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Script choice and indexicality in Japanese manga

Wesley Cooper Robertson

BA Macalester College, MA Monash University

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Abstract

This study investigates the use of script as an index within written Japanese. More specifically, it attempts to identify and explain how script is used to index meaning throughout three series of Japanese manga comprising 22 total volumes. Building on a large body of research into how script contributes to the meaning of Japanese writing, the study analyzes script selection in a context-sensitive manner to explore its potential as a socially meaningful act.

The dialogue in the three manga make up the primary data source of this study. Each lexeme was coded based on whether it was written in the kanji, hiragana, or katakana script, and the resultant corpora were used to establish each author's individual preferences for script use in their manga. The study then examined the contexts where locally nonstandard selections of script occurred, and contrasted them with the contexts where other variants were selected, or the manga's standards were maintained. Repeated use of a variant within a particular context was examined as a possible use of script to index something about a character or their self-presentation in a particular scene. For two of the three manga series, analysis of the orthographic variation was complemented by a stimulated-recall interview with the manga's author regarding uses of script within their works.

The study found that the use of script as an index in Japanese writing is a far more complicated and intricate process than has been described to date. The creation of meaning through script often went beyond any single marked selection, and relied heavily on patterns of script use that ran throughout each manga. The effects intended by any script's use were more targeted and interactive than has been previously recognized, as authors indexed specific differences between characters or character types through using contrasting conventions for script use to represent different social voices. Furthermore, the study uncovered multiple techniques that the authors used to adjust the meaning created by the marked use of a particular script, such as varying the extent of the script's use, or combining lexical and orthographic variants to create effects that draw upon elements of each item's indexical field.

Ultimately, the results of this study found that script selection is an intricate and ever-present part of the creation of meaning in the analyzed texts. Rather than just a method of adding color to an individual word or sentence, script selection is shown to be a versatile channel through which authors are able to create multiple distinct effects, and index a number of defined social voices and registers. The findings have important implications for how we understand orthography as an avenue for indexing meaning within writing, and how we engage with and attempt to explain the indexical use of kanji, hiragana, and katakana in contemporary Japanese.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



Wesley C. Robertson

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Publications during enrolment

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study is an investigation into the use of script to index meaning in Japanese writing. While research on indexicality has more commonly discussed avenues for language variation like accent, spelling, and dialect, script also has the potential to become an important site of ideological discussion and socially meaningful use (Sebba, 2007; Unseth, 2005). In actions like the development and use of the Deseret alphabet by Mormon settlers in America, the rejection of the Chinese and Japanese writing systems and celebration of Hangul in Korea, and even the adoption of Blackletter by English-speaking heavy metal bands, we see that script can be much more than just a means of writing a language (L. Brown & Yeon, 2015; Spitzmüller, 2012; Thompson, 1982). Rather, just like our selection of words, spelling variants, and styles, our choice of script can be personal, meaningful, and a vital element of creating meaning within a text (Androutsopoulos, 2000; Heffernan, Borden, Erath, & Yang, 2010; Sebba, 1998).

In most languages the available options for script selection within standard writing, if any exist, are competing and absolute. For instance, when writing (varieties of) Hindustani an author generally uses either the Urdu or Devanagari script exclusively (Ahman, 2012; Everaert, 2010). As a result, scripts are often treated as analogous to dialects, as distinct language communities can become associated with the script they respectively prefer for writing the same language (Unseth, 2005). However, while this comparison is useful for understanding how script can become able to index social meaning(s), it fails to aptly describe script selection in contemporary Japan. Standard written Japanese is unique in that it necessitates the interplay of four distinct scripts, which are known as kanji, hiragana, katakana, and rōmaji. Although there are codified guidelines that separate the general use of each script, any element of the Japanese language can be (and, indeed, has been) written in any of the four scripts (Gottlieb, 2010b; Habein, 1984; Konno, 2015; Seeley, 2000). As a result, the Japanese writing system allows authors a potential for variation in script use on a “scale which is inconceivable in the case of more familiar [to Western readers] writing systems” (Backhouse, 1984, p. 220), which opens the possibility for the use of script for effect in Japanese to involve levels of complexity, frequency, or nuance which are difficult or impossible to observe elsewhere.

In this study, I examine how three authors of manga (Japanese comics) use kanji, hiragana, katakana, and rōmaji to create meaning throughout their texts. More specifically, I attempt to (1) evidence connections between script and definable effects in each work, (2) shed light on the nuances of how and why (i.e., for what purposes) each author utilizes script to create messages throughout their texts, and (3) discuss the implications of the authors’ uses of script for effect in

relation to the roles of script in Japanese writing. In phrases like “utilize script”, I include both the intentional selection of a script and more automatic adjustments an author makes while composing a text.

From here, I will provide a brief introduction to the phenomenon of script selection in written Japanese. This introduction summarizes established motives for variation in the use of script, and clarifies why further investigation into how script creates meaning in Japanese writing is necessary despite prior recognition of the concept. The study’s design and research questions are then introduced in the second section. The third section comments on the use of indexicality as a framework, and explains why it was selected over other potential options. The fourth section provides reasons for my selection of manga as a data source. The fifth and sixth sections respectively define the study’s Romanization standards and the definition of the word “orthography” as used throughout the thesis. Finally, the seventh section outlines the general structure of the thesis.

1.1 Script and script selection in Japanese writing

The primary four scripts used in contemporary Japanese writing can be broadly differentiated as follows (see Chapter 2 for further detail). Kanji is the oldest Japanese script, and consists of thousands of distinct characters (Crump, 1986). As kanji originated from Chinese writing, they are sometimes referred to as “Chinese characters”. However, throughout this paper I use the word “kanji” to refer only to the characters used in written Japanese, treating kanji as distinct from the characters used to write Chinese. Each kanji character is morphosyllabic, which means that it can represent both sound(s) and meaning(s) (Matsunaga, 1996; Sasahara, 2014). Kanji is also the only script which can represent multiple morae (the phonological units that make up Japanese words) simultaneously. For instance, the kanji 侍 can represent the four morae *sa-mu-ra-i* (samurai), and 酒 can represent the two morae *sa-ke* (alcohol). In contemporary writing kanji is primarily used for writing Japanese or Chinese-origin nouns and the non-inflectional elements of most verbs and adjectives (Seeley, 2000).

Hiragana and katakana instead represent individual morae within Japanese phonology (R. A. Miller, 1967). Hiragana is chiefly used for writing particles and the grammatical or inflectional elements of a sentence, while katakana most commonly represents loanwords (i.e., non-Japanese or Sino-Japanese words), certain animal names and onomatopoeia, and vocabulary used for secondary or slang meanings (Igarashi, 2007; Konno, 2014a; Tranter, 2008). In contrast with kanji, neither hiragana nor katakana possess meaning outside of the context of a sentence (Konno, 2013). For

instance, the mora *hi* can be written in kanji as 火 or in hiragana as ひ. While the kanji representation is almost certain to mean “fire”, the hiragana representation could represent the words “fire”, “day”, “monument”, “fault”, or a number of other homographs (Shinchōsha, 2009). Finally, this thesis strictly defines rōmaji as the Roman alphabet as used to write Japanese through denoting individual phonemes (Seeley, 2000). While the Roman alphabet itself has a variety of uses in Japanese writing, the presence of rōmaji is rather minimal. The script is mainly used for advertising; some signage, product, or company names; and inputting Japanese via keyboards or keypads (Gottlieb, 2010b; Reiman, 2001; Yazaki, 2003).

The concurrent use of four scripts to write Japanese may seem unwieldy to users of other writing systems. However, the interplay of the four scripts is helpful for delineating/navigating the boundaries of elements of a Japanese text, as Japanese writing generally does not put spaces between the words in a sentence (Coulmas, 1989; Sansom, 1928; Minoru Shibata, 2007). Demonstrative (albeit exaggerated) examples of the usefulness of script in accessing a Japanese text can be found in Japanese word play (Inman, 1993; Kanakubo, 2013; Takanashi, 2007). Consider the sentence pairs in Table 1, which are taken from a list of the most popular user-submitted puns on the Japanese website Dajare Station (Pun Station) (2016). Each of the four pairs consists of the same sequence of morae, and their meaning therefore has the potential to be unclear if spoken in a constant intonation or written using only one script. Once script is used to delineate word boundaries, however, only one potential meaning remains for each segment of text (Masuji, 2015).

Pun pair	Romanization	Translations
<small>i i zu ra ka tta</small> いいヅラ買った	<i>iizurakata</i>	I bought a nice wig.
<small>i i zu ra ka tta</small> 言いつらかった		It was hard to say it.
<small>sa ga shi ni a ru ka na i ka</small> 佐賀市に有るか無いか？	<i>sagashiniarukanaika</i>	Is it in the town of Sagashi or not?
<small>saga shi ni aru ka na i ka</small> 探しに歩かないか？		Shall we go and search?
<small>yo ku de ki ta nai yō de su</small> よくできた内容です	<i>yokudekitanaiyōdesu</i>	The contents are well produced.
<small>yoku de kitana i yō de su</small> 欲で汚いようです		It seems to be greedy and obscene.
<small>gi fu to ken ka shi ta</small> ギフト券貸した	<i>gifutokenkashita</i>	I loaned out my gift ticket.
<small>gi fu to ken ka shi ta</small> 義父と喧嘩した		I argued with my stepfather.

Table 1: The use of multiple scripts clarifies the meaning of a sentence.

However, it must be recognized that the conventions of script use in Japanese writing are only broadly defined, and are not strictly enforced on a word-to-word basis (Akizuki, 2005). Unlike

with spelling, variant uses of script are even welcome to some extent in standard written Japanese, and it is often difficult to define whether a particular selection of script is incorrect or merely uncommon (Hayashi, 1979, 1982; Konno, 2013, 2014b). In more casual styles or venues for writing where authors are less bound by standard proscriptions, such as text messages or online communication, the presence of variation and language play becomes even greater (Gottlieb, 2012; Masuji, 2011; Sakai, 2011; Tranter, 2008). Ultimately, while the use of script in Japanese writing is not chaotic, it is also by no means absolute, and “orthographic variation is a major characteristic of the Japanese writing system” (Joyce, Hodošček, & Nishina, 2012, p. 269).

Empirical attempts to catalogue and explain the motives for the variation in Japanese script use date back to the 1950s at the latest (Saiga, 1955; Takashima, 2001; Yoda, 2000). Broadly speaking, prior studies have provided three major explanations. The first, as implied in the prior paragraph, is simply that some orthographic dissimilarity is a natural consequence of utilizing four scripts (Hayashi, 1982; Ogura, 2004). Individual writers have different levels of familiarity with the kanji script, and treat different representations of individual words as acceptable, customary, or preferable in different contexts (Rowe, 1976; Saiga, 1989; Takebe, 1981; Tsuchiya, 1977; Yoshimura, 1985). The second established motive for script selection is to make changes related to the legibility of a text (Igarashi, 2007; Loveday, 1996; Rowe, 1976). Common examples include using a nonstandard katakana representation to draw attention to a word, varying the representation of words to ensure that one script is not used in an unbroken chain within a sentence (*maibotsu o sakeru*), or adjusting the amount of kanji in consideration of the literacy or age of the audience (Akizuki, 2005; Norimatsu & Horio, 2005; Rowe, 1976).

The final major explanation for script selection, and the one of interest to this study, is that authors are influenced by images or impressions they hold of each script. That is, authors either naturally change their script use to match the meaning or atmosphere desired for their writing, or purposefully utilize script as an affect-encoding device to convey information (F. Inoue, 2005; Kataoka, 1995; Yoshimura, 1985). Reference to meaning creation through script is common in empirical studies on variation in Japanese script use, and can also be found in a number of quotes by Japanese authors regarding the importance of proper script selection in their writing (Hayashi, 1982; A. Nakamura, 1983; Takamura, 1955). Furthermore, surveys or studies directly investigating the images of each script have demonstrated that native speakers hold fairly uniform opinions regarding any script’s impression or feel, and that these opinions can influence the selection of script under experimental conditions (R. A. Brown, 1985; Hirose, 2007; Iwahara, Hatta, & Maehara, 2003; Kaiho & Nomura, 1983; Ukita, Sugishima, Minagawa, Inoue, & Kashu, 1996).

However, empirical studies into how authors use script for effect in natural (i.e., not produced for the purpose of research) texts have had the specifics of their analysis restricted by a few long-running issues. While discussed in more depth in 2.2, prior research has been specifically limited by (1) a near-exclusive interest in use of the katakana script, (2) researchers giving little attention to context during analysis and “not trying to investigate the reasons [for a word’s nonstandard selection] by comparing it with the locations where the same word is written in its standard representation”¹ (Masuji, 2011, p. 13), and (3) defining standard and nonstandard script use in relation to the norms of standard written Japanese (Masuji, 2013).

To explain, the focus on katakana means that empirical research to date has only cursorily described or investigated how the other three scripts are used for effect, as systematic examinations of the use of all four scripts throughout entire texts composed by a single author are rare (Masuji, 2011). The lack of focus on context refers to a trend for variation to be examined and explained at the level of individual words, or through comparing the proportions of script use between different texts or corpora (Igarashi, 2007; Joyce et al., 2012; Rowe, 1981; J. S. Smith & Schmidt, 1996). Word or excerpt-level analysis is problematic because removing an example of language use from the initial context of its application (and the surrounding uses of language) severs a vital aspect of how language variation acquires meaning (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2016; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992). As a result, prior analysis often has been forced to rely on a researcher’s personal conceptions of the effect each script creates. While usually plausible or even convincing, these conceptions may inadvertently overlook nuances of an author’s intent. Finally, investigating variation in language use without establishing the local preferences of the text creates the possibility that contextually appropriate usage is labeled and discussed as intentionally marked (Davila, 2012; Jaspers, 2010), or that purposeful variation for effect is overlooked as a standard representation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b). As a result, many nuances of how and why individuals use script in their texts may still be undiscovered.

In critiquing prior works, I do not wish to dismiss the contributions they have made to the field. The current study is built upon the strong evidence earlier research has produced supporting the idea that authors select script to create meaning, and I hypothesize that many of the effects this study observes will align with the assertions of earlier researchers. Still, it is necessary to recognize the limitations of earlier studies in order to identify what this study must do in order to further contribute to the understanding of how script functions as an element of meaning creation in

¹ Original Japanese: [非標準的な表記で書かれた語を]同じ語が「標準的な表記」で書かれた場合と比較することで[選択の]要因を探ろうとはしていない。

written Japanese. In specifically designing the methodology and analysis of this thesis to tackle the various issues described so far, I hope the study can do more than again evidence that writers “carefully choose katakana to create some effect”² (Tsuchiya, 1977, p. 141) or use nonstandard representations to “show that a sensory phrase is strongly connected to your emotions”³ (Satake, 1989, p. 65). Rather, I instead wish to uncover nuances and complexities of how specific selections of script are used as an element of targeted meaning construction across entire texts.

1.2 Study design and research questions

The data for this study comes from the dialogue within three series of manga, and is complemented by interviews conducted via email with two of the manga’s authors. In order to ensure that all variation was accounted for, each word of dialogue in each manga was coded in relation to the script used to write it (see Chapter 4 for further detail). During analysis, I compared the locations where each contrasting representation of each word was found, and checked whether a script’s locally variant use was limited to specific contexts. Here “contexts” is defined broadly, and includes the speaker/speakers, the purpose of the conversation or its place in the story, co-occurring multimodal elements of the panels, etc. If locally marked uses of different scripts were divided across distinct and non-overlapping contexts (and could not be related to issues of legibility or individual writing style), the possibility that script was being used to index something about a speaker or their behavior in the panel was considered. Interviews began with broad questions of how authors viewed each script or interpreted marked script use, and then moved to stimulated-recall questions regarding specific selections of script in the author’s manga. Ultimately, through my analysis of this data I attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. What connections between script and meaning can be revealed through systematic analysis of the dialogue in each manga?
2. How do the three authors utilize script to index meaning throughout their texts?
3. What does the orthographic variation in the analyzed manga contribute to our understanding of the roles of script in Japanese writing?

² Original Japanese: [書き手は] 冷静にある種の効果を意図して片仮名が使われ[る].

³ Original Japanese: 自分の気持ちと強く結びついた感覚的な表現であることを示す効果を持っている.

The goal of the first research question is to evidence and detail specific connections between script and meaning within each manga. The existence of semantic images connected to each script has been evidenced quite thoroughly in psycholinguistic research (Iwahara et al., 2003; Ukita et al., 1996), and I hypothesize that many of the connections between script and definable identities, effects, etc., that this study observes will align closely with prior discussions of the images of each Japanese script (see Chapter 3.2). However, support for the existence of these images in texts not designed for empirical research is still needed, and connections may exist which have not been identified in studies to date. Most importantly, evidencing connections between script and specific effects in each text allows the study to rely on local evidence of what each author uses each script to index while engaging with the other research questions.

Answering the second question necessitates revisiting the same trends and contexts used to answer the first. However, this re-visitation is not repetitive. There is an important difference between observing a link between a sign (script) and its object (referent), such as the commonly asserted relationship between hiragana and immaturity (Akizuki, 2005; Masuji, 2011), and addressing the broader complexities of how authors utilize variant selections of script to index meaning within a text. In this study, script selection that is labeled as “variant” or “nonstandard” always refers to selections that depart from the preferences for script use identified in each manga rather than broad conceptions of “practices found either in formal writing or across a range of genres” (Tranter, 2008, p. 136). Furthermore, the use of any variant representation was always compared with the contrasting locally standard representations during analysis, with the contexts where all contrasting representations appeared given prime importance when attempting to explain the motives behind a use of script.

Finally, in answering the third research question I will step back and look at how the uses of script for effect I have observed contribute to our more general understanding of the roles of script in Japanese writing. By “roles” I am referring to what the data shows about purposes of script or script selection in Japanese beyond established functions like breaking up word boundaries or drawing attention to part of a text. While the data in this study comes from only one type of writing (manga), I hope that the findings will shed light on issues relevant to written Japanese as a whole. Specific techniques for creating meaning through script may rely on features particular to manga, but prior research has shown clearly that the fundamental phenomenon of conveying meaning through script is not bound to a specific genre of Japanese writing (see Chapter 2).

1.3 Indexicality and *yakuwarigo*

This study differs from the majority of prior works on Japanese script selection in its explicit (i.e., directly stated) use of indexicality to examine the use of script for effect. However, the use of indexicality to study script selection is not meant to be novel in its basic proposal that script can create meaning that may “transcend, encompass, and supersede any denotationally literal metapragmatic discourse” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 196). Prior descriptions of how variant uses of Japanese script can create certain effects mirror discussions of how indexes function quite closely (see Chapter 3). Stating that a script is selected to “index meaning” instead of “convey different nuances and invoke different connotations” (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999, p. 107) should be taken as more or less an adjustment of terminology, with the current collections of impressions or images connected to each script (see 3.2.1) functionally equivalent to its recognized indexical field.

Rather, an indexical framework is beneficial in providing an in-depth way of examining script as a social act which plays a role in the creation of a complex and ideologically mediated “total linguistic fact” (Silverstein, 1985, p. 220; see also Blommaert, 2016; Wortham, 2010). That is, an unpredictable meaning which goes beyond the dictionary-literal meaning of the words in a language act and can vary from individual to individual. In looking at the creation of meaning through language variation in this light, indexicality supplies a grounding and basis to guide the context-focused analysis of script selection for effect desired for this study. The framework also brings the discussion of Japanese script selection into a global dialogue about the motives and purposes for variation in language use, breaking it out of the heretofore Japan-specific focus common to prior studies (Masuji, 2011). As a consequence, indexicality allows my analysis to benefit from (and hopefully contribute to) the growing understanding of how ideologies or stereotypes about the uses and users of writing-specific elements of communication are created, spread, and ultimately cause orthography to become “*par excellence* a matter of language and culture” (Sebba, 2007, p. 7, emphasis in original, see also 1998, 2009, 2012).

In drawing upon indexicality, this study also departs from a recent trend for research on variation in Japanese writing (especially in manga) to rely on Kinsui’s (2003) concept of *yakuwarigo* (role language) as a lens for analysis (for example, Hiramoto (2009, 2013)⁴, Maynard (2007), Unser-Schutz (2015), and the two volumes on *yakuwarigo* edited by Kinsui (2007, 2011)). Indexicality and *yakuwarigo* do share many similarities, as both touch on the creation/origin, circulation, maintenance, and use of linguistic stereotypes (Kinsui, 2012; Silverstein, 2003; Teshigawara & Kinsui,

⁴ Hiramoto actually uses indexicality and *yakuwarigo* in tandem. My rejection of *yakuwarigo* as a framework should not imply that indexicality and *yakuwarigo* are mutually exclusive.

2011; Tetreault, 2002). However, although Kinsui's work is an influence on this study it is not used as a framework (wherein script selection would be treated as a kind of graphic role language) for two primary reasons.

First, *yakuwarigo* has a restricted attention to the marking of character tropes through specific sets of lexical items. While *yakuwarigo* treats sets of marked items as ways for an author to make a character "identifiable with subgroups to which they belong" (Hiramoto, 2013, p. 52), indexicality examines variables as markers of multiple potential qualities and effects (identity being only one), and is interested in how selection of a variable interacts with other indexes and signs throughout a language act (here, an entire text) (Blommaert, 2016; Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2011). Furthermore, indexicality treats the meaning of marked variants as fluctuating, multiple, and emergent through context and discourse (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Eckert, 2008). *Yakuwarigo* is instead interested in the marking of very specific identities (i.e., roles) through the use of established sets of features found across multiple texts, and is not concerned with context-based changes to how characters are represented, behave, or socially position themselves outside of their temporary (often parodic) adoption of stereotyped character voices.

Secondly, *yakuwarigo* treats standard language as something that does not suppose a speaker with any specific characteristics. Specifically, standard language use is assigned *yakuwarigo-do* (role language level) of 0, and all other types of role language are then defined in relation to their (outward directional) distance from standard language (Kinsui, 2003, pp. 67–68)⁵. Kinsui (2003) is correct that standard language is often viewed as a neutral baseline for judging deviation or markedness. However, the idea that standard language does not index any identities in and of itself, or that all language users identify with standard language uniformly or positively, is limiting (Agha, 2003; Davila, 2012; Jaffe, 2000; Maynard, 2004). Although less likely to be noted, "sticking diligently to the prescribed standard is no less a practice than pointedly deviating from it" (Sebba, 2009, p. 37). Indexicality therefore allows this thesis to examine script selection in a way that goes beyond just discussing marked representations of stereotyped character tropes, and is better suited for nuanced investigation into how individual authors create meaning through script selection across their texts.

⁵ Original Japanese: 「標準語」のうち、常体の書きことばは、いかなる特徴を持った話し手も想定させないという意味で、役割語度0である。(Within "standard language", the standard style of writing is assigned as *yakuwarigo-do* of 0, meaning that it does not recall a speaker with any particular traits).

1.4 Using manga as a data source

The use of manga as a data source in this study is uncommon for inquiries into Japanese script selection. Out of all the literature on script selection I reviewed for this study (see 2.2), only one study (Narasaki, 2009) looked at script use in manga. However, the medium contains a number of features that I believe increase the level of confidence I can obtain while tracing the motives for each author's uses of script as an index, and ensure that the variation for effect I find is meant to be accessible to a wide range of the Japanese population (Narasaki, 2009; Unser-Schutz, 2010).

The first reason manga were selected as a data source is their popularity. While generally described as Japanese comics, it is important to emphasize that manga are a "critical part of the [Japanese] culture industry" (Prough, 2010, p. 56), and their popularity, prevalence, and reception far outstrip those of comics in the West. Combined sales of comics in the US and Canada reached a record high of over 870 million USD in 2013 (Lubin, 2014; Virtue, 2015). In contrast, sales of Japanese manga in 2011 was over 271 billion yen (around 2.7 billion USD) despite a long slump in sales (Oricon, 2012). The market for manga in Japan is therefore about three times as large as that of comics in America and Canada combined, despite that the total population of North America is over 2.75 times larger than that of Japan (CIA, 2014). The profits of manga publishing houses also exceed those of the Japanese film industry, and account for a share of the entire publication market that fluctuates between 20 and 40% (Alverson, 2013; JETRO, 2007; Kinsella, 1996)⁶.

Furthermore, manga are designed for an extensive variety of readers (Kosei, 2002). Manga are not only targeted at major demographics such as men, women, (school)children, adults, "salarymen", housewives, etc., but also specific fandoms, with popular titles written about everything from major sports to wine culture, school, romance, magic, surgery, cooking, fishing, politics, robots, and mythical beasts (Ito, 2005; Kinsella, 1999; Lee, 2015). Manga therefore do not necessarily have the traditional (albeit changing) association with young males or low-culture that exists in the West, and reach such a high level of mainstream acceptance that even official government proclamations or communication, corporate histories, classical works of literature, and educational texts can be found in manga form (Brasor, 2015; Kinsella, 1996; Schwartz & Rubinstein-Avila, 2006). As a result of their popularity, manga are a linguistically influential genre, with many noted trends in both speech and writing thought to have been spread or popularized by the language used by protagonists of mainstream manga (Bunka Shingi-kai, 2010; Endo, 2001; L. Miller,

⁶ The market dominance of manga is even more pronounced in Japan's online or e-book market, the largest in the world, where the medium accounts for around 80% of digital sales (Calcagnini et al., 2011; Japan Book Publishers Association, 2014).

2011; M. Nakamura, 2007; Ueno, 2006; Unser-Schutz, 2010, 2013). In short, the high consumption, influence, and mainstream popularity of manga are felt to contribute to the strength of this examination, as any selections of script for effect are likely to be either targeted at or familiar to a broad, contemporary readership (Armour, 2011; Kinsui, 2003; M. Nakamura, 2007; Yasumoto, 2008).

Manga also benefit this study's analysis due their status as a casual but edited medium of writing (Minoru Shibata, 2007). Authors of comics in any language often have more freedom in how they represent language than authors of other popular texts like newspapers or novels (McCloud, 1993, 2006). I believe that this freedom may translate into manga containing a higher volume, variety, and scope of variation in script use compared to many other types of text, similar to how casual online communication appears to welcome many styles and varieties of language play absent from standard writing (Gottlieb, 2010a; Nishimura, 2003a). A higher amount of variation is desirable for this study as it increases the chance of uncovering convincing orthographic trends, and helps establish whether a particular representation is limited to a specific context or just part of the permissible orthographic variation in the author's writing style.

On the other hand, the fact that manga are crafted for publication under editorial oversight is also seen as a benefit. Unedited writing which permits fairly free use of language, such as graffiti, text messaging, or online communication, is definitely an effective location for studying strategic uses of language variants (Devoss, 2007; Herring, 2002; Masuji, 2011; L. Miller, 2004b; Thurlow, 2003; Whitty, 2003, 2007). However, unedited writing is also a well-documented site of unintentional error (Baron, 1998; Crystal, 2006; National Public Radio, 2011; Nishimura, 2003a; Sasahara, 2002). Using unedited writing for data would make it hard for this study to argue that an interesting variant is not simply the result of a writer's lack of concern, user haste, problems with predictive input software, or similar issues. Certainly, any text can contain mistakes, but the presence of an editor mitigates the risk that extremely nonstandard uses of script are simply cases of laziness or mistaken input. Editorial oversight does bring about a corresponding risk that the text may not have been composed by one author, but the two authors who participated in this study's interviews stated that they had the final say on both the lexical and orthographic content of their writing.

Finally, manga were also selected based on the fact that comics in all languages have a long history of using graphic variation as an element of dialogue (McCloud, 1993; Schwartz & Rubinstein-Avila, 2006). Comics are distinct from most other writing which contains dialogue in that they lack a method of explicitly describing the sound, tone, manner, or idiosyncrasies of a character's speech. That is, the author of a comic generally cannot use adjectives or adverbs to explain the sound of an

utterance (e.g., “he said loudly in a thick German accent”). Dialogue therefore becomes the medium’s “only traditional link with the warmth and nuance of the human voice” (McCloud, 2006, p. 13), with comic writers manipulating graphic elements of text to influence readers’ interpretation of the sound, style, or meaning of dialogue (McCloud, 1993; Wolk, 2007). The comic medium is therefore already established as a location where authors rely on “the irregular shapes of letters [to] resemble the irregular patterns in the way people speak” (Saraceni, 2003, p. 21), which creates further potential for manga to have more instances of purposeful script selection than other mediums.

In arguing for the benefits of using manga as a data source, I do not intend to reject the potential value of other sources. I selected manga because they have a number of distinct features that align with the particular needs of this study, but research into other mediums to date has been extremely valuable, and further research using other data sources will undoubtedly produce findings that this study cannot obtain due to its use of a single type of text. On the other hand, I also do not wish to imply that analysis of the use of script as an index necessitates the multimodal features that are a defining trait of comics. The use of variation to create socially meaningful effects is rooted in metalinguistic dialogues, knowledge, ideologies, and experiences independent of any particular medium of communication (Blommaert, 2016; Silverstein, 2003). In short, in arguing that manga are beneficial to this study I am not arguing that manga are the only or “best” potential material for examining the phenomenon, but rather that they are well suited for the particular goals and needs of this thesis.

1.5 Romanization and translation standards

While this thesis is focused on variation within the Japanese writing system, I hope that the results will be of value to researchers working with similar phenomena, frameworks, or mediums in other languages. Romanization of Japanese therefore almost always follows the Modified Hepburn system, as Modified Hepburn bases its rules upon English/Latin pronunciation (Carr, 1939; Gottlieb, 2010b). The only time the Modified Hepburn system is not used in this study is when a cited author uses a different method of Romanization for their own name, in accordance with the advice of Neustupný (1985).

Unlike in English, in Romanized Japanese each letter of the Latin alphabet represents only one phoneme. Readings of each letter used for vowels in Modified Hepburn are presented below in Table 2. In Modified Hepburn, extended vowel sounds are represented by either a macron (e.g., *ō*)

or a double vowel (e.g., *ii*) depending on the word type and vowel (Kenkyūsha, 1974). Separating extended vowels is important in Japanese since many words are differentiated by vowel length. For example, *koto* refers to the Japanese instrument, *kōtō* means “verbal”, *ko-tō* is an “isolated island”, and *kōto* means “coat” or “(tennis) court”. Vowels can also be extended to depict lengthening of a word’s pronunciation, in a manner analogous to writing “no” as “noooooo” in English.

Vowel	a	i	u	e	o
Pronunciation	as in “father”	as in “key”	as in “too”	as in “bet”	as in “toe”

Table 2: A guide to pronouncing vowels in Romanized Japanese.

Throughout this thesis, all excerpts of dialogue are initially presented in Japanese. This decision differs from general recommendations to transliterate a text first (APA, 2010), but is necessary because the uses of script this study is interested in are lost during Romanization. Romanization is instead placed after the original texts, and followed by an English translation. When possible, the orthographic elements under examination in an excerpt are highlighted in the original text, the Romanization, and the translation. In cases where an element of an excerpt does not have a direct equivalent in the English translation⁷, highlighting is instead limited to the original text and the Romanization. Quotes from the interviews are only presented in the original Japanese and in an English translation, as no readers would naturally rely on Romanized Japanese to understand them. Excerpts of panels from the manga are only used in place of text when a graphic element of the panel is under discussion, such as characters’ facial expressions or the font a text is written in, and are therefore accompanied by translations but not Romanization.

Lastly, in keeping with the English-audience targeted writing style, the presentation of Japanese names in this thesis matches the Western style of given-name first. As a result, although the three manga authors used in this study write their respective names (or pseudonyms) as Takeuchi Kozue, Unita Yumi, and Nagami Rinko, they are referred to as Kozue Takeuchi, Yumi Unita, and Rinko Nagami in the English portions of this thesis. When names appear in Japanese scripts the Japanese order is maintained.

⁷ For example, the sentence *watashi wa hashirimasu* translates to “I run”. *Watashi* and *hashirimasu* respectively translate as “I” and “run”, and so would be highlighted if the script used to write either word is of interest. However, *wa* is a grammatical particle which has no corresponding element in the English translation. Therefore, only the original Japanese and Romanization would contain highlighting if the thesis was discussing the use of script for *wa*.

1.6 Definition of “orthography” and “orthographic”

The word “orthography” is treated as a synonym for “script” throughout this thesis, based on a definition of “orthography” as a system of symbols used as a method of representing a language (“Orthography [Def. 4],” n.d.). The use of “orthography” in this paper will never refer to any other definitions of the word, including more common meanings that treat an orthography as a spelling system or its accompanying rules. Consequently, phrases like “orthographic variation” or “nonstandard orthographic usage” will refer only to variation between scripts, and never to variation in spelling. For example, 食べている and たべている (both “eating”) are both Romanized as *tabeteiru* since they use different scripts for their stem but are uniform in all other respects. In contrast, 食べている and 食べてる both use kanji for the verb stem, but are respectively Romanized as *tabeteiru* and *tabeteru* since they are different ways of spelling “eating” (perhaps analogous to “eating” vs. “eatin’”) (Y. Miyamoto, 2014). The difference between the second word pair would therefore not be referred to as “orthographic variation” in this paper. The need for a word which broadly encompasses any recognized collection of written symbols is important for this thesis, as it is looking at variation between a set of over 2,000 morphosyllabic characters, two contrasting moraic syllabaries, and a phonetic alphabet. Phrases like “changes to case”, “syllabary variation”, etc., are simply not encompassing enough to describe the potential replacement of any one of the four scripts used in Japanese writing with any of the others.

1.7 Structure

The next chapter of this thesis returns to the topic of Japanese script selection to provide a more comprehensive review of the phenomenon. Specifically, the chapter summarizes the history of the Japanese writing system, reviews research on motivations for Japanese script selection, and identifies the gaps in the field that motivate the current study. Chapter 3 then details the theoretical framework of indexicality used in this study, paying special attention to the creation of meaning through types of variation specific to writing. The chapter ends by cataloguing the elements prior studies have asserted make up each Japanese script’s indexical field. Chapter 4 discusses the study’s data collection and research methodology, introduces the analyzed manga, and lays out the specific procedures for data coding, interview design, and data analysis. Across Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7, the orthographic variation within each individual series of manga is presented and analyzed, and interview data is incorporated whenever relevant. In Chapter 8, the data from the

previous three chapters is discussed in relation to the study's research questions to provide a comprehensive analysis of how script was used as an element of meaning creation across the three manga. Finally, the thesis concludes with Chapter 9, which summarizes the findings of the study, discusses their importance, outlines the study's implications and limitations, and offers suggestions for further investigation of script selection for effect in Japanese writing.

Chapter 2: Orthographic variation in written Japanese

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study is focused on the use of script to index meaning in written Japanese. In the current chapter I will set the stage for this investigation by describing the established motives for script selection in Japanese writing, and defining the issues this study needs to tackle to contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon. First, I briefly trace the history of the Japanese writing system to its contemporary form in order to explain the origin and particularities of script selection in Japanese writing. Afterwards, I review research on Japanese script selection to date, paying specific attention to studies that discuss the creation of meaning through variant use of script. Throughout this chapter, the terms “index” or “indexicality” will not be used, as they do not appear in prior research. Instead, vocabulary will be borrowed or translated directly from earlier studies. The commonalities between prior descriptions of how Japanese authors use script to create a particular effect and the theory of indexicality will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1 The development of the Japanese writing system

The history of Japanese writing began around 400 AD with the introduction of the Chinese writing system to Japan. For some time after its introduction the Chinese writing system was not used to write any Japanese words beyond proper nouns (which were represented through using Chinese characters for their phonetic values alone), and literacy in Chinese was primarily used to facilitate diplomatic, economic, and cultural contact (DeFrancis, 1989; Konno, 2015; Saito, 2014; Sansom, 1928; Seeley, 1984). Some early writing did occur for a Japanese audience, but the use and order of characters follows Chinese grammar (barring errors on the part of the author), and accessing the writing required some Chinese literacy on the part of the reader (Konno, 2013, 2015; Sasahara, 2014).

It took around three centuries of gradual development for the Chinese writing system to be adapted into a method of writing Japanese. As can be imagined, tailoring a character-based script to represent a language with a different phonology, syntax, and grammar required significant artifice and ingenuity (Akamatsu, 2006). Certainly, it was not difficult to directly transform Chinese characters into representations of corresponding Japanese vocabulary (e.g., representing the Japanese word for “bear” (*kuma*) by writing the Chinese character which means “bear” (熊)). This process was quite common, and as a result most characters acquired auxiliary readings native to Japan (Sasahara, 2014). However, the Chinese writing system was ill-equipped for recording many

other aspects of the Japanese language, as it did not include an extant method for representing grammatical particles, inflection, Japanese vocabulary without Chinese equivalents, religious sutras, or any genre that depended on meter (Crowley, 1968; Hannas, 1996; R. A. Miller, 1967).

As one means of solving the aforementioned problems, and thereby better adjusting the Chinese writing system to the Japanese language, writers expanded upon the phonetic (i.e., without concern for the meaning of the character) use of Chinese characters (Konno, 2015; Saito, 2014; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). These phonetic values could originate in an (approximate) original Chinese reading of a character (called *on-yomi*), or through the new, local readings the characters had acquired through their use to represent Japanese vocabulary (called *kun-yomi*) (Konno, 2013; Sasahara, 2014). For instance, the Chinese pronunciation of the characters 比, 非, 悲, and 氷 was something like *hi* when the four characters came to Japan, and the characters 日 and 火 are used to represent Japanese vocabulary that are pronounced as *hi*. A writer could therefore theoretically use any of the six to represent the mora *hi* when spelling out a Japanese word like *hito* (person), or any proper noun that contained the mora *hi* (Konno, 2015; Sansom, 1928; Sasahara, 2014). However, since neither use relates to the meaning of any of the six characters, selection from multiple potential representations was a necessary, albeit arbitrary, feature of written Japanese from its outset⁸. For example, in the *Manyōshū* (a famous collection of ancient poetry compiled between 700 and 800 AD) around 20 different Chinese characters are used to phonetically represent the mora *ka* (Frellesvig, 2010). Furthermore, any movements for standardization of the phonetic use of Chinese characters would not gain momentum for many centuries. In 900 AD, around 970 characters were employed to represent the roughly 90 morae in Japanese phonology at the time (Akamatsu, 2006; Saito, 2014).

In and of itself, the phonetic use of Chinese characters is not unique to Japan. The phenomenon can be found in almost every country that adopted the Chinese writing system, and even occurred in China before Chinese characters were introduced to Japan (Konno, 2015; Sasahara, 2014). However, in Japan the technique evolved in ways that were not seen in any other nation (Ishikawa, 1999; Saito, 2014). Sometime around the 10th century AD, the Japanese developed two sets of phonetic characters based on simplified versions of Chinese characters (Konno, 2014a). The script now known as hiragana developed out of a cursive style of writing called *sōsho* (Akamatsu, 2006; Igarashi, 2007; Seeley, 1984). As an example, one reading of the character 以 is *i*. Simplified

⁸ There is evidence that authors sometimes attempted to use specific kanji to represent a mora based on the meaning of the kanji. For example, the first mora of the Japanese word *kawa* (river) was often written as 河, which means “river” and can be read as *ka*. However, this kind of selection is predicated on coincidental overlap between sound and meaning in Chinese and Japanese, and was not commonly possible (Konno, 2013).

cursive writing of 以 gradually resulted in the character ゝ, which became a representation of the mora *i* in the hiragana script. The second script, now known as katakana, originated in a practice of writing radicals from Chinese characters above other characters as a gloss to assist in reading (Frellesvig, 2010; Sansom, 1928). The katakana which represents the mora *i* (イ), for instance, came from the left radical from a Chinese character with the reading of *i* (伊). Once each phonetic script gained currency and settled into a fairly distinct set of symbols during the later Heian period (794-1185), Japanese could be written using (combinations of) three distinct scripts: Chinese characters with *on*- and/or *kun*-readings adopted for writing Japanese (hereafter “kanji” to differentiate them from characters used for reading and writing Chinese), hiragana, and katakana (Habein, 1984; Sasahara, 2014). In developing these three scripts, the Japanese writing system became truly distinct from Chinese, and took its first steps towards its contemporary form.

Still, the historical applications of each Japanese script bear only slight similarities to their current roles. As the various scripts evolved and differentiated themselves, a resultant effect was that writers would utilize different scripts to different extents based on their education, upbringing, gender, selected medium, social class, topic, genre, goals, intended audience, or even personal philosophy about the best way to write Japanese (Frellesvig, 2010; Gottlieb, 2005, 2010b; Habein, 1984; Konno, 2012; Takashima, 2001). Certainly, the presence of styles of writing is not unique to early Japanese writing; a reader of contemporary Japanese would rarely struggle to differentiate a newspaper article from a poem or a novel. However, before Japan’s orthographic reforms a telegram, government proclamation, and private diary could arguably be identified just by asking what scripts were prominent or absent in each, and the ability to read one writing style would not guarantee literacy in another (Konno, 2014a, 2015; Yoda, 2000). In summation, outside of dialogue in novels and plays, early “Japanese was written in a variety of ways which had in common that they reflected the [language spoken at the time] very indirectly or not much at all, mostly being very convoluted and involving some form of the classical written language” (Frellesvig, 2010, p. 381). Each “way” utilized different scripts for different purposes and to different extents, and was adopted by different types of authors at different points in history (Habein, 1984; Konno, 2015; Twine, 1991b).

For over a thousand years variation in the selection of script in written Japanese, as well as the selection of a kanji or *kana* to phonetically represent a particular mora, was therefore often unavoidable (Akamatsu, 2006; Frellesvig, 2010; Gottlieb, 2005; Hirose, 2007). Genre and writing style could predict the fundamental applications or combinations of script an author would use, but any further variation in script use within a text is difficult, if not impossible, to convincingly attribute

to anything beyond individual preference or temporally, geographically, and/or subculturally localized trends (Akamatsu, 2006; Konno, 2014a; Saito, 2014; Sansom, 1928). In other words, the freedom for variation given to authors in early Japanese was extreme, and the writing system lacked the norms and expectations generally considered necessary for researchers to recognize and describe motivated language variation within a text (Coupland, 2007, 2010; Jaspers, 2010; Sebba, 2007). As a result, although written Japanese has long contained a high amount of orthographic variation, the phenomenon of script selection that this paper is concerned with is considered to begin with the codification of a single, nationally codified method of writing the Japanese language. The first steps towards this codification began during the Edo period (1603-1868), and the process was finalized across three major series of reforms between 1900 and 1950 (Akamatsu, 2006; Frellesvig, 2010; Gottlieb, 1995; Hirose, 2007; Konno, 2012).

2.1.1 The major roles of each script in contemporary writing

The ultimate result of the orthographic reforms to the Japanese writing system can be summarized as follows: all standard writing now follows the same general conventions for script use. The roles of kanji have been reduced, but it remains the primary script used for writing Sino-Japanese vocabulary, Japanese nouns, and the non-inflectional elements of most Japanese verbs and adjectives (Neustupný, 1985). The script still consists of thousands of individual characters, and each character still possesses distinct meanings and anywhere from one to over seventeen recognized readings (Sasahara, 2014; Shirakawa, 2003). This combination of both logographic and phonographic elements has led to kanji being described as a morphosyllabic script (Matsunaga, 1996). While the phonetic use of kanji has been mostly replaced by hiragana and katakana, the characters are still used for their phonetic values alone in special cases (Matsunaga, 1996; Shinchōsha, 2009; Takashima, 2001; Tranter, 2008).

Additionally, the use of kanji is now influenced by the government's *jōyō kanji* (kanji for normal use) list. This list defines 2,136 kanji characters⁹ that writing aimed at a general audience is recommended to use (and limit itself to). While the *jōyō kanji* list contains no actual restrictive power, it establishes the kanji students are expected to learn by the end of high school in Japan, and is specifically referenced in style guides written/used by many prominent Japanese publishing houses (Honda, 2009; Masuji, 2011; Ogura, 2004; Sasahara, 2002, 2004; Shirakawa, 2003). Still, the

⁹ When the *jōyō kanji* list was created in 1981, it contained only 1,945 characters. The increase to 2,136 characters occurred in 2010 (Sawa, 2010).

exact number of kanji currently used across all contemporary Japanese writing is unknown. The highest level of the *kanji kentei* (a kanji test aimed at native speakers) requires knowledge of around 6,000 distinct characters (Nihonkanjinōryokukenteikyōkai, 2015), but Kess and Miyamoto (1999) note that only around 3,000 characters are actively used, and around 2,000 characters account for over 99% of the kanji in almost any text.

Script reforms also removed redundant characters from the hiragana and katakana syllabaries, and reduced both syllabaries to sets of 46 characters (Akamatsu, 2006; Backhouse, 1993; DeFrancis, 1989; Konno, 2014a). Forty-five of the characters in each set represent a single mora in Japanese phonology. Two exceptions, the hiragana は and katakana ハ, instead have two readings. Both は and ハ usually represent the mora *ha*, but are also read as *wa* when used in a specific role as a grammatical marker (Crump, 1986). In contemporary written Japanese, hiragana is mainly used to represent the grammatical elements of a sentence, including particles, demonstratives, and inflection. Katakana is primarily used to represent non-Chinese loans, known as *gairaigo*, and certain onomatopoeia, or to replace difficult or uncommon kanji representations (Akamatsu, 2006; Neustupný, 1985; Rowe, 1976). Finally, the Latin alphabet has also been given a limited role in the writing system, and is called *rōmaji* when used to Romanize Japanese (Reiman, 2001). Three major methods of writing Japanese in *rōmaji* exist, and each has its own benefits and drawbacks (Campbell-Kibler, 2011; Gottlieb, 2010b; Reiman, 2001).

2.1.2 Introducing orthographic variation in contemporary Japanese

While the presence of codified guidelines for the use of each script in contemporary Japanese means that writing is now far more systematic than in the past, both within and between written works, there is still substantial room for variation in the use of script (Joyce et al., 2012). Some of the variation is due to the fact that the general applications of each script detailed in 2.1.1 are broad (and at times vague) conventions rather than rules, which leaves “a quite considerable residual area to which no specific rules [for script use] apply” (Crump, 1986, p. 63; see also R. A. Brown, 1985; Konno, 2014b; Usami, 2004). However, even more extreme variation in script use is made possible by the fact that all the scripts still possess the theoretical potential to represent any element of the Japanese language, and variant uses of script are not necessarily viewed as “wrong” (Hirose, 2007; Matsuda, 2001; Sakai, 2011; Takebe, 1981).

As a practical example of the potential for variation afforded by the contemporary Japanese writing system, consider the sentence “*watashi wa kissaten de kōhī o nomu*” (I drink coffee at a café).

In Example 1 through Example 4 below, four ways of writing the sentence are presented, and each is acceptable according to current writing conventions. In order to assist non-Japanese speaking readers, spaces are added between the sentence elements in each example, and a rōmaji gloss is placed above the sentences. Neither feature is natural in Japanese writing.

	<i>watashi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>kissaten</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kōhī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nomu</i>
Example 1	私	は	喫茶店	で	コーヒー	を	飲む
Example 2	私	は	喫茶店	で	コーヒー	を	のむ
Example 3	わたし	は	喫茶店	で	コーヒー	を	のむ
Example 4	私	は	喫茶店	で	珈琲	を	飲む

Between the four sentences, Example 1 is arguably the most common way of writing the sentence, and Example 4 would be rejected from some publications for representing *kōhī* (coffee) with kanji that, while commonly used, are outside of the *jōyō* kanji list (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 2000; Masuji, 2011; A. Nakamura, 1983). Some elements of each sentence are orthographically inflexible in standard writing: in all four examples hiragana represents the grammatical particles *wa*, *de*, and *o*, and the inflectional part (*mu*) of the verb *nomu* (to drink). However, while kanji is used for most Japanese nouns and verb stems, the stem of the verb *nomu* is instead written in hiragana in Example 2 and 3, and *watashi* (I) is written in hiragana in Example 3. As mentioned earlier, katakana represents the loanword *kōhī* (coffee) in all sentences besides Example 4.

Further orthographic variation is then possible if an author decides to ignore general conventions for script use. In the representations of “*watashi wa kissaten de kōhī o nomu*” below, the sentence is written either in one script or random combinations of all four scripts. The five examples would all be unthinkable in formal writing, but Example 5 (written only in hiragana) and Example 6 (written only in katakana) could be normative within the specific, respective contexts of a children’s book and a telegram (Rowe, 1976). The seventh and eighth representations, which I created by arbitrarily applying different scripts to each word or sentence element, are decidedly nonstandard but by no means illegible. Finally, Example 9 is created through using kanji for their phonetic values alone¹⁰. While not a phenomenon that would occur in any standard text, this sort of playful, almost code-like writing is occasionally still seen in contemporary Japan (Kataoka, 1997; Saiga, 1989)

¹⁰ The character 御 is actually written in hiragana as お, whereas the hiragana is a grammatical marker written as を. Both hiragana are pronounced the same in contemporary Japanese, however, so if this sentence was deciphered and read aloud this change would not be noticeable.

	<i>watashi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>kissaten</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kōhī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nomu</i>
Example 5	わたし	は	きっさてん	で	こーひー	を	のむ
Example 6	ワタシ	ハ	キッサテン	デ	コーヒー	ヲ	ノム
Example 7	ワタシ	は	KISSATEN	で	KŌHĪ	を	飲む
Example 8	私	は	キッサテン	DE	こーひー	を	NOMU
Example 9	和田氏	輪	吃差天	出	個宇非違	御	野無

In short, although the use of script in contemporary Japanese is in its most stable state, the writing system still provides the potential for extensive orthographic play (Gottlieb, 2010a). Furthermore, while the above examples were all created for the purpose of illustration, decidedly nonstandard uses of script are a well-recognized part of the Japanese linguistic landscape (Joyce et al., 2012; A. Nakamura, 1983; Tsuchiya, 1977). Researchers have long been interested in why Japanese authors use script in a marked or nonstandard manner, as study on the topic dates back to soon after the writing system entered its current form (Masuji, 2013; Saiga, 1955). However, while many motives for script selection have been established, there is much we have yet to understand about the reasons authors vary their use of script in contemporary written Japanese.

From here, this chapter will change from a discussion of what script selection in contemporary Japanese writing *is* to a review of research on *why* script selection occurs. Within the summary of research to date, special attention will be paid to the genesis and development of the idea that marked uses of script can be intended to create meaning within a text, as this is the specific motive of interest to this current study. Ultimately, the review of literature on script selection will establish the findings this study builds upon, detail the recognized motives for script selection any study of the phenomenon needs to be aware of, and define the gaps in our understanding of script selection for effect which motivate the current investigation.

2.2 Research into orthographic variation

Empirical studies from the first decades of research into orthographic variation in Japanese writing were primarily interested in the extent to which katakana was being used to write Japanese and Sino-Japanese vocabulary in newspapers and magazines. Perhaps the earliest study from this initial period was conducted by Saiga in 1955 (Masuji, 2013). Saiga began his research by creating a corpus from 580 pages randomly selected from 13 magazines, and examining the uses of katakana within.

Although katakana is generally not the standard or preferred script for writing (Sino-)Japanese vocabulary, the script respectively represented an average of 10% and 2% of the total amount of *wago* (native Japanese words) and *kango* (Chinese-derived words) throughout the corpus. Saiga attributed most of the variant use of katakana he encountered to practical motivations, arguing that the script was often selected to avoid difficult (or non-*jōyō*) kanji, or mark a word being used for a slang or secondary meaning. However, Saiga did note that these explanations could not explain all the marked katakana use he encountered, and concluded that some uses of script “ultimately appear to be greatly dependent on authors’ individual idiosyncrasies or habits” (Saiga, 1955, p. 41)¹¹.

Saiga’s findings were echoed and expanded upon in a work by Tsuchiya a few decades later, which similarly took issue with perceived insufficiencies in descriptions of the uses of katakana in Japanese writing (Tsuchiya, 1977). Tsuchiya used an extensive corpus collected from issues of the *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, and *Mainichi* newspapers from 1966. Like Saiga (1955), Tsuchiya focused his attention on the use of katakana for native Japanese vocabulary, but he was more specifically concerned with terms that should be written in hiragana according to the guidelines for script use published by the three newspapers. In explaining the variation he noted, Tsuchiya mainly repeated the arguments made by Saiga. His study found examples of katakana used to draw attention to a word, and the use of katakana for words like *kubi* (neck) was noted to almost always occur when the author intended to indicate a slang or non-literal meaning (in the case of *kubi*, “to fire”). Where Tsuchiya’s analysis is distinct from Saiga’s is in a proposal that katakana is occasionally selected to create an “effect” (*kōka*) different from that created by hiragana. What each script’s different effects are, however, is not described, although Tsuchiya does posit that the nonstandard nature of some observed uses of katakana are to help a text avoid the stiffer feel of more conventional writing.

Tsuchiya’s assertion that nonstandard selection of a script (katakana specifically) is used to change the feel of a sentence is interesting, and similar comments can be found in many other early works on script selection. However, although the concept is often acknowledged, it does not receive much explicit attention, investigation, or description. For example, Rowe (1976, 1981) conducted two studies into the use of hiragana and katakana for sentence elements conventionally written in kanji. Like in the research described previously, Rowe’s primary interest was in the extent of orthographic variation in edited mediums. He attributed most of the variation he noted to emphasis, personal custom, or “the individual journalist’s conception of good sentence expression” (1981, p. 122), but also proposed that nonstandard use of katakana may be intended to create meaning or

¹¹ Original Japanese: 全般的にみて、結局は執筆者個人個人のクセに左右される様子が大きいように思われる。

add color to a text. In some cases Rowe was able to clearly define the meaning created through the use of the script, such as an erotic connotation evidenced in the repeated observation of katakana used to represent Japanese words in advertisements for sexual aids. However, the definition of what specific “color” was aimed for is generally left undefined, and Rowe concludes that many uses of katakana occurred for “often unclear reasons” (Rowe, 1976, p. 74).

Early research on orthographic variation therefore established practical motives for variant uses of katakana quite early on, but the use of script to create meaning, although recognized at the end of many studies, only saw cursory attention or description. The most influential early attempt at directly describing affective motivations behind the use of katakana is a series of papers by Satake (1980, 1982, 1989). The earliest of Satake’s studies (1980) does not specifically focus on individual selections of script, but is more primarily concerned with the proportion of each Japanese script used in youth-oriented magazines. The study’s findings showed that katakana and kanji each represented about 20% of the vocabulary throughout the examined magazines. This distribution differed greatly from the one noted in magazines aimed at a general audience, wherein katakana and kanji respectively comprised about 5% and 35% of a text. The primary reason for the difference in the proportion of script use was found to be contrasting rates of the use of slang and loan words between the two types of magazine, which naturally increased the presence of katakana. However, some of the disparity was also attributed to a higher frequency use of katakana to represent native Japanese vocabulary in the youth-targeted magazines. Satake argued that this nonstandard or conspicuous use of katakana was designed to signal the author’s emotion or evaluation, and bring the writing closer to what he referred to as a *hanashikotoba* (spoken) style wherein one writes in a manner intended to imitate speech.

Satake’s argument appears to have been influential, as the term *hanashikotoba* was quickly adopted by similar studies to explain the effect intended by nonstandard katakana usage unrelated to emphasis or legibility (Nomura, 1981; Yoshimura, 1985). While only a small element of Satake’s initial study, this possibility that katakana was used to bridge a gap between writing and speech became a major aspect of his later works (1982, 1989). Both later studies took their data from letters or comments written by Japanese youth, and compared the proportions of script in these texts against that in other mediums. Again, the proportion of kanji in the data sets was noted to be lowest in the youth writing, which in turn contained the highest the proportion of katakana use for native vocabulary. Although some nonstandard katakana usage was found to be related to emphasis or other previously noted considerations, Satake also concluded that the young writers were using the script to show that a word or phrase is strongly connected to their feelings based on the common

use of katakana for evaluative terms like *kakkoi* (cool), *dame* (no good), or *hidoi* (awful). Satake then argued that the use of script to express one's feelings was part of a *shin-genbunitchi* (new unification of speech and writing)¹² style, wherein (young) writers utilized unconventional script choice, tildes, ellipses, doodles, colloquialisms, changes to the size of characters, and other elements absent from formal writing to bridge gaps between spoken and written language.

In summation, the first wave of research produced extremely influential discoveries regarding many motives for script selection in contemporary Japanese writing. Perhaps most important is the basic finding of all the studies surveyed so far: atypical script selection cannot be summarily dismissed as arising from “mistaken use, whim, an inability to recall kanji, or a desire to attract attention through eccentricity”¹³ (Tsuchiya, 1977, p. 141). Rather, script selection is a recognizable practice that occurs for specific purposes. Furthermore, initial studies showed that script selection occurs even within heavily edited mediums, and established two primary motivations for nonstandard uses of script. The first, changes to script for emphasis, legibility, or other practical concerns, has been demonstrated in almost every study on script selection to date, and is generally uncontroversial (I. Inoue et al., 2006; Norimatsu & Horio, 2005, 2006; Sasahara, 2002; Masami Shibata, 1998). The second motivation for script variation, which is the primary interest of this study, is intentional departure from orthographic conventions to create a specific effect. While the first wave of research showed that this motivation is also plausible, a number of issues with the studies cited so far limit the depth to which it can be understood.

Firstly, all of the terms the cited researchers used to describe the effect created by nonstandard uses of katakana are somewhat vague. Stating that a change to script adds color, voice, or emotion is not a clear definition of what effect is occurring, or why the effect occurs. Satake's claim that nonstandard uses of katakana in youth magazines work with other elements to bring a text closer to the way teens speak to their friends represents an improvement in specificity, and his studies recognize that multiple interpretations of a variant are possible. However, it is questionable whether a variant use of script can be understood based on the virtue of the genre wherein it commonly occurs, or who its users are (Masuji, 2011). That youth magazines or writing use katakana more extensively than in standard writing tells us that the use of this script for effect is perhaps more popular with the target audience, but does not evidence the author's motives. What writers

¹² This appellation is based on the *genbunitchi* (unification of writing and speech) movement in the Meiji period (1868-1912), which pushed for mainstream Japanese writing to more closely resemble the spoken Japanese language (specifically the form spoken in upper-class circles in Tokyo) (Gottlieb, 2012; M. Nakamura, 2014).

¹³ Original Japanese: 決して、誤用とか、気まぐれとか、漢字が思いつかなかったとか、気をてらったとかのために仮名書きにされたのではない。

are attempting to convey via the script may also relate to something more specific than simply the expression of one's feelings (*kimochi*). Furthermore, even when discussing demographically-defined populations, the idea that one unified style of speech or language use exists is untenable (Coupland, 2007; Elbow, 2007). Both spoken and written language entail a number of styles, idiosyncrasies, tones, and genres, and to state that script selection attempts to draw writing closer to casual speech therefore overlooks the diverse range of voices and styles that both types of communication encompass.

Most early studies also focus on the use of katakana, with minimal attention given to variation in the use of kanji and hiragana (Masuji, 2011; Robertson, 2013). This targeted interest is understandable. Hiragana and kanji both possess some overlapping roles, and clear, conscious selection is therefore harder to identify (Gottlieb, 2005, 2011; Hayashi, 1982; Honna, 1995; Takashima, 2001). Furthermore, increasing use of katakana and loan words in Japanese writing has long been a subject of debate and controversy in Japan, which further focuses scholarship on katakana over the other three scripts (BBC, 2013; Tomoda, 2009; Twine, 1991b). However, by ignoring or only cursorily attending to variant use of the other scripts, none of the studies cited so far can be said to examine the full extent or fundamental motivations of contrastive variation. For example, Tsuchiya's aforementioned study (1977) argued that katakana was selected to create an effect which differs from that of hiragana. However, in the study's data a number of native Japanese words (e.g., *isu* (chair), *hagaki* (postcard), *tsuyu* (rainy season)) were actually most commonly encountered in katakana in the data, with hiragana therefore the locally nonstandard representation. Despite this, the corollary of the previous argument (i.e., that hiragana is being chosen to evoke a feeling absent from the locally standard katakana representation) is not considered to any depth.

One exception to the katakana-focus of early studies is a more psycholinguistic, laboratory-setting project by Yoshimura (1985). Yoshimura took ten sentences from newspapers and magazines and used them to create two tests. The first test was made by rendering each sentence entirely in katakana. Participants were then asked to re-write the ten sentences using script as they saw fit. In the second test one word from each sentence was replaced with a box containing a representation of the selected word in each script. Participants were asked to choose their preferred representation for the ten chosen words given the otherwise orthographically unaltered excerpts they occurred within. When she asked both sets of participants to explain their orthographic decisions, Yoshimura found that one reason participants gave for selecting a script was to make the "feeling" of a sentence come out (*kanji ga deru*). However, each script was selected for this purpose at different times, and participants opinions about which script best fit the feel of each word in each sentence

were not unanimous. Furthermore, Yoshimura noted that the idea that a script could produce a specific feeling (*kanji*) was more common amongst younger participants, with older participants more likely to attribute their selections to personal custom or practical concerns. While significantly broader and more context-sensitive than most early studies, it should be noted that Yoshimura's study is experimental in nature, and did not ask participants about the specific feeling they believe a particular script created.

The last major issue with the first wave of research is that data is generally taken from individual excerpts presented out of context (Masuji, 2011). As a result, explanation of the effect created by a script is often based on the researchers' intuition or perception, rather than trends or patterns evidenced within the text itself. In producing precise description of any effect intended by variant language use, it is necessary to describe and contrast the specific contexts and speech acts where the variant and the standard occur, rather than just examine the immediate context of isolated sentences (Ochs, 2012; Silverstein, 1985; Wortham, 2010). Ultimately, discussing variation on a lexical basis alone makes it impossible to understand the exact linguistic activities an author was engaged in, and thereby denies access to an important route via which language finds meaning (Bakhtin, 1981; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992).

In presenting an extensive criticism of previous literature at this point in the literature review I do not intend to specifically find fault with the first wave of studies. Rather, this critique is important now since the early studies on script selection contain clear examples of issues often still recognizable in more recent empirical investigations. Studies which focus on the examination of nonstandard katakana usage, or those which explicitly build on or reference concepts like *shin-genbunitchi* (see Hudson & Sakakibara, 2007; Igarashi, 2007; Inoue et al., 2006; K. Nakamura, 1983; Narita & Sakakibara, 2004; Norimatsu & Horio, 2005, 2006; Sasahara, 2002; Shibata, 1998; Sugimoto, 2009) are still primarily concerned with documenting differences in katakana use between various genres or mediums, examine script selection on the level of individual words or sentences, and treat the use of script to create meaning as a final aside rather than the primary topic of study. The above studies have, of course, produced valuable and novel observations regarding script selection in general. Shibata's (1998) study, for example, notes a phenomenon wherein loan words are written in hiragana, described as a technique to create surprise or grab attention, and Norimatsu and Horio (2006) found that words dealing with actions or emotions are more likely to be the targets of variant orthographic usage. Ultimately though, the (often secondary or brief) analysis of how and why script can create meaning in these studies is still limited by the same issues critiqued in works from decades before.

2.2.1 Script selection to encode affect

Early empirical studies on the use of script therefore made great strides in expanding the understanding of how katakana is used in Japanese writing. However, it was not until the 1990s that an explanation for why a particular script may be able to create a particular effect became widespread. Across a wide variety of works, ranging from research on graphic flourishes in letters to descriptions of argot-like language manipulation on the internet, researchers began to argue that “each [Japanese] script has historically acquired a number of associations... [which] can be used to deliberately project a stereotypical atmosphere or image” (Miyake, 2007, p. 58). In linking the image or feel evoked by each script to associations it has acquired through its specific uses or history, this vein of argumentation removes some of the issues discussed in the previous section by providing a specific explanation for how and why a particular script is selected from all possible options.

At its most basic, the idea that each script can create specific effects related to its historical uses or users is similar to the idea that common uses of a font create associations which subsequently affects its selection, or the traditional beliefs in many cultures that the quality or style of handwriting reflects aspects of an author’s identity (Driver, Buckley, & Frink, 1996; Lester, 2014; L. Miller, 2011; Spitzmüller, 2012; Unseth, 2005). The argument is also not new outside of empirical studies, as authors, poets, and rhetoricians have long argued that script-based impressions or images can alter the definition or interpretation of a word or text (Akizuki, 2005; Hayashi, 1982; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 2000; Nagano, 1976; A. Nakamura, 1983; Takamura, 1955). For example, A. Nakamura wrote that changing the normally katakana-represented loan word *kōhī* (coffee) into kanji causes the script’s age and prestige to create an implication that the drink will not be cheap or instant coffee, but rather a beverage served “in a rough, thick cup upon a table with cabriole legs inside a dark, brick café”¹⁴ (1983, p. 38). Similarly, the poet Takamura (1955) lamented the decreased use of the kanji script dictated by the orthographic reforms discussed in 2.1.1, and argued that the replacement of certain kanji with *kana*, a change that has no effect on the lexical or literally denotational content of his message, makes both him and his writing appear shallow.

While the general belief that each script can evoke a particular feel or image may have influenced early researchers, it took many decades for it to see explicit engagement in empirical

¹⁴ Original Japanese: 漢字で「珈琲」を書いてあると、煉瓦づくりの薄暗い館で、猫脚のテーブルの上に、ラブな感じの厚手の碗がのっかっているさまが思い浮かぶ。少なくとも、インスタントコーヒーは出て来そうもない。

studies outside of Yoshimura's (1985) aforementioned research. However, the researchers that began to refer to this idea were still not specifically focused on explaining the selection specific scripts for effect. Rather, their studies were broader investigations into the use of affect-encoding devices of all kinds in mediums like notes or letters (Kataoka, 1995, 1997), blogs and text messages (Miyake, 2007; S. Miyamoto & Kotera, 2004; Sakai, 2011; Tanabe, 2005; Tochihara, 2010), or methods of online communication like BBSs (Gottlieb, 2010a; Hudson & Sakakibara, 2007; Nishimura, 2003a, 2003b). These cited studies are too similar to both each other and previously detailed research, or touch on the topic of script selection too briefly or broadly, to make it valuable to detail them individually. As such, I will summarize Kataoka's research (1995, 1997) as a general representation of the goals, contents, and script-related findings of the cited studies as a whole.

Kataoka conducted two separate surveys on the wide variety of nonstandard or affective elements in letters written by women. In his 1995 study, Kataoka examined the use of the sentence final particles *ne* and *yo* by adolescent and 20-34 year old women, and closed with an analysis of the writers' occasional use of katakana for these elements. In the 1997 study he instead looked at the paralinguistic features in 65 letters written by women between 15 and 33 years of age, and discussed script as one of these features. Explanation of nonstandard uses of script was therefore only one part of each study. However, the analysis of script selection for effect in the studies shows some important improvements on the studies detailed in previous sections. For instance, Kataoka's 1997 study recognizes variation between all four scripts, and discusses the potential for scripts besides katakana to be selected for intentional effect. In the 1995 study Kataoka focuses only on the use of katakana, but, although admittedly speculative due to a low number of tokens, details motives for the script's use based on the comparisons of the content of each message and its intended reader. For instance, Kataoka argues that a katakana-represented *ne* used by seniors had an implication of cuteness or cherished feelings, as seniors "tend[ed] to use Katakanaized *ne* for the sentences that are suggestions, encouragement, and requests" (Kataoka, 1995, p. 443) in writing aimed at younger interlocutors. In contrast, the use of katakana for *ne* between peers was argued to establish camaraderie or reciprocity, as writers of similar ages most frequently used katakana to write the particle *ne* when asking for confirmation. Use of katakana for *yo* was instead seen to occur more commonly to intensify the force of an utterance. In the end, Kataoka concluded that katakana represented particles "can visually carry out internal evaluation in contexts where the writer wants to put some kind of emphasis, whether emotional or functional" (Kataoka, 1995, p. 447). Kataoka's conclusions are emblematic of the others cited in this section in that they show improvements in the depth and detail to which the effect created by a script is evidenced and described. However, the

specific effect described is still somewhat vague, and script selection is still a secondary focus of the studies, with few researchers explicitly focusing on the interaction between multiple variants for the representation of an item throughout a large text or texts written by a single author (Masuji, 2011).

Outside of sociolinguistic research, the idea that each script is used to evoke specific associations is also cited to explain variation in poetry analysis. In this field, examples of script use are discussed in greater detail, and interesting quantitative evidence for the importance of script's role in poetic writing is also established. For example, across the 50 drafts of Matsuo Bashō's (1644-1694) haiku examined by Hiraga (2006), 45 contained orthographic revisions, while only 31 included any phonological changes, and less than half showed evidence of semantic or syntactic alteration. In presenting examples of orthographic revision, such as multiple representations of the phrase "*semi no koe*" (the sound of the cicada(s)), Hiraga argues that the final draft's use of script (蟬の声) relies on the denseness of kanji to emphasize the vivid, sharp sound of the insect's cry, which could not be transmitted through the smoother, hiragana-only representation (せみのこえ).

Similarly, in Gardner's (2006) analysis of works by the poets Fuyue Anzai and Fumio Hayashi, the nonstandard application of script is analyzed as an important aspect of how the poets signal or create subtextual meaning. Examples include Anzai's selection of the obscure and visually dense characters 街衢 (*gaiku*, more commonly 街区, but glossed as *machi* (town)), or 魔される (*unasareru*, to be tormented, normally written only in hiragana), which Gardner analyses as specifically selected to evoke a dense, inhospitable, or foreboding feeling. Also of note is Anzai's use of the rare kanji for *dattan kaikyō* (鞆鞆海峡, the Tartar Strait), which Gardner explains as selected to contrast with the hiragana representation of the nearby word *tefufefu* (てふてふ, butterfly (archaic)) to orthographically recreate a contrast between the rugged, inhospitable nature of the rocky terrain and the frailty and delicacy of a butterfly. In the discussion of Fumio Hayashi's work script makes up less of the analysis, but in one poem the word *kakumei* (revolution) is noted in katakana rather than the standard kanji. Again, Gardner understands this choice as related to associations with the script, stating that katakana's links to the foreign are used to signal that this revolution has resulted from outside influences. While the analysis in both studies relies heavily on the researcher's interpretations, it is clear that the poets are purposefully utilizing script as part of their poems, and are highly concerned with the best representation of the words in their works.

Ultimately, when taken together works on affect-coding devices in Japanese writing show that writers are undoubtedly using script to contribute to the meaning of a text. However, analysis still proceeds in a very top-down manner which ignores the use of script around a variant, and katakana is given much more focus than any other script (Masuji, 2011, 2013). As with empirical

studies on the nonstandard use of katakana, the studies discussed in this section also mostly engage with script selection on an excerpt-to-excerpt basis, and often treat any individual use of script as understandable through referencing prior dialogues regarding why writers use each script. For instance, in Kataoka's aforementioned 1997 study he presents a single sentence which has been written entirely in katakana and states that it is "clearly an intentional manipulation for emphasis or familiarity with the addressee because [the] sentence is usually written in hiragana" (1997, p. 115). This description is typical of research cited so far in that it relies on the researcher's personal conception of standard or "usual" script use, and treats the intended effect as self-evident without showing a pattern of nonstandard selection of katakana within the defined context (in this case, emails by the author which are casual or express familiarity). While these descriptions are often convincing and may even be correct, we must minimally recognize that they are only accessing an author's intent in the broadest sense.

2.2.2 Context-sensitive investigation

Within the last decade, a few studies on script selection have attempted to tackle the issues detailed throughout this chapter. The earliest is an investigation into the use of nonstandard script in manga and advertising by Narasaki (2009). This study arose from the author's observation that descriptions of katakana in textbooks did not cover the full range of the script's use in Japanese, with nonstandard application either ignored or mentioned only as a way to make writing seem cool. While Narasaki is focused on katakana, her data collection and analysis provide a significant improvement in the detail to which variant or nonstandard use of the script is described.

Narasaki first examined nonstandard uses of katakana across the dialogue of five volumes of the manga series *Nodame kantābire* (*Nodame Cantabile*). The selection of the manga genre departs from more commonly used data sources like magazines or electronically mediated communication, but allowed Narasaki to detail the contexts where variation occurred to a greater extent. Narasaki found that the use of katakana for certain features was limited to specific identities or character behaviors. For example, the use of katakana for the masculine first person pronoun *ore* was restricted to two younger characters, both of whom were "cooler" or "edgier" than the others. Non-native Japanese speakers' dialogue also contained conspicuously nonstandard uses of katakana, as did that of the goofy, bubbly female protagonist. Narasaki argues that the limited contexts for this variation (that is, within the dialogue of edgy, foreign, or eccentric characters) evidences that

katakana is used for specific purposes, and that its marked use can be intended to create multiple distinct effects within a single text.

Interestingly, Narasaki also found that the use of katakana for the main character's first person pronouns decreased steadily across the five analyzed volumes. This was understood as a result of the author of *Nodame kantābire* actively reassessing the most appropriate use of script while writing the manga, and leaning towards standard (kanji) representations for *ore* as the protagonist's behavior became more relaxed and adult. In other words, the author was seen to reconsider which script she felt best matched the protagonist's identity, with his growth in maturity marked across an orthographic channel. While primarily focused on katakana, Narasaki's holistic, rather than excerpt-based, analysis therefore provided marked improvements in the detail her findings could provide, and her data showed strong evidence that a marked use of any one script could create specific effects that are only observable through context-sensitive analysis.

The second contemporary study of note was conducted by Masuji (2011; see also 2013, 2015), and focused on nonstandard orthographic selection with the specific intent of examining all uses of script throughout a text in a context-sensitive manner. Masuji was particularly interested in the use of script in relation to politeness or face, and attempted to contrast each representation of a word in her data to explain why a specific script was selected in some cases and not in others. Data was taken from a corpus of corporate emails, which Masuji refers to as "private media", and a selection of advertisements and television programs, or "public media". In general, the emails showed that orthographic variation was more common in situations where the topic was casual or the risk of offending the interlocutor's face was low. That is, as the formality of the situation increased, variant or nonstandard use decreased. A demonstrative case is that of an employee who would write his name in hiragana in lighter communication like private lunch invitations, but switch to kanji at the end of emails discussing work related matters.

Analysis of "public media" similarly began by breaking up the data based on the nature of the message or program. Again, adherence to orthographic standards was stricter in texts requiring a formal or serious tone, such as in subtitles (*teroppu*) in news programs discussing natural disasters, or advertisements for funeral homes and medical care. In contrast, variant representations in katakana occurred in high-tech, modern, or foreign products, or more casual, variety programming, which was taken to indicate that the script was intended to create a light, engaging, or casual tone. Uniquely, Masuji also specifically discussed evidence that the desire to use a particular script could override general recommendations for variation in script to improve legibility. Cited examples like *ボイステ禁止* (conventionally *ボイ捨て禁止*), *ラクラクチャージ* (conventionally *楽々チャージ* or

らくらくチャージ), and おススメアクセス (conventionally お薦めアクセス or おすすめアクセス) all show applications of katakana which degrade the clarity of word boundaries in comparison to their conventional representations. This suggests that writers can place enough importance on the effect they wish to create through script selection to ignore general orthographic proscriptions intended to assist with legibility.

Ultimately, the two studies presented here show how context-sensitive investigation of script use throughout large corpora can markedly improve the extent to which we can trace the motives for any particular selection of script. Each study still focuses on applications of katakana to a greater extent than variation between hiragana and kanji, and this issue limits Narasaki's study in particular. However, in each work contrasting applications of all scripts are at least recognized and discussed, and analysis is based more on observable trends within the data than descriptions of what effects each script creates taken from prior works. Both of the studies reviewed in this section have goals which are slightly different from those of this current study, but provide excellent models for further research into orthographic variation and selection. In this thesis, I specifically attempt to draw upon the strengths of both studies to further contribute to understanding of the use of script for effect.

2.2.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter has detailed a range of studies that investigate the motives for script selection in order to show the growth and development of research into the topic throughout the last few decades. The cited studies reach a general consensus regarding many aspects of why variation occurs, and taken as a whole contain undeniable evidence that conscious orthographic selection exists within almost all genres of written Japanese. Furthermore, findings regarding the influence of medium, audience, genre, and message on the extent to which variation occurs are extremely valuable, as are those showing which word types are the most common targets of script selection.

In summarizing the explanations for script selection evidenced in prior research, we can find three established reasons for why orthographic variation occurs in contemporary Japanese writing. The first is simply that some variation is a natural consequence of using multiple scripts, and results from individual orthographic preferences, kanji knowledge, or writing customs (Saiga, 1955; Masami Shibata, 1998; Tsuchiya, 1977). The second, more extensively covered reason is that authors vary their use of script in response to practical needs related to legibility. In particular, the use of katakana to delineate word boundaries, mark or stress a word as requiring specific attention, or

replace kanji an author feels are too complex have been noted so frequently that they can almost be considered entirely conventional in contemporary writing (Crump, 1986; Neustupný, 1985; Usami, 2004). Although not the primary interest of this study, both of these reasons for orthographic variation in Japanese are important to recognize, as when analyzing the motives behind any locally marked instance of script selection this study must always consider whether a flexible writing style or needs of legibility can explain the variant representation.

However, although the second line of reasoning is well established, the overfocus on katakana has been problematic. Looking only at variant uses of katakana fails to recognize that conscious selection of a script always implies the rejection of two others (Akizuki, 2005; Masuji, 2011). That is, proving, for example, that kanji has been replaced by katakana in order to emphasize a word does not help us understand why hiragana and rōmaji were rejected for the same purpose. Even ignoring rōmaji, which does not have the presence of the other three scripts, selection of one script over another will still involve the eschewal of a third (L. Miller, 2011; Saint-Jacques, 1987). It is of course possible that this rejection also occurs for reasons related to readability. Nomura (1981), for instance, raises the phrase ヒモも (*himo mo*, a string too) as a case where katakana is the only acceptable representation for the word *himo* according to guidebooks on script selection. Using hiragana for *himo* would cause the noun and particle to run together (i.e., ひもも) and the kanji for *himo* (紐) is not included in the government's list of recommended kanji. However, the decision is often not so simple. Especially in regards to uncommonly written words, it is unlikely that authors are aware of whether the kanji representation is in the government's recommended list (Saiga, 1955). In these cases, and at times where multiple commonly encountered representations exist for a word, authors are thereby required to make a choice between at least two scripts, and the corresponding rejection of one or more scripts cannot always be explained in relation to practical needs (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999; Masuji, 2011; A. Nakamura, 1983; Ukita, Minagawa, Sugishima, & Kashu, 1991).

In understanding why a script is rejected as a variant, some insight is gained from the third major line of explanation for orthographic variation. Arguments of this type state that native Japanese speakers hold specific associations with each script, and authors consider how each script changes the sentence's feel before deciding on a particular representation. While individual instances of convincing evidence for this idea exist, it is not as well understood as the other motives, and has only begun to see support from systematic and context-sensitive analysis (Masuji, 2011).

In order to further contribute to our understandings of what each Japanese script is used to index and, indeed, how script is used to create meaning in Japanese writing, it is therefore necessary

to analyze script selection in a manner that combines the following ideas: (1) Japanese writers hold images of each script, (2) authors use orthographic variation to convey information, and (3) accessing an author's intent in selecting a language variant requires engagement with the language use in context (Masuji, 2011; Ochs, 2012). In this study, I specifically employ the theory of indexicality as a framework in order to accomplish this task. As Japanese script has rarely been explicitly referred to as an "index" in prior research, it is now necessary to take a step back and describe what this term means, and why referring to script as "indexing effects" rather than "encoding emotional information" or "expressing feelings" benefits the analysis of script selection despite referring to a similar fundamental concept. This explanation will be the primary goal of Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Indexicality and Japanese script

In Chapter 2, I showed that research on script selection to date has produced considerable evidence that script can be used to encode affect, or add meaning or color to a sentence. In order to further contribute to our understanding of this motive for script selection in Japanese writing, the current study requires a context-sensitive manner of analysis which is designed to investigate what specific effects language users intend to create through variation in their language use, why a specific variant is able to create a specific effect, and how variation plays a part in the overall creation of meaning in a text. In this chapter I argue that the use of indexicality as a framework for analysis will fulfill these three conditions, and allow this otherwise Japanese-localized study to benefit from (and hopefully contribute to) a more global conversation on the social uses of linguistic variation.

The primary goal of this chapter is to introduce the concept of indexicality, and explain why it is a useful framework for analyzing the creation of meaning through variation in language use. After describing indexicality itself, I will review work which uses indexicality to analyze variation in writing. This review will focus on research into variation unique to written communication, with a specific interest in the social use of script. After this review, I will show how prior metalinguistic dialogues about the origin of each Japanese script's associated images, feelings, or impressions mirror discussions of how indexes acquire meaning. I then catalogue the referents asserted to be connected to each script to present a workable picture of its indexical field, and provide empirical evidence for the existence of specific connections whenever possible. Finally, I close the chapter with a brief review.

3.1 Indexicality

The basic concept behind indexicality is that language variants can become linked to social meaning, which allows a variant to (be used to) create socially meaningful effects outside of its denotationally literal meaning (Blommaert, 2016; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Silverstein, 2003). However, this description understates the complexity behind the origins, functions, and uses of any index. While the connection between a style or language feature and a particular effect or meaning is often treated as natural, the existence of an index and the repertoires which interpret it are rooted in an intricate and evolving web of social and linguistic ideologies (Hanks, 2000; Ochs, 1992, 2012; Silverstein, 2000, 2003). The intent of this first section is to explain these intricacies, and describe how linguistic variation allows the meaning of a sentence to be more than its literal content.

However, before further discussing indexicality it is necessary to define what this study means by “index” or “indexicality”, as the words are used within multiple disciplines. Throughout this paper, indexicality refers only to the linguistic notion of the word, which originates in the application of Charles Peirce’s (1868) theory of signs into the study of language ideology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; Lester, 2014). For practical purposes, the work of Michael Silverstein (1976, 1985) can be called the most influential early conceptualization of linguistic indexicality (Blommaert, 2010). Still, even narrowing the definition this far is not enough, as Silverstein’s works describe two types of indexes: referential and non-referential (Silverstein, 1976). Referential indexes are words which have context-dependent definitions (referents) that change depending on who is speaking, or what is being spoken about. Examples include “I”, “you”, or “this”. Non-referential indexes, also known as pure indexes, instead relate to “the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a, p. 594). In this study my uses of the term “index” will only refer to non-referential indexes.

At its simplest, indexicality describes how variation between (or selection from) elements of language can encode social meaning, create effects, influence interpretation of a language act, or reflect on and convey information about a language user (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2016; Eckert, 2008; Ochs, 2012; Silverstein, 2003). Fairly straightforward examples of potential indexes can be seen in word pairs like “lift” and “elevator”. Both variants literally denote the same object, but their selection may also be perceived (at the very minimum) as a markers of nationality in English (Finegan, 1992). In other words, by stating that one is going to take a “lift” to another floor, a speaker can (regardless of their intent) convey information about both their intentions and place of origin. In Japanese, a similar salient set of items are the various first person pronouns that exist in the language, with the respective selection of options like *ore* or *atashi* (both “I” in English) often treated as minimally signaling a male or female speaker (Matsumoto, 2002; Miyazaki, 2002; M. Nakamura, 2014; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989). The examples presented are so far somewhat problematic though, as they gloss over the complex processes through which an index gains life, develops, and operates. I have used them to produce an introductory description of indexes, but they are all simplistic examples based on “folk assumption[s] of contextual invariance” (Agha, 2005, p. 47), and fail to paint a full picture of indexical theory.

Indexicality does not hold that semiotic links are spontaneous, autonomous, natural, accurate, or possess universally accepted interpretations. While indexes are often discussed as if they have obvious or immutable referents, these discussions remove indexes from the historical and sociocultural dialogues and ideologies that created them, ignore the individual intentions of their

users, and skim over the influence of context on the interpretation/meaning of an index (Bauman & Briggs, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; Eckert, 2012; Irvine & Gal, 2000). A Japanese pronoun may therefore be perceived or used as a direct, uncontested marker of gender, but this is only one of its potential meanings, and individual users are able to elicit and even develop different effects through their active social use of a particular variable (Eckert, 2008; Miyazaki, 2002; Ono & Thompson, 2003). In other words, there are multiple interacting ideologies and stereotypes about how and why certain types of people use, or should use, language features or styles, and individuals can align with, play upon, and reject these ideologies when using a particular (set of) variant forms in a particular context. In order to fully understand how an index acquires meaning it is therefore necessary to look at its sociolinguistic history, due to “an inevitable time lag between the indexing and the indexed” (M. Inoue, 2004b, p. 39; see also Coupland, 2007)¹⁵.

Silverstein’s (2003) concept of indexical order provides a useful method of tracing the development of an index, and understanding the paths through which types of variation acquire multiple social meanings. Indexical order proposes that indexes function through connections between ideological layers. Relationships across the lowest layers, wherein a language feature has an observable relationship to a form, function, or extant population, are known as first (or lower) order indexes (Johnstone, Andrus, & Danielson, 2006). Connections at the first order are therefore often fairly straightforward, or even factual (i.e., they can be evidenced), but their interpretation is still influenced by individual and cultural perceptions. That is, the relationship between an index and a referent occurs in its least subjective state at the first order, but even here interpretation is contingent to stereotypes, assumptions of uniformity, and individual beliefs regarding social constructs like class (Eckert, 2008; Moore & Podesva, 2009).

For example, dialects or accents which can be traced to geographically defined populations, formal and polite registers invoked by the use of socially codified vocabulary, or the use of sentence final particles in Japanese to indicate affect are all potential examples of first-order indexical relationships (Campbell-Kibler, 2007, 2011; Matsumoto, 2002; Silverstein, 1976, 2003). However, an accent an American treats as a first order index of “British” might be specifically understood as “northern” by a citizen of the United Kingdom, while someone from an area where the accent is widely found might more precisely associate it with a certain age, socio-economic status, occupation, or even specific interactional purpose(s) (Agha, 2007; Collins & Slembrouck, 2007). Furthermore, high presence of a variant in an area does not mean that all speakers in the area use the variant, or

¹⁵ In semiotics, this link to the past is also an aspect of an index’s definition. For example, smoke can only index a fire once the fire is lit (Peirce, 1868; M. Inoue, 2004b).

that it is not also found in other areas or speaker populations (Eckert, 2012; Irvine & Gal, 2000). In summation, the relationships between first order indexes and specific populations, registers, or effects are fairly direct, but interpretation of what each index is marking at the first order is still not universal, nor is it necessarily evidenced by identifying one origin of the variant.

Higher order indexes then result from ideological moves across individual, local, or cultural interpretive repertoires regarding the populations or effects indexed at the previous level(s) (Banks, 1987; Bauman & Briggs, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Hiramoto, 2013; Okamoto, 1995). These ideological moves are based on the idea that “the context in which [the index] is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the ‘appropriateness’ of its usage in that context” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 193). For instance, if the hypothetical British accent referenced in the preceding paragraph was treated/used as not just a marker of nationality or class, but rather something the indexed nationality or class was felt to imply about a person, we could say that the accent is functioning as a higher order index. As an example of a higher order index in Japanese, consider the use of the sentence final particles *wa* and *zo*. At the first order, the particle *wa* is often said to index delicacy, while *zo* instead indexes coarse intensity (Matsumoto, 2002; Miyazaki, 2002; Ochs, 1990). Respective higher order indexical connections can then be created between *wa* and *zo* and femininity and masculinity due to traditional Japanese sociocultural dialogues about normative, “natural”, or ideal behavior for each gender (Okamoto, 2002; Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2004). In cultures with different ideologies about speech and gender, however, similar first order indexes between lexical items and politeness or asperity are widely perceived as higher-order markers of different effects or macro-social categories (Moore & Podesva, 2009; Ochs, 1992).

In this way, indexical order provides a useful method of examining how linguistic features become carriers of social information and evolve within this role. However, a caveat is necessary in that my description so far may present indexical orders as certain or linear, when they more accurately “progress simultaneously and over time in multiple directions, laying down a set of related meanings” (Eckert, 2012, p. 94). The steps between orders are highly complex, and subject to influences from competing ideologies, previous or other potential orders, and the signs which co-occur with any language act (Agha, 2005; Eckert, 2008; Okamoto, 2002; Silverstein, 2003). As a higher-order connection between an index and a referent grows in salience or acceptance it can even absorb or (in public perception) replace the lower-order relationship that initially facilitated it, and adoption of a variant by a group not initially indexed at the first order (as is seen in phenomena like the spread of features from African American Vernacular English across the English-speaking

world, or the transgressive use of gendered language features by sexual minorities in Japan) can result in new connections at lower and higher orders as new users adopt variants for their own interactional purposes (Silverstein, 2003; Spitzmüller, 2012; Bucholtz, 1999; Camp, 2009; Moskowitz, 2015).

As Inoue (2003b, 2004a, 2004b) has noted, the connection between an index and its referent can even be manufactured or redirected from above by metapragmatic discourse. Inoue refers to this process as indexical inversion¹⁶, and uses it to discuss how social dialogues during the 19th century made combinations of sentence final particles like *teyo*, *dawa*, or *noyo* appear as icons of vulgarity or immodesty in Japan. The particles were alleged to be common in the speech of young schoolgirls, a new and highly discussed and monitored population, and their use was treated as a marker of deviance by educators and linguists (M. Inoue, 2003b; M. Nakamura, 2014). However, these powerful social actors never investigated the actual intents of the users of *teyo*, *dawa*, and *noyo* to support their assertions. Instead, they created a specious origin for the particles in the speech of prostitutes, foreigners, or lower-class populations. Doing so stripped the particles of their natural referential capacity, and connected *teyo*, *dawa*, *noyo* to a vulgar effect through a contrived semiotic chain linking the items to disparaged populations (M. Inoue, 2004b)¹⁷. In short, indexes can actively construct the reality they claim to represent, and the spread of discourses about language or language users can erase individual differences, or awareness that a lexical term occurs across disparate populations, and make higher order indexes appear almost iconic (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; M. Inoue, 2004a; Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Ultimately, the complex and multiple possible interpretations of what any language feature indexes show that it is necessary to consider both the context of the language act and the context of the broader culture(s) in which the act occurs in order to understand a language user's selection of a variant (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Eckert, 2008; Ochs, 2012). Indexes cannot be preserved if they are analyzed in isolation from the co-occurring signs around them (Agha, 2007; Wortham, 2010), as individuals have their own conceptions of (or encounters with) the normative speech styles of specific groups, what any particular salient manner of speech means, and what kinds of people align with which groups (Moore & Podesva, 2009). Returning to the Japanese

¹⁶ Other labels, such as "recursion", have also been applied to this phenomenon (Coupland, 2007). This study will adopt Inoue's use of the term, as it appears to be the most frequently used within studies of Japanese linguistics.

¹⁷ Ironically, the use of many of these sentence final particles is now advocated in books that purport to instruct contemporary Japanese women on proper, feminine, or attractive speech, which shows further evidence of the mutable nature of indexical connections (Moskowitz, 2014; M. Nakamura, 2014; Okamoto, 1995; Yoshimitsu, 2005).

language, a strong example of how context can affect the interpretation of language features can be seen in L. Miller's (2004b) description of the linguistic and paralinguistic behaviors which make up the *burikko* identity ascribed to some Japanese women. The perceived performance of this identity is often disparaged, but L. Miller points out that a number of the individual items which are felt to index *burikko* are desirable elements of female linguistic gender presentation in Japan. Factors such as the extent to which an item is utilized; the presence of co-occurring indexes; the age, behavior, dress, or gender of the speaker; the social situation or physical location where the linguistic act occurs; and the viewpoints of the audience therefore influence why particular items are used, and how they are perceived and judged (Collins & Slembrouck, 2007; Okamoto, 1995, 2002; Tetreault, 2002). In other words, "one person's *burikko* is another's proper well-bred miss" (L. Miller, 2004b, p. 158), with the decision to label a speaker as one or the other resting on the viewer's understanding of various indexes within the speech act they occur.

In light of the complications discussed so far, it is helpful to view potential indexical connections as existing in what Eckert calls an indexical field, or a "constellation of ideologically related meanings, [...] any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (2008, p. 454). As an illustration of this concept, Eckert cites the work of Campbell-Kibler (2007, see also 2011) on the indexical potential of the English suffixes *-ing* and *-in*. In the study, each form was noted to possess a wide assortment of potential interpretations. The apical variant *-in*, for instance, was often viewed negatively by participants compared to *-ing*, leading to perceptions of a lazy or redneck identity. However, in certain contexts participants also linked *-in* to "relaxed", "easy-going", or "unpretentious" traits. In an instance influenced by multiple ideologies, the addition of an *-in* guise even resulted in decreased perceptions of homosexuality in a man's discussion of his love of shopping. When taken as a whole, these numerous and often contrasting interpretations of *-in* would all be potential elements of the indexical field of the item. Looking at potential referents in this way allows for analysis of variation to recognize the mutability, individuality, and context-sensitive nature of language use or interpretation.

In summary, indexicality deals with the idea that features of language can become associated with particular populations, identities, meanings, or effects. From here, social stereotypes about a group or the stances the group adopts (or should adopt) facilitate the development of potential higher order indexical connections that increase the number of potential referents of any index. Both interpretation and selection of a language feature are therefore strongly influenced by the context of the speech act, the culture where the speech act occurs, and how individual language users engage with the sociolinguistic ideologies and metalinguistic dialogues they encounter.

Ultimately, indexicality provides a very detailed way of discussing how linguistic variation, or ways of saying the same thing, is able to acquire multiple social meanings, and is useful in analyzing and understanding how and why language users select and interpret possible variants in specific contexts (Coulmas, 2005; Silverstein, 1985). As a result, I believe that indexicality is well suited to this study, as it provides a way of looking at script selection as a meaningful (and individual) social act which partially acquires meaning through the context of its use (Masuji, 2011), rather than just a way of drawing upon an image or association with a script to alter the feel or definition of a word or text.

However, the definition of indexicality presented so far has relied entirely on examples taken from spoken language. As a result, the process through which variation in written communication can become socially significant is still somewhat unclear. Certainly, when analyzing some types of variation in writing we can easily reference an understanding of indexicality which arises from the examination of speech. The use of pronouns in Japanese, for example, is as salient in writing as in speech, and authors have been seen to differentiate characters' identities through the application (or rejection) of these marked linguistic features (Hiramoto, 2009, 2013; M. Inoue, 2003a; Kinsui, 2003; M. Nakamura, 2013, 2014; Ochs, 1990). Similarly, if changes to spelling successfully edit the phonological content of a word or sentence to represent a particular accent or voice, we can treat the writing as an attempted written reproduction of an index that originated in speech (V. Cook, 2004; Crystal, 2010). Still, features particular to writing like spelling, font, and, of course, script often allow for styles of variation that do not affect the phonological content of a text, and therefore have no direct corollary in spoken language. In the following sections I will attempt to address how and why these writing-specific items can acquire referential capabilities, with the ultimate goal of showing that script can be associated with certain populations and effects in the same way as accent, lexical selections, or other established indexes in spoken language.

3.1.1 Indexes within written language

The vast majority of research utilizing indexicality to date has focused on variation within spoken language (Sebba, 2009, 2012). For instance, in her comprehensive review of changes to the understanding of the social meaning of linguistic variation, Eckert (2012) refers to variation as a "linguistic practice in which *speakers* [emphasis added] place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice" (p. 94), and defines indexical mutability as something achieved "as *speakers* [emphasis added] make social-semiotic moves" (p. 95). Eckert's term "speakers" can, of course, include writers. However, the social use of variation in writing is often left unmentioned in

major discussions of indexicality, and spoken communication is still the primary site for analysis of the creation of meaning through language variation (Bender, 2008; Davila, 2012; Unseth, 2005).

As a result, the description of indexicality so far may make it difficult to see how the theory applies to variation in the use of Japanese scripts. If the links between indexes and socially salient effects are established through language features becoming audibly or lexically recognized as elements of a (stereotyped) style of speech, there is no clear pathway through which styles of variation particular to writing can similarly acquire an indexical field. While Japanese script selection has yet to see much discussion in research explicitly employing indexicality, the ways in which variation inherent to writing in all languages can obtain indexical function has been the target of increased attention in recent years. In this section, I will survey the studies that address this topic, and show by analogy how the selection of script in Japanese has clear potential to be a socially meaningful act.

Before surveying studies which employ indexicality explicitly though, it is important to remember that individual concepts described by indexicality predate the spread of the theory, and have affected its refinement. Of particular note are a series of papers by Preston (1982, 1985) that argued for reform in the transcription practices used in folklore studies. Preston's interest was in the possibility that negative social meanings were being elicited by the use of variant spellings in transcripts. In his first study, Preston (1982) gathered transcripts of folk stories across 203 articles published in the *Journal of American Folklore*. In total, 45 articles contained transcripts, and 35 of the transcripts possessed modified spelling. African Americans, South Midlanders, Southerners, or non-native speakers of English were the speakers represented in all but five of the marked transcriptions, and no respellings were found in transcriptions of the speech and folklore of groups which had not "traditionally supported negative stereotypes in American culture" (1982, p. 306).

While Preston acknowledges that the respellings he found likely arose from a desire for phonological accuracy, the changes were either inconsistent, contained allegro forms which exist across multiple speech styles (e.g., "livin'", "wanna", or "gonna"), or were eye-dialects (respellings which do not explicitly affect pronunciation like "git" or "wat"). Because of this, there was no evidence that accurate depictions of any extant speech style were achieved by the changes. Combined with the aforementioned bias for only respelling certain speakers' utterances, Preston asserted that nonstandard spellings had the primary effect of demoting readers' opinions of the speakers represented, rather than representing a specific accent, and marked the language as an illegitimate product of low education or refinement instead of a valid speech style.

Preston attempted to obtain additional backing for his assertions in his later study (1985), where he gave students of English composition classes a constructed dialogue between four unidentified speakers. All but one speaker had their lines marked by the use of allegro forms, the inclusion of dialect respellings, or a combination of the two. Participants were then asked to rate their impression of each speaker's social class. While Preston admits that his design was somewhat crude, all participant demographics felt that the speaker whose lines contained no nonstandard elements was significantly higher in status than the marked speakers. Some individual participants did mention that they were uncomfortable considering nonstandard forms to be an accurate depiction of class, and instead attributed the forms to factors like age or engagement with schooling. However, "no respondents were apparently ever troubled by the fact that speech was being evaluated from writing" (1985, p. 335). In other words, all participants interacted with the marked spellings as though they provided insight into each speaker's identity, with deviations from standard English spelling (rather than accurate representation of accent) able to facilitate the interpretation of a non-standard and often negatively evaluated voice (Blommaert, 2010; Rubin, 1995; Vaisman, 2014).

The central arguments of Preston's studies are often referred to by researchers who apply indexicality to the analysis of writing. Jaffe and Walton (2000), for example, cited direct influence from Preston's studies when they examined the effects of nonstandard spelling on three transcripts of oral speech. Each transcript was artificially marked with either a heavily accented, lightly accented, or standard guise, and then presented to university students in California and Mississippi. Participants were asked to read the texts aloud, and interviewed on their views regarding who the speaker of each text was. Although a few readers stated that they did not believe nonstandard elements reduced their evaluation of a speaker, spelling changes (including eye-dialects like "wuz" or "thawt") were found to affect all participants' pronunciation when reading the text aloud. Furthermore, degrees of non-standardness were transformed into degrees of projected stigma in most cases, as the standard writing guise functioned as a baseline which indexed neutral or positive attributes. Asserting that their findings corroborated those of Preston (1985), Jaffe and Walton agreed that readers treated the spelling changes as representative of a particular (nonstandard) voice. This allowed the text to mark social categories and values associated with the construed voice, which facilitated the same ideological processes that influence how listeners decode indexes in speech.

On the other hand, studies have noted that marked elements of writing, including those which are normally considered errors, can index locally esteemed identities as well. This

phenomenon was referred to as “covert prestige” by Androutsopoulos (2000) in an investigation into the spelling used throughout 80 German hardcore/punk fanzines. The vast majority of noted nonstandard elements involved reduction phenomena (similar to “gonna” in English) or eye dialects, the latter of which were often created through adopting features not found in standard German like the letter “x”. Androutsopoulos contends that this use of a foreign item works in combination with the spelling changes to signify identification with a non-standard German identity, similar to Spanish anarchists’ use of the non-native letter “k”, or the prevalence of non-standard spellings in published rap lyrics (Blommaert, 2010; Jaffe, 2012; Sebba, 2007, 2009, 2012). What is particularly interesting here is that the letters “x” and “k” are therefore not important just because they are non-standard, but also because they are respectively non-German or non-Spanish, with the letters themselves appearing to have referential capacity due to a first-order connection with a specific (i.e., non-German or Spanish-speaking) user base.

In short, variation in spelling has been shown to index social meaning in two ways which do not involve (attempts at) accurate representation of paralinguistic elements of speech. The first is through the use of nonstandard adjustments to writing, especially those like eye-dialects which do not explicitly alter the phonetic makeup of a particular word. This can signal a nonstandard or subcultural identity defined more specifically through other elements of the text (e.g., the content of the dialogue, the topic of the writing, and co-occurring signs). While valuable for this study in showing that faithful reproduction of the sounds of speech is not necessary to index identities in writing, these indexes are not otherwise useful in understanding how Japanese script can be an index because variant script use is not necessarily viewed as nonstandard or erroneous (Crump, 1986; Konno, 2013).

More interesting is the idea that specific elements of writing, like specific elements of speech, can be associated with groups of users. While this idea was examined on a minor scale in the aforementioned subcultural uses of “x” or “k”, we can see further evidence for it in a large body of research examining how regional spelling conventions possessed by many languages are often viewed as a symbolic marker of identity, stance, political or religious affiliation, and even intelligence (Heffernan et al., 2010; Sebba, 2007, 2009; Unseth, 2005; Vosters, Gijsbert, van der Wal, & Vandebussche, 2012). While regional spellings can reflect pronunciation (e.g., aluminum vs. aluminium), they do not necessarily do so (e.g., color vs. colour). As a result, a spelling variant appears to acquire its own reference(s) if the variant itself, rather than just its locally erroneous or nonstandard nature, is subject to attention or discussion. However, although this finding is promising for looking at script as an index, spelling and script are not analogous. It is therefore still

necessary to show that script itself can be a subject of metalinguistic attention and consequent social use.

3.1.2 Graphic elements of language as indexes

Recently, a number of studies have investigated indexes which are rooted in variation in the graphic representation of writing. The situations described in this section differ from Japanese in that they involve diagraphic writing systems, where one script is chosen to the general exclusion of another (Grivelet, 2001b). However, they stand as clear evidence of the basic assertion that the selection of script can be(come) an important social act (Unseth, 2005).

Two studies that are particularly interesting in discussing the indexical potential of script come from the research of Grivelet (2001a) and Ahman (2012). Together, their results show that (1) as the users of competing scripts become divided, the selection of a script can become an index of a particular group, and (2) language-related dialogues and ideologies can then allow a script to become an index of traits associated with its (perceived) users at a higher order. Grivelet's research focused on Mongolian, which is written in either (Mongolian-)Cyrillic or an older native Mongolian script. While Cyrillic is currently dominant in daily life and education, the Mongolian script retains a religious or cultural connection rooted in its history. As a result, the Mongolian script is frequently used (often symbolically or decoratively¹⁸) on traditional or ornamental items, where it serves to index (elements of) a Mongolian identity in a manner prohibited to the Soviet-introduced Cyrillic. Grivelet's findings are echoed by many other studies, as similar phenomena have been noted in a number of languages where a locally preferred/developed orthography exists in competition with a writing system preferred/originating outside the language community. For instance, in examining the contemporary uses of indigenous scripts by Korean and Cherokee writers, or the creation of orthographies like the Deseret alphabet and simplified Chinese, researchers have found that a desire to assert local, cultural, ethnic, religious, or national identity is often one (although certainly not the only) motivation for a population to develop or (not) utilize a particular script (Bender, 2002, 2008; L. Brown & Yeon, 2015; Harkness, 2015; Thompson, 1982; Unseth, 2005).

Ahman (2012) took these findings even further by looking at how dialogues by dominant Hindi speaking groups in the 19th century framed the entire script used for Urdu as an index of

¹⁸ Grivelet (2001a) notes that despite a brief period where the Mongolian script was taught in school with the objective of replacing Cyrillic, the proportion of Mongolians with high levels of literacy or competency in the script is low.

dishonesty and vice. Ahman drew upon a wide variety of quotes and language surveys from historical records to show how metalinguistic discussion of Urdu attempted to establish the existence of shortcomings in the writing system. These shortcomings were then touted as proof that the Urdu script was inferior to Devanagari and welcomed fraud. Despite that assertions that the Urdu script is deficient, particularly difficult, or even unreadable are categorically false, they had the effect of making the Urdu script and register symbolic of negative elements in the public conscious. By association, similar attributes were then gradually attached to writers of Urdu. That is, arguments that the script was flawed and invited deception grew into the concept that people who would use such a deficient script were themselves untrustworthy, which ultimately caused the use of Urdu to index a flawed character at a higher order. In many ways, this process echoes Inoue's (2004a, 2004b) discussions of how metalinguistic commentary on elements of Japanese girls' speech constructed a vulgar or deviant identity as a referent for certain items, with a similar phenomenon appearing to be possible in relation to orthography.

Three other avenues for graphic variation in writing are the use of capitals/case, font, and handwriting. Case does not appear to have been considered by studies using indexical frameworks, but there is clear evidence of its use for effect in advertising, poetry, online communication, and a number of other genres (Danet, 2001; McCloud, 1993, 2006; Nishimura, 2003a, 2003b; Thurlow, 2003). The indexical capacities of font and handwriting, on the other hand, have seen explicit empirical consideration. Similar to the examples of script presented earlier, research on these features shows that cultural or historical dialogues create lower order indexical links between the graphic items and specific groups of users or effects, which can lead to the eventual use of the features to index ideologically associated traits.

In English, for example, the Gothic/Old English font family's use in the Gutenberg Press has given it a religious or authoritative impression, which led to (and is re-conveyed by) its contemporary use in newspapers' titles and religious content. In contrast, the use of Sans Serif fonts in Westerns has made the fonts evocative of effects associated with the American frontier (Lester, 2014). In a more extreme case, the much-maligned font Comic Sans is argued to elicit "contempt and summary dismissal" (Morris, 2012, p. 3) of a document's author or contents due to assumptions about technical incompetence on the part of its user base (Garfield, 2012). Handwriting also appears to have similar associative potential, as beliefs in many cultures link the legibility of handwriting to an author's upbringing or education, and styles of handwriting associated with particular groups, like the curved *gyaru-moji*¹⁹ (lit: "Gal-letters") once popular with young Japan women, are subject to the

¹⁹ An analogous style of writing in English might involve "i"s dotted with hearts.

same intense metalinguistic discussion and criticism as variant styles of speech (Bender, 2008; Driver et al., 1996; Elbow, 2007; Kataoka, 1997; L. Miller, 2004a, 2011; Unser-Schutz, 2011).

Finally, one of the most detailed discussions of the potential of graphic elements of writing to serve and develop as indexes comes from a paper by Spitzmüller (2012). Here corpus analysis was used to trace how the indexical connections of two items, the Blackletter font and the umlaut, changed as they crossed linguistic and geographic barriers over the last century. Spitzmüller contends that due primarily to the common use of Blackletter for much German writing across the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both it and the umlaut almost universally indexed Germanness in the West prior to World War 2. After the war, however, Blackletter became more strongly indexical of Nazism in Germany. For instance, Spitzmüller noted a contemporary poster stating “Go voting! Others do as well”. Only the second sentence was rendered in Blackletter, with readers expected to know who the “others” are through the use of the script. In short, while Blackletter was replaced by Roman scripts in most German writing, it is still seen used occasionally as an index of tradition, conservatism, Nazism, history, or German identity (Spitzmüller, 2015).

In English, however, where Blackletter and the umlaut have never had sanctioned roles in the writing system, the value of each item took an entirely different path. Both were adopted by the 1970s heavy metal scene in a manner that can be considered entirely graphic. That is, in band names like Motörhead, Mötley Crüe, or Blue Öyster Cult, the umlauts do not affect the pronunciation of any word²⁰. Spitzmüller argues that this adoption occurred due to the features’ first order associations with Germany or Germans. Due to Western ideologies of what Germanness entailed, Blackletter and the umlaut were perceived as higher order indexes of traits like militarism or strength that the metal bands wished to identify with. Furthermore, as the trend of using these features for band logos spread, they became an index of a “metal” identity or associated traits in their own right, which shows that the evolving nature of an index is not bound to variants within spoken communication.

Taken together, the studies discussed in this section remind us that conscious selection of linguistic variants exists in both speech and writing. Consequently, we have individual and cultural perceptions about both the users of certain features of speech and the users of certain features of writing, with a stigmatized font choice or style of handwriting able to invite a disparaging reaction as easily as a stigmatized dialect. Although writing is technically constituted by silent semiotic signs, research shows that this does not prevent us from treating it as a reliable representation of identity or social voice, as the form, feel, and look of a sentence has strong potential to influence perceptions

²⁰ The frontman of Motörhead has stated explicitly that the only reason he used the umlaut was to make the band look tough (The Wave, 2002). In many cases, the use of the umlaut actually defies pronunciation, as in the names of bands like Queensrÿche, or groups that parody metal stereotypes like Green Jellÿ or Spiñal Tap.

of its content and author (Elbow, 2007; Morris, 2012). In short, it is clear that when graphic aspects of writing like script are themselves subject to historical, cultural, or critical dialogues they can become indexes of specific social meanings in their own right. In Chapter 3.2, I will show that these necessary dialogues exist for each of the scripts used in written Japanese, and that the indexical potential of kanji, hiragana, katakana, and rōmaji is therefore far from a novel concept in and of itself.

3.2 The potential indexical fields of each Japanese script

So far in this chapter, we have established that almost any element of language can index social meaning if it is socially connected (in either an observable or manufactured manner) to defined uses or groups of users. Although studies of script-as-an-index to date rarely refer to the Japanese writing system in any depth, there is a long-running and active dialogue in Japan regarding stereotyped images, uses, and users of each script used to write Japanese. This dialogue echoes discussions of effects indexed through dialects, (sets of) lexical features, and script in other writing systems, with broad acknowledgement and understandings of each Japanese script's indexical fields existing in all but name.

In this section I will review commentaries on the “associations”, “impressions”, “semantic images” or “feel” of each script to date. The commentaries come from studies on orthographic variation, discussions of script use by authors or other public features, and psycholinguistic research. During the review, asserted connections with each script are detailed along with their proposed origins, and empirical evidence for the existence of certain connections is provided whenever possible. The ultimate goal of this section is to show that each Japanese script's potential as an index is not a novel concept despite the lack of explicit discussion, and provide a workable, if unproven, inventory of each script's indexical field to compare and contrast with the effects evidenced in the analysis across Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7.

3.2.1 Asserted associations with each script and their origins

Beginning with kanji, the majority of the script's alleged images or impressions are linked to the particular history of the script. As discussed in 2.1, kanji were the first script used in Japan after being introduced from China around 400 AD (R. A. Miller, 1967; Saito, 2014; Sansom, 1928; Seeley, 1984). Before mandatory public education, the formal study and use of kanji was restricted to the

domain of upper-class males (Takashima, 2001). The kanji script or writing which used the script was therefore sometimes referred to as *otokode* (lit: “men’s hand”) (Akizuki, 2005). Even after increases in literacy and the creation of the phonetic *kana* scripts, kanji remained the primary script in official documents, critical essays, and government proclamations for hundreds of years, with the primary producers and consumers of these texts again educated males (Twine, 1991a, 1991b). In contrast, the use of kanji by women was actively criticized and discouraged in both official and popular writing for many centuries, and metalinguistic commentaries often discussed kanji-using women as odd, deviant, or un-ladylike (M. Nakamura, 2014; Nomura, 1981; Tsuboi, 2003; Yoda, 2000).

It is this history which has been argued to give kanji associations of masculinity, maturity, age, formality, integrity, seriousness, authority, and authenticity, and explains how the characters are seen as emblematic of both “Japaneseness” and “Chineseness” (Gottlieb, 2010b; F. Inoue, 2005; Iwahara et al., 2003; Joyce et al., 2012; Masuji, 2011; Narasaki, 2009; Shimojū, 1984; Takashima, 2001). Some of the associations linked to the history of the script’s use may seem outdated in contemporary Japan, specifically those related to gender. However, kanji is still seen as a symbol of scholarship or intelligence, with the years of study required to memorize the script making “education, knowledge, and kanji often just one big blur in the Japanese mind” (Unger, 1984, p. 250; see also Twine, 1991b). On the other hand, the great amount of effort required to learn kanji has similarly caused them to be long perceived as emblematic of difficulty, complexity, onerousness, and inconvenience (R. A. Brown, 1985; Gottlieb, 1993; Kaiho & Nomura, 1983; Sakai, 2011; Suzuki, 1975; Yazaki, 2003).

Between the pre- and post-war periods of Japanese writing, it is more proper to say that the script’s applications were reduced rather than changed (Gottlieb, 2005; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). As a result, novel associations with the script and contemporary user bases are minimal. Honna (1995) notes that many wartime slogans were written entirely in kanji, which is argued to add a blunt, threatening, vitriolic, or militaristic feel to the script, especially when it is used alone. These associations likely result in, or are reinforced by, the heavy use of kanji-only writing on the signs and slogans favored by criminal, ultra-nationalistic, or supremacist groups (Nakano, 2012; N. Smith, 2014). The ease of accessing difficult characters that has come with word processing technology is also relevant, as it led to a spike in the (sometimes mistaken) selection of esoteric characters in the 80s and 90s (Gottlieb, 1993). This use of obscure kanji then decreased as people began to realize uncommon characters created communication difficulties, or made the author appear stuffy, old-fashioned, pretentious, silly, or pedantic (DeFrancis, 1989; Gottlieb, 1993, 2005; Katayama, 2003; J. S. Smith & Schmidt, 1996). Whether negative feelings towards the use (or users) of obscure or difficult

kanji are recent or have just been magnified is unclear, but modern writing technology does allow writers to more easily select kanji they have not actually memorized.

Finally, while some kanji are rather simple (e.g., 一、十、川), most are angular and made up of many more elements than the other scripts (see Table 3). The most complex character included in the government’s recommended kanji (*jōyō kanji*) list (鬱) requires 29 separate strokes (Sawa, 2010). Difficult characters which have reentered the public sphere with the aforementioned advent of electronic communication may require even more (Kashino, 2007). The visual complexity of kanji also appears to influence feelings about the script, as kanji are frequently described as heavy, intricate, rigid, dense, complex, hard, cold, or unwelcoming due to their visual makeup (R. A. Brown, 1985; Gardner, 2006; Hiraga, 2006; Masuji, 2011; Nishimura, 2003b; Yoshimura, 1985).

Kanji	Hiragana	Katakana	Rōmaji	English
猫	ねこ	ネコ	<i>neko</i>	cat
煙草	たばこ	タバコ	<i>tabako</i>	tobacco
眼鏡	めがね	メガネ	<i>megane</i>	glasses

Table 3: Three words written in each of the four scripts.

Moving to hiragana, the script’s historical uses, like those of kanji, are frequently cited as the major source of contemporary images held about the script. Hiragana came into prominence as a script strongly associated with women writers, and was once referred to as *onnade* or *onna moji* (“women’s hand” or “women’s letters”, in contrast with kanji’s aforementioned synonym *otokode*) (Coulmas, 1989; R. A. Miller, 1967; Takashima, 2001). Both appellations are slightly misleading, as although women were often historically denied the educational opportunities of men, hiragana was not invented or exclusively used by women. There are records of kanji and hiragana in poetry, colloquial writing, letters, and diaries composed by both genders (Akamatsu, 2006; R. A. Miller, 1967; Tsuboi, 2003; Yoda, 2000). Still, there is no question that hiragana was long absent from what were considered masculine genres of writing, and the sole or near-exclusive use of hiragana by women was expected or encouraged (Konno, 2014b; M. Nakamura, 2014; Yoda, 2000). Calling hiragana a historically female script is therefore an oversimplification, but an image of femininity is attached to the script, as are ideals traditionally associated with femininity in Japanese culture (e.g., weakness, grace, elegance, tenderness) (Camp, 2009; DeFrancis, 1989; Gottlieb, 2005; Narasaki, 2009; Okamoto, 1995; Taylor & Taylor, 1995; Yoshimura, 1985). Furthermore, the script’s primary use in famous Heian period (794-1159) texts written by women of the court, combined with its

aforementioned links to poetry, have given it a somewhat prestigious connection to romance, beauty, and Japan's literary history (Coulmas, 1989; Masuji, 2011; Tranter, 2008).

The most commonly mentioned image connected to hiragana through its contemporary uses is a child-like or unsophisticated feel. These images are argued to originate in the fact that hiragana is now the first script learned and used by elementary school students in Japan (Backhouse, 1984; R. A. Brown, 1985; Hayashi, 1982; Iwahara et al., 2003). Furthermore, the use of hiragana for the names of women, instead of the more common use of kanji, has also grown over the years, while no similar trend exists for the names of men (Nagano, 1976). Although this contemporary phenomenon does not add any new associations to hiragana, like the use of kanji by ultra-nationalists it likely results from many of the script's previous listed associations, and fortifies their relevance in the eyes of contemporary Japanese users.

Finally, the visual makeup of hiragana is also claimed to contribute to how it is viewed by native speakers. Unlike kanji and katakana, hiragana is the only script which makes use of loops and curved lines (see Table 3). These graphic elements are explicitly asserted to make the script appear symbolic of frailty, simplicity, softness, weakness, or smoothness (Gardner, 2006; Hiraga, 2006; Miyake, 2007). Sugimoto (2009) even describes the script as loose, unsteady, or unreliable, especially in contrast with the angular or confident visual impact of the other scripts.

Associations with katakana, the last major Japanese script, appear to be linked more to its contemporary uses than any historical ones. As mentioned in 2.1, katakana originated in a practical method of annotating kanji (Frellesvig, 2010; Seeley, 2000). This technique was first used in religious sutras, but soon appeared in other styles of writing which had previously been written in kanji alone (Coulmas, 1989; Inukai, 1989; Sansom, 1928; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Because katakana originated from kanji, and were used alongside the script in many early styles of writing, katakana is similarly described as hard, formal, inhospitable, and rigid (Iwahara et al., 2003; Masuji, 2011; Yoshimura, 1985). However, there is no evidence that katakana is similarly seen as mature or intelligent, and although the script was once used in reading primers for schoolchildren instead of hiragana, no associations with children are asserted in any of its contemporary descriptions (Kataoka, 1995; M. Nakamura, 2014).

The most commonly discussed contemporary impressions of katakana all relate to its major contemporary function as a marker of (non-Chinese) loan words. The use of katakana for loan words originated in the Edo period (1603-1867) at the latest, but increased throughout the Taisho (1912-26) and Showa (1926-89) eras, and became officially proscribed after the second World War (Akizuki, 2005; Habein, 1984; Kess & Miyamoto, 1999; Yamada, 2006). While there are periods of Japanese

history when non-Japanese vocabulary was written using either Chinese loans or novel combinations of kanji, the names of most new concepts and products, especially those related to media, technology, and fashion, are now generally borrowed from Western languages and written in katakana. As a result, katakana is frequently argued to conjure a foreign/Western, international, fresh, modern, hip, or fashionable atmosphere (Frank, 2002; Masuji, 2011; Nagano, 1976; Narasaki, 2009; Tranter, 2008; Yajima, 1968).

Secondary modern uses of the katakana script include the representation of certain onomatopoeia, as well as animal and plant names or taxonomies²¹ (Backhouse, 1993; Kess & Miyamoto, 1999; Sansom, 1928), which has led to contentions that the script can possess a scientific or imitative air (Narasaki, 2009; Nishimura, 2003b; Schwartz & Rubinstein-Avila, 2006; Yoshimura, 1985). Specialist uses of katakana also exist, and are claimed to link the script to technology, the inorganic, youth, femininity, and eroticism. The robotic associations are attributed to the natural abundance of katakana in technology magazines and science fiction novels that results from their high use of loan words, as well as the exclusive use of the script in telegrams and early mobile network systems (Akizuki, 2005; DeFrancis, 1989; Tsuchiya, 1977). Active adoption of the latter by young Japanese, particularly young Japanese women, is argued to create the script's feminine and youthful associations (Kataoka, 1995; Sakai, 2011; Tochiara, 2010). However, the idea that katakana is feminine is much less commonly discussed than the idea that hiragana is feminine. The origin of the script's erotic feeling is thought to result from a technique of using katakana to replace kanji or hiragana for certain words in adult texts, the former script seeming too scientific or direct, and the latter appearing too child-like or innocent (Akizuki, 2005). As this technique gradually spread, katakana became a common script for representing sexually suggestive, or on the other hand taboo and vulgar, vocabulary (Maree, 2013; Rowe, 1976; Tranter, 2008).

Like the associations arising from katakana's history, descriptions of katakana's visual feel somewhat mirror those of kanji's, as the angular design of the script (see Table 3) is described as hard, strong, vivid, and forceful (Iwahara et al., 2003; Kataoka, 1995; Sugimoto, 2009; Takamura, 1955). Katakana lacks the complexity and presence of kanji, however, and is not argued to contain any links to beauty, elegance, density, intimidation, or difficulty (Yajima, 1968). Rather, due to the plain, straight lines used to write the script, katakana is more commonly referred to as simple, modern, angular, sharp, precise, and stable (Masuji, 2011; Miyake, 2007; Narasaki, 2009; Sugimoto, 2009).

²¹ Kanji exist for the names of most animals and plants, but these characters are generally difficult to memorize and are not included in the *jōyō kanji* list, resulting in the more common use of katakana.

The last script of note in Japanese writing is the Roman alphabet, which was introduced by missionaries during the 16th century (Haarmann, 1989). The only use of the Roman alphabet this study is concerned with is its role in Romanizing Japanese, where the script is referred to as rōmaji (Reiman, 2001). Despite some concentrated efforts to make rōmaji the only script used to write Japanese, its acceptance for anything outside of transliteration, transcription, or the names of corporations has been slow, and any official uses are a recent development (Frellesvig, 2010; Gottlieb, 2010b; Seeley, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that asserted connections between rōmaji and specific populations or effects are minimal. The most commonly referenced links are between the script and the West or commercialism and advertising (Gottlieb, 2010b; Igarashi, 2007; F. Inoue, 2005; Masuji, 2011; Seaton, 2001), although the script also appears to have a connection to technology because the input of Japanese URLs, e-mail addresses, and any other keyboard-based writing all requires rōmaji²² (Gottlieb, 2010b; Honna, 1995; Tranter, 2008).

In summation, there is a large body of commentary which asserts that hiragana, katakana, kanji, and rōmaji are linked to certain images, feelings, or impressions (to borrow the terms used throughout the cited works themselves). In general, these links are argued to arise from dialogues about the historical or contemporary uses or users of a script, or its visual impact. A complete list of the images described so far is compiled below in Table 4.

Kanji	Hiragana	Katakana	Rōmaji/Roman alphabet
authentic, beautiful, businesslike, blunt, Chinese, complicated, cumbersome, cultivated, cultural, deep, difficult, elegant, elite, erudite, expressive, formal, hard, heavy, Japanese, prestigious, pretentious, important, intellectual, masculine, middle- aged, militaristic, obscure, official, old, refined, reliable, respectful, rigid, sacred, scientific, sophisticated, strong, substantial, threatening, traditional, unwelcoming, upper-class	beautiful, child-like, cute, elegant, emotional, feminine, frail, friendly, gentle, graceful, healing, infantile, intimate, Japanese, kind, light, literary, loose, lovely, mellow, mild, neutral, poetic, private, round, smooth, simple, soft, tender, tepid, thin, traditional, unreliable, warm, weak, welcoming, young, youthful	abrupt, cold, cool, commercial, clear, erotic, expressive, exotic, fake, female, flippant, foreign, friendly, fun, futuristic, graceless, hard, high tech, illegitimate, imitative, inorganic, insincere, international, modern, neutral, new, plain, pop cultural, progressive, precise, rigid, robotic, scientific, sensational, sharp, simple, steady, strong, stylish, unaffected, unique, vivid, vulgar, young	alien, commercial, cool, cosmopolitan, current, decorative, fashionable, foreign, global, high-quality, modern, new, novel, inauthentic, international, prestigious, pretentious, scientific, sophisticated, technical, technological, Western, young

Table 4: A compilation of attributes ascribed to each script from cited works.

²² Recent developments have resulted in touch-screen input that does not require rōmaji, however this only applies to smart phones, tablets, and the like, and rōmaji-based input is still required for computers and URLs.

While the existence of metalinguistic discussion does not evidence how the images connected to each script are utilized during the creation of a text, or even ensure that they are, it is clear that each Japanese script has been subject to the same attention and commentary that facilitated the indexical use of script(s) in other writing systems surveyed in 3.1.2. Describing the various associations and feelings detailed so far as elements of an indexical field is therefore more of an adjustment in terminology rather than a new proposal. Furthermore, although many of the descriptions of each script so far come from general commentaries on script rather than the analysis of natural texts, a sizeable body of psycholinguistic research has evidenced that most of the listed associations exist in the minds of native speakers. While these studies have not shown whether or how script-specific associations are used by authors to create texts, at most examining the selection of script within sentence-length excerpts inside laboratory conditions, their findings make it clear that script-linked images are common in the general Japanese populace, rather than just in the minds of writers, poets, and linguists.

Perhaps the largest and most detailed investigation of the images native Japanese speakers hold regarding each script was conducted by Iwahara, Hatta and Maehara. These three researchers specifically set out to demonstrate “the possibility that emotional semantic information is conveyed even in written language [through] using a chosen script type” (2003, p. 378). Their multi-stage study began by asking 79 university students to free-associate about each script, and write down any nouns or adjectives they identified with hiragana, katakana, and kanji. The results showed clear variation in individual opinion, but the words which were found most frequently across the participants’ answers mirror those presented in Table 4. Kanji was listed as “hard” and “difficult” by 37 participants, and terms like “intellectual”, “old”, “masculine” and “formal” were found commonly as well. Hiragana was instead referred to as “soft” and “round” over 20 times, and the words “tender”, “simple”, “feminine” and “lovely” each occurred in more than 15% of the total responses. Katakana was commonly linked to the adjectives “hard” and “cold”, with the words “simple”, “new”, “sharp”, and “inorganic” also appearing four times each. However, its strongest connection was to its foreign associations, with the phrases “foreign word”, “foreign country”, “foreign language” and “foreigner” listed a combined total of 37 times.

After the first experiment was completed, 83 new participants rated each of the three scripts on a seven-point semantic differential scale containing 21 adjective pairs. The average rating of each script differed across each of the adjective pairs. Hiragana received higher ratings for adjectives like “feminine”, “child-like”, “unreliable”, “shallow”, “warm”, and “simple”; katakana was valued as “hard”, “masculine”, “cool”, and “noisy”; and kanji was linked to the terms “severe”,

“difficult”, “grown-up”, “reliable”, “intellectual”, and “deep”. A final group of 73 students was then asked to generate a semantic image of each of the three scripts in their minds, and link it to a mental representation of famous people they felt matched said image. Participants appeared to have no difficulty completing this task, and the script selected was not always the script the famous person actually writes their name in. Twenty concrete nouns noted to be commonly written in all three scripts in an earlier study (Ukita et al., 1991) were then selected, and read aloud in the form “Mr./Ms. X opened a shop called Y” to 166 new participants, who were instructed to write the sentences down using script as they saw fit. Each noun (Y) was used in combination with the top five kanji, katakana, and hiragana-compatible names (X) produced by the earlier group. All combinations were rated by a separate group for probability to confirm that they would not sound strange as the name of a business. Again, the results indicated “that each Japanese script is associated with different emotional semantic images” (2003, p. 382), as the script the final participant group used for the name of the shop matched the script previous participants associated with the owner’s name over 60% of the time²³.

While no other researchers have investigated the existence of semantic images with each script to the same extent as Iwahara et al. (2003), their use of a semantic differential test is based on successful employment of the device in prior studies. The earliest of these appears to be a survey by Kaiho and Nomura (1983), who asked 70 Japanese undergraduates to compare kanji against *kana* (hiragana and katakana as a collective whole) on a five-point scale covering 18 adjective pairs. Although therefore more limited than the study by Iwahara et al., the results showed distinct associations with each of the two groups. Kanji and *kana* were rated about equally in regards to descriptions like “good”, “progressive”, “likeable” and “beautiful”, but kanji were felt to be slightly more “important”, “ordered”, “intelligent”, “rich”, and “deep” than *kana*, which were rated as “freer” or less restrictive in turn. The largest contrast in ratings was noted on the scales of easy/difficult, light/heavy, simple/complex, and soft/hard, with *kana* ranked much closer to the first adjective in each pair, and kanji to the second.

A similar scale was later employed by Ukita et al. (1996) in the latter half of a psychological study investigating the strength of connections between various Japanese words and each major script. Building on an earlier, smaller scale project by the same authors (Ukita et al., 1991), four sets of 180 words were presented to four groups of 64-70 students, who were asked to mark whether or not they sometimes, often, or rarely saw each presented combination of word and script. Ukita et al.

²³ Specifically, kanji associated names were linked with a word in kanji 87% of the time, hiragana-hiragana combinations occurred 65% of the time, and katakana-katakana combinations occurred 60% of the time.

then selected ten words based on the results of this study. Three were parallel, or did not have a clear dominant representation according to the participants' responses, six were taken from the words rated as predominantly seen written in hiragana and kanji (three of each), and one was taken from the group rated as primarily seen written in katakana. Eighty five new participants were then presented with three orthographic representations of each selected term, and asked to rate every combination of word and script on a semantic differential scale using 15 adjective pairs.

The "parallel" terms were rated less neutrally on evaluative (e.g., "good", "pretty", "reliable") and active (e.g., "deep") terms when in kanji or katakana, and had higher ratings for potency related adjectives (e.g., "small", "soft", "feminine") when written in hiragana. Changing kanji-dominant terms into katakana also increased the significance of responses for active and evaluative items, while hiragana-dominant terms showed more neutral scores for potency when in kanji or katakana. Ukita et al. (1996) then summarized the results of work examining how changes to script affected interpretation of *kigo* (lit: "season word", a traditionally necessary part of haiku), conducted primarily by the contributor Naohiro Minagawa. Broadly speaking, kanji and katakana were again seen to increase the perception that a text was "hard" or "masculine", whereas poems with the *kigo* in hiragana were rated as "prettier", "rounder", and "nicer". One of these studies (Minagawa, 1993) even found that the "amiability" (*shikōdo*, 嗜好度) of different *kigo* influenced participants' preferred orthographic representations, with kanji and hiragana selected significantly more often for words which participants rated as having higher amiability. In contrast, the selection of katakana increased for the words that were seen as less pleasant or favorable.

Finally, also of note is a qualitative survey conducted by Brown (1985). Brown asked 45 native speakers living in Japan to fill out a survey containing 10 open-ended questions about kanji. A supplementary set of short-response and multiple-choice questions were also presented to 35 other respondents. While hiragana, katakana, and rōmaji were not examined, Brown's work received replies from a much wider age range of participants than any other study (17-50 years old), and appears to be the only investigation which has directly interviewed native speakers about their opinions. The content from the longer essays frequently referred to kanji as essentially Japanese, and many respondents expressed the idea that the script is necessary to convey "the Japanese heart and Japanese feelings" (p. 63). One comment by a businessman even argued that writing in *kana* alone would result in his work not being taken seriously, the quote reflecting Unger's assertion that Japanese without kanji has a "phantom-like, insubstantial quality" (1984, p. 249). Kanji were also referred to as meaningful, expressive, and deep, and there was a common thread between both sets of participants' replies that directly linked proficient use of kanji to a writer's education, cultivation,

and refinement. On the other hand, comments that kanji were difficult or inconvenient were also noted, as were references to the script as hard, cold, and unfriendly. In the end, Brown's survey concluded that "few Japanese fail to have opinions about the virtues of kanji, and that those opinions tend to be highly uniform" (1985, p. 106), again indicating that the widespread set of active associations with each script exists in the minds of native Japanese speakers.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter began by detailing contemporary understanding of indexicality, and showing evidence that graphic elements of writing can also be a location where social meaning is created, negotiated, developed, and expressed. Although explicit, in-depth discussion or study of contemporary Japanese script selection in works utilizing indexicality is rare, the idea that linguistic variation can index meaning closely mirrors the long history of assertions (reviewed in Chapter 2) that choice of script in Japanese text can encode images or affect. Furthermore, in 3.2.1 we saw that the various descriptions of each script's semantic images and their origins to date closely mirror discussions of how scripts in other writing systems acquire distinct lower and higher order indexical referents. Stating that script can index social meaning rather than encode affect or recall associations is therefore more an expansion of prior discussions, i.e., a change in vocabulary and detail or scope, than an entirely new suggestion. Indexicality provides a way of efficiently collecting and combining scattered assertions about the evocative power of Japanese scripts into a more cohesive and nuanced whole for the purposes of analyzing the creation of meaning through orthographic variation.

However, the broad acceptance of the idea that script is used to create meaning and the evidencing of potential elements of each Japanese script's indexical field still does not provide a full understanding of how script is used as an index within Japanese writing. That hiragana is often referred to as cute, for instance, or even rated as cuter than kanji and katakana on semantic differential scales does not tell us if and how the script is used by authors as part of their meaning creation. While this chapter has shown that the indexical potential of each script is clear, both it and Chapter 2 evidence that there is much we do not understand about the intricacies of how this potential manifests itself in individual authors' composition of Japanese texts. More than anything, it is this gap that opens the door for the current investigation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter I discuss the methods of data collection and analysis I employ in this study. In the first section I introduce the manga used for data, and provide justification for why the three specific titles were chosen. Afterwards, I describe how data from each manga was collected, coded, and examined for evidence of the use of script to index meaning. The second section then details the design and execution of the email interviews, and explains how they were incorporated into the analysis. Throughout this chapter, each section confronts theoretical issues involved with any selected methods, and describes the advantages and limitations of particular decisions.

4.1 Selection, coding, and analysis of manga

In this study the primary data source is the majority of text from three manga series: *Chokotan!* (*Chokotan!*), *Usagi doroppu* (*Bunny Drop*), and *Indo meoto jawan* (*Indian Couple's Teacups*). The manga *Chokotan!*, analyzed in Chapter 5, is written and illustrated by Kozue Takeuchi. The series is still currently serialized, but all 1,018 pages from the six volumes published as of 2014 were used in data collection. *Usagi doroppu*, analyzed in Chapter 6, is written and illustrated by Yumi Unita. The nine volumes that make up the serialized run of *Usagi doroppu* were included in the data collection, and together represent a combined 1,808 pages of data. *Indo meoto jawan*, analyzed in Chapter 7, is a manga written and illustrated by Rinko Nagami. *Indo meoto jawan* is still in publication, with 21 volumes in print as of 2016. This study analyzes the first six volumes of the manga and a spin-off entitled *Hataraku!! indojin: indo teishokuya hanjōki* (*Work!! Indian: Record of an Indian Restaurant's Prosperity*). *Hataraku!! indojin* features the same characters and covers much of the same time period as the first six volumes of *Indo meoto jawan*. Together, the seven volumes accounted for 1,022 pages of data. The page count for each manga excludes pages with publisher information, tables of contents, or any similar items not used for data. As we are discussing pages in manga, it should also be noted that the amount of text (and therefore data) on any page can differ greatly.

The three series used in this study were selected because they possess four attributes I thought would improve the potential depth and value of their data during analysis: (1) popularity or renown, (2) single authorship, (3) a constant storyline, and (4) orthographic variation to an extent recognizable upon an initial review. Popularity was important because the cult status of obscure or experimental manga could cast doubt on whether the uses of script within resulted from common or widely recognized considerations. Their use would therefore impact the benefits gained from

manga's popularity discussed in 1.4, and compound the issues raised by relying on one medium as a data source. Script selection would still be of interest if it was limited to avant-garde texts, but using media with higher rates of consumption increases the chance that the indexical uses of script within are expected to be familiar to/understood by a general audience. While the selected titles differ in their overall sales, all three are long running and are (or were) published by major companies. *Usagi doroppu* has also been made into a film, and both *Usagi doroppu* and *Chokotan!* were made into animated series.

Manga written by multiple authors were rejected in order to ensure that orthographic variation within the text could not be ascribed to conflicts between the contributors' writing styles. Manga created by author/artist pairs were similarly avoided to ensure that one person had complete control over matching dialogue to a character or their expressions, behavior, and appearance in any panel or story. For the third point, manga with consistent storylines were selected so that distinctions between characters, or a single character's behavior between particular scenes, could be described in detail. Finally, all the series were browsed to confirm that orthographic variation existed within them before considering them for inclusion. While it is important to recognize that some writers employ a fairly inflexible orthographic style, this goal of this study is to examine the use of orthographic variation to create meaning, not investigate the existence or prevalence of variation itself.

4.1.1 Coding procedures

For all three series of manga, the entirety of the dialogue and narration was transcribed manually into the software program NVivo. This created a sort of corpus for each manga. However, this study is not technically engaged in corpus analysis, as the manga are not intended to be representative of any larger writing source (Gries, 2009). Rather, the manga are instead analyzed as individual case studies, which are of interest based on their own merits. Complete texts were included to avoid destroying narrative structure, ensure that low-frequency variants were uncovered, and allow for analysis to describe the totality of contexts wherein any particular variant occurred (Biber, 1993). Writing in the background of panels, such as for signs or the names of stores, was ignored during transcription. However, some volumes of *Chokotan!* contained notes by the author on the sides of panels, and these were transcribed and included in the data. Rinko Nagami's manga occasionally included recipes, newspaper articles and interviews, or bonus comics written in collaboration with assistants. Due to questions of unclear authorship, these items were not included in data collection.

When entering text into NVivo, the data was separated by volume, and then by character and page. Breaking up the dialogue in this manner allowed the question of whether orthographic variants were limited to the speech of specific characters, chapters, or volumes to be easily examined during the analysis. After dialogue was entered into NVivo, individual lexemes were coded based on their orthographic representation. For example, the four possible representations of the Japanese first person pronoun *watashi* (私, わたし, ワタシ, and *watashi*) would be respectively coded as “*watashi kanji*”, “*watashi hiragana*”, “*watashi katakana*”, and “*watashi rōmaji*”. In cases where a single word was represented by multiple kanji within a manga, each kanji was coded separately. This means that for a word like *koinu* (puppy), which can be written in kanji as 子犬 or 仔犬, the two representations would be given their own separate codes instead of being combined into a single “*koinu kanji*” code²⁴.

Verbs, adjectives, and other items subject to inflection in Japanese were coded as lexemes, and in relation to the script used for their non-inflecting elements. The representation of the verb *taberu* (to eat) as 食べる would therefore be coded as “*taberu kanji*” despite containing kanji and hiragana, and both コワイ and コワイ (*kowai*, scary) would be coded as “*kowai katakana*” despite different scripts representing the final mora *i* (i.e., イ and い). Since words were coded as lexemes, coding also ignored conjugation, contextual meaning, position in a sentence, and variant spelling. For instance, 行く (*iku*, to go), 行った (*itta*, went), and 行かない (*ikanai*, not go) would all be coded as “*iku kanji*”. However, although not explicitly coded, I did consider relationships between morphosyntactic form and orthographic representation during analysis before considering if any variant was used to create meaning, as prior studies have shown that the selection of a particular script sometimes relates to specific word forms, or nuances in the word’s contextual meaning (Masuji, 2011; Rowe, 1976).

Grammatical particles were the only elements of a sentence which were not always coded or included as part of another word’s coding. The reason for their exclusion is that the use of hiragana for grammatical particles is perhaps the most established and immutable convention within the contemporary Japanese writing system (Konno, 2014b; Narita & Sakakibara, 2004; Neustupný, 1985; Sansom, 1928). There was therefore no need to code uses of script for grammatical particles to establish what the author’s localized standard was for any specific particle, as anything but hiragana could be considered nonstandard. In the rare cases where scripts besides hiragana were

²⁴ The meaning of some words can vary based on the kanji they are written in. For example, the verb *hakaru* (to measure) can be written as 計る, 測る, or 量る, with each character implying the measurement of a different attribute (time, length, and weight, respectively) (A. Nakamura, 2010).

used for grammatical particles, all instances were coded together (i.e., the use of katakana for both the particles *ni* and *wa* would be coded as “katakana grammatical particles”), and I marked the panels or dialogue they appeared in for special consideration during analysis.

In contrast, sentence final particles were always coded. Hiragana is also considered to be the only acceptable script for sentence final particles in standard Japanese, but the representation of particles in casual writing has been noted to vary in previous studies (Kataoka, 1995; Robertson, 2013). All sentence final particles were coded together, with each specific script-particle relationship examined later. The use of *sutegana* (small versions of *kana* like う or ア) to extend pronunciation of vowels within a word was also ignored when coding the lexeme itself (e.g., です (*desu*) and ですう (*desū*) would both be coded as “hiragana desu”), but the *sutegana* were also individually coded. Finally, any uses of script which caught the researcher’s eye were also coded with a special label. For instance, while some research has claimed that inter-morpheme variation in script use is rare (Kataoka, 1997) or absent (Frank, 2002) in Japanese writing, my prior work has found texts which contain heavy inter-morpheme variation (Robertson, 2015). This type of variation does not fit into the coding methods shown so far, but is clearly of interest, and so would be coded using a unique label that marks it for later attention.

After the data was coded, codes were removed from words which showed no variation within the manga. For example, if the word *watashi* was only represented by kanji (私) across all dialogue in a manga, the “*watashi kanji*” code would be removed. The removal of codes was performed to make codes easier to browse and compare during analysis. A visual representation of the completed coding can be seen below in Figure 1. On the left-hand side of the image are individual folders for each volume of the manga *Usagi doroppu*. The folders shown in the upper-middle of the image contain the transcribed dialogue of various characters. The “nodes” heading represents the total number of unique codes in a character’s dialogue in a volume. Figure 1 was created after non-variant items were decoded, and so the number of nodes shown is equal to the total number of unique variant (in relation to other representations in any volume) representations in a character’s dialogue in Volume 7. In Figure 1 we can see that the dialogue of Rin in Volume 7 of *Usagi doroppu* contained 49 items which were written in multiple scripts throughout *Usagi doroppu*. The “references” heading instead refers to the total number of coded items. The 49 orthographically flexible items in Rin’s dialogue therefore appeared a combined total of 218 times in Volume 7 of *Usagi doroppu*. In the main portion of Figure 1, excerpts from the speech of the character Daikichi are shown, and the sentence “俺。。。これからメシの前にお風呂にしよっかな” is

highlighted²⁵. As a practical example of coding procedures, in the highlighted sentence the word 俺 would be transcribed as “ore kanji”, これから as “korekara hiragana”, メシ as “meshi katakana”, お風呂 as “ofuro kanji”, しよっ as “suru hiragana”, and かな as “kana hiragana”. The particles の and に are written in hiragana, and therefore would not be coded.

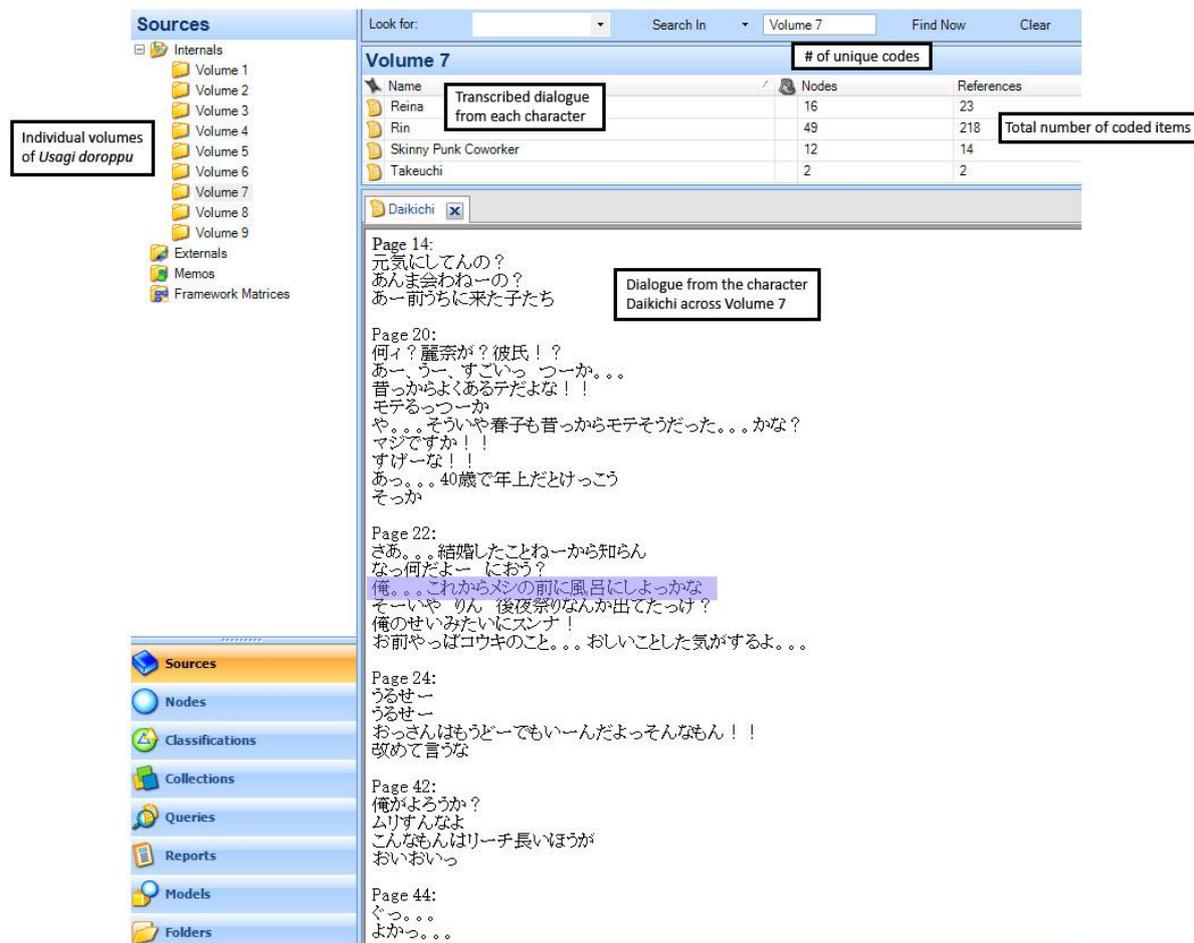


Figure 1: A presentation of the data in NVivo.

Finally, during the initial coding of each manga, it was observed that some characters’ dialogue was written in accordance with a set of consistent conventions that were fundamentally different from both standard Japanese and the general writing within the manga (e.g., children’s dialogue featured a near absence of kanji in all three series). In these cases, the character or characters’ dialogue was removed from the general data, and the script use within was coded and

²⁵ The page numbers actually refer to a set of two pages. The dialogue listed under “Page 22”, for example, therefore includes dialogue across pages 22 and 23. This was done as a convenience during coding; since analysis always required the dialogue to be revisited in its original context, combining two pages into one at the coding stage did not inhibit later access of the data.

examined separately. That is, the dialogue was treated as an independent corpora or case during coding and initial analysis, and later compared against the more common uses of script in the manga. Separation of each standard was necessary because these idiosyncratic writing styles were not representative of a manga's general variation, and instead necessitated distinct analysis in their own right. Failure to divide sets of local orthographic standards within any data set would create the impression that certain words showed high variation throughout a manga, when in reality the dialogue of specific populations was written in accordance with separate styles that deserved comparison as contrasting entities.

4.1.2 Analysis of manga

Analysis of the coded data occurred in a collective case study style, wherein the three corpora were studied individually and then compared. While all case studies invite some concerns regarding the extent of the data's applicability, the comparative nature of the collective case study increases the confidence with which data can be generalized (Dörnyei, 2007; Yin, 1994, 2009). The description and initial analysis of the data from each manga occurs separately in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, and makes use of both qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

The analysis began by using the data to define each manga's standard orthographic representation for every word and sentence element in the text. The definition of standard in this study is based on a slight modification to that used by Ukita et al (1991, 1996). When an item was found in multiple scripts, any variant that represented the item over 70% of the time was considered to be the sole standard representation within the localized writing style used for the manga. If the most common representation was used between 50 and 70% of the time, all representations occurring at least 25% of the time were considered to be part of the normative script use in the text. If no individual script accounted for 50% of an item's representations, all scripts the item appeared in at least 10% of the time were treated as locally acceptable variants.

After each author's personal orthographic preferences were quantitatively established, the data was examined to look at three specific phenomena that may indicate the use of script to index meaning. The first was repeated locally nonstandard selection of a script within a definable context²⁶. Each nonstandard use of script was examined in the context it occurred and against the contexts where all other uses of script for the same item occurred, with "context" defined broadly to include

²⁶ Contexts were not coded overtly (i.e., codes like "spoken while crying" or "formal dialogue" were not entered into NVivo), but the locations of all nonstandard elements were examined, defined, and compared.

the speech act, the location and purpose of the dialogue, the speaker and their behavior, and the surrounding multimodal features in the panel. When locally nonstandard uses of a single script that repeatedly occurred in defined contexts could not be attributed to emphasis, a desire to change the meaning of the word, or other sources of variation identified in 2.2, they were taken as evidence of possible indexical use of script. For example, if a nonstandard use of hiragana was found in a scene where a character is sobbing, the study would consider the possibility that hiragana's locally nonstandard use is used by the author to index sadness or depression after confirming (1) other locally nonstandard uses of hiragana occur in similar contexts throughout the manga, (2) locally nonstandard uses of kanji, katakana, and rōmaji never occur in dialogue where a character is sobbing, and (3) the locally nonstandard uses of hiragana could not be ascribed to the grammatical form of the word(s) they represent, a need to clarify word boundaries, natural variation in script use, or similar considerations. However, in regards to the second condition, I did not necessitate that an author selected a specific variant every time a certain context appeared before considering the variant's potential as a carrier of meaning. Returning to the example of a character crying, the hypothetical use of hiragana to index this state is a choice, not a rule. That an author might sometimes maintain their orthographic standards when characters cry is not evidence that multiple locally nonstandard uses of hiragana in scenes where characters are crying are unrelated to this context.

The second targeted phenomenon was consistent difference in patterns of script use between the speech of individual characters. In addition to defining the manga's local orthographic standards for specific items, I also used the corpora to define and compare standards of script use between the dialogue of each character. Analysis looked for patterns of orthographic dissimilarity between the dialogue of distinct characters or character groups, such as orthographic representations that were preferred in the speech of one group but nonstandard or absent in that of the other. Once consistent differences in script use were identified, the study investigated whether they were best understood as an element of how an author indexed differences between the characters or character groups.

Finally, analysis also looked at temporal contrasts in script use, such as shifting standards of script use within a character's dialogue between pages, stories, or volumes. Given that the characters in each manga change, mature, and in one case age over a decade between volumes, personal developments might invite changes to the representation of a character's dialogue (Narasaki, 2009). Examples of character development from the analyzed manga include children becoming adults, adults becoming parents, or individuals changing in response to life experiences.

Variation within coded items in each character's dialogue was examined in relation to the volumes or stories they appeared in, with the study looking for any points wherein the predominant representation of an item or items permanently changed. Analysis of this variation then occurred in a manner similar to the other phenomena, except that the change between the original and variant script was analyzed as a potential way of indexing changes to a single character's identity or behavior.

In regards to all three phenomena, analysis therefore proceeded in the following order: I identified contrasting or nonstandard uses of script, and examined whether the variant use of a single script consistently occurred in a describable context where locally marked uses of the other scripts were absent. If so, I looked to see if the variant uses could be attributed to established motives for script selection outside of the creation of meaning. When they could not, I compared the context or contexts wherein the marked use of the script appeared against the contexts where the other variants were used in order to see if the selection could be convincingly related to a specific context or speaker (set). By proceeding in this way, the study was able to explore the motives behind each use of script in a manner that relied on the assumed indexical field of each script as little as possible, and provide a high degree of assurance that marked usage for effect was being differentiated from uncommon but acceptable variants within a local writing style.

4.2 Written interviews

In addition to the manga, data on the use of script for effect was collected through interviews with the authors of two of the analyzed manga. Initially, requests for participation in semi-structured interviews were sent to the publishers of all three authors. Rinko Nagami (*Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin*) and Yumi Unita (*Usagi doroppu*) agreed to participate in this study, but both expressed trepidations about face-to-face, phone, or online interviews. In accordance with the authors' wishes, I changed the prepared questions to a written format and mailed them to each author's respective editor. While the use of questionnaires that rely on open-ended questions is generally advised against (Robson, 2002), I felt that they were still preferable to not conducting an interview. To mitigate the limitations of open-ended questionnaires, all questions were as specific as possible, and essay questions were avoided (Dörnyei, 2007). The data from these interviews is not discussed in its own chapter, but referred to when relevant in other chapters, such as when the answer to a stimulated recall question relates directly to a variant under discussion.

The written questions were broadly divided into three sections (see Appendix). The questions in the first two sections contain only slight differences between authors. In accordance with recommendations for beginning interviews with simple, salient questions (Dörnyei, 2007; Wagner, 2010), the first set of questions related to the author's career as a writer. I selected this topic because it was quite easy to find previous interviews asking each author about their history as manga artists or fans, but difficult to find any questions about their development as a writer. I therefore felt that the topic was well suited for forming simple questions that would not bore the authors by making them repeat details easily obtained elsewhere. The second set of questions asked about authors' individual editing processes, and attempted to see what general role, if any, they felt script selection played in Japanese writing. The final set of questions was designed differently for each author, and consisted of stimulated recall questions or inquiries related to specific uses of script in their manga. Excerpts of the variation in question were presented alongside the stimulated recall questions.

The aim of the interviews was not to corroborate analysis or receive authoritative declarations as to why a particular variant was selected in a given context. As the manga examined in this study were published between 2003 and 2015, with the author of *Usagi doroppu* having even moved on to another series, concerns of recall interference had to be recognized (Mackey & Gass, 2000). Questions were therefore designed in recognition of the fact that interviews are not necessarily a "clean window on the mind" (Block, 1995, p. 36), and attempted to obtain a general understanding of the scope, specifics, and origin of each author's attitudes towards script. Stimulated recall questions were required to be more specific, but were also designed to elicit broad information on how an author felt a script created a particular effect. In short, interviews were treated as verbal reports rather than authoritative statements (Yin, 1994). The answers acquired were used to access the author's perceptions of their own writing and each Japanese script, but never intended to be used as indisputable or definitive accounts of why a particular selection occurred (Block, 1995, 2000; Mackey & Gass, 2000).

While the ideal method of piloting the interviews would have been by talking to published manga authors not related to the current study, this strategy was impractical. Professional manga authors have extremely busy schedules (Shoji, 2015), and I felt that contacting them for a trial interview that would not be included in the thesis was improper, and unlikely to receive positive responses. Piloting instead used three native Japanese speakers living in Australia who were frequent readers of manga. The volunteers were familiarized with each title, and then asked to pretend they were the authors of the various series. This method of piloting contains obvious flaws,

one of the largest being that it prevents an understanding of the possible ways that authors might situate themselves in response to a non-native speaking interviewer (Block, 1995, 2000). However, the piloting did allow testing of the order and phrasing of questions, as well as the time necessary to complete the interview (Foddy, 1993; Presser et al., 2004). Participant's answers also indicated that the idea of script contributing to a text's meaning was not an unfamiliar concept, as none of them struggled to come up with explanations for the stimulated recall questions.

Answers to interview questions regarding an author's general writing processes were used to confirm that the author treated script as a potential influence on the meaning of a text, and that they had control over the orthographic content of their dialogue. Comments on the use of specific scripts for effect were instead used during the analysis of each manga whenever relevant or appropriate. For instance, if an author commented on a particular effect she believed was created by the marked use of the hiragana script, their statements would be compared with the effects evidenced by the contexts of the same script's marked use in their work. In cases where the author's comments and the data aligned, the interview data could be used to expand upon the specifics of the effect the author intended to create, while contrast between the two data sources brought about important implications that also deserved attention. Stimulated recall questions were used to acquire information about noted variation that appeared to be purposeful, but was difficult or impossible to confidently label as script use for effect using the data from the manga alone. In these cases an author's answers either provided valuable insight into the motives behind the use of script in question, or confirmed it as mistaken or accidental. Both replies assisted the analysis in differentiating natural orthographic variation from purposeful selection.

4.3 Presentation and analysis of the data

In the following chapters, I will present and analyze selections of script that appear to be part of the creation of meaning in each manga. Examples from *Chokotan!* are discussed in Chapter 5, examples from *Usagi doroppu* are discussed in Chapter 6, and examples from *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! Indojin* are discussed in Chapter 7. In each chapter, I evidence uses of script which cannot be attributed to practical needs, legibility issues, or general orthographic flexibility, and show how they differ from the norms of script use in the manga. The contexts where the variants appear are then used to either reveal connections between a script and a particular effect, or to gain insight into how script is used by an author to create meaning. Lastly, I analyze the data as a whole in Chapter 8, and explore the similarities and differences between each author's uses of script.

Chapter 5: *Chokotan!*

In this chapter I analyze the use of script to create meaning in the manga *Chokotan!*. More specifically, I will present examples of locally nonstandard or contrastive script use which are clearly limited to specific characters and contexts, and show why they are best understood as uses of script to index meaning. I then attempt to access the author's specific motives for selecting the variants through analyzing the script selection in context, and comparing it against other variant uses of the same script to uncover manga-wide trends.

The manga *Chokotan!* is written and illustrated by Kozue Takeuchi (2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2014)²⁷, and currently serialized in the popular monthly manga magazine *Ribon*. *Ribon* has been in print since 1955, and is primarily associated with *shōjo manga* (manga aimed at young girls). Although I could not obtain sales figures for *Chokotan!*, *Ribon* publishes around 760,000 copies annually (JMPA, 2014), and *Chokotan!* was successful enough to be made into an anime series. The dialogue from all six volumes of *Chokotan!* published as of August, 2014 was collected for data. Unlike the other manga, no interview was obtained with the author of *Chokotan!*.

The major characters in *Chokotan!* are all either junior high school students or dogs. The main protagonists are the titular Chokotan, a miniature dachshund who acquires the ability to speak to humans, and her owner Nao, a junior high school girl. Other characters of note include Nao's love interest Arima; Arima's gruff miniature dachshund Happī (Happy); Erika, who is Nao's rival for Arima's affections; and Erika's purebred dachshund puppy Marutīnu (Martine). In the comic, all dogs can speak to each other in what is called *inu-go* (dog language), and Chokotan can switch between *inu-go* and Japanese after the first chapter of the first volume.

In this chapter I will first analyze the orthographic conventions used to write Chokotan's dialogue. As the applications of script in Chokotan's speech are particular to her dialogue alone, they are analyzed separately from other uses of script within the manga. In Section 5.2 I discuss the orthographic variation throughout the dialogue of all the other characters. In the third section I provide a brief analysis of the use of script in notes to readers written by the author of *Chokotan!*. These notes are separate from the manga's dialogue, but appear in all volumes. Finally, I close the chapter with a summary of the various findings throughout.

²⁷ Throughout this thesis, page and volume numbers are included in excerpts from the manga instead of page and year of publication. This style of referencing was included to facilitate reader access to examples in a more direct manner than possible through conventional APA citation. Full bibliographic information for each volume can be found in the References.

5.1 Chokotan

Before examining the general orthographic variation across *Chokotan!*, I will describe and discuss the use of script in Chokotan's dialogue. The reason for discussing Chokotan first is that, as will be shown in this section, the author of *Chokotan!* has created a set of unique orthographic conventions for Chokotan's dialogue. This set of conventions is very different from those used to write the dialogue of all other human and canine characters in the manga, and from the conventions for standard written Japanese. Including Chokotan's dialogue in the description of general orthographic variation within the manga would therefore create the impression that the author's use of script for almost every word is highly flexible, when the reality is that most of the orthographic variation is due to contrasts between the speech of Chokotan and the other characters.

5.1.1 The orthographic particulars of Chokotan's dialogue

The most salient feature that separates Chokotan's dialogue from that of other characters (both human and canine) is a near absence of kanji (see 2.1.1 for an overview of standard uses of kanji in Japanese writing). Apart from two uses of kanji in one panel (discussed in 5.1.3), every element of Chokotan's speech is written in either hiragana or katakana. In most cases the author uses hiragana to write the elements of Chokotan's dialogue that would be represented by kanji in standard Japanese writing. As a result, the majority of adjectives and native Japanese verbs used by Chokotan are written in hiragana, which is similar to how script is used in children's books (Akizuki, 2005; Hayashi, 1982). Hiragana is also used in Chokotan's speech for writing particles, conjunctions, and inflection, which follows standard Japanese script use (Backhouse, 1993). Many sentences therefore end up written in hiragana alone, as can be seen below in Excerpt 5.1 through 5.4.

(5.1) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 1, p. 148

Chokotan: はじめはさびしくてないたけどいまはもうへっちゃらだよ。²⁸
hajime wa sabishikute naiteta kedo ima wa mō hecchara dayo.
At first I was really lonely and cried but now everything's alright.

(5.2) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 1, p. 118

Chokotan: あかいいと？

²⁸ Due to the difficulty of maintaining the visual breaks in dialogue caused by the size of speech bubbles, all excerpts are presented as unbroken sentences in this thesis. Occasional punctuation is added to mark sentence breaks that are clearly delineated through speech bubbles in the comics.

akai ito?
A red thread?

(5.3) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 2, p. 154

Chokotan: あめのあとにはすっごいはれになるんだよ。
ame no ato niwa suggoi hare ni narun dayo.
After a rain the sky becomes incredibly clear.

(5.4) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 6, p. 142

Chokotan: あさからばんまでおるすばんだもん。
asa kara ban made orusuban damon.
I'm watching the house alone from morning until evening.

The above sentences exist in conflict with common recommendations for using multiple scripts to delineate the boundaries between words in Japanese writing (Masuji, 2011; Norimatsu & Horio, 2005). This is not to say the excerpts are incomprehensible, and the use of line breaks inside of speech bubbles does help differentiate word boundaries in many cases. However, the sole use of hiragana in many sentences shows that the consistent visual representation of Chokotan's speech takes precedence over concerns of readability, as the author appears unwilling to use an occasional variant application of katakana to break up Chokotan's dialogue.

The primary use of the katakana script in Chokotan's speech is to represent proper nouns, interjections, or exclamations like *iya* (no/nasty) or *dame* (no good)²⁹. Katakana is also used to write some common nouns in Chokotan's dialogue, but there is no discernable pattern for which nouns will be represented in hiragana or katakana. In other words, the author's initial selection of hiragana or katakana for any particular noun appears to be capricious. For instance, there is no evidence of differing preferences for script use between *wago* (native Japanese words) and *kango* (words borrowed from China), although this phenomenon was noted in other writing by researchers like Igarashi (2007) and Satake (1989). While *wago* like *kao* (face), *kokoro* (heart/mind), and *nioi* (smell) are always written in katakana in Chokotan's dialogue, the *wago* words *iro* (color), *onna* (girl), *ko* (child), *mizu* (water), and *te* (hand) are only written in hiragana. Similarly, the *kango* nouns *sekai* (world), *himitsu* (secret), and *ningen* (human) are written only in katakana, but *kaiketsu* (solution), *isshōkenmei* (very hard) and *mondai* (problem) only appear in hiragana. Furthermore, hiragana and katakana standards even exist for the individual loan words used by Chokotan. The author ignores katakana's standard role as a marker of loan words when writing Chokotan's speech (Yamada, 2006), which further increases the presence of hiragana in her dialogue.

²⁹ When used as adjectives these words are written in hiragana as per the standard.

While therefore initially unpredictable, the use of a script for any specific noun shows a high degree of consistency. Nouns that appear in hiragana or katakana the first time Chokotan uses them will almost always appear in that script in all other stories or volumes. There are a handful of examples of words being written in multiple scripts, which will be discussed in 5.1.3, but overall it is clear that the author has made a high level of effort to maintain orthographic consistency within Chokotan’s speech. In fact, she goes as far as to maintain specific representations particular to the character which are based upon minor differences between vocabulary. For example, Chokotan uses the word *hana* (flower) and *ohana* (flower + the honorific prefix *o*) three times each. While *hana* is always written in katakana, *ohana* is instead written solely in hiragana. A similar phenomenon is shown below in Table 5, which catalogs the scripts used for variants of the words “*suki*” (like) and “*kirai*” (dislike). While the representation of both *suki* and *kirai* shows a preference for katakana, the orthographic standards for the stronger versions of each word (made by adding the prefix *dai-*) differ, but are also highly regular.

Word	English meaning	Occurrences in hiragana	Occurrences in katakana
<i>suki</i>	like/love	2	35
<i>daisuki</i>	like very much/love	40	0
<i>kirai</i>	dislike/hate	1	7
<i>daikirai</i>	dislike very much/hate	1	9

Table 5: Script used for variations of *suki* and *kirai* across Chokotan’s speech.

In summation, hard rules cannot always be made for which types of nouns will be written in hiragana or katakana in Chokotan’s speech, but the orthographic content of her dialogue as a whole follows an intricate and highly systematic design. This fact leads to questions of (1) why the author felt it was necessary to create and use an orthographic convention specifically for the dialogue of Chokotan, and (2) why this convention emphasizes the hiragana script.

Beginning with the first question, since the uses of script in Chokotan’s dialogue do not change depending on whether Chokotan’s interlocutor is a human or a dog, the script in Chokotan’s dialogue has no relation to whether she is speaking in Japanese or *inu-go*. We can therefore rule out the idea that the script is reflecting language choice. The absence of kanji in Chokotan’s dialogue is also found before she learns to speak Japanese, so the representation of her dialogue is also unrelated to her status as a talking dog. Furthermore, since the author is engaging in text-wide orthographic management, word or sentence-level explanations for script variation do not apply. Other proposed reasons for nonstandard script selection, such as individual orthographic preferences or the desire to create a spoken-feel (Saiga, 1955; Satake, 1989), must also be rejected.

As mentioned, Chokotan’s dialogue is interesting precisely because it does not follow the author’s orthographic norms, and Chokotan is not the only character who speaks in a casual style.

In short, the creation of a personalized orthographic convention appears to relate to the character of Chokotan herself. The uses of script do not assist with legibility, nor are they affected by Chokotan’s actions or behaviors in any particular panel. Rather, the author’s removal of kanji and emphasis of hiragana is linked in some manner to Chokotan herself, or her distinct identity as an individual (i.e., rather than as a talking dog). In the following section I will analyze the particularities of Chokotan’s identity, as the traits that differentiate her from other speakers may be able to provide insight into the particular orthographic construction of her dialogue.

5.1.2 Indexing Chokotan’s identity through script

First, the avoidance of kanji in the dialogue of Chokotan indicates that the author treats the script as incongruous with elements of Chokotan’s identity that distinguish her from characters with kanji in their speech. As mentioned, Chokotan is not the only canine character, nor is she the only young, happy, or female character. Rather, what makes Chokotan distinct is that she is much more immature, bubbly, and naive than all the other characters in the manga. She is also highly lacking in self-restraint, and the other dogs often refer to her as *baka* (“stupid”) or *aho* (“dummy” or “fool”, see Figure 2)³⁰. The author’s avoidance of kanji therefore aligns with arguments that the script has indexical links to maturity, reserve, wisdom, and formality (Unger, 1984), as the absence of these traits is a defining aspect of Chokotan’s character.



Figure 2: A dog insults Chokotan’s intelligence (Vol. 1, p. 151)

³⁰ Manga should be read from right to left, top to bottom.

Like the removal of kanji, we can also state that the increase in hiragana is related to traits that differentiate Chokotan's identity from the identities of other characters in the comic. No demographic elements of Chokotan's character explain the increased use of hiragana in her speech. For example, hiragana is often said to be feminine or child-like (Iwahara et al., 2003). As the dialogue of other female characters does not similarly contain marked uses of hiragana, we cannot argue that the author is using hiragana for any reasons directly related to the fact that Chokotan is female. There is some possible evidence that hiragana is used to index Chokotan's youth, as the dialogue of a male child named Mirai orthographically mirrors Chokotan's in many respects. However, closer examination shows that age alone does not explain the use of hiragana in either character's speech, and it appears that the speech of Chokotan and Mirai are actually written in accordance with separate sets of conventions.

Mirai only appears in one story, and very little is known about the character aside from that he is a male child. Mirai looks to be around four or five years old (his head comes up to the teenage characters' knees), but his exact age is never stated. The orthographic defaults of Mirai's speech are similar to Chokotan's in that most words are written in hiragana, and katakana is used for proper nouns, the adjective *kirai*, and the five nouns *kao* (face), *inu* (dog), *neko* (cat), *hito* (person), and *ningen* (people). Whether the conventions used for Mirai's dialogue also include the use of hiragana for loan words is unclear. The only loan word used by the character is *mama* (mama), and this word is written in katakana in all characters' speech.

Mirai is able to state his own name in kanji (未来), however, while Chokotan never uses kanji for any proper nouns. Still, the similarities between the orthographic conventions used to write these two characters' dialogue are undeniable, which supports the argument that their hiragana-heavy/kanji-absent speech is indexing their status as children. However, while this contention is plausible, it must be made with a few caveats. First, youth does not guarantee that the author of Chokotan will remove kanji (or emphasize hiragana) in a character's speech. Erika's puppy Martine is younger than Chokotan, but kanji is used throughout her speech, and the loan words she uses are written exclusively in katakana (for further discussion of Martine see 5.2). As such, even if speaker age influences the selection of script, it is still subservient to other factors. Minimally, the author is using hiragana to index traits she considered normative to children, rather than the literal state of being a child, as Martine lacks the innocence and kindness present in Chokotan and Mirai.

Furthermore, the indexing of traits linked to child identities cannot fully explain all uses of hiragana in Chokotan's speech, as there is evidence that the author is writing the dialogue of Chokotan and children according to distinct constructions which happen to share similar elements.

The evidence for this claim is slight, but comes from a story where Nao dreams that Chokotan has turned into a little human girl. When the human Chokotan speaks Japanese, the orthography mirrors her speech as a dog except for the representation of the loan word *terebi* (TV). Although the dog-Chokotan’s Japanese always represents *terebi* with hiragana (てれび), the human-Chokotan’s speech follows the conventional use of katakana to represent the loan word (テレビ). Examples of this contrast can be seen between the panels on the left and right of Figure 3. Uses of hiragana to write *terebi* are highlighted in yellow in the left panels (in speech bubbles (1) and (3)), while the use of katakana for *terebi* in the right panel is highlighted in green (in speech bubble (6)).

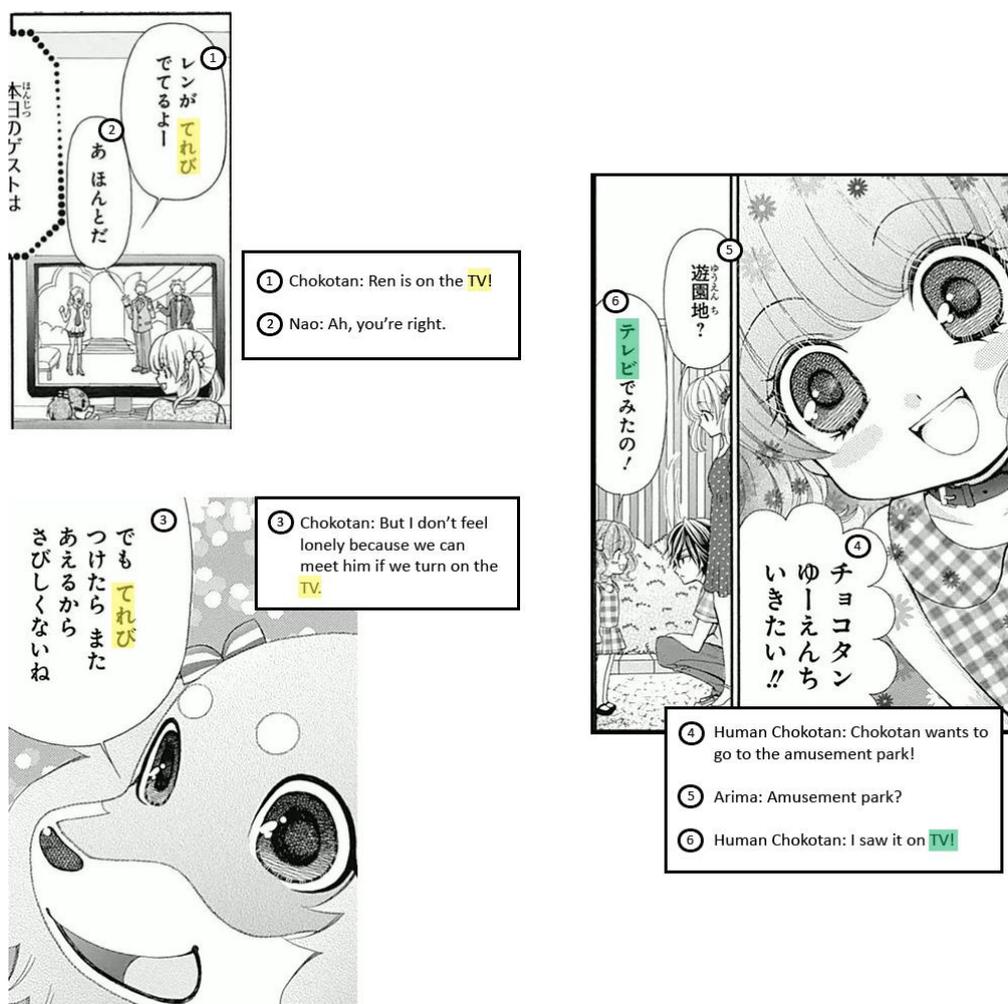


Figure 3: Different scripts are used to write *terebi* (top left: Vol. 6, p. 71; bottom left: Vol. 4, p. 33; right: Vol. 4, p. 161)

Since no other loan words occur in the human Chokotan’s speech, and Chokotan, Mirai, and Martine are the only children in the manga, it is difficult to discuss this change conclusively. However, given the high orthographic consistency of Chokotan’s dialogue mentioned in 5.1.1, the use of

katakana for *terebi* in Figure 3 stands out, and combined with Mirai's use of kanji for his own name indicates a small but important difference between the conventions used to write the dialogue of children and Chokotan.

The dialogue of children is written to mirror writing aimed at (or written by) children, wherein kanji is avoided but an author's personal standards for the use of katakana and hiragana are otherwise maintained. As a result, the use of hiragana in children's speech is almost automatic, and the orthographic particularities of their speech only explicitly show that kanji indexes something the author feels is incongruous with her conception of normative child identities. In contrast, while the author treats kanji as incongruous with both Chokotan and Mirai due to their general child-like behavior, the marked presence of hiragana in Chokotan's speech that results from its use for loan words shows that the identity of (dog)-Chokotan is more closely bound to hiragana's indexical field than the identity of any other character. Chokotan's child-like manner may still motivate the avoidance of kanji in her speech, but it appears that the author is also stressing the presence of hiragana to convey that Chokotan's foolishness, lack of self-restraint, or cuteness supersedes that of any human children in the manga.

A possible counter argument to the above analysis is that the hiragana is intended to index paralinguistic peculiarities of Chokotan's voice, with the speech of a talking dog imaginably different from human children. However, we can see that hiragana is linked (primarily) to identity, rather than pronunciation, by examining a variety of scenes where characters attempt to imitate the sound of Chokotan's voice. In these scenes, the scripts used in imitations of Chokotan's speech do not strictly match the script in Chokotan's original utterance. The author occasionally even provides explicit notes regarding how the imitation is supposed to sound, which further indicates that she does not rely on script to convey paralinguistic information.

Consider Excerpt 5.5. This conversation comes from a scene where Chokotan speaks Japanese while Erika is present. As Nao and Arima do not want other people to know that Chokotan can talk, Arima imitates Chokotan's voice to pretend that he was the one who spoke. Chokotan's initial utterance and Arima's imitative repetition of it are highlighted in yellow in the excerpt.

(5.5) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 114-115

Chokotan: えーこっこのぬのがいい...っ³¹。
ē, *kocchi no nuno no ga ii...*

³¹ Small っ that appear after ellipses are not reflected in the Romanization in this thesis, as the character does not, when used alone, have a clear reading. It appears to represent a pause, glottal stop, or similar paralinguistic feature.

Whaa, this cloth is better...

Erika: は、なに今の、女の子の声聞こえなかった？
ha, nani ima no, onna no ko no koe kikoenakatta?
What was that just now? Did you not hear a little girl's voice?

Arima: あー、今のオレが言ったんだ。「こっちの布がいいっ」って。
ā, ima no ore ga ittannda. [kocchi no nuno ga ii] tte.
Ah, that just now was me. "This cloth is better", I said.

Erika: 有馬くんってそーゆーキャラだったっけ。
arima kun tte sōyū kyara datta ke.
Oh I didn't realize you were that kind of character.

While Chokotan's initial statement contains no kanji, Arima's imitation of her voice follows the manga's orthographic conventions in using kanji for *nuno* (布). The author is therefore not relying on script to convey the young or feminine vocal qualities of Arima's imitation in this scene.

Similarly, consider the conversation below in Figure 4. Here Arima is talking to some passers-by who found Arima unconscious after Chokotan cried out for help, and again trying to hide the fact that Chokotan can speak Japanese by imitating the sound of Chokotan's voice.



Figure 4: Arima imitates Chokotan's voice (Vol. 2, p. 41).

As in the Excerpt 5.5, the imitation does not result in Arima’s dialogue orthographically mirroring Chokotan’s dialogue. Rather, the major changes the author makes to Arima’s speech relate to font and spelling. A curly, rounded font is used to write Arima’s speech in Figure 4, which contrasts with the manga’s conventional font (seen in the speech of the workers in the bottom left). The sentence elements *desu* (です) and *masu* (ます), highlighted in yellow, are changed to the nonstandard spellings *desū* (ですう) and *masū* (ますう), which Miyake (2007) describes as a type of irregular vowel lengthening often intended to reflect a cute and casual prosody. Furthermore, the author even makes an explicit note in the top left (labeled (1)) stating that Arima is speaking in “女声” (*onna goe*, a girl’s voice). In short, multiple aspects of the text show that the author is not relying on hiragana to convey the paralinguistic features of Arima’s utterance in Figure 4. While the stem for the verb *tasukeru* (to help) is changed from the manga’s kanji-standard to hiragana once, which matches how it appeared in Chokotan’s call for help, it reverts to kanji as Arima continues his imitation in his second statement (both uses of *tasukeru* are highlighted in green). In contrast, the irregular uses of font and spelling exist in both of Arima’s speech bubbles, which shows that the adopted voice does not end once he finishes the quote.

Finally, in Figure 5 Nao can be seen imitating Chokotan’s voice to hide another inadvertent public use of Japanese by Chokotan. The author again uses an irregular font throughout the imitation, even before the quoted speech. However, kanji is not removed. The quoted (the brackets 「 」 are quotations marks in Japanese) speech itself is written without kanji, but the words within the quote are actually never represented by kanji in the dialogue of any character in the manga, so no kanji have been avoided during the representation of the imitation.



Figure 5: Nao’s imitation of Chokotan’s voice contains kanji (Vol. 1, p. 64).

The examples of imitation provided so far make it clear that the author does rely on the removal of kanji to convey paralinguistic elements of Chokotan's voice³². Because of this, the near exclusive use of hiragana in Chokotan's (and Mirai's) dialogue cannot be accepted wholly as an attempt to convey audible aspects of speech. The data therefore again shows that the use of a hiragana-heavy standard in Chokotan's dialogue is primarily tied to distinguishing features of Chokotan's identity. The orthographic particulars of Chokotan and Mirai's dialogue are best understood as a method of marking aspects of who the characters are as individuals, and it is necessary to attend to both the internal makeup of each orthographic idiolect and the contrast between them to understand what the author is attempting to convey about each character.

In summation, the use of script within Chokotan's dialogue appears to be a method of orthographically indexing the peculiarities of Chokotan's identity across a multi-step process. First, the author makes the decision that conventional uses of kanji are inappropriate for the character due to a contrast between the author's conception of the indexical field of kanji and the specifics of Chokotan's distinct identity. The author then avoids using kanji to sever the script's indexical links and create an uneducated, immature, or insubstantial impression (R. A. Brown, 1985; Unger, 1984), and (intentionally or unintentionally) distance Chokotan from the prestige, formality, or normativity indexed by standard writing (Jaffe, 2012; Sebba, 2012). Afterwards, the use of hiragana is increased and the use of katakana is decreased to stress that Chokotan's identity is not simply removed from the mature or hard associations of kanji, but also specifically tied to elements/referents within hiragana's indexical field. More than anything, the marked use and avoidance of specific scripts in Chokotan's dialogue, as well as the mere fact that the dialogue is represented in accordance with individualized rules, shows that script plays an important role in how the author conveys fundamental information about the character. Her selections of particular scripts are not arbitrary, or merely done with the intention of creating a general orthographic difference between Chokotan and other speakers, but calculated based on traits she believes are indexed by each specific script. Certainly, the effects created by the author's orthographic acts are guided and bound to what we know about the identity of the character from other channels (Agha, 2007; Silverstein, 1976), and Chokotan's speech contains distinct lexical items as well. However, it is clear that the author treats script as an important part of conveying Chokotan's identity, with the atypical (compared to the other characters) elements of Chokotan's personality partially defined, stressed, and conveyed through script.

³² This is not to argue that readers do not interpret the use of hiragana as a marker of prosody, or that prosody is not a possible secondary effect intended by the author. However, indexing prosody is clearly not the author's primary goal.

5.1.3 Orthographic variation in Chokotan’s dialogue

Finally, before moving on to variation throughout *Chokotan!*, I will discuss rare cases wherein variant orthographic representations of a word appear within Chokotan’s dialogue. While some of the variation appears to be intended to index meaning, many of the limited examples of locally marked script use can be as easily attributed to editor oversight as author intent. For example, returning to the application of script for Chokotan’s uses of *suki* first presented in Table 5, the two locally nonstandard representations of *suki* in hiragana appear during two voiceovers provided by Chokotan. These voiceovers occur the beginning of most stories, and show Chokotan introducing the other characters. Chokotan usually introduces Arima by stating a sentence similar to “これはアリマ！ナオちゃんのスキなヒト！” (*kore wa arima! nao chan no suki na hito!*, This is Arima! The person Nao likes!³³), with *suki* (highlighted) written in katakana. However, in two of the voiceovers the script for *suki* changes to hiragana. Given that we are looking at a stock introductory preface, there is no difference in context between where the hiragana and katakana representations of *suki* occur, and the changes do not relate to established practical or legibility-related motivations. This makes the motives for the script’s application impossible to establish using this study’s methodology, and raises the possibility that the use of hiragana was an unintentional and mistaken departure from the otherwise rigid uses of script in Chokotan’s dialogue.

The possibility of error is also relevant for the only two uses of kanji (for *namae* (name, 名前) and the stem of *yobu* (call, 呼ぶ) in Chokotan’s dialogue. Both representations occur in a single panel, but there are no kanji in the preceding and following panels, and there are no definable changes in Chokotan’s stance or behavior in the panel the kanji occur within. If the author intended to use kanji to index something in this scene, her motives therefore are not part of any trend, and cannot be described clearly by examining the data in context. Consequently, the potential for the kanji to be a typing error cannot be dismissed. For reference, the segment of dialogue the kanji appear within is presented below in Excerpt 5.6, with the uses of kanji in Chokotan’s speech highlighted.

³³ The construction here is the most common, but other examples include *arima wa nao chan no suki na hito* (Arima is the boy Nao likes) or *kore wa nao chan no suki na hito arima* (This is Nao’s love interest Arima), with the author editing the introduction to match the context.

(5.6) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 10

- Chokotan: こんにちはわん！あたしチョコタン！よろしくね！チョコタンおねーちゃんってよんでいいよ！これはハッピー！イジワルいうけどわるいイヌじゃないよ！
konnichiwan! atashi chokotan! yoroshiku ne! chokotan onēchan tte yonde ii yo! kore wa happī! ijiwaru iu kedo warui inu jyanai yo!
Hello woof! I am Chokotan! Nice to meet you! You can call me big-sister Chokotan! This is Happy. He says mean things but he's not a bad dog!
- Happy: ...なんだよ。この紹介は。
...nan da yo. kono shōkai wa.
What kind of introduction is that?
- Chokotan: あなたの**名前**はマルチーヌ... マルチー... マルチーヌ... あれれ？
*anata no **namae** wa maruchīnu... maruchī... maruchīnu... arere?*
Your **name** is Martine... Marty... Martine... um?
- Happy: なんて言えねんだよ。
nande ienen da yo
Why can't you say it?
- Chokotan: そうだ！マルチーって**呼んじゃお**！いいよね！
*sōda! maruchī tte **yonjao!** ii yo ne!*
Got it! Let's **call** you Marty! That's fine, right?
- Martine: いいえ、^{わたくし}私 はマルティーンヌです。ちゃんと呼んで下さらないと困ります。
ii, watakushi wa marutīnu desu. chanto yonde kudasaranai to komarimasu.
No, my name is Martine. If you do not please address me properly there will be a problem.

However, there are cases where the author does appear to vary her use of script to create meaning, as specific orthographic variants are seen to repeatedly occur in the same contexts. Returning again to Table 5, consider the representations for *kirai* and *daikirai*. While the locally standard script for both words is katakana, each word occurs in hiragana once. The sole use of hiragana for *daikirai* can be seen below in Figure 6. The scene depicted in Figure 6 occurs after Nao snaps at Chokotan for constantly interrupting her preparation for an upcoming test. Not aware of what tests are, Chokotan doesn't understand why Nao would rather study than play. She begins to cry against an-all black background (upper left, speech bubble (3)), and her use of the word *daikirai* is rendered in hiragana.



Figure 6: *Daikirai*, highlighted in yellow, is written in hiragana (Vol. 5, p. 187).

Figure 7 shows a similar scene where Chokotan is still a puppy in a pet store. When Nao visits the store every day Chokotan makes efforts to gain her attention, but Nao always just turns and walks away. This perceived rejection again causes a visual reaction from Chokotan: she drops her toy bone, and expresses shock and sadness. She then wonders what went wrong, and asks herself if Nao hates her, with the word *kirai* (hate) rendered in hiragana.



Figure 7: *Kirai*, highlighted in yellow, appears in hiragana (Vol. 1, p. 150).

The author's locally nonstandard uses of hiragana for *kirai* and *daikirai* therefore occur in similar scenes. Locally nonstandard uses of hiragana repeatedly appear when the author is conveying Chokotan's sadness, with script working in combination with the graphic elements of the manga to express information in the scene. As a corollary, Figure 6 and Figure 7 indicate that sadness, or the state of being emotionally upset, is an element of the indexical field of the hiragana script. As will be seen in 5.2, the locally marked use of hiragana in this context occurs in the general orthographic variation in the manga as well. The word *kirai* (but not *daikirai*) does appear in katakana in other occasions where Chokotan is crying, but this is the maintenance of a standard not a locally nonstandard application of script. That is, katakana normatively represents *kirai* and *daikirai* in any situation, but hiragana is only used for either form of *kirai* when Chokotan is upset.

Elements of katakana's indexical field can be similarly uncovered by examining locally nonstandard uses of the script in Chokotan's dialogue. Katakana variants appear only in scenes where Chokotan is experiencing anxiety, fear, or trepidation. Consider the author's use of script in scenes where Chokotan displays incomprehension. In almost all cases, the author uses hiragana to represent Chokotan's repetition of a term or phrase that she does not know. A few examples of this common phenomenon are presented below in Excerpt 5.7 through Excerpt 5.10, with the original script(s) used for a word and Chokotan's contrasting repetition in hiragana highlighted in yellow. Across the excerpts we can see that the change to hiragana occurs regardless of whether the original word is native to Japan (Excerpt 5.7 and 5.9), a loan word (Excerpt 5.8 and 5.10), written in kanji (Excerpt 5.9), in katakana (Excerpt 5.8 and 5.10), or in both scripts (Excerpt 5.7)

(5.7) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 5, p. 64

Nao: 注射の時の裏ワザも教えてもらっちゃったしねー。
chūsha no toki no urawaza mo oshiete moracchatta shi nē.
 I also learned a little trick for when you get the shot.)

Chokotan: うらわざ？
urawaza?
 Little trick?

(5.8) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 6, p. 78

Nao: グランプリ取ろうとしてはりきりすぎないようにね。
guranpuri torō to shite harikiri suginai yō ni ne.
 Don't go overboard trying to win the Grand Prix.

Chokotan: ぐらんぷり？
guranpuri?
 Grand Prix?

Nao: 知らないならいいの。
shiranai nara ii no.
It is fine if you don't know [what that means].

(5.9) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 6, p. 156

Phone: 救急車... っ呼んで... っ...っ。
kyūkyūsha... yonde... ...
Call... an ambulance... ...

Chokotan: きゅーきゅーしゃってなに...っ? チョコタンわかんないよ...っ。
kyūkyūsha tte nani...? chokotan wakannai yo...
What's an ambulance? Chokotan doesn't understand...

(5.10) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 4, p. 40

Nao: あ、蓮くん。ハッピーニューイヤーライブだっで一、相変わらず
忙しそうだね。ね、チョコタン。
a, ren kun da. happī nyū iyā raibu da ttē. Aikawarazu isogashisō da ne. ne,
chokotan.
Ah, it's Ren. They said it's a Happy New Year Live [Special on TV]. He seems busy
as ever, doesn't he. Right, Chokotan?

Chokotan: ナオちゃん、はっぴーにゅーいヤーってなあに?
nao chan, happī nyū iyā tte nāni?
Nao, what's Happy New Year?

However, katakana is used instead of hiragana in a scene when Chokotan repeats words she is afraid of, or responding negatively towards. The relevant panels, shown below in Figure 8, are from a story where Nao and Arima return a stray dog to its owner. Throughout the story Chokotan is excited about this reunion. When the owner sees her dog, however, she reveals that she actually abandoned it in the hopes it would never come back. She then expresses regret that she didn't take the dog to the pound to have it euthanized. In this scene, the words *hokenjo* (保健所, animal shelter), *gasushitsu* (ガス室, gas chamber), *korosu* (殺す, to kill), *shinu* (死ぬ, to die), and *shobun* (処分, euthanasia) are all used by the human participants³⁴. These words are then changed into katakana and placed in black text boxes when repeated individually by the shocked Chokotan as questions.

³⁴ The definitions of *hokenjo* and *shobun* provided here are contextual. The words *shinu* (to die) and *korosu* (to kill) in Chokotan's repetitions are also a different conjugation than their original forms (which are respectively *shindemo* (even if [the dog] dies) and *korosaren* (to be killed)).

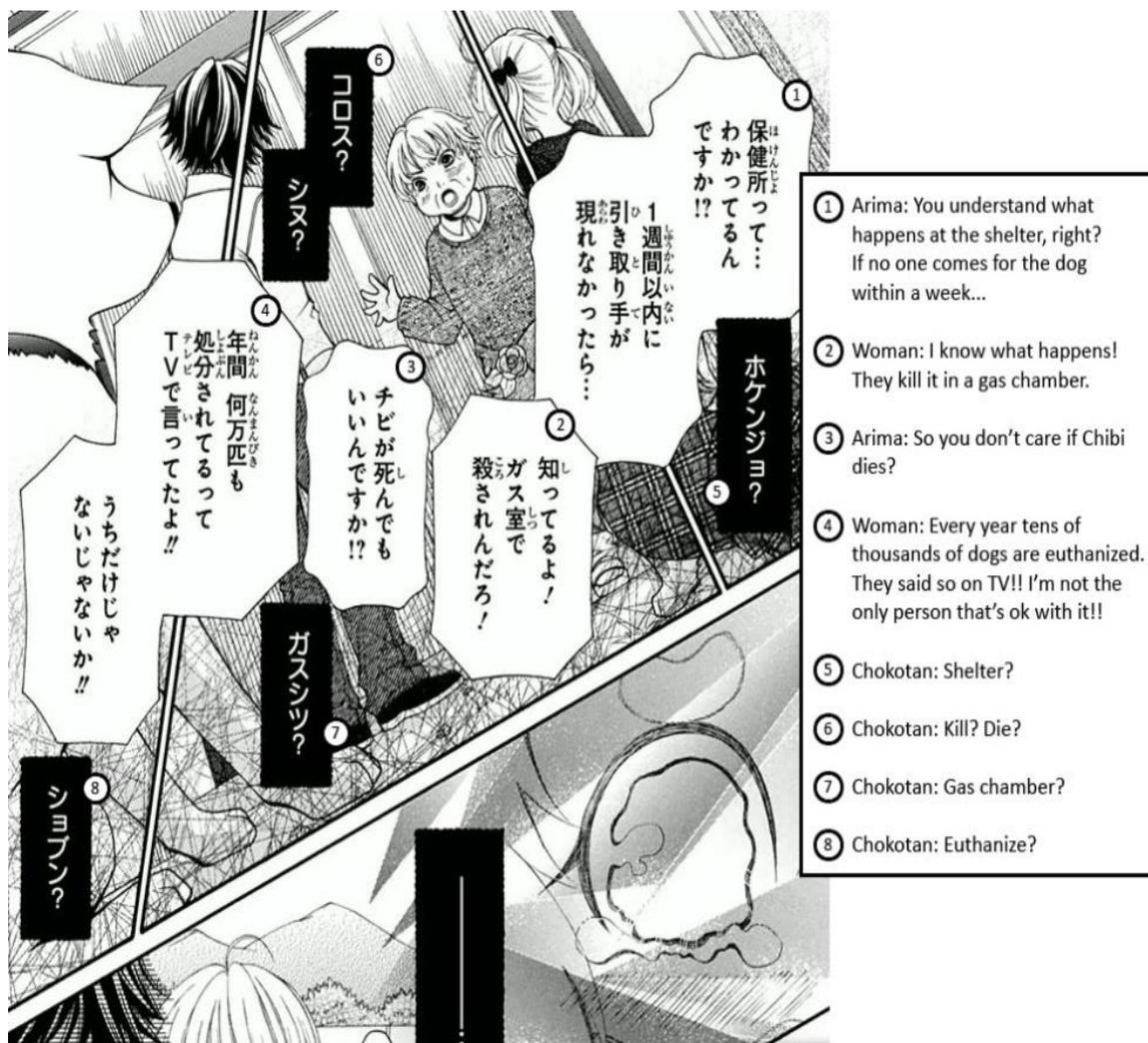


Figure 8: Words Chokotan repeats appear in katakana when she is afraid (Vol. 3, p. 152).

With the exception of *shobun* (処分/シヨブン), which appeared in katakana in an earlier volume, none of the nouns occur elsewhere in Chokotan's speech. Because of this, their default localized representation is unclear. The verbs *shinu* (死ぬ/シヌ) and *korosu* (殺す/コロス) do appear in other stories, and are otherwise written in hiragana. As a result, even if katakana could hypothetically be the standard in Chokotan's dialogue for some of the repeated words, the use of the script for all of the words is conspicuous. It also stands in contrast to the expectations created by the manga's normative method of marking incomprehension, with the author's established treatment of hiragana as gentle, foolish, or child-like appearing to make the script incongruous with the feel of the scene. The visual features of this page, such as Chokotan's crying eye and the change to black speech boxes create further contrast with the manga's visual conventions, and constitute another motivated aspect of the author's creation of meaning in the scene (Kress, 2010). In short, Figure 8 stands as an example of visual, lexical, and orthographic features working together to create

semiotic effects, and part of this creation involves the author severing hiragana's links and switching to the katakana script to reflect Chokotan's dread, negativity, or fear in relation to the older woman's comments.

Further evidence that katakana is used to evoke a negative effect is seen in the representation of the word *ko* (child/girl) in Chokotan's speech. Out of the 25 times Chokotan uses the word *ko*, it is written in katakana on only three occasions. Each use of katakana occurs when Chokotan is expressing aversion or trepidation towards the person being referred to as *ko*. While in each example the word *ko* refers to girls, rather than children, the use of script is not related to the contextual meaning of *ko*. Chokotan's teenage owner Nao is also introduced in almost every story as *このこ* (*kono ko*, this girl), but the word *ko* is always written in hiragana.

(5.11) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 15

Chokotan: エリカって **コ** にひきさかれちゃうかも。
erika tte **ko** ni hikisakarechau kamo.
[Arima] might be stolen by that **girl** Erika.

(5.12) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 2, p. 88

Chokotan: あ、アリマがほかの **コ** となかよしに。
a, arima ga hoka no **ko** to nakayoshi ni.
Ah, Arima is becoming close with other **girls**.

(5.13) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 173

Chokotan: さっきいった **コ** がイジワルする **コ** ?
saki itteta **ko** ga ijiwaru suru **ko** ?
Is that the **girl** she talked about earlier who is bullying her?

In summation, conspicuous or locally nonstandard uses of hiragana and katakana in Chokotan's speech are rare, but do not always appear to be accidental. Certain marked uses of each script are repeatedly used in definable contexts, and the locations where hiragana is used in a locally nonstandard manner are distinct from the locations where katakana is used in a locally nonstandard manner. Variant uses of hiragana indicate that the script is indexing sadness or confusion, while katakana instead appears used as an index of negativity or fear. These findings are only initial, but will be echoed in the data across the following chapters. At the basic level, they expand upon the details of each script's indexical field established in 5.1.2, and show the author using script to both index fundamental aspects of character identities and specific stances taken within panels.

5.2 Orthographic variation throughout *Chokotan!*

Outside of Chokotan’s and Mirai’s dialogue, the use of script in *Chokotan!* fits within the orthographic conventions of standard written Japanese in at least a general sense, and the selection of a particular script for individual words or sentence elements is also usually constant. The author does make use of kanji from outside the *jōyō* list, however, including 怯 (fear), 逢 (tryst), 吠 (howl), 淋 (loneliness), 仔 (offspring), and 嘘 (lie/falsehood). These kanji are not likely to be known by the target audience of *Chokotan!*, and their employment is surprising in relation to Tranter’s argument that kanji selection often relates to “the assumed literacy level of the readership” (2008, p. 135), or the increased preference for hiragana noted in Akizuki’s (2005) examination of *Ribon*. Rather than avoiding difficult kanji, the author of *Chokotan!* appears to prefer to ensure readability through the liberal application of *furigana*³⁵ (*kana* used to provide the readings of kanji) along the tops or sides of all kanji.

While the use of script throughout *Chokotan!* is fairly rigid, some words do show a high degree of flexibility in relation to the scripts they are written in. These words are presented below in Table 6. In particular, it is difficult to state whether the author feels any particular script is preferable for *yasashii* (kind), *sabishii* (lonely), or *nani* (what). Representations of the words were not found to be bound to any specific contexts, and their representation may therefore result from the author treating multiple variants as acceptable in all contexts (Rowe, 1981; Saiga, 1955). In other cases, variation clearly results from definable practical (i.e., not intended to create meaning through script) considerations. For example, while kanji is the preferred script for the stem of *kirai* (hate) in the manga, the word is written in hiragana twice. In both cases, *kirai* is written as きらーい (*kirāi*), with the mora *ra* (ら) extended to *rā* (らー)³⁶. Extending this vowel cannot be done with the kanji representation (嫌い), as the mora *ra* is bound inside the kanji 嫌³⁷. The selection of script for *kirai* may result from multiple factors, as the removal of kanji does not necessarily explain the use of hiragana instead of katakana, but there is also a practical necessity of switching to a phonetic script in order to edit phonological information that impedes analysis of this variant as a use of script to create meaning.

³⁵ Also referred to as *rubi* (Igarashi, 2007).

³⁶ Other words which only varied in representation when the author edited a word’s phonetic makeup were not included in Table 2, as they only appeared once in a *kana* script.

³⁷ The vowel extension symbol ー (called a *chōonpu*) could hypothetically be placed after a kanji character to extend the vowel of the final mora represented by the kanji. However, a *chōonpu* was never seen to follow a kanji character anywhere in any of the three manga.

Word	Translation	# in hiragana	# in katakana	# in kanji	Preference
<i>asobu</i>	to play	1	0	8	Kanji (75%)
<i>boku</i>	I	1	1	1	Equal for all
<i>daijōbu</i>	okay	1	0	45	Kanji (97.8%)
<i>daisuki</i>	love/like	2	0	9	Kanji (81.8%)
<i>dare</i>	who	1	0	8	Kanji (88.9%)
<i>hajimete</i>	for the first time	2	0	9	Kanji (81.8 %)
<i>hazukashii</i>	embarrassing	1	0	5	Kanji (83.3%)
<i>himitsu</i>	secret	0	1	5	Kanji (83.3%)
<i>hoeru</i>	to howl	4	0	1	Hiragana (80%)
<i>honto(ō)</i> ³⁸	honest/really	30	2	13	Hiragana (66.6%)
<i>iku</i>	to go	6	0	44	Kanji (88%)
<i>itai</i>	painful/it hurts	4	0	12	Kanji (75%)
<i>iya</i>	unpleasant/undesirable	2	3	6	Kanji (54.5%)
<i>kirai</i>	hate	2	0	11	Kanji (84.6%)
<i>kizu</i>	injury/wound/scar	0	1	6	Kanji (85.7%)
<i>ko</i>	child	3	0	11	Kanji (72.7%)
<i>kowai</i>	scary	10	0	3	Hiragana (76.9%)
<i>kurushii</i>	hard/rough	1	0	10	Kanji (90.9%)
<i>kyūkei</i>	break	1	0	1	Equal for hiragana/kanji
<i>muri</i>	impossible	0	2	6	Kanji (75%)
<i>nan/nani</i>	what	32	0	27	Hiragana (54.2%)
<i>ochitsuku</i>	to calm down	4	0	1	Hiragana (80%)
<i>ohayo</i>	good morning	23	1	0	Hiragana (95.8)
<i>sabishii</i>	lonely	2	0	2 ³⁹	Equal for hiragana/kanji
<i>shiwase</i>	happiness	2	0	2	Equal for hiragana/kanji
<i>tasukeru</i>	to help/save	2	0	10	Kanji (83.3%)
<i>umai</i>	delicious	2	0	3	Kanji (60%)
<i>yasashii</i>	kind/gentle	10	0	4	Hiragana (71.4%)
<i>zenbu</i>	all	4	0	9	Kanji (64.3%)

Table 6: Words featuring orthographic variation in the normative dialogue in *Chokotan!*.

Before analyzing the use of script to create meaning, it was also necessary to again consider the possibility that some variation relates to error or changing standards between stories or volumes (see 5.1.3). That is, an author or editor may reconsider a word's default script, or an unintentional representation caused by auto-conversion software⁴⁰ may slip through. Consider the variation that

³⁸ When in kanji (本当) this word is read as *hontō*. However, when the author uses hiragana or katakana she often writes the word as *ほんと* and *ホント* respectively, leaving off the extended vowel.

³⁹ Once as *寂しい* and once as *淋しい*.

⁴⁰ When typing in Japanese, pressing the spacebar (or typing for too long without pressing the spacebar) converts words to the orthographic representation the software thinks is correct. To use a representation that disagrees with the computer, manual attention to the conversion is necessary.

exists for the words *hoeru* (to howl), and *ochitsuku* (to calm down). The first appearance of the verb *hoeru* is rendered as 吠える, with kanji used for the stem, but the word is otherwise written only in hiragana in later stories. In all cases, the meaning of *hoeru* is the same, and I could not find any differences between the contexts where *hoeru* occurs which explain the variation. As a result, the first use may just be a case of a non-*jōyō* kanji slipping through the editorial process.

The only appearance of *ochitsuku* in kanji similarly comes from its first use, when Arima is trying to calm Nao down after Chokotan becomes catatonic. Here the verb is rendered as *ochitsuke*, which is the imperative form.

(5.14) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 1, p. 33

Arima: わかったから落ち着け。
wakatta kara ochitsuke.
I understand, so calm down.

If we rely on prior descriptions of each script's indexical field, we can posit that this sole use of kanji results from the gravity of the situation, as kanji is frequently associated with seriousness or importance (R. A. Brown, 1985; Masuji, 2011). However, examining the full variation in the manga calls this explanation into question, as hiragana is applied to all other uses of the word, including uses in identical contexts and conjugations. Excerpt 5.15 is similar to Excerpt 5.14 in that Arima is comforting Nao, who is crying because Chokotan has run away and gotten lost. Although Arima again uses the imperative form of *ochitsuku*, the verb is written in hiragana.

(5.15) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 2, p. 24

Arima: わかった, おちつけ。
wakatta ochitsuke.
I understand. Calm down.

The author choosing to apply a kanji variant in only one serious scene certainly does not invalidate the possibility that the single representation is an attempt to index something by drawing upon an element of kanji's indexical field. However, since the use of a local kanji variant in combination with an imperative verb form is unique to Excerpt 5.14, a trend cannot be established, and the data does not contain other convincing examples of variant kanji used to index a commanding voice. That is, while indexical influences are possible, it is equally likely that a mistake occurred during editing, or that the author considers multiple representations of *ochitsuku* to be generally acceptable but greatly prefers hiragana. In short, for many variants it is not possible to

reject Rowe’s (1981) argument that variation in script is often “attributable to the individual [writer’s] conception of good sentence expression” (p. 122) at the time of writing, and declare that a use of script was intended to create meaning. Even when a word appears in a particular script only once, there is no guarantee that the script is used for a particular effect, or even that the representation in question is outside of the author’s locally standard script use. Evidencing the use of script for effect within the overall script use of the manga is therefore much more difficult than through comparing script use between characters. However, I was able to find some orthographic trends which were too commonplace or occurred to too large a segment of text to be attributable to chance, flexible orthographic preferences, or legibility-related motives.

First, in the general data we again see evidence that the author uses hiragana to index emotional vulnerability or sadness. Consider the manga’s orthographic preferences for the word *itai* (pain/hurt) in Table 6. The stem of the word *itai* is written in kanji 12 times and in hiragana four times. Three of the locally nonstandard uses of hiragana for *itai* occur within a single panel, which is included at the bottom of Figure 9.

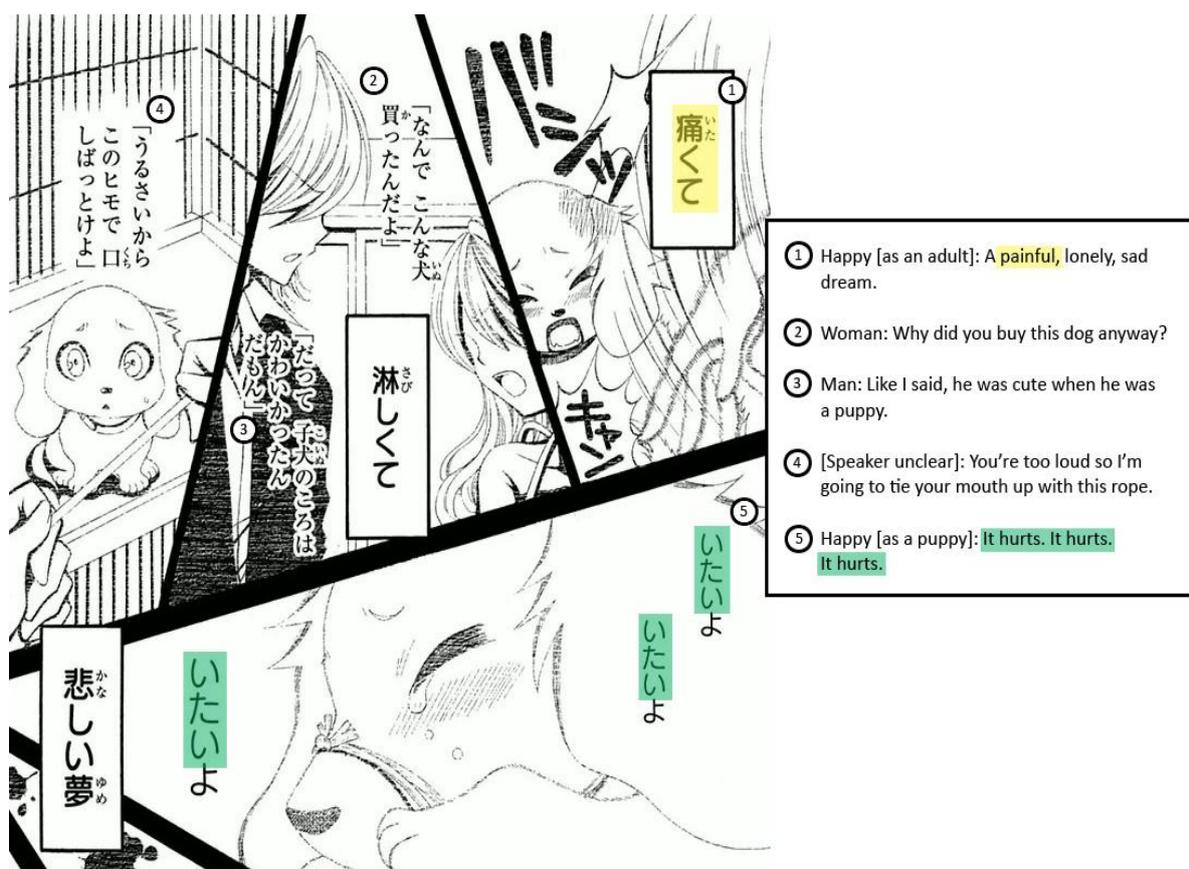


Figure 9: Happy recounts his abuse (Vol. 2, p. 166).

Across the excerpt, the dog Happy is recounting his abuse at the hands of his former owners. Each representation of *itai* in hiragana (highlighted in green) is spoken by a younger version of Happy, who is crying and in physical pain. These uses of hiragana contrast directly with the use of script in the adult Happy's narration of the memory, which is in the text boxes that run diagonally across the page. In the text box in the top right, the stem of *itai* appears in kanji (highlighted in yellow), rather than hiragana, in accordance with the local standards of the manga. Additionally, the middle text box contains a kanji representation of the stem of the adjective *sabishii* (lonely). While the stem of *sabishii* is written equally in hiragana and kanji throughout the manga, the author uses the character 淋 for the stem in this panel. This is the only time this kanji is used for the stem of *sabishii*, and its selection is conspicuous as it is not considered the regular kanji for this word⁴¹, and is absent from the *jōyō* kanji list (A. Nakamura, 2010).

In summation, in Figure 9 we see a clear orthographic contrast between the dialogue of Happy in the present, and Happy in the past. When speaking as a gruff, jaded, cynical, and slightly misanthropic narrator discussing a heavy, serious topic, Happy's speech contains kanji wherever possible, and makes use of difficult kanji variants. As the tearful subject of abuse, however, Happy's speech is written in a locally nonstandard manner that uses hiragana exclusively. The use of hiragana in the dialogue of the more innocent and gentle Happy orthographically distances the crying character from the serious, adult voice above, and appears to be part of how the author presents Happy as more innocent and openly emotional than he is in the present. Although the hiragana is part of a flashback, like within Chokotan's speech age alone cannot explain the script's use. Happy is not a puppy in the flashback, as explicitly stated in the owner's dialogue (text sample (3)).

The fourth locally nonstandard use of hiragana for *itai* also supports the idea that hiragana is used to index sadness or similar emotional states. In Figure 10, we again see the author use hiragana to write *itai* in a scene where a character is crying. Figure 10 follows a story where Chokotan gets sick and becomes catatonic. In the panel, Nao can be seen bursting into the operating room after hearing that Chokotan has recovered, and is hugging Chokotan while crying.

⁴¹ In Japanese, the selection of kanji can sometimes be related to nuances in meaning, similar to the selection of synonyms in any language. Examples of this occur within *Chokotan!*, as the author distinguishes between 探す (*sagasu*, to search (for something wanted)), 捜す (*sagasu*, to search (for something gone missing)), and さがす (*sagasu*, to search (general)). A difference between the meaning of the kanji options for the stem of *sabishii* (寂 and 淋) can be found in dictionaries, with 淋 limited to a more emotional loneliness (A. Nakamura, 2010). However, the relevance of this difference is unclear in the uses of *sabishii* in *Chokotan!*, and the target audience of the manga would not be aware of the difference.

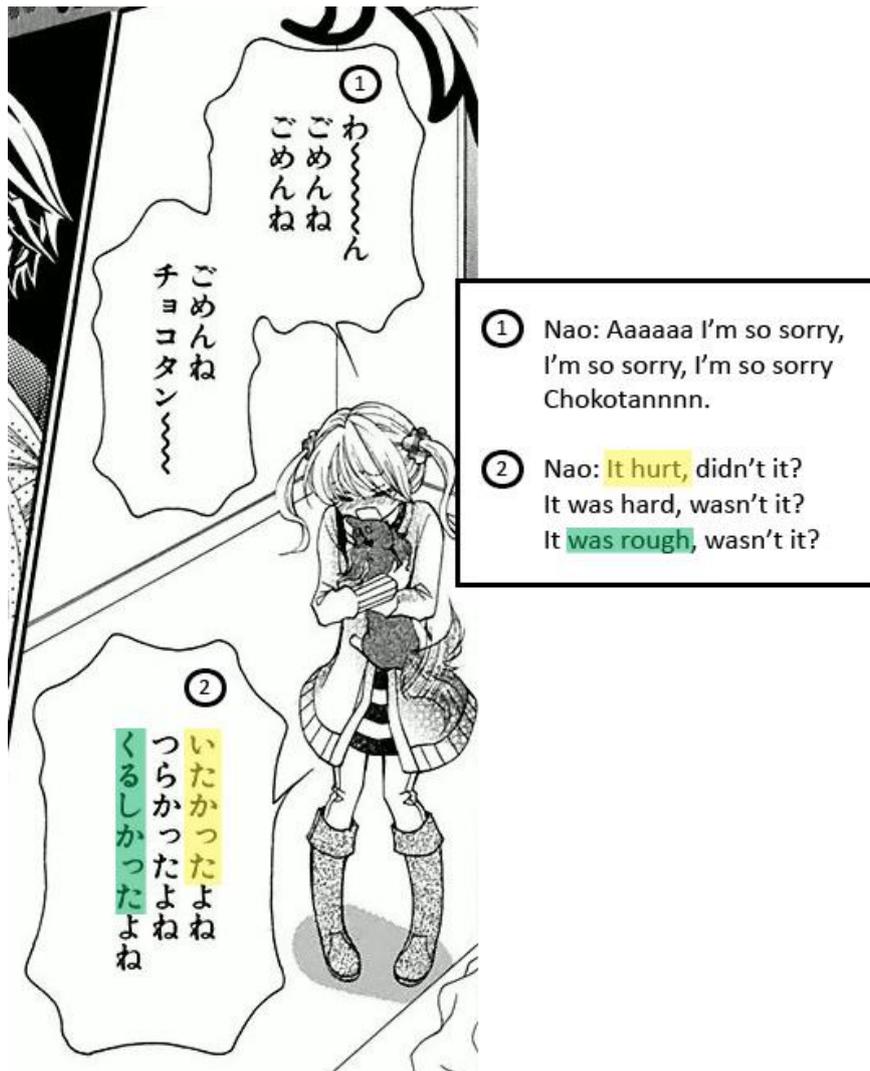


Figure 10: *Itai* and *kurushi* appear in hiragana (Vol. 1, p. 42).

In the panel, Nao attempts to comfort Chokotan by saying “*itakatta yo ne, tsurakatta yo ne, kurushikatta yo ne*” (It hurt, didn’t it? It was hard, wasn’t it? It was rough, wasn’t it?). Nao’s dialogue in this panel not only contains a variant representation of *itai* in hiragana (highlighted in yellow), it also is the only time *kurushii*⁴² (highlighted in green) appears in hiragana in teen or adult dialogue throughout the manga. The author is therefore again using a locally nonstandard representation of *itai* in an emotional context containing crying characters, and the representation occurs in tandem with other locally nonstandard applications of the hiragana script. As a resultant effect, the entirety of the dialogue ends up written in hiragana.

As one final piece of evidence, consider the variation for the word *ko* (child). The only time *ko* appears in hiragana outside of Chokotan’s dialogue is in a scene similar to Figure 10, wherein Nao

⁴² In Figure 10, *itai* and *kurushii* are rendered in their past tense forms.

soothes and compliments Chokotan by repeating いーこ (*ii ko*, lit: good child). Although oversight can never be ruled out completely, it is unlikely that multiple locally unconventional applications of hiragana would randomly occur within three scenes where the author is stressing emotional (i.e., sad) or comforting states. The use of script appears to be intentional, and evidences gentleness, sadness, or vulnerability as effects present in the indexical field of hiragana. Ultimately, when taken together the use of script in Figure 9, Figure 10, and for the phrase *ii ko* show a trend wherein the author uses hiragana to index sadness or emotional vulnerability, with the script becoming an acceptable (or even preferable) variant for vocabulary in these particular scenes.

The author also appears to use hiragana to index shame, worry, or a flustered state, as can be seen in Nao’s reactions in Figure 11 and Figure 12. Figure 11 follows a conversation between Nao and Chokotan regarding Nao’s inability to tell Arima she likes him. In the panel, Chokotan is stating that she will always cheer for Nao, and wagging her tail excitedly while telling Nao to look forward to their next walk.



Figure 11: Nao’s dialogue changes to hiragana when she is nervous (Vol. 1, p. 82).

In response to Chokotan’s statements, sweat drops, a common visual marker of “nervousness, anxiety, stress, strain, exhaustion, surprise, irritation or anger” (Wallestad, 2012, p. 6; see also Sell, 2011) in manga appear in Nao’s face as she asks what Chokotan is plotting. At the same

time, Nao’s dialogue (on the left) in this scene is rendered entirely in hiragana⁴³, with the panel including the only use of hiragana to write *daijōbu* (ok) in all six volumes of the manga.

In Figure 12, conspicuous uses of hiragana are collected from multiple panels where Nao is similarly embarrassed due to her crush on Arima.

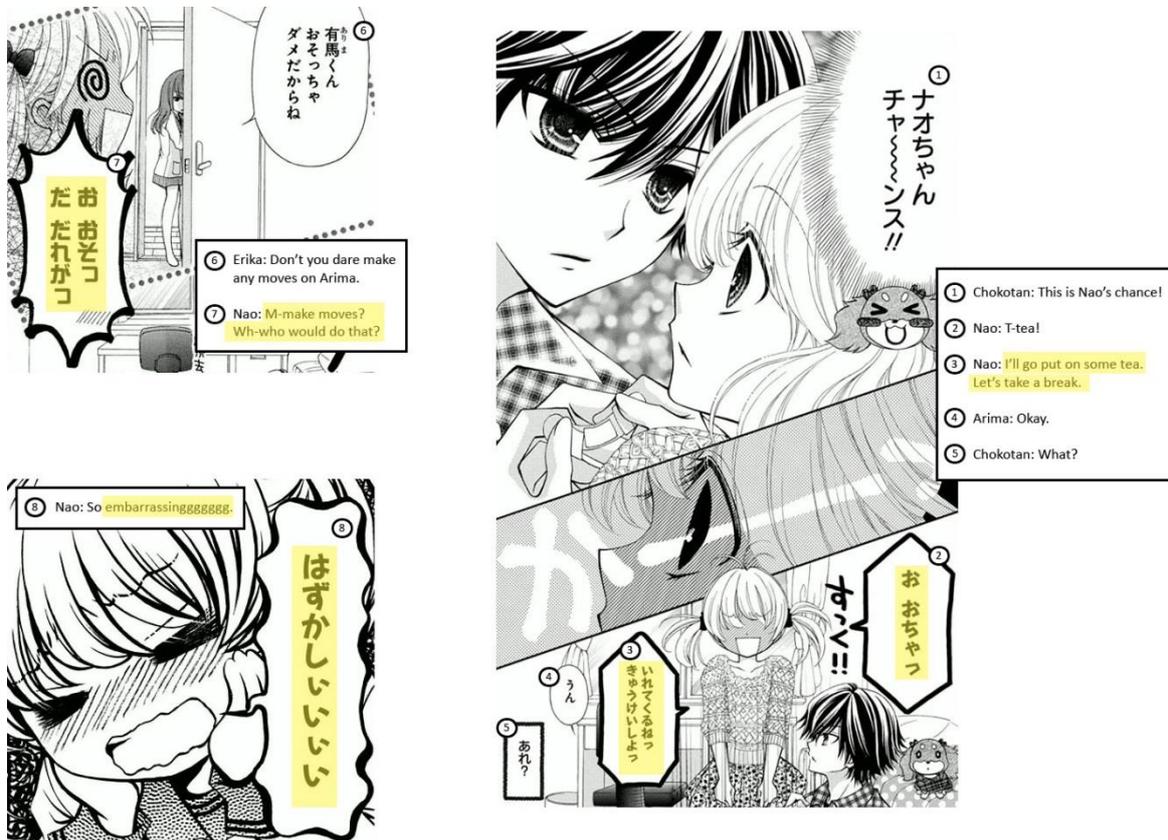


Figure 12: An embarrassed Nao’s dialogue is in hiragana (Top left to right: Vol. 3, p. 117; Vol. 1, p. 21; Vol. 3, p. 121).

In the bottom left panel (in the speech bubble marked (8)), Nao screams “*hazukashiiii*” (“So embarrassinggggggg”) in hiragana after having to clean up Chokotan’s feces in front of Arima. This is the only time *hazukashii* appears without its stem in kanji in the manga outside of Chokotan’s dialogue. In the excerpt on the top left, Erika warns Nao not to make moves on Arima while she’s gone. In response, Nao becomes flustered, and tries to pretend she has no romantic interest in Arima. Similarly, in the right panel, Nao panics after being within kissing distance of Arima, and runs off to make tea. In the speech bubbles labeled (2), (3), and (7), Nao’s speech is written in hiragana

⁴³ Hiragana is the manga’s preferred script for なに (*nani*, what), and this is the only use of the word たくらんでいる (*takurandeiru*, plotting), so the standard representation is unclear. While the two words appear to be part of the indexing of Nao’s stance in this panel, with the author only using hiragana for Nao’s dialogue, the representations of *nani* and *takurandeiru* might not be nonstandard in and of themselves.

alone, with the kanji the author otherwise uses for the words *dare* (who) and *kyūkei* (a break/a rest) removed. The words *cha* (tea) and *ireru* (to put in) are also respectively written in hiragana in speech bubble (2) and (3). Since the two words do not appear elsewhere in the manga hiragana could be the local convention for each word, but the words are both written in kanji in standard Japanese, and the kanji that represent them (茶 and 入, respectively) are used in other locations⁴⁴.

Finally, the manga's second locally nonstandard use of hiragana for the verb *tasukeru* (to help) occurs in a scene where Happy is in a state of embarrassment similar to those of Nao in Figure 11 and Figure 12⁴⁵. This scene occurs after Martine falls in love with Happy, despite Happy's lack of interest. In Figure 13, Happy can be seen begging Chokotan to save him from Martine, who has begun to latch onto Happy and snuggle up to him. Happy's face in this scene also includes the sweat drops that occurred in conjunction with Nao's nonstandard uses of hiragana in Figure 11.



Figure 13: Happy receives unwanted affection from Martine (Vol. 3, p. 45)

Unconventional and conspicuous uses of hiragana therefore frequently appear alongside sweat drops in the specific context of characters entering states of embarrassment or resultant panic. The phenomenon is restricted to these specific contexts (i.e., locally nonstandard applications

⁴⁴ For example, the verbs *iru* and *hairu* are both always written as 入る.

⁴⁵ The other use of hiragana for this word was shown in Figure 4, when Arima imitated Chokotan's speech.

of hiragana are absent from hard, somber, or aggressive dialogue), and locally nonstandard applications of katakana or kanji do not appear in similar contexts. The examples of locally nonstandard hiragana use shown therefore fit together as part of a consistent and exclusive pattern, with the author's use of hiragana-only dialogue shedding light on the effects she treats as part of hiragana's indexical field.

Katakana is also used in a locally nonstandard manner in *Chokotan!*, but the potential use of the script for emphasis, often compared to italics in English, makes it difficult to state that any locally nonstandard uses of the script are not merely intended to draw attention to a word (Igarashi, 2007; Kess & Miyamoto, 1999). That is, it can be hard to prove that a nonstandard use of katakana is intended to index something, rather than simply grab readers' attention. However, like hiragana, it is possible to locate reoccurring trends throughout the script's locally variant application. Across the six volumes, unconventional uses of katakana repeatedly appear in three distinct contexts: when characters (1) adopt a negative, cold, or standoffish stance; (2) express excitement or shock; or (3) act in an awkward, robotic, or unnatural manner.

Beginning with the use of katakana to mark negativity, an illustrative example can be seen in the exchange of greetings between Erika and Nao presented in Figure 14. The panel in Figure 14 shows Erika and Nao's first encounter without Arima present.



Figure 14: A smiling Nao greets an unexpressive Erika (Vol. 3, p. 57).

Both characters in the panel greet each other by saying “good morning” (*ohayō*). In Nao’s dialogue, the word *ohayō* is written in hiragana (highlighted in yellow), which is the standard for the manga and standard written Japanese, and the spelling of *ohayō* is conventional. In contrast, Erika’s use of *ohayo* (highlighted in green) is spelled without an extended final *ō*, reducing the length of the final vowel, and written in the katakana script. The orthographic and graphemic contrasts between the two greetings mirror the opposing expressions and posture of each character in Figure 14. Nao is smiling, friendly, and greets Erika warmly. Erika is instead stiff and standoffish, suspiciously glancing at Nao while standing with hard, rigid posture.

In Erika’s speech, the truncated and katakana-represented *ohayo* appears to be a way of further conveying Erika’s unfriendly attitude, similar to the uses of katakana to index negativity in Chokotan’s dialogue seen in 5.1.3. Interestingly though, the spelling and script used for “good morning” in Erika’s speech is actually the same as the default form in Chokotan’s dialogue, but each use of katakana appears in combination with vastly different co-occurring signs. While Erika’s use of *ohayo* is locally nonstandard, follows an ellipsis, and accompanies her scowl, in Chokotan’s dialogue the word is the local standard, and often appears interspersed with hearts (i.e., オ♥ハ♥ヨ♥) next to Chokotan’s smiling face. This again shows that the importance of context and co-occurring signs when creating meaning through the use of a variant is relevant when discussing script, as grasping the difference between the effect intended by each use of katakana for *ohayo* requires attending to numerous elements of the interaction (Agha, 2005; Ochs, 2012).



Figure 15: Chokotan says *oyaho* in katakana with hearts (Vol. 1, p. 53).

The potential use of katakana to index shock is less common, and can only be seen in the panel presented in Figure 16. However, while the use of script is not part of a trend, it is highly nonstandard. Figure 16 contains the only use of katakana for conjunction (here the negative form *janai*, highlighted in yellow) in the manga. In standard Japanese writing, conjunction and inflection are always performed through hiragana, and unlike many types of script use there is “no doubt about the strength of this principle” (Backhouse, 1984, p. 221). In other words, while the katakana is only one example, the use of script in the panel cannot be treated as a mistake or locally acceptable variant. In the panel Nao has just woken up, and tells Chokotan that she had a dream where Chokotan could talk. When Chokotan responds in Japanese (seen earlier in Figure 15), Nao jumps out of bed screaming, with the katakana occurring in tandem with Nao’s shock and surprise.



Figure 16: Katakana is used when Nao is shocked (Vol. 1, p. 53).

Finally, a number of panels show evidence that katakana is used to index awkwardness on the part of a speaker. Consider the exchange between Erika and Ren reproduced below in Excerpt 5.16. Ren is a pop star who starts spending time with Chokotan to overcome his fear of dogs, and ends up romantically interested in Nao. Erika acts coldly to Ren once she notices his attraction to Nao, telling him that she has no interest in men who aren’t interested in her⁴⁶. In response, Ren

⁴⁶ The exact text is: エリカ自分を見てない男きらいだから蓮もきらい (“I don’t like men who don’t have eyes for me, and therefore I don’t like you”).

convinces Erika that she should be more welcoming of his presence, since Erika will have no competition for Arima if he can seduce Nao. Erika and Ren then develop a plan to split off into pairs with their respective love interests. This plan results in the following contrived dialogue directed at Nao and Arima, wherein Erika’s speech contains multiple (highlighted) nonstandard uses of katakana to write sentence final particles and interjections:

(5.16) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 4, p. 116

- Ren: 実はこの間のドラマ「七色の犬」が大好評で続編が決まったんだ。
jitsu wa kono aida no dorama 「nana iro no enu」 ga daikōhyō de zokuhen ga kimattan da.
 Actually, my drama *Seven Colors of Dogs* has been renewed due to excellent reviews.
- Erika: そっかー、じゃー犬嫌いを克服しなきゃダヨネ。ウンウン。
sokkā, jā, inugirai o kokufuku shinakya dayone. un un.
 Oh, reallly? Well, you’ll have to get over your fear of dogs huh. Yes yes.
- Ren: マルティーンヌは小さすぎるし、ハッピーは怖いなあ。
maruteiinu wa chisasugiru shi, happii wa kowai nā.
 Martine is too small, and Happy is a bit scary.
- Erika: そうネ。じゃーチョコタンは？
sōne. jā chokotan wa?
 That’s true, isn’t it. Well, how about Chokotan?
- Ren: ああ、いいね！オレ、チョコタンなら大丈夫な気がする！
ā, ii ne! ore, chokotan nara daijōbu na ki ga suru!
 Ah, that’s a good idea! I feel like it will be okay if it’s Chokotan!
- Erika: じゃーエリカ達ジャマしないよう離れておくネ。
jā, erika tachi jama shinai yō hanarete oku ne.
 Well in that case we [Erika and Arima] will go somewhere else so we don’t interrupt, yeah?

Across this conversation, the author changes sentence final particles in Erika’s dialogue, otherwise always written in hiragana in *Chokotan!*, into katakana. Erika’s interjection *un un* (yes/uh-huh) is similarly converted to katakana. Furthermore, all of Erika’s dialogue from Excerpt 5.16 is written in a jagged, robotic looking font, which is highlighted in Figure 17. In this interaction, we therefore see the author using multiple channels or modes to convey the affected and contrived manner taken by Erika. Similar to imitations of Chokotan’s speech, the vocal quality of Erika’s monotone performance, commented on by Nao or Arima in the bottom left of Figure 17 (in the text エリカ棒読み, “Erika is speaking in monotone”), is most clearly reflected through font, as the

changes to font affect the entirety of the dialogue. The use of a locally marked font is then accompanied and reinforced by the locally marked uses of orthography, with the author using the script to index Erika and/or her voice (in both the social and audible sense) as unnatural or robotic. In short, Erika's mechanical, unconvincing attempt to play along results in changes to multiple elements of the text, with both the font and use of script playing a role in signaling Erika's unnatural manner.



Figure 17: Erika acts unnaturally, speaking in a robotic font (Vol. 4, p. 116).

A similar phenomenon can be found in the following dialogue between Chokotan and Nao. In this interaction, Nao is attempting to cheer up Chokotan, who has become self-conscious about her body image. When Nao tells Chokotan that she loves Chokotan's short legs, Chokotan becomes happy, and tells Nao she loves Nao's "thick, short" legs as well. When Nao awkwardly responds to Chokotan's insulting attempt at praise, her dialogue is rendered entirely in katakana:

(5.17) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 55

Chokotan: チョコタンもっ, ナオちゃんのふといあしもみじかいあしも
だいすきっ!!
chokotan mo, nao chan no futoi ashi mo mijikai ashi mo daisuki!!
Chokotan loves your thick, short legs too!!

Nao: ウ...ウン...アリガト...
u... un... arigato...
Uh... yeah... thanks...

Lastly, the final example of nonstandard application of katakana in unnatural dialogue comes from a scene where Chokotan attempts to hide that she's been talking to a stranger on the phone every day. When lying to Nao, Chokotan's normally hiragana-heavy dialogue is converted entirely into katakana.

(5.18) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 6, p. 146

Nao: なんか様子がおかしいね。
nanka yōsu ga okashi ne.
There's something odd about your manner.

[To self]

Chokotan: しらないヒトとおしゃべりしたなんてバレたらおこられるから
だまっとこ
shiranai hito to oshaberi shita nannte baretara okorareru kara damattoko
If it gets out that I've been talking to a stranger I'll be scolded so I'm going to keep quiet.

[To Nao]

Chokotan: ナンデモナイモーン
nandemo nai mōn
It's nothing at all!!!

Similar to how the use of katakana in Excerpt 5.16, 5.17, and 5.18 accompanied stilted or awkward mannerisms or voicing, it appears that the oft-asserted inorganic and unnatural images of katakana are utilized by the author to create meaning in her manga. Prior assertions that the

conspicuous use of katakana is a method of emphasis are not invalid as explanations for the variation surveyed, as the changes do catch the eye. However, so does Chokotan's hiragana-heavy dialogue, or the locally nonstandard applications of hiragana presented earlier. In relation to the examples presented, emphasis must be considered an overly simplistic explanation, as it does not account for the use of specific scripts in differing contexts. Katakana is not just chosen just to draw attention to the text, but also index specific stances or styles of speech that do not overlap with those marked by unconventional use of hiragana. Furthermore, the idea that variant uses of the katakana script specifically are used to mark spoken language (see Satake, 1982, 1989) is also untenable here. All the language in the manga is spoken, and most of it is casual, and these factors in and of themselves cannot be linked to orthographic change or the use of a specific script.

Finally, conspicuous uses of kanji also exist in *Chokotan!*, and the script appears to be used to index gravity, seriousness, maturity, or formality. However, the locally nonstandard use of the script is rare. This is perhaps expected, as unconventional applications of kanji can be seen as erroneous instead of simply variant, and the indexical connections of error are able to affect interpretation in their own right (Davila, 2012; Kataoka, 1997; Robertson, 2013). That is, unlike *kana*, kanji convey meaning and phonological information (Matsunaga, 1996), which means that a nonstandard application of kanji risks being interpreted as the mistaken application of a homophonous kanji. Perhaps to avoid this risk, the marked use of kanji within *Chokotan!* is limited to uncommon (but "correct") kanji representation of words with a local preference for *kana* representation, or the use of rare variant kanji representations for a normally kanji-represented word (such as the use of kanji for the stem of *sabishii* in Figure 9).

One potential use of kanji as an index is seen in the distribution of script use for the word *honto(ō)*. This word is notable for its variation, seen in Table 6, as it appears 30 times in hiragana, twice in katakana, and 13 times in kanji. The wide range of scripts used for this word is not surprising in and of itself, as previous studies have noted *honto(ō)* to be a frequent target of script manipulation in casual writing (Sakai, 2011; Sasahara, 2014; Tsuchiya, 1977). However, the selection of kanji or katakana for *honto(ō)* in *Chokotan!* does not appear to be completely random, as particular representations are exclusive to the dialogue of certain characters.

The word *hontō* is represented by kanji alone in the dialogue of the side characters Miru and Akane, who both appear in grave, somewhat darker stories. Miru is an older dog on her death bed, and uses the word twice when talking about how she would like to have grown old with Arima instead of dying. Akane is a young girl who uses kanji for *hontō* in a story that deals with her contemplating suicide. Similarly, a minor character named Subaru uses kanji for *hontō* when trying

to thank a truck driver during a story about Subaru running away from home to commit suicide in the lake he used to visit with his now deceased father. As shown in Figure 18, immediately after Subaru uses kanji for *hontō* (highlighted in yellow), the truck driver tells him to stop being being 水くさい (*mizukusai*, reserved/distant/formal)⁴⁷. In all three characters' dialogue we can therefore see the author deviate from her local orthographic preference for *honto(ō)* in situations where the dialogue is serious, polite, and/or somber.



Figure 18: Subaru thanks the truck driver (Vol. 5, p. 128).

Still, not every use of kanji for *honto(ō)* corresponds with heavy content, and the high number of total examples of kanji-represented *honto(ō)* variants means that it is impossible to ensure the four uses of kanji detailed above are not merely an interesting coincidence (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 2000). However, analysis of the orthographic variation for *honto(ō)* by character does produce one unambiguous link between script selection and identity. Examples of *honto(ō)* in both hiragana and kanji exist in the speech of Nao and Arima. In Nao's dialogue *honto(ō)* appears 20

⁴⁷ Additionally, the above uses of kanji could be an attempt to activate indexical connections related to standard writing rather than those with the script itself. That is, while the use of hiragana is statistically default in *Chokotan!* for the word *honto(ō)*, it is not the standard in written Japanese (*honto* could even be deemed an error in standard writing due to the truncated vowel sound). Heavier dialogue could therefore be indexed through adherence to broader orthographic conventions rather than (or in addition to) the associations of the kanji script. This concept is detailed more explicitly in Chapter 6.

times in hiragana and four times in kanji, and in Arima’s dialogue *honto(ō)* appears five times in hiragana and once in kanji. However, *honto(ō)* never appears in kanji in Erika’s speech. Instead, *honto(ō)* is written in hiragana three times and katakana twice, and the two uses of katakana for *honto(ō)* in Erika’s speech represent the only times the script is used for the word in any adult dialogue. This means that regardless of whether avoiding the use of katakana for *honto(ō)* in Nao and Arima’s speech was a conscious decision, the author never felt the script was preferable in their speech despite that the two characters speak more often and appear in a wider variety of situations than Erika. As a corollary, kanji was never preferred for Erika’s uses of *honto(ō)* despite that she uses the word almost as frequently as Arima. This phenomenon raises the possibility that the author treats katakana as somehow appropriate, and kanji inappropriate, to a style or manner of self-presentation common to Erika but normally absent (although this is not to say impossible) to Nao and Arima, and vice-versa. Likely, the difference is rooted in Erika’s status as a more sexually aggressive and less well-mannered or academic counterpart to Nao. Both characters dress and act in very different manners, as had been seen, and Nao even refers to Erika as *seihantai* (totally opposite) to herself in style and personality, with the contrast between the characters mirrored in the different orthographic variants for *honto(ō)* preferred in their speech.

The final evidence that kanji is used to index formality comes from the dialogue of Erika’s dog Martine, who was first introduced in 5.1.2. Martine’s dialogue features a comparatively high level of kanji compared to other characters, and the overall orthographic variation in her speech is minimal. Her status as a minor character means that her dialogue often contains only one example of a particular word, but whenever Martine’s dialogue contains a word from Table 6, the kanji variant will always be used. That is, in cases where multiple acceptable representations for a word exist in the author’s writing style, the author always selects kanji in Martine’s speech. Specifically, the words *tasukeru* (to help), *itai* (hurts), *nani* (what), *hajimete* (for the first time), *hazukashii* (embarrassing), *iya* (no/bad), and the previously discussed *honto(ō)* appear only in kanji when spoken by Martine. Martine’s speech also features kanji variants that are found nowhere else in the manga, highlighted in the excerpts below:

(5.19) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 11

[In response to Chokotan saying that she will call Martine “Marty”]

Martine: いいえ、^{わたくし}私 はマルティーンヌです。ちゃんと呼んで下さらないと困ります。

ii, watakushi wa marutīnu desu. chanto yonde kudasaranai to komarimasu.
No, my name is Martine. If you do not please address me properly there will be a problem.

(5.20) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 5, p. 45

Martine: こんなに小さな^{わたくし}私^私でさえ出来た^{出来た}というのに情けないですね。
konnani chiisa na watakushi de sae dekita to iu noni nasakenai desu ne.
It's a bit shameful given that even one as small as me was able to do it.

(5.21) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 66

Martine: な！失礼な！私^{わたくし}は仔犬^{仔犬}です！
na! shitsurei na! watakushi wa koinu desu!
Hey! Hey that's rude! I'm a puppy!

In Excerpt 5.19 and 5.20, kanji is used for the stems of two verbs which are otherwise always written in hiragana throughout *Chokotan!*. In Excerpt 5.21, a locally nonstandard kanji is used to write the first kanji in the word *koinu* (puppy). This specific kanji is absent from all other representations of *koinu* across all six volumes (otherwise 子犬). There is no difference between the meaning of *koinu* in either representation (A. Nakamura, 2010).

Individually, Examples 5.19 through 5.21 can risk being written off as mistakes. Taken together and combined with the general preference for kanji variants in Martine's speech, however, they become difficult to dismiss as oversight or caprice, and indicate an effort to differentiate Martine's dialogue from that of other characters through increasing the presence of kanji. This raises the question of why the author would accentuate the use of kanji when writing Martine's dialogue. As with the particular features of Chokotan's speech, readability, emphasis, and other reasons described by prior research do not explain kanji's application. In fact, the use of the non-*jōyō* character 仔 instead of the more normative 子 impairs reading by forcing the target audience to rely on the *furigana*. Like with Chokotan's speech, the orthographic peculiarities are best explained as relating to differences between Martine and the other characters, with the marked use of kanji an element of how the author indexes the character's distinct identity.

Despite being the youngest of the dogs, Martine lacks Chokotan's energy and innocence, and is instead pretentious and stuffy. She is also the only dog who comes from a professional breeder, and often talks up her pedigree while looking down on the other characters. Naturally, these elements of Martine's personality are foremost observable through her behavior and the lexical and grammatical indexes of formality or ostentatiousness in her dialogue. In the prior excerpts, Martine's speech is in an overly (for the manga) formal style which uses the *desu/masu*

forms as a standard⁴⁸. The *desu/masu* forms and polite grammatical items (*keigo*) in Martine's speech are themselves potential indexes of politeness, distance, or self-presentation as mannered or cultivated (H. M. Cook, 1996a, 1996b, 1998), and while normative to Martine's speech, they are not normative in the dialogue of other speakers. Martine's dialogue also contains locally marked vocabulary like *goshujinsama* (master) in reference to her owner, which contrasts with all the other dogs' exclusive use of the less formal *kainushi* (pet owner), and excerpts 5.19 through 5.21 contain the otherwise unused hyper-polite or even aristocratic first person pronoun *watakushi* (Kinsui, 2012). In short, there are a large amount of grammatical and lexical elements of Martine's speech which the author includes to index her pretentiousness or (perhaps more accurately) attempts at portraying herself as aristocratic, formal, and worldly. Script is then a complementary but important part of this indexing. The author is indexing Martine's identity through marked lexical, grammatical, and orthographic features, and treats kanji as particularly appropriate to Martine due to her distinct identity in a manner similar to how she treated hiragana as particularly appropriate to Chokotan.

Furthermore, in using kanji for Martine's dialogue in spite of the fact that the dog is the youngest character in the manga, the author also is able to index Martine's identity as incongruous with her normative conceptions of child-like identity through bringing Martine's dialogue into orthographic contrast with that of characters like Chokotan or Mirai (see 5.1). An expectation for a casual and kanji-absent writing style in young speakers' dialogue is created before Martine's introduction, and then violated orthographically and grammatically in Martine's speech. While increased kanji and formal Japanese might index a level of intelligence or maturity in an adult character, the various indexes of formality and propriety are incongruous with expectations for child (puppy) dialogue, which creates a humorous effect⁴⁹. That is, in Silverstein's (2003) discussion of wine-talk (*oinoglossia*), he mentions that the specialized register can change from indexing knowledge and affluence to pretention and yuppiedom depending on the observer and the presence/absence of co-occurring discursive and ritualistic requirements. In *Chokotan!*, based on the author's own orthographic tendencies, the minimal normative requirement for kanji-represented dialogue is age. The use of kanji in Martine's dialogue is part of indexing an attempt by a child character to perform maturity or worldliness through lexical, grammatical, and orthographic channels without this requirement, and these attempts ultimately fall flat due to Martine's youth and inexperience. In this manga, the kanji script is absurd or out of place in a puppy's dialogue, and both the use of the kanji script as a whole and the use of locally nonstandard kanji variants are part

⁴⁸ The difference in style can be seen by comparing Excerpt 5.19, 5.20, and 5.21 with any other Excerpt or Figure in this chapter.

⁴⁹ A similar use of kanji can be seen in Excerpt 7.8 from Chapter 7.2.

of how Martine’s ambitious attempts at adopting an adult voice are communicated and indexed in the text.

5.3 Author’s notes

In addition to the dialogue of the characters, some orthographic variation exists in several side columns scattered throughout the six volumes. The columns can be broadly divided into three types: handwritten asides about the manga entitled *urachoko* (Behind-the-Chokotan); handwritten notes about the author called *kinkyō* (Recent Events); and printed summaries of previous volumes labelled *kore made no ohanashi* (The Story so Far). Only the first, second, and fourth volumes contain more than one *urachoko* and *kinkyō*, but all volumes except the first begin with *kore made no ohanashi*.

Orthographic variation in the three column types is minimal. Most words appear in only one script, and the script generally matches the preference in the manga’s dialogue. However, there are a few discrepancies between the columns and the manga. The selection of script for the word *honto(ō)* is the biggest difference, as it appears 10/11 times in kanji across the columns, only once in katakana, and never in hiragana. This kanji preference stands in contrast to the hiragana-default that appeared in the manga’s general (i.e., excluding Chokotan and Mirai) dialogue. Some differences also exist regarding the script used in each type of column. The words *sanpo* (a walk) and *ureshii* (happy) are written exclusively with hiragana in *urachoko*, *kinkyō*, and the manga itself, but both words appear only in kanji in the story summaries. The differences for *sanpo*’s representation may be related to form; in kanji the word appears in the constructs 散歩友だち (*sanpo tomodachi*, walking buddies) and 散歩中 (*sanpo chū*, during walking), which are not used elsewhere. However, the script selection for *ureshii* cannot be explained in this way, and the representations of its stem in kanji are actually another example of the author ignoring *jōyō kanji* guidelines.

These differences are small, and on their own do not present evidence of the strong written language/spoken language divide used to explain orthographic variation in the past (Nomura, 1981; Satake, 1980). Less binary arguments for script changes relating to gradations of genre or message do appear valid, however, especially considering other differences in features of the texts (Nishimura, 2003b; Sadanobu, 2005a; Sakai, 2011). The handwritten asides contain playful variant spellings (e.g., *suimase*n instead of *sumimase*n for “sorry”) and kanji used in parenthesis like emoticons to indicate the author’s feelings or mood⁵⁰. Both of these features are associated with very casual writing, especially those facilitated through online channels (Danet, 2001; Kataoka, 1997;

⁵⁰ E.g., (笑), which is akin to (lol), or (涙), the kanji for “tear”, which is used indicated sadness.

Nishimura, 2003b). These playful features are absent from the more kanji-heavy *kore made no ohanashi* sections, indicating that particular orthographic standards may accompany different styles of writing, with the range of acceptable spelling, vocabulary, and orthographic variation related in part to the contents and purpose of a message. For the manga, this means that less relaxed or personal writing is accompanied by an increased application of kanji, and a reduction in overall orthographic variation. By more closely mirroring the orthographic conventions of formal written Japanese, the author may be using orthography to index a certain level of propriety or seriousness which is desirable in the *kore made no ohanashi* sections and Martine's dialogue, but not in casual writing, dialogue, or Chokotan's speech.

5.4 Summary

The author of *Chokotan!* used script to index a varieties of identities and effects throughout the manga. Connections between each script and particular identities come from the dialogue of characters like Chokotan, Mirai, and Martine. In all three cases, the uses of script throughout a character's dialogue differs from the manga's standards due to modified applications of kanji and hiragana. The analysis of these modifications showed that the author treats different scripts as more or less appropriate to different character types. Furthermore, the use of script in each character's dialogue was also seen to be part of how the identities of the others were indexed. Martine's pretentiousness was marked not just through the locally nonstandard uses of kanji within it, but also through a violation of expectations for hiragana-heavy representation of youth speech created by the dialogue of Chokotan and Mirai. Similarly, the extent of Chokotan's proximity to hiragana's indexical field is stressed through a comparable, but ultimately contrasting orthographic convention used for human children, wherein the standard use of katakana for loanwords is maintained.

Outside of competing orthographic conventions, evidence for each script's indexical field was also found in the repeated variant or nonstandard use of a particular script in specific panels. Marked applications of hiragana, katakana, and kanji all consistently appeared in distinct and separate contexts, which indicated that the author used each script to index a specific range of effects through their situated application. The specific contexts where a script was used for effect also often occurred in scenes where a character's temporary behavior aligned with traits the script was found to index as normative in the identities of Chokotan or Martine. While script was often just one element of creating meaning in any excerpt, it was clearly still a vital part of the author's construction of dialogue throughout the entire series.

Broadly speaking, the author was therefore seen to utilize locally nonstandard uses of script for two purposes. The first is to index information about a character whose identity does not match the identities (and corresponding script use) the author treats as normative. These characters are written in accordance with norms that differ from the author's local writing style, with specific scripts emphasized in or removed from dialogue based on the author's conception of which script's indexical field best matched the elements of the character's identity which make it distinct. The second use of script is to mark a character who is behaving in a manner which is remarkable or contrary to their usual demeanor. In these cases, the author applies a locally nonstandard script, often in combination with changes to spelling, grammar, or other elements of the dialogue, to convey or reinforce information about the character's voice in the panel. In all noted locally nonstandard uses of script for effect, the evidenced effect aligned with previously established elements of the selected script's indexical field, with selection of a variant script not merely desirable for being nonstandard, but rather the result of specific conceptions of the script.

Chapter 6: *Usagi doroppu*

In this chapter I examine the use of script to index meaning in the manga *Usagi doroppu* (Bunny Drop). As in Chapter 5, I will present the orthographic variation in the manga, and evidence locally marked uses of script which are bound to specific speakers, or the adoption of specific stances, social voices, or styles of self-presentation. These selections are analyzed in context and against the locations where the manga's orthographic conventions are maintained to uncover how the author is using script to create meaning, and what she is using each script to index.

The manga *Usagi doroppu* is written and illustrated by Yumi Unita (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011)⁵¹, and fits broadly within the slice-of-life genre. Data comes from all 1,808 pages of the series' nine primary volumes. A 10th volume created post-serialization, known as a *bangaihen*, also exists but was not included in the data collection. The stories in each analyzed volume were originally serialized in *FEEL YOUNG*, a monthly magazine containing manga aimed at women in their late teens and early twenties. *FEEL YOUNG* itself was first published in 1989, and has a current yearly circulation of about 80,000 (JMPA, 2014). As with *Chokotan!*, I was unable to obtain the sales figures for the manga *Usagi doroppu* itself, but the manga was popular enough to serve as the basis for an anime series and a feature film.

The story of *Usagi doroppu* focuses on the relationship between the two main characters, Daikichi and Rin. The first volume opens with Daikichi attending his grandfather's funeral. At the funeral he meets Rin, who is introduced as his grandfather's illegitimate child. At the end of the manga's first chapter Daikichi decides to adopt Rin, and the first four volumes of the series deal with the aftermath of his decision. In the fifth volume the manga leaps forward about a decade, and the story changes to focus on Rin's high school relationships and future plans. Besides Rin and Daikichi, other major characters include Daikichi's parents, Rin's biological mother Masako, Rin's friends Kōki and Reina (who also appear as both children and teenagers), and Kōki's mother Ms. Nitani.

Analysis of *Usagi doroppu* will begin with a discussion of the particular orthographic conventions used to write the speech of the child characters. The use of script in children's dialogue in *Usagi doroppu* follows a set of peculiar, limited conventions that differentiate it from the general dialogue in the manga. As with *Chokotan!*'s dialogue (see 5.1), it is therefore necessary to separate children's dialogue from the other orthographic variation throughout the manga. The speech of teenagers and adults is analyzed afterwards across Section 6.2 and Section 6.3. Analysis in 6.2

⁵¹ As in the discussion of *Chokotan!*, page and volume numbers are included in presented excerpts from the manga rather than year of publication. Full bibliographic information for each volume can be found in the References.

focuses on contrasting uses of script between panels, or uses of script that are nonstandard in relation to the manga's internal orthographic conventions. In contrast, 6.3 focuses on consistent, scene-independent contrasts between the orthographic representation of particular vocabulary in different (non-child) characters' dialogue. This third section contains two subsections, which respectively discuss the author's uses of script for first person pronouns (6.3.1) and vowel-lengthening *sutegana* (6.3.2). Data from the interview with the author is included in the first three sections whenever relevant. The final section closes the chapter with a summary of the observations noted throughout.

6.1 Orthographic norms in the speech of children

This section examines and analyzes the orthographic makeup of children's dialogue in *Usagi doroppu*. The first four volumes of the manga contain a number of child characters around the age of 6 or 7. The speech of these children is written in accordance with a localized subset of rules for script use, which ensures that their dialogue is orthographically dissimilar to that of adults (and standard Japanese) at all times. The use of two separate sets of orthographic conventions in *Usagi doroppu* can be considered similar to how the author of *Chokotan!* used a distinct style of script use for Chokotan's dialogue (see 5.1), but the script use in children's speech in *Usagi doroppu* is marked to a lesser extent.

6.1.1 Script use in the first three volumes

Throughout the first three volumes of *Usagi doroppu*, almost all words in the speech of children appear in *kana* (i.e., hiragana or katakana). Most words that are written in kanji in adult's speech are written in hiragana in children's dialogue. Katakana primarily appears in children's speech in its conventional uses as a marker of loan words and slang verb stems. Examples of the latter use in the manga include キレル (*kireru*, to snap or lash out) and ウケル (*ukeru*, to be funny). However, a small selection of Japanese vocabulary (i.e., *wago* and *kango*) is written in katakana as well. These words include terms that also sometimes appear in katakana in the speech of adults in the manga (e.g., デカイ (*dekai*, huge)); a few words that are written in katakana only in children's dialogue (e.g., アタマ (*atama*, head) and タイホ (*taiho*, arrest)); and characters' names.

In short, children's dialogue in the first three volumes is generally constructed by taking the author's personal orthographic style and rendering elements that would otherwise be in kanji into

kana. Between the two *kana* scripts, there is a preference for replacing kanji with hiragana, and in many situations the dialogue of children is therefore represented entirely in the hiragana script. An example can be seen below in Figure 19. The author appears to find this hiragana-dominant convention important, as she adheres to it in spite of general recommendations for script variation to ensure distinct word boundaries (Norimatsu & Horio, 2005).

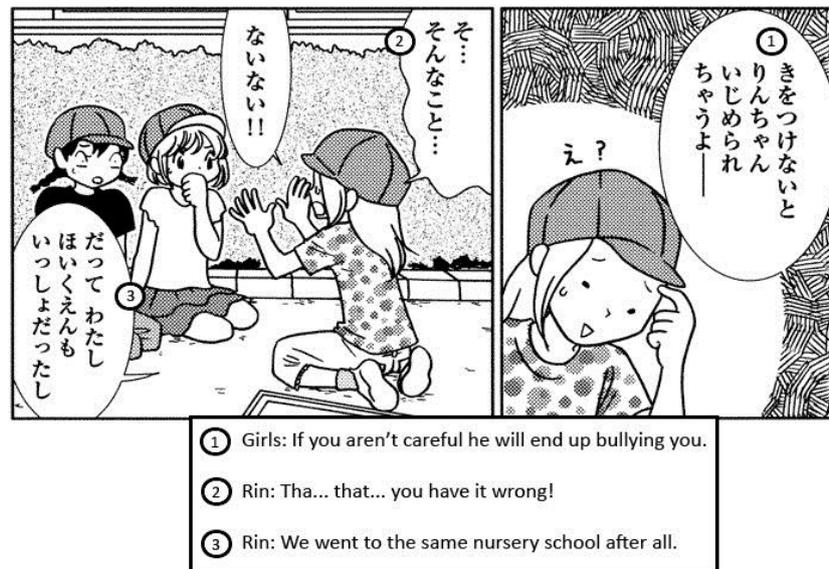


Figure 19: Children's speech appears in hiragana alone (Vol. 3, p. 154).

Kanji are not entirely absent from children's speech in the first three volumes, but the rare uses of the script appear to be accidental. In the first two volumes, the kanji for the stems of the verbs *miru* (見る, to see) and *iku* (行く, to go) are each used once in Rin's dialogue. Daikichi's name also appears in kanji (大吉) on one occasion. These three examples are the only times that kanji appear in children's speech across the first three volumes, but are far from the only times that children say *miru*, *iku*, and *daikichi*. The kanji do not appear in definable contexts, and in the interviews the author indicated that she intended to avoid using kanji in children's speech until the fourth volume (see 6.1.2)⁵². In summation, while a few kanji are present in children's speech in the first three volumes, there is a high chance they were used accidentally, and the idea that they are intended to index something about the characters cannot be raised with any confidence.

Ultimately, the writing in children's dialogue in *Usagi doroppu* is distinct in its near-exclusive use of *kana*. We can therefore broadly argue that the author treats kanji as incongruous with

⁵² Original Japanese: [これまでのと違って] 4巻の子供のセリフには少しだけ漢字を使っています ([In contrast to the earlier volumes] I'm using a little kanji in Volume 4).

children in some way, likely due to an adult image arising from its status as the last script acquired by students in Japan (Nobuyuki, Feng, & Mazuka, 2014). While further specifics of kanji's indexical field cannot be obtained from the data in the first three volumes, the author's answer to the question of why she removed kanji from children's speech provides some extra detail, as she argues that the difficulty of the kanji script removes any child-like qualities in the dialogue.

極端な例になってしまいますが「しょうゆラーメン食べたい！」というセリフを「醤油ラーメン食べたい！」と書くと子供らしさがなくなってしまうので。「子供」と「子供が知らない難しい漢字」とのギャップ、あとは視覚的な問題で「やわらかな印象を受ける子供」と「硬い印象を受ける画数の多い漢字」とのギャップでしょうか。

It's because, and this is an extreme example, if I wrote 「しょうゆラーメン食べたい！」 as 「醤油ラーメン食べたい！」⁵³ the child-like quality goes away. Perhaps this is due to a gap between “children” and “the difficult kanji that children don't know”, or a visual issue relating to the gap between the soft impression of children and the hard impression of kanji containing many strokes.

In contrast, children's dialogue in the first three volumes of *Usagi doroppu* does not necessarily provide insight into the author's conception of hiragana's indexical field, as the script's high presence is a natural consequence of avoiding kanji (Akizuki, 2005). That said, the author did state in the interview that Japanese authors write words that are normally in kanji in hiragana to create a foolish, youthful, cute, or lethargic effect⁵⁴. While the data from the manga therefore only evidences the eschewal of kanji in children's speech, the author's comments indicate that she specifically views the replacement of kanji with hiragana as part of the indexing of youth.

6.1.2 Kanji as an index of academic development

The initial examination of children's dialogue in 6.1.1 showed that the author of *Usagi doroppu* treats kanji as incongruous with child characters, and consequently avoids using the script in their

⁵³ The two quotes are contrasting versions of the sentence “I want to eat *shōyu* (soy sauce base) ramen”. The first is written in *kana* alone, while the second contains kanji.

⁵⁴ Original Japanese: 漢字で書くはずのところをひらがなで書いた場合、まぬけさ、幼さ、かわいさ、脱力感、など様々な効果がねらえます。(When places that should be written in kanji are written in hiragana, effects like foolishness, youth, cuteness, lethargy, etc., can be targeted).

dialogue to better convey child-like elements of their identity. However, the data from the first three volumes only demonstrates that kanji is considered difficult or not appropriate to children, which provides limited insight into the script's indexical field.

Further detail into what the author intends to index through avoiding kanji is found in the fourth volume of *Usagi doroppu*, when Rin and Kōki enter elementary school. At this time, the use of kanji in their dialogue increases noticeably. Kōki's dialogue contains kanji in the constructions 月よう (*getsuyō*, Monday), 今日 (*kyō*, today), 出して (*dashite*, take out) and 見えん (*mien*, slang pronunciation of *mienai*, can't see (it)). Similarly, kanji appear in Rin's speech in the forms 火 (*hi*, fire), 男子 (*danshi*, boys), 入れる (*ireru*, to put in), 下 (*shita*, below), 金 (*kane*, money), 円玉 (*endama*, yen coin), 見て (*mite*, look), and 本 (*hon*, long or thin object⁵⁵). Kanji's application in the fourth volume is somewhat erratic, as the representation of a particular word in kanji in one scene does not guarantee that it will be written in kanji in the future. However, in contrast to the uses of kanji in the first three volumes, the kanji in Volume 4 appear more frequently, and were confirmed as intentional by the author in the interview.

While the author only described the kanji as a way of expressing the children's "成長過程" (*seichō katei*, growth process), the growth indexed by the kanji script appears to be primarily academic. First, the script's sudden introduction coincides with entry into elementary school, rather than a biological, social, or legal entrance into adulthood. It is also not (again, primarily or directly) attributable to paralinguistic developments, as kanji appear in tandem with a distinct academic hurdle rather than a time when the children's voices would begin to deepen. Secondly, all but one of the specific kanji used in children's dialogue in Volume 4 are actually the kanji included in the Japanese government's official list of the kanji that should be taught in first grade (MEXT, 2014). The exception is 今, which is instead introduced in the second grade. As a result, the specific kanji that appear in the children's dialogue literally reflect the increase in their literacy. Furthermore, in the interview the author confirmed that she referenced the government's list while writing the dialogue, and indicated that she would also try to match the kanji she uses with the kanji a speaker knows if writing the dialogue of children in other grades⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ The translation given for this kanji is based on the context it is used in Rin's speech.

⁵⁶ Original Japanese: たとえば3年生ぐらいになると教わる漢字も増え、その都度確認するのも大変なので、台詞で使う漢字は感覚的に選択すると思いますが、たまたまこの物語では1年生だけを描いたので、「学年別漢字配当表」で確認することはわりと簡単でした。1年生で習う漢字は少ないので。(For example, when students become third years the number of kanji they learn increases and confirming which ones they know would be difficult, so I think I would just select kanji based on my own sense in that case, but by chance in this comic I just wrote about first year students, so confirming my use of kanji with the official list was fairly simple. Because the number of kanji first year students learn is minimal.)

In summation, it is clear that children’s initial kanji-absent dialogue in *Usagi doroppu* is not indexing the literal state of being a child or the sound of children’s speech, but rather defining aspects of their child(-like) identity. More specifically, the author’s stated desire to convey a child-like quality through script⁵⁷ is performed through the removal or reduction of a script she feels indexes an educated or difficult quality normally absent in children. While other differences between children and adults may also influence the removal of kanji to some extent, it is specifically the loss of an uneducated or non-academic status that stimulates the author’s reintroduction of kanji into children’s speech. Hypothetically, a child savant could therefore find their dialogue written in accordance with the manga’s broader orthographic conventions, with the presence of kanji in their speech and the orthographic contrast between their dialogue and that of other children used to index the savant’s unexpected intellectual abilities. No such child exists in *Usagi doroppu*, but the author recognized this possibility when asked how she would feel if she encountered children’s dialogue written in accordance with the orthographic conventions of standard Japanese:

子供の台詞をそのまま漢字で書いてある作品も多くあるので、それはそれとしてその世界で統一されていけばすんなり受け入れられると思います。フキダシの中は視覚的なことは関係なくあくまで文字情報ということで。あまりにも難しい漢字が並んでいたら「天才少年？」って思ってしまうかもしれませんが...

There are a lot of works that write children’s dialogue with kanji, so as long the use of script is consistent within that world I think I’d be fine with it. What’s inside a speech bubble is ultimately letter-based communication regardless of its visuals. However, if many difficult kanji appeared together I might wonder “is this a child genius?”

In the above quote, it is important to note that the author says the appearance of many difficult kanji, rather than vocabulary, might cause her to wonder if a character is a child genius. Difficult kanji can represent difficult vocabulary, but this is not always the case. For instance, the dense kanji compounds 蜥蜴 (*tokage*), 林檎 (*ringo*), 珈琲 (*kōhī*), 薔薇 (*bara*), and 絨毯 (*jūtan*) respectively represent the commonplace vocabulary “lizard”, “apple”, “coffee”, “rose”, and “carpet”, but are all excluded from the government’s list of characters for everyday use (MEXT, 1981). In other

⁵⁷ See 6.1.1 or the following excerpt from the interview: ひらがなのみのほうが子供らしさがでるかなあと 思ってそうしました。(I wrote children’s dialogue without kanji because I felt like writing in hiragana alone might better make their child-like-ness come out.)

words, the author's specific argument is that difficult characters within the kanji script, without any comment on the vocabulary they represent, can index genius when used in a location (here, children's speech) where they are unexpected.

Children's dialogue in Volume 4 is therefore of interest not just in that it produces further details of the author's intents in avoiding (and reintroducing) kanji, but also in that it shows her indexing of children's academic development to involve the kanji script, the extent of the kanji script's employment, and the individual kanji that are used. Adding only a small amount of selected kanji to the dialogue of first graders causes the characters to be orthographically distinct from their previous selves while simultaneously ensuring that they are still orthographically distinct from adult speakers. As a result, the amount and difficulty of the kanji in a character's speech become markers of the extent of the character's academic development or competence. The author's uses of kanji also indicate that script can function in a manner similar to marked elements of spelling or speech, with the extent of distance from a perceived standard able to influence the strength or properties of an indexed effect (Jaffe & Walton, 2000; Miethaner, 2000; L. Miller, 2004b; Preston, 1985). These findings are both important for analysis throughout the entire manga, and will be discussed further in 6.2.

6.2 General orthographic conventions and variation in *Usagi doroppu*

Now that the orthographic variation limited to children's speech has been described, I can begin the more general survey of the use of script for effect in *Usagi doroppu*. The number of words that are written in multiple scripts in *Usagi doroppu* is greater than in *Chokotan*. As shown in Table 7, which excludes children's dialogue, if a commonly occurring word features variant representation within *Usagi doroppu*, it is rare for any one script to represent the word more than 80% of the time. The author uses a highly flexible writing style, and in examining the variation in the manga it was often difficult to ensure that individual selections were not simply part of orthographic variation inherent to this style, or (particularly in the case of variant katakana representations) intended for emphasis (Gottlieb, 2010a; Igarashi, 2007). However, as will be shown in this section, it was also clear that some variation was the result of the author bringing competing representations of a single word into direct contrast to create specific effects, or repeatedly using a specific script within a definable context.

Word	Translation	# in hiragana	# in katakana	# in kanji	Preference
baka	stupid	27	21	1 ⁵⁸	Hiragana (55.1%)
chigau	to be different/wrong	12	0	50	Kanji (80.6%)
daijōbu	okay	12	1	54	Kanji (80.6%)
dame	no good/wrong	15	63	0	Katakana (80.8%)
dare	who	8	0	25	Kanji (75.8%)
dekiru	able to	73	1	4	Hiragana (93.6%)
doko	where	7	6	0	Hiragana (53.8%)
futsū	normal	3	31	5	Katakana (79.5%)
hazu	should be	1	14	0	Katakana (93.3%)
hito	person	33	0	137	Kanji (80.6%)
honto(ō)	honest/really	41	99	15	Katakana (63.9%)
iroiro	various	10	11	0	Katakana (52.4%)
issho	together	11	0	71	Kanji (86.6%)
itai	painful/it hurts	6	0	11	Kanji (64.7%)
iya	unpleasant/undesirable	7	35	6	Katakana (72.9%)
kanji	feeling/sense	2	9	30	Kanji (73.2%)
kirai	hate	2	10	3	Katakana (66.6%)
kirei	pretty	10	6	0	Hiragana (62.5%)
ko	child	1	19	89	Kanji (81.6%)
kodomo	child	9	15	65 ⁵⁹	Kanji (73%)
kowai	scary	14	5	0	Hiragana (73.7%)
machigau	to be incorrect	5	0	14	Kanji (73.7%)
mattaku	completely	10	0	5	Hiragana (66.6%)
muri	impossible	0	50	20	Katakana (71.4%)
nan/nani	what	198	5	337	Kanji (62.4%)
nai	not	97	0	25	Hiragana (79.5%)
(o)hisashiburi	been a while	4	0	8	Kanji (66.6%)
omae	you	32	3	125	Kanji (78.1%)
sugī(ru)	(to do) too much	42	4	6	Hiragana (80.8%)
taihen	awful	9	0	21	Kanji (70%)
tame	for	30	0	9	Hiragana (76.9%)
tashika (ni)	certain(ly)	15	0	10	Hiragana (60%)
wake	reason	25	49	2	Katakana (68.1%)
yoi	good	20	1	50	Kanji (70.4%)
yome	bride	0	5	5	Equal for katakana/kanji
zenzen	not at all	5	0	64	Kanji (92.7%)
zettai	absolutely	7	1	35	Kanji (81.4%)

Table 7: Words excepting first-person pronouns that show variation and appear more than 10 times.

⁵⁸ Used in the construction 馬鹿力 (*bakajikara*, idiot strength).

⁵⁹ As 子ども, 子供, the full kanji variant, never appears.

Beginning with hiragana, evidence that the script is used to index incomprehension or confusion was obtained from a series of dialogues wherein one speaker is unsure about the meaning of a word their interlocutor understands. In these scenes, the word is always written in kanji in the dialogue of the speaker who understands its meaning, and in hiragana in the dialogue of the speaker who does not, or who is confused. The vocabulary of interest in these interactions appear only within the presented panels. As such, the words do not have a locally standard representation under the definition of “standard” employed in this study (see Chapter 4). However, through the consistent appearance of the same orthographic contrasts in similar contexts, an interesting pattern begins to emerge. The first instance can be seen below in Figure 20.

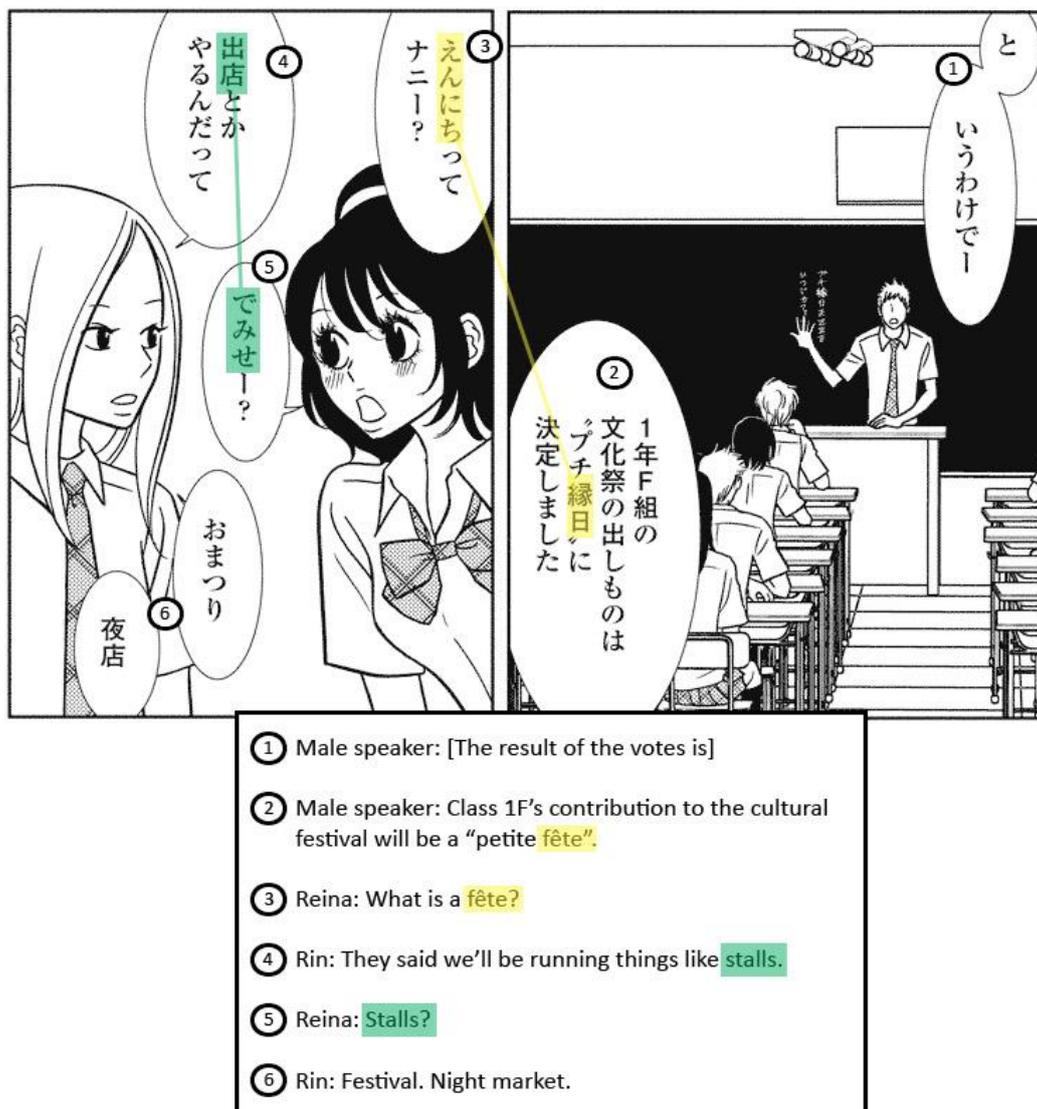


Figure 20: Two words Reina does not know are written in hiragana (Vol. 6, p. 113).

In the right panel of Figure 20, an unidentified male speaker is discussing an upcoming school festival, and uses the word *ennichi* (縁日, festival/fête). On the left, the character Reina then asks Rin what *ennichi* means. Rin provides the word *demise* (出店, booth/stall) as an explanation, but Reina does not understand the word *demise* either, and repeats it as a question. The words *ennichi* and *demise*, respectively highlighted in yellow and green, are both represented by kanji in the initial speaker's dialogue, but the use of script changes to hiragana when Reina repeats them.

Figure 21 contains another example of the same phenomenon. Here Reina is laughing at Rin, amused that the unidentified speaker in Figure 20 jokingly referred to Rin as *zaimu daijin* (財務大臣, minister of finance)⁶⁰. Once again, although *daijin* was initially written in kanji (大臣) in the joking student's dialogue, Reina's repetition of *daijin* changes to hiragana in her statement “アハハ、**だいじん**ー、イミわかんないけど**だいじん**ー” (*ahaha, daijin, imi wakannai kedo, daijin, haha, minister, not sure what that means but minister*). The content of the utterance shows that Reina is laughing despite not fully understanding the term (*zaimu*) *daijin*, and the panel stands as another case of the author using contrasting kanji and hiragana representations to respectively index understanding and incomprehension.

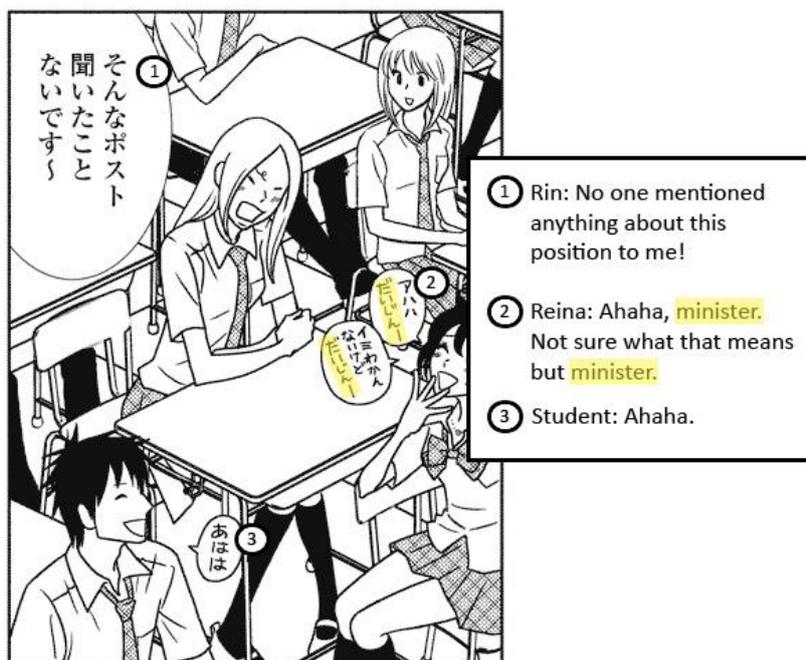


Figure 21: Hiragana is used for words Reina doesn't understand (Vol. 6, p. 114).

⁶⁰ The exact quote is “それでは最後に1-Fの財務大臣鹿賀さんからのひとこと。材料等の買い出しについての注意事項をお願いします。” (Now we will have a word from Class 1-F's Minister of Finance, Ms. Kaga. Please speak about important things to remember when buying materials).

Finally, during another conversation between Rin and Reina the word *idenshi* (genes) is written in kanji (遺伝子) when used by Rin, but changes to hiragana (いでんし) when Reina uses it immediately afterwards in the question “いでんしが似てないの?” (*idenshi ga nitenai no?*, your genes aren’t similar?). The author also uses small black dots called *bōten* above *idenshi* to stress or draw attention to the word (“Bōten,” 2011). Again, the orthographic change appears in a context where Rin is informing Reina about something she is not familiar with (here, genetics), and the contrast between Rin and Reina’s knowledge about the topic at hand is reflected in the orthographic makeup of their dialogue. In short, all three cases evidence links between kanji and academic strength or intelligence similar to those uncovered in the gradual introduction of kanji into children’s dialogue in 6.1.2.

Unlike the children’s dialogue, however, there is evidence in the manga that the selection of hiragana in the above three excerpts was not automatic, but intended as part of the indexing of meaning in the interaction. That is, the author was not defaulting to hiragana by avoiding kanji, but employing the technique she referred to in 6.1.1 wherein writers replace kanji with hiragana specifically to convey foolishness/stupidity (*manukesa*). Consider Excerpt 6.1, which comes from an interaction between Rin and Kōki. In this scene, Kōki comes across the phrase *teigaku kogawase 450 en* (fixed price money order 450 yen, 定額小為替 450 円 in standard Japanese) written on an application form he is reading aloud. However, he is unable to read the kanji for *kogawase* (小為替), and mispronounces the word as *kotamegae*. In contrast to Reina, whose confusion or incomprehension resulted in orthographic adjustment to specific words, Kōki’s inability to read the word *kogawase* is accompanied by the complete removal of kanji from his dialogue. Both *teigaku* (ていがく) and the word *en* (えん, yen), respectively highlighted in yellow and green in Excerpt 6.1, are written in hiragana despite being read correctly and understood. The word *en* is even written in kanji in Kōki’s speech on the preceding page. The mispronunciation of *kogawase* as *kotamegae* is instead written in katakana (コダメガエ), while contrasting kanji representations of *teigaku* and *kogawase* appear in Rin’s dialogue.

(6.1) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 117

- Kōki: ていがく... コダメガエ? 450 えん。
teigaku... kotamegae? yonhyaku gojū en.
 Fixed price... kotamegae? 450 yen.
- Rin: はい、定額小為替。
hai, teigaku kogawase.
 That is fixed price kogawase [money order].

- Kōki: なっ... なんでそんなの知ってんの! ?
na...nannde sonnano shittenn no!?
 How... how the hell do you know (how to read) that?
- Rin: 漢字テストの出番でしょ!!
kanji tesuto no deban desho!!
 It is a standard question on kanji tests!!

Excerpt 6.1 is interesting in that it further evidences links between kanji and academic strength (in this excerpt, literacy) or comprehension, while also showing that the author chooses a particular *kana* script to replace kanji based on the effect she wishes to create. Contrasting hiragana representations are used to index effects like ignorance or confusion in Kōki's speech, albeit in a broader form than what we could see in Reina's dialogue. Kōki is not confused by the meanings of *en* (yen) and *teigaku* (fixed price), but they are still marked in his speech to reflect his general bewilderment in the scene. Katakana is then used to mark levels of incomprehension or ineptitude which go beyond the confusion or lack of understanding indexed by hiragana, creating a stronger effect which is still similarly contrasted with kanji's indexical field. While hiragana is a more common replacement for kanji, it is clearly not the default, and the creation of effect in the above excerpts is performed through both the removal of kanji and the selection of a specific *kana* script.

Moving to selections of script which are nonstandard throughout the manga, *Usagi doroppu* contains evidence that the author uses katakana to index awkwardness or discomfort. Consider the panels in Figure 22⁶¹. In each panel Daikichi, Rin, or Kōki's dialogue contains katakana used in a manner that is declaratively nonstandard for the manga, with otherwise hiragana-exclusive grammatical items like the copula *desu* (normally です) written in katakana (デス) (Backhouse, 1984). In all the excerpts, the orthographic changes are accompanied by the same facial sweat drops seen in *Chokotan!*, visually marking the characters' nervousness, anxiety, and stress (Sell, 2011; Wallestad, 2012). The katakana therefore appears to be part of how the uncomfortable position of the character is conveyed, working with complementary signs (including ellipsis in four of the panels) to express the characters' awkwardness or discomfort.

⁶¹ Figure 22 does not contain translation as the image is merely intended to show the correlation of nonstandard applications of katakana with sweat drops. Why the characters are uncomfortable in each scene would require extensive explanation beyond the dialogue present in each panel.



Figure 22: Five panels featuring nonstandard uses of katakana next to visual sweat markers.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss the use of script for the word *hazu* (should) in the manga, as the variation in its representation indicates that orthographic conventions, that is, broadly definable sets of rules and guidelines for script use, are also used by the author to index meaning. While this assertion will initially only be supported by the analysis of *hazu*, the example stands as the first clear evidence of a trend that will be revisited and evidenced further in Section 6.3 of this chapter.

To explain, hiragana is the standard script for *hazu* in formal Japanese writing. However, the script is actually a nonstandard representation within *Usagi doroppu*, as *hazu* is written in katakana 14 out of the 15 times it appears in non-child speech. The single locally nonstandard representation of *hazu* in hiragana in *Usagi doroppu* occurs in the dialogue of a gym teacher, and in the specific context of a formal school announcement. In most scenes, this teacher's speaking style is rough, and features indexes of a casual speech register and/or the *kansai* dialect. The excerpts presented below are all samples of the gym teacher's normative speech style. Excerpt 6.2 includes informal grammatical elements such as dropped particles, a lack of the honorific *-san* after the name Kaga (a

phenomenon known as *yobisute*, seen as informal and atypical in stereotypical teacher-to-student conversation in Japanese schools (Moskowitz, 2015; Yanagisawa, 1995)), and the slang/dialectal replacement of *sun* for *suru* (to do, highlighted in yellow). Similarly, the use of *yakedo* instead of *dakedo* (used here as a marker of hesitation) in Excerpt 6.3 and *sēhen* instead of *shinai* (do/does not) in Excerpt 6.4 are stereotypical features of the *kansai* dialect (Ball, 2004; Kinsui, 2003).

(6.2) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 6, p. 119

Gym teacher: なあ、鹿賀は2年のコース選択どうすんの？
 nā, kaga wa ninen no kōsu sentaku dō sun no?
 Hey, Kaga, what are you going to select for your sophomore course?

(6.3) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 8, p. 135

Gym teacher: わたしがつけたんやけど...
 watashi ga tsuketan yakedo...
 I'm the one who decided [the title]...

(6.4) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 6, p. 119

Gym teacher: 受験に直結せえへんことは... モニョモニョ...
 juken ni chokketsu sēhen kotowa... monyomonyo...
 Things that don't have any relation to the test are...
 [onomatopoetic representation of speech trailing off]

Independent of script, the teacher's dialogue therefore normally contains a number of features which index particular accents, regional identities, and/or casual speech registers at lower orders. These elements mark the character in terms of regional affiliation, and stand out considerably in relation to expectations or stereotypes regarding proper speech for educators in Japan (Agha, 2003; Moskowitz, 2015; Okamoto, 2002). However, when making the announcement to the class that contains *hazu* in hiragana (highlighted below), the teacher's Japanese loses all the aforementioned casual and dialectal features. The dialogue also includes heretofore absent indexes of politeness, deference, or formal self-presentation like *irassharu* (honorific form of "to come"), the humble *o*-[verb stem]-*suru* form and honorific *-san* suffix, and the polite *-masu* form (Agha, 1998; H. M. Cook, 1998). At the same time, the use of script for *hazu* diverges from the manga's local convention, and is represented in hiragana as it would be in standard written Japanese.

(6.5) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 8, p. 142

Gym teacher: 保育士の竹田さんはお仕事の都合で少し遅れます。まもなく
 いらっしゃるはず... まずは市役所にお勤めの中本さんに
 お願いしたいと思います。

*hoikushi no takeda san wa shigoto no tsugō de sukoshi okuremasu.
mamonaku irassharu hazu... mazu wa shiyakusho ni otsutome no
nakamoto san ni oonegaishitai to omimasu.*

The childcare worker, Mr. Takeda, is late due to circumstances with his work, but **should** be here [honorific] soon. First I think we will request [humble form] Mr. Nakamoto who is employed [honorific] at the city hall to speak.

In short, even before we discuss the use of script within the reproduced dialogue it is clear that Excerpt 6.5 shows a moment of atypical linguistic self-presentation for this teacher. Her temporary adoption of a formal or authoritative stance is accompanied by changes to the lexical and grammatical contents of her speech, and stands as an example of the writer selecting from competing recognized registers to match a particular interactive context (Agha, 2005; Silverstein, 2003). The excerpts even show a fictional reflection of Cook's (1996a) findings that teachers' use of *masu* forms more prominently occur during public display of their role as a teacher, especially when addressing their entire class, while casual speech is preferred in one-on-one discussions.

However, in *Usagi doroppu* the written representation of the gym teacher's change in register also includes orthographic adjustment, with the temporary adoption of standard Japanese script use part of the creation of the intended effect. The use of hiragana for *hazu* is not indicating a formal element in hiragana's indexical field. The script is used to bring the dialogue in line with the norms of standard Japanese rather than mark the entirety of Excerpt 6.5. The use of hiragana is also incongruous with the author's conceptions of hiragana's indexical field evidenced so far, as the character is not acting confused, child-like, lethargic, etc. Rather, we are seeing the manga's internal orthographic conventions brought into explicit contrast with those of standard Japanese, with the author using script standards in tandem with more recognized standards related to styles of speech, spelling, and grammar to index prestige or propriety (Blommaert, 2010; Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2008). As a corollary, we can then argue that the manga's internal script conventions and their high degree of acceptable orthographic flexibility are part of how the author indexes a more casual or relaxed effect. Both her orthographically flexible (and comparatively katakana-heavy) writing style and the casual grammar (i.e., not using *desu/masu* forms or *keigo*) common to most characters' speech are part of how the author conveys the casual register appropriate to the informal styles of interaction that constitute the majority of the manga's dialogue.

Ultimately, when taken together the examples shown so far evidence that some locally nonstandard uses of each script throughout *Usagi doroppu* are intended to index specific effects, and indicate that the author is also switching between broadly definable sets of guidelines for script use to create meaning. However, the high extent of variation throughout the manga made it so that

further excerpt-based analysis of locally nonstandard orthographic selections in context was unable to evidence clear links between a script's selection and a definable intent. As an illustrative example of this problem, consider the author's possible use of katakana for the word *ko* (child/young person) to index aversion. In *Usagi doroppu*, *ko* is written in katakana 19 out of the 99 times the word is used, making the representation locally nonstandard (usage of 19.19%). Katakana representations of *ko* throughout the nine volumes of *Usagi doroppu* often occur when a speaker is referring to someone they dislike. For example, whenever a bothersome employee at Daikichi's workplace is referred to as *ko* the word appears in katakana (コ). Similarly, *ko* is written in katakana when Daikichi talks about an old girlfriend he became disillusioned with, when Daikichi asks Rin if she's scared of children she doesn't know, and whenever any character talks about Kōki's abusive ex-girlfriend Akari.

However, the problem created by the manga's variation is that katakana also appears to be an acceptable, albeit uncommon, representation of *ko*. The prior examples account for only 9 (47.4%) of the uses of katakana for *ko*. Over 50% of the time the appearance of *ko* in katakana is innocuous, and even used in reference to characters the speaker is friendly with. It is still possible that the examples of *ko* discussed so far are intentional indexical uses of script, with the author of *Usagi doroppu* using katakana for *ko* in the same way as the author of *Chokotan!* (see 5.1.3), but the author's orthographically flexible writing style makes it difficult to authoritatively state that the uses in a negative context are not simply a random consequence of a flexible orthographic style. In the same vein, the sole use of hiragana for *ko* in the manga appears in gossip exchanged between two high school girls. Neither girl is named or appears ever again, their dialogue otherwise follows local orthographic norms, and the girl referred to as *ko* is not actually seen in the manga. As a result, while the representation is extremely nonstandard for *Usagi doroppu*, examining the context of its employment provides no definitive motives for its selection.

(6.6) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 8, p. 58

- Female Classmate 1: そうそう、なんかあの **こ**おじさんと付き合ってるらしくて。でえ... 30とかすぎてんの一。
 ちょう無くない？
sōsō, nanka ano ko ojisan to tsukiatтеру rashikute. dē... sanjū toka sugiten nō. chō naku nai?
 Right, right. That **girl** is dating some older man, and, he's like over thirty. Can you believe that?
- Female Classmate 2: 無いわァー。
nai wāa.
 No way.

This difficulty in proving that other potential uses of script for effect in *Usagi doroppu* are not accidental or inherent to the author's orthographically flexible writing style runs through the remaining locally nonstandard script use in the manga. Outside of what has been discussed so far, analysis of the specific contexts where locally nonstandard script use occurred was therefore not productive. Attempting to explain any particular instance necessitated ignoring inconvenient counter-examples or engaging in speculation, and it was not possible to obtain the level of confidence in description desired by this study. For these reasons, I will now change the course of my analysis in this chapter. In the next section I examine selections of script which are not necessarily nonstandard, but differ consistently from character to character. This change in direction will shed light on nuances of the use of script for effect that could not be seen by looking at the script use across the manga as a unified whole.

6.3 Orthographic contrasts between characters

Examining preferences for script use between characters uncovered a number of interesting trends, which together evidence that divergence between demographic aspects of two characters in *Usagi doroppu*, such as age, occupation, general manner, or gender, is often accompanied by divergence in the uses of script for particular items throughout the characters' dialogue. The differences in script use are subtle, as they sometimes exist in relation to only a single lexical item, and are never as marked as those used for children's dialogue (see 6.1). However, the contrasts are also persistent to the extent that information about who is speaking in a particular excerpt can often be gleaned just through examining the script use within.

Due to its high use in the manga, the word *honto(ō)*⁶² will be presented as the first salient example of how a word's locally acceptable/preferable representations can vary depending on the speaker. Table 7 showed that *honto(ō)* is most commonly represented by katakana throughout *Usagi doroppu*, as the script is used to write *honto(ō)* 63.9% of the time. Hiragana is then the second most common script used for *honto(ō)*, and accounts for 27.8% of the word's representations. Kanji is the least common representation, and is selected in just under 10% of all cases.

Like for the word *hazu* discussed in 6.2, the manga's locally preferred representation of *honto(ō)* therefore contrasts with the conventions of standard Japanese, where *honto(ō)* is generally written in kanji. Despite that kanji is a locally nonstandard representation under this study's definitions, analyzing the specific panels where *honto(ō)* appears in kanji does not provide

⁶² *Hontō* and *honto* are generally treated as two pronunciations of the same word in Japanese (Sasahara, 2014).

convincing explanations for any particular appearance. For instance, while kanji is often described as formal or hard (R. A. Brown, 1985; Masuji, 2011; Sugimoto, 2009), the author uses both hiragana and katakana for *honto(ō)* within sincere statements or apologies using polite speech forms. Grammatical form or contextual meaning, which have been linked to orthographic variation in previous studies (see Tsuchiya, 1977), also does not appear to relate to the script the word is written in. Instances of the word in the form *honto(ō) ni* (really/honestly) and *honto(ō) da* (that's true), for example, can be found in hiragana, katakana, and kanji.

However, an interesting picture emerges if the use of kanji for *honto(ō)* is discussed in relation to which characters' speech contains which representations. The fifteen instances of *hontō* in kanji are divided between only six characters: Daikichi's father, Kōki's mother (Ms. Nitani), Rin's biological mother Masako, Masako's partner, Reina's father, and Rin. Since five of the characters are adults, it appears that the use of kanji (or standard Japanese orthographic conventions) is somehow linked to older speakers. However, the inclusion of the teenaged Rin and absence of characters like Daikichi shows that age is not a guarantee of, or necessity for, the use of kanji for *honto(ō)*. As will be shown, the kanji variant of *honto(ō)* more specifically occurs in the speech of characters who align with what can be broadly described as the author's conception of mature or polished behavior and speech. The traits that make up this conception are more common in adult characters, but not assured to be present, with the indexing of an adult manner not equivalent to the indexing of biological adulthood.

Consider the dialogue of Daikichi's father. In addition to uses of kanji for *honto(ō)*, his speech contains a number of kanji representations which are not conventional for the manga. Although the manga's preference for both words is hiragana, two of his four uses of *tame* (for) are in kanji (為), and the word *mattaku* (totally/completely) appears in kanji (全く) two out of the three times he uses it. Furthermore, with the exception of *nan/nani* and *omae*, all the other words from Table 7 which appear in Daikichi's father's speech (specifically *taihen*, *chigau*, *kodomo*, and *muri*) appear in kanji alone, ignoring the manga's internal variation, and his dialogue contains the only use of kanji for the stem of the word *erai* (admirable, 偉い) in the manga. This preference for kanji representations is absent from the dialogue of any other member of Daikichi's family, and the orthographic differences align with a difference between the general demeanor and behavior of the two characters groups. While all members of Daikichi's family are adults, Daikichi's father is the only member of the family who does not have issues with anger management. Daikichi, his sister, and his mother are instead all temperamental and prone to shouting, as shown in Figure 23. No volume of

Usagi doroppu contains a similar scene where Daikichi's father becomes violent, angry, or shows a temper.

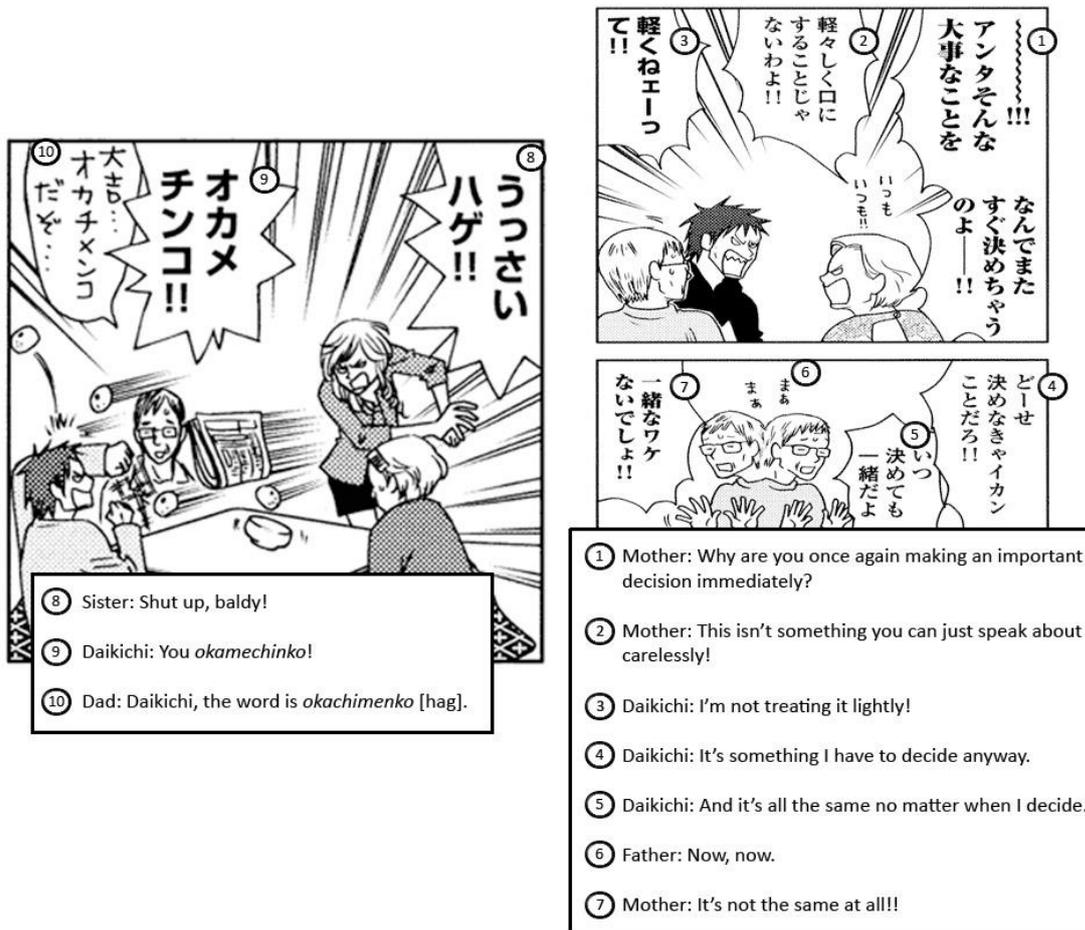


Figure 23: Daikichi's father never raises his voice (left to right: Vol. 1, p. 177 & Vol. 2, p. 178).

Further evidence of a link between maturity and increased local preferences for kanji representations is seen in the data from Kōki's mother. This character, referred to as Ms. Nitani, is a working single mother, and one of the few characters to prefer the polite *desu/masu* form in her speech. She is also the only character to consistently refer to Daikichi as *daikichi-san* (Mr. Daikichi), despite his personal preference for Daikichi. Ultimately, Ms. Nitani is by far the most decorous major character in the manga in speech, behavior, and even dress, and her normal dialogue generally avoids the indexes of rough or casual speech common in the speech of her interlocutors.

In addition, Ms. Nitani's dialogue accounts for seven out of the fifteen appearances of *honto(ō)* in kanji throughout the manga, and for one of the manga's limited uses of kanji for *wake* (訳, the other appears in Daikichi's dialogue) and *futsū* (普通, the other four are divided evenly

between Daikichi and Rin). Given that *honto(ō)* is written in Ms. Nitani's speech three times in katakana and once in hiragana, the frequency of kanji's selection for this word in her dialogue is actually greater than that of both *kana* scripts combined. This statement can be made about no other character, excluding those who only use *honto(ō)* once. In fact, the predominant representation of all words in Ms. Nitani's speech either follows the manga's localized standard or defaults to kanji.

The significance of the seven uses of kanji for *honto(ō)* stands out even more if Ms. Nitani's uses of the word are contrasted with Daikichi's. Although Daikichi's dialogue contains *honto(ō)* 51 times, about five times more than Ms. Nitani's, the word is never once represented by kanji in his speech. In other words, the author never felt it preferable or appropriate to use kanji for this word in Daikichi's speech in any situation, despite the fact that he speaks in a wider number of contexts to a wider number of interlocutors while enacting a wider number of roles (father, boss, subordinate, etc.). Similarly, although *wake* and *futsū* appear in kanji in both characters' dialogue, kanji respectively accounts for 50% and 100% of each word's uses in Ms. Nitani's dialogue. In Daikichi's dialogue, kanji represents each word only 9.1% of the time. The differing proportions of kanji cannot be related to contextual politeness either. Daikichi's speech contains *honto(ō)* in katakana when being serious and sincere, talking to superiors in polite Japanese, or speaking as the manga's narrator.

While character-to-character orthographic divisions have so far been described in relation to locally marked uses of the kanji script, we may more specifically be seeing the author prefer to follow the norms of script use in standard Japanese in the dialogue of polite or mature characters. That is, similar to how the author deviated from her local standards for *hazu* when indexing the gym teacher's formal speech in 6.2, the author tends to avoid her local writing style in the dialogue of characters who are generally decorous in behavior. For example, returning to the word *wake*, Daikichi, his mother, and Kōki all prefer a katakana standard for the word despite its normative presentation in hiragana in standard Japanese. Katakana respectively counts for 33/41, 2/2, and 6/9 of their uses of *wake*. In contrast, Rin uses hiragana for *wake* 6/7 times, and Ms. Nitani uses hiragana once and kanji once, avoiding the locally standard katakana representation entirely.

In summation, pervasive contrasts exist between the manga's orthographic preferences and the dialogue of characters like Ms. Nitani, Rin, and Daikichi's father. In cases where a local variant in the manga is represented by kanji and/or the script which is normative in standard written Japanese, that variant's application is consistently found in the dialogue of the same set of characters. Closer adherence to the orthographic preferences of standard Japanese therefore does not appear in

specific scenes, but rather throughout the dialogue of specific characters, with different speakers' dialogue written in accordance with different sets of rules or preferences for script use. The author deviates from her local preferences for script use to a writing style which is closer to standard Japanese to index identities that are more mature, proper, or polite than other characters in the manga. This idea that competing conventions of script use are indexing specific identities is evidenced further in the next two sections, which examine the contrasting orthographic conventions used to write *sutegana* and first person pronouns throughout *Usagi doroppu*.

6.3.1 Variation in the nonstandard use of *sutegana*

Another competing set of orthographic standards in *Usagi doroppu* can be found in the author's selection of script for nonstandard uses of *sutegana*. Described simply, *sutegana* are smaller versions of hiragana or katakana. The characters あ (*a*) and オ (*o*), for example, are the respective *sutegana* of あ (*a*) and オ (*o*). Writing certain Japanese vocabulary necessitates the use of *sutegana* as part of their standard spelling. This study refers the use of *sutegana* in these words as a "standard". In *Usagi doroppu*, standard uses of *sutegana* are always represented by the script used to represent the rest of the word, and are not discussed here or included in any further uses of the term *sutegana* in this section. The phrase "nonstandard uses of *sutegana*", hereafter simply "*sutegana*", instead refers to two uses of *sutegana* absent from formal writing: (1) the extension of vowel sounds (e.g., のオ changes the pronunciation of の from *no* to *nō*⁶³) and (2) the marking of phonological changes resulting from unconventional pronunciations (e.g., 早い (hayai, fast) becomes 早え when intended to be read as *hayē*⁶⁴). Neither application would appear in writing which follows government guidelines for script use, but both are familiar presences in manga (H. Miyamoto, Uryu, Suzuka, & Yamada, 2003).

The author seems to prefer using katakana to write *sutegana*, with 250 *sutegana* written in katakana compared to 128 in hiragana. Katakana is therefore arguably the favored script for

⁶³ *Sutegana* are only one of the items the author uses to extend vowel sounds. Standard sized hiragana or the use of the macron ー, known as a *chōonpu* and normally used to extend vowel sounds in words written in katakana, are also applied to extend vowel sounds that would not be changed in standard Japanese writing. Occasionally, multiple extension techniques are used together, such as with ばあーか, and the proper Romanization (arguably *bāaka*) is unclear. The nonstandard application of *sutegana* can be considered to fit firmly into Satake's definition (1982, 1989) of *shin-genbunitchi* writing, which involves nonstandard features that are intended to imitate the prosody of casual speech.

⁶⁴ Although the orthographic makeup of this word technically indicates that the slang variant should be pronounced as *hayae*, the correct reading is *hayē*. *Hayae* is not an extant variant.

sutegana in *Usagi doroppu*, as it accounts for just over 66% of all uses. If Daikichi’s speech is ignored, given its high volume and clear preference for katakana (see Table 8), katakana and hiragana each account for almost exactly 50% of the *sutegana* in *Usagi doroppu*. However, this balance is maintained only in the dialogue of Daikichi’s father and Masako’s boyfriend, who have minimal roles in the manga and each use less than five *sutegana*. The dialogue of all major characters shows a preference for one script or the other. Like the general variation for lexical items in *Usagi doroppu*, the selection of orthography cannot be explained by linking each script to certain grammatical forms, as the author represents many specific applications of *sutegana* in both katakana and hiragana. For example, *なあ* and *なア* (both *nā*, vowel extension of a particle used to express admiration), *ねえ* and *ねエ* (both *nē*, crude version of *nai*, no/not), and *長え* and *固エ* (*nagē* and *katē*, respectively crude versions of the adjectives *nagai* and *katai*) all appear within the manga.

However, when we examine the use of script for *sutegana* between characters, a picture similar to the one seen with *honto(ō)* begins to emerge. A breakdown of the variation is presented below in Table 8, with characters presented in an order running from high katakana preference for *sutegana* in their dialogue to high hiragana preference. Characters whose dialogue contains less than five *sutegana* are excluded from this table because the minimal data regarding their speech and identities makes the proportions difficult to present as indicative of a trend.

Character name	Description	Hiragana <i>sutegana</i>	Katakana <i>sutegana</i>	Preference
Daikichi	Middle aged	26	146	Katakana (84.9%)
Reina	High school student	15	28	Katakana (65.1%)
Kōki	High school student	14	22	Katakana (61.1%)
Rin	High school student	28	11	Hiragana (71.8%)
Daikichi’s mother	Retiree	7	2	Hiragana (77.8%)
Masako (Rin’s mother)	Middle aged	8	2	Hiragana (80%)
Ms. Nitani	Middle aged	7	1	Hiragana (87.5%)

Table 8: Variations in the scripts used for *sutegana* by character.

In Table 8, the only major adult character whose dialogue contains a higher preference for katakana *sutegana* is Daikichi. As with the discussion of *honto(ō)*, Rin is the only teenage character whose default script for *sutegana* is hiragana, and the orthography in her dialogue again distinguishes her from her peers. Rin’s dialogue even contains a higher total number of *sutegana* in hiragana than Daikichi’s, despite that she uses 133 less *sutegana* overall. Furthermore, three of the hiragana-preference characters (Rin, Ms. Nitani, and Masako) are also in the limited group of speakers whose dialogue contained kanji representations of *honto(ō)*. Ms. Nitani again stands out as

a particularly distinct example, as the conspicuous uses of kanji throughout her speech are echoed by a near exclusive use of hiragana for *sutegana*.

While not included in the table, also of note is Kōki’s abusive ex-girlfriend Akari, whose three uses of *sutegana* are all in katakana. Akari’s two friends, who can be seeing bullying Rin in Figure 24, similarly have their two uses of *sutegana* represented only by katakana. In these interactions, we see clear differences between the behavior, dress, and speech style of Rin in relation to her katakana-*sutegana* using peers, with script again standing as a major way that the same limited set of polite or decorous characters are differentiated from rougher speaking interlocutors.

Figure 24 consists of two panels of a manga. The top panel shows three girls in school uniforms. A black-haired girl (1) is speaking to a light-haired girl (4) and Rin (2). Rin is looking nervous. The bottom panel shows Rin bowing deeply (7) and speaking (8) to the two girls. The light-haired girl (5) is speaking to Rin. A legend on the right side of the image provides English translations for the numbered speech bubbles.

① 1年はア上の渡り廊下使っちゃいけないの知ってるよねえ？

② 3年生…

③ あ…

④ なんかいあんたー聞いたんだけどー紅璃にイ

⑤ ありえなくね？

⑥ あ…ちよつと時間なくて通っちゃいました…

⑦ すみませんでした!!

⑧ 何の「すみません」なのか全く意味はわかんないけど

とりあえず言っとこ…

① Black haired girl: You know that first years can't use the upper hallway passage, right?

② Rin: Third years...

③ Rin: Ah...

④ Light haired girl: We heard about you from Akari.

⑤ Light haired girl: You've got some nerve.

⑥ Rin: Ah, I uh, had no time so I passed through.

⑦ Rin: I'm very sorry.

⑧ Rin: I'm not sure what I was sorry for, but for now it's best to say it.

Figure 24: Katakana *sutegana* appear in the dialogue of two girls who bully Rin (Vol. 6, p. 56)

Taken together, the applications of hiragana and katakana for nonstandard *sutegana* echo the orthographic trends noted throughout this chapter, with the representation of *sutegana* linked to character personality. A hiragana standard is preferred for adult characters, while katakana is favored for teens, but departures from the normative behavior of these age groups, such as Rin's maturity or Daikichi's temper, are indexed by the author defaulting to a script incongruous with the script used as a norm in the dialogue of the character's peers. However, the use of *sutegana* can only be certainly linked to hiragana and katakana's respective indexical fields, rather than those of any established set of orthographic conventions. While it is possible that both origins are relevant, as the use of *sutegana* after native vocabulary or grammatical elements should arguably have a standard hiragana representation, in the interview the author attributed her selection of hiragana and katakana to associations with each specific script:

これはほんとに感覚的に使っているかもしれません。でもなんとなくですが、カタカナの小さい文字は少し威勢がいい印象を受ける場合があると思います。江戸っ子のべらんめえ調のような。やはりここでもひらがなのほうがやさしくやわらかな感じがします。

[The use of script for *sutegana*] might really just be based on how I feel. However, and this isn't for sure, but I think that small katakana give a little bit of an energetic or forceful impression. Something like the *beranmē* (rough and vulgar) *edokko*⁶⁵ style of speech. Of course, hiragana then gives off a more gentle and soft feeling.

At least for the author, the use of hiragana and katakana for *sutegana* is therefore related to elements of their respective indexical fields. Although the traits she lists are not explicitly evidenced in the data, as both Rin and Daikichi's mothers can have a temper, the data does not contradict her impressions either. Furthermore, the author's explanation does align with the motives for the orthographic variation in Table 8 obtained through analysis of the manga alone. That is, the use of hiragana is not intended as a direct index of maturity, but rather a character's gentleness or a similar trait which is felt to be more common among adult characters. In contrast, rougher or more vulgar identities, which are treated as more prevalent amongst teens, are indexed through a preference for katakana. Ultimately, regardless of the intended effect, we again see definable differences between characters resulting in consistent contrasts in the orthographic preferences within their dialogue.

⁶⁵ *Edokko* (Edo-ite/Edo-child) refers to Tokyo residents whose family have lived in the area for generations, and are stereotyped as frivolous, spendthrift, vain, quick to quarrel, and/or pretentious (Tanaka, 2003).

6.3.2 Representation of first person pronouns

The final set of items represented in accordance with speaker-specific orthographic conventions is first person pronouns. The selection of a script for first person pronouns in *Usagi doroppu* rarely varies in a single speaker's dialogue, but stark contrasts exist between the orthographic norms for their representation between demographically-defined groups of speakers. However, before this phenomenon can be evidenced or discussed, it is necessary to first explain the use of first person pronouns in Japanese, as their selection is itself a socially meaningful act (Matsumoto, 2002; M. Nakamura, 2007, 2013; Yoshimitsu, 2005).

Unlike in English, speakers of Japanese use multiple first person pronouns. The pronouns all translate as “I” or “me” in English, but convey a variety of specific connotations in Japanese, and the motives behind the selection of particular pronouns have seen plentiful research to date (Miyazaki, 2002; Moskowitz, 2014; Narasaki, 2009; Sturtz-Sreetharan, 2006). Within *Usagi doroppu*, the personal pronouns that are used are *watashi*, *ore*, *boku*, and *atashi*. While it is important to recognize that an individual's selection of a pronoun in context can be for personal or even transgressive reasons, the mainstream or “normative” (see Moskowitz (2014)) descriptions of differences between the four pronouns are as follows: *watashi* indexes politeness, and although often treated as gender-neutral is somewhat favored by women. The pronouns *boku* and *ore* are stereotypically masculine. *Boku* is considered semi-polite, but can also index youth or immaturity. In contrast, *ore* is highly casual and is generally felt to index vulgarity, roughness, independence, or assertiveness. The pronoun *atashi* is similarly casual, but highly feminine, and is linked to youthful, assertive, and elderly speakers (Hiramoto, 2013; Ide, 1979; Kinsui, 2010; M. Nakamura, 2013; Shibamoto, 1985).

Throughout *Usagi doroppu*, the author clearly considers which first person pronoun to select for a given character or context. Most adult female characters use *watashi* exclusively. The sole exception is Daikichi's mother, the oldest woman in the manga, who switches between *watashi* and *atashi*. Amongst the teenage women, only Rin uses *watashi*. Less studious teenagers like Reina or Kōki's abusive ex-girlfriend Akari instead use *atashi*, with the opposing use of pronouns by Rin and Reina/Akari echoing the orthographic contrasts in their dialogue discussed in 6.2 and 6.3.1. Male characters always use *boku*, *ore*, or *watashi*. Relaxed characters who often play peacekeeper, like Daikichi's father and Masako's partner, exclusively use *boku*. Some adults and all teenage males, including Kōki and his high school friends, prefer *ore*.

Daikichi also prefers *ore*, as the pronoun occurs in his speech a total of 352 times, but his use of a particular pronoun switches depending on the context of the speech act. Daikichi uses *boku* 29 times, each use occurring when he is speaking (for him) formally or to his superiors, and his speech contains the sole use of *watashi*⁶⁶ by a male speaker in *Usagi doroppu*. This use of *watashi* appears in Daikichi's dialogue in a scene where he calls Rin's biological mother (Masako) for the first time. The context of this situation, including the difficult topic and the lack of any prior relationship between Daikichi and Masako, appears to explain the use of the polite *watashi*. Throughout the dialogue, presented in Excerpt 6.7, Daikichi speaks very formally, and *watashi* occurs in conjunction with grammatical and lexical indexes of politeness or other-directed deference (Agha, 1998) usually absent from Daikichi's speech, such as calling his adopted daughter Rin *kaga rin-san* (Ms. Rin Kaga).

(6.7) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 2, p. 128

Daikichi: あ、吉井さんですか？突然すみません。私は鹿賀りんさんの父方の親戚の河地といます。
a, yoshii san desu ka? totsuzen sumimasen. watashi wa kaga rin san no chichikata no shinseki no kawachi to iimasu
 Ah, is this Ms. Yoshii? Please excuse me contacting you out of nowhere. My name is Kawachi, I'm a relative of Ms. Rin Kaga on her father's side.

While characters or their stance in a given context are therefore marked through the selection of particular pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*, further indexing is also performed through the script the first person pronouns are written in. The clearest evidence comes from the overall selection of katakana and kanji for male first person pronouns throughout all nine volumes of the manga. As can be seen in Figure 25, the representation of a male's first person pronoun (regardless of the specific pronoun used) is primarily dependent on their age. Katakana represents 111 of the 112 first person pronouns used by teenage males, while kanji represents 414 of the 430 first person pronouns used by adult males. Ignoring the exceptions for now, the data shows a clear orthographic contrast between the predominant representation of the first person pronouns used by each group of speakers. At the broadest level of description, the specific selection of kanji and katakana indicates that the author treats the scripts as respective indexes of maturity and youth.

⁶⁶ The words *watashi* and *watakushi* (both "I") can both be written in kanji as 私. The uses of the kanji 私 discussed in this section are not provided with a reading via *furigana*, so they could hypothetically be either. However, in the interview the author wrote that she always intended to use the word *watashi* in Rin and Ms. Nitani's dialogue. Furthermore, *watashi* is also considered the conventional reading of 私 in contemporary Japanese, with *watakushi* more likely to be marked with furigana to clarify the reading (Sasahara, 2014).

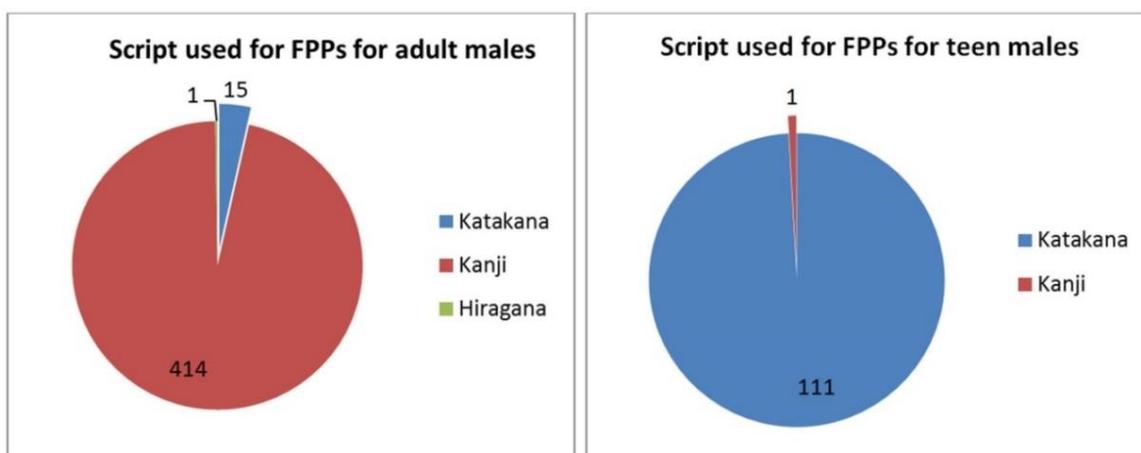


Figure 25: The uses of script for first person particles in adult and teen dialogue.

As a result, male characters in *Usagi doroppu* can be differentiated both lexically and orthographically. For example, Daikichi and his father respectively prefer *ore* and *boku*. While their contrasting pronoun preferences reflect the contrasts in the characters' identities, their status as adults results in alignment in how the pronouns are represented. In contrast, Kōki uses *ore*, which aligns lexically with Daikichi, but his first person pronouns are always written in katakana. Kōki and Daikichi are therefore lexically similar (*ore* vs. *ore*) but orthographically differentiated (オレ vs. 俺), creating one level of distance between the two, while the identities of Kōki and Daikichi's father are distinguished through the existence of both lexical (*ore* vs. *boku*) and orthographic divides (オレ vs. 僕). Ultimately, the orthographic split between teenagers and adults expands on our understanding of how the author is indexing identity through first person pronouns in the manga. She divides speakers based on both the selection of a particular lexical option and the script the option is written in, with the indexical connections of *boku*, *ore*, katakana, and kanji interacting to mark four distinct categories of male identity in the manga.

Moving to the few instances where male pronouns are not represented in accordance with the age-based kanji/katakana divide, the motives for locally nonstandard uses of script for first person pronouns appear to parallel the reasons why Daikichi's first person pronoun changed to *boku* or *watashi* in scenes where he was expressing other-directed deference. Departure from the locally standard orthographic representations of adult and teen male pronouns occurs when a character acts in a manner incongruous with the identity indexed by the script which normally represents their pronouns. For example, in the case of male teenagers the only representation of a first person pronoun in kanji appears in the dialogue of the character Yasuhara. When Yasuhara meets Rin, he uses the pronoun *boku*, which is irregular for young males in the comic. In this conversation about a

school event that includes an occurrence of the semi-polite *desu/masu* form, both the choice of a first person pronoun and its orthographic representation deviate from the local conventions for teen males, with the author selecting the more formal option from both channels.

(6.8) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 6, p. 135

Yasuhara: じゃ、ごめんね。僕、今日はさすがに部活に顔出さないと...
すいませんこんなカンジで... あとよろしくお願いします。
ja gomen ne. boku, kyō wa sasuga ni bukatsu ni kao dasanai to...
suimasen konna kanji de... ato yoroshiku onegaishimasu.
Ah, sorry. I should show my face at the club activities today... sorry to leave now but... please take care of things from here.

Later, before inviting Rin on a date, Yasuhara switches to exclusively katakana-represented uses of *ore*, along with a slightly more casual register that contains dropped particles and no instances of the *masu* form.

(6.9) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 8, p. 176

Yasuhara: 鹿賀さん文系にしたんだっけ？
kaga san bunkei ni shitan dakke?
You went with arts, yeah?

Rin: うん。
un.
Yes.

Yasuhara: 選択どんな感じ？
sentaku donna kanji?
What did you choose?

Rin: えーっと。日本史、生物。
ētto. nihonshi, seibutsu.
Ummm. Japanese history, biology.

Yasuhara: ああ、びみょうだなー、クラス分け。オレ、世界史、生物...
ā, bimyō da nā, kurasu wake. ore, sekaishi, seibutsu...
Ah, it's just a bit different, our classes. I chose world history, biology...

Yasuhara is a minor character with limited dialogue, and so as a single example the contrast in his dialogue between Excerpt 6.8 and 6.9 risks being dismissed as chance or editor oversight. However, this phenomenon wherein a combined lexical and orthographic switch occurs when a character enters a formal situation is repeated multiple times in major characters' dialogue. To

explain, it is necessary to move to locally nonstandard representations of first person pronouns in the dialogue of adult male characters. For most adults, including Daikichi, his boss, his father, and Masako’s partner, kanji is always used for *boku*, *ore*, and/or *watashi*. However, 15 adult male first person pronouns appear in katakana, and one appears in hiragana. Out of the 15 katakana representations of first person pronouns, seven come from the dialogue of a subordinate of Daikichi’s, who uses a katakana-represented *ore* in all but one panel. The subordinate’s dialogue thereby represents almost half of the uses of katakana for adults’ first person pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*. This is more than twice the number in any other character’s speech, and establishes the subordinate as the only adult character to feature an obvious katakana standard representation for their first person pronouns.

The (comparative) roughness of both this character and Daikichi are indexed by their preferred use of *ore*, but a separation between the characters appears to result in the pronouns’ contrasting orthographic representations. While Daikichi has a temper, he is also the protagonist, a college-educated bilingual, and takes on management roles at work, often wearing a collared shirt and tie. The subordinate, whose age is unknown, is also a single father, but is more casual in speech and dress, bearded, has pierced ears, wears a beanie and wallet chain during work (see Figure 26 below), and makes frequent references to his own poor academic achievement. His dress is fitting with a blue-collar or even punk style, and incongruous with the stereotypical images of the adult Japanese white-collar worker better manifested by Daikichi.



Figure 26: Daikichi's subordinate, second from the left, enters work (Vol. 2, p. 52).

In short, the subordinate’s normal manner and appearance do not match the stereotypes of adult or mature behavior in Japan. The author appears to reinforce this fact through using katakana as the normative representation of this character’s uses of *ore*. Doing so links the subordinate to a

younger, rougher identity while simultaneously distancing him from the mature, intellectual, or formal associations of kanji, and bringing his pronouns into explicit contrast with the other adult male characters.

However, there is one occasion when kanji is used for the subordinate's first person pronoun. The scene appears in a story where the subordinate visits Daikichi's house and meets Rin for the first time. The subordinate begins his greeting with his standard katakana-represented *ore* (highlighted in yellow in Excerpt 6.10). After saying *ore*, he immediately stops, explicitly corrects himself, and switches to the more polite *boku* (highlighted in green). In addition to this lexical change, the attempt at taking a more polite stance involves a change of scripts, with *boku* represented by kanji (僕) instead of katakana (ボク). The character's attempt at polite self-presentation is therefore conveyed through both locally nonstandard uses of pronouns and script, with two rougher indexes being replaced by multiple items with more formal associations.

(6.10) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 58

Worker: エーット、オレ... いや僕たち会社で河地さんにお世話になってて...
ētto, ore... iya bokutachi kaisha de kawachi san ni osewa ni natte te...
Umm, ore, no, bokutachi⁶⁷ (we) all work under Mr. Kawachi (Daikichi) and...

While this subordinate is the only adult character whose dialogue features a definitive katakana-standard for first person pronouns, the representation of first person pronouns also fluctuates in other adults' speech depending on the context in which they are speaking. For instance, six of the remaining uses of katakana for adult males' first person pronouns are divided equally between two characters. One is a former subordinate of Daikichi's named Tama, and the other is an unnamed male model Daikichi befriends at a school event. In the case of Tama, his initial appearance in the manga is in a scene where he is yelling at Daikichi, angry that Daikichi is changing to a different department in the company. While shouting, Tama uses the word *ore* three times, and each instance is written in katakana. In contrast, in all later dialogue Tama is calm and friendly, and his dialogue instead contains *boku* in kanji.

The male model character instead solely uses the first person pronoun *boku*. The first time the model and Daikichi meet, the model uses a katakana-represented *boku* three times. During this animated conversation between the male model, Daikichi, and another single father named Nabe, the differences in Daikichi and the male model's appearance and mannerisms are focused on by Daikichi, as seen in the panel in Figure 27.

⁶⁷ The suffix *-tachi* is attached to first person pronouns to create the plural.

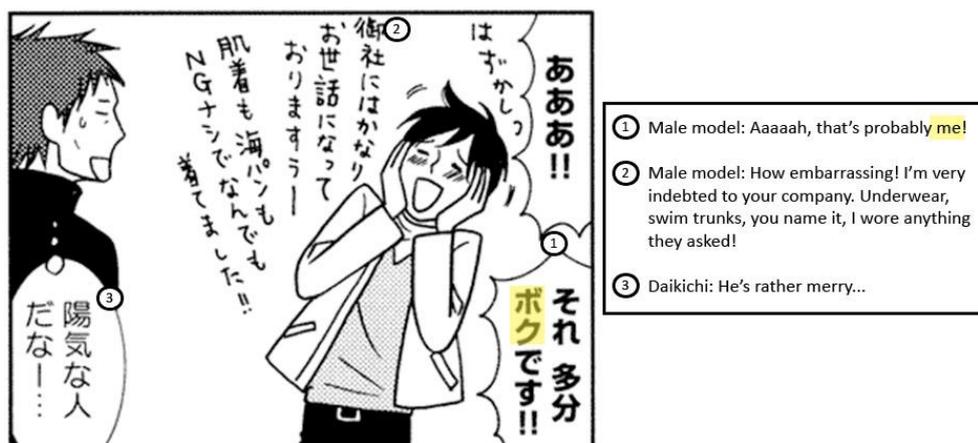


Figure 27: *Boku* appears in katakana in the male model's speech (Vol. 4, p. 78).

In contrast, the second time the male model, Daikichi, and Nabe meet, Ms. Nitani is also present, and the conversation focuses around the difficulties of parenting. In this more subdued context that involves characters of both genders, wherein the model is explicitly enacting his role as a father by giving advice on parenting rather than gushing about posing in his underwear, the script used for *boku* in his dialogue changes to kanji. This use of kanji for *boku* is highlighted below in yellow in Figure 28. For both the model and Tama, a change in script therefore accompanies a change in stance. Mature or adult behavior corresponds with the use of kanji, while rougher, angrier, or flamboyant styles of self-presentation are marked by katakana.

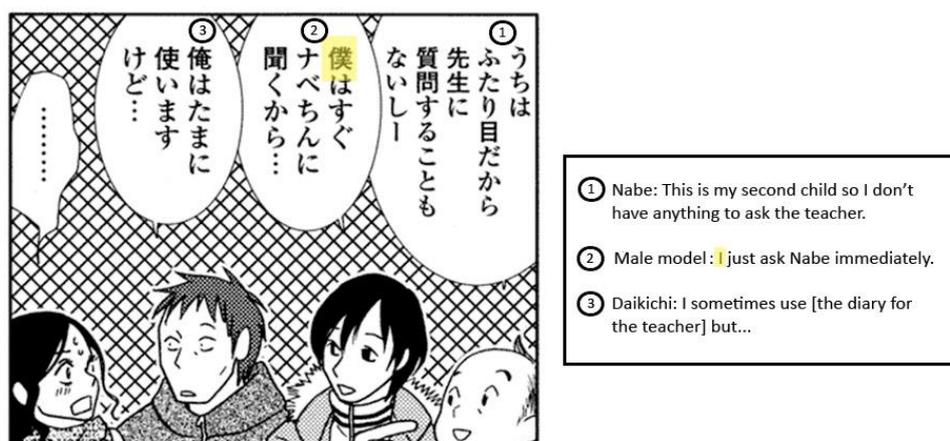


Figure 28: *Boku* appears in kanji in the male model's speech (Vol. 4, p. 156).

The last two uses of katakana for *ore* in adult speech are highlighted in yellow in Excerpt 6.11, which comes from the dialogue of an unnamed, disgruntled worker who is smoking in the

bathroom during a work outing while complaining about Daikichi. As a side character who appears in two panels, it is difficult to describe the worker in detail, but he is younger than Daikichi and speaks in a casual, rough style which includes katakana *sutegana* (highlighted in green in Excerpt 6.12).

(6.11) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 2, p. 78

Worker: だいたい何でオレたちが河地さんのためにこんなこと... うちの課捨てた人だぜー。こんなことならハンパな実績作んなってカンジだよ。勝ち逃げキタネー。
daitai nande ore tachi ga kawachi san no tame ni konna koto... uchi no ka suteta hito da zē. konna koto nara hanpa na jisseki tsukunna tte kanji da yo. kachinige kitanē.
Why are we doing this for Mr. Kawachi? He's the guy who threw our department in the trash. It's like, if you were going to quit don't even bother going this far. Dirty rat runs away with all the winnings.

(6.12) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 2, p. 78

Worker: お前は日高さんの下だからいーけどオ、オレなんか...
omae wa hidaka san no shita dakara ii kedō, ore nanka...
You're under Mr. Hidaka so you'll be fine, but me...

Finally, the sole use of hiragana for a first person pronoun in male speech occurs in Nabe's dialogue at the end of the animated conversation where he, Daikichi, and the single father first meet. This dialogue in the panel is presented in Figure 29, which includes handwritten Japanese and the only hiragana representations of the verb stems for *oshieru* (to teach/tell) and *asobu* (to play) in the manga outside of children's speech. The representation of Nabe's otherwise kanji-represented *boku* in hiragana therefore appears to be part of a wider localized application of unconventional hiragana variants. It is possible that the script is used to index the lighthearted atmosphere or even child-like joy of the speakers (see Figure 37 for evidence of this phenomenon in *Indo meoto jawan*), but since all data about the use of hiragana for *boku* comes from one panel the author's motives are ultimately unclear. Furthermore, the limited data means that there is no conclusive evidence in the manga for why *boku*, *oshieru*, and *asobu* were changed to hiragana while *mise* (store), *kuru* (come), and *gakkō* (school) remain in kanji.

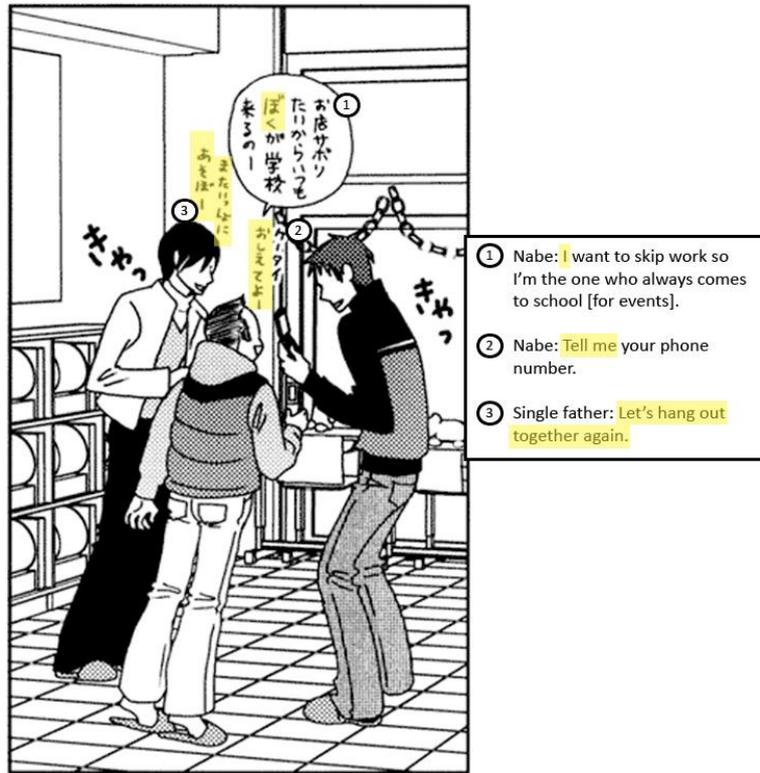


Figure 29: Handwritten dialogue with locally nonstandard uses of hiragana highlighted (Vol. 4, p. 81).

The single use of hiragana aside, the variation in script use throughout adult males' first person pronouns shows a clear relationship between distinct character types or behaviors and the selection of kanji or katakana. Interestingly, data from the interviews indicates that this distribution may have been unplanned despite its regularity. In response to a question asking how she decided whether to use kanji or katakana for *boku* and *ore*, the author replied that:

いつも、なんとなくですが使い分けています。「俺」のイメージ→(カタカナと比べてどちらかというと)少し古風 日本的 視覚的に硬い印象。「オレ」のイメージ→(漢字と比べてどちらかというと)やんちゃ 若さ 少しちゃらちゃらしている 視覚的にとがっている。これらはあくまでわたし個人の感じ方で、厳密なものでもありませんが。。。

It's always a bit arbitrary but I do divide the use [of script]. The images of 俺 [*ore in kanji*] → (if compared to the katakana) a little old, Japanese, visually hard. The images of オレ [*ore in katakana*] (if compared to the kanji) → naughty, young, a bit show-offy, visually sharp. But these are just my personal senses of things, and not a strict thing.

The author's stated associations with each representation of *ore* matches the observed links between kanji and maturity or katakana and youth, (stereotypically) un-adult behavior, or flamboyance, but her comments that her selection of script is “なんとなく” (*nantonaku*, a bit arbitrary) and not strict are unexpected. The divide seen in the data is explicit and fairly rigid, but the author's statements indicate that it resulted naturally or automatically from her sense of each individual speaker (or their behavior in a panel) in relation to her sense of the effects connected to each script, rather than from a prepared plan.

Amongst female characters, variation in the representation of first person pronouns is less frequent, and age or normative behavior appears to have nothing to do with a pronoun's representation. The 81 uses of *atashi* in the manga are all written in hiragana, and *watashi* is written in hiragana in 227 out of its 232 appearances. The hiragana standard for women's pronouns stands in clear contrast to the use of katakana or kanji pronouns by males. Certainly, it is possible that this divide relates to word choice. *Atashi* is female-exclusive in the manga, which makes the representation of a hypothetical male-used *atashi* unknown. The manga's standard representation for *watashi* in male dialogue is also somewhat unclear, as the word only appears once. However, the singular use of *watashi* in male speech is represented by kanji, and kanji are the conventional representation of *watashi* in formal Japanese⁶⁸. Additionally, the author ascribed a hard or masculine feel to the kanji script in the interview⁶⁹, and stated that she thinks she would use the kanji script to write *watashi* in male dialogue due to a masculine image of the script⁷⁰.

Although the author's quotes indicate that she is unaware of, or does not recall, the use of *watashi* in Daikichi's dialogue, they show that the use of hiragana for the pronoun is something she intended only for women's dialogue, and that her choice of whether to use kanji and hiragana for pronouns relates to their respectively abilities to index masculinity and femininity at some order. Furthermore, no female character's uses of *atashi* or *watashi*, regardless of their speech, dress, or

⁶⁸ For example, if *watashi wa* (I + (topic marker)) is entered into the Asahi Newspaper website's article search with *watashi* rendered in kanji, 18,840 results appear. In contrast, if *watashi* is entered in hiragana, there are only 3758 results. Likewise, *watashi ga* (I + (subject marker)) returns 9,979 results in kanji, and 314 in hiragana (Asahi Shinbun, 2015). The translation website Alc returns similar results, with 40 example sentences containing 私は, and 0 containing わたしは (both *watashi wa*) (Alc Press Inc., 2015). The particles *wa* and *ga* are attached to the search input to ensure that kanji representations of *watashi* do not include results containing other words which use the same kanji as *watashi* (e.g., 私立, *shiritsu*, private).

⁶⁹ Original Japanese: 基本的には、硬い印象にしたい場合は「私」にするとおもいます。(Fundamentally, I think I use kanji for *watashi* when I want to create a hard impression).

⁷⁰ Original Japanese: あとは、公の場では男性も「私 (わたし・わたくし)」と言いますが、そういう場合は漢字かなあと。漢字には男性的な印象もあるような気がします。(Furthermore, in public situations men also say *watashi* or *watakushi*, and in that case I think I might use kanji. I feel like kanji also have a masculine impression).

relationship to Japanese stereotypes of proper feminine behavior, are ever written in katakana. The character Akari mentioned in 6.3.1, for instance, beats her partners, bullies and harasses Rin for years, and fakes a pregnancy to extort money from Kōki. Despite being very much “young”, “naughty”, and “a bit show-offy”, her pronouns are always written in hiragana. There is therefore also evidence that the author treats katakana-represented pronouns as masculine in some respect, at least to an extent that is incongruous with an almost biological femininity, making the use of katakana for pronouns inappropriate even in the dialogue of young, delinquent female characters.

Out of the five cases wherein *watashi* appears in kanji, four were discussed in interviews with the author. The four representations are divided between the dialogue of Rin and Ms. Nitani, so I initially thought they may be another example of increased use of kanji in the two characters’ speech. However, the author indicated that all four uses were accidental⁷¹, referring to them as “誤植のようなもの” (something like a typo), and writing that she “fundamentally intended to use わたし [*watashi* in hiragana] for Rin and Kōki’s mother”⁷². The fifth representation of a female-used *watashi* in kanji may therefore also be a mistake, but is interesting in that it echoes the simultaneous lexical and orthographic changes to a character’s pronouns seen earlier in the dialogue of multiple male speakers. This locally nonstandard representation of *watashi* occurs in the dialogue of a female employee named Ota when she asks a question during a work meeting for new hires. In this formal situation, she uses the polite pronoun *watashi*, which is represented in kanji.

(6.13) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 3, p. 83

Ota: 私は営業職で採用されたんですけどー
watashi wa eigyōshoku de saiyō saretan desu kedo——
I was hired for a sales position, but——

However, after the meeting the character never again uses *watashi*. She instead defaults to the less formal *atashi*, and uses the pronoun while flirting with fellow employees during work. After convincing a number of them to buy her handbags and other gifts, she then quits her position at Daikichi’s company and disappears.

(6.14) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 3, p. 92

Ota: あたしもこーゆートコで働きたいなア... それにひとりぐらい女の子がいた方が楽しいじゃないですかー

⁷¹ Original Japanese: うっかり漢字にしてしまうことがちよくちよくあります。

⁷² Original Japanese: りんとコウキの母は基本的に「わたし」にしていたつもりでした。

atashi mo kōyū took de hatarakitai nā... sore ni hitori gurai onna no ko ga ita
hō ga tanoshi janai desukā

I would like to work in this kind of place too... wouldn't it be more fun to
have a girl around?

(6.15) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 3, p. 96

Ota: *あたし*とかどーです?
atashi toka dō desu?
Do you like girls like *me*?

The differences in both the employee's selection of a pronoun and its orthographic representation between the excerpts therefore directly mirror the switches noticed in the dialogue of Yasuhara and Daikichi's subordinate. That is, the speaker switches to a kanji-represented pronoun which is visually and lexically nonstandard within their dialogue in a formal context, with the author indexing their locally irregular self-presentation through multiple channels.

Ultimately, in analyzing the use of kanji, hiragana, and katakana for first person pronouns in *Usagi doroppu* two clear findings emerge. First, distinct types of characters are marked through the use of each script. Different local standards exist depending on the age, behavior, and/or gender of a character, and the limited locations of each script's use provide insights into its indexical field. Secondly, in the same way that Japanese authors are recognized to vary the use of pronouns for their characters in a text (Hiramoto, 2013; M. Nakamura, 2013), the author of *Usagi doroppu* similarly selects different scripts to index changes in characters' behavior.

6.4 Summary

Like in *Chokotan!* (analyzed in Chapter 5), initial investigation of the orthographic variation in *Usagi doroppu* occurred by examining highly marked conventions of script use particular to specific characters. In both series, we saw that children's dialogue was written in a manner particular to the characters. However, in *Usagi doroppu* the use of script in children's speech changed as the children developed, with the author gradually using small amounts of kanji in their speech. As a result, we could more specifically define what aspects of a child-identity the author intended to index through kanji-absent dialogue, with the kanji-absent standard particular to children who have yet to begin formal academic instruction. Furthermore, the extent of the kanji script's use and the specific kanji selected were seen to be part of how the author indexed meaning through the script.

Within the general dialogue, locally nonstandard applications of script appeared to mark a character who was acting in an unexpected manner, or to contrast the identity or behavior of two

characters in a scene. In these cases, the selection of the marked script, or of the two contrasting scripts, provided insights into the indexical field of each Japanese script. Broadly speaking, kanji was used to index academic competence or maturity; hiragana foolishness, immaturity, traits associated with children, or confusion; and katakana negativity and incomprehension. However, the influence of each script's associations on its employment was more clearly uncovered by examining variants which existed between the dialogue of speakers or speaker groups. Doing so found that the standard representations for specific items differed between characters based on their gender, age, or normative behavior. Once these local preferences were established, the author would also occasionally deviate from them to index behavior that was non-normative for a character, such as a rougher character's attempt at being polite, or an outburst of anger on the part of an otherwise composed adult.

Finally, certain uses of script in *Usagi doroppu* indicated that the orthographic standards of formal Japanese writing and the manga itself are also used by the author to create meaning. As characters acted or spoke more politely, the use of script in their dialogue departed from the manga's local norms, and began to approach national guidelines for script use in Japanese writing. That is, rather than simply using a locally nonstandard representation of a particular word or sentence, the author reduced the overall orthographic variation in the dialogue and reintroduced rules absent from her own local writing style, such as the preferred use of hiragana for grammatical elements. In this way, standard script use was seen to function as an index of prestige in a manner similar to (and intertwined with) standard writing or speech, with politeness or formality often indexed simultaneously through grammatical, lexical, and orthographic channels.

Chapter 7: *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin*

This chapter discusses the use of script for effect within seven manga written and illustrated by Rinko Nagami (2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2009). Like in the prior chapters, the analysis here begins by uncovering locally nonstandard or variant uses of script which cannot be attributed to a flexible writing style, emphasis, chance, or legibility-related concerns. The motives behind these selections are then evidenced through comparing and contrasting the contexts where each variant representation of a sentence element occurs, with the ultimate goal of gaining insight into how the author uses script to index meaning throughout her manga.

Six of the manga analyzed in this chapter are the initial volumes of the series *Indo meoto jawan* (Indian Couple's Teacups⁷³). New volumes of *Indo meoto jawan* are still being published, and there are 21 volumes in circulation as of 2016. The seventh manga is a single volume spin-off of *Indo meoto jawan* entitled *Hataraku!! indojin: indo teishokuya hanjōki* (Work!! Indian: Record of an Indian Restaurant's Prosperity). *Hataraku!! indojin* covers much of the same time period as the first six volumes of *Indo meoto jawan*, and features the same main characters. Both series differ from manga discussed in the previous chapters in that they are autobiographical, and deal with purportedly real events in the life of the author and her husband.

The main characters in all seven manga are Rinko Nagami herself, her Indian husband Sashī, their children Ashita and Aruna, and Rinko's mother Akiko. As suggested by the title, *Indo meoto jawan* often discusses cultural differences between Rinko and Sashī. However, narratives are also frequently built around humorous everyday events, and many stories deal with general topics like child rearing, work, and travel. Individual chapters often have no direct connection with one another, but each volume progresses chronologically, and the characters age between stories. *Hataraku!! indojin* focuses more on Sashī than *Indo meoto jawan*, as the manga is about the events in Sashī's life that lead to him opening a restaurant in Japan.

The analysis of how the author uses script to index meaning in the seven volumes is divided across four sections, with data from the questionnaire included whenever relevant. The two initial sections of this chapter respectively focus on uses of script that are limited to the dialogue of non-native speakers and children (cf. 5.1.2 and 6.1.1). Locally nonstandard uses of script for effect within the general script use in the manga are presented in the third section. The fourth section summarizes the chapter's findings.

⁷³ *Meoto jawan* (lit: husband and wife teacups) refer to a set of two bowl-shaped vessels, one generally larger than the other, used for tea or rice.

7.1 Uses of katakana particular to non-native Japanese speakers

Within *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* a number of uses of script are particular to the dialogue of non-native speakers of Japanese. Like the uses of hiragana in Chokotan's dialogue (see 5.1), I will treat these uses of script as part of a localized set of orthographic conventions separate from the manga's more overarching orthographic conventions. However, unlike in *Chokotan!*, the orthographic conventions distinct to non-native speakers' dialogue in *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* are limited to the representation of a few select items. As a result, most non-native and native dialogue is orthographically indistinguishable. Furthermore, some of the features unique to non-native speakers are still nonstandard in relation to the orthographic conventions of non-native dialogue. In other words, the uses of script only occur in the dialogue of the character group, but they occur less commonly than the manga's conventional variant. Due to these complications, non-native dialogue cannot be removed entirely from the manga's general script use. The discussion in this section will instead only isolate elements of non-native speakers' dialogue that are absent or extremely uncommon in native speakers' dialogue. The rest of the script use within non-native speakers' dialogue is included in the discussion of the manga's general script use in 7.3.

The analysis in this section will divide the uses of script particular to non-native speakers' dialogue into consistent and inconsistent applications. This separation is valuable in that although both methods of marking employ katakana, the nuances of each type of application provide different insights into how and why the author is using katakana in a marked fashion. At the end of this section, the findings from each analysis are combined into a broader discussion of how non-native speakers are "othered" orthographically throughout the two manga.

7.1.1 Katakana, *watashi*, identity, and accent

The consistent orthographic feature particular to non-native Japanese speakers' dialogue in *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* is the use of katakana for the first person pronoun *watashi* (I)⁷⁴. As shown below in Figure 30, the katakana script is applied to *watashi* in non-native speaker's dialogue in all but four cases. This katakana-standard for *watashi* clearly diverges from the kanji-standard in the speech of the adult Japanese characters, but it is important to stress that the

⁷⁴ As in *Usagi doroppu*, these manga do not use *furigana* for first person pronouns so there is the possibility that the standard kanji-represented *watashi* is intended to be read as *wataskushi*. However, in the questionnaire the author specifically discussed contrasts between the use of *watashi* between her and her husband, and *watashi* is the more common reading of the kanji 私 (Sasahara, 2014).

applications of script for *watashi* are not split along a Japanese/non-Japanese binary. The kanji script is always used to represent *watashi* in the dialogue of Sashī's non-Japanese speaking Indian relatives. These non-Japanese characters' dialogue also never contains the inconsistent uses of katakana particular to non-native Japanese speakers' dialogue that will be discussed in 7.1.2.

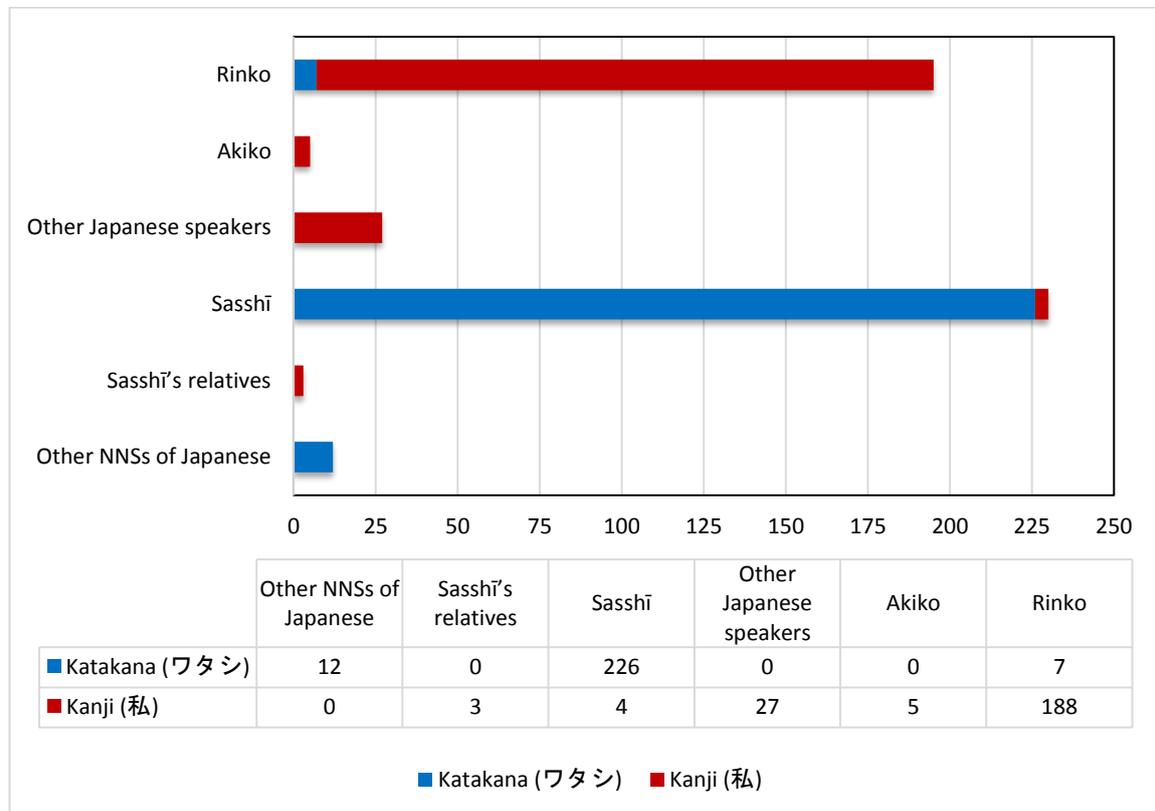


Figure 30: A comparison of the scripts used for *watashi* in adult characters' dialogue.

At the most basic level, the data therefore shows that the use of script for *watashi* is specifically divided between non-native speakers of Japanese and native speakers of all languages. As a result, at this point a katakana standard for *watashi* appears to be used to index either a non-native speaker identity or some trait(s) the author treats as normative within it, while a kanji standard is instead functioning as an index of some aspect of the identity of native speakers.

Given that the author is specifically marking non-native dialogue, perhaps the most natural interpretation of the trait indexed by a katakana-represented *watashi* is accent or nonfluent prosody. In this interpretation, the katakana-represented *watashi* marks a degree of nonfluency the author treats as normative to the non-native speakers in the manga, while the kanji representation marks adherence to a broad conception of native pronunciation. Minimally, this explanation aligns with the author's comments in the interview regarding why she used katakana for *watashi*.

サッシーの場合、日本に来て間もない外国人が習いたての丁寧な日本語をしゃべっている。しかもそれが外国人特有のたどたどしいリズムで話している、というイメージで「ワタシ」と言わせています。

Sasshī speaks the just-learned polite Japanese of a foreigner recently arrived in Japan. Moreover, based on an image of that Japanese being spoken in a foreigner-specific halting rhythm, I make him say *watashi* in katakana.

カタカナにすることで読者はたどたどしく、発音やイントネーションが外国人特有のリズムで話されていることが自然と読者にわかります。これはカタカナが昔から外来語に当てて書かれていたので、日本人にはそう連想しやすいのではないのでしょうか。

By changing [a word's representation] into katakana, readers naturally understand that the pronunciation and intonation are spoken in the particular, halting rhythm of foreigners. Perhaps it is easy for Japanese people to make this connection because katakana has been applied to loan words for a very long time.

Additionally, the assertion that katakana has acquired the ability to convey accent or choppy Japanese production due to its role as a marker of loan words is not particular to this author. There is sizeable evidence in literature on script selection which refers to nonstandard applications of katakana used in non-native dialogue for the purpose of marking nonfluent Japanese (Kinsui, 2014; Robertson, 2015; Sasahara, 2014; Masami Shibata, 1998; Takamura, 1955). The author of *Usagi doroppu* even referred to a similar belief when asked how she would feel if she encountered children's dialogue written entirely in katakana:

漫画などでは日本人ではない人が話すカタコトの...つまり少したどたどしい日本語を、カタカナで表現することが多いです。なので外国の子かなーと思わせる効果...??あとは、ロボットの言葉とか宇宙人の言葉もよくカタカナで書かれます。外国の方と一緒にするのは失礼かなと思うのですが、要は「日本語を話すと少なからずびっくり！」な人などが日本語を話したときにカタカナで表現されているのでしょうか...?? (これはわたしの想像です)

In things like manga, the broken, that is, the somewhat halting Japanese spoken by non-Japanese people is often expressed through katakana. As such, perhaps it would have the effect of making me think they were a foreign child...? Also, the speech of robots or aliens is often written in katakana. I think it's somewhat rude to lump them up with people from other countries but in short (and this is just my guess), katakana is used at times when Japanese is spoken by a person for whom Japanese speech is considerably unexpected.

The idea that script can index accent is interesting, as it implies that a feature of language without a direct corollary in speech is being used to represent a feature of language without a direct corollary in writing. In contrast to the myriad sets of written representations of accent familiar to readers of English, such as how "think" might be written as "tink" to indicate Irish pronunciation, or how /h/-dropping is used in Dickens or *My Fair Lady* to represent certain British dialects⁷⁵ (Agha, 2003; Shaw, 2008), explicit changes to a word's phonology are not created by a change in script (Hirose, 2007; Saito, 2014). Furthermore, since katakana-represented *watashi* is a feature that appears in the dialogue of non-native Japanese speakers of all nationalities, regardless of if a character is from India, Sri Lanka, or Burma, we are seeing a very broad conception of non-native speech contrasted against Japanese speech as a whole. If specifics of the accent are obtained by readers, it must be through referencing pre-established details about the speaker's nationality rather than the orthographic content of their dialogue. The katakana/kanji contrast totalizes the native and non-native Japanese speech in the manga as opposing elements of a binary in a manner that pays no orthographic recognition to the diversity within either category.

The indexing of accent through script is therefore quite similar to the use of eye-dialects to mark paralinguistic features in English writing. Eye-dialects are phonetic respellings which, while nonstandard, do not provide any explicit phonological change to a word (Androutsopoulos, 2000; V. Cook, 2004; Davies, 1987). Examples include "wuz" for "was", "wimmin" for "women", and "ait" for "ate". Like katakana, eye-dialects consequently do not phonetically represent any extant accent, but can be used to represent a pronunciation which is marked or stigmatized yet impossible to specify without referring to the context of the eye-dialect's employment (Jaffe, 2012; Jaffe & Walton, 2000; Preston, 1985). Still, there are two contrasts between eye dialects and the use of katakana in *Indo meoto jawan*: (1) the marked element of non-native speech in the manga is usually limited to the representation of a single pronoun, and (2) eye dialects are argued to index marked accents through

⁷⁵ This is not to imply that these representations of accent are consistent, accurate, or have a guaranteed interpretation, but rather that different sets of changes are intended to imitate audible features of different stereotyped accents.

their nonstandard nature. The use of katakana to index a non-Japanese accent instead appears to relate to specific elements of katakana’s indexical field, as indicated in the author’s quotes and the fact that she is choosing the script over hiragana.

However, despite general acceptance of the idea that katakana marks non-native accents, there are two pieces of evidence which demonstrate that the author’s use of katakana for *watashi* throughout *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* is not entirely attributable to paralinguistic aspects of a speaker’s Japanese production. Firstly, katakana representation of *watashi* in non-native speaker dialogue is not bound to Japanese production. In flashbacks to before Sashī learns Japanese, the use of *watashi* in his dialogue is still written in katakana. In the example in Figure 31, Sashī is in his early 20s, knows no Japanese, and is living in Saudi Arabia in a share-house with other Indians. Despite thinking to himself in what cannot be Japanese, Sashī’s use of *watashi* is (unlike Indian characters who learn no Japanese) written in katakana.



Secondly, consider the locally nonstandard use of katakana for *watashi* from Rinko’s (the manga’s Japanese author) speech in Excerpt 7.1. The excerpt comes from a story where Sashī, who is afraid of reptiles, becomes angry at Rinko for buying a pet turtle. Rinko becomes angry at Sashī in turn, and tells him that he should have made his views clear before she went to the pet store. In Rinko’s statement, the author includes a quote wherein the word *watashi* refers to Sashī. This quote is a hypothetical statement that Rinko argues Sashī *should* have made before she went shopping. It is not something that Sashī has actually said, nor is it a mockery of his pronunciation. However, the use of *watashi*, which refers to Sashī but is part of native Japanese production, is still rendered in katakana.

(7.1) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 5, p. 92

Rinko: 相談した時ちゃんと「ワタシは爬虫類は苦手だ」っていえばよかったですよ。
sōdan shita toki chanto [watashi wa hacchūruī wa nigate da] tte ieba yokatta desho.
It would have been better if you properly said “I am not good with reptiles” when we talked [about buying a pet].

Taken together, Figure 31 and Excerpt 7.1 show that regardless of what language Sasshī is speaking, and regardless of if he is speaking at all, the word *watashi* is written in katakana whenever it refers to him. As the orthographic performance of his non-native Japanese speaker identity occurs at all times, including before said identity was acquired, the link between the marked representation of *watashi* in katakana and Sasshī’s character goes beyond (but also results in) the paralinguistic qualities of his speech. Sasshī’s status in the manga as non-native speaker appears to be treated as almost an essential aspect of his being, with the use of katakana better described as an index of traits which result in assumptions of accent rather than a direct representation of accent.

Finally, before ending the discussion of script use for *watashi*, it is worth examining the locally nonstandard representations of the pronoun in native and non-native speakers’ dialogue. As shown earlier in Figure 30, four of Sasshī’s uses of *watashi* are written in kanji, and seven of Rinko’s uses of *watashi* are written in katakana. While a character’s departures from the localized norm for their first person pronoun often indexed irregular self-presentation in *Usagi doroppu*, the author of *Indo meoto jawan* described all uses of kanji for *watashi* in Sasshī’s dialogue presented during stimulated recall as either accidental or related to concerns of legibility⁷⁶.

As an example, consider the excerpt below in Figure 32. When asked about the use of a kanji-represented *watashi* in this scene, the author stated that she had to use kanji due to the size of the speech bubble. Changing *watashi* from katakana (ワタシ) into kanji (私) reduced the space taken up by the word, which allowed it to fit into the allotted space⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ Original Japanese for the “accidental” comment: あとはよく間違えて「私」と書いてしまう事があります (Also, I often mistakenly write *watashi* in kanji).

⁷⁷ Original Japanese: 小さなフキダシ (セリフを囲っている枠) が小さくて入らない時は意図的に3文字の「ワタシ」ではなく1文字の「私」を使う時があります。(When the speech bubble is small and I can’t fit *watashi* in katakana in, there are times that I change it from the 3-letter 「ワタシ」 into the single character 「私」).



Figure 32: Kanji allows *watashi* to fit in the speech bubble (Vol. 1, p. 67).

Similarly, the author explained the use of kanji to write *watashi* in Sasshi's speech in Figure 33 as a way to create a clear orthographic boundary between Sasshi and Ashita's names. By using kanji for *watashi*, the statement *watashi ashita to aruna tsurete soto deru* (I'm going to take Ashita and Aruna outside) starts as 私アシタ rather than ワタシアシタ, which the author believes improves legibility⁷⁸.



Figure 33: Kanji is used to prevent an unbroken chain of katakana (Vol. 3, p. 48).

⁷⁸ Original Japanese: 「ワタシ」のすぐ下のセリフが「アシタ」というカタカナだった場合はカタカナが続くと読みづらいしかとって句読点を入れるとリズムが崩れるので泣く泣く「私」を採用します。(In this case where right below *watashi* there is the katakana for *ashita*, the continuing katakana makes it hard to read, but if I put punctuation in it would break the rhythm, so I unhappily selected kanji for *watashi*).

Changes to the representation of Sashī's first person pronouns therefore result from practical motives, and are not intended to index anything. In contrast, the author stated that she utilizes locally nonstandard applications of katakana for *watashi* in her own native Japanese dialogue to convey a specific image. In the following comment, the author states that the katakana-represented *watashi* in her speech has a *tadotadoshii* (awkward, halting, or stumbling) image. While the word *tadotadoshii* was also used in her descriptions of foreign Japanese production, the effect of the script's application in native speech is described in relation to behavior rather than speech. The author makes no mention of rhythm/prosody, and ultimately argues that the script creates a different effect depending on whether the speaker is Japanese. The author's comment is interesting as it indicates that she is aware of the influence context has on a variant's interpretation (Eckert, 2008; L. Miller, 2004b; Okamoto, 1995), as she knowingly uses the same script for the same lexical item to create two distinct effects.

私の[セリフの]中にあるカタカナの「ワタシ」は常にたどたどしいイメージです。でもこれを外国人でなく、日本人に使う場合は多少自嘲気味や自虐的な雰囲気を使ったりします。(例えば、「私」が家族に対して子供っぽい言い訳などを言う時など)

The katakana-represented *watashi* in [my dialogue] always has an awkward or stumbling image. However, when it appears in a Japanese person's speech, rather than a foreigner's, I use it more or less in an atmosphere of self-derision or depreciation. (For example, when *watashi* is said during a childish excuse made towards family members, etc.)

However, although the author states that katakana is always applied to her uses of *watashi* to mark an awkward image, in some cases it is difficult to see what is awkward or self-deriding about a particular example. In the manga, there are uses of katakana for *watashi* in her dialogue that could just as easily be ascribed to emphasis as any awkward image (e.g., ワタシが間違い (*watashi ga machigai*, I was the one who was wrong)), and one instance comes from her use of *watashi* to refer to Sashī from Excerpt 7.1. That said, the use of katakana for *watashi* in dialogue similar to Excerpt 7.2 and 7.3 appears to align with the author's explanation. In Excerpt 7.2, Rinko dazedly responds to her mother in a story about losing one's memory with age, and the statement in Excerpt 7.3 comes after Rinko has injured herself on children's playground equipment multiple times in front of other parents.

(7.2) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 5, p. 115

Rinko: 生活がこうゆっくりになってくると人間は老化していくものらしい。
seikatsu ga kō yukkuri ni natte kuru to ningen wa rōka shite iku mono rashi.
It seems like humans grow senile when life slows down like this.

Akiko: リンコ...? なんであんたまだ朝ご飯食べてんの?
rinko...? nande anta mada asagohan tabeten no?
Rinko, why are you having breakfast again?

Rinko: いーえ、ワタシは朝ご飯まだでしたよ。
ie, watashi wa asagohan mada deshita yo.
No, I haven't had breakfast yet.

Akiko: 何言ってんのーっ、アルナを保育園送ってく前にアタシと一緒に
食べたわよッ
nani itten nō, aruna o hoikuen okutteku mae ni atashi to issho ni
tabeta wayo
What are you talking about? Before you sent Aruna to preschool you ate
breakfast with me!

(7.3) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 4, p. 81

Rinko: 気づくと、公園中の大人の視線を一気集めていたワタシだった。
kizuku to, kōen no otona no shisen o ikki atsumeteita watashi datta.
All of a sudden, I noticed that the eyes of every adult in the park were
fixated on me.

Ultimately, the use of katakana for *watashi* in Rinko's dialogue shows that the author uses the same technique for related but ultimately distinct effects, with the meaning of a katakana-represented *watashi* changing in relation to (1) who the character is, and (2) the standard script for the character's pronouns. In Sashī's speech, a katakana-represented *watashi* is normative, and indexes something seen as inherent or typical to the character and their general behavior. That the representation appears in non-native dialogue itself is then also relevant, as the author uses "the immediate context of situation and the broader context of culture" (Ochs, 2012, p. 149) to convey that the script is representing (in part) a pronunciation that matches widespread assumptions of normative non-native Japanese production in Japan. In contrast, katakana is marked within Rinko's speech. The script's presence conveys a contextual and temporary departure from her normative state which is, of course, different from that of Sashī.

The use of script for pronouns in *Indo meoto jawan* therefore shares some similarities to the contrasting use of katakana and kanji for *boku* and *ore* seen in *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.3.2). In both series of manga, two distinct groups are marked through consistent, parallel applications of katakana and kanji for first person pronouns, and deviation from a base script can occur when

characters act in a manner incongruous with the elements of the (perceived) normative identity indexed by the base script. However, due to the different locations where katakana and kanji are used in each series, as well as the different contrast that results, kanji and katakana create separate sets of contrasting effects in each manga. What indexes immaturity in one manga indexes foreignness in another, and the hypothetical use of a kanji-standard for a non-native Japanese speaker's pronouns in *Indo meoto jawan* would create an effect far removed from that of a hypothetical kanji-standard for a teenage male's pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*. The use of script to index a particular character identity is therefore dependent not only on the selected script's indexical field, but also what we know about the character(s) whose dialogue the script normally occurs in, the co-occurring signs, and the location of the variants the index is contrasted with (Campbell-Kibler, 2007, 2011; Eckert, 2008; Hiramoto, 2009).

7.1.2 Inconsistent applications of katakana

Outside of first person pronouns, non-native Japanese speakers are also marked through the occasional katakana-representation of the following features: the copula *desu*, sentence final particles, and the inflectional endings of adjectives and verbs. By "inflectional endings" I am distinguishing between writing an entire verb or adjective in katakana and writing just the parts of a word subject to inflection in katakana. The former phenomenon appears in all characters' dialogue across many contexts, which means that motives like emphasis cannot be rejected as possible explanations for individual examples. However, the latter phenomenon is restricted to non-native speech. That is, for the verb 行きます (*ikimasu*, to go), イキマス (*ikimasu*), イカナイ (*ikanai*, to not go), and casual forms like イッタ (*itta*, went) or イク (*iku*, to go) can appear in Rinko's dialogue, but examples where the stem remains in kanji and/or hiragana, such as 行きマス (*ikimasu*), 行かナイ (*ikanai*), 行っタ (*itta*), or 行ク (*iku*) will only appear in non-native speech. The katakana representation of many common nouns is also restricted to non-native dialogue, but there are certain nouns that instead appear in katakana only in native dialogue. Similar to whole verbs and adjectives, I was therefore unable to ensure that any specific katakana-represented noun was not merely used for emphasis. Nouns are consequently excluded from the discussion in this section in order to concentrate on uses of katakana more definitively limited to non-native speech.

Uses of katakana for the copula *desu* and inflectional endings are exclusive to the dialogue of non-native speakers, but katakana is not applied to the features with the same level of consistency or frequency as *watashi*. Throughout the seven volumes, the copula *desu* is represented by katakana

12 times. Verb endings appear in katakana 16 times, and the inflectional elements of adjectives appear in the script twice. These items are represented by hiragana in all other cases. Their representation in katakana is therefore better described as a variant accepted only within the local orthographic convention than a local standard. For example, within *Hataraku!! indojin* native Japanese speakers use *desu* 107 times, and the copula is always written in hiragana (です). In contrast, Sasshī's dialogue in *Hataraku!! indojin* contains 30 uses of *desu*, and the copula is inconsistently written in katakana (デス) just over a third (11/30) of the time. As can be seen in the two excerpts of Sasshī dialogue from *Hataraku!! indojin* presented below, this creates a very inconsistent pattern of script use. In the Excerpt 7.4, *desu* initially appears in hiragana (highlighted in yellow), but is changed to katakana (highlighted in green) in the question form *desuka*. In Excerpt 7.5, *desu* is written in katakana, but the question marker *ka* is represented by hiragana⁷⁹.

(7.4) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 44

Sasshī: ...あ、モシモシ? ☆ ☆ってタンドール屋の T さんってヒトから紹介されたんですが、ワタシインド人ケドそちらで働けないデスカ?
 ...a, moshimoshi? ☆ ☆ tte tandōruya no tī san tte hito kara shōkai saretan *desu* ga, watashi indojin kedo sochira de hatarakenai *desuka*?
 Ah, hello? I heard about you from Mr. T at the ☆ ☆ Tandoori Company. I'm Indian, but I could work at your [restaurant]?

(7.5) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 52

Sasshī: イラッシャイマセ、バイキングデスカ?
irasshaimase, baikingu desu ka?
 Welcome! Are you here for the all-you-can-eat buffet?

The sentence final particles *ne*, *na*, and *yo* are also often written in katakana in non-native speakers' dialogue. However, unlike *desu*, etc., the use of katakana for these sentence-final particles is not limited to non-native speakers' dialogue. In total, 60 particles are written in katakana across all non-native speech in the seven volumes, and four are written in katakana across native speech. Again taking the variation within *Hataraku!! indojin* as an illustrative case, both native and non-native Japanese speakers in the manga use the sentence-final particles *ne*, *yo*, *zo*, and *wa*. Japanese characters use *ne* 90 times, *yo* 133 times, *zo* 10 times, and *wa* 11 times, and the particles are always written in hiragana. In contrast, *ne* appears in non-native speakers' dialogue 135 times with 22 representations in katakana (16.29%), and *yo* occurs 93 times with 24 representations in katakana

⁷⁹ The excerpt also contains a number of uses of katakana that readers of Japanese may recognize as unconventional. These will be discussed later in this section.

(28.51%). One use of *zo* and eight uses of *wa* occur in non-native Japanese speech, but both particles are represented exclusively by hiragana.

In the rare cases where sentence final particles are written in katakana in native Japanese speech it appears to be for emphasis or force (Kataoka, 1995), as in the example below:

(7.6) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 1, p. 46

Rinko: こらっ、落とすなよっ。苦勞してアタシが産んだんだゾ。
kora, otosunayo. kurōshite atashi ga undannda zo.
Hey, don't you dare drop [our son]. I'm the one that had to go through the pains of giving birth [sentence final particle marking assertion/force⁸⁰]

The use of katakana for purposes unrelated to aspects of non-native speaker identity is unlikely to be limited to native speakers' dialogue alone, and may explain some of the katakana in non-native speech. However, it is also unlikely that the sentence final particles used by non-native speakers require emphasis around 15 times more frequently than those used by native speakers. Ultimately, the uses of katakana for *desu*, inflectional endings, and sentence final particles in *Usagi droppu* are best understood as inconsistent orthographic peculiarities of non-native speakers' dialogue which serve as another element of how the author indexes non-native speaker identities.

Furthermore, the inconsistent application of katakana for the features discussed in this section provides new insight into how the author creates meaning through script. Each of the non-native speaker restricted variants is more common in *Hataraku!! indojin* than in the six analyzed volumes of *Indo meoto jawan* combined. Within non-native speakers' dialogue, 11 of the 12 uses of katakana for *desu*, both of the uses for inflectional endings of adjectives, 13 of the 16 uses for verb endings, and 46 of the 60 uses for sentence final particles occur in *Hataraku!! indojin*. *Hataraku!! indojin* also contains the only use of katakana for a grammatical particle, a use of script that is definitely irregular in written Japanese (Backhouse, 1984). This is seen in Sasshi's statement “ワタシ他ニ仕事見つけた (watashi hoka ni shigoto mitsukatta, I found another job).

The data therefore shows a discrepancy between the extents to which non-native speakers are marked by katakana between the two manga. The source of this discrepancy likely relates to a contrast in the overarching themes of the series. *Indo meoto jawan* focuses primarily on Rinko, her job as a manga writer, her marriage, and her children. *Hataraku!! indojin* instead deals more specifically with Sasshi's initial years in Japan, and details the difficulties he and other foreigners face as they acquire competency in Japanese. Broadly speaking, increased nonstandard employment of

⁸⁰ For more in-depth descriptions of *zo*, see Hiramoto (2013) and Okamoto (1995).

katakana therefore occurs in the title where difficulties arising from lower language ability or non-Japanese identity are most relevant.

Further evidence for a connection between the amount of non-native specific katakana applications and a non-native speakers' Japanese ability is found by examining the specific panels where the marked katakana applications occur. Consider Excerpt 7.7, which comes from a scene in *Hataraku!! indojin* wherein Sashī is trying to get a job after just arriving in Japan. In addition to grammatical errors usually absent from Sashī's speech, which I have attempted to imitate in the English translation, the dialogue contains numerous marked orthographic features (highlighted in yellow). These features include one of the two uses of katakana for inflection in an adjective (in the construction 欲シイ, *hoshii*, desired) across the seven volumes. The author even comments on the dialogue in the panel via a handwritten note that states “この頃のサッちゃん日本語ってこんな感じ (This is what Sashī's Japanese was like at this time)”. In short, the author's goal in the scene is to convey that Sashī's Japanese is weaker than in other panels, and an increased nonstandard use of katakana appears to play a role in the creation of this message.

(7.7) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 31

Sashī: ハイ...ワタシ、インド人デスけど、仕事欲シイですが、ワタシにもデキルですか？お皿洗うもダイジョーブです。ハイ来月の14日から...ワカッタです。
hai... watashi, indojin desu kedo, shigoto hoshii desu ga watashi nimo dekiru desuka? o sara arau mo daijōbu desu. hai raigetsu no jūyokka kara...wakatta desu.
Yes, I am an Indian and I want a job but can I also do it is? Dish wash also fine. Yes, the 14th of next month, it is I understood.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the use of katakana in Figure 34. When Sashī attempts to make sense of a tax form in the right panel, most of the Japanese is written in katakana (highlighted). The dialogue in Figure 34 also includes the sole use of katakana for *desu* (あははーコレナンデスカー？, *ahahā kore nan desu kā?*, hahaha, what is this?) outside of *Hataraku!! indojin*, and the speech bubble labeled (2) contains one of the only three uses of katakana for verb inflection (ワタシ日本語わからナイ, *watashi nihongo wakaranai*, I don't understand Japanese) in any of the manga. However, in the left panel immediately following the marked utterance, wherein Sashī's linguistic difficulties are no longer as relevant, marked uses of katakana for any items besides *watashi* disappear.

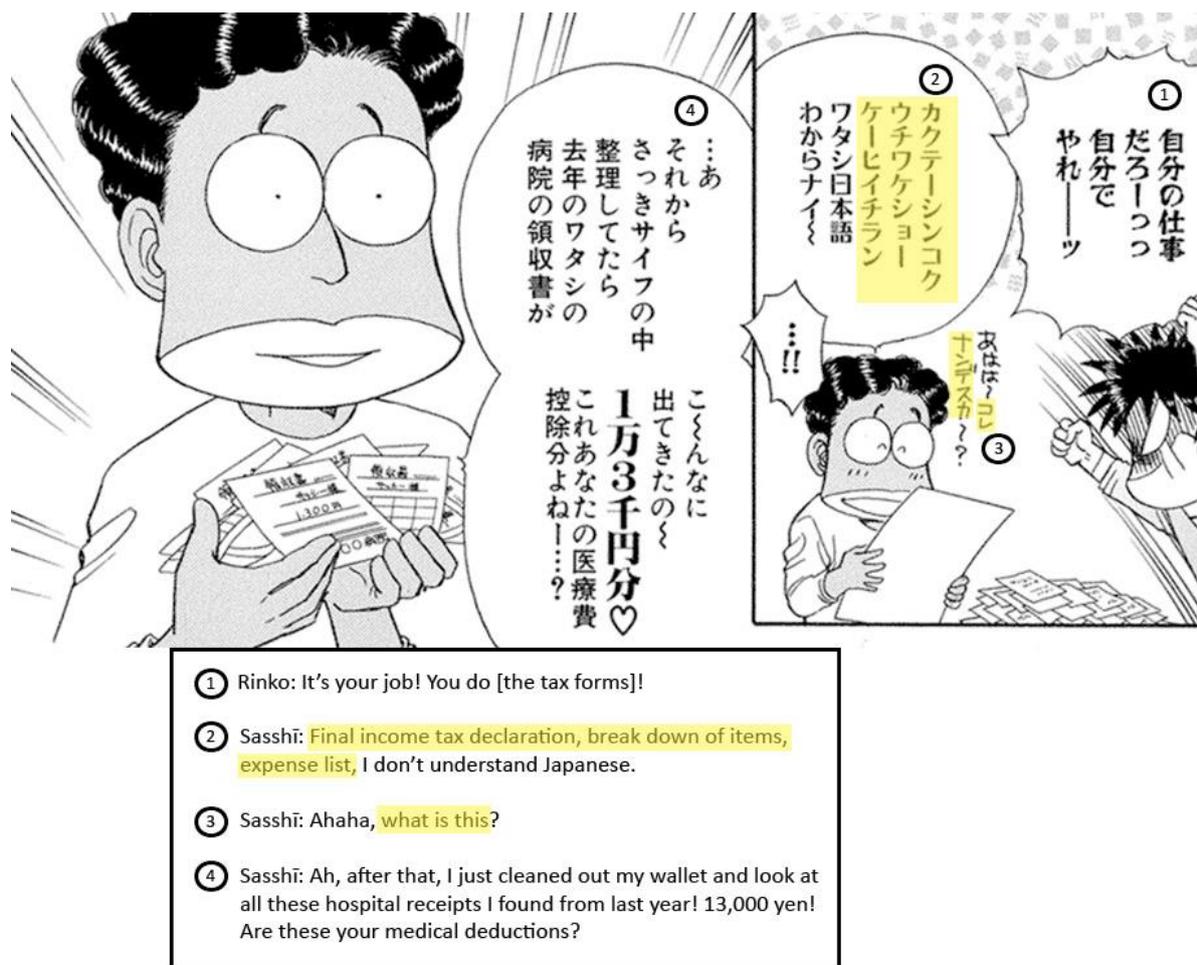


Figure 34: Sasshī's struggles with Japanese result in increased use of katakana (Vol. 6, p. 100).

As a result, it appears that within non-native dialogue the precise effect created by the katakana script is partially related to the amount of the script that is employed. Similar to how the amount of hiragana in children's speech in *Usagi doroppu* indexed different stages in their (academic) development (see 6.1.2), the author of *Indo meoto jawan* uses different amounts of katakana to express different levels of distance from native Japanese production/identity. Higher amounts of katakana are used to index weaker Japanese abilities, or stronger relevance of non-native speaker status, with the degree of the index's presence translating into degrees of alignment with an element of its field (here, non-native speakers and/or associated traits) or distance from the identities which are written in accordance with local norms (Androutsopoulos, 2000; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Preston, 1985).

The author seemed aware that she used different amounts of katakana to create different effects during the interview. When asked how a reader would interpret dialogue written entirely in katakana, she replied that “セリフ全てがカタカナの場合は、サッシーよりもっと日本語に慣

れていない感じを表しています” (If the dialogue was entirely in katakana, it would convey a feeling that the speaker is much less accustomed to Japanese than Sasshī), and went on to imply that fluent non-native speakers’ dialogue would not feature any nonstandard applications of katakana⁸¹. However, given that even skilled (and otherwise unmarked) non-native speakers use a kanji-standard representation of *watashi* in both titles, it is unclear what level of fluency is required before the Japanese of a non-native speaking character would be written to orthographically mirror the dialogue of native speakers. If such a character were to appear, however, the manga’s local standards would cause the speaker to be marked in relation to other non-native speakers. As a result of this constant contrast with other non-native speakers, the skilled speaker’s dialogue would not appear as native, but rather as deviating from the normative expectations for non-native speakers. In other words, in using katakana as the norm for items in non-native Japanese speech, the Japanese level of non-native speakers becomes subject to implicit or explicit commentary at all times regardless of the level of markedness. This idea has important implications, which will be discussed in depth in the following section.

7.1.3 Katakana as othering, katakana as endearing

For all the uses of katakana discussed so far, the author’s applications of the script recall Preston’s (1982, 1985) critiques of representations of accent in English described in 3.1.1. In both cases, authors are seen to utilize various nonstandard elements based on a desire to represent audible peculiarities of the speech, but the nonstandard elements are applied erratically and do not accurately represent any extant speech style (Hiramoto, 2009; Hirose, 2007; Ronkin & Karn, 1999). As such, while readers may associate the orthographic changes with a nonfluent voice, this is due to stereotypes and ideologies about specific scripts, linguistic norms, and/or speakers rather than precise lexical/phonetic reproduction of elements of an extant speech style/register (Miethaner, 2000; Rubin, 1995).

The author’s uses of katakana particular to non-native dialogue are therefore perhaps best described as a manner of orthographic othering. That is, although relying on the less studied orthographic channel, the indexing of non-native speaker identity through script is still “a process of representing an individual or a social group *to render them* distant, alien or deviant” (Coupland, 1999,

⁸¹ Original Japanese: 逆に [...] 完璧に漢字も含めて日本語ができる外国人のキャラクターであったらまた全く別のストーリーになったかもしれませんね (On the other hand [...] if Sasshī was a foreigner who could use Japanese perfectly, including kanji, it might be a completely different story).

p. 5, emphasis in original). In using a marked representation of non-native speaker's dialogue as a convention, the author participates in the top-down fixing or anchoring of what is considered normative reality (Coupland, 2010; M. Inoue, 2003a). The author's work reflects, perpetuates, and disseminates both the metalinguistic dialogues that allow katakana to index the foreign, and the social or linguistic ideologies that treat nonfluent paralinguistic features as an expected and attention-worthy consequence of being a non-native speaker (Davila, 2012; Jaffe, 2000). In this way, the author participates in what may be considered orthographic enregisterment, continuing and legitimizing a tradition of treating non-native Japanese production as deserving of orthographic commentary or attention which dates back to the 1920s at the latest (Agha, 2005; M. Inoue, 2004b; Kinsui, 2014; Narasaki, 2009; Robertson, 2013; Masami Shibata, 1998; Takamura, 1955).

However, it is also important to remember that othering does not always result from a negative or judgmental attitude towards the othered (Joseph, 2013). The data contains no evidence that Sashī and the other non-native speakers are othered because the author views them as “out-group members who are seen to ‘encroach’ on ‘our’ territory and compete for resources” (Jaworski & Coupland, 2005, p. 688). Rather, they are friends and partners, and the author's sympathy with their struggles to integrate into Japanese society is reflected in both the manga's narrative and her comments in the interview.

日本語をたどたどしくしゃべっている外国人のことを日本人は「かわいらしい」と感じるようです。私の読者が皆サッシーのことを「かわいい」と感じているようなのも、これが原因かもしれません。日本人には外国人コンプレックスのようなものがありますので、一生懸命日本語をしゃべってくれている外国人に対してなんだかホッとするような嬉しいような、そんなところがあるのかもしれません。

It seems that Japanese people feel that foreigners who have difficulty speaking Japanese are cute. This is probably also the reason why my readers think Sashī is cute. Japanese people have something like a foreigner complex, and so when they encounter a foreigner trying their hardest to speak Japanese, they might feel something like a sense of joy or relief.

While the non-native speakers in *Indo meoto jawan* are certainly marked and their Japanese production is constantly commented upon, the author's intent is not to mock them or portray their voice as inferior or of a lower semantic authority (for contrast, see Chun, 2009). Rather, in marking characters who are sympathetic or endearing protagonists in the manga's story, her work may play a

role in readers' socialization with culture-internal values or ideologies, mediating metapragmatic discourse about non-native Japanese speech and its producers (Agha, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Silverstein, 2003). Whether readers engage with, ignore, or reject this mediation is a question beyond the scope of this study. Still, the author's comments minimally show a change from Takemura's remarks in 1955 that "[a sentence written in katakana] better takes up the sound of broken, unfamiliar Japanese, and even adds a humorous feeling⁸²" (1955, p. 30), wherein katakana is described in relation to parody and mockery. It also lacks the clear discriminatory or hostile motivation behind the lexical or spelling-based methods of othering in many pre-20th century Japanese works, which were often used to mark foreign characters considered dangerous or deserving of contempt (Kinsui, 2014)⁸³.

7.2 Orthographic norms in the speech of children

A second type of character-limited orthographic variation within *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* is the removal or reduction of kanji in the dialogue of child characters. Kanji are replaced entirely by *kana*, usually hiragana, which causes the children's speech to orthographically resemble writing by (or aimed at) children in Japan (Seaton, 2001). This technique was also noted and discussed extensively in *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.1), and to a lesser extent in *Chokotan!* (see 5.1.2). The basic reason for the avoidance of kanji appears to be the same for all the authors, as the location of the script's removal evidences that the author treats kanji as incongruous with some aspect of their conception of a normative child identity. Like in *Usagi doroppu*, the data from the manga only explicitly shows kanji being avoided, but in the interview the author specifically stated that she felt the hiragana script was a better fit for children⁸⁴.

However, distinct differences exist between *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan* regarding how the uses of script in children's dialogue change as the characters grow and develop. Both the author of *Indo meoto jawan* and *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.1.2) gradually reintroduced kanji into children's speech, and both described this reintroduction as a way of marking *seichō katei* (成長過程, growth process) in their respective interviews. Unlike in *Usagi doroppu*, however, kanji's appearance

⁸² Original Japanese: [この書き方の方が]馴れない日本語のカタコトが採音されて、ユーモラスな実感さへ加はる。

⁸³ In particular, see the discussion of the *shina-jin* stereotype on p. 11-32.

⁸⁴ Original Japanese: 小さな子供のセリフはやはり「ひらがな」でゆっくりとしたリズムの方が合っている気がしています (For small children's dialogue, I feel that hiragana better matches the slow rhythm [of kids talking]).

in *Indo meoto jawan* does not coincide with defined academic development. The dialogue of Ashita (Rinko's son) is initially represented by *kana* (hiragana and katakana) alone, but his speech occasionally contains the basic kanji 子 (child), 女 (woman), and 食 (eat) by the end of the second volume. At this point, the character is around two years old. Although 子, 女, and 食 are all included in the list of kanji that should be learned by second grade (MEXT, 2014), Ashita has not actually entered elementary school at this point in the story. Fourteen distinct kanji (先, 生, 子, 赤, 何, 死, 立, 時, 絵, 紙, 気, 壁, 硬, and 水) are then used inconsistently in Ashita's speech in the third volume, when the character is around three years old. There is no commonality between these particular kanji in terms of when they are taught in school, and they are certainly not learned by students Ashita's age in Japan (MEXT, 2014). By the fourth volume, when Ashita is four years old, individual excerpts of Ashita's dialogue are often orthographically indistinguishable from that of adults, but hiragana still occasionally replaces kanji in an almost random manner. The use of kanji in Aruna's (Ashita's younger sister by two years) dialogue develops similarly, with basic kanji first introduced into her speech in the fourth volume. Differences in the two children's development are therefore indexed through the extent to which their speech contains the kanji script, which is similar to how increased katakana was seen to stress poor Japanese ability in 7.1.2.

The strategy of indexing children's growth through increasing the amount of kanji in their speech therefore appears in both *Indo meoto jawan* and *Usagi doroppu*, but the nuances of how the script is reintroduced and what the reintroduction is specifically intended to convey are dependent on the individual authors. In *Usagi doroppu*, the children's educational development was reflected in the appearance of specific kanji, and links between kanji and academic ability ran throughout the entire manga. In *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin*, the reintroduction of kanji into children's dialogue is still gradual (and inconsistent). However, the kanji appear much earlier in the children's lives. The selection of specific kanji also does not seem to be important, as the kanji are not part of any official lists, and the speed of the script's introduction outstrips the development of children's literacy. Aruna even produces the non-*jōyō* kanji 苺 (*ichigo*, strawberry) by the age of three, which is not officially taught at any level of mandatory schooling (MEXT, 1981).

The differences between how the authors of *Indo meoto jawan* and *Usagi doroppu* reintroduce kanji into children's dialogue show that the application of the kanji script in *Indo meoto jawan* is used to index a more general level and type of maturation than in *Usagi doroppu*. As children develop distinct personalities, and perhaps lose the particular rhythm of speech the author refers to in her quotes from the interview, their speech begins to orthographically mirror that of adults. For the author, this development begins around the age of three or four. As a result, children

who would still have their dialogue written in *kana* alone in *Usagi doroppu* and *Chokotan!* are almost orthographically indistinguishable from adults in *Indo meoto jawan*. What we know about a child with kanji in their speech is therefore different in each manga, as each author avoids kanji or increases the presence of hiragana to index different definitions or aspects of a child(-like) identity. Dialogue that is normative to children in *Indo meoto jawan* would index a child genius in *Usagi doroppu* (see the author's quotes in 6.1.2), whereas dialogue normative to six year old children in *Usagi doroppu* would cause the child-speaker to appear more juvenile than their peers in *Indo meoto jawan*.

7.2.1 Indexing mock-adulthood in the speech of infants

Finally, although kanji is not part of the conventional representation of the dialogue of children below the age of two or three in *Indo meoto jawan*, the author occasionally utilizes kanji in the speech of infants who are not actually able to talk. As will be shown in this section, the author appears to use kanji in these situations (along with the dialogue itself) to create the humorous or ironic effect which can result from the application of a variant without certain generally assumed co-occurring signs, or in a location treated as otherwise incongruous with its indexical field (Hill, 2005; Sadanobu, 2005b; Silverstein, 2003; Tetreault, 2002). That is, the use of kanji is an orthographic part of how the author causes infant speakers to comically perform "adulthood". The script's presence is used to endow the children with more conscious agency, planning, and cunning than they actually possess, while also building on and strengthening naturalized understandings of the speakers' distance from kanji's indexical field (and vice versa).

As an initial example, consider the dialogue in Excerpt 7.8. This excerpt is taken from a scene where four infants are fighting over a toy car. The infants are all below an age where they can actually speak, but throughout the quarrel the author gives each character dialogue which contains multiple uses of kanji, including kanji outside the *jōyō* kanji list. Furthermore, in addition to the kanji, the dialogue contains multiple instances of ancient or obsolete vocabulary and grammar which would not be out of place in a samurai-period drama (Hiramoto, 2009; Kinsui, 2003). Even ignoring script, we can see from the lexical content of the excerpt that the author is trying to be humorous, with the effect perhaps analogous to if Shakespearian or Chaucerian dialogue were placed in a child's dialogue in English. However, script is also clearly an important part of creating this effect in Japanese. The lexical, grammatical, and orthographic elements are all selected by the author to

index a level of gravity or formality which is amusingly out of place, given that we are observing a meaningless squabble over a toy by infants in the 21st century.

(7.8) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 2, p. 8

- Child 1: 何をするッ、無礼者ッ。
nani o suru, bureimono.
What are you doing, you rude fellow?
- Child 2: 私に逆らうとは許さ一ん。
watashi ni sakarau to wa yurusān.
I will not forgive actions against me.
- Ashita: この慮外者め、手打ちにしてくれる。
kono ryogaimonome, teuchi ni shite kureru.
You insolent rogue, I'll see you dead by my own hands.
- Child 2: 天誅ッ。
tenchū.
Divine punishment upon thee!
- Child 3: 理由は知らねども助太刀いたす。
riyū wa shirane domo, sukedachi itasu.
I do not understand the reasons for this quarrel, but I shall humbly lend my sword.

Another example of kanji used for humorous effect in infant dialogue can be seen in Figure 35. This panel comes from the end of a story where Ashita becomes ill. In the story, Rinko and her mother try a number of strategies to cure Ashita, only to find out from the doctor that everything they did was either ineffective or dangerous. After Rinko and her mother take Ashita home, Rinko (as the narrator) states that raising a child requires daily devotion and learning. Ashita, who is not yet actually able to speak, then closes the story by responding to Rinko's statement with the comment “勉強させてやっとなるんじゃ。へへへ。” (*benkyō sasete yattoran ja. hehehe*, I'll make you study. Hehehe.)⁸⁵. As seen in Figure 35, this dialogue is combined with a grin and sly laughter, with Ashita's dialogue implying that Rinko's learning is an intentional plot on his part. Again, kanji therefore appear in the infant Ashita's dialogue in a scene where he is presented as if he was fully conscious of his actions.

⁸⁵ This translation is literal and slightly unnatural in English, but is done to preserve the verb “to make” in order to facilitate explanation. A less literal translation would be “There's a lot more studying to come... hehehe...”.



Figure 35: Ashita's dialogue lexically and orthographically resembles professorial speech (Vol. 2, p. 88).

Furthermore, like the dialogue from the quarrel analyzed previously, the kanji's inclusion occurs in tandem with lexical items used in manga as indexes of a stereotyped older voice. The construction *させてやっとなんじゃ* (*sasete yattoru ja*, to make/cause/allow to do) is a marked form of *sasete yaru*, with *yattoru* and *+n ja* common markers of elderly, professorial dialogue in Japanese (Kinsui, 2003). In short, the author is again using both lexical and orthographic means to present the infant as though they were a stereotyped adult character (here, a scheming elderly professor).

In the interview, the author made a few comments about her uses of kanji in infant's speech, describing it as creating a cheeky, adult, or cynical effect⁸⁶. While lexical items are obviously part of this effect's creation, the author did not refer to them, minimally indicating that she considered the application of kanji a vital part of the technique. What is particularly interesting about this effect is that the author appears to believe that readers will interpret it automatically, as the use of kanji-heavy children's dialogue appears before children actually begin to speak. In other words, the author relies on an assumption that her readership's prior orthographic socialization, i.e., their expectations of kanji-absent children's dialogue resulting from prior encounters with manga and similar texts, will

⁸⁶ Original Japanese, in response to a question about how she would interpret children's dialogue written entirely in kanji: 小生意気に見えるでしょうねー。まあでもたまにわざと子供に漢字の多い大人びたセリフをしゃべらせる事もあります。そういうセリフの表現はシニカルな感じで好きです (It might make them look cheeky. Well, actually sometimes I intentionally make children speak a kanji-filled adult looking dialogue. I enjoy the cynical feel of that dialogue).

allow readers to access her intended effect despite a lack of prior representations of children's speech in the manga itself to establish a local kanji-absent standard.

7.3 General orthographic variation

While clear uses of script as an index exist in the speech of children and non-native speakers, the inconsistency of the general script use throughout *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* made it so that comparisons of variants within the contexts they occurred did not uncover many convincing trends evidencing the use of script for effect. In all the manga analyzed so far, the use of script for a number of words has varied in ways that this study could not convincingly attribute to a specific motive. The size of this set in *Hataraku!! indojin* and *Indo meoto jawan* far exceeds the other analyzed manga. Selections of script throughout the manga are unpredictable and inconsistent, and contrasting representations of a word can even frequently be found between volumes, chapters, conversations, and even sentences.

A sample of the extensive orthographic variation in the two manga series is presented in Table 9. So that comparisons between each manga's localized conventions can be made, all words in tables from earlier sections (see Table 6 and Table 7) are included in Table 9 if they also appeared in multiple scripts in *Hataraku!! indojin* and *Indo meoto jawan*. Words that were used over 20 times across *Hataraku!! indojin* and *Indo meoto jawan* are also shown, unless one script accounted for over 90% of the word's representations. The reason that only a limited selection of vocabulary is presented in Table 9 is because my comparison of the contexts where each variant was used found that the high amount of variation and inconsistency inherent to the author's writing style made the motives for the vast majority of script use difficult, if not impossible, to evidence or explain with any degree of confidence. To give some examples of the manga's orthographic inconsistency, the word *kutsu* (shoe) is written in kanji in the fourth volume of *Indo meoto jawan*, but appears in hiragana in the second, fifth, and sixth volumes⁸⁷. Similarly, the stem of the adjective *samui* (cold) is written exclusively in hiragana in Volume 1; and exclusively in kanji in Volume 4, 6, and *Hataraku!! indojin*. Representation of *samui*'s stem varies throughout Volume 2, however, represented by hiragana in Chapter 10 and kanji in Chapter 12.

⁸⁷ The word is rendered in hiragana in compounds that have *kutsu* as a part of them, specifically *kutsushita* (socks) and *kutsubako* (shoe box).

Word	Translation	# in hiragana	# in katakana	# in kanji	Preference
anta	you	64	28	0	Hiragana (69.6%)
atashi	I	39	184	0	Katakana (82.5%)
binbō	poor	0	7	15	Kanji (68.2%)
chigau	to be different/wrong	43	0	36	Hiragana (54.4%)
daijōbu	okay	6	4	72	Kanji (87.8%)
dame	no good/wrong	4	82	0	Katakana (95.3%)
dare	who	13	0	41	Kanji (75.9%)
futsū	normal	1	15	1	Katakana (88.2%)
ganbaru	to do one's best/try hard	24	38	5	Katakana (56.7%)
genkō	draft	0	7	29	Kanji (80.6%)
hazu	should be	2	2	0	Equal between kana
hazukashii	embarrassing	2	1	13	Kanji (81.2%)
hen	strange	2	21	7	Katakana (70%)
hito	person	2	22	165	Kanji (87.3%)
hoka	other	19	0	30	Kanji (61.2%)
honto(hontō)	honest/really	19	83	54	Katakana (53.2%)
irasshaimase	welcome	7	17	0	Katakana (70.8%)
iroiro	various	39	2	0	Hiragana (95.1%)
issho	together	5	0	34	Kanji (87.2%)
itai	painful/it hurts	19	8	37	Kanji (57.8%)
iya	unpleasant/undesirable	4	24	0	Katakana (85.7%)
kanji	feeling/sense	1	6	5	Katakana (50%)
kawaii	cute	26	26	3	No script over 50%
kedo	but	194	11	0	Hiragana (94.6%)
kekkon	marriage	0	15	55	Kanji (78.6%)
kimochi	feeling	0	14	18	Kanji (56.2%)
kirei	pretty	2	24	0	Katakana (92.3%)
kizu	injury/scar	0	3	11	Kanji (78.6%)
ko	child	0	29	129	Kanji (81.6%)
kowai	scary	8	37	13	Katakana (63.8%)
kudasai	please	40	1	10	Hiragana (78.4%)
kurushii	painful/rough	4	0	17	Kanji (80.9%)
machigau	to be incorrect	5	1	9	Kanji (60%)
manga	manga	0	96	5	Katakana (95%)
matsu	to wait	3	0	19	Kanji (86.4%)
mattaku	completely	28	0	5	Hiragana (84.8%)
mendō	difficulty	8	2	30	Kanji (75%)
minna	everyone/every	70	0	35	Hiragana (66.7%)
muri	impossible	0	12	2	Katakana (85.7%)
nan/nani	what	222	8	231	Kanji (50.1%)
omae	you	28	2	24	Hiragana (51.8%)
sugi(ru)	too/excessive	67	0	9	Hiragana (88.2%)
suki	like	0	11	68	Kanji (86.1%)
sutegana (all)	[indicates extended vowel]	165	54	0	Hiragana (75.3%)
tachi	(suffix indicating plurals)	163	9	14	Hiragana (87.6%)
taihen	awful	6	2	85	Kanji (91.4%)
tashika (ni)	certain(ly)	11	0	29	Kanji (72.5%)
uchi	I	30	50	0	Katakana (62.5%)
ureshii	happy	10	8	6	No script over 50%
wake	reason	56	13	9	Hiragana (71.8%)
yatsu	person	5	22	8	Katakana (62.9%)
yoi	good	43	0	32	Hiragana (66.1%)
yoroshiku	good/best regards	15	9	0	Hiragana (62.5%)
zenzen	not at all	24	2	20	Hiragana (52.2%)
zettai	absolutely	17	1	40	Kanji (70%)

Table 9: A selection of words represented by multiple scripts in *Hataraku!! indojin* and *Indo meoto jawan*.

Even in the case of representations which are locally nonstandard and directly contrast with a locally standard representation on the same page, the study was unable to declaratively evidence the motives for the variation by comparing the two excerpts of dialogue. The word *hodo* (about)

stands as a typical example of this difficulty. Only one use of kanji for *hodo* exists in any of the seven volumes, as the word is written in hiragana the other nine times it appears. The kanji representation is applied directly below a locally standard use of hiragana for *hodo*. Unlike some of the inter-page contrasts seen in *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.2), however, no difference in meaning, speaker, or context exists between the two uses of *hodo*. It is possible that previously discussed considerations, such as the space in a speech bubble, could have caused the change in scripts, but this explanation still risks dismissal as speculation.

(7.9) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 3, p. 122

Rinko: お茶を飲むと、必ず下から 5 mm ほど茶を飲み残す。
ocha o nomu to, kanarazu shita kara go mirimētoru hodo cha o nominokosu.
When [Sasshī] drinks tea, he always leaves about 5 millimeters at the bottom.

(7.10) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 3, p. 122

Rinko: その上, サッシーが通った後は必ず扉が 5 cm 程開いたままである。
sono ue, sasshī ga tōtta ato wa kanarazu tobira ga go cenchimētoru hodo aita mama de aru.
Furthermore, after Sasshī passes through a door it will be left open about 5 centimeters.

The selection of individual kanji is also occasionally subject to seemingly random changes, with the reasons again difficult to attribute to anything other than the author's predilections at the time of writing (Rowe, 1981; Takashima, 2001). For instance, the word *isshōkenmei* (very hard) appears as 一生懸命 in *Hataraku!! indojin*, but as 一生けん命 throughout *Indo meoto jawan*. Even more complex is the variation for the word *shimekiri* (deadline). *Shimekiri* appears in *Hataraku!! indojin* as either 締め切り or 〆切り. The former variant is limited to *Hataraku!! indojin*, but 〆切り also appears in the fourth and sixth volumes of *Indo meoto jawan*. However, the most common representation in all volumes of *Indo meoto jawan* is 締め切り, which is never used in *Hataraku!! indojin*. As with changes between scripts, the changes to the use of kanji are also found within single volumes. The verb *nariyamazu* (to ring endlessly) appears in *Hataraku!! indojin* as 鳴り止まず at the end of the 11th chapter, and 鳴りやまず two pages later at the beginning of the 12th, and the word *fukushū* (revenge) changes from 復しゅう to 復讐 between chapters of the sixth volume of *Indo meoto jawan*.

This is not to say that variation is always random or untraceable. For the verb *umu* (to give birth), variation is predominantly tied to the word's grammatical form. The first mora (*u*) is represented by the character 生 in the passive form (*umareru*, to be born) and by 産 for the casual

present, past tense, and *te*-forms (*umu*, *unda* and *unde*, respectively) on all but one occasion for each kanji. Also, one locally nonstandard use of katakana aligns with the arguments of researchers like Maree (2013), Neustupny (1985), and Rowe (1976) that the script is used to write words employed for their erotic or sexual secondary meanings. In a panel from the third volume, a taxi driver sexually propositions Rinko with the phrase “*boku to ii koto shina?*”, which literally translates as “won’t you do good things with me?”. The words *ii koto* themselves mean “good things”, and each word is normatively written in either hiragana or kanji in the manga. However, given the vulgar and sexual context of this statement, with the speaker lifting his shirt and showing the outline of his erection while he talks, the phrase “good things” in this context connotes sexual activity, and *ii koto* is rendered in katakana.

Examples like the above are rare, however, with most orthographic variation occurring without any relation to grammatical form or contextual meaning that could be identified using the methods of analysis employed in this study. Furthermore, additional difficulty in explaining any particular instance of variation comes from the manga’s low number of reoccurring adult characters. As an autobiographical manga, the text inside is linked to Rinko in the majority of cases. Most variation therefore originates within Rinko’s speech itself, rather than between a variety of reoccurring adult characters whose identities can be contrasted. Minor characters also are rarely detailed or used in multiple stories, which makes it hard to explain why a single nonstandard variant might occur in their speech unless they are a non-native speaker. Finally, unlike the author’s notes in *Chokotan!* (see 5.3) no consistent orthographic differentiation exists between narrative text and dialogue. The use of kanji is higher for certain words in Rinko’s dialogue than it is in her narration, and vice versa.

As a representative example of all of the issues detailed in the preceding paragraphs, see Figure 36 below. On the right side of the horizontal panel at the top of the excerpt, the narration is written in a semi-formal grammatical style, and the word *kibishii* (strict) appears in hiragana. In the bottom right panel, the representation of the word’s stem is instead written in kanji in the grammatically casual dialogue of a non-native speaker named Soma. In both sections of text, *kibishii* is followed by some form of the verb *naru* (to become), and describes the same topic (immigration law), so there is no difference between its contextual meanings. Furthermore, contrary to what may be expected based on the indexical fields of each script evidenced so far, the non-native and less grammatically formal dialogue features the kanji variant.

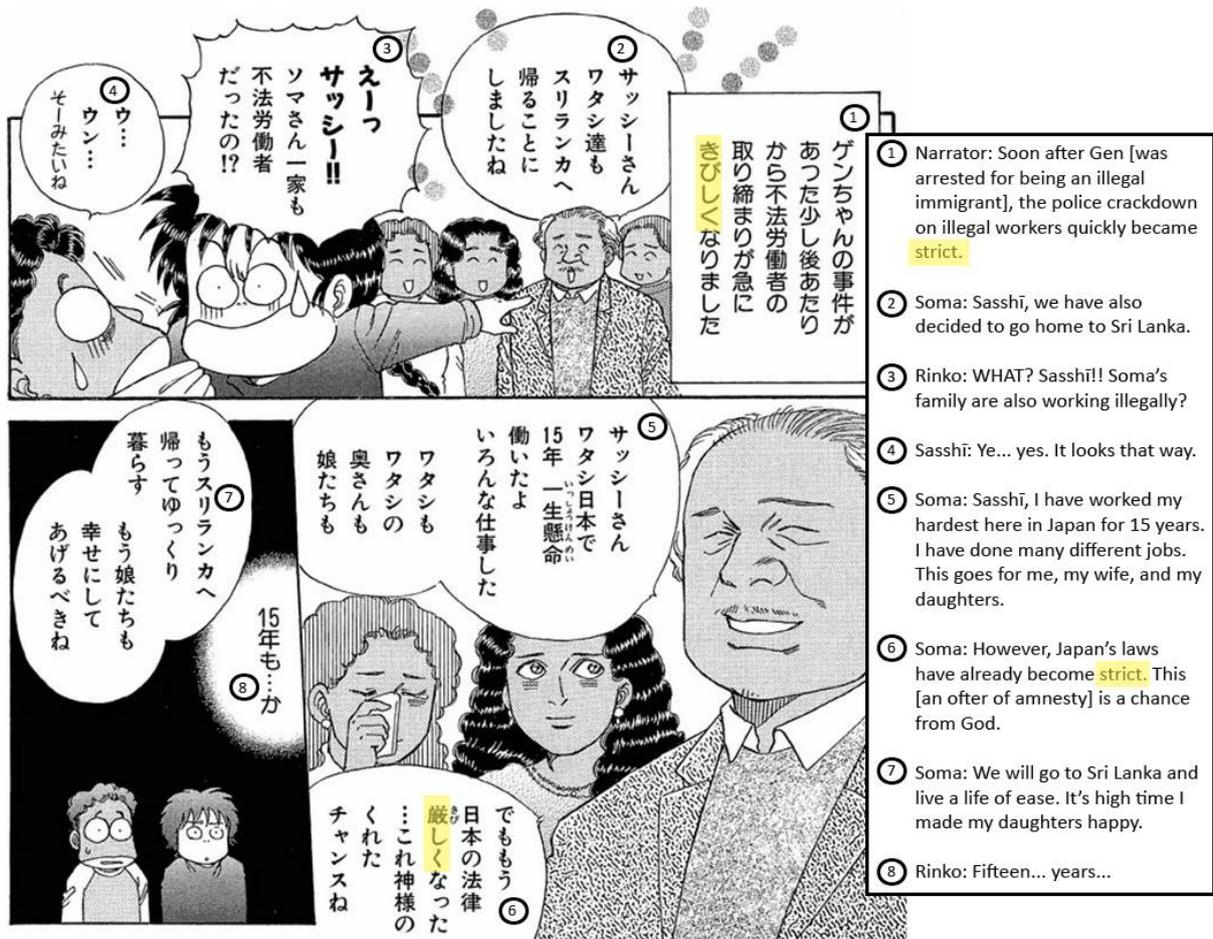


Figure 36: Variation is often difficult to explain (*Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 76).

As a result, defining why the author used kanji in one panel and hiragana in another is difficult, and could relate from anything to the size of the speech bubble to the caprice of the author. However, while we therefore must be very cautious in stating that any particular panel of *Indo meoto jawan* or *Hataraku!! Indojin* contains orthographic variation intended for a particular effect, this does not mean that the author is not using script to create meaning. Keeping the difficulties created by the overall variation in mind, I will now present a few selections of script which appear to be intended to convey something about the dialogue they appear within, with the analysis focusing on selections which are extremely uncommon in the manga, or which were confirmed as intentional by the author during the interview.

First, the author confirmed that she sometimes uses hiragana in adult speech to mark a character as silly or childish. The clearest evidence for this comes from the scenes below in Figure 37. In the panels that precede Figure 37, Sasshī and Rinko are quarreling angrily. As they fight, Ashita stands up for the first time (top right of Figure 37). At this point Sasshī and Rinko's argument comes to an abrupt stop, and the two begin to joyfully dance together (bottom left of Figure 37).

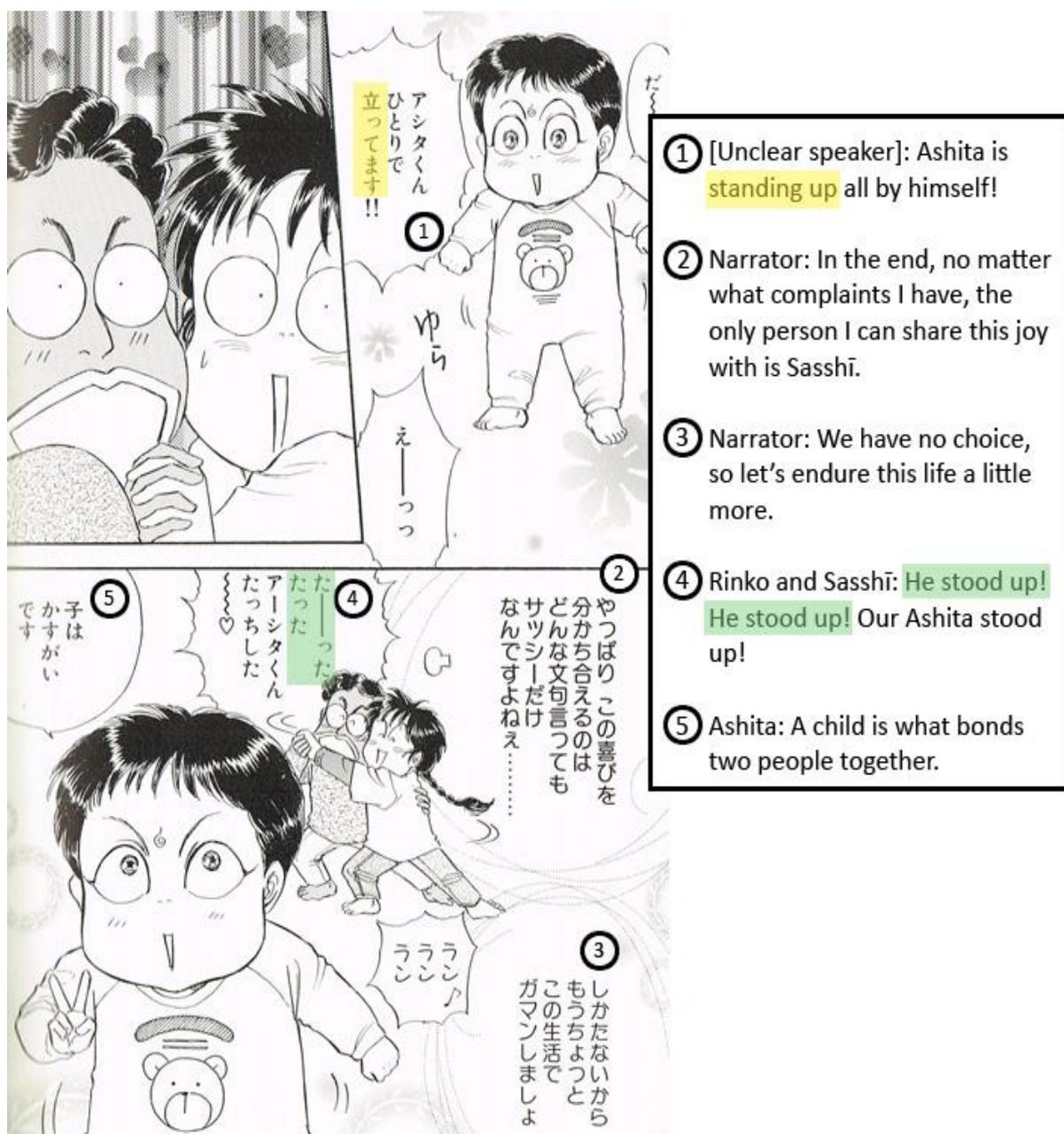


Figure 37: Rinko and Sashī dance with joy at seeing Ashita stand up (Vol. 1, p. 164).

Throughout these events, forms of the word *tatsu* (to stand) are written three times. The first use of *tatsu* (highlighted in yellow) is rendered in the polite present progressive form *tatteimasu* (standing), and the verb stem is represented by kanji in accordance with local conventions. The second and third uses of *tatsu* (highlighted in green) occur while Sashī and Rinko are dancing. These two uses of *tatsu* are rendered in hiragana as *tatta* (stood), the casual past tense form of *tatsu*, and followed by the synonym *tacchi shita* (たちした, stood). The two uses of hiragana for *tatta* in

Figure 37 are the only times any form of *tatsu* is represented by hiragana in adult speech in the manga.

When asked about the uses of script in Figure 37, the author stated that she wrote *tatta* in hiragana because the parents are “so filled with joy that they are talking like children and dancing”⁸⁸. This child-like behavior was also given as the reason for the selection of the words *tatta* and *tacchi shita* themselves, which the author describes as elements of baby talk⁸⁹. In Figure 37 we therefore see a reversal of the author’s use of kanji and archaic vocabulary in infant’s speech discussed in 7.2.1, as lexical and orthographic indexes of childishness are applied to adult dialogue to convey Sashī and Rinko’s performance of child-like joy⁹⁰. At the same time, Ashita’s dialogue in the panel contains kanji when he closes the story with the Japanese idiom “子はかすがいです (A child is what bonds two people together)” (Shinyōjiyōgokenkyūkai, 2007). In this statement the author again uses the kanji script for humorous effect in the speech of an infant to create what she calls a cynical, adult-like dialogue⁹¹, with the expected lexical and orthographic elements of every character’s speech reversed on the page.

While on the subject of locally nonstandard uses of kanji, there is also some evidence that kanji variants of first person pronouns can result from a relationship between a speaker’s identity and a script’s associations. Adult male Japanese speakers in the manga use the first person pronoun *boku* a combined total of ten times, but the only time the word is written in kanji is in the speech of a Japanese man who employs Sashī at his restaurant. Kanji is not used exclusively for *boku* in his dialogue, but it is the word’s most common representation, and accounts for two of his three uses of *boku*. As can be seen in the excerpts below, the kanji appear in both casual and formal speech styles. This prevents any explanation of the selections as context-dependent variants. The use of kanji for *boku* may therefore relate to the character’s identity, similar to the script’s use in *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.3.2), as the character is calm, well-dressed, and described by the author as dashing or smart (*sassō toshita hito*). However, given that this is a minor character who only uses *boku* three times, it is difficult to ensure that this variation is part of a trend, or trace the exact aspects of his character

⁸⁸ Original Japanese: ここは親が嬉しさのあまり赤ちゃん言葉で踊っている。

⁸⁹ Original Japanese: たった、たちした、はまさに赤ちゃん言葉と言われるものです, (*tatta* and *tacchi shita* are called baby talk [lit: baby words]).

⁹⁰ *Tatta* is also the standard plain past-tense form of *tachimasu*, and unlike *tacchi shita* would not necessarily be out of place in adult dialogue.

⁹¹ Original Japanese:しゃべれないはずの赤ん坊が、シニカルな大人びたセリフを言ってオチにする、という典型的な終わり方ですね (It’s the typical joke ending where the child who shouldn’t be able to speak at all is given a cynical, adult-like dialogue).

that result in the appearance of a kanji baseline, with the variation primarily of interest due to the attention to pronoun representation we have seen across multiple manga so far.

(7.11) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 51

Boss: じゃ、これボクやるから。
 ja, kore boku yaru kara.
 Here, I will hold the sign [so go help in the kitchen]

(7.12) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 51

Boss: でも、僕はお客様はもちろん、働いてる人間も楽しく働ける店に
 したいんです。
 demo, boku wa okyakusama wa mochiron, hataraiteru ningen mo tanoshiku
 mise ni shitaindesu.
 But I want to make the restaurant into a place that is fun for customers, of
 course, and also for employees to work.

(7.13) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 56

Boss: 今度横浜にできたウチの新しい店で僕と働いてくれない？
 kondo yokohama ni dekita uchi no atarashii mise de boku to hataraitte
 kurenai?
 Won't you come work with me in my new restaurant in Yokohama?

Finally, the author also appears to use katakana in a locally nonstandard manner to index incomprehension. As may be expected, this phenomenon is most common in Sasshī's dialogue, but examples can be found in native speakers' dialogue as well. In all of the excerpts below, a speaker is expressing unfamiliarity or confusion in relation to a particular word or its meaning, and consequently reproduces the word in katakana. In Excerpts 7.15 and 7.16, which both come from Sasshī's speech, the word *nani* (what, highlighted in green) is changed to katakana as well.

(7.14) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 1, p. 121

Rinko: ジドーホゴカ？ なんじゃこの手紙？
 jidōhogoka? nanja kono tegami?
 Public Childcare Assistance Division? What the heck is this letter?

(7.15) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 1, p. 88

Sasshī: 「ヒキツケ」ってナニ！？ 英語で言ってよ。ワタシわからない。
 hikitsuke tte nani!? eigo de itte yo. watashi wakaranai.
 What are "convulsions"? Say it in English. I don't understand.

(7.16) *Hataraku!! indojin*, p. 40

Sasshī: ショーガッコーってナニ？

shōgakkō tte *nam?*,
What's an elementary school?

The author's selections of katakana in Excerpts 7.14, 7.15, and 7.16 contrast with how incomprehension was indexed in the other two manga series. All three authors removed kanji from dialogue when a character does not understand a word, but the authors of *Chokotan!* and *Usagi doroppu* replaced the kanji with hiragana rather than katakana. Once again, we therefore see that although the removal of kanji (and consequent distancing from its indexical field) appears to be primary, hiragana is not necessarily an automatic or default replacement, as the author of *Indo meoto jawan* finds katakana more appropriate for the intended effect. Certainly, the author of *Usagi doroppu* did use katakana to mark incomprehension once, but that selection more specifically resulted from a character mispronouncing a word he could not read rather than the repetition of a word he was unfamiliar with.

On the other hand, the author of *Indo meoto jawan* does occasionally use hiragana to mark incomprehension when a character does not understand a word that is otherwise written in katakana. For example, katakana is the manga's standard script for the word *mantohihi* (hamadryas baboon), but *mantohihi* is instead written in hiragana when both Aruna and Sasshī ask its meaning. This implies that while the author prefers katakana to index confusion due to the script's particular associations, any script is acceptable so long as it is clearly discernible as a nonstandard (or in the use of hiragana for loanwords even incorrect) representation. However, as with much of the variation in the manga, this phenomenon is not consistent. Katakana is also the local representation for the word *kago* (basket), but the word is still written in katakana when Sasshī asks what it means.

Ultimately, despite the large amount of variation in the manga, a few locally nonstandard uses of each script do provide evidence of each script's use as an index. Some techniques, such as marking childishness with hiragana or incomprehension through the removal of kanji, echo those seen the other manga, although distinct differences exist regarding the nuances of how this author creates each particular effect. While it is more difficult to analyze script use for effect in the general dialogue, script selection plays a role in the author's creation of effect by her own admission, and she refers to orthography as an aspect of her work which she would not want to be changed⁹².

⁹² Original Japanese: 編集者は作家が書いたセリフを勝手に相談なく変えるという事はしません。もし、そんなことをしたら作家は激怒することでしょう!!!だって苦勞して作ってますから~!!! (Editors do not change the script without consulting the author. If they did, the author would be furious!!! We've labored over it after all!!!)

7.4 Summary

The clearest uses of script for effect throughout *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* come from the dialogue of non-native speakers. The author utilizes long asserted links between katakana and foreignness for effect (Gardner, 2006; Yajima, 1968), with the author's conception of non-native identity and corresponding assumptions of Japanese ability and accent all conveyed through interacting uses of the script. In marking this group, the manga also shows the first use of orthographic indexes for the purposes of othering found in this study. This othering does not occur in an intentionally mocking manner, but the autobiographical nature of the manga allows the author to literally distance herself from the non-native speakers via an orthographic channel.

Furthermore, in comparing the dialogue of individual non-native speakers, non-native speakers and younger versions of themselves, or children of different ages, the data found that the amount of script used in a marked fashion was part of how particular effects were indexed. Different levels of alignment with a particular element of a script's indexical field were conveyed through different levels of the script's marked use, or different levels of distance from the manga's local standards. This technique allowed the amount of locally marked katakana or kanji representation in a character's dialogue to indicate different levels of (academic/mental/linguistic) development.

Finally, some individual examples of orthographic variation within specific excerpts of dialogue evidenced uses of each script to create effects relating to speakers' behavior in specific scenes. The author also explicitly referred to associations she holds about each script in the questionnaire, and even connected many specific associations to the same sources as the linguistics and authors surveyed in Chapter 3. Ultimately though, this manga's orthographic conventions are much more flexible than those of the other titles, with even inter-panel contrasts often not related to any motives this study could clearly evidence. The author's uses of script stand as a stark example of the importance of examining script use for effect throughout entire texts, as they show that even instances of highly irregular or clearly locally marked script use that look meaningful upon initial review can still be part of the general variation within a localized writing style, with locally nonstandard script use and purposeful script use not necessarily synonymous.

Chapter 8: Discussion

Over the course of the last three chapters, this study has evidenced indexical connections between script and social meaning or values, and investigated the nuances of how authors use script to create meaning throughout their texts. This chapter will organize the various findings from the last three chapters, and compare and contrast them in relation to prior understandings of how and why orthographic variation contributes to the meaning of Japanese writing.

Chapter 8 progresses in line with the order of the study's research questions (see 1.2). First, it presents the elements of each script's indexical field that were evidenced during analysis. Special attention is paid to unexpected connections noted in the manga, and the implications of differences between what was evidenced in each work. The second section focuses on how each author uses script to index meaning, and looks at how authors guided the effect created by any specific use of script. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion of what the uses of orthographic variation by each author contributes to our understanding of the roles of script and script selection in Japanese.

8.1 Indexical connections with script

The first phase of this thesis involved searching for consistent variation in the representation of dialogue between characters or definable contexts and behaviors. In doing so, the study produced evidence for the existence of indexical connections based upon trends observed throughout entire texts. As predicted, most of the evidenced connections were similar to those asserted or shown to exist in prior studies. However, the specifics of what each script was used to index were not uniform between each text, and an author's intended effect was often more targeted or individual than can be seen in broad descriptions of any script's indexical field. In 8.1 I will begin by summarizing the "constellation of meanings" (Eckert, 2008, p. 464) found connected to each individual script. Afterwards, I discuss the evidenced links between the orthographic conventions of standard written Japanese and specific social voices or levels of formality. I then contrast the findings from each manga, and consider the implications of the differences between them.

8.1.1 The indexical field of kanji

Analysis of the orthographic variation in each manga found links between kanji and maturity, education, (academic) comprehension, and what can be broadly described as an author's conception

of normative adulthood. The most direct evidence for this claim comes from the situations where all kanji were removed from dialogue. Each author treated kanji as incongruous with the dialogue of characters below a certain age or level of maturity, particularly young children and rough or flamboyant males, and utilized *kana* instead of kanji throughout these characters' speech.

Further evidence that maturity or intellectual/scholastic ability are elements of kanji's indexical field was seen in the common reduction or removal of the script to convey that a character is upset or acting immature, or to mark their lack of education, comprehension, or literacy in relation to their interlocutor. For example, in *Chokotan!* the author frequently removed kanji from the human protagonist's speech when she was sad or embarrassed (e.g., Figure 12), and the authors of *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan* removed kanji from the dialogue of (both native and non-native speaking) characters who were unaware of the meaning or reading of a Japanese word or phrase (see 6.2 and 7.3). Similarly, childish speech by adults in *Indo meoto jawan* was partially marked by the removal of kanji, and the script was also avoided for the pronouns used by rougher males in *Usagi doroppu*. The absence of kanji in all the above cases indicates indexical connections between the script and levels of behavior, composure, or knowledge that an author treats as normative for adult characters. This finding closely aligns with common discussions of the feel or image of the kanji script (Akizuki, 2005; R. A. Brown, 1985; Unger, 1984).

Nonstandard applications of kanji primarily mirrored or reinforced the finding that kanji indexes maturity or intelligence, but the contexts of their application evidenced some additional indexical links as well. By "nonstandard applications of kanji", I am referring to two distinct phenomena: (1) the use of the kanji script for words an author normally represents in *kana*, and (2) the replacement of common kanji with difficult or archaic variants that are not otherwise present in the manga, and are not listed in dictionaries or similar texts as marking a difference in the represented word's meaning(s) (see Shinchōsha, 2009; Shirakawa, 2003; Takashima, 2001).

In multiple manga, locally standard hiragana or katakana representations of words repeatedly changed to kanji in the dialogue of characters who were speaking with more politeness or gravity than found in their normative speech styles, and local *kana* standards were replaced by kanji standards in the dialogue of characters who were more decorous, mature, or pretentious than their peers in the same text. For instance, in *Usagi doroppu* kanji variants of vocabulary that did not exist in most characters' speech were instead normative in the dialogue of characters like Ms. Nitani and Daikichi's father. Compared to other characters, both Ms. Nitani and Daikichi's father also generally spoke in a more polite grammatical style, and showed no propensities for angry outbursts or vulgarity. Similarly, the puppy Martine was the only character in *Chokotan!* to consistently use the

polite *desu/masu* style, *keigo*, the hyper-polite first person pronoun *watakushi*, and locally marked lexical items like *goshujinsama* (master), and her speech contained kanji variants that were found nowhere else in the manga.

Finally, the data also contained evidence that masculinity is an element of the indexical field of kanji. Literature on kanji frequently asserts that native speakers view kanji as masculine (e.g., Gottlieb, 2005; Tsuboi, 2003; Yoda, 2000), but unambiguous links between masculinity and kanji were only found within *Usagi doroppu* (see 6.3.2). In this manga, different scripts were used for the first person pronouns of adult males, adolescent males, and all females. The default script for adult males was kanji, while the default for adult females was hiragana. This contrast indicated an intent on the part of the author (which was later confirmed in the interview) to differentiate the two groups orthographically. However, although the author even referred to kanji as masculine in the interview, it must be noted that the use of kanji to index male-ness was never viewed independently of its use to index maturity. That the author did not use kanji for pronouns in the dialogue of immature adults and teen males shows that being male was not the only factor that motivated the script's use as a norm. As a result, kanji's indexical connections to (adult) masculinity were actually most obvious through its avoidance as a norm for female first person pronouns, as hiragana was the standard for the pronouns of all female speakers regardless of their maturity or intelligence.

8.1.2 The indexical field of hiragana

In alignment with the findings of psycholinguistic research (Iwahara et al., 2003; Ukita et al., 1991, 1996), the elements of the indexical field of hiragana observed in this study ran in almost direct contrast to those of kanji. However, evidencing connections which could be specifically attributed to hiragana was difficult in some cases. As discussed in the previous section, many observed uses of the script are better described as temporary departures from a local kanji standard than locally nonstandard use of hiragana, as compared to katakana the hiragana script is more often the “default” replacement for kanji when writing native Japanese vocabulary (Akizuki, 2005; Hayashi, 1982).

While it is therefore more accurate to say that the data shows kanji to be incongruous with children rather than hiragana to be explicitly child-like, blocks of text written only in hiragana were common in children's dialogue in all three manga even though guides on standard Japanese script use advise against the repeated use of one script for long sections of a sentence (Masuji, 2011; Norimatsu & Horio, 2005). Furthermore, as discussed in 6.1 and 7.2, both interviewed authors stated that hiragana could create a child-like feel or effect, and that they viewed hiragana as more

appropriate for children's speech than kanji or katakana. In short, evidence in both interviews and all three manga shows that the high presence of hiragana in children's dialogue is at least in part due to the script's links to children or child-like qualities, and that the indexing of these traits involves more than just the removal of the kanji script.

Less ambiguous connections with hiragana appeared in authors' removal of kanji from dialogue in particular panels, as there were clear differences between the contexts when kanji was replaced by hiragana or katakana. Hiragana was the only script that replaced kanji in situations where characters acted in maudlin (e.g., crying, upset), joyful, foolish, or immature manners. Arguably, the use of hiragana to index these traits also provides some insight into the indexical field of the other scripts. The removal of kanji and rejection of katakana replacements in scenes where authors wish to index silliness, embarrassment, or joy shows that the authors treated kanji and katakana as somehow inappropriate to the dialogue in these scenes.

The particular orthographic design of Chokotan's dialogue (described in 5.1) also showed clear use of hiragana for effect. In Chokotan's speech the author avoided all kanji, and replaced the script with hiragana in most cases. She also used hiragana for a large selection of the loan words in Chokotan's speech, which is a very irregular use of script for the normatively katakana-represented items (Backhouse, 1993; Yamada, 2006). The extremely nonstandard yet consistent composition of Chokotan's dialogue indicated that the author had designed a set of hiragana-heavy conventions specifically for the character. As analysis showed this convention could not be ascribed to prosody, gender, or age, the cuteness, naiveté, and innocence that distinguish Chokotan from other characters in the manga were argued to be potential elements of hiragana's indexical field.

Lastly, like with kanji, commonly asserted links between hiragana and gender (see Akizuki, 2005; Hiraga, 2006; Iwahara et al., 2003) were only directly observed in the representation of first person pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*. As described in the previous section, hiragana was the default script for all first person pronouns used by female characters in the manga, and this standard contrasted with the default scripts used for first person pronouns in the dialogue of males. Certainly, some of the difference in script use cannot be divorced from questions of pronoun selection. The stereotypically feminine first person pronoun *atashi* is not used by men in the manga, and is not generally represented by kanji, which might explain the author's use of hiragana for the word (Hiramoto, 2013; Miyazaki, 2002). However, although the more neutral *watashi* is used by both genders in the manga, it was written in hiragana in women's speech on all but five occasions (four of

which were confirmed by the author as mistakes⁹³). In contrast, *watashi* was written in kanji in men's speech, and the author stated in the interview that the divide between a kanji/hiragana standard for the pronouns used by men and women was intentional.

Furthermore, in contrast to how the author of *Usagi doroppu* varied the representation of first person pronouns used by males in relation to the speaker's age, katakana variants of *atashi* (which existed in *Chokotan!* and *Indo meoto jawan*) were absent in the speech of teenage women in *Usagi doroppu*. The data therefore minimally showed an effort on the part of the author to maintain a strict hiragana standard for first person pronouns in women's speech, which evidences that the historical connections between hiragana and women, femininity, and/or associated traits are still relevant to some extent (Akizuki, 2005). Still, given that this is the only direct connection between femininity and script seen in the three manga, the conception of hiragana as feminine/female (or of kanji/katakana as un-feminine/male) does not seem to affect script use to the same extent as conceptions of hiragana as cute, sweet, or child-like.

8.1.3 The indexical field of katakana

The most clearly observable use of katakana for effect was to index non-native speaker identity and/or associated traits. Connections between katakana and non-native speakers were evident in the use of the script throughout *Indo meoto jawan* and its spinoff, wherein a number of katakana representations were standard or commonplace only in the dialogue of non-native speakers. In the interview, the author stated that these uses of katakana were specifically a reflection of accent or paralinguistic features she deemed typical to non-native Japanese production. While the study accepted that accent was one intended effect of katakana's use, the katakana appeared regardless of the language spoken by the non-native speakers. The data therefore indicated that the script more fundamentally indexed a non-native speaker identity, with accented Japanese production perceived as a normative trait of this identity.

The presence of katakana was also increased throughout the dialogue of characters who were, broadly speaking, rougher or less polite than others. For instance, female characters from *Usagi doroppu* (6.3.1) and *Chokotan!* (5.2) who were less studious or more sexually aggressive than the female protagonists of the respective manga were marked either by an increased use of katakana variants in their speech, or the presence of katakana variants absent from the speech of

⁹³ Original Japanese, in response to panels where kanji-represented *watashi* appears in female dialogue: “あ! これは誤植のようなものかもしれません。(笑)” (ah, this is something like a typo (lol)).

other females. Similarly, the dialogue of adult males in *Usagi doroppu* who were rough, flashy/cool, or prone to anger contained katakana variants or preferences absent from more relaxed or mature speakers of both genders. These variant uses of katakana could even include departures from the kanji standard for adult male first person pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*, with the pronouns of adult males who acted angrily or showy (temporarily) changed to match the normative representation of the pronouns used by the manga's teenage male characters.

Due to the use of katakana as a norm for the pronouns in *Usagi doroppu*, an unexpected connection between katakana and masculinity was also observed. As mentioned in the prior two sections, historical divides in the use of script between men and women have been argued to result in kanji and hiragana respectively appearing masculine and feminine (Tsuboi, 2003; Yoda, 2000). However, similar discussions about katakana are uncommon. In fact, what little reference to the script as gendered exists generally links it to adolescent femininity (L. Miller, 2011; Sakai, 2011). It is possible that the use of a katakana standard for young/rough male pronouns in *Usagi doroppu* is a natural consequence of the author attempting to simultaneously avoid the mature images of kanji and the gentle/feminine images of hiragana, rather than evidence that katakana is treated as masculine. Observed connections between katakana and masculinity were certainly bound to connections between katakana and adolescence or immaturity, as katakana was not the standard representation for the pronouns used by all male speakers. Still, these contentions do not explain the author's seeming refusal to use katakana for the pronouns of delinquent teenage female characters in *Usagi doroppu*, and the katakana-representation of pronouns in her manga was at least restricted to the male sex in a biological sense.

Finally, examination of panel-specific variation in the use of katakana across all three manga found connections between katakana and shock, standoffishness, distaste, or unnatural and awkward behavior. For example, katakana was used for the greeting *ohayo* (truncated version of "good morning") in *Chokotan!* when the character Erika coldly greeted her romantic rival, and each manga frequently used the script in sentences where characters were doing a poor job of lying or dissembling. Similarly, in *Indo meoto jawan* the author used katakana for *watashi* in the dialogue of the character based on herself in scenes where she was acting awkwardly or oddly, such as after being stared at by other parents in the park, or while speaking when half awake.

8.1.4 The indexical field of standard Japanese script use

In looking for patterns of nonstandard script use, the study also found trends which appeared to indicate links between the script use in standard Japanese writing and prestige or formality. The most definitive example came from *Usagi doroppu*, where the manga's locally standard use of katakana for *hazu* (see 6.2) contrasted with the word's normative hiragana representation in standard Japanese. The sole use of hiragana for *hazu* in *Usagi doroppu* could not be attributed to the connections discussed in 8.1.2, as the script was not used for any other elements of the utterance in question, and did not index a character who was (acting) cute, childish, gentle, etc. Rather, the switch to hiragana for *hazu* occurred with the use of lexical and grammatical elements of formal self-presentation in an otherwise rough-speaking teacher's dialogue. In the scene where *hazu* is written in hiragana, all the lexical and grammatical indexes of a casual register and dialect otherwise present in the teacher's speech were removed, and replaced with indexes of other-directed formality and deference. The use of hiragana for *hazu* appeared to be a corresponding change, with the local rules or preferences for script use in the manga temporarily avoided in order to bring the teacher's dialogue into closer lexical, grammatical, and orthographic accord with the conventions of standard Japanese writing.

Furthermore, replacement of local katakana (and only katakana) standards with hiragana standards for certain items was also noted repeatedly in the dialogue of specific characters in *Usagi doroppu*. While the local preference for the word *wake* and all vowel-extending *sutegana* in the manga was katakana, hiragana was the more commonly used script in the dialogue of polite, intelligent, and/or decorous characters. The dialogue of these characters was also noted to contain a higher occurrence of kanji variants than the manga's internal orthographic preferences. As a result, the general orthographic makeup of their dialogue featured more kanji, less uses of katakana for items that are not loan words (*gairaigo*), and less orthographic variation than rougher or younger speakers in the comic.

The author of *Usagi doroppu* therefore appears to treat the orthographic norms of standard written Japanese (as an entire set of rules and guidelines for script use) as more prestigious or proper than the local orthographic standards she uses to write the manga. For her, standard Japanese orthographic usage can be an index of propriety or status in much the same way that standard language use or spelling can (Blommaert, 2010; Davila, 2012; Rubin, 1995; Sebba, 2009), with the author often making simultaneous adjustments to script and these other channels to index a formal, proper, or official effect. The corollary to this finding is that the orthographically flexible style used for most of the dialogue in *Usagi doroppu* is also intended to create meaning, as it indexes

a more informal effect appropriate to the generally casual speech in the manga through orthographically distancing the text from writing in newspapers, textbooks, and similar genres (Kataoka, 1997; Narita & Sakakibara, 2004; Sakai, 2011; Satake, 1989). While the other manga's variation-heavy styles may be intended to create a similar effect, outside of the increased kanji preference for the story summaries in *Chokotan!* no unequivocal evidence for this possibility exists in the manga themselves. Still, the data indicates that authors can use the orthographic conventions of standard Japanese for the same reasons authors have been noted to use the conventions of standard Japanese speech or writing in other research (Hiramoto, 2009; M. Inoue, 2003a; Kinsui, 2014; M. Nakamura, 2013), in that the reduction or removal of local orthographic preferences can index characters who are less distant from a conception of mature, adult, or polite prestige identities.

8.1.5 Summary and implications

In attempting to uncover indexical connections between script and social meaning, values, and identities, the most basic finding of this study is that systematic and text-wide trends of locally nonstandard script use existed in each manga. During the analysis of these orthographic trends, the evidenced elements of each script's indexical field were found to align closely with the previously asserted semantic images, feelings, atmospheres, or impressions connected to each script (see Table 4). Some asserted connections in prior literature, such as between katakana and simplicity or kanji and Chineseness, were not observed, but this is unsurprising in slice-of-life manga containing only Japanese, Indian, or canine protagonists.

Still, my analysis identified that script is used for much more precise or complex effects than recognized in broad descriptions of a script's indexical field. For instance, in the use of kanji-represented pronouns by the author of *Usagi doroppu* we saw the script indexing (traits linked to) a masculine and mature adult identity rather than just a male identity. Similarly, while participants in a study by Iwahara et al. (2003) associated katakana with terms like "foreigner" or "foreign language", the author of *Indo meoto jawan* used katakana to index (traits linked to) non-native speakers rather than all non-Japanese characters. Furthermore, the analysis showed that understanding what a use of script was specifically intended to index could require considering individual "ideologies of semiosis" held by each author (Blommaert, 2016, p. 14; see also Agha, 2007; Wortham, 2010). For instance, all three authors treated kanji as "mature" or "adult", and each author indexed (aspects of) a "child-like" identity by avoiding the use of kanji in the dialogue of children. However, each author held different conceptions of the exact age, maturity, or level of education a character needed to

obtain before a kanji-absent writing style was no longer appropriate. This shows differences in the precise definition or elements of the “child-like” identity indexed through hiragana in each manga. Similarly, the normative non-native speaker identity the author of *Indo meoto jawan* indexed through a katakana-standard for *watashi* contained small but important differences in Japanese ability from the non-native speaker identities I found indexed by katakana in my prior study of script use in non-native Japanese production (Robertson, 2013, 2015). In describing motives for any selection of script, we must therefore recognize that broad descriptions of the image or feel of a script do not always precisely explain a specific author’s intended effect, and that individual authors participate in, align with, and make use of ideologies regarding language features and language users in their own ways (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; Collins & Slembrouck, 2007).

Lastly, analysis found that identities or stances can be connected to sets of conventions of script use (i.e., a collection of broadly definable rules and guidelines), rather than just individual scripts. In 8.1.4, I discussed how the temporary adoption of standard script conventions by a gym teacher in *Usagi doroppu* (see also 6.2) showed the author indexing formal self-presentation partially through switching from the local conventions for script use in the manga to the conventions of standard Japanese. However, while this change involved a switch to a codified set of conventions, it was not the only time when changes between conventions were noted in the data. For instance, the script use in the dialogue of Chokotan and children differed only in the use of hiragana for loan words in Chokotan’s speech. When Chokotan became a human child in a dream, the loan words previously written in hiragana in her speech were instead written in katakana (see Figure 4). This change was not a use of katakana to index humanness, but rather a switch between the set of rules used to write the dialogue of Chokotan and those used to write the dialogue of children.

In finding that authors are using different conventions of script use for specific characters, rather than just temporary nonstandard uses of script within a particular segment of text, it appears that indexing a register in Japanese can involve a rather prominent orthographic element. By “register”, I am referring to a “repertoire of speech forms [...] widely recognized as indexing the same ‘social voice’ by many language users” (Agha, 2005, p. 45), and by an “orthographic element” I mean to recognize that script is only one of the associated signs which can accompany any linguistic repertoire (Agha, 2003, 2005). Indeed, in many cases noted registers which involved locally marked uses of script were performed most clearly through lexical or grammatical items. The kanji-absent writing styles in each manga involved lexical or grammatical markers of children’s speech in the dialogue of infants, the use of a katakana-standard for the first person pronouns of low-level Japanese speakers in *Hataraku!! indojin* co-occurred with errors in spelling or grammar, and the

aforementioned gym teacher's switch to standard Japanese script use in *Usagi doroppu* was less noticeable than the locally unconventional formal speech style which surrounded it.

However, in some cases script was the primary or most consistent channel through which a register was indexed. If any two excerpts from the speech of older children and adults in *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan*, teen and adult males in *Usagi doroppu*, or Japanese characters and skilled non-native speakers in *Indo meoto jawan* are compared, they are often only distinguishable by examining the use of script within each excerpt. That is, the linguistic marking of each socially salient voice is performed only or primarily in the orthographic contrasts between the excerpts. The register would therefore disappear if the text were removed from its host context or recited aloud by a neutral reader (such as a text-to-speech computer program). The fact that there is an orthographic aspect to how entire social voices are indexed (and even contrasted) in each manga shows that script selection goes far beyond any single orthographic act. This finding, as will be discussed in the following section, has important implications for understanding how script is used to create meaning in the three manga, as awareness of the indexical field of any script (or any set of conventions for script use) only tells us part of how script selection is used to create a particular effect.

8.2 How authors use script to convey meaning

While the prior section investigated and evidenced connections between script and social meaning, this study still needs to answer the question of how authors utilize a script or convention of script use to index meaning within their texts. Certainly, a basic description is that “writer[s] may consciously choose to place a specific word in a particular script type for the 'feeling' it evokes” (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999, p. 108), but, as will be shown throughout this section, this statement does not tell the full story. The ways that authors use script to index meaning are complex and intricate, and often go far beyond any single orthographic act. Every selection of script throughout a text is a potential part of how another selection is used to send a certain message, and the location where the script is used can be just as important to the creation of meaning as the selected script itself.

8.2.1 Conveying information through orthographic contrast

As a short but highly illustrative example of how complex the creation of meaning through script can be, consider Excerpt 8.1 below. The dialogue, which comes from the speech of the child Rin from the

manga *Usagi doroppu*, is not orthographically interesting in relation to the dominant writing standards of the manga it was taken from. The word *watashi*, highlighted in yellow, is written in hiragana in line with the conventional representation of the word throughout *Usagi doroppu*. The stem of the verb *ireru* (to put in), highlighted in green, is written in kanji, and this is again conventional for the host text. All the other elements of the sentence are not part of any specific convention in the manga, but are rather normative for all dialogue, and therefore are written as they would appear in any character's speech. As a result, examining Excerpt 8.1 in reference to the author's local orthographic style tells us nothing about how script is used to index social meaning in this utterance.

(8.1) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 4, p. 189

Rin: ううん、わたしこれに入れて。
ūn, *watashi kore ni ireru*.
No, I'll put it in this.

On the other hand, while Excerpt 8.1 is normatively written for the manga as a whole, it is extremely unconventional in relation to the register the author used to write Rin's dialogue at this point in the story. In Volume 4 of *Usagi doroppu*, Rin is still a child, and up until this point all verbs used by children have been written without kanji. The use of kanji in Excerpt 8.1 was part of a conscious (see 6.1.1) change on the part of the author to index children's development (成長過程, *seichō katei*) orthographically in Volume 4, which coincided with the characters' entry into elementary school.

In discussing how the author indexes Rin's development by using script in Excerpt 8.1, it is impossible to talk only about the process of nonstandard kanji use. The author's use of kanji to convey meaning in this scene is built upon, and cannot be divorced from, previously established orthographic differences in how the author constructs the dialogue of different character groups within her work. If the use of kanji for verb stems was commonplace in the speech of all characters, rather than just teens and adults, the use of kanji in Rin's speech would have no real effect. The potential for this situation is even reflected in comments from the interviews, as the author of *Usagi doroppu* mentioned that many works do use kanji as a normative element of children's speech⁹⁴. As

⁹⁴ Original Japanese: 子供の台詞をそのまま漢字で書いてある作品も多くあるので、それはそれとしてその世界で統一されていけばすんなり受け入れられると思います。(There are a lot of works that write children's dialogue with kanji as-is, so as long as it's consistent within that world I'd have no problem accepting it).

a result, *kana*-only dialogue is not necessarily a safe expectation for the dialogue of child characters within manga.

Similarly, the fact that the verb *ireru* is changed into kanji while the pronoun *watashi* is left in hiragana is also important, as understanding the reasons why only one word's representation was changed goes beyond the question of a single character's dialogue. While the script use for *ireru* in the excerpt is nonstandard for children's speech, the representation of *watashi* is standard for female speakers throughout the manga. As a result, the hypothetical use of kanji for *watashi* and the actual use of kanji for *ireru* in Rin's dialogue in Excerpt 8.1 both involve a locally nonstandard use of the same script, but each is a significantly different orthographic act. While the use of kanji for *ireru* brings Rin's speech into closer alignment with that of adults, the use of kanji for *watashi* would mark her in relation to every other female in the text.

A potential part of how authors use script to index meaning in their works is therefore the creation, maintenance, application, contrast, and violation of multiple preferences and conventions of orthographic use throughout their manga. This fact is of course relevant at the basic level discussed in prior studies, or in any analysis of excerpts or script use in short texts (e.g., billboards or product names), but its importance as a finding is hard to gauge in these contexts. There is nothing new about stating that any nonstandard use of script to create meaning necessitates contrast with the orthographic conventions of standard written Japanese. Prior analysis of katakana's use for effect in particular has always discussed marked selections in relation to the greater norms of Japanese writing, with the importance of katakana's unconventional nature in an excerpt clearly acknowledged (Narasaki, 2009; Sugimoto, 2009; Tsuchiya, 1977).

However, the importance of contrast in creating meaning through script goes beyond the simple fact that one way in which linguistic variation acquires social meaning is through departure from an established standard (Silverstein, 1985, 2000, 2003). By considering examples of variation that run throughout entire manga series, rather than just variants that exist in single panels, we find that authors utilize expectations of script use between characters to adjust or manage the effect a script creates. The use of script to index a particular effect is not necessarily accomplished through a contrast with standard Japanese script use, and not all variants are necessarily nonstandard (Konno, 2013). Rather, the creation of meaning through script this study observed often relied on internal contrast with other selections in the same manga. Authors are playing variants off one another in manners which may leave the question of which script use is standard unanswerable or irrelevant.

Consider Excerpt 8.2, which comes from the dialogue of the purebred puppy Martine from the manga *Chokotan!*. As discussed in 5.2, the use of kanji for the word *koinu* (puppy), highlighted in

the excerpt in yellow, is part of how the author indexes the pretentiousness of Martine’s character, as this stands as the author’s sole use of a variant non-*jōyō* kanji for the representation of *koinu* (otherwise 子犬).

(8.2) *Chokotan!*, Vol. 3, p. 66

Martine: な！失礼な！私^{わたくし}は仔犬です！
na! shitsurei na! watakushi wa koinu desu!
Hey! Hey that’s rude! I’m a puppy!

Certainly, part of the way that the author uses this archaic kanji to index pretentiousness is by avoiding it in the manga’s local orthographic standards. The author appears to feel similarly about archaic kanji as a Japanese professor discussed by Gottlieb (1993), who was seen “snorting with derision” (p. 126) when encountering the use of a kanji character that had long been removed from standard written Japanese. The meaning of the index is also in a relationship with the co-occurring grammatical or lexical indexes of formality, such as Martine’s locally marked preference for the hyper-polite first person pronoun *watakushi* (Kinsui, 2012).

However, beyond the mere non-standard nature of 仔犬 within the manga, the script choices in the dialogue of Chokotan or children in *Chokotan!* are also part of how the author conveys information about Martine’s pompous nature in the manga. All three analyzed manga establish that children’s dialogue will be normatively written without kanji. Despite Martine being the youngest character (human or canine) in *Chokotan!*, her dialogue always contains an amount of kanji equal to or greater than other characters in the work. In other words, it is not just the use of kanji for *koinu* in Martine’s speech which is unexpected, but the use of any kanji at all, and indexing Martine’s pretentiousness through script is performed through both marked uses of kanji and the violation of the orthographic expectations the manga sets for young speakers. In other words, Martine’s dialogue, like Rin’s excerpt shown earlier, violates the manga’s conventions for what characters are written in which ways. This departure causes the kanji to stand out more than it would in adult speech, and the competing standards are a vital part of how the author shows that Martine is not just a little more pretentious than others, but trying to present herself far beyond her station, or suffering from illusions of grandeur.

As one last example, intra-text contrast is similarly important for the creation of meaning through contrasting kanji and katakana for pronouns across *Indo meoto jawan* and *Usagi doroppu*. In both manga we see the same basic phenomenon: one group of speakers uses a kanji standard for first person pronouns which are normatively written in katakana in the dialogue of the other group.

In the case of *Indo meoto jawan* the pronoun subject to variant representation is *watashi*, while in *Usagi doroppu* the representation of both *boku* and *ore* switches between speaker groups. Certainly, the author's selection of which scripts to contrast is important in and of itself. However, the effect created by each script cannot be divorced from the locations where its contrasting variant is employed.

First, take the use of a kanji standard for *watashi* in native speakers' dialogue in *Indo meoto jawan*. The meaning of this selection is not only rooted in the indexical field of the kanji script or the broader native-speaker register, but also in the location where the contrasting standard (here, katakana representation of pronouns in non-native Japanese speech) is employed. As a corollary, the author's activation of a non-Japanese effect through katakana, rather than youth, roughness, or any other effects summarized in 8.1.3, is also entwined with the contrasting use of kanji for pronouns in native speakers' dialogue. Certainly, the very fact that katakana appears in non-native speaker dialogue in and of itself can arguably create the impression that a non-native identity is being marked (Arudo, 2009). However, as I found in my earlier studies of katakana in the dialogue of Japanese learners (Robertson, 2013), marked uses of katakana are not guaranteed to be part of the norms of local depictions of non-native Japanese speech. In manga where non-native speech was normatively written in accordance with the local standards of the host text, marked use of katakana in non-native dialogue instead signaled that a character was different from both most native and non-native speakers, or even from their normative self-presentation, rather than simply indexing their Japanese abilities or status as a non-native speaker. In short, although the use of katakana for non-native speakers' pronouns in *Indo meoto jawan* turned out to be a way of marking them as non-native speakers, ensuring that this is what the author wishes to convey about non-native speakers through katakana necessitates referencing the locations where she applies and avoids her locally normative writing style.

Contrast is a similarly important part of how the author of *Usagi doroppu* creates meaning through her use of different standards for *boku* and *ore* between adult and teen dialogue. In examining any single utterance out of context, there is often no evidence for why the author selected kanji or katakana. For instance, in Excerpt 8.3 and Excerpt 8.4 the dialogue is casual, includes nonstandard uses of *chōonpu* (ー) to perform vowel extension within native Japanese vocabulary, and contains no clear indexes of age, maturity, etc. The only obvious difference between the excerpts is the script used to represent the pronoun *ore*. Out of context, explanation of the contrast in script use is therefore reduced to what is more or less (potentially plausible) guesswork based upon the established indexical field of each script. If we refer to the identities the manga

authors described as often marked by katakana in the interviews, Kōki could conceivably be a foreigner, an alien, an awkward speaker, or even a robot (cf. the quotes in 7.1.1).

(8.3) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 30

Kōki: オレが狙えそーな奨学金って返さなきゃダメだろ？
ore ga neraesō na shōgakukin tte kaesanakya dame daro?
The scholarships I have a chance to get require me to repay them right?

(8.4) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 2, p. 68

Daikichi: 俺が横にいる時にしか使っちゃイカン！！[...] 約束守れたら使って
いーよ。
*ore ga yoko ni iru toki ni shika tukaccha ikan!! [...] yakusoko mamoretara
tukatte ii yo.*
You can only use that when I'm nearby! [...] If you can keep that promise
you can use it.

Making sense of the author's selections of script for first person pronouns in the two excerpts requires each selection be put "against the complex and highly variable and dynamic interlocking contexts within which it was uttered" (Blommaert, 2016, p. 11). Despite occurring in different volumes, Excerpt 8.3 and 8.4 are not isolated. Rather, they are part of a text-wide interaction, as the location of each script's use as a norm is part of how the other script is used to create meaning. In other words, a different effect would be created by the use of katakana for *ore* in Excerpt 8.3 in a hypothetical situation where the author varied the use of script for pronouns based on traits other than age/maturity, or even if she also used the script in the dialogue of aggressive or showy female speakers. Furthermore, as discussed in 6.3.2, the expectations that result from each standard then play a role in how the author is able to use temporary katakana-representation of pronouns in adult male dialogue to make the males appear immature or rough compared to their peers.

In summation, each use of script for effect in the manga is intertwined with the others. Indexing of social meaning through script is not only predicated just on the indexical field of the chosen script (script convention) or the selection's status as nonstandard within the host context, but also the locations and purposes of other contrasting uses of orthography. When the authors activate an element of a script's indexical field through the "situated use of the variable" (Eckert, 2008, p. 454), we must therefore understand that the meaning of "situated use" can include where the script is placed, where it is avoided, and what scripts it is contrasted with in what locations. The totality of script use within the manga is interacting as part of an open and dynamic system, and uses of script which are not contained in the same excerpt as a variant of interest may be necessary

to reference in order to access any “total linguistic fact” in the text (Silverstein, 1985, p. 220, see also Blommaert, 2016; Kress, 2001, 2010).

8.2.2 Modifying effects through the extent of script use

Another element of how authors used script to create meaning in each manga was the amount of dialogue that they subjected to orthographic alteration. That is, authors marked characters like children, Chokotan, and non-native speakers not only through choosing which scripts to use to differentiate the characters’ dialogue from which sets of the manga’s (or standard Japanese’s) orthographic norms, but also by varying the extent of the resultant orthographic differentiation.

In the interviews, the analyzed authors appeared to be very aware that they are using different extents of orthographic change to create different effects. When asked about the difference between the use of katakana to write *watashi* alone and manga where the entirety of a non-native speaker’s dialogue is written in katakana, the author of *Indo meoto jawan* responded that the increased katakana would convey decreased levels of comfort with the Japanese language⁹⁵. While my question was hypothetical, the author of *Indo meoto jawan* did in fact vary the amount of katakana in the Indian protagonist Sashī’s dialogue to index changes to his Japanese ability. More specifically, she commonly applied increased amounts of katakana in scenes which flashed back to early periods in Sashī’s Japanese learning, or when she wished to stress the limitations of Sashī’s Japanese comprehension. The latter scenes include those where Sashī’s Japanese illiteracy is relevant to the text, or when his Japanese abilities make him unable to participate in a conversation. Through temporarily increasing the contrast between Sashī’s dialogue and the dialogue of native speakers, the author further emphasizes/draws attention to Sashī’s non-native status and corresponding assumptions of his linguistic ability.

Similarly, the amounts of hiragana and kanji used in the dialogue of children in *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan* changed as they matured. Each author utilized a *kana*-exclusive writing style for the speech of children until they reached a specific age (see 8.1.5), and then slowly reintroduced kanji into the characters’ speech. In *Usagi doroppu* this reintroduction could only be observed briefly, as the manga jumped ahead ten years in time after the fourth volume. The author of *Indo meoto jawan* instead wrote about every year of the children’s lives, which allowed for the

⁹⁵ Original Japanese: セリフ全てかカタカナの場合は、サッシーよりもっと日本語に慣れていない感じを表しています。(If the dialogue is entirely in katakana, it expresses the feeling that they are even less accustomed to Japanese than Sashī [the Indian protagonist of *Indo meoto jawan*]).

gradual steps between the standard for children and the standard for adults to be depicted more closely. When talking about children’s dialogue in any volume of either manga, we can state that the author is using orthographic standards which are locally marked through an increased preference for hiragana and a decreased preference for kanji. We can also state that the specific design of the dialogue relates to the indexical fields of kanji and hiragana, and is partially meaningful due to its contrast with the script use of adolescents/adults in the manga. Still, without recognizing the changing extents of each script’s use in children’s dialogue as they age, or the changes to the orthographic distance between child and adult dialogue that result, we miss out part of how the author is using script to convey meaning.

The importance of extent is even relevant in relation to selections of script which are nonstandard within dialogue that is otherwise orthographically normative for the manga. Consider the two excerpts below from *Usagi doroppu*. In Excerpt 8.5 and 8.6, Reina and Kōki’s dialogue contain marked uses of hiragana that contrast with the manga’s standard script use, which is maintained in their interlocutor’s (Rin’s) speech. In both excerpts, vocabulary that appear in both characters’ statements are highlighted in the same colors.

(8.5) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 12

Rin: 女子は年頃になると自分と似た遺伝子の男の人を臭いと思う [...] *joshi wa toshigoro ni naru to jibun to nita idenshi no otoko no hito o kusai to omou [...]*
When girls because that age (where they are interested in men) they start to think that men with similar genes are smelly [...]

Reina: [ダイキチと]いでんしが似てないの? *[daikichi to] idenshi ga nitenai no?*
Your genes aren’t similar [to Daikichi’s]?

(8.6) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 117

Kōki: ていがく... コタメガエ? 450 えん。 *teigaku... kotamegae? yonhyaku gojū en.*
Fixed price... kotamegae? 450 yen.

Rin: はい、定額小為替。 *hai, teigaku kogawase.*
Fixed price money order.

As discussed throughout this section, hiragana’s orthographic field and the orthographic contrasts in script use between the characters are involved in the author marking Reina and Kōki’s

lower levels of understanding. However, Reina is not sure about the meaning of a single word, and retains kanji elsewhere in her statement. Kōki is instead completely befuddled, and as a result kanji is removed throughout his dialogue, even for words he understands the meaning of like *teigaku* (fixed price) and *en* (yen). Between the two cases, the author is using a nonstandard selection of the same script (hiragana) and contrasting it with the dialogue of the same character (Rin), but changing the amount of hiragana's marked employment to change the strength or nuance of the invoked effect.

Finally, any discussion of the importance of extent in indexing meaning via script must touch on the script use in *Chokotan!*. The author of this manga used an orthographic standard particular to children, and an orthographic standard (or even idiolect) particular to the character of Chokotan herself. This decision created a special challenge, as both groups of characters are arguably distinct from others in the manga due to their child-like behavior, naiveté, cuteness, etc. As a result, orthographically marking both characters (character sets) involved the removal of kanji and increased use of hiragana⁹⁶, which on its own does not orthographically differentiate the characters from each other. To ensure that different messages were conveyed about each group through marked uses of the same scripts, the author increased the presence of hiragana in (and therefore extent of non-standardness of) Chokotan's speech by using hiragana for certain loanwords. In doing so, the author was able to simultaneously convey that Chokotan is more strongly connected to the indexical field of hiragana than children, but that both identities are similarly incongruous with the indexical field of kanji.

Ultimately, the data showed that authors can use the distance between any two orthographic standards or segments of dialogue to index the prominence of the traits separating one group from the other, or a speaker from their normal state. Consequently, similar to studies which investigated readers' responses to different lexical or spelling-based guises applied to a single text (e.g., Campbell-Kibler, 2007, 2011; Jaffe & Walton, 2000), it appears that the extent of orthographic difference between the speech of two characters (or a character in two scenes) can be symbolic of the extent of the marked differences between the two (or between their stances across the scenes, etc.). This finding of course overlaps with the idea that conventions for script use are part of the indexing of registers in each manga, as the level of distance between the orthographic elements of the register used to write a characters' speech and the local orthographic conventions of the manga indexes different gradients of normativity, formality, or prestige as defined by each author (Agha, 1998, 2005; Blommaert, 2010). The boundaries of each orthographic level in Japanese writing are

⁹⁶ As in, the author also wished to avoid replacing kanji with katakana.

less clearly defined than for items like pronouns or grammatical forms, but distinctions can be made when contrasting dialogue between characters or scenes. Broadly speaking, increased use of kanji, decreased use of katakana for native Japanese vocabulary, and decreased variation on the whole were found in registers intended to index greater levels of formality. Gradients of informality, nonstandardness, or familiarity were instead indexed through decreasing the extent to which kanji is present in the text and increasing the overall orthographic variation, with the extremity of the variation in script use in a register often part of indexing the level to which a voice is rough, casual, informal, or impolite.

8.2.3 Combining script with other indexes

The use of script to index meaning appears to also sometimes involve the specific elements of the sentence that are changed. Prior studies have shown that individual words are targeted to express details of their definition, such as changing the representation of the word *isu* (chair) to express whether the chair is old or modern, or convey the author's attitude toward/feelings about the represented item (Iwahara et al., 2003; A. Nakamura, 1983; Narasaki, 2009; Satake, 1989). However, in this study we see both lexical and orthographic indexes used together to create distinct effects which draw on the indexical fields of both variants, with the selection of a script and a sentence element functioning in an interdependent manner.

In particular, the data showed that great importance was often placed on the script used for first person pronouns, with the data building upon our understanding of a phenomenon that has also been observed in other recent studies (Masuji, 2013; Narasaki, 2009; Robertson, 2015). The authors of *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan* both discussed plans to use different scripts for different characters' pronouns in the interviews, and many characters or character groups in each manga were orthographically differentiated from others only by contrasts in the preferred representation of their pronouns. Daikichi and Kōki from *Usagi doroppu*, for example, were both written in accordance with the rougher (i.e., more distant from standard Japanese orthographic use) end of the manga's local registers, with both speakers' dialogue containing a local preference for katakana representations of *sutegana* and certain lexical items. However, any randomly selected excerpt from either character's dialogue containing a first person pronoun can be immediately attributed to either speaker based on whether the pronoun is written in kanji or katakana. Similarly, the only use of script that indexes Sashī's identity as a non-native speaker in Excerpt 8.7 is the katakana-representation of *watashi*. Not only is the pronoun/script combination the sole element of

the sentence particular to non-native speaker dialogue, it is also often the only element of dialogue relied upon to express paralinguistic features that should run throughout Sasshī's speech.

(8.7) *Indo meoto jawan*, Vol. 4, p. 114

Sasshī: ワタシなんて一日中立ちっぱなしで足が痛くて...
watashi nante ichinichijū tachippanashi de ashi ga itakute
I have been standing up all day and my feet hurt...

Authors may be targeting pronouns specifically because they are already a very important and salient element of indexing types of identities and styles of self-presentation in Japanese (Hiramoto, 2013; Kinsui, 2003; Miyazaki, 2002; Moskowitz, 2014; M. Nakamura, 2001a; Sturtz-Sreetharan, 2006; Yoshimitsu, 2005). The importance of pronouns is especially relevant in fiction, as they have long been discussed as a method through which Japanese authors signal commonplace trope identities in their creative works (Hiramoto, 2013; Kinsui, 2003, 2014; M. Nakamura, 2013; Narasaki, 2009). By utilizing different scripts for an item which is subject to linguistic ideologies or metalinguistic discussion in and of itself, authors do not just activate an element of a single script's indexical field, but put the indexical fields of both orthographic and lexical items into a symbiotic relationship. Each indexical field guides the interpretation of the other, resulting in the indexing of something unique to the particular combination. In other words, a katakana-represented *boku* is able to convey something different to a katakana-represented *ore* or *watashi* despite all three pronouns being written in the same script. Likewise, a katakana-represented *boku* and a kanji-represented *boku* are distinct despite using the same pronoun.

For examples from the analyzed manga themselves, consider the scene (first discussed in 6.3.2) wherein Daikichi's subordinate visits Daikichi's house. Outside of Excerpt 8.8, the dialogue of this character always features a katakana-represented *ore*.

(8.8) *Usagi doroppu*, Vol. 7, p. 58

Subordinate: エーット、オレ... いや僕たち会社で河地さんにお世話になってて
etto, ore... iya boku tachi kaisha de kawachi san ni osewa ni natte te,
Umm, *ore...* no, *boku tachi*⁹⁷ all work under Mr. Kawachi (Daikichi) and...

The subordinate's attempt to speak politely to Rin in Excerpt 8.8 involves both orthographic and lexical changes from his standard (lexical, grammatical, and orthographic) idiolect, with a katakana-represented *ore* corrected into a kanji-represented *boku* mid-sentence. The combination

⁹⁷ The suffix *-tachi* is attached to first person pronouns to create the plural.

of changes says more than a change to either the lexical or orthographic channel alone. It brings the character temporarily in line with the politer voice that *boku* indexes, while simultaneously separating him from the manga's *katakana*-normative *boku* users like teenagers or immature and flamboyant adults.

Interestingly, the use of a script/pronoun combination could even exist as an orthographic standard which is independent from other consistent orthographic contrasts between characters in the manga. Polite female speakers in *Usagi doroppu* often featured more kanji variants in their dialogue than male interlocutors for all items except first person pronouns. On the whole, the speech of the adult male Daikichi had less kanji than the speech of the adult female Ms. Nitani, but Daikichi's pronouns were always in kanji while Ms. Nitani's were always in hiragana. Consequently, Ms. Nitani's higher levels of decorum or formality were orthographically indexed everywhere except in her uses of *watashi*. A pronoun/script combination is therefore sometimes treated independently of uses of script for other items in a sentence, and can even be the sole orthographic element of marking a particular character identity.

This study's data unfortunately does not allow much further commentary on the finding that specific sentence elements are targeted for variation, as there were no other cases where the repeated marked representation of a specific word or sentence element was indisputably independent of a broader, text-wide set of orthographic conventions. However, other researchers have noted that items outside of first person pronouns, such as certain combinations of sentence final particles, are commonly used in Japanese media to index stereotyped or trope/cliché identities (Hiramoto, 2013; Kinsui, 2003, 2014; M. Nakamura, 2013). In his study on writing in casual letters, Kataoka (1995) even specifically argues that sentence final particles and script interact to convey meaning in tandem, with a *katakana*-represented *ne* or *yo* used to express something both related to and distinct from the *hiragana*-represented version. That is, an effect linked to both the script and the particle. However, while sentence final particles were subject to orthographic variation in my data sets, script/particle combinations were not seen as particularly relevant on their own. They were instead part of wider phenomenon like marking stilted performances or the extent of non-native Japanese speakers' linguistic abilities.

The only items besides pronouns that may have been selected for specific orthographic attention are *honto(ō)* and *sutegana*. Different preferences for the representation of *honto(ō)* were noted to relate to different speakers' identities in both *Chokotan!* and *Usagi doroppu*. While this study's data does not provide authoritative reasons for why *honto(ō)* was selected to index meaning over other common vocabulary, many studies have noted that both the orthographic representation

and spelling of *honto*(*ō*) are frequently subject to variation (Sakai, 2011; Satake, 1989; Tsuchiya, 1977). It is therefore possible that the authors treat this word as particularly salient, and its marked representation therefore more apt to be noticed by readers. In regards to *sutegana*, in *Usagi doroppu* non-standard uses of these small *kana* were subject to variation that was absent from other hiragana-standard items. This may relate to the fact that the *sutegana* are themselves already part of the marking of phonological variation in speech, or slang and variant pronunciations particular to certain voices. However, since specific uses of *sutegana* were not able to be attributed to specific characters or registers, this argument must be treated as speculative.

Ultimately, aside from pronouns, the possibility that specific words or sentence elements are targeted for variation to index specific voices needs further investigation, but is certainly plausible. It would not be surprising that specific word/script combinations in Japanese become salient in the same way that specific word/spelling combinations have been seen to in many languages (Androutsopoulos, 2000; Heffernan et al., 2010). More work on how distinct indexical fields are used in tandem to index a combined-yet-original effect would therefore be valuable, and may be uncovered in other texts.

8.2.4 Summary

More than anything, the purpose of the analysis throughout 8.2 has been to show that the authors' uses of script to index meaning relates to much more than the indexical field of any single script. Each selection of script in a text, each set of standards for script use in a text, and, indeed, the national standards for script use in Japan are in an intertwined relationship in the analyzed manga. Rejection of orthographic standards, adherence to orthographic standards, and direct comparison of orthographic standards are all meaningful acts, and the places where a specific script is avoided can be just as important in how an author indexes meaning as the places the script is stressed. Furthermore, the extent of a script's application and the items it is used to represent can also factor into how the author is creating a specific message.

Ultimately, since each script has had many uses and users throughout its history, they possess multiple potential first and higher order connections. The analyzed authors appear to be aware of the potential for each script to index very different effects, and apply a number of techniques to activate specific elements of an indexical field. In some cases, these techniques do not involve other uses of script, but rather other styles of linguistic variation or multimodal elements of the manga. This study has only been able to touch on the multimodal techniques briefly, and their

importance in meaning creation in manga are better examined in other works (see Huang & Archer, 2014; Kinsui, 2014; Schwartz & Rubinstein-Avila, 2006; Unser-Schutz, 2010, 2011). However, this study has shown clearly that authors are also applying and removing specific scripts from specific locations to specific extents to create specific effects, with any individual use of script as an index potentially far more intricate and complicated than has been described to date.

8.3 Roles and functions of script (selection)

In this final section, the discussion will move away from specific uses of script in the three series of manga. The chapter's attention instead turns to a broader look at the insights this study provides into the roles or functions of script in Japanese writing. These roles can be both social and practical, and relate to both implications of script's use as an index of identity and basic functions of script that have seen minimal detail to date. That is, uses besides differentiating synonyms, separating word boundaries, or using a specific script or standard to index a particular effect (Backhouse, 1984; Yajima, 1968). I begin this discussion with the concept of an orthographic chain, looking at script's potential role as a locus where social ideologies can be conveyed, validated, or negotiated in Japanese writing. I then look at the use of script to mark paralinguistic features of dialogue, and conclude by touching on the minimal use of rōmaji in any of the analyzed manga. While the discussion here is limited by the study's focus on manga, many of the noted functions have implications for study of script selection in any genre of Japanese writing, especially those which involve representations of speech.

8.3.1 Orthographic chains and orthographic socialization

Throughout this thesis it has been clear that the authors shared certain conceptions of the major elements of each script's indexical field. This statement is perhaps obvious at face value. Without the existence of shared conceptions or grounds of interpretation this study would have been nearly impossible, as each author would be using script in an wholly individual manner (Collins, 2011; Matsuda & Tardy, 2007). However, the implications of the existence of shared conceptions of each script's indexical field, as well as the close alignment between the observed elements of each field and many of the effects that each script has been evidenced to create in prior research (see 3.2), bring about implications for the importance of script in Japan.

Since we have observed some consensus about each script's indexical fields (see 8.1), as well as cross-text awareness of broadly definable registers with distinct orthographic elements (see 8.1.5), we can see that authors are often putting their own mark on orthography-connected practices, ideologies, or styles they have encountered before. This fact evidences the existence of what is perhaps best titled an "orthographic chain". The term "orthographic chain" borrows from Agha's (2003) concept of a "speech chain". A speech chain is a method of social transmission, wherein language and ideologies (or "cultural messages" (p. 246)) are circulated, strengthened, and revised through the use of (linguistic) variants. Speech chains grow as the receivers of a message with symbolic values, which can be both denotative and/or sociocultural, become the senders of the message in future speech events (Wortham & Reyes, 2015). As each sender and receiver may have different interpretations or hold different ideologies about language users/uses, an item's values can change as it moves along the chain, with metalinguistic discourse in mass media particularly able to widely (re)define and disseminate the social meanings of a variant (Agha, 2003; Bakhtin, 1986; M. Inoue, 2003a).

While script is not precluded from the above definition of a speech chain, it is at least nominally absent from the discussion. Script is an element of language use that is specific to the written medium alone and has no counterpart in speech. However, as shown throughout this thesis, distinct social messages exist regarding script in Japanese writing. These messages allow script to create particular effects, but also cause script to function similarly to more recognized indexes like lexical items, speech styles, or paralinguistic features of speech, as the messages about script or society that influenced an orthographic variant's selection are validated and perpetuated by its situated use (M. Inoue, 2004b; M. Nakamura, 2014; Okamoto, 1995; Vosters et al., 2012; Yukawa & Saito, 2004).

To explain via analogy, consider the combined use of *keigo*, *desu/masu* grammatical forms, and the super-polite first person pronoun *watakushi* that was exclusive to the pretentious pure-bred dog Martine in the manga *Chokotan!*. These selections are predicated on traditional or stereotypical dialogues of linguistic politeness in Japan, which treat the features as potential indexes of deference or politeness (Agha, 1998; H. M. Cook, 2011; Kinsui, 2012; A. Nakamura, 2010)⁹⁸. Through utilizing stereotypically polite items to index Martine's pretentious identity, the author's received message that these items are appropriate to characters like Martine, or perhaps more specifically to the

⁹⁸ As Agha (1998) and Cook (2011) recognize, what honorific features are used to index is by no means guaranteed, and understanding of how native speakers use them to evoke meaning in Japan to date has been oversimplified. Their citation here is not meant to ignore these researchers' issues with traditional explanations of *keigo*, etc., but rather due to their studies' recognition of the mainstream/stereotypical explanations of the linguistic features as indexes of politeness.

voices Martine attempts to adopt, is transmitted in some form to (i.e., (re-)established or modified in the minds of) readers/receivers. In turn, a receiver then continues this speech chain based on the situations or contexts in which they later use *keigo* or *watakushi*, which are influenced by their prior contacts with the items, one of which may be *Chokotan!*. In the same way, the indexical connections between pretense or formality and archaic kanji that have developed through the author's encounters with kanji use to date led to her locally marked selections of rare kanji in the dialogue of Martine. These marked uses can then develop and transmit social messages about kanji to readers, which may influence, and therefore be again retransmitted or validated through, the readers' future linguistic (specifically orthographic) acts (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Silverstein, 1976).

The concept of an orthographic chain allows us to see that the use of script to create meaning itself has a role in conveying the ideologies that allow this indexical function, and preserving connections which might not have otherwise survived the rather substantial changes to the use (and users) of each script over the last 15 to 17 centuries. Take the commonly referenced link between hiragana and femininity, which is asserted to arise from a historical separation between the script use of male and female writers (Akizuki, 2005; Tsuboi, 2003; Yoda, 2000; Yoshimura, 1985; see also 3.2.1). It is questionable whether contemporary readers actively associate the script with femininity through direct reference to its historical uses, as the current (officially) non-gendered applications of all three scripts have been mainstream for newspapers and popular novels since the early 1900s (Gottlieb, 2005; Habein, 1984; Seeley, 2000). If hiragana's connections to femininity result from its historical first-order links to female writers, rather than other possible sources like the interaction between conceptions of (traits associated with) femininity and the cursive or soft visual impression of the script, it is due to orthographic selections that perpetuate once observable links between women and hiragana, and metalinguistic dialogues which still assert that hiragana is feminine in some way. When the author of *Usagi doroppu* uses hiragana (or avoids kanji and katakana) for the first person pronouns of female characters, the selection of script is not just a product of ideologies regarding the script and women, but also a communicator of them. The near-exclusive use of hiragana to mark female voices shows that script can possess a role as a site where ideas about differences between male and female language use in Japan are resurrected, and the importance or legitimacy of dividing the two types of speech is affirmed⁹⁹.

Furthermore, in choosing which identities to index in which ways, or what about a character is worth marking orthographically, authors also turn script into something which can contribute to

⁹⁹ For further discussion of ideologies regarding gendered language use in Japan see the work of researchers like Ide (1979), Inoue (2003a, 2003b, 2004a), Moskowitz (2014), Nakamura (2001b, 2007, 2014), and Yoshimitsu (2005).

linguistic ideology. For example, by treating the dialogue of non-native speakers as something which is normatively orthographically marked, or in using different orthographic norms for different genders, script plays a role in “othering” or delegitimizing identities/registers, or constructing and positioning identities as differing from those which receive the prestigious “standard” script use in a way that needs to be noted, which contributes to ideas of what is indexed via normative language use (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a, 2005b; Coupland, 2010; M. Inoue, 2003a, 2003b; Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2004). This process is well described and discussed in relation to lexical/grammatical items, but the data in this study shows that it can also be facilitated through script. Script selection therefore also has a role as a place where social dialogues are raised or debated, with the decision of whether to mark a group orthographically having the potential to be just as important as the more studied decisions of whether to mark them lexically, grammatically, or through changes to spelling.

Ultimately, looking at orthographic indexes as a step in an orthographic chain helps us understand that script in Japanese writing, or perhaps more specifically script in dialogue, has roles as a product, facilitator, and guide for socialization into indexical fields and the ideologies that facilitate the existence of elements/referents within them. In selecting what identities or stances to apply a specific orthographic standard to, or what kinds of dialogue to remove the manga’s local standard from, authors turn script into a location where the very question of what is normal, marked, and prestigious is attended to. The creation of meaning through script is also a conveyance of ideas through script, giving orthography a role as another channel where linguistic and social values can be spread, managed, endorsed, or disrupted within Japanese writing.

While much of the script use in this thesis is difficult to extrapolate to other writing systems, the potential role of script as a locus for socialization into language ideologies may be of interest to studies outside of the Japanese language. As mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, among the scripts that have been used to represent Mongolian and German, certain options are seen to serve as an index of tradition (Grivelet, 2001a; Spitzmüller, 2015). While this fact originates in each specific script’s past use to write the language, one way that young readers are socialized into the idea that one script is traditional is through its marked use on traditional items in the contemporary orthographic landscape. Similarly, the use of the Blackletter font by hip-hop artists stands as an interesting potential example of how the associations of a variable can be reevaluated over orthographic chains across cultures. Originating as a marker of (traditional) “Germanness”, Blackletter’s use on products consumed by American and British metal bands was interpreted as tough or strong due to ideologies regarding its German connections, which influenced the script’s consequent adoption for the bands’

logos (Androutsopoulos, 2004; Gidley, 2000; *The Wave*, 2002)¹⁰⁰. As a consequence, Blackletter developed indexical links to hard rock or metal communities and values associated with them, which (along with other possibly related phenomenon like the script's adoption for tattoos) in turn influenced Blackletter's later adoption by gangster rap artists (Booth, 2013; Spitzmüller, 2015)¹⁰¹. The process through which graphic elements of communication are spread and re-contextualized across a chain of uses is therefore of interest to writers of all languages, although written Japanese features evidence of these chains' influence and complexity on a scale that appears difficult to find in other writing systems.

8.3.2 Conveying paralinguistic elements of language

The idea that script was selected to convey prosody was actually not observable within the data from the manga, as no variation in any title could be explained entirely by different audible qualities between speakers. The introduction of kanji into children's dialogue in *Usagi doroppu* and *Indo meoto jawan* did not correlate with periods when children's voices begin to deepen, imitations of Chokotan's voice resulted in changes to font rather than script (see 5.1), and the marking of non-native Japanese speakers in *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!! indojin* occurred regardless of the language spoken (see 7.1).

Still, although a desire to index prosody through script could not be convincingly evidenced in the manga themselves, both interviewed authors stated that they interpreted the marked use of certain scripts in certain locations as representative of an audible quality of speech, or that they used script for this purpose in their works. Yumi Unita (*Usagi doroppu*) wrote that she interpreted katakana-only sentences as an attempt to convey broken or halting Japanese particular to non-Japanese speakers, aliens, and robots. Rinko Nagami (*Indo meoto jawan*) felt that sentences written primarily in hiragana expressed a slowness of speech, while marked uses of katakana indicated that speech was stilted, tottering, or in a rhythm particular to non-native speakers. Furthermore, both author's comments also echo those in prior Japanese literature on the marked use of katakana

¹⁰⁰ For specific cases, the singer of Motörhead stated the he used the umlaut to look mean, while the manager of Blue Öyster Cult suggested the addition of an umlaut to connect the band to a Wagnerian aspect (Gidley, 2000; *The Wave*, 2002).

¹⁰¹ The process detailed here should not be taken as a series of direct steps, or alignment with the billiard-ball sociolinguistics criticized by Silverstein (2003). The examples are snapshots showing gradual change between how a particular linguistic form and a social meaning stabilized in defined and socially consumed forms, not the only social meanings or ideologies evoked and constructed by the Blackletter font as its indexical connections have developed or fluctuated.

(Kinsui, 2014; Narasaki, 2009; Robertson, 2013, 2015; Masami Shibata, 1998; Takamura, 1955). As a result, it appears that the ability of script to index identities allows it to operate as a corollary for paralinguistic features of voice such as accent or rhythm that are treated as expected elements of these identities. This function is limited in that it is bound to the location of the script's employment, i.e., a katakana-only dialogue does not clearly index any specific accent or voice out of context, but clearly deserves recognition in descriptions of each script's uses.

There is nothing particularly surprising about an index, particularly one based on nonstandard linguistic features, bringing about assumptions of accent or certain paralinguistic qualities. However, it is interesting that a major way of accomplishing the indexing of voice (in the audible sense) in Japanese is through targeting a feature of writing that has no direct parallel in speech, and changing said feature in a manner that does not explicitly affect a word or sentence's phonetic makeup (Hirose, 2007; Konno, 2013). Certainly, there are no extant claims that phonetic information is necessary to index the sound of the human voice in writing. All-caps writing and eye-dialects are also used or treated as representative of paralinguistic elements of language (V. Cook, 2004; Jaffe, 2012; McCloud, 2006; Preston, 1985; Saraceni, 2003). Still, in the analyzed manga script appears to be the most common method of graphically indexing paralinguistic elements of speech distinct to particular social groups. Eye-dialect like features, such as the replacement of vowel-lengthening hiragana with *chōonpu* (e.g., いこう (*ikō*, let's go) written as いこー), instead appear to mark something different (perhaps linguistic strategies originating in speech, as described by Kataoka (1997) and Satake (1989)), as they are found in the speech of all character groups in each manga. Changes to spelling, etc. to express pronunciation were noted in the representation of Japanese in this and other studies (Ball, 2004; Hiramoto, 2009), especially for marking Japanese dialects. However, particularly in the speech of children and non-native speakers, script seems to replace other potential avenues for variation as the primary site where the particular paralinguistic aspects of their speech are conveyed.

8.3.3 A lack of roles for rōmaji

Finally, it is worth noting that no author was seen to utilize rōmaji variants in any of the analyzed manga, even for the titles of the manga. The Roman alphabet itself was used minimally as well, only representing occasional English words written on signs in the backgrounds of panels, or to write "usagi drop" at the beginning of chapters (but not the cover) of *Usagi doroppu*. While "usagi" is

Romanized Japanese, “drop” is not. The phrase is consequently an odd combination of Romanization and translation, and perhaps best understood as emblematic English (Blommaert, 2010).

The role of rōmaji throughout each manga was therefore extremely minimal, with any noted uses aligning with Reiman’s (2001) extensive survey of the recognized or standardized uses of rōmaji in contemporary Japanese. However, unconventional use of rōmaji to represent native Japanese vocabulary is not an unobserved phenomenon, and has been seen in advertising, popular music, and corporate naming in a number of studies (Akizuki, 2005; Gottlieb, 2010b; Igarashi, 2007; F. Inoue, 2005; Masuji, 2011; Seaton, 2001; Yazaki, 2003). The reason why rōmaji was never used as an index in the manga is ultimately unclear, but the absence of rōmaji variants in dialogue may result from the fact that rōmaji is generally linked to a Western or foreign image, which is already customarily indexed through the marked use of katakana. Authors may also avoid using rōmaji for legibility reasons, as the script has a comparatively low presence in Japanese writing¹⁰², and is considered somewhat difficult to read (Gottlieb, 2010b; Sakai, 2011). Ultimately, regardless of the reasons why, rōmaji is not a characteristic element of the orthographic applications (for effect or as part of an author’s acceptable variants for an item) within the analyzed manga, and this study did not identify any new roles (as an index or otherwise) for the script.

8.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has analyzed and compared the data from all three manga in order to show the commonalities, differences, and implications of how the authors use script to index meaning within their works. The implications of these findings for future study of script selection will be discussed more fully in Chapter 9, but from the conversation so far it is clear that the intricacies of script use in the data are more complex, specific, and individual than previously described. Through placing contrasting representations in different locations, or setting up local or character-specific conventions and then violating them, authors are able to activate different effects through using the same scripts for the same vocabulary, with any single selection often part of a broader creation of meaning which runs throughout an entire text. Furthermore, authors are not simply selecting a script based on its indexical field or copying prior techniques, but using the indexical potential of script for their own means and purposes. Script’s function as an index in Japanese writing is every bit as dynamic and emergent as more studied elements of language variation like spelling, dialect, and

¹⁰² Again, excepting in advertising or on signs, etc.

style, with the comprehensive meaning or intent of many excerpts lost if an author's other orthographic choices are ignored.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The primary goal of this study has been to contribute to the understanding of how script is used to create meaning in Japanese writing. Doing so required combining two ideas which, while similar in many respects, do not appear to have been commonly utilized together in prior research. The first idea is that Japanese authors associate particular qualities with each of the scripts used to write Japanese, and may consequently vary their uses of script in relation to the meaning they wish to convey (Hiraga, 2006; Iwahara et al., 2003). Through drawing upon works which reference this concept, I was able to benefit from the long history of research and discussion on script use in Japanese writing, and identify specific areas of the phenomenon that needed further detail. The second idea, at the risk of oversimplifying indexicality, is that variant features of any language can become linked to social meaning through ideologies about who uses (or should use) certain linguistic features and why (Campbell-Kibler, 2011; Eckert, 2012; Jaffe, 2012). Using indexicality allowed me to bring my discussion on script use for effect in Japanese into a more global dialogue about language variation, and attend to recommendations from researchers like Masuji (2011, 2013) for more comprehensive and context-sensitive analysis of the use of script for effect in written Japanese.

In combining ideas from the two fields, I attempted to provide a detailed analysis of what effects are linked to particular scripts or patterns of script use in each manga, how each manga author created meaning through variation in their use of script, and the implications of their uses of script to index character traits, identities, and social voices. After coding the dialogue in each manga, the orthographic variation was examined in relation to the norms of script use in a host text, or the norms for script use in the dialogue of specific characters. Both nonstandard and contrastive uses of all scripts were examined in context, with use of script for effect in each manga identified through uncovering consistent trends in locally nonstandard or variant script use that occurred across definable contexts. Initial analysis of the script use in each individual manga was conducted in Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7, and discussion of the data as a whole followed in Chapter 8. Across the four chapters, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What connections between script and meaning can be revealed through systematic analysis of the dialogue in each manga?
2. How do the three authors utilize script to index meaning throughout their texts?
3. What does the orthographic variation in the analyzed manga contribute to our understanding of the roles of script in Japanese writing?

In this final chapter, I will first summarize the major findings from the last four chapters in relation to each research question. In the following section, I consider the theoretical, practical, and methodological implications of the study's findings for further engagement with script selection for effect in Japanese writing. I then close the thesis by outlining its limitations, and suggesting directions for future investigation into script selection for effect in written Japanese.

9.1 Summary of major findings

The following three sections will begin with a summary of the major findings of this thesis in relation to each research question. At the end of each summary, I will discuss the broader importance of the findings in relation to our understanding of how script can contribute to the meaning of a Japanese text.

9.1.1 Evidencing connections between script and meaning

Out of the various connections between specific scripts and specific effects evidenced in this study, the vast majority aligned with the associations or semantic images found connected to each script in prior psycholinguistic research (Iwahara & Hatta, 2004; Iwahara et al., 2003; Ukita et al., 1996). Broadly speaking, this study found links between the kanji script and maturity, adulthood, intelligence, or masculinity; the hiragana script and children, foolishness, femininity, and sadness or similar emotional states; and the katakana script and foreignness/non-native speaker identities, awkwardness, shock, or negativity. At the most basic level, the systematic analysis of script use in this study therefore agrees with and supports prior descriptions (detailed in 3.2.1) of the assumed effects Japanese authors commonly use each script to create.

However, in answering the first research question this study showed that broad descriptions of any script's indexical field often do not describe the exact effects a script is chosen to create. The connections I listed in the preceding paragraph are correct in a sense, but fail to recognize that script is always used in some context, and that connections between an index and a referent can be both personal and ideological (Blommaert, 2016; Davila, 2012). For example, while the data showed that multiple authors used hiragana to index what can broadly be described as a normative child identity, the exact definition of this identity (or the traits treated as normative within it) was different in each manga. Similarly, the data showed that the femininity indexed through hiragana in *Usagi doroppu* is

defined in an almost strictly biological sense, while the maturity the authors of all three manga indexed through kanji related to norms of behavior rather than age.

Another major finding is that some elements of each script's indexical field have yet to be detailed. For instance, the data from *Usagi doroppu* showed links between katakana and an adolescent masculinity (see 6.3.2). The connection was unexpected, as katakana was not commonly referred to as masculine or feminine in the literature, especially in comparison to hiragana and kanji. Furthermore, the few studies that made reference to links between gender and katakana more commonly described the script as part of orthographic practices associated with adolescent females (I. Inoue et al., 2006; Kataoka, 1995, 1997; Sakai, 2011; Sasahara, 2002; Satake, 1989). While the origins of this masculine, or at least unfeminine, connection with katakana are unclear, its existence shows that the perceptions of each script (like the specific definition of an indexed trait) can differ between any two individuals. Certainly, I do not intend to claim that anyone has stated that images of each script are universal throughout Japan. However, descriptions of each script to date, including my own in Chapter 3 of this study and my prior research (Robertson, 2015), have at least implicitly treated each script's major referents as fairly static and broadly agreed upon. In further study of script selection to create meaning, it is important we also recognize that the indexical field of any script can be subject to evolution, change, and manipulation, and that widespread (i.e., Japan-wide), localized, or even individual conceptions of the indexical field of each script exist.

Finally, in answering the first research question I also found that sets of conventions for script use can be connected to registers, and work with other variants in a dialogue to index "social voices" (Agha, 2005, p. 45). The study made it clear that there is a distinct difference between the targeted locally nonstandard selection of a script to index meaning (e.g., using locally marked applications of kanji to index a serious manner), and the prominent employment of the same script due the adoption of a set of guidelines or preferences for script use (e.g., an increase of kanji use that automatically results from adopting the conventions of standard written Japanese). The two phenomena are at times used to evoke related effects, but a set of guidelines for script use can stand on its own as a recognized construct with its own indexical field. Prior research on script selection has certainly acknowledged that the nonstandard nature of script use (particularly katakana use) can itself be meaningful (Satake, 1989; Tsuchiya, 1977). The findings of this study contribute to this understanding by showing that nonstandard styles of script use do not necessarily acquire meaning through their nonstandard nature alone. Different sets of localized or informal conventions of script use can be connected to social voices which, while all arguably nonstandard or subcultural, are distinct from one another. For instance, while both deviate from standard script use

in Japanese writing in obvious ways, there is a definable difference between the orthographic standards which this study noted as part of a non-native speaker register and those which were noted as part of a child register.

9.1.2 Using script to index meaning

In answering the second research question, the study echoed the works of researchers like Narasaki (2009) and Masuji (2011, 2013) in finding that the creation of meaning through script selection goes beyond any single use of script. Within the data, I observed three ways in which authors created meaning through script selection outside of the basic act of selecting a locally nonstandard representation to activate an element of its indexical field.

The first, and most important, was through the use of contrast. At no point in any manga was a selection of script seen to exist in isolation. Authors are, of course, always contrasting a variant representation with some kind of orthographic standard, be it localized or codified at the national level. In this respect prior studies of nonstandard script use have long recognized the importance of contrast. However, the data of this study showed the difficulty of defining nonstandard script selection, and the importance of determining exactly which conventions or representations an author intends their selection to contrast with when conducting any analysis of orthographic variation. None of the analyzed texts perfectly followed standard Japanese script use, and each contained multiple competing sets of orthographic conventions. Representations that were nonstandard in the speech of one group could therefore be normative in another, and noted uses of script for effect were often better described as acceptable or contrasting variants than outright deviations from any established norm. In short, the locations where a specific variant representation was employed and the locations of the representations it contrasted with were frequently vital parts of how the studied authors created meaning through orthographic variation. As a result, very few of the uses of script for effect that I noticed in this study would retain their indexical function if examined out of context, or if compared without separating script use by author, text, and/or character.

Authors were also seen to guide the message conveyed by a selected script through adjusting the extent to which they used a script, or targeting specific sentence elements for variation. Unlike contrast, these two techniques were not constantly part of the creation of meaning through script, but were important to attend to when examining how authors indexed distinct effects through the marked use of a single script. While I have argued from the beginning of this study that

motives for script selection should not be analyzed out of context, the fundamental finding that script use for effect goes beyond just the locally nonstandard use of a script adds further weight to why comprehensive examination of a text is so important. Certainly, script selection can simply be an attempt to adjust the meaning/connotation of a word or change the feel of a sentence, such as the use of katakana or kanji to indicate what kind of coffee a café might serve (K. Nakamura, 1983). However, there is also value in attending to whether only one word is subject to script selection, or if marked uses of a script occur throughout an entire text. In the aforementioned case of signage within a café, this means checking to see if “coffee” is the only word conspicuously written in kanji, or if its representation is just one part of script choices throughout the café which work together to convey a message.

Ultimately, this study has shown that the creation of meaning through any single instance of script selection often involves the locations of a script’s use (in manga, this refers to the speaker and context of the speech act), the extent of its use, the locations where it is avoided, the locations where other variant representations of the same item are used, and the surrounding features or contents of the text. While variant script use can be intended to create meaning limited to the definition of a single word or the feel of a single sentence, if we fail to examine the script use in other parts of a text we cannot be confident in our descriptions of what the author is trying to contribute to a “total linguistic fact” (Silverstein, 1985, p. 220) via the orthographic channel.

As a result, one of the most important findings of this thesis is that script selection always takes place in Japanese writing, and is always a potential influence on (or part of) the message of any Japanese text. Due to the prevalence of orthographic selection within the Japanese linguistic landscape, even a decision to adhere to standard Japanese script use or avoid orthographic variation entirely can become socially meaningful. Consequently, authors do not always create meaning through script selection by adjusting individual representations within the confines of a sentence or block of text. Their use of a script or inclusion of (certain styles of) variation can be part of a greater creation of meaning which runs throughout an entire text or genre, with patterns of script use a potential part of how an author signals information about the voice, style, or level of formality they wish to evoke.

9.1.3 The roles of script

Lastly, the long-recognized use of script to create meaning in Japan has already made it clear that kanji, hiragana, and katakana are more than just ways of representing the Japanese language (Kess &

Miyamoto, 1999). However, the data in this study found that script is not simply a location where meaning is expressed or created, but also where social or linguistic ideologies about language and language users can be expressed, negotiated, or validated. From analysis of the interview data and repeated observations of particular applications of script across multiple manga, it became clear that some of the authors' uses of script to mark distinct identities or voices were influenced by orthographic acts they had previously encountered. In adopting specific uses of script for effect in their own works, the authors recognize the legitimacy or even necessity of the (style of) marking, and (re-)disseminate the sociolinguistic messages that lead to its prior use (Silverstein, 1976). To give a specific example, the marking of non-native voices with katakana is not a technique first developed by the author of *Indo meoto jawan*, but rather the product of ideologies about both katakana and non-native speakers. The author's uses of katakana norms limited to non-native speech convey and reaffirm the links between katakana and foreignness or non-native speakers that motivated the script's selection, and legitimize or transmit ideologies that treat nonfluent Japanese production as a normative trait of non-native speakers (Narasaki, 2009; Robertson, 2015).

Like spelling, word choice, accent, or other elements of language variation, script therefore has a role as a site where authors define or emphasize what is normative and what is marked (and potentially how it is marked) (Agha, 2003; Wortham & Reyes, 2015). As a result, script ends up playing a part in Japanese readers' (orthographic) socialization, and, along with features of language like pronouns, sentence final particles, dialect, or variant spellings (Hiramoto, 2009; M. Inoue, 2003a; M. Nakamura, 2013), contributes to "the totality of semiotic means by which items and categories, individuals and social groups, along with their attributes and values, are identified, thematised, focused, shaped and made intelligible" (Coupland, 2010, p. 242) in Japanese writing.

Finally, this study also confirmed the existence of some practical roles of script, and contributed new details to the understanding of their function. Outside of roles recognized in official descriptions, perhaps the most well-discussed role of script evidenced in this study was as a representation of rhythm, accent, or other paralinguistic aspects of speech. This study has shown that this indexing almost always goes beyond marking accent, etc., but my findings do agree with a long history of comments that Japanese authors use script to represent the sound of the human voice (Kinsui, 2014; Robertson, 2015; Masami Shibata, 1998; Takemura, 1955). The data showed that script often takes precedence over spelling for indexing the voice of children and non-native speakers in Japanese, and that the extent of a script's marked use can be part of how the strength or relevance of a paralinguistic aspect of speech is conveyed. Certainly, it is hard to imagine that this

role of script would be relevant in formal Japanese writing, but its common-place nature deserves further recognition and detail in broad descriptions of motives for script variation in Japanese.

9.2 Contributions and implications for future research

Now that the major findings of the current study have been reviewed, this section will detail its theoretical and methodological contributions and implications. The primary contributions of this thesis relate to how we view the use of script to create meaning in Japanese. At times, the analyzed authors' uses of script were, as has been described in the past, intended to elaborate the meaning of a particular word or express the author's evaluation of it (Hudson & Sakakibara, 2007; Satake, 1980, 1989). However, in most cases the use of script for effect was seen to be much more multifaceted, and a selection was commonly intended to reflect upon the language user themselves (here, the characters in the comic) rather than on the word subject to a locally nonstandard representation. Authors used script to index everything from broad, stereotypical identities, similar to an orthographic version of Kinsui's (2003, 2007, 2011) concept of *yakuwarigo*, to elements treated as normative to certain identities, registers, stances or manners of self-presentation, character development, and paralinguistic aspects of speech. At least within the representation of dialogue, the use of Japanese script for effect can convey as complex, nuanced, and context-dependent information as more studied elements of linguistic variation in Japanese, and this study makes it clear that we must therefore study the social use of script with the same tools and rigor. Future investigation into the use of script to index meaning in Japanese texts must recognize that selections can be individual and social acts, and can result from both localized (sub-cultural or individual) and national interpretive repertoires of the indexical field of each script.

Another major contribution of this thesis is in showing that methodology which does not involve analysis of the script use throughout large bodies of text, or does not allow for the potential of selections resulting from localized or individual preferences for script use, is often unable to grasp nuances of an author's intent. As a corollary, declaring that a variant is nonstandard, especially without determining the local script preferences, is not enough to establish that the variant is intended to index meaning in a sample of Japanese writing. Similarly, looking at who is using a marked employment of script does not necessarily tell us what they are intending to convey through the selection. The data collection in this study echoed the observations of researchers like Rowe (1976, 1981) and Saiga (1955) in finding that much of the variation was difficult to attribute to any particular motive. However, on a positive note the results of this study make it clear that if we

systematically examine and contrast the contexts where all variants are used, we can grasp an author's motives at a deeper level than previously obtainable. Furthermore, we can uncover clear uses of script for effect that otherwise risk being passed over due to their alignment with the norms of standard Japanese, and better ensure that uncommon representations are not mistaken for nonstandard uses of script to index meaning. The methodology of this study builds on the success of similar systematic and context-focused investigations of script selection (e.g., Masuji, 2011, 2013, 2015; Narasaki, 2009). It provides another successful model for moving beyond the limitations of styles of analysis that rely on excerpts, or explain the motives for script use by referring to who creates the analyzed text.

Similarly, during the analysis of the data from each manga it became clear that studies on script use are sure to overlook elements of the author's intent if we do not pay attention to the script variation throughout a written text. While it has been used throughout this thesis, the term "script selection" is perhaps a slight misnomer, as it may give the impression that we are discussing singular or planned acts. Indexing through script is not necessarily conducted through individual selections, nor is it necessarily the result of premeditated selections within a specific utterance. Preferences which influence the script use across a text can be meaningful, and research discussing script use on any large scale must minimally consider if, how, and why an author's local standards contrast with those of standard Japanese. At least within manga, contrasting preferences can also be established within a single text, and it is necessary for research to consider if a particular variant is intended to index something about a particular scene, or whether it is part of contrasts (in the case of manga, from orthographic idiolects or competing character-based standards) that are partially important due to their relationships throughout a text.

The data in this study also has contributions for the instruction and translation of Japanese writing. Despite the importance of script selection evidenced in this thesis, instruction on how to use or navigate orthographic variation in Japanese writing is rarely included in major Japanese textbooks, and if so only as an aside (Robertson, 2013). While it is obviously important to teach standard rules for the use of each script before teaching how to engage with orthographic play, learning how script can affect the interpretation of text is a relevant issue for advanced students of contemporary Japanese. Like in all languages, casual methods of written communication that welcome variation in language use, e.g., text messages, social networks, and emails, are now commonplace in Japan (Gottlieb, 2010a; Nishimura, 2003a, 2003b), and represent an important venue through which contemporary learners of Japanese communicate with native speakers (Pasfield-Neofitou, 2012a, 2012b). This study cannot comment on the specific ways in which the importance of script can or

should be taught. However, the examples of script use for effect evidenced within this thesis stand as useful tools for awareness raising, and the study has evidenced new details of how contemporary authors use kanji, hiragana, and katakana for effect that may be useful for learners to be familiar with.

Finally, outside of script use in Japan, this study also has some tentative implications for how we discuss indexicality and script selection on a broader scale. In an extensive discussion of the social importance of script throughout the world, Unseth (2005) compares script to dialect or code, in that it can be used to identify oneself with, or distance oneself from, a language community. While these analogies are useful in many cases, we must recognize that they do not always aptly describe the uses of script seen in this study. The selection of kanji, hiragana, or katakana to index meaning is not a binary like dialect. While code-switching is perhaps a more apt comparison, not all the noted selections were similar to adjustments between languages and registers. Rather, this thesis showed that script selection in Japanese writing can be similar to lexical or grammatical selections made within a single language, language community, or register, and individual scripts can acquire indexical referents that go beyond a specific community of users. In fact, in the indexing of non-native speakers, we see katakana used to index the identity of a community who are in no way the actual users of the script, with the othering or mocking of speakers also possible through an orthographic channel. As a result, this study echoes the work of researchers like Spitzmüller (2012, 2015) in finding that the use of script as an index can involve variation within a single language act, and should also be studied broadly. Script is best described as an entire avenue for linguistic variation, such as spelling or speech, which can be used in a number of ways to index a wide variety of identities, styles, registers, and effects. While this study cannot comment on the question of how often or for what purposes inter-text script selection occurs in other writing systems, it is clear that script selection is not merely analogous to a specific type of spoken variation. Rather, it is an entire avenue for variation through which many styles and methods of indexing social meaning can be performed.

9.3 Limitations and directions for future research

In this section I address the limitations of the current study in terms of methodology, analysis, and scope, and provide suggestions for further investigation into the motives and importance of script selection for effect in Japanese writing. The current study has made important contributions to how

we understand and research script selection for effect, but there is much left to discover about how script is used in written Japanese.

While this study attempts to provide insights into the broad question of how script is used to index social meaning in Japanese writing, its generalizability is limited due to its sole use of manga for data. The multimodal nature of comics and their penchant for graphic language play (see McCloud, 1993, 2006; Unser-Schutz, 2011) made manga an attractive data source for this study, but the lack of attention paid to other mediums raises the question of if certain uses of script I identified in this study are common or even acceptable in other genres or styles of writing. This concern is especially relevant for texts that do not contain written representations of dialogue. As a corollary, there may be uses of script for effect common to other styles or genres of Japanese writing that are rarely seen within manga. One obvious example is the use of rōmaji as an index. While this study found no variant use of the script whatsoever, there is wide recognition of the script's use to create meaning within genres like advertising (Gottlieb, 2010b; Joyce et al., 2012).

Future research on script selection could therefore benefit from investigating other types of writing while giving the same attention to context applied in this study. As different styles or genres of writing have different needs, purposes, target audiences, and authors (or author demographics), it is impossible to paint a full picture of how meaning is created and negotiated through script by examining manga alone. Genres like diaries, blogs, letters, or long text-based digital conversations between consistent parties are of particular interest, as they will allow insight into how authors use script to position themselves (in the sense described by Bucholtz & Hall (2005a)) in relation to complex interactional demands, rather than how they position fictional others in relation to designed scenes. Comparison between authors or interlocutor pairs of different ages, genders, sexual orientations, etc., would also allow analysis of if and how different groups use script in different ways, a topic which has been touched on in prior research but was not part of this study. In short, research on how orthographic selection factors into an author's self-presentation would tackle an aspect of script selection that this study was only able to address briefly, and only in relation to one of the three data sources. Comparisons of script use in different genres, especially when a single author's works are compared, are also recommended, as they may obtain additional detail regarding genre-specific script uses, and further illuminate how surrounding elements of a text allow similar selections of script to create markedly different effects.

My recommendations so far have focused on studies which use sources other than manga for data, but this should not be taken to imply that research into script's function as an index within manga is finished. There are also limitations in this study which are tied to the specific manga I used

for analysis. While none of the three manga are avant-garde or “cult”, they do all fall into the slice-of-life genre, and are all written by women for a somewhat (or in the case of *Chokotan!*, predominantly) female audience. Examining manga written for other target demographics would allow for better cataloguing of how authors use each script to create effects, and what effects they use each script to create. For instance, the author of *Usagi doroppu* mentioned that Japanese spoken by robots and aliens was often represented in a manner similar to that of foreigners. However, as none of the manga contained robots or aliens, this study was unable to actually observe and discuss the phenomenon. Comparing and contrasting the nuances of script use to index traits, identities, or even registers and prosodic styles that were not present in the manga used in the current study would allow us to see if certain orthographic techniques can index even broader identities than observed here. For example, if there are particular nuances that separate how authors use katakana to represent non-native, robot, and alien dialogue. Furthermore, by using works with different target audiences than the three manga in this study, we can discover if concerns of audience influence the ways in which (or extents to which) authors utilize script for effect.

Additionally, this study’s limited focus on how script is used to create meaning meant that only ancillary attention could be paid to the broader multimodal creation of meaning in any particular panel. Throughout this study, I tried to recognize that script was always interacting with the graphic elements of the panels around it, and often used these elements to help define what meaning authors were trying to create through a particular selection of script. However, any in-depth discussion of the interactions between script and these graphic features was outside the scope of the study’s primary interests. The graphic features were therefore never given full analysis or focus. In fact, on many occasions graphic features were instead used to show what script was *not* being used to convey in a specific panel. In giving only limited attention to elements of the text like font, speech bubbles, the size and shape of text, and similar recognized elements of meaning creation in comics (Armour & Takeyama, 2015; McCloud, 1993; Unser-Schutz, 2011), I was unable to fully explore complex interactions between script and graphic features of the manga. While I do not mean to imply that the findings of this study are only relevant to the manga genre, it is unquestionable that script is a particularly important part of how authors convey a message through the manga medium, and the broader question of script’s role within manga’s multimodal creation of meaning demands further investigation.

Moving beyond recommendations based on this study’s limitations, it may also be beneficial for further research on script selection to examine orthographic variation in a manner that shifts the

focus from authors' selections to readers' interpretations. This has already been conducted to some extent on a word-level basis in psycholinguistic research (Iwahara & Hatta, 2004; Iwahara et al., 2003), but it would be interesting to see how script use influences the interpretation of larger texts. After all, in understanding how script creates meaning it is also necessary to answer questions of if and how readers interpret the nonstandard or variant uses of script they encounter in the Japanese linguistic (specifically, orthographic) landscape. As one potential suggestion, studies which examine readers' impressions of otherwise similar texts written using different orthographic guises, similar to the pronunciation or spelling guises employed in studies of English (e.g., Campbell-Kibler, 2007; Jaffe & Walton, 2000; Preston, 1985), would be a valuable step in understanding in what ways and to what extents readers notice or attend to types of orthographic variation. Based on the findings of this study, even just examining the effects of applying a guise to pronouns used in a document might produce valuable data. Research involving non-native Japanese speakers as participants could also be interesting, in that it would indicate the extent to which their experiences and study has allowed them to navigate the orthographic variation within Japanese writing. It may also provide clues into the extent that indexing meaning through script relies on socialization into the Japanese writing system, and the extent that it relies on more universal mechanisms. Finally, researching the history of script use for effect in genres like manga would also be of value, as there does not appear to be much study to date on how long script has played a role in indexing meaning in these texts, and if the major uses of each script for effect seen in this study (such as marked representation of pronouns) have changed over the years. The use of katakana in non-native speech in particular appears to have a very long history (Kinsui, 2014), but the nuances of how this marking has developed and changed have yet to be fully detailed.

Finally, regarding broader research into the function of graphic elements of writing as an index, studies into orthographic elements of registers in writing, orthographic chains, or similar phenomena in other languages is recommended. Doing so brings about certain difficulties, as these phenomena are likely quite limited in scope, usage, or importance in writing systems outside of Japanese. Minimally, there is value in further consideration of the importance of script, font, or other flexible graphic elements of writing in the social creation and negotiation of meaning, as it is clear that language users not only possess ideas about who uses certain vocabulary, styles of pronunciation, or even spellings, but also about who uses certain methods of representing a language (Unseth, 2005). The potential use of graphic aspects of text to "other" (Coupland, 2010) identities or index paralinguistic aspects of spoken language in particular warrants further

investigation, as it may simply require a dominant and locally nonstandard script, rather than the interaction of multiple scripts necessary for many of the effects seen in this study of Japanese.

9.4 Final remarks

In this thesis I have shown that the selection of script was a complicated but important part of the creation of meaning in the analyzed texts. There is much left to do if we are to fully understand how script is used as an index in contemporary Japanese writing. However, this study represents a significant step forward, as its findings contribute to our understanding of how authors use script to create specific effects in Japanese writing, which scripts are used for which purposes, and how we should analyze and discuss orthographic variation. More than anything, this study has shown that script's contribution to meaning in a Japanese text is intricate, interacts with other uses of script or sentence elements, and always potentially present. If we are to access the total linguistic fact intended by any Japanese author, we must therefore ensure that we pay attention to their uses of script, as script selection can be just as essential, targeted, and nuanced an element of a text as other types of variation in Japanese language use. In summation, this study shows that script is an active site for the creation and negotiation of social meaning and ideology in written Japanese. Ignoring how an author utilizes kanji, hiragana, and katakana throughout their writing risks overlooking major elements of the message they wish to convey.

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Appendix

Interview with Unita Yumi

1. 最初に少々一般的な質問で始めたいと思ってます。他のインタビューによると、先生が漫画を描き始めたのは25歳ぐらいだそうです。漫画のストーリーを考えたり、実際に台詞をかかれたりするようになったのはいつごろでしょうか。

First, I'd like to begin with general questions. According to other interviews, you began writing manga at the age of 25, but at what age did you start thinking about stories or writing dialogue?

2. 漫画を描き始められた時、どのような点で、台詞の難しさを感じられましたか。簡単に自然に感じられたところがありましたか？

When you started writing manga, at what points did you feel difficulty in creating dialogue? Were there aspects you found to be natural?

次に、台詞についてお伺いしたいのですが、

Next, I'd like to ask about writing the manga's script,

3. 台詞を考えられる際に、どのような順番で作られていますか。例えば、台詞の内容や構造は、漫画を描く前までにどのぐらいきまっているものでしょうか。そして、どのぐらい原稿を書いている途中で話を作られていますか。

When thinking up a script, what order does its creation progress in? For example, before drawing the comic, to what extent is the content or structure of the dialogue decided? Also, to what extent is the dialogue created during the creation of the initial manga draft?

4. セリフは、登場人物の性格、人柄が表れるように様々な点で工夫されていると思います。先生ご自身は、特にどのような点に気を付けていらっしゃいますか。

I think that dialogue is often created to make a character's identity or personality come through. In this respect, what aspects of creating dialogue do you pay particular attention to?

5. ひらがなや漢字やカタカナを台詞でどのように使うかといった点で、先生のお考えを教えてくださいませんか。どのような点に注意されていますか。

How do you use hiragana, kanji, and katakana while writing your scripts? What points do you pay particular attention to?

6. 先生の編集や校正方法についてお話を聞かせていただけますでしょうか。例えば、台詞は最初に選んだ言葉遣いや文字表記をそのまま使うことのほうが多いですか。あるいは、編集の過程で、見直しながらその都度、変えるといったほうが多いでしょうか。

I'm wondering if you could tell me about your proofreading process. For example, do you often stick with the word or script choice in your initial draft? Or is it more correct to say that you change them throughout the editing process?

これから、「うさぎドロップ」の台詞について、特定の文字表記のし方についてさらに詳しくお伺いしたいとおもっています。やや細かい点ですので、もしお分かりにならなければ「わからない」と答えてくださっても構いませんので、よろしく願いいたします。

From here, I'm hoping to ask about *Usagi doroppu*. These questions are quite specific, so if you do not know the answer please feel free to say so.

7. 登場人物の台詞の中で、特に特徴的なのが、子供の登場人物のものだと思います。子供の台詞には漢字があまりなくて、その代わりにひらがなが多く使われています。先生はどのような効果を狙ってこの書き方にされましたか？
Within the characters' speech, children's speech stands out as very particular. There are few kanji, and in place of them there is lots of hiragana. What effect did you aim for in writing their dialogue in this way?
8. 先生ご自身は平仮名だけで書いてある日本語をご覧になると、どのようにお感じになりますか。
When you see Japanese written entirely in hiragana, how do you interpret it?
9. もし、子供の台詞が大人のと似て標準的な日本語（つまり漢字のある日本語）で書かれたとしたら、読者が見たらどのように感じると思われますか？
When they encounter children's dialogue that is written in the same manner as adults' dialogue (that is, with kanji), how do you think readers treat it?
10. あり得ないことかもしれませんが、子供の台詞をひらがなの代わりにカタカナで書くとういう効果があると思われませんか？
This may never actually occur, but if children's dialogue was written entirely in katakana instead of hiragana, what do you think the effect would be?
11. 4巻以降、子供の台詞にも漢字が少しずつ現れます。この部分を読んだ時に、台詞の漢字の表れに伴って、登場人物の成長過程が描かれている印象を受けましたが、先生はどのような効果を狙って漢字を書くことにされたのでしょうか。
From the fourth volume, a few kanji appear in children's dialogue. When reading this, I felt like the children's development was being shown to occur along with the kanji, but what effect did you aim for when writing the dialogue in this way?
12. 非常に興味深いことだと思っておりましたが、「大吉」という漢字以外に子供の台詞に現れる漢字のすべてが日本の「学年別漢字配当表」（教育漢字）によって定められている1年生と2年生が小学校で実際に教わる漢字です。意図してその特定の漢字を選ばれましたか。
I thought it was interesting that, excepting the kanji for Daikichi's name, all the kanji you used in children's dialogue is included in the kanji that the government sets for first and second grade elementary school students to learn. Was this intentional?
13. 先生の漫画では男性の登場人物が普段自分をボクかオレと呼びますが、この二つの言葉はある場面はカタカナで、またある場面では漢字で書いてあります。例えば、大吉さんの使う「俺」は常に漢字で書いてありますが、部下の使う「俺」はいつもカタカナで書いてあります。この点は、意識されてこのような表記の区別をされていますか？もしそうだとしたら、どのようなお考えでされていたらっしゃいますか？
In your manga, men often use *boku* and *ore* in katakana, but sometimes they also use them in kanji. For instance, Daikichi uses *ore* in kanji usually, but his employee uses a katakana-rendered *ore*. Did you plan this divide? If so, could you tell me about the thought process behind it?
14. 女性の登場人物は自分をよく「あたし」か「わたし」と呼びますが、うさぎドロップの中で多くの場合「わたし」はひらがなで書いてあります。女性の台詞には漢字で書かれた「私」が五つしかなくて、その中の三つがコウキ君のお母さんの台詞に現れます。そして、実はこの三つの漢字の「私」は同じ話、（6巻198ページから

Interview with Rinko Nagami

1. 最初に少々一般的な質問で始めたいと思ってます。先生のホームページによると、小学校2年生の時からノート漫画などを描き始めたそうですが、漫画のストーリーを考えたり、実際にセリフをかかれたりするようになったのはいつごろでしょうか。
I'd like to begin with some general questions. According to your website, you began writing manga since you were a second grader in elementary school, but when did you begin thinking about stories for manga, or writing dialogue?
2. 漫画のを描き始められた時、どのような点で、セリフの難しさを感じられましたか。簡単で自然に感じられたところはありましたか？
When you started writing manga, at what point did you feel difficulty in creating dialogue? Were there aspects you found to come naturally?

次に、セリフについてお伺いしたいのですが、
Next, I'd like to ask about writing the manga's script,

3. セリフを考えられる際に、どのような順番で作られていますか。例えば、セリフの内容や構造は、漫画を描く前までにどのぐらいきまっているものでしょうか。そして、どのぐらい原稿を書いている途中で話を作られていますか。
When thinking up a script, what order does its creation progress in? For example, before drawing the comic, to what extent is the content or structure of the dialogue decided? Also, to what extent is the dialogue created during the creation of the initial manga draft?
4. 「インド夫婦茶碗」ではご自身のエピソードをかかれています。セリフでご家族や他の登場人物の人柄が表れるようにどのような工夫をされていますか。先生ご自身は、特にどのような点に気を付けていらっしゃいますか。
Indo meoto jawan includes episodes from your life, and so how do you make sure the personalities of your family members or other characters come out in the dialogue? What specific points do you pay attention to?
5. ひらがなや漢字やカタカナをセリフでどのように使うかといった点で、先生のお考えを教えてくださいませんか。どのような点に注意されていますか。
How do you use hiragana, kanji, and katakana while writing your scripts? What points do you pay particular attention to?
6. 先生の編集や校正方法についてお話を聞かせていただけますでしょうか。例えば、セリフは最初に選んだ言葉遣いや文字表記をそのまま使うことのほうが多いですか。あるいは、編集の過程で、見直しながらその都度、変えるといったほうが多いでしょうか。
I'm wondering if you could tell me about your proofreading process. For example, do you often stick with the word or script choice in your initial draft? Or is it more correct to say that you change them throughout the editing process?

これから、「インド夫婦茶碗」と「働く！！インド人」のセリフについて、特定の文字表記の仕方についてさらに詳しくお伺いしたいとおもっています。やや細かい点ですので、もしお分かりにならなければ「わからない」と答えてくださっても構いませんので、よろしくお願いたします。

From here, I'm hoping to ask about specific uses of script in *Indo meoto jawan* and *Hataraku!!*

Indojin. These questions are quite specific, so if you do not know the answer please feel free to say so.

7. 先生の漫画のセリフで特徴的なもののひとつに、「私」のために使われる文字があげられると思います。作品中で、先生とサッシーさんはよく自分を「わたし」と呼びますが、サッシーさんの場合普段カタカナで書かれ、先生の場合普段漢字で書かれています。私は1読者としてこの区別は日本語の母語話者と学習者を区別させるという印象を持ちましたが、先生はどのような効果を狙って「私」の文字表記を区別されたのでしょうか？

In your manga, one use of script that I think stands out is the use of script for *watashi*. In your manga, you and Sashī both use *watashi*, but in Sashī's case it is written in katakana, and in your case it is written in kanji. As a reader, I got the impression that you were dividing native and non-native speakers, but what specific effect were you aiming for with this divide?

8. 先生の本かれた漫画にはたまにサッシーや他の外国人登場人物のセリフには比標準的なカタカナ、例えばカタカナで書かれた「デス」、がたまに見えますが、セリフをお考えになる時に、どのようにして「です」を平仮名かカタカナで書くのを決められていますか？

In the manga, Sashī and the other foreign characters sometimes have nonstandard uses of katakana, such as for the copula *desu*, in their speech. When writing the dialogue, how do you decide when to write items like *desu* in katakana?

9. 他の外国人登場人物のいる漫画にはたまに外国人のセリフの全てがカタカナで書かれています。「私」だけをカタカナにする方法とセリフのほとんどをカタカナにする方法とは違いがあると感じられますか？

In other manga with non-Japanese characters, sometimes the dialogue is written entirely in katakana. Do you feel there is a difference between writing just *watashi* in katakana, and writing everything in katakana?

10. 流水先生の漫画にはサッシーさんの「私」が珍しく漢字で書いてあることがあります。例えば「働く！！インド人」p. 128、あるいは3巻の48ページに見えます。下記にこのページからの抜粋をお入れしました。このコマでは意図してワタシを漢字で書かれたのでしょうか。そして、もしそうだとしたら、漢字の代わりにひらがなを使ったらどういった効果があると思われませんか？

Sometimes in the manga Sashī's *watashi* is written in kanji. For example, in *Hataraku!! Indojin* p. 128, or Vol. 3 p. 48 of *Indo meoto jawan*. I've attached excerpts of these pages below. Did you select kanji intentionally in these panels? If so, how do you think selecting hiragana instead of kanji would change the effect?



11. たまに、先生の使う「私」がカタカナで書かれてあります。下記に例をお入れしましたのでご覧になってください（左は4巻80から、右は5巻114ページからです）。日本人の使うカタカナの「私」と漢字の「私」には違いがあると感じられますか。Sometimes, the *watashi* in your dialogue is written in kanji, as in the example below (the excerpt on the left is from Vol. 4, p. 80, and the excerpt on the right is from Vol. 5, p. 114). Do you feel there is a difference between a katakana-*watashi* used by Japanese speakers and a kanji-*watashi* used by Japanese speakers?



12. 外国人のセリフに現れる特別なカタカナ以外で、特徴的だと感じたのが子供のセリフです。子供のセリフには漢字がなく、平仮名が多いと思うのですが、先生はどのような効果を狙ってその書き方にされましたか？
Outside of non-native speakers' use of katakana, I think the speech of children stands out the most in the manga. In children's speech, there is a lot of hiragana and no kanji. What effect were you aiming for in writing the dialogue this way?
13. もし、子供のセリフが大人のと似て標準的な日本語（つまり漢字のある日本語）で書かれたとしたら、読者が見たらどのように感じると思われますか？
When they encounter children's dialogue that is written in the same manner as adults' dialogue (that is, with kanji), how do you think readers treat it?
14. あり得ないことかもしれませんが、子供のセリフをひらがなの代わりにカタカナで書かれたらどういう効果があると思われますか？
This may never actually occur, but if children's dialogue was written entirely in katakana instead of hiragana, what do you think the effect would be?
15. 子供が育つにつれて、セリフに漢字が少しずつ現れます。この部分を読んだ時に、セリフの漢字の表れに伴って、登場人物の成長過程が描かれている印象を受けましたが、先生はどのような効果を狙って漢字を書くことにされたのでしょうか。
As children age, a few kanji appear in children's dialogue. When reading this, I felt like the

