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Hey, you're a girl?: Gendered expressions in the popular anime, *Cowboy Bebop*

Abstract: The popular anime series, *Cowboy Bebop*, was originally created and released in Japan in 1998 and later gained an intense overseas following. The show owes its phenomenal international acclaim to successful conventions of hegemonic masculinity represented by the imaginary characters. The social semiotics of desire depicted in *Cowboy Bebop* cater to a general heterosexual market in which hero and babe characters are represented by archetypes of heterosexual normativity. In this study, the idea of inter-indexicality, or 'the movement between two distinctive indexical systems as a semiotic mode of subject formation' (Inoue 2003: 317), will be employed in the discussion of data derived from the Japanese and American English dubbing of *Cowboy Bebop*. The analysis will focus on how ideas including heterosexual normativity are reproduced in order to negotiate the intertextual distances that link the characters and audience. Inter-indexical notions help to construct interpretive voices familiar to the cross-cultural audience's social world.

Keywords: gender, sexuality, indexicality, language ideology, anime, translation

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1 Introduction: Ideology of gendered speech

This research discusses prototypical gendered expressions in Japanese popular anime and how their translations into American English convey ideological masculine and feminine speech styles from Japanese to English. A number of recent studies in sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics recognize scripted speech as a site of stereotyping (e.g., Ronkin & Karn 1999; Inoue 2003; Meek 2006; Queen 2004). When scripted, characters' speech styles are often framed by their given ideological roles. That is, through their speech styles, characters in scripted speech are commonly made identifiable with subgroups

to which they belong according to certain expectations based on linguistic ideology (e.g., age, gender, socioeconomic status, regional affiliation, etc.). Thus, the characters often carry out stereotypical linguistic variations in order to represent their given roles and traits. Through his studies of Japanese fiction, Kinsui (2003, 2007) suggests the idea of *yakuwarigo* 'role language,' or linguistic features that imbue their speakers with specific traits. He points out that assignment of a linguistic register helps audiences identify stereotypical images related to their given roles. Certainly, *yakuwarigo* is rampant in popular anime shows, as most of the characters are depicted in purposefully exaggerated manners. Roles such as protagonist, villain, sidekick, etc. are made transparent to the audience both visually and linguistically in mainstream anime. This study investigates the use of gendered expressions in translation in the popular anime *Cowboy Bebop* (*CB*), whose target audience is young adult males.

Inoue (2003: 327), discussing black slave characters in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the wind*, notes that both male and female characters in the translation use non-standard, or potentially ungrammatical, speech styles (Inoue 2003). Indeed, in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the wind*, only the Southern-aristocratic white characters use standard Japanese (Hiramoto 2009). Similarly, Gaubatz's (2007) survey of the Japanese translation of *The adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, native Japanese-speaking survey respondents believed Huckleberry Finn's speech to be in Tokyo dialect while Jim's speech was perceived to be in a non-standard dialect. This suggests that, in American English-to-Japanese translations, Japanese normativity (use of standard/Tokyo dialect) is conveniently aligned with protagonists, while minority characters are marked as linguistically non-normative via use of non-standard Japanese. Ideal gendered speech is made available to these normative characters at the cost of marginalization of minority characters in these scripted speech forms. Interestingly, this marginalization is seen despite the fact that, in the original English, none of the protagonists discussed above are speaking what would be considered standard American English, but rather heavily accented southern American English.

Kiesling (2006 [2002], 2005), in his analysis of North American fraternities' construction of gender ideologies via language use, finds that fraternity members emphasize heterosexual male dominance and female and homosexual male subordination. He shows 'how language is used by the men to reproduce a hegemonic heterosexuality which is embedded in the larger context of hegemonic masculinity' (Kiesling 2006 [2002]: 129). His examples include the members' use of terms of address toward other males and their stories of drinking and their sexual exploits with women. These data demonstrate constructions

and reproductions of heterosexual male dominance to claim power in a same-sex social group. At the same time, Kiesling also points out the following:

> What we see here is that heterosexual identities and ideologies are being created in a much more complex way: there is really no separated group of heterosexuals in the dominant culture. This group, like men a few decades ago, is considered the norm, and is indeed hardly a coherent group. But as we have seen here that we can identify heterosexuality as part of these men's socially constructed identity. (Kiesling 2006 [2002]: 129)

This study observes the ways in which a medium of Japanese popular culture such as anime constructs hegemonic heterosexuality (as well as hegemonic masculinity), and the ways in which these are made identifiable to an American English audience in translation.

2 Data and methodology

The data used for this study are the series *CB*, which was originally released in Japan in 1998. According to Susan Napier, the author of *Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing contemporary Japanese animation*, '[*CB*] gained an intense following both in America and Japan precisely because it took certain conventions of masculinity and explored them on a deep and emotionally satisfying level' (Napier 2005: xiii). The story takes place in the year 2071, largely on the spaceship *Bebop*, and follows the adventures of a group of bounty hunters (two male and two female): ex-yakuza Spike Spiegel, ex-cop Jet Black, sexy con-woman Fay Valentine, and teenage computer hacker Radical Edward. In the years following its release, the show became extremely popular overseas and remains one of the most popular anime series outside Japan today; the movie version was subsequently released in 2003 and Hollywood announced the making of a live-action version in 2009. *CB* was selected for this study because of its stereotypical portrayal of hegemonic masculinity. According to Cameron & Kulick (2003: 140):

> It is important to acknowledge that desire is materialized and conveyed through semiotic resources that are variably distributed among members of the societies in which they are used. As Penelope Eckert (2002) has observed, there will be structured variation in people's use of what we have called the 'social semiotic of desire', because different kinds of people are socialized to desire different things, and/or to express their desires in different ways. (2003: 140)

The point here, however, is that the social semiotic of desire depicted in *CB* caters to a general heterosexual market. Hero and babe characters represent

anime archetypes of heterosexual normativity, as, in Eckert & McConnell-Ginet's words (2003: 35), they are modeled after universally quintessential man and woman: someone like Superman and Scarlett O'Hara. The heterosexual norms in *CB* are established through semiotic resources such as body image and language use. Images of the main characters of *CB* are shown in figures 1 and 2:
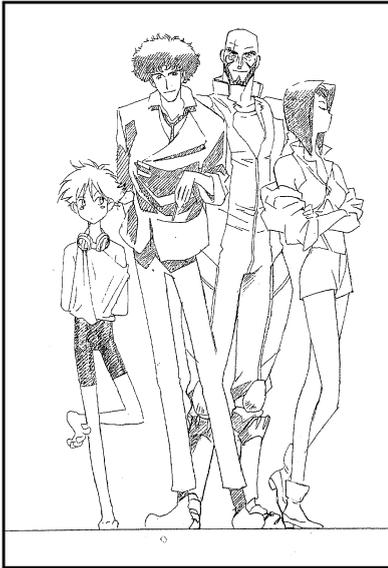

Figure 1: Ed, Spike, Jet, and Faye.[1]   **Figure 2:** Faye Valentine.[2]

An obvious babe character, Faye, has the body of a model and speaks in feminine forms. Similarly, the heroes Spike and Jet are both physically and mentally skilled, although both have prosthetic body parts due to previous injuries. Spike is a martial artist, master of Bruce Lee's Jeet Kune Do, and Jet is an experienced mechanic and capable programmer who loves bonsai gardening. In addition, not only do Spike and Jet speak idealized rough men's language, they are excellent fighters and extraordinary pilots. All 26 episodes of the series were transcribed in both Japanese and English, and selected tokens were quantified in order to analyze the distribution of gendered expressions among both male and female characters in the show. Each episode runs about twenty-three

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minutes, and has a largely self-contained plot with different guest protagonists, side characters, and villains. Most of the characters other than the four main characters mentioned above appear only once. The total data covers about 600 minutes of audiovisual recording, excluding opening and closing credits and previews. The American English data are based on the dubbing, not on the subtitles.

For the analysis of the Japanese transcriptions, the use of first person pronouns (1PPs), second person pronouns (2PPs), and sentence final forms (SFFs) was examined, as the use of these features is known to be highly gender-dependent. Similarly, gender-specific linguistic features suggested by Lakoff (2004 [1975]) were employed to investigate the characters' speech styles in the American English dubs. The characters in *CB* were separated first into male and female groups, then further classified into separate categories for quantitative analysis. Within the female group, characters were separated into the following five categories: the overtly feminine main character, Faye; the gender-ambiguous main character, Ed; guest protagonists (number of characters using 1PPs, 6; 2PPs, 5; SFFs, 6);[3] side characters (1PPs, 10; 2PPs, 5; SFFs 11); and villains (1PPs, 0, 2PPs, 0, SFFs, 1). The male group was divided similarly: the two main male characters Spike and Jet; guest protagonists (1PPs, 8; 2PPs, 8, SFFs, 11); side characters (1PPs, 74; 2PPs, 35, SPFs, 98); and villains (1PPs, 30; 2PPs, 14, SFFs, 22). While the linguistic behaviors of the female main characters (Faye and Ed) are so distinct that their tokens required separate examinations, the behaviors of the male main characters (Spike and Jet) were similar enough to be categorized together. As seen from the total number of speakers for different linguistic tokens, it becomes clear that certain linguistic features (e.g., 2PP) were used less frequently by some characters than by others in the data. Further, in larger theoretical concerns regarding the data analysis, we must not forget that there is no one-to-one correspondence when translating from one language to another. For example, as Japanese women's language (JWL) does not exist in American English, different sets of linguistic tokens representing femininity in American English needed to be investigated.

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3 1PP = first person pronoun, 2PP = second person pronoun, SFF = sentence particles and forms

3 Japanese data

3.1 First person pronouns

Japanese is known to have gender exclusive expressions, and the features of JWL, including interactional particles, pronouns, lexical items, and discourse styles have been studied extensively (e.g., Ide 1982; Reynolds 1985; Shibamoto 1985; McGloin 1990; Okamoto 1995). Regarding 1PPs, the generic form *watashi* is considered gender-neutral, while *ore* or *boku* are masculine and *atashi* or *atakushi* are feminine. Additionally, within the gender-exclusive categories, different pronouns carry different connotations; for example, the male forms *ore* and *boku* index different degrees/types of masculinity. However, generally, the gender ideology attached to personal pronouns is not as rigid as might be believed from the description above. Scholars have pointed out regional, social, or age differences with regard to deviations from idealized forms (e.g., Reynolds 1985; Sunaoshi 2004). In scripted speech, both conformity as well as deviation from the norm are taken into account when constructing or developing an imaginary character's identity.

In the Japanese transcription of *CB*, the following 1PPs were codified for analysis – the masculine forms *boku* (casual), *ore* (rough) and *washi* (elderly); the neutral forms *watakushi* (formal) and *watashi* (neutral); the feminine forms *atakushi* (formal) and *atashi* (casual). The results from the female group show that Faye predominantly preferred the casual form *atashi* (84 percent), the guest protagonists used both the neutral *watashi* (59 percent) and the casual *atashi* (41 percent), and the side characters used *atashi* exclusively. Ed and the female villain did not use any 1PPs throughout the entire data. The male group yielded more interesting findings, due to the fact that more variations in 1PP use were observed. The main characters, Spike and Jet, used only the rough masculine form *ore* (100 percent). Both the guest protagonists and the side characters showed a wide range of 1PP use. While within each of these groups, in themselves, characters showed markedly different usage of the 1PPs, taking into account the personality of each character, we see a more uniform usage across another boundary, which I will call the 'toughness' boundary. Dividing both the protagonists and the side characters into soft-spoken (those who used no expletives or strong imperatives) and rough (those who used expletives or strong imperatives), we see that soft-spoken characters use the more casual form *boku* almost exclusively, while the rough characters preferred *ore*. The neutral *watashi* was used mainly by wealthy or very public characters such as news anchors. The villains used the neutral *watashi* the most often (54 percent), followed by *ore* (37 perecent) and *boku* (9 percent).

None of the female characters, including the gender-ambiguous main character, Ed, used the masculine forms, and none of the masculine characters used the feminine forms. There was little flexibility within the assignment of the pronouns for both male and female speakers except in a few cases. Faye used a casual form when speaking to in-group members, but used a neutral form with strangers. This alternation was seen in the male group as well, when a character projected multiple personae. The villain from Episode 23 (*Brain Scratch*), Londes, initially appears as an older cult leader, and as fitting his position, uses *watashi* exclusively. However, when it becomes known that Londes is actually a 15-year-old boy impersonating a cult leader, he switches to *boku*.

(1)   Londes's pronoun alternations (Episode 23: *Brain Scratch*)
        [as cult leader]
        Watashi no nani o shitteru to yuun da?
        [What makes you think that you know anything about me?]

        [as a teenager]
        Bo, boku ga nani o shitatte yuun da? Fu, fukoohee dayo! Dooshite boku dake ga? Soo, minna boku to onaji karada ni nareba yokattan da. Iya dayo, boku wa kietaku nai yo.
        [What!? What did I do!? No! This isn't fair! Why do I have to be like this! Everyone ... should have the same body ... as ... I have. Everyone. No, I don't .... I don't want to disappear!]

3.2 Second person pronouns

As with the 1PPs, 2PPs are considered highly gender-specific. While there are male-specific 2PPs, there are no overt female-specific 2PPs. While some scholars would argue over the femininity of *anata*, I have used this 2PP as the casual neutral standard. The following tokens were observed in this study – the masculine forms *kimi* (casual), *omae/omee* (rough), *kisama* (vulgar), and *temee* (vulgar); and the neutral forms *anata* (formal) and *anta* (casual). As noted by Abe (2004: 215), in everyday practice 'actual uses of second-person pronouns do not necessarily conform to these gender classifications.' However, as the corpus for this study is idealized, scripted speech, the above categorizations seem valid for the analysis of the data. It must be noted that, generally, personal pronouns are not obligatory components of Japanese speech, and indeed are often omitted. Therefore, like the 1PPs, 2PPs were often dropped and some characters do not use these tokens at all.

In the female group, Faye used the neutral casual form *anta* most often (78 percent) followed by the formal *anata* (22 percent). As with the 1PPs, Faye altered her 2PP use depending on in- and out-group distinctions. Ed, the other main female character, did not use any 2PPs. The majority of the guest protagonists used *anata* (90 percent) while the side characters mostly used *anta* (85 percent). When observing 2PP usage among individual characters in both the 'protagonist' and 'side character' groups, it becomes clear that those who conform to feminine ideals are assigned the formal form *anata*, while those deviating from these gender norms are assigned the casual forms. This finding corresponds with the pattern seen in the 1PPs. Female characters that are young, attractive, and submissive tend to use *watashi* (1PP, neutral/formal) and *anata* (2PP, neutral/formal) while the old, unattractive, or dominant characters tend to use *atashi* (1PP, feminine/casual) and *anta* (2PP, neutral/casual). Examples of the former type of characters are Alisa, Jet's old girlfriend (Ep. 10: *Ganymede Elegy*), Meifa, Jet's potential love interest (Ep. 21: *Boogie Woogie Feng Shui*), and Julia, Spike's girlfriend (Eps. 25 & 26: *The Real Folk Blues 1 & 2*). Examples of the latter characters are V.T., a truck driver known as the 'heavy metal queen' (Ep. 7: *Heavy Metal Queen*), and Annie, Spike's old friend in figure 3 below (Ep. 5: *Ballad for Fallen Angels*, and Ep. 26: *The Real Folk Blues 2*):

Figure 3: Annie.[4]

Despite the fact that Faye is considered rough and strong, her use of pronouns does not deviate from the normative female categories. However, she does show a different pattern of pronoun use compared to the series' other babes, because she uses predominantly casual pronouns. All in all, none of the female characters used the masculine 2PPs.

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The main male characters chiefly used the rough *omae/omee* (81 percent), followed by the neutral casual *anta* (17 percent) and the masculine, vulgar *temee* (2 percent). Both the guest protagonists and side characters used all categories of 2PPs; however, like the female characters, pronoun assignments depended on the character's role. The soft, gentlemanly characters used the masculine/casual 1PP *boku* or the neutral/formal *watashi*, and the masculine/casual 2PP *kimi* or the neutral/formal *anata*, while the rough and tough type characters used the rough 1PP *ore* and the rough 2PP *omae/omee*, or the vulgar *temee*. Examples of the softer characters are Whitney, Faye's old love interest (Ep. 15: *My Funny Valentine*), and Shin, Spike's old subordinate (Ep. 26: *The Real Folk Blues 2*). Jet's old colleagues, Bob (Eps. 20 *Pierrot le Fou* & 25: *The Real Folk Blues 1*) and Fad (Ep. 16: *Black Dog Serenade*) are examples of the latter. Villains used the masculine rough *omae/omee* (82 percent) and showed little alternation of 2PPs use within the same character. As *omae/omee* suggests a relationship between a higher and a lower status individual, this 2PP sounds very dominant. The frequent use of this form across the male group implies negotiation of dominance among the male characters.

3.3 Sentence final particles and forms

Japanese sentence final particles (SFPs) have been discussed extensively by scholars, and their various uses have certain gender-specific overtones. Particles like *ze* and *zo* are considered to be masculine while *kashira* and *nanoyo* are recognized as feminine; other SFPs, such as *ne* and *yo* are gender neutral (see a brief comprehensive summary in Abe 2004: 217). Although traditional arguments have portrayed SFPs as rather rigid features (e.g., Ide 1982; McGloin 1990), recent studies have attempted to investigate the use of SFPs more microanalytically (e.g., Okamoto 1995; Sturtz Sreetharan 2004) in order to fine-tune the current understanding of their particular uses by men and women. For example, Sturtz Sreetharan (2004) suggests that *ne* alone may be gender neutral but when combined with other forms as in *dayone* or 'verb/adjective + *noyone*', it carries gendered interpretations which are moderately masculine or moderately feminine, respectively. For this study, I adopted and modified Okamoto's (1995: 301–302) model of sentence final structure. Since the tokens are combinations of SFPs and other gendered sentence final expressions, I refer to them as sentence final forms (SFFs) rather than SFPs in this paper.

3.3.1 Feminine features

3.3.1.1 Strongly feminine
- SPF *wa* for mild emphasis or its variants: *Iku wa (ne)*. 'I'll go.'
- SPF *nano* after a noun in a statement: *Inu nano*. 'It's a dog.'
- SPF *no* followed by *ne* or *yo ne* for seeking confirmation or agreement: *Iku no (yo)(ne)*. 'You will go, right?'
- SPF *no* followed by *yo* for assertion: *Iku no (yo)*. 'You are going, you know?'
- SPF *kashira* 'I wonder ~': *Iku kashira*. 'I wonder if she'll go.'

3.3.1.1 Moderately feminine
- SPF *no* after a plain verb or *i*-ADJ for emphasis or explanation in a statement: *Iku no?* 'Will you go?'
- Auxiliary *desho*(*o*) for expressing probability or for seeking agreement or confirmation, or followed by *ne*: *Iku desho(o) (ne)?* 'You will go, right?'

3.3.1.2 Neutral features
- The plain form of a verb or *i*-ADJ for assertion: *Iku*. 'I'll go.'
- SFP *yo* followed by *ne* for seeking agreement or confirmation: *Iku yo ne*. 'You will go, right?'
- The negative AUX *ja nai* for mild assertion or to seek agreement: *Iku janai*. 'You will go, right?'
- The particle *ka na* 'I wonder': *Iku ka na*. 'I wonder if she'll go.'
- The gerundive form of a verbal alone or followed by the particle *ne* or *sa*: *Itte sa*. 'I went and then~ .'
- The exclamatory particle *naa*: *Ii naa*. 'It's great!'
- The AUX verb *da* alone for declaration (or its variants *da ne*, *da yo*, or *da yo ne*): *Soo da (yo) (ne)*. 'It is so.'
- The particle *yo* after a plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective for assertion: *Iku yo*. 'We're going.'

3.3.2 Masculine features

3.3.2.1 Strongly masculine
- SFP *ze* and *zo* for assertion: *Iku ze*. 'I'm going.'
- The plain imperative form of a verb alone or followed by *yo*: *Ike (yo)*. 'Go!'

- The phonological form *ee* instead of *ai* and *oi*: *Ikenee*. 'I can't go.'
- The particle *no* followed by *ka* or *ka yo* for seeking confirmation or agreement: *Iku no ka (yo)*? 'Will you go?'
- The AUX verb *da* for declaration followed by *ga* or *ga na*: *Soo da ga (na)*. 'It is so.'

3.3.2.2 Moderately masculine
- The auxiliary verb *da* for declaration followed by *na* or *yo na* or *ga na*: *Soo da (yo)(na)*. 'It must be so.'
- The interrogative marker *kai*: *Iku kai*. 'Will you go?'

The total number of SFFs used by the characters are: Jet (578), Spike (524), Faye (301), and Ed (78). It should be noted that the female characters' tokens are proportionally smaller than those of the main male characters as they appear in fewer episodes. Despite her occupation as a bounty hunter and her not-so-lady-like mannerisms, including gambling, smoking, fighting, and reckless driving, Faye's physical appearance is undoubtedly ideally feminine to most heterosexual males. Additionally, through her use of personal pronouns and her use of strongly and moderately feminine SFFs (44 percent and 16 percent), including multiple tokens of *kashira* and tonally rising *wa*, Faye linguistically projects a strong use of JWL. According to Okamoto's (1995: 304) naturalistic data, the forms that are typically considered most feminine such as SFP *wa* (with rising intonation) or *kashira* hardly occurred. Within her data of a total of 1500 consecutive sentence tokens collected from ten female college students, the students used *wa* twice and *kashira* only once. Okamoto (1995: 304) also notes that the students used *wa* when quoting older women. Her findings suggest that this form's use is restricted to highly idealized JWL. Faye, who is supposed to be using this idealized language, used forms that are reported to be highly idealized JWL expressions such as *kashira* 10 times (8 percent) and *wa* and its variants 58 times (44 percent) out of a total of 131 strong feminine SFF tokens. Ed (from her computer hacker alias 'Radical Edward'), despite being a skinny, food-loving teenager who is often mistaken for a boy by other characters in the show (including her own father) hardly uses masculine SFFs. Out of a total 78 SFF tokens, she only used a strong masculine form *ze* once, while using feminine tokens a total of five times (7 percent), preferring mostly the neutral SFFs (72 tokens/94 percent). All in all, Ed's boyish identity is due less to her use of masculine forms than to the lack of feminine forms in her speech.

Generally, the female guest protagonists and side characters that are young, attractive, and submissive used feminine SFFs more than other SFFs, while the

opposite held true for the old, unattractive, and domineering female characters. Additional examples of the former type include Katrina, the attractive irregular character from Ep. 1 (*Asteroid Blues*) and Judy, the sexy host of *Big Shot!*, the TV show which gives information on current high-profile bounties, and is viewed regularly by the *Bebop* crew throughout the series. One exception to this generalization of feminine SFF use is a female villain, Twinkle, who used markedly more feminine SFFs (78 percent) than the neutral forms (22 percent). Despite her usage of feminine SFFs heretofore reserved for younger, attractive characters, the aging Twinkle leads a group of monkey-like eco-terrorists, is referred to as *Mama* by members of the group, and generally holds a motherly position for her troop. Despite the nature of her occupation, she dresses in a feminine way and speaks arrogantly by mixing feminine forms and diminutive forms:

(2)   Twinkle Murdock's speech (Episode 3: *Gateway Shuffle*)
[to a big man eating an endangered species at a restaurant]
Booya? Ganymede no uminezumi wa, tottemo atama ga yokute, yasashii doobutsu datte gozonji?
[Young man, are you aware that the Ganymede sea rat is a very intelligent and kind animal, hmm?]
[to general public, before releasing a nerve-gas named Monkey Business]
Hohohohoho. Minna saru ni onari!
[(Haughty laugh.) I'll make monkeys of you all!]

In the first excerpt, the address term *booya* usually refers to younger boys and is insulting when used to address adults. The term *gozonji* is a polite form of the verb 'to know,' but when used without the polite auxiliary interrogative form *desu ka*?, *gozonji* by itself sounds diminutive. In the second excerpt, Twinkle's laughter, *hohohohoho*, marks polite femininity, but it can be interpreted as arrogant, especially considering that the sentence following it is an imperative. The imperative verb here is *onari*, which is bimorphemic with the beautifying prefix *o-* and the verb *naru* 'to be/to become.' The beautifying prefix is often used in polite nominal expressions, such as *sushi* vs. *osushi* 'sushi' vs. 'sushi [+polite].' Twinkle's frequent use of the feminine SFFs may be an example of her arrogant speech style. Many formulaic verbal expressions take the same prefix, as in *okiotsukete* (lit. '*o* + pay attention'), meaning 'please take care,' and *oyasumi* lit. '*o* + rest', meaning 'good night.' When used in non-formulaic imperatives the '*o* + imperative verb' form, as with *onari* 'become,' sounds condescending as it is not followed by the polite request ending, *kudasai* 'please~.' All in all, Twinkle's language use does not conform to a normative submissive feminine category, as does that of the babe characters. Twinkle's arrogant use of feminine

and polite features fails to meet the norms of ideal JWL. As with personal pro-nouns, the female characters hardly use the masculine SFFs. Other than Ed, who uses *ze* (a strongly masculine token) once, only two out of a total of 19 female characters use masculine SFFs. One is V.T., the heavy metal queen who also uses *ze* once. The other is Sister Clara, an orphan keeper who manages a handful of wild homeless children in a ghetto (Ep. 24: *Hard Luck Woman*). Her usage of the masculine SFPs is limited to *zo* (strongly masculine) and *dana* (moderately masculine) once each.

Male characters hardly use the feminine SFFs. The main characters, Spike and Jet, use the SFFs almost identically – about 50 percent of the masculine and 50 percent of the neutral SFFs. Among the masculine forms, they mostly use the strongly masculine tokens including the SFPs *ze* and *zo*, imperative verb endings, and vowel coalescence *ee* instead of *ai* and *oi*. Overall, they had the highest percentage of masculine token usage out of the 144 male characters. All guest protagonist male characters, including the soft ones such as Gren, a gay saxophone player (Eps. 12 & 13: *Jupiter Jazz 1 & 2*), and Whitney, Faye's old love interest (Ep. 15: *My Funny Valentine*), do not show any feminine SFF tokens. As long as a male character speaks in an idealized masculine form, he is given a normative role. For example, Gren, an openly gay character mentioned above, is portrayed as a mainstream male character and speaks as one would expect a man to speak. In the following excerpts, Faye and Gren discuss his homosexu-ality openly while Gren continues to employ masculine speech throughout.

(3)   Ep. 12: *Jupiter Jazz 1* [at a bar]
       FAYE: <u>*Atashi*</u> *wa mitame hodo karui onna janai* <u>*wa*</u>.
                  [I'm not as simple as I seem, Mr. Saxophone.]
       GREN: *Ainiku onna niwa kyoomi ga nakute ...*
                  [Women aren't my style. Sorry.]
                  [after deciding to go to Gren's house]
       GREN: *Kantan ni shinnyooshite ii* <u>*noka*</u>?
                  [And you trust me, just like that?]
       FAYE: *Onna niwa kyoomi nain* <u>*desho*</u>?
                  [You said you weren't interested in women.]

The contrast between Gren's use of the masculine SFF *noka* and Faye's use of feminine forms such as *atashi* (1PP), *wa* (with rising intonation, SFP), and *desho* (SFF) is quite easily seen. In addition to Faye's feminine linguistic behavior discussed above, she uses the sentence-initial filler, *ara*, which, although not quantified in this study, is also feminine. On the other hand, when a male character speaks JWL, this flouting of gender norms is highlighted, and such

characters are depicted as strange or heretical. The only male characters in the entire series who speak women's language are a group of transvestites in Ep. 12 (*Jupiter Jazz 1*). The story is set on Jupiter's moon Callisto, where no women reside. Spike is in search of his estranged girlfriend Julia and ends up meeting a transvestite named Julius during his search:

(4)   Ep. 12: *Jupiter Jazz 1*
        JULIUS: *Shitsurei ne! Juria janai <u>wa</u>, Ju-ri-a-su, Juriasu yo!*
                        [Sorry sailor, I'm not Julia. Ju-li-US. My name's Julius.]
        SPIKE: *A, so ...*
                        [My mistake.]

        JULIUS: *A, soo da, Guren nara nanika shitteru kamo... Mae ni onna*
                        to isshodatta no, mitakoto aru <u>wa</u>.
                        [Y'know, Gren's really the one who might be able to help.
                        I've seen him with women on occasion.]
        J's FRIEND: *Ara, okyaku?*
                        [Oh, a customer?]

        JULIUS: *Chigau <u>wayo</u>. Doomitemo nonke <u>desho</u>? Sa, basho kaemasho.*
                        ['Fraid not, darling. Can't you see he's straight? C'mon.
                        Let's try another corner.]

In this excerpt, Julius uses the strongly feminine SFFs *wa* and *wayo* as well as the moderately feminine SFF *desho*. The feminine sentence-initial filler *ara* used by Julius's friend additionally serves to demonstrate JWL use very effectively considering their limited presence in the show. This non-normativity is based on simplistic assumptions that are attached to superficial interpretations of the characters' sexuality. In the last line, Julius calls Spike *nonke*, a common jargon among homosexuals referring to a straight person (Abe 2004: 208). However, the belief being described here, that a straight male only desires a straight female, is the sexual ideology of hegemonic heterosexuality. Straight men may or may not desire transvestite men especially, as this particular episode repeatedly shows, considering the comments made by frustrated men on a womanless planet. Moreover, transvestite men's sexuality cannot be based on their appearance alone, outside the idealized world of anime (see Valentine 2003 for detailed discussion). There is an element of erasure in Julius's use of the term *nonke* (in a normative framing of sexual relationships based on the hegemonic masculinity), and as a non-normative male who dresses like a woman and is apparently a sex-worker who takes male customers, his use of feminine SFFs justifies this comment.

4 American English data

For the analysis of the American English dub, some gender-specific American English linguistic features, suggested by Lakoff (2004 [1975]), were adopted and modified. The selected features are: expletives (weak, mild, and strong), imperatives, tag questions, and hedges. The traditional view is that women use weak expletives, polite imperatives, tag questions, and hedges; while, ideally speaking, males use strong expletives, direct imperatives, few tag questions, and few hedges. For the data analysis, the female characters were separated into the following five categories: Faye; Ed; guest protagonists (number of characters using expletives, 1; imperatives, 8; tag questions, 4; hedges, 5); side characters (expletives, 2; imperatives, 7; tag questions, 2; hedges, 4); and villains (expletives, 0; imperatives, 1; tag questions, 1; hedges, 1). The male group was divided similarly: the two main male characters Spike and Jet; guest protagonists (expletives, 4; imperatives, 8; tag questions, 4; hedges, 6); side characters (expletives, 15; imperatives, 62; tag questions, 16; hedges, 23); and villains (expletives, 12; imperatives, 29; tag questions, 8; hedges, 7).

4.1 Expletives

Due to its PG-13 rating in the United States, *CB*'s American English dub does not contain any excessively strong profanity. The use of expletives was coupled to the projection of masculinity, as strong expletives, were used almost exclusively by male characters. The detailed categorizations as well as the total number of occurrences of expletives are: the strong category, *damn* (40), *hell* (32), *shit* (23), *shut up* (6), *bitch* (4), *ass* (3); the mild category, *idiot* (17), *dummy* (17), *son of a gun* (1); the weak category, *oh my god* (3), *oh my dear god* (1). Among the female characters, Faye alone uses all three categories of expletives, including the strong expletives *hell* (8) and *damn* (2), the mild expletive *dummy* (3), and the weak expletive *oh my god* (2). Other than Faye, only a handful of female characters used any expletives. For example, Ed used *dummy* (4), V.T. used *idiot* (2) and *dummy* (1), Annie used a weak form *oh my dear god* (1), and a pet shop owner, a side character from Ep. 2: *Stray Dog Strut*, used *dummy* (1). Common characteristics of female characters that did use expletives (V.T., Annie, and the pet shop owner) are that they are older, unattractive, and assertive. As was the case with the Japanese tokens, non-babe irregular characters are assigned more masculine features. One noteworthy point regarding Faye is that although there are several instances of her using strong expletives, she did not use forms like *shit*, *shut up*, or *bitch* which appeared in male characters' speech, and that her

strong expletive use and the male characters' expletive use are largely mutually exclusive.

Male characters' use of expletives was mostly limited to the strong forms. Neither Spike, nor Jet, nor any of the guest protagonists or villains used the weak expletives. Their expressions were mostly limited to forms such as *shit*, *damn*, *hell*, *shut up*, and *bitch*. There was one instance of weak and three of mild expletive usage in the side characters' data: *oh my god* (weak) was used by an antique electronics nerd in Ep. 18: *Speak like a Child*; *dummy* (mild) was used by young boys in different episodes (2), and *son of a gun* (mild) was used by a preacher (Ep. 2: *Stray Dog Strut*). Three instances of mild expletive use (*dummy*, in all three instances) were seen with the villains; twice by the eco-terrorists in Ep. 4: *Gateway Shuffle*, and once in Ep. 6: *Sympathy for the Devil* by Wen, an old man trapped in a young boy's body, who used this expletive when speaking as a boy. All in all, the male characters who were assigned with expletives like *dummy*, *son of a gun*, or *oh my god* – a nerd, young boys, a preacher, and ape-like terrorists – do not conform to any hegemonic masculine ideal. Their non-normative linguistic behaviors, namely use of weak and mild expletives, go hand in hand with their less-than-masculine appearance.

4.2 Imperatives

Imperative use by the characters shows little variation in terms of the total frequency of the gendered features used. A summary of the imperatives used by male and female characters in different categories and the total number of tokens are: Jet and Spike 57 percent (269), Faye 50 percent (123), Ed 65 percent (30); guest protagonists, male 66 percent (69), female 71 percent (48); side characters, male 58 percent (143), female 63 percent (30); villains, male 68 percent (86), female 55 percent (6). The numbers as shown are potentially misleading, as the use of imperatives as a whole does not signify striking gender differences in language use. Thus, the imperative tokens were further classified into different categories as follows: orders ('Do x!'), requests ('Can you do x?'), polite requests ('Please do x'), suggestions ('Why don't you do x?'), and monologues (self encouragement). When the tokens were evaluated with these finer classifications in mind, gender differences between the characters became more obvious. Male characters used orders at a much higher rate than female characters in general: Spike (46 percent), Jet (35 percent), guest protagonists (39 percent), side characters (34 percent), and villains (67 percent) vs. Faye (7 percent), Ed (4 percent), guest protagonists (8 percent), side characters (10 percent), and villains (67 percent). The results also show that all categories of male characters

use orders most often out of all the imperatives, while female characters use other forms more often than orders (Faye, requests 47 percent; Ed, requests 46 percent; guest protagonists, requests 46 percent; and side characters, suggestions 40 percent). The sole exception in the female group is the villain, Twinkle, and this, again, highlights her linguistic non-conformity to idealized women's language.

4.3 Tag-questions

Women's more frequent use of tag questions was among the features of women's language listed by Lakoff (2004 [1975]). For this study, both tag and pseudo-tag questions were quantified. A summary of the tag question usage in the data and the total number of tokens are: Jet and Spike 19 percent (89), Faye 18 percent (44), Ed 18 percent (7); guest protagonists, male 12 percent (13), female 10 percent (7); side characters, male 11 percent (27), female 10 percent (5); villains, male 11 percent (14), female 36 percent (4). As was the case with imperatives, the total number of tag questions does not easily allow one to characterize general linguistic features of male and female characters' speech (e.g., Holmes 1982; Cameron, McAlinden & O'Leary 1988). The tag question tokens were therefore further classified into subcategories according to their functions: mitigating, challenging, epistemic, or monologue. Tag questions whose function is to soften potential negative impact, such as conflict or criticism are considered mitigating, whereas challenging tags are used to break a long pause or for an admission of guilt. Clarification of preceding uncertainty is epistemic. Tags seen in characters' monologues were classified separately as they serve none of the above purposes. Examples of each function are as follows:

(5)   Different functions of tag questions
        (a) Mitigating, Ep. 11: *Toys in Attic* [talking to Jet after winning a bet]
            FAYE: I'd actually prefer payment in cash. I'm not a pawn
                         shop, y'know.
        (b) Challenging, Ep. 8: *Waltz for Venus* [a man addressing a mafia boss]
            ROCO: I'm real sorry but I dropped it. Guess you're not gonna
                         buy that, huh?
        (c) Epistemic, Ep. 8: *Waltz for Venus* [a mafia boss addressing a man]
            PICCARO: My little Roco. You know I've heard you have a younger
                         sister somewhere. Is that true?

(d) Monologue, Ep. 17: *Mushroom Samba* [to justify stealing food]
    JET: Hey, well now. This thing can't really be here, <u>can it</u>? So
              I can't really be faulted for eating something that's not
              here.

At the level of these subcategorizations, the differences between male and female characters in their use of tag questions become more apparent. The challenge function is almost categorically used by males. On the other hand, the mitigation function is used more by women than men: Faye (59 percent); Ed (57 percent), female guest protagonists (57 percent), female side characters (60 percent), and the female villain, Twinkle (25 percent) vs. male main characters (25 percent), male guest protagonists (38 percent), male side characters (48 percent), and male villains (7 percent). Generally, villains, both male and female, used less mitigating tags and more epistemic tags (64 percent for male and 75 percent for female), suggesting that the bad guys did not moderate the intensity of their speech. This result coincides with the findings for the use of imperatives, where both male and female villain characters used the order-type imperatives the most (67 percent for male and also 67 percent for female). Here, the female villain Twinkle flouts gender norms, as her speech style clearly does not conform to the suggested feminine linguistic styles that women use more tag questions (and that these tag questions are often used for seeking assertions) or polite requests (imperatives with 'please') than men. Again, Twinkle's use of tag questions demonstrates how non-normative women are indexed by non-normative language. This is in contrast to the way in which a heterosexually normative female character is indexed with normative language, as is the case with Faye's use of tag questions. Although Faye is the only female character to use challenging tag questions (9 percent), there are only four such tokens in the data, whereas she uses mitigating tag questions significantly more (26 instances, 59 percent of her tag question usage). Her use of imperatives is mainly limited to requests (46 percent and 58 instances); orders occur only nine times (7 percent), resulting in an overall usage of tag questions and imperatives that was quite the opposite of Twinkle.

4.4 Hedging

The final gendered linguistic feature in the American English dubbing data to be discussed is the use of hedging. The number of male characters using hedges, and the corresponding total number of tokens are: for main characters (2; 47), guest protagonists (6; 41), side characters (23; 44), and villains (7; 9).

For female characters, these numbers are Faye (1; 64), Ed (1; 3), guest protagonists (5; 10), side characters (4; 10), and villains (1; 1). Although *CB* has the same number of male and female main characters (Spike, Jet, Faye, and Ed), male side characters greatly outnumber their female counterparts. Excluding the main characters, there are 114 males (8 guest protagonists; 76 side characters; and 30 villains) and only 18 females (6 guest protagonists; 10 side characters; and 1 villain). Additionally, the female main characters, Faye and Ed, do not appear in all 26 episodes of the series as do Spike and Jet. Among the four features selected for investigation, use of hedging reflected the unevenly balanced availability of the data the most.

Hedging utterances that appeared in the data include *uh*, *maybe*, *I guess*, *I think*, *I mean*, *kinda*, *oh*, *well*, *so*, *yeah*, and *hmm*. In this study, instances of hedges accompanying a sentence were quantified; isolated instances of such expressions were excluded. Due to lack of female irregular character data, it is difficult to generalize male and female characters' use of hedging; however, interesting findings can be seen by contrasting Faye's and Ed's results. The distributions of hedging used by the main characters are: Jet (20), Spike (27), Faye (64), and Ed (3). The heterosexually normative Faye used hedging very frequently compared to other characters. In many cases, she hedges more than once in a single utterance:

(6)   Faye's multiple hedging (Ep. 18: *Speak Like a Child*)
        <u>Oh</u>, I see. <u>Hmm</u>, that's how it is. Oh well. <u>Uh</u>, listen, Ed. <u>I guess</u>, if they're that lonely without me, I have no choice. I'm coming back to the ship.

In all four gendered linguistic features observed here (expletives, imperatives, tag questions, and hedging), 26 percent of Faye's entire tokens are hedges. In spite of her defiant bounty-hunter nature, Faye's feminine speech style again conforms to that of an ideal woman in terms of hegemonic heterosexuality. On the contrary, Ed, the heterosexually non-normative female character, does not show frequent use of hedging, a feminine linguistic feature, using hedging only three times in the entire series. Considering the fact she has the smallest number of appearances of any main character in *CB*, her tokens here are still disproportionately small.

5 Discussion

Both the Japanese and American English data show that characters in *CB* are constructed around strong ideological gender norms. As the data for the Japa-

nese features indicate, the two main male characters speak in the most masculine manner: 1PP *ore* (100 percent), 2PP *omae* (81 percent), and masculine SFFs such as *ze*, *zo*, or imperative verb endings (47 percent). Yet soft male characters, despite being conciliatory, still used masculine personal pronouns (1PP *boku* and 2PP *kimi*) and SFFs. The only male characters to use obvious feminine linguistic features were the transvestites Julius and his friends. Even a homosexual male character from the same episode maintained his masculine speech style. The data from the female characters show hardly any usage of masculine tokens in general. Their pronoun usage is restricted to the default forms (1PP *watashi* and 2PP *anata*/*anta*) or the feminine 1PP *atashi*. Additionally, female characters use feminine SFFs almost categorically, including tokens such as *kashira*, *wa* (with rising intonation), and its variants, which are rarely found in actual JWL. Young, attractive babe characters are assigned strong feminine speech styles which index their heterosexual normativity, whereas older or unattractive characters flout these gender norms.

The American English data show similar results in gendered language use as far as the English tokens are concerned. Expressions such as strong expletives (e.g., *shit* or *bitch*), the order-type imperatives (e.g., *Do x!*), and challenge tag questions are used predominantly by male characters while tokens including weak expletives (e.g., *oh my god*), the request-type imperatives (e.g. *Can you do x?*), and mitigating tags were more evident among female characters. In the English translation, characters who flout linguistic gender norms are either transvestites or unattractive by conventional standards. The only males to use weak or mild expletives (*oh my god*, *son of a gun*, or *dummy*) are a nerd, some young boys, a preacher, and a group of monkey-faced terrorists, hardly icons of conventional masculinity. The sole male character to overtly use feminine expressions was Julius; the following is the final part of example (4), repeated here.

(7)   (Julius's speech) Ep. 12: *Jupiter Jazz*
       'Fraid not, <u>darling</u>. Can't you see he's straight? C'mon. Let's try another corner.

Though he does not use any of the four types of gendered features discussed in the English translation, Julius's use of the term 'darling' here is undeniably feminine. Concerning the gender normativity flouting females, there were not many examples in English dubbing; the few female characters who employed mild expletives (*dummy*, *idiot*, or *oh my dear god*), order-type imperatives or epistemic tag questions are a trucker, fat old ladies, and one condescending terrorist leader.

   Continuing this discussion of non-normative language use will inevitably lead us to Faye, who employs some obviously unladylike expletives and challenging tag questions. Based on the English translation, Faye's use of these features may superficially cause her to appear tomboyish. As observed by Napier (2005: 139), 'Faye is almost asexual throughout most of the series despite her voluptuous body; in her aggressiveness and rough language she seems almost masculine.' This asexuality, Napier notes, is not limited to Faye: 'Throughout most of the series the crew of the Bebop remains sexless (with Faye and Ed both playing largely masculine roles)' (Napier 2005: 139). However, in order to understand what Napier considers 'masculine' about Faye and Ed, a more elaborate understanding of the different gender constructions of these two characters, in both Japanese and English, is required. As far as the data show, Ed rarely uses gendered expressions at all. Her name, as well as other characters' repeated comments on the ambiguity of her gender, also help create Ed's heterosexually non-normative identity:

(8)   Comments on Ed's gender
        Ep. 9: *Jamming with Edward* [Faye talking to Ed]
        FAYE: *Ara, anta, onna no ko nano?*
                  [Hey, you're a girl?]
        Ep. 23: *Brain Scratch* [Jet pretending to be Ed's father: Ed is in a dress]
        JET: *Jitsu wa, kono musume no futago no ani ga koko ni irundesu.*
                  [You see, her twin brother's here and she's suffered so much.]
        ED: *Papa!*
        GUARD: *Musumette ...? Honto ni onnanoko ka?*
                  [She's an unusual looking child. Is she a girl?]
        Ep. 24: *Hard Luck Woman* [Ed's father meeting with Spike and Jet]
        FATHER: *Oo soo ka. Musuko ga sewan natta. N? Musume datta ka?*
                  [Oh, that's different. Thanks for taking care of my son ... Or, uh, was it my daughter?]

All three of the main adult characters' heterosexuality is made explicit throughout the series, as all have stories detailing their former loves and intimate relationships, although Faye's relationship was never physical, as far as the details of the story go. However, despite her celibacy, Faye is definitely sexually objectified, as the following examples demonstrate:

(9)　　Cases of Faye's objectification

Ep. 5: *Heavy Metal Queen* [at a bar, Faye approaching her suspect]

MAN:　　*Nanda temee? Yararetee noka?*
　　　　　[Whaddayawant, babe? Ya lookin' for some action?]

Ep. 12: *Jupiter Jazz 1* [on a street, muggers approaches Faye]

MAN:　　*Ojoosan, sono kakkoo wa me no doku da. Soretomo sasot-*
　　　　　tenno kai?
　　　　　[Madam, your appearance is harmful to the eyes. Or are you
　　　　　trying to entice us?]

Ep. 13: *Jupiter Jazz 2* [at a bar, a bartender is talking about Faye]

MAN:　　*Aa, namami no onna o mitanowa hantoshi buri, gokujoo no*
　　　　　onna tte kotode ieba ninen buri da.
　　　　　[Oh yeah, it's been six months since I saw a woman in the
　　　　　flesh and two years since I saw a girl that good-looking.]

As the man in the first excerpt so eloquently comments, Faye is not a masculine character but a *babe*, while Ed, as seen in example (8), is portrayed as decidedly gender-neutral. Ed's non-conformity to feminine norms is not depicted by her use of masculine or feminine features, but by her predominant use of neutral features, or avoidance of gendered features. In other words, absence of feminine speech tokens, rather than use of masculine speech forms, indexes her non-femininity, thus adding masculine elements to her characteristics.

In his discussion of voice, Blommaert (2005: 69, emphasis in the original) describes voice as '*the capacity for semiotic mobility* – a capacity very often associated with the most prestigious linguistic resources … and very often denied to resources ranking lower on the scales of value that characterise orders of indexicality.' When observing English texts being translated into Japanese, I discussed earlier that the characters' roles assign to them corresponding registers or speech styles, rather than the exact expressions or dialects used in the original. For example, in *Gone with the wind*, mainstream white characters were assigned standard Japanese, while black characters were given non-standard speech styles. In the translated text, the form and function of the standard language index the normativity of the white characters while placing the black characters in a lower social rank due to their use of non-standard language. Because of its inability to translate Faye's strong use of JWL, the English dubbing fails to index her strong femininity as seen in her lexical choices of pronouns or sentence final segments. Instead, other superficial gender tokens, such as her use of expletives, are highlighted with the result that Faye ends up being labeled 'largely masculine' by a leading anime scholar, Napier (2005: 139), who seems to disregard the deeper levels of feminine speech that Faye

uses; i.e., imperatives, tag questions, or hedging. Because Faye in the English dubbing uses more expletives than other female characters, her speech does not convey the femininity that is so obvious in the rest of her appearance, or in her original Japanese dialogue. In a detailed analysis of the English dubbing data, Faye's superficially masculine impression is compensated for and overridden by other strong feminine features like her use of request-type orders, mitigating tag questions, and hedges. This kind of compensation was absent from the data of the less-than-feminine female characters. This inability of Faye's language to live up to the feminine expectations offered by her appearance and actions, leads to a misunderstanding of sorts. On a topic of translation, Becker (2000) discusses crosslinguistic problems in understanding culturally specific concepts and exemplifies the difficulties of mapping a one-to-one meaning from an alien language to a host language. According to Becker, when information is added to the interpretation because it is requested in the host language, they are called exuberances while information omitted in the host language is referred to as a deficiency (Becker 2000: 81). His examples are based on grammatical categories such as tense and number in the English translation of a Javanese text are exuberances while reduplications or verbal focus markings are deficiencies in Javanese translation from English. Similarly, although not a grammatical category but a pragmatic category, exuberances and deficiencies are observed between Japanese and English translations. In the Japanese translation of *Gone with the wind*, gendered as well as social linguistic features were added onto characters' dialogues, especially highlighting gendered speech styles of male and female characters, and standard and non-standard speech styles of white and black characters (Inoue 2003; Hiramoto 2009). On the contrary, in the English translation of *CB*, features of JWL become deficiencies with the effect that they fail to present strong feminine language use by a normative female character like Faye. Prototypical JWL expressions such as personal pronouns and SFPs are almost lexical and thus superficial. Some of the strongest JWL results in deficiencies of translation, strong feminine connotations conveyed in 1PP *atashi* or SFPs *kashira* or rising *wa* are either reduced to English equivalents 'I, my, me' or, worse, just ignored as there is no equivalent in the host language. All in all, it seems fair to conclude that Faye's masculine impression is, at least partially, based on elements that are untranslatable. According to Blommaert (2005: 77), this type of misunderstanding originates 'in inequality not just in difference.' Here, gender inequality colors Napier's (2005) assumptions concerning the hegemonic pretexual judgment that women are not supposed to use the same kinds of expletives as men.

6 Conclusion

Based on my observations of both Japanese and American English gendered language in *CB*, I argue that heterosexually normative characters are constructed to conform to a hegemonic heterosexual ideal. That is, desirable characters are paired with ideal normativity, both visually and linguistically. The artwork and language use reflect heterosexuality by emphasizing the masculinity or femininity of the characters. At the same time, undesirable characters are rendered less than attractive and are assigned linguistic features that do not conform to this normativity. Of the four main characters in the show Spike, Jet, and Faye use highly gendered speech which serves to perpetuate the generic ideals of this hegemonic masculinity. The invincible male heroes speak the toughest language of all (tougher than even their enemies) while the ultimate babe, although occasionally lapsing into an unladylike use of expletives or tag questions in English dubbing, manages to maintain an otherwise feminine style of speech, despite her occupation and the situations she often finds herself in. As explained by Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003), the success of a dominant ideology does not depend on brute power or conscious imposition. Rather, it owes its success to its ability to convince people that it is not a matter of ideology, but simply natural, the way things are. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003: 43) refer to this process as naturalization, a normativity based on the general consensus of what needs no explanation. Today, naturalized ideas, e.g., that it is just natural for men to be macho and women to be babes, are rampant and well established especially in a pop culture scene like anime. The naturalized performance of normative gender in *CB* won the approval of viewers who believed in and expected such hegemonic heterosexual ideology, thus becoming an international success. The gendered speech in this popular anime series serves to index the imagined identity of the characters. This process of indexicalization simultaneously constructs erasure of characters' idiosyncratic natures. The crucial role of scripted speech in the construction of language and gender ideology implies detachment from everyday practitioners of language. As pointed out by Inoue (2003), highly idealized JWL became the property of imagined characters like Minnie Mouse or Barbie, as no Japanese women would speak in such a manner. Faye's extreme use of JWL in the Japanese data serves to continue this trend. Normative vs. non-normative gendered language expressions, in both Japanese and American English, conveniently erase possible idiosyncratic complications from characters' personalities. The simplistic models of gendered language assignment in *CB* help to erase unwanted information which might hinder the black-and-white interpretation of male and female characters' identities.

There is, in Blommaert's words, a 'worldwide lingua-cultural homogenization' (2003: 611) taking place, with Western norms becoming global norms, manifested in such ways as the modern Japanese language's frequent use of English. Blommaert (2003: 611) refers to this phenomenon as '*McDonaldization*' and states that it 'allows language users opportunities to represent cultural, social, and historical conditions of being.' The rapid penetration of anime into the global market, on the other hand, may well be looked at as the Japanese counterpart to this McDonaldization, as a Japanese pop culture item is being absorbed into a transnational generic culture and being appropriated as part of a hegemonic norm. The language ideology represented in the original Japanese in *CB* already reflected the normative ideas of gendered speech styles; combined with the artwork, these normative ideals become easily indexed in both the Japanese and American English dubbing. At the same time, non-normative characters like Ed, Annie, the nerd, or the terrorists are saddled with less than attractive images which index their anti-hegemonic natures. As Blommaert (2005: 167) mentions, there is a price for being anti-hegemonic and these characters pay this price by being less than the babes and heroes in the story. Irvine & Gal's (2000: 37) comment that 'linguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities,' is especially pertinent here, as we see the gendered speech styles found in *CB*, both in Japanese and English, work very well to index hegemonic ideas about how (normative) women and men speak. Concerning the creation of this normative gender, Butler (1990: 25) posits that 'gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be' and '... gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, or a natural sort of being' (Butler 1990: 33). The idea of the repeated stylization of the body is very similar to the process of naturalization, as discussed by Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003); hegemonic gender ideology is reinforced by the normative roles performed by the babe and hero characters in *CB*. Such repetition produces a rigid frame of gender ideology and iconizes the gender-normative stylizations. In her summary of studies on language and gender, Cameron (1997: 49) points out that '[w]hereas sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are, the postmodernist approach suggests that people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk.' Pennycook (2003: 528) mirrors this line of thought, referring to performativity and pre-existing identities, stating that '[i]t is not that people use language varieties because of who they are, but rather that we perform who we are by (amongst other things) using varieties of language.' The *CB* characters

are created with pre-given identities and appearances, and their language use makes them who they are.

Acknowledgements

Bionote

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DVD

Cowboy Bebop: Complete Session Collection. 2003. [video] Directed by Shinichiro Watanabe. USA: Pioneer Video. [6 videodiscs (10hr., 50 min.)]

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