

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Michael Moerman, *Talking Culture: Ethnography and Conversation Analysis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 2.
2. Mary Bucholtz, "Bad Examples: Transgression and Progress in Language and Gender Studies," in *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*, ed. Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.
3. Deborah Cameron, "The Language-Gender Interface: Challenging Co-option," in *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*, ed. Victoria L. Bergvall, Janet M. Bing, and Alice F. Freed (London and New York: Longman, 1996), 47.
4. Cameron, "The Language-Gender Interface," 45.
5. Sunayoshi Yukako, "Farm Women's Professional Discourse in Ibaraki," in *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology*, ed. Shigeko Okamoto and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 187–204. Kumagai Shigeko, "Standard Japanese and Heteronormativity: Why Do Female Native Speakers of Tohoku Dialects Still Feel Ashamed of Their Dialects" (paper presented at Fifth International Gender and Language Association Conference, Victoria, New Zealand, July 3–5, 2008).
6. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick, *Language and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123.
7. Laura Miller challenges such essentialist claims, particularly concerning the use of "indirectness" and "honorifics." Laura Miller, "The Japanese Language and Honorific Speech: Is There a *Nihongo* without *Keigo*?" *Penn Review of Linguistics*, 13 (1989): 38–46.
8. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 4.
9. See Shibamoto and Abe's research. Janet Shibamoto, *Japanese Women's Language* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985). Hideko Abe, "Power Negotiation between Japanese Females and Males," *Intercultural Communication Studies* 8, no. 1 (1999): 53–70.
10. Shigeko Okamoto and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith, eds., *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004). Miyako Inoue, *Vicarious Language*. Berkeley and Los Angeles (California: University of California Press, 2006). Nakamura Momoko, "*Onna*

- kotoba*” *wa tsukurareru* (“Women’s speech” is a construction) (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2007).
11. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 8.
 12. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 33.
 13. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 123.
 14. Jagose Annamaire, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1996), 84.
 15. Annamaire, *Queer Theory*, 85.
 16. Heiko Motschenbacher, “Can the Term “Genderlect” Be Saved? A Postmodernist Re-definition,” *Gender and Language* 1, no. 2 (2007): 255–279. Susan A. Speer, *Gender Talk, Feminism, Discourse and Conversation Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2005).
 17. Speer, *Gender Talk*, 75.
 18. Rusty Barrett, “The Homo-genius Speech Community” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 198. William Leap also discusses how the term “queer” is developed and used by speakers. William L. Leap, *Word’s Out: Gay Men’s English* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 101–108.
 19. Liz Morrish and Helen Sauntson, *New Perspectives on Language and Sexual Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
 20. Cameron and Kulick argues that there are four phases of research on lesbian and gay language for English; (1) 1920–40s, (2) 1950s–60s, (3) 1970s–mid-1990s, and (4) 1990s–present. See Cameron and Kulick, *Language and Sexuality*, 76–78.
 21. Daniel Long, “Formation Processes of Some Japanese Gay Argot Terms,” *American Speech* 71, no. 2 (1996): 215–224. Naoko Ogawa and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith, “The Gendering of the Gay Male Sex Class in Japan: A Case Study Based on *Rasen No Shobyoo*,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 402–415. Hideko Abe, “Lesbian Bar Talk in Shinjuku, Japan,” in *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology*, ed. Shigeiko Okamoto and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 205–221. James Valentine, “Pots and Pans: Identification of Queer Japanese in Terms of Discrimination,” In *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall, 95–114. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Claire Maree, *Hatsuwasha no gengo sutoratejii to shiteno negoshiēshon kōi no kenkyū* (Study of negotiation as a linguistic strategy by a speaker) (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2007).
 22. It prominently includes the relationships between Buddhist monks and young child acolytes during the Heian period (794–1185), as well as the Edo period (1603–1868) relationship known as *nanshoku* (male color/eroticism). This is also called *danshoku* (male color). Canonical authors

- such as Ihara Saikaku (1687) described gay relationships among *samurai* class and the transgender/homosexual behavior of young actors in Kabuki. See Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Gary Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
23. See Sharon Chalmers, *Emerging Lesbian Voices from Japan* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002). Mark McLelland, *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age* (Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005). Mark McLelland, Suganuma Katsuhiko, and James Welker, eds., *Queer Voices from Japan. First-person Narratives from Japan's Sexual Minorities* (Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007).
 24. Japanese dictionaries do not give a negative meaning to the term *dō-sei-ai* (same-sex love), except one, Kenkyūsha's *Shin waei dai jiten* (New Japanese-English Dictionary) of 1954 which describes *dō-sei-ai* (same-sex love) as “unnatural love.” It is the English translation (given by a native speaker of English) that is problematic. *New Japanese English Dictionary*. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 1954), 215. Chalmers uses the term “tolerated” with irony. Vincent, Kazama, and Kawaguchi strongly reject the term *kanyō* (tolerant) to describe Japanese society in terms of treating homosexuals. See Keith Vincent, Takashi Kazama, and Kazuya Kawaguchi. *Gay Studies* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1997), 170.
 25. Taniguchi Hiroaki, “The Legal Situation Facing Sexual Minorities in Japan,” *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, no. 12 (2006, January), http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue12_contents.html.
 26. See more detail discussion of the term by Long. Long, “Formation Processes,” 215–224.
 27. *O-kama* is a relatively old term and is used to refer to homosexual men exhibiting effeminate behavior, so it can be viewed as a derogatory word for some gay men. The more recent term is *gei* (gay) for (younger) male homosexuals.
 28. *Asahi Newspaper*, April 8, 2008, <http://www.asahi.com>.
 29. The most well-known TV program is called “Onē MANS” on *Nihon* TV broadcasting. It is a variety show run by sexual minorities whose areas of expertise include make-up (Ikko), flower arrangement (Kariyazaki), and other fashion and food related topics. The majority of audience is women.
 30. Her/his name is pronounced as Ikkō, but s/he writes it as Ikko.
 31. On the stage, two sang and danced with Majima Shigeki, a gay choreographer who became famous when he produced “*Matsuken samba*,” music combined with traditional Japanese music with Brazilian samba music for an actor, Matsukawa Ken (or Matsuken).

32. Nakamura, a singer and song writer was born in 1985. See website, <http://www.nakamura-ataru.jp>.
33. Some of the *danshō* (male prostitutes/M-F transgender) of the late 1940s reported that they chose the male bath even though their hairstyle presents female gender, see chapter 3 of this book.
34. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 175
35. There is another more polite option: *watakushi*.
36. Neutral means that anyone regardless of her or his gender can use it.
37. Personal email exchange on November 21, 2008.
38. Judith Butler, *10th Anniversary Edition. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), xxii.
39. Butler, *10th Anniversary Edition. Gender Trouble*, xxiii
40. Jagose, *Queer Theory*, 3.
41. Cameron and Kulick, *Language and Sexuality*, 2003.
42. Joseph J. Hayes, “Lesbians, Gay Men, and Their “Languages,” in *Gayspeak: Gay Male & Lesbian Communication*, ed. James W. Chesebro (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981), 32.
43. Iwata Jun’ichi, *Honchō danshoku kō: Danshoku bunkenshoshi* (Male homosexuality: Collection of written materials of male homosexuality) (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 2002).
44. The second edition (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995).
45. The fifth edition (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998).
46. Terms described in *katakana* in Japanese are derived from foreign words in origin (e.g., *jendā* for gender). However, writers often use *katakana* for different reasons such as to emphasize or/and exaggerate the term, or make a distinction from the original term. As I will show in the later chapters, gay men and other sexual minorities use *katakana* to distinguish between the term used by non-queers and the ones used by queers.
47. *Gei bōi* (gay boy) has been transformed to a new term, *nyū-hāfu* (new half) since the middle of the 1980s to refer to M-F transgendered people in the entertainment business. See, Mitsuhashi Junko, “Tokyo Shinjuku no josō komyuniti o chūshin ni” (Cross-dressing community in Shinjuku), in *Sengo nihon josō/dōseiai kenkyū* (Study of cross-dressing and homosexuality after the war), ed. Yajima Masami (Tokyo: Chūō University Press, 2006), 359.
48. *O* in *o-kama* is a honorific prefix indexing politeness in its literal meaning, which is a “pot for cooking rice.”
49. The term, *rezubian* “lesbian” came into usage in magazines in the 1960s. The older term to refer to lesbian relationship, *esu* “s,” was common in girls’ magazines since the 1910s. Sugiura Ikuko, “1970, 80 nendai no ippan-zasshi ni okeru “rezubian” hyōshō (Representation of “lesbian” found in ordinary magazines in the 1970s and 1980s), in *Sengo nihon josō/dōseiai kenkyū* (Study of cross-dressing and homosexuality after the war), ed. Yajima Masami (Tokyo: Chūō University Press, 2006), 491–518.

50. This also applies to English, as Cameron and Kulick argue. Cameron and Kulick, *Language and Sexuality*, 7. The word, *dō-sei-ai* (same-sex love) is found in the first edition of *Kōjien* in 1955, Heibonsha's *Dai jiten* in 1936, and Sanseidō's *Meikai kokugo jiten* in 1942. *Baisekushuaru* (bisexual) is found in the fifth edition of *Kōjien* in 1991 for the first time.
51. This term refers to F-M transgendered people who identify themselves as men who often choose straight women as partners. I will discuss them and their linguistic practice in detail in chapter 2.
52. The term *o-kazu* (lit. numbers) is originally *nyōbō kotoba*, the decidedly indirect language of court ladies in Muromachi period. This word refers to the fact that there are always multiple side dishes next to the rice bowl.
53. TV program "*Gokigen san*" (Good feeling), broadcast on January 26, 2008.
54. Long, "Formation Processes," 216.
55. *Ugoku Gei to Rezubian no Kai* (Organization for Moving Gays and Lesbians), ed., *Gei repōto* (Gay report) (Tokyo: Asuka Shinsha, 1992), 276.
56. There was a big argument over the use of this term recently. See, Fushimi Noriaki, Oikawa Kenji, Noguchi Katsuhiko, Matsuzawa Kureichi, Kurokawa Nobuyuki, Yamanaka Toshiko, Kasuga Ryouji, Shida Yōko, Shimomura Ken'ichi, Taka (no last name given), Tagame Gengorō, Hirano Hiroaki, Hiroshi (no last name given), Honda Katsuchi, and Miyazaki Rumiko, eds., "*O-kama*" *wa sabetsu ka* (Is *o-kama* discriminatory?) (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2002).
57. *O-nabe* individuals often claim that they are not lesbians. Many lesbians I interviewed also emphasized the difference between lesbian and *o-nabe*.
58. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 271.
59. Iwata, *Honchō danshoku kō*, 60.

CHAPTER I QUEER ETIQUETTE?: ADVICE COLUMNS
WITH A DIFFERENCE

1. The reason I selected these is that *Anise* and *Carmilla* are the only magazines targeting the lesbian market, and *Bádi* and *G-men* are the most popular among several magazines. One of my consultants states, "Because *Barazoku* (Rose tribe) is out of print recently, it seems that *Bádi* and *G-men* are the only two giant political parties, don't you think?" In 2008, *Barazoku* resumed its irregular publication.
2. The notion of *tōjisha* is crucial to understanding the history of the gay and lesbian movement in Japan. Vincent, Kazama, and Kawaguchi strongly argue that gay studies in Japan have to be developed only by members of the movement themselves. See Keith Vincent, Kazama Takashi and Kawaguchi Kazuya, *Gay Studies* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1997), 2.

3. *Amatoria* started in 1951 and ended in 1955 while *Fūzoku kitan* started in 1954 and changed its name to *SM Fantajia* (SM fantasia) in 1975. At that time the topic of male homosexuality disappeared while lesbianism as an object of heterosexual men's object took over. There were many more private magazines circulated during the same period for gay men, cross dressers, and other sexual minorities. See Mark McLelland, *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age* (Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 69, 127–139.
4. McLelland, *Queer Japan*, 138.
5. Itō Bungaku was a successful publisher of books about masturbation and lesbians written by Akiyama Masami. Because of the success of these magazines, he launched the new magazine for gay men. See Mark McLelland, Sukanuma Katsuhiko, and James Welker, eds., *Queer Voices from Japan: First-person Narratives from Japan's Sexual Minorities* (Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 142–143.
6. Fushimi Noriaki, “*Fushimi gei shinbun*” (Fushimi's gay newspaper), in *Gei to yū keiken* (Experience of being gay), ed. Fushimi Noriaki (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2004), 245.
7. There are many gay men's magazines published in the 1970s targeting specific niches and crannies of the gay community. These include Minami Teishirō's political *Adon* and *Sabu*, which target *taiku-kei* men (athletic types), both of which started in 1974. *Adon* was originally called *Adonisu bōi* (Adonis boy), a tabloid-style gay newspaper which was published in 1972 by Minami Teishirō, an influential gay activist. It lasted only one year. *Adon* reappeared as a monthly magazine in 1974 and ended in 1996. Minami Teishirō started another magazine *MLMW* (*My Life My Way*) in 1977 and is often called a *densetsu no gei magajin* (legendary gay magazine); it differs from the more sexually explicit magazines. Other important magazines include *The Gay* (by Tōgō Ken, the well-known *o-kama*-type gay) in 1980, *Samuson* (Samson) which targets *debu-sen* (fat-types) and *fuke-sen* (older-types) in 1982. See McLelland, *Queer Japan*, 150. *Queer Studies* 96, 19–35. New and more stylish and fashionable magazines appeared in 2000, including *Faburasu* (Fabulous), *SM-Z* (for S&M fans), and the more political and academic.
8. Quoted in Keith Vincent, “A Japanese Electra and Her Queer Progeny,” *Mechademia* 2 (2007): 70. Wim Lunsing gives a different perspective on *yaoi* in “Yaoi Ronsō: Discussing Depictions of Male Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics, Gay Comics and Gay Pornography,” *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 12 (2006, January), <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections>.
9. There was a party for her publication at a bar in Shibuya in 1993. When I later described this comment to my friend, then President of The Women's Studies Association of Japan (Nihon Josei Gakkai), she disputed it vigorously but unpersuasively. The history of the regrettable conflict between mainstream feminists and lesbians is discussed in detail in

- Chalmer's book. Chalmers, *Emerging Lesbian Voices*, 34–36. Nihon Josei Gakkai for the first time chose queer studies as its theme of annual conference in 2007.
10. It started in 1971 and ended in 1986. It was often criticized for dividing women into *tachi* (masculine) and *neko* (feminine) roles. Izumo Marō, et al, "Japan's Lesbian Movement" in *Queer Voices from Japan*, ed. McLelland, Suganuma, and Welker, 205, 213.
 11. *Queer Studies 96* (Tokyo: Nanatsumori Shokan, 1996), 28.
 12. Deborah A. Chirrey, "Women Like Us: Mediating and Contesting Identity in Lesbian Advice Literature," in *Language, Sexualities, and Desires: Cross-cultural Perspectives*, ed. Helen Sauntson and Sakis Kyratzis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 223–244.
 13. Between the two commercial magazines, there were two issues of *Love Revolution: Sexuality Studies Book* published by Girlish, a private group of lesbians, in 1999.
 14. She ran for the upper house election in the summer of 2007 as a Minshutō (Democratic Party of Japan) candidate. When I asked why she was running as a member of an existing political party rather than *mushozoku* (independent), she answered by saying that she needed the visibility. She certainly received a lot of attention in the media as the first lesbian candidate. She could have been a powerful leader if she had won the election. Even after the election, she has maintained her office in the middle of Shinjuku Ni-chōme.
 15. There are two other editors, Takahashi Kyōmi (nickname, Kozō) and Tsuru Mitsuru (nickname, Tsuru). Koshimizu Yū changed her name to Koshimizu Tora later.
 16. Hagiwara states that she felt responsible for doing something for the readers who sent 500 letters to *Phryne*. She realizes that there is a strong need for a lesbian magazine. *Anise 1* (1996): 80.
 17. The title of the first issue (1996) is *Anise for Womyn: Onna o aisuru onna tachi e* (For women who love women), and then changed to *Anise for Womyn: For Lesbian and Bisexual* in the second issue. The title *Anise* has no significant meaning and was a merely a whimsical coinage. *Anise 1* (1996): i.
 18. *Anise 1* (1996): 81.
 19. The name came from the word "buddy." The most recent issue (August 2007) has 588 pages and is published by Tera Shuppan in Tokyo.
 20. Fushimi, *Queer Studies 96* (1996): 31–33.
 21. Fushimi, "Fushimi *gei shinbun*," 134–254.
 22. McLelland notes that it sells an average of 40,000 a month. McLelland, *Queer Japan*, 171. But the publisher informed me that it sells about 80,000 copies at the time I called in 2008.
 23. Editors include Saitō Yasuki, the chief editor, Ogura Yō, writer and artist, and Jun chan, artist and one of the committee members who organized Tokyo Lesbian and Gay Parade of 2001. He resigned from his position in *Bádi* in 2007. Fushimi, "Fushimi *gei shinbun*," 157, 176.

24. Telephone conversation with the publisher in 2008.
25. Fushimi, “*Fushimi gei shinbun*,” 134, 167.
26. Other editors include Ron, 31 years old, and Watagashi, 26 years old. *G-men* 139 (October 2007): 446–447.
27. The personal advertisement includes information on (1) residency, (2) nick name, (3) height, (4) weight, (5) age, (6) email address (optional), and (7) message label showing your physical type and sexual preferences as well as your desired partner’s ideal physical type—there are 15 labels to choose from: old, young, mustache, beard, well-built, short hair, S (sadistic), M (masochistic), *tachi* (active), *uke* (passive), friends (want platonic friends), fetish, international (prefer foreigners), sex friend (want sex friends), skinny (physically skinny), heavy (physically heavy), and SG (*sūpā gattchiri*, “physically super masculine and fat”).
28. The author of the *manga* figure is Takashima Rika.
29. The contents of the magazine include *tokushū* (special features), *manga* (usually three to five stories per an issue), short stories (usually three), *Anise Essence* (introduction of new books, movies, etc), *Anise Avenue* (introduction of lesbian bars throughout Japan and lesbian events), *Mix Juice* (panel discussion with other sexual minority groups) and occasional *Anise Gallery* where they introduce lesbian arts, and lastly *tsūshin-ran* (personal ads). In the last issue (the fifth), the four editors apologized for the sudden ending of the publication. Later when *Anise* was restarted in 2001, they mentioned the financial reasons for the abrupt cancellation.
30. The title of the magazine came from the British Gothic Novel *Carmilla*, written by Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu in 1872. See McLelland, *Queer Japan*
31. She used to work for a publisher for erotic magazines targeting heterosexual women. There are two other editors, Kawanishi Yukiko, who is mainly in charge of novels and Sato Chisa, editor of *Potto Shuppan*.
32. See <http://bian.nabeshirt.com/repo1/Carmilla.htm>.
33. Because of this, many of my lesbian friends do not read *Carmilla*. One of my friends, a lesbian activist and researcher, trashed it as a mere porno rag when I asked her opinion.
34. Inoue mentions this on her website.
35. In *Anise*, the age ranges from fifteen to thirty-five years old with early twenties the majorities (forty-eight percent), followed by teens (twenty-eight percent), late twenties (sixteen percent), and thirties (eight percent). The average age in *Carmilla* for the first five issues is 24.4 years old (after the fifth issue, the magazine does not give information on age), which is slightly older than *Anise* (23.9 years old).
36. *Anise* is between two to eleven pages per issue; *Carmilla* three to nineteen pages; *Bādi* two pages; *G-men* one to two pages.
37. The verb *yaru* (do) is less formal than *suru* (do) as I explained in the Introduction. The ending *yatchimatta* (have done it) is also much more informal than *shiteshimatta*.

38. Ubazakura (mature/old beautiful woman) is the oldest among the three. Because she said she is the same generation as Yoshiya Nobuko, I assume that she has to be at least seventy. She claims that she has “graduated” from sexual activities. The second oldest, Ikue claims that she has been a lesbian for thirty-four years and that she is a *neko yori riba* (more femme than butch, but either way is fine). The name Ikue insinuates reference to *iku* (to come/orgasm). The youngest Omeko states that she has been a lesbian for twenty-five years and specializes in oral sex. She says that she lives with a *yome* (bride), hinting she is *tachi* (butch). But she later mentions that she tried both. She personally does not care. She says that the *neko* lesbian is more popular, but because of her work as a host/hostess in a bar, she switched to *tachi*. The name, Omeko literally means female sex organ. *Carmilla 2* (2003): 159–163.
39. The term *tuman* (*sic*), created by Ōtsuka, means a continuous and friendly relationship. It was taken from the word, *tsuma* (partner) in classical Japanese, which was originally pronounced as *to-u-ma*. *Bádi* (August 2007): 334.
40. See <http://tuman.cocolog-nifty.com/blog>.
41. You can read Ōtsuka’s advice column on the web, <http://tuman.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/cat1030590/index.html>. *Bádi* also has a different advice column on the web (<http://www.badi.jp/editors/index.html>) in which questions are answered by several editors, including chief editor Saitō.
42. Walter R. Fisher, *Human Communication as Narration: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 58.
43. Earnest G. Bormann, “Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality, *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* (1972): 396–407.
44. John McKinstry A. and Asako Nakajima McKinstry, *Jinsei an’nai (Life’s Guide): Glimpses of Japan through a Popular Advice Column* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1991).
45. A similar example can be found in a context in which an adoption of a child is often kept secret to the child if possible.
46. Ōtsuka Takashi, “*Baipasu to shite no yōshi engumi*” (Adoption as a bypass), *Bessatsu Takarajima* 159 (1994): 142–143.
47. Marriage is an easier transition for men than for women. It is going from being taken from the care of one’s mother to one’s wife. Men usually do not participate in building a family except for the responsibility for supporting the family financially. But for women, marriage brings more work and responsibilities. When women are single, they typically live with their parents, so they are not responsible for housework. Therefore, Japanese people tend to think that there is no reason for men not to marry.
48. Adrienne Rich, “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence,” *Signs* 5 (1980): 631–661.

49. Quoted in Heiko Motschenbacher, “Can the Term “Genderlect” Be Saved? A Postmodernist Re-definition.” *Gender and Language* 1, no. 2 (2007): 259.
50. Chalmers traces the history of these binary gender categories. Chalmers, *Lesbian Voices*, 33.
51. Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 58.
52. The fact that women become more assertive when speaking in more feminine sounding style is found in my earlier study with professional women as well.
53. See the discussion on this term in Heiko Motschenbacher, “Can the Term “Genderlect,” *Gender and Language*: 255–279.
54. Ni-chōme is a district in Shinjuku where there are more than 200 bars for lesbians and gay men. See chapter 2 for more information.
55. Due to the linguistic nuance and the use of strong feminine sentence-final particle, I assume that he is an *o-nē-kotoba* (speaker).
56. Adrian Thorne and Justine Coupland, “Articulations of Same-sex Desire: Lesbian and Gay Male Dating Advertisements,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2, no. 2 (1998): 233–257.
57. “The Room of Dr. Kitamura,” *Mainichi Shinbun*, October 18 (2007), <http://mainichi.jp/life/love/kitamura>.
58. Ana Garner, Helen M. Sterk, and Shawn Adams, “Narrative Analysis of Sexual Etiquette in Teenage Magazines,” *International Communication Association* (autumn 1998): 63.

CHAPTER 2 LESBIAN BAR TALK

1. Birch Moonwomon-Baird, “Toward the Study of Lesbian Speech,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 202.
2. Personal conversation with Watanabe in 1999.
3. Adrian Thorne and Justine Coupland, “Articulations of Same-sex Desire: Lesbian and Gay Male Dating Advertisements,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2, no. 2 (1998): 252.
4. Sharon Chalmers, *Emerging Lesbian Voices from Japan* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 31.
5. Deborah A. Chirrey, “Women Like Us: Mediating and Contesting Identity in Lesbian Advice Literature,” in *Language, Sexualities, and Desires: Cross-cultural Perspectives*, ed. Helen Sauntson and Sakis Kyrtziz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 231.
6. Personal conversation with Watanabe in 1999.
7. Mary Bucholtz, “Bad Examples: Transgression and Progress in Language and Gender Studies,” in *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*, ed. Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 6.

8. Cheris Kramarae, Muriel Schultz, and William O'Barr, eds., *Language and Power* (Beverly Hills, London, and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1984), 11.
9. Ogawa Naoko and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith, "The Gendering of the Gay Male Sex Class in Japan: A Case Study Based on *Rasen No Shobyoo*," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 402–415.
10. Ogawa and Smith, "The Gendering," 413.
11. James Valentine, "Pots and Pans: Identification of Queer Japanese in Terms of Discrimination," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 95–114.
12. Claire Maree, "*Jendāshihyō to jendā no imisei no benka*" (Gender index and change of meaning), *Gendaishisō* 12 (1997): 262–278.
13. Kim Longinotto and Jano Williams, *Shinjuku Boys* (New York: Women Makes Movies, 1995). The movie describes three *o-nabe* characters, Kazuki, Gaishi, Tatsu, all of whom work at an *o-nabe* club called *Maririn* in Shinjuku, Tokyo.
14. Mala S. Kleinfeld and Noni Warner, "Lexical Variation in the Deaf Community Relating to Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Signs," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 58–84.
15. Moonwomon-Baird, "Toward the Study of Lesbian Speech," 202–213.
16. Robin M. Queen, "'I Don't Speak Spritch': Locating Lesbian Language," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 233–256.
17. Kathleen M. Wood, "Narrative Iconicity in Electronic-Mail Lesbian Coming-out Stories," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 257–273. Helen Sauntson, "Education, Culture and the Construction of Sexual Identity: An Appraisal Analysis of Lesbian Coming Out Narratives," in *Language, Sexualities and Desires: Cross-cultural Perspectives*, ed. Helen Sauntson and Sakis Kyratzis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 140–164.
18. Tina M. Neumann, "Deaf Identity, Lesbian Identity: Intersections in a Life Narrative," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 274–286. A. C. Liang, "The Creation of Coherence in Coming-out Stories," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 287–309. A. C. Liang, "Con conversationally Implicating Lesbian and Gay Identity," in *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*, ed. Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999),

- 293–312. Deborah A. Chirrey, “Women Like Us: Mediating and Contesting Identity in Lesbian Advice Literature,” in *Language, Sexualities, and Desires: Cross-cultural Perspectives*, ed. Helen Sauntson and Sakis Kyrtziz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 223–244.
19. Robin M. Queen, “Language Use in Mainstream Lesbian Films” (paper presented at the First International Gender and Language Conference, Stanford, CA, May 5–7, 2000). Liz Morrish and Helen Sauntson, *New Perspectives on Language and Sexual Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
 20. Anna Livia, “Disloyal to Masculinity: Linguistic Gender and Liminal Identity in French,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 349–368. Genevieve Pastre, “Linguistic Gender Play among French Gays and Lesbians,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 369–367.
 21. Birch Moonwomon-Baird, “Tales of Lesbian Times: A Temporal Template for the Life Story Present” (paper presented at the First International Gender and Language Conference, Stanford, CA, May 5–7, 2000).
 22. Anna Livia, “Bi, Androgyne S’abstenir: Lesbian Community Creation through the Personals” (paper presented at the First International Gender and Language Conference, Stanford, CA, May 5–7, 2000).
 23. Nancy Achilles, “The Development of the Homosexual Bar as an Institution,” in *Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 175–182. Kenneth E. Read, *Other Voices: The Style of a Male Homosexual Tavern* (Novato, CA: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, 1980).
 24. Katie Gilmartin, “‘We Are Not Bar People’: Middle-class Lesbian Identities and Cultural Spaces,” *A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3 (1996): 1–51.
 25. Line Chamberland, “Remembering Lesbian Bars: Montreal, 1955–1975,” *The Journal of Homosexuality* 25, no. 3 (1993): 231–269.
 26. Kelly Hankin, *The Girls in the Back Room* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2002).
 27. Rusty Barrett, “The Homo-genius Speech Community,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 181–201.
 28. Sunagawa Hideki, “*Sekushuaritii no saiteigi ni mukete*” (Toward the redefinition of sexuality) (MA thesis, University of Tokyo, 1998).
 29. Ōtsuka Takashi, *Ni-chōme kara uroko: Shinjuku gei sutoriiito zakki-chō* (Shinjuku ni-chōme gay street note) (Tokyo: Shōeisha, 1995).
 30. The author of this magazine whose subtitle is “Sexuality Studies Book” does not give her full name. I found two volumes, the first volume (128 pages) published in 1999, covers many different aspects of being

- lesbian (coming-out issues, lesbian sex, partnership), and the second one (25 pages) published in 2000, introduces lesbian bars throughout Japan. She includes 11 lesbian bars in Tokyo (Tamago, Mars, Kins Womyn, Madonna, Hanako, Hug, Bar Sunny, Salon de Madame Mar, Moon Shiner, Cherry Bomb, and Minx) and four in Osaka (Jelly Fish, Choux-p, Ryo, and Bomber Girl) and one gay/lesbian bar in Hokkaido (Ku) and one gay/lesbian bar in Fukuoka (Heart Cocktail). The author, AKIKO, claims that this magazine is for lesbians and bisexuals. AKIKO, *Love Revolution* (Tokyo: Girlish, 1999 & 2000).
31. John Whittier Treat, *Great Mirrors Shattered: Homosexuality, Orientalism, and Japan* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1999).
 32. Uminarikan, *Otoko gei mappu kyūjū-hachi-nen ban* (Gay men's map of 1998) (Tokyo: Uminarikan, 1998). Quoted in Sunagawa, 1998. There are also quite a few gay bars in other parts of Tokyo such as Shinbashi where the first gay bar "Yanagi" was opened in 1950; there were fifty to sixty in other parts of Tokyo by 1960.
 33. Laura Miller points out that there are small lesbian bars which are not included in any travel guide books or magazines (personal conversation).
 34. There is only one bar without cover-charge. Naturally it attracts younger, non-professional women.
 35. Michelle Huston and Pepper Schwartz, "The Relationships of Lesbian and of Gay Men," in *Under-studied Relationships: Off the Beaten Track*, ed. Julia T. Wood and Steve Duck (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995), 95.
 36. Rudolf P. Gaudio, "White Men Do It Too: Racialized (Homo)sexualities in Postcolonial Hausaland," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (2001): 40.
 37. Personal conversation with Sunagawa in 2004.
 38. Valentine, "Pots and Pans," 102.
 39. This interview was taken from an article in a magazine called *Marumaru* which specializes in introducing host bars and men who work for the bars. A male reporter interviews many owners and managers of host bars, *o-nabe* bars, and lesbian bars. Four lesbian bar owners/managers are interviewed, which is shown in examples (1) through (5). *Marumaru* 25 (2000): 26.
 40. She has been working for two years at the oldest lesbian bar, and is twenty-one years old.
 41. *Marumaru* 25 (2000): 26.
 42. James Valentine, "Pots and Pans," 95–114.
 43. *Marumaru* 25 (2000): 25.
 44. It is interesting to note that she uses "bito" (person) rather than "ko" (child) to refer to "shufu" (homemakers). I assume that an average *shufu* who goes to lesbian bars is older than lesbians. The term, *bito* can be

- positioned between *ko* and *kata* in terms of psychological distance to exhibit human relations.
45. Marumaru 25 (2000): 25. This manager has been working for the bar for seven years. I visited her bar quite often.
 46. Deborah A. Chirrey, “Women Like Us,” 232–234.
 47. Ide Sachiko. *Onna no kotoba, otoko no kotoba* (Women’s language, men’s language) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Tsūshinsha, 1979).
 48. The interaction between an employee and a customer depends on their relationship between the two. Laura Miller once told me that many male employees at *mizushōbai* (water business/bars) in Kansai area are from working class and that it is difficult for them to speak politely with customers. Bar talk like any other talk in business context is something employees have to work at.
 49. Ide Sachiko, *Onna no kotoba, otoko no kotoba* (Women’s language, men’s language).
 50. Kanemaru Fumi, “*Ninshō daimeishi/koshō*” (Person pronouns and address terms), *Nihongogaku* 12 (1993): 15–32.
 51. Yoshiko Matsumoto once told me that she has observed the frequent use of *jibun* among young *friitā* (“freeter,” people who hold only part-time jobs and who often refuse to get a full-time job) in Japan. Personal conversation in 2000. Takahashi Minako told me that *jibun* is very common among women and men of all ages in Okinawa. Personal conversation in 2009.
 52. Cindi L. SturtzSreetharan, “‘I Read the Nikkei, Too’: Crafting Positions of Authority and Masculinity in a Japanese Conversation,” *Linguistic Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2006): 173.
 53. Kumagai Shigeko, “Standard Japanese and Heteronormativity: Why Do Female Native Speakers of Tōhoku Dialects Still Feel Ashamed of Their Dialects” (paper presented at Fifth International Gender and Language Association Conference, Victoria, New Zealand, July 3–5, 2008). The use of these first-person pronouns are found in many films. See *Sōshiki* (The Funeral, 1984) by Itami Jūzō, and documentary films like *Aga ni ikiru* (Living on the River Agano, 1991) by Satō Makoto, and *Nippon koku: Furuyashiki-mura* (“Nippon”: Furuyashiki Village, 1982) and *Sennen kizami no hidokei: Magino-mura monogatari* (The Sundial carved with a thousand years of notches: The Magino Village story, 1986) by Ogawa Shinsuke.
 54. Miyazaki Ayumi, “Japanese Junior High School Girls’ and Boy’s First-person Pronoun Use and Their Social World,” in *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology*, ed. Shigeko Okamoto and Janet (Shibamoto) Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 256–274.
 55. This *jibun* is a reflexive pronoun, not a person pronoun.
 56. Maree, “*Jendāshihyō*,” 273–277.
 57. Similar explanation was given when I interviewed Mitsunashi Junko, a cross-dresser who prefers the use of *watashi*. S/he told me that it was her/his conscious attempt to be neutral. S/he argues that many gay men

- use *atashi* or *atai*—which we associate with women—but that s/he intentionally rejects them because s/he does not want to be slotted into one of the binary categories of women or men. S/he contends that *watashi* is a neutral first-person pronoun and is not as formal as *watakushi*.
58. The discrepancy between how the speaker says s/he talks and his/her actual talk is a common finding in research. Many of John Gumperz's research discuss this point.
 59. Kanemaru Fumi, "*Ninshō dai-meishi/koshō*," 109–110.
 60. *Kimi* is often used by female school teachers. I myself use it when talking to my male former students or close male friends. The use of *omae* is much more common by male speakers, but one does hear it used by female speakers in films. See, for example, the documentary *Kyokushibiteki erosu: Renka 1974–nen* (Extreme private eros: Love song 1974, 1974) by Hara Kazuo.
 61. *Anta* is also a preferred second-person pronoun among *o-nē-kotoba* speakers.
 62. For example, see the way Samuel Martin unproblematically quotes Hayashi Shirō in *Kihon-bunkei no kenkyū* (Research of basic-sentence-structure), quoted in Samuel Martin, *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1975), 960. In contrast, I assert the need for scare quotes to problematize this assumption.
 63. Yasu-Hiko Tohsaku, *Yookoso: Continuing with Contemporary Japanese* (Boston: McGraw-Hill College, 1999), 43.
 64. This type of imperative is also found in my study of women's speech, in which the speaker uses 1.86 percent of the time. Hideko Abe, *Speaking of Power: Japanese Professional Women and Their Speeches* (Muenchen, Germany: Lincom Europa, 2000), 84–86.
 65. Tazuko Uyeno, "A Study of Japanese Modality: A Performative Analysis of Sentence Particles" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1971). Shigeko Okamoto and Sato Chie, "Less Feminine Speech among Young Japanese Females," in *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference*, ed. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group, 1992), 478–488. Shigeko Okamoto, "'Tasteless' Japanese: Less 'Feminine' Speech among Young Japanese Women," in *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, ed. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 297–328. Yoshiko Matsumoto, "Does Less Feminine Speech in Japanese Mean Less Femininity?" in *Gender and Belief Systems: Proceedings of the Fourth Berkeley Women and Language Conference*, ed. Natasha Warner, Jocelyn Ahlers, Leela Bilmes, Monica Oliver, Suzanne Wertheim, and Mel Chen (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group, 1996), 455–468. Hanaoka Naomi McGloin, "*Shūjoshi*" (Sentence-final particles), *Nihongogaku* 12 (1993): 120–124. Hideko Abe, "Power Negotiation between Japanese Females and Males," *Intercultural Communication Studies* 8, no. 1 (1999): 53–70.

66. Seiichi Makino and Tsutsui Michio, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1986), 45. Martin, *A Reference Grammar*, 914.
67. Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary*, 45. Laura Miller, “Verbal Listening Behavior in Conversations between Japanese and Americans,” in *The Pragmatics of Intercultural and International Communications*, ed. Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991), 119–121.
68. Senko Kumiya Maynard, *Japanese Conversation: Self-contextualization through Structure and Interactional Management* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987), 28.
69. Makino and Tsutsui, *A Dictionary*, 49.
70. Okamoto, “‘Tasteless’ Japanese,” 301.
71. Personal conversation in 2009.
72. Hideko Abe, *Speaking of Power*, 33.

CHAPTER 3 CROSS-DRESSING SPEECH: THE
“REAL” WOMANHOOD OF MEN

1. The current term for prostitution is *bai-bai-shun* (売買春) which has transformed from the older term, *bai-shun* (売春, which emphasizes only the “selling” side of the occupation, thus women (mostly). Japanese feminists fought for the change of the word. See Hideko Abe, “From Stereotype to Context: The Study of Japanese Women’s Speech.” *Feminist Studies* 21, no. 3 (1995): 647–671.
2. Mitsuhashi claims that the number of *danshō* is about fifty, but others claim around thirty (Tsuno) or 100 (Hiro’oka). See Mitsuhashi’s website, http://www4.wisnet.ne.jp/~junko/junkoworld3_3_14.
3. Mitsuhashi has extensively written on the history of cross dressers on her website, http://www5.wisnet.ne.jp/~junko/junkoworld3_3_33.htm.
4. Mitsuhashi Junko, *Josō to nihonjin* (Cross-dressing and Japanese) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008), 180.
5. Minami Takao, “*Danshō dangi: otoko onna no hanashi*” (Story of male prostitutes), *Danwa* 1, no. 12 (1948): 20.
Tsuno claims that the term was used in Tokyo while Owada argues that it was only the *danshō* in Osaka who were called this way and that *danshō* in Tokyo was called *o-kama* (effeminate gay men). See Tsuno and Owada. Tsuno Tatsuya, *Danshō no mori* (Forest of male prostitutes) (Tokyo: Hibiya Shuppan, 1949). Owada Seiji, “*Eroguro sesō: Tanbō nijūsō danshō o hadaka ni suru*” (Erotic and grotesque social conditions: Expose the *danshō*), *Shinsōjitsuwu* 1, no. 2, June (1949): 74–81.
6. *Gendai kokugo jiten* (Modern Japanese dictionary) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1985). *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Japanese national dictionary) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1981).
7. When I first met Mitsuhashi in 1999, s/he was married and a full-time high school teacher, thus his/her life as a cross-dresser was part-time.

- Now in 2008, she has declared publicly that she has become a full-time *josō-ka*, a personal email exchange with her.
8. Okiyo, 32 years old, was born in Osaka and worked as *oyama* (female impersonators from *kabuki*) before coming to Tokyo. She is believed to be the first male prostitute in Ueno. Hirooka Keiichi, *Sengo fūzoku tai-kei: Waga megami-tachi* (A survey of entertainment after the war: My goddesses) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2007), 35.
 9. Mitsuhashi Junko, “*Sengo Nihon ‘toransujendā’ shakaishi no rekishiteki henshen no sobyō*” (Description of historical changes of “transgender” society after the World War II in Japan), in *Sengo Nihon “toransujendā” shakaishi I: Kiso kenkyū, shiryō hen* (Social history of “transgender” after the World War II in Japan, I: basic research and materials), ed. Yajima Masami, Mitsuhashi Junko, and Sugiura Ikuko (Tokyo: Sengo Nihon Toransugendā Shakaishi Kenkyū Kai, 2003), 7.
 10. I found this novel at Kokkai Kokuritsu Toshokan (The National Diet Library) which is a censored version. Therefore, some parts were missing. Nagareyama Ryūnosuke, *Eroguro danshō nikki* (Diary of erotic-grotesque male prostitute) (Tokyo: Sankōsha, 1931).
 11. Linguistic data for this chapter came from newspaper and magazine articles at The Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland.
 12. I looked at speech of twenty-two *danshō*.
 13. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*” (Roundtable discussion: The world of male prostitutes), *Zadan* 1, no. 1 (January 1949): 36–37.
 14. Setouchi Torao, “*Mondai no kokubaku: Danshō zadankai*” (Confession of a problem: Male prostitutes’ roundtable discussion), *O.K.* 2, no. 5 (1949): 13.
 15. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 38.
 16. “*Danshō no seitai: O-kama no o-iroke*” (The mode of life of male prostitutes), *Kaikizasshi* 11, no. 2 (1948): 8.
 17. Setouchi, “*Mondai no kokubaku*,” 16.
 18. “*Danshō no seitai*,” 8.
 19. Paula-Irene Villa, *Sexy Bodies*. Quoted in Michaela Koch’s *Language and Gender Research from a Queer Linguistic Perspective* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller, 2000), 151.
 20. Setouchi, “*Mondai no kokubaku*,” 16.
 21. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* 10th Anniversary Edition (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), xiv, xxiii. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 171–190.
 22. “*Danshō no seitai*,” 7.
 23. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 40.
 24. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 40.
 25. Butler, *Gender Trouble* (1999), xxii.
 26. Butler, *Gender Trouble* (1999), xxiii.
 27. See “*Danshō no seitai*” and Setouchi’s “*Mondai no kokubaku*.” Setouchi’s article has been translated into English by Wim Lunsing in *Queer Voices* in Japan.

28. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 36.
29. Terms such as *onna* (woman) and *otoko* (man) are used only when the person is assumed or suspected to be connected to a crime in news on TV (especially on NHK). Words such as *josei* (female gender, woman) and *dansei* (male gender, man) are preferred to refer to women and men in general.
30. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 36.
31. The term, *oyaji* usually refers to one’s father and/or an owner of a business.
32. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 38.
33. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 38.
34. “*Zadankai: Danshō no sekai*,” 36.
35. “*Ijō shinri to hentai seiyoku no kaibō: Danshō bakari no zadankai*” (Examination of abnormal psychology and sexual perversion: A Roundtable only with male prostitutes), *Shakaitanbō* 1 (1949): 32–37.
36. “*Ijō shinri*,” 32.
37. “*Ijō shinri*,” 32.
38. “*Ijō shinri*,” 33.
39. “*Ijō shinri*,” 33.
40. “*Ijō shinri*,” 33.
41. “*Ijō shinri*,” 35.
42. “*Ijō shinri*,” 36.
43. Abe Sada was charged for killing her lover, Ishida Kichizō in 1938. After the murder, she cut off his penis and testicles and carried them around with her until her arrest. Her story became a national sensation in Japan. Several books and films on her story have been produced. The most famous movie is *In the realm of the senses* by Oshima Nagisa in 1976.
44. “*Ijō shinri*,” 37.
45. “*Ijō shinri*,” 37.
46. “*Ijō shinri*,” 37.
47. “*Ijō shinri*,” 37.
48. Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, “Theorizing Identity in Language and Sexuality Research,” *Language in Society* 33, no. 4 (2004): 478.
49. “*Danshō no seitai*,” 6–9.
50. Utterances by Miyo and Otsune in examples are found in “*Danshō no seitai*,” 6–9.
51. It is interesting to note that the use of *iya* has been inherited by current *o-nē-kotoba* speakers, such as Fushimi Noriaki and Gōman, Junko. See “*ONEHgo nyūmon*” (Introduction to queen’s speech), *Bessatsu Takarajima* 159 (1994): 104–105.
52. Owada Seiji, “*Eroguro sesō: Tanbō nijūsō danshō o badaka ni suru*” (Erotic and grotesque social conditions: Expose the *danshō*), *Shinsōjitsuwa* 1, no. 2, June (1949): 81.
53. “*Ijō shinri*,” 36.

54. “Zadankai: Danshō no sekai,” 38.
55. “Zadankai: Danshō no sekai,” 39.
56. “Zadankai: Danshō no sekai,” 39.

CHAPTER 4 PERFORMING THE PERFORMATIVE IN THE
THEATER OF THE QUEER

1. Minami Takao, “*Danshō dangi-otoko onna no hanashi*” (Story of male prostitutes), *Danwa* 1, no. 12 (1948): 19–23.
2. Owada Seiji, “*Eroguro sesō: Tanbō nijūsō danshō o hadaka ni suru*” (Erotic and grotesque: Expose the *danshō*), *Shinsōjitsuwa* 1, no. 2, June (1949): 74–81.
3. This term is also used to get an attention from a relatively young waitress at restaurants or to address a female stranger on streets or other places.
4. *Gendai kokugo jiten* (Modern Japanese dictionary) and *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Japanese national dictionary). There are some literary uses of these terms found in Okamoto Kanako’s *Rogishō* (Portrait of an Old Geisha) of 1938 and Nagai Kafū’s *Udekurabe* (Geisha in Rivalry) of 1916/17.
5. She writes an invitation to *o-nē-san* and *o-nii-san* (she uses the term, *fake ladies*) to join her at Ueno park for *o-hanami* (cherry blossom viewing) in her website. For the word *o-nē san*, she uses お姐さん, <http://www4.wisnet.ne.jp/~junko/index2.html>.
6. Claire Maree, *Hatsuwasha no genjo sutoratejiū to shitenō negoshiēshon kōi no kenkyū* (Study of negotiation as a linguistic strategy by a speaker) (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2007), 71–83.
7. Daniel Long, “Formation Processes of Some Japanese Gay Argot Terms,” *American Speech* 71, no. 2 (1996): 220.
8. He is a self-identified gay man, twenty-seven years old, studying law at a graduate school in Tokyo and is one of the consultants for this book. He has not come out to his parents, but he states that his mother probably knows his sexuality.
9. He is a thirty-seven-year-old self-identified gay man, working full-time in Tokyo. He has not come out to his mother with whom he lives. He has been my friend for last decade.
10. The term is explained in Introduction.
11. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 33.
12. Ōtsuka at his bar with his art work behind him, a photograph taken by Suenami Shinji, courtesy of Ōtsuka himself.
13. Ōtsuka Takashi on his website, http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~km5t-ootk/taoq_text/gakuen4_language.html.
14. The script can be read at “Archive for Writing of Ōtsuka Takashi,” http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~km5t-ootk/2taq.html#anchor_text.
15. As I explained in chapter 1, gay men are often categorized by specific types such as *fuke sen* (gay men who like older men), *waka sen* (gay

- men who like younger men), *debu sen* (gay men who like overweight men), etc.
16. A photograph taken by Ricky Wong at the time of the performance, courtesy to Ōtsuka Takashi.
 17. The program aired between July and September of 2007 by TBS and was a great success. It is the story of Moe, a thirty-year-old single woman struggling through her career and love relationships.
 18. Bun is portrayed as a thirty-year-old former *Jieitai* (Self-defense army) member turns to a gay bar owner, played by Ikeuchi Hiroyuki, a hetero actor.
 19. He is a thirty-year-old gay bookstore owner, played by Kaname Jun who was once named an *ikemen hiirō* (beautiful looking hero).
 20. It should be *o-fukuro-san* to refer to someone else's mother.
 21. As an example, I do not use the word *o-fukuro* (mother) whereas my brothers use it. This does not mean all the women do not use the term, but it is likely that women prefer *haha* or *okā-san* (mother).
 22. In this interaction, the word, *katai* has two meanings, one "traditional" and the other "hard." Masa is playing with the word with two meanings. He is in fact referring to his boyfriend's hard penis.
 23. Janet Shibamoto, *Japanese Women's Speech* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 159.
 24. In these utterances, Masa is teaching Tomo how to have an anal sex.
 25. Shigeo Okamoto, "'Tasteless' Japanese: Less 'Feminine' Speech among Young Japanese Women," in *Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, ed. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 301–302.
 26. The use of *darō* versus *deshō* by my gay consultants is further discussed in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5 QUEEN'S SPEECH AND THE PLAYFUL PLUNDERING OF WOMEN'S LANGUAGE

1. Fushimi writes the term *onē* in *katakana*, as opposed to the more conventional rendering used by Ōtsuka, which uses *hiragana* o with *kanji* (*o-nē*). Here I follow Fushimi's way of using the term since this is his statement.
2. Fushimi Noriaki, *Gei to yū keiken* (Experience of being gay) (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2004), 564.
3. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 46.
4. Keith Harvey, "Describing Camp Talk: Language/Pragmatics Politics," *Language and Literature* 9, no. 3 (2000): 251.
5. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teaching of Twentieth-century Art Forms* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2000), 7.
6. Fushimi, *Gei to yū keiken*, 218.

7. Fushimi, *Gei to yū keiken*, 227.
8. James W. Chesebro and Kenneth L. Klenk, “Gay Masculinity in the Gay Disco,” in *Gayspeak: Gay Male & Lesbian Communication*, ed. James W. Chesebro (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981), 87–90.
9. Introduced in the previous chapter, one of my consultants who is a graduate student in a law school in Tokyo. He is twenty-seven years old and started living alone in 2008.
10. He is a twenty-five year old salaried man who works at a financial service in Tokyo.
11. Note Kōhei’s use of *darō* instead of *deshō* (found in Tomo and Masa’s speech in chapter 3).
12. Average Japanese high school students are familiar with *rajiō-kōza*, which provides tutoring sessions (by radio) on various school subjects such as English, classical Japanese, and mathematics to prepare for their entrance examination for universities.
13. Takada Masahiro, *Juku-kama ga yuku* (A mature gay man goes) (Tokyo: Kosaido Shuppan, 2001).
14. Takada, *Juku-kama*, 3–4.
15. He is a graduate student in Tokyo who went to the same university with Yutaka as an undergraduate.
16. Sunagawa Hideki, “*Sekushuaritii no saiteigi ni mukete*” (Toward the redefinition of sexuality) (MA thesis, University of Tokyo, 1998), 48.
17. Person conversation with Sunagawa in 2003.
18. Runa, “*Datsu ONEH sengen*” (Declaration of non *o-nē-kotoba*), *Bessatsu takarajima* 159 (1994): 103.
19. He is a 36-year-old taxi driver in Tokyo who used to own a gay bar in Miyazaki, Kyūshū (for three years) where he is originally from. His knowledge on gay culture in Japan is much larger than the rest of my consultants. He still maintains strong Miyazaki accent in his speech.
20. Takashi makes a similar comment by hinting that he should hide his sexual identity better, using the word, *deru* (come out) in *kekko deru n desu* or *fudan no toki mo demasu yo* (it comes out in everyday situation). By using the term, *deru*, he implies that that is something he wants to hide.
21. The use of *wa* is the indication that he speaks Miyazaki dialect (Kyūshū dialect), not the feminine sentence-final particle associated with standard Japanese female speakers. I confirmed this with Goichi.
22. Nakane uses the word “frame” and defines it as “a locality, an institution or a particular relationship which binds a set of individuals into one group.” The notion of *frame* is used in contrast to individual *attributes*. Nakane Chie, *Japanese Society* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), 1.
23. Note Satoru’s use of *josē/josei* (women), not the *onna* (women) used by *danshō* in chapter 3.
24. Takashi is a 20-year-old university student in Tokyo who lives with his parents and younger sister.

25. Laura Miller, "Crossing Ethnolinguistic Boundaries: A Preliminary Look at the *Gaijin Tarento* in Japan," in *Asian Popular Culture*, ed. John Lent (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 198.
26. His name is written in *hiragana*.
27. His name is written in *katakana*.
28. Mitsuhashi Junko, "*Sengo Nihon 'toransujendā' shakaishi no rekishiteki henshen no sobyō*" (Description of historical changes of "transgender" society after the war in Japan), in *Sengo Nihon "toransujendā" shakaishi I: Kiso kenkyū, shiryō hen* (Social history of "transgender" after the war in Japan, I: Basic research and materials), ed. Yajima Masami, Mitsuhashi Junko, and Sugiura Ikuko (Tokyo: Sengo Nihon "toransugendā" shakaishi kenkyū kai, 2000), 8.
29. Miwa Akihiro, *Takabatake Kashō bishōnen zukan* (Illustrated book of Takabatake Kashō's beautiful boys) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 41. Miwa has given a few talks at Takabatake Kashō Taishō roman-kan (Kashō museum) in Ehime, Shikoku. Miwa claims that s/he loved Kashō's work since s/he was a child.
30. See his/her website, <http://www.o-miwa.co.jp>.
31. Miwa Akihiro, *Miwa Akihiro no o-share daizukan* (Fashion illustration by Miwa Akihiro) (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2005), 102.
32. Miwa, *Miwa Akihiro no o-share daizukan*, 106.
33. Miwa, *Miwa Akihiro no o-share daizukan*, 106.
34. The TV program has an official website, <http://www.tw-asahi.co.jp/aura>.
35. Miwa's comment reflects his/her assumption that people in sports are not as intellectual, which is an insult in a way, but was never brought up. Thus, Miwa is always direct and open with her/his guests.
36. Other transsexual or transgendered entertainers such as Karūseru (in *katakana*) Maki (in *kanji*), and Piitā (in *katakana*) utilize both *kanji* and *katakana* for their names.
37. The reason for this is that all of them established themselves as artists first: Miwa in music and theater, Kariyazaki in flower arrangement, and Mikawa in music. Only then they came out as sexual minorities. There are other queer identified individuals in the media who have kept their male names, all of whom have established themselves as professionals before they take the public stage (and mainly on TV). The example is *O-nē MANS* in which nine professionals in nine fields (fashion, cooking, dancing, make-up, IT, hair designer, flower arrangement, sports, medical welfare).
38. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick, *Language and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123.
39. See his website, <http://www.kariyazaki.jp>.
40. Note Kariyazaki's use of *deshō*, not *darō* (used by Kōhei). Both Kariyazaki and Kōhei identify themselves as gay men.
41. Harvey, "Describing Camp Talk," 253.
42. *TV Guide: Star Meikan, 2009* (Tokyo: Tokyo News Tsūshinsha, 2008).

43. In the TV program titled *Kiyoshi to kono yoru* (This night with Kiyoshi) on NHK in 2006.
44. Okamoto, “Tasteless,” 301.
45. In a video titled “*Pafunaito, shitteta tsumori!?*”*gei*” “*bian*”!! *O-nē-kotoba wa futsū jōshaken!*? On Youtube, 2007 (viewed in April of 2008).
46. Interviewed by Kuroyanagi Tetsuko at *Tetsuko no heya* (Tetsuko’s room) on TV Asahi, viewed in 2006.
47. Cameron and Kulick, *Language and Sexuality*, 39
48. *O-nē MANS* by *Nihon terebi* (Nihon TV) aired between October 23, 2007 and March 10, 2009. The catch phrase is “*Otoko nano ni otoko ja nai “o-nē kyara” no saijin tachi, sono na mo “o-nē man”-tachi* (Though they are men, they are not. They are men of talent with *o-nē* character. And their name is “*o-nē man*” [plural]). The fact that they used *mans*, instead of *men* to show the plural, indicates that they simply added an “s” to “man” to emphasize the plural which Japanese would know. Grammatical correctness is not an issue here.
49. Note that Kōhei uses the term *o-kama*. I assume that he does not consider himself as *o-kama*.
50. This notion that people, especially men, do not pay attention to middle-aged women is in contrast with the study by Ogasawara Yūko in which she discusses how salaried men pay attention to what the young female employees called office ladies, have to say about middle-aged men in terms of their behavior and fashion. Ogasawara Yūko, *Office Ladies and Salaried Men: Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies* (University of California Press, 1998).
51. *TV Guide*, 402.
52. The program called “*Kanemochi A-sama, binbō B-sama*” (Mr./Ms. rich A and Mr./Ms. poor B), was aired in December 2004 by *Nihon terebi* (Nihon TV). The program consists of five people; two women and three men. Osugi and Piiko interview a guest every week, but since this was a Christmas special, five of them are there. They are having a Christmas party where two female personalities are dressed up.
53. I assume that he meant to say *konna ii kata shichā* (this way of saying), but *shichā* became *sha*. He was speaking very fast.
54. The shortened form of *iya* (no). Notice that male prostitutes used *iya* often. Here *ya* in *iya* is considered an *o-nē-kotoba*.
55. There has been a big debate on the issue of the term, *o-kama*. *Shūkan kinyōbi* (Friday weekly), a liberal magazine was criticized for using this term to refer to Tōgō Ken, who calls himself *o-kama*. See Fushimi et al., eds., “*O-kama*” *wa sabetsu ka* (Is *o-kama* discriminatory?) (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2002).
56. It was shown on December 12, 2006 on Kansai TV.
57. Harvey, “Describing Camp Talk,” 253.
58. The utterances were heard on *Waratte mo ii to mo* (It is OK to laugh) on Fuji TV in 2005.

59. Rusty Barrett, “The Homo-genius Speech Community,” in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 181–201.
60. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen* (Banquet called sex) (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2005), 325.
61. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen*, 290.
62. Ueno Chizuko, *Sei to yū kairaku* (Pleasure called sex), (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1986), 13–14.
63. Fushimi, *Gei to yū keiken*, 600.
64. This is why some lesbians hate *o-nē-kotoba*. Female speech is always the one to fix the problem, not to attach or criticize.
65. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, xii.
66. Harvey, “Describing Camp Talk,” 253.
67. Simon Dentith, *Parody* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), 6.
68. The program is shown between 7 and 7:30 p.m. on TV Asahi on Fridays. It started in 1992 and has been telecast in thirty-seven countries including the United States. See <http://www.futabasha.com/sinchan/about.html>. You can also watch it on YouTube. The author, Shirai Yoshito, for the original *manga* died in 2009.
69. Shin-chan’s vocabulary is beyond his age, though he does make mistakes which are later corrected by adult speakers, e.g., *zutū ga itai* (headache hurts) instead of *zutū ga suru* (I have a headache); *okaeri* (welcome home) instead of *tadaima* (I am home).
70. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen*, 405–406.
71. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen*, 406.
72. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen*, 406.
73. Fushimi, *Sei to yū kyōen*, 394.

CHAPTER 6 QUEEN’S SPEECH AS A PRIVATE MATTER

1. David Sonenschein, “The Homosexual’s Language,” in *The Language and Sexuality Reader*, ed. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulic (London and New York: Routledge, 2006 [1969]), 47.
2. This term is also used to refer to ejaculation.
3. Bearine de Pink, and Hasegawa Hiroshi, *Kuma-fujin no kokubaku* (Confessions of Bearine de Pink) (Tokyo: Potto Shuppan, 2005), 65.
4. There are other reasons as well. See, Hideko Abe, “From Stereotype to Context: The Study of Japanese Women’s Speech,” *Feminist Studies* 21 (1995): 652–655.
5. The use of *yo* with a noun or *na*-adjective is classified as a strong feminine form by Okamoto. Shigeko Okamoto, “‘Tasteless’ Japanese: Less ‘Feminine’ Speech Among Young Japanese Women,” In *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, ed. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 301.
6. Fushimi used *uchi* in *uchi-ra* (we). See chapter 5.

7. Note that Satoru uses *darō* instead of *deshō*.
8. In contrast, about one in five male same-sex couples and one in three female same-sex couples are raising children in the United States. *New York Times Magazine*, November 8 (2009): 9.
9. *Kiyotta* (Miyazaki dialect) means *kita* (came).
10. Note that Goichi uses *deshō* instead of *darō*.
11. Adrian Thorne and Justine Coupland, “Articulations of Same-sex Desire: Lesbian and Gay Male Dating Advertisements,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2, no. 2 (1998): 254.

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