



**INSTITUTIONEN FÖR
SPRÅK OCH LITTERATURER**

ORE WA BOKU JA NAI

Second Language Identities: Swedish exchange student's usage of first person pronouns in Japanese.

Madeleine Finck Björger

Uppsats/Examensarbete:	15 hp
Program och/eller kurs:	JP1520
Nivå:	Grundnivå
Termin/år:	Vt/2018
Handledare:	Lars Larm
Examinator:	Yasuko Nagano-Madsen
Rapport nr:	xx (ifylles ej av studenten/studenterna)

Abstract

Uppsats/Examensarbete: 15 hp
Program och/eller kurs: JP1520
Nivå: Grundnivå
Termin/år: Vt/2018
Handledare: Lars Larm
Examinator: Yasuko Nagano-Madsen
Rapport nr: xx (ifylles ej av studenten/studenterna)
Nyckelord: SLA, identity, Japanese, first person pronouns, gendered language

- Aim:** This study aims to further investigate how expression of gender identity in Japanese takes form, with focus on the grammatical category 1S pronouns, such as *watashi* (私), *watakushi* (私), *ore* (俺) and *boku* (僕).
- Theory and Method:** This study includes both a quantitative and qualitative approach towards usage of Japanese's 1S pronouns. Discourse analysis based on Gee (2010) will work as theoretical framework together with earlier research on second language identities mostly based on Block (2007) and Norton (2013), as well as gendered language and gender identities mostly based on Brown and Cheek (2017).
- Results:** The Swedish L2ers of Japanese use the pronouns in accordance to both their Japanese and Swedish identities. This sometimes create conflicts and negotiation within the L2ers. The feminine 1S pronouns were used much less in comparison to the male equivalents. The pronoun *ore* seems to more times than not strengthen the expression of identity for the male L2ers. However, the feminine *atashi* was rarely used as it was viewed as “too girly” for many. *Watashi* was used instead as it was closest to the Swedish *jag*. The male L2ers embrace the masculine nuance in the pronouns but the female L2ers do often times converge from the feminine connoted pronouns. Based on gender norms from Sweden, this could arguably affect why female L2ers of Japanese would rather use *watashi* since it is seen as the gender-neutral alternative.

Foreword

First, I need to express my uttermost gratitude to everyone who participated in both my survey and took the time to be interviewed by me. Your amazing stories that you chose to share with me is what *makes* this thesis and I would not have been able to write it without your help. There is so much more material that I have that I wanted to add but there simply isn't enough space to do so with this thesis. I would also like to express a huge thank you to my wonderful advisor, Lars. Thank you for all our inspiring conversations.

List of Abbreviations

1S Pronoun	First person singular pronoun
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
L1	Language 1 / first language / mother tongue
L2	Language 2 / second language
L2er	L2 learner
TL	Target language
NL	Native language
SA	Study Abroad

The interviews of this study were transcribed according to the “Jefferson Transcription System”, slightly adjusted to suit Japanese. According to Hepburn and Bolden (2012), there are obvious challenges with transcribing a language such as Japanese (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012: 68). This study’s transcript will be written in Japanese with *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana*.

Table of content

1. Background	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Aim	2
1.3 Research questions	2
2. Earlier Research	2
2.1 Japanese’s first person singular pronouns	2
2.2 Negotiation of Identity development and Study Abroad	4
2.3 Gender Identities in Japanese	5
3. Theoretical Framework – Discourse Analysis	6
4. Material and Method	7
4.1 Quantitative survey	7
4.2 Qualitative interviews	7
5.0 Analysis	8
5.1. Quantitative approach	8
5.2. Qualitative approach	11
5.3. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis	13
6.0 Discussion	16
7.0 Faults and Thoughts	18
8.0 Conclusion.....	19
Bibliography	21
Appendix	24

1. Background

1.1 Introduction

How would you say the following sentence in Japanese?

“I am going to Japan.”

Depending on your age, gender, social status and birthplace, the speaker can choose from different sentence final particles, pronouns, copulas and levels of formality to create a variety of versions of the same sentence, all depending on how they want to express their *identity*. This depends on how they view themselves alone as well as a part of a group. When studying Japanese, this could surely seem overwhelming at first, but at time it can prove to be a great tool to both show one’s identity and level of fluency in the language, accommodating to whatever situation presented.

The interest around this subject awoke when I performed an exchange year in Japan. As my Japanese got better and better, I felt that when code-switching, something within me changed when I spoke Japanese versus when I spoke Swedish. I wanted to know more about identity, and of expressing it with words. I soon noticed how amazing the Japanese language is with many different options for expressing identity, but I felt not all options were for me. I wanted to know why I felt that way. The one category that caught my interest the most were the pronouns.

A recent study conducted by Brown and Cheek (2017) brought up the usage of first-person singular pronouns (1S pronouns) from five advanced-level L2ers of Japanese with English as their L1. Their study puts focus on the negotiations of gender identity an L2er performs, phrasing it as *“learning an L2 involves learning new gendered discursive practices and finding ways to accommodate to these new ways of producing.”* (Brown & Cheek, 2017: 94). They further bring up gender identities and such negotiations as an important step in fully becoming a member of the TL community (2017, 94).

This study wishes to further this research by examining how Swedish L2ers use 1S pronouns in Japanese. Since Japanese have multiple pronouns, and Swedish only has *jag*, this study aims to further understand what happens with these L2ers identity development and sense of self, and if negotiation because of different gender norms might occur.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this study is to further examine second language identities (L2 identities) and expression of gender identity in Japanese with the focus on the 1S pronouns, such as *watashi* (私), *ore* (俺) and *boku* (僕). With both a qualitative and a quantitative approach, interviews and surveys all focusing on gender identity expressions with the 1S pronouns, as well as other categories in gendered language, will be analyzed. Earlier research on gendered language and identity will create the base for this study.

Previous studies performed around the subject has examined areas such as the importance of learner subjectivity (Siegal, 1996) and male L2ers negotiation on gender pronouns in Japanese (Brown & Cheek, 2017). Brown and Cheek supports the idea of observing and studying “*linguistic forms [...] associated with masculinity, femininity, or other gendered meanings.*” (2017, 95) as they themselves put focus on the male 1S pronouns of Japanese. Identity has gained recognition during recent years as a key factor to SLA, an aspect this study values and wishes to take into consideration. Japanese L2er’s usage of a grammatical category analyzed based on today’s gender norms and sociocultural condition is therefore both in time and needed to further understand language learning and identity development as entwined processes.

1.3 Research questions

The research questions in this study are:

- How does the Swedish exchange students handle the Japanese 1S pronouns in regard to identity and gender?
- Do the stereotypes connected to the 1S pronouns inhibit or strengthen the expression of identity for the L2ers?

2. Earlier Research

2.1 Japanese’s first person singular pronouns

The Japanese 1S pronouns is a discussed category as it acts differently from most western languages (Tsujiura, 2013: 415). An individual can change their pronoun depending on the social context. It is this exact factor, the sociocultural dependency, that makes researchers question this grammatical category in Japanese (Ono & Thompson, 2003: 322). The results of a study conducted by Ono and Thompson (2003) show findings of 1S pronouns to “[...] *not be a unitary category but exhibits multiple separate construction-specific uses [...]*”. (2003, 322).

The Japanese pronouns act more like nouns and can even be dropped out of a sentence and still be grammatically correct. It is also a category that in a simple way exhibits whether the speaker is male or female, or if the situation is formal or informal.

	<i>men's speech</i>	<i>women's speech</i>
<i>First person formal</i>	Watakushi Watashi	Watakushi Atakushi*
<i>Plain</i>	Boku	Watashi Atashi*
<i>Deprecatory</i>	Ore	X

(Ide, 1990: 73, as cited in Tsujimura, 2013: 415)

Here, 1S pronouns show the level of formality based on the sociocultural factor of the situation and the sex of the speaker. *Watashi* is here used by men on more formal occasions, whereas women can use *watashi* both plainly as well. The asterisk after *atakushi* and *atashi* show social dialect varieties. *Watakushi* can be used by both male and female speakers and is considered the most formal version.

Hasegawa (2014) explains the 1S pronouns a bit differently, where *boku* and *ore* are explained as used in non-formal situations (Hasegawa, 2014: pp 357-258). *Atashi* is simply explained as “female speech”, and *watashi* is explained as gender neutral, even though it is only used by male speakers in formal situations (2014, 357).

There have been studies noting Japanese 1S pronoun usage together with models of gender theories, such as the *dominance framework* and the *difference framework*. Studies have shown how girls sometimes use masculine connoted expressions or words in Japanese, but boys don't use feminine connoted expressions when in a group exclusively with other boys (Nakamura, 2001 as cited in Hasegawa, 2014: 367). However, Hasegawa notes how such models cannot explain occurrences in Japanese where girls use male speech and boys don't use female speech, and claims “[...] that Japanese “women's language” directly indexes the feminine gender image, which is considered inferior to masculine gender image in the social hierarchy.” (2014, p 368). Young men in Japan who defy the masculine stereotypes are called words such as 草食系男子 (*soushokukeidanshi*). The term gained controversy and sudden popularity during the beginning of the 21st century. These younger men called *soushokukeidanshi* are described as

“men who pierce their ears”, as well as “bleach their hair”, which is considered unmanly (Morioka, 2011: 13). However, Morioka, who has written studies around the subject, also mentions this period as “epoch-making for men in Japan” (2011, 13). He explains it as how these men help change the norm and “macho”-culture in Japan with their defiance (2011, 25). A survey conducted at Akita University also shows how girls tend to read manga aimed at both girls (*shoujo*) and boys (*shounen*), while boys tend to mostly read shounen (Akita University, 2011). According to these studies, they seem to agree that there is an unwillingness for men to use feminine connoted identity markers, while women can often (but not always) use both.

2.2 Negotiation of Identity development and Study Abroad

A popular perspective for sociolinguists on SLA and identity is based on post-structuralism, where Norton is one theorist who uplifts the importance of identity in SLA studies with this perspective. She mentions three aspects where identity is crucial to the process and result of learning a new language: “*the multiple, non-unitary nature of identity; identity as a site of struggle; and identity as changing over time.*” (Norton & McKinney, 2011: 74). Weedon further uses a similar idea of identity where she uses the term *subjectivities* instead and explains it as “*the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation in the world.*” (Cited in Block, 2007: 14). Norton and McKinney explain a similar view on identity that put focus on the individual in relation to her surroundings and how this is dependent on the moment it was constructed (Norton & McKinney, 2011: 73). Thus, identity is not only based on the individual but the individual existing in the world around them as well. With geographical and cultural factors changing, as they would in an SA-context, this could awaken moments of conflict for the L2er.

Block talks about *positioning* as a crucial aspect. An exchange student can *position* themselves in situations of choice, but they also get *positioned* by others, such as an outsider, or an exchange student. An L2er, as a study abroad-student, might get positioned into a certain category by others, but wanting no relation to it themselves. This way of *positioning* could prove testing to the L2er. Block mentions a study performed by Twombly (1995) that brings up sexual harassment in SA-contexts. Female exchange students who studied in Costa Rica experienced *piropos*, sexual or explicit comments yelled on the streets by men. This way of *positioning* performed by these Costa Rican men was not very welcoming with the female exchange students as it reminded them “[...] *not only of their sex, but also their status as outsiders in a foreign culture.*” (cited by Block, 2007: 152). However, positioning when acted

out in agreeance from the L2er can encourage students. One study shows that L2ers of Japanese stationed in Japan reached not only a higher level of understanding the language structure, but also of pragmatics (Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2012, s. 182). The students could easier understand when to use the formal form of Japanese and when it was not needed, which resulted in feeling as a functional member of the society.

2.3 Gender Identities in Japanese

Earlier research on Gendered language in Japanese assumed that men and women had separate ways of speaking with its own characteristics connected to the sex of the individual (Okamoto, S., Shibamoto Smith, J. S. 2004: 23). These studies were based on the idea of a united women's language that women *should* speak (2004, 24). Based on results from various studies on gendered language between 1950-1990's, one common point seems to be the usage of 1S pronouns, and how women are not supposed to use the harsher versions such as ore(俺) and boku(僕), but rather atashi(あたし) and watashi(私) (Ohara, Saft, Crookes, 2001: 107). According to this study, these tendencies of usage has resulted in women's language being more "*polite, gentle and empathetic*" (2001, 107) when compared to men's language in Japanese. According to another source, a Japanese article about Japanese peoples' consciousness of female speech, the impression and thoughts were that female speech, especially the word 女らしい (feminine), was connected to "目上" (superior) and "好感を与える" (expresses favorable impression) (Honda, 1995: 77). However, in recent years, these views on gender and identity have been criticized for being narrow and excluding. The earlier views express a "right" and a "wrong" way to speak as a boy or girl, where anything deviant is not only wrong, it was seen as something that didn't exist (Okamoto, S., Shibamoto Smith, J. S. 2004: 3). New research has been conducted, where the focus point has been diversity rather than Japanese being homogeneous (2004, 4).

Brown and Cheek (2017) recently conducted a study where they observed and analyzed the usage of pronouns from five advanced-level L2ers of Japanese. They note how an L2er might not accept the gender identity connected to the TL and how it might affect the language learning process and inhibit the L2er in their identity development, where they use western women in Japan as an example (2017, 95).

Brown and Cheek also mention how earlier research around male L2ers show how men generally get more opportunities to interact with the TL's culture, which results in different social interactions, including romantic ones, as well as gained knowledge in the TL (2017, 95). Their reached conclusion is that male L2ers who study Japanese negotiate with the 1S pronouns to match their male identities (2017, 6). However, there were L2ers who carried misconceptions of the pronouns where their view on gender and identity did not match the Japanese one. This resulted in the L2ers and the NS of Japanese having different views and opinions about the 1S pronouns. There were cases of L2ers who thought of *boku* as a "gender neutral pronoun" which was not agreed upon by NS of Japanese (2017, 105). It is however noted as common for L2ers to perceive certain expressions to be "gender neutral" or "hyper-sexualized." (Brown 2013, Cited in Brown & Cheek, 2017: 105).

3. Theoretical Framework – Discourse Analysis

The theoretical framework in this study will mostly be based on earlier research from Block (2007), Norton (2011, 2013) and Gee (2010, 2014). Gee, Block and Norton all write about identity as something constructed in time, dependent on the historical moment they exist in. Block mentions today's views on gender as also being based on post-structuralism (Block, 2007: 36) where one shared view is that gender cannot be observed or studied without other views on identity, such as ethnicity, social class and nationality. Because of this study's limited resources, the focus will be on gender identities.

Gee writes about critical discourse analysis, which is a widely used method that takes on many different forms. Gee (2010) describes it as used when analyzing "language-in-use" and goes further in saying it works as a "question" sought to be answered when analyzing the material (2010, pp ix-x). Gee uses a grammatical approach to discourse analysis with a sociocultural perspective embedded for the sake of understanding "meaning". Here, meaning is seen as "[...] *ways of saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity), and grammar as a set of tools to bring about [...] integration.*" (Gee, 2014: 8). Gee argues that "*language is [...] political*" (2014, 9) where individuals act out with language to either converge or diverge from different social groups. This view on identity, dependent on social surroundings and time, are two reasons why Gee's version of discourse analysis is considered suited for this study. Block also mentions, much based on Butler's reasoning, how "[...] *gender is about doing as opposed to*

having or being.”, tying in with Gee’s view on identity being analyzed as *saying-doing-being* (Block, 2007: p 36) in how our identity is constructed, both by ourselves and our surroundings.

4. Material and Method

4.1 Quantitative survey

An online survey was performed with Google Forms. All questions were written in Japanese and expected answers in Japanese as well, this to get a clear understanding of the actual usage of the grammatical categories in the TL. The questions approached the usage of 1S pronouns in Japanese in different contexts, as well as investigated 1S pronouns in relevance to other categories of gendered language in Japanese, such as honorifics, formal/informal speech and sentence final particles. The survey was sent out to three different universities in Sweden (*Gothenburg University, Lund University and Stockholm University*) to reach a higher number of participants as a quantitative approach needs numbers. However, it has been limited to Swedish NS students of Japanese only. This is in order for the grammatical aspect of the analysis to be coherent.

As written by Norton and McKinney (2011), the best-suited method for SLA studies with the chosen focus of *gender identity* is not a quantitative one (2011, 82). This because identity is seen as something multi-layered and ever-changing. However, this study wishes to understand usage of 1S pronouns by Swedish NS, and since there are multiple ones, there could be multiple outcomes for the different individuals. A survey was therefore conducted to see patterns of usage in this particular grammatical category. Since Swedish NS are raised in a society with different gender norms than Japanese NS, assuming the pronouns to be handled the same way would be inappropriate.

4.2 Qualitative interviews

Deep-going semi-structured interviews with four Swedish exchange students were performed in Japanese, the reason being that the TL was the main topic and opinions about Japanese described using the Japanese identity is of interest to this study. Despite all being NS of Swedish, when discussing ones L2. The interviews discussed the L2ers different relationships to Swedish (L1) and Japanese (L2) and how the different languages open up different ways of expressing oneself. By talking about the different sub-cultures of Japanese, as well as *keigo* and role

language, or *yakuwarigo*¹, the topic of 1S pronouns easily came up with the interviewees. The interviews were recorded using the program GarageBand on a Mac computer as well as a Samson microphone. A qualitative approach was chosen much based on the arguments summarized by Norton and McKinney (2011) and Gee (2010, 2014). Deep-going interviews open up the possibility of taking the time to dig deeper in certain questions and topics important to the interviewee. This is of value as there are most certainly questions that the survey cannot cover as a source of material.

With identity as the approach, a certain amount of subjectivity will be difficult to remove when analyzing the material. However, as concluded by Norton and McKinney (2011): “*This does not suggest that qualitative research is lacking in rigor; on the contrary, all research studies are understood to be situated, and the researcher integral to the progress of a research project.*” (2011, 82). The qualitative method is still the most relevant one in social sciences in order to understand the complex nature of social beings existing on different constructed social platforms.

5.0 Analysis

With both the qualitative and the quantitative method, 71 pages of Japanese was analyzed. The analysis starts with a summary of the survey followed by the interviews. These will then be analyzed together as one entity.

5.1. Quantitative approach

44 students from three different Swedish universities answered in total, with 38.6% women, 56.8% men and 4.5% non-binary participants. A majority (63.6%) of all participants has studied Japanese for more than 2 years, where only 20.1% has not performed exchange studies in Japan. The variety of answers does however show some tendencies in usage of the 1S pronouns.

Question 5 on the survey asks the participants what pronoun they use when speaking with friends. There was great variety of answers showing from both male and female participants. *Watashi* is the most used pronoun with 47.7%, with *ore* coming afterwards with 22.7%. The

¹ Kinsui’s research on Role Language and the different pronouns in Japanese are much acquainted but remain not used as this study deals with L2ers rather than character language. For those who wish to read further on role language, please refer to: Kinsui, S. (2017). *Virtual Japanese. Enigmas of Role Language*. Osaka: Osaka University Press. ISBN 978-4-87259-548-2

female L2 participants use *watashi* and *atashi* while the male L2 participants use *ore*, *boku* and *watashi*. There are however only two cases with female L2ers using *atashi*.

Question 6 asks the L2ers what pronoun they use when speaking with a teacher. Based on the formality of the situation, most students use *watashi*. There were two cases of male L2ers using *boku* instead of *watashi*, and two cases of *watakushi* being used by female L2ers.

Question 7 asks where the L2ers learned about the 1S pronouns, where 86.4% of all participants learned about the 1S pronouns at school, but 52.3% also agreed on learning from manga and anime as well.

When answering question 8 “*How do you choose pronoun when you meet a friend and when you meet a stranger?*” most L2ers use *watashi* at first. If they switch, they do so when they have become friends with the other person. However, most comments were phrased similar to this:

8. 友人に会う時と知らない人に会う時、どうやって一人称を選びますか？ *

どんな時にも、いつも「私」と言います。

Question 9a and forward handles an in-depth approach and requires written answers from the participants. Question 9a asks whether the L2ers have ever felt as if the used 1S pronoun has not matched with them as an individual. 70.5% answered no and 29.5% answered yes. Question 9b asks the L2ers which pronoun they were using at the time, and the answers showed great variety but with one clear tendency.

Six women and eight men answered. One woman describes *atashi* as too feminine for her. Most comments regarded *boku*, where the male L2ers expressed dislike when using it. One participant expressed how both *watashi* and *boku* felt troublesome to use for him.

9c. それはどのような状態で起こったことですか？

先生とか年上じゃない人、同い年の会ったばかりの人と話してるときは「私」って固すぎるし、「僕」って逆にちょっと子供っぽいから少し困ります。

Here he expresses how *watashi* feels “stiff” and how *boku* feels much “like a child”. Following with 9d, asking what reaction was received from the people around at the time, one male L2er describes some comments received concerning his usage of *boku*.

9d. 周りの人は、どの反応されましたか？

「体が大きいのに」、「三十歳すぎじゃないですか!？」、「武道やっているくせに」、「お前は「俺」でしょう!？」、「お前は草食男子とは考えられないのに!」などと言われた経験がございます。

The comments puts focus on his physical appearance as he “has a big body” as well as how he “is not thought to be the spineless type of man (草食男子)”. This participant answered in an earlier question that he wanted to be polite in his way of speaking. He therefore uses *boku*. This does however not seem to match his appearance seen from the people around him.

Question 10a asks if the participants have ever felt pressured to use a certain pronoun, where 22.7% answered yes. Question 10b asks the participants to explain the situation in detail. This question also gave mixed results, where wanting to speak correct Japanese was a common answer (正しく話したいです).

10b. その時の状況について詳しく説明してください。

女子力高いという言葉があって、そのような女性になれば良いといつも思われて、疲れるのです。もっと女子っぽい一人称代名詞を使ったらどうかと思いました。

This female L2er feels pressured to be more feminine as “it would be good to become a woman like that”. 女子力高い Or “femininity” seems here to be an ideal that this participant feels is tiring. She has thoughts of using a more feminine 1S pronoun but uses *watashi* at the moment, as seen in an earlier answer.

Question 11a and b approach stereotypes and images bound to the 1S pronouns, where 61.4% experience stereotypes. *Boku* seems here to be described mostly as “soft” and “childlike”, while *ore* is described as a pronoun used by people who want to appear more masculine. *Atashi* is described as being used by people who want to be seen as cute, so is using one’s own name. Question 11c asks what other images people connect to the 1S pronouns, where most comments concerned using one’s own name, *atashi* or *ore*. Strong images were bound to those three.

Question 12 asks the participants to choose the one category that express the speaker’s identity the most. The participants answered sentence final particles as number one with 25%, with 1S pronouns, -masu/desu form and honorifics coming in second with 18.2%. There were some

self-added responses as well that answered dialects combined with 1S pronouns as well as a combination between 1S pronouns and sentence final particles.

All in all, there were many interesting answers concerning both the L2ers own usage on the 1S pronouns as well as their thoughts and images about them.

5.2. Qualitative approach

For the deep-going semi-structured interviews, two male L2ers and two female L2ers were chosen. All four have studied Japanese for three years or more, and all four have performed exchange studies in Japan. They were all active members of the Japanese society while studying abroad, joining clubs, traveling and one even working part-time. The interviews were performed in Japanese and before the interviews started all participants received and signed a contract regarding the handling of their personal information and anonymity. This was to ensure all participants that they were in control of what this study will and will not include regarding their own comments and statements, and to promise to handle their personal information with care and respect. In respect to these interviewees, all have received aliases for this study. K1 and K2 are the two male L2ers, and F4 and F5 are the two female L2ers.

K1 was living in Japan at the moment so the interview was performed online. The other interviews were performed at cafés with the risk of the sound not being picked up because of noise and distractions. However, the interviewees chose these spots themselves, sometimes on suggestions from the interviewer, and the factor of being in a relaxed environment where they could talk freely was weighed as a priority. All interviews were recorded with the program GarageBand along with a small Samson microphone. The quotations below from the interview's may still contain errors or typos. However, those mentioned are recognized as understandable. The quotations here have been slightly modified, where self-corrections and fillers such as *なんか* and *え-と* have been erased for the sake of reading without many abruptsions. When bigger portions have been altered and removed, these will be marked as usual. K1 and K2 both use *ore* while F4 and F5 both use *watashi*.

K2 has made a conscious decision by using *ore*, as it matches his identity with its masculine connotation. K1 notes how he used *boku* at first. It was after his girlfriend told him that *ore* suits him more that he later realized this to be true. His girlfriend has also expressed dislike when he uses typical men's language in Japanese. This has resulted in him not using such expressions. K1 describes how one of the most difficult things about Japanese is expressing his

own identity. He has lived with his girlfriend for most of his time in Japan which has affected his Japanese a lot.

”[...]分のアイデンティティーを[...]そういうふう話すのは本当に難しい。今は全く彼女と同じ喋り方を話している。”

K1 continues to describe usage of *boku* as “僕が選んだって感じ”. K1 describes *boku* as “diligent”, “shy” and “otaku”, a person who is deeply enthusiastic about subcultures in Japan, such as manga and anime. *Ore* in comparison, is described as “normal” as well as “strong”. K2 and F5 talks about how *boku* somehow feels like a choice, as well as making a statement. F4 and F5 agrees that *ore* portrays someone strong and macho.

K2 speculates how Japan as a society handles people who use the other gender’s 1S pronouns with the following comment:

“もし女の子が『僕』とか[を]使ったら社会的にはもっとオツケーだと思うけど、男の方が『あたし』とか使ったらすごく難しいと思う。”

He thinks it could be more difficult for men to use the feminine *atashi* when compared to women using the slightly formal, but masculine *boku*. Both K1 and K2 explain how they have only heard women use *boku* and *ore* in a jokingly manner. However, they don’t say that men explicitly are allowed to use these 1S pronouns.

Both F4 and F5 use *watashi* as their pronoun. When asked about *atashi* or using one’s own name as reference to oneself, both of them are quick to show their dislike, using words like “too feminine”, “too girly” and “childlike”. F4 phrases it as when using *atashi* you portray yourself as little, weak and not being able to do anything.

F4 uses *watashi* and explains that, to her, *watashi* is equal to the Swedish pronoun *jag*, the most neutral pronoun.

F5 doesn’t wish to be seen as only a woman, she wants to be seen as herself.

“でも私はただのF5に見られたい[...].”

This is where she has made the conscious decision to use *watashi* instead of *atashi*. Both F4 and F5 also agree on *watashi* being polite and adult-like.

F5 consulted with a teacher in Sweden as she did not want to speak like a man once arriving in Japan to perform exchange studies. What she learned was to use the particle *-no* instead of *-da*, as the first mentioned is connoted feminine. F5 started using *-no* after that recommendation. F5 mentions how the way women and men are being separated in Japan is an issue. She mentions

a male friend from her circle who took a bag she was carrying, even though it was not heavy. This resulted in her getting upset as she felt her friend saw her as weak, matching with her idea of Japanese femininity.

”[...]日本では[...] 女がちょっと弱くて、自分で生活できないということが可愛って思われるので、それはちょっと私に[...] 嫌なところですよ。それは私にはできないですよ。”

F5 also describes having trouble in expressing herself in the beginning of her study abroad period, which resulted in her feeling depressed. She describes herself as someone who puts pride in being smart. This was not something others made her feel, rather, she told herself she was dumb as she couldn't communicate well at her then current level of Japanese.

5.3. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

The majority of participants did not express feelings of negotiation of identity in Japanese, with 70.5% answering *no* to question 9a. However, the interviewees as well as some advanced-level speakers who answered the survey express negotiation with the 1S pronouns to match one's identity. They express troubled feelings adjusting to Japan's gender norms, with comments such as “女子力高いという言葉があって、そのような女性になれば良いといつも思われて、疲れるのです。” and “『お前は草食男子とは考えられないのに！』”, as well as “日本では [...] 女がちょっと弱くて、自分で生活できないということが可愛って思われるので、それはちょっと私に [...] 嫌なところですよ。”. Their own ideals contra Japan's ideals do not match for these L2ers. Some female L2ers experience being positioned as more feminine than they feel comfortable with. They also express that they position NS of Japanese as more feminine than themselves, but not more masculine. This is acted out with not only language, but in comments concerning their bodies, skin-color, age and personality, where F5 received comments which made her think of her personality as not very feminine.

From the interviews and the survey, it is clear that the L2ers use pronouns depending on their sex, as no female L2er reports using *ore* or *boku* (only when joking), and no male L2er express usage of *atashi*. The participants show tendencies of changing their pronoun depending on sociocultural factors, varying mostly with the male L2ers who switch from *ore* to *watashi* and in some cases *boku*. Some L2ers strive to speak correct Japanese and therefore use only *watashi* no matter the context.

Watashi was the most used pronoun by the participants with 47.7% using it when talking with friends, and 86.4% using it when speaking with a stranger/teacher. The reason for many seems to be because *watashi* is formal and it is better to be polite when meeting someone you don't know. However, according to Brown and Cheek (2017), the interlocutors of their research describe *watashi* as not only polite, but also feminine (2017, p 102-103). Because of the level of formality connected to *watashi* it is seen as feminine, even when used by a male speaker, making the L2er appear "soft" and "polite" (2017, p 103).

K1 and K2 change to *watashi* during formal situations as well. Even though *boku* carries a formal nuance, it is deemed too boyish for them both. More than the formal nuance in *watashi*, *ore* is once again seen as the most neutral pronoun. The reason for them not using *watashi* but choosing to convey their masculinity is supported by the fact that Japanese can be "[...] perceived as liberating in terms of gender identities[.]" (Brown & Cheek, 2017: p 94). With Gee's writings on *saying-doing-being*, by using *ore* these L2ers would create an identity who would "[...] receive license to speak roughly[.]", as well as "[...] speak in a way that is [...] more authoritative[.]", that the polite *watashi* does not include.

F4 and F5 use *watashi* and do so because the other female connoted pronouns in Japanese are too feminine for them. According to Gee (2014), when creating one's identity, you make choices by *saying, doing and being* (2014, 8). By *saying* the much more feminine pronouns, they would portray themselves as "weak and not being able to do anything." This is not how they experience women being portrayed in Sweden, and *watashi* is therefore the only real option. However, they both admit to using polite language, where F5 also started using *-no*, the feminine connoted sentence final particle, and started wearing make-up in Japan. These are feminine connoted actions (*doing*) but seems to be within reason for them. F5 makes it very clear though that she wants to be seen as no one other than herself, not more or less masculine or feminine. This is where, to both F4 and F5, *watashi* has the most gender-neutral nuance to it, similar to the Swedish *jag*.

There were no comments about *watashi* on question 11b, regarding stereotypical images on the pronouns. However, *ore*, *boku* and *atashi* received many comments regarding images and stereotypes connected to them.

When looking at the chart from Tsujimura (2003), *atashi* is mentioned as a plain dialectal variety for women. However, most L2ers comments about *atashi* described it as "too girly" and "childish". *Atashi* as well as with using one's name were seen as too feminine and childish for

them, resulting in the majority using *watashi*. There were two cases of female L2ers using *atashi* as their pronoun, but they gave no further comments on the survey. They had both studied Japanese for more than two years as well as performed exchange studies. As it is not specified, it is not possible to know if they studied in the Kansai area.

The ideal image of a woman seems to be more “restrictive” in Japan than in Sweden, resulting in some L2ers converging from such speech styles, as mentioned in Brown and Cheek (2017, 95).

According to Brown and Cheek (2017) *boku* is an example of “when speaking in plain register” (2017, 96). However, according to the participants answers, usage of *boku* has been met with comments and strange looks from their surroundings. One participant who used *boku* regularly received comments approaching how his looks did not match the image of that pronoun. He himself describe *ore* as being too vulgar, and therefore *boku* is the natural choice as he wants to act humble. Brown and Cheek (2017) mention problematics surrounding masculine ideals in Japan as men are supposed to use informal language (2017, 96). Brown and Cheek also mention earlier research that shows older people preferring the polite *boku* over *ore*, where the younger generation see *boku* as more boyish than manly (2017, 96). This contradicts with their interlocutor’s opinions that *boku* is a more “boyish” alternative and something a Japanese man over 30 would never use (2017, 100).

K1 also spoke about using *boku* in the beginning but changing after his girlfriend had told him he was more *ore*. This could, as mentioned above, be because of the physical factor, as well as the age factor.

Ore is the most used male pronoun and is explained as the normal choice for men by K1 and K2 in the interviews. However, no male L2er report using it with strangers or friends. The sociocultural factor is understood and adjusted to accordingly. K2 also describes how he started using *ore* as soon as he got to Japan for his exchange studies, as he heard it being used more around him.

From Brown and Cheek’s study (2017) an interlocutor described an L2ers use of *ore* in a positive manner, as “[...] a sign that he was acculturating to Japanese-style modes of communication.” (2017, 103). They also note how usage of these gendered speech styles go hand in hand with the L2ers “proficiency level” (2017, 95). Higher level of fluency means higher chance of knowing these sort of expressions or words that can show one’s skills in the TL. Connected with Gee’s *saying, doing, being*, these male L2ers distinguish both their

masculinity and their proficiency level of the language by using *ore* as their pronoun. K1 and K2 use *ore* because it is seen as the default choice for men, as well as convey masculinity. They both describe *boku* as polite and, in comparison with *ore*, as a conscious choice, therefore leading to a statement concerning one's identity. This is of no interest to them and so they gladly use *ore*. Interviewees such as K1 expresses the same experience where his girlfriend told him that he is more of an *ore* "type".

6.0 Discussion

Most L2ers of this study have performed exchange studies along with longer studies of Japanese. Their understanding of the Japanese 1S pronouns is mostly correct, as they understand and adjust according to the sociocultural factors. However, counting in both the survey and the interviews, the amount of answers regarding pressure on using certain pronouns and/or whether they *identify* with them or not seems to be a place where conflict occurs for many. This goes in agreeance with earlier research done by both Brown and Cheek (2017) and studies about negotiation from Block (2010). The writings on the 1S pronouns of Japanese show some similarities but come with a very vague explanation other than level of formality and sex. This makes some pronouns difficult to grasp for the L2ers, as they comment on using *watashi* most of the time since it is "safe". The chart as showed in Tsujimura (2013) is from the 1990's and can therefore be considered outdated (Tsujimura, 2013: 415). Further, it shows how even though *boku* is considered plain by this chart, therefore presenting it as a pronoun to be used in casual contexts, *ore* is used more despite its nuance of vulgarity. As it was noted in Tsujimura, it is still considered a valid source. However, when looking at Hasegawa's (2014) chart and comments, these two sources use different explanations concerning *boku*, one of the pronouns that received the most confusing or judgmental comments from the both L2ers and by NS to L2ers.

As showed in Ono and Thompson (2003) *atashi* and *ore* appear to occur more often than *watashi* and *boku* with L1 speakers. However, the results of this study with focus on L2ers show no such instances. *Atashi* is still considered "too feminine" as well as being used by younger girls, where the answer can be in Hasegawa's last comments concerning how female speech is connected to the structural hierarchy of society where women have lower status than men. This becomes more visible as the more masculine connoted pronoun in general is used more than the female connoted ones. As one of the interviewees commented, girls using male speech

patterns could be more accepted by society than boys using female speech patterns. This could be connected with Hasegawa's comment on the structural hierarchy existing in gendered language as well. No female L2er used *boku* or *ore* and no male L2er used *atashi*. *Watashi* is used as a gender-neutral formal pronoun by the male L2ers. The reason for this could be because of the different ideals in Japan and Sweden, since the interviewees describe Sweden as not viewing women in a downgrading manner. One interviewee explained an example with a guy who took her bag with potato chips in Japan and how she experienced this as being seen as a weak person, which fits her idea of the Japanese woman. If Hasegawa's comment on gendered speech pattern's connection with the structural hierarchy in society is applied to this study's results, it could describe why the Swedish L2ers are very keen on not showing a "too feminine" or "too boyish/childish" image of themselves.

Boku and *atashi* seem to be problematic pronouns for the L2ers to grasp. They are described as plain pronouns but the L2ers do not regard or use them in the same manner. Brown and Cheek (2017) mention earlier research on *boku*, showing how the views on *boku* differ depending on generation (2017, 96). This could indicate that *boku* as well as *atashi* are both currently changing within the Japanese society. There is also the aspect around *soushokukeidanshi*, and how this term seems to not match the image of the L2er who used *boku*. This L2er did not have the physical traits of a *soushokukeidanshi* and was therefore questioned when using such a non-masculine pronoun. One of the last comments from the survey regarding *atashi* noted how there seems to be no middle between *watashi* and *atashi*, and how that is a problematic aspect. One thing this study could not evaluate regards one comment from an interviewee where K2 discussed *boku's* usage dependent on the individual's sexuality. This could be a possible direction for future research regarding 1S pronouns.

As the gendered speech styles in Japanese are much more dominant than in Swedish, the occurrence of L2ers earlier identity clashing with the new cannot be considered deviant. As noted in Brown and Cheek (2017), it is not unusual for L2ers to view the gendered speech characteristics as either "gender neutral" or "hyper-sexualized" (Cheek & Brown, 2017: 105). This seems to be the case in this study as well, as *watashi* is being seen as the closest option to convey the Swedish *jag*, along with *atashi* receiving strong feelings of being "too feminine" or "too girly". The femininity exists in *watashi*, but it is not as dominant as in *atashi* or using one's name. The masculine connoted pronouns invite the L2ers to a more open community with less formal language and to openly speak their opinions. The feminine connoted pronouns do

no such thing, as they make the female L2ers seem childish or too feminine. This result is clear after viewing the comments and opinions about the Japanese 1S pronouns.

This study could also have gone in another direction regarding *positioning and identity*. All four interviewees experienced being positioned as *gaikokujin* in Japan during their exchange studies. As stated in the beginning, studies on identity cannot be done on its own. The occurrence of positioning as *gaikokujin* could affect how these L2ers experience further positioning as more or less feminine/masculine by NS of Japanese.

This study acknowledges its flaws in identity research. However, what can be found is how the old views or teachings on the 1S pronouns are in need of update as L2ers have a hard time relating and using them when reaching levels where identity development occurs. Their view of the pronouns does not always match the one with NS views and this could be taught or discussed while studying Japanese. Negotiation of identity can also be seen as an occurrence and that moments of conflict tend to happen with the female pronouns as they act “restrictive” towards their earlier identity. This connected to Hasegawa’s comments on female speech’s connection to the structural hierarchy in society where women have lower status than men, together with “hyper-sexualized” views on the pronouns could describe why *atashi* and *boku* are rarely used as well as receiving strong comments on them.

7.0 Faults and Thoughts

During the process of this study another method showed potential as being the better choice. Both Brown and Cheek (2017) as well as Hasegawa (2014) mentions Ochs writings on *Indexicality*, as well as *direct- and indirect indices*. Ochs uses the Japanese sentence final articles ㇰ and ㇱ in her analysis, and shows how girls can use male speech patterns “[...] *not [to] necessarily express masculinity, but to express an affective stance of directness or assertiveness, heretofore restricted and attributed to men.*” (Ochs 1993, 1996, as cited in Hasegawa, 2014: p 365). This was the method used by Brown and Cheek (2017) when analyzing usage of pronouns with male advanced L2ers of Japanese. However, as further noted by Hasegawa, this does not account for why there are none or few reported instances with male speakers using feminine speech patterns to express feminine connoted states or feelings (2014, p 368). This method still has its uses as it describes *what* nuance in the word is connoted feminine or masculine but was in the end found too late to apply, as well as missing the piece

as to why male L2ers rarely use the feminine connoted words or expressions, since this study focuses not only on male L2ers but female as well.

This study had an idea to see how non-binary handled the gendered language of Japanese. Two people who identify as non-binary answered the survey but did not go into any further detail or comments regarding their feelings towards their pronoun. They both used *watashi*.

It is worth mentioning that one possible reason as to why people get involved with Japanese is through Japan's *soft power*, e.g. manga, anime and games. People finding *Japan* through these mediums will get exposed to the stereotypes of role language (Kinsui, 2017), and this will serve as their first impression of Japanese. The amount of influence Japanese role language have on L2ers own *speech style* might affect their views upon every day-Japanese and therefore affect their view on the role language tied to certain stereotypes. Brown and Cheek's (2017) study shows that the L2ers were actively choosing pronouns to express their masculinity (Brown & Cheek, 2017). Compared to Swedish, who has the gender-neutral *jag* as the only 1S pronoun, there could be some valuable findings for *Identity construction* in examining how the students adapt from gender-neutral to a *speech style* in Japanese influenced by role language. Most participants in this study agree that they first got involved with Japan through manga and anime or/and has learned about the 1S pronouns through this medium. However, as most people also commented, the Japanese being used in this subculture is stronger than every day-Japanese. This awareness that most of the advanced L2ers had could counter-argue this observation.

8.0 Conclusion

To connect back to the research questions, the Swedish L2ers of Japanese use the pronouns in accordance to both their Japanese and Swedish identities. They show this with their usage of the pronouns, where masculinity is expressed with *ore* and a neutral identity is expressed with *watashi*. This sometimes create conflicts and negotiation within the L2ers as some has received comments concerning their pronoun of choice. However, most L2ers use *watashi* which is not only the first pronoun to be taught in school, but often times seen as the closest equivalent to the Swedish *jag*. It is considered best to be polite as the different levels of formality seems to be difficult to understand for the L2ers, such as the different categories within 敬語. As for the stereotypes or images connected to the pronouns, the feminine one's were used much less in comparison to the male equivalents. The pronoun *ore* seems to more times than not strengthen the expression of identity for the male L2ers. However, the feminine *atashi* was rarely used as

it was viewed as “too girly” for many. *Watashi* was used instead as it was closest to the Swedish *jag*. L2ers that do not use the pronouns according to the gendered speech patterns has experienced positioning, as the NS view them as either masculine or feminine, urging male L2ers to use *ore* rather than *boku*. Cases of female L2ers being positioned as “weak” appear as well.

Some L2ers experience *watashi* to be too stiff, *atashi* to be too girly and *boku* to be too boyish. This indicates inhibition for some individuals to express their identity because of the intrusive existence of clear gender speech patterns. However, this was mostly the case for female L2ers. The male L2ers embrace the masculine nuance in the pronouns but the female L2ers do often times converge from the feminine connoted pronouns. Based on gender norms from Sweden, this could arguably affect why female L2ers of Japanese would rather use *watashi* since it is seen as the gender-neutral alternative. When connected with Hasegawa’s comment on the structural hierarchy in society established in gendered speech, as well as the phenomenon of “hyper-sexualized” pronouns, this could explain as to why *atashi* and *boku*, two pronouns carrying strong images and ideas from the L2ers, are rarely being used. Writings on the 1S pronouns of Japanese seem to be outdated, as well as the L2ers not quite grasping the usage of all pronouns, therefore resting back on the neutral *watashi*. Just as recommended by Okamoto and Siegal (2003), this study will end with this quotation on education and the Japanese 1S pronouns:

”(c) Let your students choose, practice, and model the identities that they wish to have as Japanese-language speakers. These identities, which can cross genders, could range from martial arts expert to exchange student, store clerk, vendor, NGO representative, secretary, etc. The teacher, through readings and class discussions, can help students to understand the sociopolitical ramifications of their language use in each "role." The teacher can also emphasize different ways to "play" a role that would allow students to develop sociolinguistically informed latitude in using the Japanese language in different contexts. Importantly, students need to clearly identify contexts and the criteria for language use within these contexts.”

(Siegal & Okamoto, 2003: 60)

Bibliography

Benson, P., Barkhuizen, G., Bodycott, P., & Brown, J. (2012). Study abroad and the development of second language identities. *Applied Linguistics review*, 3(1). <http://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2012-0008>

Block, D. (2007). *Second Language Identities*. Bodmin, UK: MPG Books Group.

Brown, L., Cheek, E. (2017). Gender Identity in a Second Language: The Use of First Person Pronouns by Male Learners of Japanese. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 16(2), 94-108. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2016.1277948>

Brown, L. (2013b) “Oppa, hold my purse:”: A sociocultural study of identity and indexicality in the perception and use of oppa “older brother” by second language learners. *The Korean Language in America*, 18, 1-22.

Gee, P. J. (2010). *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-library.

Gee, P. J. (2014). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, 4th ed. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-library.

Hasegawa, Y. (2014). *Japanese. A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/10.1017/CBO9781139507127>

Hepburn, A. and Bolden, G. B. (2013). Transcription. In Sidnell, J. & Stivers, T. (Eds). *Blackwell Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp 57-76). Oxford: Blackwell.

Honda, A. (1995). 日本語における男女の話しことばに関する意識 (*Japanese Speakers' Consciousness of Female Speech*) University of Tsukuba Repository (2), ISSN: 13424823

Ishii, T., Kawabe, S., Konno, H., Matsumoto, Y., Meguro, K., Tachibana, K., Mochizuki, K. (2011). *ジェンダーからみたマンガ –秋大生の視点から– (Gender in Manga Culture among the students in Akita University)*. Akita University, 13, p 1-12. ISSN: 13449311

Kinsui, S. (2017²). *Virtual Japanese. Enigmas of Role Language*. Osaka: Osaka University Press. ISBN 978-4-87259-548-2

Morioka, M. (2011). 「草食系男子」の現象学的考察 (*soushokukeidanshi – the scholarly phenomenon study*). *The Review of Life Studies* Vol.1 (13-28). Collected 2018-06-05 from: <http://www.lifestudies.org/press/rls0103.pdf>

Norton, B., McKinney, C. (2011). An Identity Approach to Second Language Acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition* (s. 73-94). London: Routledge.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation*. Exeter, UK: Short Run Press Ltd.

Ohara, Y., Saft, S., Crookes, G. (2001). Toward a Feminist Critical Pedagogy in a Beginning Japanese-as-a-Foreign-Language Class. *Japanese Language and Literature*. Vol. 35 (2). Pp 105-133. DOI: 10.2307/489693

Okamoto, S., Shibamoto Smith, J. S. (2004). *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Ono, T., & Thompson, S. A. (2003). Japanese (w)atashi/ore/boku I: They're not just pronouns. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 14 (4). <https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.2003.013>

² Translated from the 2003 original: 金水敏 (2003). もっと知りたい日本語 ヴァーチャル日本語 役割語の謎。岩波書店。

Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17 (3), 356-382.

Siegal, M., Okamoto, S. (2003). "Towards Reconceptualizing the Teaching and Learning of Gendered Speech Styles in Japanese as a Foreign Language". *Japanese Language and Literature*, 37(1), Special Issue: Sociocultural Issues in Teaching Japanese: Critical Approaches, 49-66. Accessed: 15-05-2018.

Studentportalen/Gothenburg University. (2017). *Outgoing Exchange Student Report*. Collected from 2018-04-09, from https://studentportal.gu.se/digitalAssets/1673/1673196_utbytesrapport-kochi-16_17.pdf

Tsujimura, N. (2013). *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics*, 3rd ed. Somerset, USA: Wiley.

Appendix

Usage of First Person Pronouns in Japanese

This survey asks questions about first person pronouns (一人称代名詞) in Japanese and how they express identity. The questions should be answered in Japanese. The questionnaire will take approximately 5-15 minutes to finish. Thank you for taking the time to answer!

1. 性別 *

- 男性
- 女性
- ノンバイナリー
- その他...

2. 日本語をどのくらい勉強していますか？ *

- 1-6ヶ月
- 7-12ヶ月
- 13-24ヶ月
- 25ヶ月~

3. 日本に留学した事がありますか？ *

- はい、ヨーテポリ大学のプログラムで1年間留学しました
- はい、ヨーテポリ大学のプログラムで半年留学しました
- はい、留学したことがありますが、ヨーテポリ大学のプログラムではありませんでした
- いいえ

4. 日本語で話す時、自分の日本語に自信がありますか？ *

- とても自信があります
- まあまあ自信があります
- あまり自信がありません
- ぜんぜん自信がありません

5. 友達と話す時、どの一人称代名詞を使いますか？ *

- 俺
- 僕
- あたし
- 私
- 私（わたくし）
- その他...

...

6. 先生と話す時、どの一人称代名詞を使いますか？ *

- 俺
- 僕
- あたし
- 私
- 私（わたくし）
- その他...

...

7. どこで一人称代名詞を学びましたか？ *

- 学校
- 友達
- 漫画とアニメ
- テレビ
- 職場
- その他...

8. 友人に会う時と知らない人に会う時、どうやって一人称を選びますか？ *

記述式テキスト（長文回答）

9a. 自分が使用する一人称が自分に合っていないと感じたことがありますか？ ない場合は10へ進んでください。 *

- はい
- いいえ

...

9b. その時、どの一人称代名詞を使用しました？

- 俺
- 僕
- あたし
- 私
- 私（わたくし）
- その他...

9c. それはどのような状態で起こったことですか？

記述式テキスト（長文回答）

9d. 周りの人は、どの反応されましたか？

記述式テキスト（長文回答）

...

10a. あなたがどのような一人称を使うか周りの人からプレッシャーを感じた *
事がありますか？ ナイ場合は 11 aへ進んでください。

- はい
- いいえ

10b. その時の状況について詳しく説明してください。

記述式テキスト（長文回答）

...

11a. 日本語の一人称代名詞が使われる時、ステレオタイプ的なイメージを表現していると感じたことがありますか？ある場合は11b、ない場合は11cへ進んでください。

- はい
- いいえ

11b. どのような状況でそう感じましたか？

記述式テキスト（長文回答）

11c. ステレオタイプが持つイメージ以上に、一人称代名詞が与えるイメージが強かった経験はありますか？

記述式テキスト（短文回答）
