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Author(s)	デービッド・バーガー
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Awareness of Japanese Nonsexist Language Reform

David BURGER

日本語の非性差別言語変革に対する意識

デービッド・バーガー

日本語の性差別語と非性差別言語変革に対する意識を調べるため、これらの問題について学習しているグループと学習していないグループにアンケート調査を行った。予想通り、学習しているグループは学習していないグループより日本語の性差別語に対してより多くの非性差別語を提示した。この結果は、学習しているグループは非性差別言語変革に対してより高い意識を持っていることを示している。この論文では、この結果は日本のメディアや中央・地域政府が女と男の平均問題に注目していることと関連していることが論じられている。また、言語変化は、日本社会において、新しい男女平等共同参画社会の理想を受け入れる基盤を築くのに大きな役割を果たしていることを主張すると同時に、この言語変化へのさらに高い意識が必要であることも指摘している。

Gender equality is a topic often taken up in the media in Japan today, and both the central and local governments have at least paid lip service to the issue with laws to promote gender equality on the national level and campaigns to increase awareness of the issue on the local level. For example, a revised Equal Employment Opportunity Law with more teeth than the original 1985 law was enacted in April 1999, and on June 15, 1999, the lower house of the Japanese Diet unanimously passed the “basic law on joint participation by men and women in society” with the expressed aim that “people should seek a society in which both men and women are given equal chances to participate in social activities ‘in all fields of their own choosing’, and where they enjoy benefits and share responsibility equally” (“Diet Approves Bill,” 1999).

On the local level, the monthly newsletter (*Koho Urawa*) of the city where I live devoted its first three pages in July 2000 to the city’s “うらわ男女平等推進プラン” *Urawa danjo byoudou suishin puran* [Urawa Plan to Promote Male-Female Equality]. According to the newsletter, the aim of the

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plan is to realize “男女共同参画社会” *danjo kyoudou sankaku shakai* [a society in which both men and women can participate in planning]. In the same month, a newsletter of the Saitama prefectural government (*Sai no Kuni Dayori*, 2000) carried the headline on its front cover “いきいき男女共同参画社会を目指そう” *iki iki danjo kyoudou sankaku shakai o mezasou* [Aiming with Energy and Vigor for a Society in Which Both Men and Women Can Participate in Planning]. The first two pages of the newsletter were devoted to the subject.

Evidence that younger Japanese have been targeted for consciousness raising about gender equality and, specifically, about the implications of such social change on language use can be found in an article in the *Asahi Shougakusei Shimbun*. This special newspaper published by the national daily *Asahi Shimbun* is aimed at Japanese primary school children and in early 1999 devoted a full-page to explaining what the revised Equal Employment Opportunity Law would mean in terms of language use when enacted the following April (Shimizu, 1999). The article focused mainly on the need to change words in the workplace because of the new law. As earlier reported (Burger, 2000), the article used direct and unambiguous language to describe the proposed changes: “... などのことばは使えない”... *nado no kotoba wa tsukaenai* [You can't use . . . , and other words.], “女性を差別することばもゆるされなくなる” *josei o sabetsu suru kotoba mo yurusarenaku naru* [Words that discriminate against women will no longer be tolerated.], and “使ってはダメなことば決める” *tsukatte wa dame na kotoba kimeru* [Words that we mustn't use have been decided.]. Further, the article placed the issue in the larger context of traditional gender roles in society by proclaiming that “男らしく女らしくはヘン” *otoko-rashiku onna-rashiku wa hen* [‘acting like a man’ and ‘acting like a woman’ are strange] and by having the fictional father in the article explain to his son that “男らしくや女らしくということばは、もう職場では使えないんだよ” *otoko-rashiku ya onna-rashiku to iu kotoba wa, mou shokuba de wa tsukaenain da yo* [In the workplace we can't use words like ‘acting like a man’ and ‘acting like a woman’ anymore, you know.].

In this paper, I will report on the results of a questionnaire given to Japanese university students to assess their awareness of nonsexist Japanese language reform, some of which stems from such recent efforts by the government and the media to promote the idea of a more gender-equal society.

Japanese Students' Awareness of Sexist Japanese: Questionnaire Part I

A questionnaire was piloted on a small group of third and fourth-year Japanese students ($n = 5$) at a Japanese university. The piloted questionnaire revealed difficulties in answering the questionnaire, so it was rewritten and repiloted on a different group of first-year Japanese students ($n = 3$). No

problems were found, and the revised questionnaire was given to a group of Japanese students at two different Japanese private universities ($n = 48$, 26 females and 22 males). Twenty-seven were first-year English majors at one university (19 females and 8 males), and 21 were first-year Japanese Culture Studies majors at the other university (14 males and 7 females). The three students who piloted the revised questionnaire are included in this second group. In addition, the questionnaire was administered to a small group of Japanese adults ($n = 3$) for purposes of comparing age and life experience factors. All three adults were in their fifties, two females and one male, and were in a once-monthly private English Bible class at a local community center. In total, the questionnaire was given to 51 Japanese, 28 females and 23 males.

Part I of the questionnaire was meant to find out something about the respondents' awareness of sexist Japanese (see Appendix A). It asked respondents whether fifteen Japanese words led them to think of a man, a woman, or both, and if only one sex or the other to supply alternative words that would include both sexes or be more equal. The Japanese word for "nonsexist" was not used so as not to bias the answers. The fifteen words were listed randomly, but they fell roughly into four categories. Each category will be examined in turn.

Category 1: Words with a Kanji Character Designating a Female

The first category consisted of five words, four of which contain a kanji character designating a female: 看護婦 *kangofu* [female nurse], 保母 *hobo* [female nursery school worker], 女子学生 *joshi gakusei* [female student], and 女医 *joi* [female doctor]. The first two words name members of traditionally female occupations where a different, marked expression would be used to designate a male member, and the latter two are the opposite case: marked expressions designating female members of an occupation traditionally dominated by males. As Table 1 shows, from 96% to 100% of all respondents had a predictably female image of these words. This was the only one of the four categories with nearly complete agreement.

Although the fifth word in this category, 帰国子女 *kikokushijo* ["returnees," or children returning to Japanese schools from abroad], contains the kanji character 女 *-jo* meaning "female," it is somewhat different from the others, since the expression obviously refers to children of both sexes. Nonetheless, it evoked a relatively weak image of both sexes (61%). No one had an exclusively male image of the word, but, somewhat surprisingly, more than a third of respondents had a female image of it. A higher percentage of female respondents had an image of both sexes, but, again surprisingly, a higher percentage of male respondents had a female image of the word (see Table 1).

Table 1 Gender Images of Words with a Kanji Character Designating a Female

	Image					
	Man		Woman		Both	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
看護婦 <i>kangofu</i> (female nurse)	0	1 (4)	23 (100)	27 (96)	0	0
保母 <i>hobo</i> (F. nursery school worker)	0	0	23 (100)	26 (93)	0	2 (7)
女子学生 <i>joshi gakusei</i> (F. student)	0	0	23 (100)	28 (100)	0	0
女医 <i>joi</i> (female doctor)	0	0	23 (100)	28 (100)	0	0
帰国子女 <i>kikokushijo</i> ("returnee")	0	0	10 (43)	10 (36)	13 (57)	18 (64)

Note. M = number of male respondents choosing each image, and F = number of female respondents choosing each image. Percentages are in parentheses.

The "odd" feature of *kikokushijo* is that despite the fact that it refers to both boys and girls, it does not include the character for "male." Instead, the characters for "child" (子 *-shi*) and "female" (女 *-jo*) are used. The use of the character 子 to represent boys here is reminiscent of the so-called generic nouns and pronouns in English, such as *man* and *he*, that are claimed to represent all humanity. However, unlike the argument that English *man* includes both genders, the Japanese character meaning *child* (子) in this instance seems to include only the male gender, implying that boys represent all children while girls are somehow exceptional. The effect is similar in both languages: the male gender is rendered unexceptional, unmarked, and the standard, while the female gender is considered exceptional, marked, and nonstandard (In a similar way, the traditional Girls' Day is not a national holiday, but the traditional Boys' Day has been converted into a national holiday called "Children's Day."). It is impossible to know whether the questionnaire respondents were conscious of this at the time, but the fact that "male" is not overtly expressed in the characters, while "female" is, could have been a factor in giving more than one third a female image of the word.

The same pattern of unequal use of kanji characters to represent the sexes is seen in other pairs of words; for example, 養子 *youshi* [adopted son] and 養女 *youjo* [adopted daughter], where the character 子 is again used for the male, as well as 少年 *shounen* [a boy], which is made up of the kanji characters for "little" (少) and "year" (年), and 少女 *shoujo* [a girl], which again explicitly expresses the female reference by using the character 女.

Words for the young and the old show a similar asymmetry. For example, 若者 *wakamono* [a young man/a young woman], which contains the characters for "young" (若) and "person" (者), by definition refers to either sex but is commonly used in the singular sense to mean only "a young male." To refer to a young female the adjective *wakai* [young] and the noun *josei* [woman] are commonly used instead. If speaking in the plural sense, *wakamono* by itself or with the ending *-tachi*

does refer to both sexes, however. The word for “old person,” 老人 *roujin*, also refers to both sexes, and there are, in addition, a number of sex-differentiated expressions, among them 老女 *roujo*, 老婆 *rouba*, and 老嫗 *rouoo* meaning “old woman,” and 老翁 *rouou* and 老爺 *rouya*, meaning “old man.” However, the only ones that seem to be in fairly common usage are the first two referring to old women.

A sexist expression in which the female is completely invisible is 父兄 *fukei* [parents]. This “odd” expression may reflect the traditional Japanese family, or *ie*, structure in which a married woman was first subordinated in all respects to her husband and then to her eldest son, who succeeded his father as head of the household (Fukutake, 1981/1989). The character 父 *fu* means “father,” and the character 兄 *-kei* means “older brother.” Although still heard today, *fukei* is losing favor to 父母 *fubo* [parents], which contains the characters for “father” and “mother” (母 *-bo*), thus making the female visible, and 保護者 *hogosha* [guardians], a neutral term. *Fubo* cannot be considered absolutely non-sexist, however, because it follows the general pattern in such compounds of having the character for the male come first. Unlike the flexibility with which “female” and “male” in English can be ordered, there is as yet no such flexibility in the ordering of the characters in Japanese for “female” and “male.” The most obvious example is perhaps 男女 *danjo* [male-female], as in 男女関係 *danjo kankei* [male-female/female-male relations].

For each of the words in the first category in part I of the questionnaire a large number of alternative words that would include both sexes were suggested by respondents, and the most frequently cited are shown in Table 2. In the case of *kikokushijo*, one of the suggestions, 帰国生 *kikokusei* [students/pupils returned home], has, in fact, been used by at least one Japanese scholar (Yashiro, 1991), as well as by a number of universities in their application materials.

According to the story from the *Asahi Shougakusei Shimbun* (Shimizu, 1999) reported above, changes in Japanese employment law will lead to changes in titles of jobs that were once exclusively female. The article reports, for example, that 看護婦さん *kangofusan* [female nurse] will become 看護師さん *kangoshisan*, the alternative most suggested by respondents in this study (minus the honorific *-san*).

Table 2 Nonsexist Alternatives Suggested by Respondents

Category 1	Main Alternative Suggestions
看護婦 <i>kangofu</i> (female nurse)	看護士 <i>kangoshi</i> [generic (or male) nurse] and 看護 <i>kangosha</i> [generic nurse]
保母 <i>hobo</i> (female nursery school worker)	保育士 <i>hoikushi</i> [generic (or male) nursery school worker]; 保育者 <i>hoikusha</i> [generic nursery school worker]; 保母/保父 <i>hobo/hofu</i> [female and male nursery school worker]; 先生 <i>sen-sei</i> [teacher]
女子学生 <i>joshi gakusei</i> (female student)	学生 <i>gakusei</i> [generic student]
女医 <i>joi</i> (female doctor)	医師 <i>ishi</i> and 医者 <i>isha</i> [both generic doctor]
帰国子女 <i>kikokushijo</i> ("returnee")	帰国の子供たち <i>kikoku no kodomotachi</i> ; 帰国子 <i>kikokushi</i> [children returned home]; 帰国生 <i>kikokusei</i> [students/pupils returned home]

The same article goes on to say that 保育園の保母さん *hoikuen no hobosan* (a longer version of *hobo*) will become 保育士さん *hoikushisan* [generic (or male) nursery school worker]. In the past, both female and male nursery school workers have been officially known as 保母 *hobo* (母 *-bo* means *mother*). Men have also been referred to as 保父 *hofu* (父 *-fu* means *father*), although in the 1990s some men in the profession began to call for a gender-neutral job title such as 保育士 *hoikushi* or 保育者 *hoikusha* ("Report Warns Schools," 1997). Questionnaire respondents did not include *hoikusha*, and, indeed, it seems that *hoikushi* is currently the preferred reform being taught to nursery school and kindergarten trainees (M. Takeuchi, personal communication, June 21, 2000). This follows a revision of the Children's Welfare Law (児童福祉法令改正 *jidou fukushi hourei kaisei*) in 1998 that directed that nursery and preschool workers would henceforth be referred to as 保育士 *hoikushi* (Takagi, 1999, p. 214). An English-language kanji guide states that the character 者 *-sha* means "person" while the character 士 *-shi* means "man" or "figure" (*A Guide to Reading & Writing Japanese*, 1977, pp. 62 & 97). Two Japanese-language kanji dictionaries (*Iwanami Kokugo Jiten*, 1963; *Shinmeikai Kanwa Jiten*, 1981) reinforce the impression that 者 *-sha* has a more gender-neutral meaning than 士 *-shi*. Therefore, it would seem that *hoikusha* would be the truer nonsexist reform. In fact, it seems questionable whether words ending in 士 *-shi* are actually nonsexist language reforms at all.

Category 2: Loanwords from English Ending in -man

The second category contained loanwords from English with the suffix *-man*. As Table 3 shows, セールスマン *seerusuman* [salesman] evoked the strongest male image. There was little difference between female and male respondents, except that only females thought of a female when they heard the word. This was followed by カメラマン *kameraman* [photographer/cameraman], although respondents were nearly evenly divided on this word between those having a male image (51%) and those having an image of both sexes (49%). Many more male respondents had a male image of *kameraman*, and conversely, many more female respondents thought of both sexes.

Table 3 Gender Images of Loanwords from English Ending in -man/-ess

	Image					
	Man		Woman		Both	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
セールスマン (<i>salesman</i>)	17 (74)	18 (64)	0	2 (7)	6 (26)	8 (29)
カメラマン (<i>photographer</i>)	16 (70)	10 (36)	0	0	7 (30)	18 (64)
フレッシュマン (<i>freshman</i>)	8 (35)	12 (43)	0	0	15 (65)	16 (57)
スチュワーデス (<i>stewardess</i>)	1 (4)	0	8 (35)	26 (93)	14 (61)	2 (7)

Note. M = number of male respondents choosing each image, and F = number of female respondents choosing each image. Percentages are in parentheses.

As Table 3 shows, the image of フレッシュマン *furesshuman* [freshman / new worker / etc.] was somewhat different. Sixty-one percent of all respondents had an image of both sexes. This might reflect its occasional reference to first-year university students. The three adults shared an image of both sexes. Given the fact that the word is used in American English to refer to both male and female first-year high school and university students, Americans also would very likely have an image of both sexes.

One other word in this category was a loanword from English with a feminine ending, スチュワーデス *suchuwaadesu* [stewardess]. Here the female association was much weaker: although the word evoked a female image in a majority of all respondents, as Table 3 shows, there was a great disparity between the images of male and female respondents. Female respondents had an overwhelmingly female image, while a majority of male respondents had an image of both sexes.

Very few alternative words were suggested for category 2, but the main ones are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Nonsexist Alternatives Suggested by Respondents

Category 2	Main Alternative Suggestions
セールスマン (<i>salesman</i>)	セールスパースン [<i>salesperson</i>]; セールスワーカー [<i>sales worker</i>]; 通宅販売員 <i>tsuutakuhanbaiin</i> [door-to-door salesperson]; 販売員 <i>hanbaiin</i> [salesclerk]
カメラマン (<i>photographer</i>)	写真家 <i>shashinka</i> [photographer]; カメラスタッフ <i>kamera sutaffu</i> ["camera staff"]; フォトグラファー [photographer]; 撮影者 <i>satsueisha</i> [photographer]
フレッシュマン (<i>freshman</i>)	新人社員 <i>shinjin shain</i> [new employee]; 新社会人 <i>shin shakaijin</i> [new "member of society"]; 新入生 <i>shin nyuusei</i> [newly entered student]; 新人 <i>shinjin</i> [new person]; フレッシュャー <i>furesshaa</i> ["fresher"]
スチュワーデス (<i>stewardess</i>)	客室乗務員 <i>kyakushitsu joumuin</i> [literally "passenger cabin crew member"]; フライトアテンダント <i>furaito atendanto</i> [flight attendant]; スチュワーデス/スチュワード (<i>stewardess/steward</i>)

In the Japanese newspaper article mentioned above (Shimizu, 1999), the reporter cites these same three English loanwords with *-man* and explains (in a dialogue with a fictitious young boy) why they are examples of sexist words in Japanese: “「マン」という英語には「男性」という意味があるからだよ。女性も意味することばにかえて...” “‘-Man’ to iu eigo ni wa ‘dansei’ to iu imi ga aru kara da yo. Josei mo imi suru kotoba ni kaete...” [English “man” has the meaning of “male.” If you change it into words that also mean females, . . .] (followed by examples of nonsexist alternatives). For *seerusementan* [salesman], the article gives the nonsexist alternative 営業スタッフ *eigyō sutaffu* [sales staff]; for *furesshuman* [freshman], フレッシュな人 *furesshu na hito* ["fresh person"]; and for *kameraman* [photographer/cameraman], 撮影スタッフ *satsuei sutaffu* [photography staff]. None of these was suggested by the questionnaire respondents.

Category 3: Traditionally Male Occupational Titles

The third category contained names for occupations traditionally held by men. Somewhat surprisingly, fewer than half of all respondents (43%) had a male image of the word 医者 *isha* [generic doctor], although, as Table 5 shows, it was the most frequently chosen image, especially by male respondents. The word was slightly more likely to evoke an image of both sexes among male respondents, while female respondents were more inclined to associate a female with the word. The two other traditionally male positions were political posts, and as expected, both evoked a male image in

the vast majority of both male and female respondents. In fact, one female student wrote beside both 総理大臣 *soridaijin* (prime minister) and 大蔵大臣 *ookuradaijin* (finance minister) “女性の例がない” *josei no rei ga nai* [there's no female example], and one male student wrote beside both “前例がないのでイメージ的に男” *zenrei ga nai node imeejiteki ni otoko* [since there has never been an example (of a female), my image is of a man].

Table 5 Gender Images of Traditionally Male Occupational Titles

	Man		Image Woman		Both	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
医者 <i>isha</i> (doctor)	12 (52)	10 (36)	3 (2)	11 (39)	8 (35)	7 (25)
総理大臣 <i>soridaijin</i> (prime minister)	19 (83)	24 (86)	0	0	4 (17)	4 (14)
大蔵大臣 <i>ookuradaijin</i> (finance minister)	19 (83)	22 (79)	1 (4)	0	3 (13)	6 (21)

Note. M = number of male respondents choosing each image, and F = number of female respondents choosing each image. Percentages are in parentheses.

Category 4: Inclusive Words

The fourth category contained words that were predicted to have a higher probability of eliciting an image of both sexes. One, 文部大臣 *monbudaijin* [education minister], was expected to have less of a male image than the two political positions in the third category, because it is the only one of the three that a Japanese woman has held. Perhaps remembering this, the same female student mentioned above wrote in connection with this word “女性が極端に少ない” *josei ga kyokutan ni sukunai* [there are extremely few females]. As Table 6 shows, a male image for this word was, indeed, weaker, although quite a few more female than male respondents held a male image. As expected, a much higher number of respondents had an image of both sexes for this word than for 大蔵大臣 *ookuradaijin* [finance minister] and 総理大臣 *soridaijin* [prime minister] in category three.

Otherwise, the prediction that the other words in the fourth category would evoke an image of both sexes was confirmed. 先生 *sensei* [teacher/master/etc.] and 教授 *kyouju* [professor] evoked the strongest image of both sexes, but interestingly, *kyouju* had relatively strong male associations: male respondents were slightly more likely to think of both sexes, while female respondents were slightly more likely to have a male image of the word. It is quite possible that these young women were more aware than the young men of the fact that there are fewer female professors at Japanese universities, since the female student who commented about *monbudaijin* [education minister] above wrote the

same comment about *kyouju* [professor] (“there are extremely few females”).

Table 6 Gender Images of Inclusive Words

	Man		Image Woman		Both	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
文部大臣 <i>monbudaijin</i> (<i>ed. minister</i>)	14 (61)	21 (75)	0	0	9 (39)	7 (25)
先生 <i>sensei</i> (<i>title for a teacher</i>)	1 (4)	1 (4)	0	0	22 (96)	27 (96)
教授 <i>kyouju</i> (<i>professor</i>)	9 (39)	13 (46)	0	0	14 (61)	15 (54)

Note. M = number of male respondents choosing each image, and F = number of female respondents choosing each image. Percentages are in parentheses.

Unlike words in the first and second categories, words in the third and fourth categories are not linguistically sexist, and as a result, no alternative words were suggested.

Japanese Students' Awareness of Sexist Japanese: Generalizations from the Results of Questionnaire Part I

Three generalizations can be made about these results. First, there was generally a stronger female image associated with Japanese words for occupations traditionally held by women than there was a strong male image associated with Japanese words for occupations traditionally held by men (although, in fairness, words for jobs that would likely have a very strong male association such as *auto mechanic* or *ditch digger* were not included). The association is undoubtedly stronger because of one-sided gender specification, whereby traditionally female occupational titles tend to be marked overtly as female by having a kanji character designating a female in the word, whereas traditionally male occupational titles are not marked by a character designating a male.

A survey of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Kanagawa Shimbun* in 1993 by Nakayama (as cited in Pauwels, 1998, p. 28) found that when describing teachers, students, and bosses the newspapers always marked the occupational nouns as female but never as male (e.g., *joshi daisei* [female college student], *joshi kyoushi* [female teacher], and *onna bosu* [woman boss]). More recently, the English-language *Daily Yomiuri* newspaper (“Kidnapped sister,” 1999), reporting on the alleged kidnapping of the sister of a Matsumoto sarin gas attack victim, described her as “a young woman, a college student” or simply as “the student.” However, the Japanese-language *Asahi Shimbun* (“Rokugatsu chuujun,” 1999) referred to her as the victim’s “妹の女子大生” *imouto no joshi daisei* [sister, a fe-

male college student]. The caption to a picture of the young woman's father in the *Asahi Shimbun* described him as “女子大生の父親” *joshi daisei no chichi oya* [the female college student's father]. In addition, the NHK television news consistently referred to her as “女子大生” *joshi daisei* [female college student]. In fact, there is no equivalent word *男子大生* *danshi daisei* [male college student] in Japanese. In further confirmation of this practice, Endo (as cited in Maynard, 1997, p. 74) examined 919 newspaper columns introducing prominent people (721 males and 198 females) from July 1990 to June 1991 in the *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, and *Yomiuri Shimbun* and also found that the woman's profession was “often” marked as female; for example, *female lieutenant governor*, *female Diet member*, *female manager*, *female editor*, *female leader*, *female treasurer*, and *female navigation officer*. No marker was attached to a man's profession.

The second generalization is that loanwords that are the subject of nonsexist language reform in English because of their gendered endings (e.g., *-man* and *-ess*) have far weaker male and female associations respectively in Japanese than they do in English. This, of course, is not surprising, given the different connotations a word has in its native context and when it is taken as a loanword. There is some counter evidence, however, that suggests that Japanese do sometimes associate such loanwords with the gender of the original English word. For example, Ueno et al. (1996, p. 59) claim that the Japanese media is largely responsible for creating the image that flight attendants are young women through their use of the loanword *stewardess*. Ueno et al. note that some of the 600 male flight attendants at Japan Airlines have complained over the name of an in house magazine called スチュワーデスマガジン *Suchuwaadesu Magajin* [Stewardess Magazine] and have requested a special edition for スチュワード *suchuwaado* [stewards]. Ueno et al. (p. 28) also point to partial evidence that the pseudo-loanword サラリーマン *sarariiman* [“salaryman”] usually does not include women because of the occasional use of サラリーウーマン *sarariiuuman* [“salarywoman”]. The sheer amount of exposure to English words in Japan, both in education and in daily life, would also make it seem improbable that most Japanese would not be aware of the meaning of *-man* in English, although the meaning of such feminine endings as *-ess* would not likely be as well known. At any rate, the questionnaire results suggest that among some Japanese there is a weaker gender association with such loanwords than there is with similarly gender-specified words in Japanese that contain a kanji character designating a female.

The third generalization is that social experience with a word is an important factor in one's gender perception of the word. For example, in schools there are many teachers of both sexes, so it is not surprising that the word *sensei* [teacher] is associated with both sexes. Similarly, there has never been a female prime minister or finance minister, as two of the students pointed out. Those who said

the words evoked the image of a female or both female and male may have been answering in terms of their ideal. On the other hand, the word *sensei* is a more general term than *kyouju* [professor], which is reserved for university teachers in both languages, and among the reasons that this word evoked a relatively weak image of both sexes is probably the fact that the majority of professors in Japan are still male, as one of the students pointed out. Of the loanwords with *-man*, only *salesman* had a relatively high male association, and this, too, may have something to do with the respondents' actual experience with door-to-door salespeople.

Sexism and Japanese Words Referring to One's Spouse: Questionnaire Part II

The sex-specific words referring to one's spouse were the subject of part II of the questionnaire. In English, the word for a male spouse, *husband*, comes from a Middle English word meaning, besides a married man, "master of a house," and, of course, the verb form means "to take care of" (*Webster's*, 1993). On the other hand, the word for a female spouse, *wife*, comes from Middle and Old English words related to an Old High German word meaning "woman" or "wife" (a married woman) and an Old Norse word meaning "woman." While most native speakers of English probably do not think about these base meanings, they do clearly indicate the inequality in the meanings and the dominant role of the husband.

The meaning of one of the Japanese words used to refer to one's own male spouse when talking to others, 主人 *shujin*, is clearly similar in its base meaning to *husband*, since the kanji character 主 *shu* means "lord" or "master," while the character 人 *-jin* means "person." Similarly, one of the words used to refer to one's own female spouse when talking to others, 家内 *kanai*, literally means "inside the house/household." The concept of the male spouse as the "lord and master" of the household [家 *ie*] and the female spouse as literally "inside the household," though unquestionably changing, is still very much fixed in Japanese society, as well as in many others. For instance, the name of the 世帯主 *setainushi* [head of the family/household] is recorded in the family registration [*koseki*] papers all Japanese are required to have. According to Sugimoto (1997, p. 138), 98 percent of couples who married in 1990 listed the husband as head. The concept of the head is then transferred into residential registration records [*juuminhyou*] that all Japanese are required to file with the municipal office where they live. This is probably one reason why media reports frequently refer to children as "the child of (the father's name)" without mention of the mother. This also leads to perhaps the one case in which a Japanese wife automatically becomes the "head of the household": since foreign residents have a separate registration system, a foreign husband does not appear on his Japanese wife and chil-

dren's *juuminhyou*, which gives the appearance that it is a fatherless household headed by a single mother.

Similarly, Sugimoto (1997, p. 138) describes the family register system [*koseki*] as male-dominated, disadvantageous to women, and “predicated upon the patriarchal logic that the wife belongs to her husband’s family line as his subordinate” (pp. 133-142). The consequences of this “patriarchal ideology” (p. 138) in the legal sphere can be severe. Sugimoto mentions, for example, *koseki* practices that stigmatize single mothers and their children and, he claims, effectively discourage women from divorcing and encourage them to have abortions. Examples of its influence in everyday life also abound; to name only a few: name plates [*hyousatsu*] at residential gates that sometimes display only the husband’s name (illustrating the importance of the *setainushi*), or if the wife’s name is included, it always comes after the husband’s; the use of the husband’s name for all neighborhood association [*chounaikai*] matters, even when it is typically the wife who does all or most of the work in these associations; and the impossibility of opening a bank account in both spouses’ names, but instead having all the family financial matters in the husband’s name only.

Thus, the literal meanings of words like *shujin* and *kanai* do literally seem to reflect Japanese social and legal reality. However, there are multiple words in Japanese that can be used both to refer to one’s own male or female spouse and to an interlocutor’s, although there seem to be more in the standard language to refer to a female spouse than to a male spouse. Part II of the questionnaire (see Appendix A) was designed to find out to what extent respondents preferred such literally sexist expressions as *shujin* and *kanai* compared to other perhaps more neutral and nonsexist expressions.

As shown in Table 7, *tsuma* was chosen by the great majority of both females and males as the best way to refer to one’s own female spouse when talking to others. All three adults chose *tsuma*, and one added *tsureai*, which is a sex-indefinite word that, like 配偶者 *haiguusha* [spouse], can refer to both wives and husbands and is in some ways analogous to “partner” in English (in marriage contexts) in contrast to “spouse.” Its origin seems to be an old verb for marrying that literally means to accompany, *tsureau* (Cherry, 1987, pp. 67-68).

Otto was considered the best way to refer to one’s own male spouse by the largest number of females and males. However, unlike the clear choice of *tsuma* among both sexes, here there was much less unanimity: *shujin* was chosen by nearly one third of the males and one fourth of the females. Looked at in another way, however, twice as many females preferred *otto* to *shujin*. In addition, *otto* was chosen by all three adults. Two males wrote in 亭主 *teishu*, whose literal meaning is hardly less sexist than *shujin*. The character 亭 *tei* means restaurant, arbor, or cottage, and 主 *-shu* again means lord or master. In fact, *teishu* can also refer to the master of an inn or teahouse (Cherry, 1987,

p. 67).

Table 7 Respondents' Preferred Ways to Refer to One's Spouse

	Preferences			Preferences	
	M	F		M	F
Words for a Female Spouse			Words for a Male Spouse		
妻 <i>tsuma</i>	17 (74%)	22 (79%)	夫 <i>otto</i>	10 (43%)	14 (50%)
女房 <i>nyoubou</i>	3 (13%)	1 (4%)	主人 <i>shujin</i>	7 (30%)	7 (25%)
家内 <i>kanai</i>	0	2 (7%)	旦那 <i>danna</i>	1 (4%)	4 (14%)
細君 <i>saikun</i>	1 (4%)	0			
愚妻 <i>gusai</i>	0	0			

These results confirm the fact that *tsuma* and *otto* function as generic words used when talking to others about one's own spouse or spouses in general. For example, in explaining when *kanai* is used, one of the female adults wrote: “夫が夫の友人や親せきに自分の妻を意味して言う時” *otto ga otto no yuujin ya shinseki ni jibun no tsuma o imi shite iu toki* [when a husband (*otto*) talks to his friends and relatives and means his own wife (*tsuma*)]. Other usage explanations reveal a general perception among many respondents that *kanai* is used when talking to someone in a higher position or in the workplace, while *tsuma* is reserved for more ordinary situations or when talking to friends and relatives. *Nyoubou* was similarly rated as more friendly and informal.

Most of the respondents' explanations of the use of *shujin* paralleled those of *kanai*, explanations of *otto* paralleled those of *tsuma*, and explanations of *danna* paralleled those of *nyoubou*, and it is indeed the case that *kanai* and *shujin*, *tsuma* and *otto*, and *nyoubou* and *danna* function as sociolinguistic pairs. Compared to English speakers, Japanese have an array of standard language choices when referring to their spouses, which results in part from the importance in Japanese of choosing the appropriate level of language for the person being addressed. This is called *tsukaiwake* and is an important fact of Japanese pragmatics that may prove to be an inhibiting factor in any move toward one nonsexist way to refer to one's spouse.

Part II was later rewritten in an effort to find out students' preferences more specifically (see Appendix B) and given to a different group of students who had studied the issue of nonsexist language reform in my class. This group consisted of 17 second, third, and fourth-year non-English majors (9 males and 8 females) in the School of Humanities at one of the universities.

Males and females were first asked separately to select the word that they would want their husband or wife to call them when talking to another person. As Table 8 shows, the young men were more “traditional” in their preference for being called *shujin* than the young women were in their

preferences. Compared to some of the young women's reasons for their preferences, the young men's reasons appeared more detached from the issue, and more unquestioning. One explained his choice of *shujin* this way: “主にこう呼ばれていると思うから” *omo ni kou yobarete iru to omou kara* [because I think husbands are generally called this]. Another wrote: “一番ポピュラーに使用されているから” *ichiban popyuraa ni shiyou sarete iru kara* [because it's used most popularly]. One who chose *otto* gave the reason that “妻の反対の言葉は夫だから、その言葉を使った方がいいと思う” *tsuma no hantai no kotoba wa otto da kara, sono kotoba o tsukatta hou ga ii to omou* [“Otto” is the opposite word from “tsuma,” so I think we should use that word.]. A more personal reason came from one young man who chose *danna*, because “仲の良い感じがする” *naka no yoi kanji ga suru* [it feels like being close to each other].

Table 8 Ways to Be Referred to by a Spouse Talking to Another Person

Female Preferences (<i>n</i> = 8)		Male Preferences (<i>n</i> = 9)	
Words for a Female Spouse		Words for a Male Spouse	
妻 <i>tsuma</i>	2 (25%)	主人 <i>shujin</i>	5 (56%)
女房 <i>nyoubou</i>	1 (13%)	だんな <i>danna</i>	2 (22%)
家内 <i>kanai</i> or 妻 <i>tsuma</i>	1 (13%)	夫 <i>otto</i> or かれ <i>kare</i>	1 (11%)
連れ合い <i>tsureai</i>	1 (13%)	夫 <i>otto</i>	1 (11%)
Other: personal name	2 (25%)		
パートナー <i>partner</i>	1 (13%)		

The young women's reasons showed more awareness of sexism and inequality in some of the words. Two said they would prefer their future husbands to refer to them by their given names, one because “個人として夫と対等であるから” *kojin toshite otto to taitou de aru kara* [it is equal to my husband as an individual], and the other because “妻や家内とかだと「個」がないような感じがするから” *tsuma ya kanai toka da to “ko” ga nai you na kanji ga suru kara* [“tsuma” and “kanai,” etc. don't seem to have any individuality]. Another who wrote in パートナー [partner] said, “「妻」というのはまだいいけれどもその他の言葉はいかにも女は男より下だという感じがする” *“tsuma” to iu no wa mada ii keredomo sono hoka no kotoba wa ika ni mo onna wa otoko yori shita da to iu kanji ga suru* [“Tsuma” is still OK, but the other words seem to put women very likely lower than men.]. One young woman chose *tsureai* [spouse], because “男女の立場がフィフティーフィフティーのような感じがして良いと思うから” *danjo no tachiba ga fifutii fifutii no you na kanji ga shite yoi to omou kara* [I think it's good that it seems to make the male-female position 50-50.].

The second question asked males and females separately what they would call their husbands or

wives when talking to another person. The results presented in Table 9 show a disparity between how they would like to be referred to by a spouse (Table 8) and how the opposite sex would indeed refer to them. For example, the majority of the males preferred to be referred to as *shujin*, but only two of the females said they would refer to their husband with that word. On the other hand, the females expressed a variety of preferences for how they would like their spouse to refer to them, but the majority of the males indicated that they would use either *nyoubou* or *tsuma*. Of these, only *tsuma* received more than one vote from the young women.

Table 9 Ways to Refer to a Spouse When Talking to Another Person

Male Preferences (<i>n</i> = 9)		Female Preferences (<i>n</i> = 8)	
Words for a Female Spouse		Words for a Male Spouse	
妻 <i>tsuma</i>	3 (33%)	主人 <i>shujin</i>	2 (22%)
女房 <i>nyoubou</i>	3 (33%)	だんな <i>danna</i>	2 (22%)
家内 <i>kanai</i> or 妻 <i>tsuma</i>	1 (13%)	夫 <i>otto</i>	1 (11%)
連れ合い <i>tsureai</i>	1 (13%)	family name	1 (11%)
妻 <i>tsuma</i> or 彼女 <i>kanojo</i>	1 (13%)	other (no specifics)	2 (22%)

The final two questions asked students about the most common way and the most polite way to refer to one's spouse when talking to another person. The results shown in Table 10 reveal one major difference between males and females regarding these intuitions; specifically, concerning the most common way to refer to one's wife when talking to others. Two thirds of the young men perceived *nyoubou* to be the most common way, but only a little more than one third of the young women agreed. The rest of the young women split between *tsuma* and *kanai*. There was, however, more general agreement that *shujin* is the most common way to refer to a male spouse when talking to others. In fact, all of the young women thought so. In terms of politeness, the general consensus favored *kanai* for wives and *shujin* again for husbands.

The findings from the rewritten part II contrast with those from the original part II shown in Table 7 that *tsuma* and *otto* were considered the "best" ways to refer to one's spouse. Two points can be made here about questionnaire design: first, as is well known, the wording of a questionnaire has an effect on the answers; and second, in this study asking vaguely for the "best" way was less enlightening than using more specific words in the rewritten part II, such as "most common" and "most polite," and asking more precisely nuanced questions, such as numbers 1 and 2.

Table 10 Students' Perceptions of the Most Common and Most Polite Ways to Refer to a Spouse When Talking to Another Person

Ways to Refer to a Female Spouse			Ways to Refer to a Male Spouse		
Male(n = 9)		Female (n = 8)	Male(n = 9)		Female (n = 8)
Most Common / Polite		Most Common / Polite	Most Common / Polite		Most Common / Polite
6 (67%) / 0	女房 <i>nyoubou</i>	3 (38%) / 0	7 (78%) / 7 (78%)	主人 <i>shujin</i>	8 (100%) / 5 (63%)
1 (11%) / 1 (11%)	妻 <i>tsuma</i>	3 (38%) / 2 (25%)	2 (22%) / 1 (11%)	夫 <i>otto</i>	0 / 1 (13%)
2 (22%) / 7 (78%)	家内 <i>kanai</i>	2 (25%) / 5 (63%)	0 / 1 (11%)	旦那 <i>danna</i>	0 / 0
0 / 1 (11%)	家内 <i>kanai</i> / 彼女 <i>kanojo</i>	0 / 0		彼 <i>kare</i>	
			0 / 0	連れ合い <i>tsureai</i>	0 / 1 (13%)
0 / 0	given name	0 / 1 (13%)	0 / 0	family/given name	0 / 1 (13%)

The findings may also indicate that the feeling about the “best” way to refer to one’s spouse, or the way younger Japanese would refer to their spouse and in turn want to be referred to by their spouse may be changing. In 1987, Cherry could write that “another pair of terms (*tsuma* and *otto*) usually comes into play outside conversation, in written and legalistic or formal Japanese” (p. 67). The questionnaire results more than a decade later show some evidence that *tsuma*, in particular, is becoming more preferred in conversation (recall that the three adults also chose *tsuma* as the “best” way). This could be viewed as a positive development in terms of nonsexist language.

The *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* (1963) gives as the first meaning of *tsuma* “配偶者。配偶者である女” *haiguusha. haiguusha de aru onna* [spouse; a female spouse] and for *otto* “配偶者である男” *haiguusha de aru otoko* [a male spouse], both apparently linguistically nonsexist. On the other hand, the third definition of *kanai* is “(自分の) 妻” (*jibun no*) *tsuma* [one’s own wife (*tsuma*)], while the third definition of *shujin* is “妻が夫をさして言う語” *tsuma ga otto sashite iu go* [a word used by a wife (*tsuma*) to indicate her husband (*otto*)]. This echoes the findings of the questionnaire of the greater generic quality of *tsuma* and *otto*, but gives no indication of the sexism contained in the kanji characters for *kanai* and *shujin*. In my own limited experience, *shujin* and *kanai* appear to be the preferred words used by middle-aged and older Japanese to refer to their own spouses when talking to others. There is some evidence in this study that the younger generation, particularly young women, may have different sensibilities concerning these two words. At the same time that more and more Japanese women have moved into the work force, the first definition of *shujin* (“自分の仕えている人” *jibun no tsukaete iru hito* [the person you are serving]) and of *kanai* (“家の中” *ie no naka* [inside the house/household]) may have helped to increase perceptions of these words as sexist, as the answers of some of the young women clearly indicated. This may eventually lead to a re-

duction of their use in favor of the more generic *tsuma* and *otto*, as well as others, such as *tsureai*, etc. that may be less common among middle-aged and older Japanese. It is clear, however, particularly from the results of the rewritten questionnaire, that young women perceive more problems with the many Japanese words referring to one's spouse than young men do. This perception, or consciousness, gap is an area that needs greater attention.

Summary and Conclusion

The results of the questionnaire reveal a certain degree of awareness of nonsexist language reform in Japanese among these Japanese students. However, because the number of respondents who wrote in nonsexist alternatives was so small, it is hard to gauge the extent of their general awareness, or interest, in the issue. The second group of second, third, and fourth-year non-English majors whose answers to the rewritten part II were reported above also answered part I of the questionnaire, again after they had studied the issue of nonsexist language reform in my class ($n = 14$, 8 males and 6 females; 3 who answered part II did not answer part I).

Comparing the students in each group, we find, as hoped, that more students in the second group did, in general, offer nonsexist alternatives. For example, 86% in the second group suggested alternatives for *joshigakusei* [female student], compared to only 29% of the first group. In addition, words with relatively few alternative suggestions from the first group received significantly more write-ins from the second group: 86% offered nonsexist suggestions for *joi* [female doctor] and *hobo* [female nursery school worker], compared to 18% and 14% respectively of the first group; 79% for *kangofu* [female nurse] compared to 22%; and 36% for *seerusuman* [salesman] compared to 8%. The word that the largest number of respondents in the first group gave alternatives for, *suchuwaadesu* [stewardess], was still only 31% of all respondents compared to 43% of the second group. In the first group, the words with the fewest alternatives written in received significantly more write ins from the second group: 6% of the first group compared to 64% of the second group offered alternatives for *kameraman* [photographer/cameraman]; 4% compared to 50% for *furesshuman* [freshman]; and 4% compared to 21% for *kikokushijo* ["returnee"]. In the first group, there was also no clear difference between the adults and the students. Only one female adult gave as many as six alternatives for the nine sexist words. The other female gave only one, and the male gave none.

Although one of the loanwords, *suchuwaadesu* [stewardess], had the highest number of suggested nonsexist alternatives in the first group, the three *-man* loanwords had the lowest number despite the fact that these respondents had a male image of two of the three words, although it was relatively

strong only for *seerusuman* [salesman]. This is in contrast to the students in the second group, who offered many more nonsexist alternatives for the three *-man* loanwords as well as for *suchuwaadesu* [stewardess].

Having discussed the sexist nature of words with the *-man* suffix in English and the fact that English nonsexist language reform generally follows the strategy of gender neutralization rather than gender specification (e.g., *flight attendant* rather than *stewardess* and *steward*), it is not surprising that students in the second group showed greater awareness of nonsexist alternatives for these loanwords. Although gender neutralization is also common in Japanese nonsexist language reform, there exist, nevertheless, gender specific loanwords from English for some of these words. One is *suchuwaado* [steward], which, as we saw earlier, has been proposed as an alternative by male Japanese flight attendants themselves, and which was written in by two students. Another is *seerusureedi* [saleslady], which is considered sexist in English (Sorrels, 1983, p. 143) and was written in by one student in the first group. Nevertheless, students in both groups seemed more aware of nonsexist alternatives for native Japanese words among the 15 listed in the questionnaire, and there were a large number of native Japanese words suggested as alternatives for the four loanwords.

Respondents in both groups' gender images of the 15 words were generally predictable except in the cases of *isha* [doctor], *kyouju* [professor], *kikokushijo* ["returnee"], and the *-man* loanwords. In the latter group, the one with a stronger image of both sexes, *furesshuman* [freshman], is one that students should be quite familiar with as designating a group that includes both sexes, and at one of the universities in this study, the word is used to designate the orientation program for new students. Images have to do with social experience, and these students' answers can be interpreted as reflecting the social reality they have experienced concerning these occupations. This may also indicate that the experience of a significant minority of respondents--those who had a female image of *isha* [doctor] and *kikokushijo* ("returnee")--has included relatively greater exposure to female doctors and girls who had returned to Japanese schools from abroad, although why the latter should be the case is unclear. Lacking actual experience, we would expect stereotypes to predominate, which makes the large number of respondents who had an image of a doctor as either female or both male and female and of "returnees" as female more interesting.

Stereotypes aside, nonsexist language reformers would challenge the assumption that these respondents' images merely reflect the social reality they have experienced. Reformers argue instead that by changing language we can help change images and, thus, social reality. This is, in effect, the opposite argument; namely, that changes in social reality will reflect changes in language. The fact that not all of these students chose the traditional image or sexist word could, then, be some evidence at

least of changing perceptions, if not social reality.

As we have seen, gender equality is a topic often taken up in the media and by the central and local governments in Japan today. The results of this study indicate that even respondents who had not studied the issue of nonsexist language reform systematically in a class were aware of the linguistic side of the issue to some extent, though predictably not as much as those who had focused on the issue in a class. Awareness of the “need” for language change can come from various sources: from the schools, from the government, from the media, even from the home. But without an awareness of the perceived need for change, and without the support of influential groups in society (Labov as cited in Ehrlich and King, 1992/1998, p. 167), reform efforts are not likely to succeed. Regardless of whether language changes first and influences social change, or whether language changes as a result of efforts at social change, the fact is that language change plays an important role in helping society to accept the new ideal of women’s and men’s equal participation in society. This study suggests that, as might be expected, there is still work to be done.

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Appendix A

- I. 下の言葉を聞く時、男性、女性、両性のどれが思い浮かびますか。一つを○で囲んでください。男女共通の言葉があれば、その右の空欄に書いてください。 [When you hear each of the words below, do you think of a man, a woman, or both? Circle the one you think of. If there is an alternative word that gives you the image of either a man or a woman, write it in the blank.]

例：女優（男 女 両性） 俳優_____

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. 看護婦（男 女 両性）_____ | 9. 帰国子女（男 女 両性）_____ |
| 4. 女子学生（男 女 両性）_____ | 12. カメラマン（男 女 両性）_____ |
| 5. 医者（男 女 両性）_____ | 13. 教授（男 女 両性）_____ |
| 6. 大蔵大臣（男 女 両性）_____ | 14. 総理大臣（男 女 両性）_____ |
| 7. スチュワーデス（男 女 両性）_____ | 15. 先生（男 女 両性）_____ |
| 8. 文部大臣（男 女 両性）_____ | |

- II. **A** と **B** のどちらかで共鳴できるものを選び、それについて答えてください。 [Choose the one (A or B) that you agree with and answer ONLY that one.]

A. 下の言い方が一番良いと思う（1の中で一つ、2の中で一つ選び、○を付けてください。 [Circle the one in "1." and the one in "2." that you think is the best expression.]

- | |
|---------------------------|
| 1. 家内 妻 女房 細君 愚妻 その他_____ |
| 2. 主人 夫 だんな その他_____ |

B. 話し相手や状況によって、言い方を変えと思う。（それぞれの言葉を使う状況や話し相手を書いてください。） [I think it depends on who you are talking to or the situation. (Write the type of person and/or situation when you would use each word.)]

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. 家内 | 2. 主人 |
| 妻 | 夫 |
| 女房 | だんな |
| 細君 | その他_____ |
| 愚妻 | |
| その他_____ | |

Appendix B: Rewritten Part II

1. a. (女性だけ)：もし、あなたの夫があなたのことを誰かに話すとしたらあなたは夫に何と呼ばれたいですか？丸で囲みなさい。又、その理由を書きなさい。(Women only) Circle the word that you would want your husband to call you when he talks to another person. Why?

家内 妻 女房 愚妻 連れ合い その他

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- b. (男性だけ): もし、あなたの妻があなたのことを誰かに話すとしたら、あなたは妻に何と呼ばれたいですか? 丸で囲みなさい。又、その理由を書きなさい。(Men only) Circle the word that you would want your wife to call you when she talks to another person. Why?

主人 夫 だんな 亭主 連れ合い その他

2. a. (女性だけ): もし、あなたが誰かにあなたの夫のことを話すとしたら、あなたは夫のことを何と呼びますか? (Women only) Circle the word that you would call your husband when you talk to another person.

主人 夫 だんな 亭主 連れ合い その他

- b. (男性だけ): もし、あなたが誰かにあなたの妻のことを話すとしたら、あなたは妻のことを何と呼びますか? (Men only) Circle the word that you would call your wife when you talk to another person.

家内 妻 女房 愚妻 連れ合い その他

3. a. (皆) 夫が妻のことを他人に話すとき、一番、一般的に使われる言葉は何だと思えますか? 丸で囲みなさい。(All) Circle the word that you think is the most common way to refer to one's wife when talking to another person:

家内 妻 女房 愚妻 連れ合い その他

- b. (皆) 妻が夫のことを他人に話すとき、一番、一般的に使われる言葉は何だと思えますか? 丸で囲みなさい。(All) Circle the word that you think is the most common way to refer to one's husband when talking to another person:

主人 夫 だんな 亭主 連れ合い その他

4. a. (皆) 夫が妻のことを他人に話すとき、一番、礼儀正しいと思う言い方に丸を付けなさい。(All) Circle the word that you think is the most polite way to refer to one's wife when talking to another person:

家内 妻 女房 愚妻 連れ合い その他

- b. (皆) 妻が夫のことを他人に話すとき、一番、礼儀正しいと思う言い方に丸を付けなさい。(All) Circle the word that you think is the most polite way to refer to one's husband when talking to another person:

主人 夫 だんな 亭主 連れ合い その他