

*Received 10 May 2012.*

*Accepted 15 June 2012.*

## **A STUDY ON NIKKEI HAWAIIAN JAPANESE**

Akemi YAMASHITA

Meikai University, Japan

auroralinda@nifty.com

### **Abstract**

Japanese language use overseas has its history of more than one hundred years. Hawaii is one of the areas where Japanese language is used in daily life among Nikkei citizens of Japanese descent. Japanese language overseas shows changes and diversity.

Some common points were found in Japanese language used overseas even if the local languages are different such as in Brazil (Portuguese), Hawaii (English), Taiwan (Chinese) etc.

The cause of change in Japanese can roughly be divided into two. One is based on the linguistic feature which Japanese itself has, and another is the feature resulting from the Japanese people and the Japanese society which brought immigrants into overseas. However, there is the 3rd cause for the change which is not included in the influence of the local languages. The feature of Nikkei Hawaiian is considered how these factors have affected language change.

### **Key words**

Japanese Hawaiian, language change, discourse, code switching, style change

## **UN ESTUDIO SOBRE LOS JAPONESES NIKKEI DE HAWAI**

### **Resumen**

La lengua japonesa utilizada en ultramar tiene una historia propia de más de cien años. Hawai es uno de los lugares donde el japonés es usado en la vida diaria entre los ciudadanos Nikkei de descendencia japonesa. El idioma japonés de ultramar muestra cambios y diversidad.

Se han hallado algunos aspectos en común en el japonés hablado fuera del Japón incluso en lugares donde las lenguas locales son muy diferentes, como sucede en Brasil (portugués), Hawai (inglés), Taiwan (chino) etc.

A grandes rasgos, las causas del cambio en el japonés son dos: una se basa en los propios rasgos lingüísticos que defines al japonés como tal; y otro es el rasgo resultante de los hablantes y de la sociedad japonesa que mandó inmigrantes fuera del Japón. Sin embargo, hay una tercera causa motivadora del cambio que no tiene con la influencia de la lengua local. En este trabajo se toman en consideración las características de los Nikkei hawaianos para explicar cómo estos factores han motivado el cambio lingüístico.

### **Palabras clave**

Japonés de Hawai, cambio lingüístico, discurso, cambio de código, cambio estilístico

## **1. Nikkei society in Hawaii**

Nikkei can be defined as group of Japanese or Japanese descents who has identity of descents as Japanese and people who are Japanese themselves. As marriages between different races have been increasing especially after World War II, not only Japanese descents who have only Japanese ancestors but also those who have different race ancestors mixed with Japanese should be included. The population of Nikkei Hawaiians is 185,000 people (13.6% of state population) according to census 2010 (Consulate General of Japan in Honolulu 2010).

As for Hawaii state, there is a large Nikkei population and 23.8% of all Nikkei are in the United States of America (1272, 000 of Nikkei population) in Hawaii and this is second place, next to California state. Hawaii State marks the highest ratio of Asian population (38.6%) among fifty states of the United States of America. This ratio exceeds the ratio of Caucasian people (24.7%).

Japanese immigration began in 1868 and the first immigrants are called *Gan-nen mono*. *Gan-nen* means the first year and *mono* means person in Japanese.

In 1885, immigration by government's agreement started. They are called *Kan-yaku-imin* (contracted immigrants). *Kan-yaku* can be translated as government agreement and *imin* means immigrant. It continued till 1924 and about 200,000

Japanese immigrants went over to Hawaii. The immigrant after World War II started in 1965 by the new Immigration Act enactment.

Four high-ranking prefectures of *Kan-yaku* (contracted) immigrants were in places such as *Hiroshima* (38.2%), *Yamaguchi* (35.8%), *Kumamoto* (14.6%), and *Fukuoka* (7.5%), occupying 96.1 percent of all during the ten years from 1885 to 1894. The following five prefectures are *Niigata*, *Kanagawa*, *Chiba*, *Shiga*, *Okayama* and *Wakayama* prefectures in order. Looking at the statistics of thirty years later from 1885, *Okinawa* (13.8%) entered fourth for the first time, and *Fukuoka* (6.3%) has become the fifth (Ishikawa 1986: 13-14). It is considered that the foundation for common language of Japanese society in Hawaii was probably formed in these first ten years.

In census 2010 (id.) the number of Japanese residents who has Japanese nationality were 17,862 people and does not show great change compared to the census of ten years ago even though it is decreasing slightly (long-term residents 6,097, permanent residents 11,765). Numbers of Japanese companies are 156. 449 students are studying at tutoring school for families of employees. The government of Hawaii is putting a great deal of effort into tourism, as agriculture, manufacturing industry with sugar, pineapple and coffee is in the state of decline. Japan Exchange and Teaching Program are ongoing as cultural exchange and twenty- six participants from Hawaii are participating in this program.

Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Hawaii began in 1986 and the Okinawa Research Center was established in 2008. Such academic exchange has also been carried out and Japanese immigrants till World War II were involved in farming consistently. Even though the percentage of farming has been declining gradually, change into management of farmers can be seen among agricultural workers (Ishikawa 1986: 11-12). Japanese Americans in Hawaii has been established as Nikkei society as an Intermediate class of Hawaiian society (Yamanaka 1993: 33). Significant expansion of Japanese Americans' professions are technical experts of manufacturing, government officers and retailers and those who are engaged in service business or unskilled labor are very few (Yamanaka 1993: 33).

As for distribution of occupation, Nakahachi (2007: 43) says the proportion of Nikkei people who are engaged in professional management and administration are high (36.9%) and state legislator of Nikkei Hawaiians has become a considerable percentage (36.8%) of all council, which indicates that Nikkei Hawaiians play important role in

politics. Nikkei belong to the middle class of society among the indigenous people of Hawaii, the Philippines, Chinese and Caucasian. As for the level of education, Nakahachi (2007: 38) says it is at a much higher level compared with the average of the host society (high school graduates: all Americans, 80.4%; all Hawaiians, 84.6%; all Nikkei 87.3%; university graduates: all Americans, 24.4%; all Hawaiians 26.2%; all Nikkei 30%).

However, the average education of Hawaiian Nikkei is lower when compared with all Nikkei average of the United State of America. Nikkei Hawaiian society seemed to be a different society from the mainland Nikkei society. There are very few poor people in average income of Nikkei Hawaiians and Nikkei Americans and pulling apart from other Caucasian and Chinese descent although the ratio of wealthy class of Nikkei is lower compared with Chinese, Korean, Filipinos, Caucasians and aborigines.

The Japanese American community in Hawaii can be said to have established a stable middle-class society in the third and fourth generations. As described above, by the level of the economical wealth, high leveled education, advance of Nikkei representatives, and the population ratio in the State of Hawaii in the host society, Japanese language in Hawaii was positioned as the language in the middle class of society. It can be said that the necessity of using an honorific or treatment expressions were not so necessary.

## **2. Language in daily lives of Nikkei Hawaiians**

In February 1885, when 944 immigrants arrived at Hawaii, more than one hundred children were included. There were 54 Japanese students among 8,770 total number of public school students (Ôdo & Shinotô 1985: 127). The Nikkei number of students in public schools in 1924 was 25,858 and that marked a majority of students in all of Hawaii.

Japanese Language Education in Hawaii which began in 1893 was in rented classrooms of the Kohala Halawa public school buildings in the Island of Hawaii. Many Japanese language schools were opened continuously after that, such as the one in 1895 in the Methodist Church of Maui and in 1898 in Kona, Hawaii. Almost all Japanese

immigrants at the time were thinking to return home when the contract expired and were planning for short stays only until they gained sufficient property. However, life never got off the ground and people continued their lives in poverty. Meanwhile, second generation reached school age and was required school education and Japanese-language education (Yamashita 2007: 41-42).

Many of the Japanese schools used the textbook of the Japanese language published by the Ministry of Education in Japan for inheriting the spirit of the Japanese. Value of judgments of Japanese life to their own children was implicated throughout all kinds of education. Japanese education has positioned as manner to connect Japanese value and heritage of culture. The textbook contains a lot of moral content and moral training for the Japanese. The first original textbook assisted by Yaichi Haga and others called *Kaitei Kyôkasho (Revised Japanese textbook)* was published in 1915 by Board of Education in Hawaii. The control law of foreign language school was submitted to Congress of Hawaii in 1919 by the menace of the First World War and could not be approved because of the opposition of Japanese Americans.

A large landowner needed the labor of Nikkei for the arable land. Japanese language school for children were needed for securing a workforce and because parents were eager for school education of their children. In 1933, Japanese school in Hawaii has a large enrollment of 43,606 students were enrolled. Numbers of the Japanese language schools were 190 schools (Ôdo & Shinotô 1985: 131).

During the First World War, movement of Americanization became popular in the United States, and education of Standard English was increasingly active in public schools in Hawaii. The second generation Japanese immigrants began to have American consciousness, especially those who were going to Japanese school under a leadership of first generations and were absorbing the Japanese culture (Kitagawa 1986: 27-299).

Japanese Americans tended to feel ashamed to speak English and became silent. There was a reverse idea of the desire to speak English perfectly. Japanese American community has been isolated and they could spend their daily lives only in Japanese and did not need to speak English. However, Japanese people away from Japanese communities spent their lives in mixed societies with multi-ethnic lives and they had to learn a smattering in broken English (publishing Committee for Japanese immigrant history of Hawaii 1964: 97-99).

Hawaiian representative association for Japanese Education was organized in 1949 after World War II, Japanese language teaching was resumed. Hawaii became a State of Hawaii in nineteen fifty nine, in the nineteen sixties, Nikkei judge of the Supreme Court, Nikkei chairman of State Education Committee, and the principals in public schools were born and Nikkei Americans of the advance to the city became prominent (publishing Committee for Japanese immigrant history of Hawaii 1964: 199).

The attitude toward the education of Japanese Americans in Hawaii was very diverse for the third and fourth Nikkei generations as the pressure and the influence from white society was sparse and different from the mainland. However, their parents have invested a lot in their education of children, and the thought that the education was very important to acquire social status and have good income was a common idea of most of the Japanese immigrants in Latin America and the United States. In addition, as for the significance of Japanese language education for Nikkei children in postwar, the development of rich human resources became a bridge between Japan and their countries, respecting both culture and the international vision are the common aims among many Nikkei Latin American immigrant communities.

Movement in opposition to Standard English occurred among the younger generation of Japanese Americans in the nineteen sixties. This was thought to have a background that the University of Hawaii defined not to qualify student's graduation if they cannot overcome the Pidgin English (Adachi 1990: 14). After this definition, speaking in Pidgin English was expected and managed between the second and third generations and become even symbol of attractive youth. Such social customs on language managing were said; *Issei* (first generations) use Pidgin English because they were forced to, *Nisei* (second generations) used it as a habit, and *Sansei* (third generations) used it by their own choice (Oda 1983: 19).

Repelling the standardization of English among the younger generation of Nikkei occurred in nineteen sixties, granted his citizenship and rights of minority language, and this allowed to eliminate the cultural boundaries. Not being bound by the norms of social interaction, and freedom from the norm of language in the Japanese American community contributed positively toward the formation of a more urban Japanese society (Yamashita 2007: 164).

Referring to Nikkei language life, Japanese language was used at home and communication with parents and grandparents are also in Japanese while they are children. However, English should have priority in public education when they reached school age. Life in English language preferred in business in city life although English used in Hawaii was unique English, called pidgin. Also, independence, away from the Japanese American community reached the adults and, Japanese language was no longer necessary for some Nikkei. Occasionally speaking in Japanese was required on the weekend on Saturday and Sunday when they had a connection between Buddhist Church, the Church of Christ, Japanese Association, and Japan Town. Considering the second generation, English ability became better than their parents and conversation was in Hawaiian pidgin mixed with Japanese.

### **3. Previous studies on Japanese abroad and Hawaii**

The transformation of Japanese language in Hawaii, loanwords, interference, switching, influence of local language, and Japanese characteristics such as addressing, potential form, final articles have been reported (Kurokawa 1983, Inoue 1971, Abe 1965, etc.). Higa (1974: 29-35) says honorific, polite language and Japanese used by women are noticeably lacking. Moreover the use of interjection (*no*), conjunctive particle (*ken*, *kê*), omission of case particle (*to*) are observed. Higa analyses this might be the influence of English used by the second generations. Japanese spoken by *Issei* (first generations) have been affected by the Japanese spoken by *Nisei* (second generations) and *Issei* also spoke Japanese without honorific and polite language. Women of *Issei* spoke mainly without the forms used by women. This means that the *Issei* required lower level for the acquisition of Japanese language of second generation and were satisfied with Japanese language comprehensibility.

Higa explained that the second generation had the citizenship of the United States in the American Society and the main position in the Japanese community was occupied by the second generation psychologically and legally. *Issei* admitted that their native language is English, and their own position was placed subordinate positioned linguistically. In addition, the Japanese language of Nikkei community in Hawaii is classified with dialect Japanese speaking *Issei*, the Japanese mixed with English

speaking *Nisei* and those who speak standard Japanese immigrated post world war. Higa also points out borrowing words from English is used for time, numbers of quantity, addressing of relatives and ordinal person, occupation, medical things, home, furniture and grocery and pronunciation is close to English.

According to Abe (1998: 158), the Japanese language in Hawaii has the following features. (1) the part which is not involved in contents, such as honorific language and womanly expression must be removed, (2) borrowed words from English is included the most, (3) the sentence is switched between Japanese and English, (4) the number is spoken in English, (5) the name, addressing, kinship terminology, time, quantity are expressed in English. He is referring on previous studies and says that a common phenomenon in Japanese language can be seen in Western Islanders of Ogasawara and Japanese American in Hawaii and the unity of social groups can be aware as “Western islanders” or “same social sense of belonging” by using such type of Japanese language.

According to Asahi and Long (2011: 5-6), Japanese in Hawaii can be characterized with following points; (1) conjunctions change as “*Soride* → *Soride* → *Hoide* → *Hede* (and then)”, (2) both “*washi*” and “*watashi* (means I, my and me )” are used, (3) the “u” sound change as “*moroute* (instead of *moratte*, to be given)”, “*omoute* (instead of *omotte*, to think)”, (4) negative form of verb “*-n*, *-nanda*, *-ndatta*” are used instead of *-nai* form, (5) use of honorific “*-rareru*” form, (6) aspect form of “*-yoru*”(not “*-toru*”) is used, (7) voice of result (distinguished from *-te oru*) as “*Haha ga toমেয়otta ken* (as mother stopped)”, (8) use of conjunction “*-te karani*”(and to do something) (9) use of verb “*oru* (to be)”, (10) use of conjunction for reason “*-ken*” (because of doing something), (11) use of “oh” for back-channel and surprise, (12) use of “yea” or “yeah” for responding. Japanese language in Hawaii is positioned as the nascent dialect. In another words, Asahi and Long explain the development of dialect as Koine which contacted with many dialects not only dialect of the Chugoku region, but also Okinawan plantation and many other dialects had been contained altogether.

Yamashita (2007: 208-216, 243-305) pointed out some features of Japanese language in Brazil from the perspective of a new order of Japanese language abroad. Applying the characteristics of Japanese in Nikkei Brazilian society to the characteristics of the Japanese language in Hawaii (numbers classified by Asahi & Long 2011 are adopted), some typical changes are found. For example, (2) concerning



addressing, many men's informants used "*boku* (I, my, me)". In addition, addressing for their relatives, there was not any distinction whether inside of their family or outsider, they called their own parents with polite form like "*otôsan* (addressing father for another person with respect)", "*okâsan* (addressing mother of another person with respect)".

That is to say, many informants called their own father, *otôsan* and their own mother *okâsan*. *Otakusan* is used to indicate hearer or partner. This is old style word and hardly used in native Japanese present days. *Obasan* is used to designate for middle aged women. It is also used for aunts. It is impolite to use *Obasan* when woman is not relatives for the speaker. *Onêsan* is used to indicate young women. When *Onêsan* is not relatives, this address should not be used among native Japanese. *Okusan* designate your wife or another person's. However, Hawaiian Nikkei uses for addressing their own wives. *Kâchan* means Mom and also used for designation of their wives and mothers. *Dannasan* (one's master) and *Ottochan* (Dad) are used to designate their own husband.

Many ways of addressing relatives and families are used in different way from native Japanese and sometime they are not polite. (4) as for negative form of verb, "*Mada sen* (I do not do it yet) (use 23.3%, hear someone uses 37.6%)", "*Mada kon* (does not come yet) (use 26.5%, hear 37.9%)", "*Ikananda* (did not go) (use 12.7%, hear 25.5%)", "*Ikan-jatta* (did not go) (use 8.2%, hear 22.2%)". (5) concerning usage of polite form of "*-reru, -rareru*", it was clarified by Yamashita (1999: 11).

Usage of verbs in Brazilian Japanese, such as "*yomu* (to read)", "*taberu* (to eat)", "*kaeru* (to go back)", "*wasureru* (to forget)" are high rate and showed correlation (significant level 2.5%) with native place (west Japan) of parents (first generations). (6) aspect expressions which express progressives, "*-yoru*" and "*-toru*" are used when the flowers are falling as "*hana ga chiriyoru*" (use 15.4%, hear 32.3%). (7) voice for expressing results, when flowers have fallen, "*hana ga chittoru*" (use 12%, hear 31.2%), "*hana ga chitchoru*" (use 5.7%, hear 17.7%) are used.

All of these expressions are dialects used in western Japan where many immigrants left for new world and they were the result of succession by the second and third generations. Concerning (1), (3), (8) and (9), they are not mentioned in Yamashita (2007). However the similar or the same expressions were observed during the interview to Nikkei Brazilians. As Abe (1998: 158) pointed out there are a lot of borrowing words from English in Hawaiian Japanese, there are many borrowing words

both from Portuguese and English in Brazilian Japanese (Yamashita 2007: 201-209). It can be said that Japanese language in Nikkei society in Hawaii and Brazil had transformed into the form which indicated one social group as Euro-American Nikkei or Islander.

While Hawaii received immigrant mainly from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi Prefectures, and many immigrants settled from Kumamoto, Fukuoka and Okinawa in Brazil. This immigration from west part of Japan was common in both countries.

From the point of view of beginning the history of immigration, consider eighteen sixty eight as starting immigration to Hawaii, the immigration to Brazil started about forty years later in 1908 (Yamashita 2007: 19). This means there is approximately one generation gap.

#### **4. Informants and methods of discourse analysis**

The survey was carried out in Maui, Oahu and Hawaii Island in 2010 and 2011. The data of discourse used in this study is based on the results of the primary survey in Oahu and Hawaii Island.

The informants are seven women and two men, nine in total. All of them are more than eighty years old. The average age is eighty seven. As for the informants, there were eight second generation, *Nisei* and one who is third generation, *Sansei*. The participants had received an average of thirteen years of education and they had spent ten years learning Japanese. History of education is an average of thirteen years and history of learning Japanese is ten years on average. Every informant had received an education of high school level or above. 87.3 percent is an average of the years of education of all Nikkei Hawaiians received. They went to regular school in the morning and Japanese school in the afternoon. They sometimes went to Japanese school in the weekend. Most people could learn Japanese until they finished junior high school even during the war.

Language used at home was Japanese. Birthplace of parents was Yamaguchi Prefecture, Hiroshima Prefecture, and Okinawa Prefecture in top order. Except one whose father is from Niigata Prefecture, the rest of all parents are from western Japan.

Many of the parents were engaged in agriculture in the plantation of sugarcane or coffee, although a few people had a store or small hotel.

The interviews were conducted without deciding particular subject to talk about and Japanese native speakers hears according to the subject whom a Japanese descent informant develops. Permission of recording was obtained before the interviews took place.

The Japanese descent informants and the Japanese native speakers had met for the first time. Many of the topics were related to children and families, recent Japan, wartime, life in Hawaii and food. When the subject was automatically concerning personal background or an attribute, it was used as attribute data and when it did not become clear, the interviewer clarified the content. Although the time recorded was respectively different, the first ten minutes of the recording was used as data. The way of making transcriptions was done according to Usami (2006: 245-261, Basic transcription system for Japanese).

## **5. Result and Discussion of Discourse Analysis**

### *5.1 Code switching and turn taking function*

As far as code switching (following, C.S.) and borrowing are concerned, C.S. is thought that is intentionally or unconsciously meaningful juxtaposition in accordance with each internal rule of two original grammar systems, and borrowing is classified as one word or the fixed short idiom introduced into other varieties from one variety (Gumperz 1982: 83). Here, since we would like to see in connection with the turn taking function and C.S. in a discourse, borrowing and mixed use are also treated as C.S.

Turn taking refers to that the bearer of a certain limited participating opportunity takes the place (Kushida 2006: 49). In this paper the bearer is supposed to be speaker. Kushida defines the complex procedure which makes turn taking possible in the orderly form the “turn taking organization”. And the turn is explained from a viewpoint of some resources for a hearer to perceive. A resource can be used in order to finish the act in the inside of a mutual act or activity, and a linguistic and nonverbal material observable from a partner (Kushida 2006: 54).

The ingredient resource which is needed for a Japanese turn takings are a constitutional unit arranged at position on an utterance chain, an introduction ingredient at a start part, a syntactic structure, the prosodic feature, and ingredient arranged at the end part.

We notice what kind of resources are noted when turn taking happens in the discourse of the Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese. And the function which C.S. to English which appears in the Hawaiian Japanese descent's Japanese has achieved will be seen. The prosodic features are not considered an aim of this paper.

#### 5.1.1 The positioning function on the utterance chain of a turn

It is the chain organization which formulized the set of the normative expectation which produces a regular pattern in discourse which Kushida has called conversation data (Kushida 2006: 63). When the relation of two utterance types which became a pair formulized is considered to be a positioning function, the answer to a greeting or the question of Yes/No is contained here. Since the greeting was the first meeting, almost all informants performed it in Japanese.

In the turn which receives the question of “Is this ...?” (Yes/No Question), many cases of C.S. were seen in the discourse and “Yes”, “No”, “Yeah”, “Yea”, etc. are used especially. There were also many turns which reply to a question in Japanese, of course, and “*Hai* (yes)”, “*Ee* (yes)”, “*Un* (Yeah)”, “*Yie* or *Ie* (Yea, the above-mentioned Asahi & Long 2011) were used in many order. “*Ie*” in Japanese means “No” and “*Ie* (Yea)” means “Yes” in English. Due to a speaker, the distinction between Japanese denial “*Ie*” and “Yea” in English was not easy to distinguish. “*So* (yes, it is)” and “*So desu* (that’s right)” have lower frequency in use than “*Ie* or *Iie* (no)”. However, repetition such as “No, no, no” or “yes, yes, yes” are seen.

English appears in the turn which can be answered also in Japanese. Even if both question and answers can be understood and the informant can speak in Japanese, the reply was given in English. Japanese avoids saying definitely clearly in a beginning of a sentence, neither “yes” nor “no”. As a result of consciousness that “Yes” and “No” in English indicate higher degree of plainness, in the next turn following Yes/No Question, “Yes” and “No” by C.S. are used.

Japanese transmits denial answer indirectly. Japanese tends to avoid “Yes” and “No” in the beginning of a sentence of a turn start and denying euphemistically by the end of the sentence. There are few burdens waiting to be understood or be transmitted ambiguous “Yes” and “No” information with the ending part. It is much easier to answer in the beginning of a sentence for especially English speaker. However, this does not mean that “*Hai* (Yes)” and “*Iie* (No)” do not come to the beginning of a sentence of a turn start in the Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese.

Although Kushida (2006: 54) is considering about “*Iya* (No)”, “*Un* (Yes)” and “*Soo* (Yes)”, they are the introduction arranged at the turn start part, they have classified into two. “*Iya* (No)” “*Un* (Yes)” and “*Soo* (Yes)” used for response for “Yes/No Question” is (1), and other “*Iya* (No)” “*Un* (Yes)” and “*Soo* (Yes)” used as back-channeling is (2) in this paper. The example of the utterance numbers 59 and 102 are considered to be (1) positioning function of C.S.

(1)

58	A	Jâ, ryôri mo? (Well, also cooking?)
59	I	<i>No</i> , dekinaino. (No.I cannot) ( <laugh>

(The figures show the number of utterances. I is Nikkei Hawaiian and A is a Japanese native speaker. The following is the same.)

(2)

101	A	A, otôsan wa Fukuoka desu ka? (Ah, Is your father from Fukuoka?)
102	Y	<i>Yes</i> .
103	A	Soshite okâsan wa? (And your mother?)
104	Y	Okâsan wa Yamaguchi desu <i>ne</i> (Mother is from Yamaguchi, <i>isn't she?</i> )

(Y is the Nikkei Hawaiian. Italic indicates unnatural parts when speaking in Japanese.)

### 5.1.2 The introduction function arranged at a turn start part

The introduction arranged at a turn start part mean such as “A (Ah)”, “E (Well)”, “Un (Yea)”, “So (Yea)”, “Iya (No, except Yes/No Question)”, “Demo (but)”, “Dakara (So)” etc. (Kushida 2006: 54). The ingredient which is not syntactically connected with the turn constitutional unit works in a weak way. Kushida supposes that these

introduction functions will be projected “what kind of act tends to be performed by this turn?” or “when the turn begins the motion towards completion, by what kind of elements appear?” C.S. from Japanese to English seldom happened by the introduction function arranged at a turn start part in the Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese. The average use in Japanese are “A (Ah) (1.2 times)”, “E (Well) (0.2 times)”, “Un (Yea) (2.8 times)”, “So (Yea) (0.4 times)”, “Iya (No, except Yes/No Question) (1.5 times)” during ten minute and is not all high. In C.S. although “Oh (Asahi & Long 2011) surprise, and response “Oh”), “Oh, Oh”, “then”, “No (except Yes/No Question)”, etc., appear here and there though the frequency is not high.

### 5.1.3 The syntactic structure of a turn constitutional unit

There are some syntactic structures used in order to assemble a turn constitutional unit. Kushida (2006: 54) mentions that there are differences between English, SVO type language and Japanese, SOV type language about the syntactic structure. Moreover, in Japanese, the subordinate conjunction which makes the clause comes after the clause and the case-marking particle and adverbial particle which show the connection of words following a paragraph.

(3)

16	K	Dôshiteka, yûtarane, <i>no</i> ano koro wa min-na ikanto iken. Nihongo gakkô ni.(Because I say, <i>no</i> , everybody had to go. To Japanese school.)
----	---	---

(K is Nikkei Hawaiian.)

Example of the utterance number sixteen is an example placed “*Doshiteka yûtarane* (If I say why)” at the beginning of a turn of a response for the answer of WH-question (What, Why, How, etc.). “No” in the utterance number sixteen is different from “No” for the answer of “Yes/No Question” of (1), but “No” corresponding for “not permitted allowing without going to school” and is carrying out syntactic work. “*Nihongo gakkô ni* (to Japanese school)” is a portion of postposing. It could be pointed

out as one feature of the Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese that there are many cases of inverted order in sentences.

“*Dôshite, Kôkimeta. Dakara kô shinjiteru* (Why, decided so. That’s why I believe so.) (Yamashita 2007:211)”, “*Nani sore wakaranai* (What is that? I do not understand)”. Such patterns are also observed in the Brazilian Japanese and in a response turn, WH is repeated in a beginning of a turn sentence in many cases.

In the Japanese spoken by Nikkei Hawaiians, it is considered that C.S. used by the speaker to assemble the unit turn configuration and there are some patterns to intent turns. Cases like the following were seen in the survey. The parts in parentheses are interpreted the intent of the speaker by author and underlined parts are considered that acts as syntactic constituent units of the turn C.S. to English when you are talking in Japanese.

(4)

1. “Kôyû hanashi to yûnoga, then, no, sotode Ninongo hanashitara dame. (This story is that, *then, no*, talking in Japanese outside no).”
2. “I mean, Bokuga arede chûgakkô natte kara aha, arede machigatta noyo. (*I mean*, when I was junior high school, yeah, I did it wrong).”
3. “Gakkô e kayotte no anokoro wa I think, êgo no hoga miyasui desu. (going to school, *no*, those days, *I think*, it is easier to read in English).”
4. “and then, no, sorega ne. (*and then, no*, I have to say).”
5. “and year, I graduate, I remember, futûni hanasu deshô (and yeah, I graduate, *I remember*, we speak normally).”
6. “yeah, but I forgot, gyôretsu shite (*yeah, but I forgot*, standing in a line).”
7. “that I remember, oya kara naratta namari mitaina (like accent I learned from the parent, *that I remember*).”

#### 5.1.4 Components to be placed at the end of the structural turn unit

The components to communicate the completion of a sentence or the end of the turn in Japanese are final particles. Even if there is a sentence inversion, particles act as the completion of the addition and function of pause. Checking the progress of the topic

by putting the “*ne*” in the text, it has function to show consideration for audience (Yamashita 2010: 144).

C.S. components placed at the end of the sentence were hardly observed.

However, in Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese, the use of sentence final particles have often seen, and observed interpersonal adjustment in the end configuration of turn or in the middle as shown in number 179 of utterance. It is thought that indicating the end of the turn point and possible audience participation by a final particle, speaker is expecting to be able to shift smoothly into the next turn.

(5)

179	N	Ano paper, paper ga nakunatta kara ne. Sensei ni morau, (Hai) morawanto iken no desu ne. (paper, paper had run out, Teacher gives us (Hai) and I had to get it from a teacher.)
-----	---	--

(N is Nikkei Hawaiian.)

“*Ne*” in Hawaiian Nikkei Japanese, many times of occurrences of “*ne*” (in ten minutes) was 25.3 times with average, “*yo*” followed by 4.4 times, “*yone*” 2.7 times and “*nee*” 1.1 times was observed in the order. In Nikkei Brazilian Japanese, contracted form of “*não e* (no is, tag question)” in Portuguese is “*ne*”. As this has a similar usage and its position to “*ne*” in Japanese, often appears in Nikkei Brazilian Japanese (Yamashita 2007: 140). Eight Nikkei Brazilians (second and third generations living in Japan) were investigated in the same way as Nikkei Hawaiian and the use of “*ne*” as the final particle was 19.9 times on average in ten minutes. Major difference of those surveyed Nikkei Brazilians and Hawaiians and Brazilians living Japan is that the average age is 41 years old and they are young employees. Due to the limited number of informants of survey, further investigation is required to make any generalizations. However using the “*ne*” was found more in Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese than that of in Brazilian.

The above is considered the C.S. from the viewpoint of function of turn-taking, in Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese and this shows that the C.S. has been carried out mainly in syntactic structural unit of turn functions and taking positions on the chain utterance. On



the other hand, C.S. does not appear so much in an introductory component or in the end part of component.

Japanese is said to be a high context language. Hirataka (2010: 116) analyzes the characteristics of Brazilian Japanese and said Japanese language has a mode of pragmatic feature and has a structure with a topic, a theme, adding explanation and a comment. The structure of coincidence of a subject and predicate part are not an axis in Japanese. The effect on the syntactic differences could be caused C.S. C.S. is used to carry turn smoothly so that hearer feels easy to wait next turn. The chain of syntax is shown by C.S. The mode of syntactic is made up by C.S. Pragmatic Japanese is tied up by syntactic C.S. so that speaker feels it easy to express his own insistence. As a conclusion, C.S. covers the deficit of high context of Japanese making block in the sentence.

## *5.2 Switching style of discourse*

Style of discourse can be divided into four types in Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese. In this paper, utterances were classified as N (non-polite form, normal style), NM (no markers which indicate the degree of politeness), P (polite speech including the polite form, *desu, masu*), S (Super-polite form, utterance including respect form and humbling form). Classification of F (formal impression of utterance) and C (casual impression of utterance) for each discourse were counted regardless of the format of language such as non-polite form, polite-form, respect form, humbling form. The number of style N for 10 minutes is the average of 19 times, NM, 31.1 times, P, 28.3 times, S, 1.6 times. Therefore the following fact was clarified. The “*desu, masu* (polite style)” are used more than “*da*(plain style)” at the first meeting for 10 minutes.

Also, NM (no marker) was found by using inversion sentence as the most common style and this is considered to be one of the strategies or tool of interpersonal adjustment avoiding using respect form and polite form. Respect form was used very few. Looking at the overall average of impression, C (casual impression) is 22.8 times and F (formal impression) is 28.4 and F (impression formal) was used slightly more often during 10 minutes. However, because the number of informants is small, it is necessary to take into account the individual differences.

The informants are divided into several types. The first type continues conversations without changing the style from the beginning until the end. They constantly use P (polite speech including the Polite-form) and S (Super-polite form, utterance including respect form, humbling form) and maintaining a distance in progress of conversation. This type has a way of speaking such as college student in the 1960's. They sound like they are perfectly disciplined and mainly use “desu, masu (polite forms)”, and sometimes use respect form and humbling form to show modesty or honor. Nonverbal expressions are also gentle and graceful.

The second type used N (normal style) from the beginning of interview and very few times enters P (polite form). They prefer to be friendly and prefer casual and there are many inversions (See utterance number 16 and 180).

(6)

H	180	Uchi no otôsan wa butare dakara. grand-ma ni. Sô desu. (He left home), my father was hit by his grandmother. It is so.)
---	-----	---

(H is Nikkei Hawaiian.)

Use of N (normal style) is independent to the listener's feeling or psychological and social distance that perceives the partner, ignoring the listener to progress with their own style. Ability to explain about a complicated matter in Japanese is high even though in terms of style switching according to the situation is likely to be a problem. However, the average age of informants are more than eighty years old, since most of the audience or hearers are much younger than speaker and is also possible to think N (normal form) is possible to use even at the first meeting. This type is often observed particularly when the informants are men.

The third type is the type to use suitable expressions gradually adjusting to the situation in the progress of conversation even though the familiarity will increase in ten minutes and regulation of changes from P (polite form) to N (normal form) is not clearly observed. The third type is the case of T, the utterance number 27, 29 and 30. Concerning utterance of T, There are variations such as N (normal) and P (polite) are used as a style, C (casual) and F (formal) as an impression.

(7)

27	T	Watashi no imôto gane(ee) Nihon no gakkô itteta no.(My sister was going school in Japan)	N	C
28	A	Hâ ( yes) .	NM	/
29	T	E, imagoro sabishiku natte kite iru kamo shin-aide (ee) otôsan ga watashi ni kankô to isshoni (Hai) sankā, a, nikagetsu (ee) i, i(fûn[↑]) itte kimashita.(un) (As my sister might be lonely now, father sent me to Japan for my sister during two months including sightseeing.(Yeah) I have been.)	P	F
30	T	A, yokatta denai desu (un). Sukideshita kara ma, mata ikitakatta kedo(ee) tôtô ikenakatta.(It was not good. As I liked Japan very much, I wanted to go to Japan again, I could not visit there again after all.)	P, N	F

## 6. The whole image of Japanese language of Nikkei Hawaiian society

In order to overview the result of discourse analysis for present condition of Japanese of Nikkei Hawaiian, correspondence analysis was applied (Fig. 1).

- (1) Nationality: the United States / Brazil
- (2) Sex: male/female
- (3) Educational history: edu<15/edu>15
- (4) Generation: gen2 (second generations)/gen3 (third generations)
- (5) Hometown where informants were born and grown up: Hilo / Kona / Honolulu / Sao Paulo / Parana
- (6) Mother tongue: Japanese/English/Portuguese
- (7) N (normal form), NM (no markers which indicate the degree of politeness), P (polite utterance including the polite form, desu, masu): Whole and Final,

N1(>15times),N2(16-30times),N3(31-45times),N4(<46times). (as for NM, the same) S1 (=0), S2 (<1 time)

(8) Numbers mean each informant. (The explanation for the position of each informants are omitted.)

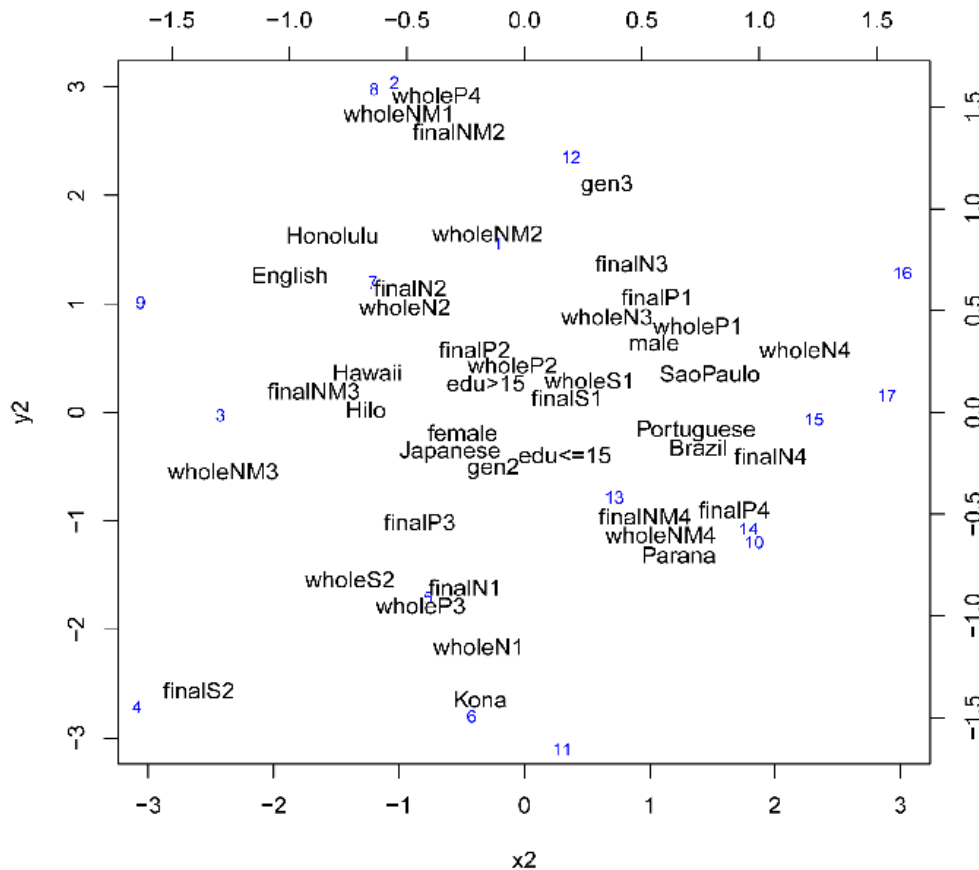


Figure 1. Attribute of informants and the usage of N ( non-polite form) , NM ( No-marker) , P ( Polite-form) , S ( Super-polite form) in utterance data was categorized as follows and correspondence analysis was conducted. The Brazilian data used for this analysis is the result of survey conducted from 1997 to 2000 in Sao Paulo State and Rio Grande do Sur State.<sup>1</sup>

It is thought that the X-axis (horizontal axis) indicates the more approaches to left, Japanese usage is more polite and on the contrary, going to more to the right side is less polite. Nikkei Brazilian Japanese has more use of N (non-polite form) than Hawaii and as for the ending part of the utterance and the whole utterance, the lower degree of forms is used.

<sup>1</sup> I have got cooperation of Dr. Keiichi Takamaru with making Figure 1.

Moreover, the Y-axis (vertical axis) indicated in the upper part can be regarded as city type Japanese (Yamashita 2007: 159) and lower part, Colonia type Japanese which Japanese composed as common language in the plantation of immigrants. As for the area, there are tendencies that they use the honorific and polite language in various ways according to situations in Kona and Hilo compared with Honolulu.

## 7. Conclusion

Some features were clarified based on the result of discourse analysis about Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese. Japanese language in Hawaii is regarded as new Japanese of “Western type of Nikkei Japanese” with background of social affiliation consciousness.

Code switching was considered from four functions by the roles which played in turn taking. Code switching plays an important part in the Nikkei Japanese whose mother tongue is English. English has more importance in syntax than in pragmatic mode. Nikkei Japanese speaker covers sentence composition by adopting C.S. which acts as syntaxes element in Japanese so that their Japanese to be strengthen as a sentence and contributing in turn taking.

Regarding the style used most in discourse in Hawaiian Japanese was “masu, desu (polite form of verb to be and to do)”, reflecting the middle class society of Nikkei Hawaiian society, diversity of honorific and humbling form were reduced and only polite “desu, masu” form are used for adjusting personal relations.

The use of NM (no marker) has a function as a strategy for adjusting personal relations avoiding the use of the final form of verbs or final particle. The use of NM (no marker) means that inversion is used so often and this brings effective results for adjusting human relations without expressing relations by a certain form of verbs.

## References

- ABE, Isamu (1965) “Hawaii and Japanese language”, *Language life*, 166, Tokyo Chikuma Shobô, 81-88.

- ABE, Shin (1998) "Same phenomenon can be seen in Japanese of Hawaii and the European and American Japanese", *Research bulletin of Osaka Shoin Women's University*, 6, 149-160.
- ADACHI, Nobuhiro (1985) "Language assimilation process of Hawaiian Japanese and its background (1-3)", *Kenkyû Ronshû (research and essays) of Kansai Gaidai University*, 12, 87-105, 117-133, 141-164.
- ADACHI, Nobuhiro (1990) "Pidgin or standard language: language behavior of Japanese descent in Hawaii", *Kenkyû Ronshû(research and essays) of Kansai Gaidai University*, 51, 11-26.
- ASAHI, Yoshiyuki & Daniel LONG (2011) "A contact dialect in plantation society in Hawaii: Koine Japanese in the recording of Japanese immigrants in the late 19th century", *Handout of meeting about Hawaiian Japanese at Meikai University (2011.1.23)*.
- COMMITTEE OF PUBLISHING HISTORY OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS OF HAWAII (1964) *History of Japanese Immigrants -75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Contracted Immigration by government to Hawaii*, Hawaii: Committee of Publishing History of Japanese Immigrants of Hawaii.
- CONSULATE GENERAL OF JAPAN IN HONOLULU (2010) *National census 2010*  
<http://www.honolulu.us.emb-japan.go.jp/>
- GUMPERZ, John J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HIGA, Masanori (1974) "A Socio-linguistic Study on Japanese language in Hawaii", *Scientific Monthly Report*, Vol. 26, No.11, Nihon Society for the Promotion of Science, 29-35.
- HIRATAKA, Fumiya (2010) "Nihongo communication", *Nihongo-gaku*, Vol. 2, 9-14, 108-117.
- INOUE, Fumio (1971) "Japanese and English of Nikkei Japanese in Hawaii", *Language*, 236, Chikuma shobô, 53-61.
- ISHIKAWA, Tomonori (1986) "Changes of occupational construction of Japanese immigrant in Hawaii", *Proceedings of the Japanese Kan'yaku imin lectures*, Hawaii: Foundation for promotion of education and diffusing Japanese language in Hawaii, 7-34.
- KITAGAWA, Daisuke (1986) *Fist generation and Second generation- Days in concentration camp*, Tokyo: Seikôkai Press.
- KUROKAWA, Shôzô (1978) "Japanese language in Hawaii –A study on usage of code switching between English and Japanese in the case of bilingual in English and Japanese", *Socio-linguistics Series No.2*, Tokyo: Bunkahyôron Press Co.Ltd..
- KUSHIDA, Shuya (2006) *Order of interactive performance and Conversational analysis*, Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha.
- NAKAHACHI, Natsuko (2007) "Characteristics of Nikkei society in Hawaii", *Monthly report on reseach of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, No.4, 29, 30-48.
- NAKAYAMA, Masako (2007) "Conveying friendliness", *Communication by language*, Kyoto: Okamoto ed. Okamoto, Shin-ichirô Nakanishiya Press, 50-65

- NOMOTO, Kikuo (1974) "Japanese Competence of Nikkei Hawaiians", *Mathematical Linguistics*, 68, Mathematical Linguistic Society of Japan, 1-10.
- ODA, Lorraine (1983) "The Two-tongued State: Pidgin for Identity and Standard English for Survival", *The Hawaii Herald*, Vol. 4, No. 11.
- ÔDÔ, Franklin & SHINOTÔ, Kazuko (1985) *Hawaiian Japanese History with Illustration 1885-1924*, B.P. Bishop Museum Press.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (2004) *New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- USAMI, Mayumi (2006) "Development of Basic transcription system for Japanese: BTSJ and construction of multilingual discourse corpus by BTSJ", *Socio-psychological approach of linguistics to discourse analysis*, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 245-261.
- YAMANAKA, Hayato (1993) *Hawaii*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- YAMASHITA, Akemi (1998) *Chronological table of Japanese Education for Foreigners*, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankô.
- YAMASHITA, Akemi (1999) "Systematization of Treatment Expression and Supporting Factors –in comparison between Nikkei Brazilian and Nikkei American in the United State of America", *A Collection of Treatises on Area Studies*, Department of in Graduate School of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1-20.
- YAMASHITA, Akemi (2007) *New Language Order of Japanese Language Abroad*, Tokyo: Sangensha.
- YAMASHITA, Akemi (2010) "Extent of Good impression and Communication Skills through discourse analysis of Japanese language learner", *Selected Research Papers in Applied Linguistics*, No. 12, Graduate School of Applied Linguistics Meikai University, 139-150.