An 'I' for an 'I'...

The semantic development of the first person pronoun in Japanese

Tim Palmroos

Abstract

By way of a diachronic analysis the semantic changes of Japanese first person pronouns will be discussed. The goal of the analysis is to shine some light on the history and evolution of Japanese pronouns in the first person and in so doing show that these pronouns have been subjected to change semantically throughout history. To bolster the analysis research in the form of a survey has been conducted specifically for the sake of this thesis. What the result of the survey shows is that use of personal pronouns in the first person is still changing semantically. With the results of the analysis and research as a foundation the end discussion will mostly deal with how Japanese first person pronouns change and how they might be evolving in the future.

Table of Contents

Conventions

A modified version of the Hepburn System will be used in this thesis when **romanisation** of Japanese words is needed. The modification being that long vowels will be written out with double vowels instead of macrons. If 'today' is given as an example it becomes *kyou* instead of *kyō*.

Typographical conventions used in this thesis are "double quotes", denoting quotations in the running text, 'single quotes', denoting translations of Japanese words in the running text as well as technical terms. *Italics* is used to denote either Japanese words in running text, titles of books or emphasis.

1. Introduction

The definition of a pronoun is that it is "a word which will substitute for a noun" (Martin 2004: 1074). Therefore it follows quite naturally that a personal pronoun should have some connection to this definition. It can probably be said that a personal pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun that is related on some level with a person or persons. This statement is, moreover, supported in the Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar which says that a personal pronoun is a "pronoun belonging to a set that shows contrasts of person, gender, number, and case (though not every pronoun shows all these distinctions)" (Palmroos 2009: 4). There are two kinds of pronouns. Firstly, *deictic* pronouns which take some of their meaning from context, such as *you*, whose meaning changes according to who is speaking and who is addressed and secondly, *anaphoric* pronouns, which take some of their meaning from something previously said or written, the so called *antecedent*, such as *he*.

The description of pronouns in general and personal pronouns in particular is pertinent to this thesis because of the chosen topic. The topic of Japanese personal pronouns have interested me since I began to study Japanese and I created this thesis with the hope of being able to shine some light on the history and evolution of especially the first person pronouns of Japanese.

Due to a lack of space not all Japanese first person pronouns can be discussed in this thesis, however, the three most commonly used pronouns in Japanese have been chosen as the focus. These are: *watashi* (私), *boku* (僕) and *ore* (俺). In connection to *watashi* (私) the less formal variation *atashi* and the more formal *watakushi* (私) will also be discussed. The list below is but a slight insight into the chosen pronouns and is only meant to give the reader an overview of the Japanese personal pronouns in connection to what has been said.

Pronoun	Kanji	Usage	Original meaning
Wata(ku)shi	私	Formal speech	'Private'
Boku	僕	Colloquial	'Servant'
Ore	俺	Informal	'I'

1.1. Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to, with the help of theories on semantic change, address and discuss three chosen Japanese first person pronouns and their variations through diachronic analysis. The point of this being to show the reader that, through time, Japanese

first person pronouns have changed semantically. Hopefully the results of the analysis will lead smoothly into the final part of the thesis which contains research specifically conducted for the sake of this thesis. The purpose of this research, a survey, is to show that use of Japanese first person pronouns is still changing today and by looking at this specific part of the Japanese language it might be possible to draw a bigger picture with regards to the evolution of the Japanese language.

1.2. Disposition & Method

The thesis is divided into three main parts so as to be the most comprehensible. Firstly, the topic of semantic change will be addressed and explained. This part is important because it gives the reader the foundation in semantic change theory needed to understand the next part of the thesis. The two books mostly used for the first part were written by Stern and Campbell. The theories on semantic change and classifications and examples given in these books were of great help and with their assistance semantic change is hopefully explained properly.

Secondly, with the help of the theories on semantic change discussed in part one a diachronic analysis of semantic change in three Japanese first person pronouns will be made. For this part of the thesis many sources were used, but most helpful were probably Martin (1975) and Suzuki (2001).

The analysis conducted in the second part makes the transition into the third part concerning my own research quite smooth. The research conducted for this thesis was in the shape of a survey with the purpose of providing a continuation of the analysis in part two. The material mainly used in the third part was the results of the survey. The questions on the survey can be seen in the appendix.

2. Semantic Change

2.1. Definition of Semantic Change

It is easy enough to say that semantics is the meaning of words. It is, however, not as easy to describe the semantic process which occurs when someone, the speaker, addresses a receiver, the addressee, whereupon the received information is analysed and, hopefully, understood by that addressee. The research performed by a linguist named Gustaf Stern will be referred to mostly when discussing semantics and semantic change. Stern used three elements, or factors, to define semantics. He called these three factors *word, mental content* and *referent* (Stern 1931: 30). According to Stern, *word* is, just as the word implies, the word expressed, whereas *mental content* is the speaker's mental image of the meaning connected to the expression and the *referent* denotes the occurrence that is actually referred to through the use of the *word* (Stern 1931: 30-35). These terms coined by Stern will be used throughout the thesis. Other elements of semantics and semantic change will also be discussed below where Stern's three elements will have a crucial role.

To make it easier to understand the three factors defined above it might be appropriate to give an example, especially an example which is pertinent to this thesis. Therefore the Japanese first person pronoun *boku* (僕) will be presented as an example. The old meaning of this kanji, or character, was that of 'servant' or 'slave' whereas the modern use bears the meaning of 'I' with a slightly formal or, perhaps, childish feel to it and depending on who the speaker is, it should not be used in conversation when, for example, the addressee is of higher social rank than the speaker. Age is an important factor as well because the rule mentioned in the previous sentence does not include adolescent males with the exception of formal occasions. However, this will be dealt with in depth in part three below. Seeing as the modern meaning of *boku* is 'I' it is quite simple to deduce that it refers to the one speaking. Therefore it can be said that *word* of the three factors is *boku* whereas the *mental content* contains the meaning 'I' and the *referent* is in this case myself, the speaker.

To be able to describe semantic change it might be necessary to first explain what a *diachronic* study and a *synchronic* study is. *Diachrony* and *synchrony* are two terms that are very important to those studying language. A *synchronic* study is "concerned with something, especially a language, as it exists at one point in time" whereas a *diachronic* study is "concerned with the way in which something, especially language, has developed and evolved through time" (The Oxford Dictionary of English). For example, *diachronic* research in the field of semantics might be concerned with the change in meaning of a word over time,

whereas *synchronic* studies only focus on the meaning of that word at a specific point in time. In this thesis the focus will be on diachronic studies of semantics in semantic change. Essentially, how the meaning of words change meaning over time. Semantic change is, of course, a change in the meaning of a word and although this is a correct definition it is a bit more complicated than that.

2.1.1 The Three Stages of Semantic Change

The author of *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*, Lyle Campbell, believes that, although not of interest to researchers in the past, the question of how a semantic change occurs has become a topic of importance to modern day researchers (1998: 266). There are numerous theories as to how and why semantic change takes place, however, due to space constraints only a few theories will be discussed and a few examples given.

Many linguists are in agreement that for semantic change to occur the process has to go through what is known as *polysemy*, where a word obtains more than one meaning. Some words obtain a new meaning but loose the old. This phenomenon can be explained by looking at a three stage representation of the theory. First stage, the word only bears the old meaning, that is to say, it has not began to change. Second stage, a new meaning somehow becomes attached to the word. The word obtains more than one meaning and therefore reaches *polysemy*. More on the matter of how and why this occurs will be discussed below in part 2.1.2.

A lot can happen in the third and final stage. Either, the new meaning becomes so dominant that the old meaning disappears completely or the new meaning becomes dominant but the old meaning is still left intact although seldom used. This would most likely be the case of most of the Japanese first person pronouns but that will be discussed at length in part three. There is also a chance that the old meaning is so strong already that the new meaning quickly falls out of favour, thereby letting the old meaning retain its grasp on the word. One thing which is always true about the third stage though is that when the changing action has stopped, the meanings, whichever they might be at that time, become conventional. That is to say, the dominant meaning becomes the standard or norm connected to the word in question. Examples of the whole process will be given below.

To explain the process in which a word's meaning shifts from old to new the English verb *write* will be looked at. In the first stage *write* meant 'to cut, score'. In the second stage, the meaning extended so that 'to write' was included as well and thereby attaining *polysemy*, more than one meaning. The connection between 'to cut, score' and 'to write' would be the

runic writing made by carving symbols into stone or wood. As mentioned above, the different ways in which semantic change occurs will be discussed at length in 2.1.2. below. In the third stage the meaning of 'to cut, score' has been lost and *write* now only means 'to write', thereby becoming the conventional meaning (Campbell 1998: 266f)[1]. Aitchison also discusses the phenomenon of polysemy in her *Language Change: Progress or Decay?*. She describes it quite neatly by saying that the key to semantic change is the occurrence of two meanings coexisting in connection to one word. This she has opted to call the *cuckoo syndrome*. She continues by stating that a word obtains a new meaning that, for a time, co-exists with the old meaning whereby one of the two becomes dominant. If the new meaning becomes dominant semantic change has occurred. It might be interesting to note that she also believes *polysemy* to be the natural state of most words and declares that the average meanings contained within a noun are 1.74 at any given point in time as in *write* above where both 'to cut, score' and 'to write' were meanings connected to the same word. To give weight to her argument she gives as an example the English word 'tabby' which today bears the meaning 'a cat streaked with stripes'. This is not even remotely close to the old meaning of the word. The old meaning is derived from a fabric from Baghdad, namely *attābī* which was named after a prince named Attāb. From there it extended its meaning so that the word now included clothes made of that fabric and then the word came to be used to indicate that certain kind of cat due to the likeness in pattern between the fabric and the cat (Aitchison 1991: 124 f; Holmberg-Forsyth 2009: 13).

A simple explanation of what happens during semantic change has been discussed and a few examples have been given. To this end the criteria needed for semantic change to occur should also be mentioned. On this topic Sjöström has a hypothesis based on Stern's three factor theory on the semantic elements of a word which were *word, mental content* and *referent* discussed in 2.1which simply says that if one of the three factors is changed, semantic change has occurred. In addition, something about how semantic change is triggered should be mentioned to conclude this episode of part two. Accordingly, Sjöström believes it is difficult to get to grips with what the actual cause for semantic change is and which the contributory circumstances or terms for its execution might be but to try to explain it he quotes a linguist named Stephen Ullman who said:

> "The causes that govern the origin of an innovation and its spread is concerning intensions and purposes identical when the change is so obviously indicated, or is so much 'in the air', that it

---

[1] To read about semantic change more in-depth Elizabeth Closs Traugott's and Richard B. Dasher's *Regularity in Semantic Change* from 2002 is recommended.

> takes place independently among many speakers and provokes immediate and spontaneous approval from the rest, who perceive the notion, right or wrong, that it was already on the 'tip of their tongue' and could have been suggested by themselves."

(my translation; Sjöström 2001: 100; Holmberg-Forsyth 2009: 13f)

In essence, what this means is that for a semantic change to occur, and for the new meaning to become a convention, what is needed is that many people, independent of each other, must arrive at the same new meaning of a word. Following this the rest must give their approval of the new meaning of the word. However, this theory is felt to be slightly extreme in that it is not more flexible and does not include other kinds of semantic change triggering. Is it not, for example, possible for one person by him or herself to trigger a change? An example being when a famous person uses a word in a different way than usual on TV and by so doing spreads that word to everyone watching with the possibility that it becomes a new standard. Granted, the optimal setting for semantic change to take place is most likely the setting described by Ullman above however. In the next part the focus will be on the classification of semantic change instead of the definition, that is to say, it will answer the question 'how?' whereas the questions 'what?' and 'when?' were answered above.

2.1.2. Stern's classifications of semantic change

Stern's study on the classification of semantic change is, though quite old, exhaustive and still seems to hold up against newer research done in the field of semantics and that is why it has been chosen to represent the different classes of semantic change in this thesis. Stern's own book *Meaning and Change of Meaning* will be referred to the most in this part of the thesis but examples and explanations from Campbell and Sjöström will also be presented. Furthermore, although Stern theorised that there are a total of seven classes of semantic change most of these do not have any particular influence on the analysis of Japanese first person pronouns that is undertaken later in this thesis and these classes will therefore only be mentioned briefly in the summary. There are three classes pertinent to the analysis and these will be dealt with first.

2.1.2.1. Permutation

The first classification in Stern's theory to be discussed here is called *permutation* and deals with semantic change in which a *word* is transferred from its original *referent* to a new *referent* that exists at the same time and in the same context as the first (Sjöström 2001: 86;

Stern 1931: 351). Campbell also mentions such an event although he uses the term *metaphor* instead of *permutation*. He says that a "[m]etaphor in semantic change involves extensions in the meaning of a word that suggest a semantic similarity or connection between a new sense and the original one" (Campbell 1998: 256). What can be construed by looking at these two descriptions is that the *word* will refer to something new which has some kind of similarity to the old *referent*, be it time, context or some other kind of similarity. A good example of *permutation* that both Sjöström and Campbell discuss is the English word *bead*. The original *referent* of the word stems from the Old English *bed, beode* which referred to 'prayer'. From there it extended its referral range so that, in Middle English, the word *bede* now meant both 'prayer' and 'prayer bead'. Now the word *bead* only refers to a 'small material pierced for threading on a line' and not 'prayer'. The semantic shift here can be seen in the jump from 'prayer' to 'rosary bead' to any 'bead', even 'beads' such as those made of water (Campbell 1998: 256: Sjöström 2001: 86).

2.1.2.2. Shortening

The second class is called *shortening* and just as the name says it concerns the shortening of words either by *clipping* or by *omission*. In *clipping,* a part of the word is removed thereby changing the *word* but the *mental content* and *referent* remain unchanged. One example of *clipping* is the word 'automobile' which carries the same meaning in French and English even if you cut of *mobile* so that only the remaining *auto* is spoken. It might be interesting to note that in Sweden the word *bil* carries the same meaning as 'automobile'. An example of *omission* is 'private soldier' which, through omission, becomes *private* which carries the same meaning, that is to say, it does not change in *mental content* or *referent*, only the *word* is changed (Stern 1931: 258f). Jack Holmberg-Forsyth describes a possible theory behind shortening in his thesis when he states that "one of the basic reasons for shortening is practical; the words become more comfortable to use" (my translation; Holmberg-Forsyth 2009: 10).

2.1.2.3. Adequation

The third class important to the analysis is actually Stern's seventh and last classification and also the most criticized one. Stern believes that *adequation*, although a class in and of its own, is a necessary finishing step in all six categories of semantic change mentioned above as well. What makes it deserving of a class of its own is that it can be independent as well (Stern 1931: 380ff; Sjöström 2001: 91f). *Adequation* is only concerned

with *mental content*, not with *word* and *referent*. It is this, according to Stern that makes it a class. Although words in the *adequation* class of semantic change can also contain changes in the *word* and *referent*. This, however, is the work of the other classes, not *adequation* which, as was written above, can be a part of the six earlier classes as well. Holmberg-Forsyth describes the process well when he states that *adequation* stems from the natural change in meaning of a word which occurs when the speakers of a language have become observant of a new meaning, that is to say *mental content*, to an already existing word and decide that the new meaning is more relevant than the old, therefore making the new meaning dominant (Holmberg-Forsyth: 12; Stern 1931: 404ff). There are two kinds of *adequation* according to Stern, 'specialization of meaning' and 'particularization of meaning'. Sjöström has the word *sophist* as an example of 'specialization' in *adequation*. The original meaning of *sophist* was that of a Greek philosopher of the *sophist* school of thought. Due to their use of trickery and lies to get the advantage during discussions, so called *sophisms*, they have in time received the meaning of a 'person who distorts facts'. An example of 'particularization' would be how the word 'the King', when spoken in Sweden' automatically refers to 'the Swedish King' (Sjöström 2001: 93f).

2.1.2.4. Summary

There are seven different classes in Stern's theory on the classification of different types of semantic change. Of these, the first, namely *substitution*, deals with external causes of semantic change such as society and technological development. The second class, *analogy*, deals with the transferral of meaning through similarities between words whereas the third class, *shortening*, speaks of removing parts of words while still keeping the original meaning. The fourth class, called *nomination*, is concerned with name giving and the fifth class, *transfer*, concerns itself with unintentional use of words, especially words for human body parts, to denote other referents than the original. *Permutation* is the sixth class, also called *metaphor* by some, which pertains to the change of referent in a word from an old referent to a new referent that somehow has a connection of semantic similarity to the old meaning. The seventh and last class of semantic change discussed by Stern is called *adequation* and it deals with the mental content of a word, how it changes and becomes either specialized or particular   in   its   meaning.

3. Issues & Historical Analysis

3.1. Introduction

There are some issues concerning Japanese personal pronouns that need to be addressed whenever something is written on the subject. Two 'problems' will be discussed below. After these issues have been dealt with a brief historical background of the Japanese first person pronouns will be given to ease the transition into the analysis which follows this part.

3.2. Issues Concerning Japanese Pronouns

3.2.1. Ellipsis and Replacement

Firstly, most linguists who are somehow concerned with the topic of personal pronouns in the Japanese language are most probably aware of the fact that there seems to be a great dislike towards using these pronouns. Either they are omitted altogether or they are replaced by other words that fit in their place. This is spoken of in most of the works studied for this thesis (e.g. Hinds 1971, 1986; Martin 1975, Ono, Thompson 2003; Suzuki 1978; Lehmann 1951; Shibatani 1990). Due to the construction of the Japanese language omission of the personal pronoun, usually the subject, is conceivable as the meaning is still understood through context alone (McGovern 1942: 83). Martin explains the occurrence when he says that:

> [...] the appropriate translation of an English pronoun is either zero (omit the reference) or a repetition of the noun. In English we avoid repeating a noun once it has been mentioned, substituting an anaphoric pronoun after the first mention. In Japanese there is no stricture against repeating the noun any number of times [...]

(1975: 1075)

It is possible that the personal pronoun category suffering the worst from omission, or *ellipsis* as it is also called, is the first person category whereas the second and third person categories suffer more from what was termed replacement above. Replacement is, just as the word implies, when the personal pronoun, the use of which is avoided when possible, is exchanged for any number of other nouns which refer to the same person, persons or thing as the personal pronoun. Like *ellipsis* this subject will not be dealt with to a great extent in this thesis either. However, it is still felt that the subject needs to be brought up due to the impact it has on any work dealing with personal pronouns. What the speakers of Japanese fill the gaps with instead are what is generally termed as kinship terms, titles and names (Martin 1975:

1079, Suzuki 1978, Shibatani 1990: 372). Instead of saying for example *anata* meaning 'you', the Japanese prefer using any of the three terms above. For example, if it is a person you know you may use his name when referring to him. Or if you go to the doctor you may use his profession to refer to him, in this case *oishasan* meaning, simply, 'doctor'. And if it is someone related to you, you may use that relationship to express referral. For example you may refer to your father as *otousan* or your grandmother as *obaasan* which are the equivalent words in Japanese. What is interesting to note, especially in this thesis, is that all three terms can be and are frequently used to refer to the own person as well. Suzuki (1987: 113) explains this phenomenon by giving us examples where children are involved such as when a teacher tells her pupils to look at her by referring to herself as 'teacher' instead of using 'me'. It might be interesting to compare this use of title with the English and Swedish use of name that is present among kindergarten teachers where the teachers would use their own name as self-reference when speaking to the children. It has also been noticed that small girls seem to use their own names to refer to themselves instead of a personal pronoun. This has been made the focus of a study made in Japan by Yukiko Nishikawa (2003) who came to the conclusion that at the stage in the development of children when boys begin to use personal pronouns, such as *boku* and *ore,* girls seldom refer to themselves by the gender-neutral *watashi*. Rather, they keep using their names or nicknames to refer to themselves. Martin also mentions this occurrence among females though he only states that it is more common among girls than boys to use one's own name as self reference (Martin 1975: 1076). The third category, kinship terms, is probably the most commonly used of the three when self reference is concerned as it is probably used in most homes and in most families in Japan (Suzuki 1987: 112). Of course there are many exceptions and rules concerning all three categories but due to lack of space they will not be discussed in this thesis[2].

3.2.2. Pronoun or noun?

The second problem which, it might be interesting to note, also, in part, answers the question of why a personal pronoun can be replaced by a noun with such ease is the problem of there not being any actual personal pronouns in the Japanese language in the same sense as in for example English according to many scholars. This topic has been debated for quite some time but most works consulted when this thesis was written agree that as the Japanese personal pronouns have almost the exact same qualities as regular nouns they should be

---

[2] For further reading about kinship terms, titles and names *Words in Context* by Takao Suzuki is recommended.

14

treated as such (Suzuki 1987: 115; Naganuma 1951: 11; McGovern 1942: 83; Hashimoto 1948). An example of evidence in favour of this is the statement made by Kaiser that "Japanese personal pron. are more like N than pron. in that they can be modified by demonstrative pron." (Kaiser 2001: 370). This argument might become clearer by looking at the following example sentences[3]:

1.   *-Ittai kono watashi ni nani wo you desuka.*
    -What ever do you want with me?
2.   *-Kono watashi no yuujin wa pianisuto de aru bakari de naku, sakkyokuka de mo arimasu.*
    -My friend here is not only a pianist, but also a composer.

Ono and Thompson refer to three other studies on the subject as evidence:

> Synchronically, Hashimoto (1948), Kuroda (1965), and Wetzl (1994)[4] argue that there are no morphosyntactic features that distinguish personal pronouns from ordinary nouns, and that Japanese therefore has no category of personal pronoun in the sense of Indo-European languages.
>
> (Ono, Thompson 2003: 323)

There have been some, however, who argue that the personal pronoun is a distinct class of its own but these theories seem short-lived. One example is a study by Tokieda[5] that seemed to appeal more to meaning than actual syntactic criteria according to Hinds who is another linguist who has researched the topic to great extent and wrote a paper in 1971 called *PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN JAPANESE*. In it Hinds defended the Japanese personal pronoun as a separate class by arguing against the theory mentioned above, which was created by Kuroda, as to why personal pronouns should be classified as regular nouns in Japanese (Hinds 1971). Hinds states that the "personal pronouns are distinguished from nouns both morphologically and syntactically" (Hinds 1971: 154). Most scholars with knowledge of Japanese personal pronouns would most likely argue that because it is possible to add a

---

[3] Example sentences taken from the homepage www.jisho.org. Searchwords '*kono watashi*'.
[4] Hashimoto, S. (1948). Kokugohoo Kenkyuu [*Studies in Japanese Grammar*]. Tokyo: Iwanamishoten.
Kuroda, S. –Y. (1965[1979]). Generative grammatical studies in the Japanese language. Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute & Technology. [Garland: New York.]
Wetzel, Patricia J. (1994). A movable self: The linguistic indexing of *uchi* and *soto*. In Bachnik, Jane M. And Charles J. Quinn, Jr. (eds), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 73-87.
[5] Tokieda, M. (1950). *Nihon Bunpou Kougohou.* Tokyo.

pluralmarker to a Japanese personal pronoun they do not differ from nouns in any way significant enough to prove that personal pronouns are a separate class in the Japanese language. Hinds counters with the point that Japanese pluralmarkers do not function quite like the English pluralmarker. The Japanese pluralmarker "indicates, not plurality, but a group in which the referent of the inflected form is the focal point" (Hinds 1971: 150). In his book entitled *Japanese* Hinds is still true to his previous work though he agrees that "the term personal pronouns in Japanese is fraught with dangers" and that the "primary problem is that, from a historical perspective, the group of words which is typically thought of as being pronouns, have nominal origins" (Hinds 1986: 238).

3.2.3. Summary

The so called problems when dealing with the Japanese personal pronouns have been discussed in this part of the thesis. First *ellipsis* and *replacement* were argued to be preferred before use of personal pronouns by the Japanese. That is to say, either simply removing the personal pronoun from the sentence or exchanging it with a noun which receives the same meaning as the personal pronoun would have had. This brings the discussion to the second issue. Here the question of the Japanese personal pronoun actually being a pronoun or just a regular noun was addressed. Examples of studies in favour of and against both the pronoun view and the noun view were lightly discussed. This area of pronouns will now be left and the thesis will continue on to the first part of its main focus which is the analysis of the semantical change through time of the first person pronoun by looking at three chosen pronouns. Though it might seem strange to address these 'issues' in a thesis about semantic change it should soon become apparent to the reader why this subject was raised as it is being referred back to at different points in the text.

3.3. Diachronic Analysis

3.3.1. A Brief Historical Background of the Japanese First Person Pronoun

As was discussed above in part 3.2.2. there seems to be no actual personal pronouns in the strict sense of the word in today's Japanese language due to the fact that the Japanese pronouns seemingly cannot be distinguished from nouns either morphologically or syntactically. However, this has not always been the case it seems. According to Sansom there

were actually real personal pronouns in Old Japanese[6] (Sansom 1928: 71). Furthermore Bjarke Frellesvig states in his study on Old Japanese that "1st and 2nd person pronouns are used frequently in OJ, much more than in later stages of the language" (Frellesvig: 3). Below, a table containing a partial listing of the historically attested forms used as personal pronouns can be seen. Only personal pronouns in the first person will be shown, not the full table containing second person pronouns, demonstratives, place words and direction words which would have taken up too much space and are irrelevant to the thesis.[7]

	Forms for Speaker
Old Japanese	*a, are, wa, ware, önö, önöre*
Late Old Japanese	*wa, ware, maro*
Early Middle Japanese	*ware, wanami, maro, maru, orera* (pl.), *warawa* (fem.)
Late Middle Japanese	*mi, midomo, wagami, soregashi, watakushi, kochi, konata, kono hō, wanami, ore, warawa* (fem.), *sessha*
Early Modern Japanese	*kochi, kochitora* (pl.), *soregashi, watakushi, watashi, washi, watchi, midomo, ore, orera* (pl.), *oira* (pl.), *temae, temaedomo* (pl.), *sessha*
Modern Japanese	*watakushi* (< *wa*(-re) + a variant of *tsukushi* "exhausting" ?), *watashi, washi, atakushi, atashi, temae, waga hai, boku, ore, ora, oira* (pl.)

<div align="right">(Miller 1967: 342)</div>

From this table it is clear that there are many differences in contrast to the first person pronouns in use today. The personal pronouns accepted in general use today seems to only be around five according more recent[8] papers on the subject. The most common being: *watakushi, watashi, atashi, boku* and *ore* (Kurokawa 1972: 5). Other variations do occur but

---

[6]The definition of the division of time in the history of the Japanese language given in *Encyclopædia Britannica* is as follows:
Old Japanese (up to the 8th century), Late Old Japanese (9th–11th century), Middle Japanese (12th–16th century), Early Modern Japanese (17th–18th century), and Modern Japanese (19th century to the present).
[7] The way of writing *romaji* Miller uses is different from the system used in this thesis. The table contains the character *ö* which probably denotes a vowel not in use anymore and he also makes use of the character *ō* where the line over the *o* denotes a long vowel. This is written *ou* using the system chosen for this thesis.
[8] With recent the thesis means 1970 or later. Although actually not very recent most works in English on the subject of Japanese personal pronouns seem to have been published during the seventies or earlier.

they are almost always seen as dialectal variations or have some other special use[9] and are not counted into general use here (Martin 1975: 1076; Kurokawa 1972: 4). That concludes the brief historical background that will be used as a foundation for the analysis below.

3.3.2. Deep Analysis of Chosen Pronouns

Here it has been decided that it is best to separate the three chosen pronouns into individual sections and discuss the different classifications and occurrences of semantic change related to said pronouns separately. What will be addressed in connection with the chosen pronouns are terms such as *hyposemy* and *word, mental content* and *referent*, that is to say when a word contains more than one meaning and the three factors necessary for semantic change to occur. Also, Sterns study on the different classifications possible concerning semantic change will not be summarized here. Only the classes pertinent to each specific pronoun will be dealt with and discussed in relation to each pronoun. The first pronoun that will be addressed is *ore* (俺), then *watashi* (私), and last *boku* (僕).

3.3.2.1. Ore
3.2.3.1.1. The Three Factors

Ore (俺) seems to be one of a chosen few personal pronouns that have survived from the Old Japanese to this day[10] (Suzuki 2001: 23). When the three factors constituting a word in semantics are looked at, it is clear that *ore* (俺) has undergone change in many ways from the original meaning. Firstly, the *word* has changed a bit over the years it seems. Martin (1975: 1076) states that *ore* (俺) seems to be a contraction of the word *onore* (己) and when on the topic of *ore* (俺) Suzuki (2001: 23) presents both the kanji for *onore* (己) and the kanji for *ore* (俺). Both *onore* (己) and *ore* (俺) seem to have been in use since the time Old Japanese was spoken according to Miller's list of first person pronouns above and Suzuki (2001: 23) also agrees that the first signs of *ore* (俺) being used were during the Nara period[11]. It also seems like variations of *ore* (俺) such as the dialectal *ora* and *oira* have

---

[9] Martin presents many examples which are either dialectal variations or have some other special use and seem to stem from *watashi*: *watai, wate, wai, atai, ate, watti, a[s]si, and wa[s]si. Washi* is, for example, popular among sumowrestlers, baseball players and rustic old men apparently. *Ora* and *oira* are variations that seem to stem from *ore* according to Martin as well.

[10] Others to have survived from Old Japanese are *ware* and *waga* which both stem from the first person *wa*. The meaning or use of these has changed though, *ware* carrying a more special meaning of 'I' not frequently used, *wareware* meaning 'we' and *waga* 'my' (Sansom 1928: 72f).

[11] The Nara period is dated between 710-784 which is at the end of the use of Old Japanese (Ottoson & Ekholm 2008: 39).

sprung up during the Edo period[12] (Suzuki 2001: 23; Martin 1975: 1076). From these facts it is clear that the change in *word* is as follows:

Onore (己) → *Ore* (俺) → *Oira, Ora*

Ore (俺) has also had a change in *referent* over the years. From the Nara period to the Heian period[13] *ore* (俺) was actually used as a second person pronoun although written with a different *kanji* (爾) (Suzuki 2001: 23). From the next period, named the Kamakura period[14] a shift seems to have occurred though. *Ore* (爾) changed from referring to the second person to referring to the first person, in that process also changing the *kanji* to the present one (俺). This process was completed during the Muromachi period[15] which followed the Kamakura period and the pronoun was soon in general use. It might also be interesting to look at the pronoun which, as was stated above, is said to be the source of *ore* (俺). *Onore* (己) was from the beginning a first person pronoun but at some point between Old Japanese and Early Modern Japanese it became a second person pronoun as is shown in Miller's list (1967: 342) and McGovern also lists it as a first person pronoun in his *Colloquial Japanese* (1942). These changes in *referent* are as follows:

Onore (己): 1st person pronoun (己) → 2nd person pronoun (己)

Ore (俺): 2nd person pronoun (爾) → 1st person pronoun (俺)

The last factor, *mental content* or meaning, has also been subjected to change in this pronoun. This however is more of a change in attitude towards the pronoun than it is an actual change in meaning and it will therefore be discussed in relation to *adequation* in the next part which deals with Sterns classifications of semantic change.

3.3.2.1.2. Stern's Classification

---

[12] The Edo period is dated between 1603-1867 (Ottoson & Ekholm 2008: 39). Early Modern Japanese to Modern Japanese.
[13] The Heian period is dated between 794-1185 (Ottoson & Ekholm 2008: 39). This would put the periods ranging from Late Old Japanese to sometime during Early Middle Japanese.
[14] The Kamakura period is dated between 1185-1333 (Ottoson & Ekholm 2008: 39). Early Middle Japanese.
[15] The Muromachi period is dated between 1336-1573 (Ottoson & Ekholm 2008: 39). Late Middle Japanese.

Ore (俺) is different from the other two personal pronouns in this study in that it has undergone a very clear change in *mental content*. Not in the sense that the meaning of the word has changed, it has always had the meaning of 'a word that points to a person' although it changed slightly from 'pointing to the person spoken to, the addressee' to 'pointing to the speaker' between the Heian period and the Kamakura period previously mentioned. This is more a question of change in *referent* than it is a question of change in *mental content* however. The real change in *mental content* concerning the pronoun lies in attitude towards the word, so called *adequation*. Many scholars agree that, in modern times, *ore* (俺) is very informal and might even be seen as rude if used on improper occasions and it might be perceived as disrespectful to the person or persons spoken to[16]. It might also be prudent to point out that it is a strictly male oriented personal pronoun. That is to say, only men are allowed to use the word as a personal pronoun (Martin 1975: 1076; Kaiser 2001: 372; Kurokawa 1972: 5; Ide, Yoshida 2001; Shibamoto 1985; 202f). However, this has not always been the case it seems. According to Suzuki (2001: 23) the second person pronoun that was first in use carried a deep connotation of rudeness, equal to that of today's second person pronoun *kisama* (貴様)[17]. In addition he speaks of the first person *ore* (俺), which came after the second person *ore* (爾), as being used by both sexes and towards persons of both higher and lower social status. This might be perceived as meaning that *ore* (俺) did not carry any negative connotations and that it was not a sex specific pronoun. This stage in its development lasted several hundred years between the Kamakura period and the end of the Edo period when the word began to be used mainly by men. The reason for the pejorative change in semantics seems to be unknown but it might have to do with the fact that it became male oriented during the Edo period, although it might be said that society had been gender differentiating for some time at this point. On a sidenote, it could be argued that the reason that this shift towards male-use only came at this point in time was because girls began to go to school during the Edo period and there they would learn how to use female language, thereby making the girls leave the use of such words as *ore* (俺) to the male populace. Furthermore, another point that might be proposed on the basis of what Suzuki says is that between the Kamakura period and the end of the Edo period there is at least one personal

---

[16] This however, is more a question of *keigo*, meaning politeness, and will, due to limitations in space, not be discussed further in this thesis. For further reading about politeness in speech, *Sociolinguistics: Honorifics and Gender Differences* by Ide & Yoshida in *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics* edited by Tsujimura (2001) is recommended.
[17] For further reading on the second person pronouns of Japanese refer to Jack Holmberg-Forsyth's thesis on the Japanese 2nd person pronoun which can be found in the bibliography.

pronoun that is used favourably. This refers back to the discussion in part 3.2.1. on the subject that use of personal pronouns is disliked in today's Japan. This seems to not always have been the case. To conclude, the pejoral change in attitude towards the *mental content* through the classification made by Stern named *adequation* might be said to have occurred as follows:

2nd person *ore* (爾)[18] →   1st person *ore* (俺) Old →   1st person *ore* (俺) New

'rude, insulting'   'unisex, freely used'   'male only, informal, rude'

As with the example of the *sophists* in part 2.1.2.3. this particular pronoun is a clear example of specialization of meaning in that the attitude towards *ore* (俺) worsened over time to such an extent that it became accepted as an opposite of what it used to be. Opposite referring to the change from unisex use to male only use and the change from generally accepted in conversation with anyone to restricted to use in conversation with persons close to the speaker or of lesser social standing[19].

Example sentences might also be appropriate at this point. The first three sentences use the second person *ore* (爾), whereas the last two use the first person *ore* (俺):

3.   *-Ore wo toreto mikotonori tamahite iwaseri*

-Because of his Majesty's command to kill you I was sent (here).

(Suzuku 2001: 113)

4.   *-Ore wa nanigoto iu zo*

-How dare you say such a thing? (lit. What have you said?)

(Suzuku 2001: 113; Morris 1966: 87)

5.   *-Ore yo kayatsu yo.*

-Oh, you wretched creature!

(Morris 1966: 87)

6.   *-Ore ga juusan no toki, tedukuri no hanazome no katabira hitotsu aru yori hoka ni wa, nakarishi*

---

[18] The jump from 2nd person *ore* (爾) to 1st person *ore* (俺) is quite large and another possibility that arises is that these two words are actually separate words only sharing the same spelling. Without further research on the subject, however, neither of the hypotheses can be confirmed.

[19] Kurokawa describes these two definitions as "a vertical axis of power and a horizontal axis of solidarity" (1972: 1). The vertical axis of power being the social status hierarchy that seems to dictate life in Japan and the horizontal axis of solidarity being the degree of 'closeness' that the speaker has to another person. These axes dictate which pronouns a person should use in any given situation and are therefore felt to be important parts of the Japanese language.

-When I was 13 years old I owned no clothes but a thin handmade flower-dyed kimono.

<p align="right">(Suzuki 2001: 113)</p>

7.   - Orera shiranu ni

-Although we (humble creatures) did not know it.

<p align="right">(Morris 1966: 87)</p>

Among the three second person *ore* (爾) sentences, the third sentence is taken from *Kojiki* which was finished in 712 whereas sentence four is from *Uji Shuui Monogatari* dating from around 1220. The fifth example sentence is from *Makura no Soushi* which was written circa 1000. Moving on to the first person *ore* (俺), sentence number six is found in *Oamu Monogatari* dating from 1711-1716 whereas the seventh sentence coms from *Sanuki Tenji Nikki* from 1109[20]. These dates are in concurrence with what has been stated above about the shift in referent that *ore* (俺) has undergone.

Another of Stern's classifications that might be brought up when speaking of *ore* (俺), especially in relation to its source *onore* (己), is the class called *shortening* which is, as the word entails, the process in which the *word* is shortened but still keeps its *mental content* and *referent* intact. In this case it is the *word onore* (己) that has been shortened over time using the process called *clipping* to become *ore* (俺) (Martin 1975: 1076):

<p align="center">*O[no]re* (己) → *Ore* (俺)</p>

3.3.2.2. Watashi

3.3.2.2.1. The Three Factors

What *watashi* (私) has in common with the previously discussed pronoun, *ore* (俺), is that they have both experienced a change in *word* which is quite interesting. The interesting point lies in the fact that of the three variations created when the *word* changed, all are still in use today. The original *word*, *watakushi* (私), was put into use during the Late Middle Japanese period according to Millers list which can be viewed in part 3.3.1. above. It then underwent a change and became *watashi* (私) during the Edo period that coincides with the

---

[20] Sentences one and four were translated by Kazuyo Lundström whereas the translations for sentences two, three and five were taken from Morris. The translations for the example sentences in the following parts about *watashi* and *boku* were done by Kazuyo Lundström as well.

period of Early Modern Japanese (Miller 1967: 342; Suzuki 2001: 860). From there it has changed once more to become *atashi*[21].

watakushi (私) → *watashi* (私) → *atashi*

As was said before, these are all still in use today and they denote the same thing with only small differences which have to do with the *mental content,* or the meaning, of the word. In modern times all three variants of *watashi* (私) denote the same *referent* 'I', that is to say, the speaker. In the past however the word used to only denote the meaning of 'private, personal' and was not used as a personal pronoun (Halpern 1999: 271f). This changed and when *watashi* (私) came into use during the Edo period it might be proposed that it was used in the sense that the person was a private and personal matter and would therefore be spoken of as such. The change in *referent* is therefore simply:

Watashi (私): 'Personal, Private' → 1st person pronoun

The most interesting category to look at concerning *watashi* (私) would be *mental content* as that is where most of the change has happened. The size of the changes that *watashi* (私) has undergone is quite small but that might be the reason why all three variants are still in use. The first variant of *watashi* (私) to be used was *watakushi* (私). The difference between these two is small but distinct. The latter is simply more formal than the former and is used only on very formal occasions (Suzuki 2001: 860; Martin 1975: 1076; Shibamoto 1985: 202f). *Atashi* on the other hand is a bit more special in the sense that it is only consciously used by women, though Martin (1975: 1076) states that most people, men included, use it unconsciously due to it being the natural way of making *watashi* (私) smaller, faster and easier to say in regular speech. *Atashi* is the least formal of the three. Although *watashi* (私) is gender neutral nowadays the use during the Edo period was dominated by women and, on an interesting sidenote, it seems the samurai class did not use it at all (Suzuki 2001: 860; Halpern 1999: 272). As was said before, the differences in meaning are very slight

---

[21]In this analysis only the generally accepted and used version of watashi (私) are used as examples. There are however numerous other 'versions' of the original watakushi (私) that are either colloquial or carry some special meaning. These are not felt to be relevant to this analysis however due to space constraints and this footnote will therefore have to do. To see some examples look at footnote 8 in part 3.3.1.

among the three but these differences make clear distinctions as to when they are supposed to be used and by whom.

3.3.2.2.2. Stern's Classification

Among Stern's classes there are two in particular that can be used to analyse *watashi* (私). These classes are *permutation* and *shortening*. P*ermutation* is, as has been discussed in part two, the class concerned with how words change *referent* while *word* and *mental content* stay the same. It could be argued that p*ermutation* of *watashi* (私) occurred in three steps. What was said above was that the referent of *watashi* (私) underwent a change from referring to something 'private, personal' to a tool used by the speaker to refer to the own person. If the argument that 'something cannot become more personal or private than the own person' might be used in the discussion it could be said that the link in meaning that is needed for *permutation* to occur in *watashi* (私) transitioned from just meaning 'private, personal' to meaning 'I' while still implying that the person using the word is being 'private' or 'personal' while speaking, thereby showing that he or she is extra polite perhaps. This chain of events is shown below.

Step 1: 'Private, personal' → Step 2: 'The self as personal and private' → Step 3: 'I'

8.   -*Watashi ga oya no mishinkome kono muika no kissho ni tateneba moto no mizurou*
-If I can't solve my parents' unpaid rice tribute according to the order received on the 6th of this month, they will be returned to the water torture.

(Suzuki 2001: 860)

Example sentence number eight is one of the first mentions of *watashi* (私) used as a first person pronoun. It was written in *Tamba Yosaku Machiyo no Komurobushi* from 1708.

As for the *shortening* it should be obvious in what way the original *watakushi* (私) has been exposed. Through the use of *clipping* the word became *watashi* (私) and then by being exposed to the process once more, it became *atashi*. This process can be seen below:

Wata[ku]shi (私) → *[w]atashi* (私) → *atashi*

3.3.2.3. Boku

3.3.2.3.1. The Three Factors

Boku (僕) is different from the previously discussed *ore* (俺) and *watashi* (私) in that the *word* category has not been subjected to change. The other two elements, however, have been subjected to significant change during the years. The same kind of change in *mental content* and *referent* that *watashi* (私) was subjected to happened to *boku* (僕) as well. It went from referring to 'manservant' to becoming a first person pronoun thereby being a word used by the speaker when referring to the own person in the same way *watashi* (私) went from 'private, personal' to 'I' (Halpern 1999: 54). The change in *referent* becomes simply:

Boku (僕): 'Manservant' → 1ˢᵗ person pronoun (僕)

On the topic of *mental content* a lot happened between 'manservant' and 'I'. That transition is best left for the *permutation* part below, however, as it is discussed in detail there. There is one more point that might be interesting to note. Although *boku* (僕) in itself does not mean 'manservant' any longer it still carries that meaning when used in compound words as in *chuuboku* (忠僕) 'faithful servant' and *juuboku* (従僕) 'servant, attendant' (Halpern 1999: 54).

3.3.2.3.2. Stern's Classification

The two classes that can be implemented on *boku* (僕) are *permutation* and *adequation.* Of these *permutation* was used for *watashi* (私) as well and *adequation* was also used with *ore* (俺). Firstly, *permutation* in the case of *boku* (僕) occurred in three steps. First step, the Chinese word *boku* (僕) referred originally to 'servant' (Martin 1975: 1076; Halpern 1999: 54). In step two, *boku* (僕) was then introduced into writing in the Japanese language which can be seen in *kambun*[22] from the Tokugawa period[23]. It carried the meaning 'your servant' and to refer to the own person with *boku* (僕) would show the writer's own inferiority towards the addressee. In this step it is clear that the context changes the word for 'servant' so that it now not only carries the old meaning but also carries a notion of a 'humble I' as was probably the intention of the writer (Suzuki 1978: 121). In the third step the word makes its way into

---

[22] *Kambun* is Japanese written in the Classical style. That is to say, the Chinese style of writing.
[23] The Tokugawa period ranged from 1603-1868.

spoken language with the help of students during the Meiji period[24] that used it as a specific first person pronoun only used by students, possibly a distinction to make them stand out from the general public. They also made other words fashionable such as the second person pronoun *kimi* (君) and the auxiliary *–temae* which indicated request or demand. Furthermore this use became publicly acknowledged when it was accepted as a personal pronoun by the Minister of Education in 1953(Suzuki 2001: 720; Martin 1975: 1076). Here the semantic change through *permutation* is completed as is shown below:

Step 1: 'servant, slave' → Step 2: *'your servant'* → Step 3: 'I'

The next step in analysing *boku* (僕) is *adequation* and in this particular case what was said about *adequation* and the fact that it can come after the other classifications is shown very well. After step three *boku* (僕) carried the meaning of 'I' in a sense unlike that which it holds today. This change came to be through novels and comics according to Kinsui (2003: 106-24) who says that in the post-war era students were looked upon as heroes and were often serialized as such. In these serializations they often referred to themselves as *boku* (僕) thereby giving the word a certain 'manly' feel perhaps[25]. What happens next is the main key to the *adequation* process, the change in attitude towards the *mental content*. What happened was that after a while new heroes began to replace the old student heroes. These new heroes referred to themselves with the even rougher *ore* (俺) and as this pronoun became the new expression of choice when one wished to express the so called 'manliness' that used to be associated with *boku* (僕). Because of this, *boku* (僕) came to be associated with meanings ranging from 'weak' and 'submissive' to an expression showing a level of politeness that is below *watashi* (私) but above *ore* (俺) (Suzuki 2001: 720). The mental attitude towards *boku* (僕) is a good example of how, after semantic change such as *permutation* is finished, *adequation* may set in. Below is a summary of the event:

Permutation:

Step 1: 'servant, slave' → Step 2: *'your servant'* → Step 3: 'I' →

---

[24] The Meiji period ranged from 1868-1912.

[25] It should be said here that the great majority of students during the Meiji period were male, thereby almost automatically making boku (僕) a male only personal pronoun, hence the reference to manliness (Kinsui 2003: 106-24). This system of higher education seems quite similar to that in Great Britain during the first half of the 20th century where women were allowed to educate themselves but they were not allowed to graduate and their rights as students were far lesser than those of their male equivalents.

Adequation:

Step 4: 'Sense of masculinity' → Step 5: 'Loss of the sense of manliness, softer'

9.   *-Boku moto yori hito ni aukoto mo mon wo derukoto mo dekizu.*

-I can as a matter of course neither see anybody nor pass through the gate.

(Suzuki 2001: 720)

10.   *-Boku ga kanete no takken de*

-With an excellent idea which I have had in my mind I…..

(Suzuki 2001: 720)

11.   *-Kimi boku to iu no wa douhai aru wa douhai ika ni taishite iu kotoba.*

- The words like *kimi* 'you' and *boku* 'I' are expressions which one uses towards one's equal

or lower.

(Suzuki 2001: 720)

Here, the same as with the previous example sentences, examples are taken from works where the use of *boku* (僕) as a first person pronoun was first implemented. Sentence nine is taken from letters written by Yoshida Shouin from 1853, whereas sentence 10 can be found in *Aguranabe* in *Kanagakirobun* from 1871-72. The final sentence comes from *Heiban* from 1907.

3.3.2.4. Summary

The rule states that for semantic change to occur, one of the three factors that make up the elements of a word semantically speaking, that is to say, the semantic structure of a word, must change and stay changed. Therefore, if the *word, mental content* or *referent* changes, semantic change has been achieved. With this as a starting point for the analysis the first person pronoun has been discussed in a historical perspective with the focus on change in meaning. This has been done by analysing three first person pronouns, namely, *ore* (俺), *boku* (僕) and *watashi* (私). The way in which these were analysed was by looking at the three categories that define a word semantically to see whether there had been any alterations, thereby confirming the attaining of semantic change. After this was done another analysis was performed where, instead of looking at the categories defining a word semantically, different classifications based on Stern's work on semantic change were used to try and illustrate in what way the chosen personal pronouns had made their way towards change in meaning. The

three classifications looked at here were named *permutation, shortening* and *adequation*. The results of both analyses were clear, the pronouns analysed had undergone changes in meaning in many ways. Below is the final part of this thesis. In it a survey has been conducted with the goal to see whether personal pronouns still might be said to be changing. If so, it would go along nicely with the saying "that grammar is in a constant state of "structuration"" (Ono, Thompson 2003: 341).

4. My Research

4.1. Introduction

The last part of the diachronic analysis of semantic change in the Japanese first person pronoun will be discussed here in section four. The research discussed was conducted specifically for the sake of this thesis. The survey that the research revolves around was created with two goals in mind. The first goal was to find out what kind of first person pronouns young women (aged 18-25) use today and in what kind of environments they use these pronouns. The second, and perhaps more interesting in relation to the thesis, goal or purpose, however, was to find out whether use of the first person pronouns of the Japanese language has changed over time.

This research stems from a reference that stated that females in college have begun using the strictly male only pronoun *boku* (僕) (Martin 1975: 1076). This statement is quite old now however so therefore it will be interesting to see if there has been any change over the more than thirty years that has gone by since then. The change looked at here is if younger women have began to use the male first person pronoun *boku* (僕) more and if they also have begun to use the even more masculine *ore* (俺). If so there will be a discussion as to the possible causes of this.

In the method section the process by which the survey was created and used will be described in detail along with the reasoning behind the structure and contents. In the results section all of the results will be presented and in the conclusion these results will be explained and discussed and areas of particular interest will be highlighted and delved into further.

The introduction and questions of the survey can be viewed in the original Japanese as well as translated into English in the appendix.

4.2. Method

As was previously mentioned in the introduction, the research method of choice for this thesis was a survey. The reason for this choice is that a survey is probably the best way, short of analyzing real conversations perhaps, to find out what kind of personal pronouns are used at present and in so doing compare the results with what was discussed about past usages of personal pronouns in part three to see whether there has been any changes. The process by which the survey was created and utilized can be described in five steps.

The first step was to consider the focus group. What kind of persons would be suitable candidates for answering the survey? The important factors when considering candidates were

race, age, gender and social status. What was decided upon was that the survey participants would have to be young Japanese female university students ranging from 18 to 25 years of age. The reasoning behind the choice is simple: As Martin (1975: 1076) stated it was women that went to college who used *boku* (僕) and the goal of the survey was to find out whether women are using male-oriented personal pronouns at present. Also, seeing as non-native speakers' answers would be too easy to discredit as simple errors in speech it was deemed best to only use native speakers of Japanese for this survey.

Secondly, when the focus group had been established the most important part of the process was to be dealt with, namely, what kind of questions needed to be asked to get results pertinent to the analysis of semantic change? The result wanted was whether there has been any change in use of personal pronouns over the years, especially since Martin pointed it out in 1975. Two questions were asked five times, one time for every first person pronoun chosen for the survey. The five chosen pronouns were *watakushi* (私), *watashi* (私), *boku* (僕), *atashi* (あたし) and *ore* (俺), in that order. The first question asked was "how often the participant used the first person pronoun in question"? The participant had five options to choose from: Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often and Always. The second question was "to whom would you use the pronoun in question"? Here the participants could choose more than one option from a list containing the following: Friends, Parents, Older Siblings, Younger Siblings, Acquaintances, Persons Superior in Society and Strangers.

The third step dealt with a problem that may occur with these kinds of survey questions which is that the participants might not answer truthfully. The reasons for this varies but it might be because if a participant believes that a certain answer is socially incorrect or taboo, such as in the case of women using male personal pronouns, they might answer the questions as they should be answered from a socially acceptable perspective. To get around this obstacle it was suggested that a second part should be added to the survey. In this part the same question was asked but this time the question was not about the participant but young women in the participant's social sphere. By asking basically the same question but without putting pressure on the participant it was hoped that interesting results otherwise not seen would appear. Therefore what was asked was if there was a woman of the same age as the participant in her vicinity that used one of the five personal pronouns and if so, to whom? The results of this test will be revealed in the results part below and discussed in the conclusion of the research.

Now that the layout and contents of the survey were decided upon the fourth factor in the process came into play. It was felt that the best way in which to reach as many participants as possible would be to spread the survey on the internet. Therefore, with the help of two web based social networks, namely Facebook and Mixi, the survey, which was also web based, was spread to Japanese people presently situated at Lund University as well as a number of universities in Japan and through these people it was spread to their acquaintances as well, thereby maximising the spread. The result of this endeavour was that the people who answered the survey numbered 48 in total. The fifth and final factor in the process was calculating the results of the survey which are presented below.

4.3. Results

To be able to understand the figures presented below it might be a good idea to explain their contents. Every figure, except for figure 4.6 contains three tables. These tables show the three questions asked for each pronoun presented in 4.2. Figure 4.1 will be used as an example to clarify what this means.

Table 4.1 illustrates the results from the first question, that is to say "how often the participant in the survey uses a certain personal pronoun"? In this case it would be *watakushi* (私). What can be seen is firstly, the number of people who answered the question, secondly, the number of people who chose which answer and thirdly, the percentage of the whole each category consists of.

Table 4.2 illustrates the results of the second question asked in relation to the first question. That is, "in conversation with who would you use a certain personal pronoun"? Here not all participants have chosen to mark an answer. These absences of answers might be interpreted as saying that the participant would never use that personal pronoun. In this case the very formal *watakushi* (私).

In table 4.3 the results of the second part of the survey which was described above are presented. The question the participants answered here was whether not they but "a young woman in their social sphere would use a specific personal pronoun and if so, in conversation with who would they use it"? It might be interesting to compare the second and third table in each figure due to what was discussed in 4.2 about socially correct answers.

Figure 4.6 shows the results of the answers given when asked whether the participant used any other form of first person pronoun in table 4.16 and whether the young women in the

participant's social sphere used any other first person pronouns than the five contained in the survey in able 4.17.

After each figure a small discussion about the contents will be given. However, the more general and interesting discoveries will be discussed in the following part named conclusion and not here. The five first person pronouns represented in this survey have all been discussed previously and it is therefore not felt that it is necessary to describe their properties at any great length again here. Small reminders of their properties will be given, though, as it will help the discussion move forwards.

Figure 4.1

Table 4.1

Watakushi: 48 answered 100%		div 48p
Not at all	33	68.75%
Rarely	12	25%
Sometimes	3	6.25%
Often	0	0%
Always	0	0%

Table 4.2

46 answered 95.83%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	2	4.16%
Friends	0	0%
Parents	0	0%
Older Siblings	0	0%
Younger Siblings	0	0%
Acquaintances	0	0%
Persons Superior in Society	37	77%
Strangers	9	18.75%

Table 4.3

Watakushi

Persons in social sphere: 27 answered 56.25%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	21	43.75%
Friends	1	2%

Parents	0	0%
Older Siblings	1	2%
Younger Siblings	0	0%
Acquaintances	4	8.3%
Persons Superior in Society	22	45.83%
Strangers	10	20.83%

As has been mentioned previously *watakushi* (私) is a very formal first person pronoun and therefore, the results were expected (Shibamoto 1985: 200, 206). That point is highly discernable in the results above. In table 4.1 it can be seen that most people will not use the pronoun at all, perhaps because it is too formal for use by younger persons. Or rather that the participants in the survey are too young to have had to use it as it is, in most cases, only used towards persons of very high social rank. Table 4.2 and 4.3 points out much the same thing, that the pronoun is almost exclusively used towards persons of superior rank and to some extent towards strangers as well.

Figure 4.2
Table 4.4

Watashi: 47 answered 97.91%		div 47p
Not at all	2	4.25%
Rarely	1	2.12%
Sometimes	7	14.89%
Often	11	23.4%
Always	26	55.32%

Table 4.5

47 answered 97.91%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	1	2%
Friends	35	72.91%
Parents	29	60.41%
Older Siblings	18	37.5%
Younger Siblings	26	54.16%
Acquaintances	39	81.25%
Persons Superior in Society	45	93.75%

Strangers	44	91.66%

Table 4.6

Watashi

Persons in social sphere: 46 answered 95.83%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	2	4.16%
Friends	44	91.66%
Parents	34	70.83%
Older Siblings	29	60.41%
Younger Siblings	30	62.5%
Acquaintances	43	89.58%
Persons Superior in Society	38	79.16%
Strangers	38	79.16%

The results of *watashi* (私) were also expected. Although *watashi* (私) is a formal personal pronoun when used by men it is used by women to a much greater extent and under more varied circumstances. One reason for this might be that the speech of women is more formal than that of men (Shibamoto 1985: 201). In any case, one thing that shows in the results is that *watashi* (私) seems to be highly universal and can, according to the answers, be used in pretty much any situation towards anyone.

Figure 4.3

Table 4.7

Boku: 48 answered 100%		div 48p
Not at all	46	95.83%
Rarely	1	2%
Sometimes	1	2%
Often	0	0%
Always	0	0%

Table 4.8

5 answered 10.41%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	43	89.58%

Friends	3	6.25%
Parents	1	2%
Older Siblings	1	2%
Younger Siblings	1	2%
Acquaintances	1	2%
Persons Superior in Society	0	0%
Strangers	2	4.16%

Table 4.9

Boku

Persons in social sphere: 22 answered 45.83%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	26	54.16%
Friends	18	37.5%
Parents	4	8.33%
Older Siblings	3	6.25%
Younger Siblings	4	8.33%
Acquaintances	5	10.41%
Persons Superior in Society	2	4.16%
Strangers	3	6.25%

The answers to the questions about use of the strictly male personal pronoun *boku* (僕) were very interesting in more than one way. As is attested by most research on the subject, *boku* (僕) is strictly for male use only and has been since it began to be used as a personal pronoun. This was discussed at length in 3.3.2.3. in the analysis in the previous part and will not be discussed any further here. There are two points of interest in figure 4.3. The first point is that the theory concerning the fear of answering in a socially incorrect manner when answering questions about the own person but not when answering questions about others seems to have been effective. Although all participants in the survey but two deny that they use *boku* (僕) to refer to themselves in conversation many seem to have at least one friend or other acquaintance in the same focus group that seems to use the pronoun. This brings us to the second point of interest which is the actual use of boku (僕) that presents itself in the results in table 4.9. At least 22 persons answered that someone in their circle of acquaintances

uses the personal pronoun *boku* (僕), mostly towards other friends. Discussion about the reasons for this change will be dealt with in the conclusion.

Figure 4.4

Table 4.10

Atashi: 48 answered 100%		div 48p
Not at all	14	29.16%
Rarely	7	14.58%
Sometimes	8	16.66%
Often	8	16.66%
Always	11	22.91%

Table 4.11

35 answered 10.41%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	13	27.08%
Friends	32	66.66%
Parents	25	52.08%
Older Siblings	17	35.41%
Younger Siblings	21	43.75%
Acquaintances	18	37.5%
Persons Superior in Society	3	6.25%
Strangers	6	12.5%

Table 4.12

Atashi

Persons in social sphere: 46 answered 95.83%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	2	4.16%
Friends	46	95.83%
Parents	28	58.33%
Older Siblings	28	58.33%
Younger Siblings	27	56.25%
Acquaintances	32	66.66%
Persons Superior in Society	9	18.75%
Strangers	13	27.08%

Atashi is the only female only first person pronoun although according to Martin there are men who, by shortening the unisex *watashi* (私), say *atashi* without thinking about it (Martin 1975: 1076). What the results indicate is that about two thirds use *atashi* to some extent and, as it is shown in table 4.12, all of those who answered have at least one friend who uses the pronoun as well although the chances are high that they know more than one other person who uses it. What can also bee seen in the results in table 4.11 and 4.12 is that *atashi* is mostly used in conversations with persons in the participant's social sphere. That is to say, it is avoided in conversation with strangers and persons of higher social rank than the speaker.

Figure 4.5

Table 4.13

Ore: 47 answered 97.91%		div 47p
Not at all	45	95.74%
Rarely	1	2.12%
Sometimes	1	2.12%
Often	0	0%
Always	0	0%

Table 4.14

4 answered 8.33%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	44	91.66%
Friends	3	6.25%
Parents	2	4.16%
Older Siblings	1	2%
Younger Siblings	1	2%
Acquaintances	1	2%
Persons Superior in Society	0	0%
Strangers	1	2%

Table 4.15

Ore

Persons in social sphere: 14 answered 29.16%		div 48p
Would not use it (no answer)	34	70.83%

Friends	11	22.91%
Parents	4	8.33%
Older Siblings	5	10.63%
Younger Siblings	4	8.33%
Acquaintances	3	6.25%
Persons Superior in Society	1	2%
Strangers	3	6.25%

The results seen above in figure 4.5 were of great surprise. While the statement made by Martin that *boku* was used by young women and other variables that will be discussed in the conclusion the expectation concerning *ore* was that it was still only used by men and therefore the results of the survey would show that no women ever used it. That seems to be an incorrect assumption however. The results are very similar to those concerning *boku* in figure 4.3 above. Only two persons answered that they use *ore* but fourteen persons, a third of the participants, answered that at least one young woman they know uses it, mostly in conversation with friends and to some extent towards other acquaintances. The possible reasons for this remarkable finding will also be brought up in the concluding part of the research below.

Figure 4.6
Table 4.16

Other answers: 19 answered 40.42%		div 48p
Own name	4	8.33%
Uchi	11	22.91%
Nickname	2	4.16%
Jibun	1	2%
Other (nee)	1	2%

Table 4.17
Other

Persons in social sphere: 24 answered 50%		div 48p
Own name	9	18.75%
Uchi	14	29.16%
Nickname	1	2%

Jibun	1	2%
Other (washi, boku-chan used by otaku)	2	4.16%

There are some points of interest in figure 4.6 as well. The use of the own name as self reference has been brought up before in part 3.2.1. but only as a self reference tool used by small girls (Nishikawa 2003). Erika Andersson writes in her thesis that women seem to prefer use of the own name before use of personal pronouns (2009: 34). Although not completely congruent with the findings of this survey the use of the own name as self reference seems quite popular. Although not official, a number of informants have stated that the use of the own name as a self reference tool is seen as being cute in Japan because the woman using her own name is acting childishly which is cute apparently. A nickname is used in much the same way as the own name, perhaps with an even higher grade of "cuteness". *Uchi,* however, seems to be well represented and would have been brought up as one of the pronouns in the analysis together with *jibun* (自分) had it not been for the lack of space. *Uchi* is said to be used quite frequently by women whereas *jibun* (自分) is more of a dialectal personal pronoun, meaning it is used more in some parts of Japan than others although not very well represented in this survey. Of the other three examples of first person pronouns *nee* is not a personal pronoun. Rather, it is a sound a person might make to get another persons attention. *Washi* is a variation of *watashi* (私) that is mostly used by older men (Martin 1975: 1076). As for the last special case of self reference, *boku-chan,* there could be an argument that it belongs in the nickname category and according to the person who wrote it on the survey, the person who used it as self reference is a so called *otaku* or 'nerd' as it translates into in English. That is the end of this part of the research, after this the possible reasons for certain results and the hypothetical implications thereof will be discussed below in the conclusion.

4.4. Conclusion

As most objects of interest have already been brought up above in 4.3. of the research there are only a few additional comments that should be made. The results of the survey were mixed in the sense that some results were expected, as in the case of *watakushi* (私)*, watashi* (私) and *atashi* whereas some results were hoped for but not expected, as in the case of *boku* (僕) and some results were neither hoped for nor expected, as in the case of the pleasant surprise that the results concerning *ore* (俺) became. The overall result of the survey was very pleasing and a quick summary of the results might be in order. *Watakushi* (私) is still used

rarely if at all by women of this age group and seems to only be used on the most formal occasions. *Watashi* (私) on the other hand is used by almost everyone who answered the survey questions and it can be used in conversation with almost anyone. Furthermore, the results clearly show that *watashi* (私) is the first person pronoun most preferred by young women. *Atashi*, which is in second place when it comes to preference, was also highly used according to the answers although a slightly surprising third of the participants claimed to never use it. The next pronouns arrived at, *boku* (僕) and *ore* (俺), had perhaps the most interesting results. It seems that young female Japanese university students have, to an even greater extent than was hypothesised, began to use the first person pronouns *boku* (僕) and *ore* (俺) which are, and have been for some time, restricted to use by men only. The reasons for this new use in the case of *boku* (僕) and renewal of use in the case of *ore* (俺) is unknown at this point. However, a few arguments will be addressed here. The first has to do with gender equality as a whole in Japanese society. As the equality of the sexes becomes more and more of a reality in Japan perhaps a shift in use of personal pronouns can be noticed as well? While women take on more and more of the classically male occupations and roles in society they also begin to take over the male way of speaking? This is only conjecture however and research on gender topics in Japanese will not be dealt with in this thesis[26]. Another argument that is particular to *boku* (僕), which was created by students, would be on the subject of gender among university students. In the past, only men were allowed higher education and it was therefore only natural that *boku* (僕) became a pronoun restricted to men. At present that is not the case at all however, women are generally allowed access to higher education to the same degree as men and therefore it might be said that *boku* (僕) is not as much anchored in gender as it is in social status, that is to say, the status of being a student at university. The final argument is particular to *ore* (俺). In the past *ore* (俺) was used by members of both sexes before becoming restricted to men. Therefore there might be some basis to the argument that this pronoun is simply reverting towards becoming gender neutral.

---

[26] For further reading on gender language:

Ekdahl, E. (2010). En revolterande generation? Kvinnospråkets utveckling i japanskan (A rebelling generation? The development of women's language in Japanese). Bachelor's thesis. Lund University.

Inoue, M. (2002). Gender, Language and Modernity: Toward an Effective History of Japanese Women's Language. *American Ethnologist* **29-2**. 392-422.

Sturtz Sreetharan, C. (2004) Students, sarariiman (pl.), and seniors: Japanese men's use of 'manly' speech register. *Language in Society* **33**. 81–107.

Nakamura, K. (2001). Gender and Language in Japanese Preschool Children. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* **34-1**. 15-43.

Shibamoto, J. (1985*). Women's Speech in Japan*. In Tsujimura, N. (2005). (ed), *Japanese Linguistics, Volume III, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics and Language Contact*. Routledge.

All of these arguments are only conjectural and it is unknown if they have any basis in fact but these topics might be interesting to do further research on. That concludes the research specifically done for this thesis and below is the conclusion of the thesis as a whole.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to, with the help of theories on semantic change, discuss three chosen Japanese first person pronouns and their variations through diachronic analysis. The point of this being to show the reader that, through time, Japanese first person pronouns have changed semantically. Furthermore, the final part contains research specifically conducted for the sake of this thesis. The purpose of this research, a survey, was to show that use of the Japanese first person pronouns is still changing today and by looking at this specific part of the Japanese language it might be possible to draw a bigger picture of the Japanese language's evolution.

If the results of firstly, the analysis in part three and secondly, the research in part four are viewed with these goals in mind we find that all of the questions were successfully answered. In the analysis all of the three first person pronouns chosen for the study, *watashi* (私), *boku* (僕) and *ore* (俺), showed evidence of having undergone semantic change over the course of their usage in the Japanese language. To make this analysis successful the three theories on semantic change discussed in part two were used. Firstly, Stern's theory on the three factors that make up a word semantically with the help of which it is possible to divide the information contained in a word and by looking at the parts separately be able to see whether semantic change has occurred on at least one level of the three. Secondly, Campbell's theory on *hyposemy* was used mainly to explain what usually happens when semantic change is occurring. The third theory was probably the most interesting to look at from the viewpoint of Japanese linguistics. The classifications Stern created explain how the pronouns changed which and why in a specific manner not yet discussed in the thesis as the previous theories had dealt more with semantic principal parts of words and the basic process of change and reasons for change. With the help of these the conclusion arrived at was that, although they had all changed semantically at some point in history as was said above, they changed in different ways depending on factors such as original meaning, usage and context.

With these results as a basis the thesis moved into the next part of which the goal was to find out whether use of personal pronouns in Japan was still evolving or changing as it had done a few times already. It should be pointed out that the thesis up till part four had dealt with both changes in meaning and use as it could be argued that they are connected, especially on the subject of personal pronouns. In part four however, the focus shifted almost exclusively towards use because the change in meaning until modern times had already been dealt with in part three. The results were favourable and showed what had been hoped for,

that Japanese women have started to use male first person pronouns to a greater extent than was earlier believed. With the help of the results from part three and four a possible hypothesis of future change was discussed. The theory being that use of personal pronouns is highly connected to the construction of society. Therefore, if there is a change in the use of personal pronouns where women have begun to use male pronouns that might be a sign of women becoming more equal to men in society as well. The change in speech reflects the change in society.

Further research on the subject should reveal more. Especially if second person pronouns as well as a wider range of first person pronouns were to be incorporated into the discussion would a clearer view of the relation between society and language be possible to distinguish.

The goal of this thesis was to shed some light on the change in meaning of Japanese first person pronouns. In so doing it was also hoped that hints of what the future might hold in store for personal pronouns and language as a whole would be revealed. These goals were accomplished and I hope that this thesis will be of some help in future research.

6. Bibliography

Aitchison, J. (1991). *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Cambridge Approaches to Linguistics. Cambridge University Press.

Andersson, E. (2009). *Den japanska bloggenerationen och genusbestämt språk* (The Japanese bloggeneration and genderspecific language). Bachelors Thesis, Lund University.

Cannon, J. (red.) (1997/2002). *The Oxford Companion to British History*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Campbell, L. (1998). *Historical Linguistics: An introduction*. Edinburgh University Press.

Frellersvig, B. Old Japanese: Pronouns. Lecture handout. UK: Oxford University.

Halpern, J. (red.) (1999). *The Kodansha Kanji Learner's Dictionary*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd.

Hinds, J. (1971). Personal Pronouns in Japanese. *Glossa* **5-2**. 146-156.

Hinds, J. (1986). *Japanese*. New Hampshire: Croom Helm.

Holmberg-Forsyth, J. (2009). *Ärade skitstövel: Den semantiska utvecklingen av japanska andrapersonspronomen* (Honoured bastard: The semantic development of the Japanese second person pronoun). Bachelors Thesis, Lund University.

Ide, S. & Yoshida, M. (1999). Sociolinguistics: Honorifics and Gender Differences. In Tsujimura, N. *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*. 445-480. Hong Kong: Graphicraft Limited.

Kaiser, S. Et al (2001). *Japanese: A Comprehensive Grammar.* New York: Routledge.

Kinsui, S. (2003). *Vaacharu Nihongo Yakuwarigo no nazo* (Virtual Japanese, the mysteries of role language). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kurokawa, S. (1972). Japanese Terms of Address: some usages of the first and second person pronouns. *Papers of Japanese Linguistics* **1-2.** 227-238.

Lehmann, W.P. & Faust, L. (1951). *A Grammar of Formal Written Japanese.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

McGovern, W. (1942). *Colloquial Japanese.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD.

Martin, S. (1975). *A Reference Grammar of Japanese.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Miller, R. A. (1967). *The Japanese Language.* The University of Chicago Press.

Morris, I. (1966). *Dictionary of Selected Forms in Classical Japanese Literature.* New York & London: Columbia University Press.

Naganuma, N. (1951). *Grammar and Glossary.* Tokyo: Kaitakusha Publishing Co., Ltd.

Nishikawa, Y. (2003). *Kodomono Jishoushino Tsukaiwake:「ore」toiu Jishoushini Chakumokushite.* (The Development of Japanese Children's Use of Self-Reference Terms: Focus on Boy's Use of the Term. "Ore"). *The Japanese Journal of Developmental Psychology* **14-1.** 25-38.

Ono, T. & Thompson, S. (2003). Japanese (w)atashi/ore/boku 'I': They're not just pronouns*. *Cognitive Linguistics* **14-4.** 321-347.

Ottoson, I. & Ekholm, T. (2008). *Japans Historia* (The History of Japan). Historiska Media: Lund.

Palmroos, T. (2009). A Study on the Use of Personal Pronouns in the Japanese Language. B-Thesis, Lund University.

Sansom, G. B. (1928) *An historical grammar of Japanese*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

Shibatani, M (1990). *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shibamoto, J. (1985). *Women's Speech in Japan.* In Tsujimura, N. (2005). (ed), *Japanese Linguistics, Volume III, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics and Language Contact.* Routledge.

Sjöström, S. (2001). *Semantisk Förändring. Hur ord får nya betydelser* (Semantic Change. How words get new meaning). Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Stern, G. (1931). *Meaning and Change of Meaning*. Göteborg. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

Suzuki, H. (2001). *Ore.* In *Nihongo Bunpou Daijiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Grammar). Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

Suzuki, H. (2001). *Boku.* In *Nihongo Bunpou Daijiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Grammar). Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

Suzuki, H. (2001). *Watashi.* In *Nihongo Bunpou Daijiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Grammar). Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

Suzuki, T. (1978). *Words in Context – A Japanese Perspective on Language and Culture*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Appendix

僕は今日本語の一人称代名詞について卒業論文を書くための研究をしています。このアンケートは、若い日本人女性が自分自身をどのような１人称で呼ぶか、またどういった状況によってそれが使い分けられるかを調査するためのものです。

I am at present doing research for my Bachelors Thesis on Japanese first person pronouns. This questionnaire was created for the sake of a survey concerning first person pronouns which young Japanese women use to refer to themselves and also in which situation they would use these.

以下の①〜③の条件に全て当てはまる方に回答をお願いしています。
①日本人　Japanese
②女性 Woman
③18−25 歳　18-25 years of age
If you fulfil all of the conditions below in 1-3 please answer the questions.

このアンケートは、オンライン・アンケートで、質問に答えるのもとても簡単です。（質問の下にあるチェックボックスをクリックするだけです。）全ての質問に答えるのに３分もかかりません！

This is an online questionnaire and answering the questionnaire is very easy. (You simply click the boxes below each question.) It doesn't even take 3 minutes to answer all questions!

アンケートをお願いして下さる方に、僕から何か利益のあることはしてあげられませんが、ご協力頂けたら、本当に助かります！！

I cannot give you anything of value for answering the questionnaire but if you cooperate you will really have saved me!

可能であれば、他の日本人のお友達にも、このアンケートをお願いして頂けないでしょうか？ (facebook を使ってない方には、下記 URL をコピー＆ペーストメールでお知らせすることができます。）

If it is possible would you be so kind as to give this questionnaire to your Japanese friends as well? (for those that do not use Facebook it is possible to copy the link below and send it to them.)

アンケートのページ：
The questionnairepage:

http://spreadsheets.google.com/viewform?formkey=dDFxSzJlV1FsaUQzbHBvbVM2c2VJLU E6MQ

ご協力ありがとうございます。
Thank you for cooperating.

Tim Palmroos
Lund University, Sweden

一人称について　（使い方の調査）

Concerning first person pronouns (Survey concerned with usage)

このアンケートは１８歳から２５歳までの日本人女性が自分自身をどのような一人称で呼ぶか、またどういった状況によってそれが使い分けられるか、について調査するためのものです。条件に該当する方のみ回答して下さい。

お手数をおかけしますがご協力お願いします。

This questionnaire was created for the sake of a survey concerning first person pronouns which young Japanese women use to refer to themselves and also in which situation they would use these. Please answer if you are qualified. It is troublesome but please cooperate.

（可能な限り５月５日までに返信をお願いします）

(Please answer before the limit on May 5th.)

まずあなた自身のことについての質問です。

First are questions concerned with you yourself.

あなたは「わたくし」を使いますか?

使ったら、どのくらいの頻度で使用しますか?

Do you use *watakushi*? (x5, one for each personal pronoun)

If so, approximately how often do you use it?

全然　Not at all

あまり　Rarely

時々　Sometimes

よく　Often

いつも　Always

どのような相手と会話する時に「わたくし」を使いますか?

In conversation with who would you use *watakushi*? (x5, one for each personal pronoun)

友達 Friends

両親 Parents

兄姉 Older siblings

弟妹 Younger siblings

知り合い Acquaintances

目上の人 Persons of higher social rank

目下の人 Persons of lower social rank

見知らぬ人 Strangers

もし上に挙げられた1人称以外に普段使っているものがあれば教えて下さい。

If there are any first person pronouns not listed above that you normally use please tell us.

次にあなたの周りの同年代の女性についての質問です。

Next are questions concerned with women of the same age in your circle of acquaintance.

あなたの周りには「わたくし」を使う女性がいますか?

使ったら、その女性はどういった相手に対して「わたくし」を使っていますか?

Is there a woman around you that would use *watakushi*? (x5, one for each personal pronoun)

If so, towards whom would she use *watakushi*?

友達 Friends

両親 Parents

兄姉 Older siblings

弟妹 Younger siblings

知り合い Acquaintances

目上の人 Persons of higher social rank

目下の人 Persons of lower social rank

見知らぬ人 Strangers

その他にあなたの周りの女性が使っている 1 人称があれば教えて下さい。

Please tell us if there are any other first person pronouns the women around you use.

ご協力ありがとうございました。

Thank you for cooperating.