Manga as a linguistic resource for learning

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Interest in Japanese *manga* (comics) has increasingly become an important reason for studying Japanese as a second language. As a result, there has also been a trend toward trying to use *manga* as an educational resource, with claims that it is "realistic" and "easier". However, with a lack of comprehensive research on language in *manga*, still much is unknown—a major problem given that understanding how manga function as a medium is essential to utilizing them effectively. By introducing a corpus of eight *manga* series compiled for linguistic research, this paper considers some of the claimed advantages and disadvantages. To that end, this paper focuses on two points: One, *manga*-specific orthographic styles and their effect on ease of reading, and two, realism and stereotypes in gendered speech patterns. While supporting the use of *manga* as a learning resource, this paper will argue that *the* linguistic characteristics of *manga* necessitate more consideration.

　近年において、マンガに対する関心が日本語学習を始める大きな理由となりつつある。その結果として、マンガを教材として活かそうとする動きが進んでいる。しかしながら、マンガが現実的かつ読みやすいと評価されている反面、マンガの言語的特徴の本格的な研究が行われてこなかったため、マンガを教材として活用するのに必要な知識が整っているとは言い難い。本論文は、著者が収集したコーパスで見た特徴を紹介することを通じて、マンガを教材として活用する長短を再び考える試みである。それに当たり、焦点を二点に置き議論を進める。第一はマンガの表記上の特徴とそれらがマンガ読書に及ぶ影響である。第二はマンガにおける女性語とステレオタイプとの関係である。マンガを教材として活用する動きを肯定的に捉えながら、マンガの言語的特徴を見直す必要性を訴える。

Japanese language study and *manga*

In recent years, the popularity of Japanese popular culture—especially Japanese *manga* (comics), and *anime* (animated cartoons)—has been seen as a common reason for studying Japanese as a second language. According to some accounts, as much as 70 to 80 percent of Japanese learners chose to study Japanese because of their interest in *manga* and *anime* (Kumano, 2010, p. 89). These trends have resulted in an increase in interest in using *manga* and *anime* as tools for studying Japanese, as demonstrated by the Japan Foundation's making researching and developing *manga* and *anime* learning tools one if its 2007-2012 mid-term goals (Kumano & Hirokaga, 2008). The importance of interest in popular culture is especially felt given the decline of the influence of other motivating factors such as the economy for Japanese learning (Wasabi Brothers, 1998).

Even with the interest in *manga* as a linguistic resource, many facets of *manga*'s linguistic characteristics have yet to be examined, a problematic situation given that understanding those characteristics is essential to effectively utilizing *manga*. This paper grapples with these questions by exploring some of the claimed advantages and disadvantages of using *manga* in language education, and gives them context by introducing some of the characteristics found in a corpus of popular *manga* compiled by the author. Taking a critical stance towards the assumed ease and naturalness of learning through *manga*, the paper focuses on two points: One, how orthographic styles differ in *manga* from other "standard" texts, and two, how gendered speech patterns help create characters. While supporting *manga* as a resource, this paper will argue that *manga*'s linguistic characteristics necessitate more consideration before using them.

Using *manga* in the classroom

One might generally observe two major approaches when considering how *manga* might be utilized for educational purposes. The first is what might be called a content-oriented approach, where *manga* are used to teach a certain theme or subject based upon the stories that it depicts. Two types of *manga* can be utilized within the content-oriented approach. The first is *kyouiku-manga* (manga for education), or *manga* specifically written for learning a given topic like history or economics. The second are authentic texts, which can be used to study Japanese culture and society through the narratives it depicts. The second approach to using *manga* in education is language-oriented; here, *manga* are used as a linguistic resource for studying Japanese itself. As the focus of this paper is on how *manga* may be used as a linguistic resource, this paper concerns primarily this latter approach, but it must be remembered that even when using *manga* for Japanese study, one can of course be informed by the content; that is to say, the use of *manga* with a language focus offers

the chance to study Japanese within a certain cultural context.

This cultural context is in fact one of the major advantages suggested for using *manga*—and *anime*—for learning. *Manga* are often said to be a reflection of the "real" Japan, particularly because they are produced for domestic consumption (Wasabi Brothers, 1998), and they are often said to be a good way of studying the "Japanese condition" (Murakami, 2008). *Manga* are also a convenient medium as they are cheap and easy to obtain (Larose, 1993, cited in Okazaki, 1993, p. 48). As a medium based on paper alone, even less technologically-equipped classrooms can use them (Murakami, 2008). They can also be fun for students, because the text is easy to deal with (Larose, 1993 in Okazaki 1993, p. 48), and because students can get into them easily (Okazaki, 1993). The familiarity students have with the material may allow learners to become more engaged than with text-only materials (Kaneko, 2008). Finally, as a visual medium, *manga* have a strong sense of context, as the drawings make who is speaking to whom obvious and the situations more concrete (Kaneko, 2008).

On the other hand, students are not always positive about using *manga* in the classroom. Some may be turned off by it, especially in countries where they are not popular (Murakami, 2008), or if they are not interested in them, such as Makino (2010) found with *anime*. Even amongst fans, using popular culture in the classroom may make some students feel their private space is being encroached upon. *Manga* can also be costly in comparison to the amount of input they provide, as the number of words per page is low (Murakami, 2008). Gaps between the interests of teachers and students can make it effortful to look for works that students will enjoy (Murakami, 2008). When poor choices are made, they can result in a lack of engagement with the materials, as evidenced by the way Doraemon fell flat as the Japanese Cultural Ambassador in Europe and North America (Kelts, 2010). The linguistic dependency in *manga* is also low:

Manga's rich non-linguistic visual context may allow students to not pay close attention to language (Murakami, 2008). The content may also not always be appropriate, as violent and sexual themes are not uncommon.

Perhaps most importantly, it is unclear how to use *manga* appropriately, as there are no established methods for classroom use (Murakami, 2008). While using *manga* effectively means making appropriate text selection through understanding their characteristics, possibilities, and limitations (Chinami, 2005), surprisingly little is known about how language is used in *manga* due to lack of comprehensive research on the subject. Because *manga* is a mixed, visual-linguistic media, there has been a tendency to overlook *manga*'s linguistic properties, favoring its visual structures as more essential (Nakamura, 2006). The existent research available is often contradictory, particularly on realism: While some research has shown relatively realistic depictions for things like gendered language (Ueno, 2006), others have stressed the use of stereotyped speech in creating characters (Kinsui, 2007). Further, reading *manga* effectively is not just a question of vocabulary or grammatical structures; as Ingulsrud and Allen (2009) argue, the skills involved in reading *manga* must be learned, stressing the concept of *manga literacy*. For the untrained reader, *manga* may be thus quite difficult, obscuring *manga*'s status as an "easier" text.

Dealing with language in *manga*

One way of attempting to overcome this information gap in some *manga*-for-learning textbooks has been to use original, made-for-textbook *manga*, thus making them a form of *kyouiku-manga*; however, the use of made-for-textbook *manga* is likely also due to the expense of acquiring the rights for popular series—a problem experienced by *MangaJin*, a now defunct *manga*-for-learning magazine (Wasabi Brothers, 1998). However, such made-for-textbook *manga* are consciously different from

authentic texts in many ways. As controlled works, they are less complicated and diverse, as they do not continue at long-length like today's narrative-driven *sutoorii-manga* (story-*manga*). For example, one textbook, *Japanese in MangaLand* (Bernabe, 2003), introduces a new grammatical point each chapter, and shows examples of them with one-frame original *manga* before giving practice problems. However, with only a few free-standing frames of *manga* per lesson, the bulk of learning actually takes place through traditional methods.

While there are positive points to such approaches, the use of non-authentic *manga* may miss the point: The *manga* students are interested in are authentic series, and they want the skills necessary to read those texts, skills which may not be as necessary for made-for-textbook *manga*. Of course, some tools have been developed with authentic *manga* in mind. *Anime-Manga.jp*, a website aiming "to give Japanese learners and *anime*/*manga* fans from all over the world an opportunity to learn Japanese in an enjoyable way, using the *anime*/*manga* they enjoy as a gateway to their studies (Japan Foundation, 2010)," was developed by analyzing the language in popular *manga* and *anime* series. Structurally, it features games, quizzes, and scene explanations using vocabulary and *kanji* for different genres, such as love or ninja stories. However, the website is not actually based upon reading *manga*, and while it uses language found in *manga*, the tasks do not involve actually *reading manga*, making it different in nature from using long narrative *manga* for teaching.

The *manga* review

Clearly, more knowledge about *manga*'s linguistic characteristics is necessary, and looking at real data—in this case, a corpus of popular series—is essential to that aim. The corpus is made up of the first three volumes of eight popular titles, or 579, 261 characters contained within 45, 073 entries (one block of text); titles were selected through sales rankings and a survey of high school

students' *manga* reading habits, four each from *shounen-manga* (boys' *manga*) and *shoujo-manga* (girls' *manga*) (Table 1). With English translations available, they are all are popular domestically and internationally; many were also in the lists compiled by Kumano (2010) of popular series outside of Japan. All series are in standard Japanese, with the exception of *RabuKon*, which uses the Kansai (the area including Kyoto and Osaka) dialect, which does not follow identical gendered speech patterns. The corpus includes all linguistic data found, categorized into one of eight groups based upon their presentation in the text—lines, thoughts, narration, onomatopoeia, background text, background lines/ thoughts, comments, and titles—with page, frame, category , and instance number tags. Lines were also tagged for sex: Male, female, both/unclear, onomatopoeia, or animal. (Details on categories and the overall data may be found in the Appendix.)

Table 1. Series in corpus

Genre	Title	Author (L, F)	Magazine	Publisher
Shoujo-manga	*Kimi ni Todoke*	Shiina, Karuho	Bessatsu Margaret	Shuueisha
	Nana	Yazawa, Ai	Cookie	Shuueisha
	Nodame Kantaabire	Ninomiya, Tomoko	Kiss	Kodansha
	Rabu-Kon	Nakahara, Aya	Bessatsu Margaret	Shuueisha
Shounen-manga	*Death Note*	Ooba, Tsugumi; Obata, Takeshi	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha
	Meitantei Konan	Aoyama, Goushou	Shounen Sunday	Shougaku-kan
	Naruto	Kishimoto, Masashi	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha
	One Piece	Oda, Eiichirou	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha

As examples, this paper will look at two elements: *Manga*'s use of orthography and of gendered speech patterns. As will be demonstrated, *manga* often use unusual orthographic conventions, and examining them may help us think about *manga*'s relationship with other texts, and further consider the concept of *manga* literacy. For gendered speech patterns, two items, personal pronouns and sentence-final particles, will be looked at as ways of considering stereotypical speech and how it affects the "reality" of speech in *manga* and its nature as a language model. It should be noted that the aim is not to judge *manga*'s acceptability as a resource, but to evaluate some of the claims about *manga*, and to argue for more consideration of their linguistic characteristics when using them for teaching. Ultimately, this may help students interested in *manga* to learn to read them better and understand the connections between *manga* and other texts students might encounter.

Before looking at these features it may be important to consider the reading level of the series used here. Although it can be difficult to determine series' reading levels, as even young Japanese readers may find that *manga*'s complex vocabulary requires a variety of reading strategies (Ingulsrud & Allen, 2009), one might consider their difficulty by the use of *furigana* glosses to *kanji*, as this determines how easily low-level readers can read and look up unfamiliar words. While the exact market segments are somewhat unclear, and readers do not necessarily follow assumed genre lines, *shounen-* and *shoujo-manga* are generally for older elementary school students to high school students, and usually feature *furigana* for all *kanji*. With the exception of *Nodame Kantaabire*, whose serial-magazine has a slightly older audience, all of the series here follow this rule. While the series here were selected primarily for their representativeness as popular series, it can thus be argued that while their vocabulary may at times be complex, they are comparatively accessible for readers of all levels.

Orthographic issues

One of the key characteristics of language in *manga* is how it describes spoken speech—and audible sound—through not just written words but also symbols (Numata, 1989). One way that this is realized is through the use of non-standard orthography, which can be interpreted partially as a way to create orality (e.g., Groensteen, 2007, p. 12). While there has been a tendency to overlook orthography in linguistics research, it may affect second-language learning (Cook & Bassetti, 2005), and *manga*'s unusual orthographic conventions may affect how well learners can process the language available as input.

Three major points of difference with more standard texts can be given. First, the text is structurally very broken. Line breaks are common; if they were included in the numbers above, they would total almost 10% of all characters (63, 449 / 642, 710). Individual sentences are thus wrapped into small strings or fragmented over multiple bubbles, requiring readers to make accurate connections. Second, they feature distinctive punctuation. 22.08% of all text (lines: 17.93%) is made up of orthographic symbols, compared to 15.58% in newspapers (Nozaki & Shimizu, 2000) or 17.6% in magazines (Kashino, 2007). Many non-standard forms are common, such as spaces between words (0.84% / characters in lines), whereas symbols common in other genres of writing are more unusual, such as the *kuten* ("。"; 0.01%) and the *touten* ("、"; 0.60%). As Akizuki (2009) suggests, this appears to differ depending on the publisher: Almost all *kuten* and *touten* were found in the only Shougakukan series, *Meitantei Konan*. Third, variation in scripts is common, with *hiragana* the most common script by far (50.86%; Table 2). Words are often written differently even within one series; for example, the colloquial masculine form of the negation *nai* [ne:] varies between ねェ andねー in *Naruto* (vol. 2:59 "ケガは&ねーかよ", vol. 1:76 "あれ？&きかねェ！！" ("&" used in corpus to represent breaks in text)). Variation is also common with words with

standard forms; in *Nodame Kantaabire*, kanji (a feeling or sense), usually written "感じ", is also sometimes written as "カンジ". (Vol. 2:16 "もっと&雄大なカンジに&しねーかー？" vs. vol. 1:145 "こんな&感じでした&よね？"). Small forms of the syllabaries for long vowels ("ぁ" vs. "あ"; *Nodame Kantaabire* vol. 2:21 "痛ぁ〜〜い！！") and the small *tsu* in non-geminate environments ("っ", "ッ"; *DeathNote* vol. 1: 89, " 宿題&教えてーっ！") are also not uncommon.

Table 2. Distribution of characters by scripts

Text	All	
Katakana	49,649	8.57%
Hiragana	294,604	50.86%
Kanji	94,499	16.31%
Romaji	9,384	1.62%
Numbers	3,230	0.56%
Symbols	127,895	22.08%
Total	579,261	

Of course, non-standard orthography is not unique to *manga*, and there are some similarities with Satake's (2002) emotive new-*genbunitchi* (unification of written and spoken language). Akizuki (2009) also describes a "visual" turn in Japanese writing, with unusual orthography used to visually distinguish texts, which he claims is common in *manga*. While interpretation may be open, this clearly influences the skills necessary to read *manga*. Their effect on the ease of reading *manga* is yet unclear; line breaks and spaces seem to correspond with dependent phrases and deleted particles, and it may be an accessible way to engage with naturalistic particle-dropping speech. The use of the syllabaries over *kanji* may be easier for beginner read-

ers. Some points may be intuitive, like the *chouonfu* ("—"; long vowel symbol) with *hiragana*, as it is an extension of its existing usage. However, spaces do not necessarily make Japanese easier to read, and may actually be redundant (Sainioa, Hyona, Bingushib & Bertrama, 2007), and variation in scripts may make it difficult to recognize words derivable to single forms. One cannot assume that *manga* will be easy for the beginner learner, and orthographic issues may contribute to *manga* literacy in that they must be learned.

Gendered speech

While gendered language is commonly said to be a major characteristic of Japanese, many such elements are now becoming neutral in natural speech (Okamoto, 1995), and it has often been a point of argument in Japanese language education. While textbooks are often more conservative than real speech (Kawasaki & McDougall, 2003), and beginner students may not be able to use gendered speech appropriately, advanced students may not seem natural without using such forms (Ogawa, 2006). If language in *manga* is naturalistic as purported, then it might be an ideal medium to learn gendered speech as readers can see the characters using it. To consider these points, the author conducted two studies (Unser-Schutz, 2010a, 2010b) on personal pronouns and sentence final particles (SFPs) from lines, both common examples of gendered speech.

What was found was that gendered speech in *manga* paints a complicated picture in terms of "realness" (Appendices 3-6). Personal pronouns seemed relatively realistic, with the most common first person pronoun for male characters *ore* (62.32%) and female characters *atashi* (54.81) and *watashi* (43.48%); the recently popular *uchi* and *jibun* (Hishikari, 2007), however, were uncommon, making it somewhat conservative. Both *jibun* and *uchi* occur in the corpus 183 and 63 times, respectively—but there were no examples where *jibun* was clearly being used as

a personal pronoun, and only four for *uchi*. The most common form for second person pronouns for male characters was *omae* (60.39%) and for female characters *anta* (75.59%); there were also some examples of girls using the masculine *omae* and *temee*, suggesting that usage is not static, similar to the tendency for speakers to change usages in natural speech depending on context. SFP usages, however, differed greatly by genre. Male characters in both genres used mildly-masculine forms most commonly (*shounen-manga*: 52.80%; *shoujo-manga*: 33.39%), although *shounen-manga* used strongly masculine forms the second most commonly whereas *shoujo-manga* showed a wider variety more similar to real speech, with the neutral forms the second most common group. For female characters, this difference was even more remarkable, with characters in *shoujo-manga* using neutral forms (42.42%/SFPs) and mildly male forms (28.11%) most commonly, similar to reports of young girls' speech (Okamoto, 1995; Philips, 2001). In comparison, female characters in *shounen-manga* used strongly feminine forms most commonly (45.64%)—*very* different from real life, where the female forms are in extreme disuse (Okamoto, 1995).

In this sense, *manga* seem to show many different types of gendered speech, and it may not be possible to generalize that all *manga* is realistic in regards to gendered speech. While *manga* may aim for realism, as fiction, one must expect some level of stereotyped speech forms, especially as they may be important in character development (Kinsui, 2007). Genre appears to be an important factor in determining how common stereotyped forms are, with s*hounen-manga* particularly prone to using them. This suggests that simply choosing series may not be enough: It may also be important to consider genre. These results also suggest that it may be necessary to reconsider what is meant by "realistic": Being unrealistic in one way does not mean it is not in others. For example, in text meant to represent conversation, the low overall occurrence rate of first person pronouns (2,589 instances over 26,511 lines spoken by male and female charac-

ters, or 9.77%) is an accurate reflection of subject dropping, a common characteristic of spoken Japanese.

Rethinking language in *manga*

While using *manga* in the classroom might get students engaged in new ways, their linguistic landscapes may not be as clear-cut as has been supposed. As this paper has argued, it may be necessary to actively deal with how text is presented, and to reconsider what makes it "realistic" and its nature as a language model for students. Knowing more about the linguistic characteristics of different genres and series may prove helpful in making appropriate selections of series for different levels and purposes, and may also be helpful in thinking about what kind of knowledge may be necessary to process them. Taking the time to talk about these points with students could be a good opportunity to think together about how and why texts differ, and as a corpus of popular *manga*, the characteristics identified in the current study could be helpful to understanding how to work with students' interests. Furthermore, comics being an international medium, the points raised here may also be applicable to languages other than Japanese, using either *manga* in translation or non-Japanese comics.

As a preliminary step in thinking about *manga*'s linguistic characteristics, there are still many important questions left to consider. In particular, the vocabulary and grammatical forms which *manga* readers will meet should be examined to determine how difficult *manga* are and what makes them "realistic" (or not). However, there are already several possibilities for using the points brought up here. Discussing *manga*'s orthographic styles could become a chance to talk about how writers choose which scripts to use. One could compare them with popular mediums like blogs or texting, which are also sites containing unusual orthography (Akizuki, 2009). Utilizing *manga* in class could also provide an opportunity to consider the dynamism

involved in using gendered speech. The differences seen in *shounen-manga* and *shoujo-manga* may be particularly useful for considering how attitudes and context change gendered speech patterns. More specific lesson plan ideas must be considered in a different forum due to limitations of space. However, knowing more about *manga* may prove useful to teachers, whether or not they are to be incorporated into the curriculum: With many students reading *manga* on their own, teachers should be prepared for the questions they will surely bring to class.

Bio data

Giancarla Unser-Schutz is a graduate student at Hitotsubashi University, where she is working on a sociolinguistic analysis of the language of *manga*. Feedback would always be welcome at giancarlaunserschutz@yahoo.co.jp.

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Appendix 1

Table 1a. Types of text categories in corpus

Category	Environment	Characteristics
Lines	Solid speech bubbles; generally written in type	Audible information made up mostly of dialogue with onomatopoeia
Thoughts	Dot-tailed speech bubbles, squares or whited-out space; generally written in type	The inner voices of characters, they are not audible to other characters and do not directly address the reader
Narration	Captions or directly on background; generally written in type	Information about plot development, location, etc. given to the reader, they are primarily descriptive in nature, and may have privileged information unknown to characters because they are neither audible to or nor accessible by characters
Onomatopoeia	Written on background, generally by hand	Strings of mimetic words imitating real world sounds or describing the atmosphere depicted, they do not form full sentences and are not spoken by anyone
Background text	Part of drawing; generally written by hand	Text written as a part of the scene; is not actually vocalized, such as advertisements, building names, etc.; appear as text to characters
Background lines/ thoughts	Written on background, generally by hand	Often impossible to tell whether or not they are vocalized or not, they are text representing non-essential lines or thoughts such as jokes
Comments	Written on background, generally by hand	Generally notes or jokes, they supply privileged information which is generally non-essential about the scenes
Titles	In captions or directly on background, generally in type	Titles, subtitles or authors' names

Appendix 2

Table 2a. Distribution of text in corpus

Genre	Title L		Categories								Total
			Th	N	O	B-T	B-L/Th	Co	Ti		
Shoujo-manga	Kimi ni Todoke	E	2,834	1,137	56	1,235	121	937	89	14	6,423
		C	45,349	15,595	874	5,420	956	9,310	692	157	78,353
	Nana	E	3,300	631	288	449	186	479	23	10	5,366
		C	52,825	8,669	4,233	1,547	2,916	4,897	155	149	75,391
	Nodame Kantaabire	E	3,249	733	118	946	252	354	139	18	5,809
		C	40,135	9,515	2,016	3,702	3,109	3,056	1,072	156	62,761
	RabuKon	E	3,396	706	72	1,026	227	263	34	12	5,736
		C	47,670	9,341	1,183	3,577	1,899	2,034	167	110	65,981
Shounen-manga	DeathNote	E	3,079	620	35	433	463	2	0	30	4,662
		C	64,506	15,296	649	1,548	7,991	8	0	285	90,283
	Meitantei Konan	E	4,168	717	71	733	171	1	0	31	5,892
		C	64,013	10,416	1,308	2,255	1,406	1	0	384	79,783
	Naruto	E	3,036	703	49	1,182	165	96	21	32	5,284
		C	39,493	10,276	1,113	3,636	1,042	798	166	354	56,878
	One Piece	E	4,345	90	73	1,252	91	21	0	29	5,901
		C	60,145	1,939	883	5,749	588	149	0	378	69,831
Total – Entries			27,407	5,337	762	7,256	1,676	2,153	306	176	45,073
Total – Characters			414,136	81,047	12,259	27,434	19,907	20,253	2,252	1,973	579,261

Note: E=Entries, C=Characters; L=Lines, Th=Thoughts, N=Narration, O=Onomatopoeia, B-T=Background Text, B-L/Th=Background Lines/Thoughts; Co=Comments; Ti=Titles

Appendix 3

Table 3a. Number of lines by sex of characters

Sex	Data	Genre	
		Shoujo-manga	*Shounen-manga*
Male	Entries	5,514	11,677
	Characters	77,301	190,258
Female	Entries	7,013	2,307
	Characters	106,574	34,216

Appendix 4

Table 4a. Number of first person pronouns by sex and genre

Genre	Sex	*Atashi*	*Watashi*	*Watakushi*	*Uchi*	*Atai*	*Ore*	*Boku*	*Washi*	*Wareware*	Total
Shoujo-manga	M	7 (1.24%)	68 (12.08%)	1 (0.18%)	0	0	445 (79.04%)	41 (7.28%)	0	1 (0.18%)	563
	F	435 (73.98%)	146 (24.83%)	2 (0.34%)	0	0	0	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.17%)	0	584
Shounen-manga	M	0 (0.00%)	212 (17.52%)	0 (0.00%)	0	1 (0.08%)	660 (54.55%)	220 (18.18%)	77 (6.36%)	40 (3.31%)	1,210
	F	15 (6.44%)	211 (90.56%)	0	4 (1.72%)	0	0		1 (0.43%)	1 (0.43%)	232
Total	M	7 (0.39%)	280 (15.79%)	1 (0.06%)	0	1 (0.06%)	1,105 (62.32%)	261 (14.72%)	77 (4.34%)	41 (2.31%)	1,773
	F	450 (54.81%)	357 (43.48%)	2 (0.24%)	4 (0.49%)	0	4 (0.49%)	0	2 (0.24%)	1 (0.12%)	816

Note: M=Male, F=Female

Appendix 5

Table 5a. Number of second person pronouns by sex and genre

Genre	Sex	*Anata*	*Anta*	*Omae*	*Temee*	*Kisama*	*Kimi*	Total
Shoujo-manga	M	5 (1.36%)	13 (3.52%)	291 (78.86%	2 (0.54%)	0	58 (15.72%)	369
	F	6 (2.26%)	232 (87.55)	4 (1.51%)	22 (8.30%)	0	1 (0.38%)	265
Shounen-manga	M	137 (17.02%)	34 (4.22%)	418 (51.93%)	88 (10.93%)	33 (4.10%)	95 (11.80%)	805
	F	46 (39.66%)	56 (48.28)	11 (9.48%)	1 (0.86%)	0	2 (1.72%)	116
Total	M	142 (12.10%)	47 (4.00%)	709 (60.39%)	90 (7.67%)	33 (2.81%)	153 (13.03%)	1,174
	F	52 (13.65%)	288 (75.59%)	15 (3.94%)	23 (6.04%)	0	3 (0.79%)	381

Appendix 6

Table 6a. Distribution of types of sentence final particles by sex and genre

Sex	Genre	Type of sentence final particle by gender category					# sentence final particles
		Strongly feminine	Mildly feminine	Neutral	Mildly masculine	Strongly masculine	
M	*Shoujo-manga*	33 (1.89%) {0.60%}	79 (4.53%) {1.43%}	573 (32.87%) {10.39%}	582 (33.39%) {10.55%}	476 (27.31%) {8.63%}	1,743
	Shounen-manga	2 (0.07%) {0.02%}	64 (2.12%) {0.55%}	323 (10.72%) {2.77%}	1,591 (52.80%) {13.63%}	1,033 (34.28%) {8.85%}	3,013

Sex	Genre	Type of sentence final particle by gender category					# sentence final particles
		Strongly feminine	Mildly feminine	Neutral	Mildly masculine	Strongly masculine	
F	*Shoujo-manga*	197 (9.18%) {2.81%}	289 (13.47%) {4.12%}	910 (42.42%) {12.98%}	603 (28.11%) {8.60%}	146 (6.81%) {2.08%}	2,145
	Shounen-manga	293 (45.64%) {12.70%}	123 (19.16%) {5.33%}	110 (17.13%) {4.77%}	108 (16.82%) {4.68%}	8 (1.25%) {0.35%}	642
Total		525 (6.96%) {1.98%}	555 (7.36%) {2.09%}	1,916 (25.40%) {7.23%}	2,884 (38.23%) {10.88%}	1,663 (22.05%) {6.27%}	7,543

Note: ( ) refers to the percentage of sentence final pronouns; { } refers to occurrence rate in lines; M=Male, F=Female