Who Did You Say You Were?
A case study of character creation through language usage in Takarazuka plays.

By Helena Nilsson
Abstract

This case study of the effectiveness of the usage of Japanese role language uses character portrayals from performances by the theatre company Takarazuka Revue to investigate how native Japanese speakers perceive characters solely based upon lexical or grammatical cues in spoken language.

With a foundation in Satoshi Kinsui’s description of role language and Christopher Vogler’s character archetypes, a number of protagonists, antagonists and supporting characters were selected for their disparate characteristics and conformity with different stereotypes to see if there were particular speech patterns which could be seen for example among good and evil characters, or protagonists and non-protagonists. The conclusion reached was that the informants were able to discern both patterns of conformity and divergence between these particular characters.

It was also seen that language structures in connection to gender identity as well as personality were aspects which were considered when evaluating the similarity between the self and the characters. While conforming to a standard language pattern was not imperative for the informants to see similarities between themselves and the characters, the character seen as the most similar to the informants used a gender-ambiguous form of standard language.

Keywords: Role language, yakuwarigo, archetypes, Kinsui, Vogler, Takarazuka
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................. 2

1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 4

2. Role Language ...................................................................................................... 5
   2.1 Politeness and Gender in Japanese ................................................................. 6
      2.1.1 Politeness .................................................................................................. 7
      2.1.2 Gender ...................................................................................................... 8
   2.2 Japanese Role Language and Usage ............................................................... 10

3. Archetypes ............................................................................................................ 14
   3.1 Vogler’s Character Archetypes ....................................................................... 14
      3.1.1 Hero ........................................................................................................ 14
      3.1.2 Mentor ..................................................................................................... 15
      3.1.3 Threshold Guardian ................................................................................ 15
      3.1.4 Herald ...................................................................................................... 16
      3.1.5 Shapeshifter ............................................................................................ 16
      3.1.6 Shadow .................................................................................................... 16
      3.1.7 Ally .......................................................................................................... 17
      3.1.8 Trickster .................................................................................................. 17
   3.2 Archetypes and Role Language ...................................................................... 17
   3.3 Protagonist, Antagonist, and Supporting Character ....................................... 21

4. Takarazuka Revue .................................................................................................. 23

5. Investigation - The Role Language of the Takarazuka Revue .............................. 24
   5.1 Purpose ............................................................................................................ 24
   5.2 Methodology .................................................................................................... 24
   5.3 Limitations ....................................................................................................... 25
   5.4 Choice of Characters ...................................................................................... 26

6. Characters and Results .......................................................................................... 28
   6.1 Protagonists .................................................................................................... 28
      6.1.1 Jack .......................................................................................................... 28
      6.1.2 Charles ..................................................................................................... 30
      6.1.3 Silvia ........................................................................................................ 31
      6.1.4 Oscar ........................................................................................................ 34
      6.1.5 Tyrian ....................................................................................................... 36
   6.2 Antagonists ...................................................................................................... 37
      6.2.1 Chauvelin .................................................................................................. 37
      6.2.2 Sophie ...................................................................................................... 39
   6.3 Supporting Characters ..................................................................................... 40
      6.3.1 Bourginon ................................................................................................ 40
      6.3.2 Cheshire ................................................................................................... 42

7. Research Questions and Discussion ...................................................................... 44

8. Concluding Remarks ............................................................................................. 57

Bibliography ............................................................................................................. 60

Appendix A: Survey ................................................................................................. 63

Appendix B: Character Utterances ........................................................................... 64
1. Introduction

Japanese role language or ‘yakuwarigo’ is an area of sociolinguistics which allows Japanese speakers to understand certain stereotypes through role-coded language. This case study will attempt to explore the usage and effect of role language in the theatrical works of the Takarazuka Revue.

The first aim of this dissertation is to lay the foundations for understanding of role-coded structures in the Japanese language, as well as how role language connects to archetypal stereotypes, upon which to build the analysis of information gathered from native Japanese speakers. This will be accomplished by first describing the theories surrounding yakuwarigo up to date, drawing upon the work of the notable yakuwarigo scholar Satoshi Kinsui, followed by giving an overview of archetypes as described by Christopher Vogler.

The investigation will focus on how language is used to portray characters in stage plays performed by a theatre group which is famous for its portrayals of male characters with an all-female cast. To establish context, a brief description of Takarazuka and its performance style will be given, leading into introducing the aims of the research.

The research will be in the form of a survey based on the language used by characters in recorded Takarazuka performances. Vogler’s character archetypes as well as other theories concerning character usage in narrative works will be used to establish character expectations for each of the chosen characters. Among the characters under scrutiny are the archetypally good protagonist and evil protagonist, as well as the antagonist and assorted supporting characters. Points of interest are comparing and contrasting protagonists with differing personal characteristics, the usage and implications of certain character archetypes, and how the construction of these characters correlates with the audience’s perception of them.

These expectations will then be compared to the results of the survey; will there be a correlation or a discrepancy between the two? The outcome will be analysed with the intention of finding the extent to which character attributes may be projected to an audience solely through the language used. Is it a feasibility that a character can be fully pictured solely through the language used, or will the detraction of other contextual cues such as visuals and tone of voice reshape the interpretability of the character?
2. Role Language

In order for the most basic communication through language to occur two requirements must be met: there must be a set of information-containing units to use (e.g. words), and there must be participants who understand those units. Language is thus “functional; [...] a tool of human communication,” (Genetti, 2014, p.6) and the possibility of communication through it relies upon the corresponding language knowledge among the participants concerning what meanings each linguistic item contains. This in turn means that every speaker of a language possesses a framework of expectations for that specific language. In her book about language policy in Japan Gottleib states:

“A speech community [...] incorporates many different ways of thinking about language, some of them made explicit, others unstated but nonetheless compelling. The dominant ones function to shape the manner in which language is handled, or managed, within that community.”

(Gottleib, 2012, p.3)

Gottleib explains that in Japan, due to the decision of attempting to create lingual homogeneity during the Meiji era, the language is still greatly influenced by the political policies of the time, since it has become imbedded in the educational system: “In Japan today, conventions of what language use is appropriate in what situation may seem to be based upon a general consensus as to what makes ‘good’ Japanese,” (Ibid, p.4). However, “[w]hen parents teach their children how to speak ‘good’ Japanese, they too are passing on what they have been taught, mediated through the same filter of schooling.” (Ibid, p.4) This is one potential reason as to why there is a distinction between the language used by most Japanese speakers, and some forms of language usage which are understood, but rarely used. This is one facet to *yakuwarigo* which Kinsui refers to as “virtual Japanese” (Kinsui, 2003, p.vi).

There are other functions of these frameworks of expectations which do not pertain solely to the bare meanings of the words used—they can also be a conduit for other kinds of messages, intended or otherwise, about the person who is speaking. In her ‘Language and the Social World’, Bucholtz says that “[c]ulturally shared ideas about language and its users [...] can profoundly shape attitudes toward speakers who do not speak socially prestigious or institutionally powerful linguistic varieties,” (Bucholtz, 2014, p.242). These shared ideas not only shape how one may perceive other individuals but allows the speaker to project a certain
image of themselves. “[T]he language that we use indicates to others how we want to be seen: as a member of various social groups based on such factors as age, gender, region, and ethnicity, and as a particular kind of person within those social groups,” (Ibid, p.241-242). Bucholtz later goes on to say that “[o]ur beliefs about language and language users are rarely neutral: we tend to perceive some forms of language as “better” — more correct, more pleasant, more intelligent-sounding — than others,” (Ibid, p.242). The language used can thus shape how a person is perceived by the people around them, and can be used to attain certain ends. The same person can display different images of themselves to different people by using language as a mask. “[L]anguage is a form of human social behavior. It can be used to build or break social bonds. It serves as a social cue to the formality or informality of a situation, and to the degree of social intimacy or distance among the people speaking,” (Genetti, 2014, p.6). This has come to be of great importance for interpersonal relationships, but also for individuals to understand the world and people around them. “From actual language usage, individuals acquire knowledge about the relationship between a particular variety of the language and its speakers, then categorise and reinforce this knowledge,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.40).

It is a deeply rooted human instinct to want to categorise and label things. This, while an extremely simplified view of how stereotypes are created, is how individuals are able to project themselves as members of a particular group. They have learned which attributes are considered favourable in the situation they are in, and act accordingly. “Every day, in every encounter, from the very first moment you begin to speak, you indicate something about yourself, your addressee, and your current situation,” (Bucholtz, 2014, p.241). To project a certain image through the language used is what in Japanese Kinsui has termed ‘yakuwarigo’ or role language (Kinsui, 2003).

2.1 Politeness and Gender in Japanese

The differences between male and female speech may be the most widely researched area of yakuwarigo. Similarly, honorifics is a major area of study which has deep connections to the very structure of Japanese communication. They are vast areas of study with many complexities and variations, which makes it difficult to give a brief summary without making some rough generalisations. Regarding reliability and accuracy, suffice to say that the
descriptions used in this summary may not be true for all cases, but will be used as a rough
guideline in order to create an understanding of the kinds of strategies which may be used to
indicate gender affiliation and politeness level.¹

2.1.1 Politeness

All Japanese utterances have some form of politeness coding. There has been
extensive work made concerning the Japanese *uchi/soto* phenomenon where “uchi refers to a
sense of a close relationship, as with people who belong, in some sense, to the same group,
whereas soto refers to a sense of a more distant relationship,” (Ide and Yoshida, 2001, p.2).
This group association is expressed through being less formal (i.e. using plain forms) with the
people who are in your *uchi* group, and by being more formal (i.e. using polite forms)
towards people with whom you have a *soto* relationship.

Honorific coding is generally produced by altering nouns and predicates (Ibid, pp.4),
but in order to provide an adequate description of how different honorific patterns work it is
best to divide honorifics into three categories: addressee honorifics, where the person being
addressed is raised in relation to the speaker; referent honorifics, where the person being
referred to is raised in relation to the speaker; and humble forms, where the speaker is
lowered in relation to the addressee (Ibid, pp.4). The following table shows a simplified
scaffold of select Japanese honorifics:

Table 1: Politeness-coded language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Plain form</th>
<th>Polite form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal nouns</td>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>1. watashi/atashi/boku/ore</td>
<td>1. watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>2. anata</td>
<td>2. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>3. kare/kanojo/ano hito kun(chan)</td>
<td>3. ano kata sama/san (name+)sensei/senpai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject/Object nouns</td>
<td>Sino-Japanese nouns</td>
<td>hon hanashi</td>
<td>go-hon o-hanashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For an in depth description of the various aspects of honorific language and gender-coded language, see Ide and Yoshida’s
Table 1 shows a simplified scaffold of select Japanese honorifics based on the description of honorifics made by Ide and Yoshida (2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent Honorifics</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Supplemental verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aruku</td>
<td>ryokō suru</td>
<td>o-aruki-ni naru</td>
<td>go-ryokō-nasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tazuneru</td>
<td>hayaku</td>
<td>o-tazune-suru</td>
<td>o-hayaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iru/iku/kuru</td>
<td></td>
<td>irassharu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressee Honorifics</td>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>kimasu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humble</td>
<td>Supplemental verbs</td>
<td>suru</td>
<td>itasu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Set expressions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>itadaki-masu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go-chishō-sama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tsumaranai mono desu ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is an additional level of politeness aside from the plain and polite levels represented in the above table, which is that of impoliteness. Impolite expressions used in the investigation will be clearly marked as such when they are discussed.

2.1.2 Gender

The origins of gender-distinguished language use in Japanese can be dated back to the Heian period, when women instead of being permitted to use Chinese characters “were restricted to the syllabic system, thus being prevented from access and contribution to, higher, intellectual levels of the written channel,” (Loveday, 1986, p.299). At a later stage, the language used by court women started to spread to the general population and “became associated with the ‘feminine’ traits of elegance and refinement,” (Shibamoto, 2005, p.183). It hence becomes clear that female-coded language is somewhat treated as a divergence from the ‘main’ or ‘original’ Japanese, since it has been more poignantly different from the norm than male-coded speech. There is also the aspect of subject content which Miller (1969) raises, quoted by Shibamoto: “Put most briefly, women in Japanese society traditionally talk about different things than men do, or at the very least, they say different things even when they talk about the same topics,” (Ibid, p.199). However, male-coded language also has aspects which deviates from neutral language. The most clearly identifiable differences between male and female speech “include the use of personal pronouns and sentence final particles” (Tsujimura, 2014, p.415), but there are also different kinds of “word order scrambling” (Ibid, p.420), and usage of vulgar expressions, which women tend to avoid to a greater extent (Ide and Yoshida, 2001, p.22). The following table shows a simplified
comparison between neutral, male, and female coding:

Table 2: Gender-coded language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person pronoun</th>
<th>Sentence-final particles</th>
<th>Additional properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>watashi, watakushi</td>
<td>yo, ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>boku, ore</td>
<td>zo, ze, sa, na</td>
<td>more slang, more direct, rougher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>atashi</td>
<td>wa, no, wa yo, wa ne, kashira</td>
<td>copula often omitted, less direct, softer, beautification particles, avoids vulgar expressions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 comparing neutral, male, and female coding is based upon descriptions by Westman (2010), Tsujimura (2014), and Ide and Yoshida (2001).

Concerning women’s speech Shibatani comments that “[o]verall, women’s speech is characterized by softness and politeness. The impression of softness in women’s speech derives from the less frequent use of Sino-Japanese forms in preference to native Japanese forms and from the general avoidance of the rough forms used by men,” (Shibatani, 1990, p. 374). We can deduce, factoring in the ‘softness’, politeness, and avoidance of vulgarity, that female language use is intended to project an unassuming, demure image of the person using it. This is also a crucial property in the choice of sentence-final particles, since the particles which are signifiers of female language use “indicate reserve or interest in eliciting the listener’s opinion (wa, ne, nē) as opposed to emphatic assertion (yo, ze, zo),” (Shibamoto, 2005, p.213). Loveday describes the effect of the usage of these particles in the following manner: “The semantic function of female-associated particles involves both the softening and emphasizing of utterance content, while male ones suggest greater assertiveness and virility,” (Loveday, 1986, p.300). Female language also includes beautification particles, which in form are identical to object honorifics, yet can fill no such function grammatically (Ide and Yoshida, 2001, p.20), and are used to indicate that the person speaking is refined and of high social status (Ibid, p.21).

Loveday suggests that women’s usage of polite forms may not be an indicator of social inferiority, but rather a strategy of role-fulfillment; a “symbolization of
femininity,” (Loveday, 1986, p.299). In fact, “the use of polite expressions can be considered as the speaker’s display of their own desirable characteristics of good demeanor,” (Ide and Yoshida, 2001, p.19).

It has been noted that female coded speech, while understood as such by the general population, might not be representative of the language used by the younger female population (Ibid, p.18). It is suggested that in reality, female speech patterns may be more neutral to their form, or even approach male-coded patterns (Ibid, p.18) as the female role and status in Japan are changing (Shibamoto, 2005, p.198). However, further study is required before any definite conclusions can be drawn. Males are also known to use “forms associated with females when expressing empathy or gentleness and particularly when talking to children or the infirm,” (Loveday, 1986, p.301). Other ‘irregular’ uses of these speech patterns include kabuki actors who “frequently adopt women’s language when off stage in public (media) interaction” (Ibid, p.302) to maintain their role as a female character.

2.2 Japanese Role Language and Usage

From the given descriptions of the pattern, use and reasons for both honorific and gender-specific language, the effect of these language strategies as examples of yakuwarigo will now be explored.

Gender roles may be the most widely researched and noted upon area, however it is far from the only distinct role-signifying aspect of yakuwarigo. There are for example dialects which when used in fictional works indicate to the audience certain character traits which are seen as ‘belonging’ to that language use. The first example Kinsui uses to illustrate his ideas about yakuwarigo is the following:

a) Sō yo, atashi ga shitteru wa.
b) Sō ja, washi ga shitteoru.
c) So ya, wate ga shittoru dē.
d) Sō ja, sessha ga zonjiteoru.
e) Sō desu wa yo, watakushi ga zonjiteorimasu wa.
f) Sō aru yo, watashi ga shitteru aru yo.
g) Sō da yo, boku ga shitteru no sa.
h) Nda, ora shitteru da.

(Kinsui, 2003, p.v)
All of these sentences can be translated as ‘Yes, I know’, yet they look radically different to the eye, and to a native speaker all give a clear indication of the characteristics of the person making the utterance. In order to see the differences more clearly, observe the sentences in the following table, where each grammatical item has been assigned an individual column:

Table 3: Kinsui’s role language comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Sentence-final particle</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>atashi</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>shitteru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>washi</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>shitteoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>sessha</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>zonjiteoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>desu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>aru yo</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>shitteru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Sō</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Nda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this example it can be observed that, among other things, when variations are created particles can be added or dropped; copula and politeness level can be altered; verbs can be substituted; and words can be truncated, fused, or altered phonetically. Most importantly, in Japanese there is an abundance of personal pronouns and sentence final expressions which enables huge variations (Yamaguchi, 2007, p.21). Gender, age, occupation, and hierarchal rank are tied together with categories and are expressed through speech style (Kinsui 2007, p.97). There are for example certain “character-associated endings’, kyara-gobi (i.e. copulas and particles that connote certain character types)” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.39), which can not be used to indicate other features than those belonging to a particular stereotype. In his first book about yakuwarigo Kinsui describes it as the ability to either conjure the image of a certain character simply through the speech style used, or from the personal attributes of a character being able to imagine what kind of language that character would use (Kinsui, 2003, p.205). He goes on to say that in particular, the most essential thing which makes the speaker reveal him- or herself is personal pronouns. When used, one can at
once get a feeling for the ‘shape’ of the person (Ibid, p.205-206). “Not only does Japanese have a large variety of first-person pronouns and endings [...], it also allows great flexibility in inventing new endings,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.39). Teshigawara and Kinsui also state that these are contributing factors “to the continual development of existing role languages and the creation of new ones in Japanese,” (Ibid, p.39). Further, “they can be instantly invented by non-professionals merely by manipulating the first-person pronouns and endings,” (Ibid, p.42). There are thus infinite possibilities when it comes to role creation, yet “[r]ole language research primarily examines fictional data sources and describes the speech characteristics of the target character type,” (Ibid, p.41). Research into role language is in this way somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy: you seem to find what you are searching for because you expect it to be there. Contemplating the influence of classical Japanese literature in how speech patterns of the past are viewed, Teshigawara and Kinsui mention Takayama’s work: “he suggests that the exaggerated use of Japanese renderings of Chinese words is a role language […] used by the author to fit the stereotype of learned men,” (Ibid, p.43). This could suggest that yakuwarigo might be much deeper ingrained in the Japanese language than first thought, or the Japanese themselves are aware; if the speech patterns which are presumed to be the real, spoken Japanese of the past are in fact role language.

Role language does not only pertain to social cues, it can also be connected to “extralinguistic variables as appearance, personality, and even humanity (i.e. whether the character is human or nonhuman, even though aliens and animals would never speak human language in reality),” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.41-42). Arguably, this could mean that the way yakuwarigo is perceived in the general consciousness of the Japanese language could help in visualising characters when there are few or no visual cues to be had. A prominent example of yakuwarigo which produces this effect is ‘hakasego’ or professor language; the yakuwarigo which indicates a wise, elderly male. In Japanese fiction - children’s stories especially - elderly male characters with grey hair and beard will speak in a particular way (Yamaguchi, 2007, p.9). The characteristics which set hakasego apart from standard Japanese are features such as the usage of ‘washi’ instead of ‘watashi’ as a personal pronoun; ‘ja’ instead of ‘da’ as a copula; and ‘n’ instead of ‘nai’ in negations. However, some of these structures feature in dialects in Western Japan, irrespective of age or other signifying points of the ‘hakase’ stereotype. Additionally, elders who speak in this way are practically
nonexistent in the Tokyo region (Kinsui, 2007, p.98). Hakasego is also not spoken by all professors or teachers, but seems to be reserved for the elders only. In fact, there are hardly any non-aged professors who use hakasego in manga (Kinsui, 2003, p.8-9). It is also not the case that people who have normally used another type of language will suddenly start speaking hakasego because they have passed a certain age (Ibid, p.11), but that the stereotype of a wise, elderly man has been built up and perpetuated to such a degree that a story told in Japanese with such a character can not seem natural without the attributed linguistic markers. When hakasego is used it does not point directly at the kind of people you would meet in reality, rather they have been given a special role in the structure of the story (Ibid, p.46). While hakasego uses some linguistic markers which are indicative of Western Japanese dialects, it is rare that they are mistaken since the ‘hakase’ is such a well-defined character type.

In his Yakuwarigo Kenkyū No Chihei (Fundamental Role Language Research) Kinsui remarks that in current society stereotypically gender-coded speech patterns seem not to correlate with reality. In reality, male and female speech have come to be quite similar (Kinsui, 2007, p.101). There is hence a distinction between the language patterns used in everyday life, and the language patterns which are used to project an image. Teshigawara and Kinsui state that coded utterances can be anything from ‘highly unrealistic’ to ‘near-realistic’, and expand on this idea by adding: “For instance, Japanese female language can include a range of subtypes from the archaic (e.g. young lady from a good family) to something close to male language” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.42). Thinking about gender coding as having a range from neutral to heavily coded, it is important to note that the more heavily coded lexical patterns may be used in real life even though they might not correspond to the normal usage range. For instance, a person may alter their politeness coding to correspond with a heavier coding because it is appropriate to the situation they are in, or may choose to use assertive or soft language in order to emphasise certain characteristics in themselves, or to get a certain response from the person to whom they are speaking.
3. Archetypes

In his explanations of his theory of *yakuwarigo*, Kinsui refers on multiple occasions to Vogler’s character archetypes (Kinsui, 2003). Westman describes character archetypes in the following way: “Primarily they are functions carried out by the characters within a story, so important to the story that it is impossible to tell a story without them,” (Westman, 2010, p.17). Similar to how characters can be created through *yakuwarigo*, these archetypes are like masks or costumes which different characters can inhabit (Vogler, 2007, p.24).

3.1 Vogler’s Character Archetypes

In his *The Writer’s Journey* Christopher Vogler goes into great depth regarding how effective stories are structured, and explains his theories surrounding character archetypes and their functions. As mentioned above he describes archetypes both as different characters which can be used to move the story in certain directions, and as various masks which characters can wear at different points of the story (Vogler, 2007, p.24). The villain of a story could for example first be known as a mentor or ally before assuming the role of villain. Archetypes can also be seen as different facets of the hero; representations of different personality traits or inner struggles. (Ibid, p.24-25) Vogler also describes character archetypes as being potentially innumerable, seeing as there are “as many as there are human qualities”, and comments that “[f]or the storyteller, certain character archetypes are indispensable tools of the trade. You can’t tell stories without them,” (Ibid, p.26). According to Vogler the eight most common archetypes are the hero, mentor, threshold guardian, herald, shapeshifter, shadow, ally, and trickster (Ibid).

3.1.1 Hero

The hero is the main character of the story and the primary character intended for the audience to be able to identify with. “Heroes have qualities that we all can identify with and recognize in ourselves. They are propelled by universal drives that we can all understand,”(Ibid, p.30). The audience is often given the story from the point of view of the hero, and the hero should be a driving force within the story since the story itself is centered around the hero.
A well-rounded hero has both strengths and flaws, “a unique combination of many qualities and drives, some of them conflicting,” (Ibid, p.31). It would be difficult for the audience to identify with a character that has no personal flaws, which in turn would mean that the audience would not become as invested in the character or the story. “A character who has a unique combination of contradictory impulses, such as trust and suspicion or hope and despair, seems more realistic and human than one who displays only one character trait,” (p.31).

A hero should be a dynamic character who develops over the course of the story. It is often the mark of the main character that they experience the most growth out of all the characters (Ibid, p.31). The hero is also expected to make sacrifices, “to give up something of value, perhaps even her own life” (Ibid). Heroism is not exclusive to the main character—other characters may assume the archetype of hero when they make sacrifices for others (Ibid, pp.32).

3.1.2 Mentor

The mentor archetype is “usually a positive figure who aids or trains the hero,” (Ibid, p.39). Often, the mentor has previously gone through hardship through which they have gained knowledge and wisdom, which they are now passing on to the hero. (Ibid, p.40) Mentors may also present the heroes with gifts other than knowledge. It is not simply a relationship where the mentor gives and the hero receives however, as “[t]he gift or help of the donor should be earned, by learning, sacrifice, or commitment.” (Ibid, p.41) Above all, mentors are protective figures who strive “to motivate the hero, and help her overcome fear,” (Ibid, p.42) and can be seen in any character supporting the hero by providing tools for their journey, such as inventors or wizards.

3.1.3 Threshold Guardian

The threshold guardian archetype provides the hero with challenges which the hero needs to overcome (Ibid, p.50). Vogler describes them as “powerful guardians at the threshold, placed to keep the unworthy from entering. They present a menacing face to the hero, but if properly understood, they can be overcome, bypassed, or even turned into allies.” (Ibid, p.49)
While these characters usually do not hold the position of main opponent to the hero (Ibid, p.49), and might even be phenomenons such as weather or bad luck (Ibid, p.50), they exist to try the hero’s resolve and ability (Ibid, p.52).

3.1.4 Herald

The herald is the signal of change alerting the hero to the necessity of action. However, the herald might not necessarily be a person; this archetype can take the shape of a force, such as an earthquake or a declaration of war (Ibid, p.57). “[A]ll at once some new energy enters the story that makes it impossible for the hero to simply get by any longer” (Ibid, p.55)—“[a] decision must be made, action taken, the conflict faced.” (Ibid, p.56)

3.1.5 Shapeshifter

Used to bring the drama of doubt and suspense are the shapeshifters (Ibid, p.61). This archetype is in a constant flux as seen from the point of view of the hero, often through the veil of love (Ibid, p.62). The shapeshifter “may mislead the hero or keep her guessing, and their loyalty or sincerity is often in question,” (Ibid, p.59).

“Villains or their allies may wear the Shapeshifter mask to seduce or confuse a hero,” and even the hero might take on the mask of shapeshifter in order to overcome an obstacle (Ibid, p.63).

3.1.6 Shadow

A common manifestation of the shadow archetype is the villain: the dark force or evil character which the hero combats. The shadow embodies darkness in all its different forms: both the otherness of the unfamiliar evil, and the familiar darkness within each person (Ibid, p.65). Since the shadow can be a representation of what each person carries within them it is not necessary for the shadow to be wholly evil (Ibid, p.67). In fact, giving the shadow redeeming qualities which are otherwise associated with morally good characters can make the task of defeating the shadow more problematic. “Suddenly the villain is not just a fly to be swatted but a real human being with weaknesses and emotions. Killing such a figure becomes a true moral choice rather than a thoughtless reflex.” (Ibid, p.68)
In addition, the shadow is the hero of the opposing force. To the shadow, the hero is
the villain (Ibid, p.68). Even though the darkness of the shadow can be recognised as features
which the audience themselves may harbour, or the hero may battle with, the shadow can turn
these features into “harmful energy that strikes out and undermines us in unexpected
ways,” (Ibid).

3.1.7 Ally

The primary marker of the ally is supporting the hero in various ways. The ally can
among others be a companion, a partner, or a servant (Ibid, p.71). The ally can “suggest
alternate paths for problem-solving and help to round out the personalities of heroes,
allowing expression of fear, humor, or ignorance that might not be appropriate for the
hero.” (Ibid, p.75)

Another function of the ally is to provide a natural reason to explain or emphasise
certain aspects of the plot or other characters. Allies can for instance ask questions which aid
comprehension when it would be queer for the hero to explain without prompting (Ibid, p.
72).

3.1.8 Trickster

The trickster archetype can be seen as a catalyst for change. They urge to alter the
current state, often through tricks and mischief (Ibid, p.77). A trickster may come from any
direction, and may have either good or evil intentions (Ibid, p.78). They are characters which
“affect the lives of others but are unchanged themselves,” (Ibid, p.79) and act as a grounding
force for both heroes and audience (Ibid, p.77). “Above all, they bring about healthy change
and transformation, often by drawing attention to the imbalance or absurdity of a stagnant
psychological situation.” (Ibid)

3.2 Archetypes and Role Language

Among the archetypes which occur with most frequency in stories are the hero, and
the mentor (Vogler, 2007, p.26). In Japanese the hero archetype uses hyōjungo (standard
language) (Kinsui, 2003, p.70), wherein variations of both male and female coded language
falls, and the mentor archetype is known to use hakasego (learned/professor language).
As previously discussed, the usage of yakuwarigo might not always correlate with reality: in everyday life in Japan one would not encounter people who speak the way professors do, or ladies of high standing do, according to the role-coding which would be representative of such characters. It is different from real Japanese, but everyone can understand it, so it becomes ‘virtual Japanese’ (Kinsui, 2003, p.vi). “Their fictional utterances often make these established character types easily recognisable in Japanese culture, even if actual people fitting these character types are unlikely to produce such utterances in real life,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.38).

Despite this discrepancy between reality and fiction, the Japanese seem to “find it quite natural,” (Ibid, p.45). A reason for this may be that they through various media encounter yakuwarigo already as children when they begin to learn the complex coding of the Japanese language. In fact, there is a high representation of role language in media aimed at children in all cultures, since the usage of stereotypes makes it easier to focus on the story. It seems as though part of the reason why yakuwarigo continues to be used is because of its convenience. There is already a system of expectations built around these linguistic stereotypes, and they perpetuate themselves through continued use in media (Kinsui, 2007, p.101). Children learn from encountering these stereotypes in their everyday life, just as they are taught what constitutes ‘good’ Japanese by their parents and teachers (Gottleib, 2012, p.4). A cultural and contextual filter through which to interpret language is in this way passed down from the adults to the children, and they learn from this how they themselves should shape their language in order to be seen as a stereotypically ‘good’ person. A ‘good person’ needs to understand what constitutes appropriate subject matters of a conversation, the hierarchal relationship with the person to whom they are speaking, and be able to give a contextually appropriate response at the right time and in the right place (Kinsui, 2011, p.9).

What children learn to speak is thus the standard language or ‘hyōjungo’ (Kinsui, 2003, p.70), and it is therefore reasonable to presume that they to some extent form their self-identity around that speech style. “The main character in Japanese fiction generally speaks standard Japanese, while minor characters are assigned regional dialect role languages,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.47). Since they have grown up surrounded by the speech discourse where they are good people if they speak standard Japanese, it is understandable if they “can empathise with the standard-Japanese-speaking character (main character), irrespective of
their own native dialects, while perceiving dialect-speaking characters as marginal,” (Ibid). In addition, Teshigawara and Kinsui refer to Kinsui’s earlier work when they state that “dialects spoken by regional characters are often not consistent and are made up of a number of regional dialects” (Ibid), whereby if regional dialects are used they would not conform to the speech pattern which the audience would be used to if it had been their own regional dialect, and therefore the hyōjungo identity and the dialectal identity would not be contraposed.

The reason for the language of the hero being hyōjungo is as previously stated because it allows the audience of the story to identify with the main character. Similarly, the mentor’s speech pattern has learned connotations for what kind of character they are, and what behaviour behaves them. Teshigawara and Kinsui make the following observation in an analysis of Gandalf’s hakasego speech pattern in the Japanese translation of The Hobbit by J.R.R. Tolkien: “If we were to remove these features and make him speak standard Japanese, it would ruin the atmosphere of the work completely,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.44).

Yakuwarigo is not only a device which a writer can use, but a pattern that if broken would lead to discord and inhibit the telling of the story. The usage of yakuwarigo thus enables both the author and audience to focus on the story (Yamaguchi, 2007, p.23). Beyond the technical aspects of the continued use of this kind of storytelling strategy, Westman connects the continued existence of yakuwarigo to Patricia Devine’s concept of cultural stereotypes, whereby once an idea has been learned, it is very difficult to discard: “This explains why, even though a grown-up native Japanese speaker has realized that role language is almost non-existent in real life, the connections between character images and those language styles do not weaken,” (Westman, 2010, p.9).

Yamaguchi claims that the language used in fiction has two functions: to communicate within the story world, and to communicate between the author and the audience (Yamaguchi, 2007, p.22). It therefore falls on the language to both communicate among the characters within the story, and to communicate their interconnectivity to the audience. “Role language can be considered one type of communication device characteristic of fiction, used to convey the creator’s intentions,” (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.41). The role language can be the very thing which distinguishes a character as less important through the cultural connotations which are contained within certain lexical markers. Teshigawara and Kinsui again refer to Kinsui’s previous work when they state that:
In order to give the audience immediate access to the storyline unfolding around the main characters, fiction creators make use of stereotypical characters and situations. Characters that are made to speak distinctive role languages [...] are not main characters. They are either assigned special roles in the story (e.g. an elderly male language speaker, a mentor, or a trickster) or are simply minor characters that quickly disappear from the scene.

(Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.40)

Through the usage of *yakuwarigo* all characters are defined by their relationships to each other. The more important characters are therefore defined through the interactions they have with minor characters, since all interactions indicate to the onlooker both the social context and the relationship between the characters. This kind of linguistic coding of character archetypes for efficiency is not unique to Japanese. “English still utilises role language for effect—by making a character speak role language, the creator signals that this is a minor character that will not be described to detail,” (Ibid, p.52). Role language is in this way “used to develop the story effectively, by relying on knowledge shared between the creator and the audience” (Ibid, p.40), which also means that in order for role language to have any effect, there must be cultural connections and expectations on which to draw.

As discussed, the mentor archetype is generally a protective, helpful figure, which in Japanese is represented by the usage of *hakasego*. There are, however, some discrepancies in how the two stereotypes may be used. While the mentor archetype may be worn as a mask as “a decoy used to lure the hero into danger,” (Vogler, 2007, p.43), the mentor itself is a positive force. Yet Kinsui notes that there are *hakase* whose purpose it is to torment the hero (Kinsui, 2007, p.105), whereby the character itself as a *hakase* would be either good or evil. Furthermore, characters wearing the mentor mask “are sometimes neither wise nor old. The young, in their innocence, are often wise and capable of teaching the old.” (Vogler, 2007, p.46). The mentor archetype may be worn by any character of any age or any appearance, while the *hakase* has to conform to a particular visual and idiosyncratic stereotype in order to be classified as such. The concept of the mentor archetype and the concept of the *hakase* therefore have different parameters and it can not be automatically assumed that one will equal the other. This can be seen in the characters under scrutiny in this case study, as many of the characters being investigated wear the mentor mask on occasion, but none of them speak *hakasego*. 

20
In Westman’s 2010 investigation of the modern language of the shadow, he found that in the sources which he had investigated, the language which the shadow archetype used was largely *hyōjungo*. “Only various pronouns, imperatives and inflections set some of the subjects’ language styles apart from standard Japanese,” (Westman, 2010, p.37). A potential reason for the shadow speaking standard language is to create commonality with the hero and the audience; to show a softer, more human side which the audience can identify with (Ibid p. 39). On the other hand, as Kinsui has noted, there are *hakase* who conform to the shadow archetype. Therefore it would be more accurate, as Westman describes, instead of limiting the shadow archetype to one form of speech, to say that both *hyōjungo* and *hakasego* are speech styles which the shadow archetype may utilise (Ibid, p.40).

### 3.3 Protagonist, Antagonist, and Supporting Character

In order to create a foundation for more effective analysis the chosen characters in the investigation have been divided into the three categories ‘protagonist’, ‘antagonist’, and ‘supporting character’.

‘Protagonist’ is another word to use for the hero of the story. However, unlike Vogler’s hero archetype, the protagonist is not a mask which can be used by different characters, but a specific character around which the story centers. It is also more common for there to be only one protagonist, even though there are stories with dual protagonists.

The ‘antagonist’ is the person, group, or force opposing the protagonist. The antagonist often fits into the shadow archetype. Unlike the protagonist there can be several antagonists, and the antagonist can even be a concept or an organization.

The last category which will be used is that of the ‘supporting character’. For the purposes of this investigation all characters which are not either protagonists or antagonists will be considered supporting characters. While many stories have multiple characters which are central to the story and may be viewed as main characters, this distinction is being made for ease of comprehension of the characters’ positions and functions in their respective stories. It is also the case that some antagonists, while playing a part in the story, are not the most important villain and might be seen as a supporting character because of the limited scope of their influence.

The usage of this terminology was chosen for the purpose of distinguishing between
set character functions, and character functions which may fluctuate over the course of the story. Protagonist, antagonist, and supporting character are the static categories which the characters being investigated will be divided into, while Vogler’s archetypes will be used to describe different aspects of the characters’ personalities and actions.
4. Takarazuka Revue

The Takarazuka Revue, or ‘Takarazuka Kagekidan’ in Japanese, was founded in 1914 by Kobayashi Ichizō, who intended for it to increase traffic in the area where he had previously built the Hankyū Railway (Robertson, 1998, p.4). As a theatre company sporting an exclusively female cast they have reached nation-wide fame in Japan. The actresses are divided into ‘musumeyaku’ (daughter/young girl role) who play the female characters, and ‘otokoyaku’ (man role) who play the male characters. They perfect the mannerisms, movements, and speech patterns of their assigned roles to the extent that otokoyaku have been described as becoming “idealized young men, more perfect than any male self-representation” (Kennedy, 2003, p.792).

Performers of one gender representing another is not unique to Takarazuka; the classic Nō theatre and Kabuki theatre are examples of art forms which have an all male cast. However, they have retained a style emphasising traditional Japanese culture whereas Takarazuka, while certainly incorporating the traditional culture in many of its performances, is modern and has an international flair. Takarazuka has become known for its skill in projecting character traits for easy audience comprehension, and in particular for its otokoyaku, who are normally the main characters in the performances.

The performances range from modern musicals to adaptations of classical Japanese literature such as ‘Genji Monogatari’ (The Tale of Genji). Especially noteworthy are the musical adaptations of Riyoko Ikeda’s manga ‘Berusaiyu no Bara’ (The Rose of Versailles), which feature a female character raised as a man, and which have become iconic for the theatre company (Yamanashi, 2012, p.181).
5. Investigation - The Role Language of the Takarazuka Revue

5.1 Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to try to discern to what extent language markers can project certain character types to the audience when removed from other cues such as tone of voice, visuals, or general context. The choice of Takarazuka plays for this purpose is due to their success in character creation and projection in order to impart a story. The company gives considerable attention to how the characters will be perceived in their productions, resulting in a wide range of language usage among different characters, which can be seen in adaptations of both Japanese and international source material as well as in their in-house productions.

Research Questions:
❖ Are there certain character traits which can or can not be deduced from language usage alone?
❖ Can role language reveal the prominence and importance of a particular character? Does excessive usage of certain types of language brand a character as a supporting character?
❖ Are there linguistic differences between stereotypes of morally good and morally evil characters, and how are those traits projected?
❖ Is it possible to tell protagonist from antagonist, and if such is the case, could an evil protagonist be identified through their role language?
❖ Do the informants identify with or feel a distance to the characters?

5.2 Methodology

Information was gathered through an online survey. The focus points for the development of the survey were simplicity of comprehension, the optimal composition of the material in order to receive thorough and relevant results, as well as allocation of space.

9 characters from Takarazuka plays were chosen for different points of interest. The research was in the form of a survey to be completed by native Japanese speakers who were asked to state which character traits could be gleaned from the grammar and word usage of each character.
The survey was set up in the following manner. Each character was given a separate section. For each character the informants read a representative selection of lines from the play, as used by the character in question. The quotes did not have any surrounding descriptions or context; rather, the informants only had the vocabulary and grammatical cues to analyse. Upon having read the lines the informants were asked to rate the presence of certain character traits on a three grade scale from ‘not at all’ to ‘completely’. The character traits were: kind, meanspirited, clever, cunning, diligent, temperamental, cute, high status, humble, strong, weak, and comedic. The informants also had the option to state that they were unable to deduce the presence or absence of a certain character trait from the information they had been given.

The informants were also asked to name the gender of the character, describe how they envisioned the character’s appearance, and whether they believed the character to be a protagonist, antagonist, or supporting character. Finally, they were asked whether or not they believed the character to be similar to themselves, as well as relate their personal comments, or any other information which they had not been able to express in the previous replies.

5.3 Limitations

The scope and design of the survey was conceived in order to receive as large a number of informants as possible while simultaneously maintaining a broad enough reach in results for there to be room for analysis.

The material scope of the survey is potentially narrower than would be desirable in order to have an exhaustive view of each character - it would naturally have be easier for the informants to gain a complete view of each character if they were to peruse all of the lines spoken by each character. However, doing so would take hours of the informants’ time, resulting in low participation, and a considerable amount of the material could be repetitive and not conducive to investigation.

Other limitations in terms of scope are the number of characters. A larger number of characters would make for a broader base for making comparisons, since several more characters fitting into the same stereotypical archetypes would be available. However, since this would vastly increase the amount of time the informants would need to put into answering the survey the characters were chosen specifically to fit as broad a range of
character archetypes with as few characters as possible, while at the same time giving ample room for examining the contrasts and similarities between them.

The choice of having no contextual cues is not without its own issues. In many ways role language reveals itself not only in how one character speaks, but how others relate to them in theirs. Removing all other character inputs from dialogue narrows the range of vision from how other characters perceive or interact with the character we are investigating, to solely the information which the character is offering about themselves - even if the information they impart is in relation to their position towards the other characters. This choice was made in order to have a simple, straightforward approach which would eliminate inaccuracies and erroneous character descriptions due to mistaken character identity.

5.4 Choice of Characters

The characters were chosen for different points of interest in order for the results of each character to be compared and contrasted with others, and in turn establish the foundations upon which patterns of comprehension among the informants may be observed.

5 protagonists were chosen: one male character who uses the personal pronoun ‘boku’ about himself; one male character who uses the personal pronouns ‘watashi’ and ‘ore’; one male character who is archetypally evil and uses ‘watashi’; one female character raised as a man, and one female character who uses a mixture of standard language and high-standing female language. This combination of protagonists was composed in order to see if the informants could perceive any differences between the language usage of the evil protagonist compared to the good protagonists, as well as identify gender identities and the characters’ role in the story.

To contrast the protagonists, and see if different usage of role language affects how central to the story the characters are perceived to be, there were two antagonists: one male character in a military position, and an older female character in a position of power. Demonstrating and contrasting role language plucked from supporting characters were one comedic male character, and a talking cat.

Categorising characters in this manner has the potential of being problematic, as they often overlap with several character archetypes. Therefore it is pertinent to note that even though two have been categorised as supporting characters that all of the characters which
have been chosen are important to the progression of their respective stories and have been chosen because they provide enough material to enable analysis.
6. Characters and Results

19 informants replied to the survey, ranging in age from 15 to 47. 10 of the informants were in the age bracket 20 to 22, and aside from one informant who was younger, the others ranged from mid 20’s to late 40’s. They were also from different parts of Japan. The Kansai and Kanto areas were highly represented, but informants also came from Kyushu and Chubu. 6 were male and 13 female. While there was not a large enough number of informants to draw any definite conclusions, there were still trends to be seen in the informants’ answers.

6.1 Protagonists

6.1.1 Jack

Jack Worthing is the main character of the musical *Ernest in Love* adapted from the play *The Importance of Being Ernest* by Oscar Wilde. Jack is a Victorian era dandy, enamoured with romance and his beloved Gwendolen Fairfax who knows him under the name of Ernest. A majority of the story concerns Jack’s attempts at winning Gwendolen’s and her mother’s favour, as well as trying to change his name to Ernest after he finds out that Gwendolen only wants to marry a man by that name.

Jack speaks *hyōjungo*, using the male-coded first person pronoun ‘*boku*’, and the second person pronoun ‘*kimi*’ which is more commonly used by men. Jack also uses ‘*anata*’ which is a politer second person pronoun, second only to simply avoiding using a second person pronoun altogether. Additionally, there are ways of being even more polite by using titles or suffixes with names.

When *boku* started to appear it was used by young men in scholarly circles, and took on a more upstanding tone than ‘*ore*’ which had been in usage longer (Kinsui, 2014, p.167). *Boku* is also the personal pronoun most frequently used by those characters which can be identified as the romantically inclined main male characters of fictional stories (Kinsui, 2011, p.106). Generally, *boku* gives a more tender, kinder impression than *ore* (Kinsui, 2014, p. 168). Jack’s language usage is casual and friendly, using short forms and occasionally the more polite desu-/masu form, yet depending on whom he is addressing Jack may use more informal language. With his friend Algernon he will slip into impolite forms when he is frustrated, such as ‘kaeze’ instead of ‘kaeshite’ meaning ‘give it back’.
Results:

The two main traits which the informants believed Jack to possess were kindness and cuteness. Many also believed him to be quite diligent, comical, and a little clever. There was, however, a wide disparity between the answers as to whether he was strong or weak. Despite the disparity there was a slight inclination towards strength, and taking into account that a greater number of informants found him not to display weakness than those who thought him not to display strength, it can be said that Jack’s character displays some traits which make him seem weaker, yet has a certain degree of strength. There was also a disparity between those who believed him to display humble characteristics, and those who believed him to not be humble at all. Interestingly, about the same number of people believed that he was not humble (6) as those who stated that they were unable to tell (5), while 3 informants stated that he was very humble. Finally, they did not think him to be at all mean-spirited, cunning, high standing, or temperamental. Everyone also agreed that he was young, answers ranging between 18 and 29. Only 1 informant believed Jack to be female, the rest believing that he was male. As to Jack’s appearance many believe him to be good looking, slim, tall, energetic, and dressed in quite commonplace clothes. One comment said he seemed a little silly, another that he might have well-worn clothes and long hair, and a third that he seemed to be a young man from a well-off family. From their descriptions of his looks it seems as though the informants imagine Jack as a very modern man despite the fact that he is originally a 19th century character. He was, however, modern for his time. Jack is a dapperly dressed character, but thinking that his way of dressing is commonplace might still be accurate for the kind of Victorian character he represents.

The informants were also split evenly as to whether Jack was a supporting character or protagonist, a few stating that he seemed to be good-hearted and valued other people. Most of the informants also found him not to be very similar to themselves, one stating that he was too silly, one that he seemed to bicker a lot, and two stating that it was probably due to the fact that they saw him as a male character and they themselves were female. 4 stated that they found him to be similar to themselves in some ways, mostly due to his awkwardness.
6.1.2 Charles

In *Karisuta no Umi ni Idakarete* (Embraced by the Seas of Calista) the protagonist is the French military commander Charles Villeneuve de Liberta who after the death of his parents and completion of his military training returns to his place of birth, the island of Calista, to help his best friend from childhood to liberate the island. He meets and falls in love with Alicia whom his best friend Roberto had hoped to marry. Alicia, however, never harboured such hopes. In his attempts to liberate the island without casualties on either side, Charles is suspected of trying to double-cross both sides and condemned to death for treason by the governing class he was trying to overthrow without violence. In the last minute before he is burned at the stake he is saved by his allies.

Charles has two distinct levels of politeness in his speech depending on whom he is speaking to or about. He uses an informal speech style with his friends and peers, creating a more intimate tone, and a polite speech style with those who are above him in rank. For example, he says “*o-chichiue ni o-me ni kakaritai*” (*Karisuta no Umi ni Idakarete*, 2015) meaning ‘I wish to see your honourable father’ where he uses both the respectful *o-chichiue* (polite ‘your father’) where the honorific ‘o’ is a prefix, and the polite expression *o-me ni kakaru* which is used when meeting someone of higher status than oneself. He ends the sentence on the short form ’*tai*’ (I want), instead of the more polite ’*tai desu*’ because he is speaking to a young woman with whom he has socialised and is perceived to have an equal social status. Charles also gives orders in informal language, which lowers his politeness level and makes him sound more masculine. He also uses the sentence-final particle *zo*, which gives the impression of masculinity, authority, and dignity (*Kinsui*, 2014, p.113).

Similar to how he uses two different politeness levels throughout the play, Charles also uses two first person pronouns: the neutral *watashi* when he is speaking as a military commander, and *ore* when he is among friends. *Ore* is connected to firm or strong masculinity (*Ibid*, p.168) and can also be seen to be used more frequently by supporting characters as a contrast to the main male character when said character is using *boku* (*Ibid*, p.65).2 Despite Charles having a romantic storyline he does not use *boku*.

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2 See Kinsui Satoshi 2014, *Yakuwarigo No Shojiten* (Small Dictionary of Role Language) and Kinsui Satoshi 2003, *Vācharu Nihongo Yakuwarigo No Nazo* (The Mystery of Virtual Japanese Role Language) for more information about the usages of *boku* and *ore*. 
Results:

The personality traits which the informants perceived in Charles were strength and diligence, but with a temperamental side. They also perceived him to be of quite high standing, clever and kind. The traits which they did not believe fitted him were cute and comedic. 4 of the informants thought that Charles was female, and 15 believed him to be male. There was also a wide range of what age they imagined him to be: more than half of the informants thought him to be young or in his 20’s, 2 thought he would be around 30, 4 said he was in his 40’s or middle aged, and one person even claimed he seemed elderly, which was contrasted by another informant who said that they couldn’t guess the exact age, but that he was not elderly.

The comments on Charles’s appearance was that he seemed to be a strong, macho man of a high social position, and that he was attractive, long-limbed, and confident. They also described him to be wearing traditional, fine clothes. 2 informants thought he would have a beard or mustache, and two other informants held opposing opinions as to whether or not he had black hair.

Two thirds of the comments on which role Charles played in the story said that they thought he was the protagonist. One third thought that he was a supporting character, a few stating that he would be quite near the epicentre of the story. One informant thought that he was the antagonist, but that he realised the errors of his ways in the end. The informants overwhelmingly agreed that he was not similar to them, but two stated that he had a few personality traits which they identified with, such as pride and faith in himself.

6.1.3 Silvia

Silvia d'Orgon, the daughter of a Count, is one of the two protagonists in Meguriae wa Futatabi (A Second Fortuitous Meeting). Silvia’s father is trying to find her a husband by inviting five eligible bachelors from which Silvia is to select a match. Silvia is unhappy about this plan, as she believes that the suitors will not show her their true colours, and convinces her father to let her switch places with her lady’s maid Lisette in order to observe their true personalities. Silvia’s male counterpart, Dorante Vespert, is the son of a Duke. Dorante who
also has issues with the matchmaking has an idea similar to Silvia’s and switches places with his servant, Bourginon. The four then proceed to get to know and fall in love with whom they believe is the wrong person.

Similar to Charles, Silvia has two levels of speech which she uses for different purposes. When Silvia is herself she uses a more polite speech style suitable of a lady of high standing, and when she switches places with Lisette she uses a level of female-coded language suitable for a person of lower hierarchal status, even verging on a little rude at times when she becomes vexed. Examples of feminine-coded language which Silvia uses are wa, yo, no, ne, kashira, ara, and anata.

A feminine flavour can be achieved by adding yo after an omitted copula after nouns and adjectival nouns. Yo can also be attached after wa or no to have this effect (Kinsui, 2014, p.192). The inquisitive particle ne can also take on a female flavour when it is used after nouns, adjectival stems, the auxiliary verbs mitai, sō, yō (modal expressions meaning ‘seems as though’), with an omitted copula (Ibid, p.148). This is also the case when ne is used in combination with other indicators of femininity such as no, yo, and wa (Ibid). As stated previously, both copula deletion and the usage of the sentence-final particle wa are signals of femininity. However, in sentences with copula endings the copula will not be omitted if wa is used. For example, Silvia says both ‘yarimasu wa’ (I will do it), and ‘mezurashii rei da wa’ (it is a strange example), but could not say ‘rei wa’ without ‘da’ or ‘desu’.

Another indication of femininity is Silvia’s usage of personal pronouns. Silvia uses the more polite ‘watakushi’ when she is herself, and the more standard, neutral ‘watashi’ when she posing as Lisette. While both of these first person pronouns are gender neutral to their form, it is more common for women than men to use them in situations which demand less formality. I.e., the general female usage of watashi correlates with general male usage of both watashi and boku (Shibamoto, 2005, p.201). Silvia’s usage of watakushi also conforms to hierarchal stereotype, whereby ladies of rank use this form (Kinsui, 2014, p.204). Silvia also uses anata as second person pronoun, which has a similar correlation to that of watashi: women would stereotypically only use anata over the range of situations where men could use anata, kimi, or omae (Shibamoto, 2005, p.201).

It is not merely using watakushi which indicates that Silvia is a lady of high status. ‘Ara’ is an interjection which may be used by females, especially affluent ladies, when they
are surprised, emotional, or ardent about something (Kinsui, 2014, p.16). Another expression, ‘kashira’, a sentence-final expression showing doubt, misgivings and speculation, gives the impression of a high standing lady (Ibid, p.68).

**Results:**

The most prevalent personal attributes the informants felt suited Silvia were clever, temperamental, high standing, and quite diligent. There was a wide range of opinions concerning whether and to what degree Silvia possessed certain characteristics. Among the most contested were cunning and meanspirited—some believed it to be very true, and others not at all. There were also some discrepancies as to Silvia’s strength, as many believed her to be both quite weak and quite strong at the same time, suggesting the character is strong in certain aspects and weak in others. They thought she was a little kind and cute, but not very funny, and not humble. The informants were unanimous in believing that Silvia was a female character. Generally Silvia gave the impression of being a youthful character, although 4 informants thought that she was around 40-50 years old. Her appearance was thought to be that of an impeccably styled, beautiful lady wearing gorgeous gowns. One informant thought the opposite, that she seemed like a noble but that she probably wore a plain dress. She was also described as coquettish and maybe a little spoiled. One person commented that they thought her to be a rich mother; another that she seemed to be beautiful but cruel.

Only 4 informants believed her to be the main character, 2 believing that she was the antagonist, and 10 believing that she was a supporting character, out of which 3 thought she was a malicious character or had a dark past. Most of the informants felt that Silvia was not similar to them, one person stating that it was because she was the beautiful leading lady, another that it was since she was female and he himself was male. 5 were of the opinion that she had some characteristics which they felt were similar to themselves: she seemed to be honest, was determined in her way of speaking, and showed remorse.
6.1.4 Oscar

Oscar François de Jarjayes is the protagonist of the manga *Berusaiyu no Bara* (The Rose of Versailles) which has seen a wide range of musical adaptations for Takarazuka. The particular version which this analysis is based on is *Berusaiyu no Bara: Osukaru Hen* (The Rose of Versailles: Oscar) from 2014. Oscar, born as the fifth daughter to a noble father who desperately wishes for an heir, is raised as a boy in order to succeed her father. Oscar excels at swordfighting, and is against her own will made the personal guard of Marie Antoinette. Despite growing to like Marie Antoinette, Oscar eventually decides to give up her post to work as the commander of a Parisian regiment of lower prestige, composed mainly of men of the people. She struggles at first to win the faith and trust of her men, but they later show loyalty to her even against her superiors. Despite being a noble, Oscar leads her men on the side of the people to the Storming of the Bastille, which turns out to be the onset of the French Revolution.

In order to give as complete an image as possible of all the characters, spoken lines were chosen from all the different kinds of situations they found themselves in. For Oscar this included both military discussions as well as a scene where her hair is being combed by her nanny. Even though it is widely discussed that Oscar is a female, all those references were omitted in order to find if the informants would be able to gauge Oscar’s gender without the plainly stated facts which the audience in the theatre would receive.

Characteristic of Oscar’s speech pattern is that although it is made clear that she is female, she distinctly avoids female coding. Instead she uses male-coded speech items, such as *zo*, *na*, and *kimi*, as well as issuing commands in non-polite forms. Oscar exclusively uses the neutral *watashi* as first person pronoun, although she does use *wareware* meaning ‘us’ when she is talking to her men. *Wareware*, the plural of the first person pronoun *ware*, is coarser than *watashitachi* (plural of *watashi*) (Kinsui, 2014, p.211).

Oscar alters her politeness level depending on whom she is addressing. She is polite to her superiors, uses short verb forms mixed with some honorific forms to create an intimate yet genteel impression when she speaks to family or friends, and uses commands and stronger language when addressing her inferiors.

When giving orders Oscar sometimes uses the impolite or rude form; for example she uses ‘*detekoi*’ (come out) as opposed to the more neutral ‘*detekite*’. Another form of
command which Oscar uses is ‘tamae’. *Tamae* used as a suffix to the verb stem becomes a firm command. This ‘command form’ (Ibid, p.120) has associations to male members of samurai clans (Kinsui, 2003, p.117) and can be used by a superior towards an inferior (Ibid, pp.116).

In *Yakuwarigo Kenkyū No Tenkai* (Further Role Language Research) Kinsui explains that there are various kinds of language usage which will lower the level of an utterance and includes examples of word choice and verb conjugations (Kinsui, 2011, p.12). Similarly, the opposite must be true: avoiding certain kinds of language, such as crude words which are thought to lower the level, will give a more refined impression. While Oscar does use language which registers as lower when she is giving commands, the vocabulary she uses is consistent, avoiding words which are crude or insulting.

**Results:**

There was a strong consensus concerning Oscar’s personal characteristics. They found her to be kind, clever, diligent, high standing, strong, and a little temperamental. Features which they believed her not to have were meannesspirited, cunning, comedic and weak.

1 person was unable to determine whether she was male or female, 3 believed that she was female, and the others believed her to be male. Out of the 3 who identified her as female, the first stated that it was because they believed the character to be Oscar, and the second gave an accurate and detailed description of Oscar’s appearance. The third made no comment as to why they believed Oscar to be female.

There were similar figures for Oscar’s perceived age: 3 thought she was 50 years old, whilst the others agreed that she was young. One informant stated that she seemed to be in the prime of her life. The most common impression of Oscar’s appearance was that she would be dressed in a uniform, neat but not too extravagant. Some also stated that she seemed brave, reliable and muscular, while others thought she was handsome and of high social standing. One informant felt they were unable to imagine a particular look, and another said that they thought her to be a good looking but worried man. One of the informants who...
had identified Oscar as female described her as a blond, slender noble, neatly clad in men’s clothes.

The informants were in generally in agreement that Oscar was the protagonist, due to her selflessness and concern for other people. Only one informant thought Oscar to be a supporting character, and one was unable to tell. Most of the informants also stated that they did not feel that they were very similar to Oscar, one person explaining that she was too passionate and emotional. Another stated that they were not as brave as Oscar. 5 informants stated that they either felt that Oscar was more similar to themselves than other characters, or that they wanted to be similar to her. Points of similarity were leadership, strength of character, and caring for other people.

6.1.5 Tyrian

The protagonist of the 2007 musical adaptation of the manga *El Halcon* (The Falcon) is Tyrian Persimmon, commander of the Royal Navy. Tyrian is of Spanish heritage but raised in England, is ruthlessly ambitious, and annihilates anyone who gets in his way. His methods are underhanded and manipulative, often victimising innocents. Red, the son of an innocent merchant who is sentenced to death after Tyrian presents forged documents as evidence, takes to the sea and swears revenge against Tyrian. It can be argued that while Tyrian is the protagonist of the play that he is the villain of the story, and that the main antagonist, the pirate ‘Red’, becomes the hero. The archetypal masks which Tyrian wears with most frequency in the story are shadow and hero, although he does have elements of shapeshifter and acts like a mentor towards his subordinate Nicholas.

Tyrian is of high social position and watches his tongue around strangers, but he has an inner monologue which is very contemptuous. When Tyrian speaks to others he avoids crude language, and uses polite words and expressions. He uses the first person pronoun *watashi* and the second person pronoun *anata*, although due to his social position he often uses short forms. He shows kindness to those he likes, although he will take advantage of them if it pleases him, and is ruthless to others. When speaking to his subordinates or similar he also uses expressions which emphasise masculinity such as *zo*, and the command suffix *tamae*. Towards the end of the story, when events are not progressing as planned for Tyrian, and Red has killed the woman Tyrian loves, he uses *kisama* (bastard). While historically a
polite expression, *kisama* is a rude second person pronoun mainly used to insult the addressee (Holmberg-Forsyth, 2009). It is common for characters that use *kisama* to be the kind of character which looks upon others with disdain (Kinsui, 2014, p.73).

**Results:**

Tyrian was believed to be clever, diligent, strong, and of high standing. He was also thought to be cunning and temperamental. He was not seen very kind, but also not as very meanspirited, and the informants did not at all believe him to show signs of cuteness, humour, humility or weakness. Only one informant believed him to be female, the others stating that he was male.

Concerning his age the results were disparate: 7 believed that he was young, and 5 believed him to be quite young—between 20 and 30. One informant described him as in the prime of his life. There was also a belief that he might be middle aged or over, answers ranging from 40 to elderly. His appearance was thought to be eye-catching, attractive and confident. Exuding strength, physically imposing and muscular. A person of power and position as well as poise. He was also described as neat, and one person thought he wore glasses.

7 of the informants believed him to be the protagonist, 2 believed him to be a powerful antagonist, 5 believed that he was an important supporting character, and a few were unable to identify his position. He was not seen as a character which was very similar to the informants due to his temperament and disregard of others, although one stated that he was a little similar to them, another that they identified with his calculating side, and a third that they liked his self confidence.

**6.2 Antagonists**

**6.2.1 Chauvelin**

Citizen Chauvelin is the antagonist in *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, based on the novel by the same name written by Baroness Orczy. Set in the aftermath of the French Revolution when nobles are being executed one by one, the story is about an English gentleman who rescues aristocrats under the pseudonym Scarlet Pimpernel. Chauvelin is a powerful member
of the Committee of Public Safety, who makes it his mission to unmask the Scarlet Pimpernel and uphold the ideals of the French Republic.

Like many other characters, Chauvelin uses different language levels depending on whom he is speaking to and what he wants to achieve. He uses a certain level of language when he talks about the ideals of the new France and another level when he works towards those goals: going between using watashi and polite expressions and grammar to using ore, wareware, kimi, and rude commands such as ‘doke!’ (move!) instead of more polite yet still informal ‘doite’. Chauvelin also uses some forms of crude or level-lowering language, such as kisama, chikushou (damn), or the third person pronouns yatsu and aitsu, which have a very familiar or sometimes rude tone. Chauvelin also displays the usage of na, zo and ze as sentence-final particles, and occasionally demands attention by using the informal ‘oi’ (hey). The sentence final particle ze has the same usage areas as zo and yo (Kinsui, 2014, p.108). Like zo it is more masculine to its form.

**Results:**

The impression of Chauvelin was that he was strong, temperamental, and meanspirited. He was also seen as quite clever, cunning, and diligent. There were some differing opinions concerning if he was high standing or not, replies spreading evenly over the options, although he was not thought to be humble.

In addition, he was not considered kind, cute, comedic, or weak. Chauvelin had the same result as Tyrian in how the informants viewed his gender: only one informant believed him to be female, the others stating that he seemed to be male. The opinions on Chauvelin’s age ranged from very young to someone in their 60’s. 10 believed that he was young, 2 that he was in his 30’s, and the others believed that he was middle aged, from 40 to 60. It seemed to be quite difficult to picture him, though the main traits were neatly dressed, potentially in a uniform. He was seen as tall, slim, and muscular by some, although one informant described him as an overweight, bulky man. An unsmiling, stern man, with a lot of influence. One informant said he might have a mustache or beard, which was accurate, and another that they couldn’t picture him at all.
8 believed Chauvelin was the antagonist and 6 thought he was a supporting character. Nobody believed him to be the protagonist. One informant commented that he seemed like a servant working for some higher purpose. The informants were unanimous in saying that he was not similar to them. Too angry, meanspirited and proud, Chauvelin seemed like a person who would cause trouble for others.

6.2.2 Sophie

Queen Dowager Sophie is the mother in law of the protagonist Elisabeth in the musical Elisabeth, which is a fictionalised depiction of the life of the historical Empress Elisabeth of Austria. Sophie is the controlling mother of Franz Joseph, Elisabeth’s spouse and Emperor of Austria, and she makes Elisabeth’s life needlessly difficult as she enters the Austrian court as Franz Joseph’s newly wedded wife. Sophie, among other things, takes Elisabeth’s children away from her to raise them in the proper manner befitting royal children. Eventually Elisabeth manages to prise her husband and family from Sophie’s clutches, to be met with retaliation from Sophie for stealing Franz Joseph from his mother.

The characterisation of Sophie is firm and demanding, showing little sympathy for weakness and tenderness. She has the highest rank out of everyone in the play, Franz Joseph excepted, which allows her to use an informal pattern of speech to mark her superiority. Sophie does use some formal or polite language, although in those cases it is mainly directed at her adult son or used as a sign of the formality of the situation.

One of the most prominent patterns in Sophie’s speech is her usage of female-coded sentence final particles in various combinations. Yo, wa, wa ne, no, no yo all make appearances, and another distinctive feature which shows Sophie’s rank is that she does not use coarse or crude language, which would lower the impression being projected (Kinsui, 2011, p.12). She also shows a lot of authority by issuing commands.

Results:

The informants seemed to have a very strong common grasp of Sophie’s character, indicating that they found her to be very strong, meanspirited, temperamental, cunning, and of high standing. They
found her not to possess any traits such as humility, weakness or cuteness. The only trait which showed a disparity was diligence, where some found her to be extremely diligent, and some thought the opposite.

Just like Silvia all of the informants interpreted Sophie as a female character. Concerning her age there was a similar general consensus that she was an older woman, only 3 stating that they believed her to be younger than 30, and most of the informants stating that she seemed to be middle aged. Her appearance was described as someone who is impeccably outfitted, an older lady in fine garb and accessories who considers etiquette to be important. 3 believed her to be beautiful, and one person described her as short, wide-eyed and scary. 4 others thought either that she was scary, strict, or showed disdain towards other people. 2 of the informants had the impression that she was a court lady or servant and dressed accordingly.

4 informants identified her as the antagonist, one thought she was the protagonist, and the others believed her to be a supporting character with a lot of power. A majority of the informants agreed that Sophie was not similar to themselves, one expressing that they hoped she was not. Others stated that she seemed uncaring of other people, was too superior, and that they wouldn’t want to be like her or live that way. On the other hand she was seen as professional, diligent, and successful.

3 people expressed that Sophie had characteristics which they felt were similar to themselves: her attention to detail, strictness with other people, and sympathy for those like herself.

6.3 Supporting Characters

6.3.1 Bourginon

Bourginon is the attendant of the male lead Dorante Vespert in *Meguriai wa Futatabi* (A Second Fortuitous Meeting). Dorante has been sent off to see if Silvia d’Orgon would be a suitable match for him, but is not keen on the idea. When he and Bourginon are on their way to the abode of the Count of Orgon for an audience, Dorante decides to switch places with Bourginon and pose as his own servant while Bourginon pretends to be his master. When Bourginon meets the beautiful Silvia he falls instantly in love, not knowing that she is
actually Lisette, Silvia’s lady’s maid. Bourginon is a loud, brash, cheerful, ebullient character who does his best to help his master.

Bourginon uses a mix of polite and informal language, which creates a balance of indicating his social position whilst showing intimacy and warmth of character. He may also seem silly or foolish when he unintentionally oversteps social boundaries. A distinct difference from all the other characters in this investigation is his usage of *goshujinsama* (master, my lord) and *dannasama* (master). The usage of *goshujinsama* indicates a master and servant relationship, while *dannasama* is used mainly when addressing the male head of the house (Kinsui, 2014, p.123). They have, however, been seen to be used interchangeably (Ibid, p.79). *Ore* and its variation *orecchi* are both used by Bourginon. As discussed before, the usage of *ore* indicates a firm masculinity, and may be used by supporting characters to emphasise the protagonist. This could be the case for Bourginon whose master Dorante uses *watashi*, *watakushi*, *boku*, and *ore* for different effects throughout the play. Bourginon tries to use *watashi* when he is posing as Dorante and attempting to use more formal language, but slips back into using *ore* on occasion.

The usage of *anta* as a variation of *anata*, while falling into an area of usage between *anata* and *kimi* (Shibamoto, 2005, p.201), has been seen to be used by slightly older men, or as a feature of the Kansai dialect (Kinsui, 2014, p.23), which may have an effect on how Bourginon is perceived by the informants since he uses *anta* as well as the occasional curse (*chikushou*).

**Results:**

Bourginon was seen to be a comedic, kind and diligent character. He was seen as quite cute, but also weak. He was believed to be cleverer than he was cunning, but not very intelligent, and not at all mean spirited or high standing. 17 informants believed Bourginon to be male, while the categories ‘female’ and ‘other’ only received one vote each. The general opinion was that Bourginon was young or acted youthfully. 2 informants believed him to be in his 40’s or middle aged. He was described as not caring much for his looks, resulting in a quite untidy, common look. He was
also believed to be plain but cheerful and courteous. 2 thought him to be slender or delicate looking, and one informant believed him to be a gaudy dresser, the opposite of the others who had remarked upon his clothing.

One informant believed Bourginon to be the main character, but the other informants identified him as a supporting character: the protagonist’s friend or servant. One informant thought he might be the villain’s servant. While the majority of the informants said that they did not find Bourginon to be similar to themselves, one stated that they would like to be similar to him despite feeling that they were not, and 3 stated that the personality traits which they felt were similar to them was his humour, not wanting to burden others, and not having much faith in himself.

6.3.2 Cheshire

‘Cheshire’ is the name of the Cheshire Cat character in the play *Arisu no Koibito* (Alice’s Lover), which is an adaptation of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* by C. S. Lewis. In this Takarazuka adaptation the author himself is one of the characters and falls into Wonderland with Alice. Cheshire does not entirely conform to the established personality of the Cheshire Cat as made famous by Disney in the *Alice in Wonderland* franchise; while they both eventually try to help Alice, the Cheshire Cat is mischievous and speaks in riddles, whereas Cheshire is curious and occasionally comical.

As previously mentioned, truly unrealistic characters which have assigned ‘stereotype’ representations in *yakuwarigo* include animals and aliens (Teshigawara and Kinsui, 2011, p.42). The most prominent character-specific lexical item which Cheshire uses and which distinguishes him specifically as a cat, is the ‘nya’ or Japanese ‘meow’. The *nya* is used as a sentence-final particle, as an interjection, and occasionally as an alternative pronunciation of certain words and grammar items. For example, the informal ‘sumanai’ meaning ‘I’m sorry’ becomes ‘sumanyai’, and ‘nanda sore’ meaning ‘what’s that’ becomes ‘nyanda sore’. This kind of pattern is not unique to the character of Cheshire, or indeed Japanese; in her investigation into the speech pattern of the Warner Bros. character ‘Tweety Bird’, Yamaguchi states that Tweety exchanges ‘th’ and ‘s’ sounds for ‘t’, creating a phonetic pattern correlating with a childlike lisp as well as making Tweety’s words sound more similar.
to chirping, and that Tweety’s name indicates a chirping or twittering bird noise (Yamaguchi, 2007, p.20).

While the *nya* might replace sentence-final particles such as ‘*na*’, the *nya* can also be used as another kind of *kyara-gobi* (character ending of a sentence), as a sentence-final particle which may have no meaning in the context of the sentence—it can simply be there to indicate that it is Cheshire who is speaking, and that Cheshire is a cat. Cheshire’s speech pattern is generally informal as he uses short forms, the male-coded *oretachi* (we), and second person pronoun *omae* which also conforms to male coding. Cheshire also asks many questions, resulting in a quite direct speech pattern.

**Results:**

The personality traits the informants believed Cheshire to have were that he was funny and cute. They also believed him to be quite clever, but not cunning, and he was not at all believed to be strong, mean spirited, temperamental or of high standing. Most believed him to be young, nearing a child in age, although one informant said that if he had been a human he would have been in his late 20’s. Concerning his looks they thought that he was a cat, a cat dressed in human clothes, or a ‘cat-human’. One comment said that he did not seem to be the kind of person who thinks things through. Many thought he would be cute, and one person thought that he would be moving around a lot, which correlates with the performance in the play. Most of the informants thought Cheshire was male, while 2 thought he was female, and 4 put him down as ‘other’, stating in the comments that it was due to the fact that they thought he was a cat.

The consensus was that he was a supporting character, and a few commented that he was an important supporting character on the protagonist’s side. One person thought he was the protagonist, and another thought he might be a supporting character on the antagonist’s side. Most said that Cheshire was not similar to themselves, the exceptions being one person saying that they were a little similar, another that they were similar because they liked using ‘funny words’, and a third said that his manner gave them a childlike feeling, suggesting that maybe children would be more able to identify with the character.
7. Research Questions and Discussion

As seen, all the nine characters have attributes which make them in some way dissimilar to the others. The five protagonists Jack, Charles, Silvia, Oscar and Tyrian were selected for their disparate characteristics in order to see if there were particular traits or styles of speech which identified them as the protagonists of their stories. Out of the two antagonists Chauvelin is the most similar to Tyrian, while iron lady Sophie has touching points with many characters but is not especially similar to any of them. The two supporting characters are also distinct, Cheshire being an animal and Bourginon a comedic character.

❖ Are there certain character traits which can or can not be deduced from language usage alone?

While a complex question, there did seem to be some patterns which were discernible from the replies of the informants as to what kind of character traits they saw. The most striking result was how all of the informants unanimously identified both of the female characters who used female-coded markers as female. There was no such unanimous verdict for any of the male characters, for while the majority of the informants believed all of the male characters to be male, there was still a belief among the informants that characters using signifiers for traditionally male role-coding could be female. It is worthy to note, however, that no male characters using a female coding were part of the investigation. No conclusions can therefore be drawn concerning if there is a tendency to believe all characters who use the female stereotype markers to be female, or if Sophie and Silvia’s usage of these markers along with other characteristics were what set them apart as unquestionably female. In her investigation into the usage of female-coded language among contemporary young women, Elin Ekdahl puts forward the theory that younger women use less female-coded role language than older women do, and that they are prone to defy the ‘ideal’ feminine patterns of speech (Ekdahl, 2010). However, Ekdahl suggests that this may not be a new phenomenon - women may have defied these types of coding patterns for as long as they have existed. Ekdahl also refers to a 1992 Sato and Okamoto investigation where women in the older age range were found to be more prone to using these kinds of speech strategies (Ekdahl, 2010, p.23). It could therefore be the case that female language carries some associations with the image of an older woman, which could be seen in the results of both Silvia and Sophie, where the
majority believed Sophie to be an older woman, and a quarter believed Silvia to be older as well, the general impression being that she was not very cute despite her character being a cutesy young lady. It might be the case that Silvia’s cuteness stems from tone of voice, facial expressions and actions rather than her word and grammar choices, or that the female role coding supersedes her cuter aspects. It could also be the case that the selection of utterances may have influenced the impression of Silvia, despite having been selected for the purpose of giving the most comprehensive view of the character as possible. However, this would not explain the discrepancies between Silvia’s and Sophie’s results, whereby Silvia was seen by most to be a younger character while Sophie was believed by most to be older.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding</th>
<th>Silvia</th>
<th>Sophie</th>
<th>Oscar</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spoiled</td>
<td>scary</td>
<td>handsome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beautiful but cruel</td>
<td>strict</td>
<td>good looking but worried</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Generalised comparison of female characters

As stated, the informants were very certain that the female characters who used language with a female coding were in fact female, yet that this was not true for all of the male characters, where every character had at least one informant believing that they may be female. The only male, human character who had multiple informants believing he might be female was Charles, who differs from the other male characters in that he is a morally good character who uses ore and watashi interchangeably. He is most similar in character to boku-
using Jack, who did not score as highly as Charles in strength: strength was one of Charles’s defining features while the informants seemed undecided as to how strong—if at all—Jack was. It seems as though, as Ekdahl also found in her investigation, that boku in particular has strong associations to male-coded language (Ekdahl, 2010, p.40) despite not being the most masculine pronoun. The character whose results were the most similar to Charles’s in this area was Oscar. While 4 believed Charles to be female, 3 believed Oscar to be female, and 1 person was uncertain. Charles and Oscar are similar characters in that they are both persons of position within the military, consistently use two different language levels, make commands, and use the first person pronoun watashi—although Charles also uses ore. Additionally, they are characters who display empathy and concern for others. Interesting to note is how they with their differing genders fall into the same character pattern and are treated similarly by the informants, emphasising the ambiguity.

Strength and a high social position were two other traits which the informants seemed to identify without too much difficulty. The two traits also seemed to have somewhat of a correlation. The characters which the informants clearly identified as strong were Charles, Oscar, Tyrian, Chauvelin and Sophie; all characters who issue orders. The characters thought to be of high standing were Charles, Silvia, Oscar, Tyrian, and Sophie. Chauvelin was thought by some to be of high standing, but by others not, which to a degree is an accurate interpretation of Chauvelin since he has power in a historical France where power dynamics are shifting. Silvia was similarly thought of to be strong in some aspects and weaker in others.

All of the informants were able to identify the cat-like characteristics of Cheshire, indicating a clear recognition of a role language pertaining to an animal character. There was also a consensus that Cheshire was a young character, a pattern also seen in Jack, and to a slightly lesser degree in Bourginon. All of these characters were seen as having a more playful manner. While these three were generally not viewed by the informants as heroes, there was also a trend whereby characters viewed as heroes were to some extent thought of as younger. Among the two antagonists, Sophie was seen as generally older while the informants had disparate opinions concerning Chauvelin’s age.
Table 5: Generalised side-by-side character comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>First person pronoun</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Perceived role</th>
<th>Perceived personal traits</th>
<th>Perceived age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>boku watashi ore</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>1. supporting character 2. protagonist</td>
<td>+/- strong kind cute +/- humble</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>watashi ore</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>strong high standing diligent</td>
<td>uncertain: opinions ranged from young to elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>temperamental clever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+/- humble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvia</td>
<td>watashi watakushi</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>supporting character</td>
<td>+/- strong high standing</td>
<td>1. young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clever temperamental +/- cunning</td>
<td>2. middle aged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+/- meanspirited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>watashi wareware</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>strong high standing kind</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kind</td>
<td>prime of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>diligent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrian</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>protagonist</td>
<td>1. protagonist 2. important supporting character 3.</td>
<td>strong high standing</td>
<td>prime of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>powerful antagonist</td>
<td>clever temperamental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cunning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+/- meanspirited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauvelin</td>
<td>watashi ore wareware</td>
<td>antagonist</td>
<td>1. antagonist 2. supporting character</td>
<td>strong +/- high standing</td>
<td>1. young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>temperamental meanspirited</td>
<td>2. middle aged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophie</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>antagonist</td>
<td>powerful supporting character</td>
<td>strong high standing</td>
<td>middle aged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meanspirited temperamental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cunning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+/- diligent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourginon</td>
<td>ore orecchi</td>
<td>supporting character</td>
<td>supporting character</td>
<td>comedic kind</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>diligent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheshire</td>
<td>oretachi</td>
<td>supporting character</td>
<td>supporting character</td>
<td>comedic</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 5 personal pronouns in plural form are italicised. +/- indicates divided opinions among the informants. Listed vocabulary indicates occurrence, not frequency.
Can role language reveal the prominence and importance of a particular character? Does excessive usage of certain types of language brand a character as a supporting character?

Identifying which position the characters have in their respective stories seemed to be more challenging, and the results showed a lot of disparity in the informants’ opinions for many of the characters. None of the antagonists or supporting characters were seen as protagonists, but not all of the protagonists were seen as protagonists either. Oscar was the character identified by most as the hero, closely followed by Charles. The two have many similarities, such as usage of both polite and intimate language, and displaying positive and admirable personal characteristics. The informants were split over Jack: half believing him to be a protagonist, half that he was a supporting character. Reasons for this might be that he was seen as very silly by some, and that there was not a very high identification factor. Tyrian had a similar divide where, while many believed him to be the protagonist, an equal number believed him to hold a different position. Two believed that he was the villain, and a few others that he was an evil supporting character. Even the informants who believed Tyrian to be a supporting character found him to be important to the story.

Table 6: Characters perceived to be protagonists or antagonists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Antagonist</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>+/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived personal traits</td>
<td>Chauvelin</td>
<td>Tyrian</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong high standing temperamental meanspirited</td>
<td>strong high standing clever diligent cunning temperamental</td>
<td>strong high standing kind</td>
<td>strong high standing kind clever diligent</td>
<td>+/- strong kind cute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns used</td>
<td>watashi ore wareware</td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>watashi ore</td>
<td>watashi wareware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anata kimi kisama</td>
<td>anata kimi kisama</td>
<td>kimi omae</td>
<td>anata kimi omae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politeness</td>
<td>informal formal/polite</td>
<td>formal informal</td>
<td>informal formal/polite</td>
<td>formal/polite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48
Silvia was the one who the fewest believed to be the hero of the story out of the protagonists: only a quarter believed her to hold that position. Like Tyrian, two believed her to be the antagonist, and the others believed her to be a supporting character, potentially with a dark past. From these results it seems as though Silvia who speaks in a manner which moves her away from the neutral area of はようじゅうじょう is the hero who is most clearly interpreted as not being the hero of her story. A potential reason which would correlate with established theories could be that the audience does not identify with her language usage since it is not a
style they themselves would use. Another reason could be that her language usage is deeply established among the informants as a form of language which is associated with certain characteristics which do not belong in the hero of a story. The impressions the informants had of Silvia were especially fascinating since even though some saw her as a young, cute lady, a number of the informants believed her to be a darker character, in direct opposition to the characteristics she is meant to display in the story.

The antagonists consistently had more informants believing in their villainous nature than the other two character categories. Sophie, like Silvia, was believed by many to be a supporting character, albeit a wicked one, only four indicating her as the antagonist. In her story Sophie can in some ways be seen both as shadow and threshold guardian, for while she at one point can be seen as the most powerful force opposing the hero, said hero manages to outmanoeuvre her halfway through the story, and thereafter faces an even stronger opponent. While Sophie is seen as a strong character in and of herself, it might be the case that she conforms to a stereotype of a kind of character which is less central to the progression of storylines, seeing as there was such a large number of informants who believed her to be a supporting character as opposed to the antagonist. Comparing Silvia’s and Sophie’s results there seems to be a pattern of usage of female-coded language and interpretations thereof which sets them apart as less central. Chauvelin seems to be believed to have more influence on the story than Sophie. While nobody believed him to be the protagonist there was a larger number of informants who thought him to be an antagonist than who thought him to be a supporting character. A potential reason for the differences in impression between Chauvelin and Sophie aside from the usage of female and male role-coding could be in how they deliver commands. Chauvelin barks orders in a rude manner while Sophie gives orders using a higher politeness level.

Among the characters in this investigation the supporting characters use ore as their prime first person pronoun more consistently than any other category. Bourginon uses watashi when posing as his master, but his character identity is connected to his usage of ore. Both Cheshire and Bourginon were identified as supporting characters, with the exception of one comment each suggesting them to be protagonists. Bourginon’s way of referring to his master seemed to indicate to most of the informants that he was not the focus of the story, but
the ally of the protagonist. Similarly, Cheshire’s nya had the same effect, as most presumed the cat would be an ally of the protagonist as well.

It would seem that the results of this investigation conform to the theory that the more distinctive a level of role language characters speak, the further away from hyōjungo, and the ruder their language, the more they are likely to be identified as characters which are not the focal point of the story. There will naturally be exceptions to this theory, as role language may be used for any number of strategies, yet the stereotypical interpretation which these limited results indicate conform to theory.

❖ Are there linguistic differences between stereotypes of morally good and morally evil characters, and how are those traits projected?

How morally ‘good’ characters are may not always be clear cut. Jack, for example, while a charming and well meaning character, does have elements of the trickster archetype about him. He pretends to be two people: Jack when he is at home in the countryside, and pretends to be Jack’s brother Ernest when he is in town. Seeing as Ernest does not exist, and since when Jack marries Gwendolen he will no longer be able to spend a lot of time in town as Ernest, he tries to convince everyone that Ernest has died and that he is grieving his brother. While an appealing character, it is debatable whether Jack is a morally good character or not. Silvia chooses to pose as a different person in a similar way to Jack, although for vastly different reasons: where Jack wanted to ‘live the life’ without repercussions, Silvia wanted to see the true faces of her suitors. In spite of this Silvia was seen by some of the informants as having elements of wickedness about her while Jack did not. These two characters’ utterances therefore seem not to be clearly indicative of level of morality.

Others, however, may be easily defined as morally good: Charles who wishes to save everyone, Oscar who tries to protect the weak, Bourginon who does what he can to help his master even at his own expense, and Cheshire who despite not knowing if he might disappear as part of a dream decides to help the protagonists return to the real world. Common traits among the speech styles of these characters was a general avoidance of rude words and curses made towards others, and usage of either watashi or ore.
Table 8: Speech patterns of the morally good characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Charles</th>
<th>Oscar</th>
<th>Bourginon</th>
<th>Cheshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>watashi ore</td>
<td>watashi <em>wareware</em></td>
<td>ore orecchi</td>
<td><em>oretachi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kimi omae</td>
<td>anata kimi omae</td>
<td>anata/anta</td>
<td>omae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Politeness</strong></td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>formal/polite</td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other features</strong></td>
<td>issues commands</td>
<td>issues commands</td>
<td>occasional light cursing</td>
<td>grammatical nya direct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 8 personal pronouns in plural form are italicised. Listed vocabulary indicates occurrence, not frequency.

Table 9: Speech patterns of the morally evil characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tyrian</th>
<th>Chauvelin</th>
<th>Sophie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>watashi ore</td>
<td>watashi <em>wareware</em></td>
<td>watashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anata kimi kisama</td>
<td>anata kimi kisama</td>
<td>anata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Politeness</strong></td>
<td>formal informal</td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other features</strong></td>
<td>issues commands</td>
<td>issues commands</td>
<td>consistent lexically raised level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>generally avoids crude language contemptuous</td>
<td>crude language derogatory</td>
<td>female coding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no coarse language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>critical towards others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 9 personal pronouns in plural form are italicised. Listed vocabulary indicates occurrence, not frequency.

The morally evil characters in this investigation were Tyrian who annihilates anyone in his way, Chauvelin who works for his cause no matter the human cost, and Sophie who is unwilling to give up her power. As they have shown, both *watashi* and *ore* are personal pronouns which may be used by morally evil characters, suggesting that it is not an inherent characteristic of either of these forms to indicate how good or evil a character may be. These characters do, however, all show derision towards others in the way they speak. They may use rude words or commands, although Sophie consistently maintains a lexically raised level. These characters were also thought to be temperamental, suggesting that they speak in a more

52
irate manner. The limited number of characters analysed in this investigation as well as the low number of informants make it impossible to make any definite claims concerning elements of speech style which may indicate what constitutes a morally good or morally evil character. However, the main element which could be seen as an indicator for an evil character as opposed to a good one was in the showing of disdain for others through language usage.

❖ **Is it possible to tell protagonist from antagonist, and if such is the case, could an evil protagonist be identified through their role language?**

Although almost all of the characters were believed by at least one informant to be the hero of their story, the one exception being Chauvelin, the trend seen in this investigation was that many speech patterns seemed to indicate to the informants that the character using them was not the protagonist. As previously mentioned, none of the antagonists or supporting characters were seen by the majority of informants as protagonists. Among the protagonists themselves the characters which were clearly defined as such were Oscar and Charles, followed by Tyrian and Jack, the latter two being seen as central to the stories if not the protagonists. There was a slightly stronger belief in Tyrian as a protagonist than Jack, despite Jack being viewed as a more clearly positive character than Tyrian. A reason for this could be the level of recognition of the personal traits of each character. Jack was seen as similar in that he had a certain awkwardness, whereas in Tyrian the informants recognised more negative traits, such as ambition and a calculating side. Tyrian was also seen as cunning, clever and confident. Tyrian thus fits exceedingly well into the shadow archetype, as he demonstrates many characteristics which are unpleasant, yet which have a high recognition factor for the audience. They are unwanted characteristics which could be seen as intrinsic to humanity, and the decision to go against those characteristics can be a challenge a hero needs to overcome.

The character most similar to Tyrian is Chauvelin, who also fits the shadow archetype. However, Chauvelin was more clearly identified by the informants as an antagonist: 8 as opposed to 2. In addition, there was almost no self-recognition in Chauvelin the way there was in Tyrian. In their stories, both Chauvelin and Tyrian have morally good characters executed, and can be seen to be equally evil characters. Why then, do the
informants feel a stronger affinity for Tyrian? Both characters use different politeness levels depending on whom they are addressing, and while Tyrian uses *watashi* which has strong connotations to standard language, so does Chauvelin. While they both show signs of language which degrades others, Tyrian has a raised lexical tone to indicate his high standing, only occasionally slipping to a lower level of rude speech. This also makes him seem more cunning and like a shapeshifter, as he may speak politely to someone only to machinate their demise in the next moment. Tyrian is allowed to wax lyrical about his ambitions and dreams, which made him seem like an adventurer to some of the informants. Chauvelin, when allowed to express his own ambition seemed to the informants to be working towards a specific goal in a manner similar to that of a servant. The impression they had of Chauvelin was thus one of limitations, only following one set path, while the impression Tyrian gave was very expansive and full of possibilities. Another point of difference between the two was in how their age was perceived. In the play, there is a younger and an older version of Tyrian which tell the story of Tyrian’s life. All of Tyrian’s utterances which were used in the survey were ones made by the older, adult Tyrian, yet the informants still deemed Tyrian to be a young or quite young character in the best years of his life, moving with purpose towards his goals. Chauvelin on the other hand seemed to be of ambiguous age, with many inferring that he was older as well as younger. Even their appearances, while both described as showing strength, were imagined differently: Tyrian as more attractive, Chauvelin as sterner.

In the comparison between Tyrian and Chauvelin the results of the investigation showed that together, the informants managed to identify both traits of the protagonist and of the shadow in Tyrian. They were also able to distinguish between the shadow archetype in the protagonist and the antagonist. It would thus seem to be possible to indicate a morally evil character as the hero and protagonist of the story, despite them possessing traits which are normally seen as undesirable in a hero.

❖ **Do the informants identify with or feel a distance to the characters?**

Taking into consideration the theory of the standard language *hyōjungo* being the speech pattern most audiences will identify with, it being the most indistinct pattern available in regards to showing personality (Kinsui, 2007, p.106), it was only a small number of informants that reported similarities between themselves and the characters who used these
speech patterns. That is not to say that the informants did not seem to find likeable or appealing traits in the characters, or even that there were no traits which were similar to themselves. Rather, it might be the case that while an audience may empathise with a character and put themselves in the position of the hero for the duration of the story, the converse is not routinely true—when taking the individual characters and comparing them to the sum of their own full identity, the differences between them become very striking. Rather than seeing a few character traits which they identify with in a character they instead see all of the elements which do not match, causing them to feel dissimilar to the character. There were many informants who stated that there were specific characteristics which were similar, or that the character and themselves were a little alike. There were, however, no responses stating that they were confident that any character was similar to them.

The characters which fared the least well in terms of having traits which the informants could identify with were Chauvelin and Charles, followed by Sophie and Tyrian—all commanding characters. Next was Cheshire, who was thought to be more similar to young children due to a playful nature. Jack and Bourginon followed, Bourginon seen to be admirable in that he was humorous and showed selflessness, yet dissimilar in that he was a servant. Jack, while fitting all the parameters which would make him an ideal character for identifying with, was seen as exceedingly silly. As a character meant to overemphasise the grandeur of romance and marriage, those very same attributes may cause the audience not to identify with him fully due to a discrepancy in behaviour between him and themselves. The character who placed second in how well the informants were able to identify with them was Silvia, her frankness and display of regret ringing true for many. It seemed as though, even though the informants generally believed Silvia to be a supporting character, that a character’s position in the story did not seem to be of much importance when the informants considered how similar they found the characters to be to themselves. Clearly indicated allies Cheshire and Bourginon fared better than clearly indicated hero Charles.

Oscar was the most popular, informants expressing that she was more similar to them than the other characters, and that they saw many traits in her which they themselves hoped to display. It was not only the specific personality traits which were important for recognition; gender stereotyping was important when considering identity and similarity. Male informants were more likely to see similarities between themselves and characters
which they thought to be male, and the same was true for female informants. In his analysis of the two princesses in Hayao Miyazaki’s film *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*, Rikiya Konei describes Princess Kushana as displaying no signs of femininity aside from her looks, due to her distinctly male speech pattern. For example, Kushana uses *omae* instead of *anata*, and gives commands and makes requests in an informal fashion (Konei, 2011, p.175). His description of Kushana’s language correlates well with the language usage Oscar displays, with the exception of Oscar’s varying politeness levels and avoidance of crude words such as *kisama*. Konei also suggest that by using male-coded speech a female character may assume the characteristics of a male hero (Ibid, p.178). Oscar shows refinement in one pattern of speech, and strength in another. “She is not a man-like woman, but one of those ideal women admired and beloved by male and female, by old and young.” (Yamanashi, 2012, p.180) Oscar is “an attractive human being who possesses qualities of manliness and womanliness, strength and tenderness, valour and dignity.” (Ibid, p.180) This could be another reason why Oscar was seen as the character they identified with the most—her speech indicated a more ambiguous gender stereotype than many other characters.

The presence of *hyōjungo* did not seem to be the decisive factor in how similar to themselves the informants found the characters to be, but the character which they believed to be the most similar to themselves, and who they themselves would like to emulate the most, did use this kind of language.
8. Concluding Remarks

In order for there to be effective communication between two individuals, they need to have corresponding knowledge of cultural stereotypes and the means through which those stereotypes are conveyed, i.e. the means of communication is the mutual knowledge of sets of signifiers, and that which they signify.

*Yakuwarigo* is a device used by authors for effective communication. There is not a set number of roles which can be signified through *yakuwarigo*. Rather, *yakuwarigo* has infinite potential for stereotype representation as new kinds are continuously developed by the usage of the Japanese language.

It is theorised that the hero of a story speaks using *hyōjungo* in order for the audience to identify and empathise with the character, as it is the form of language which they themselves are taught to use, and which signifies the character traits of a 'good' person. Gendered language falls into the standard language category, and is intrinsically linked to a person’s sense of identity in the same way that the correct usage of honorifics and politeness level are indicative of the role an individual holds in any social context. Individuals can also understand their role in relation to others depending on the language coding which other people use. There is also a difference between the roles which people assume in reality, and the roles which are portrayed in fiction. In fiction, more distinct role language can mark a character as a less important character, and stereotypical minor characters can highlight main characters, since they through their speech patterns reveal the relationship they have with the main characters.

*Yakuwarigo* and social expectations are interwoven. It is part of culture, and the Japanese have come to expect its usage as a natural part of language. All characters in stories are assigned some form of *yakuwarigo*. They have a role to fulfill and they are given the linguistic make up in order to perform their part. When people hear the cues they know what to expect from the character, and the existence of role language has etched into the Japanese consciousness to such a degree that without it communication would be inhibited.

Overall, the combined descriptions made by the informants suited the characters, suggesting that the detraction of visual cues did not reshape their base interpretability, although some variations were seen between the characters. It was seen that one or two of the informants were able to identify a character by name or give a detailed and accurate
description of a character’s appearance, suggesting them to be fans of Takarazuka familiar with the characters to a degree that they are able to guess which characters are being investigated. This could potentially lead to some biased results, although taking into account the low number of these occurrences along with how only two characters—Oscar and Chauvelin—seemed to have been recognised, it does not seem to have affected the results, since they are in concordance with those of the informants who were unfamiliar with Takarazuka. It also seems to have had no bearing on how similar or dissimilar the informants believed the characters to be to themselves.

In this investigation into role language as used by characters in performances by the Takarazuka Revue, one of the main points of interest was to find if it would be feasible for native Japanese informants to make character associations based solely upon the utterances of the characters, removed from any visual or contextual cues. It was found that it does indeed seem possible, albeit only to a certain extent. Due to the limitations in scope and number of informants it is impossible to make any definite conclusions, although there seem to be observable patterns in the responses made by the informants.

Concerning gender-coded language there seemed to be a deeper, intrinsic connection between female-coded language and a female identity, as none of the informants questioned the feminine status of the two women using such strategies. The same could not be said for male-coded language, for while there is also a gender-neutral area where ambiguity is expected, male characters using more heavily coded patterns were also seen as potentially female. This suggests that women using male-coded language occurs at a higher frequency than males using female-coded language, broadening some forms of male-coded language to include females in the stereotypical usage. This would suggest that male-coded patterns may be seen as more gender neutral. However, due to the limited number of characters as well as limited number of informants, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

There also seemed to be a correlation between more distinct role-coded patterns and the impression of the character as further away from the focus of the story; the further away from はいじゅん the less likely to be seen as a protagonist. The supporting characters conforming to the ally archetype—Bourginon and Cheshire—as well as the antagonists with the shadow archetype—Chauvelin and Sophie—were all identified by a majority of the informants as not holding the protagonist position. Similar patterns could also be seen among
the protagonists, where Silvia especially was seen by many to be a supporting character rather than a protagonist.

Other patterns of how the informants viewed the subjects could be seen from the results of the survey. Characters with speech patterns which included commands gave a stronger impression, while an avoidance of rude expressions indicated high social status. The shadow archetype could be identified through disdainful language towards others. Animal traits were also easily identified in Cheshire’s catlike speech. Age, when divided into the categories young and old, also seemed to be partially identifiable to the informants. More specific ages were more difficult to identify, and for Chauvelin the results were ambiguous.

In this investigation with these particular characters the informants also seemed capable of distinguishing between an evil protagonist and an antagonist. On the other hand there was no indication that the informants favoured protagonists rather than non-protagonists when it came to identifying characters as similar to themselves, although the character which was seen as the most similar spoke a gender-ambiguous *hyōjungo*. Gender perception also seemed to play a part in the self-recognition in the characters; if the informants perceived a character to have the opposite gender they were less likely to view the character as similar to themselves.

Through the investigation it became clear that several areas would need further research in order to make definite conclusions. This investigation used a breadth of character types to investigate trends. Future investigations with narrower focus into specific character archetypes, using several characters conforming to the same archetype in connection to audience perception, could give more insight into the different patterns observed in this investigation. Further study into the area of male characters using female role-coding in contrast to females using female role-coding could be of interest. Would male characters using this coding also be believed to be undoubtedly female? A larger number of informants would give more statistically reliable results, and narrowing the scope would allow a more focused investigation.
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Appendix A: Survey

宝塚の役割語
この調査では、宝塚のそれぞれのキャラクターがどのような言語的な特徴を持っているかを調べます。それぞれのキャラクターの性格が言葉や文法どのように表現されていると思いますか。下記の宝塚の芝居から取った台詞を読んで、質問に答えてください。

人物1 (1/9)
下の文を読んで、意見を言ってください。

[Utterances as made by each character]
上の台詞を話しているキャラクターはどんな人物だと思いますか（例えば、性別、年齢、外見など）。できるだけ詳しくご自分の印象を書いてください。

人物はどのような性格をしていると思いますか。
一番適切な答えを選んでください。その特徴が言い方から分からない場合は〇を選んでください。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>親切</th>
<th>□ 〇</th>
<th>□ 1 全然ない</th>
<th>□ 2</th>
<th>□ 3 とても</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>意地悪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賢い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>悪賢い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>真面目</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>怒りっぽい</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>可愛い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>こっけい</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>僅い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>しない</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>強い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>弱い</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>性別</td>
<td>□ 女</td>
<td>□ 男</td>
<td>□ その他（下に書いてください）</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>年齢</td>
<td>若者？お年寄り？他の？</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

外見

自分の考え
この人物は主人公/敵対者/脇役と思いますか。性格がよく分かりますか。他のコメントがあれば、ここに書いても良いです。

この人物はあなたに似ていますか。
できれば、よく説明してください。

63
Appendix B: Character Utterances

Listed in the order they appeared in the survey.

1: Charles: チャールズ・ウィルヌーブ・ドゥ・リベルタ (カリスタの海に抱かれて)
オリーブの香り…懐かしいな～。二十年ぶりか。
無事にフランス本国の家族の元に帰りたければ、私の命令に従うことだな。
近道？あるのが超えていくんじゃないの。
豪華なドレスだぞ。軽蔑しているんじゃないのか。
こいつは万が一の場合の武器だ。
独立と復讐は違う。
ドレスはギュッと締めて着るんだ。緩くするかい？
そんなこと考えたのか。もう言うな！
お父上にお目にかかりたい。奥様もお嬢様もこの島を撤退する準備をなさってください。
処刑されると思った時、俺にとって何よりも大切なのは［名前］だと思った。

2: Jack: ジャック・ワージング (Ernest in Love)
だが問題は…あっ、［名前］、僕はプロポーズの経験があまりない。まず、膝をつくのか。
君に出会ったからというもの僕は…ダメだ～
町にいる間は自分が楽しむ。田舎に帰れば人を楽しむ。付き合いの方々を。
ほ、君の許し。返す！とにかく返して紳士の礼儀に反する！
シガレットケースを返せ！
僕はあなたに出会ったからというもの、他の誰よりもあなたを愛しています。
僕は貴族じゃないらしい。かと言って平民にもならない。
君の時計はいつも食事前だなぁ。婚約はつらい約束だ。
僕のダーリン！
お手数をおかけします。
［名前］じゃないか！驚いた！こんな所まで会いに来てくれるなんて～
しかし今後の一時だけその仕来りから離れて想像してみて欲しいのです。

3: Cheshire: チェシャ (アリスの恋人)
よかった！首がつながってニャ～。
どうやって月から落ちてきたのニャ。
ニャんだそれ？
ややこしいニャ。
ニャニャニャ。どこへ行くつもりニャー。
お前！いいからに起きるニャ～！
もしその話が事実ニャら、［名前］が目覚めたら、俺たちはどうニャるのニャ？
もしこれが［名前］の夢ニャら、彼が目覚めたら、俺たちはパッと消えてしまいじゃニャいかニャ。
すまニャい。
4: Sophie: 皇太后ゾフィー (エリザベート)
皇帝は何も決める必要はありません。皆様、謁見を終わります。
遅れたわね。とんでもない。
皇后はどこ。早く起こすのです。
まだ若すぎるわ。
なんて寝坊なの。急けてはダメよ。毎朝5時きっかりにすべて始めるのよ。
仕事に従いなさいすべて今日からいるわ。
顔を洗ったの。歯を見せて。黄ばんでいるわね。
お断りよ。
息子取られたわ。
きれいな女なんで、たくさんいるわ。
ただし、人目に触れないようにね。スカウデルはごめんよ。

5: Chauvelin: ショーヴラン (The Scarlet Pimpernel)
どけ。おい。
自由。平等。博愛のおいです。侯爵の隠れ家がお知らせる手紙だ。速行しろ。
貴様[名前]の正体を知っているはずだ。吐かないと拷問にかけるぞ。
閣下お願いがあります。私を[所]に大使として派遣してください。
用件だけよ。我々は[名前]は[国]貴族の中にあると睨んでいる。
さよう。楽しみにしています。そのつもりです。結構です。
はあ？ご自分が何を言っているのか分かるんですか。ばかばかしい妄想だ。いい加減にしてくれ！
なんだと。あいつ！おまえしらせてやる！軟弱なあいつ。向こうで水をかけてこい。
マルグリットだぜ。
我々だけか。
ちくしょう。早くしろ。
天はまだ私を見捨てていないようだな。

6: Bourginon: ブルギニョン (めぐり会いは再び)
旦那様、[名前]様。こっちですよ。早く。
おっと失礼。まぁ、でも仕方ありませんよ。
今でも胸が痛みます！アー！俺っちの話はいいや。ええと…
[名前]様、どうなさいましたか。
旦那様、[名前]様、待ててくださいよ！どうやって顔で踊るか教えてください！
脱ぎます！脱ぎますから無理やり恥じたらないで。止めて！
一目見てあなたを愛してしまった。
俺こそ。あんたに釣り合うような人間じゃない。
ちくしょう。
ご主人様！いやです！俺は離れたくない！行きません！絶対に！行かない！行かない！や
~~
俺たちは正しい星を見つけてたんだ！

7: Silvia: シルヴィア・ド・オルゴン (めぐり会いは再び)
ええ、みんなに上面は美しく、優しいのがたぱかりでしょう。でもその本心はどうかしら。
お父様は例外よ。大変珍しい例だわ。
面白そうじゃない！お兄様、わたくしやりますわ。
当たり前でしょう。わたくしの侍女はあなただけなのよ。
何ですって！あなたこそ従者のくせに随分偉そうな口利くのね。
あら、あなた主人から離れてどこへ行こうとなさっているのかしら。
じゃ、きげんよう。
恨みがあるわけじゃないわ。
私も行きます。暗くなってきてから。
一時の気の迷い伯仲もだと思って全て忘れて。
ごめんなさい。私を許してくださいますか。

8: Tyrian: ティリアン・パーシモン (エル・アルコン)
海はあまりに大きく悠久で人間ははかない一種の存在だ。その一種の私は野心にてをかけ
で生きる。
必ず連れて行って。私の旗下に乗せて。
お目にかかれて光栄です。
失礼。
晩はおよぶってね。
【国】海軍など私の目的の手段にすぎない。
【所】もその周辺の海にも私は興味がありません。ただあなたには大変興味を持ちました。
私はあなたをいだきます。計算高く危険な女だ。
あなたの父上は国家を裏切った反逆者。
悔しいと思うなら、私に対抗できる力を持たなまえ。
立ちはだかる邪魔者全て消してきた。
貴様を倒す！
見せてやるぞ。七つの海、七つの空を。

9: Oscar: オスカル (ベルサイユのぼら)
今日から君が近衛隊の隊長なんだ。後のことは頼んだぞ。
相手は人間だ。心配するな。
誰だ。出でこい！貴様は誰だ。名乗りたまえ。
いいな。もし私が倒れても兵士達を処分することにはならん。こっ！
そのご命令には従うわけはまいりません。何度も申し上げた通り、軍隊とは国民を守るた
めの物でございます。
私の胸を砲弾で貫く勇気があるか！さあ、撃て！
やめたまえ！情けない。私がそんな人間だと。みんなはまだ信じてくれないのか。
確かに我々の存在など、小さな物かもしれない。しかし、我々にもできることがあるはずだ。みんな、信じてくれ！
人間生きていくには悩みや苦しみは付き物です。悩みのない人間なんてこのようにはいないでしょう。お姉様はお姉様のお道を行く。私は私の道を行く。
いいな？約束だぞ。
[名前]に梳いてもらうと、気持ちがいいんだ。
相変わらずだ。
父上、この[名前]の親不孝を許し下さい。しかし、誰かが弱い市民を害してやらなければ...。