

# Dialect contact and change of the northern Japanese plantation immigrants in Hawai‘i\*

Mie Hiramoto

National University of Singapore

This paper investigates changes in the dialect of a group of northern Japanese immigrants from the Tōhoku dialect speaking areas who migrated to Hawai‘i. The speakers moved to Hawai‘i as sugar plantation workers between 1899 and 1923 and the data were recorded between 1972 and 1975. Being latecomers to the plantations as well as a linguistic minority in the Japanese community in Hawai‘i, Tōhoku immigrants experienced dialect discrimination by other Japanese immigrants. The data tell us that the traditional Tōhoku dialect forms were replaced almost completely by the non-Tōhoku dialect forms after the speakers’ immigration. This study suggests that obvious dialect stigmatization led to the Tōhoku dialect speakers’ adoption of non-Tōhoku dialect features in order to gain acceptance in the local Japanese communities. Interestingly, however, the speakers transferred their Tōhoku dialect phonology to the newly acquired non-Tōhoku dialect forms. The findings support current second dialect acquisition studies that adult speakers acquire lexically-bound features more easily than phonological features.

**Keywords:** Second dialect acquisition, Founder principle, Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i, Japanese dialects, *Zû-zû* dialect

---

\* This project was supported by the University of Hawai‘i Center for Japanese Studies Graduate Fellowships (AY2004-5) and the National University of Singapore Academic Research Fund (FY2008-FRC2-004). I gratefully acknowledge Don Winford for his patient assistance on improving this paper. My sincere thanks also go to David Britain and three anonymous reviewers for their immensely helpful comments and suggestions. I am especially indebted to Laurie Durand, Benjamin George, Jeff Siegel, and Andrew Wong for invaluable assistance and encouragement at various stages of this project. I am particularly thankful to Ben for his support on the analysis of the data set. Last but not least, my warm aloha and mahalo go to Ed Smith and William O’Grady for making the Smith Project Data available to me.

## 1. Introduction

This paper investigates the changes in the Tōhoku dialect (TD) spoken in Hawai'i from the standpoint of a dialect contact situation in a newly formed immigrant community. TD is a dialect spoken in the Tōhoku region of northern Honshū Island in Japan. Hawai'i's TD speakers were originally immigrant laborers from today's Fukushima and northern Niigata prefectures who migrated to Hawai'i during the peak of Hawai'i's sugar plantation operations, between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper draws on oral history data collected in Hawai'i during the 1970s from naturalized TD-speaking plantation immigrants who chose not to return home when their labor contracts expired. As the data were recorded about one half century after the speakers' migration to Hawai'i, some contact-induced change in their dialect use is to be expected. This study is a new contribution to previous second dialect acquisition (SDA) studies (e.g. Chambers 1992, 1995; Trudgill 1986) as it reports observations of Japanese, a language lacking in information with regards to its SDA patterns. In this study, I follow Siegel's (2003: 197) definition of 'dialect' as referring 'to varieties of a language which differ in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar and which are associated with particular geographic regions or social groups.' Additionally, considering the dialects involved in this study, Siegel's (2003: 197) characterization of SDA is particularly apt: 'While SDA most often refers to acquisition of the standard dialect, there are also instances when a non-standardized regional or social dialect is the target.' This study focuses on SDA involving a non-standard regional Japanese dialect in Hawai'i among immigrant plantation workers.

As noted by Tagaliamonte & Molfenter (2007: 650), studies of SDA are relatively scarce. Following Tagaliamonte & Molfenter (2007), this article focuses on the nature of SDA, defined by Chambers (1992: 674) as the process by which people transplanted from one region to another acquire a second dialect of the same language. Previous studies show that there are significant differences between child and adult SDA. Tagaliamonte & Molfenter (2007: 650) note that 'assimilation to the local speech community is perhaps one of the most important factors in an individual's linguistic development' but it is only young children who are 'well known to be much more rapid and complete accommodators than adults' (Trudgill 1986: 31, cited in Tagaliamonte & Molfenter 2007: 650). In Tagaliamonte & Molfenter (2007: 650–656), the authors present a comprehensive summary of children's SDA; their summary of previous studies demonstrate that lexical replacement in SDA is comparatively uninhibited while new phonological rules are more resistant to acquisition and among the various phonological rules, some are acquired more rapidly than others.

Chambers (1992) concludes that lexical items were acquired more quickly than phonological features in his study of acquisition of Southern British English by Canadian English-speaking children. His examples of lexical items include pairs such as *coach/bus*, *dustbin/garbage can*, and *(hand) bag/purse* (Chambers 1992:677), and he notes that acquisition rates did not differ significantly between his subject children, ages 9–15. However, in general, the younger children in his study were able to acquire phonological features of the new dialect more easily than older children. For example, the simple phonological rule, medial /t/ voicing in a certain environment, was eliminated most often by a nine-year-old subject after moving to England. The same feature was eliminated to lesser degrees by children aged 13 and 17. Chambers also reports that the younger subjects showed higher rates of acquisition for complex phonological rules and new phonemes than the older subjects. Similarly, Sibata (1958: 170) reports on a major dialect contact study conducted by the National Institute of Japanese Language in 1949 on a group of Standard Japanese (SJ) speaking children who were removed from their hometowns in Tōkyō and Yokohama and placed in the TD region to avoid bomb attacks during World War II, and finds that those children who moved to the TD region before age six or seven acquired TD accent patterns almost perfectly over the course of five or six years, while children who moved to the TD region at 14 years of age or older showed no significant adoption of TD. Sibata's report suggests that accent patterns were easily acquired by younger children but not by children ages 14 or older.

In *The handbook of second language acquisition*, Siegel (2003) presents a useful summary on current SDA studies as a part of a chapter entitled 'Social Context'. Along with a survey on second dialect acquisition, he discusses the importance of SDA, stating that it remains rather 'neglected' in the field of acquisition studies (Siegel 2003: 178). He discusses two types of SDA contexts — naturalistic and educational — and includes an extensive summary of the existing literature. Judging from the available naturalistic SDA literature, it seems that the current findings on SDA suggest that older speakers acquire morphosyntactic features more easily than phonological features (e.g. Chambers 1992, 1995; Kerswill 1994), though they have some limited success with the latter. Kerswill (2002) suggests that salience may augment or inhibit accommodation to a new dialect. Moreover, the effect of salience on the direction of accommodation may be different when input varieties are composed of a major and a minority dialect. This can be especially true when inter-speaker relationships are not equal, as targets of accommodation may be unidirectional rather than multidirectional. Kerswill (2002:680) summarizes the notion of speech accommodation proposed by Trudgill (1986) who, in turn, based his work on sociological studies by Giles and his colleagues (e.g. Giles 1977, Giles & Coupland 1991, Giles & Smith 1979). Kerswill's summary is as follows:

Simply put, accommodation theory assumes that interlocutors converge linguistically (and on other behavioral dimensions) when they want to gain each other's approval, show solidarity, etc., and that they diverge when they do not. Accommodation can be mutual, or one-sided. It can be 'downward' (as when a higher-status person uses lower-status forms, or what he or she believes to be lower-status forms), or it can be 'upward' (the inverse pattern). Accommodation is therefore a response to a conversational context (though it can also be used to define the context). When people speak different varieties, as in a new settlement, the dialect differences are likely to be exploited — consciously or passively — as part of accommodation ...there will be more 'acts of accommodation' involving the adoption of majority rather than minority variants simply because there are more conversational contexts in which this can take place (Kerswill 2002: 680).

Trudgill (1986) calls those forms which are initially accommodated to 'short-term' and those which are permanently accommodated to 'long-term', long-term accommodation being a change in a speakers' automatic speech habits whereas short-term accommodation refers to a speakers' response to an interlocutor on a particular occasion. Trudgill (1986) compares the degree of accommodation of different phonological features by British English-speaking adults learning American English. He states that although there will most likely be individual differences depending on a number of factors, if British people accommodate to American English, 'they will almost certainly accommodate phonologically by acquiring features in a certain order' (Trudgill 1986: 20). He then goes on to give the hierarchical order for phonological accommodation in this case: (1) flapping of /t/, (2) vowel fronting in certain lexical items such as *dance*, (3) vowel lowering in certain lexical items such as *top*, and (4) articulation of terminal /r/. Regarding the order of the accommodation, Trudgill (1986: 20–21) summarizes:

Accommodation does indeed take place by the modification of those aspects of segmental phonology that are salient in the accent to be accommodated to. This salience is revealed by what happens during imitation, and can most likely be mainly accounted for by the involvement of phonetic contrasts and alternations.

The idea of accommodation of salient features is expounded upon by Kerswill (1994: 155) in his findings from Norwegian dialect contact situations. He examines the speech of rural migrants in the Norwegian city of Bergen and shows that both the young and old immigrants acquired Bergen morpholexis more easily than its phonology. He refers in this study to Trudgill's (1986: 24–28) views on morpholexical feature acquisition, saying that 'Trudgill explains this type of finding by the fact that lexis and morphology are highly salient, and can also be consciously manipulated' (Kerswill 1994: 155). Kerswill uses the concept of 'extra-strong salience' to describe the effect of stereotypes on speakers' perceptions of phonological salience:

The example given is that, for northern English speakers, the southern pronunciation /da:ns/ is too much of a southern stereotype for them to adopt it instead of their own /dæns/. On the other hand, the southern pronunciation /bʌtə/ (c.f. northern /bʊtə/) is not particularly stereotyped in the north, and northern speakers often adopt it on moving south (Kerswill 1994: 154).

In his study of Norwegian dialect change, Kerswill (1994) concludes that younger children acquired phonological features more successfully than older children and adults, though both children and adults were able to acquire the new morpholexical forms equally well. According to Kerswill's idea, the more salient a morpholexical feature is, the more easily it is acquired, provided the feature is not marked as stereotypical. When features are considered extra-salient by non-native speaker of a specific dialect, this may prevent a speaker from learning these features so as to avoid projecting stereotypical attributes. Foreman (2003), in her SDA study of the acquisition of Australian English by adult North American immigrants, observes adult immigrants' speech patterns and concludes that 'the majority of the subjects did not acquire any phonetic or phonological aspects of AusE [Australian English] to an auditorily noticeable extent' (Foreman 2003: 264), whereas the subjects were able to pick up morphosyntactic features of Australian English. In general then, it has been found that adult speakers are more successful in acquiring second dialect lexicon and morphology than second dialect phonology. The present study is an attempt to discover whether this same preference for morphosyntactic features over phonological features also applies to adult Japanese plantation immigrants' acquisition of a second dialect in Hawai'i.

Since there are relatively few studies of Japanese dialect contact, this study will also add new insight into processes of dialect accommodation in contact situations. Kitamura's (1952) report from the National Institute of Japanese Language, using data collected under the same project as Sibata's (1958) study on the World War II evacuee children, states that the children's phonological acquisition was influenced by their parents' places of origin. During the war, women and children tended to flee to their parents' birth places. While Sibata (1958) studied children in various TD-speaking areas including Shirakawa, Kitamura (1952) focused solely on those children who fled to Shirakawa. The pronunciation of about 500 children, from elementary to junior high school ages, was surveyed for this project. According to Kitamura (1952), all the children were born and raised in the Tōkyō or Yokohama areas and their native dialect was SJ at the time of their move to Shirakawa. The acquisition of TD phonology was highest among children whose parents were both from Shirakawa. The second highest was the children whose mothers were from Shirakawa while the lowest was among the children whose fathers were from Shirakawa. This finding is similar to a report by Payne (1980)

on Philadelphia children's phonological acquisition, in which she claims that the only children who mastered the complex Philadelphia phonological rules were the offspring of Philadelphia natives. In other words, children whose parents were from outside Philadelphia did not acquire the same complex phonological rules.

Some of the few studies on the changes to Japanese in various language and dialect contact situations come from the Bonin Islands (e.g. Abe 2006, Arima 1975, Arima 1990). According to Abe (2006), the Bonin Islands were inhabited by non-Japanese fishermen and whalers prior to 1875. After the Bonin Islands were officially declared to be part of Japan in 1876, Japanese began moving to the islands from various fishing towns between 1876 and 1945. However, during World War II, 6,886 out of 7,711 of the Japanese inhabitants fled to the mainland (Abe 2006: 59) and only ten percent of these returned after the war in 1968. According to census data cited by Abe (2006: 67), there were 610 Japanese residents on the islands in 1970, 1,879 in 1980, 2,199 in 1990, and 2,687 in 2000. By 2000, the ratio of returnees to new immigrants approached one-to-one. The existing linguistic studies on the Bonin Islands report mainly on different aspects of the new dialect formation processes among the post-war residents or on the influence of the non-Japanese languages on the island's Japanese language use. As Japanese SDA studies which focus on non-phonological features are still quite scarce, this study will add new data for Japanese SDA, especially as concerns morphosyntactic feature acquisition among adult speakers.

The results of previous studies suggest that the speakers observed here will show more successful acquisition of morphosyntactic features than phonological features, and that they will be sensitive to salient features. Available anecdotal data, including interviews and monographs used for sociological and anthropological studies, indicate that TD speakers in Hawai'i had an inferiority complex about their native dialect and that they tried to accommodate to the dialect spoken by the majority immigrant group from the Chûgoku region. In the data, the obvious TD morphosyntactic features such as the first person pronoun *ora*, discourse marker *nae*, and copula *dabe* are hardly found, while features which are identical to those in SJ, including the copula *da* and conjunctions *kara* and *dakara*, are found most frequently. It appears the typical TD forms are stigmatized and thus avoided by the speakers. Additionally, some morphosyntactic features are reflexes of other dialects' forms pronounced with TD phonology, meaning that they superficially appear as TD forms due to the TD phonological features. The fact that the TD phonology appeared in non-Tôhoku morphosyntactic features implies a more successful rate of SDA for morphosyntactic features than phonological features. However, the data show that the TD speakers' dialect use was not affected only by the Chûgoku immigrants; both Tôhoku and Chûgoku immigrants' dialect use was influenced by standard Japanese. The adoption of standard forms by TD speakers,

however, seems to have taken place after their accommodation to the Chûgoku dialect.

Before launching into a discussion on changes to TD in Hawai'i, I will provide some pertinent information related to the dialect contact situation during the plantation period.

## 2. Historical background of the Japanese immigration to Hawai'i

Although sugar cane was already an established crop when Captain Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, its commercial cultivation did not begin until 1835 on the Island of Kāua'i. The demand for Hawaiian cane sugar was accelerated in response to two major events on the US mainland — the dramatic population growth in California during the Gold Rush of the 1840s, and the severe shortage of sugar in the South in 1861 due to the American Civil War (Chinen & Hiura 1997:9). The industry grew rapidly until it reached its peak in the 1930s when the sugar plantations employed more than 50,000 workers and produced more than a million tons of sugar annually (Alexander 1937). This booming sector of the economy resulted in an enormous demand for manpower, resulting in global recruitment of foreign immigrant workers.

The Chinese were the first to arrive in 1862, followed by the Portuguese in 1878 (Sakoda & Siegel 2003:4) and the Japanese in 1885, after which the populations of these groups in Hawai'i grew steadily. Reinecke (1969/1988:42) cites data from the 1920 census showing that the major ethnic groups in Hawai'i at that time were Japanese, at 42.7% of the total population, followed by Portuguese (10.6%), Hawaiians (9.2%), Chinese (9%), Filipinos (8.2%), other Caucasians (7.7%), and Caucasian-Hawaiians (5%). The reasons why the Japanese outnumbered other ethnic groups of plantation immigrants were, in large part, political. One reason is the Chinese Exclusion Act, which, when passed into US federal law in 1882, suspended Chinese immigration for well over 60 years. As the emigration policy in Japan, following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, encouraged Japanese emigration to places such as Hawai'i, the US mainland, South America, and many islands of the Pacific, the plantations were conveniently able to replace their inexpensive Chinese labor force with the Japanese. In 1881, King David Kalākaua of Hawai'i, on his way to England, stopped in Tōkyō to urge the Meiji Emperor to send laborers to Hawai'i, thus initiating the government-administered migration in 1885. The first to arrive were workers from the Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures who spoke the southwestern regional Chûgoku dialect (CD). Although most of the immigrants came to Hawai'i as *dekasegi* 'temporary labor', labor contracts were constantly changing, making it almost impossible for the workers to return to Japan after the

**Table 1.** Japanese speakers' populations in Hawai'i in 1929 and 1960

Dialect Region	Prefecture	1929	1960
Chûgoku	Hiroshima	30534 (26.2%)	4715 (24.1%)
	Yamaguchi	25878 (22.2%)	3918 (20.0%)
Kyûshû	Kumamoto	19551 (16.8%)	2655 (13.6%)
	Fukuoka	7563 (6.5%)	1080 (5.5%)
Okinawa	Okinawa	16536 (14.2%)	2873 (14.7%)
Tôhoku	Fukushima	4936 (4.2%)	880 (4.5%)
	Niigata	5036 (4.3%)	776 (4.0%)

fulfillment of their terms. As a result, less than thirty percent returned to Japan after 1894, causing the Japanese resident population in Hawai'i to rise steadily in the following years until 1924, the last year of plantation immigration (Sato 1985: 260; Tasaka 1985: 26; The United Japanese Society of Hawaii 1964: 98, 1971: 155).

The reason for the rapid increase of the Japanese population, particularly after the turn of the century as seen in the 1920 census data, was the insular nature of Japanese marriage. Unlike other plantation immigrants in Hawai'i, who intermarried with other immigrant groups or native Hawaiians, among the Japanese such interracial marriage was not encouraged. According to historical records, Japanese men in Hawai'i outnumbered women by a ratio of four to one prior to 1900 (Clarke 1994: 18; Hawaii Hochisha 2001: 53; Hiroshima City 2002: 1), and consequently, many Japanese men, unable to find wives in Hawai'i, started arranging to bring picture brides from their hometowns, especially between 1908 and 1923 (Hawaii Hochisha 2001: 61; Odo 1998: 109). This naturally contributed to maintaining the proportions of Japanese dialects brought to Hawai'i throughout the sugar plantation period. In 1900, the Japanese numbered 61,111, or 39.7% of the total population. In 1910, their numbers had risen to 79,675 (41.5%); in 1920, to 109,274 (42.7%); and in 1930, to 139,631, or 37.9% of the total population (Odo & Shinoto 1985: 18–19). From the beginning of the Japanese immigration phase until even after World War II, immigrants from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi outnumbered others. The following table lists the numbers and origins of the Japanese population in Hawai'i in 1929 and 1960 based on Nagara (1972).

### 3. Japanese in Hawai'i

During the plantation period, immigrants to Hawai'i came largely from just a few areas of Japan. A number of Japanese in Hawai'i kept in contact with their families



in their hometowns even after the official end of plantation immigration and the beginning of World War II (Hiroshima City 2002: 6). Many first generation Japanese immigrants, or *issei*, most of whom were uneducated farmers and fishermen from rural areas, spoke neither English nor SJ. However, despite the command and use of English by their children (the second generation, or *nisei*) the use of Japanese in Hawai'i, at least until the onset of World War II, remained quite common. Many *issei* had strong aspirations to raise their children as Japanese, not Americans, thus Japanese language and culture were still highly valued among the immigrants even after large numbers of *issei* immigrants settled with their picture brides and locally born *nisei* children. As one journalist at the time observed: 'The Japanese men marry only Japanese women, and their children are habitually registered as Japanese with officials of their own government' (Carter 1921: 275). Most Japanese immigrants had very strong cultural ties to Japan, and hoped that they or their children would someday return there. Carter (1921: 275) continues: 'A large proportion of them are sent back to Japan for part of their education. The younger children attend both the public schools of Hawaii and private Japanese schools'.

After a series of labor strikes in Hawai'i around the turn of the twentieth century, the exceedingly large numbers of Japanese residents became a serious concern to Caucasians (Kotani 1985: 33ff.). A movement to Americanize immigrants and their children started on the US mainland in 1900 and soon spread to Hawai'i (Fujiiwara 1998: 159, Okiihiro 1991: 66). As the Japanese were considered 'the largest and most conspicuous Asian group' (Tamura 1994/2001: 49), the effort to Americanize immigrant workers and their families in Hawai'i focused particularly on Japanese. However, many *issei* parents in Hawai'i continued sending their *nisei* children to Japanese language schools to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage while simultaneously educating them in the American education system. In his observations on language use in Hawai'i during the plantation days, Reinecke comments on the persistence of Japanese immigrants' native language use and cultural identity: 'The Japanese language, at least as a spoken tongue, will probably be one of the last, if not the very last, to be displaced by English' (Reinecke 1969/1988: 130–131). All in all, the Japanese language remained a major part Hawai'i's linguistic constituency until the beginning of World War II, when the language became officially prohibited in the US (Hawaii Hochisha 2001: 66–67).

In the years following the war, many Hawai'i-born Japanese children started to switch from Japanese to English, even in the home. One of the most important reasons for this shift is that the *nisei* Japanese had better opportunities for education and spent a considerably greater amount of time at school than their *issei* parents, thus acquiring a greater command of English. Most *issei* parents stressed to their children the importance of education in securing better job opportunities beyond simply employment in the plantations (Kotani 1985, Okiihiro 1991). By 1910, there

were over 150 Japanese language schools run by churches, temples, and other institutions across the islands available to the locally born Japanese children (Kimura 1988: 186, Okita 1997: 244); these were all closed prior to the war and more and more *nisei* children focused on English education. As a result, many Japanese who had a good command of English were able to pursue careers outside of the plantations after World War II (Kotani 1985, Okihiko 1991). Additionally, the increase in interracial marriages of Japanese in Hawai'i, more common among *nisei* and subsequent generations, helped to eliminate the necessity of speaking Japanese at home, further contributing to the post-war decline in Japanese use. However, following World War II, Japanese again became a major language in Hawai'i, this time for economic reasons. The post-war recovery of Japan's economy in the early 1970s contributed to fast economic growth in Hawai'i. This resulted in an increase in Japanese language use to the point where it became the most widely used second language in the state (Yamamoto 1973: 67). While the pre-war variety of Japanese in Hawai'i was more or less a mixture of regional dialects brought by plantation immigrants, this resurgent Japanese was marked, as a result of the influx of Japanese business into the US, by a shift to SJ. This meant that locally born Japanese in Hawai'i started learning (Standard) Japanese as a second language at schools.

#### 4. *Issei* Japanese dialects spoken in Hawai'i

Japan is a mountainous country with many islands and a physical geography that most definitely has contributed to rich regional dialectal diversification (Shibatani 1987: 860). According to Japanese dialectology, many of these regional dialects, and in particular several sub-dialects, are thought to be mutually unintelligible (Kindaichi 1988: 21, Shibatani 1987: 860). While in modern days, language standardization movements and the pervasiveness of mass communication have promoted greater inter-dialectal intelligibility, during the height of Japanese immigration to Hawai'i these dialects were quite different, and different sources, including the data used for this study, report that mutual unintelligibility proved problematic among the Japanese immigrants.

The majority of Japanese immigrants came originally from Western Japan. The prefectures, in order of the most numerous groups who arrived in Hawai'i between 1885 and 1924, are, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Okinawa, and Fukuoka. The majority of Eastern Japanese immigrants came from Fukushima and northern Niigata in the northeastern part of the island of Honshû. The TD speaking region consists of the areas of northern Honshû north and east of the bottom end of Fukushima and the northern half of Niigata (e.g. Kanno & Iitoyo 1967/1994; Katô 1958/1966; Tokugawa & Grootaers 1951). Following Nagara (1972), I treat

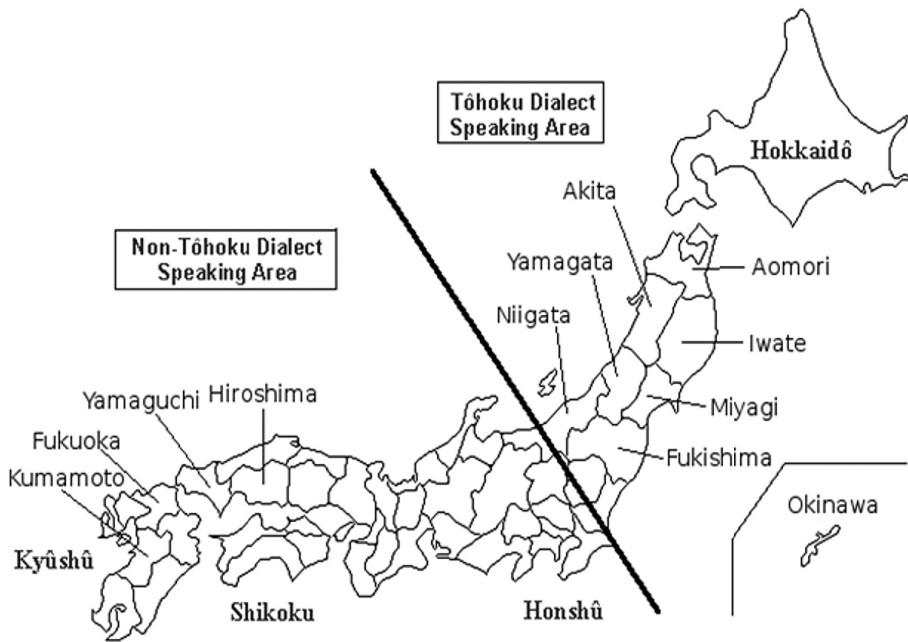


Figure 1. Map of Japan

(Map courtesy of Shigenobu Aoki, <http://aoki2.si.gunma-u.ac.jp/map/map.html>)

Niigata and Fukushima immigrants as Tōhoku dialect speakers in this study. Figure 1 shows the TD isogloss as well as the relevant prefectures.

TD speakers were always a minority, as well as one of the last groups of settlers from Japan. The first group of Fukushima immigrants arrived in 1898 but their numbers remained low. However, due to a devastating famine in Fukushima in 1905, there was a significant increase in immigration in 1906 (Kimura 1988: 33). While immigrants from Niigata also arrived in 1885, there were only 77 of them, compared to the much larger groups of CD speakers. Larger numbers of Niigata settlers did not arrive until around 1909 (Kimura 1988: 24–25). The 15 year gap between the arrival of Chūgoku and Fukushima immigrants made ‘a great difference in social and economic status between the old-timers and newcomers’ (Kimura 1988: 23). Previous studies mentioning the Japanese language in Hawai'i (e.g. DeFrancis 1973; Higa 1970, 1975, 1976, 1985; Inoue 1975; Lind 1946; Masuda 1995; Nagara 1972) suggest that the plantation variety of Japanese spoken in Hawai'i is heavily influenced by CD, with borrowings from English and Hawaiian. For example, Inoue (1975: 54) presents interview data of a male *issei* speaker in his 70's from the TD speaking prefecture of Fukushima and reports that Japanese spoken by the speaker retains much Tōhoku phonology but his vocabulary use is heavily influenced by CD. Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle, which states that

the first group of settlers in a new area will act as a sort of linguistic template for subsequent settlers, is particularly relevant to this case, and in light of the fact that CD speakers were the first immigrants to arrive in 1885, CD's influence on Japanese spoken in Hawai'i is quite understandable. Given the discrimination faced by TD speakers in Japan, it is no surprise that 'the first and foremost point of encounter [between speakers of these two dialects] was the language' (Kimura 1988:23). Kimura (1988) introduces a collection of her interviews with non-Chûgoku immigrants on their unpleasant experiences with CD speakers:

**Interview 1. (1980) Mrs. Goto, a widow of a Methodist minister**

My husband came to Hawaii with his parents from Iwate-ken [TD area] when he was eleven years old as free immigrants. On the boat transporting the immigrants to the island of Hawaii, their fellow passengers called them 'Tohoku Tojin' (Tohoku Chinese) ... He barely refrained from shouting at them. (Kimura 1988:30)

**Interview 2. (1980) Charlie S., a DJ of KPOA/KTRG *Zûzû-ben Warukuchi Hôsô* 'Zûzû-dialect Derogatory-Remark Show'**

In those days the Japanese community was dominated by Hiroshimans and Yamaguchins, and the language used as the Japanese language in Hawaii was actually their dialects and not real Japanese. But we Fukushimaans were insulted because they could not understand what we were saying ... I noticed that both Fukushimaans and Okinawans were looked down upon and living in inferior housing [at Ewa Plantation]. Such discrimination made me indignant. (Kimura 1988:44)

From the late 19th century, the Meiji government engaged in language reforms targeting TD, causing its nationwide stigmatization (Sakai 1991:17). Yasuda (1999:115–6) reports that TD was a target for 'dialect correction' based on the Japanese language research committee's educational publications from 1900 to 1912. Additionally, he cites similar views espoused by a government official regarding Okinawa's language use, to the effect that Japan needs to conduct 'dialect correction' for the sake of the Okinawan residents' dignity. On the other hand, there were regions where the standardization movement's effects on dialect use were minimal. Due to their cultural and political prestige as former capital cities, Kyôto, Ôsaka, and Nara and their adjacent regions maintained their Kansai dialect throughout the standardization period. Furthermore, much of the CD-speaking region did not become the target of 'correction' presumably because many of the Meiji government's first leaders were from Yamaguchi prefecture. All in all, the post-Meiji language reformation impacted Japanese dialects quite disproportionately. Even in modern Japan, TD is still stigmatized among the general public, often derisively referred to as *zû-zû ben* (*zû-zû* dialect, an onomatopoeic term for the dialect's distinctive sound) and ridiculed for its unique features (Komori 2000, Sakai 1991, Tanaka 1975).

In this study's data, a number of TD speakers mention their conscious efforts to mask their strong TD pronunciation in order to avoid discrimination by speakers of other dialects. The Japanese immigrants were an introverted group; they worked and lived together on the plantations, married fellow Japanese, conducted their religious practices alongside other Japanese, and socialized with one another on days off (Kokushô 1998: 47–51). The Japanese also shared the same traditional values and maintained pan-Japanese cultural practices like weddings and funerals, *obon* 'summer ancestral ceremony', *oshôgatsu* 'new year', and *tenchôsetsu* 'the emperor's birthday' throughout the state (Kokushô 1998: 47; Odo 1998: 119). These social dynamics encouraged speakers of different Japanese regional dialects to interact very closely. There is a widespread local perception that the Japanese spoken in Hawai'i is a local variety, resulting from the interaction among plantation immigrants from the different prefectures. For example, Kimura, a sociologist specializing in local Japanese culture, states the following in her study of *issei* plantation immigrants:

[CD] became the prevailing Japanese language in Hawaii. Those who spoke non-Chûgoku-ben were not readily accepted and were often ridiculed. The Tohoku dialects of northern Honshu were referred to by the derogatory nickname 'Zuu-zuu-ben', an onomatopoeic name for what the Tohoku dialect supposedly sounds like to non-Tohoku ears — 'Zuu-zuu-zuu-zuu'. Many of the immigrants who did not speak the Chûgoku-ben when they came to Hawaii eventually learned to do so (Kimura 1988: 30).

Indeed, excerpts taken from the data used for this study exemplify Kimura's statements about the Tôhoku dialect and corroborate those testimonies mentioned above. Many TD speakers expressed their feelings about the changes in their original dialect upon moving to Hawai'i, mostly implying that they considered the changes to be an improvement in general, as they had assimilated the general negative sentiment surrounding TD. The following is an excerpt from one of the male Tôhoku immigrants, Gen, about a comment he received on his language use by a visitor from Japan. He claimed that he spoke a mixed Japanese dialect formed in Hawai'i, not entirely SJ nor CD, but a combination of different dialects.

**Excerpt 1 (1972) Gen, age 72, 52 years in Hawai'i (my translation)**

*Hondakê kogo no ano nihon kara kuru shi... suto no, watasu gatâ nihongo de yû no, 'anata no kotoba wa Hirosuma ken, Kumamoto ken, Fukushima ken, mazatoru', tte yû.... Honto yo. 'Wakaru? Wakarun? Sonto ni kigoeru ka?' ttara, 'yea, sonto ni kikoemasu', yuute. 'Anta, yû mo sutturun ja nai ka, Fukusuma ken no kotoba, Kumamoto ken no kotoba?' Minna wakarimasu. Yû wa nani ken, dochiran kodoba yûnâ suttoru', yûn da, ano suto. Hojagara kagusaren yo.... Mira, watasu mo kono ôketto yattan de, daibun nani yo, nôryogu nga yogu natta yo.*

So, this, that person from Japan, right? He tells me in Japanese that ‘your speech is a mixture of Hiroshima prefecture, Kumamoto prefecture, and Fukushima prefecture’. That’s right. So, I say ‘Do you understand? Do you get it? Do I sound like that?’ Then, he says, ‘Yeah, it sounds like that’. ‘You, you know Fukushima dialect, Kumamoto dialect, too?’ ‘I know them all. People’s original prefectures and their dialects and things’, he says. But then, you cannot hide it [your original dialect].... Me, I became much better at, you know, [language] ability from working on orchids.

The following example is taken from Rie, a female Tōhoku immigrant, recollecting how she acquired CD in order to cope with dialect discrimination against her TD by her colleagues at work.

**Excerpt 2 (1975) Rie, age 80, 58 years in Hawai‘i (my translation)**

*Sokoni hachinen orimashita. Sonotokini, ma, hazukashi koto ni ne, ... chotto wararinikukatta desu ne. Mā, onnashi nihonjin dakara sugu naraimashitanga ne ..., Yamaguchi-ken no kotoba sokkuri naraimashitano yo. Āja kōja warawareru-kara narawannya ikemasen ne? ... teakano tsukezō tokanantokatte warai masun. Ē kusōtto omotte ne, sō bakani saretewa komarū yūte ...*

I stayed there for eight years. At that time, well, I was ashamed but, ... I had a hard time understanding [their dialect]. Well, because they are Japanese, too, I learned [their dialect] in no time. I became fluent in Yamaguchi dialect. Because they mock me for this and that [about my dialect], it had to be learned ... Country bumpkin or something, they laughed at me. Oh, shit, I said, don’t tease me so much ...

These comments agree with observations reported by Kimura (1988) concerning discrimination reported by TD speakers’ about their dialect use, as well as the common reference to CD as the standard form of Japanese in Hawai‘i. The data indicate that the traditional TD forms were replaced almost completely by the non-TD forms, suggesting that TD speakers accommodated their original dialect to the dominant dialects, CD and SJ, to gain acceptance in their new environment, namely, local Japanese communities.

## 5. Data and methods

The main data used in this study were collected under the direction of Professor Edward Smith at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa; therefore, I will refer to this corpus as the Smith Project Data (SPD) from here on. The SPD corpus was recorded between 1972 and 1982 by students attending advanced Japanese language courses taught by Professor Smith. Although the interviewers of the *issei* speakers

were advanced learners of Japanese, most of them were ethnically Japanese and recorded their own grandparents, grandparents' siblings or family friends. In other words, all SPD used for this study were collected by individuals who have good rapport with the speakers. Though the students used mostly SJ when talking to the interviewees (the form of Japanese they learned in school), it did not seem to have changed the regular speech styles used by the interviewees.

The medium of the data varied between reel-to-reel tapes, cassette tapes, and written reports. The SPD's audio recordings are mainly of *issei* Japanese speakers from different regions of Japan. For quality control and preservation purposes, these data were converted to digital format. The transcription and codification of the recordings were conducted as part of a larger study of Japanese dialect contact in Hawai'i, and the TD and CD speakers represent only a subset of the SPD's total speakers. The data used for this paper consists of audio recordings collected between 1972 and 1975 from 17 TD and 14 CD speakers. Of those TD speakers, six males and nine females were *issei* immigrants and one male and one female were native TD speakers, living in Japan, who never left their hometowns in the Tōhoku region. Among the CD speakers, five males and seven females were *issei* immigrants, while one male and one female were native CD speakers, living in Japan, who never left their hometowns in the Chūgoku region. The Chūgoku immigrants' data were used for the purpose of comparison to investigate linguistic change common to both sets of speakers.

For the *issei* speakers, the following criteria were used in order to maintain compatibility of the data: all conversations and monologues were casual; speakers had a common rural farming upbringing and received minimal education; none moved back to Japan for any extended period of time after their immigration; all *issei* speakers had been married to other *issei* TD speakers for at least 30 years. The topics of conversation were limited to the speakers' memories of immigration and plantation life, visits to Japan, and their family members. The recordings for each speaker in the *issei* groups vary in length between 15 and 40 minutes.

All speakers were further subdivided into 3 groups, based on their patterns of interaction with other speakers of Japanese, as well as speakers of other languages such as English. To a large extent, this depended on their occupations. Under their initial contracts, most of the plantation immigrants were separated into different camps at their work locations according to their ethnicity. The *issei* laborers were placed in Japanese camps with people from both their own hometowns and from different locations in Japan. After some time, many Japanese immigrants left plantation work and acquired other occupations. Plantation fieldwork, as well as work at home, in laundry, cleaning, or construction, required minimum interaction with other workers, limiting their interaction with colleagues, and their exposure to different dialects or English. For those who engaged in service jobs such

as maids, store clerks, carpenters, barbers, or salesmen, interaction with speakers of different dialects as well as English was considerably more frequent. The first group of TD speakers, consisting of three males and three females, interacted with non-TD speakers daily while the second group of speakers, consisting of three males and six females, did not. As would be expected, it was mostly the speakers in the first group who mentioned dialect discrimination by non-Tôhoku immigrants, and these same speakers also expressed their conscious efforts to ‘alter’ their speech in order to conform to the non-Tôhoku immigrants.

The third TD group is a control group consisting of two Tôhoku residents (one male, one female) who had never lived outside their hometowns in Japan. The speakers in this group are in the same age range as the first two groups and the data were collected in 1975 by a trained field worker. The speakers talked about the history of their hometowns and famous people or incidents related to their hometowns. Although two speakers is not a large sample for quantitative sociolinguistic analysis, the fact that they were made at the same time as the other recordings and with TD speakers of comparable ages and backgrounds provides a rare opportunity for comparison that seems too valuable to ignore. These recordings were made by Edward Smith’s assistant who visited an old school friend in Japan, upon Professor Smith’s request, during the time of the *issei* data collection in 1975; the friend’s neighbors agreed to participate in the data collection and the recordings were made at their houses. Tables 2, 3, and 4 summarize the aforementioned attributes of the TD speakers selected from the SPD for this study. The information regarding the speakers’ background was obtained from information sheets which accompanied

**Table 2.** Group 1: TD speakers who had daily interaction with non-TD speakers

	Name	Hometown	YOA	AOA	YOR	AOR	Occupation
Female	Kuni	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1921	22	1973	74	Plantation Housemaid
	Matsu	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1917	adult	1975	70s	Plantation Housemaid
	Rie	Shibata Niigata	1917	22	1975	80	Store Clerk Housewife
Male	Gen	Date-chô Fukushima	1920	20	1972	72	Plantation Carpenter, Gardner
	Tarô	Shibata Niigata	1907	15	1972	80	Plantation Barber, Sales
	Toraji	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1917	adult	1973	70s	Plantation Sales



the recordings. Each table contains the speaker's gender, name (all of which are pseudonyms), hometown, year of arrival in Hawai'i (YOA), age of arrival in Hawai'i (AOA), year of recording (YOR), and age at the time of recording (AOR).

There were three married couples: Matsu (Group 1) and Tsunezô (Group 2), Haru (Group 2) and Toraji (Group 1), and Rie (Group 1) and Tarô (Group 1). Rie and Tarô were also cousins who grew up in the same neighborhood.

The CD informants consisted of 6 speakers each for Groups 1 and 2 and two speakers for Group 3. Most of the data were recorded using the same format and methods as those used for the TD speakers. Like the TD group, due to the limited number of speakers in the CD Group 3, the results may not be entirely indicative of native CD speech. However, as these data come from a recording of natural

**Table 3.** Group 2: TD speakers who did not have daily interactions w/ non-TD speakers

	Name	Hometown	YOA	AOA	YOR	AOR	Occupation
Female	Fuyu	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1915	18	1975	78	Plantation Housewife
	Iki	Date-chô Fukushima	1915	adult	1975	70s	Plantation Lauderer
	Mai	Shibata Niigata	1923	20	1975	72	Plantation Housewife
	Aya	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1912	19	1975	82	Plantation Housewife
	Haru	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1920	20	1973	76	Plantation Housewife
	Yone	Kawamata-chô Fukushima	1916	23	1973	80	Plantation Lauderer
Male	Saburô	Date-chô Fukushima	1915	15	1973	73	Plantation Cleaner
	Kumazô	Shibata Niigata	1899	19	1973	93	Plantation Construction
	Tsunezô	Adachi-chô Fukushima	1913	adult	1975	80s	Plantation

**Table 4.** Group 3: TD speakers who never lived outside of their Tōhoku hometowns

	Name	Hometown	YOA	AOA	YOR	AOR	Occupation
Female	Kimi	Date-chô Fukushima	n/a	n/a	1975	75	Farmer Housewife
Male	Toshio	Date-chô Fukushima	n/a	n/a	1975	83	Farmer

conversation between family members, the subjects' language use seems more authentic than that of the interviewees in the other groups.

## 6. Analysis of morphosyntactic features

There are a number of TD characteristics that are recognized by many dialect specialists. The features which were selected for analysis include the first person singular pronouns, copulas, discourse markers, conjunctions, non-past verb negators, and existential/gerundive markers. According to Japanese dialectology studies, these linguistic features found in the data were used in the Tōhoku area at the time of plantation immigration. After all the available tokens were coded and quantified, the frequency of TD tokens was compared with that of equivalent features of CD and SJ in order to investigate the degree of dialect mixing of speakers in different groups.

### 6.1 First person pronouns (1PPs)

Pronouns are commonly dropped in Japanese conversation for pragmatic reasons. When there are anaphoric references in the discourse, all pronouns can be either dropped or replaced with proper nouns or titles. Therefore, although explicit 1PPs occurred frequently in SPD, the most commonly used was the null form. The TD singular 1PPs are typically *ore* and *ora*, with *ora* also capable of being plural (Kanno & Iitoyo 1967/1994, Takeuchi 1954/1996a: 132, Yoshida 1952/1996: 25). In the data, the SJ form *watashi* occurred frequently; however, it was often pronounced with TD phonology as *wadasu*, *wadashi*, or *watasu*. Similarly, the Chūgoku variation, *washi*, was often pronounced *wasu*. The following table and figure show the results of the analysis of singular 1PPs. Tokens quantified for the analysis were

Table 5. First person pronouns used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>watashi</i> (SJ)	<i>wadasu</i> (SJ w/ TD)	<i>washi</i> (CD)	<i>wasu</i> (CD w/TD)	<i>ore</i> (TD)	<i>mî</i> (Eng)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 140)	25%	21%	17%	19%	1%	17%
	Group 2 (n = 174)	22%	37%	10%	18%	11%	2%
	Group 3 (n = 23)	0%	70%	0%	0%	30%	0%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 161)	56%	0%	35%	0%	1%	9%
	Group 2 (n = 77)	57%	0%	39%	0%	0%	4%
	Group 3 (n = 45)	36%	0%	64%	0%	0%	0%

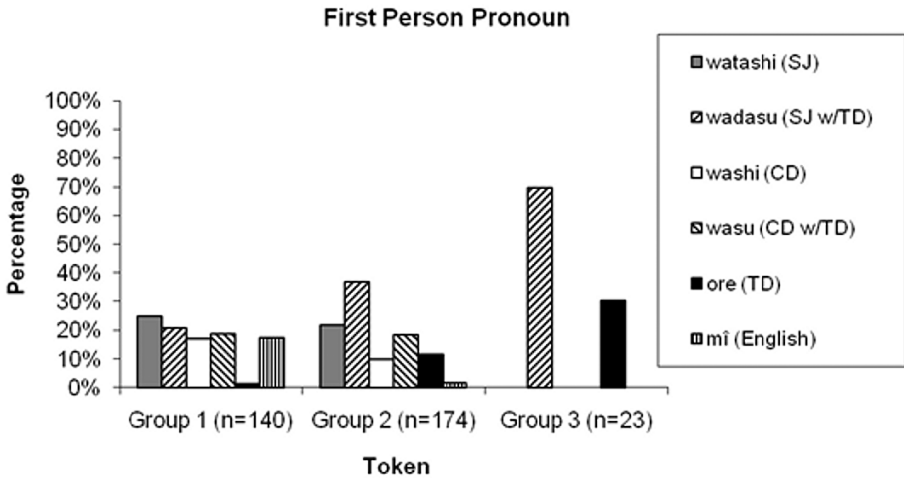


Figure 2. First person pronouns used by the three groups

*watashi* (SJ) and *washi* (CD) and their TD pronunciations *wadasu* or *wasu*, *ore* and *ora* (TD), and *mî* (English). The examples of 1PPs discussed so far are singular forms except for the TD *ora* 'singular or plural 1PP'. Plural forms are usually constructed with plural suffixes *-tachi* or *-ra* as *watashitachi* or *watashira*. The numbers presented include the total occurrences of singular and plural 1PPs. The control group's (Group 3) data are very limited, especially for the female speaker where there was only one token. The tokens are listed in the following order: SJ, SJ with TD phonology, CD, CD with TD phonology; TD, and English loans.

Including the forms pronounced with Tōhoku phonology, the *issei* speakers adopted CD forms to a large extent. Group 1 used the English loanword *mî* more than Group 2 while the control group used neither this nor the CD forms. The *issei* speakers hardly used the original TD forms *ore* and *ora*. Overall findings for 1PPs show that speakers in all groups used non-TD forms more than the TD forms although Tōhoku phonology was not always suppressed.

The CD speakers in the SPD also showed more frequent adoption of SJ lexical features (1PP *watashi* and SFP *ne*) than non-lexical (morphosyntactic) features. This may have served to further reinforce the TD speakers' adoption of SJ lexical features which was already affected by the Japanese government's standardization programs.

## 6.2 Copulas

The SJ copula *da* is common across eastern Japan, while *ja*, the CD copula, is prominent in western Japan. Both the bound form (e.g. *da* and *ja* attached to other morphemes such as the conjunctions *dakara* and *jakê* 'and', or where *da* and *ja* are followed by a sentence final particle [SFP]) and unbound forms of the copula (*da*

Table 6. Copulas used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>da</i> forms (SJ/TD)	<i>ja</i> forms (CD)	<i>dabe</i> (TD)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 143)	77%	22%	1%
	Group 2 (n = 179)	87%	11%	2%
	Group 3 (n = 91)	95%	0%	5%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 187)	22%	78%	0%
	Group 2 (n = 153)	10%	90%	0%
	Group 3 (n = 49)	0%	100%	0%

and *ja* alone) were quantified for analysis. Although the TD copula *da* is the same as that of SJ, *dabe* (*da* plus the SFP) was treated separately because *be* is a prototypical TD SFP. The results are presented in the following table; ‘*da* forms’ and ‘*ja* forms’ include both bound and unbound copula forms.

As expected, Group 1 speakers employed the CD form more than Group 2 speakers, while Group 3 did not employ *ja* forms at all. While the CD speakers themselves showed some variation in their usage of the *ja* copula, with Group 1 employing it the least often, usage of the CD forms were still seen far more often than SJ/TD *da* forms (see Table 6).

### 6.3 Discourse markers

Japanese is known for its pragmatic use of SFPs and the SJ *ne* is one of the most commonly discussed examples. Rather than serving any grammatical function, *ne* softens sentences and assures channeling among the interlocutors. In traditional TD, *nae* is the equivalent of *ne* and expresses emphatic feeling (Iitoyo 1964/1996: 391; Kanno & Iitoyo 1967/1994: 51; Takeuchi 1954/1996b: 200). In CD, the particle *no* serves the same function (Higa 1970, 1985). In addition to the SFPs, a sentence connector which functions as a discourse marker was also analyzed.

Table 7. SFPs used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>ne</i> (SJ)	<i>no</i> (CD)	<i>nae</i> (TD)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 353)	57%	43%	0%
	Group 2 (n = 940)	79%	21%	1%
	Group 3 (n = 37)	22%	0%	78%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 495)	15%	85%	0%
	Group 2 (n = 539)	29%	71%	0%
	Group 3 (n = 132)	78%	22%	0%

**Table 8.** Sentence connectors used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD)	<i>hoi</i> (CD)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 183)	31%	69%
	Group 2 (n = 284)	70%	30%
	Group 3 (n = 27)	100%	0%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 296)	20%	80%
	Group 2 (n = 289)	20%	80%
	Group 3 (n = 66)	3%	97%

Common phrases meaning 'then' or 'and then' such as *sorede*, *sorekara*, *soredakara*, and other words beginning with *sore* are found in both SJ and TD while their equivalent forms in CD are *hoide*, *hoikara*, *hoijakê*, and other connecting discourse markers starting with *hoi* or *hore*.

The results for the use of the first set of discourse markers, the SFPs, show that speakers in Group 1 employed CD forms more than speakers in Group 2. While the *issei* speakers hardly used the original TD form, *nae*, this was the most common token used by Group 3.

As with the SFPs, Group 1 used the CD forms, *hoide*, *hoikara*, *hoijakê*, etc., more than the SJ/TD forms, *sorede*, *sorekara*, *soredakara*, etc. At the same time, these results also imply that the CD forms were relatively well adopted by Group 2 as they were used up to 30% of the time. Group 3 used exclusively SJ/TD forms, although the data only include the male speaker due to the lack of tokens from the female speaker.

Anomalously, SFP use for CD speakers showed that Group 3 used the SJ SFP *ne* far more often than the CD equivalent, whereas Groups 1 and 2 preferred the CD SFP. This may be due to the relative dearth of tokens for Group 3, which contained only two speakers. Sentence connector usage for CD speakers, however, behaved as expected, with all three groups using CD forms preferentially, and with Group 3 using CD forms almost exclusively (see Tables 7 and 8).

#### 6.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions investigated here include words that function to connect two clauses in a cause and effect relationship. The forms observed here are *dakara* and *kara*, which are the same in both SJ and TD; *dakara* is a combination of two morphemes, the copula *da*, and conjunction *kara*. In CD, the equivalent forms of *dakara* are *jakê*, *jaken*, or *jakara* and those of *kara* are *kê* and *ken*. With the influence of Tōhoku phonology, *dakara* and *kara* are often pronounced *dagara* and *gara* (Kanno 1982: 385). Those tokens pronounced with TD phonology are coded separately and

Table 9. Conjunctions used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>kara/dakara</i> (SJ/TD)	<i>gara/dagara</i> (w/TD)	<i>kê /jakê</i> (CD)	<i>jagê</i> (CD w/ TD)	<i>dakê/dagê</i> (Mixed)
Tôhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 180)	40%	18%	27%	4%	11%
	Group 2 (n = 272)	54%	21%	17%	0%	8%
	Group 3 (n = 19)	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Chûgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 239)	23%	0%	77%	0%	0%
	Group 2 (n = 244)	46%	0%	54%	0%	0%
	Group 3 (n = 89)	13%	0%	87%	0%	0%

labeled under ‘SJ w/ TD’ or ‘CD w/ TD’. Mixed form tokens include *dakê* and *dagê*; *dakê* seems to be a combination of TD/SJ *dakara* and CD *jakê* while *dagê* seems to be *dakê* with TD phonology. They are considered to be inter-dialectal forms produced by the dialect contact in Hawai’i; these forms are found in neither Tôhoku nor Chûgoku dialect areas where the *issei* speakers originate. Like the data used for the sentence connectors above, conjunction use by Group 3 only includes the male speaker. In the data presented below, the mixed form tokens *dakê* and *dagê* are combined, as so few were pronounced as *dagê* with the intervocalic voicing.

Both Groups 1 and 2 showed varied usage of the tokens. The point of interest here is the use of mixed forms *dakê* and *dagê*, the inter-dialectal forms created during dialect contact, indicating a dynamic situation in Hawai’i. The mixed forms were used by both groups. All three groups of CD speakers showed use of

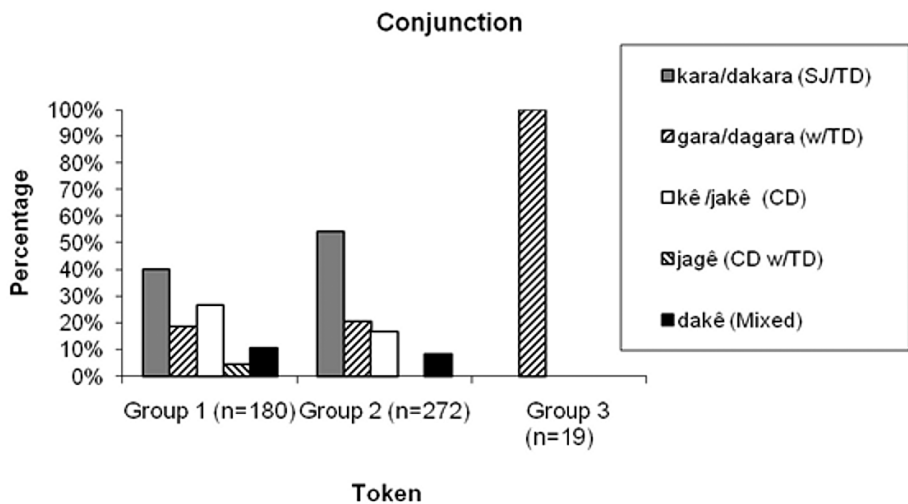


Figure 3. Conjunctions used by the three groups

exclusively SJ/TD forms with CD phonology, or CD forms. As expected, Group 3 preferred CD features vastly more often than Groups 1 and 2 (see Table 9).

### 6.5 Negation markers

The most widely used non-past V-negation marker is *-nai* in SJ and TD and *-n* in CD. In TD, the vowel coalescence (ai) ~ (ê) may cause *-nai* to be pronounced *-nê*.

**Table 10.** Negation markers used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>nai</i> (SJ/TD)	<i>nê</i> (TD)	<i>n</i> (CD)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 146)	16%	1%	83%
	Group 2 (n = 152)	31%	1%	68%
	Group 3 (n = 12)	8%	92%	0%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 146)	5%	0%	95%
	Group 2 (n = 141)	13%	0%	87%
	Group 3 (n = 44)	2%	0%	98%

Both Groups 1 and 2 used the CD form *-n* the most frequently, preferring this over the SJ/TD form *-nai* or its corresponding TD pronunciation, *-nê*. At the same time, they rarely used the TD form *-nê*. Again, only the male speaker's data is available from Group 3; however, his non-use of the CD form provides evidence that the CD feature was presumably adopted by the *issei* speakers due to the contact situation. CD *issei* used the CD negation marker *-n* almost exclusively, and did not use the TD negation marker at all (see Table 10).

### 6.6 Existential/gerundive markers

The existential/gerundive marker is *iru* in SJ and TD, and *oru* in CD. Phrases such as *hito ga iru* in SJ/TD or *hito ga oru* in CD 'there is a person' are examples of the existential markers while *hito ga kiteiru* in SJ/TD or *hito ga kiteoru* in CD 'someone is coming' are examples of the gerundive markers. As with the negation markers, distinctions between SJ/TD and CD features here fall into the broader categories of Eastern versus Western Japanese features.

Similar to the negation markers, both Groups 1 and 2 used the CD form *oru* over the SJ/TD form *iru*. Here, too, Group 3's male speaker's tokens support the notion that the *issei* speakers' frequent adoption of the CD features is a product of the dialect contact situation, as CD speakers in Group 3 used exclusively the CD *oru*. Speakers in Groups 1 and 2 used it only marginally less often, showing only a few uses of the SJ/TD *iru* throughout the entire data set.

**Table 11.** Existential/Gerundive markers used by the three TD and CD groups

		<i>iru</i> (SJ/TD)	<i>oru</i> (CD)
Tōhoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 154)	14%	86%
	Group 2 (n = 137)	19%	81%
	Group 3 (n = 15)	100%	0%
Chūgoku <i>issei</i>	Group 1 (n = 192)	3%	97%
	Group 2 (n = 221)	3%	97%
	Group 3 (n = 16)	0%	100%

### 7. Dialect contact and linguistic change among the *issei* speakers

The previous section presented the following features: 1PPs, copulas, discourse markers (SFPs and sentence connectors), conjunctions, non-past verb negators, and existential/gerundive markers. The summary of the findings for *issei* speakers is shown in the table below. In order to convey the degree of dialect change, only the two most numerous tokens for each category are shown. The shaded cells indicate the CD tokens used by the speakers.

Over fifty years after leaving their hometowns, the *issei* speakers show signs of dialect mixing in the investigated tokens. Overall results indicate a general adoption of CD features by all the *issei* TD speakers in the SPD corpus. The

**Table 12.** Summary of the results for the TD *issei* groups

Features	Group 1 (F = 3, M = 3)		Group 2 (F = 6, M = 3)	
1PP (n = 207)	<i>watashi</i> (SJ) 25%	<i>wadasu</i> (SJ w/TD) 21%	<i>wadasu</i> (SJ w/TD) 37%	<i>watashi</i> (SJ) 22%
Copula (n = 652)	<i>da</i> (SJ/TD) 71%	<i>ja</i> (CD) 29%	<i>da</i> (SJ/TD) 85%	<i>ja</i> (CD) 13%
SFP (n = 1330)	<i>ne</i> (SJ) 57%	<i>no</i> (CD) 43%	<i>ne</i> (SJ) 79%	<i>no</i> (CD) 21%
Conn. (n = 494)	<i>hoi</i> (CD) 69%	<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD) 31%	<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD) 70%	<i>hoi</i> (CD) 30%
Conj. (n = 471)	<i>kara</i> , etc. (SJ/TD) 40%	<i>kê</i> , etc. (CD) 27%	<i>kara</i> , etc. (SJ/TD) 54%	<i>gara</i> etc. (SJ w/TD) 21%
Neg. (n = 310)	<i>-n</i> (CD) 83%	<i>-nai</i> (SJ/TD) 16%	<i>-n</i> (CD) 68%	<i>-nai</i> (SJ/TD) 31%
Exst/Ger. (n = 306)	<i>oru</i> (CD) 86%	<i>iru</i> (SJ/TD) 14%	<i>oru</i> (CD) 81%	<i>iru</i> (SJ/TD) 19%



general acquisition of CD features among the *issei* speakers may be explained by the Founder Principle, applied to language contact and change conditions by Mufwene (e.g. 2001). According to this idea, the first settlers in a new community create the basis for the language to be used by subsequent settlers. Therefore, the order of arrival of early settlers is an important factor in the formation of a contact language. The application of this idea to dialect contact was used by Matsumoto and Britain (2003: 14) in their work on Japanese spoken in Palau, an island nation in the Pacific near the Philippines. There, the largest number of Japanese immigrants came from Okinawa; however, primarily Eastern Japanese dialectal features are observed in their data. The dominance of Eastern Japanese features in this case is due to the early settlement of Eastern Japanese speakers from the Kantô area (Matsumoto & Britain 2003). Similarly, large numbers of CD speakers began arriving in Hawai'i from the first year of the government-contracted plantation immigration in 1885 and their population steadily increased throughout the following immigration years. While the first group of 37 TD-speaking immigrants also arrived in Hawai'i from Niigata in 1885, they did not form a community until 1909 when more immigrants from Niigata followed (Kimura 1988: 24–25). Fukushima immigrants first arrived in Hawai'i in 1898. However, their population did not increase until 1906 (Kimura 1988: 33), when a severe famine hit the region. CD speakers from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures were the most numerous group throughout the entire plantation immigration period. As the criteria for application of the Founder Principle in this case favor the CD immigrants, the adoption of CD forms by the TD immigrants seen in this study is understandable.

Concerning the adoption of these features in the SPD, the analysis of two particular features — negation and existential/gerundive markers — indicate that both *issei* groups primarily used the CD forms *-n* and *oru* over the SJ/TD forms *-nai* and *iru* respectively. The fact that these CD variants of certain variables were adopted far more frequently than other forms by the *issei* TD speakers needs to be explained. In Matsumoto & Britain's (2003) study of Japanese spoken in Palau, the distributions of the negation markers, *-nai* from eastern Japanese and *-n* from western Japanese dialects, almost exclusively favored the eastern form *-nai*; thus, they suggest that there was a dialect leveling of *-nai* over *-n* in Palau. They speculate that the eastern form 'won' in the Japanese dialect contact situation in Palau either because the eastern Japanese population was demographically dominant or the eastern variety is closer to SJ and the speakers shifted towards SJ (Matsumoto & Britain 2003: 62). In the case of Japanese spoken in Hawai'i, the data indicate that both *issei* groups primarily used the CD forms *-n* and *oru* over the SJ/TD forms *-nai* and *iru*. Similarly to Matsumoto & Britain's study, we can posit that the locally dominant (and thus prestigious) CD forms penetrated into the *issei* Tōhoku immigrants' speech. Note also that these features, the negation marker *-n*

and the existential/gerundive marker *oru*, are not only characteristic CD forms but are used by the entire western Japan region, including Kyūshū. At one point, the fact that almost three quarters (72%) of the *issei* immigrants spoke Chūgoku and Kyūshū dialects (see Table 1) means that users of these features comprised an even more overwhelming majority than the CD speakers alone. This may help to explain why these features were the winning candidates in the dialect leveling process.

There are yet two other features in the SPD that suggest possible dialect leveling. In observing distributions of the first person personal pronouns (1PPs), and the sentence final particles (SFPs), the SJ forms *watashi* and *ne* outnumbered both their CD counterparts *washi* and *no*, and the TD forms *ore/ora* and *nae*. For these features, the leveling favors SJ, and these results may have a different explanation than those for the dialect contact in the plantation setting discussed so far. In Japanese, 1PPs are lexical items and free morphemes while SFPs are lexically bound morphemes. Use of these morphemes is not restricted by grammatical constraints such as agreement, but is more pragmatically constrained. In Japanese, both 1PPs and SFPs are salient lexical features and thus more vulnerable to change under a contact situation. Recall that salient features are shown to be consciously manipulated by speakers acquiring a new dialect (Kerswill 1996, Trudgill 1986). In SPD, the 1PP *watashi* (or *wadazu*, etc.) and the SFP *ne* were used frequently by the *issei* speakers as well as the Group 3 speakers, suggesting that these lexical features penetrated into TD with the Japanese language standardization, with or without significant contact among speakers. According to Nagara (1972: Appendix II), there were a total of 895 SJ-speaking immigrants in Hawai'i in 1924 (0.4% of the total Japanese population), 461 from Tōkyō and 434 from Chiba. Thus, as far as use of 1PPs and SFPs are concerned, it seems more logical to assume that the TD immigrants in Hawai'i adopted the SJ forms as part of language neutralization or standardization programs. Unlike the adoption of CD forms for other tokens, the *issei* speakers seem to have acquired the SJ forms from language used in radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, etc., rather than actual interactions with SJ speakers, probably in much the same way that Group 3 speakers acquired these features. Simultaneously, the fact that CD speakers in both Hawai'i and in their hometown were using the SJ forms is further evidence of the efficacy of standardization, which presumably took hold after World War II with the expansion of mass media among the general public. The CD speakers' summarized data are presented in the following table in the same format as Table 12 above. Tokens are listed in order of frequency of usage for each group; cells representing CD tokens are shaded.

As the shaded cells indicate, the copula, conjunction, sentence connector, existential/gerundive marker, and negation marker were predominantly CD forms (54–100%); the exceptions were 1PPs for all three groups and SFPs for Group 3.

Table 13. Summary of the results for the CD speaking groups

Features	Group 1 (F=3, M=3)		Group 2 (F=4, M=2)		Group 3 (F=1, M=1)	
1PP (n=283)	<i>watashi</i> (SJ) 56%	<i>washi</i> (CD) 35%	<i>watashi</i> (SJ) 57%	<i>washi</i> (CD) 39%	<i>washi</i> (CD) 64%	<i>watashi</i> (SJ) 36%
Cop. (n=389)	<i>ja</i> (CD) 78%	<i>da</i> (SJ/TD) 22%	<i>ja</i> (CD) 90%	<i>da</i> (SJ/TD) 10%	<i>ja</i> (CD) 100%	n/a
SFP (n=1168)	<i>no</i> (CD) 85%	<i>ne</i> (SJ) 15%	<i>no</i> (CD) 71%	<i>ne</i> (SJ) 29%	<i>ne</i> (SJ) 78%	<i>no</i> (CD) 22%
Conn. (n=651)	<i>hoi</i> (CD) 80%	<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD) 20%	<i>hoi</i> (CD) 80%	<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD) 20%	<i>hoi</i> (CD) 97%	<i>sore</i> (SJ/TD) 3%
Conj. (n=572)	<i>kê, etc.</i> (CD) 77%	<i>kara, etc.</i> (SJ/TD) 23%	<i>kê, etc.</i> (CD) 54%	<i>kara, etc.</i> (SJ/TD) 46%	<i>kê, etc.</i> (CD) 87%	<i>kara, etc.</i> (SJ/TD) 14%
Neg. (n=331)	<i>-n</i> (CD) 95%	<i>-nai</i> (SJ/TD) 5%	<i>-n</i> (CD) 87%	<i>-nai</i> (SJ/TD) 12%	<i>-n</i> (CD) 98%	<i>nai</i> (SJ/TD) 2%
Ex/Ge (n=429)	<i>oru</i> (CD) 97%	<i>iru</i> (SJ/TD) 3%	<i>oru</i> (CD) 97%	<i>iru</i> (SJ/TD) 3%	<i>oru</i> (CD) 100%	n/a

There is a high degree of mixing of 1PPs for both *issei* and non-immigrant groups, evidence of standardization that took place in Hawai'i and Japan. SFP usage varied among the groups, with Group 3 speakers using the SJ SFP *ne* more frequently than the CD *no*, while the *issei* speakers primarily used the CD form. While the reason for this difference is unclear, it is clear that at least some level of mixing between SJ and CD occurred in both locations. The important points to recognize here are the fact that none of the CD *issei* speakers adopted TD forms in any of the selected features, but that some mixing of the lexical tokens occurred between CD and SJ or CD and English. A crucial difference between the two dialects in the Hawai'i contact situation is that CD was not stigmatized and that CD speakers, even when adopting SJ forms, did not replace their original CD features to the extent seen with the Tôhoku immigrants.

The overall results for TD speakers show that the *issei* speakers hardly used the more overt TD forms, the 1PPs (*ore* and *ora*), the copula (*dabe*), the SFP (*nae*), and the non-past V-negator (*-nê*). These results may reflect the speakers' conscious avoidance of these negatively salient or stigmatized traits. This tendency is slightly higher among speakers who interacted with non-TD speakers daily.

Dialect discrimination and social pressure were imposed upon the TD-speaking immigrants by larger immigrant groups from non-TD-speaking areas, both in Japan and in Hawai'i. In Japan, TD became a target of the infamous post-Meiji dialect abolition movement around the same time as widespread immigration to Hawai'i occurred. However, TD was still a minority dialect in Hawai'i, known by the derogatory nickname *zû-zû ben* 'zû-zû dialect' among Japanese immigrants. It is unknown whether TD's status in Japan influenced its stigmatization in Hawai'i. In Japan the language standardization movement influenced TD speakers to use more SJ, whereas in Hawai'i SJ was not the sole target dialect for the TD speakers, at least during their initial settlement, as there was already a dominant dialect from the Chûgoku area in place. Evidence of linguistic accommodation toward both SJ and CD features was seen in the data for lexical features such as IPPs and SFPs, with a preference for SJ over CD. However, for morphological items the preference shifted towards CD. I now turn my attention to the phonological aspects of SDA by TD speakers.

## 8. Phonological transfer and second dialect acquisition

As we saw earlier, previous studies of SDA suggest that adult speakers acquire morphosyntactic features more easily than phonological features, as opposed to young speakers (under 14 years of age) who seem to acquire both sets of features more or less completely. This prediction is borne out by the findings of this study. The TD speakers in SPD did not lose their original phonology in spite of the stigmatization and their conscious effort to sound like the majority CD speakers. Moreover, instances of TD phonological transfer were observed in some tokens, corroborating previous studies' findings regarding phonological acquisition, or lack thereof. This section discusses TD phonology transfers and their implications for SDA.

I focus my attention on three phonological features of TD and their persistence in the TD data. First, TD phonology has an intervocalic voicing of /t/ and /k/ (Kanno & Iitoyo 1967/1994). For example, the non-TD vocabulary [hata] 'flag' or [kaki] 'persimmon' are pronounced as [hada] or [kagi] in TD. Second, in non-TD dialects, the alveolar obstruents /s, t, z/ are phonetically palatalized before a high front vowel /i/ (Vance 1987). Thus, words like /susi/ 'sushi', /uti/ 'house,' and /kazi/ 'fire' are pronounced as [suʃi], [utʃi], and [kadʒi]. In TD, by contrast, the high front vowel [u] is used in place of [i], thus eliminating the environment for palatalization. Hence the aforementioned words are realized as [susu], [utsu], and [kazu]. Among the varieties of Japanese dialects spoken in Hawai'i, these phonological features were used solely by the Tôhoku immigrants and it is in fact these strong phonological features which caused TD to be known as *zû-zû* dialect (e.g.

Kobayashi 1995: 34). Third, TD reduces the diphthong /ai/ to /e/, so that words like the negation marker *-nai* are pronounced *-nê* as in *minê* 'do not see' (SJ *minai*) or *kikoenê* 'do not hear' (SJ *kikoenai*) as seen in 6.5 above. In all three cases, TD speakers retained these phonological features in the data.

Within the SPD, the SJ and CD 1PPs *watashi* and *washi* and the conjunctions *dakara* and *jakê* were pronounced by the Tōhoku *issei* speakers with TD phonology transfers as *wadasu/wadashi/watasu* or *dagara* (instead of SJ *watashi* and *dakara*) and *wasu* or *jagê* (instead of CD *washi* and *jakê*). For example, in the pronunciation of the 1PP *watashi* (SJ) as *wadasu* (TD), [t] to [d] in the second syllable in the TD form reflects a use of intervocalic voicing; similarly, [su] instead of [ši] in the last syllable represents a non-palatalization of an obstruent [s]. This intervocalic voicing and non-palatalization took place almost ubiquitously within all lexical categories including nouns and proper nouns, and even with English or Hawaiian loanwords: /baketsu/ 'bucket' as [bagetsu], /bôto/ 'boat' as [bôdo], /happaikô/ 'carrying sugar cane' as [happaigô], and /šistâ/ 'sister' as [susutâ]. By contrast, the vowel reduction was observed only in the negation markers and other verb and adjective endings and rarely occurred in nouns or proper nouns. Neither was it observed in the pronunciation of non-TD forms including non-Japanese nouns or proper nouns. None of the *issei* speakers pronounced Hawaiian place names, e.g. *Hawai* [hawai] 'Hawai'i' as [hawê] or *Kauai* [kauai] or [kawai] 'Kaua'i' as [kauê]. Note that although a glottal stop is noted in Hawaiian orthography with an 'okina' (the upside down apostrophe), the glottal stop is usually ignored in Japanese loanword pronunciation. Similarly, English loanwords like *aisu* 'ice' or *sutoraiki* 'strike' were always pronounced as [aisu] and [sutoraiki] and never as [êsu] or [sutorêki], suggesting that ubiquitous features such as intervocalic voicing saw less inhibition, conscious or otherwise, compared to lexically-restricted features like [ai] to [ê] vowel reduction.

All in all, inter-dialectal phonological transfers by the TD speakers suggest that the speakers acquired the lexical or morphological features of other dialects but failed to acquire non-TD phonology at the same rate. It is important to remember that these speakers' SDA took place in a naturalistic context 'in the absence of institutional support' (Milroy 2002: 10). As the above SPD excerpts and Kimura's interview data show, TD speakers in Hawai'i consciously altered their original dialect without any formal instruction. It is reasonable to assume that the Tōhoku *issei* speakers retained those non-TD features which were easier for them to learn from casual interactions. In this case, the Tōhoku immigrants' SDA setting can be equated with the community dialect acquisition setting suggested by Siegel (2003), which takes place 'when people who speak one dialect migrate to a region where another is spoken and acquire the informal dialect of their new community' (Siegel 2003: 198).

## 9. Summary of the findings and their implications

Pronunciation (phonology) and lexical variation (e.g. 1PPs and SFPs) seemed to be acquired at different speeds for the speakers in SPD, in agreement with Chambers' (1992, 1995) suggestion that these may be independent processes with respect to SDA in different varieties of English. Similarly, Kerswill (1994) reports that older speakers acquired morpholexical features more successfully than phonological features, which is in agreement with these findings. Given the fact that all of the *issei* speakers were adults at their time of arrival in Hawai'i, it is understandable that they should show difficulty in acquiring phonology from another dialect. The findings for the SPD seem to confirm preexisting findings from SDA studies on phonology. The data indicate that morphosyntactic features were acquired more often than phonological features. The TD immigrants avoided their original stigmatized morphosyntactic forms such as 1PP *ore* or *ora*, copula *dabe*, SFP *nae* and negator *-nê*, and instead employed either CD or SJ equivalents. This change from the TD negator *-nê* to SJ *-nai*, seems to be morphosyntactic rather than phonological because this vowel shift did not occur globally but was restricted to limited lexical items.

Due to the mixture of SJ and CD in the data, it was not immediately apparent whether the target Japanese variety for the TD immigrants in Hawai'i was either SJ or CD, or both. As mentioned earlier, the SPD recordings indicate that the Tōhoku immigrants generally avoided prototypical TD morphosyntactic features. Moreover, several speakers remarked positively on the loss of their TD dialect after their move to Hawai'i, hinting that the speakers not only acquired the non-TD dialects but also self-stigmatized views on their original dialects. As none of the Chūgoku immigrants acquired any of the TD forms except for those which overlapped with SJ, it seems that linguistic accommodation among the Japanese plantation immigrants was unidirectional. Although SJ affected the immigrants' Japanese language use, I suggest that there were two separate acquisition phases for the TD speakers. The initial target dialect was CD as per the Founder Principle. Later, especially after World War II, SJ eventually influenced both Tōhoku and Chūgoku immigrants in Hawai'i and both immigrant groups eventually acquired some SJ forms. The penetration of SJ was also evident in Japan based on the data of the speakers who never lived outside their hometowns in the Tōhoku and Chūgoku dialect regions.

The data show that the TD speakers who interacted daily with non-TD speakers adopted CD and SJ features more successfully than those who did not. This high degree of dialect change among the minority late-comers, namely Tōhoku *issei* speakers, additionally provides strong support for the Founder Principle. It is likely that the overt TD features were initially replaced by their CD equivalents upon immigration to Hawai'i due to stigmatization and discrimination.

Consequently, variables such as the negation marker, *-n*, or existential/gerundive marker, *oru*, seem to have undergone dialect leveling, emerging as the winning candidates. Other lexically-bound features, in particular the 1PPs or SFPs, seem to have been influenced more by the SJ forms (*watashi* and *ne*, respectively) than by their CD counterparts. After World War II, SJ seems to have influenced the language use of all *issei* speakers, including Chûgoku immigrants, who also showed significant usage of SJ features.

Previous studies suggest that age influences acquisition of SDA phonology; for example, Chambers (1992, 1995), Kerswill (1994), Sibata (1958), and Trudgill (1986) all present evidence that younger speakers (i.e. seven years of age and under) are able to master a new dialect's phonology easily while older speakers (i.e. 14 years of age and over) have limits in their acquisition of a second dialect phonology. Therefore, the adult Tōhoku *issei* speakers' ages seem to be a factor in their ability to acquire the second dialect phonology. The overall data show that the Tōhoku *issei* immigrants assimilated the lexically-bound features at a higher rate than other morphosyntactic or phonological features. For example, lexically-bound features such as the TD 1PPs (*ora/ore*), SFPs (*nae*) and negation markers (*-nê*) were almost completely replaced with the non-TD forms after moving to Hawai'i.

The TD immigrants' status as both latecomers and linguistic minorities in the local Japanese community seems to have enhanced the stigmatized of TD in general. As a result, the traditional TD forms were replaced almost completely by non-TD forms in Hawai'i. This study suggests that obvious dialect stigmatization led to the TD speakers' adoption of non-TD features in order to gain acceptance in the local Japanese communities. However, the speakers transferred their TD phonology to the newly acquired non-TD forms in 1PPs (e.g. *wadasu*, in SJ *watashi* or conjunctions *dagara* (e.g. *dakara* in SJ)). The findings support current SDA studies that the adult speakers acquire lexically-bound features more easily than phonological features.

Received: 6/4/2007

Revised: 5/4/09

Accepted: 6/14/09

## References

- Abe, Shin. 2005. *Ogasawara shotô ni okeru nihongo no hôgen sesshoku: Hôgen keisei to hoôgen ishiki*. Tôkyô: Nanpôshinsha.

- Alexander, Arthur. 1937. *Koloa plantation 1835–1935: A history of the oldest Hawaiian sugar plantation*. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin.
- Arima, Midori. 1990. *An ethnographic and historical study of Ogasawara/The Bonin Islands, Japan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University dissertation.
- Arima, Toshiyuki. 1975. Ogasawara de no nihongo kyôiku. *Gengo Seikatsu* 281. 35–41.
- Carter, William. 1921. The Japanese in Hawaii. *Atlantic Monthly* 128. 255–257.
- Chambers, J. K. 1992. Dialect acquisition. *Language* 68. 673–705.
- Chambers, J.K. 1995. Acquisition of lexical and pronunciation variants. In Wolfgang Viereck (ed.), *Verbandlungen des Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses Bamberg 1990. Band 4*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 3–19.
- Chinen, Karleen, & Arnold Hiura. 1997. *From bento to mixed plate: Americans of Japanese ancestry in multicultural Hawaii*. Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum.
- Clarke, Joan. 1994. *Family traditions in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Namkoong Publishing.
- DeFrancis, John. 1973. *Things Japanese in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Foreman, Annik. 2003. *Pretending to be someone you're not: A study of second dialect acquisition in Australia*. Melbourne, Victoria: Monash University dissertation.
- Fujiwara, Takaaki. 1998. Nikkei shimin to beika. In Yukuji Okita (ed.), *Hawaii nikkei shakai no bunka to sono henyô*, 156–183. Tôkyô: Nakanishiya.
- Giles, Howard. 1977. Social psychology and applied linguistics: Towards an integrative approach. *ILT Review of Applied Linguistics* 35. 27–42.
- Giles, Howard & Nikolas Coupland. 1991. *Language: Contexts and consequences*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Giles, Howard & Phillip Smith. 1979. Accommodation theory: Optimal levels of convergence. In Howard Giles & Robert N. St. Clair (eds.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, 45–65. London: Academic Press.
- Hawaii Hochisha (ed.). 2001. *Aroha nenkan: Hawai no subete*, 11th ed. Honolulu: Hawaii Hochisha.
- Higa, Masanori. 1970. The sociolinguistic significance of borrowed words in the Japanese spoken in Hawaii. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 2. 125–140.
- Higa, Masanori. 1975. The use of loanwords in Hawaiian Japanese. In Fred Peng (ed.), *Language in Japanese society: Current issues in sociolinguistics*, 71–89. Tôkyô: University of Tôkyô Press.
- Higa, Masanori. 1976. *Nihongo to nihon shakai. Iwanami kôza nihongo 1: Nihongo to koku-gogaku*, 99–138. Tôkyô: Iwanami Shoten.
- Higa, Masanori. 1985. Hawaiian Japanîzu. *Gekkan Gengo* 14. 72–74.
- Hiroshima City (ed.). 2002. *Furusato wa Hiroshima*. Hiroshima: Sankô Shuppan.
- Iitoyo, Kiichi. 1964/1996. Fukushima-ken hôgen ni okeru tasha sonkei hyôgen ni tsuite. In Fumio Inoue, Kôichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirô Ônishi (eds.), *Hokuriku Hôgen-kô vol.1: Hokuriku ippan, Niigata-ken*, 389–427. Tôkyô: Yumani Shobô.
- Inoue, Fumio. 1975. Hawai nikkeijin no nihongo to eigo. *Gengo Seikatsu* 236. 53–61.
- Kanno, Hiroomi. 1982. Fukushima-ken no hôgen. In Kiichi Iitoyo, Toshizumi Hino & Ryôichi Satô (eds.), *Hokkaidô, Tôhoku chihô no hôgen*, 363–397. Tôkyô: Kokushokankôkai.
- Kanno, Hiroomi & Kiichi Iitoyo. 1967/1994. Gengo seikatsu. In Fumio Inoue, Kôichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirô Ônishi (eds.), *Tôhoku Hôgen-kô vol.3: Iwate-ken, Miyagi-ken, Fukushima-ken*, 312–347. Tôkyô: Yumani Shobô.
- Katô, Minoru. 1958/1966. Niigata-ken ni okeru Tôhoku hôgen teki onin to Echigo gogen teki onin no kyôkaichitai. In Fumio Inoue, Kôichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirô



- Ônishi (eds.), *Hokuriku Hôgen-kô vol.1: Hokuriku ippan, Niigata-ken* 63–76. Tôkyô: Yumani Shobô.
- Kerswill, Paul. 1994. *Dialects converging: Rural speech in urban Norway*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kerswill, Paul. 2002. Koineization and accommodation. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Natalie Shilling-Estes (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* 669–702. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kimura, Yukiko. 1988. *Issei: Japanese immigrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kindaichi, Haruhiko. 1988. *Nihongo shinban*. Tôkyô: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kitamura, Hajime. 1952. Kodo no gengo wa jû ni yotte dô kawaru ka. *Gengo Seikatsu* (8), 15–20.
- Kobayashi, Takashi. 1995. Jûmin-ishiki ni miru hôgen-shikô/kyôtsûgo-shikô. *Gekkan Gengo* 124. 34–46.
- Kokushô, Hisashi. 1998. Nihonjin no dantai kôdô. In Yukuji Okita (ed.), *Hawaii nikkei shakai no bunka to sono henyô*, 32–55. Tôkyô: Nakanishiya.
- Komori, Yôichi. 2000. Koe o kaku. In Konomi Ara & Michiko Tanigawa (eds.), *Kyôkai no gengo: chikyûka/chikika no dainamikusu*, 124–140. Tôkyô: Shinyôsha.
- Kotani, Ronald. 1985. *The Japanese in Hawaii: A century of struggle*. Honolulu: Hawaii Hochisha.
- Lind, Andrew. 1946. *Hawaii's Japanese: An experiment in democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Masuda, Kunihiko. 1995. *Verse analysis and its theoretical contribution to the study of the genesis of Hawaii Creole English*. Honolulu, HI: The University of Hawai'i dissertation.
- Matsumoto, Kazuko & David Britain. 2003. Contact and obsolescence in a diaspora variety of Japanese: The case of Palau in Micronesia. *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 44, 38–75.
- Milroy, Lesley. 2002. Introduction: mobility, contact and language change — working with contemporary speech communities. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6. 3–15.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nagara, Susumu. 1972. *Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Odo, Franklin. 1998. Hawai no nisei. In Yukuji Okita (ed.), *Hawaii nikkei shakai no bunka to sono henyô*, 108–126. Tôkyô: Nakanishya.
- Odo, Franklin & Kazuko Shinoto. 1985. *Pictorial record of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Okihiko, Gary. 1991. *Cane fires: The anti-Japanese movements in Hawaii, 1865–1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Okita, Yukuji. 1997. *Hawai nikkei-imin no kyôikushi: Nichibeï bunka, sono deai to soukoku*. Tôkyô: Minerva Shobô.
- Okita, Yukuji. 1998. *Hawaii nikkei shakai no bunka to sono henyô*. Tôkyô: Nakanishya.
- Payne, Arvilla. 1980. Factors controlling the acquisition of the Philadelphia dialect by out-of-state children. In William Labov (ed.), *Locating language in time and space*, 143–78. New York: Academic Press.
- Reinecke, John. 1969/1988. *Language and dialect in Hawaii: A sociolinguistic history to 1935*. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute and University of Hawaii Press.
- Sakai, Naoki. 1991. *Voices of the past: The status of language in eighteenth-century Japanese discourse*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

- Sakoda, Kent, & Jeff Siegel. 2003. *Pidgin grammar: An introduction to the creole language of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Bess Press.
- Sato, Charlene. 1985. Linguistic inequality in Hawaii: The post-creole dilemma. In Nessa Wolfson & Joan Manes (eds.), *Language of inequality*, 255–272. Berlin: Mouton.
- Sibata, Takeshi. 1958. *Nihon no hōgen*. Tōkyō: Iwanami.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2003. Social context. In Catherine Doughty & Michael Long (eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition*, 178–223. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1987. Japanese. In Bernard Comrie (ed.), *The world's major languages*. New York: Oxford University Press. 855–880.
- Tagliamonte, Sali & Sonja Molfenter. 2007. How'd you get that accent?: Acquiring a second dialect of the same language. *Language in Society* 36. 649–675.
- Takeuchi, S. 1954/1996a. Nishikamahara-gun hōgen no gohō. In Fumio Inoue, Kōichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirō Ōnishi (eds.), *Hokuriku hōgen-kō vol. 1: Hokuriku ippan, Niigata-ken*, 129–133. Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō.
- Takeuchi, S. 1954/1996b. Nishikamahara-gun hōgen no gohō 8. In Fumio Inoue, Kōichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirō Ōnishi (eds.), *Hokuriku hōgen-kō vol. 1: Hokuriku ippan, Niigata-ken*, 182–203. Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō.
- Tamura, Eileen. 1994/2001. Americanization fever. In Jonathan Okamura (ed.), *The Japanese American historical experience in Hawaii*, 39–66. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.
- Tanaka, Katsuhiko. 1975. *Gengo no shisō: Kokka to minzoku no kotoba*. Tōkyō: NHK Books.
- Tasaka, Jack. 1985. *Hore hore songu: Aika de tadoru Hawai imin no rekishi*. Tōkyō: Nihon Chiiki Shakai Kenkyūsha.
- Tokugawa, Munemasa & Willem Grootaers. 1951. *Hōgenchirigaku zushū*. Tōkyō: Akiyama Shoten.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- The United Japanese Society of Hawaii. 1964. *Hawai nihonjin iminshi: A history of Japanese immigration in Hawaii*. Honolulu: The United Japanese Society of Hawaii.
- The United Japanese Society of Hawaii. 1971. *A history of Japanese in Hawaii*. Honolulu: The United Japanese Society of Hawaii.
- Vance, Timothy. 1987. *An introduction to Japanese phonology*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Yamamoto, Eric. 1973. *From 'Japanee' to local: Community change and the redefinition of sansei identity in Hawaii*. Honolulu, HI: The University of Hawaii thesis.
- Yasuda, Toshiaki. 1999. *Kokugo to hōgen no aida: Gengokōchiku no seijigaku*, Kyōto: Jinbun Shoin.
- Yoshida, S. 1952/1996. Niigata-ken hōgen. In Fumio Inoue, Kōichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi & Takuichirō Ōnishi (eds.), *Hokuriku hōgen-kō vol. 1: Hokuriku ippan, Niigata-ken*, 12–34. Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō.

Copyright of Journal of Pidgin & Creole Languages is the property of John Benjamins Publishing Co. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.