JAPANESE NATIVE SPEAKERS’ ATTITUDES TOWARDS
ATTENTION-GETTING NE OF INTIMACY
IN RELATION TO JAPANESE FEMININITIES

THESIS

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** ** ** **

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates Japanese people’s perceptions of the speakers who use “attention-getting ne of intimacy” in discourse in relation to femininity. The attention-getting ne of intimacy is the particle ne that is used within utterances with a flat or a rising intonation. It is commonly assumed that this attention-getting ne is frequently used by children as well as women. Feminine connotations attached to this attention-getting ne when used by men are also noted. The attention-getting ne of intimacy is also said to connote both intimate and over-friendly impressions. On the other hand, recent studies on Japanese femininity have proposed new images that portrays figures of immature and feminine women. Assuming the similarity between the attention-getting ne and new images of Japanese femininity, this thesis aims to reveal the relationship between them.

In order to investigate listeners’ perceptions of women who use the attention-getting ne of intimacy with respect to femininity, this thesis employs the matched-guise technique as its primary methodological choice using the presence of attention-getting ne of intimacy as its variable. In addition to the implicit reactions obtained in the matched-guise technique, people’s explicit thoughts regarding being onnarashii ‘womanly’ and kawairashii ‘endearing’ were also collected in the experiment.

By analyzing the participants’ associations regarding female personal traits using factor analysis, three types of womanhood were revealed: polite womanhood (polite, well-mannered, trustworthy, and womanly), endearing womanhood (endearing, protective, and womanly), and clingy womanhood ( clingy and projecting childishness). Clingy womanhood was particularly associated with younger age, and was suggested to carry both positive and negative connotations.

The results of the matched-guise experiment indicate that the attention-getting ne of intimacy did not have significant direct impact on the listeners’ perceptions in the
context of this study, with one exception. The exceptional case was when the listeners thought the interlocutors were more likely to be siblings (i.e. sisters) when ne was present than when it was absent. When the listeners considered the speakers to be siblings in their early twenties, they also believed that the speakers projected a greater degree of *clingy womanhood* when ne was present than when it was absent. These findings suggest that intimate moods are produced by the use of the attention-getting ne of intimacy. The findings also suggest the possibility of a correlation between the attention-getting ne of intimacy and clingy or childish womanhood, that is, immaturity of women. In the male listeners’ perceptions, the attention-getting ne of intimacy seems to exaggerate the link between the speakers’ perceived degree of *endearing womanhood* and popularity with men, which in turn suggests the male-centered aspect of *endearing womanhood* as well as of the attention-getting ne of intimacy.
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Towards the completion of this thesis, I have come to realize how many people helped me throughout this project, and how fortunate I have been to have them in my life. This thesis would have never been brought to fruition without these people's help.

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I also wish to thank Doctor Kathryn Campbell-Kibler. Doctor Campbell-Kibler offered me extensive support in structuring my experiment and in analyzing my data. In her Sociolinguistics course, she also directed me to consider social practice. I am grateful to her for her guidance and for providing me with valuable advice, relieving my concerns about my research.

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FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: East Asian Languages & Literatures
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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>various forms of the verb “be”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>command form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBL</td>
<td>humble form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>interjectional particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>particle linking nominals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modal auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL</td>
<td>neutral polite form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRE</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QT</td>
<td>quotative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOF</td>
<td>softening word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>sentence final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>theme marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE</td>
<td>-te (conjunctive) form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VF</td>
<td>verbal-filler desu ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>volitional form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Maynard (1997) and Morita (2003)

**ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS**

The Hepburn style is used for Japanese names and proper nouns. Exceptionally, vowels are doubled to express long vowels in the transcribed data.
1.1 Attention-getting interjectional ne and Japanese femininities

The Japanese particle *ne* is one of the most frequently used particles in Japanese (Maynard, 1989), and, according to some scholars, describes rapport (Uyeno, 1971; Maynard, 1989). The particle *ne* is used both at the end of a sentence (so-called sentence final particle *ne*) and within sentences (so-called interjectional *ne*). Interjectional *ne* is used by the speaker in order to emphasize an utterance, and/or to call the listener’s attention. Unlike some uses of the so-called sentence final particle *ne*, the use of the interjectional *ne* is optional and its omission does not affect the propositional meaning of the conversation (Umehara, 1989; Usami, 1997). This thesis defines interjectional *ne* as follows:

1. The particle *ne* that is employed intra-sententially by the speaker to draw the listener’s attention. Its use is not propositionally obligatory.

Furthermore, this thesis focuses on one of the functions of interjectional *ne* with either rising or flat intonation. Example utterances containing interjectional *ne*, taken from Usami (1997, p. 251), are shown below:

(2) A: けっこう 込む ん です か、バス って。
    kekkoo komu n desu ka, basu tte.
    pretty crowded NOM BE Q bus QT
    “Is the bus pretty crowded?”

1
As shown in examples 2 and 3 above, the ne used within utterances, as in uchi kara wa ne ‘from home,’ demo ne ‘but,’ watashi ne ‘I,’ does not contribute at all to the semantic meaning of the word or phrase to which it is attached. The omission of ne also does not have any effect on the locution. Instead, by inserting ne, the speaker is asking the listener to pay attention to what she or he is saying.

In addition to the characteristics of interjectional ne as defined above, previous literature suggests that the interjectional ne connotes both positive impressions, such as intimacy and rapport (Uyeno, 1971; Martin, 1975; Tanaka, 1977 cited in Usami, 1997; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1986; Izuhara, 1992; Maynard, 1998), and negative impressions, such as childishness and being over-conversational (Uyeno, 1971; Martin, 1975; Izuhara, 1992; Usami, 1997; Shibahara, 2002). Martin (1975) gives an example of a five-year-old girl's use of interjectional ne (p.: 916):

1 The notation “nee” indicates the prolonged variant of ne, which is used for emphasis.
“Santa Claus – he’s a man who wears a red suit and uh, carries a big bag on his shoulder, and uh, is like a nice monster.”

The `ne` used in example 4 above is also not semantically obligatory, and it merely functions to draw the listener’s attention. Aside from the choice of vocabulary, by frequently adding `ne` after phrases, the utterance appears childish.

As indicated in this example, Izuhara (1992) suggests that interjectional `ne` is frequently used by children, and is used to address children more than adults. Martin (1975, p. 916) and others (Usami, 1997, p. 258; Ogawa, 1997, p. 217) suggest that interjectional `ne` occurs more frequently in women’s speech. Some informal reports also note that the interjectional `ne` is likely to sound feminine when used by men (Hirata, 1999). These connotations of being feminine and childish, or perhaps immature, seem to be related to the new images of Japanese femininity.

Several new portrayals of women have recently been proposed, to replace the traditional ‘`good wives and wise mothers’ femininity, and interjectional `ne` appears to be connected with these new images. Femininity in Japan has traditionally been normative, and has been associated with such notions as “subordinate and deferential attitudes” (Matsumoto, 1992, p. 456) and “mature and self-effacing women” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 329). The traditional femininity has also been discussed in connection with so-called “Japanese women’s language,” the distinctive category of female language in Japan. “Japanese women’s language,” however, has recently been revealed to be a fabrication by men during the period of Japan’s modernization (Inoue, 1994 & 2006). Accordingly, some scholars have proposed novel images of femininity, characterized by “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1992, p. 456; Kinsella, 1995; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003) and/or by “youthfulness” (Kajino & Podesva, 2007, para. 1). Matsumoto (1992) argues that the “childlike cuteness” style of femininity is different from the traditional concept of femininity; at the same time, it does
not indicate a lack of femininity, but rather portrays a cute woman who is immature, and who, “just like a child, is in need of a capable person’s protection” (p. 461). Kajino & Podesva argue that “youthful” femininity also contrasts with traditional femininity by connoting not only male-centered femininity but also childishness at the same time. Nomura (2006) notes that what women desire to become in current Japan are aisareru onna ‘endearing women,’ while Miwa (2005) describes women’s choice to behave like a girly-girl with the concept of “infantilism” in Japan. These portrayals of women have both common and mutually contradicting features. But, as Matsumoto (1992) and Kajino & Podesva (2007) point out, what is common to the new images of femininity is their association with being immature and feminine.

The relationship between interjectional ne and femininity can be explored through the notion of indexicality, namely, direct and indirect indexicality. Ochs (1990) explains that in Japan, “affect” is closely associated with gender; the use of sentence final particles produces a sense of “affect,” whose use, in turn, identifies the gender of the speaker. For example, the sentence final particle wa “directly indexes the affective disposition of softness, [which] in turn, indirectly indexes the female identity of the speaker” (p. 295). Cook (1992) applies the notion of indexicality to the particle ne, and argues that the particle ne directly indexes “affective common ground,” while it indirectly indexes social practice such as “requesting confirmation,” “getting attention,” and “marking intimacy” (1990, p. 510). The features of the particle ne that facilitate intimacy and rapport seem to have some kind of correlation with femininity. Therefore, when considering the indexicality of interjectional ne with respect to gender, it could be assumed to directly index positive affects (intimacy, rapport, etc.) and negative affects (childishness, being over-conversational, etc.), while indirectly indexing characteristics of children.

2 The difference between “referentiality” and “indexicality” is that the former is context independent, while the latter is context dependent. Lyons (1977) defines indexicality as “some known or assumed connection between a sign A and its significatum C such that the occurrence of A can be held to imply the presence or existence of C.” Silverstein (1976) includes not only referential indexes, such as “I” and “you,” but also nonreferential indexes, such as choices of one dialect over another, which indexes the social meaning but does not contribute to the referential or semantic meaning of the utterance (cited in Ochs, 1992).

3 The sentence final particle wa is used both by men and women, but the use is differentiated by the intonation contour: If it is rising, it is used by women, and if it is falling, it is used by men (MaGloin, 1986). The sentence final particle wa, which will be mentioned throughout this thesis, is the one that has a rising intonation that is considered as part of the women’s language.
indirect indexicality of interjectional *ne* can then naturally be enlarged to immature women who are characterized by the new images of femininity.

Therefore, the features of interjectional *ne* and the new images of Japanese femininity seem to have some relationship with each other. Consequently, interjectional *ne* may provide a different perspective in examining Japanese femininity and how Japanese femininities are construed. Smith (1992), as well as Kanjino & Podesva (2007), point out that novel features that are not part of “Japanese women’s language” have the potential to reveal actual women’s language use. Thus, such variables as interjectional *ne*, which seems not to be inscribed in Japanese people’s explicit ideology of “women’s language,” are potentially significant in exploring the relationship between language and femininity in Japan.

In order to disclose the relationship between interjectional *ne* and the old and new femininities, this thesis employs the matched-guise technique as a primary methodological choice, by using two versions of the same utterances that merely differ in the presence or absence of interjectional *ne*. Furthermore, this thesis investigates people’s explicit attitudes towards being *onnarashii* ‘womanly’ and being *kawairashii* ‘endearing’ by using questionnaires. As Giles & Powesland (1975) argue that speech style is an essential cue in obtaining an instant impression of people (cited in Bourhis & Giles, 1976), the methodology is relevant to reveal people’s impressions of the users of interjectional *ne*. Lambert, et al. (1965) claim that the matched-guise technique unveils people’s “private emotional and conceptual reactions” better than standard measures of attitudes through questionnaires (Lambert, et al., 1965, p. 90), by measuring people’s stereotyped or prejudiced viewpoints towards certain social groups (Lambert, et al., 1966). Inoue (2006) argues that “[p]erception (whether auditory or visual) is never a natural or unmediated phenomenon but is always already a social practice” (p. 38). Therefore, this thesis focuses on a perceptional perspective to reveal the social meaning of the interjectional *ne*.

Irvine (2001) argues that the images of persons in a group are “rationalized and organized in a cultural/ideological system” (p. 31), and by using the images as “a frame of reference” (ibid.) within the system, speakers perform and the audience interprets their
performance. Irvine claims that people distinguish situations and show attitudes by “draw[ing] on (or carefully avoid[ing]) the ‘voices’ of others, or what they assumed those voices to be” (ibid.). Within the context of traditional femininity, the “voices” of “Japanese women’s language” are marked by the use of such sentence final particles as *wa*. In the same way, images of and attitudes towards speakers who use the interjectional *ne* to display their “voices,” are likely to be reflected in the new portrayals of femininity. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003) argue that femininity is a constitution of intricate social practice, which depends on time and space. Taking the intimate connotation of the particle *ne* into account, and considering the societal changes in current Japan, the study of interjectional *ne* has the potential to reveal people’s attitudes towards this particle with respect to Japanese femininity.

### 1.2 Organization of the thesis

The organization of this thesis is as follows: In Chapter Two, the first section explains the results of an analysis of interjectional *ne* in naturally occurring conversations, in order to lay the foundations for the arguments that follow. After a discussion of sentence final and interjectional particles in general, the third section addresses interjectional *ne* both from a linguistic and social perspective. Chapter Three provides a review of previous literature on “Japanese women’s language” and Japanese femininity. Chapter Four presents the research questions considered in this thesis, and introduces the methodology used to address them. In Chapter Five, the results of the main study are presented and discussed. Lastly, Chapter Six summarizes the outcomes of this thesis and addresses its limitations, followed by suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER 2

THE ATTENTION-GETTING NE OF INTIMACY

The particle **ne** is both used at the end of an utterance and within utterances; in the former case, it is labeled “sentence final particle (shuujoshi)” **ne**, and in the latter “interjactional particle (kantoo joshi)” **ne**. In previous studies on the particle **ne**, scholars have treated the two labels inconsistently in their discussion. Likewise, not many studies have focused on the interjactional **ne** itself. Most studies that focused on the the interjactional **ne** seem to treat it holistically. Among those studies, Usami (1997) divides its use into two categories, and labels the interjactional **ne** used in informal situations as “attention-getting” (chuui kanki), and the interjactional **ne** used in formal situations in the form of **desu ne** as “verbal-filler” (hatsuwa umeawase) (p.247). An examination of the interjactional **ne** in naturally occurring conversations, however, indicates that there are uses of interjactional **ne** that have functions other than “attention-getting,” and that the function of “attention-getting” is a peculiar feature common to interjactional particles or interjections in general, as described in Martin (1975) and Umehara (1989). Therefore, prior to discussing previous studies on the interjactional **ne**, it is neccessary to clarify the actual uses and functions of interjactional **ne**. To this end, the general tendency of the use of interjactional **ne** in naturally occurring conversations was garnered, whose results are presented in this section. In the following analysis, for the purpose of clarity, I will borrow Usami’s (1997) two categories of “attention-getting” and “verbal-filler,” in the form of **ne** and **desu ne**, respectively. As pointed out above, the term “interjactional **ne**”

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4 The term “particle **ne**” is used to indicate both the sentence final particle **ne** (shuujoshi) and the interjactional particle **ne** (kantoojoshi). Scholars use different terms such as “sentence-final particles,” “final particles,” “non-interjective particles,” “cessationals (i.e. sentence-enders)” (Fujiwara, 1965, cited in Martin, 1975), etc. for those that occur at the end of a sentence, and “insertion particles,” “interjective particles,” etc. for those that occur within sentences. In this thesis, the two terms “sentence final particles” and “interjactional particles” are used for consistency.
is used to refer to both “attention-getting ne” and “verbal-filler desu ne.”

2.1 An analysis of the interjectional ne in conversations

2.1.1 Conversation data

Conversations for this analysis came from six television programs and eight naturally occurring conversation sets in actual situations.5

a. A television talk show (Gout Temp Nouveau) (hereafter, C1)

This television talk show aims to reveal women’s style of conversation and/or behavior in a relaxed informal setting, such as at a restaurant, in a moving car, and at a private lounge; topics might be one's work, hobby, life, love, etc. There are three female interviewers who take turns interviewing two female guests every week. Thus, each conversation is taking place among three female speakers, one interviewer plus two guests. The interviewer's primary role is to elicit talk from the two guests and to soothe the situation; however, the interviewer and the guests do directly talk to each other as well. In some cases, the three participants meet with one another for the first time at the televised meeting, whereas in other cases, they had met previously or were familiar with each other before the meeting. Therefore, the familiarity of the three speakers and the informality of the situation depends on the relationships and social positions between the three participants of the conversation, their age, and their personalities.

Conversations were collected from nine different installments of this program. Each session was approximately 19 minutes long (a total of approximately 170 minutes). Interjectional ne was used a total of 34 times in the 170 minutes of talk.

5 When the particle ne occurred at the end of a sentence, the distinction between interjectional and sentence final uses were made based on whether it ended the utterance or whether any utterance seemed to follow it. Independently occurring ne, used to draw the listener into the speaker’s talk, to request agreement or confirmation, or to agree or confirm (Izuhara, 1992), was not included in the current analysis.
show, and “attention-getting ne” made up 31 of the 34 instances.\(^6\)

b. A television news program (\textit{Waido sukuranburu} ‘Wide scramble’) (hereafter, C2)

The announcers and the commentators talked about a figure skater during approximately nine minutes of their discussion. “Attention-getting ne” was used a total of 9 times. The situation was rather formal.

c. A television interview (\textit{Tetsuko no heya} ‘Tetsuko’s Room’) (hereafter, C3)

This is an interview between a female interviewer and a male actor in a rather formal situation. During the approximately twenty-five minutes of interview, interjectional ne was used 8 times, 4 of which were “attention-getting ne.”

d. A television news program (hereafter, C4)

A male and a female announcer discussed an issue in a rather formal situation. During the approximately five minutes of discussion, “attention-getting ne” was used very frequently by the male announcer. He also used “verbal filler desu ne” 6 times.

e. A televised National Diet proceeding (hereafter, C5)

Examples of “verbal-filler desu ne” were collected in this program.

f. A televised monologue (hereafter, C6)

This is a monologue by a former baseball player to introduce one of his juniors. “Attention-getting ne” was used 5 times, while “verbal-filler desu ne” was used 16 times.

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\(^6\) Because this television talk show was by far the largest set of data from a single source, the occurrences of \textit{ne} were counted. In other conversation data, the total number of occurrences of \textit{ne} were not always counted.
Naturally occurring conversations in actual practice (hereafter, C7)

Eight naturally occurring conversations between the researcher and a single person or two people were also collected. Approximately eight hour-long conversation sessions were conducted with a total of nine people. The researcher used direct style during all the conversations except for one case, which was conducted in distal style. The styles used by the participant(s) were casual, careful, and a mixture of these two, depending on their relationship with the researcher. The topics discussed were school life, the past and future, work, love, etc.

2.1.2 Functional classification of interjectional ne

As mentioned above, in previous studies interjectional ne is generally categorized as a whole, and few scholars seem to analyze its actual use. Usami (1997) points out that previous studies have focused on the inherent meanings of the particle ne, and stresses the importance of distinguishing it from its “expressional effect (hyoogen kooka)” (Masuoka, 1991). Usami’s (1997) study examines the actual use of the particle ne among female office workers in morning chats and meeting situations with direct style and distal style speech levels, respectively. Usami divides the communicative function of the particle ne into five categories: “facilitating” (kaiwa sokushin), “softening” (hatsuwa kanwa) and “confirming” (hatsuwa naiyoo kakunin) for the sentence final ne, and “attention-getting” (chuui kanki) and “verbal-filler” (hatsuwa umeawase) for the interjectional ne. As mentioned earlier, Usami makes two subcategories for the

7 There are two modes of speech in Japanese, direct style and distal style, and whether the predicate of an utterance is in distal style or direct style is determined by the extent to which the speaker feels closeness or formality towards the addressee (Jorden & Noda, 1987).
8 Example sentences for the five categories are shown below (taken from Usami). “Facilitating” refers to the so-called agreement ne which is used when the information is shared.

飛行機 に 醉う 人 つて あんまり いない よね。
Hikoo ki ni you hito tte anmari inai yo ne.
airplane on feel sick people QT a few exist-NEG SFPs
“There’re not many people who get sick on the plane, isn’t that right?”
interjectional ne. However, one of the interjectional uses of ne, namely as a “verbal-filler,” is considered to be derived from the “attention-getting ne.” In formal situations, it appears in its distal form of desu ne, which, in turn, can be used as a filler to indicate hesitation, or when searching for words to hold the floor. Thus, the division between “attention-getting ne” and “verbal-filler ne” is based merely on the forms and situations in which they are used, while the other three subcategories in Usami's classification have their particular functions. Therefore, the “attention-getting ne” attached to words or phrases in direct style predicates in Usami's classification appears to be equivalent to the label “interjectional ne” used by other scholars. In previous studies, interjectional ne has been defined in relation to the sentence final particle ne: for example, interjectional ne is often treated as an interjectional use of the sentence final particle ne (Shinoda, 2002, p. 9; Izuharu, 1992, p. 160). Likewise, according to Izuharu (1992), the interjectional ne can be

“Softening” is used to show the sharedness of information, in a situation when it is in reality not shared by the hearer.

...それ って 来る まで、 ええと、 そちら に は、 お渡し
dekinai n desu ne.
“…as for that, well, we’re afraid we cannot give it to you before you come here.”

“Confirming” is used to confirm something uncertain.

じゃあ、 ちょっと 説明した 方 が いい です よね。
“Well, then, it’ll be better if I explain that a little bit, right?”

“Verbal-filler” is used as a filler of hesitance or to hold the floor.

えー、 にゅ、 入稿 は ですね、 2回 ぐらい
waketai to...
“Well, as for sending the manuscript, I would like to send it in two parts…”
regarded as equivalent with one of the uses of the sentence final particle ne (Izuhara, 1992). Usami also mentions that the “facilitating ne” occurs at the end of an utterance, but does not mention the place of occurrence for “softening ne” and “confirming ne,” although they are also considered to be primarily used sentence-finally (Shibahara, 2002). Thus, there is a possibility that these uses occur in phrase-final positions as well.

Observation of interjectional ne in conversations suggests that there are multiple subcategories of interjectional ne, including those proposed by Usami (1997). Therefore, I propose five such derivative functions of interjectional ne: a) “attention-getting ne of intimacy,” b) “attention-getting and facilitating (request for agreement),” c) “attention-getting and self-confirmation,” d) “attention-getting and impolite emphasis,” and e) “verbal-filler desu ne.” A common feature in each case is that ne is used for attention-getting. In addition to this common feature, all five subcategories seem to share meanings or functions with the sentence final use of ne.

It should be noted that the intonation contour on ne also plays an important role for the distinction between the five categories. As mentioned above, this thesis addresses the use of interjectional ne with a riging or flat intonation pattern, seeking to reveal the perceptions listeners have about speakers who employ this particular type of attention-getting ne. This type of attention-getting ne will hereafter be referred to as “attention-getting ne of intimacy,” to distinguish it from the other uses of ne.

a) Attention-getting ne of intimacy:

The attention-getting ne of intimacy holds either flat or rising intonation contours. In the television talk show (C1), 31 attention-getting ne of intimacy were used. Among them, some were used in phrasalized form (12 times), and others were not (19 times). As discussed later, this distinction is supported by the function of interjectional ne as a filler in discourse. For example, some scholars (Maynard, 1989; Cook, 1992) regard phrases that occur frequently such as nanka nee ‘well, you know,’ nanka ‘you know,’ ano ne ‘well’ or ‘uh,’ soide ne ‘and then’ as fillers. It is therefore useful to define certain phrases to which ne is attached as phrasalized. Phrasalized items that appeared in the television
talk show (C1) were *nanka ne* (4 times), *demo ne* (3 times), *yappari ne* (2 times), *watashi ne* (2 times) and *ato ne* (1 time). Other phrasalized items that appeared in the naturally occurring conversations in actual practice were *ano ne* ‘you know,’ *kekko ne* ‘after all,’ *de ne* ‘and…,’ *sorede ne* ‘and…,’ *sugoi ne* ‘really…,’ *datte ne* ‘because…,’ *dakara ne* ‘so…,’ *ore ne* ‘I…,’ and *boku ne* ‘I….’ The following examples illustrate this phrasalized attention-getting *ne* of intimacy (spoken by women).

(5) *いやいやいや、でも ne、なんか ne、告白 toka mo* no no no but IP SOF IP profession etc. too

最近メールでやってるとか、別れるとか も saikin meeru de yattari toka, wakareru toka mo
tokan de yattari toka, wakareru toka mo

メールとかでやる子も増えてるんだって。meeru toka de yaru ko mo hueteru n da tte.

“No, no, no, but, you know, they say that people who profess their feelings to others by email, or people who break up by email are increasing nowadays.”

(6) *でも ne、こう wa naranai hoo ga ii to* no no but this way T become-NEG way S good QT

思うの。omou no. think SFP.

“But you know, I think it’s better not to become like this [me].”

In examples 5 and 6, *demo ne* is used to emphasize the degree of opposition and to increase the degree of confirmation addressed to the interlocutor. Thus, *demo ne* is used to provide opposite opinions, excuses, and to convey the speaker’s attempts to defend

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9 Those that were attached to self-referential pronominals, such as *atashi ne, ore ne, or boku ne* ‘I…’ were cases that immediately indicated the gender of the speaker. The small number of attention-getting *ne* uttered by male speakers in television programs was in this form of *ore ne* and *boku ne*, which made it difficult to find examples of attention-getting *ne* used by men that did not directly mark the gender of the speaker.
her/his ideas to the interlocutor.

Other examples of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy can be found right after nominals, such as *kaminoke ne* ‘my hair is…’ and *tooji ne* ‘at that time’ (5 times), after adjectival nominals, such as *shoojiki ne* ‘to tell the truth’ (once), after nominal plus a particle, such as *watashi wa ne* ‘as for me,’ *sontoki ni ne* ‘at that time,’*10* and *chotto karada ga ne* ‘well, my body is…’ (12 times), and after a phrase, such as “*komata no kireagatta* tte iu no wa ne “‘women with a good figure’ means…” (once) in the television talk show (C1). The conversation data included attention-getting *ne* of intimacy after gerund forms, such as *erande ne* ‘to choose, and…,’ and such forms as *…made ne* ‘even,’ *…kedo ne* ‘but,’ and *…toka ne* ‘and so on,’ which themselves seem to be phrasalized if not considering the phrase in front of them. Some example utterances are shown below:

(7) それで 本当 は ね、 発言-しなくちゃ しなくちゃ
Sorede  hontoo  wa  ne,  hatsugen-shinakucha  shinakucha
and  to tell the truth  T  IP  have to speak out  have to do

という の も ある ん だ けど、 わかる?
toiu  no  mo  aru  n  da  kedo,  wakaru?
QT  NOM  too  exist  NOM  BE  but,  understand
“And, but, to tell the truth, I also feel like I have to really speak out, you know?

(8)  「小股の切れ上がった」 っていう の は ね、 この 人
“Komata  no kireagatta”  tte iu  no  wa  ne,  kono  hito
“Women with a good figure”  QT  NOM  T  IP  this  person

の  こと を  言う ん だ な  っていう ね。
no  koto  o  iu  n  da  na  tte iu  ne.
LK  thing  O  say  NOM  BE  SFP  QT  IP

本当に  そう  思った  ね。

*10* The distinction between “phrasalized” and “unphrasalized” attention-getting *ne* was made for the purpose of analysis by the researcher; it is broadly classified into two categories. All phrases consisting of a phrase plus a particle (or particles), such as *watashi wa ne* ‘as for me’ and *sontoki ni ne* ‘at that time’ were included in the “unphrasalized” category in this analysis, given the dependence on the familiarity of the phrase used and the familiarity of the combination of the phrase and the particle, which could exist in many variations.
b) Attention-getting and facilitating (request for agreement) ne

This subcategory seems to be functioning as “attention-getting” in Usami’s classification; however, the intonation contour is different from the attention-getting ne: this ne has a rising and rapidly falling, or just rapidly falling intonation, and often, there is a short pause before ne is uttered. In contrast, the intonation contour of the attention-getting ne of intimacy described above is either flat or rising, without any juncture before ne. Thus, for example, the filler nanka ne could be attention-getting ne of intimacy, when uttered with a flat or rising intonation, whereas it could be interpreted as facilitating (requesting agreement) when uttered with a rapidly falling intonation, and with a pause before ne. Therefore, this ne is considered to be different from the attention-getting ne of intimacy. While calling for the listener’s attention, this ne also requests agreement from the listener, and would thus be “facilitating” in Usami’s classification. The interjectional
ne in the examples below are all the “attention-getting and facilitating ne,” uttered with a falling intonation.

(10) でもね、 Aちゃん 本人 が やっぱり 良い って
Demo ne A-chan honnin ga yappari ii tte
but IP A [name] yourself S after all good QT

思ったら それ ね、お父さん お母さん も、ね、
omottara sore wa ne otoosan okaasan mo ne
think-COND that T IP father mother too IP

嬉しい って たぶん 思ってくれる んじゃない かな。
ureshii tte tabun omotte kureru n ja-nai kana.
glad QT probably think NOM BE-NEG I believe

“But you know, if you yourself think [what you’re doing] is in any way good for you, that means, you know, I believe your father and mother will also think that’s great, too.”

(11) まだ 日本語 の、ね、なんか、こんな 分野 も 去年の
Mada Nihongo no ne, nanka, konna bunya mo kyonen no
yet Japanese LK IP SOF this field too last year LK

ね、なんか ホール クオーター から 始めた ばっかり だ
IP you know Fall quarter from started just da

から なんか どんどん 知識 とか 経験 を
kara nanka dondon chishiki toka keiken o
because SOF rapidly knowledge etc. experiment O

とにかく 积む の が もう 先に ある から ...。
tonikaku tsumu no ga moo saki ni aru kara....
at all accumulate NOM S already first in exist because

“I’ve just started [to study] this field in Japanese, you know, from last fall quarter, you know, so I first need to work on accumulating knowledge and experience…”

c) Attention-getting and self-confirmation ne

In this use of ne, the speaker takes time before her or his next utterance, which can be considered as a process of self-confirmation (Takubo & Kinsui, 2000). The “attention-getting and self-confirmation ne” appears to have a lengthened ne, that is, nee. The intonations observed are flat, slightly falling flat, or flat followed by a rapid falling on the beginning of ne. Since one of the functions of interjections is to draw the listener’s
attention, this use also functions as attention-getting. At the same time, it indicates the speaker’s self-confirming process. Three examples of “attention-getting and self-confirmation ne” are given below.

(12) そう、車はねえ、やっぱアメリカ必要です。
    Soo karuma wa nee yappa America hitsuyoo desu
    yes cars T IP all in all America necessity BE

よね。
yo ne.
SFPs
“Yeah, as for cars, you know, the bottom line is that you need a car in the U.S.”

(13) 今学期ねえ、うん、フィールドワーク、結構楽しかった。
    Kongakki nee, un firudo waaku, kekkoo tanoshikatta,
    this quarter IP yes Fieldwork fairly was fun

マンスフィールド行って。
Mansufirudo go-TE
“This quarter is…well, yeah [the course on] fieldwork was rather fun, visiting Mansfield.”

(14) 今回はねえ、日本語のしか扱わなかった、うん。
    Konkai wa nee, Nihongo no shika atsukawanakatta, un.
    this time T IP Japanese NOM only treated-NEG yes.

もうあんま時間なかったし、英語で探せばあったかもしれないけど、でもやっぱり日本語だから。
Moo anma Jikan nakatta shi Eigo de sagaseba
already little time there was-NEG and English in search-COND

あったかもしれませんけど、でもやっぱり日本語だから。
attha kamoshinnai kedo demo yappari Nihongo da kara
existed may but but all in all Japanese BE because

ね。 そっちの方がまだ多いかなとも
ne socchi no hoo ga mada ooi kana to mo
SPF that LK field S still many maybe QT too

思うし、うーん。
omou shi, uun.
think and, yes
“This time, you know, I only dealt with Japanese [literature], yeah. I didn't have much time, and though I may have been able to find some if I searched, since it is [about] Japanese, I think those [studies done in Japanese] would be more, you know.”
d) Attention-getting and impolite emphasis (by the speaker) ne

This fourth function of ne, while again used to draw the listener’s attention, also indicates some kind of impoliteness by putting an emphasis on ne. In example 15 below, ne in anata ne ‘you…’ emphasizes that what the addressee was saying (drinking alcohol in the daytime) is not the appropriate idea. Similarly, the speaker in example 16 expresses opposition to what the addressee has just said by using ne. The intonation observed on ne is low or rapidly falling. According to Hubbard (1992), impoliteness is determined by how the proposition relates to the hearer’s face, which supports the use of ne in these contexts. The intonation contours observed in the following examples are also partly in line with Sugito’s (2001) finding that ne(e) that is nosedived indicates a nuance of accusation or demanding.

(15) あ、ドリンク？  Drinker something to drink?  Dorinku dorinku  tautatte  anata ね。  QT you IP.
    sonna  hiruma da mon ne。 well daytime BE NOM SFP.
    “Oh, something to drink? [Even if] you [suggest] alcohol, you know, it’s daytime, isn’t it?”

(16) でも、それだから 男として 好きじゃなく ても 大好き Demo, sore dakara otoko toshite sukijanaku temo daisuki  be fond of
    toka  icchau  n desho? Demo  sore  dakara
    etc. say NOM MOD but that so
    分かんなくなっちゃう ん だ  yo.  Sonna  no ne、 become not to understand NOM BE SFP. that kindNOM IP IP,
    全然 分かんくなっちゃう よ ほんとに。 regor ne、 at all become not to understand SFP really that IP
    俺 は もう ほとんど 男 が バカ だ っていう、 ore wa moo honto otoko ga baka da tteiu I T really really men S silly BE QT
e) Verbal-filler desu ne

This last category is equivalent to the “verbal-filler desu ne” in Usami’s (1997) classification. Some examples of the verbal-filler desu ne were observed in interviews, televised National Diet proceedings, etc. The verbal-filler desu ne also appears to have some phrasalized use, such as jitsu wa desu ne ‘to tell the truth’ and konkai wa desu ne ‘this time,’ which are used as an introductory phrase. Mizutani & Mizutani (1986) note that desu ne is sometimes used instead of ne to “avoid sounding too familiar” (p. 27).

Some examples of verbal-filler desu ne are shown below:

```
(17) 今学期はですね、実際はもう私取るもの全部取り終わっちゃっていて、キャンディシーのですね。
今学期 wa desu ne, jitsuwa moo watashi toru zenbu tori-owacchatte-ite, kyandidashii no desu ne,
this quarter T VF actually already I take-TE candidacy LK VF
ちょっと前にあの準備というか、ちょっといろいろですね。行き違いがなかったので、
chotto mae no ano jyunbi toiu ka, chotto iroiro desu ne, ikichigai ga atta node,
a little before LK well preparation QT Q a little various desu ne, go wrong S existed because
え、コースを余計に取ったんですけども、リテラシーのですね。コースを取りました。
e, coosu o yokeeni totta n desu kedo mo, riterashii no desu ne, koosu o torimashita.
well course O additionally took NOM BE but too literacy LK VF
“Well, speaking of this quarter, actually I’ve already finished taking the courses I had to take, and, you know, I’m going to have my candidacy examination, well, and, [I was going to] prepare for it before, well, but there was a misunderstanding and so on, and so I took an extra course, you know, I took a course on literacy.”

There were also some examples in which both verbal-filler desu ne and attention-getting ne were used by the same speaker, in a single utterance ending in distal style predicates. A male speaker used primarily verbal-filler desu ne in his monologue to describe one of his juniors who was a famous baseball player. At the same time, though not very often, he employed attention-getting ne of intimacy, such as sore to ne ‘and,’ jitsu wa ne ‘to tell the truth,’ oosaka de ne ‘in Osaka,’ and nannen ka mae ni ne ‘a few years ago’ in his monologue. This supports the categorization of phrasalized attention-getting ne, because short or phrasalized ne was more often used than other unphrasalized attention-getting ne of intimacy, in particular in distal style predicates when the speaker seemed less careful.

2.1.3 Social context of interjectional ne

Previous studies have pointed out that linguistic features cannot be considered merely from the gender-specific dimension, and that the contexts in which they occur need to be taken into consideration (Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Ecker & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, Kogure, 2003). For instance, Mizutani & Mizutani (1986) note that although the particle ne generally occurs only at the end of sentences, it can also occur within utterances in informal conversations (p. 27). According to Martin (1975), interjectional ne is used with equals and inferiors (p. 916); similarly, Usami (1997) states that it occurs
in casual conversations among close people, and is rarely used in formal situations such as office meetings (p. 262). As described above, the predicate style in Japanese (i.e. whether the predicate of an utterance is in distal style or direct style) is determined by the extent to which the speaker feels closeness and formality towards the addressee (Jorden & Noda, 1987). It also depends on to whom the speaker is talking, and in what kind of situations. Therefore, there are three assumed patterns of the predicate style in which interjectional *ne* occurs, which are a) direct style + *ne* in a direct predicate utterance, b) direct + *ne* in a distal predicate utterance, c) distal + *ne* in a distal predicate utterance. Example utterances from the conversation data are shown below:

**a) direct style + *ne* in a direct predicate utterance**

(19) A: きのう *ne*, きゅうり が *ne*, なってた の。
*Kinoo ne, kyuuri ga ne, natteta no,*
yesterday IP cucumbers S IP bear fruit SFP

初めて。
*hajimete.*

“You know, yesterday, I noticed that my cucumbers were ready.”

B: え、 きゅうり、 育ててる ん です か。
*E, kyuuri sodateteru n desu ka.*

“Oh, do you grow cucumbers?”

**b) direct + *ne* in a distal predicate utterance**

(20) そして やっぱり *ne*, あの、 美しい です よ。 あの、
*Soshite yappari ne, ano, utskushii desu yo. Ano,*
and all in all IP you know beautiful BE SFP well

フォーム が *ne*. やっぱり、 あの、 バレエ が
*foomu ga ne. Yappari, ano, baree ga*
form S IP Indeed you know ballet S

基本に なっている ような *ne*。
*kihon ni natteiru yoona ne.*

“And all in all, you know what, it is beautiful. I mean, the form, you know. Indeed, it’s like it is based upon ballet.”
c) distal + ne in a distal predicate utterance

See Examples 17 and 18 above.

The ne used in Example 19 is the attention-getting ne of intimacy, with a direct style predicate. In the television talk show (C1), interjectional ne was also used only with direct style predicates. Generally speaking, interviews or first time meetings in Japan are conducted in distal style. However, in the talk show, Interviewer A, aged 39, almost always employed direct style, because of her age and social position as an actress, whereas Interviewer B, aged 30, used distal style in the case where one of the guests was older. 11 However, she also used direct style with a younger guest during the same meeting. Interviewer C, aged 24, almost always employed distal style, perhaps partly because she was usually the youngest among the talkers. When the relationship with the interviewer was close, the guests employed direct style as well, even if the guests were younger than the interviewer. In sum, in the television talk show, the attention-getting ne of intimacy was exclusively used by Interviewers A and B, as well as guests who were older, in accordance with the direct style predicates employed. On the other hand, this ne was almost never used by Interviewer C and younger guests. In contrast, the sentence final ne occurred frequently in younger speakers. 12

Although interjectional particles are generally not used very often in formal situations, Sakamoto (1986) mentions that interjectional ne in particular can be used in

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11 Among the 31 cases of “attention-getting ne” used in the talk shows, 12 were employed by Interviewer A, whereas 5 were employed by Interviewer B. Interviewer C did not use “attention-getting ne” at all. Another 6, 2, and 1 instances were uttered by the three female guests, respectively. The remaining “attention-getting ne” were used in the short discussion section during the program, held after watching of the talk show videos: 3 times by Interviewer A, and 2 times by the male discussants at the studio.
12 The fact that attention-getting ne of intimacy was also used by the interviewers in the talk show, despite the fact that interviewers are supposed to be lower in position than the guests in talk shows, reveals that the interaction between the interviewer and the guests was conducted not from a formal interviewer-interviewee relationship, but in a more realistic context.
such situations. In the naturally-occurring data, attention-getting `ne` of intimacy were also observed in rather formal settings with distal style predicates. In Example 21, taken from a television news program (C2) in which the announcers and the commentators talked about a well-known figure skater and her recent performance for approximately nine minutes (including occasional sections of watching a video of the figure skater), attention-getting `ne` of intimacy were used for a total of 9 times: twice by the male announcer, but 7 times by a gay commentator. The context of their discussion appeared to be rather formal, as regards the situation, the content of the discussion, and the distal style predicates employed. An second example of attention-getting `ne` of intimacy with distal style predicates (from the same news program) is the following:

```
(21) というのね、あれだけ芯の強さと負けず嫌いとね、結局　
     to iu no wa ne, are dake shin no
     this is because that much inner LK
     あれだけ優勝しながらもね、
     are dake yuushooshi nagara mo ne,
     that much win championships even though IP
     悔し涙を流して自分を許さないね、
     kuyashinamida o nagashite zibun o yurusanai
     tears of mortification O shed self O forgive-NEG
     つて、だからあそこまでいくるって、素晴らしい
     tte, dakara asoko made ikeru tte, subarashii
     QT thus that level achieve QT great
```

“That’s because of, you know, her great curiosity that she was able to achieve that level, right? By not forgiving herself, while shedding tears of regret, with that much inner strength and competitiveness, despite all of those championships.

However, it is not clear whether by “interjectional ne,” Sakamoto meant the form `ne` or the verbal-filler desu `ne` in this case.
In this case, the commentator who used attention-getting **ne** of intimacy was a highly welcomed guest to the program, whose statements were thought to be influential. Thus, the commentator’s employment of attention-getting **ne** of intimacy is highly relevant. In contrast to previous claims that attention-getting **ne** of intimacy is used with equals and inferiors in casual conversation (Martin, 1975; Usami, 1997), the announcer (regarded to be lower in status than the commentators) also used attention-getting **ne** of intimacy when addressing the commentators. This suggests that attention-getting **ne** of intimacy used by speakers of lower status has certain additional effects.

Attention-getting **ne** of intimacy also appeared in another rather formal interview program (C3) where people spoke in distal style exclusively. During approximately twenty-five minutes, the interviewer used attention-getting **ne** of intimacy 4 times in one statement, together with 4 other interjectional uses of **ne**. It should be noted that she was using attention-getting **ne** of intimacy when addressing the public, not the interviewee. In this situation, the public has to be regarded as higher in position than the interviewer; her use of attention-getting **ne** of intimacy was therefore also addressed to people of higher status. Most likely, the interviewer's purpose was to have the audience better understand what she was saying, since one feature of **ne** is to enhance involvement and rapport. Additionally, in addressing the audience, the interviewer employed the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy with polite forms of predicates in distal style; this contrasts with the general informality of interjectional **ne**. A further example of attention-getting **ne** of intimacy in distal style predicates is described below:

(22)  
Matsuken-sanba  tte iu  no  wa  ne;  minasan,  『徹子の部屋』
松健サンバ  っていう の  は  ね、  皆さん、  Ｔetsuko no Heya
de  mo  ne,  zuibun  mae  kara  ne,  “Tetsuko’s room”
in  too  IP  quite  ago  from  IP
chakumoku-itashinashite,  shuzaishite.  Watashi  mo  ne,  unta,
focus on-HUM-TE  report-TE  I  too  IP  well
初め、「えー、これが松平さんなの？」と
first oh this S Matsudaira-san NOM SFP QT

g高いたくぐらいでございますので。
surprised kind of BE-POL because
“Matsuken-sanba is, everyone, something, we at “Tetsuko’s Room” took notice of and reported on quite a long time ago. I, too, was surprised at first, thinking, “Oh, is this Mr. Matsudaira?”

In another television program (C4), one of the male announcers was using attention-getting ne of intimacy with distal predicates very frequently in his approximately five-minute talk with a fellow female announcer. Since it was not a news report, but rather an argument by the male announcer against something (to which the female announcer agreed), the situation was rather informal. The male announcer also employed the verbal-filler desu ne 6 times. Since he was arguing against an issue enthusiastically, the situation may have urged him to use the shorter and more direct version of attention-getting forms. This may thus explain the reason why he employed the attention-getting ne of intimacy more often than verbal-filler desu ne. An example of his use of ne is shown below:

(23) 会議会のね、大会参加ね、どういう実情になっているのか。
Kaigi-kai no ne, taikai sanka ne, doooiu jitsujoo ni tteiru no ka.
“About the court assembly participation, you know, what are the actual circumstances involved?”

In the informal situations in the talk show (C1) described above, no examples of attention-getting ne of intimacy by the socially lower participants were observed in utterances ending in distal predicates, even if the topics were very informal. To put it differently, attention-getting ne of intimacy was used only by higher-level people with

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direct style predicates in the casual talk show. Therefore, the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy with distal predicates by the announcers in the news and the interview program strongly emphasizes their utterances, and serves to call for the listeners’ attention. This usage may in turn indicate the speakers’ intention to keep the floor, by eliciting listener’s responses, or in order to insist on some point. The use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy with distal style predicates could also be understood as being used by the speakers in order to involve and to build a rapport with the hearer, or to confirm or to request agreement from the hearer. In this sense, as suggested in previous literature, *ne* may give both positive and negative impressions, with no clearly drawn boundary.

In the conversations in live situations (C7), the occurrence of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy seemed to be related mostly to the psychological distance between the participants. Participants who were younger than the researcher, and who used distal style in their speech, did not use attention-getting *ne* of intimacy at all. On the other hand, the participant who had the closest relationship with the researcher used this kind of *ne* frequently during the informal chat. Similarly, Martin (1975) suggests that interjectional *ne* is often observed in telephone conversations. In a telephone conversation, where the speaker cannot judge from facial expressions and behavior as to whether or not the other party is listening, attention-getting *ne* is presumably used more frequently to call for the other party’s attention. Previous literature also suggests that the particle *ne* is more often used by the speaker when the addressee does not give supportive responses to the speaker, than when the addressee does so (Doi & Omori, 2000). To explain this phenomenon, Doi & Omori (2000) argue that the lack of supportive responses places psychological burdens, such as communicative concerns and alienation, on the speaker. For the same reason, speakers use the particle *ne* more often in telephone conversations to facilitate communication. This relationship between the frequency of supportive responses and the particle *ne* is also born out by previous literature, where is observed that attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is often used in speech by and to children as well (Izuahra, 1992). A possible explanation is that children may want more attention than adults do, and more attention is also required to talk to children than to adults. This, in turn, could be applied
to women’s speech as well. In the conversation data (C7), a male participant used attention-getting *ne* of intimacy twice in a short telephone conversation with his friend, from whom he received a phone call during the interview with the researcher, while he used this type of *ne* only once during the one hour chat with the researcher. Thus, the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy by this male participant might have come both from his closeness to his friend, and from the telephone call situation. Other than the situational factor, the naturally occurring conversations in actual practice (C7) suggest that there are certain kinds of people who use attention-getting *ne* of intimacy more frequently than others.

In sum, an investigation of the same speakers’ use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy, depending on the social context, will be worthwhile. A thorough examination of social contexts in which attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is used, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 2.1.4 Contents of the talk and its restriction of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy

In the conversation data examined, there seem to be restrictions on the context in which the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is used. Other interjectional particles, such as *sa* and *yo*, also have the same function as *ne* to draw the hearer’s attention. *Ne*, however, as opposed to *sa*, seems to have more limited discourse in which it is used. For example, as shown in example conversation 24 below, *ne* sounds natural when used to talk about oneself. Takamori (2006) points out that interjectional *ne* is used in situations where the speaker is talking about his or her stories to the listeners (cited in Namatame, 2006, p.61). She also claims that the interjectional *ne* does not sound natural in question sentences, as opposed to the naturalness when *sa* is used instead. In another example conversation 25, even though *ne* can be used, *sa* sounds more natural. Incidentally, this example also supports Takamori’s argument that interjectional *ne* is related to the sharedness of

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14 Interjectional *yo* is considered to be exclusively used by men. Therefore, it has more limitations than interjectional *ne* in terms of the gender of the speaker.
15 Example conversations 24 and 25 were created by the researcher.
information between the speaker and the hearer (cited in Namatame, 2006).

(24)  A: Saikin doo?
B: Nanka (ne/sa/yo), kono aida(ne/sa/yo), autoretto itta n dakedo (ne/sa/yo), koochi toka yasukatta yo.
A: Ee, ii na. Hokani donna mise atta?
B: Eeto(ne/*sa/*yo), karuban kurain toka (ne/sa/yo), ato jeikuruu toka(ne/sa/yo), kekkoo iroiro atta yo.

A: What have you been up to?
B: Well, I went to the Outlet mall the other day, and found things at stores like Coach were cheap.
A: Oh, that’s nice! What other stores were there?
B: Well, stores like Calvin Klein and J. Crew etc. There were rather many stores.

(25)  A: Ano kurasu, hontoo riidingu oookunai?
B: Un, ooi. Sore ni (*ne/sa), naiyoo mo muzukashii shi.
B: Un, soo da ne. Hoka no gakusei mo annari chanto yondenai yone.
A: Un, yondenai yo ne. Iroiro(*ne/sa) iken wa (*ne/sa) iu kedo ne.

A: There are a lot of readings for that course, aren’t there?
B: Yeah, there are. And the contents are also difficult, aren’t they?
A: Yeah, they are. But it is usually the case that we can somehow survive without reading the whole materials, right?
B: Yes, it is. Other students don’t seem to be reading thoroughly, either, do they?
A: No, they don’t. They do state their opinions a lot, though, right?

Some phrasalized attention-getting ne of intimacy were observed in accordance with this restriction of the content. For example, some books and web pages include ano ne ‘you know’ in their title, as seen in “Ano ne, Santa no kuni de wa ne...”16 “Mama, ano ne [Mom, you know...],” and “Sensee ano ne [Teacher, you know],” etc. If the attention-getting ne of intimacy was not there, the titles would lack the feeling and attention that they are addressing to the readers (similar to “look,” “listen,” and “you know” used in English). Reflecting the properties of the word ano, and the features of attention-getting ne of intimacy, ano ne ‘you know’ conveys the feeling that the speaker is trying to get the hearer's attention before talking about his or her story. Blog pages also

shows frequent use of attention-getting ne of intimacy, used as a kind of short introduction for several pictures presented one by one, as seen in Ano ne watashi ne (picture), ano ne (picture), ano ne, kono obentoo ne (picture), tottemo oishii ne (picture)….  

Attention-getting ne of intimacy is used here to conceal the speaker’s story, by getting and keeping the reader’s attention with each ne; this helps to increase the reader’s interest in the pictures that follow.

When attention-getting ne of intimacy is used after self-referential terms, such as watashi and ore, they seem to be used before confidential speech, or when giving an explanation about oneself. For example, a book by a certain actress is titled “Watashi ne...” This lends support to the finding by Takamori described above (2006, cited in Namatame, 2006). Example utterances of (w)atashi ne ‘I…’ are shown below:

17 The translation is: You know, I (picture), you know (picture), well, this lunch box is (picture), very good (picture)….  

During the conversations (C7) that the researcher had with native speakers of Japanese, attention-getting *ne* of intimacy was not generally used, contrary to the researcher’s expectations, perhaps because of the not very casual situations and the psychological distances between the interlocutors. When the researcher continuously sought explanation from the speakers about their stories, however, the speakers seemed to employ attention-getting *ne* of intimacy more often. This observation coincides with the idea in previous literature that attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is used to talk about one’s story. Furthermore, the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy when talking about oneself supports the previous studies that it is a speaker-centered use and is found more often with children, which may have some relationship with the concepts of femininity explained above.

In the following sections, interjectional *ne* is discussed both from linguistic and social perspectives, based on an analysis of the conversation data. First, the validity of the distinction between sentence final particle and interjectional particle, made in previous literature, is discussed in relation to one characteristic of Japanese, namely fragmentation. The focus is then placed on the interjectional *ne*, and interjectional *ne* is discussed using both the affective and cognitive explanation of the particle *ne*. The social aspect of interjectional *ne* is also addressed, with respect to politeness, historical and special issues, and gender. A review of previous literature on the phonetic peculiarity of the interjectional particles and femininity is also presented.
2.2 Sentence final and interjectional particles: occurrence and involvement

Inoue (2006) notes that sentence final particles are unstable in terms of grammaticality due to their syntactic position and their independence from the semantic meaning of the utterance. She states:

> What counts as a final particle and what does not, or whose final particle counts as such and whose does not (in terms of the binary between the standard and the regional dialects) is a political task, handled in this case by authorities such as the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyusho) (p. 54).

Many studies on the particle *ne* disclaim that the study concentrates on *ne* of so-called “sentence final particles” without clarification (Ogura, 1985; Shinoda, 2005), which raises the question of what are considered to be “sentence final particles” and what are not, and what the difference is, if any, between a “sentence final particle” and the so-called *ne* of “interjectional particle.” As is discussed in Chapter Three, sentence final particles have been discussed in relation to gender and language in Japan, which again raises the question of whose particle counts as female speech, and whose does not. Since this thesis studies the use of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy in relation to gender and language, this aspect require careful attention.

Because of the lack of clear classification for the uses of the particle *ne*, two or three subcategories for this particle have usually been assumed: either sentence final particles and interjectional particles, or sentence final particles, interjectional particles, and exclamations (*kandooshi*) (Izuhara, 1992). For example, Uyeno’s (1971) study contains the disclaimer that it exclusively focuses on “non-interjective” sentence particles, since “interjective” sentence particles have a certain restriction in their usage. The interjectional use of *ne* itself has thus not gained much attention as a specific linguistic feature to examine. As such, as mentioned earlier, the interjectional *ne* has been defined in relation to the sentence final particle *ne*.

Only a few studies have aimed at investigating the three subcategories within a single framework (Izuhara, 1992; Shinoda, 2002; Nihongo kijutsu bunpoo kenkyuu kai,
2003), claiming that they are the same in terms of their function in communication (Izuhara, 1992). Izuhara (1992) examines *ne* from the point of view of approaching one’s utterance to the listener, whereas Shinoda (2005) argues that the particle *ne* and Japanese supportive responses have a parallel function (p. 13). Morita (2007) argues that the reason why interjectional particles occur at the place they occur has rarely been questioned; they have typically been regarded as occurring randomly, or as being phenomena of hesitance during utterances. The relevant issue here is the Japanese notion of “a sentence” or “an utterance,” or “a clause,” which leads to the characterization of Japanese conversation as fragmented.

Sentence final particles and interjectional particles have been distinguished in terms of where in a sentence (or an utterance) they occur; that is to say, sentence final particles occur at the end of a sentence, as seen in *Ii tenki desu ne* ‘It’s a nice day, isn’t it?’, while interjectional particles occur within a sentence (*bunchuu*), as seen in *demo ne...* ‘but, you know...’ and *sore wa sa...* ‘that’s...’ (Morita, 2007). In examining naturally occurring conversation, the DFG suggests that the difference

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19 Shinoda (2005) also cites Nihongo kijutsu bunpoo kenkyuu kai (2003), which treats part of the use of sentence final *ne* and interjectional *ne* in integration. Nihongo kijutsu bunpoo kenkyuu kai divides the sentence final particle *ne* roughly into three groups: “indication of the speaker’s acknowledgement,” “request for the hearer’s confirmation,” and “indication of the speaker’s consciousness towards the hearer.” The third use is explained as being *ne* added to a sentence that ends in *no da*, which expresses relatively light information as an introduction to the following important information in a complex sentence. This *ne* does not affect the meaning very much, since it merely expresses the speaker’s awareness of the hearer, and thus has a close property to the interjectional *ne* as seen in the following example:

昨日、デパートに買い物行ったんですね。

Kinoo, depaato ni kaimono ni itta n desu ne.

“I went shopping to the department store yesterday.”

うそしたら、中学時代の先生とばったりあって。

Sosuitara, chuugaku jidai no sensee to battari-atte,

and, junior high school LK teacher to run into-TE

少し立ち話をしたんですよ。

sukoshi tachibanashi o shita n desu yo.

a little stand talking O did NOM BE SFP.

“I went shopping to the department store yesterday. And I ran into a teacher from junior high school, and had a chat for a little.”

20 According to Ijima (1999), the proposed function of sentence final particles to end sentences is merely an illusion, which was generated from the framework of “operation of composition as a sentence (chinjutsu)” (p. 114).

As mentioned above, an examination of naturally occurring conversation suggests that the difference
conversations, Morita (2007), raises the question as to whether or not speakers distinguish sentence final particles and interjectional particles. Morita reveals that conversations tend to end with a successive form of a verbal (renyookei), such as ...te ‘and...’ as well as such forms as ...kara ‘because,’ and kedo... ‘but.’ These can be followed by a particle such as ne, as seen in ...te ne, ...kara ne, and ...kedo ne (N. Mizutani, 1988, p. 8; Morita, 2007). Because they can be followed by supportive responses or by the next utterance without any awkwardness, successive forms indicate that they are not an unfinished pause but the ending of an utterance (N. Mizutani, 1988; Morita, 2007). By arguing that Japanese conversations are constructed using “collaborative conversation” or kyoowa, N. Mizutani (1988) maintains that the units of utterance in a “collaborative conversation” are not “sentences (bun)” but “clauses (ku)” (p. 8) She argues that a phrase together with a supportive response has to be considered as “a sentence” in spoken language (p. 8). Similarly, Morita argues that real conversations cannot be explained by the existing definition of “a sentence” (p. 46), and notes that it is not possible to make a grammatical distinction between sentence final particles and interjectional particles in spoken language.

According to Maynard (1989), the unit of spoken language, which N. Mizutani (1988) proposes to be clauses, is further divided into phrases. By borrowing Chafe’s (1980) ideas of spontaneous language as “fragmented” and emotional “involvement,” Maynard (1989) points out the greater degree of fragmentation and involvement in Japanese than in English, and proposes “Pauses-bounded Phrasal Units (PPU)” (p. 24) A Pauses-bounded Phrasal Unit is a physically identifiable unit, mostly marked by a pause or a skipped beat, recognized by both parties as an opportunity for overt interactional behavior and negotiation. PPUs are also accompanied by pause-predicting tone and/or pause-warning decreased speed, along with a distinct intonation contour that

between sentence final and interjectional particles, or different uses of ne may be attributed to their intonation. See also sections 2.1.1 and 2.7.

21 Maynard (1989) mentions that Japanese conversations are fragmented to a degree of 4.01 independent words per grammatical sentence, and 2.36 independent words per PPU, which is a high level of fragmentation (p. 27).
is occasionally stressed and risen.\textsuperscript{22}

Significantly, Maynard (1989) points out that the fragmentation is achieved “not through the process of fragmentation itself, but by attaching particles and other devices at the final position in such a way that fragmentation is emphasized and made prominent” (p. 22). She states that PPUs are frequently marked by final particles such as \textit{ne}: \textit{soo da ne} ‘that’s right,’ \textit{nanka nee} ‘you know,’ and \textit{kekkyoku nee} ‘finally; in the end,’ which function to elicit listener responses (Maynard, p. 24). Maynard reports that they mark 31.82\% of all PPUs in her data, 12.45\% accounting for PPU finals, but not in the sentence final position, 19.37\% accounting for PPU-/sentence final position.\textsuperscript{23}

Chafe (1982) suggests that the frequent occurrence of both sentence final and interjectional particles creates opportunities for conveying modality (cited in Maynard, 1989). By appealing to the interpersonal feelings of the recipient of the message, Chafe continues, “This high level of attention given to the coparticipant encourages involvement more actively than other types of discourse” (Maynard, 1989, p. 30). Maynard concludes that \textit{ne(e)}, which is one of the most often used particles, functions to offer “rapport” at PPU boundaries as well as at sentence final positions (ibid., p. 30).\textsuperscript{24} She also mentions that fillers such as \textit{nanka} make the utterance softer and less impactful (ibid., p. 31). She continues, “the frequent use of final particles and fillers may be understood in the broader framework of social orientation,” characterized by O. Mizutani (1983), in which emphasis is put on “emotional exchange and talk which places more importance in expressing feelings toward the other interactant” (p.18, cited in Morita,

\textsuperscript{22} PPUs in her naturally occurring data are reported to occur more frequently than once every 1.7 seconds. Maynard (1989) notes that PPUs with these phonological characteristics generally correspond to morphological units constituted by independent lexical items and such function words as particles. A PPU differs from the traditional concept of \textit{bunsetsu} or “basic sentence-constructing unit” proposed by Hashimoto (1954), in that a PPU is a unit fundamentally defined in terms of the phonological pause (Maynard, 1989).

\textsuperscript{23} Additionally, 22.92\% were marked by vertical head movement.

\textsuperscript{24} Uyeno (1971) also considers \textit{ne} as “particles of rapport” (p. 132). Her categorization of Japanese particles is shown below. She states that particles in the latter category indicate consideration of the listener and promotes the listener to be involved in the conversation:

a. those which express the speaker’s insistence on forcing the given information on the addressee: \textit{wa, zo, ze, and sa}

b. those which express a request for compliance with the given information, leaving the option of confirmation to the addressee: \textit{ne, nee, and na(a)}
To sum up, the fragmentation of Japanese conversation partially, if not fully, clarifies the occurrence of sentence final and interjectional particles. In the framework of Japanese social orientation, the particles occur in order to request involvement and rapport, by eliciting a response from listeners. As discussed later, the so-called female sentence final particles such as *wa* and *no* are supposed to generate rapport as well (Mamiya, 1979, cited in Ide, 1983). Therefore, the feature of the particle *ne* as providing rapport at PPU boundaries is an important aspect in considering attention-getting *ne* of intimacy with respect to Japanese femininities, in light of what Japanese femininities encompass.

### 2.3 Interjectional *ne*

#### 2.3.1 Characteristics of interjections and interjectional particles

According to Martin (1975), interjections or interjectional phrases in general are distinguished from the remainder of an utterance by major points, and are accompanied with particular voice qualifiers or intonation contour. They are used (p.1041):

- a. to express the speaker’s emotional reactions—pleasure, relief, surprise, disbelief, hesitation, request, etc.;
- b. to call attention;
- c. to respond to a question, a command, or (as when *iie* “no” is used for self-abnegation) a social transaction;
- d. to hold the floor when fluency fails and one is searching for an expression.

Similarly, Umehara (1989) suggests the following two characteristics of interjectional particles. The first one is that they express the speaker’s feeling, by drawing the hearer’s attention to the speaker’s talk, adding stress on words (*gosei o tsuyomeru*), or confirming knowledge between two parties (*nenoshi*) (p. 324). The first feature, which is to approach the hearer (*hyoogen no mochikake*) from the speaker, determines the position
of the occurrence of interjectional particles that the speaker can insert. Such particles as ne, sa, and yo, are very freely inserted within an utterance (Martin, 1975, p. 916), in accordance with their intention of getting the hearer’s attention. The analysis of PPU conducted by Maynard (1988) also supports this feature of ne as calling the attention of the hearer by inserting it at PPU boundaries. That approaching the hearer is the most external final function also explains the order of interjectional particles, which are located at the very end of whichever elements they follow (Uyeno, 1971, p. 67; Morita, 2007).

The second characteristic of interjectional particles, according to Umehara, is that they can be freely interpolated in utterances, and that they can be attached to various elements in a sentence, including certainly the ending position (N. Mizutani, 1987, p. 19; Umehara, 1989, p. 324). This feature indicates not only the speaker’s intention to get the hearer’s attention mentioned above, but also the speaker’s desire to build a conversational ground in which he or she tries to keep in a continuous intimate relationship with the listener, by attracting the other party to the story at each juncture of an utterance (Umehara, 1989). This feature also closely relates to the moods of involvement and rapport generated at PPU boundaries.25

The concept of PPU is key in uses of sentence final and interjectional particles, and thus must be discussed together with the notions of “concluding” or “dividing.” According to Sakamoto (1986), among the so-called interjectional particles, ne, sa, yo and na have a syntactic effect, in that they are added to any clausal ends, stopping the sentence at the point for the time being. Sakamoto states that ne, sa, yo and na can be distinguished from other sentence final particles, and that it is this function of stopping, which enables those particles to be attached to clausal ends, that allows to regard them as interjectional particles (p. 69). Example sentences for these interjectional particles are shown below:

25 N. Mizutani (1987) also notes the reason for its free insertion is that it is in order to “lay out the mode of talk, add stress, and cultivate exclamation” (p. 19).
“僕ね、昨日ね、ディズニーランドに行ったんだ。

— “You know, I went to the Disneyland yesterday.”

あの人がドライブに行こうってさ、約束してたのよね。　

— “You know, I promised to go on a drive, you know, with that person.”

Similarly, Morita (2007) explains that *ne* and *sa* have a common function of ending an utterance, whether they occur at the end of an utterance or halfway through it. According to Morita, this feature is depicted in the intonation, in that they are always phonetically prominent and therefore emphasizing something, even if there is no preceding pause (p. 48). Morita quotes Nishizaka (2005) that they create “a place of opportunity for reaction (*hannoo no kikai no basho*)” (Morita, 2007, p. 48). By giving an example where *sa* in *sono sa*... in the example utterance below is not dividing clauses, but emphasizing the nominal clause, Morita claims that the so-called interjectional particles do not necessarily divide a chunk of meaning into clauses; rather, she maintains that the speaker is marking *sono* by adding *sa*, thus emphasizing the intention to raise a topic mentioned earlier.

“A: あとはどこがいいかな...。

B: え、そのさ、韓国のお豆腐っていう話は、
Morita concludes that ‘ne’ or ‘sa’ has a common function that creates a division in the speaker’s movement, behaviors, and actions according to mutual behavioral issues between the participants, irrespective of the place of occurrence” (2005, p. 52). She calls them “interactional particles (soogo kooi shi)” (p. 52). This viewpoint advocates that the place of occurrence of a particle is not significant. The important point is that the particle ne is used in order to make a certain division in the speaker’s movement, behaviors, and actions, which, in turn, may be related to the generation of some kind of social meanings, such as rapport or involvement.

### 2.3.2 Overview of interjectional ne

As the sentence final particle ne and the interjectional particle ne were not traditionally distinguished in analysis (Shinoda, 2005), merely a few studies have concentrated on the interjectional use of ne itself (Martin, 1975; Izuhara, 1992; Usami, 1997; Tanaka, 2000; Shinoda, 2002; Morita, 2005 & 2007; Namatame, 2006; Takamori, 2006, cited in Namatame, 2006). Some studies, such as those by Japanese Language Studies (Kokugogaku) and Japanese Linguistics (Nihongogaku) in Japan, consider the inherent meaning of interjectional ne to be confirming (nenoshi) (Shibahara, 2002, p. 20).

As mentioned above, Umehara (1989) also considers confirmation (nenoshi) as one of the functions of interjectional particles. Thus, the interjectional ne, including the attention-getting ne of intimacy, seems to carry an inherent meaning denoting confirmation.

According to Namatame (2006), the interjectional particle ne has been studied from the perspectives of its contribution to controlling conversation and of its similarity

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26 This quote was translated from Japanese.
to fillers. The functions of interjunctional ne that contribute to conversation control are the following: it elicits listener’s supportive responses (Izuhara, 1992, Tanaka, 2000, Shinoda, 2005), calls listener’s attention (Usami, 1997; Tanaka, 2000; Nihongo kijutsu bunpoo, 2003), and maintains the turn of speaking (Usami, 1997; Tanaka, 2000). Onoe (1997) summarizes the definitions of interjunctional ne in dictionaries (Kanazawa, 1958; Kindaichi and Ikeda 1980; Tokieda and Yoshida 1982; Hayashi et al. 1985; Matsumura 1988) by noting that it is used to “request the addressee’s attention in a friendly way” (p. 7).

Ijima’s (1999) study appears to be related to this function of ne as a “contribution to conversation control.” He proposes that the particle ne is used to check “communication network (komyunikeeshon kairo).” He argues that “it is not used for the content in the utterance, but is used to confirm whether or not the addressee is listening, and whether or not the speaker’s talk has been conveyed for sure” (p. 118), which explains the place of occurrence—that it can be inserted rather freely at word- and phrase-finals. An example taken from Ijima (1999) is shown below (p. 118):

(31) 昨日ね、道歩いているとね、声をかける人がいるのね。
kinoo ne, michi aruiteru to ne, koe o kakeru hito ga iru no ne.
“You know, when I was walking down the street yesterday, someone spoke to me, right.”

The ne used in example sentence 31 should also be considered as an attention-getting ne of intimacy, in that it does not affect the semantic meaning of the utterance, and in that its use is optional. Therefore, the function of interjunctional particles as attention-getting in the previous studies and “confirming” by Izima (1999) appear to overlap, indicating that the attention-getting ne of intimacy also includes the notion of “checking” or that the function of ne, “checking,” includes the notion of attention-getting. Mizutani & Mizutani

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28 This quote was translated from Japanese.
(1986) also note that interjectional *ne* is used to “ascertain whether the listener has understood or agreed,” and is thus more often used when the speaker is anxious to receive the hearer’s response (p. 29). Therefore, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy appears to carry the function of “checking.”

Another feature of the interjectional *ne* that has been studied is its similarity to fillers such as *anoo… ‘well…’* and *eeto… ‘well…’* (Namatame, 2006). This similarity can be explained by the features that both of them can freely occur within utterances and do not affect the propositional content. This latter aspect is in particular studied in relation to the interjectional use of *ne* with the distal predicate, namely, verbal-filler *desu ne*, described earlier (Jorden & Noda, 1987; Maynard, 1989; Cook, 1992; Usami, 1997; Maruyama, 2002, Tomigashi, 2000 & 2004, cited in Namatame, 2006).

Among the features of interjectional *ne* described above, some seem to be common to other interjectional particles and others seem to be unique to the interjectional *ne*. Eliciting a supportive response from the listener, drawing the hearer’s attention, and its similarity to fillers in terms of occurrence, seem to be common functions of interjections and interjectional particles. Therefore, what seems to be unique to interjectional *ne* is that attention is drawn “in a friendly way” (Onoe, 1997). Martin (1975) states that interjections are used to append a “personal touch to what one is saying” and that in particular, *ne(e)* and *na(a)* are used to “involve both speaker and hearer in what is being said” in the same way as the English “you know” or “I mean” (p. 914). The friendliness and involvement that *ne* can provide as a filler thus seem to be peculiar characteristics of interjectional *ne*.

The function of “keeping the floor” also appears to be peculiar to the interjectional *ne*. According to Usami (1997), “attention-getting *ne*** is considered to be a speaker-centered use, which is explained by its primary function of calling the hearer’s attention (p. 250). That *ne* is used in a speaker-centered way seems to relate to the fact that the speaker treats the listener as an “audience” (Namatame, 2006). This function also relates to speech acts in which the speaker and the addressee engage by inserting the particle *ne* and a supportive response. Shinoda (2005), who insists that the particle *ne* and
supportive responses have a parallel function (p. 13), argues that supportive responses serve to send a message to the speaker that the hearer is “listening,” “understanding” or “agreeing”; in a similar way, the particle ne indicates that the speaker is “considering the listener,” and sometimes the speaker obviously demands “agreement or confirmation” (Shinoda, p. 13). The fact that the speaker aims at keeping the floor, while inserting the particle ne, by requesting or demanding “agreement or confirmation,” supports the speaker-centered use of the attention-getting ne of intimacy.

Namatame’s (2006) study also provides clues to understanding the relationship between the interlocutors of the conversation with respect to the use of ne. Namatame claims that the interjectional ne becomes unnatural in question sentences. She argues that the interjectional ne expresses an attitude of approaching the listener, by treating the listener not as the next speaker, but as an “audience,” in the framework of “footing” by Goffman (1981). The listener may provide supportive responses, but she or he does not proactively participate in constructing the conversation. From the perspective of “collaborative conversation” or kyoowa in Japanese, proposed by N. Mizutani (1988), the speaker-centeredness of ne thus seems to violate the rule of “collaborative conversation.”

That the particle ne is indicative of friendliness and emphasizes involvement has already been pointed out. However, these aspects alone do not seem able to fully capture the meanings and functions of ne. In addition, the peculiar function of interjectional ne of keeping the floor also suggests negative impressions attached to the particle ne, related to politeness. This particular aspect of the particle ne will be discussed later.

Several other peculiar features of interjectional ne, namely its friendliness and its similarity to English vocatives, as well as its insignificance for propositional content, are discussed in the following sections, making use of Cook’s (1992) notion of “affective common ground.”
2.3.3 Affect and rapport

As mentioned above, one of the important differences between interjactional ne and some uses of the sentence final ne seems to be that it is not obligatory, and that it does not affect the semantic meaning of the utterance. In order to illustrate interjectional ne with respect to its nonreferentiality, two perspectives of studies on the particle ne need to be taken into consideration. Studies on the meanings and the functions of the sentence final particle ne have sought for a common understanding of the particle from cognitive and affective orientations. In the traditional studies, ne was considered in terms of affective orientation, as expressing “a taste of intimacy (shinmitsu no i)” (Yamada, 1936, p. 529), “an expression of a proactive position that places the hearer in the relationship as a sympathizer” and one that “…is allowed to be use merely in the close relationship with the hearer” (Tokieda, 1951) (cited in Shinoda, 2005, p. 7). On the other hand, recent studies, until the latter half of the 1980’s, aligned ne in a phased manner based upon the notion of mutual connection (soogo shoosetsu), and described its meanings within the framework of chinjutsu or “operation of composition as a sentence” (Ijima, 1999). Studies from the cognitive orientation, on the other hand, have focused on the theory of territory of information proposed by Kamio (1997), and/or divided uses of ne as a combination/variation of confirmation, agreement, and self-confirmation (Ono and Nakagawa, 1997; Yamada 1991, Hashimoto 1992 & 1993; Onoe, 1997).30

Cook (1992) insists that these recent studies that concentrate more on the cognitive orientation cannot fully elaborate the function of ne itself. This is because interjactional and exclamatory uses of the particle ne, as seen in such phrases as ano nee ‘you know what,’ nee nee ‘you know’ or eeto ne ‘well,’ or the combined particles yo ne, do not affect the propositional content of the utterance. Some scholars thus contend that the particle ne owns interpersonal or affective oriented function (Cook, 1992; Sawyer, 1991; Ijima, 1999; Amy, Ohta, 2001; Shinoda, 2005). Cook (1992) advocates that her

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29 The quotes were translated from Japanese.
30 The third definition, self-confirmation, is derived from Takubo & Kinsui (1992; 1993) as an opposition to the confirmation theory, and is focused on the mental calculation process regarding the speaker’s own knowledge and information (Ijima, 1999).
account of direct and indirect indexicality can be used for explaining the particle *ne*. Cook (2006) agrees with the position that “what is ‘shared’ between the speaker and the addressee is not necessarily information but feelings” (p. 104), and argues that the particle *ne* directly indexes “affective common ground,” that is, “agreement in feelings,” between the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, Cook suggests that *ne* indirectly indexes “social acts such as requesting confirmation, getting attention, introducing a new topic, keeping the floor, socializing children, mitigating a face-threatening act, and marking intimacy” (1990, p. 510).31 Cook (1992) argues that the “direct indexical function of *ne* is independent of the domain of the propositional content of an utterance” (p. 516). In other words, *ne* is not inherently associated with any specific illocutionally force of the utterance (Itani, 1996, p. 155). Cook contends that *ne*, such as in *ano nee* ‘you know what,’ can only solicit the addressee’s supportive responses, not the agreement of information (p. 515).32 She advocates the importance of building and maintaining “affective common ground,” by stating that it is a communication goal for Japanese people.

The similarity of *ne* to the English “you know” also seems to be crucial in order to portray what kind of mood the particle *ne* represents. Cook (1992) points out their similarity, by saying “If *ne* signals affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee, it is logical that it will be used to elicit and maintain the addressee’s involvement in the speaker’s talk, thus mitigating the fact that the speaker is keeping the floor and enhancing the feeling of communality” (p. 524, emphasis added). The similarity between *ne* and “you know” is also pointed out by Schourup (1985, cited in Onoe, 1997).33 Schourup states that:

31 She adds that indirect indexical meanings are induced by the direct index and the context, which could be multiple and ambiguous by nature.
32 The discussion of agreement of information may seem to be related to whether or not the interjectional *ne* is phrasalized. Phrasalized *ano nee* ‘you know what’ is not related to agreement of information, while unphrasalized interjectional *ne* may seem to have a relationship with agreement of information, as discussed later.
33 Usami’s (1997) five classifications of the particle *ne* are also based on the studies of the English “you know.”
a. they both produce some kind of “solidarity” between the conversation participants;
b. they help the speaker confirm the interlocutor’s understanding of what is being discussed;
c. they indicate informality in the conversation;
d. they can occur in various places within sentences.

Similarly, Martin (1975) notes that the interjectional ne, which is used to involve the hearer, is the most appropriate equivalent of English vocatives (or “endearing” substitutions), such as “my dear,” “my friend” or “darling,” as well as “you know,” “say…” or “look…” or “Now, Tom, …, And that’s what happened, Tom” etc. (p. 914). According to Martin, these vocatives were “originally intended as an endearment, in contrast with the similar use of ‘sir’ or ‘ma’am’ to pay respect, much as the honorific stylization does in Japanese” (p. 915). He continues that the sparse use of vocatives in Japan made ne be a suitable translation of English vocatives, and vice versa. The relation of ne with English vocatives thus supports the fact that ne signals intimacy and involvement. Maynard (1989) also states that frequent use of non-obligatory particles, including interjectional ne, intensifies the degree of involvement. From the perspective of acquisition, Clancy (1985) notes that “positive affect” by mothers can facilitate acquisition of ne by children, which also advocates that ne is a particle of rapport. To sum up, the affective-oriented explanation of the particle ne seems to have some kind of relationship with the function of the attention-getting ne of intimacy with respect to femininities.

2.3.4 Territory of information and its sharedness

Contrary to the affective explanation of the particle ne, Takamori (2006) attributes the difference between interjectional particles ne and sa in question sentences to the notion of “territory of information” and its sharedness (cited in Namatame, 2006). “Territory of information” presumes that ne is serving to mark information that belongs

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34 Martin (1975) adds that “‘Now’ also catches the conversational intimacy implied by ne[el]” (p. 914, emphasis added).
to the hearer’s territory (Kamio, 1997). The affective explanation of *ne* that was discussed above, therefore, argues against the notion of *ne* marking information belonging to the hearer, by saying that the interjectional use of *ne* is independent of and is not affected by the propositional content. This also relates to Takamura’s (2006) observation that interjectional *ne* is used in situations where the speaker calmly talks about his or her personal experiences, as described earlier (cited in Namatame, 2006). Takamori argues that *ne* does not sound natural in B’s utterance in the example sentence below, as opposed to the unnaturalness of the utterance with the particle *sa*:

(32) A: あ、木村さん。どうしたんですか。
A, Kimura-san. Doo sita n desu ka.
Oh Mr. Kimura what happened NOM BE Q

そんなに急いで。
Sonna ni isoide.
that much hurry

“Ah, Mr. Kimura! What happened? You’re in a real hurry.”

B: あのさ(*ね)、もう部長ところ、
Ano sa (*ne), moo buchoo n toko,
Oh yeah IP already division manager LK

書類持ってったか。
shorui motetta?
document brought

“Oh, yeah, have you already brought the document to the division manager?”

Takamori (2006) explains that the reason for this unnaturalness of *ne* in question sentences is that the utterance by Speaker B is “touching on information belonging to the addressee that cannot be known to the speaker” (Namatame, 2006, p. 61). Takamori concludes that “*ne* essentially functions to lead the speaker and the listener to share the same viewpoint about the speaker’s information that is not shared with the listener” (Namatame, p. 61, emphasis added). In this sense, the interjectional *ne* appears to hold a notion of sharedness of information with the hearer to a certain degree, which is contradictory to the affective explanation of the particle *ne*.

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35 This quote was translated from Japanese.
36 This quote was translated from Japanese.
2.3.5 Impressions of ne: frequency and politeness

One of the characteristics of interjectional *ne* discussed above is that it can be inserted in various places in one’s utterances for the purpose of drawing the hearer’s attention. Maynard (1993) describes a tendency that one third of the flow of conversation is divided by particles such as *ne*, *sa*, or *yo na*. Cook (1990) also reports the difficulty of conversing without using the particle *ne* (cited in Sawyer, p. 89). Similarly, Kindaichi (1957) notes the tendency of Japanese people to hate to “let the sentence end on a finality” (p. 170, cited in Maynard, 1993). Maynard’s (1993) findings reveal that the interjectional *ne* was used 232 times (versus 132 times use for the sentence final *ne*) in three-minute segments of conversation among 20 pairs of people (p. 185). This frequent occurrence of *ne* is advocated by the fragmentation in Japanese conversations discussed above. Clancy (1985) indicates that the appropriateness of *ne* depends on the characteristics of the context, including the gender, social position, and the level of relationship between the interlocutors (p. 427). Usami (1997) also proposes the appropriate use of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy: a) it is hardly used in meeting situations; b) an appropriate ratio of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy out of the total use of all *ne* in chatting situation is 25%, which is 4 or 5 times per 100 utterances, merely 4.7% of the total utterances. Usami concludes that attention-getting *ne* of intimacy seems not often used in female conversations at the office, including chatting. While many scholars point out that the overuse of *ne* can make a negative impression, Ban & Hasatani (1996) suggest that the underuse of *ne* can also make one’s speech sound rough (p. 142).

The frequency of the use of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy seems to be related to the impressions that it provides. Its impressions are described both positively and negatively in many previous studies: for example, it conveys intimacy and rapport towards the listener (Uyeno, 1971; Cook, 1990; Izuhara, 1992; Maynard, 1998; Tanaka, 1977 cited in Usami, 1997), and it occurs in proportion with familiarity (Mizutani & Mizutani, 1986, p. 27). Another suggested function of interjectional *ne* is to smoothly carry out communication (Ijima, 1999), and to serve as a positive politeness marker in chatting situations (Cook, 1992, p. 526; Usami, 1997, p. 261).
Contrary to these positive impressions, despite or due to the fact that the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is very frequently inserted into utterances, being optional (Martin, 1975, p. 914), frequent pausing with *ne* gives the listener unfavorable impressions (Izuhara, 1992, p. 171; Shibahara, 2002, p. 19). Examples of such unfavorable impressions are “childish” (Ban & Hasatani, 1996), “over-familiar,” “over-conversational (*kudakesugi*)” (Usami, 1997, p. 262), conveying an “over friendly manner” (Kashiwagi, 2001, cited in Morita, 2005), being indicative of informal speech (Cook, 1990), of a “lack of elegance” (Uyeno, 1971, p. 49), or being viewed as an intrusive nuance (Tanaka, 1977, cited in Usami, 1997, p. 258; Ban & Hasatani, 1996), as well as irritating the listener (Martin, 1975, p. 914). The attention-getting *ne* of intimacy thus seems to indicate some mood like intimacy on the one hand and over-familiarity on the other. Although it depends on the situation, the positive and negative impressions that *ne* provide may cause people’s conflicting perceptions towards the use of this particle.

The impressions created by the particle *ne* in general, or by the sentence final particle *ne*, are also both positive and negative. For example, many previous studies emphasize the passivity, softness or politeness of *ne* (Alfonso, 1966; Suzuki & Hayashi, 1973; Martin, 1975; Cheng, 1987; Sasaki, 1992; Fukushima, 1994; Onoe, 1997). To cite one instance, *ne* is described as giving “a gentle emotional touch to the sentence” (Alfonso, 1966); *ne* adds “affection to clause ends” and “a familiar mood, which is an expression of the speakers’ intimacy and a sense of solidarity” (Suzuki & Hayashi, 1973). Likewise, Eda’s (2001) statement that *ne* “indicates that the speaker is leaving some room for the hearer to make comments on the propositional content of the utterance” suggests this characteristic of *ne*. Similarly, Cook (1990) reveals that *ne* is more often used (47.3%) than *yo* (1.8%) when introducing a new topic, inspire of the fact that *yo* is assumed to be used to introduce new topics. She concludes the finding by saying that “speakers prefer to establish a cooperative relationship by using *ne*” (p. 35, emphasis added). Onoe (1997) calls this function “consideration towards the hearer (*hairyo*)” (p. 41). 37

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37 Onodera (2004) also defines *ne(e)* and *na(a)* as “emotion markers,” a “marker of rapport” (p. 143), and a
On the other hand, cases where ne is used impolitely, expressing “anger,” “frustration,” “criticism,” “over-presumptuous,” or “imprudence” (oshitsuke), are also pointed out (Cheng, 1987; Habburd, 1992; Itani, 1996; Kaiser, et al., 2001). Itani (1996) argues against the belief that by using ne, “a normally obligatory rule of conversation is relaxed” (p. 150). She contends that Ne can be used in utterances which bluntly threaten the hearer’s face and sometimes it even increases the degree of face-threat: i.e. it cannot function as a politeness strategy device” (p. 173, emphasis added). Exemplifying the following sentence, Itani explains that ne “has the effect of urging the hearer to admit (agree) that he hasn’t cleaned up and certainly it does not decrease the degree of ‘face-threat’” (p. 150). Kaiser, et al. (2001) notes that this kind of ne is in the form of ねっ “nett” (p. 277).

(33) まだ掃除していないん だね。
Mada sooji-shite-iani n no ne.
Yet has cleaned-NEG NOM BE SFP
“You haven’t cleaned up yet.”

2.3.6 Historical and special issues of the social meanings of ne and gender

Uyeno (1971) and other scholars report that there was a movement called the “ne sa yo prohibition movement” (ne-sa-yo-tsuihoo-undoo) in the 1960’s, when those particles were considered to be symbols of words that break up people’s relationships (Martin, 1975) and sound “uneducated” (Morita, 2005, p. 33). Children in Kanagawa and the surrounding areas in Eastern Japan were taught not to use these particles, and to say “marker of involvement” (p. 152). She cites Watanabe (1971) that ne “marks the highest degree of emotion towards other people” among ka, sa, and yo. Thus, “Ne has the most-other-oriented, i.e. communication-oriented meaning” and “ne is thought to be the most basic means of expressing the speaker’s relationship with hearer” (p. 194, emphasis added).

38 The original sentence is in English. Although the translation sounds like an utterance by a man, it is possible to translate it as an utterance by a woman, which may sound more natural. Kaiser, et.al (2001), presents an example of impolite ne, which is an utterance by a woman. Musume o zenzen shiyou shinai no ne. ‘You don’t trust me [=your daughter] at all, do you!’ Thus, this impolite ne may have some relation to women’s speech.

39 Sekiuchi Sekigai Nikki indicates that the movement existed during the Heisai era as well.
Kyoo wa watashi wa gakkoo ni ikimashita ‘I went to school today,’ instead of Kyoo wa ne, watashi sa, gakkoo ni itta yo ‘You know, I went to school today.’ Contrary to this, during the same period at a school in Kyushu, there was a movement called the “ne-hai-movement,” which instructed children to use ne instead of the Kyushu dialect tai and bai in order to sound Tokyo-like and soft (Hirata, 1999).

Hirata (1999) also reports a case where a male dialect speaker was regarded as being gay by the frequent insertion of ne instead of na or no in his dialect. Hirata points out that those for whom ne has a different discourse may employ ne one after another, because the interpretation of particles may vary depending on the regions where they are used. Although the comment is not about the particle ne, but rather “women’s language,” a male listener of the main experiment of this study, who had spent his early childhood where no “women’s language” was used, stated that he had an uncomfortable feelings towards the “women’s language” or “onnarashisa (womanhood).” This listener also pointed out the heterogeneity of the perceptions depending on the region. Inoue (2006) contends that whether or not a speaker uses a certain variable is not a matter of a “liberal notion of choice” (p. 275), by viewing the choice “as if it were one of the styles available equally to everyone, oppressive equally for everyone” (p. 275). This is a critical aspect when considering the discourse where the attention-getting ne of intimacy is used and in relation to Japanese femininities.

Morita (2005) states that the prohibition movement, in fact, did not influence the particles’ actual use by Japanese people. She argues that this movement reveals the discrepancy between people’s ideology towards particles and their actual use by people, “highlighting… perhaps the sense of a fundamental tension between differentially ‘public’ and ‘private’ aspects of discourse” (p. 33). Morita further insists that “this episode reveals the misconceptions Japanese speakers themselves have, i.e., that speakers independently have choice and control in the use of these particles to construct, maintain or change social environment, and how little the Japanese speakers themselves

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40 T. Inoue (1994) argues that this movement may have produced “a new speech style” among young speakers, that is, “a prolonged last syllable of a phrase with rising intonation to replace an omitted particle” (cited in Morita, 2005, p. 33). This is mentioned again with respect to the prosodic aspect of the particle ne.
understand particles’ actual work in conversation” (p. 33). As discussed earlier, the impressions that the particle *ne* provides vary between the positive and negative. As Morita points out, perhaps people may employ the particle *ne* with an attempt to signal friendliness, to be positively understood; conversely, people may use it in an attempt to keep the floor, which explains the frequent occurrence of the particle. On the other hand, in people’s public opinions, the same utterances may be perceived negatively, for example, “uneducated.”

The two contrasting movements in Eastern Japan and in Kyushu, as well as the effeminate interpretation of *ne* also reveal an important fact that the particle *ne* is merely accessible to people who speak “standard” Japanese, and it is not the case for dialect speakers. Since this study aims at revealing the social meanings of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy with respect to femininities, this historical and special perspective, as well as the standard versus regional dichotomy, have to be taken into consideration in this investigation.

### 2.3.7 Gender

Ide (1992) argues that the study of language and sexuality in Japan was independently developed without much influence from the feminism movement in Western countries during the 1960’s and 1970’s, because the gender difference in Japanese is displayed prominently at the level of grammar (cited in Thomson & Iida, 2002). Norness (1994) states that studies on gender distinction (*seisa*) in Japan have focused on how women are portrayed, and how women speak. Thus, the field called attention to the analysis at the levels of vocabulary and sentences, such as sentence final particles, personal pronominals and self-reference terms, politeness, and supportive responses (Ide, 1986; McGloin, 1991; Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Smith, 1992; McGloin, 1997; Usami, 1997; Kogure, 2003), as well as pitch (Ohara, 2004) and discourse analysis (Thomson & Iida, 2002). Among the differences between male and female speech styles, the most discussed are sentence final particles, such as *wa* and *no ne*. As discussed later,
according to Inoue (2006), historically, sentence final particles were not gendered, as seen in Sanba Shikitei’s novel from the Edo era, *Ukiyoburo*. They became feminized in the early twentieth century, as seen in a Meiji era novel, *Sanshiro*, by Soseki Natsume (p. 99). Contrary to the history of gendering of *ne*, the common viewpoint towards “women’s language” emphasizes the peculiarity of female speech. For example, Mashimo (1969) notes that sentence final particles appear very frequently in women’s conversations, which are filled with exaggeration and emphasis. That Japanese female language often draws on interjections and sentence final particles for the purpose of emphasis is also suggested (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, 1951, cited in Ota, 1992).

Sentence final particles have thus been accepted to be the primary device for signaling the gender of the speaker (Lakoff, 1976; Sakamoto, 1986; Norness, 1994;). Ide (1983) notes that “women are ‘constrained’ to use softer, assertion-mitigating sentence-final particles” (Ide, 1983; Smith, p. 542). On the other hand, Jorden & Noda’s (1987) study aims at eliminating the use of the dimension of masculine and feminine styles in making a definition, and proposing a distinction, of “blunt” and “gentle” styles to describe such sentence final particles as *wa* and *no yo* (p. 228). However, again, it has been a common understanding that such sentence final particles as *wa* and *no* are the prominent characteristics of female speech (Ide, 1983; Ohara, 2004), as opposed to such particles as *zo* and *ze*, which are suggested as exclusively marking male gender. According to Ide (1983), “*wa* and *no* signal the speaker’s dependency to the listener to couple with her or him, which expresses gentleness (*yasashisa*) and endearingness (*kawairashisa*).” Ide continues that “since endearing speech or *kawairashi kotoba* is considered to be a quality of women, [the particle] *no* comes down to a sentence final particle which indicates femininity (*onninarashisa*)” (p. 189). Similarly, from the point of view of the psychology of sexual differences, Mamiya (1979) argues that women are generally characterized as being sympathetic, compassionate, and identifiable to others. He states that this fundamental quality of women makes them use *wa* and *no*, which in turn triggers rapport (cited in Ide, 1983).

The particle *ne*, in general, is suggested as the (most) universal particle used by
both male and female speakers (Sakamoto, 1986). Endo and Ozaki (1998), who investigated conversation data by women working in the metropolitan area, also observe that the gender distinction is decreasing, and that there was almost no gender distinction in the use of ne and na. On the other hand, Fukao’s (2004) study indicates that the sentence final ne was used more frequently by women in conversation among close people, whereas it appeared more frequently in men’s speech in formal situations (p. 213). Similarly, according to Ogawa’s (1997) examination, ne is employed slightly more often by women. Therefore, the gender that ne indexes seems to vary slightly between neutral and female indexes.

The part of speech to which ne is attached is also suggested to mark gender (Sakamoto, 1986). Sakamoto (1986) illustrates the part of speech with which the particle ne occurs: the sentence final particle ne is generally connected to the end-forms of conjugational words, whereas the interjectional particle ne is attached to other particles, nominals, the stems of adjectival nominals, and to the end-forms of verbals. According to Okamoto & Sato (1992), who investigate the traditional classification of the use of sentence final particles in Mizutani & Mizutani (1986) and Shibamoto (1985), ne after the plain form of a verbal or an adjectival, such as iku ne ‘I’m leaving’ and oisii ne ‘It’s tasty,’ as well as the form yone, is generally considered to be gender-neutral. On the other hand, when ne is attached after a nominal or nominal adjectival, it is considered to be feminine, as seen in minna ne ‘everyone is’ and ichiban ne ‘the most [ ] is…’ Such phrases used for agreement and confirmation as ashita ne ‘tomorrow, right…’ and ame ne ‘it began raining, didn’t it?’ are also suggested to be feminine, as well as the forms no ne and no yo ne (Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Norness, 1994; Ogawa, 1997; Fukao, 2000; Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpoo Kenkyuukai, 2003). Moreover, Ogawa (1997) reveals that those stopped in midstream (iisashi), such as tsukutte-kureru shi ne ‘[somebody] makes it for me, and…’ are characteristic for female conversational speech. Okamoto & Sato (1992)

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41 Fukao’s (2004) study examines sentence final and interjectional particles in scenarios from seven contemporary novels and a television drama. She reports that in direct style among close people, women used ne 61.8%, while men used it 38.2%. In contrast, in distal style, men used ne 78.8%, while women used it 21.2%.
also describe another feminine ne, namely, the particle ne after the te-form of verbals for requesting: chotto matte ne ‘wait for a moment, would you’?42

While these syntactical and contextual difference is suggested, Martin (1975, p. 916) and others note that the attention-getting ne of intimacy is more frequently used in women’s speech and among children (Usami, 1997, p. 258; Ogawa, 1997, p. 217).43 The possibility of feminine association of the particle ne with the use by a man was also mentioned above.44 Based on Labov (1984), Irvine (2001) elaborates that “style-switching” is what all speakers engage in when they portray their images, such as personalities, moods, and settings (p. 31). It is thus crucial to examine the interlocutors and the settings in which the attention-getting ne of intimacy is used in relation to femininity. Peng (1981) states that language patterns that are considered particularly feminine tend to be more often used primarily among female speakers, and particularly masculine language patterns are used among male speakers; more neutral forms are used among interlocutors of opposite gender (cited in McGloin, 1990). Therefore, if the attention-getting ne of intimacy is more often used by women than men, thus associating some kind of femininity with it, the attention-getting ne of intimacy might occur more often in all-female conversations than in all-male or in mixed conversations. On the other hand, Kajino & Podesva (2007) claim that women use their own names to refer to themselves when they were talking to their boyfriends or potential boyfriends. According to Jorden & Noda (1987), men also use a softer and more empathetic style traditionally categorized as “feminine,” especially when they speak with children and women (p. 228). As the use of non-pronominal self-references by women, the use of the attention-getting ne of intimacy might also be more often used when women are talking to men than in purely female conversations.

42 This is related to the style in which women tend to stop their utterance after te..., kedo..., or kara..., after which ne can be frequently attached. In this sense, therefore, it is not clear whether stopping in midstream is indicative of femininity, or the ne attached is indicative of the female gender of the speaker.

43 The particle sa is also considered to be gender-neutral. Fukao’s (2004) findings reveal that interjectional sa employed by female speakers was 18.6% of ne employed by male speakers (p. 60). On the contrary, Ogawa’s (1997) study did not show any gender difference in terms of the use of sa.

44 Although the impressions were based on the sentence final use of ne, Ban & Hasatani (1996) report that a learner of Japanese mentioned that ne sounds “feminine (onnappoi).
As Yamane (1990) regards “infantile” as “feminine” (p. 248, cited in Kinsella, 1995), the fact that attention-getting *ne* is more often used by both women and children seems to have some kind of relationship with Japanese femininities, particularly, with the new images, such as “childlike cuteness” and/or “youthful” femininities. As discussed in detail in Chapter Three, Kajino & Podesva (2007) attribute the origin of non-pronominal self-reference to childhood, and observe that the use decreases as women mature. Eckert (2008) argues that “kids’ talk” or “cutesy talk,” which is used by adolescent girls, can be interpreted either as a stylistic strategy or as a transition from children to adults. Therefore, the employment of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy also seems to have a similar trajectory or strategy in women’s speech. The attention-getting *ne* of intimacy, as well as non-pronominal self-reference, might possibly be used as a stylistic strategy to project themselves as childlike or as “youthful” when employed by adult women. While a similarity is observed between the use of non-pronominal self-reference and the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy, the two are not equivalent; that women use their first names to refer to themselves appears to cater to a common understanding in Japan that those women are portraying themselves as childish or youthful (Kajino & Podesva, 2007). On the other hand, people might not have any explicit understanding of the use of attention-getting *ne* by women, although perhaps a more implicit connotation of the childlikeness of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy might stay in people’s ideology. Therefore, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy could be an interesting feature when examining femininities.

As noted in Chapter One, Ochs’s (1990) theory of direct and indirect “indexicality” can be used to explain how sentence particles come to refer to the gender of the speaker. Ochs (1990) describes the process in which the final particles encompass “affect” in Japan where “affect” is closely associated with gender. That is, by using the final particles, a sense of “affect” emerges, which leads to the identification of gender; if it is insistence, it is masculine, and if it is roundabout, it is feminine. The particle *wa* thus “directly indexes the affective disposition of softness, [which] in turn, indirectly indexes the female identity of the speaker” (p. 295). Ochs concludes, “because of the strong polite...
and constitutive relations between affect and gender, the direct indexing of affect evokes gender identities or gender voices of participants as well” (p. 295).

As discussed earlier, using the notion of indexicality, Cook (1990) proposes the indexicality of the particle ne and proposes that ne directly indexes “affective common ground,” while it indirectly indexes “social acts such as requesting confirmation, getting attention, introducing a new topic, keeping the floor, socializing children, mitigating a face-threatening act, and marking intimacy” (p. 510). Assuming the impolite connotations of the particle ne mentioned earlier, as well as the speaker-centered feature of the attention-getting ne of intimacy, Cook’s direct index of ne as an affect of rapport, intimacy, or friendliness seems not to be able to fully capture the indexes of the particle ne.\(^{45}\) However, Cook’s “affective common ground” seems important in considering the relationship between the attention-getting ne of intimacy and femininity. Just as the sentence final particle wa indicates softness and womanhood, the attention-getting ne of intimacy might also index certain types of femininities, given an aspect of the particle ne as indicating “affective common ground” and the image of gentleness attached to it in general.

As described earlier, applying the notion of indexicality to the attention-getting ne in light of gender, it could be assumed that the attention-getting ne directly indexes both positive and negative affects, such as intimacy and over-familiarity, while indirectly indexing characteristics of children; the latter may be expanded to indirectly index the female gender in relation to the new femininities such as “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1992).

The actual use of sentence final particles by contemporary women have also been discussed. Okamoto & Sato’s (1992) study, which investigated actual language use by

\(^{45}\) The soft versus impolite connotation of the particle ne also seems to be related to the intonation or speech style with which ne occurs. As mentioned above, the so-called feminine sentence final particle wa is in actuality used by men, but with a different intonation contour (MaGloin, 1986). Similarly, Sugito’s (1991) study suggests that a specific intonation contour is associated with the impolite ne. Therefore, different intonations or speech styles may seem to be closely linked to the ne which marks “affective common ground” and to the ne which marks impoliteness. Additionally, the impolite ne is not necessarily unrelated to female speech, in that, as mentioned earlier, the example utterances for the impolite ne may seem to connote feminine speech.
women, reveals that sentence particles employed by women barely agree with the polite stereotypes of female speech style (p. 486). While the use of possibly neutralized sentence final forms by women, such as ...da yo, have been pointed out, the use of traditionally categorized masculine forms by, for example, Kogals ‘young girls,’ have been targeted and condemned by the media for striving to get away from patriarchal normative womanhood (Miller, 2004). By observing some of the female office workers’ ritual mocking of Okusama-kotoba or the speech of “leisure-class housewives,” or a “hyper women’s language,” Inoue (2006) captures the “citing” act of the “women’s language” by contemporary women. Inoue states that wa has been “too archaic,” as used by “women of the leisure class or those who are snobbish and stuck-up” (p. 262). This observation indicates that it is common knowledge that such variables as wa and no yo signal the kind of womanhood that has been expected in the society (Inoue, p. 266). Therefore, some kind of “public” or explicit ideology seems to be inscribed in such particles as wa and no yo. Morita (2005) also points out the discrepancy and tension between the “public” negative portrayal of the frequent use of the particle ne and the frequent use of ne by people that indicates the “private” actual practice. Okamoto (1995) argues that sentence particles convey women’s “self-image,” “positive figure,” and “identity,” revealing their “youthfulness” and “solidarity,” to the exclusion of older women (p. 314). Matsumoto (1994) also argues that women search for and choose to use speech styles that are considered as deviant from the normative language use, which indicates “young women’s resistance to the dominant ideology that frames the normative concept of femininity” (p. 464). These deviant speech styles are assumed to be linguistic variables that women employ to exhibit their social identity with respect to multiple images of femininities. A variable such as the attention-getting ne of intimacy, which seems not to be embedded in Japanese people’s explicit ideology of “women’s language,” but which also portrays some kind of gender association, is an appealing feature to examine in relation to the new images of Japanese femininity. Additionally, it

should again be noted that the discussion is limited to so-called “standard” Japanese and to people who have an access to it, and it may be different for people who did not have any access to it in their acquisition of Japanese.

2.3.8 Conversation style, prosody of the particle ne, and gender

The attention-getting ne with respect to gender also relates to conversational style. As mentioned earlier, many studies suggest that the interjectional ne elicits supportive responses from the interlocutor (Maynard, 1989; Izuhara, 1992; Tanaka, 2000; Shinoda, 2005, Namatame, 2006). More frequent use of supportive responses by women is also noted in many studies (Jorden, 1974; Ide, 1979, cited in McGloin, 1990; Kurosaki, 1987). Kurosaki (1987) attributes the reason of women’s frequent use of supportive responses to their conversational style that waits to receive supportive responses. Sugito (1993), who found frequent insertions of “cheerful and impressive” supportive responses by women, notes that “this is a feminine way of response in the good old days when the other person’s feelings were considered every day,” and claims that this is the essence of Japanese supportive responses (p. 19).47 Maltz & Borker (1982) also note that women are more apt to speak to demand or elicit responses from their interlocutors (p. 197). The interjectional ne that elicits supportive responses, therefore, may also index feminine speech. However, as the inconsistent observations of the gender index of ne in previous studies suggest, and as Kogure’s (2003) study suggests, the particle ne is context-specific rather than gender-specific. Okamoto (1995) claims that merely gender-oriented categorization is not adequate, and social factors, such as age, occupation, position, personality, family background, intimacy between interlocutors, and formality level, should also be taken into account. Therefore, gender needs to be treated as a factor in relation to many other factors in examining the attention-getting ne of intimacy. Importantly, this context dependency of the particle ne suggests that ne is an indexing

47 This quote was translated from Japanese.
marker rather than a referential marker. In other words, the interpretation of **ne** depends on the speakers’ and the listeners’ identities at the time of utterance. The fact that the particle **ne** more frequently appears in female speech in casual situations and in male speech in formal situations suggests that the use of this particle embodies a case of social deixis.\(^{48}\)

The fact that **ne** and **sa**, as well as PPUs, have a distinct intonation contour with occasional rise and stress has been pointed out, as described earlier (Morita, 2007; Maynard, 1989; Martin, 1975). Despite the fact that the particles have a distinctive intonation contour, many previous studies on the particle **ne** have paid little attention to the intonation accompanying the particle, and have considered the meanings and functions of particles as intrinsic (Eda, 2001). By arguing against this orientation, Eda’s (2001) study concentrates on the prosodic patterns of the sentence final particle **ne**. Eda proposes that the meanings and functions of sentence final particles are determined by an interaction between their semantic properties on the one hand, and the prosodic patterns on the other hand. Her findings reveal that certain prosodic patterns carry certain meanings: when **ne** has an “information question rise,” then it indicates “confirmation,” whereas when **ne** has an “insisting rise,” it indicates “explaining” (p. 177).\(^{49}\)

Sugito’s (2001) experiment also proves that the meaning of **ne** changes by reducing the degree of rising, from the **ne** of request for response from the hearer, to the **ne** of self-confirmation (**jiko kakunin**) (p. 12).\(^{50}\) Just as Hubbard (1992) notes that intonation contour or length can have “finer gradation” (p. 130), Sugito’s study also suggests that “intonation is a matter of degree and is not clearly divided into categories” (Eda, 2003, p. 75). Sugito proves that the same sentences ending in **ne** with a rising tone and with a falling tone can carry very different meanings: the former as a friendly question and the latter as a grilling (p. 14).\(^{51}\) Hubbard (1992) suggests that impoliteness

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\(^{48}\) The syntactic environment also seems to influence the interpretation of **ne**.

\(^{49}\) For the detailed description of each intonation contour, see Eda (2001).

\(^{50}\) The functions of the **ne** of self-confirmation (**jiko kakunin**) are not limited to it; it varied from unexpectedness to puzzlement to admiration to content (especially self-content) to decision, and to **kidoairaku** (delight, anger, sorrow and pleasure) (Sugito, 2001, p. 9).

\(^{51}\) Sugito (1999) provides the following example utterances. *Anata wa Smith-san desu ne.* ‘You are Mr.
or over-presumptuousness is determined by how the proposition relates to the hearer’s face (p. 134), while Sugito (2001) proves that a nuance of accusation or demanding from ne is found when ne(e) is nosedived.\textsuperscript{52}

As N. Mizutani (1987) points out, interjectional particles have the function of “laying out the mode of talk” as well as to add stress and encourage exclamation by their free insertion (p. 19). As is discussed in Chapter Four, when the attention-getting ne of intimacy was clipped for the purpose of producing speech stimuli without ne for the main experiment, the speech in which ne was removed sounded unnatural based on the context and the speed of the speech. The length of ne, the length of the last mora of the word or phrase, or the pause after the word or phrase created after ne, thus, appeared not to be simply determined. Sometimes the pause after the word could be prolonged, and sometimes the word or phrase could be prolonged. It could also depend on whether or not any supportive responses are provided from the hearer, or how much involvement the speaker wanted. As mentioned above, T. Inoue’s (1994) statement is meaningful with respect to this aspect: he mentions that the ne-sa-yo prohibition movement may have produced “a new speech style.” He argues that young speakers tend to prolong the last syllable of a phrase with rising intonation to substitute for a dropped particle.

Female speech has also been discussed in relation to pitch. For example, Tanahashi (1911) argues, “Speech with a rising intonation or speaking with the ending contracted like bouncing, gives people an unpleasant impression. Speech would sound more feminine and refined if one spoke gently with the ending slightly falling” (cited in Inoue, 2006, p. 62). Loveday (1986) notes that in Japanese society a high voice pitch and a woman’s role are linked. Similarly, Ohara (2004) argues that Japanese women are “constrained in their pitch behavior” (p. 223), and “one way Japanese women are

\textsuperscript{52} Sugito (1992) proved that the version of the nosedived [e] in [ne] (prolonged) in Osokatta wa nee ‘You were late!’ was perceived to sound accusing (Sugito, 2001, p. 15).

Similarly, Inukai’s (2001) experiment found that the ne that rises drawing a U curve that drags long is used in special situations and makes an utterance an expression that emphasizes feelings both in questions and answers. He states that although the long dragging rising intonation works as a signal that some kind of feeling is attached to it, it does not differentiate whether the feeling has any implication of positive or negative (exclamation or sarcasm, etc.).
expected to exert a feminine persona is through the use of a high-pitched voice” (p. 224). This is in accordance with people’s explicit attitudes in the experiment for this study towards what it meant to be kawaii-shii ‘endearing,’ in that some people associated it with high pitch as well as quality of voice. Onnarashi-shii ‘womanly,’ on the other hand, was more associated with a gentle manner of speech rather than high pitch; however, the participants also thought that voice quality has a relationship with being “womanly.” Ohara’s (2004) findings, in contrast, reveal that in actuality high voice pitch is not a property of women’s speech (and men also speak with high or higher pitch), except for the specific situations where female office workers interacted with customers, where high pitch was associated with both femininity and politeness. In Inoue’s (2006) ethnography, too, contemporary women mocked the “women’s language” by exaggerating high pitch and prolonging utterance-ending, which also supports the idea that those manners have been a way of female speech expected by society.

Y. Ohta (1992) argues that masculinity or femininity is particularly displayed in inherent aspects of voice and prosody that will not disappear, even after the societal conditions that created gender difference in language use have been reduced (1992). The participants’ answer to a question as to the concepts of onnarashi-shii ‘womanly’ and kawaii-shii ‘endearing’ indicate that their notions of ‘womanly’ and ‘endearing’ are related more to the phonetic quality of the female speakers than to the content or other linguistic or nonlinguistic aspects. Thus, it could be assumed that the prosody as well as the voice quality and manner of speech with which ne occurs play an important role in people’s perceptions with respect to femininity.
CHAPTER 3

“JAPANESE WOMEN’S LANGUAGE” AND JAPANESE FEMININITIES

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the attention-getting ne of intimacy seems to be related to femininity. Sentence final particles, in which form the particle ne can also be used, have been thought to be a peculiar feature of “Japanese women’s language.” Therefore, it is critical to investigate the background of “Japanese women’s language” and femininity, as well as people's attitudes towards them. While “Japanese women’s language” has been widely considered to be “beautified,” recent studies have revealed that such a simplistic characterization is actually a fabrication. In accordance with the homogeneous category of “Japanese women’s language,” womanhood in Japan has traditionally been viewed as statically and normatively. On the other hand, some scholars have recently proposed different portrayals of women, including new notions of Japanese femininity that encompass both femininity and immaturity. It is this aspect that relates to the properties of attention-getting ne of intimacy. It has also been suggested that novel linguistic features that are not part of traditional “Japanese women’s language” have the potential to reveal women’s actual language use. In this chapter, therefore, the literature on “Japanese women’s language” and Japanese femininity is reviewed, in order to create a basis for understanding the underlying notions, which may have some relationship with the attention-getting ne of intimacy.

3.1 “Japanese women’s language” and multiple femininities

It is a common perception that there is a distinction between male and female speech in Japan. The so-called “Japanese women’s language” reflects women’s lower status in the traditional concept of femininity: For example, qualities such as being
“gentle, polite, soft, and non-assertive” as well as “subordinate and deferential attitudes” (Matsumoto, 1994, p. 456) indicate “femininity, powerlessness, and coquetry” (Okamoto & Sato, 1992, p. 487) and exhibit the status of “mature and self-effacing women” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 329). Horie (1994) explains that this lower status of women is a consequence of images and stereotypes of women, derived from the Buddhist belief concerning karma that holds that people who perpetrated misdeeds in a previous life will be reborn as women (p. 314). Horie (1994) observes the fact that in Thai, most women are unaware of the existence of women’s language. She argues that these unequal societal concepts are unconsciously deep-seated in women’s minds since childhood (p. 319).

This explanation seems relevant to the case of “Japanese women’s language” as well; as Inoue (2006) argues, it is this “culturally salient category” of “Japanese women’s language” that has created knowledge about how women should speak “in academia, the public sphere, mass culture, the government, Japanese pedagogy, and formal education” (p. 15). Inoue contends that such knowledge is produced in wide-ranging forms, such as reports and statements, to the effect that “women speak more politely than men” or “less logically,” or that “to say the same thing as men, women use such-and-such a final particle” (ibid., p. 13). This category that was defined as “Japanese women’s language” has thus come to portray softness, non-assertiveness, gentleness, and even “at the level of speech act … ‘being polite,’ which is accompanied with feminine behavior” (ibid., p. 14).

Since its emergence in the late nineteenth century, “Japanese women’s language” had become beautified (Kikuzawa, 1929 cited in Inoue, 2006; Mashimo, 1969); at the same time, societal expectations led men to critique women for deviating from the norms, as can be seen in an essay entitled “The Corruption of Language”53 (Inoue, 2006, p. 65). For example, Mashimo (1969) writes, “We cannot hope for contemporary Japanese women to be as witty and tactful as were those in the past, but, at least, I would like them to have a sincere and humble attitude and to preserve the cultural heritage passed down from the ancestors without destroying it” (p. 81, cited in Inoue, p. 3). Strongly criticized in the early twentieth century were the sentence-ending forms such as teyo and dawa

The fast manner of speech was also critiqued, with Tanahashi (1911) contending that, “Speech would sound more feminine and refined if one spoke gently with the ending slightly falling” (cited in Inoue, 2006, p. 62). The use of kango or words of Chinese origin by women was also condemned as sounding “manlike” and “impertinent,” as opposed to their counterpart of wago (words of native Japanese origin), which were considered to sound more “elegant and soft” (Inoue, p. 64). In the study of women’s language in the U.S., Lakoff (1972) contends that “a girl is damned if she does, damned if she doesn’t” (p. 6), and that “women experience linguistic discrimination in two ways: in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them” (p. 4). In line with Lakoff’s argument, Ide (1983) insists that “if a woman does not follow this kind of rule, she can be socially sanctioned as onna no kuseni ‘for a woman, [speak or behave] like a man’ or aitsu, onna janai ‘she is not a woman’” (p. 192). Ide concludes that this social practice generates and maintains ways of speech according to gender, which leads women to project themselves as stereotypical women, and similarly with men.

After the decades during which the “women’s language” cited by Meiji intellectuals came to be used by actual women, scholarly interest in “Japanese women’s language” reemerged in the 1960’s and 1970’s when Japan’s postwar modernization efforts bore fruit (Inoue, 2006). Following the ratification of the Law of Equal Employment Opportunity for Men and Women in 1986, Japanese women’s language was again lamented for being corrupted, where the complaints were now that “women’s language and men’s language have been mixing,” “women are now speaking like men, and men are now speaking like women,” and “women have recently come to speak roughly” (Inoue, p. 174). Inoue (2006) argues that “[t]he loss of femininity is inseparable from the loss of women’s language in the prevailing assumption” (p. 175) and notes the result of a public opinion poll conducted in 1985, in which 63.8% of those interviewed answered that women were losing their femininity, and 55.6% answered that it was due to women’s bad language. Inoue contends that this belief was derived from the premise that

54 The quote was translated from Japanese.
there was “originally” clear and systematic gender difference in language use.

While the distinctiveness and corruption of the so-called “Japanese women’s language” have been discussed and debated repeatedly over the years, recent studies have revealed the concept itself to be a social construct fabricated by men. This fabrication was based on the speech style of women in the white-collar middle and upper middle classes in Tokyo, and happened within the context of Japan’s modernization, when the country attempted to educate women into “good wives and wise mothers (ryoosai kenbo)” (Inoue, 1994 & 2006; Okamoto & Sato, 1992). Inoue (2006) argues that the particularly criticized sentence-ending forms, such as teyo and dawa, had in fact been considered as rather vulgar when they were first overheard by Meiji intellectuals, and until the end of nineteenth century, there was no association between femininity and softness. Supporting this fact, recent studies that observe actual practice of language use by women (Inoue, 2006; Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Raynolds, 1990) reveal that there is no empirically-tested single speech style that could be called “Japanese women’s speech” (Inoue, 1994), and actual women’s language is heterogeneous, as opposed to the commonly-believed notion of a homogeneous “Japanese women’s language” (Inoue, 1994 & 2006; Okamoto & Sato, 1992). Inoue adds, “women are much freer than previously depicted to use various linguistic resources to project different images, which themselves may not necessarily conform to the cultural moods of normative Japanese womanhood” (1994, p. 322).

The study of gender and language started by Lakoff (1974) had developed two approaches, the “difference approach,” which focused on difference in speech between men and women, and the “dominance approach,” which regarded the difference as due to male dominance; both approaches viewed such binaries statically (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Okamoto, 1995; Kogure, 2003). Recent studies, on the other hand, have called attention to “local linguistic practices and recognizing the multiplicity, continuity, ideologies, and historicity involved in the relation between language and gender” (Okamoto, 1995, p. 300). Okamoto & Sato (1992) argue that language chosen by women is “a means of constructing identity and relations,” which may demonstrate the change in the societal status of women (p. 487). Describing the heterogeneity of language spoken
by women, they insist that the categorization of female language in terms of gender cannot capture complex actual linguistic practice, and claim the necessity of considering social factors other than gender (Okamoto & Sato, 1992, p. 486). According to Okamoto (1995), the choice of variables depends on age, occupation, position, personality, family background, intimacy between interlocutors, and formality level.\(^{55}\) Norness (1994) argues that the strongly gendered sentence final particles lead speakers to choose them as a strategic linguistic device to display “refined-class” (Hubbard, 1994, p. 85, cited in Kogure, 2003, p. 23), or to present the image that the speaker is a “female member of the society” (Kitagawa, 1997, p. 290). Therefore, it is crucial to take social factors into account in order to reveal women’s language use from the perspectives of their agency.

While traditional femininity in Japan became conventionalized together with “Japanese women’s language,” recent studies on Japanese femininity have proposed new and alternative images of Japanese femininity, which are characterized by “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1992; Kinsella, 1995; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003) and “youthfulness” (Kajino & Podesva, 2007, para.1). Matsumoto (1992) discusses a television commercial of a brand of soy sauce called Kikkoman, where a wife, possibly in her late twenties, played by the actress Narumi Yasuda,\(^{56}\) uses a masculine form in speaking to her husband, which does not sound conspicuously feminine, but instead sounds childlike, indicating that she has not learned to use the mature “women’s language.” Matsumoto argues that “this new feminine image contrasts with the mature and gentle femininity of the Confucian ideal, replacing it with a modern youthful playmate ideal” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 327). She continues that the “new”  femininity is “equally subservient, one by virtue of acceptance of the adult female role, the other by virtue of acceptance of a perpetual child’s role” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, p. 329). The script of the television commercial taken from Matsumoto is shown below (bold in original).

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\(^{55}\) Okamoto & Sato (1992) note that stylistic change occurs after graduation from college and after marriage.

\(^{56}\) Narumi Yasuda was rated by men as the “most desirable cute wife figure.” (Amamo, 1995, cited in Matsumoto, 1992, p. 459).
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| **(34)** | **W:** | あー、お帰りー | (waving hand) | 早かった | ねー。
|   | Ah | welcome home |  were early | SFP |
| **H:** | 君、おねがいだから「何食べたい？」 | (in caption) | Kimi, onegai da kara 'nani tabetai?' | You (dear) request BE because what eat-VOL |
| **W:** | その前に、ちょっとだけキスして。 | that before a little only kiss-TE |
|   | Chotto dake, chotto dake. | a little only a little only |

Matsumoto also notes the childlike way of speech by the wife, such as the lengthening of the vowel *su-gu* ‘readily’ and the palatalization of the consonant [s] in the same word as

```
(pouting) су- г 何でも いいて ゆう ん だから。
(pouting) Su-gu, nandemo ii tte yuu n da kara
readily anything good QT say NOM BE because
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ねえ、何食べたい？何がいい？
Nee, nani tabetai? Nani ga ii?
IN what eat-VOL what S good

何でもいいは絶対だめだよ。
Nandemo ii wa zettai da me da yo. (smiling)
anything good T absolutely not good BE SFP
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Matsumoto also notes the childlike way of speech by the wife, such as the lengthening of the vowel *su-gu* ‘readily’ and the palatalization of the consonant [s] in the same word as
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Matsumoto (1992) also examines female fashion magazines and observes the expectation of language use by the media: masculine language was used in *Non-no* (intended for late teens to early twenties), while more polite distal language was used in *Lee* (intended for late twenties to early thirties). When closely looking at Matsumoto’s (1994) characterization of “childlike cuteness” femininity, represented by the wife in the soy sauce commercial, the expectation of the media and/or society is revealed. The image of a “modern youthful playmate ideal” (Matsumoto, 1992, p. 326) or “gamine-ish” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 329) may be understood as comprising the qualities that men expect of women in order to enjoy their company. The childlike immaturity, or some kind of clinginess attached to the wife’s speech, on the other hand, might also indicate an expectation of men, or society as a whole, that clinginess is something that can be appreciated by men, and that can be used as a strategic tool by women. In fact, the term *amae joozu*, or ‘being good at being dependent,’ has been mentioned in many female magazines and manner books as a key to being popular with men.⁵⁷ Being childlike might also be explained with the Confucian ideal, which is not only portrayed as being virtuous and obedient, but is also associated with the preservation of chastity. Fong (1997) discusses an opinion regarding “the ideal beautiful woman” in the eighteenth-century China, in which a male writer, Shi Zhenlin, writes that a friend of his “would cry bitterly for not having met an ideal woman, I on the other hand would cry bitterly for an ideal woman who has lost her purity (p. 273).”⁵⁸ Assuming that there is an ideology of the virtue of chastity in not only the traditional womanhood but also the womanhood in current Japan, the portrayals of Japanese new femininity as “childlike” or “youthfulness” may also seem to be connected with the virtue of chastity and may be a reflection of the ideology of chastity. This interpretation may also support the disapproval of such young girls as *Kogals* who are labeled as “unideal” by the society.

⁵⁸ This opinion was mentioned in Shi Zhenlin’s travelogue and diary, as his friend’s utterance (Fong, 1997).
Similarly, Kinsella (1995) describes the “cute culture” that has become widespread in Japan since the 1980’s and illustrates the phenomena of *kawaii* or “cute” in the areas of writing, the fancy goods industry, clothes, food, ideas, and with idols such as Seiko Matsuda, who achieved her popularity through behaving childishly (p. 235). Kinsella states that *kawaii* or “cute” essentially connotes “childlike”: “[I]t celebrates sweet, adorable, innocent, pure, simple, genuine, gentle, vulnerable, weak, and inexperienced social behavior and physical appearances” (ibid., p. 220). She argues that cute aesthetics is a style that is “infantile and delicate at the same time as being pretty” (Yamane, 1990, cited in Kinsella, 1995, p. 220), which also implies a sense of inability. She continues that the admiration of cuteness was derived from “the recovery of a childlike emotional and mental state” in which “people expressed genuine warm feelings and love for one another” (p. 240). She further describes the peculiarity of the cute culture by saying that people who behave as *burikko* ‘goody-two shoes’ do not regard themselves to be engaging in the cute culture. Kinsella explains that being “uncontrived and genuine” are ideals of the cute culture, which is the reason why those people hide their efforts to “look sweet” (p.240). The opinion towards cuteness was mostly negative, describing it as “juvenile, effeminate and tasteless, which interchanges concepts of the feminine, the tasteless, the infantile, and the popular” (Kinsella, p. 248). Yamane (1990) calls the cute culture “infantilisation,” and regards “infantile” as “feminine” (cited in Kinsella, 1995, p. 248). Kinsella continues that cuteness is exceedingly “artificial and stylized,” derived from adults (and children) projecting themselves as childlike. She cites Holland (1992) as saying “how children are often forced to behave ‘childlike’ according to adult expectations” (p. 16, ibid., p. 254). Likewise, Kinsella points out the desperate struggles by women to extend their youth and appearance (ibid., p. 244).

Hayashi (2002) examines the rhetoric in magazines, often created by men, and contends that they construct a vision of women as immature that deviates from adult norms, by placing readers in the inferior position, in order to control the consciousness of people.

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59 Kinsella mentions those terms in Japanese: *amai, airashii, mujaki, junsui, kantan, shoijiki, yasashii, kizutsukeyasui, kawaii*, and *mijuku* (p. 252).
Kajino & Podesva’s (2007) study focuses on the use of non-pronominal self-reference by women, and proposes “an alternative image” of Japanese women with a label of “youthfulness” (para. 1). Their findings show that women’s use of her first name to refer to herself (i.e. of non-pronominal self-reference rather than pronominal self-reference), indexes femininity, which “contrasts with polite Japanese ryosai kenbo ‘good wives and wise mothers’ femininity by connoting youthfulness” (ibid.). They argue that non-pronominal self-reference indexes “youthfulness,” in that it is used more often in childhood, and then decreases in proportion with maturity; this may be seen for instance in its use by the singer Ayumi Hamasaki. They also argue that the use of non-pronominal self-reference connotes “femininity,” and examine female characters in a popular animated cartoon, Sister Princess, discovering that six of the twelve characters who use non-pronominal self-reference are not only presented as more childish, but also as feminine ideals. The male-centered aspect of the use of non-pronominal self-reference is also supported in their recordings of three Japanese women, who used it when they were with their boyfriends or potential boyfriends.

Although they carry different labels, the “new” or “alternative” femininities, namely “childlike cuteness” and “youthfulness,” overlap to a great degree, even if they are conceptually not equivalent to each other. Both of them are contrasted with the traditional mature and gentle femininity, in light of portraying immaturity and male-centered femininity at the same time.

Another recent phenomenon in this vein in Japan also merits examination. According to Nomura (2005), there is a boom of “endearing women” (aisareru onna) in current Japan, represented by a female model, Ebi-tyan, in a fashion magazine, CanCan, who wears (frilly and fluffy) endearing clothes, takes endearing poses and uses endearing language. Of particular interest is the overwhelming popularity of “cute-type” office workers (kawaii-kei OL) over “dudette-type” (kakkoii-kei) and “cute-dudette-type”

(kakko-kawaii-kei) in the magazine (p. 123). “Endearing women” also seem to share the image of cute and immature femininities, while at the same time, their femininity seems to be related to the traditional image. In summing up the different figures of women portrayed in previous literature, there are a multiplicity of images, such as those of good wives and wise mothers, cute brikko ‘goody-two shoes,’ playful wives, “fantasy cute” or “youthful” girls, and endearing women, all of which have certain similarities, such as vulnerability and dependency, as well as differences, such as maturity and immaturity. The degree to which these images are similar and different is sometimes difficult to determine, however. As Japanese women’s language is heterogeneous, these images may seem to indicate the shifting notion of Japanese femininity, and may seem to indicate that “Japanese femininity” is not a single homogeneous notion, but rather a mix of multiple concepts.

Nomura (2006) also makes crucial points regarding women and marriage in current Japan. She argues that in current Japanese society, where the old and new values of marriage are simultaneously present, both men and women do not desire to continue with the old marriage style. On the other hand, they are not yet ready to face each other as independent, equal partners in the new marriage style. Rather, women expect their future husbands to provide financial support, but are no longer willing to take the role of a submissive wife and mother, instead wishing to maintain their independent lifestyle. In this context, Nomura cites a woman’s anxiety of the possibility of not being able to marry (though she has her own career), and points out that women’s attitudes thus are apt to favor the image of women who are “cute (kawaii),” “considerate (kigakiku),” and “obedient (sunaona),” all of which would be popular with men. Women aim to become “endearing women,” to be able to marry (p. 123). Although the average marriage age is becoming later and later and the rate of unmarried people is increasing, the ideal of “married women” apparently still exists.

The notion of infantilism described in Kinsella (1995) is also worth some consideration. Miwa (2002) argues that in the patriarchic Japanese society, where the fundamental societal structure remains the same as before no matter how much women
struggle, men do not prefer mature adult women. Since women also know the fact that it is more beneficial to be like girly-girls, they behave accordingly (p. 257).

As the “Japanese women’s language” may have been used as a strategic device to exhibit “refined-class” as mentioned earlier (Habburd, 1994, p. 85, cited in Kogure, 2003, p. 23), it could therefore be assumed that there are linguistic devices which are used by women in an attempt to project these femininities into current Japanese society. In light of the notion of “speaker’s identity” or “speaker’s agency,” where women strategically chose the linguistic variables they use, it is critical to examine the identity that they are trying to establish by using those variables, with respect to the societal ideology, including people’s attitudes towards “women’s language.” Smith (1992) claims that language and gender in Japan have been studied where the gender distinction is clear. For example, Miller’s (2004) study contrasts Kogals with the polite ideology of femininity, and argues that they are condemned by the media for striving for “female self-definition and autonomy” (p. 225). Miller contends that they have a potential to contribute to the weakening of the “patriarchal models of propriety used to evaluate and control women” (p. 241). On the other hand, Kajino & Podesva (2007) argue that studies to investigate new femininity are often centered around the “subversive use of ‘male’ linguistic forms” and contends that “ideologies of gender can be contested by using forms that are no less feminine than those against which they contrast” (para. 5). Studies on language and gender in Japan, too, have concentrated on gender-stereotypical variables such as the sentence particles wa, wa yo, and no ne, within the framework of traditional femininity. However, as Smith (1992) and Kajino & Podesva (2007) insist, assuming the multiple images of Japanese femininities, patterns that are not stereotypically marked by gender are more crucial. Here, variables such as the attention-getting ne of intimacy are potential features to investigate gender and language with respect to Japanese femininity.
CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIMENT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the main experiment of this study. In the initial pilot study, the hypothesis that the attention-getting ne of intimacy would have been perceived as onnarashii ‘womanly’ was not supported. The reason for this result could be assumed to be due to the term onnarashii ‘womanly’ used in the questionnaires, since it may connote some kind of normative sense regarding womanhood in Japan. Therefore, a preliminary questionnaire was distributed in order to investigate people’s association of personal traits with respect to femininities.

4.2 The preliminary questionnaire

In order to learn what kind of associations people make with respect to various personal traits, a preliminary questionnaire was created and given to six native speakers of Japanese in the U.S., including four males and two females between the ages of 22 and 38. They were asked 1) whether the personal traits were considered to be positive or negative when the person is female/male; 2) which traits can be associated with being “womanly (onnarashii),” “endearing (kawairashii),” “neutral,” “never womanly,” and “never endearing”; and 3) what it means to be “womanly” and “endearing.” The two terms for the categorization, “womanly (onnarashii)” and “endearing (kawairashii),” were considered to represent the traditional and new femininities, respectively. Matsumoto (1992) and Kinsella (1995) describe the cute culture and femininity with the term “cute (kawaii).” However, the English “cute” and the Japanese kawaii have different connotations. Moreover, in order to make a consistent pair with the term onnarashii
‘womanly,’ the suffix, -rashii, which indicates the representative quality of the adjectival to which it is attached, was added, creating the term kawairashii ‘endearing’ (or ‘cute’).

A total of nineteen personal traits were selected for making associations: ten personal traits (affectionate, fluent, gentle, likable, polite, self-centered, self-confident, stable, trustworthy, well-mannered) were selected based on personal traits used in matched-guise studies (Lambert, et al., 1960; 1965; 1966; Vogt & Furuta, 1996; Shinichiro Okamoto, 2001), and nine personal traits (a child who clings to her/his parents, childish, flirtatious, goody-two-shoes, intrusive, someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her, someone who projects herself or himself like a child, someone who takes too many liberties, reserved) were selected or created from impressions of “Japanese women’s language,” Japanese femininities, and the attention-getting ne of intimacy, as suggested in previous studies. From the nineteen personal traits, nine personal traits were selected for the experiment, the results of which are discussed in Chapter Five.

4.3 The present study

4.3.1 The matched-guise technique and social attitudes

In order to investigate people’s attitudes towards the speaker who uses the attention-getting ne of intimacy with respect to femininities, the matched-guise technique (Lambert, et al., 1960) was employed. The matched-guise technique was developed so as to “measure the certain aspects of the stereotyped or biased views that members of one social group hold of representative members of a contrasting group” (Lambert, et al., 1966, p. 305). This technique has been employed with contrasting languages, dialect variations, and accent variations (Lambert, et al., 1966). In the original studies by Lambert, et al. (1960, 1965 & 1966), participants were presented with taped recordings of bilingual people reading a same passage in one of their languages (French) and then, interspersed with some distracters, in their other language (English). The participants
were kept unaware of the purpose of the procedure and of the fact that they were actually listening to the same person reading the same passage twice in two different languages (Lambert, et al., 1965 & 1966). While or after listening to each recording, the participants were asked to rate the speaker’s personality traits, such as self-confidence, intelligence, entertainingness, and sociability. In some matched-guise studies, after the rating, participants were also asked to rate their preference among the traits; to complete sentences that examine the participants’ attitudes towards the people and their variable languages; to respond to questions as to whether they would befriend the speaker or accept her/him as a relative by marriage, etc. (Lambert, et al., 1960; Lambert, et al., 1965).

In the Japanese language, Vogt & Furuya (1996) employ the matched-guise technique to investigate attitudes by monolingual Japanese speakers who were studying English towards English-Japanese code-switching. Okamoto’s (2001) study also uses the technique to investigate people’s attitudes towards speakers of the Nagoya dialect.

Shortcomings of the technique have been pointed out by Lee (1971) and other scholars. Bourhis & Giles (1976) argue that providing only vocal cues is too limited to carry out meaningful evaluation; tape recordings of the same passage read in different languages or by different persons are repetitive, which may formulate an “evaluation set” (Giles, 1976, p. 13) and make judges focus more on the linguistic features (Lee, 1971); controlled speech contents lack a real life social context; and consideration lacks as to “whether people would behave differently to speakers with different speech styles” (Giles, 1976, p. 13). Created oral stimuli were also questioned as to their ability in eliciting significant results (Lee, 1971). Giles, Baker & Fielding’s (1975) study thus employed a face-to-face interaction using a person as a stimulus to see behavioral direction, and revealed that the standard variable was also given a higher rank as in other matched-guise studies (cited from Bourhis & Giles, 1976, p. 13). Recent studies have improved these methodological shortcomings, and spontaneous speech, digitally manipulated speech, or web-oriented surveys were implemented (Campbell-Kibler, 2005). As Lambert, et al. (1965) describes, the matched-guise technique reveals more “private emotional and
conceptual reactions” than standard measures of attitudes by questionnaires (p. 90). They also insist that being able to examine people’s reaction to a form of speech or a linguistic valuable which is not being affected by other factors is also an advantage of this method.

This thesis thus employs the matched-guise technique as a primary methodology to reveal people’s implicit attitudes. The matched-guise technique is useful in revealing varying evaluations of the personality that people make about the speaker, based particularly on the use of the attention-getting ne of intimacy. Moreover, since this technique is known to indicate people’s stereotypical views, it would also be useful in revealing people’s conceptions of personal traits that portray certain Japanese speech styles as “womanly” and “endearing.” In order to overcome the shortcomings pointed out above, the main experiment primarily used spontaneous audio utterances occurred in real social contexts as stimuli.

4.3.2 The research questions

Linguistic variation is viewed to correlate to varying social structures (Campbell-Kibler, 2007). Assuming that the attention-getting ne of intimacy correlates with a variety of social structures, the main study focuses on the following two areas: people’s attitudes towards the attention-getting ne of intimacy 1) with respect to Japanese femininity, and 2) with respect to the social attributes of the conversation, such as age, occupation, relationships of the interlocutor, situation, etc. The following research questions are investigated:

**Research Questions:**

1. What are the relationships between the traditional and new concepts of femininity?
2. Is the attention-getting ne of intimacy related to Japanese femininities? If so, is it related more to the traditional femininity or to the new concepts of femininity?
3. Is there any social and linguistic environment in which the attention-getting ne of intimacy is attributed to either or both of the femininities? In other words, do people’s evaluations differ depending on the social attributes of the conversation, including: a) the speaker’s perceived age and occupation, b) the perceived relationships between the interlocutors, c) the formality of the conversation, d) the listeners’ gender, age, occupation, and dialect, as well as the linguistic environment of the conversations?

The data from the matched-guise experiment and preliminary questionnaire were analyzed to respond to these research questions.

4.3.3 Stimuli conversation

The influence of reading style has been pointed out when using read stimuli in place of spontaneous speech for the matched-guise study (Lee, 1971, p. 410). Therefore, in this thesis, the stimuli conversations were primarily collected in naturally occurring conversations among native speakers of Japanese. As mentioned briefly in Chapter Two, conversations between native speaker(s) and the researcher were recorded with a digital recorder. A small recorder was set in between the interlocutors; however, no specific topic was given to the native speaker(s). They were told to have an informal conversation with the researcher (and the other participant) as they usually do. Eight conversation sessions were conducted with nine people, and each session lasted approximately an hour. The researcher used direct style predicates for all the conversations except for one case, where distal style was used. The styles used by the participant(s) were casual, careful, and a mixture of these two, depending on the relationship of the people with the researcher. The topics discussed were school life, past, future, work, love, etc.

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Although stimuli were primarily taken from the recorded naturally occurring conversations, due to the lack of samples in the spontaneous conversations, scripted stimuli were also read and recorded. The scripts for the read stimuli were taken from the recorded spontaneous conversations. The scripts were slightly modified for the purpose of clarity. In creating the read stimuli, native speakers of Japanese were recruited from among the researcher’s personal acquaintances.

The speakers for the stimuli were all females in their twenties and thirties. Some of them were students, and others were teachers. All had lived in the U.S., for a duration ranging from one to eight years. The stimuli were produced without any phonetically specific dialect markers except for two cases where the speakers displayed some phonetic features of the Kansai dialect in their voice. Using female speakers’ voices allowed for a more focused analysis of people’s attitudes towards femininities.

Seven short utterances that included attention-getting ne of intimacy were clipped from the naturally occurring conversations, and three read stimuli were created, which made ten stimuli in total. By using the software program, Praat, interjctional ne were removed to create two versions of the same stimuli, one with and another without the attention-getting ne of intimacy. Thus, there were a total of twenty matched guises based on ten stimuli. These are summarized in Table 4.1. Lee (1971) cites Tagiuri’s (1969) warning that “providing a social context substantially affects these judgments” and argues that features such as the frequency and duration of pauses, bad starts, voice quality, and content affect people’s perceptions (p. 411). Thus, care was taken not to change the original utterances other than the clipping of the interjctional particle ne. However, some supportive responses and laughing speech by the addressee(s) were erased, in order to reduce the possibility of participants’ perception being influenced by these extra factors. Some of these features could not be removed due to inherent difficulty in editing the recordings. In addition, in one stimulus, a response utterance by the addressee was clipped in order to connect the speaker’s two related utterances. Each stimulus was rather short, ranging from eight seconds to fifteen seconds. These lengths were considered to be sufficient to make judgments, as Entwisle (1970) suggests that “ten to fifteen seconds of
speech are sufficient to make reliable judgments of social status” (cited in Lee, 1971).

Table 4.1 shows the design of the stimuli conversations, factors considered for each conversation, and distribution to each subject group (Stimulus Set 1 & Stimulus Set 2). Seven of the ten stimuli (Utterances 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10) were clipped from naturally occurring conversations, in which one speaker appeared three times, and another speaker appeared twice. The remaining three stimuli (Utterances 3, 7, and 9) were read stimuli. Two of the stimuli (Utterance 5 and Utterance 8) included *ne* used for “attention-getting and facilitating (requesting agreement).” The “requesting agreement” *ne* was added because it has a different prosodic pattern from attention-getting *ne* of intimacy. Therefore, the full data set for the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy consists of the eight utterances (Utterances 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 10). The ten stimuli were presented in a fixed order to separate the two speakers who appeared more than once. The order of presentation is indicated in the second row in Table 4.1, under the heading of “utterance number” (i.e., U1, U2, etc.). All the speakers were women and all the situations of the conversations were informal, with the speakers mainly using direct style predicates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance No.</th>
<th>U1</th>
<th>U2</th>
<th>U3</th>
<th>U4</th>
<th>U5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Speaker 1</td>
<td>Speaker 2</td>
<td>Speaker 3</td>
<td>Speaker 4</td>
<td>Speaker 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function of ne</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>requesting agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of ne</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used phrases</td>
<td>atashi ne; ano ne</td>
<td>de ne; nanka ne; itsumo ne; erande ne</td>
<td>kedo ne; kedo ne</td>
<td>demo ne</td>
<td>nanka ne; okane ne; shigoto ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>Flat; Flat</td>
<td>Flat; Rising; Rising</td>
<td>Flat; Flat</td>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>Falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>15 seconds</td>
<td>11 seconds</td>
<td>8 seconds</td>
<td>9 seconds</td>
<td>8 seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus Set 1</td>
<td>+ne (with ne)</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus Set 2</td>
<td>-ne (without ne)</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance No.</th>
<th>U6</th>
<th>U7</th>
<th>U8</th>
<th>U9</th>
<th>U10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Speaker 1</td>
<td>Speaker 7</td>
<td>Speaker 2</td>
<td>Speaker 9</td>
<td>Speaker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function of ne</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>requesting agreement</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
<td>Attention-getting ne of intimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of ne</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used phrases</td>
<td>made ne; made ne</td>
<td>nanka ne; de ne; kooiu ne; omou n da kedo ne</td>
<td>teiu ne; shite ne; toka ne</td>
<td>demo ne</td>
<td>atashi ne; nanka ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>Rising; Rising</td>
<td>Rising; Rising</td>
<td>Flat; Rising</td>
<td>Falling</td>
<td>Rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>8 seconds</td>
<td>15 seconds</td>
<td>8 seconds</td>
<td>10 seconds</td>
<td>12 seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus Set 1</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus Set 2</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>+ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Structure of stimuli

62 Since two speakers appeared more than one, there are only Speakers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 and the Speaker
4.3.4 Listeners in the main experiment

Listeners were all native speakers of Japanese who lived in the U.S. The listeners were first solicited through the researcher’s personal acquaintances, whose connections spread out across the U.S., owing to the survey conducted on the World Wide Web. A total of sixty-three listeners participated, who were almost evenly distributed to each gender for the two guises (47.5% male and 52.5% female). Wherein the cases where the listeners stated that they recognized the stimuli voices, their responses were eliminated from the analysis, resulting in the actual listeners for each conversation to range from fifty-nine to sixty-three. The listeners were between 19 years old and 48 years old, with the average age of 33.6 years old. Half of the listeners were studying or researching in U.S. institutions of higher education. One forth were women who were not employed. Only a small number of company employees participated in this study. The percentage of the listeners’ occupation is shown in Table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Listeners’ occupation</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (all female)</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate students</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researchers</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company employees</td>
<td>8.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students</td>
<td>6.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctors</td>
<td>4.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Listeners’ occupations

numbers 6, 8, 10 do not exist.
The average length of stay in the U.S. among the listeners was 3.4 years, and 75% of the listeners had lived in the U.S. for less than 4 years. Their stay in the U.S. ranged from 1 month to 16 years. 75.2% of the listeners stated that they primarily used the Tokyo dialect, including dialects of the surrounding Kanto areas. 22.2% stated that they primarily used the Kansai dialect. 2.65% of the listeners were speakers of other dialects, such as Hokkaido, Tohoku, Hokuriku, Kyushu, and Okinawa. Therefore, only two variables, Kanto and Kansai dialects, were taken into account in the analysis. 85.3% of the listeners completed university education in Japan, while 13% of them left Japan after high school and 1.6% of them left Japan after junior high school. As for the frequency of using Japanese while living in the U.S., 49.3% of the listeners used Japanese almost all the time, 22.4% used it frequently, 18.9% used it about half of the time, and 9.4% used it occasionally.

In sum, a diverse population was used for the present study. The fact that all the native speakers for this study lived in the U.S. was not an intended design, but a methodological restriction. A listener provided an opinion that this study was to investigate how native speakers of Japanese who lived in the U.S. thought about “womanhood (onnarashisa)” in the U.S. Although this fact may not make any difference, it should be kept in mind that the listeners for this study were Japanese native speakers who lived in the U.S., who presumably had a certain purpose in choosing to live in the U.S. and not in Japan.

### 4.3.5 The experimental procedures

The experiment was conducted on the World Wide Web, and the link address to the experiment was provided to listeners via email. Listeners were automatically directed to either stimulus of the questionnaire by clicking the link. In the experiment, which was given in Japanese, the listeners were first asked a few demographic questions: gender, age, occupation, dialects, length of stay in the U.S., educational background in the Japanese
language, and frequency of using the Japanese language in the U.S. Then, the listeners were directed to listen to each conversation and answer questions. Listeners were asked to rely on their intuitions to answer the questions, but were allowed to listen to each stimuli conversation as many times as they wanted. It was also recommended that the listeners use headphones and listen to the conversations by themselves. In addition, they were instructed to base their answers solely on the conversation they were listening to, even if they encountered the same voices from conversation to conversation, because all the conversations are completely independent of each other. Prior to listening to each conversation, an ID and a password were required. The listeners were asked to make a guess as to 1) the speaker’s age and occupation; 2) the relationships between the speaker and the hearer; 3) the listener’s gender; 4) the formality of the conversation; to choose from a set of personal traits their 5) impressions of the speaker; 6) whether the speaker would be popular with men; and 7) whether the speaker would be popular with women. For question 5, the semantic differential scale format proposed by Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum (1957, cited in Vogt & Furuta, 1996) was used to elicit the degree to which the listeners agreed with the characterization of the speaker’s personality traits on a six-point scale. Listeners were also asked to write down any other thoughts that they had about the speaker at the end of the questions. Whether listeners recognized the speaker’s voice was also asked, in order to eliminate the possibility of evaluating familiar speakers’ voices, considering the rather small network of available native speakers of Japanese in the U.S.

4.4 Analysis

The data set consisted of three kinds of variables: independent variables, checkbox variables, and rating variables. The independent variables provided information about which conversation the listeners heard, including the presence of ne, and information about the listeners, such as gender, age, occupation, and dialect. The checkbox variables provided yes/no binomial choices for the listeners, regarding the age
of the speaker, the relationship between the speaker and the person with whom the speaker was talking, etc. The checkbox variables also included a written yes/no binary response from the listeners as to whether the speaker would be popular with men or whether the speaker would be popular with women. The rating variables indicated the listeners’ selection on a six-point interval level, regarding the degree to which the listeners agreed with the characterization of the speaker’s qualities, such as confidence and endearingness.

In order to begin analysis of the data set, variables were first recategorized according to the correlation of responses, such as the speaker’s perceived age group(s) as teens & early twenties. Factor analysis was also conducted for the nine personal qualities, which were divided into three factors as discussed in Chapter Five.

The data set was primarily analyzed using a mixed effects model, a regression model that allows setting not only fixed-effect terms to a dependent variable, but also random-effect terms to it. Fixed-effect terms are used for factors with repeatable levels, whereas random-effect terms are used for factors with randomly sampled levels that were selected from a larger population (Baayen, 2007, p.264). In the current analysis, factors such as the variable *ne* are treated as fixed-effect terms, whereas “listeners” were always treated as a random-effect term. In the cases where the number of conversations analyzed at one time was small, the variable “conversation” was also treated as a random-effect term. The order of presentation of the fixed (and random) predictors in the model is significant, that is, the effect of the first predictor is considered first, and its effect is taken away when the following predictor is analyzed. Therefore, the basic order was determined by the researcher: first came the variable of which conversation or speaker the listeners heard. The variable “conversation” was always presented first, considering the variation of each conversation and/or each speaker, which were assumed to have an influence on the listeners’ attitudes. Following it, the variable of *ne* was presented. Listeners’ information such as gender, age, occupation, and dialect followed the variable of *ne*. Checkbox variables, such as the speaker’s perceived age, their marital status, and the gender of the person to whom the speaker was talking, were also added when needed.
after the variables of net and the listeners’ information. Personal traits, the Factors created in the factor analysis, and popularity with men and women were also included in the analysis. In some cases, analysis was conducted from the two dimensions using the same model: that is, in order to ensure an effect on the dependent variable by an independent variable, the independent variable was set as the dependent variable and the dependent variable was set as the independent variable. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to investigate the significance of tested models.
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data set for this study consisted of the participants’ implicit attitudes towards attention-getting ne of intimacy and femininity, elicited with the matched-guise technique, and of the participants’ explicit attitudes towards being onnarashii ‘womanly’ and kawairashii ‘endearing,’ elicited with a questionnaire. The two kinds of data sets enabled a close examination of the participants’ attitudes towards attention-getting ne of intimacy and in relation to femininity.

5.1 People’s explicit attitudes

5.1.1 Categorization of personal traits in preliminary questionnaire

The respondents of the preliminary questionnaire were asked to make associations for nineteen personal traits. Table 5.1 shows the nine teen personal traits as well as the attitudes that the respondents expressed about each personal trait term. The (+) mark indicates that the respondents thought the personal traits to be positive and (-) mark indicates the negative attitudes. In general, the respondents provided the same evaluation of both cases where the personal traits described men and women. The personal traits, childish, seemed to be more negatively evaluated; however, the responses varied (shown as a (±) mark). For example, a female participant responded that if childish is used to describe a male it is positive, but if it is used to describe a female it is negative. On the other hand, a male participant responded that if childish is used to describe a female it is positive, but if it is used to describe a male it is negative. The two personal traits, someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her and a child who clings to
her/his parents, seemed to be positively evaluated if the person was a female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Original in Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affectionate</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>aijoo ni ahureteiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-centered</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>jikochuushin-teki de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>ochitsuiteiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-mannered</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>joohin de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childish</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>kodomoppoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likable</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>kookan ga moteru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goody-two-shoes</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>burikko de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>shinrai ga okeru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flirtatious</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>kobi o hukundeiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>teinei de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-confident</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>jibun ni jishin ga aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A child who clings to her/his parents</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>amaenboo de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who takes too many liberties</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>narenareshii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>mamotte agetakunaru yoona hito de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrusive</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>oshitsukegamashii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>hanashikata ga nameraka de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>hikaeme de aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who projects herself or himself like a child</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>kodomopppoku hurumatteiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>yasashii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Attitudes towards the nineteen personal traits used in the preliminary questionnaire (in the order of presentation)

Table 5.2 shows the result of the respondents’ categorization of the nineteen personal traits. The number in parenthesis after each trait shows how many respondents associated that trait with the category of femininity. Higher the value, the close the category is considered to the concept. Although the number of participants was small, it could be assumed that the results portray certain associations related to feminine personal traits. With the category of “womanly (onnarashii),” traits of the traditional femininity were associated, whereas with the category of “endearing (kawairashii),” traits of new femininities were associated. Thus, this result suggests that the respondents had different
images towards the traditional and new femininities.

Among the personal traits, nine traits were selected for use in the main experiment for this study. Primarily, personal traits that had frequent responses and did not overlap with other categories were considered to be peculiar to the specific category. Therefore, for example, although the trait, *gentle*, was the most frequently associated trait with “womanly,” since *gentle* was also associated with “endearing,” it was not selected as peculiar to the category “womanly.” As a result, for “womanly” traits, *polite* and *well-mannered*, as well as *womanly* itself, were selected. For “endearing” traits, *someone who projects himself or herself like a child* and *a child who clings to his/her parents*, as well as *endearing* itself, were selected. The two traits, namely, *trustworthy* and *self-confident* were also selected, which had an overlap and were considered to convey “neutral,” “never womanly,” and/or “never endearing” Qualities. Since the personal traits, *someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her*, was associated with both “womanly” and “endearing,” and this quality seemed to be an indispensable aspect of femininity in Japan, it was also selected. The traits selected for the main experience are shown in boldface in Table 5.2 and summarized in Table 5.3:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“womanly” (onnarashii)</th>
<th>“endearing” (kawairashii)</th>
<th>“neutral”</th>
<th>“never womanly”</th>
<th>“never endearing”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gentle(5)</td>
<td>Trustworthy(5)</td>
<td>Self-confident(2)</td>
<td>Self-centered(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-mannered(4)</td>
<td>Stable(4)</td>
<td>Self-confident(2)</td>
<td>Flirtatious(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite(4)</td>
<td>Articulate(3)</td>
<td>Goody-two-shoes(1)</td>
<td>Intrusive(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved(4)</td>
<td>Self-confident(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gentle(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectionate(4)</td>
<td>Affectionate(2)</td>
<td>Goody-two-shoes(1)</td>
<td>Goody-two-shoes(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her(3)</td>
<td>Flirtatious(2)</td>
<td>Likable(2)</td>
<td>Likable(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articulate(3)</td>
<td>Stable(2)</td>
<td>Polite(2)</td>
<td>Someone who takes too many liberties(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flirtatious(2)</td>
<td>Well-mannered(2)</td>
<td>Reserved(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable(2)</td>
<td>Intrusive(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Results of the respondents’ categorization of the nineteen personal traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“womanly” (onnarashii)</th>
<th>“endearing” (kawairashii)</th>
<th>“neutral” and/or “never womanly” and/or “never endearing”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>womanly</td>
<td>endearing</td>
<td>trustworthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td>projecting</td>
<td>self-confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-mannered</td>
<td>clingy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Categorization of the nine personal traits selected in the preliminary questionnaire
5.1.2 People’s attitudes towards onnarashii ‘womanly’ and kawairashii ‘endearing’

Both in the preliminary and the main experiment, the participants’ opinions regarding what they thought “womanly (onnarashii)” and “endearing (kawairashii)” meant were solicited, in order to acknowledge people’s explicit ideology towards those concepts.63 A total of sixty-nine people’s opinions were collected as a result of the open question and they were coded. Although the question asked about people’s general thoughts, many people provided their thoughts in terms of ways of speech, perhaps because the main experiment used audio stimuli. Thus, broadly, three categories were found in people’s statements: that is, ways of speech, appearance of women, and behavior and/or images of “womanly (onnarashii)” and “endearing (kawairashii).” Frequently observed answers are listed in Table 5.4.

In the category related to ways of speech, the participants defined characteristics of “womanly” as “to speak softly and gently,” “to speak slowly” and “to use proper language.” The most frequent responses towards “endearing” in terms of ways of speech were “high pitch” and “quality of voice (sweet or childish, etc.).” Since “speaking slowly,” “quality of voice,” and “high pitch” were associated with both “womanly” and “endearing,” it could be assumed that these phonetic aspects had an impact on the listeners’ perceptions in the main experiment. Although not many, there were statements that relate to “sentence-endings (gobi)”: for “womanly,” “soft and smooth endings” (3 responses), and for “endearing,” “slightly raised sentence-endings” (1 response) and “prolonged sentence-endings” (1 response). It is not certain whether or not they made an association between attention-getting ne of intimacy and the “sentence-endings” they mentioned. With the prominent intonation contour, however, the sentence-endings used in the stimuli utterances, including attention-getting ne of intimacy, may seem to have had some impact on the listeners’ perceptions.

63 The participants’ information was described in detail in Section 4.3.4 in Chapter Four.
When it comes to appearance, “womanly” meant to be “elegant.” On the other hand, such features as “young,” “younger,” or “look younger or baby-face,” and “pretty” were associated with “endearing.” Therefore, “womanly” and “endearing” may be associated with certain age groups.

Different thoughts between “womanly” and “endearing” were obtained in terms of behavior and/or images as well. The most frequent opinions on being “womanly” were “considerate” and “well-mannered,” followed by such qualities as “reserved,” “gentle,” “polite,” and “soft and mild.” On the other hand, the most frequent opinions on being “endearing” were “immature (osanai),” followed by “innocent,” “making you feel like
you want to protect her,” “vulnerable,” “cheerful,” “agreeable” and “obedient and tame (sunao).” The quality “vulnerable” was also associated with “womanly,” while the qualities “reserved” and “gentle” were also associated with “endearing.”

Another interesting opinion mentioned was that “womanly” was represented by someone like mothers or proprietresses (ryokan no okami), who were well-organized (tekipaki shiteiru). A couple of participants thought that being “womanly” was necessary in order to be popular with men. On the other hand, some people considered “endearing” to refer mostly to appearance and gestures. In addition, the image of “endearing” was expressed as “fluffy (fiwafuwa)” or “fuzzy (honwaka),” which were believed to be associated with anyone, not only females. This finding is in line with Kinsella’s (1995) analysis that her respondents employed the term, kawaii, “when they felt that warm emotional contact between individuals,” which “tended to come from inside individuals where it was normally hidden” (p. 238, italics in original), which she regards as a type of “nostalgia” (p. 241) and “moratorium mentality” (p. 244) longed for by Japanese people. A participant also commented that “endearing” might be a condition for being popular not only with men, but also with women of motherly instinct.

The result indicates that in people’s ideology, qualities of the traditional image of mature women were associated with the concept of “womanly (onnarashii),” while qualities of immature “childlike cuteness” or “youthfulness” and more visual images of women were associated with the concept of “endearing (kawairashii),” which is in line with previous studies, mentioned in Chapter Three. Although the binary categorization of onnarashii ‘womanly’ versus kawairashii ‘endearing’ presented to the participants in advance might have had a priming effect on their perceptions, and thus created dichotomous perceptions, it could be assumed that the participants had distinct ideologies towards the two kinds of femininities.
5.2 People’s implicit attitudes

5.2.1 Categorization of factor analysis: The three womanhoods

People’s explicit association of personal traits with femininity can be compared with their implicit attitudes by eliciting their underlying attitudes towards those personal traits. Thus, the nine salient personal traits selected in the preliminary questionnaire were used in the main experiment, and using the data from the main experiment, the listeners’ implicit attitudes towards the qualities were investigated by factor analysis. Factor analysis investigates the latent relationship among qualities (factors) by using the ratings that the listeners’ actually provided for each quality. Because it is not the listeners’ explicit association, but an assumption elicited based on the listeners’ actual responses, factor analysis is expected to reveal people’s underlying reactions or latent association. In the factor analysis, the number of factors is determined by the analyst. It was set to three in this study, because a third factor to which certain femininity characteristics applied emerged.

Table 5.5 indicates the result of the factor analysis for the data set of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy (with eight utterances). It illustrates the three factors listed from the highest proportion variance (Factor 1 to Factor 3), and the loadings of each quality associated with the Factors. The loadings ranged between +1 and -1, and the closer the loadings were to the absolute value 1, the closer (positive or negative) relationship the quality had with the factor with which it was associated. Qualities that were loaded more than ±0.40 were regarded to be correlated with each Factor (Iwabuchi et al., 1997).

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64 Although the participants of the preliminary questionnaire and main experiment were different, since the result of the preliminary questionnaire was fairly consistent, the comparison was considered to be meaningful.
The nine qualities in factor analysis were associated differently with one another, compared with the association made in the preliminary questionnaire, in which only two categories were considered. As shown in Table 5.5, Factor One was associated with *polite*, *well-mannered*, *trustworthy* and *womanly*, whereas Factor Two was associated with *endearing*, *protective*, and *womanly*. On the other hand, Factor Three was associated with *clingy* and *projecting childishness*. Of particular interest is that the quality *womanly* was loaded onto both Factor One and Factor Two with similar loadings (0.485 in Factor One and 0.486 in Factor Two).\footnote{When the number of factors was set as four, the quality *confident* was loaded onto Factor four with a loading of 0.983. *Womanly* did not show enough association with Factor four.} Although there was a case where *womanly* was not associated with Factor One in the factor analysis using two factors, *womanly* was considered to be associated with both Factor One and Factor Two in the three-factor analysis.\footnote{The mean ratings of Factor one and Factor two without *womanly* traits showed the same pattern as the mean ratings of them with *womanly* traits.} In the factor analysis, *womanly* (*onninarashii*) was associated not only with qualities of traditional femininity, but also with the qualities of *endearing* (*kawairashii*) and *protective* (*mamotteagatunaru*), which appear to be qualities of such femininity as “childlike cuteness,” as proposed in Matsumoto (1994). Interestingly, the two qualities, *projecting childishness* and *clingy*, which were related with “endearing (*kawairashii*)” in the respondents’ explicit association in the preliminary questionnaire, and which also appear to be qualities of “childlike cuteness,” were distinguished from *endearing* to...
create another category in the factor analysis, with which *womanly* was minimally associated (0.239).\(^6\)

The three factors were labeled according to the most associated personal traits: Factor One was labeled as “polite womanhood,” Factor Two was labeled as “endearing womanhood,” and Factor Three was labeled as “clingy womanhood.”

### 5.2.2 The three womanhoods and the speakers’ perceived age

In the experiment, listeners were asked to select as many age group(s) in which they thought the speakers belonged, from the age groups of teens, early twenties, late twenties, early thirties, late thirties, and over forty. Some listeners selected one age group, whereas others selected two or three consecutive age groups. For example, a listener may have perceived that the speaker, whose voice they heard, sounded like she was possibly in her teens or in her early twenties. Then the listener could choose the two age categories, “teens” and “early twenties.” The listeners’ selection pattern was then examined, and according to the response rates of their selections, listeners who selected both of two consecutive age categories were grouped together, which, in turn, created three concatenated age groups, teens & early twenties, early twenties & late twenties, and late twenties & early thirties, in addition to the five existing age groups. Table 5.6 shows the mean ratings of the three womanhoods, broken down by the speakers’ perceived age group(s). It indicates where the peak of the mean rating of each womanhood type is located (in boldface).

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\(^6\) Another difference in the two associations was that in the preliminary questionnaire, *trustworthy* was associated with neither “womanly” nor “endearing,” but was thought to be a “neutral” quality by five of six participants, and to be a “never endearing” quality by one participant. Contrary to the non-association of *trustworthy* in the preliminary questionnaire, in the factor analysis, *trustworthy* was considered to be a quality associated with qualities of traditional femininity. This difference may arise from the difference in the experimental procedure between the preliminary questionnaire and the factor analysis. In the participants’ abstract thoughts in the preliminary questionnaire, *trustworthy* was considered to be “neutral,” whereas in the factor analysis, because the listeners’ perceptions were based on female voices they heard, *trustworthy* was understood within the dimension of female qualities, which could have led the participants to associate it with other “womanly” qualities.
As shown in Table 5.6, the peak of the mean rating of *polite womanhood* is in the speakers’ late twenties, while it is in their early twenties for *endearing womanhood*. 

_Clingy womanhood_ was associated with the speakers in their teens and early twenties. This result was also supported statistically: Being in one’s teens and early twenties was significantly thought to project a higher degree of _clingy womanhood_ than not being in those age groups (p=0.0025). This result suggests that _clingy womanhood_ is exhibited in women who are younger than those women associated with _polite_ and _endearing womanhoods_.

### 5.2.3 Reactions to guises

This section presents the results of the listeners’ reactions towards the two guises, the with-*ne* guise and the without-*ne* guise.

---

68 The mean rating of _endearing womanhood_ in the age category of early twenties and late twenties shows a rapid decrease making a M-shape distribution, for which no plausible reason can be found.
### 5.2.3.1 The speaker’s perceived age

As described above, listeners were asked to select as many age group(s) in which they thought the speakers belonged, from the age groups of teens, early twenties, late twenties, early thirties, late thirties, and over forty. Table 5.7 shows the percentages of the listeners’ checkbox selections for the speakers’ age, broken down by the guises. There were not enough selections for the “over forty” age category. Thus, it was eliminated from the analysis. No statistic significance between the two guises was obtained in terms of the listeners’ perceptions of the speakers’ age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>without-<strong>ne</strong> guise</th>
<th>with-<strong>ne</strong> guise</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in their 10’s</td>
<td>27.3% (67)</td>
<td>28.5% (70)</td>
<td>0.8666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in their early 20’s</td>
<td>49.8% (122)</td>
<td>52.4% (129)</td>
<td>0.620019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in their late 20’s</td>
<td>38.8% (95)</td>
<td>36.6% (90)</td>
<td>0.628929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in their early 30’s</td>
<td>20.0% (49)</td>
<td>16.3% (40)</td>
<td>0.34842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in their late 30’s</td>
<td>0.57% (14)</td>
<td>0.65% (16)</td>
<td>0.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(## of observations)</td>
<td>(246)</td>
<td>(245)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7: Listeners’ selections of speakers’ age, by guise

### 5.2.3.2 The speaker’s perceived status

Listeners were also asked to judge the speakers’ status, that is, whether or not the speakers were married, and if they were students, teachers, young employees, or senior employees. Table 5.8 indicates the percentages of the listeners’ checkbox selections for the speakers’ status. There were not enough selections for “teachers” and “senior employees.” Thus, these categories were eliminated from the analysis. No statistic

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69 The total number of observations for the with-**ne** guise was 245, and for the without-**ne** guise was 246. The difference in numbers of observations arises from the elimination of responses from those listeners who claimed to recognize the speakers of the stimuli.
significance was obtained between the two guises in light of the listeners’ perceptions of the speakers as being married, students, or young employees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>without-<strong>ne</strong> guise</th>
<th>with-<strong>ne</strong> guise</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>0.7% (16)</td>
<td>0.6% (15)</td>
<td>0.8685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student</td>
<td>35.9% (88)</td>
<td>29.7% (73)</td>
<td>0.0858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young employee</td>
<td>1.4% (35)</td>
<td>1.4% (35)</td>
<td>0.9637</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8: Listeners’ selections of speakers’ status, by guise

5.2.3.3 The relationship between the speaker and the person to whom the speaker is talking

The listeners were asked about the relationship between the speaker and the person to whom the speaker is talking (the hearer) with the following eleven checkboxes: speaker-parent, speaker-child, siblings, friends, “not friends, but they are rather familiar with each other,” “acquaintances that seem to have a good relationship with each other,” “not so friendly,” speaker-older, hearer-older, speaker in a higher status, and hearer in a higher status. Table 5.9 shows the percentages of the listeners’ selections of these checkboxes. There were not enough selections for the category, “hearer in a higher status.” Thus, it was eliminated from the analysis. As shown in boldface in Table 5.9, the relationship as siblings showed a significance (p=0.0447).
Table 5.9: Listeners’ selections of relationship between the interlocutors, by guise
(* for significance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with-out-\textbf{ne} guise</th>
<th>with-\textbf{ne} guise</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speaker-child</td>
<td>0.5% (13)</td>
<td>0.8% (19)</td>
<td>0.2472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>0.8% (19)</td>
<td>1.3% (31)</td>
<td>\textbf{0.0447}*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td>58.4% (143)</td>
<td>61.4% (151)</td>
<td>0.4140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“not friends, but familiar”</td>
<td>28.2% (69)</td>
<td>28.0% (69)</td>
<td>0.951389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acquaintances</td>
<td>35.1% (86)</td>
<td>35.8% (88)</td>
<td>0.861502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not so friendly</td>
<td>0.8% (19)</td>
<td>0.4% (11)</td>
<td>0.142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker–older</td>
<td>12.7% (31)</td>
<td>13.8% (34)</td>
<td>0.556981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearer–older</td>
<td>9.0% (22)</td>
<td>9.3% (23)</td>
<td>0.9171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker–higher in status</td>
<td>2.9% (31)</td>
<td>3.7% (34)</td>
<td>0.583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result indicate that the listeners thought the interlocutors were siblings more often when \textbf{ne} was present than when it was absent. As mentioned later, 80.6% of the listeners thought that the speakers were talking to women, and 18.9% of the listeners thought that the speakers were talking to men. Therefore, the term “siblings” as used here most likely denotes sisters. Other than the category “siblings,” no statistic significance was obtained between the two guises.

5.2.3.4 The gender of the person that the speaker is talking

Table 5.10 shows the listeners’ selections as to whether or not the person(s) that the speakers are talking to are men or women (or unidentifiable from the utterances). As the table indicates, no significant difference in the listeners’ perceptions on the gender of the hearer was obtained between the two guises:

98
This suggests that the presence or absence of the attention-getting ne of intimacy was not associated with the gender of the listener.

### 5.2.3.5 The formality of the situation

Listeners were also asked to rate the formality of the situation on a six-point scale, with one indicating “most informal” and six indicating “most formal.” As Table 5.11 shows, the presence of ne did not significantly affect the listeners’ perceptions towards the formality of the situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>without-ne guise</th>
<th>with-ne guise</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>formality ratings (1-6)</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>0.5459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11: Mean ratings of formality, by guise
5.2.3.6  The speaker’s impressions

Table 5.12 shows the listeners’ ratings of the speakers’ personal traits on a six-point scale, six indicating “I strongly agree” and one indicating “I strongly disagree.” As the table shows, there was no significant difference in the listeners’ perceptions of the speakers’ personality in the two guises:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>without-Ne guise</th>
<th>with-Ne guise</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>0.8267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-mannered</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.8052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trustworthy</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.6183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>womanly</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.4326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endearing</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>0.9633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protective</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>0.7680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clingy</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>0.3236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>projecting childishness</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>0.8597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Mean ratings of personal traits, by guise

As described earlier, the nine personal traits used in the main experiment were divided into the three groups, namely, polite womanhood (polite, well-mannered, trustworthy, and womanly), endearing womanhood (endearing, protective, and womanly), and clingy womanhood (clingy and projecting childishness). Table 5.13 indicates the aggregate mean rating of the qualities in each type of womanhood by the two guises. As the table shows, the two guises did not show any significant differences in the listeners’ perceptions towards the three womanhoods.
These results indicate that there was remarkable similarity between the two guises in how the speaker was perceived in terms of various femininity qualities. The guise with the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy was not associated with the femininity qualities any more than the guise without the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy.

### 5.2.3.7 Being popular with men and women

Table 5.14 indicates the listeners’ selections as to whether the speakers would be popular with men and women. The results show that the presence of *ne* did not have a significant impact on the listeners’ perceptions in terms of the speakers being popular with men and women:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>without-<em>ne</em> guise</th>
<th>with-<em>ne</em> guise</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>significance (p-values)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not popular with men</td>
<td>47.8% (117)</td>
<td>49.6% (122)</td>
<td>46.6% (229)</td>
<td>0.495216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popular with men</td>
<td>52.2% (128)</td>
<td>50.4% (124)</td>
<td>51.3% (252)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not popular with women</td>
<td>46.5% (114)</td>
<td>41.9% (103)</td>
<td>44.2% (217)</td>
<td>0.17743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popular with women</td>
<td>53.5% (131)</td>
<td>58.1% (143)</td>
<td>55.8% (274)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(# of observations)</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>491</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.14: Listeners’ selections of popularity with men and women, by guise
5.2.4 Varying social meanings

Previous literature on gender and language, as well as people’s perceptions, suggest that various social factors are intertwined in determining the social meaning of linguistic variables (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Campbell-Kiber, 2003; Okamoto, 2001). Therefore, in the following sections, various social factors are taken into account in combination in investigating the use of the attention-getting ne of intimacy in relation to femininity.

5.2.4.1 Siblings (sisters) and clingy womanhood

In the matched-guise experiment, the listeners were more likely to believe that the relationship between the speaker and the person(s) to whom she was talking was her siblings (sisters) when ne was present than when ne was absent. The relationship as “siblings” also seems to be related to the listeners’ perceptions towards attention-getting ne of intimacy and femininity. The results of cross analysis indicate that their relationship as siblings had a correlation with the presence of ne (p=0.0540), with the speaker’s age in their early twenties (p=0.0160), and with clingy womanhood (p=0.0131). Tables 5.15 and 5.16 indicate listeners’ checkbox selections of “siblings” and “early twenties” in the with-ne guise and the without-ne guise, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not early 20’s</th>
<th>in early 20’s</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not siblings</td>
<td>92.3%(108)</td>
<td>82.9%(107)</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>7.7%(9)</td>
<td>17.1%(22)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Independent effects: ne p=0.0540; the speaker’s age in their early 20’s p=0.0160; clingy womanhood p=0.0131; bold for significance)

Table 5.15: Listeners’ selections of “siblings” and “in early 20’s”: With-ne guise
As the tables show, overall, when the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy was present, the listeners made more associations (17.1%) between the speakers being in their early twenties and the person to whom the speaker was talking as being her sibling(s) than when *ne* was absent (13.1%). This result may also mean that the effects of “siblings,” “in their early twenties,” and “clingy womanhood” were combined. As Table 5.17 indicates, when the listeners thought that the speaker and the person that the speaker was talking to were siblings, and when they thought the speaker to be in her early twenties, the mean rating of *endearing womanhood* was the highest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not early 20's</th>
<th>in early 20’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not siblings</td>
<td>97.6%(120)</td>
<td>86.9%(106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>2.4%(3)</td>
<td>13.1%(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.16: Listeners’ selections of “siblings” and “in early 20’s”: Without *ne*-guise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not in early 20’s</th>
<th>in early 20’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not siblings</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td><strong>3.66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.17: Mean ratings of *clingy womanhood*
5.2.4.2 Ne and endearing womanhood in male listeners’ perceptions

The listeners’ gender had an impact on the relationship between endearing womanhood, being popular with men, and attention-getting ne of intimacy (p=0.0128).\textsuperscript{70} Table 5.18 shows that the popularity rates of the speakers with men by both male and female listeners were higher in the with-ne guise than in the without-ne guise, except for one case where the male listeners thought the speakers not to be popular with men. Furthermore, the male listeners who believed the speakers to be popular with men rated the speakers’ degree of endearing womanhood higher (3.90) than female listeners (3.73). In the without-ne guise, listeners’ attitudes seemed not to be dependent on the gender of the listeners.\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& female listeners & male listeners \\
\hline
& none & ne & none & ne \\
not popular with men & 2.69 & 2.70 & 2.72 & 2.67 \\
popular with men & 3.60 & 3.73 & 3.72 & 3.90 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Mean ratings of endearing womanhood, by listeners’ gender, ne, and popularity with men}
\end{table}

An examination of the relationship between popularity with men and endearing womanhood with respect to the listeners’ gender also reveals the same significance—that male listeners thought the speakers project a greater degree of endearing womanhood when they thought the speakers to be popular with men than female listeners did (p=0.0137), as shown in Table 5.19. Therefore, the two results seem to suggest the effects

\textsuperscript{70} This is the result when the dependent variable was set as “popularity with men.” When the dependent variable was set as endearing womanhood, the result did not show the significance, and the interaction among the listeners’ gender, attention-getting ne, and popularity with men did not have a significant impact on the listeners’ perceptions of the degree of endearing womanhood. Therefore, this result could be assumed to indicate a trend.

\textsuperscript{71} By analyzing using the data set for only the male listeners, the same correlation was obtained (p=0.0207), whereas no significance was obtained by analyzing using the data set for only the female listeners.
of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy on the male listeners’ perceptions towards the speakers’ popularity with men and *endearing womanhood*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not popular with men</td>
<td>popular with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>endearing womanhood</em></td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(interaction of the listeners’ gender and *endearing womanhood* *p*=0.00137; boldface for significance)

Table 5.19: Mean ratings of *endearing womanhood*, by listeners’ gender and popularity with men

The mean ratings for *clingy womanhood* indicated a similar tendency to the case of *endearing womanhood*; however, no significance was found. The mean ratings of *polite womanhood* overall appeared not to display much difference in terms of the listeners’ gender. No significant difference was found in the two guises in light of being popular with women.

5.2.4.3 **A case of with-ne guise being more popular with women: demo ne**

Utterances 4 and 9 were analyzed together, in that they used the same linguistic variable with *ne*, *demo ne* (‘but, you know…’), and that the speakers talked with a not very obvious, but distinctive Kansai dialect. As described above, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy may seem to exaggerate the connection between being popular with men and *endearing womanhood* in male listeners’ perceptions. On the other hand, in Utterances 4 and 9, being popular with women showed a correlation with the presence of *ne* in the female listeners’ perceptions (*p*=0.01453).

Table 5.20 shows that 84.8% of the female listeners thought the speakers were more popular with women when *ne* was present than when *ne* was absent in Utterances 4 and 9. On the other hand, the male listeners’ responses were the same for the two guises.
Moreover, as Table 5.21 indicates, the listeners overall thought the with-ne guise to project more *endearing womanhood* than the without-ne guise in those utterances \((p=0.0275)\). Although the mean rating of the with-ne guise by the female listeners is higher than that by the male listeners, no significance was obtained in terms of the listeners’ gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>female listeners</th>
<th>male listeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popularity with women</td>
<td>51.5% (17)</td>
<td><strong>84.8% (28)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\((p=0.01453; \text{boldface for significance})\)

Table 5.20: Listeners’ selections of popularity with women, by listeners’ gender and ne in Utterances 4 and 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>female listeners</th>
<th>male listeners</th>
<th>mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td><strong>3.22</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td><strong>3.48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\((p=0.0275; \text{boldface for significance})\)

Table 5.21: Mean ratings of *endearing womanhood*, by listeners’ gender and ne in Utterances 4 and 9

### 5.3 Discussion

#### 5.3.1 The three womanhoods

An investigation of both the participants’ implicit and explicit attitudes towards female qualities enabled an understanding of the relationship between the traditional and new images of femininity. The different associations of the female qualities in the participants’ implicit and explicit thoughts suggest that if there are merely two categories
of womanhood, onnarashii ‘womanly’ and kawairashii ‘endearing,’ then the qualities that portray childishness are associated with the category “endearing.” Therefore, in response to Research Question #1 (What are the relationships between the traditional and new concepts of femininity?), I propose a three-way categorization on the basis of factor analysis, namely, polite womanhood, endearing womanhood, and clingy womanhood. This means that the “endearing” qualities in the two-way analysis are further divided into endearing womanhood and clingy womanhood. The participants in general positively evaluated the qualities associated with polite womanhood and endearing womanhood. Therefore, clingy womanhood stood out as a factor according to the degree of childishness and perhaps the negativity it may connote.

The two terms that were associated with clingy womanhood were amaenboo ‘clingy’ and kodomoppoku furumatteiru ‘projecting childishness.’ The participants were more likely to believe that they connoted positivity if they were used to describe women. On the other hand, the two terms also seem to imply some kind of negativity from the viewpoint of “infantilism” in Japan (Doi, 1973; Kinsella, 2005). A listener also provided an opinion that “ways of speaking that project slight childishness and innocence are ‘endearing,’ but if it is too much, it provides adverse effects.”

This may indicate that there is a certain degree of “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1994) of the female speakers towards which the listeners felt or did not feel endearing feelings, which could have created the three categorization of femininity in the listeners’ underlying reactions. To sum up, the third femininity, clingy womanhood, could be assumed to connote both positive and negative senses. The proposed femininities, “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1994) and “youthfulness” (Kajino & Podesva, 2007), could be assumed to be associated with both endearing womanhood and clingy womanhood.

The notion of womanhood in Japan also seems to be the reason for the three categorizations. Some listeners stated that the notion of onnarashisa ‘womanhood’ is normative in Japanese society, whereas kawairashii ‘endearing’ is a more private expression and evaluation. Therefore, the participants may have reacted to the term onnarashii ‘womanly’ used in the preliminary questionnaire and the main experiment.

72 This quote is a translation from Japanese.
from their normative sense. Contrary to this, they may have reacted more privately and casually to other terms of qualities, such as *kawairashii* ‘endearing’ and *mamotteagetakunaru* ‘protective.’ It may also be the case that the participants’ reaction to the terms of qualities was produced in relation to the normative or “public” belief of *onnarashisa* ‘womanhood,’ and that that reaction, in turn, might have led to the generation of the three-way categorization, separating *clingy womanhood* from *polite* and *endearing womanhoods*, and not associating it with the characteristics *onnarashii* ‘womanly.’ In this regard, *clingy womanhood* could be understood as an implicit womanhood in Japan.

The results of the factor analysis between the two guises did not reveal any significant difference in the listeners’ perception of the speakers to the conversation situation. If the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy has a correlation with femininity, then, the participants’ underlying reactions could have depended on whether the speaker used *ne* or not. However, the hypothesis was not supported. Therefore, the linguistic variable *ne* might be considered not to have had an impact on the listeners’ underlying reactions towards femininity in the context of this study.

### 5.3.2 The guises

As the results described in Section 5.2.3 show, generally, attention-getting *ne* of intimacy did not have any significant impact on the listeners’ perceptions towards the speakers’ age and status, the gender of the person to whom the speaker was talking, or the formality of the situation. The only significant difference between the two guises was found in the listeners’ perceptions about the person to whom the speaker was talking. The listeners thought that the speakers were siblings (most likely sisters) when *ne* was present. Much of the previous literature suggests that attention-getting *ne* of intimacy indicates intimacy (Yamada, 1936, cited in Shinoda, 2005; Uyeno, 1971; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1986; Maynard, 1989; Cook, 1992; Izuhara, 1992). Therefore, in the listeners’ perceptions, being intimate and being siblings may have been closely linked. On the other hand, in spite of the association of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy with informal
situations suggested in previous literature (Mizutani & Mizutani, 1986), the results
indicate that attention-getting ne of intimacy did not have any significant impact on
changing the formality of the situation of the utterance in the listeners’ perceptions in the
context of this study. The content of the stimuli conversations were about school, work,
the past and future, and love, which were more or less informal. Therefore, this result
seems to be contradictory. Since the attention-getting ne of intimacy is optional, and
utterances without ne frequently occur in informal situations as well, informality is
assumed not to be merely derived from the attention-getting ne of intimacy, which
explains the results. Also, since all of the utterances were in fairly informal register and
there were other linguistic elements that suggested the informality of the conversation, it
is possible that the absence of the attention-getting ne of intimacy by itself lead the
listeners to think that these without-ne guises were no less informal than the with-ne
guise. The attention-getting ne of intimacy could be a factor among many other factors to
have an impact on changing the formality of the situations, and its impact may be more
apparent if it is used in otherwise more formal situations.

The listeners also did not perceive that there were any significant differences
between the two guises in terms of the speakers’ age. This result might amplify the
finding that the utilization of attention-getting ne of intimacy is not closely associated
with speech by young females.

While Kajino & Podesva (2007) consider that women’s self-referencing by their
given names portray male-centered femininity, Peng (1981) notes that forms peculiar to
the gender tend to be more frequently used among people of the same gender (cited in
McGloin, 1990). The results of this study indicate that attention-getting ne of intimacy
did not significantly correlate with the gender of the person to whom the speakers were
talking. Therefore, no interpretation was given regarding people’s perceptions of
attention-getting ne of intimacy with respect to femininity that may be shown in the
gender of the interlocutors.

The results also indicate that attention-getting ne of intimacy did not seem to have
any significant impact on the listeners’ perceptions towards femininity. The two guises
did not indicate any significant difference in the listeners’ perceptions towards the
qualities, the three womanhoods, and being popular with men and women.

In sum, in largely informal situations, in general, the attention-getting
ne of intimacy does not affect the listeners’ perceptions, except that the listeners thought the
attention-getting ne of intimacy was used more with siblings as the conversation partner. It could also be that ne inserted word- and phrase-finally does not play a significant role on the listeners’ perceptions. On the other hand, an examination of each speaker and each utterance describes the diversity of the social context in which the attention-getting ne of intimacy was used in this study. The results also suggest the possibility of effects caused by attention-getting ne of intimacy in certain utterances. Therefore, using more homogeneous utterances might have better revealed impacts of attention-getting ne of intimacy on people’s perceptions. As other researchers points out, these findings also may suggest that any linguistic variables, including the attention-getting ne of intimacy, are more context-specific than might be assumed. This raises the question that the effects generated by the attention-getting ne of intimacy, if any, cannot be revealed in isolation, by merely considering the single linguistic variable without its social context. This interpretation could, in turn, highlight the significance of the difference in the listeners’ perceptions in the case of “siblings.” That is, this result might suggest a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between attention-getting ne of intimacy and intimate moods that is assumed to be produced by the relationship as siblings.

5.3.3 Relationship between attention-getting ne of intimacy and perceived femininities

This thesis also explores the relationship between attention-getting ne of intimacy and Japanese femininity. The present section addresses Research Question #2 (Is the attention-getting ne of intimacy related to Japanese femininities? If so, is it related more to the traditional femininity or to the new concepts of femininity?) and Research Question #3 (Is there any social and linguistic environment in which the attention-getting ne of intimacy is attributed to either or both of the femininities? Do people’s evaluation differ depending on the social attributes of the conversation, including e.g., the speaker’s
perceived age and occupation, the perceived relationships between the interlocutors, the formality of the conversation, the listeners’ gender, age, occupation, and dialect, as well as the linguistic environment of the conversation).

The findings related to siblings interlocutors, the speaker’s age, and clingy womanhood, described in Section 5.2.4.1, suggest a close link in the listeners’ perceptions between the attention-getting ne of intimacy used by siblings in their early twenties and clingy womanhood. The listeners seem to have thought the use of attention-getting ne of intimacy between siblings in their early twenties may creates intimacy, which could have led them to perceive the speakers’ projection of clingy womanhood as significantly higher than without the attention-getting ne of intimacy. The attention-getting ne of intimacy thus may have a correlation with clingy or childish womanhood, that is, with immaturity among women.

The findings that there may be a close link in the male listeners’ perceptions between the speakers being popular with men and their high projection of endearing womanhood, described in Section 5.2.4.2, also relate to attention-getting ne of intimacy and femininity. The male listeners provided a higher degree of endearing womanhood than the female listeners did when they thought the speakers to be popular with men without any effect caused by the attention-getting ne of intimacy. Therefore, the two results suggest that the attention-getting ne of intimacy exaggerates the connection between endearing womanhood and being popular with men in the male listeners’ perceptions. On the other hand, in the female listeners’ perceptions, no such connection occurred. To put it differently, the findings might reveal the male-centered aspect of endearing womanhood. The attention-getting ne of intimacy was not perceived by the listeners as being addressed to men. However, since in the male listeners’ perceptions, endearing womanhood was evaluated to be higher when the female speakers who were perceived to be popular with men used attention-getting ne of intimacy, it may be the case that the attention-getting ne of intimacy portrays male-centered femininity.

The same perception was not observed in the case of polite womanhood, or clingy womanhood. No plausible reason can be found for the lopsided findings. Endearing womanhood was positively evaluated, while clingy womanhood was more likely to have
the conflicting reception of being both positive and negative. Therefore, the male listeners might have held a significantly close connection only with a new and positive womanhood, *endearing womanhood*, in relation to the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy. This also indicates that the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy was positively viewed by the male listeners in the context of this study.

In summary, the two findings regarding the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and femininity suggest that the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy may be correlated with women who project clinginess and immaturity in intimate situations, such as conversations between sisters, in both the male and female listeners’ perceptions. In the male listeners’ perceptions, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy may also be correlated with endearingness.

The finding about the female listeners’ perception regarding the speakers’ popularity with women, described in 5.2.4.3, also suggests a relationship between attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and femininity. The results show that the female listeners thought the speakers were more popular with women when *ne* was present than when *ne* was absent in Utterances 4 and 9. On the other hand, the male listeners’ responses were the same between the two guises. The attention-getting *ne* of intimacy used in Utterances 4 and 9 was *demo ne* (‘but, you know…’), and the *ne* was prolonged in Utterance 4, whereas it was prolonged and raised radically in Utterance 9. Other utterances had prolonged *ne* as well, but the possibility of the effects of the prolonged *ne* on the listeners’ perceptions in those utterances were thought to have been minimal, in that the *ne* with different prosodic patterns was also used in those utterances. In Utterances 4 and 9, since *ne* was used only once, the prolonged *ne* might have an impact on the female listeners, making them feel more empathetic with the utterances. This might have increased their evaluation of the speakers’ popularity with women in Utterances 4 and 9. Particularly, the *ne* used in Utterance 9 was rather extremely prolonged and raised, whereas the without-*ne* guise could have sounded like something was lacking after the *ne*, due to the manipulation work. The manipulation was conducted in such a way that the stimuli sounded natural for native speakers; however, whether or not any pause was needed after the *ne*, and if so, how much the pause should have been depended on the
speech rate of the speakers as well as the context of the speech, in order to sound natural. Therefore, it is possible that this result was derived from the manipulated, relatively short pause after ne, which might suggest that some kind of rhythm is needed in a length of speech, and such a particle as ne plays a crucial role in making the utterance sounds more involving (Maynard, 1989), or in this case, more popular with women according to the female listeners’ perceptions. The Kansai dialect used in Utterances 4 and 9 might have positively affected the female listeners’ perceptions concerning popularity with women. The semantic meaning of the phrase used, namely, demo ne ‘but, you know…,’ might also have had an effect. This phrase could be assumed to be used to provide opposite opinions, excuses, and to provide the speakers’ defending ideas to the interlocutor. Ayako Ota (2007) describes the symptom of “Yes, but…” and tells the readers of her article to eliminate demo ne ‘but…’ in order to get up and achieve one’s dreams. Therefore, this semantic property of the phrase might also have the positive effect on the female listeners’ perceptions.

Furthermore, in Utterances 4 and 9, both the male and female listeners thought the speakers projected a significantly greater degree of endearing womanhood when the speakers used the attention-getting ne of intimacy than when they did not. This result thus might also suggest a relationship between the attention-getting ne of intimacy and endearing womanhood in the context of the prolonged ne, the Kansai dialect, the semantic meaning of the word, or the interaction among all of these factors.

From the affective orientation of the particle ne, ne is described to indicate intimacy and rapport, which emphasizes involvement (Uyeno, 1971; Maynard, 1989). The findings seem to emphasize in certain instances of ne the sense of intimacy and involvement. At the same time, the findings may suggest that the attention-getting ne of intimacy connotes immaturity and male-centered femininity.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This thesis investigated Japanese native speakers’ attitudes towards a linguistic variable, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy, and its relation to the concepts of femininity in Japanese society. In order to explore the relationship between the old and new ideas of femininity, people’s implicit and explicit attitudes towards feminine qualities were investigated. Their underlying reaction to audio stimuli with and without the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy revealed three types of femininities, which were labeled as polite womanhood (suggesting polite, well-mannered, trustworthy, and womanly qualities), endearing womanhood (suggesting endearing, protective, and womanly qualities), and clingy womanhood (suggesting clingy and projecting childishness qualities). Comparing these results to the participants’ explicit associations concerning the same qualities, where merely two categorizations, onninarashii ‘womanly’ and kawairashii ‘endearing,’ were provided in advance, both endearing and clingy womanhoods in the listeners’ underlying associations were assumed to correspond to the category kawairashii ‘endearing’ in the people’s explicit associations. To some extent, a negative connotation is presumed in the qualities of clingy womanhood, clingy (amaenboo) and projecting childishness (kodomoppoku furumatteiru). A participant also commented that childishness and innocence could have negative effects depending on their degree. Therefore, the results may be interpreted as showing that there is a certain degree of childishness or “childlike cuteness” (Matsumoto, 1994) in some women towards which the listeners held or did not hold endearing feelings. Thus, clingy womanhood could be considered to connote both positive and negative senses, which
could have led to the creation of the three categorization of womanhoods in people’s underlying reactions. Some participants also noted that onnarashisa ‘womanhood’ is a norm in Japan. Compared to the normative traditional womanhood, clingy womanhood is an implicit womanhood in Japan. Horie (1994) notes that unequal societal concepts are unconsciously deep-seated in women’s minds since childhood (p. 319). Given that clingy womanhood was not correlated with being onnarashii ‘womanly’ in the people’s underlying reactions, clingy womanhood may be implicitly deep-rooted within the framework of “infantilism” in Japanese society (Doi, 1973; Kinsella, 1995; Miwa, 2002). These three types of womanhood were also correlated with the speakers’ age in the listeners’ perceptions. Clingy womanhood was particularly associated with women in their teens and early twenties, as opposed to polite and endearing womanhoods with which older women were associated.

The effects of the attention-getting ne of intimacy were also explored by comparing two guises of the same stimuli, one guise with and another without the attention-getting ne of intimacy. The results indicated that the attention-getting ne of intimacy in the generally informal contexts did not have any significant direct impact on the listeners’ perceptions of the speakers’ age, status, the gender of the person to whom the speaker was talking, or the formality of the situation. It also did not impact the listeners’ impressions of the speakers with respect to female qualities, the three womanhoods, and being popular with men and women. The results might indicate that the attention-getting ne of intimacy was not playing a significant role in the listeners’ perceptions in the context of this study. At the same time, given the diversity of each speaker and utterance, eliciting a monolithic conclusion concerning the attention-getting ne of intimacy seems difficult. As previous literature points out (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Okamoto, 1995), the findings suggest that any linguistic variables, including the attention-getting ne of intimacy, are context-specific, and the effects generated by the attention-getting ne of intimacy, if any, cannot be revealed by merely considering the single linguistic variable without its social context.

Exceptionally, there was a significant difference in the listeners’ perceptions between the two guises where the listeners thought the relationship between the speaker
and the person to whom the speaker was talking to be more likely to be one of siblings (most likely sisters) when **ne** was present than when it was absent. Many scholars (Yamada, 1936, cited in Shinoda, 2005; Uyeno, 1971; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1986; Maynard, 1989; Cook, 1992; Izuhara, 1992) have pointed out the intimate mood that can be exhibited by using the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy (or the particle **ne**). Therefore, in the listeners’ perceptions, being siblings and being intimate might have been closely linked. In the absence of any significant relationship between the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy and any other perceptions, this particular case highlights the significance of the difference in the listeners’ perceptions. Recalling Uyeno’s (1971) suggestion that the particle **ne** as a particle of “rapport,” this finding emphasizes the significant effects of intimacy or rapport that could be generated by the use of **ne** on the listeners’ perceptions.

The significance of the “intimacy” of the particle **ne** was also revealed by viewing the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy in relation to femininity. The results indicated that the listeners were more likely to create a close connection between the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy used by siblings (sisters) in their early twenties and clingy womanhood. In other words, the listeners seem to have believed that the use of attention-getting **ne** of intimacy between siblings (sisters) in their early twenties produced some kind of strong, dependent kind of intimacy, which could have increased in the listeners’ perceptions regarding the degree of the speakers’ clingy womanhood. The finding suggests the possibility of a correlation between the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy and clingy or childish womanhood, that is, with immaturity of some women.

The listeners also seemed to have made a link between the attention-getting **ne** of intimacy and other types of femininity. The attention-getting **ne** of intimacy seems to exaggerate the male listeners’ evaluation of endearing womanhood when they believed the female speakers to be popular with men. This result may also indicate the possibility that the male listeners overlap themselves with the “men” that they thought the speakers were popular with. Rammetveit (1960) provides empirical evidence that “[a]n individual’s perceptual responses to other persons are selective, and selective in such a way that his discriminations are mainly made along those attributes or ‘dimensions’ that are dominant in the perceiver’s own self-image” (cited in Lee, 1971, p. 414, italics in
Therefore, the findings also suggest the male-centered aspect of *endearing womanhood*, as well as that of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy. Compared to *clingy womanhood, endearing womanhood* was more likely to connote positive images of Japanese new femininity. In the context of this study, the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy had a significant correlation, particularly with the positive aspect of the new femininity in the male listeners’ perceptions.

Overall, the findings suggest that the essential connotations of the particle *ne*, that is, intimacy, rapport, and involvement, have a significant effect on the relationship between the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and femininity, in the context of conversation treated in this study.

### 6.2 Limitations and future research

In the preliminary questionnaire, people’s explicit attitudes were solicited by giving the two categorizations of “womanly (*onnarashii*)” and “endearing (*kawairashii*),” in order to select the qualities used for the main experiment. However, the factor analysis of the main data revealed three significant femininity types. Thus, it would be worthwhile to examine people’s explicit attitudes again without giving any categorization in advance. This would also provide a possibility to better clarify the relationship between people’s explicit and implicit attitudes towards the old and new femininities.

The results of the comparison of the two guises suggest that there may be certain contexts or certain manners of speech where attention-getting *ne* of intimacy are correlated with femininity. Therefore, more controlled stimuli might reveal the relationship between attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and femininity. Given the significance of the intonation with which *ne* occurs, mentioned in previous literature, placing a focus on the phonetic aspects, such as the prosodic patterns of *ne*, speech manner, voice quality, or speech rate, could be meaningful in examining the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and in relation to femininity.

Also, all of the stimuli were utterances that carried various elements of informal speech. The effect of the attention-getting *ne* might have not revealed itself as clearly as a
result. The future study could create guises with stimuli that are more formal-sounding overall.

The voices used as stimuli for the experiment to investigate femininity in this study were all women’s voices. However, since the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is said to make male speakers more feminine, investigating listeners’ attitudes towards male speakers who use the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy would also be meaningful in order to fully capture the relationship between attention-getting *ne* of intimacy and femininity. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003) mention that “people skills,” such as listening to others, facilitating others to convey themselves, and expressing an interest in others’ thoughts, are described as feminine (p. 253). They also argue the possibility of exploring the relationship between gender and language in gay people’s speech. Matsumoto (1994) notes that the opposition to the conservative gender ideology may be influential throughout the Japanese society, and according to Kinsella (1995), the cute culture has passed on to men as well. Therefore, investigating the use of attention-getting *ne* of intimacy by male speakers with respect to femininity, immaturity, and childishness, would be valuable in order to understand the social meaning of this particle.

Previous literature also suggests that the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy is used more often to address children (Izuhara, 1992), and that men also use a softer and more empathetic style traditionally categorized as “feminine,” especially when they speak with children and women (Jorden & Noda, 1987). Thus, it would be worthwhile to investigate the same people’s use of the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy in different social contexts, and to investigate listeners’ perceptions towards these various uses.

The interjectional particle *sa*, which is also frequently inserted word- and phrase-finally like *ne*, is considered to be more neutrally used than the particle *ne*. Therefore, a comparison of the use of *ne* and *sa* would be valuable in order to more thoroughly capture the interjectional *ne* with respect to femininity.

In this study, the listeners’ dialects or the speakers’ dialects were not fully taken into account. Listeners’ perceptions of linguistic variables, such as the attention-getting *ne* of intimacy, however, are assumed to vary depending on their linguistic background. As mentioned earlier, Inoue (2006) argues, “[w]hat counts as a final particle and what
does not, or whose final particle counts as such and whose does not (in terms of the binary between the standard and the regional dialects) is a political task, handled in this case by authorities” (p. 54). Inoue also contends that whether or not a speaker uses a certain variable is not a matter of a “liberal notion of choice” (p. 275), viewing the choice “as if it were one of the styles available equally to everyone, oppressive equally for everyone” (ibid.). Thus, this is a critical aspect that needs careful attention when investigating the attention-getting ne of intimacy, and its relation to Japanese femininity.

A listener commented that this study seemed to emphasize the U.S. context, and that it seemed to mean to investigate how native speakers of Japanese who lived in the U.S. thought about “womanhood (onnarashisa)” and “endearingness (kawairashisa)” as Japanese who are living overseas. In fact, all of the listeners in the matched-guise experiments were native speakers of Japanese who lived in the U.S. Their judgment might have been influenced by the various length of stay they have had in the U.S. as well as the fact that about half of them were either professionals or graduate students who may be more likely to endorse the idea of equality rather than separating the genders by their speech style. Having listeners who live in Japan and who have a wider range of backgrounds may result in different findings. Research on social and linguistic practice with respect to femininity thus needs to take this perspective of context into consideration.
Uterance 1
でも、なんか、あたしね(−→)，本当になんだらうな、え、本当に日曜大工みたいなこととか、
あと、あの、針金とかをいろんな形でいろんな太さでいろんな素材の、あ、あの、なんかね(−→)，
アルミとか鉄とかあるんだけど…。

Demo, nanka, atashi ne, hontoo ni nandaroo na, e, hontooni nichiyoodaiku mitaina koto toka, ato, ano,
harigane toka o ironna katachi de ironna futosa de ironna sozai no, a, ano, nanka ne, arumi toka tetsu toka
aru n da kedo…

“But, you know, I, well, let’s see, well, I did things like work around the house, and oh, you know, [I was
making things using] wires of various forms, various thickness, and various materials, well, you know,
there are Aluminum, iron etc….”

Uterance 2
そう、でね(−→)，コピーペーストとかわかんなくて、その、なんかね(↑)
いつもね(↑)，ファイルからコピーとか選んでね(↑)
やってるから、ちょっと使いにくいんだけど。

Soo, de ne, kopii peesuto toka wakannakutte, sono, nanka ne, itsumo ne, fairu kara kopii toka erande ne
yatteru kara chotto tsukainikui n da kedo.

“Yeah, and I don’t know things like how to copy and paste (on Mac), and you know, I always choose copy
and stuff like that from the file menu, and it is a little inconvenient.”

Uterance 3
塾、あの、行ってたけどね(−→)，塾に、塾で得てる効果が感じられなかったからね(−→)，やめた。

Jyuku? Ano, itteta kedo ne, jyuku ni, jyuku de eteru kooka ga kanjirarenakatta kara ne, yometa.

“Cram school? Well, I did go, you know, but I did not find any benefit that I got from my cram, cram
school, so I stopped going.”

73 The marks indicate intonation on the ne: (↑) for rising, (↓) for falling, and (−→) for flat.
Utterance 4
いや、でもね(→)、なんか、うん、結構しょっちゅう英語のことで悩んでるんで、あたし。うーん、（hearer: うーん）その度に、ああ、頑張ろうと思って。

Iya demo ne, nanka, un, kekkoo shocchuu Eigo no koto de nayanderu n de atashi. Unn (hearer: unun) sonotabi ni aa ganbaroo to omotte.

“But well, you know, I am rather often worried about my English. And each time, I make up my mind I’ll work hard.”

Utterance 5
今さら何か、ね(↓)、ビジネスマンとかなれないし。なんかお金、ね(↓)、もっとたくさん作れる仕事、ね(↓)、決めてればよかったのにね。

Imasara nanka ne, bijinesu man toka narenai shi. Nanka okane ne, motto takusan tsukureru shigoto ne, kimetereba yokatta no ni ne.

“It’s too late to become a businessman, or something like that, you know. I wish I had selected work that can make a lot more money, you know.”

Utterance 6
それを押し切ってまでね(↑)、みんなが嫌な思いをしてまでね(↑)、男子と食べるほど、その別にそこまでっていうあれでもなかったから、あ、じゃあいいやと思って、一人で食べていたの。

Sore o oshikitte made ne, minna ga iyana omoi o shite made ne, danshi to taberu hodo, sono betsuni soko made tte iu are demo nakatta kara, a, jyaa iiya to omotte, hitoride tabeteta no.

“I didn’t have any special kind of feeling that I wanted to eat with guys, going against [the girls’ opposition] and making everyone feel bad. So, I thought, ‘that’s fine’ and was eating on my own.”
Utterance 7
なんかね、スピークんときに、オハイオ大学から一人来てたの、去年。でね、こういうね、ポットとかある？電気の。ポットだ、ポットだったと思うんだけどね、それでパスタとか作ってるって言っていた。

Nanka ne, Spiiku n toki ni, Ohaio Daigaku kara hitori kite ta no, kyonen. De ne, kooiu ne, potto toka aru? Denki no. Potto da, potto datta to omou n da kedo ne, sore de pasuta toka tsukutteru tte itteta.

“You know, a person was here from Ohio University during the SPEAC, last year. And, you know, like this kind of, you know, do you have a pot? Electric? Yeah, it was a pot, I think it was a pot, but, you know, she said that she was cooking pasta and stuff with the pot.”

Utterance 8
その、簡単な方に流れてっちゃうっていうね、ね(↓)、ここにいてもそうだから、やっぱり自分でほんとに努力して、ね(↓)、アメリカ人と遊ぶ機会を作るとか、なんか、そういうコミュニティーに入るとか、ね(↓)、作らないと、いけないなって思って。

Sono kantan na hoo ni nagarettecchau tte iu, ne, koko ni itemo soo da kara yappari jibun de hono ni doryoku shite, ne, Amerika jin to asobu kikai tsukuru toka, nanka soo iu komyunitii ni hairu kikai toka, ne tsuku n nai to ikenai na tte omotte.

“Well, I tend to take an easier way, you know. It’s the case even when I’m here, so I think I really have to try hard on my own, you know, in order to make opportunities to hang out or whatever with Americans, you know, or to get into their communities.”

Utterance 9
やっぱ、でもね、4大卒業してるし、ちゃんとした学校行きたいなと思って。そっから、勉強して、で、やってきました（来たんだけど）。

Yappa, demo ne, 4-dai sotsugyoo shiteru shi, chantoshita gakkoo ikitai na to omotte. Sokkara, benkyooshite, de, yattekimashita.
“Well, but, you know, I have graduated from a 4-year university, and so I wanted to go to a proper school. So, I studied, and came here.”

Utterance 10
フィールドワークのクラスって、でも、面白よね。あたしね(→)、大学生の時に、フィールドワークのクラス取ってて、すっごい面白かった。なんかね(↑)、フィールドワーク、イン、何だっけな。あのリンギスティク系のリサーチのクラスで、あの...

“But a class about fieldwork is interesting, isn’t it? You know, I was taking a class on field, field work, and it was very interesting. Let’s see, what was it? “Field work in…” It was a linguistic research class, and…”
APPENDIX B
MAIN EXPERIMENT
日本語話者の印象に関する実験

この度は当実験にご参加いただきまして、ありがとうございます。

このアンケートは、日本語話者に対する印象についてのアンケートです。会話を聞いて、話し手についてあなたが持つ印象について、質問に答えいただくものです。会話は10あり、質問はそれぞれ9つずつあります。回答には15分ほどかかります。

以下にご記入いただく内容は、当研究に関連のある範囲内でのみ使用されるものであり、それ以外の目的に使用されることはありません。匿名性と個人情報の確保は厳守いたします。

アンケートにご協力いただく御礼に、5ドルの謝礼をお送りいたします。アンケートの最後に指示がございますので、お名前とご住所をご入力ください。

ご参加いただける場合は、次ページからのアンケートにお進みください。
ます、下記の質問にご回答ください。

1. 性別
   ( ) 男
   ( ) 女

2. 年齢

3. 職業
   ( ) 大学生
   ( ) 大学院生
   ( ) 会社員
   ( ) 教員
   ( ) 無職
   ( ) その他

4. 普段どの地方の日本語を使って話していますか。
   日常最もよく使用する順に記してください。
   例)： (1)大阪弁、(2)東京のことば
   (1) ________________
   (2) ________________
   (3) ________________

5. アメリカにどのぐらい住んでいますか。

6. 日本語で教育を受けましたか。
   ( ) 高校まで日本の学校に通った。
   ( ) 大学まで日本の学校に通った。
   ( ) 日本語で教育を受けていない。
   ( ) 日本語で教育を受けていないが、補習校に通った。
   ( ) その他（いつ、どこで、どのくらい日本語で教育を受けたか書いてください。）
7. アメリカでどのぐらい頻繁に日本語を使いますか。
   ( ) ほとんどいつも使う。
   ( ) よく使う。
   ( ) 英語と日本語半々ぐらいの割合で使う。
   ( ) たまにしか使わない。
   ( ) ほとんど使わない。
このアンケートは、日本語話者に対する印象についてのアンケートです。
会話を聞いて、話し手についてあなたが持つ印象について、質問に答えてください。
会話は10通り、質問はそれぞれ9つずつあります。

会話を聞く時は、できるだけヘッドホンを着用してください。
またその際、必ずお一人でご回答ください。
会話は何度聞いてもかまいませんが、あまり深く考えず、直感で答えてください。
いくつかの会話を通して、似たような声を聞くことがあるかもしれませんが、10の会話はすべて独立したものであるため、それぞれの会話についてあなたが持つ印象を、それぞれ答えてください。

回答で「その他」を選んだ場合は、その理由も記入してください。未記入の場合、エラーメッセージが出ます。

会話1
下のUtterance Oneをクリックし、会話を聞いてください。
会話を聞くのに、IDとpasswordが聞かれますので、お手数ですが、以下をご入力ください。

ID: sakura password: 1001

（お使いになるパソコンで利用可能なオーディオプレーヤーのバージョンによっては、音声が流れないことがありますが、その場合は、Download Utterance X Audio Fileをクリックし、ダウンロードした後、音声をお聞きください。）

Utterance One
質問 1. 話者は、
(当てはまると思う選択肢をすべて選んでください。)

( ) 10 代である。
( ) 20 代前半である。
( ) 20 代後半である。
( ) 30 代前半である。
( ) 30 代後半である。
( ) 40 歳以上である。
( ) 結婚している。
( ) 学生である。
( ) 先生である。
( ) 若い会社員である。
( ) 課長、部長クラスの会社員である。
( ) その他

質問 2. 話者と話者が話しかけている相手との関係は、
(当てはまると思う選択肢をすべて選んでください。)

( ) 話者は親で、自分の子どもに話しかけている。
( ) 話者は子どもで、自分の親に話しかけている。
( ) 兄弟姉妹である。
( ) 友達である。
( ) 友達ではないが、ある程度親しい関係である。
( ) 関係はわからないが、親しげである。
( ) あまり親しい関係ではない、又は、見知らぬ人である。
( ) 話者の方が年上である。
( ) 話者が話しかけている相手の方が年上である。
( ) 話者の方が社会的立場が高い（ex. 上司）。
( ) 話者が話しかけている相手の方が社会的立場が高い（ex. 上司）。
( ) その他
質問 3．話者が話しかけている相手の性別は、

( ) 男性である。
( ) 男性の可能性が高い。
( ) 女性である。
( ) 女性の可能性が高い。
( ) この会話からはわからない。

質問 4．この会話が行われている状況は、
(6段階から一つ選んでください。)

1 とてもくだけている。----------------- 6 とても堅苦しい。

質問 5 には、会話の話者の性質が列記されています。それぞれについてあなたが共感するかどうかを、以下の6段階から一つ選んで答えてください。

-1.強くそう思う
-2.そう思う
-3.どちらかと言えばそう思う
-4.どちらかと言えばそう思わない
-5.そう思わない
-6.全くそう思わない

質問 5．話者は、

a. 上品な人である。
b. 信頼がおける人である。
c. 子どもっぽくふるまっている。
d. 丁寧な人である。
e. 甘えん坊である。
f. 女らしい人である。
g. 自分に自信がある人である。
h. かわいらしい人である。
i. 守ってあげたくなるような人である。

質問 6. この会話の話者は男性に好かれるタイプですか。
( ) はい
( ) いいえ

質問 7. この会話の話者は女性に好かれるタイプですか。
( ) はい
( ) いいえ

質問 8. この話者について、その他に感じることがあったら書いてください。
(                      )

質問 9. この会話の話者が誰であるか、会話を聞いて分かりましたか（会話の話者は知っている人ですか）。
( ) はい
( ) いいえ

会話 2 - 会話 10 (omitted)
The same as Utterance 1.
最後に、「女らしい」とはどういうことだと思いますか。また、「かわいらしさ」とはどういうことだと思いますか。思いつくことを書いてください。

アンケートにご協力いただき、大変ありがとうございました。
ご協力いただいた御礼に、5ドルの謝礼をお送りいたします。
謝礼は、郵送にて小切手でお送りさせていただく予定です。
お手数ですが、以下に、英語で、送付先のお名前、ご住所、Eメールアドレスをご入力ください。

First Name
Last Name
Street Address
Apt/Suite/Office
City
State
Postal Code
Email Address

ご協力大変ありがとうございました。
Thank you for your cooperation for this experiment.

This questionnaire will ask your impressions of the Japanese speakers. You will hear utterances and will be asked to answer questions regarding your impressions of the speaker. There are ten utterances and nine questions for each utterance. It will take you about 15 minutes to complete this questionnaire.

The questions that you will be answering here will be used for my projects exclusively, and will not be used for other purposes. Anonymity and your personal information will be kept confidential.

As a token of appreciation for your participation, a $5 check will be sent to you by mail. Please fill in your name and mailing address at the end of the questionnaire.

When you have read all of the above and agree to participate, please proceed to the next page where the questionnaire will begin.
First, please answer the following questions.

1. Sex: M / F

2. Age:

3. Occupation:
   Student  Graduate Student  Office worker  Teacher  Unemployed  Other (   )

4. Please indicate what dialects you speak daily, in the order of familiarity.
   Ex. (1) Osaka dialect; (2) Tokyo dialect
   (1)__________
   (2)
   (3)

5. How long have you lived in the U.S.?

6. Were you exposed to Japanese language in Japan?
   ( ) I went to school in Japan until high school.
   ( ) I went to school in Japan until university.
   ( ) I was not exposed to Japanese language in Japan.
   ( ) I was not exposed to Japanese language in Japan, but went to a Japanese language school.
   ( ) Other (Please specify when, where, and how long you were exposed to Japanese language.

7. How often do you use Japanese in the U.S.? (Please select one)
   - Almost all the time;
   - Frequently;
   - About half of the time;
   - Occasionally;
   - Almost never
This questionnaire will ask your impressions of the Japanese speakers.
You will hear excerpts from utterances and will be asked to answer to questions regarding your impressions of the speaker.
There are eight utterances and six questions for each utterance.

If possible, please wear headphones when you listen to the utterances.
Also, please listen to the utterances by yourself.
You can listen to the utterances as many times as you want, but please do not overthink your answers and try to answer based on your first impression as much as possible.
You may encounter the same voices from utterance to utterance, but since all the utterances are completely independent of each other, please base your answers solely on the current utterance.

When you choose “Other” in your answer, please specify your reason. If you do not write anything, an error message will appear.

**Utterance 1:**
Click “Utterance One” below and listen to the utterance.
You are required to use an ID and password to listen to the utterance. Please input the following.

**ID:** sakura **password:** 1001

(The audio file may not stream correctly depending on the version of the available audio player on your computer. If you encounter such problems, please click “Download Utterance X Audio File” and listen to the audio file after downloading is complete.)

**Utterance One**
1. **The speaker is:**
   (Please select all that apply.)
   
   a. A teenager.
   b. In his/her early 20’s.
   c. In his/her late 20’s.
   d. In his/her early 30’s.
   e. In her/his late 30’s.
   f. Over 40 years old.
   g. Married.
   h. A student.
   i. A teacher.
   j. A young office worker.
   k. An upper-level office worker.
   l. Other

2. **The speaker and the person to whom the speaker is talking to are:**
   (Please select all that apply.)
   
   a. The speaker is the child and the person to whom the speaker is talking to is the parent.
   b. The speaker is the parent and the person to whom the speaker is talking to is the child.
   c. Brother and/or sister.
   d. Friends.
   e. Not friends, but they are rather familiar with each other.
   f. Acquaintances that seem to have a good relationship with each other.
   g. Not so friendly.
   h. The speaker is older.
   i. The person to whom the speaker is talking to is older.
   j. The speaker has a higher social status (ex. Boss)
   k. The person to whom the speaker is talking to has a higher social status (ex. Boss)
   l. Other

3. **The person to whom the speaker is talking to is:**
   
   a. Male.
   b. Likely male.
   c. Female.
d. Likely female.

e. Unidentifiable from this utterance.

4. **The situation in which the utterance is taking place is:**

   (Please choose one from the six point scale.)


In Question 5, personal traits of the speaker of the utterance are listed. Please choose one from the following six point scale as to how strongly you agree or disagree.

1. I strongly agree.
2. I agree.
3. If I had to choose, I would agree.
4. If I had to choose, I would disagree.
5. I disagree.
6. I strongly disagree.

5. **The speaker is:**

   a. Well-mannered.
   b. Trustworthy.
   c. Someone who projects herself or himself like a child.
   d. Polite.
   e. A child who clings to her/his parents.
   f. Womanly.
   g. Self-confident.
   h. Endearing.
   i. Someone who needs to be protected.

6. **Do you think that the speaker of the utterance is someone who is popular with men?**

   Yes
   No
7. Do you think that the speaker of the utterance is someone who is popular with women?
   Yes
   No

8. If you have any other thoughts about the speaker, please write them down.
   (                      )

9. Did you recognize the speaker of the utterance? (Is the speaker someone that you know?)
   Yes
   No

Utterance 2 - Utterance 10 (omitted)
The same as Utterance 1.

Lastly, what do you think it means to be “womanly”? What do you think it means to be “endearing”?
Please write down any thoughts you have on the matter.
(                      )

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this questionnaire.
As a token of appreciation for your participation, a $5 check will be sent to you by mail.
Please fill in your name, mailing address, and email address in English to which the check should be sent.

First Name
Last Name
Street Address
Apt/Suite/Office
City
State
Postal Code
Email Address

Thank you for your cooperation.
アンケート

以下は、人の性質に関するアンケートです。質問は2つあります。匿名性と個人情報の確保は厳守いたします。
回答は( )内にXマークを入れてください。

1. 性別 ( ) 男 ( ) 女
2. 年齢 ( )
3. アメリカ滞在年数 ( )

質問1. 以下ではAさんを描写する性質が書かれています。Aさんが持つこれらの性質をプラスに評価しますか。マイナスに評価しますか。どちらか選んでチェックしてください。Aさんが女性の場合と男性の場合両方について答えてください。

j. Aさんは愛情にあふれている人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

k. Aさんは自己中心的な人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

l. Aさんは落ち着いている人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

m. Aさんは上品な人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

n. Aさんは子どもっぽい人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

o. Aさんは好感がもてる人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

p. Aさんはぶりっ子だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

q. Aさんは信頼がおける人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

r. Aさんは相手に媚びる人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス

s. Aさんは丁寧な人だ。  A＝女 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
                A＝男 ( ) プラス ( ) マイナス
t.  Aさんは自分に自信がある人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

u.  Aさんは甘えん坊だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

v.  Aさんはなれなれしい人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

w.  Aさんは守ってあげたくなるような人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

x.  Aさんは甘えん坊だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

y.  Aさんはかわいらしい人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

z.  Aさんはなめらかな話し方をする人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

aa.  Aさんは控えめな人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

bb.  Aさんは子どもっぽくふるまう人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

cc.  Aさんは優しい人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

dd.  Aさんは女らしい人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス

e.  Aさんは女っぽい人だ。

A＝女 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
A＝男 ( )プラス ( )マイナス
質問 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>愛情にあふれている</th>
<th>自分に自信がある</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>自己中心的である</td>
<td>甘えん坊である</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>落ち着いている</td>
<td>なれなれしい</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上品である</td>
<td>守ってあげたくなるような人である</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>子どもっぽい</td>
<td>押しつけがましい</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>好感がもてる</td>
<td>話し方がなめらかである</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ぶっ子である</td>
<td>控えめである</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>信頼がおける</td>
<td>子どもっぽくふるまっている</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>嬉を含んでいる</td>
<td>優しい</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丁寧である</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

上に書かれている性質は「女らしい」性質ですか。「かわいらしい」性質ですか。またはそのどちらにも入らないか。あるいは、絶対に「女らしい」性質には含まれないと思いますか。絶対に「かわいらしい」性質には含まれないと思いますか。以下の表に示す 5 つのグループに分けてください（上からコピー＆ペーストしてください）。

同じものを２つ以上のグループに含めてもかまいません。

また、上に挙げられている性質以外で、「女らしい」、「かわいらしい」、「女らしいには絶対に入らない」、「かわいらしいには絶対に入らない」と思う性質がある場合は、それも下の表に付け加えてください。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>女らしい</th>
<th>かわいらしい</th>
<th>どちらでもない</th>
<th>「女らしい」には絶対に入らない</th>
<th>「かわいらしい」には絶対に入らない</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

最後に、「女らしい」とはどういうことだと思いますか。また、「かわいらしい」とはどういうことだと思いますか。思いつくことを書いてください。

( )

ご協力大変ありがとうございました。

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Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire about people’s personal traits. There are two questions in this questionnaire. Your personal information will be kept confidential and will be treated as anonymous.

1. Sex  □ Male  □ Female

2. Age

3. Years of stay in the U.S.

Question 1. Personal traits that describe person A is listed below. Would you consider these traits positive or negative traits? Please choose either “Positive” or “Negative” and put a check mark in that box. Before the “positive” and “Negative” boxes is “A=F” and “A=M.” These represent the gender of person A. Please check one box for each case where A is either female (F) or male (M).

- ff. A is affectionate.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- gg. A is self-centered.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- hh. A is stable.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- ii. A is well-mannered.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- jj. A is childish.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- kk. A is likable.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- ll. A is goody-two-shoes.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- mm. A is trustworthy
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- nn. A is flirtatious.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative

- oo. A is polite.
  - A = F  □ Positive  □ Negative
  - A = M  □ Positive  □ Negative
pp. A is self confident. 

qq. A is a child who clings to her/his parents.

rr. A takes too many liberties.

ss. A is someone who makes you feel like you want to protect him/her.

tt. A is intrusive.

uu. A is endearing.

vv. A is fluent.

ww. A is reserved.

xx. A is someone who projects herself or himself like a child.

yy. A is gentle.

zz. A is womanly.

aaa. A is feminine.
Would you consider the personal traits listed above to be “womanly”? Would you consider them “endearing”? Or, would you consider the personal traits “Neutral”? Do you consider these traits “Never womanly” or “Never endearing”? Please think about your association of the personal traits above and put them in the box below (Please copy & paste the traits from above.)

You can include the same personal trait in as many of the boxes as you see fit.

If you think of any personal traits that you think would be associated with “womanly,” “endearing,” “never womanly,” or “never endearing,” please write them down in the boxes below, too.

Lastly, what do you think it means to be “womanly”? What do you think it means to be “endearing”? Please write down any thoughts you have on the matter.

Thank you for your cooperation.
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