

日本におけるピジン・クレオール言語の歴史

A Brief History of Pidgins and Creoles in Japan

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言語接触, ピジン, クレオール, 縄文-弥生ピジン, 浜松ピジン, 軍事基地ピジン, 小笠原ピジン, 横浜ピジン, 外国人労働者ピジン

Language contact, Pidgin, Creole, Jomon-Yayoi Pidgin, Yokohama Pidgin, Military Base Pidgin, Ogasawara Pidgin, Hamamatsu Pidgin, Foreign Worker (*Gastarbeiter*) Pidgin

ABSTRACT

ピジンとは多言語が存在する状況の中で新たに発生した言語であり、固有の特徴をもち、かつ体系だったシステムを持っている。ピジン・クレオールの研究は、異なる言語を持った人間が互いに接触する際に、言語はどのような形で存在するかという問題に関連している。日本は多数の言語が存在する地域であるため、様々なピジンも存在する。しかしこれまで詳細に言語学的に研究されたピジンは少ない。そこで本論では、多言語的環境である日本の中で、ピジンは新旧の歴史をもつ言語現象であることを述べる。

言語どうしの接触は大陸から人間が日本本土に移動してきた縄文-弥生期に始まった。これは大陸からのアルタイ語族（弥生人）とマレー・ポリネシア語族（縄文人）の接触である。「港ピジン」は16世紀に九州で発生して以来今に至っており、日本語とスペイン語のピジンである「長崎ピジン」はその例である。沖縄にも日本語と琉球語のピジンが存在する。1980年代以降は、都市で働く外国人労働者の間で「*Gastarbeiter*（外国人労働者・出稼ぎ）ピジン」が発達した。このような言語接触のなかには、琉球語と日本語の接触のような言語どうしの接触の例もあれば、同言語の亜種どうしの接触（例えば方言間接触）もある。より「軍事基地ピジン」は世界中で見られるもので、日本にも「浜松ピジン」などの例がそれにあたる。小笠原諸島は歴史的にも長く英語のコミュニティがあるが、ここではマイクロネシア語、ポリネシア語、日本語、英語の言語接触が19世紀から始まった結果ピジンが形成された。

本論は日本におけるピジン・クレオールの歴史の概略であるため、日本語と日本語手話などのピジンについては述べられていない。しかしこの歴史を見るだけでも、日本が多言語的環境にあることは明らかである。

Overview

Pidgin is a unique and systematic variety of language (re-) production which occurs in multilingual situations. It involves speech accommodation between speakers of different codes when in contact with each other. Japan is a multilingual region with many varieties of pidgin. Few pidgins have been subjected to intensive linguistic study. This paper demonstrates that, within the context of a multilingual Japan, pidgin is a linguistic phenomenon with a history that is both historical and recent. Contact codes emerged in mainland Japan during the period of continental migration (Yayoi and Kofun). These were the result of the fusion of continental (Yayoi) Altaic and (Jomon) Malayo-Polynesian. Ports pidgins emerged first in the 16th century onwards in Kyushu: Nagasaki Pidgin (Japanese-Spanish-Portuguese). The Ryukyus are still a common site of Japanese-Ryukyu pidgins. From the 1980s, so-called *gastarbeiter* (*dekasegi*) pidgins have arisen among migrant labourers of the urban working-class. Among these pidgin varieties are also contact codes formed between various 'lects' or speech code levels between Japanese dialects and JSL (Japanese Sign Language). Military or 'base' pidgins are common throughout the world and have also been documented in Japan as, for example, Hamamatsu pidgin. The Ogasarawas are, historically, Japan's 'English-speaking community'. The Ogasawara islands (Bonin) revealed the existence of language contact from the 19th century and pidgins developed combining Micronesian, Polynesian, Japanese and English.

Introduction

Consider two short conversational exchanges. They are examples of 20th century urban Japanese 'pidgin' or the systematic mixing of codes which results from bilingual contact in a social context. The first is mid-century and postwar. The situation is a domestic conversation between two women in a kitchen in a house bordering an American military (air) base in Hamamatsu city. The date is *circa* 1956. The maid addresses her American employer:

(A) Japanese maid: [pointing to an old bottle of olive oil] *This you speak sayonara ?*

And the reply:

(B) American woman: [nodding] *Hai. Pailu sayonara it*

The pidgin sample here is a mixture of English and Japanese (collected by Goodman 1957:25).

The second example is Tokyo street talk: *gastarbeiter* (sic. *dekasegi*, 'guestworker', 'migrant labourer') pidgin at *fin de siecle* (*circa* 2000). Two Filipino migrant workers greet each other at a Sunday street market in Tokyo. They make a passing comment on a third person standing nearby.

(A). *Hey Crispin ? Que tal ? ... Jeez. .[looking across at a third person] Tingan mo siya, mukhang kaitai na*

[Hey. Crispin. How's it goin ? ... Jeez. . Look at him. He's got a face like a demolition site].

(B). *That guy? O-o. Warui na!*

[That guy over there? Yeah .. looks pretty bad doesn't he.]

The pidgin sample here (sample collected by the author outside a Catholic church in downtown Tokyo).. is a mixture of Pilipino, English and Japanese.

The pidgins in these extracts both derive from two historical demographic waves. The first wave was military - the postwar allied occupation and continued presence of American bases in Japan. The second was socio-economic beginning in the 1980s and, continuing into the 21st century, involving waves of migrant labour into the towns and countryside of Japan from countries of origin such as China, Philippines, Iran, Bangladesh, Korea, Brazil, Peru, etc. Both demographic phenomena directly resulted in the formation of 'Japanese pidgins'.

The pidgins described in this paper are a small though significant selection from a much larger taxonomy of (a) extinct, (b) archaic and (c) current Japanese pidgins. I outline the following:

Japanese as a Pidgin-Creole

Hamamatsu Pidgin

Port Pidgins (Yokohama and Nagasaki)

Ogasawara Pidgin

Migrant Worker or 'Gastarbeiter' Pidgin

Pidgins in Japan

Language regenerates itself constantly. Pidgin, a mode of regeneration, involves a special kind of speech accommodation which occurs when speakers of different codes come into contact with each other. It is the aim of this brief paper to demonstrate that, as in

other linguistically diverse societies, Japan is replete with varieties of pidgin, few of which have been subjected to intensive linguistic study. By outlining the history of pidgins in Japan from older varieties to newer, emergent contact phenomena, this paper shows that, within the context of a multilingual Japan, pidgin is a heritage linguistic phenomenon. Contact codes have emerged in mainland Japan and the Ryukyus both traditionally as well as, more recently, in *gastarbeiter* (*dekasegi*) pidgins among migrant labourers of the urban working-class. Among these pidgin varieties are also contact codes formed between various 'lects' or speech code levels between Japanese dialects and JSL (Japanese Sign Language). Military or 'base' pidgins are common throughout the world and have also been documented in Japan.

There is little agreement as to appropriate definitions of language contact in a multilingual context: borrowing, convergence, interference, shift, relexification, pidginization, creolization. It should be no surprise to the linguist that pidgin-creolization occurs in this list. Suffice to say that whereas it is increasingly common for linguists to investigate 'code-switching in Japan' (family, school and college, media, etc.) it is not usual to describe the other important, historical phenomena in which code-mixing occurs, namely 'pidgins'.

Japanese as a Historical Pidgin-Creole

I have proposed elsewhere (Maher 1998) that the modern Japanese language lies at one end of a long, historical, linguistic chain that is a fusion of languages and that can be properly described as a pidgin-creole. This suggestion also proposes a descriptive model for the

development of early Japanese based upon contemporary sociolinguistic analysis. Given our improved knowledge about settlements and migration patterns in early Japan, I suggested that the Japanese language was formed from an original 'immigrant' or 'boat people' language. The Yayoi period was characterised by massive migration of early peoples to Japan, landing in northern Kyushu from the Asian continent via the Korean peninsula. Evidence now points to Kyushu as an original territory of Yayoi migrants and their languages. These migrants established themselves in hundreds of moated townships of various sizes in the flat coastal areas of northern Kyushu. As agricultural trade and cultural contact increased language varieties stabilized. However, these Yayoi immigrant communities were sufficiently powerful in number as well as economically and culturally to spread throughout Jomon Japan which was itself composed of languages from the north (Palaesiberian), the south (Malayo-Polynesian) and the West from China and Korea (Proto-Altalic). The function of this expanding Yayoi language which I describe as a Creole (North Kyushu Creole) was that of a lingua franca among the various Jomon languages absorbing and homogenizing many of the original languages in the regions of Honshu and Kyushu. In particular, the language of Kyushu Jomon inhabitants - a Malayo-Polynesian variety - had a profound effect upon the Yayoi settlers' language. A creolization continuum developed in which the existing Jomon languages (the vernaculars) stood at various 'distances' from the rapidly standardizing Yayoi language. Some of the older Jomon languages (Ainu and Ryukyuan) continued to survive but were

pushed back to their original entry points in the North (Tohoku and Hokkaido) and the South (Ryukyu islands). In several papers published between 1918-1938 the Soviet linguist E.D. Polivanov developed the idea that Japanese was a kind of "mixed language" combining both Austronesian and Altaic elements. This was elaborated by Murayama Shichiro (1973).

It is not surprising that some researchers (e.g. Akiba-Reynolds 1984, Kawamoto 1990)) have come forward with grammatical data to indicate that pre-Japanese resembles a pidgin-creolized language in a several respects Let me summarize this with some examples:

1. Pidgin-Creoles have restricted noun inflections and this corresponds to the fact that Old Japanese had very few case markers.
2. Paratactic conjunction or constructions joined without the use of conjunctions, as found in Old Japanese, is a characteristic feature of pidgin-creoles.
3. The zero-conjunction followed later by the *te*-conjunction was the oldest mechanism for conjoining clauses. In addition to *te* Old Japanese was in the process of developing several conjunctive particles. Modern Japanese is now replete with subordinate conjunctions to specify various relationships between conjoined clauses. The historical development of Japanese shows that it has been shifting towards more surface differentiation in the conjunction system.
4. The distinction between nominalization, relativization and complementation was absent in Old Japanese. This is a common feature in pidgin-creoles. With the exception of direct quotations, all subordinate

clauses except direct quotations, were uniformly marked by the nominal form of the clause final verbal element, i.e. the same simple morphology in all cases. It is argued that, at one time, the conjugal suffix used for the nominal form was an associative particle. Therefore, neither may pre-Japanese have possessed a productive method for subordination, a typical feature of pidgin-creoles.

5. The tense-aspect system of Old Japanese is virtually identical to that which Bickerton (1981) has argued as the paradigmatic feature of creole systems. Conjugational suffixes are especially relevant in that they hint at the prehistoric state of the language. Final suffix *u* indicated iterative or durative aspect for action verbs. The existential *ari* did not take regular Final suffix *u*. This accords with observation that nonpunctual aspect markers cannot normally occur with stative verbs: since no suffix is relatable to past tense, one may infer that the tense-aspect marked by the conjugational suffixes was different from that expressed with auxiliary suffixes. There was probably a shift in the tense aspect system in Japanese, from a system without the past-nonpast distinction to the one without it. Finally, a conspicuous feature of creolization is reduplication and this is certainly much in evidence in Old Japanese.

(Military) 'Base' pidgins: Hamamatsu Pidgin

When a jet mechanic identified a tool that his Japanese colleague had mislaid he would say: "*This you speak sayonara ?*" (i.e. Is this the

one you said was missing ?). Meanwhile, an American housewife told her maid to dispose of dinner leftovers with "*pailu sayonara it*". These are extracts from the now-extinct 'Hamamatsu Pidgin', a well-developed post-war pidgin which emerged in the city of Hamamatsu, Shizuoka in the 1950s. United States Air Force airmen were transferred to Hamamatsu in 1955 and an English-based pidgin quickly emerged. Hamamatsu Pidgin was used in places of work, amusement and accomodation of Americans in the city. Of the many grammatical and phonological characteristics of Hamamatsu Pidgin I mention selected examples here. Both American and Japanese speakers clipped final vowels, e.g. *jidoosh* for *jidoosha*. The final /e/ changed to /i/, e.g. *sake* to *saki*. There was a high frequency of reduplication: *meter-meter* (look over, examine), *saymo-saymo* (similar, alike), *hubba-hubba* (hurry), *dammy-dammy* (not good). Hamamatsu Pidgin was likely influenced by Hawaiian pidgin with its tendency to reduplication.

In what was the first formal description of a Japanese pidgin, published in the 'Journal of Linguistic Anthropology', the degree of language contact in multilingual situations in Japan becomes clear. Many expressions in the Hamamatsu English-Japanese Pidgin became part of the lexicon because speakers thought they were widely useful. The Japanese /*san*/ was widely used as a suffix in a large group of English or English derived terms. For example, *boy-san*, *baby-san*, *girl-san*, *papa-san*, *mama-san*. Similarly, the pidgin *shimpai-nai* was first thought by Americans to be equivalent to the English "no sweat". It was then extended widely to include the meanings of "let's enjoy ourselves", "you're welcome",

“don’t bother”, “I’ve recovered from my illness”. Also, the Japanese */mo sukoshi/* was thought by Americans to derive from “more skosh” and was used to mean “a little more” or “after a while”, and “at a later point in time”.

Consider the following example of base-pidgin. The story of Cinderella-san was a popular military rendition of the fairy tale and was well known in Japan and Korea up to the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. It illustrates English-Japanese Pidgin but shows a mixture of aspects of both Korean and Japanese. Here is an extract:

Taksan years ago, skosh Cinderella-san lived in a hootchi with sisters, poor little Cinderella -san ketchee no fun, hava-no social life. Itsumo washee-washee, scrubee-scrubee, make chop-chop. One day, Cinderella-san sisters ketchee post cardo from Korea. Post cardo speakie so: one prince-san have big blowout, taksan kimchi, taksan beeru, play “I Ain’t got no Yo-Yo”. Cindy-san sisters taksan excited, make Cinderella-san police up clothes

Although Hamamatsu Pidgin as a homogeneous and distinct pidgin has now disappeared, traces of base pidgins still circulate among the United States Forces stationed in Japan. In casual observation of military personnel at a base in western Tokyo I have noticed that the following are still used in speech:

nay = right ?
daijoob = okay
ichiban = very good
skoosh = a little

watash = me, I

taksan = a lot

Ports Pidgins

Undoubtedly, the most well-known pidgin in Japan is ‘Yokohamese’, Yokohama Pidgin or ‘Yokohama kotoba’. It was widely spoken in Yokohama between 1868-1912 for business and everyday domestic transactions. It is now extinct. Japanese linguists noted several features of this pidgin: “*Nihongo no goi ni motozuku Y P no bai mo, Y sokai shuhen no Nihonjin (Nihongo no bogo shiyosha) tachimo eibeijin shonin ni taishite, tatoeba “haikin arimasu ?” + jooshoochoo (rising intonation). Kono shohin o mitaidesuka ? no yoo na pidgin keishiki o mochiita to iuwareru.*” (Sanseido Dictionary of Linguistics 1990).

The pidgin was first developed in a restricted walled compound called *eejin-kan* in Yokohama. It then spread across a restricted area 41 kilometers around the port. The process was as follows: foreigners imitate the sounds of Japanese words by combining English words to make a new variety of language. This variety is then adopted by Japanese for conversation. An important factor in the establishment of Pidgin Japanese was the invention of Romaji (originally called *Hebon-shiki*) in 1859. I suggest that the original purpose of the invention of Romaji was to facilitate the writing of Pidgin Japanese and not the serious learning of *Nihongo* by foreigners. Most foreigners were only short-stay residents in Tokyo and Yokohama. Romaji was a quick transcription device.

Since Yokohama Pidgin was developed in the Kanto area, the Japanese base was heavily influenced by the local dialect (London

Illustrated 1904). The pidgin word for British soldiers was *ah-key kimmono sto* or 'red clothing person'. The pidgin *sto* derives from the pronunciation of *hito* in Tokyo-Yokohama dialect. The word *sto* occurred in many pidgin compounds such as *eeto high-kin sto* ('silky look person') which meant 'silk inspector'. Yokoham Pidgin also displayed borrowing from Chinese Pidgin English spoken in the nearby ports of Shanghai and Hong Kong. *Num wun sto* meant 'the best of men' or 'a good man'. *Num wun* was Chinese pidgin and was used interchangeably with Japanese *ichiban*. *Num wun* was used as an attributive adjective in several compounds such as *num wun sindoe* to mean captain. The pidgin omitted case markers such as *wa* and *ga*. There were two classes of verbs *arimas* and *seru*. For example, the pidgin *mar arimas ?* was used for the English "Do you have a horse", "Did the horse arrive?" and "It was a horse". *Seru* (Japanese *suru*) was used widely for the new compounds, eg. *kambubakku-seru* ('come back'). Another process was the use of many words in a variety of grammatical functions. There was no definite article, no tense and no copulative verb. When tense distinction was required *ashita* and *kino* were inserted after the verb. Yokohama Pidgin employed the CV syllable structure and SOV word order of Japanese. 80-85% of the vocabulary was derived from Japanese. It is correct, therefore, to refer to this as Pidgin Japanese and not Pidgin English.

Yokohama Pidgin Japanese was sketched out in detail by Atkinson 1879 and Paske-Smith (1932). Among the features they noted were many all-purpose reduplicative expressions. For example, *maro-maro* could mean "pass by" "to not be at home" or "to distrib-

ute". For example:

Sacky maro-maro = Pass wine round the table

Doko maro maro = Where has she gone ?

Kommisan maro maro

= The lady is not at home

Enaka maro maro

= I am going for a trip to the country.

The influence of Chinese Pidgin-English on ports pidgins throughout Asia and the Pacific like Shanghai and Singapore was also noted in Yokohama pidgin. *Sick-sick* was an example of this:

boto sick-sick arimasu = the boat is broken.

This linguistic influence was sometimes called by the Meiji period foreigners in Yokohama as 'Nankinized Nippon'.

A pidgin is a short-lived but generous species of language. It provides speakers with just what is needed at the right time. Unless, of course, it establishes itself as someone's mother tongue. Then it becomes a 'Creole'. In this way, language is replenished. Pidgins and Creoles are new species in the garden of language.

Nagasaki Pidgin

The earliest recorded pidgin in Japan was a Portuguese-based language spoken in Kyushu usually termed Nagasaki Pidgin. The Portuguese influence on Japanese has been powerful. About 4,000 items from the Portuguese and Spanish lexicon has been transferred into Japanese especially the Japanese spoken in the Kyushu area. Most of

them are not used today. The Japanese impact on Portuguese has likewise been influential. Modern Portuguese words such as *biombo* and *catana* come from *byoobu* and *katana*. In addition to simple word-borrowing, a largely Portuguese-based Pidgin spread from the restricted island of Dejima to be spoken widely in the Nagasaki port area. Even the Dutch learned to communicate in this pidgin with the local population.

Ogasawara Pidgin

Viewing Japan as a multilingual society, the Ogasawara islands can be considered the traditionally English-speaking islands of Japan. Also, a contact language developed in the Ogasawara or Bonin Islands as early as the 19th century. Records of actual speech are few and fragmentary. However, recent research has succeeded in reconstructing or at least indicating the nature of an active pidgin (Long 1998, 1999). This pidgin comprised an (American) English superstrate and a substratum of other European (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese) and Oceanic (e.g. Hawaiian) languages. Ogasawaran pidgin rapidly creolized as the mother tongue of indigenous islanders.

The chain of thirty islands known as the Ogasawara are located at the centre of the Izu and Mariana Island Arc in the western part of the Pacific Ocean Muko and Kazan - only the first two islands are inhabited, Iwo and Minamitori being occupied by the Self-Defense Forces (*Jietai*). The islands are located 900-1300km south-east of Tokyo and form part of Tokyo Prefecture.

The first major wave of settlers from the year 1830 onwards brought a variety of

languages to the Ogasawara. The settlers were ethnically mixed and multinational. Languages brought to the islands were English, Danish, French, Italian, Portuguese and several Polynesian languages especially Hawaiian and Tahitian. A number of influential island families emerged forming language groupings, the most important being: Savory, Gilley, Robinson, Mazarro, Millenchamp, Chapin, Johnson, Gonzales, Barcinas, Mackenzie and a substantial group of Kanakans from the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). As the European settlers married Kanakan women, English eventually emerged as a lingua franca of the Islands (Okuma 1956, Ishii 1965, 1968; Cholmondley 1915) The English spoken in the Ogasawaras traditionally has been East Coast American English reflecting its maritime connections. Sampson (1968) in an interview with 87-year old Charlie Washington whose mother was the daughter of Nathaniel Savory remarked on his 'fluent, colloquial English with traces of Massachusetts accent. He spoke of the "cam" water and of the "commahnder" of the U.S. Navy Base"(p.128).

Long (1999) has shown that the Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian languages brought to the island left a significant mark on the languages of the island. Their most conspicuous contribution was to the lexicon of the island. They were also important role in coalescing the phonological and grammatical structure of Bonin English. Long further demonstrates that Japanese later entered the scene and a mixed language (Ogasawaran Japanese) formed with syntax from Japanese and a lexicon from Bonin English.

Linguistic characteristics of Bonin English
(from Long, 2000, p. 91)

	<i>English variable</i>	<i>Bonin English variant</i>	<i>Variant expected from contact with Japanese</i>	<i>Variant expected from contact with Pacific languages</i>
<i>Phonology</i>	/v/	[w]	[b]	[w]
	/T/	[t]	[s], ([S] before /i/)	[t]
	/D/	[d]	[z], ([_] before /i/)	[d]
	app. 12 vowels/D/	over 5 vowels	5 cardinal vowels	5 cardinal vowels
	post-vocalic /r/ non-rhotic (New England, UK)	non-rhotic	non-rhotic	non-rhotic
	/r/ and /l/ distinction	two (three) way distinction [R], [l], and [r]	no distinction; [4] flap	no distinction; [4] (flap languages, trill languages)
	"New England" intonations	yes	no	no
<i>Grammar</i>	indefinite/definite articles	no articles (or confusion)	no articles (or confusion)	no articles (or confusion)
	singular/plural distinction	no distinction	no distinction	no distinction
	<i>be</i> copula	copula omission	copula omission	copula omission
	past tense marker, <i>ed</i> , etc.	been [bIn]		bin
<i>Lexicon</i>	stay, live, be	stop [stap]		stap
	plenty	plenty [plIntl]		plenti
	still	yet [yEt]	yet	yet
	in the past	before [bifoa]		bipo
	sink, capsized	capsized [k&psaid]		kapsait

In 2002, there were 2300 registered residents in Chichijima and Hahajima. Standard Japanese is the most common language. English is known especially among the older islanders. Traditional Amerasian (sic. 'Western') islanders carry Japanese names as well as their ancestral names. One report states that islanders 'keep up their proficiency in English through communication with relatives and friends in the U.S. and non-island foreigners they meet' (Hooser 1990:16). It is estimated that somewhere around 25 to 30 self-reported native English speakers live in the Ogasawara. It is also observed by some fieldworkers that the traditional island (English) native speakers, though proud of their background are shy of speaking English and speak with Japanese-accented English. They have difficulty expressing what they want to say in English. There is also upwards of approximately 25 people who use English regularly as a second or third language. Since almost every traditional native islander family has relatives in the United States there is communication in English by writing (United States Government 1968: see Note).

To summarize, it appears that two contact language systems have traditionally been used on the Ogasawara islands: (1) Bonin Creole English and (the mixed) language variety (2) Ogasawaran-Japanese. These two mixed systems have now been absorbed into the two high-prestige acrolects on the island, i.e. Standard English and Standard Japanese.

Migrant Worker Pidgins

Pidgin is a mixture of speech varieties from close-to-the-standard to far-from-the-standard. The acrolect can be considered the vari-

ety with highest status, associated with the higher levels of educated speech and is probably closest to the standard form. The basilect, in contrast, is the variety possessed by speakers with little or no educated speech repertoire or the furthest away from the prestige variety - the acrolect. Between these two are mesolectal or intermediate varieties. Pidginization is part of an increasing systematization of language by members of a community. What follows is an example of a basilectal form of Japanese pidgin in which code-mixing is the norm and which is radically unstable (i.e. the pidgin can disappear quickly or reinvent itself quickly). I refer to the speech of labourers living in a Filipino enclave in Yokohama. I have taken my data from personal observation (reconstructed conversation) among workers at a Catholic church in downtown Tokyo (2000-2002) and also the conversation quoted in the diary of one foreign worker (Ventura 1992). I have categorized these samples and termed them 'gastarbeiter pidgin' (worker pidgin). Japanese and Tagalog are blended and the language indicates the presence of a pidgin or contact language spoken in particular urban centres of Japan.

GRAMMAR

(a) Nouns to verbs

Whilst *sayonara* was once employed as a verb now *gomi* becomes a verb *nakagomi ako ng 'sang-kartong komiks* (I gomi-ed a box of mags)

(b) adverbs to verbs

ohayo (jap) 'good morning'

Ng-ohayo ka na ba

'have you greeted (the recruiter) yet ?

(c) collocation

kokoro kara

as in

kokoro kara mahal kita

I love you from the bottom of my heart

(d) Meaning extension

1.

ichi-nichi (one day) meaning day-laborer as in
Ang buhay namin sa Koto ay ichi-nichi - minsan malas, minsan suwerte

Our life in Koto is lived on a day-to-day basis - sometimes unlucky, sometimes lucky

2.

Ippuku break in work for a cigarette

(e) Suffixes

-ko

pinkoro (Japanese) offensive term for Pilipino

Chongko (Japanese) offensive term for Korean

(f) Reduplication

sama-sama

as in the exchange

A: *Gokkorosama*

B: *ang sama-sama ng mukha mo* (you have a very ugly face)

yak-yak (Pil) member of yakuza

mig-mig (police) immigration agents

nang dahil sa San Mig, nahuli siya ng Mig-mig

Because of (a bottle of) San Miguel beer he was arrested by the immigration

(g) grammatical synonymy

na in Philipino and *na* in Japanese. Works both ways

Tingan mo siya, mukhang kaitai na

Look at him. He's got a face like a demolition site.

PHONOLOGY

/f/ to */p/*

kahit ang mga latak ng Koto ay nag-ooopuro
even the dregs of Koto go to the bath house

Productive verbs

To be insulted - *binakkero* as in

Binnakero kami buong araw

We were insulted the whole day

SEMANTICS

Meaning Reversals

Aishiteru - used heartily in response to an insult as in

A: *Bakkeru*

B: *Aishite iru*

WORD PLAY

(a) Proverbs

mise, o-mise (jap) bar, in proverb

nasa genba ang hirap, nasa mise ang sarap

'hardship at the jobsite, pleasure in the bar'

(b) Disguise words (commonly by inversion)

ponjaps. inversion of japanese (*hapon*). From Manila left-wing slang meaning secret police.

lespu (police) never use police

(c) Word play

Domo shinkansen (domo sumimasen)

Thank you bullet train

yukuza (Pil) henpecked husband

play on word *yakuza*

Since pidginization is part of an increasing systematization of language by members of a community the mixing is not haphazard or sloppy. For instance, consider the use of the Japanese words *gomennasai* and *ohayo*. Both of these words now function in language mix as verbs *mag-gommenasai* (to apologize) and *nag-ohayo* (to greet someone in the morning).

Pidgins lend themselves to a smooth analysis of code-switching since speakers from different speech-communities do not have access to all possible combinations of speaker roles and production formats. It is often observed, for example, that a pidgin language has a poorly developed pragmatic component. This is evident from the Hamamatsu examples quoted above. Another concern is the process of language decay (sic. attrition) among speakers of a pidgin: what items disappear in what order. The study of Japanese pidgins is yet one other context for the study of code-switching. Japanese pidgins form part of the overall scenario of a multilingual Japan and they are commended to student of code-switching and bilingualism.

Pidgin research in Japan has been long neglected and does not now feature in contemporary linguistic research. It is significant that only in the context of typological linguistics and in particular the origins of Japanese has pidginization been discussed such as well-known Polivanov-Murayama

theory of *mischsprache* or hybridization (Maher 1998 on pidgin hypotheses and the origins of Japanese). I am not sure why this is the case.

The study of pidgins is relevant to many aspects of sociolinguistic research. Take code-switching for example. In my view, pidgins lend themselves to a 'cleaner' analysis of code-switching since speakers from (presumably) different speech-communities do not have access to all possible combinations of speaker roles and production formats. It is often observed, for example, that a pidgin language has a poorly developed pragmatic component. This is evident from the Hamamatsu examples quoted above. Another concern is the process of language decay (sic. attrition) among speakers of a pidgin. What items disappear in what order?

The study of Japanese pidgins is yet another context for the study of sociolinguistics in Japan. Japanese pidgins are part of the overall scenario of a multilingual Japan (an oxymoron no longer) and about which many worthwhile studies now exist (e.g. Noguchi and Fotos 2001). Thus, the study of Japan-based pidgins and creoles may be commended to all students of Japanese multilingualism and bilingualism.

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Note

The Admiral Radford School was established on the

Ogasawaras in 1956 equivalent to elementary and junior high school. There was an attached kindergarten. The children of the American navy were educated together with islander children. All classes were conducted in English. One out of three teachers could speak Japanese. U.S. produced textbooks covering several subjects were employed although the English language was the main subject. When the decision to return the islands to Japan was made, weekly classes in Japanese as a foreign language was established in eighth and ninth grades. These language classes focused almost entirely on written Japanese only since spoken Japanese was commonly used in islanders' homes.