not statistically significant. Similarly,

lesbian/bisexual speakers used more masculine SFPs than heterosexual speakers, 15.65% compared to 4.64%. This difference was significant ( $F(1,18)=8.61$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

Figure 8: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on overall percentage of sentence-final particle use, separated by sexual orientation.



Examining the breakdown according to speaker, there seems to be greater variety among heterosexual speakers related to total percentage of SFPs used, with a standard deviation of 11.2. Lesbian/bisexual speakers had a much lower standard deviation of 8.1. This trend held true for both overall percentage use of neutral and feminine sentence-final particles—heterosexual women exhibited an 8.7 standard deviation for feminine SFPs and 13.1 for neutral SFPs, while lesbian/bisexual speakers showed a very low standard deviation of 3.3 for feminine SFPs and 10.7 for neutral SFPs. This shows that

heterosexual women vary more in overall usage of SFPs, as well as percent usage of feminine and neutral SFPs, depending on the individual speaker.

Table 4: Percentages of sentence-final particle (SFP) use for each speaker, as calculated from the total percentage of final forms that contained SFPs.

			Percentage of overall SFP use	Percentage of actual SFP use		
				Feminine	Neutral	Masculine
heterosexual	H1	Chikako	29.33%	1.64%	86.89%	11.48%
	H2	Fujiko	50.17%	4.86%	93.06%	2.08%
	H3	Mai	21.38%	5.88%	94.12%	0.00%
	H4	Michiko	47.87%	1.37%	97.26%	1.37%
	H5	Hanako	34.76%	0.00%	98.77%	1.23%
	H6	Seiko	23.33%	8.16%	89.80%	2.04%
	H7	Minako	33.33%	25.47%	60.25%	14.29%
lesbian/bisexual	L1	Aiko	29.26%	2.53%	75.95%	21.52%
	L2	Ayumi	27.48%	3.70%	67.59%	28.70%
	L3	Kimiko	24.32%	3.70%	87.04%	9.26%
	L4	Sachi	15.38%	6.52%	71.74%	21.74%
	L5	Natsuko	12.70%	0.00%	93.55%	6.45%
	L6	Kyoko	27.78%	0.00%	89.00%	11.00%
	L7	Raiko	14.05%	8.47%	81.36%	10.17%
	L8	Toshiko	24.50%	10.20%	63.27%	26.53%
	L9	Shizuko	34.58%	3.43%	88.00%	8.57%
	L10	Yumi	39.76%	0.00%	96.32%	3.68%
	L11	Sayuki	21.21%	1.79%	71.43%	26.79%
	L12	Misao	27.63%	0.95%	85.71%	13.33%

As shown in Table 4, above, one heterosexual speaker Michiko (H4) used almost no feminine SFPs (1.37%). However, the same speaker also used very few masculine SFPs, although a very high percentage of SFP use overall (47.87%), which was the second highest among all participants. Lesbian/bisexual speakers might be exhibiting fewer differences in their patterns because they are more aware of the hegemonic representation of women in Japanese society, including the cutsey/feminine behavior often expected of relatively younger women, and are more aware, on some level, of rejecting these norms. One lesbian/bisexual speaker, Raiko (L7), clearly indicated during her interview that *onna rashii* ‘feminine’ behavior was related to speaking like a ‘woman,’ not just feminine SFP use, which she mentioned, but also use of elevated pitch, which she claimed to be incapable of mimicking, shown in example (23) below.

(23) *onna rashii?*  
*nani kanaa.*  
*ippanteki ni wa,*  
*kotoba zukai toka shigoto toka,*  
*kanaa.*  
*kotoba zukai toka, ugoki toka.*  
 ...  
*kotoba zukai wa,*  
*tabun otoko no kotoba o tsukawanai toka.*  
*atashi sugoku josei rashii to omotta onna no ko wa,*  
*a-*  
*kono kappu kawaii ne,*  
*minna soo da ne,*  
*soo da ne tte iu kedo,*  
*kanojo wa soo yo ne.*  
*nante kawaii n daroo to omotte,*  
*dokidoki shichatta.*  
*bikkuri shita.*  
*a-*  
*onna no ko rashii tte,*  
*koo iu koto kana toka.*  
*ato nanka,*



*atta toki no odoroi toki no koe toka.*  
*[interviewer: tatoeba?]*  
*dakara watashi wa dekinai.*  
*yatta koto mo nai.*

(Raiko, L7)

[What is] feminine? [I] wonder what [it could be]. Generally, things like language use and occupation, (I suppose). Language use and [how they] move, and that sort of thing. This girl who I thought was extremely feminine; [when I said] ‘this cup is cute, right (MASC)?’ Everyone [else] says ‘It’s cute, isn’t it (MASC)?’ but she [says] ‘it’s so cute (FEM)’. [I] somehow thought ‘isn’t [she/that] adorable?’ and [my heart] started pounding. As for a feminine girl, it’s probably this sort of thing and also things like the voice when [they] are surprised. [Interviewer: For example?] I can’t do it. [I’ve] never done it.

However, when examining the standard deviation for the masculine SFP usage between the two groups, the opposite patterns holds true. Lesbian/bisexual participants have a standard deviation of 8.8 while heterosexual women only show a standard deviation of 5.7. There is only one heterosexual speaker, Mai (H3), who used no masculine SFPs. This speaker was also below the average for heterosexual feminine SFP use. One heterosexual speaker, Minako (H7), who used masculine SFPs 14.29% of the time, mainly used the *da+yo/ne/yone* pattern (65% of her masculine SFP usage was of this form). A typical example is shown below in (24).

(24) *itsu kazoku ni naru ka?*  
*ii shitsumon **da nee** (MASC).*  
*muzukashii nee.*

(Minako, H7)

At what point do [you] become family? Good question, **isn’t it** (MASC). [It’s] difficult, isn’t it?

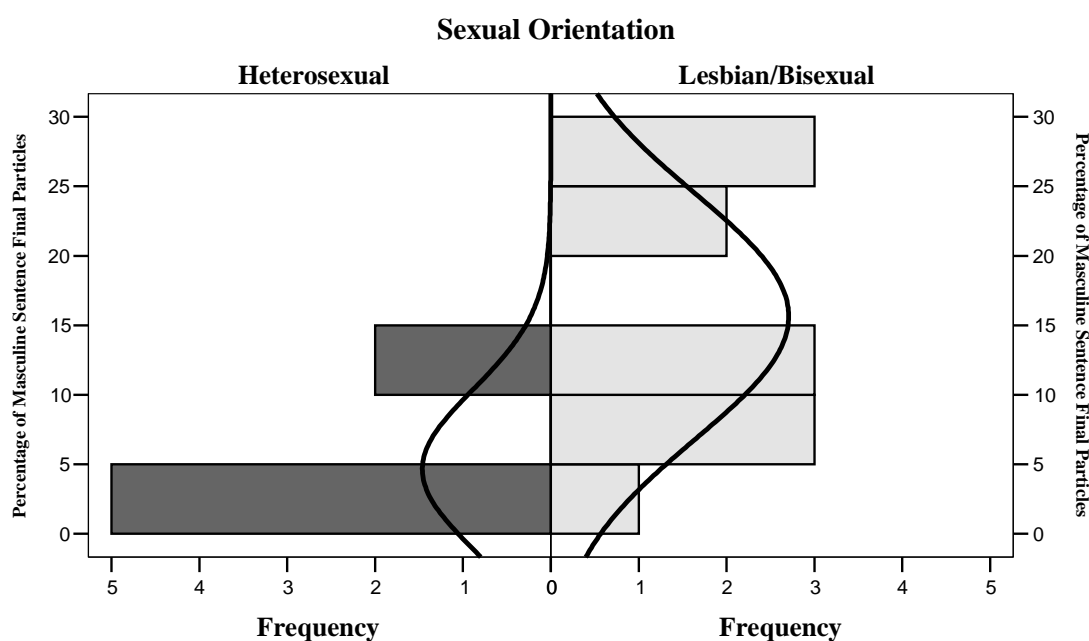
However, this speaker had the highest percent use of feminine SFPs among all participants, almost double that of her masculine SFP use, so overall, her speech style still seems relatively feminine compared to other speakers.

The one lesbian/bisexual speaker who used masculine SFPs the least often of the lesbian/bisexual group, Yumi (L10), used no feminine SFPs. Therefore, it is possible that her low use of the form is a result of her tendency to reject both ends of the scale. For overall SFP usage, she was at the higher end of the lesbian/bisexual speakers at 39.76%. The majority of Yumi's SFP use took the relatively common form of *ne/yo/yone*. It is also interesting to note that this speaker in particular asked for the results of this research, in order to learn how lesbian speech differed from the 'norm' so she could then modify her speech so she would not stand out in society. It is possible that she is purposely avoiding masculine morphemes as a way to remain 'closeted.' The other lesbian/bisexual speaker at the lower end of masculine SFP usage, Natsuko (L5), also exhibited the same type of pattern. Natsuko (L5) used very few SFPs overall, actually showing a lower total percentage use than all other participants (12.7%), and used no feminine SFPs. This shows that this speaker also is avoiding marked SFP usage on both ends of the scale.

Also, the majority of heterosexual speakers used almost twice as many feminine as masculine SFPs. Two speakers exhibited very little or no difference between feminine and masculine SFP use, showing very low numbers for both. Only one heterosexual speaker, Chikako (H1), showed both a markedly higher use of masculine SFPs (11.48%) and lower use of feminine SFPs (1.64%). Chikako explained in her interview that she is often told she is not 'feminine,' mainly related to her relatively high level of

independence. She often travels internationally alone and one of the qualities she values in a relationship is that her boyfriend be accepting of her independence and also show a strong independent streak himself.

Figure 9: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on overall percentage of masculine sentence-final particle use, separated by sexual orientation.



Conversely, all lesbian/bisexual speakers showed a higher usage of masculine over feminine SFPs. in almost all cases markedly so. Although there is greater variety in the amount of masculine SFPs used by the speakers, the pattern clearly shows that lesbian/bisexual speakers are utilizing more SFPs from the masculine end of the scale.

#### 4.5.2 Notable Usage of Feminine Sentence-final Particles

Sentence-final particles that are considered to be ‘very feminine’ were rarely used, even by heterosexual speakers (e.g., Okamoto 1994; Okamoto & Sato 1992). Only two speakers used the ‘very feminine’ *kashira*, and as expected, both were heterosexual speakers (Fujiko, H2 and Minako, H7). When asked what the typical age for women to marry is, Minako responded:

(25) *ima osoi n janai **kashira** (FEM).*  
*inaka no hoo wa hayai to omou kedo.*

(Minako, H7)

[I] **wonder** (FEM) if it isn’t that it’s later these days. But [I] think (the age in) the rural area is earlier.

However, this speaker also used *kana(a)*, which is a neutral form, in other utterances. Interestingly, of all the interviewees, Fujiko (H2) and Minako (H7) presented the most traditional ideas of women’s roles and status in modern Japanese society, with the focus being on the home and child-rearing. Within the heterosexual speakers, the range of feminine SFP use could be accounted for in part by the age/status of the participants. The four speakers who used the highest percentage of feminine SFPs were graduated from college, and were in graduate school, working, or raising a family. They were also the four oldest participants among the heterosexual interviewees. The remaining three participants were university students, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty.

Fujiko (H2), who used the extremely feminine *kashira*, also used *da wa* in a self-quotation, shown in (26), explaining how her interest in members of the same sex differs from an interest in men.

(26) *tatoeba fuku toka mitemo,*  
*kawaikute,*  
*aa-*  
*kono ko itsumo kawaii sutairu da wa (FEM) to omottara,*  
*chotto mane shiyoo kana toka,*  
*sonna kanji kana.*

(Fujiko, H2)

For example, if [her] clothes are always cute, and [I] think "Oh, [she's] always wearing a cute style (da wa (FEM))," [I] think about copying it. That kind of thing, (I guess).

The use of the extremely feminine *wa* here could be a subconscious effort to reinforce her femininity when being challenged as to whether she has ever had a deeper interest in other women.

None of the lesbian/bisexual speakers used forms that are considered extremely feminine. Also, in comparison to the heterosexual speakers, all but two had already graduated from university and were working in professional positions, so the argument that some of these feminine forms are more related to age does not hold true with lesbian/bisexual speakers. Although none of the lesbian/bisexual participants felt they changed their language use to hide their sexual orientation, the possibility remains that they might subconsciously shift toward the feminine end of the scale in situations where their sexual orientation would cause problems for them, if it were known. Because the interview topic was known to them from the start, and because the interviewer was a non-native speaker of Japanese who was fully aware of their sexual orientation, they may not have felt pressured to present a more socially accepted feminine persona.

#### 4.5.3 Notable Usage of Masculine Sentence-final Particles

In the same example discussed in the section on first-person pronouns, Raiko (L7), in reporting ‘butch’ (*tachi*) lesbian speech she had witnessed, used a number of masculine morphemes, shown in example (27) below.

(27) *omae ga inakattara sa (MASC),  
 watashi dooyatte ikiteikun da yo (MASC) tte yutte,  
 aa-  
 zettai soo da ne tte omotte toka.  
 sugoi otoko no ko ppoi.*

(Raiko, L7)

[She's] saying "How could I live without you (da yo (MASC))?" [I] think "Oh, [she] has to be one." Really like a boy.

In addition to the use of the masculine second-person pronoun discussed above, as well as the use of *watashi*, which, according to this speaker's interview responses, was the furthest away from feminine that is acceptable for women to use, we also see two masculine SFPs, *sa* and *da yo*. Although the direct copula *da* coupled with the SFPs *yo/ne/yone* did come up in the data, with even one heterosexual speaker utilizing this pattern, *sa* was not something that was used during the interviews. However, during one interview, the participant took a break to make a phone call to another lesbian she was planning to introduce me to. She explained before the phone call that the person she was calling was ‘famous’ within the lesbian community in Tokyo—she believed there was no one who did not know this woman. Although only one side of the phone call was recorded, Misao (L12) increased her use of masculine SFPs during the phone conversation. As shown in example (26) above, Misao used the direct copula *da + yo*, a masculine combination. In addition to this, she used the contracted copula, *ssu*, often

suggested to be a very masculine/salaryman speech style.<sup>52</sup> Further, she used two tokens of *sa*, also considered to be highly masculine. It seems likely that on some level this speaker was performing her lesbian identity to a higher extent during the phone call, the purpose of which was to set up contact between me and a person she considers to be the center of the Tokyo ‘dyke’ community.

#### 4.6 Correlations between Pronoun Use and Sentence-final Particles

Interestingly, there were no significant correlations between the use of gendered first-person pronouns and either gendered sentence-final particles or overall use of sentence-final particles, for either the group as a whole, or separated by sexual orientation. As hegemonic ideas of gender are argued to be reflected in language choice, such as with gendered morphemes in Japanese, I would expect speakers who use a higher percentage of feminine sentence-final particles to also use more feminine pronouns, and the same for masculine morphemes. Since this was not the case, it suggests that these two sets of gendered morphemes are being utilized by speakers in different ways.

#### 4.7 Conclusion

Overall, the majority of the hypotheses held true, though not to the extent that I expected. Heterosexual women exhibited a greater tendency to use the feminine first-person pronoun *atashi* than lesbian/bisexual speakers. Lesbian/bisexual speakers also used the masculine first-person pronoun *jibun*, although there were no other-directed uses

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<sup>52</sup> This form, although it did not come up in the interview format, perhaps due to the semi-formal nature of the speech event, was something I observed in my interactions with lesbian/bisexual speakers throughout my fieldwork. In fact, a Japanese friend of mine who I had not seen in a couple years informed me that I was speaking like a ‘salaryman,’ pointing out my use of the contracted form as an example. It is entirely possible this is a habit I picked up from participating in the community during my fieldwork.

of *boku* or *ore* in this data. There are a few possible explanations for this. The first, and most likely, is that the lesbian/bisexual speakers interviewed were slightly older, more established women. The majority of these women have professional careers, and were relatively comfortable with their sexual orientation, enough so that they were willing to participate in this study. It was explained to me that the stereotypical Japanese lesbian who completely rejects the feminine norm in favor of a masculine image, including extreme masculine language use, would generally be a younger lesbian who is open about her sexuality. These are the women who would be inclined to use *boku* or *ore* as first-person pronouns, and possibly the masculine version of *jibun*, not the type of woman who participated in my study. I did meet a group of younger women who identified as gay, or were questioning their sexuality, and they had a tendency towards rougher, more masculine language. However, as these women were young, all under twenty, I did not interview them for this study.<sup>53</sup>

Although the majority of interviewees, both lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual, felt there was no difference in how a lesbian might speak, when differences were suggested, it was usually use of gendered morphemes such as *boku* or *ore*, or avoiding the use of first-person pronouns altogether by referring to oneself by name.<sup>54</sup> However, when I asked the lesbian/bisexual participants if they would ever use *boku* or *ore*, the majority answered negatively, with only two older participants stating that they probably did so when they were younger but would not do so now. One participant even stressed

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<sup>53</sup> This was done for ethical reasons. I felt that these young women were too young and were just beginning to explore their sexuality.

<sup>54</sup> In fact, others have reported to me of very 'out' lesbians using *boku* and *ore* when interacting outside the lesbian community. However, these speakers were reported to be younger and still in school, and so this language use might change as they enter adult society.



that she would not use those words because she was not male. This strong rejection of these masculine first-person pronouns actually contrasts with responses from the heterosexual participants, a few of whom pointed out that school aged girls often use *boku* to put themselves on the same level as their male classmates. It is possible that because the lesbian lifestyle is not accepted in Japanese society, these lesbian/bisexual women are more sensitive to people misconstruing their sexuality with *seidoo itsusei shoogai* ‘gender-identity disorder.’<sup>55</sup>

Another possibility is related to the *tachi* (butch)/*neko* (femme) dichotomy that is salient in the Japanese lesbian community. It seems more likely that Japanese lesbians who embrace the *tachi* role would be more inclined to use masculine speech. In my time spent in the community, I often heard lesbians ask someone they had just met questions such as ‘Are you butch or femme?’ or ‘What kind of girl do you like, butch or femme?’. When I asked lesbian/bisexual participants to define *tachi/neko*, I received a range of responses. Some felt that the distinction was related to appearance or attitude, while others felt it was related to the role in the bedroom—a seemingly feminine woman could be dominant, *tachi*, in the bedroom. However, for the most part, a *tachi* lesbian was stereotyped as being boyish in both appearance and mannerisms, including the use of more masculine speech. *Neko* ‘femme’ lesbians were described as feminine, almost indistinguishable from heterosexual women, including speech.

Finally, as this data was recorded during interviews, participants might have been more formal and less inclined to use non-standard language than they might be when

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<sup>55</sup> Two of the interviewees explained that at first they considered gender-identity disorder as an explanation for their feelings related to their sexuality, but both finally realized they were lesbian.

interacting with others in the lesbian community. However, I continued to interact with many of these participants after the interview, in a variety of settings, and I did not witness a marked difference in their speech in terms of pronoun use.

In terms of sentence-final particles, there was a tendency for lesbian/bisexual speakers to use more masculine and fewer feminine SFPs than heterosexual speakers, although the difference in feminine SFP use was not significant. It has been suggested that the increased use of so-called 'feminine' SFPs is more related to age than gender (Okamoto & Sato 1992). However, although the heterosexual speakers who used the very feminine SFPs were in fact older, similarly aged lesbian/bisexual speakers did not show the same pattern.

Finally, heterosexual speakers did tend to use SFPs at a greater rate overall, which mirrors the pattern that women use SFPs more often than men. However, this result did not reach significance at ( $p < .08$ ). As discussed in the methodology section, final *-te* forms were not counted because of the difficulty involved in identifying them. However, at least two lesbian/bisexual speakers, Aiko (L1) and Sayuki (L11), utilized this form at a high rate. If these *-te* forms had been included in the total count, percents of overall SFP use would have decreased, perhaps increasing the probability that this difference would be significant. The use of final *-te* forms was not as apparent in heterosexual speakers.

## 5. PERCEPTION EXPERIMENT

### 5.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 3, although cross-cultural research has been done on pitch levels, as well as the personality traits that accompany them (e.g., Smith 1980)—the latter focusing primarily on female voices—very little research has been done on the perceived pitch of Japanese gay and lesbian voices, or on the accompanying variance in intonation patterns. Further, even studies on English-speaking gay and lesbian voices have been too small to provide any conclusive results. This chapter will attempt to partially fill this gap by not only examining perceptions of pitch level—investigating both perceived sexuality as well as perceived personality traits—but also by examining the effect pitch width has on these perceptions.<sup>56</sup>

### 5.2 Research Question and Hypotheses

This experiment is designed to answer the question of how pitch height and pitch width, determined by the difference between the maximum and minimum pitch of an utterance, affect perceptions of personality traits and sexual orientation for native Japanese speakers. Previous research indicates that Japanese women produce a higher fundamental frequency (F0) within their biological range than their English-speaking counterparts—which in turn signifies certain physiological and personality traits more

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<sup>56</sup> This investigation will not consider other acoustic features that Loveday (1981) notes accompany variations in intonation, such as loudness, rhythmicality and tempo, as well as voice quality (breathy, creaky, nasal, tense, etc.).

accepted as feminine in Japanese society (e.g., Ohara 1992; Smith 1992a; van Bezooijen 1996). There are also findings that English-speaking lesbian women produce lower, less contoured speech than heterosexual women and English-speaking gay men a higher, more contoured utterance than heterosexual men (e.g., Moonwomon-Baird 1985, 1997; Queen 1997). Therefore, I hypothesize that the following will hold true in an examination of pitch height and pitch width/contour for Japanese male and female speech as perceived by Japanese listeners.

1. Overall, the higher the voice, the more feminine the perceived personality traits will be for both sexes, and the lower the voice, the more masculine the perceived traits.
2. In terms of sexuality, pitch and contour will have an effect on perception of homosexuality – lower pitched and flatter contoured female voices will more likely to be perceived as lesbian; higher pitched, more contoured male voices will be more likely to be perceived to be gay.
3. Certain personality traits that are viewed to be more masculine, e.g., assertiveness and calmness, will accompany perceptions of lesbianism. The same voices that are judged lesbian will be perceived as having more masculine personality traits. The voices perceived to be gay will be perceived as having more feminine personality traits.

It should be noted that the study described in this chapter does not attempt to make acoustic measurements to determine what lesbian or gay voices truly sound like, nor does it investigate what characteristics go along with homosexuality. This chapter

merely focuses on cultural perceptions of homosexuality, for both voice quality and personality traits, and how perceptions of personality traits correlate with these perceptions. As discussed in Chapter 3, although Japanese speakers report a relatively uniform cultural stereotype of gay men, both in behavior and speech, the same is not true for lesbians. This experiment is designed to investigate subconscious stereotypes, if any, of both lesbians and gay men in Japan, in terms of both personality and pitch.

### 5.3 Methodology

The above hypotheses were tested by analyzing the perception of a variety of Japanese utterances by native Japanese speakers, both male and female.

#### 5.3.1 Stimuli

##### 5.3.1.1 Speakers and Recording Methodology

I recorded two native Japanese (NJ) speakers, one female and one male. Both speak "standard" Japanese, Tokyo dialect. They were recorded in a sound protected booth at 44.1 kHz and 16 bits using a high quality freestanding microphone and a digital CD recorder.

##### 5.3.1.2 Speech Materials

Each speaker was asked to participate in two tasks designed to elicit native Japanese speech samples. First, they were required to introduce themselves in Japanese, including information such as their name, hometown, and details about their family, research, and studies. Next, each was asked to read a simple Japanese story aloud then retell the story in their own words. Two different stories were utilized for this task.

Participants were given as much time as they wanted to read over the story before being recorded, and again to look over the story before retelling it. For the first story, pictures were provided for clues, though the subject was not able to see the text of the story during the retelling. For the second story, there were no pictures provided, nor was the subject able to see the text during their retelling.

Ten one-to-three second utterances were chosen for each speaker from the total recording. Samples were chosen for clarity of speech, obvious intonation contour,<sup>57</sup> as well as appropriateness of content. This last constraint included ruling out quoted speech or obvious gendered vocabulary or grammar. As each utterance had to be between one and three seconds in total length, when considering the above constraints, there were fewer than fifteen options for each speaker overall.

### 5.3.1.3 Manipulation of Tokens

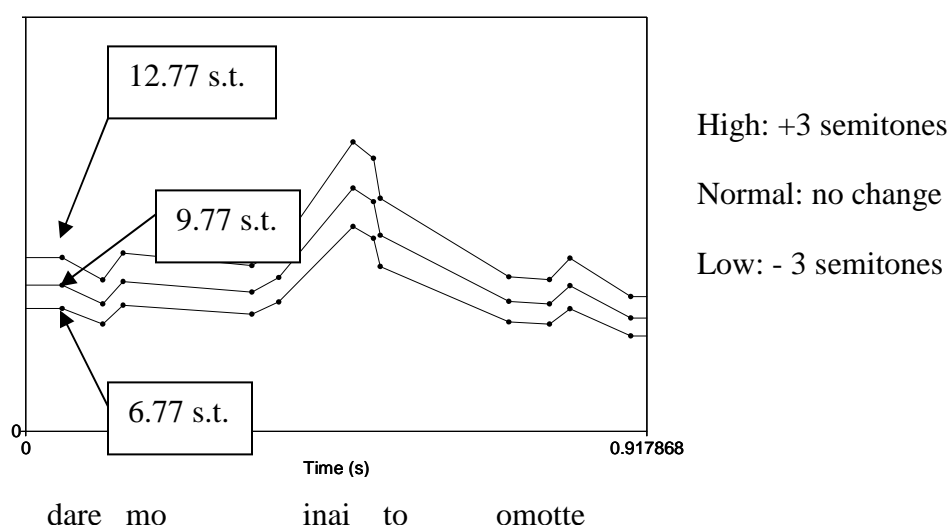
Using the PSOLA (Pitch Synchronous Overlap and Add) algorithm as implemented in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2005), each short sample was manipulated for both overall pitch height and pitch width. The PSOLA algorithm allows a manipulation of pitch resulting in a high quality resynthesis, which is often indistinguishable from naturally recorded speech (Moulines & Charpentier 1990; van Bezooijen 1996). All measurements were made using semitones. For ease of manipulation, the pitch for each was stylized by retaining only points of sudden slope change in the contour and interpolating between these points. This was done using the

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<sup>57</sup> An utterance where there were clear changes in F0 was necessary so that there would be high and low pitch points that could be manipulated to make a wider and narrower pitch width. A flat contoured utterance would show very little difference, even at an increase and decrease of 75%.

stylize command in Praat.<sup>58</sup> For each contour pattern, as discussed below, the normal pitch height<sup>59</sup> (normal) was utilized, increased by three semitones (high), and decreased by three semitones (low) from the original level, as shown below in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Sample pitch levels for experiment utterances.



Contour width, using Praat, was also manipulated from the original short sample of each speaker—natural, wide, and narrow.<sup>60</sup> For each original sample the natural peaks and valleys of the intonation contour were increased by 75% to produce the wide sample,

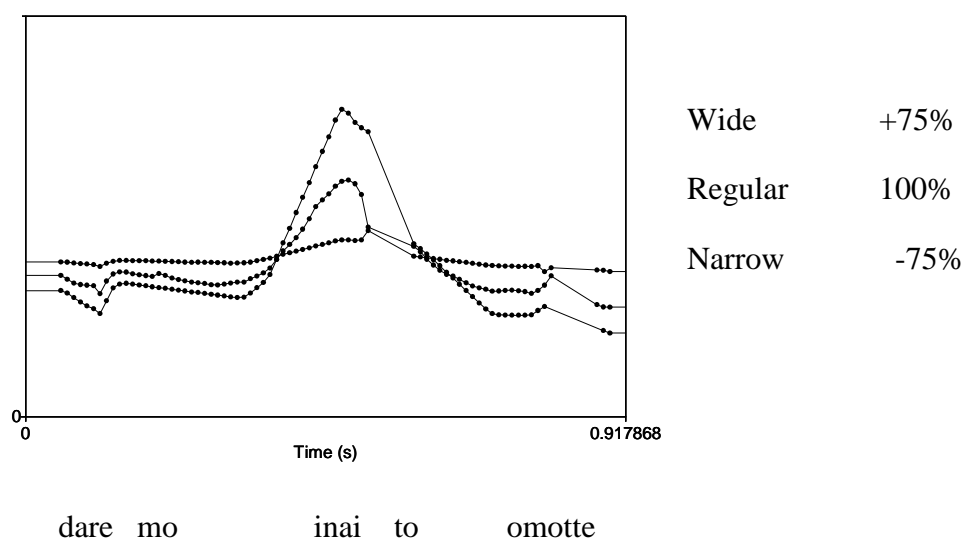
<sup>58</sup> Though such stylization did not audibly affect the intonation of the utterances, for the sake of comparability, each normal pitch/contour was also stylized using the PSOLA algorithm with a one semitone frequency to control for any variation.

<sup>59</sup> The manipulations of pitch heights did not affect how natural the resulting utterances sounded.

<sup>60</sup> In comparison to the regular pitch width, the wide and narrow pitch widths sounded slightly unusual, although the narrow sounded more natural than the wide. It is possible that stretching out or compressing the pitch widths in a such a uniform manner does not accurately reflect what native speakers are doing when they utilize a wider or narrower pitch width. Instead speakers who utilize a wider pitch range may be producing sharper peaks and valleys, instead of steady increases and decreases in pitch (see Yuasa 2002 for a discussion of pitch peaks and valleys in Japanese utterances).

as measured in semitones. To do this, the baseline for each utterance was calculated individually by finding the mean F0. Then, for each pitch point after stylization, the difference between the pitch point and mean F0 was increased by 75%. To "flatten" the natural intonation contour and produce the narrow sample, the difference between each pitch point and the mean F0 of the utterance were decreased by 75%. This faithfully maintained the overall shape and timing of peaks and valleys in the contour while increasing or decreasing the overall size of pitch width of the utterance. Examples of these can be seen in Figure 11, below. Each utterance was first manipulated for pitch width and then each width was manipulated for pitch height. This resulted in nine stimuli for each utterance. Ten utterances were used for each voice, resulting in a total of 180 stimuli.

Figure 11: Sample pitch widths for experiment utterances.





### 5.3.2 Perception Experiment

All 180 stimuli were presented to each participant in a different randomized order for each scale, with one scale being completed before moving on to the next. Each participant was asked to provide judgments for each stimuli for five separate scales, discussed below. These scales were also randomized using a Latin square, resulting in five experiment designs which presented the five scales in different orders. The experiment took approximately one hour to complete.

#### 5.3.2.1 Participants

Fifteen participants took part in the perception experiment, all native Japanese (NJ) speakers who were raised in Japan<sup>61</sup> and considered Japanese to be their native language. There were nine female participants and six male participants in total. Dialect was not controlled for, only home country and native language. Bilingual speakers<sup>62</sup> were not included in order to control for cultural background—speakers raised in Japan speaking a language other than Standard Japanese in Japan might have different cultural norms regarding gender, which would be impossible to account for. The data from one female speaker was not included in the analysis due to her inability to perform the task. The data for the remaining fourteen participants was analyzed as discussed in section 5.4.

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<sup>61</sup> One participant left Japan at the age of fifteen, though the remaining fourteen (thirteen of whose data was analyzed) lived there until at least age eighteen. This participant did not pattern differently than the remaining thirteen so was not excluded.

<sup>62</sup> Here, I define bilingual as being raised speaking two (or more) languages fluently. Therefore, someone raised in Japan but speaking English at home with a native English-speaking parent would be disqualified from participating.



each participant. Between each scale, participants were given a chance to take a break, view the subsequent scale, and ask questions if needed.<sup>63</sup> Additional non-manipulated stimuli were utilized for a short practice set preceding the experiment. These stimuli were not used for the actual experiment but were produced by the same speakers. This was to allow participants a preview of what types of tasks they could expect. At this point they were able to ask for clarification and adjust the headphones and volume.

#### 5.4 Results

All data was analyzed using a four-factor ANOVA, with Pitch Height (high, normal, low), Pitch Width (narrow, regular, wide), and Voice (female, male) being within-subject factors, and the Sex of the Participants (female, male) as a between-subjects factor. The data was averaged over the ten items (utterance) within each condition, resulting in one measurement for each combination of pitch height, pitch width and voice for each participant. Judgments of each of the scales were treated as a dependent variable and analyzed separately. The scales were also analyzed using a bivariate correlation to examine the relationship between each of the four personality scales and the scale indicating perceived sexuality. All significant results are reported.

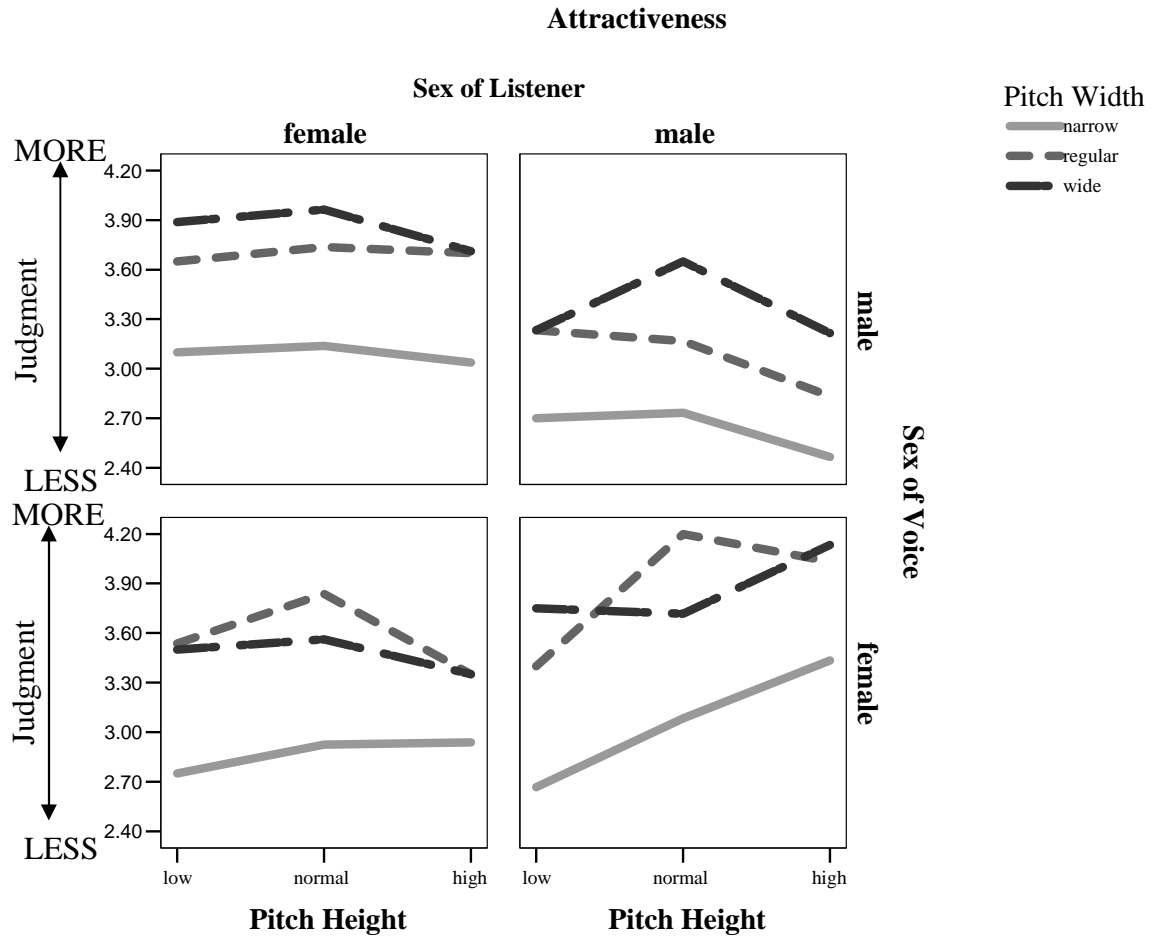
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<sup>63</sup> All scales were given in English because the experiment had originally been run with both Japanese and American participants in order to also investigate cultural differences. All NJ students for both experiments were studying at an American university, and had sufficient language ability to understand the items. A few NJ participants asked for clarification on vocabulary at these points in the experiment. The only item that presented a problem with the NJ speakers was assertive/non-assertive. Assertive was explained as 我が強い (ga ga tsuyoi) or in one instance as 受身的の反対 (ukemiteki no hantai).

### 5.4.1 Personality Scales

#### 5.4.1.1 Attractiveness

Figure 13: Ratings of perceived attractiveness ('7'= more attractive '1'= less attractive), separated by sex of listener and sex of voice of stimuli.



For the scale measuring level of attractiveness, there was a significant effect of Pitch Width ( $F(2, 24)=13.755$ ,  $p<.001$ ), with narrow contours being perceived as less attractive than regular and wide for both male and female voices by both male and female participants. The interactions of Voice by Pitch Height ( $F(2,24)=4.09$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and Voice

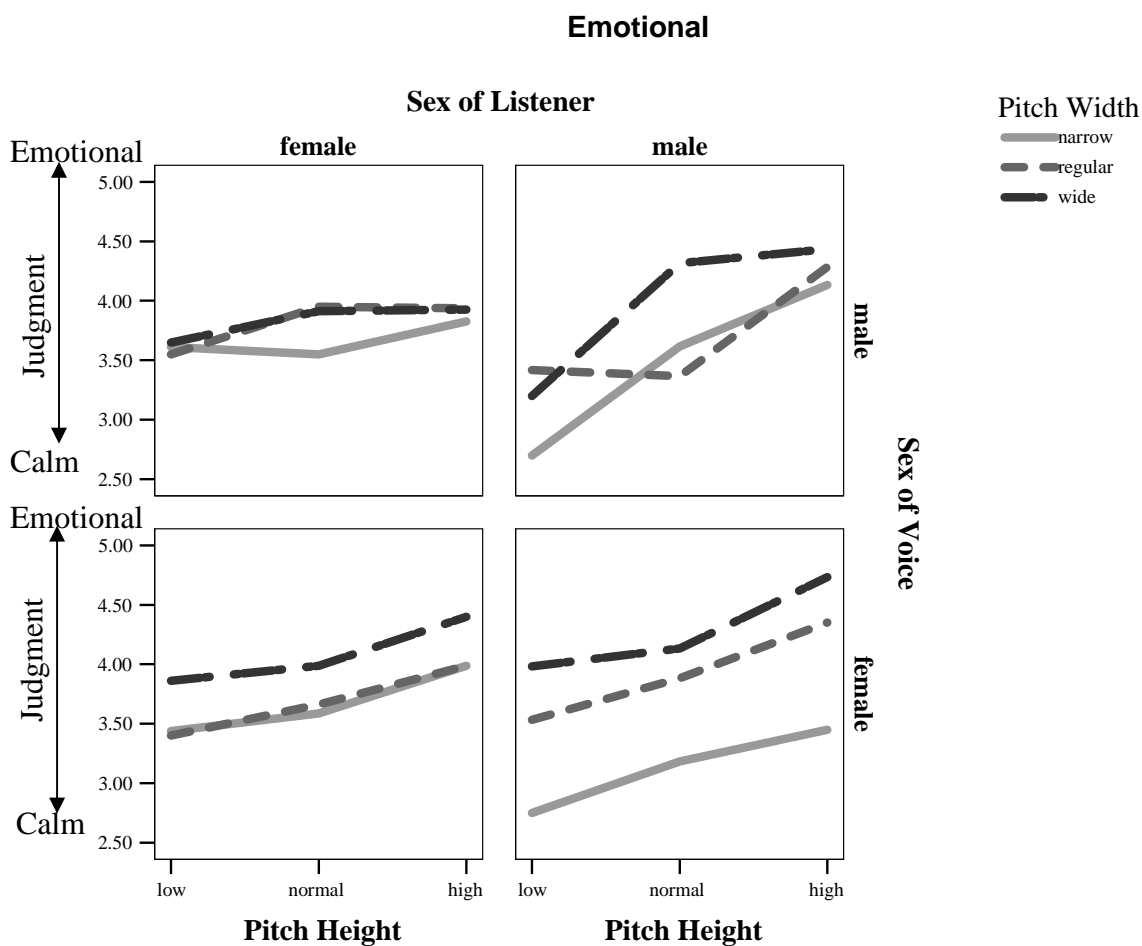
by Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=5.376$ ,  $p<.05$ ) were also significant. For the male voice, there was very little difference between perceptions of attractiveness for each level of pitch. However, the narrow contour was considered the least attractive, with perceptions of attractiveness increasing as the contour widened. Overall male listeners perceived the female voice to be the most attractive at the higher pitch, with perception of attractiveness decreasing as pitch decreased. In terms of Pitch Width, the narrow contour was viewed as the least attractive, though the difference between regular and wide contours was less apparent. Two of the three-way interactions, Voice by Pitch Height by Sex of Participant ( $F(2,24)=4.321$ ) and Voice by Pitch Height by Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=3.265$ ), were significant, both at  $p<.05$ .

The female voice showed a significant effect of both the main effects of Pitch Height ( $F(2, 24)=7.035$ ) and Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=13.049$ ) (both at  $p<.005$ ). Two of the two-way interactions were also significant (Pitch Height by Sex of Participant ( $F(2,24)=7.255$ ,  $p<.005$ ) and Pitch Height by Pitch Contour ( $F(2,24)=3.48$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Analyzing the data for each group of participants separately, for female participants the simple effect of Pitch Width was significant ( $F(2,14)=5.022$ ,  $p<.05$ ), with the narrow contour perceived as the least attractive overall and the wide contour perceived as slightly more attractive than regular at low and high pitches and more notably so at normal pitch. Male participants found both simple effects of Pitch Height ( $F(2,10)=8.659$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and Width ( $F(2,10)=3.948$ ,  $p<.005$ ) to be significant, though the interaction did not reach significance. The higher the pitch, the more attractive the voice was perceived to be overall. In terms of Pitch Width, the narrow contour was considered the least attractive,

but there was no apparent difference between the regular and wide contours. The male voice showed a significant simple effect of Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=13.040$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Both male and female participants considered the level of attractiveness to increase for wider contours, with the greatest difference between the narrow and regular contours. No other interactions or simple effects were significant.

#### 5.4.1.2 Emotional versus Calm

Figure 14: Ratings of perceived emotionality ('7'= emotional '1'= calm), separated by sex of listener and sex of voice of stimuli.



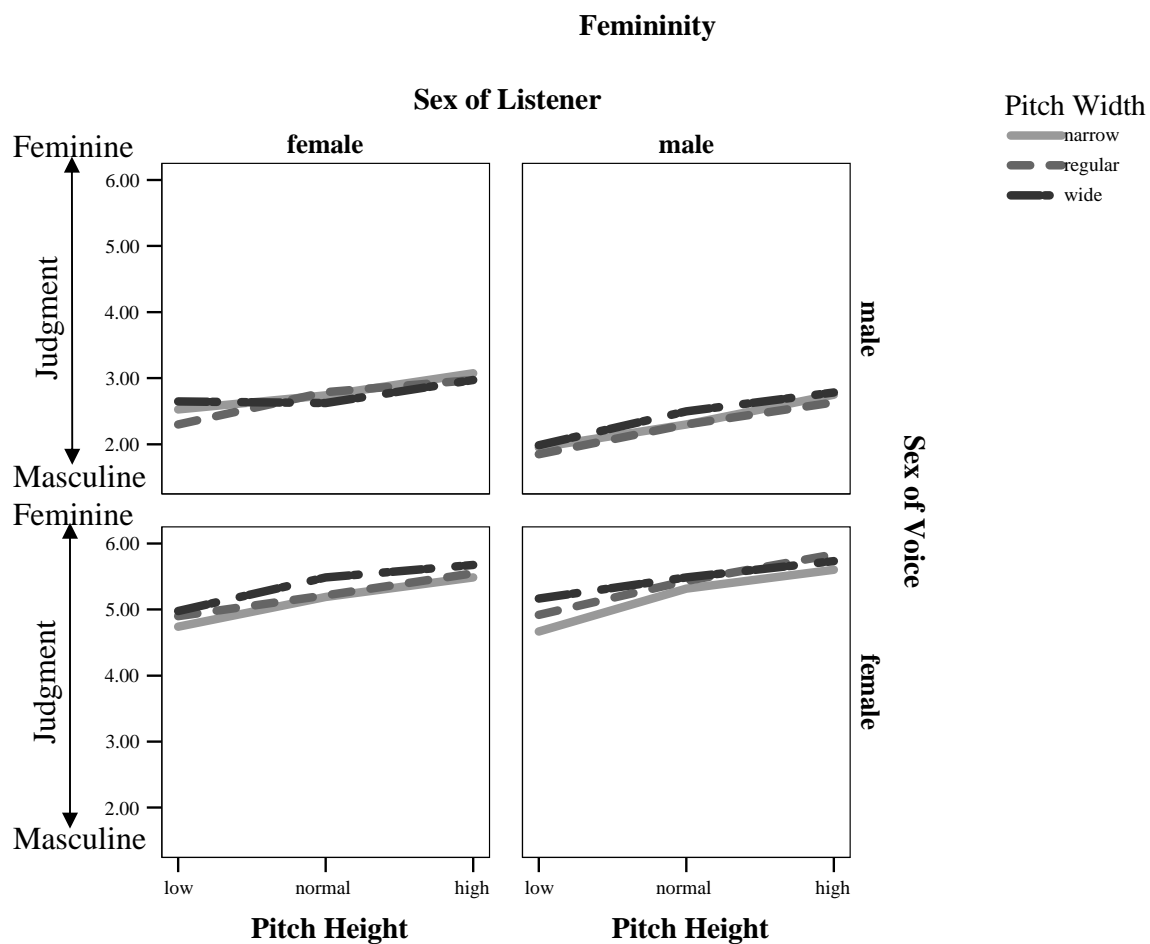
In terms of emotionality, the main effects Pitch Height ( $F(2,24)=32.561$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=7.505$ ,  $p<.005$ ) were significant, with the wide contour being perceived as more emotional overall. The higher the pitch, the more emotional the voice was perceived to be as well. The two-way interactions, Pitch Height by Sex of Participant ( $F(2,24)=4.946$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and Voice by Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=5.789$ ,  $p<.01$ ) were significant. The three-way interaction Voice by Pitch Width by Sex of Participant, was also significant ( $F(2,24)=3.78$ ,  $p<.05$ ). For the female voice, female participants perceived the wide pitch to be more emotional, with no apparent difference between regular and narrow contours. Male participants perceived narrow contours to be significantly calmer than regular contours, and wide contours to be the most emotional overall. For the male voice, male participants found the narrow contour to be calmer than wide, but female participants showed no clear overall pattern. No other interactions were significant. Although pitch height had an effect, because it did not participate in any significant interactions, this factor was averaged across and the results were analyzed with a three-way ANOVA.

The main effect of Pitch Width was significant ( $F(2,24)=7.505$ ,  $p<.005$ ), with narrow contours being perceived as calmer than wide. Both the two-way interaction of Voice by Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=3.78$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and the three-way Voice by Pitch Width by Sex of Participant ( $F(2,24)=3.780$ ,  $p<.05$ ) reached significance. Each level of Sex of Participant was analyzed separately, using a two factor ANOVA. Male participants exhibited a significant main effect of Pitch Height ( $F(2,10)=2.085$ ,  $p<.005$ ), with narrow contours being perceived as calmer than wide, as well as a significant interaction between

Voice and Pitch Width ( $F(2,10)=5.329$ ,  $p<.05$ ). After analyzing the male and female voices separately, the female voice showed a significant simple effect of Pitch Width ( $F(2,10)=19.761$ ,  $p<.001$ ), with the perception of emotionality increasing as pitch widened. Neither the simple effects or interactions for the male voice nor the simple effects for the female participants showed any significant effects.

#### 5.4.1.3 Masculine versus Feminine

Figure 15: Ratings of perceived femininity ('7'= feminine '1'= masculine), separated by sex of listener and sex of voice of stimuli.

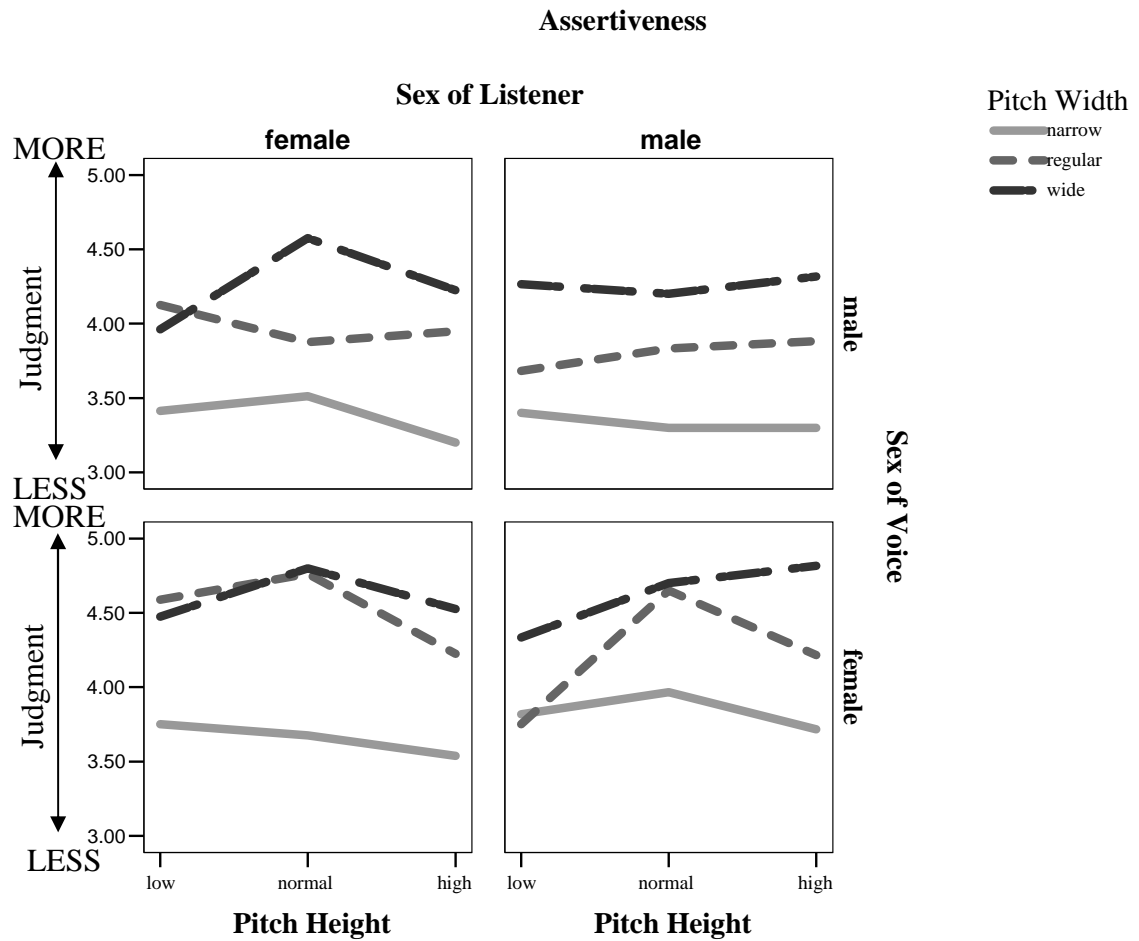




The main effects of Voice ( $F(1,12)=61.778$ ,  $p<.001$ ), Pitch Height ( $F(1,12)=45.899$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Pitch Width ( $F(1,12)=3.935$ ,  $p<.05$ ) were significant. Overall, higher pitches were perceived as more feminine and wider contours as more feminine than narrow. The female voice was perceived as much more feminine than the male voice. The two-way interaction, Voice by Pitch Width was also significant ( $F(2,24)=5.242$ ,  $p<.05$ ). No other interactions were significant. Because it did not participate in any significant interactions, the factor Sex of Participant was averaged across. All three main effects were significant (Voice ( $F(1,13)=63.807$ ,  $p<.001$ ), Pitch Height ( $F(1,13)=45.338$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and Pitch Width ( $F(1,13)=4.03$ ,  $p<.05$ )). The two-way interaction, Voice by Pitch Width, also reached significance ( $F(2,26)=5.483$ ,  $p<.05$ ). The female voice showed an effect of Pitch Width, while the male voice did not. Because it did not participate in any significant interactions, Pitch Height was averaged across, and a two-way ANOVA was run on the remaining data. Both main effect of Voice and Pitch Width were significant (Voice ( $F(1,13)=63.807$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Pitch Width ( $F(2,26)=4.03$ ,  $p<.05$ )), as was the interaction Voice by Pitch Width ( $F(2,26)=5.483$ ,  $p<.05$ ). For the female voice, the simple effect of Pitch Width was significant ( $F(2,26)=9.456$ ,  $p<.005$ ), with the voice being perceived as more masculine the narrower the contour. This effect was not significant for the male voice. No other interactions were significant.

#### 5.4.1.7 Assertive versus Unassertive

Figure 16: Ratings of perceived assertiveness ('7'= more assertive '1'= less assertive), separated by sex of listener and sex of voice of stimuli.



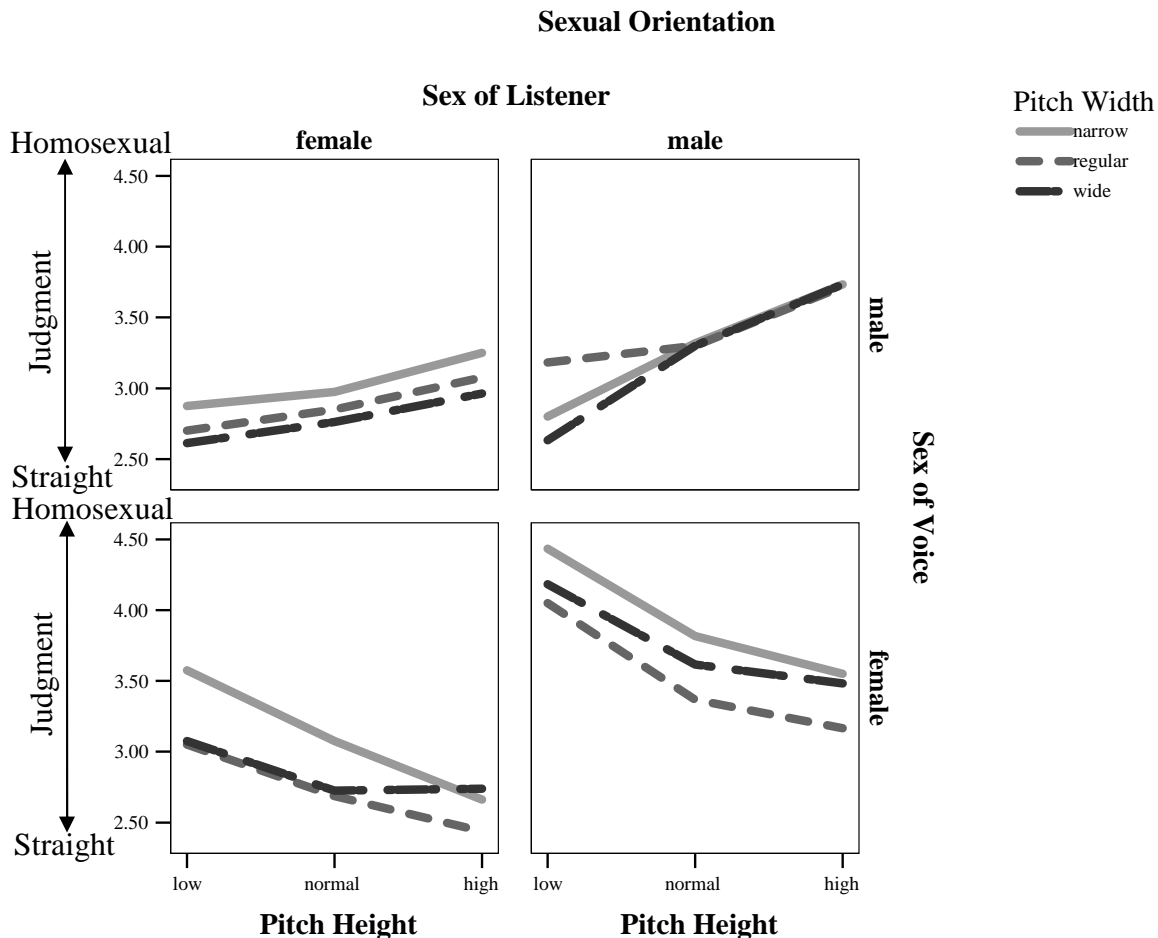
For perception of assertiveness, the main effect of Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=18.498$ ,  $p<.001$ ) was significant with narrow contours being perceived as less assertive than wide overall. The three-way interaction Pitch Height by Pitch Width by Sex of Participant was also significant ( $F(4,48)=2.795$ ,  $p<.05$ ). After averaging across Voice, which did not

participate in any significant interactions, each level of Sex of Participant was analyzed separately. For female participants, both Pitch Width ( $F(2, 14)=9.853$ ,  $p<.005$ ) and the two-way interaction Pitch Height by Pitch Width ( $F(4,28)=4.743$ ,  $p<.001$ ) were significant. Overall, female listeners perceived voices to be more assertive with wider contours at all levels of pitch height. After analyzing each level of Pitch Height separately, all three showed a significant effect of Pitch Width (low pitch ( $F(2,14)=9.825$ ,  $p<.005$ ), regular pitch ( $F(2,14)=9.133$ ,  $p<.005$ ), and high pitch ( $F(2,14)=9.075$ ,  $p<.005$ )). For male participants, only the simple effect of Pitch Width was found to be significant ( $F(2,10)=11.959$ ,  $p<.005$ )—the wider the contour, the more assertive the voice was perceived to be. No other simple effects or interactions reached significance.

#### 5.4.2 Sexuality Scale

When considering perceptions of sexuality, the main effect of Pitch Height ( $F(2,24)=5.493$ ,  $p<.05$ ) was significant, as were the two-way interactions, Voice by Pitch Height ( $F(2,24)=17.133$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and Voice by Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=10.138$ ,  $p<.005$ ), indicating that a different trend exists for the male and female voice. No other main effects or interactions were significant, so each level of Voice was analyzed separately, as seen in the follow section.

Figure 17: Ratings of perceived sexual orientation ('7'= homosexual '1'= heterosexual), separated by sex of listener and sex of voice of stimuli.

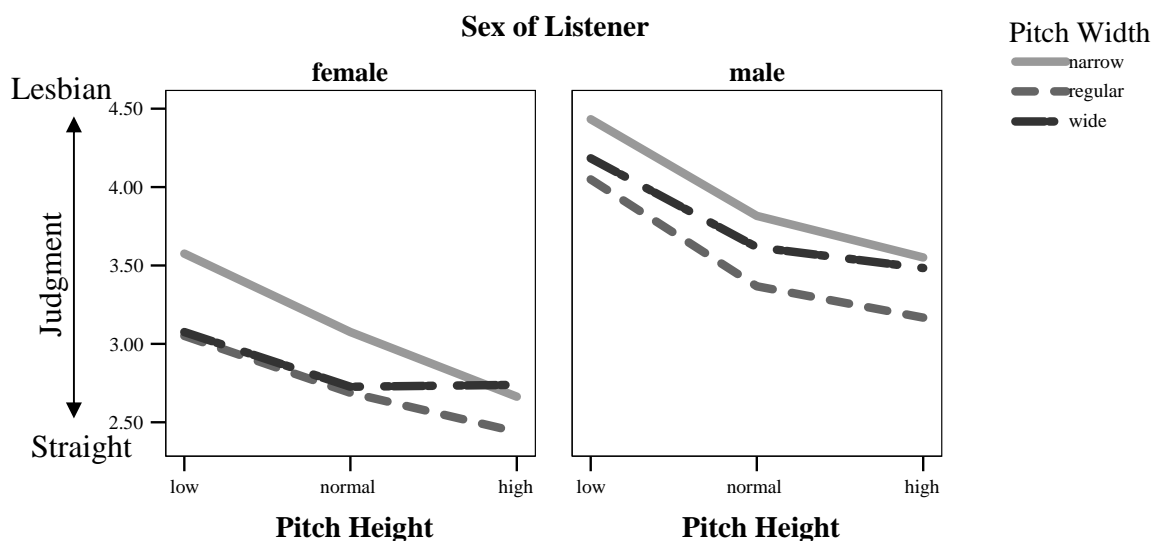


#### 5.4.2.1 Straight versus Lesbian

The female voice showed a significant effect for both Pitch Height ( $F(2,24)=8.384, p<.005$ ) and Pitch Width ( $F(2,24)=9.96, p<.005$ ). As shown in Figure 9, the lower the pitch, the more likely the voice was to be judged lesbian overall. Additionally, the narrower the contour, the more likely the voice was perceived to be

lesbian, though this trend was more apparent for male listeners. Neither the main effect of listener sex nor any interactions were significant.

Figure 18:<sup>64</sup> Ratings of perceived sexual orientation for the female voice ('7'= lesbian '1'= heterosexual), separated by sex of listener.

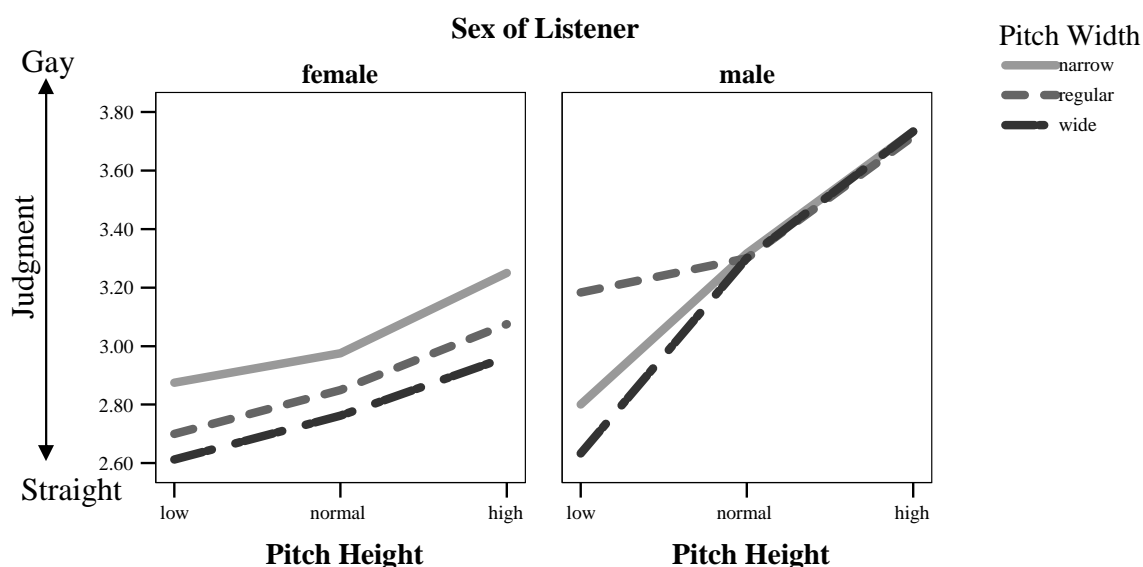


#### 5.4.2.1 Straight versus Gay

For the male voice, only the simple effect of Pitch Height reached significance ( $F(2, 24)=13.332$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The higher the male voice, the more likely it was to be perceived as gay. Women perceived more of a difference than men related to pitch width, with the perception of homosexuality increasing the narrower the contour. However, this difference did not reach significance ( $(F(2,24)=2.601$ ,  $p<.1$ ).

<sup>64</sup> Figures 9 and 10 are reproductions of Figure 8 separated by voice of stimuli, presented again for ease of reporting.

Figure 19: Ratings of perceived sexual orientation for the male voice ('7'= gay '1'= heterosexual), separated by sex of listener.



#### 5.4.3 Correlations between Personality and Sexuality Scales

In order to explore perceived relationships between homosexuality and personality traits, correlations were considered for the male and female voice separately, delineated below in Table 5.<sup>65</sup> This is because I anticipated that for many of the correlations, there would be an opposite trend for the male and female voices, which was indeed the case. Correlations between each scale were also considered in order to investigate which personality traits Japanese listeners perceived to be associated with each other. These correlations will show overall stereotypes for native Japanese speakers: those with homosexuality will indicate personality stereotypes Japanese speakers may

<sup>65</sup> Correlations presented to the left of the grey boxes are the results from all listeners for the female voice, those to the right are for the male voice. The top number in each box is the correlation ratio while the number below represents statistical significance. Correlations that are statistically significant are outlined in black.

have about gay and lesbian speakers, while correlations between the personality scales themselves will indicate what traits are considered masculine or feminine for these participants.

Table 5: Pearson correlations between personality and sexuality scales, separated by voice. Information to the right of the white boxes shows probability levels and correlation rates for the male voice. Information to the left of the white boxes shows the same for the female voice. Statistically significant results are bolded and highlighted in grey and those that near significance are bolded and italicized.

	Homosexuality	Femininity	Emotionality	Attractiveness	Assertiveness	Male Voice
Homosexuality		<b>.858</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>	<b>.733</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>	-.39 p<.5	-.251 p>.5	
Femininity	<b>-.913</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>		<b>.827</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>	-.18 p>.5	-.035 p<1	
Emotionality	<b>-.712</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>	<b>-.834</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>		.29 p<.5	.426 p<.5	
Attractiveness	<b>-.656</b> <b>p&lt;.06</b>	.493 p<.5	<b>.689</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>		<b>.964</b> <b>p&lt;.001</b>	
Assertiveness	-.37 p<.5	.311 p<.5	.634 p<.1	<b>.866</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>		
	Female Voice					

#### 5.4.3.1 Female Voice

For the female voice, two of the four personality scales showed a significant correlation with perception of lesbianism—femininity and emotionality. Femininity showed a strong inverse correlation with sexuality, with the tokens perceived to be feminine also being perceived to be straight. Additionally, emotionality showed a strong negative correlation to lesbianism, with tokens perceived to be calm also being perceived as being more lesbian. Both of these trends were significant. In examining femininity,

overall there was a significant correlation with emotionality—the more emotional the voice, the more feminine it was perceived to be. Finally, there was a strong positive correlation between assertiveness and attractiveness for the female voice. The more assertive tokens were perceived to be more attractive overall. For male listeners only, emotionality and assertiveness showed a strong positive correlation for the female voice—the tokens judged as more emotional were perceived to be more assertive.

#### 5.4.3.2 Male Voice

For the male voice, overall perceptions of homosexuality showed significant correlations with femininity and emotionality. Femininity showed a strong positive correlation with sexuality—the more masculine tokens were perceived to be heterosexual while the tokens perceived as gay were also perceived as more feminine.

Overall, there was also a clear correlation between emotionality and homosexuality. Perceived gay tokens were also viewed to be more emotional and tokens judged to be heterosexual male more calm. The correlation between femininity and emotionality was significant for the male voice. Masculine tokens were perceived to be more calm and feminine tokens more emotional. Finally, as found for the female voice, the male voice shows a correlation between attractiveness and assertiveness—the more assertive the voice, the more attractive the perception.



Figure 20: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived sexual orientation ('1'=straight '7'=gay) and femininity ('1'=masculine '7'=feminine) for the female voice.

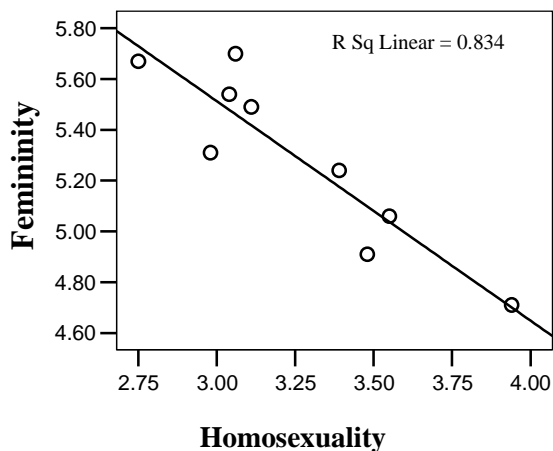


Figure 21: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived sexual orientation ('1'=straight '7'=gay) and emotionality ('1'=calm '7'=emotional) for the female voice.

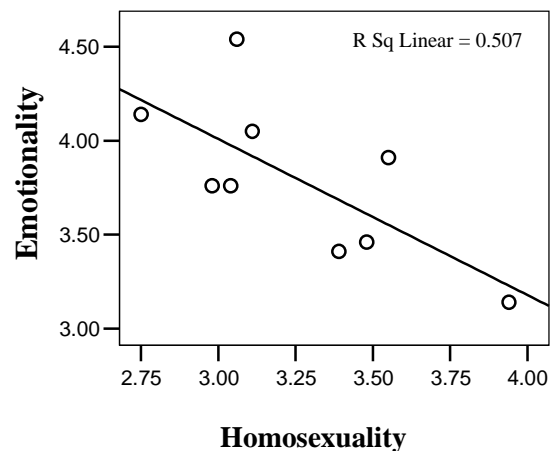


Figure 22: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived femininity ('1'=masculine '7'=feminine) and emotionality ('1'=calm '7'=emotional) for the female voice.

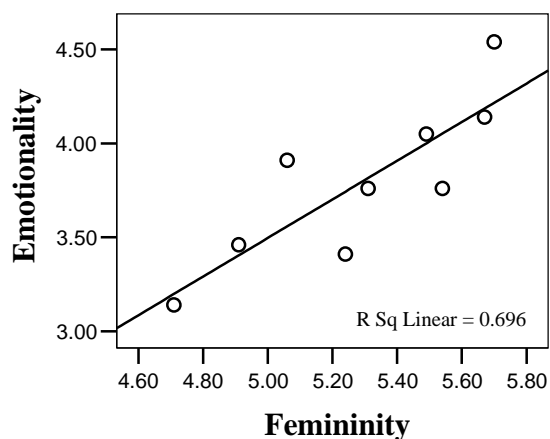


Figure 23: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived assertiveness ('1'=less '7'=more) and attractiveness ('1'=less '7'=more) for the female voice.

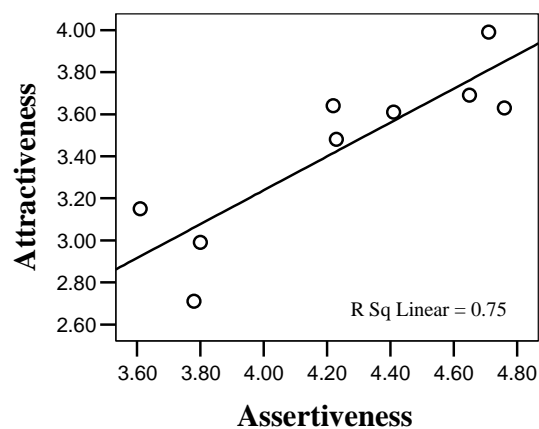


Figure 24: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived sexual orientation ('1'=straight '7'=gay) and femininity ('1'=masculine '7'=feminine) for the male voice.

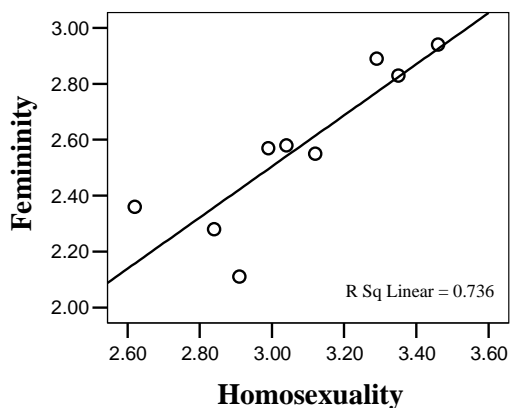


Figure 25: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived sexual orientation ('1'=straight '7'=gay) and emotionality ('1'=calm '7'=emotional) for the male voice.

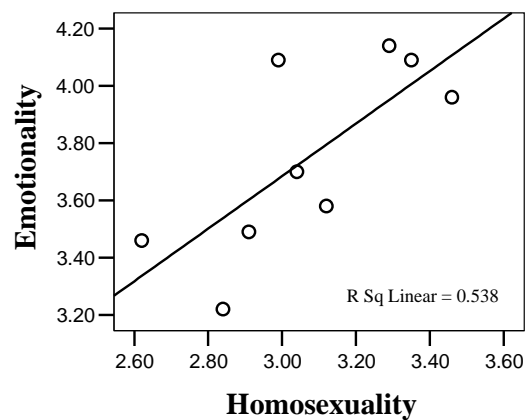


Figure 26: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived femininity ('1'=masculine, '7'=feminine) and emotionality ('1'=calm '7'=emotional) for the male voice.

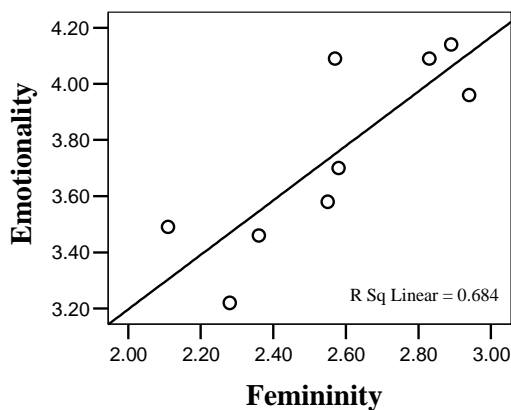
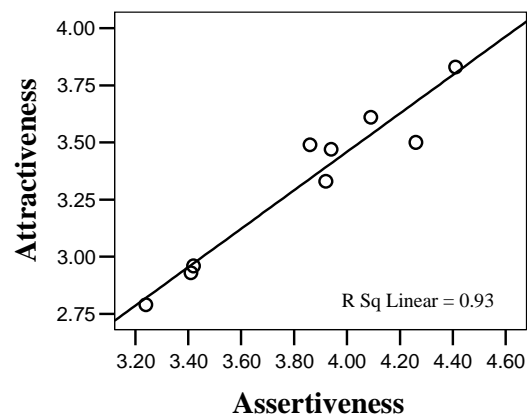


Figure 27: Scatterplot showing the correlation between perceived assertiveness ('1'=less '7'=more) and attractiveness ('1'=less '7'=more) for the male voice.



## 5.5 Conclusion

As Moonwomon-Baird (1997) found in her study, participants seemed to be reluctant to designate the female voices as lesbian. This statement is based on comments by participants after the experiment had been completed. The same comments were not made about the male voice. However, overall, more female voices were labeled lesbian—indicated by a seven on the sexuality scale for female voices—than male voices were labeled gay. Out of 1260 stimuli, 501 were assigned a one on the scale, corresponding to 'totally straight', and only 59 voices were assigned a seven, 'totally homosexual.' This may be an indication of the unmarked case being straight. Without strong conviction that the voice is lesbian or gay, perhaps participants were less likely to make that judgment, indicating that either so-called "gaydar" does not function strongly in Japanese society or there are other features at play in determining the sexuality of speaker, such as vowel space, lexical choice and other intonational factors, such as those investigated by Munson & DeBoe (2003), Pierrehumbert et al. (2004), Munson et al. (2006), and Munson (2007) (discussed in Chapter 3).

### 5.5.1 Relationship of Sex of Listener to Perceptions of Personality and Sexuality

Overall, the factor of Sex of Participant, though not significant on its own, participated in interactions which were significant for the majority of the scales. This indicates that men and women perceive personality traits and sexuality differently than each other depending on Pitch Height and Width. The differences between Sex of Participant on the examination of the female voice, for example, may be an indication that what much of the literature related to female voices in Japan discusses, such as

relationship to personality or politeness, is very dependent on the sex of the listener and not just an overall cultural ideology (e.g., Ide 1990, 1997).

### 5.5.2 Pitch Height and Feminine Personality Traits

As hypothesized, higher female tokens were perceived to be more attractive, emotional, and assertive overall. These findings counter Okamoto's (1995) claim that women's language is found to be less assertive, though they may support her claim that women's language is also more empathetic than that of men.<sup>66</sup> However, as van Bezooijen (1984) discussed, emotionality will be related to pitch as a result of the effect of tension on the vocal cords. Therefore, the relationship between higher pitch and emotionality is perhaps less related to personality traits than physiology.

For the male voice as well, higher tokens were perceived as more emotional and less attractive. There was no clear effect on assertiveness for high-pitched male voices, so this hypothesis did not hold true.

### 5.5.3 Sexual Orientation

Lower Pitch Height and narrow Pitch Width equated to perceptions of lesbianism for the female voice while higher pitch equated to perceptions of gayness for the male voice. As Moonwomon-Baird (1997) noted, the flatter the contour and the lower the voice, the more likely the speaker was perceived to be a lesbian. This supports the findings that lesbians speak more like men in terms of pitch and contour. This may mesh with both Abe's (2004) findings and the results of Chapter 4 that Japanese lesbians are

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<sup>66</sup> The fact that this was difficult for some participants to understand initially could have influenced the results. Some participants may have interpreted it to mean something more akin to *genki* 'outgoing,' which could be viewed as a more positive/attractive trait.

more likely than heterosexual women to utilize masculine pronouns (first person: *boku*, *ore*, *jibun*; second person: *kimi*, *omae*), as well as more masculine sounding commands, requests, and sentence-final particles. The findings in this chapter indicate that Japanese lesbians are perceived to be utilizing the same type of devices as English-speaking lesbians for voice quality that Moonwomon-Baird (1997) found (e.g., pitch height and width) to express their identity. Since the focus of this experiment was to investigate perception of these features, one cannot posit from this that lesbians are actually utilizing these features in Japanese to present their non-mainstream identities.<sup>67</sup> Pitch measurements from actual data recorded from participant interviews are examined in Chapter 6.

Higher pitches had a greater chance of being perceived as 'gay' for the male voice. However, as discussed in the analysis section above, pitch width did not play a significant role in perceptions of sexuality for the male voice, running counter to American stereotypes for homosexual voices. This also contradicts responses from interview participants who generally produced both a higher pitch and wider contour when mimicking gay men's speech (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of this). This may indicate that perceptions of homosexuality center on a combination of multiple factors in addition to pitch and contour patterns. Some examples of this are gay men's use of *onee kotoba*,<sup>68</sup> 'older sister speech', as well as self-referencing strategies, such as first-person pronouns,

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<sup>67</sup> However, perception comes from some social stereotyping. Therefore, as both pitch and contour were significant in perception of lesbianism, there is some basis for this judgment.

<sup>68</sup> This style is marked by increased intonation contours and gestures that may be seen as effeminate. However, it is distinguished from conventional female speech by the use of blunt forms, such as the masculine form *kuu* (to eat) instead of the more neutral *taberu*.

utilized to align with, or separate themselves from, Japanese gay culture (Lunsing & Maree 2004).

#### 5.5.4 Sexuality and Masculinity/Femininity

Masculine personality traits correlated with perceptions of lesbianism and feminine traits with perceptions of gayness. This is an extension of both hypotheses two and three. If higher pitch is viewed as less lesbian for the female voice, and the higher the pitch, the more feminine the traits, it follows that the lower the pitch, the more lesbian the perception and the stronger the correlation with masculine traits. In fact, stimuli perceived as more lesbian were perceived as significantly more masculine and calmer. However, they were also perceived as unassertive, which is not viewed as a masculine trait (Sugihara & Katsurada 2000). It is likely that pitch width played a role in this perception; tokens with a less ‘dynamic’ pitch range, which tended to be judged as calm, do not seem as forceful. Therefore, this may not indicate that a stereotypical image of lesbians is being unassertive, but just be an unrelated perception of the pitch width. Attractiveness is difficult to assign to either a masculine or feminine category, though both male and female listeners judged lesbian voices as less attractive overall (nearing significance), indicating that the type of voice deemed lesbian is not desirable for projecting attractive female images.

According to these hypotheses, the opposite pattern should also hold true for men. For the male voice, if higher pitch is viewed as sounding more gay, and the lower the pitch, the more masculine the traits, higher pitched tokens judged to be gay should also correlate with feminine traits. Correlations showed that tokens judged to be gay were

significantly perceived to be more feminine and emotional. This meshes with stereotypes of gay men in Japan given during participant interviews (discussed in Chapter 3) that gay men are more feminine and emotional than heterosexual men.

#### 5.5.5 Conclusion

Overall, Pitch Height and Width were directly related to the perception of sexuality of female speakers, while only Pitch Height influenced perceptions of sexuality for male speakers. Pitch Height and Width also influenced overall perception of the four personality scales tested. The correlations between the scale measuring sexual orientation and the personality scales also showed that homosexuality predominantly correlates with masculine traits for the female voice and with feminine traits for the male voice, showing that Japanese speakers have a common, if not overtly recognized, stereotype for these groups.

## 6. PHONETIC MEASUREMENTS FROM INTERVIEW DATA

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I first present the research questions addressed in this chapter in section 6.2 and the methodology for recording and analyzing the data in section 6.3. I present my findings in sections 6.4 and 6.5, ending with a discussion of the overall results in section 6.6.

### 6.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Having investigated the correlation between average pitch height and pitch width and perceived sexual orientation using manipulated speech in Chapter 5, the next step is to examine what differences there are, if any, in naturally occurring speech of Japanese heterosexual and lesbian/bisexual women. My hypotheses are as follows:

1. Lesbian/bisexual speakers will exhibit an overall lower average pitch than heterosexual women.
2. Lesbian/bisexual speakers will also utilize a narrower pitch range than heterosexual speakers, with the difference between the maximum and minimum pitch being smaller for lesbian/bisexual speakers than heterosexual women.

I also investigate the correlations between these two phonetic measurements and the measurements of gendered morphemes (Chapter 4) in order to determine whether phonetic and morphological instantiations of gender are related. I hypothesize that the higher the pitch and the wider the pitch range—both typically viewed as feminine—the



more likely the speaker will be to exhibit stereotypically feminine speech patterns, including a higher use of sentence-final particles as well as more feminine morphemes, such as pronouns and sentence-final particles. Conversely, the opposite will hold true, with lower pitch or narrower pitch range correlating to the more masculine end of the morpheme scales discussed in Chapter 4.

### 6.3 Methodology

#### 6.3.1 Acoustic Measurements

The data was recorded to an SD card on the Edirol, and then transferred to a laptop where it was burned to DVD for analysis. For the acoustical analysis, I used the Praat software (Boersma & Weenik 2009) to measure mean pitch, maximum pitch, minimum pitch, and pitch range, the methods for which are discussed in detail below. I began analyzing each interview ten minutes into the recording in order to allow the participants to get used to the recording equipment and setting and to settle into comfortable natural speech.

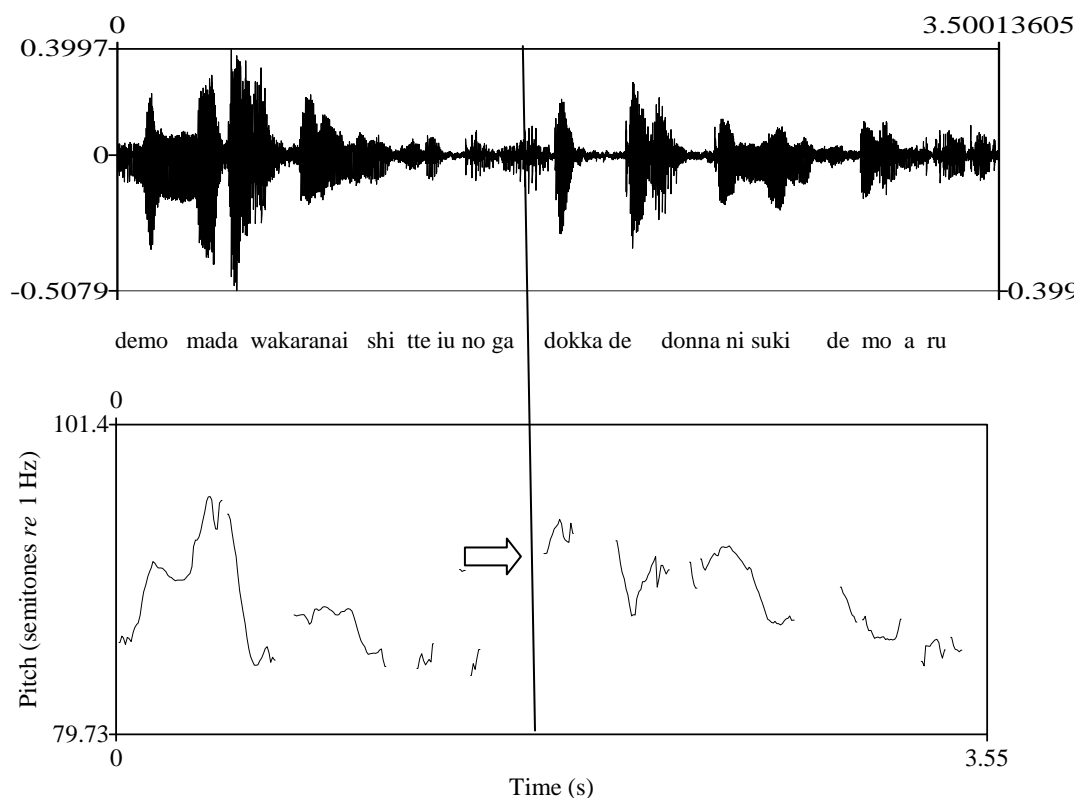
I segregated the data into prosodic utterances based on the Japanese prosodic tree (e.g., Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988). Although longer chunks than the prosodic utterance may be the ideal, in actuality, fully formed extended utterances were rare in the data. Even though the researcher<sup>69</sup> limited verbal interaction while the subject was speaking, in Japanese back-channeling is so common that it is difficult to have a natural interaction without some back-channel responses. Additionally, due to the messy nature of naturally occurring speech, speakers often stopped mid-utterance, interrupted

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<sup>69</sup> The majority of interviews were conducted by me, but a few were conducted by a research assistant. Please see the methodology section in Chapter 1 for a discussion of this.

themselves, or just trailed off<sup>70</sup> (see Mehta & Cutler 1988 for a discussion of the differences between spontaneous and read speech). Therefore, I chose the level of prosodic utterance to measure for this study. Based on previous research on prosodic utterances in Japanese (e.g., Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986; Miyamoto & Johnson 2002; Poser 1984), I set guidelines for defining an utterance as a having a pitch rise at the beginning of the phrase, often with a break between the two prosodic utterances. An example of this is shown in Figure 28.

Figure 28: Waveform and pitch track showing an example of a prosodic utterance break (indicated by the vertical line and arrow on pitch track) for the utterance *demo mada wakaranai shi tte iu no ga dokka de donna ni suki demo aru*.



<sup>70</sup> An example of this is the *-te* final endings discussed in Chapter 4, which can be a strategy by speakers to avoid committing to sentence-final forms (e.g., Martin 2004, Yoshida 1971).

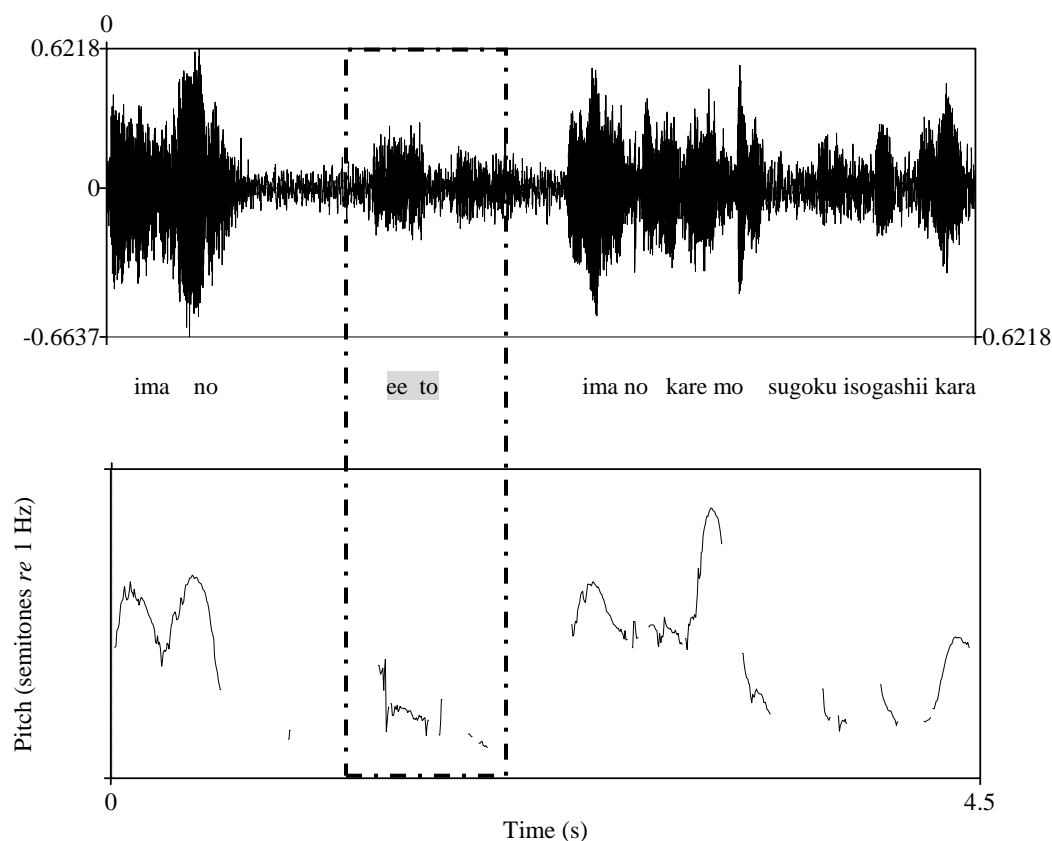
Once utterances were defined for measurement, I excluded phrases which contained laughter, creaky voice, and tokens that had overlap or extreme background noise that interfered with pitch measurement.<sup>71</sup> Because they were not an accurate representation of a speaker's pitch height or width, tokens such as *de*, *ano*, *eeto* that could be considered filled pauses and not part of the utterance were also excluded from measurement. Filled pauses were often uttered at lower pitch, with a narrower width, as seen in Figure 29. Because this portion of the study investigates the overall speech of these two groups, and is not an investigation of individual utterances, I took the first 100 utterances after the first ten minutes of the interviews that met all the guidelines discussed above. This was done to eliminate any utterance-specific prosodic variability that might occur, such as the difference between question intonation, surprise, and self-directed speech (for an explanation of sentence-final tone types see Ishi 2005 and Toki & Murata 1987). Averaging over 100 chunks was enough to minimize any effect of prosodic variability caused by these forms.

Eight of the nineteen speakers had tokens of boundary pitch movements (BPM), with an equal proportion of lesbian/bisexual speakers and heterosexual using boundary pitch movement (around 40% for each group). However, the lesbian speakers produced BPM generally did so at a higher rate than heterosexual speakers. Table 6 shows the distribution boundary pitch movement for both groups and how often they occurred within the utterances that were measured for this chapter.

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<sup>71</sup> Although interviews were recorded indoors, in as quiet a location as possible, three interviews had relatively high levels of background noise that interfered with the pitch tracker (for example, crows which could be heard from outside, people speaking loudly in the hallway, and in one case a tambourine being played outside). As there were sufficient tokens that fit the guidelines discussed above, tokens with interfering background noise were excluded.

Figure 29: Waveform and pitch track for a filled pause token *ee to* ‘um,’ highlighted in grey in the gloss and outlined by the dotted line.



For the speakers who used boundary pitch movements, I marked where they occurred and took two separate measurements from these chunks. See Figure 30 for an example of an utterance that contains a BPM. The first measurement came from the entire utterance, including the boundary pitch movement. The second measurement excluded the boundary pitch movement, only measuring the portion of the utterance that fell before the beginning of the BPM (the portion which falls before the line in Figure 30).

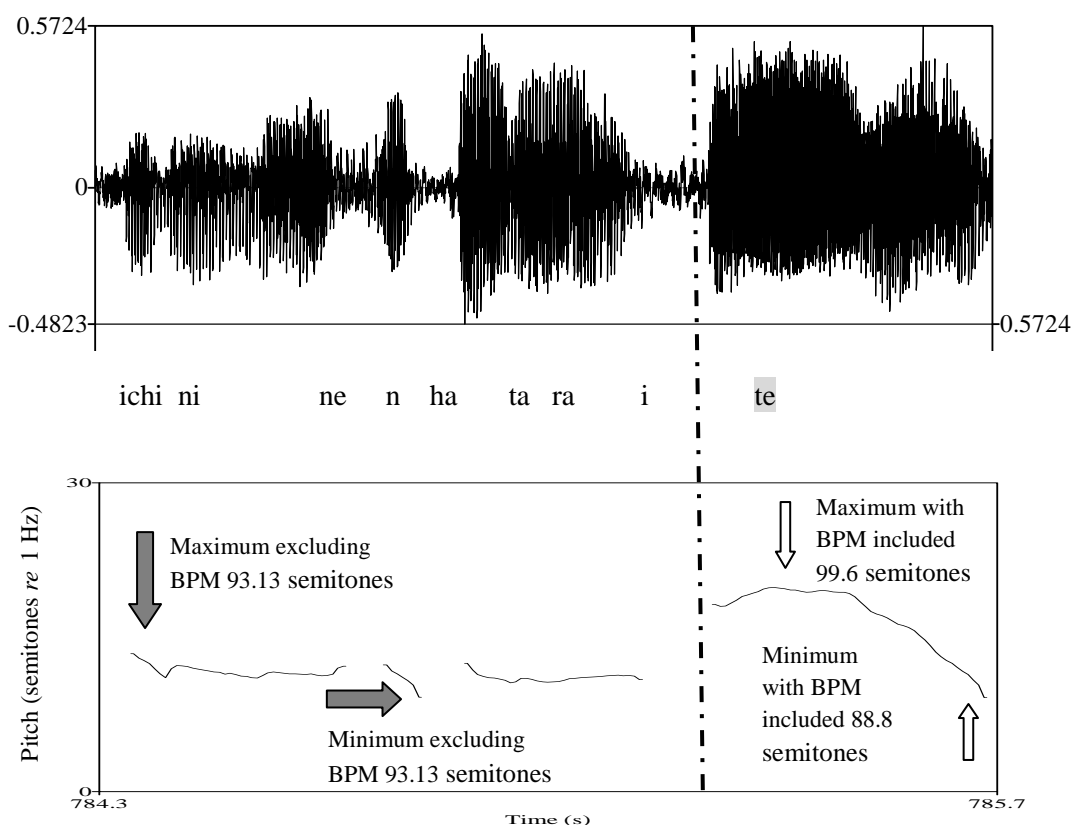
These two types of measurements were considered separately for the statistical analysis, the results of which will be discussed in section 6.4.

I manually adjusted the pitch track parameter of pitch range for each speaker to reflect a range slightly larger than the speakers' typical range in order to decrease pitch track error. I also monitored the automatic pitch track for errors, further adjusting the range to remove pitch track errors on individual utterances. Once the pitch track appeared stable, average pitch over the duration of the prosodic utterance was measured using Praat's average pitch function. In utterances which included boundary pitch movements, I took the average pitch both including and excluding the BPM (as shown in Figure 30 below). See also Figure 31 for an example of an utterance which did not include BPM.

Table 6: Distribution of speakers who exhibited Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM), including the percentage of chunks analyzed for this study that contained BPM.

		Number of Tokens that have BPMs	Percentage of Tokens that have BPMs			Number of BPM Tokens	Percentage of BPM Tokens
lesbian/bisexual	L1	24	26.67%	heterosexual	H1		
	L2	6	6.67%		H2	3	3.33%
	L3				H3	2	2.22%
	L4	5	5.56%		H4		
	L5				H5	2	2.22%
	L6	3	3.33%		H6		
	L7				H7		
	L8						
	L9						
	L10	3	3.33%				
	L11						
	L12						

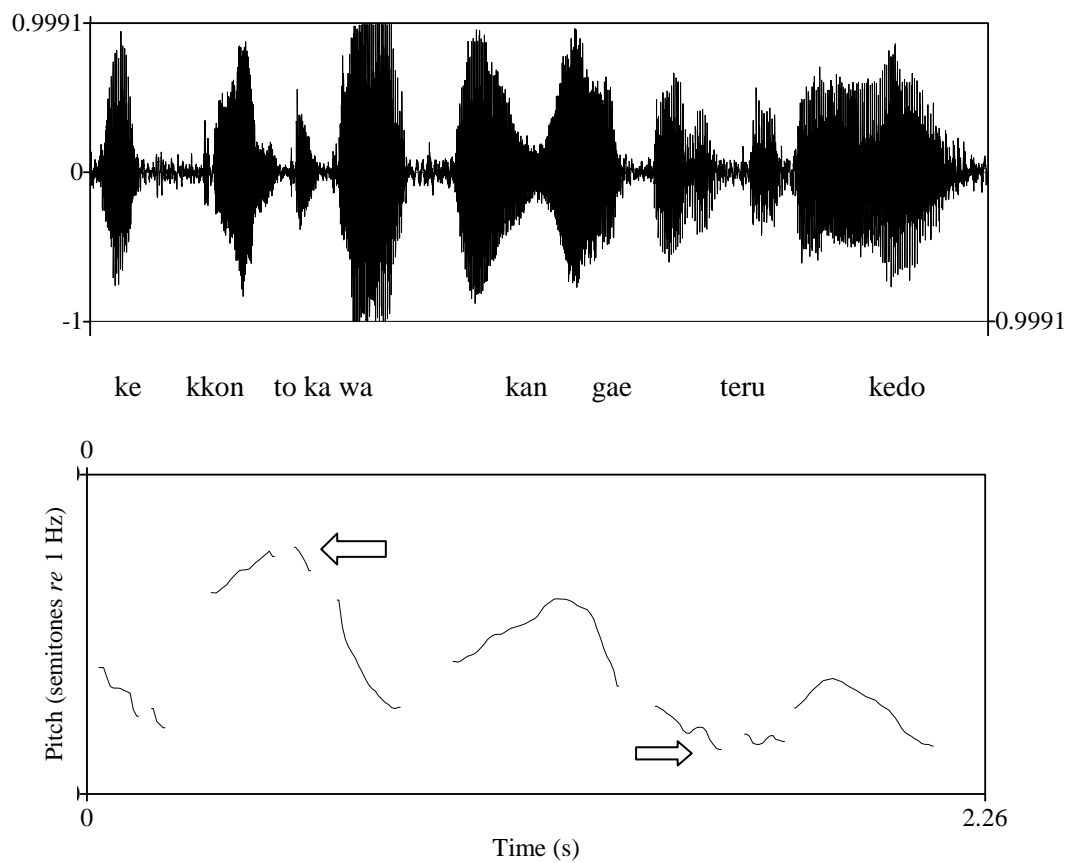
Figure 30: Waveform and pitch track of an utterance which contains a Boundary Pitch Movement (BPM). The dotted line indicates where the BPM begins. Measurements which include BPMs take the average, maximum, and minimum pitches from the entire pitch track shown below. When the BPM is excluded, the measurements are only taken from the pitch track preceding the dotted line.



Instead of relying on Praat's function that automatically measures maximum and minimum F0, I visually located the highest and lowest pitch points on the pitch track, and manually measured them. Occasionally, despite manually adjusting the pitch track for both speakers and specific utterances, maximum and minimum pitches, especially in areas where they occurred at the onset or offset of voicing, were more likely to show

pitch tracker errors. In these cases, I calculated pitch by measuring a single glottal period from the waveform, instead of using the automatic pitch tracker.

Figure 31: Waveform and pitch track for an utterance with no Boundary Pitch Movement (BPM). Measurements take the average, maximum, and minimum pitches from the entire pitch track shown below.



Pitch range was calculated by taking the difference between the minimum and maximum pitch for each utterance. In cases including boundary pitch movement, the range was calculated separately, both including and excluding the boundary pitch movement portion of the utterance.

In my criteria, I did not exclude self-directed speech, such as *nan daroo (na(a))* ‘let me think.’<sup>72</sup> However, it became apparent that such speech was not indicative of overall pitch height and range for these speakers (see Figure 32 for an example). An extremely narrow pitch range seemed to indicate something atypical, such as an occasional one-word utterance, even at the level of prosodic utterance, offset by a pause that indicated thinking, or the self-directed speech discussed above, as did an unusually wide pitch width, which might be caused by an unusually high maximum pitch, such as from the result of previous or forthcoming laughter that was not manifesting in this utterance and therefore did not meet the criteria for exclusion. This sort of prosodic variety did not affect all speakers equally, i.e., some speakers exhibited higher rates of self-directed tokens than others. This did not appear to be a reflection of the typical speech style of these particular speakers, but instead seemed to be related to difficulties inherent in recording speech in an interview format. Some speakers had more difficulty forming answers to some of the questions than others,<sup>73</sup> and some might have been more nervous answering some of the sensitive questions than other interviewees. Therefore, in order to remove some of this variability, tokens that fell within the upper and lower five percent in terms of pitch width were dropped,<sup>74</sup> which covered the majority of these exceptional cases. For speakers who were not producing outlier tokens, dropping the maximum and minimum five percent did not affect their data, but this did result in

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<sup>72</sup> This phrase, often used by Japanese speakers, could have a variety of meanings depending on context, such as ‘I wonder what it is’ and ‘How can I phrase this.’

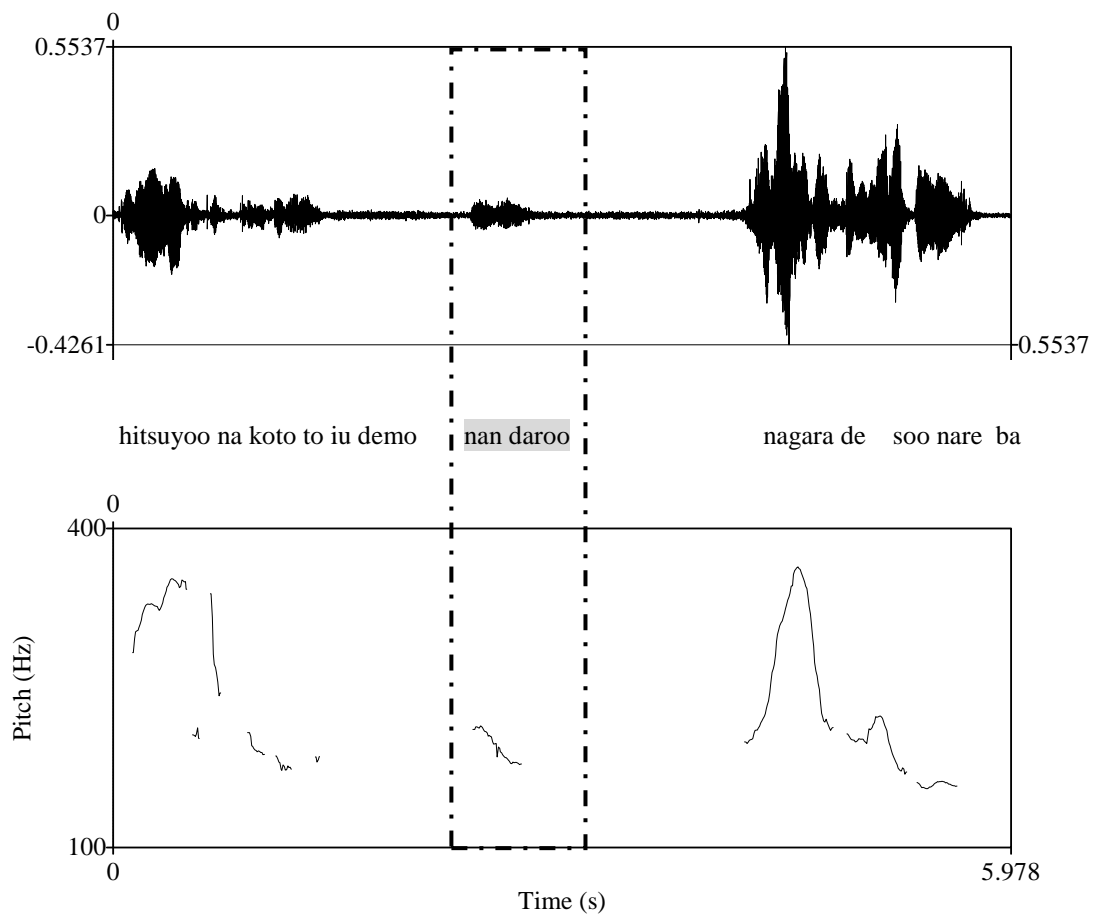
<sup>73</sup> Some speakers often initially responded to questions with some variant of *muzukashii shitsumon desu ne* ‘that’s a difficult question.’

<sup>74</sup> This type of methodology which excludes non-representative responses is common in psycholinguistics tasks (e.g., Alario, Perre, Castel, & Ziegler 2006; Schiller 2004).



removing these non standard cases for speakers who did produce such tokens, making the data more comparable across all the participants.

Figure 32: Waveform and pitch track for a self-directed token *nan daroo*, which was not indicative of typical pitch height or width. The average pitch height was lower and the pitch range was much smaller than the surrounding two prosodic utterances.



### 6.3.2 Data Conversions and Statistical Analysis

The data was measured and converted into semitones (with a base of 1 Hz),<sup>75</sup> averaged across speakers, and the results were analyzed using an ANOVA with two levels (lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual). One speaker (Kyoko, L6) exhibited the highest average pitch of all the participants, regardless of sexual orientation. Interestingly, she also had the highest maximum pitch and the highest minimum pitch of all the participants, although she showed an average pitch range in comparison both to the lesbian/bisexual group, as well as across all participants. Because she consistently fell outside the range for all pitch measurements and was two standard deviation points away from the lesbian/bisexual averages for pitch height, I considered her to be an outlier and, as such, also ran the ANOVAs and correlations without her data included. The results of all statistics (section 6.4) and correlations (section 6.5) are presented, regardless of significance.

### 6.4 Results of Phonetic Measurements

In this section, I will discuss the results of the statistical analysis, as well as overall patterns within the data. Table 7 (below) shows the average measurement in semitones for each speaker, excluding boundary pitch movements.

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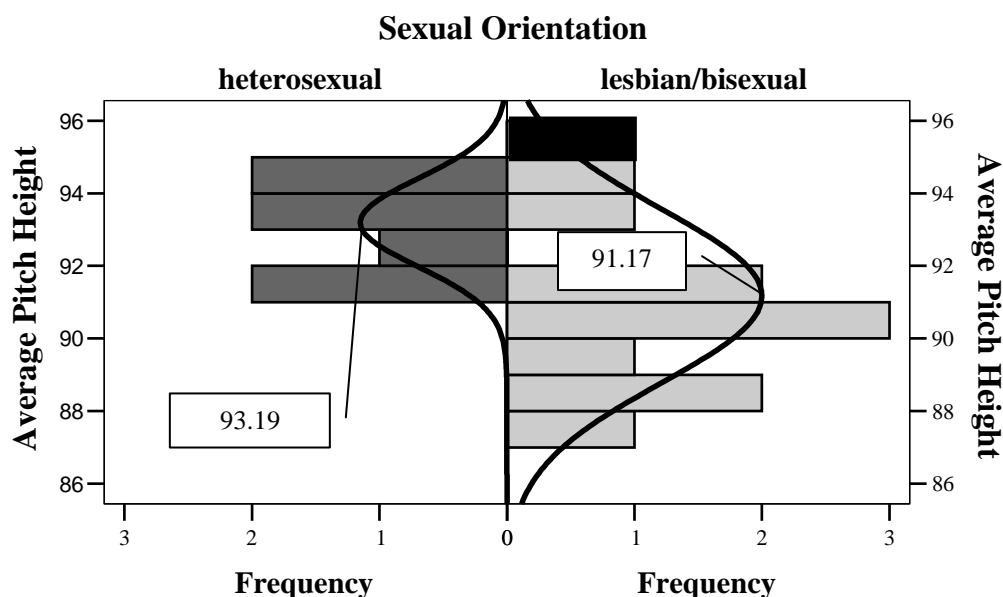
<sup>75</sup> The formula used for conversion is  $\text{Semitone} = 12 / \log(2) (\log(F2) - \log(F1))$  (Baken and Orlikoff, 2000: 148). I chose semitones as my unit of measure based on a perception experiment done to determine the difference between semitones and ERB-rate in terms of psycho-acoustic pitch scale (Nolan, 2003).

Table 7: Measurements excluding Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM) of Average, Maximum, and Minimum Pitch, and Pitch Width for each speaker. For a similar table with measurements including BPM, see Appendix D.

			Measurements Excluding Boundary Pitch Movements			
			Average Pitch Height	Maximum Pitch	Minimum Pitch	Pitch Width
heterosexual	H1	Chikako	94.74	99.94	89.43	10.5
	H2	Fujiko	91.93	98.11	85.37	12.74
	H3	Mai	94.74	100.11	89.44	10.67
	H4	Michiko	93.39	98.49	88.93	9.56
	H5	Hanako	93.29	98.49	88.77	9.71
	H6	Seiko	92.42	96.42	87.9	8.52
	H7	Minako	91.85	97.17	86.65	10.52
lesbian/bisexual	L1	Aiko	90.35	94.79	85.78	9.01
	L2	Ayumi	89.92	93.76	86.74	7.02
	L3	Kimiko	91.77	95.44	88.29	7.15
	L4	Sachi	88.97	93.37	84.7	8.68
	L5	Natsuko	90.15	94.09	86.35	7.73
	L6	Kyoko	95.76	100.81	91.41	9.4
	L7	Raiko	93.43	100.01	86.52	13.49
	L8	Toshiko	88.78	92.77	83.16	9.62
	L9	Shizuko	94.59	99.73	89.45	10.28
	L10	Yumi	91.7	96.8	87.07	9.73
	L11	Sayuki	87.93	91.58	84.15	7.43
	L12	Misao	90.73	95.71	85.71	10.01

### 6.4.1 Average Pitch Height

Figure 33: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on Average Pitch Height measured in semitones (excluding Boundary Pitch Movements), separated by sexual orientation. The black box on the lesbian/bisexual side shows the position of L6, who was excluded from the analysis. The boxes show the average Pitch Height for each group.



There was a difference in average pitch related to sexual orientation, with heterosexual women exhibiting a pitch height approximately two semitones higher than lesbian/bisexual women overall, as shown in Figure 33 above. This difference neared significance at  $F(1,18)=4.272$ ,  $p=.054$  with the boundary pitch movement tokens removed and  $F(1,18)=4.190$ ,  $p=.056$  with them included. However, it is interesting that homosexual women show a higher standard deviation at 2.4 semitones than heterosexual women at 1.2 semitones. Some of this difference could be accounted for by the larger number of lesbian/bisexual than heterosexual participants. However, there is a greater

range than can be accounted for just by the difference in numbers of participants. Three lesbian/bisexual participants (L6, L7, and L9) show averages above the overall average of heterosexual pitch height. However, none of the heterosexual participants had averages below the overall average of lesbian/bisexual speakers.

The difference reached significance with the data from Kyoko (L6) excluded, both excluding Boundary Pitch Movements ( $F(1,17)=8.315$ ) and with them included ( $F(1,17)=8.171$ ), both at  $p<.05$ .

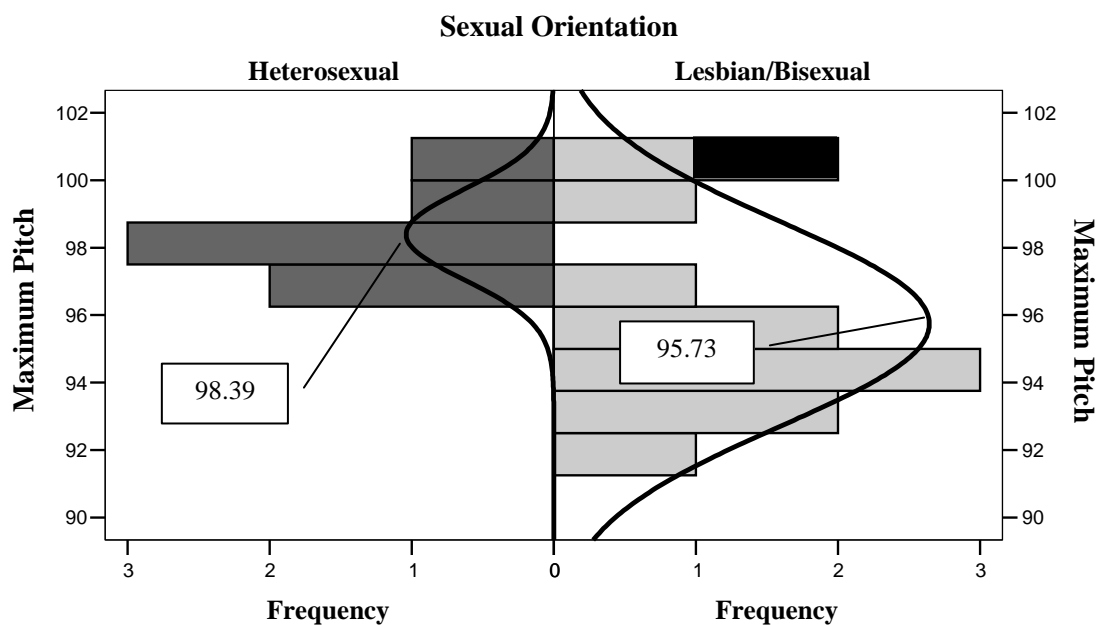
## 6.4.2 Pitch Width Measurements

### 6.4.2.1 Differences in Maximum Pitch

As shown in Figure 34, the average maximum pitch for heterosexual participants (98.39 semitones) was higher than that of lesbian/bisexual women (95.73 semitones), a difference which reaches significance when excluding boundary pitch movements from measurements ( $F(1,18)=4.757$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Even with the boundary pitch movements included in the measurements, the difference is still significant ( $F(1,18)=4.452$ ,  $p<.05$ ). However, once again, there is a higher standard deviation for the lesbian/bisexual participants (3 semitones) than the heterosexual women (1.3 semitones). The same three lesbian/bisexual participants (L6, L7, and L9) whose overall average pitch was high showed maximum pitch averages above the overall average of the heterosexual speakers. All heterosexual participant averages were above the mean for the lesbian/bisexual participants.

Having excluded the data from Kyoko (L6), the difference between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women's maximum pitch is significant ( $p < 0.05$ ), both with BPM included ( $F(1,17)=7.474$ ) and excluded ( $F(1,17)=7.981$ ).

Figure 34: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on Maximum Pitch measured in semitones (excluding Boundary Pitch Movements), separated by sexual orientation. The black box on the lesbian/bisexual side shows the position of L6, who was excluded from the analysis. The boxes show the average Maximum Pitch for each group.

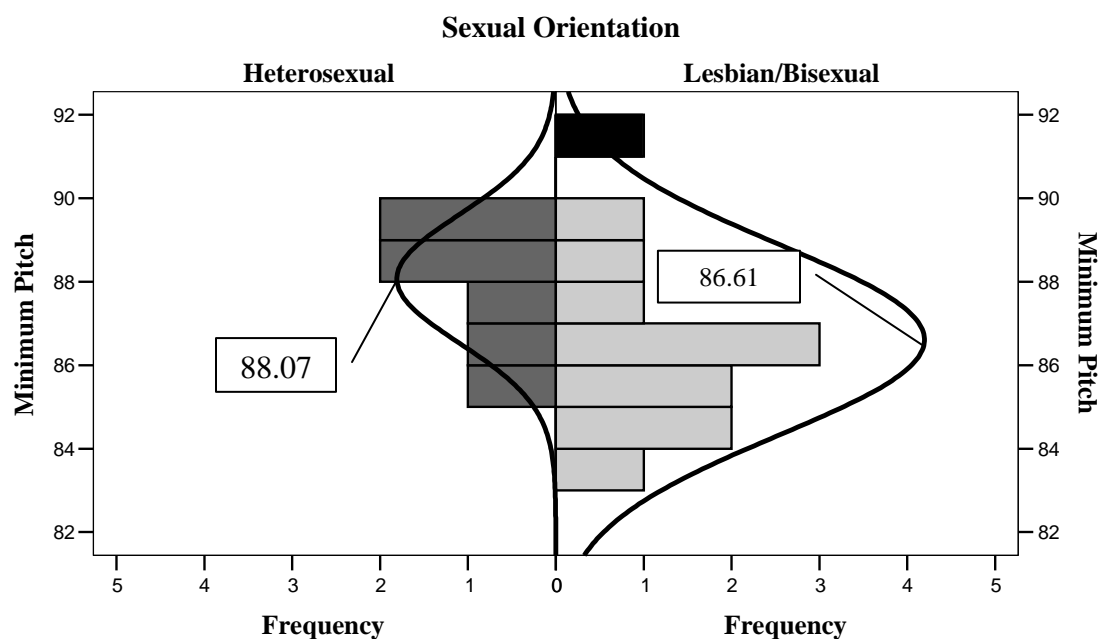


#### 6.4.2.2 Differences in Minimum Pitch

There was little difference apparent for the two groups related to average minimum pitch, with heterosexual participants showing a mean minimum pitch of 88

semitones and lesbian/bisexual participants 86.6 semitones, when excluding boundary pitch movements, as shown in Figure 35. This difference did not reach significant ( $F(1,18)=2.239$ ,  $p=.153$  excluding BPM and  $F(1,18)=2.298$ ,  $p=.148$  with them included). Excluding the data for Kyoko (L6), the results reached significance both when excluding the boundary pitch movement measurements  $F(1,17)=5.294$  and when including them  $F(1,17)=5.423$ , both at  $p<.05$ .

Figure 35: Histogram showing the frequency of speakers based on Minimum Pitch measured in semitones (excluding Boundary Pitch Movements), separated by sexual orientation. The black box on the lesbian/bisexual side shows the position of L6, who was excluded from the analysis. The boxes show the average Minimum Pitch for each group.



#### 6.4.2.3 Differences in Pitch Width

Finally, pitch range did show a slightly wider range for heterosexual participants (10.31 semitones) than the lesbian/bisexual group (9.13 semitones) by 1.2 semitones, shown above in Figure 36. This difference did not reach significance, although it was much closer when excluding the boundary pitch movements from the measurements ( $F(1,18)=2.342$ ,  $p=0.14$  excluding BPMs and  $F(1,18)=1.82$ ,  $p=0.2$  including BPMs).<sup>76</sup> The difference in range for both groups was comparable, with the heterosexual group showing a standard deviation of 1.3 semitones and the lesbian/bisexual group only slightly higher at 1.7 semitones. Only one lesbian/bisexual speaker (L7) had an average higher than that of the heterosexual group.

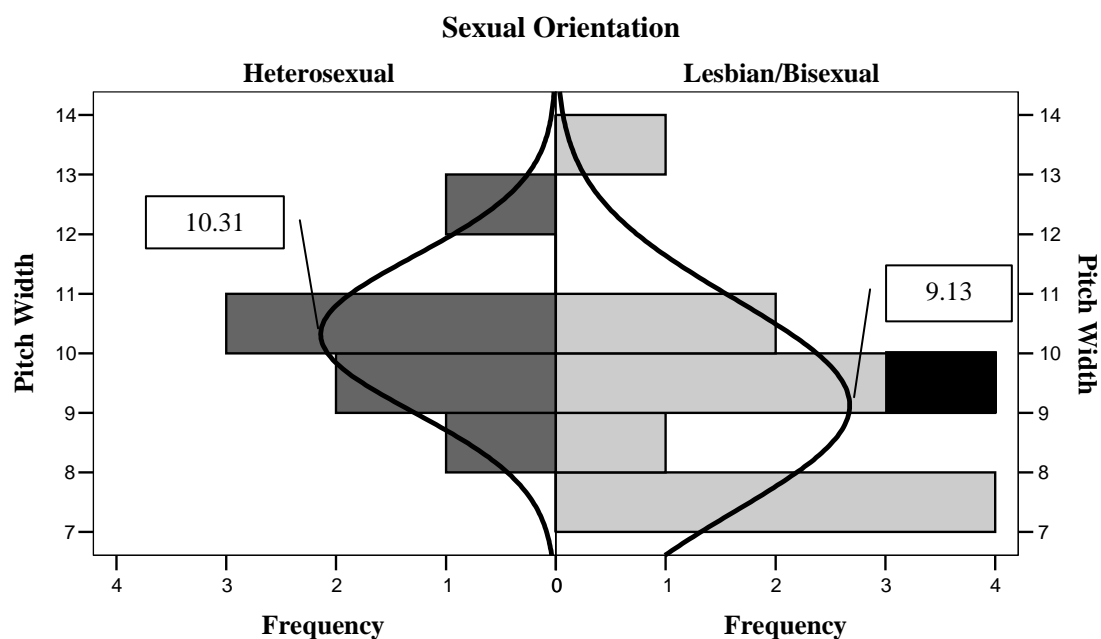
One heterosexual speaker (H6) showed a difference in pitch that was lower overall than the average for the lesbian/bisexual group, but this was the only category for which this speaker patterned differently. It is possible this difference is the result of this speaker's tendency to include more of the self-directed speech discussed in the methodology, such as *nan daroo (na(a))*, which tended to have an extremely narrow pitch range and lower pitch overall. Although dropping the lower five percent of tokens for pitch width attempted to control for this, not all such tokens were dropped by this approach. Since this speaker used so many low-pitch narrow-range self-directed tokens, her results may have been the most affected by the 5% outlier approach, although it may not have completely removed the variability from her data.

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<sup>76</sup> This was the only measurement which decreased when excluding the data from L6.  $F(1,17)=2.225$ ,  $p=.155$  (excluding BPMs) and  $F(1,17)=1.706$ ,  $p=.210$  (including BPMs).



Figure 36: Histogram showing the distribution of Pitch Width measured in semitones (excluding Boundary Pitch Movements) for each speaker, separated by sexual orientation. The black box on the lesbian/bisexual side shows the position of L6, who was excluded from the analysis. The boxes show the average Pitch Width for each group.



## 6.5 Correlations

### 6.5.1 Phonetic Correlations

Previous studies that have looking at pitch ranges for lesbian speakers (e.g., Moonwomon-Baird 1997) looked at measurements in hertz, which is not representative of perceptual differences in pitch. When measured in hertz, a high voice (i.e., female) requires a greater increase in pitch than a low (i.e., male) in order to be perceived as exhibiting the same amount of change in F0. When converted to semitones, these two increases are almost identical. Therefore, to examine pitch range using a linear scale, such as hertz, is methodologically problematic for measuring perceptions of pitch.

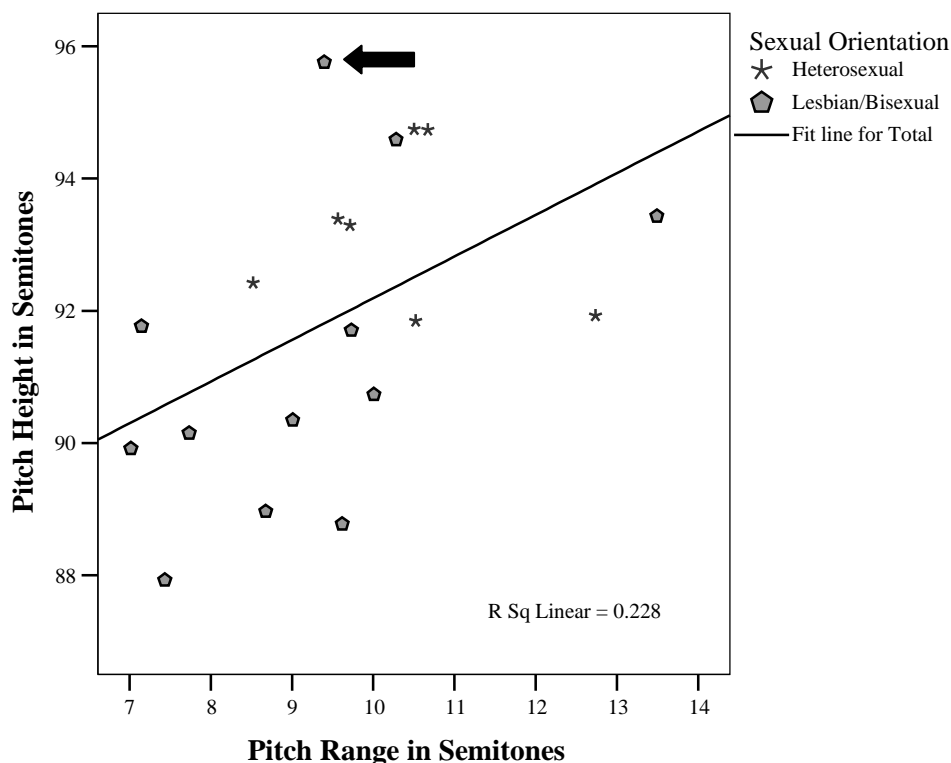
Do speakers who produce a higher overall pitch also utilize a wider pitch range, even when converted to the logarithmic semitones scale? This proves to be true for pitch measurements excluding Boundary Pitch Movements ( $p < .05$ ), as seen both in Figure 37 and Table 8, with higher average pitches correlating positively with wider pitch ranges. When including BPM, the correlation still nears significance ( $p = .054$ ). When excluding the outlier (Kyoko, L6), this correlation becomes significant ( $p < .05$ ).

Table 8: Pearson correlations for Pitch Measurements ( $n = 19$ ). The area to the left of the white boxes shows correlations for the measurements including Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM). The area to the right of the white boxes shows correlations excluding the BPM. Statistically significant correlations are bolded and highlighted in grey and those that near significance are bolded and italicized.

N=19	Average Pitch	Maximum Pitch	Minimum Pitch	Pitch Width	
Average Pitch		<b>.972</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>	<b>.906</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>	<b>.478</b> <b><math>p &lt; .05</math></b>	Excluding BPM
Maximum Pitch	<b>.969</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>		<b>.799</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>	<b>.658</b> <b><math>p &lt; .005</math></b>	
Minimum Pitch	<b>.904</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>	<b>.789</b> <b><math>p &lt; .001</math></b>		.072 $p = .770$	
Pitch Width	<b>.449</b> <b><math>p = .054</math></b>	<b>.643</b> <b><math>p &lt; .005</math></b>	.036 $p = .882$		
	Including BPM				

There were no marked differences when examining the lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual groups separately.

Figure 37: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the correlation between Pitch Width and Pitch Height.



## 6.5.2 Correlations with Gendered Morphemes

### 6.5.2.1 Correlations between Pitch Measurements and Pronoun Use

For the group as a whole, there is a clear negative correlation between use of the masculine pronouns *jibun* and pitch width ( $p < .01$ )—speakers who utilized a higher percentage of *jibun* tended to speak with a narrower pitch width (see Figure 38). The correlation between percent use of *jibun* and pitch height neared significance ( $p = .053$ ), with speakers who utilized a higher percentage of the pronoun *jibun* producing a lower

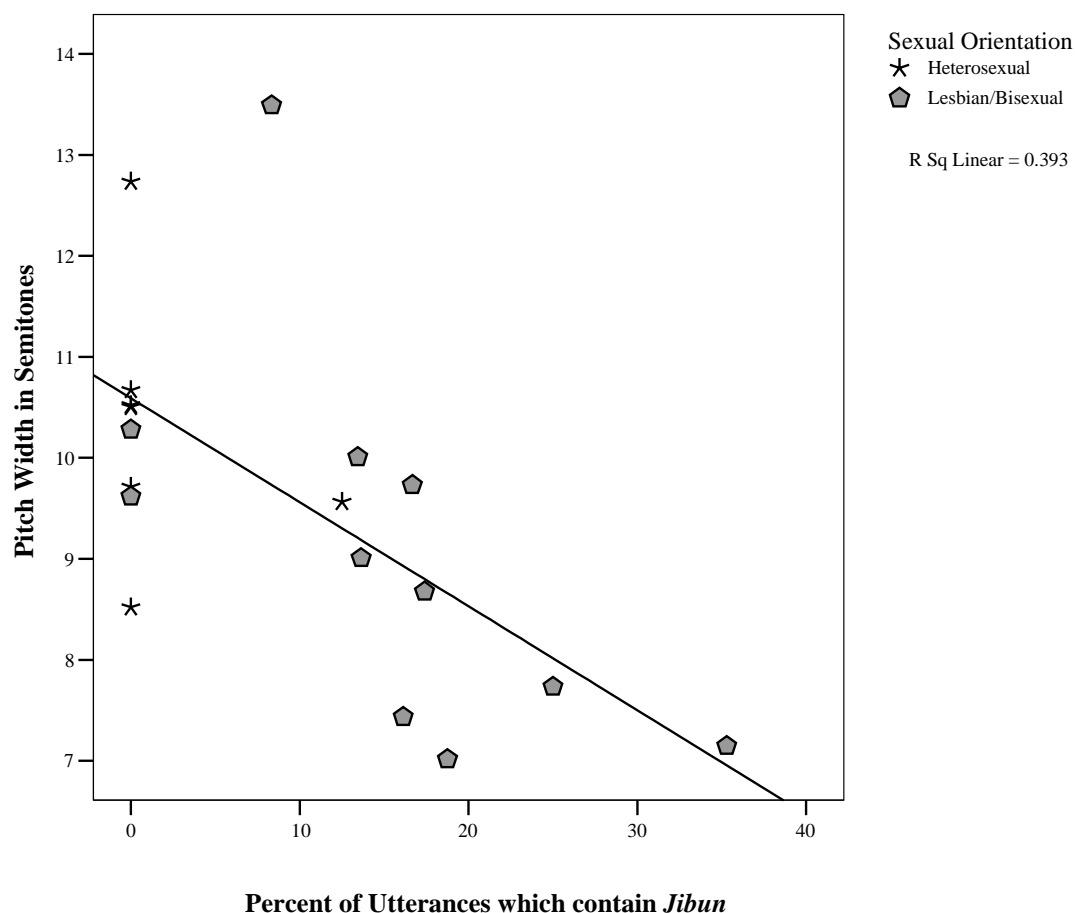
average pitch. All correlations between Pitch Height/Width and Pronoun Use<sup>77</sup> can be found in Table 9, below.

Table 9: Pearson correlations between Pitch Measurements (Average Pitch and Pitch Width) and First-person Pronouns (n=18, excluding outlier L6). The area to the left of the white boxes shows probability levels and correlation rates for the measurements including Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM). The area to the right of the white boxes shows probability levels and correlation rates excluding the BPM. Pertinent significant correlations are bolded and highlighted in grey and those that near significance are bolded and italicized.

N=18	Average Pitch	Pitch Width	Feminine Pronouns ( <i>atashi</i> & <i>uchi</i> )	<i>atashi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>jibun</i>	
Average Pitch		<b>.537</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>	.250 p=.31	.345 p=.16	-.013 p=.95	<b>-.463</b> <b>p=.053</b>	Excluding BPM
Pitch Width	<b>.508</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>		.040 p=.87	.128 p=.61	.281 p=.25	<b>-.627</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>	
Feminine Pronouns ( <i>atashi</i> & <i>uchi</i> )	.275 p=.26	.131 p=.60		.963 p<.001	-.869 p<.001	-.256 p=.30	
<i>atashi</i>	.368 p=.13	.201 p=.42	.963 p<.001		-.782 p<.001	-.354 p=.14	
<i>watashi</i>	-.038 p=.88	.176 p=.48	-.869 p<.001	-.782 p<.001		-.255 p=.30	
<i>jibun</i>	<b>-.463</b> <b>p=.053</b>	<b>-.602</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>	-.256 p=.30	-.354 p=.14	-.255 p=.30		
Including BPM							

<sup>77</sup> Maximum pitch also correlated negatively with the use of *jibun* (p<.05)—speakers who utilized *jibun* produced a lower maximum pitch overall. A scatterplot of this correlation, as well as that between Pitch Height and use of *jibun*, can be found in Appendix E.

Figure 38: Scatterplot (n=18, excluding L6) showing the correlation between Pitch Width and the Percent of Utterances which contain *Jibun*, with points separated by sexual orientation.

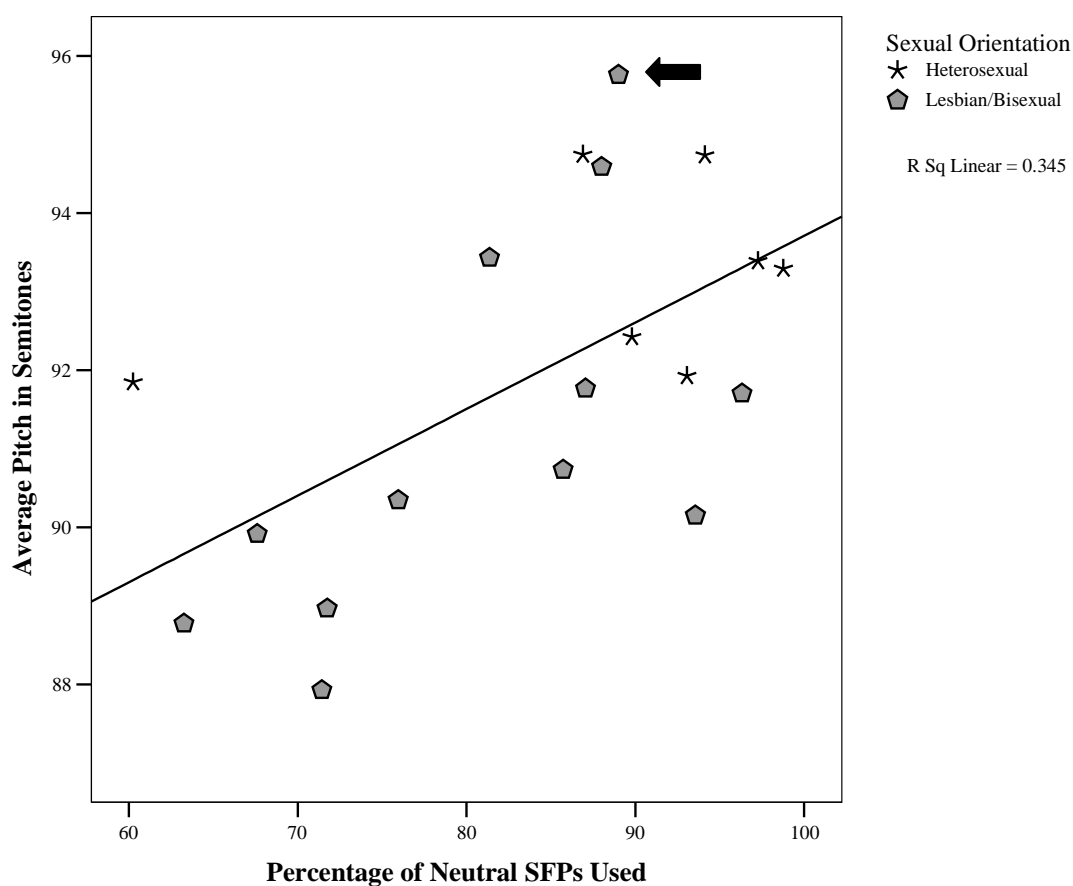


#### 6.5.2.2 Correlations between Pitch Measurements and Sentence-final Particle Use

For the group as a whole, there was a positive correlation between the total percentage of neutral sentence-final particles used and the average (showing in Figure 39 below), and the maximum and minimum pitches (included in Appendix E), all at  $p < .01$ .

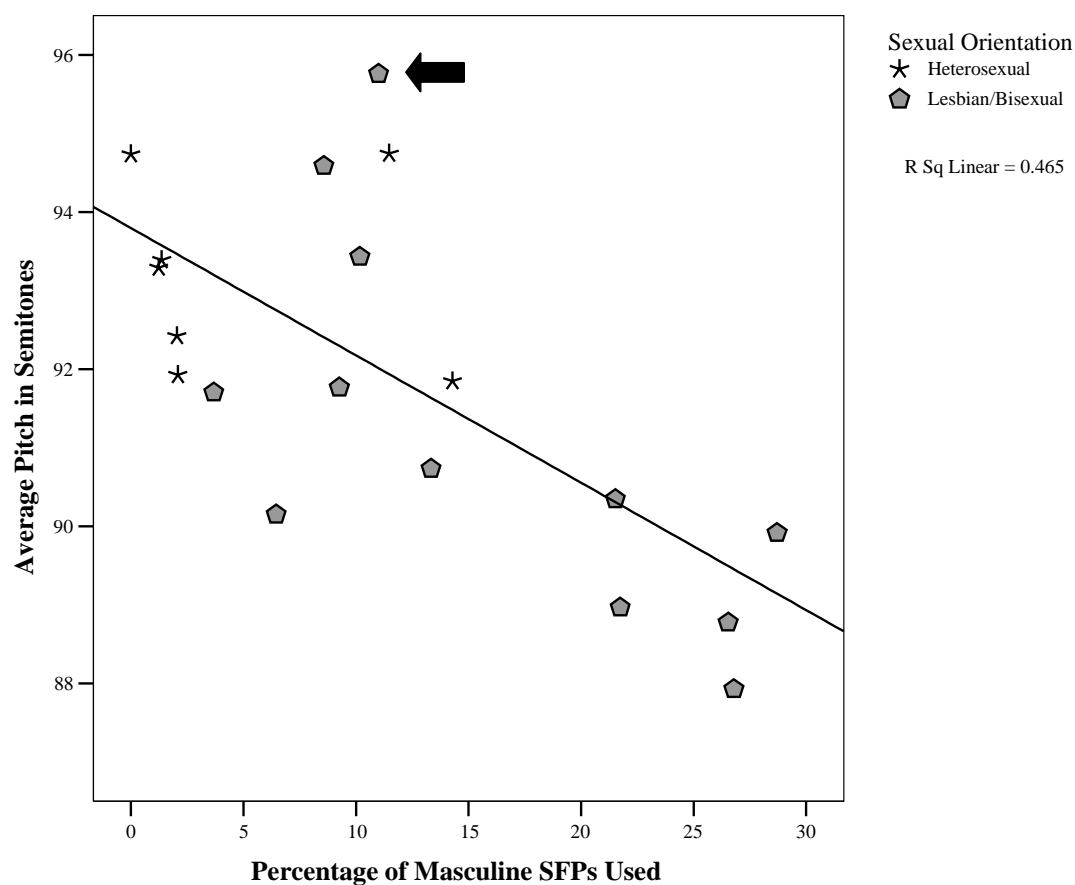
The higher the average, maximum, and minimum pitches a speaker produced, the more likely they were to use a higher percentage of neutral sentence-final particles.

Figure 39: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the correlation between Average Pitch Height and the Percent of Neutral Sentence-final Particles Used, with points separated by sexual orientation.



Conversely, there was a negative correlation between overall percentage of masculine SFPs and pitch height (shown below in Figure 40), and both maximum and minimum pitches (included in Appendix E), ( $p < .001$ ). The lower the average/maximum/minimum pitch, the higher the percentage of masculine SFPs used for all speakers in the group.

Figure 40: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the correlation between Average Pitch Height and the Percent of Masculine Sentence-final Particles Used, with points separated by sexual orientation.



There was no significant correlation between pitch measurements and either the total overall use of sentence-final particles or the percentage of SFPs used that were feminine.

Table 10: Pearson correlations between Pitch Measurements (Average Pitch and Pitch Width) and Percentage of Sentence-Final Particle (SFP) Use (n=19). The area to the left of the white boxes shows probability levels and correlation rates for the measurements including Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM). The area to the right of the white boxes shows probability levels and correlation rates excluding the BPM. Significant correlations are bolded and highlighted in grey and those that near significance are bolded and italicized.

N=19	Average Pitch	Pitch Width	Total % SFP Used	% of SFPs that were Feminine	% of SFPs that were Neutral	% of SFPs that were Masculine	
Average Pitch		<b>.478</b> <b>p&lt;.05</b>	.284 p=.238	-.100 p=.684	<b>.588</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>	<b>-.682</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>	Excluding BPM
Pitch Width	<b>.449</b> <b>p=.054</b>		.289 p=.230	.257 p=.289	.188 p=.440	-.401 p=.089	
Total % SFP Used	.292 p=.226	.308 p=.199		-.069 p=.781	.324 p=.176	-.368 p=.121	
% of SFPs that were Feminine	-.106 p=.666	.229 p=.346	-.069 p=.781		<b>-.628</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>	.166 p=.496	
% of SFPs that were Neutral	<b>.588</b> <b>p&lt;.01</b>	.166 p=.498	.324 p=.176	<b>-.628</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>		<b>-.872</b> <b>p&lt;.001</b>	
% of SFPs that were Masculine	<b>-.678</b> <b>p&lt;.005</b>	-.354 p=.137	-.368 p=.121	.166 p=.496	<b>-.872</b> <b>p&lt;.001</b>		
	Including BPM						

## 6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the phonetic measurements of the interview data and compared differences between the lesbian/bisexual participant data and that of the heterosexual participants. Overall, lesbian/bisexual participants produced a lower average pitch height than heterosexual participants, as well as lower maximum and



minimum pitches overall. This supported the first hypothesis, which was that lesbian/bisexual speakers would exhibit an overall lower average pitch than heterosexual women. However, counter to the second hypothesis, although pitch width showed a slight difference, with lesbian/bisexual speakers producing a narrower width overall, this difference was not significant. This hypothesis was based on previous research showing that English-speaking lesbians spoke with a narrower range (e.g., Moonwomon-Baird 1997). As mentioned previously, these studies did not examine pitch measurements using a logarithmic scale so the differences would be less apparent once converted.

The correlation between pitch height and pitch width was significant, showing that in fact speakers who utilize a higher average pitch will also speak with a wider range. This suggests that either the perceived pitch height or width could be what sets apart lesbian/bisexual speakers from the heterosexual norm. Although in Chapter 5, the perception experiment results suggested that native Japanese speakers use both pitch height and width to base perception of sexual orientation for Japanese women, I suspect that average pitch would be more likely to be an indicator of sexual orientation. This is because (heterosexual) Japanese women have been found to elevate their pitch at a higher rate within their biologically possible range than English speakers (e.g., van Bezooijen 1995). This is a feature of Japanese women's language that is consciously manipulated by speakers wishing to project a polite, feminine image.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that lesbian/bisexual women who do not wish to project such an image would be less likely to elevate their pitch to the degree heterosexual women might.

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<sup>78</sup> Although the job is less common these days, in the 1980s and 90s, Japanese female elevator operators in places like department stores would speak with a markedly elevated pitch as part of their 'work persona.'

The correlations between the pitch measurements and the gendered morphemes were not as clear as anticipated. Only the masculine first person pronoun *jibun*, and the total percentage use of neutral and masculine sentence-final particles correlated with average, maximum, and minimum pitch heights, with no significant correlation with pitch width. This does show that, to some degree, speakers who instantiate gender through gendered morphemes also do so through manipulations of pitch.

## 7. DISCUSSION

### 7.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigated differences in speech related to sexual orientation, focusing mainly on differences between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women. I examined data recorded during personal interviews with nineteen subjects (twelve lesbian/bisexual and seven heterosexual women) and observations made during my fieldwork in Tokyo during 2006 and 2007 in order to address the following research questions: How is sexuality, or more specifically, lesbianism, framed within modern Japanese society? Do lesbian/bisexual speakers utilize stereotypical ‘women’s language’ and other gendered forms differently than heterosexual women? Are there phonetic differences between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women? Finally, is this use related to an individual speaker’s openness in terms of sexuality, gender alignment, or some other factor?

Recordings were analyzed for differences in gendered morphemes, such as first-person pronouns and sentence-final particles, and for differences in average pitch and pitch width between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual participants. I also discussed the results of an experiment designed to measure differences in perception of sexual orientation and personality traits stereotypically considered to be masculine or feminine for Japanese speakers.

## 7.2 Summary of Results and Discussions

### 7.2.1 Phonetic Differences

In Chapter 6, I investigated differences between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual speakers in measurements of pitch height and pitch width. I hypothesized that lesbian/bisexual speakers would exhibit a lower average pitch and a narrower pitch width than heterosexual speakers. Overall, lesbian/bisexual participants did produce a lower average pitch than the heterosexual women, as well as a lower maximum and minimum average pitch. Lesbian/bisexual speakers also showed a tendency to produce a narrower pitch width than heterosexual speakers overall, although this difference was not significant. This is unsurprising because previous findings that indicate pitch range difference are most likely the result of using a linear scale, such as hertz, instead of one that accurately represents perception, such as the logarithmic scale of semitones, which was used in this study. Once converted to a logarithmic scale, even differences between male and female pitch ranges disappear. Therefore, even with the hypothesis that lesbian/bisexual speakers might model their speech more on adult males than females, this would not in actuality affect their pitch range.

Although the findings presented in this dissertation that Japanese lesbian/bisexual speakers produce a lower average pitch height than heterosexual speakers supports early research on the language of English speaking lesbians (e.g., Moonwomon-Baird 1985, 1997; Queen 1997), the results of later research with a larger sample size of voices countered these initial findings (e.g., Munson et al. 2006; Pierrehumbert et al. 2004; Waksler 2001). These later studies showed that there was no significant difference

between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual speakers in terms of either pitch height or width, but found phonetic differences related to the production of vowels. A possible explanation for the difference in findings between the current study and the English-speaking lesbian/bisexual research relates to the typical pitch height for Japanese women. (Heterosexual) Japanese women have been found to speak with a higher pitch within their biologically possible range than English speakers (e.g., van Bezooijen 1995), which is often used to project femininity. Therefore, it seems likely that speakers who do not wish to project a hegemonic feminine image, such as lesbian/bisexual women, would be less likely to elevate their pitch to the degree heterosexual women might, resulting in a larger difference related to sexual identity.

### 7.2.2 Morphological Differences

In Chapter 4, I investigated differences in first-person pronouns and sentence-final particles—both based on the prescriptive masculine, feminine, and neutral categorization discussed in Chapter 2—between lesbian/bisexual and heterosexual women’s interview data. My first hypothesis was that lesbian/bisexual speakers would use feminine pronouns less often than heterosexual women, and that they would use masculine pronouns, which heterosexual speakers would not do. When I examined the interview data, although there was a difference in gendered morphemes, no lesbians utilized the masculine first-person pronouns that were suggested to typify lesbian speech patterns—*boku* and *ore*. One lesbian woman said she had used the masculine pronoun *boku*, but only when she was younger. Most of the lesbian/bisexual women I spoke with specifically said they would not use masculine pronouns because they were women.

The one prescriptively masculine pronoun used by the lesbian/bisexual speakers, *jibun*, is perhaps not viewed by these speakers as masculine. It seems that these lesbian speakers are using *jibun* one of two ways: either as first-person pronoun that is less commonly used and therefore might fall outside of the more common gender categories, or as a pronoun which allows them to discuss issues related to their sexuality from a more neutral perspective, much as *jibun* is used to refer to a generic ‘one’ when giving generalizations. Only one lesbian/bisexual speaker mentioned that she might use *jibun* as a first-person pronoun, but she did not seem to consider it masculine, having explicitly stated that she would not use masculine pronouns because she was female.

As a group, heterosexual speakers were also significantly more likely to use the feminine pronoun *atashi* than lesbian/bisexual speakers, as hypothesized. All heterosexual speakers produced tokens of *atashi* but only 58% of lesbian/bisexual speakers used this pronoun. Among speakers who used it, the lesbian/bisexual group tended to use *atashi* at a lower ratio to *watashi* than the heterosexual group.

I also hypothesized that lesbian/bisexual speakers would use fewer feminine and more masculine sentence-final particles than heterosexual women. Lesbian/bisexual speakers were, in fact, significantly more likely to use masculine sentence-final particles than the heterosexual speakers. Though there was a tendency for heterosexual speakers to use feminine sentence-final particles more often, this difference was not significant. However, two heterosexual speakers used what have been considered to be ‘very feminine’ forms (e.g., Okamoto 1995), which only occurred in the lesbian/bisexual interviews as part of quoted speech of what a very *onna rashii* ‘feminine’ woman might

sound like. Finally, heterosexual speakers did exhibit a tendency to use sentence-final particles at a greater overall rate than lesbian/bisexual speakers, mirroring the tendency for women to use more sentence-final particles more often than men.

### 7.2.3 Correlations of Measurements

I ran bivariate correlations to investigate relationships between different measurements taken from the interview data and to investigate relationships between perceived personality traits and sexual orientation presented in Chapter 5. For data analyzed in Chapters 4 and 6, there were very few correlations that were significant. The use of gendered first-person pronouns did not correlate with the use of gendered sentence-final particles, or with the overall percentage of sentence-final particles. There was also no correlation between the feminine or masculine sentence-final particles and percentage of sentence-final particle use. Significant correlations were found in Chapter 6, with speakers who produced a higher average pitch also utilizing a wider pitch range.

I also considered correlations between the pitch measurements and gendered morphemes. As higher average pitch and wider pitch width both correlated with judgments of femininity in the perception experiment discussed in Chapter 5, I expected the measurements for both from the interview data to be correlated with the use of more feminine gendered morphemes. For pronoun use, there was a significant negative correlation with the masculine pronoun *jibun* and pitch width—the speakers who utilized a wider pitch width, considered to be more feminine, used a lower percentage of the masculine pronoun *jibun*. Speakers who produced a lower average pitch, considered

more masculine, also tended to use more tokens of *jibun*, a correlation which neared significance.

For correlations between the pitch measurements and sentence-final particles, there was a significant positive correlation between the overall percentage of sentence-final particles used and average pitch—speakers who produced a higher average pitch also used a higher percentage of sentence-final particles. There was also a significant negative correlation between masculine sentence-final particles and average pitch—speakers who used masculine SFPs tended to speak with a lower average pitch. This suggests that speakers who instantiate gender through the use of gendered-morphemes also do so, on some level, through manipulations of pitch.

## 7.2.4 Perception of Homosexuality in Japan

### 7.2.4.1 General Stereotypes

There was an overall lack of a cohesive stereotype for lesbians both in terms of physical appearance and behavior, as well as for stereotypical language use. This view was supported across the board; both heterosexual and lesbian interviewees, as well as other people I spoke with, had difficulty describing typical lesbian appearances, behaviors, or language use. When pressed, interviewees sometimes suggested that butch lesbians may use more masculine language, such as the first-person pronouns *boku* and *ore*, but that generally there was no discernible difference from ‘typical’ women’s speech. Although participants clearly indicated that gay male speech was typified by a higher pitch and seemingly more dynamic pitch contour, there were not felt to be similar



differences in lesbian speech—lesbian women were thought to be indistinguishable from their heterosexual counterparts.

#### 7.2.4.2 Perception of Gay/Lesbian Speech

In Chapter 5, I presented the results of an experiment designed to determine how differences in pitch height and width for a male and female voice affect perceptions of sexual orientation and personality traits for Japanese male and female speakers. Listeners made judgments about male and female utterances, which were manipulated to wide, regular, and narrow contours, with each then also manipulated to produce a high, regular, and low pitch. Judgments were made based on five scales—sexual orientation, masculinity/femininity, emotionality, assertiveness, and attractiveness.

Overall, listeners agreed to a significant degree about whether voices sounded gay/lesbian. These judgments of sexual orientation were directly related to pitch height and width for the female voice, but for the male voice, only pitch height was influential. The lower the pitch, the more likely the voice was to be judged lesbian by both male and female listeners. For the male voice, as well, the higher the pitch, the more likely the voice was judged to be gay.

For all four of the personality scales, both pitch height and width influenced overall perceptions. Tokens of the female voice that had higher pitch were perceived to be more attractive, emotional, and assertive overall. Pitch height played a smaller role in judgments of these scales for the male voice. Both higher pitches and wider contours were judged to be more feminine for both the male and female voice. Unsurprisingly, the male voice was judged as less feminine than the female voice.

Pitch width played a greater role in perceptions of assertiveness and emotionality. For both the male and female voices, tokens with wider contour were judged to be more assertive. For judgments of emotionality, overall, the wide pitched voices were judged to be more emotional, although more so for the female voice than the male.

This perception experiment produced some interesting results related to the question of 'gaydar' in Japan. Although listeners in the experiment complained that it was difficult to judge the sexual orientation of the female voice, both pitch height and width significantly correlated with whether a female voice was judged to sound lesbian or straight. This shows that Japanese speakers have at least an underlying perception of what lesbians sound like, even though the interview results showed that speakers were hesitant to stereotype this group. Speakers were also able to make judgments of sexual orientation about the male voice, but these perceptions were not influenced by pitch width, which does not support the stereotypical image of gay men's speech in Japan given by the interview participants of gay men speaking with a more dynamic contour.

The results of the correlations for the female voice showed two of the personality scales, femininity and emotionality, were significant correlated with judgments of homosexuality. Both these personality scales showed a strong inverse correlation with sexual orientation, with tokens perceived to be lesbian also being perceived to be less feminine and less emotional. This supports the stereotype that lesbians are viewed as less 'feminine' than Japanese heterosexual women. For the male voice, as well, both masculinity and emotionality correlated significantly with sexual orientation. Tokens judged to be gay were considered both less masculine and more emotional than those

judged to be straight. For both the male and female voices, the correlation between masculinity and emotionality was significant—tokens judged to be masculine were perceived as calmer than feminine tokens. Finally, tokens perceived to be more assertive were also judged to be more attractive.

### 7.3 Directions for Future Research

Although it is extremely difficult to collect data of this kind, further examination of this subset of women will provide researchers with important perspectives on gender and identity performance and how these relate to hegemonic language norms for Japanese. It is commonly understood that gender is something that is performed, but it is difficult to observe this with heterosexual women, whose projected gender identity changes may be less likely to widely deviate from societal expectations and the result of individuality versus group membership.

First, a similar study needs to be done on gay men. During fieldwork, I found that the gay male community is more established, more open, and more visible to and perhaps accepted by society than that of lesbians. The average Japanese speaker also had strong ideas of how gay men looked, behaved, and spoke. Therefore, it is more likely that there are prominent stereotypes for gay men to model after when they are performing their gay identity. I also found that gay men were more willing to speak with me about my research and seemed more open to participating in this type of study.

It would be useful to examine members of these sexual minorities in a variety of settings and interactions to investigate whether speakers are altering pitch or utilizing gendered morphemes differently in situations where they are hiding their sexual

orientation. However, even one subject would provide a case study on how these features are manipulated to express different gender/sexual identities in different communities of practice.

Within the interview setting from the current study, some speakers may have been performing their lesbian identity. These speakers agreed to participate in an interview about sexuality and may have presented themselves with this in mind. Others may have specifically chosen to suppress or hide this aspect of their identity for a variety of reasons—they could be uncomfortable being defined by their sexuality, they could be less open about their sexuality, or they could feel strongly about not being perceived as different from heterosexual women. Based on field observations, it was more likely that speakers would manipulate gendered language when interacting with other lesbians—at a gay or lesbian bar or other social functions. I also observed one lesbian woman (Misao) audibly raise her pitch when making business related phone calls. When asked about this, she dismissed it, saying that it is “something everyone does.” This same speaker audibly lowered her pitch when I observed her performing her lesbian identity.<sup>79</sup> I wonder, however, if comparable differences occur in similar situations for lesbians and heterosexual women.

Although I examine this topic through a ‘community of practice’ approach, where people create and define identity in relation to a particular community, it is often claimed that many behaviors stereotypically related to homosexuality manifest in children at very

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<sup>79</sup> She often approached new bar customers to make them feel welcome and was very active, socially, in the community. Misao is also the woman I heard speaking on the phone to another lesbian during our interview. During this phone call, her pitch lowered, and she seemed to increase her use of masculine sentence-final particles, which I hypothesize was an indication of the performance of her sexual identity.

young ages, before the concept of sexuality is salient to these children. English-speaking gay men are often stereotyped as speaking with a lisp or feminine voice and lesbians as exhibiting very tomboyish behavior, all at a young age. It would be interesting to examine how many of the features common to these groups are constructed within the confines of the homosexual community, either adopted once speakers join the community or by modeling behavior from the outside as an expression of identity, and how many manifest previous to this. In other words, are these features that individuals are adopting to show solidarity within a group, or are they perhaps related to something else, such as Maltz & Borker's (1982) suggestion that these children are mimicking their opposite-sex parent?

Finally, I am currently planning a perception study to identify whether the average Japanese native speaker is able to identify the linguistic differences found in this study as lesbian speech. Although differences were apparent, in both gendered language use as well as average pitch height, they were small. It is not clear whether these minor differences would be something the average Japanese speakers would easily identify as 'lesbian.' To address this, I would like to run a perception experiment using actual recordings of lesbian voices, rather than manipulated tokens, to test whether these speakers can be identified as lesbian by native Japanese listeners.

#### 7.4 Discussion and Implications

Based on the interview responses and ethnographic observations in the field, it appears that lesbians are predominantly an invisible group within Japanese society. They do not seem to be recognized by members of society as sexual minorities, either as a

group or as individuals. When explaining my research during the beginning of my fieldwork, I often heard comments such as “of course there are lesbians in Japan, but I do not know any.” It is unlikely that this is true for every person who said this to me, but the fact that they are not aware of knowing women who are lesbian speaks volumes about the status of this marginalized group. First, it indicates that the hegemonic views of society are so pervasive that, at least in this case, ‘typical’ Japanese have difficulty imagining or accepting a group that does not fall within the norm. Second, this suggests that many lesbians may be unwilling to share this aspect of their identity on an individual level, even with family members and close friends. Heterosexual pairings were described as *shizen* ‘natural,’ and a few interviewees, both lesbian and heterosexual, stressed that Japanese do not like things that ‘are different,’ which was one reason why many lesbians were nervous or unwilling to ‘come out’ about their sexuality. When asked if they had concerns about coming out in Japanese society, many indicated that they feared discrimination against them and their families, not just in the workplace, but also by neighbors or people in the community. Even though there are not the overt hate crimes against gays and lesbians in Japan that occur in North America, there is still social pressure against standing out from the group. It is also possible that the lower number of hate crimes is not because alternative lifestyles are more tolerated in Japan, but because they remain less visible. Groups such as OCCUR have brought lawsuits against discrimination based on sexual orientation, and I spoke with lesbian couples in Japan who planned on forming ‘partnership agreements’ in lieu of same-sex marriages, which are not currently legal. Once a year, there is a Pride Festival in Ni-Chōme, and every few

years a Pride Parade is held. Also, the topic of homosexuality has been addressed recently outside the sphere of television dramas and entertainment in a series on NHK about sexual minorities. However, for the majority of heterosexual Japanese, homosexuality, especially lesbianism, remains something 'different' or 'unnatural' that they do not come in contact with in their day-to-day existence.

This does not create a situation where these sexual minorities would be willing to live openly as homosexual. The lesbian/bisexual women I spoke with still seemed to feel pressure from their families to get married and have children. Women who had either taken girlfriends home with them, or had exhibited lesbian tendencies to their families while growing up, seemed to be tolerated as merely going through a phase. Misao said that, although she had not come out to her father, he was aware that she dated women. However, he seemed to view it as a phase she was going through and expected her to reach a point where she would finally settle down and have a traditional marriage and family.

That this group is so hidden from society explains why there seems to be a lack of lesbian stereotypes. If we compare this to the situation for gay men in Japan, the prevalence of famous gay entertainers, the well-known comedian who adopted a gay persona, and gay characters on TV shows means that this group, on some level, is in the public eye. This type of exposure becomes a basis on which people are able to form stereotypes. As I discussed in Chapter 3, there are very few openly lesbian/bisexual women in the public eye and those who are tend not to make their sexual orientation part of their public persona. The few heterosexual women who were able to suggest

stereotypes for lesbians in Japan based them on openly gay women they had met. In the United States, on the other hand, I have found most people are able to provide a stereotypical impression of both gay men and lesbian women.<sup>80</sup>

Even though lesbians are fairly closeted and people are not generally aware of having stereotypes for this group, there are still differences apparent in their speech, both on the phonetic and morphological levels, albeit subtle. Identity is something that is constantly negotiated between the self and society. It is neither something that is set within a person, nor is it something that society can fully define. As Wenger (1998) argues, identity “arises out of an interplay of participation and reification...the work of identity is always going on.” But to be able to reflect a group identity, there first needs to be a visible group to model behavior on. As Zwicky (1997: 29) discusses, speakers use people around them as models for behavior, and as a result, “will not acquire norms for which [they] have no or few models.” Speakers then choose people to mimic and avoid behaviors exhibited by people they do not wish to mimic. Norms are also enforced by members of their communities (e.g., Cameron & Coates 1988; Zwicky 1997).

Although previous research such as this has suggested that children learn gender-appropriate behavior by modeling after adults of the same sex, or in the case of homosexual children, the opposite sex,<sup>81</sup> the lesbian women I spoke with were adamant

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<sup>80</sup> Even native English speakers who are hesitant to stereotype these groups manage to provide characteristics that are often used to describe gay men or lesbian women once they are encouraged. However, in Japan, no matter how hard I pressed, the majority of speakers either could not or would not even speculate about what they thought a stereotypical description of a lesbian might be. Conversely, I did not speak with a single Japanese person about this topic who was unable to readily provide a stereotypical description of a gay man.

<sup>81</sup> This has been suggested as a reason for why gay men’s speech mimics that of women, although I am not aware of the same explanation for lesbians.



that they were not going to mimic men's behavior because they were not, nor did they want to be, men. Yet there were differences apparent in their speech from that of heterosexual women. Does this mean they were subconsciously modeling their speech after that of men? It is more likely that these women were instead choosing not to subscribe to the pervasive cultural stereotypes of femininity, which in Japanese are very connected to language choices. There is a fine line between rejecting hegemonic femininity and all the expectations and stereotypes that accompany it, and wanting to embrace those that are associated with the opposite sex.

Lesbians in Japan are relatively isolated in terms of their sexual identities. As discussed, there is a distinct lack of a strong, widely recognized community which they can identify with and model behavior after. Although it is by no means nonexistent, the main society that they are negotiating themselves within is that of the normative heterosexual world. As such, what is apparent with these women in particular is the overlapping, often conflicting, 'communities of practice' (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) within which these speakers participate.

No matter what linguistic choices Japanese sexual minorities make, they are still aligning themselves within the hegemonic gender structure prevalent in Japanese society. A choice to avoid gendered language or to utilize it in a way different than same-sex peers still results in projecting an identity to society at large, be it subconscious or mindful. Japanese people automatically position themselves related to this traditional gender structure through using stereotypically male and female language styles (e.g., Okamoto & Sato 1992; Sturtz 2001), and, as Japan has generally conflated sex, gender,

and sexuality (see Valentine 1997a), speakers who fall outside of the norm for any one of these categories find themselves at conflict with societal norms. Therefore, without a clear group model to either pattern behavior after or provide linguistic support, it is less likely that Japanese lesbians would overtly reject the hegemonic gender norms of society for a lesbian identity than it is for gay men, who do have a stronger group model.

Aside from participation in the rare gay pride events, none of the lesbian/bisexual women I spoke with were active in furthering gay rights in Japan. On the contrary, most were attempting to negotiate their place in society in a way that would allow them to continue to keep their sexual orientation hidden. Although many of the lesbians I spoke with found it surprising and hard to believe that they might be speaking differently than mainstream heterosexual women, two lesbian participants asked for the results of my research in order to modify their speech so they could better integrate with Japanese society. It seemed important to these two women in particular that they not stand out in any way. One of these women (Shizuko, L9) spoke with a comparatively high average pitch and avoided gendered pronouns, using the relatively neutral *watashi* 100% of the time. However, she did utilize masculine sentence-final particles, though at a lower rate than other lesbian/bisexual interviewees. This supports my hypothesis that speakers are more aware of the implication of using gendered first-person pronouns than sentence-final particles. The other speaker, Yumi (L10), used very few gendered sentence-final particles, avoiding feminine SFPs altogether, but did use a wide range of first-person pronouns, utilizing both *atashi* and *jibun*. Yumi did not mention *jibun* as either masculine, or a pronoun distinct to lesbians, so perhaps she is unaware of the connotation

of this first-person pronoun. Her use of *atashi*, however, might be a strategy for specifically projecting a feminine identity in order to further hide her sexual orientation.

Even heterosexual women may consciously manipulate or avoid women's language depending on how they feel it will be received. According to Endo (1995: 40), "some use women's language as a conscious strategy in certain situations in which they feel they are more likely to have their views listened to if they are presented in a nonthreatening women's speech style rather than in a more blunt and straightforward style". This exemplifies that referring to the language dichotomy in Japanese in terms of male/female biological sex is problematic. It is preferable to view it in terms of gender, such as 'feminine' and 'masculine.' But even this is problematic, as it assigns a value judgment of what 'feminine' and 'masculine' mean; one which we already know changes over time. Nevertheless, as discussed above, these ideologies are important as they set the stage for enabling an individual to decide whether to accept or reject them in their language choice. As Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) state, "language is a key symbolic and communicative resource, central to developing the ways of thinking and doing that give communities of practice their character" (483).

## APPENDIX A

SPEAKER DATA<sup>82</sup>

		<b>Age Range</b>	<b>Hometown</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Sexual Orientation</b>
H1	Chikako	20-29	Kanagawa	unmarried	heterosexual
H2	Fujiko	20-29	Saitama	unmarried	heterosexual
H3	Mai	20-29	Tokyo	unmarried	heterosexual
H4	Michiko	20-29	Gunma	unmarried	heterosexual
H5	Hanako	20-29	Nagasaki	unmarried	heterosexual
H6	Seiko	30-39	Nara/Akita	unmarried	heterosexual
H7	Minako	30-39	Yamagata	married	heterosexual
L1	Aiko	20-29	Chiba	unmarried	lesbian
L2	Ayumi	30-39	Fukui	divorced	bisexual
L3	Kimiko	40-45	Tokyo	unmarried	lesbian
L4	Sachi	30-39	Saitama	unmarried	lesbian
L5	Natsuko	20-29	Saitama	unmarried	lesbian
L6	Kyoko	20-29	Tokyo	unmarried	lesbian
L7	Raiko	30-39	Tokyo	unmarried	bisexual
L8	Toshiko	30-39	Shimane	divorced	lesbian
L9	Shizuko	20-29	Kanagawa	unmarried	lesbian
L10	Yumi	20-29	Saitama	unmarried	lesbian
L11	Sayuki	20-29	Nagano	unmarried	lesbian
L12	Misao	20-29	Tokyo	unmarried	bisexual

<sup>82</sup> Age ranges are used in order to better protect the privacy and identity of interview participants.

## APPENDIX B

## TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

.	final prosody
,	continuing prosody
?	rising intonation
...	pause (medium)
-	truncated word
(FEM)	morpheme categorized as 'feminine'
(MASC)	morpheme categorized as 'masculine'
(NEUT)	morpheme categorized as 'neutral'

All Japanese is transcribed using Hepburn romanization.

In translations, brackets [ ] are used to indicate items elided in the Japanese. Parentheses ( ) are used to paraphrase things that are generally not directly translatable, such as sentence-final particles.

## APPENDIX C

## CATEGORIZATION OF JAPANESE GENDERED SENTENCE-FINAL FORMS

Feminine Forms <sup>83</sup>	V/i-Adj <i>kashira</i> na-Adj (stem)/N <i>kashira</i>	<i>iku kashira</i> go FP  <i>kiree kashira</i> pretty FP
	V/i-Adj <i>no ne(e)</i> na-Adj (stem)/N+na <i>no ne(e)</i>	<i>iku no ne(e)</i> go FP  <i>kiree na no ne(e)</i> pretty COP FP
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>wa/</i> na-Adj (plain)/N+COP(direct) <i>wa/</i>	<i>iku wa/</i> go FP
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>koto</i> na-Adj/N+COP(direct) <i>koto</i>	<i>iku koto</i> go FP
	V- <i>te yo</i>	<i>itte yo</i> go FP
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>mon ne(e)</i> na-Adj/N+COP(direct)	<i>iku mon ne(e)</i>
Neutral Forms	na-Adj/N <i>ne(e)</i>	<i>gakusei ne</i>
	i-Adj/V <i>yo</i>	<i>ikimasu yo</i> <i>iku yo</i>
	i-Adj/V <i>ne</i>	<i>ikimasu ne</i> <i>iku ne</i>
	i-Adj/V <i>yo ne</i>	<i>ikimasu yo ne</i> <i>iku yo ne</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>mitai na</i>	hedge
	V <i>tari</i>	<i>ittari</i>
	V <i>shi</i>	<i>iku shi</i>
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>no/</i> na-Adj/N+na <i>no/</i>	<i>iku no</i> <i>kiree na no</i>

<sup>83</sup> See Matsugu (2007) for a detailed categorization of final-forms in Japanese.

	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>jan</i> na-Adj/N <i>jan</i>	<i>iku jan</i> <i>kiree jan</i>
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>mon</i> na-Adj/N+COP(direct) <i>mon</i>	<i>iku mon</i> <i>kiree da mon</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>kana</i>	<i>iku kana</i> <i>kiree kana</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>toka</i>	<i>iku toka</i> <i>kiree toka</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>to/tte yuu ka</i>	<i>iku to yuu ka</i>
Masculine Forms	V/N/Adj <i>sa(a)</i>	<i>iku sa</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>kke</i>	<i>iku kke</i> <i>ikimasu kke</i> <i>kiree datta kke</i>
	V/COP <i>ssu</i>	<i>iku ssu</i>
	COP (direct) <i>yo</i>	<i>iku n da yo</i>
	COP (direct) <i>ne</i>	<i>iku n da ne</i>
	COP (direct) <i>yo ne</i>	<i>iku na da yo ne</i>
	i-Adj/V(direct) <i>na(a)</i> na-Adj/N+COP <i>na(a)</i>	<i>iku na</i> <i>kiree da naa</i>
	V/N/Adj <i>ka ne</i>	<i>iku ka ne</i>

## Abbreviations:

V	Verb
V(stem)	Verb stem
Adj	Adjective
i-Adj	<i>i</i> -Adjectives
na-Adj	<i>na</i> -Adjectives
N	Noun
COP	Copula
(direct)	non <i>desu/masu</i> verb forms
/	rising intonation

## APPENDIX D

## PITCH MEASUREMENTS FROM CHAPTER 6

Table 11: Measurements including Boundary Pitch Movements (BPM) of Average, Maximum, and Minimum Pitch, and Pitch Width for each speaker.

			Including Boundary Pitch Movements			
			Average Pitch Height	Maximum Pitch	Minimum Pitch	Pitch Width
heterosexual	H1	Chikako	94.74	99.94	89.43	10.5
	H2	Fujiko	92.02	98.36	85.37	12.99
	H3	Mai	94.76	100.19	89.44	10.75
	H4	Michiko	93.39	98.49	88.93	9.56
	H5	Hanako	93.31	98.52	88.73	9.78
	H6	Seiko	92.42	96.42	87.9	8.52
	H7	Minako	91.85	97.17	86.65	10.52
lesbian/bisexual	L1	Aiko	90.79	95.95	85.52	10.43
	L2	Ayumi	89.91	93.81	86.67	7.14
	L3	Kimiko	91.77	95.44	88.29	7.15
	L4	Sachi	89.02	93.53	84.66	8.87
	L5	Natsuko	90.15	94.09	86.35	7.73
	L6	Kyoko	95.78	100.89	91.41	9.48
	L7	Raiko	93.43	100.01	86.52	13.49
	L8	Toshiko	88.78	92.77	83.16	9.62
	L9	Shizuko	94.59	99.73	89.45	10.28
	L10	Yumi	91.76	97.05	87.07	9.98
	L11	Sayuki	87.93	91.58	84.15	7.43
	L12	Misao	90.73	95.71	85.71	10.01



## APPENDIX E

## CORRELATION CHARTS FROM CHAPTER 6

Figure 41: Scatterplot (n=18, excludes outlier L6) showing the correlation (nears significance) between Average Pitch Height and the Percent of Utterances which contain *Jibun*, with points separated by sexual orientation.

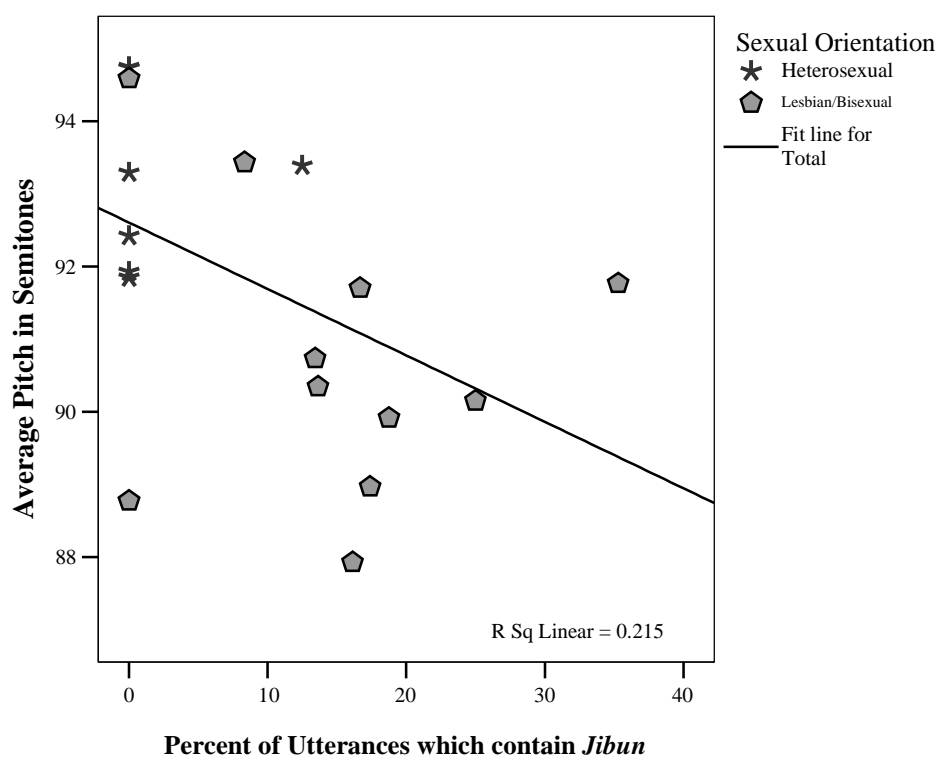


Figure 42: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the significant correlation ( $p < .01$ ) between Maximum Pitch Height and the Percent of Neutral Sentence-final Particles Used, with points separated by sexual orientation.

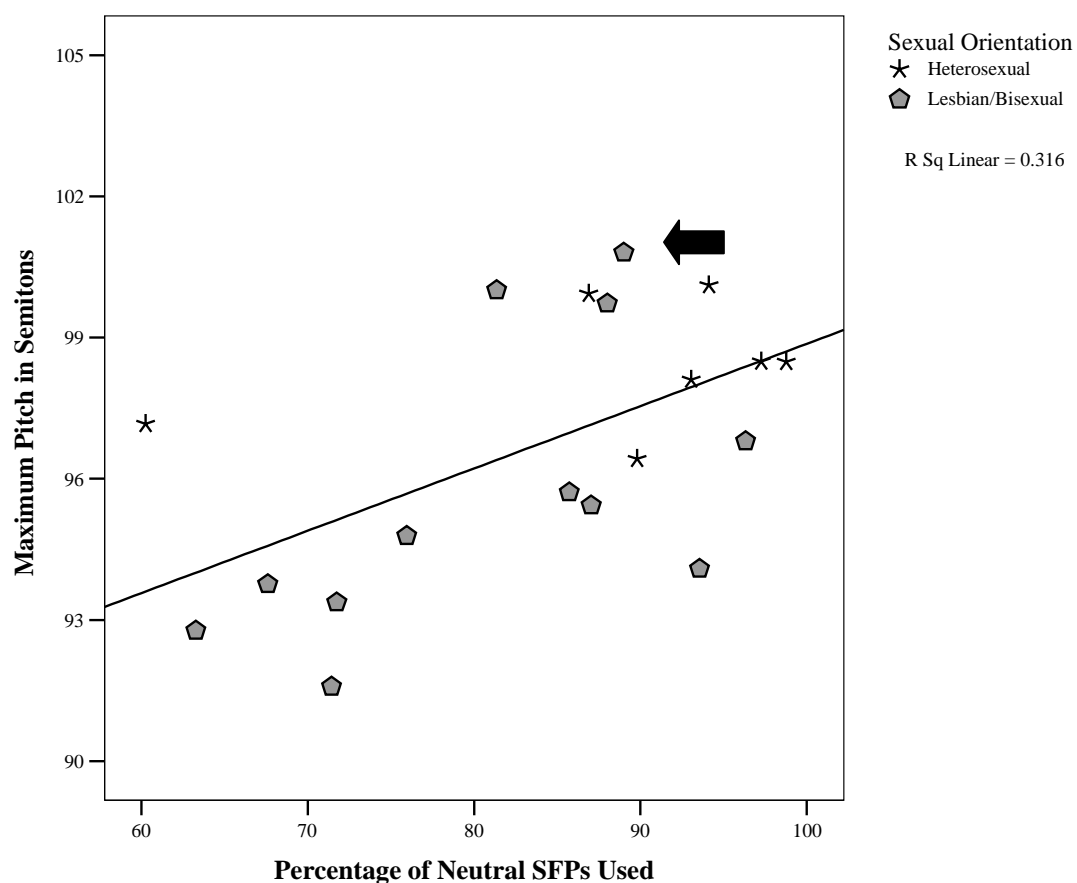


Figure 43: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the significant correlation ( $p < .01$ ) between Minimum Pitch Height and the Percent of Neutral Sentence-final Particles Used, with points separated by sexual orientation.

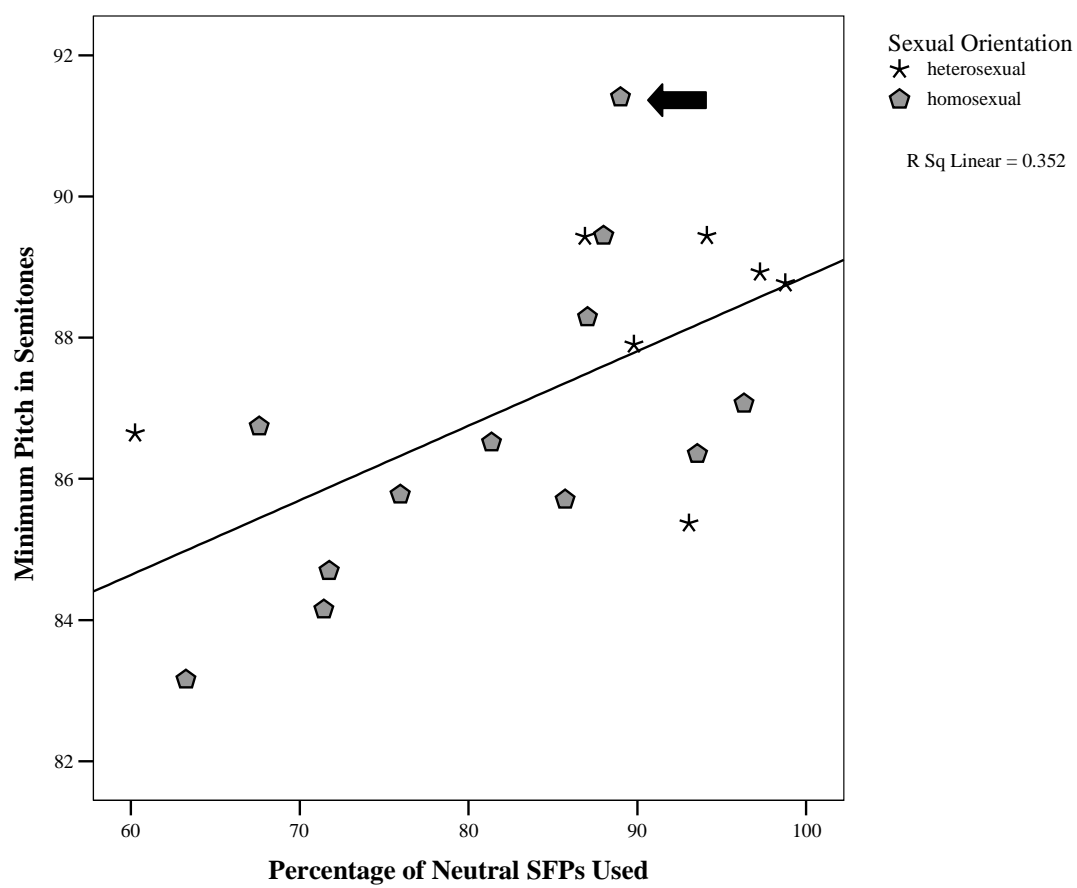
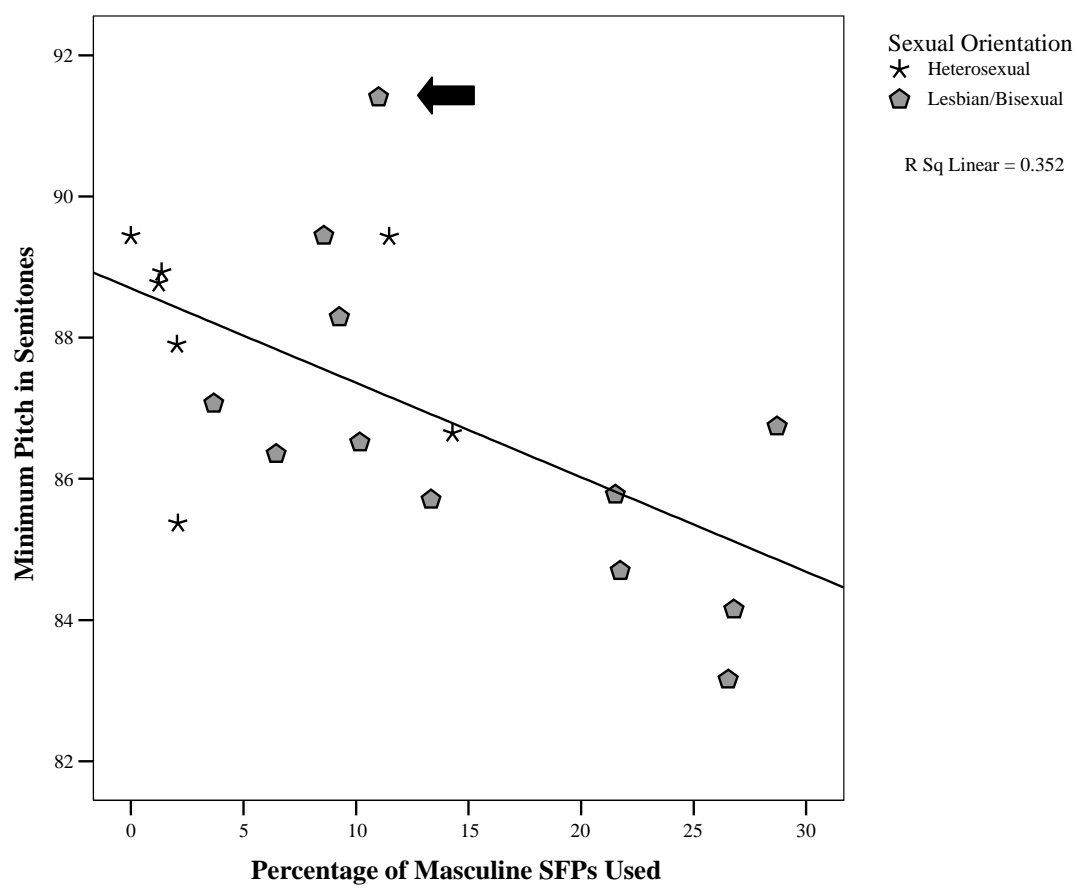


Figure 44: Scatterplot (n=19, with an arrow marking outlier L6) showing the significant correlation ( $p < .01$ ) between Minimum Pitch Height and the Percent of Masculine Sentence-final Particles Used, with points separated by sexual orientation.



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