

**Language Contact on the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands:  
Assessing the Status of the Ogasawara Mixed Language\***

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*ABSTRACT.* This paper explores language contact on the Ogasawara islands with the purpose of assessing the status of the Ogasawara Mixed Language (OML) in contact linguistics. Long (2007a, among others) refers to the language as a mixed language without justifying whether it conforms to the definition of “mixed language” used in contact linguistics. Adopting the hypothesis that code-switching may yield mixed languages, I argue that OML is merely a mixed lect rather than a mixed language in Backus’s (2003) sense.

**Keywords:** language contact, mixed language, Ogasawara Mixed Language, Bonin Islands, code-switching, code-mixing

## **1. Introduction**

This section introduces the islands from two dimensions: geography and history.

### *1.1 Geographical Background*

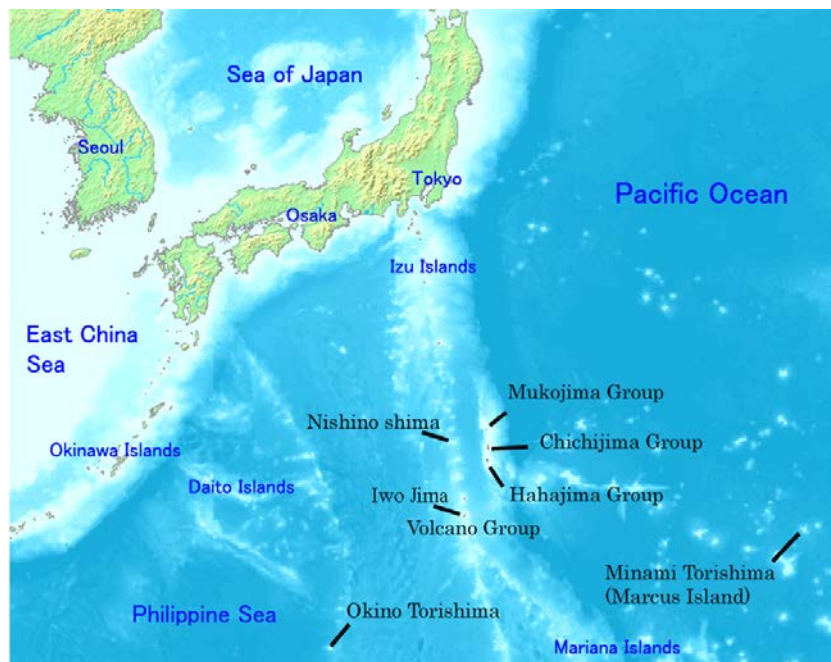
The Ogasawara islands are located in the west Pacific region and consist of three main island groups, the Muko-jima Group (聟島), the Chichi-jima Group (父島), and the Haha-jima Group (母島). They became more well-known soon after being listed as a World Heritage by UNESCO in 2011. They are at approximately the same latitude as the Okinawa Islands

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\*\* Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: COP= copular; DAT= dative; DEM= demonstrative; DET= determiner; FLR= filler; GEN= genitive; LNK= linker; MED= medial; NOM= nominative; NPST= non-past; PL= plural; PROG= progressive; PST= past; PTC= particle; QUOT= quotative

and are currently a territory of Japan. Yet, the islands are approximately 1,000 km directly south of Tokyo (Honshū [本州, Japan] and about 540 km north of the Mariana islands as shown in Figure 1. The islands are also known as Bonin islands. The term “Bonin” originates from the Archaic Japanese reading of the word *bunin* (無人, ‘no people’ or ‘uninhabited’).



**Figure 1:** The location of the Ogasawara Islands (Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonin\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonin_Islands))

## 1.2 Historical Background

Long (2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2015) divides the history of the islands into four periods. However, I suggest that an additional period be added before the first period in Long’s proposal. The history of the Ogasawara islands is thus composed of the following five periods:

- (1) **Uninhabited period (before 1830):** According to the historical records, there were no residents on the islands before 1830.
- (2) **Reclamation period (1830-1874):** No one had resided in the islands until 1830. During this period, the islands became habited. The islanders were composed of Caucasians as well as the islanders from Pacific islands.
- (3) **Japanized period (1875-1945):** The islands were under the government of the Empire of Japan in this period. Japanese people started to settle on the islands; most of them were from Hachijō (八丈) island.

- (4) **US-governed period (1946-1968):** After the end of World War II in 1945, the islands were under the government of the US. The Japanese islanders, who settled on the islands during the Japanized period, were repatriated to Japan.
- (5) **Post-reunification period (1969- ):** The sovereignty of the islands was transferred back to Japan again in 1969. The former Japanese islanders returned to the islands. Some new residents from Japan started to settle on the islands along with the former islanders.

### *1.3 History of Language Contact*

In this section, I will illustrate the contact between different languages in each historical period. Language contact on the islands is intriguing because it happened several times. More specifically, different languages play a major role in different periods of contact.

#### *1.3.1 Uninhabited period*

There were no residents in this period; thus, it is not possible to have language contact.

#### *1.3.2 Reclamation period*

This period is the initial stage of language contact. The first group who came to the islands spoke different languages, including Indo-European languages like English, Portuguese, French, etc. and Austronesian languages like Chamorro, Malagasy, Hawaiian, Carolinian, etc. It is almost impossible for people who speak mutually unintelligible languages to communicate with each other in their own language. Thus, a pidgin known as “Ogasawara Pidgin English” (OPE henceafter) was formed to facilitate the communication need of islanders who spoke different languages. However, this pidgin is not a native language of any of its speakers. .

When the offspring of the islanders were born, they acquired the OPE as their mother tongue. The OPE further developed into the Ogasawara semi-Creole English (OCE henceafter). Notice the use of the term “semi-Creole”. In general, when a pidgin becomes stable and acquired by children, it then develops into a creole. However, the situation here differs from the typical one. Long (2007a, 2007b) reports that the OPE was acquired by the islanders’ children as their native language before the OPE has developed a stable system. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) refer to such a phenomenon as “abrupt creolization”. In other words, the OPE undergoes abrupt creolization and developed into the OCE.

### *1.3.3 Japanized period*

As mentioned in section 1.2, most Japanese settlers came from the Hachijō island. Yet, it does not mean that there were no Japanese settlers from other regions of Japan. There actually were. When Japanese people from different regions started to live together on Ogasawara islands, the dialects of their own began to contact with one another. Such a scenario gave rise to the Ogasawara Koine Japanese (OKJ), another contact-induced language on these islands. In other words, koineization, i.e. the process whereby several dialects of an identical language are mixed with one another, took place.

### *1.3.4 US-governed period*

The sovereignty of the islands was transferred to the U.S. after the Empire of Japan lost World War II. During this period, English education was fortified and conducted in school, but the islander still spoke OKJ at home regardless of the predominant English education. This led to bilingualism involving OCE and OKJ. More specifically, a language with OKJ structure but OCE words/phrases appeared. This language is referred to as “the Ogasawara Mixed Language (OML)” by Long (2007a, among others) without justifying whether it conforms to the definition of “mixed language” used in contact linguistics.

### *1.3.5 Post-reunification period*

When the sovereignty of the islands was transferred back to Japan, the former islanders from Japan as well as new residents from Japan settled on the islands. According to Abe (2006), the new settlers were mostly from the Kantō (関東) region. Japanese dialects from the Kantō region as well as other regions started to be used on these islands. Abe further reports that re-koineization, i.e. the contact between various Japanese dialects, took place after the arrival of the new islanders. Unfortunately, younger generations on the islands are shifting to the more dominant language Standard Japanese (SJ) now. Although the islands still display linguistic diversity, less dominant languages are disappearing.

## **2. Literature Review**

This section reviews relevant literature on language contact. Section 2.1 deals with studies on language contact with Japanese, Section 2.2 on mixed languages, Section 2.3 on code-switching, and Section 2.4 on languages on the Ogasawara Islands.

## 2.1 Language contact with Japanese

As far as the literature of contact linguistics is concerned, discussions on pidgins and/or creoles are mostly of Indo-European languages. This can be related to the fact that several European countries colonized and controlled trade in the Asia-Pacific region or the Caribbean region during the Age of Discovery. Even so, some linguists wonder whether there are any pidgins or creoles whose source language is not Indo-European languages, say Japanese. Fortunately, a Japanese-based creole is found in Yilan county, Taiwan. Chien and Sanada (2010a, 2010b, 2011) and Chien (2015) suggest that this creole is the outcome of language contact between the indigenous language, a variety of Squliq Atayal, and Japanese. According to Chien (2011), a localized version of Japanese was once used as a lingua franca between the aborigines and the Chinese people in Taiwan. The lingua franca is a mixture of Standard Japanese, western Japanese dialects and indigenous languages of Taiwan. Yet, this lingua franca is gradually disappearing and currently most of its speakers are of older generations. Chien and Sanada (2011) further find that two negatives *-nay* and *-ng*, whose grammatical function is the same in SJ, have diverged from each other and bear different grammatical functions.

Asahi (2006, 2012) observes some traces of Modern Japanese and language contact in Sakhalin. He examines the Karafuto dialect from the following aspects:<sup>1</sup> vocabulary of fishing, pitch-accent pattern, and morphology. He finds that the Karafuto dialect reflects features of Hokkaido or other northeastern Japanese dialects in terms of these aspects. Long and Long et al. (2012) observe some traces of Modern Japanese on the Mariana islands too. They list some intriguing phenomena resulting from either transfer or speakers' innovation, e.g. the insertion of the Japanese genitive linker *no*, an innovative usage of the Japanese complementizer *toki* 'when...', etc. They further report that Japanese is still used as a lingua franca between some people on the islands.

## 2.2 Mixed languages

I already discussed two kinds of language (pidgin and creole) whose occurrence is due to language contact in section 1.3.2. In fact, there exists one more type of language whose birth can also be attributed to language contact. This type of language is termed MIXED LANGUAGE.

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<sup>1</sup> Before Sakhalin became a territory of Russia (the Russian Empire at the time) in 1853, the island had been a territory of Japan and referred to as Karafuto (樺太). The name originates from the Ainu language and means 'the island in an estuary that the God created'. The Karafuto dialect here refers to a variety of Japanese spoken in Sakhalin, whose occurrence is attributed to such a historical background. See Ashahi (2012) for a fuller discussion.

Pidgin and creole have long been discussed in the literature of contact linguistics whereas the discussion of mixed language is more recent. However, the existence of mixed languages is still under debate among contact linguists. I will not deal with this issue here. For the purpose of this paper, I will take the position that there is another type of contact language besides pidgin and creole, namely mixed languages.

### *2.2.1 Definitions of mixed languages*

Definitions of mixed language vary from one to another. The definitions listed here are from Campbell (2013), Meakins (2013), and Velupillai (2015).

Campbell defines mixed languages as follows:

“... ..A mixed language is one which has two source languages for different components or parts of its grammar and as a result has no single ancestor; consequently, it cannot easily be classified as belonging exclusively to the language family of one of the other of its source languages.... ..Unlike pidgin and creole, in the case of mixed languages both source languages are well known by the members of the community involved.”  
(Campbell 2013: 315)

Meakins and Velupillai, however, define the “mixed language” as shown in the following texts. :

“...Mixed languages are the result of the fusion of two identifiable source languages, normally in situations of community bilingualism.” (Meakins 2013: 59)

“...Mixed languages are language with split ancestry, that is, languages that have two (or a few) identifiable parent languages, and that typically emerged in situations of community bilingualism.” (Velupillai 2015: 60).

Although the definitions differ from one to another, they do share some similarities. First, they all agree that mixed languages have two identifiable source languages while Velupillai includes the possibility that more than two source languages might be involved. Second, they all agree that mixed languages occur in a community with bilingualism although Campbell does not use the term directly in his definition. It implies that speakers of mixed languages are familiar with both source languages rather than only one.

### 2.2.2 Features of mixed languages

In the preceding section, I dealt with the definition of mixed languages and concluded that mixed languages typically have two source languages and that speakers of mixed languages are familiar with both source languages. These might feature mixed languages. Velupillai (2015: 97) summarizes four features of mixed languages, as shown in (6). What is of great interest is the role that identity might play in mixed languages. More specifically, mixed languages are considered markers of identity rather than for purely communicative needs.

- (6) a. Mixed languages are languages in their own right that emerged through the fusion of two or few identifiable source languages in situations of large-scale community bilingualism.
- b. Speakers of mixed languages are often proficient in one or both/all of the input languages.
- c. Mixed languages are identity markers that arose due to expressive rather than communicative needs.
- d. Mixed languages usually arise as markers of a new identity or markers of a retained identity.

### 2.2.3 Types of mixed languages

Four types of mixed language are identified in the literature: (i) intertwined language; (ii) converged language; (iii) lexically mixed language; (iv) other mixture. The first type, **intertwined language**, is a type of mixed language that is composed of two mutually dependent components that form a unique whole (Velupillai 2015: 71). Language A offers the source for lexicon of the mixed language whereas Language B is the source language of grammatical system or vice versa. This type is also referred to as *G(rammar)-L(exicon) mixed language* and is the most common type among mixed languages. The second type, **converged language**, is a type of mixed language that has adopted the grammar of one or more language more or less wholesale without changing the lexicon (Velupillai 2015: 75). This type is also referred to as *F(unction)-S(tructure) mixed language*. The third type, **lexically mixed language**, is a type of mixed language in which several languages contributed equally to its lexicon (Bakker 2003: 120). Bakker uses English and Danish as examples to illustrate this kind of language. More specifically, English is classified as a Germanic language; however, the number of Romance words may exceed the number of native Germanic words. As for Danish, Bakker (2003: 120) cites Homan's finding that "a

count of entries on ten arbitrary pages of an etymological dictionary reveal that some 70 percent of the words were borrowed from German.” The last type, **other mixture**, refers to a mixed language that is neither converged nor lexically mixed and has no clear grammar-lexicon dichotomy. The most well-known language of this type is Copper Island Aleut. The four types of mixed language are summarized in table 1.

**Table 1:** Types of mixed languages

<b>Type</b>	<b>Alias</b>	<b>Features</b>
Intertwined languages	G-L language	grammar from one source language while lexicon from the other language
Converged language	F-S languages	adopting grammar from one language more or less wholesale without changing the lexicon of the original language
Lexically mixed language		several languages contribute equally to its lexicon
Other mixture		bearing none of the above features

#### *2.2.4 Genesis of mixed languages*

Although the existence of mixed languages is controversial, how mixed languages are formed indeed intrigues linguists. Bakker (2003: 187-198) and Velupillai (2015: 81-84) propose several approaches to the genesis of mixed languages. In general, two different approaches may contribute to our understanding of the origin of mixed languages: (i) a unidirectional approach and (ii) a fusional approach. A unidirectional approach assumes a one-way shift from a source language to a target language, whereas a fusional approach considers mixed languages to be the result of the merging of two languages. A unidirectional approach assumes borrowing, code-switching, relexification and paralexification, and language repertoires, whereas a fusional approach involves language intertwining, language competition and evolution, and the center of gravity hypothesis. Bakker was the first one to propose language intertwining in 1997, which is the ever first fusional approach.

In this paper, I adopt a unidirectional approach and I will only discuss code-switching due to limitations of space. Please refer to Bakker (2003) and Velupillai (2015) for a fuller discussion on different approaches to the genesis of mixed language.



## 2.3 Code-switching

Code-switching is the use of materials from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation. By implication, ‘the same conversation’ means that all the other participants also speak, or at least understand, both (or all) languages (Thomason 2001: 132). Code-switching has different conversational functions and one of the functions is to adopt word(s) in one language to fill in the lexical gap in the other language. Code-switching is claimed to be the main route whereby foreign words are borrowed into a language, viz. *borrowing*. Another mechanism similar to code-switching is referred to as **code alternation**. Code-alternation is the use of two (or more) languages by the same speaker (Thomason 2001: 136). However, unlike code-switching, code alternation does not occur in the same conversation with the same speaker.

In general, code-switching can be of one of the two types: (i) *intersentential switching* or *code-mixing*; (ii) *intrasentential switching*. Intersentential switching refers to the switching from one language to another at a sentence boundary, whereas the switch appearing within a single sentence is intrasentential switching (Thomason 2001: 132). Muysken (2000), however, distinguishes two types of code-switching: (i) alternational code-switching; (ii) insertional code-switching. Alternational code-switching is the alternation of structure from different languages, whereas insertional code-switching refers to the insertion of elements from one or more languages into the structure of a more dominant language.

### 2.3.1 Can code-switching yield mixed languages?

As discussed in section 2.2.4, code-switching has been considered one of the routes by which mixed languages can be formed. However, it is still controversial as to whether mixed languages can be generated via code-switching. Auer (1999), Muysken (2000), McConvell (2008), and Myers-Scotton (2003) argue that mixed languages are the fossilization of code-switching.

Myers-Scotton (2003) proposes the Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis to account for the genesis of mixed languages. In her view, the distinction between the source languages should be made with respect to the degree of dominance. The Matrix language, the more dominant one, is the language which provides the grammatical frame for switching or mixing, while the Embedded language, the less dominant one, contributes mostly lexical materials to their mixture. Mixed languages are claimed to arise when there is a turnover under way which it does not reach completion. The dominating status of the source language(s) will not change and is stabilized accordingly. The process yields a language with the combination of

the source languages.

Auer (1999) proposes a three-stage model through which mixed languages are generated. In the first stage, code-switching is fossilized. Then, the source languages are mixed together in the second stage. In the last stage, the languages merged as a single language, i.e. a mixed language. According to Auer, both alternational code-switching and insertional code-switching may be involved in stage 1 and stage 2. No specific generalization can be made as to which type of code-switching will occur in which stage. Auer further suggests that mixed languages lose any hint of alternational code-switching, which makes it look like insertional code-switching. Generally speaking, mixed languages contain much less syntactic variation than language mixing in the sense that functionally equivalent structures from both languages may develop more specialized uses in the mixed language. Auer (1991: 321) even claims that speakers of a mixed language do NOT need to be the speaker of either of the contributing languages. This is obviously apart from what we have seen in the definition of mixed languages.

McConvell (2008) describes linguistic features of Gurindji Kriol, a documented mixed language resulting from code-switching. The language was recently emerged as a result of a mixture of the grammar and the lexicon from indigenous languages and an English-based Creole called Kriol. Adopting Myers-Scotton's Turnover Hypothesis, McConvell observes that code-switching was prevalent in adult Gurindji speech in the 1970's and this provided the main input to their children. Their children grew up speaking Gurindji Kriol.

Bakker (2003) does not advocate a proposal that mixed languages is the outcome of code-switching. He considers mixed languages as autonomous systems. According to Bakker, code-switching and extreme borrowing are independent of each other. They are not the necessary stages prior to the genesis of mixed languages. Bakker further suggests that there even exist mixed languages that develop independently from the coterritorial languages. Moreover, speakers would consider the mixed language as a distinct language even when the language is reduced to a small vocabulary used in another language's framework (Bakker 2003: 142). Linguists would not, however, consider such a form as a distinct language.

Backus (2003) considers it impossible to have code-switching mixtures involving all content words from one language but all functional words from the other language because conventionalized phrases and/or utterances are both lexical and grammatical at the same time. Backus further distinguishes mixed languages from mixed lects. He defines mixed lects as "any kind of bilingual speech that is the unmarked way of speaking in the community in question" (Backus 2003: 238) and mixed languages as the fossilized code-switching that develop gradually from mixed lects. His view can be summarized as in the following

generalization (7a) and assumption (7b).

(7) a. *Generalization*

Mixed languages exhibit what could be construed (but isn't) insertional code-switching, but they do not exhibit anything resembling alternational code-switching. Mixed lects, however, exhibit both kinds of code-switching.

(Backus 2003: 239)

b. *Assumption*

In alternational code-switching, it is impossible to predict which utterances are going to be in one language and which in the other.

(Backus 2003: 240)

Backus also summarizes four possible outcomes of language mixture, as shown in Table 2. As illustrated in the table, mixed lects and mixed languages differ from each other in the sense that alternational code-switching is prevalent in mixed lects, but not so in mixed languages.

**Table 2:** Four possible outcomes of language mixture (Backus 2003:242)

	<b>Insertion</b>	<b>Alternation</b>
<b>Much variation</b>	mixed lect	mixed lect
<b>High predictability</b>	mixed language	mixed language???

## 2.4 Languages on the Ogasawara Islands

This section deals with linguistic situations on the Ogasawara Islands. Section 2.4.1 deals with studies on dialect contact on the Ogasawara Islands and Section 2.4.2 on the Ogasawara Mixed Language.

### 2.4.1 Contact among Japanese dialects

Abe (2000) discusses the possibility of koineization of the Ogasawara variety of Japanese by examining the forms of verbs and adjectives in the speech of older generations. As mentioned in section 1.3.5, former Japanese islanders as well as new residents from Japan settled on the islands when the sovereignty of the islands was returned to Japan. Subsequently, different dialects began to contact with one another. Abe also reports that the islanders are shifting to SJ. As illustrated in Table 3 and Table 4, a mixture of dialects appeared.

The Hachijō dialect is known for the use of different ending of verbs and adjective from that of SJ. More specifically, the Hachijō dialect makes use of *-owa* as verbal ending, but *-kya* as adjectival ending. By contrast, verbs in SJ always end in *-u* and adjectives in *-i*. The verbal endings and adjectival endings of Ogasawara Japanese in Abe’s analysis are converged to SJ’s endings albeit some residues of dialectal forms in stems.

**Table 3:** Verbs and adjectives in Ogasawara Japanese variety (partially adopted from Abe 2000: 7-8)  
Adjectives

gloss	Hachijō island		Ogasawara islands	
	dialectal forms	partially-standard ized forms	non-SJ forms	SJ forms
‘big’	bō-kya	—	okki-i	ōki-i
‘small’	nekko-kya	—	chaccha-i nekko-i	chīsai-i
‘salty’	kara-kya	shoppa-kya	shoppa-i	shi’okara-i
‘spicy’	bare-owa (verb)	kara-kya	atsu-i	kara-i
‘scary’	okkana-kya kowa-kya	okkai-kya	okkana-i kowa-i	—

**Table 4:** Verbs in Ogasawara Japanese variety (partially adopted from Abe 2000: 7-8)  
Verbs

gloss	Hachijō island		Ogasawara islands	
	Dialectal forms	Partially-standard ized forms	Non-SJ forms	SJ forms
‘to fall down’	bukkoter-owa oter-owa	bukkoter-u ochir-u	bukkochir-u okkochir-u	—
‘to give’	ker-owa	yar-owa	—	yar-u
‘to be surprised’	bucchober-owa	bikkurish-owa	—	bikkurisor-u
‘to count’	kanjōsh-owa	kanjōsur-u	—	—

Abe (2006) finds more features of contact in phonology, lexicon, and morphology. A

more noticeable one is the shift of pitch accent. Japanese is known as the most typical pitch-accent language. Pitch-accent across Japanese dialects can be divided into five different patterns: (i) the Tokyo pattern, (ii) the Osaka-Kyoto pattern, (iii) the Two-accent pattern, (iv) the One-accent pattern, and (v) non-accent pattern. The pitch-accent pattern of the Hachijō dialect, i.e. the dialect that the former Japanese islanders speak, is of the One-accent type. However, it shifts from the One-accent pattern to the Tokyo pattern due to the dominance of SJ.

#### 2.4.2 The Ogasawara Mixed Language

Long (2007a) observes a number of characteristics of the OML. First, OML speakers may use words and phrases in some situations, as in (8).

- (8) ano:        glass door    ga        ware-te    water    ga        up to the knee    dat-ta  
 FLR                                NOM    break-LNK                NOM                                COP-PST

‘Well, the glass door was broken and the water was up to the knee’

(Long 2007a: 28)

Second, some English personal pronouns are used in OML. More specifically, the first person pronoun *me* (as in (9a) and (9c)) and the second person pronoun *you* (as in (9b)) are the most common ones while the third person pronoun *him* can hardly be found. Long (2007b: 21) notes that the usage of English personal pronouns is somewhat changed in OML. The first person singular accusative form *me* in English became case neutral in OML. For example, it can be used as a subject of an intransitive predicate, as in (9a). Moreover, in order to express a possessive construction, the Japanese particle *no* need to be used, as in (9b). As for plurality of personal pronouns, it is expressed via the addition of the Japanese plural particle *ra* after *me* rather than through a suppletive form, as shown in (9c). The adaptation of English pronouns to OML is said to avoid the complex sociolinguistic use of personal pronouns in SJ. The use of pronouns in SJ is based on speaker’s gender, age, social status and the relation between the speaker and the addressee. A similar kind of pronominal borrowing can be observed in Thai as well (Foley 1986). The use of Thai pronouns are similar to that of Japanese with respect to the fact that social situations must be taken into consideration when addressing people. The form *me* is borrowed into OML while the nominative form *I* is borrowed in Thai.

- (9) a. Sono        toki    me        sad    dat-ta    yo  
           DET.MED    time                                COP-PST    PTC

‘I was sad then’

(Long 2007a: 28)

b. you no ojisan  
GEN grandpa

‘your grandpa’

(Long 2007b: 21)

c. me ra tabako su-u to yu-u ja  
PL cigarette inhale-NPST QUOT say-NPST PTC

‘We say that we inhale cigarettes, right?’

(Long 2007b: 21)

Third, classifiers are not employed in OML due to its complexity. Comparing the OML example (10a) with its SJ equivalent in (10b), we can observe that OML uses only numerals in numeral phrases.

(10)a. movie ga one theatre Quonest house no. Sorekara BITC ga one dake  
NOM GEN then NOM only

‘There was one movie theater. It’s Quonest house. And, there was only one BITC.’

(Long 2007b: 29)

b. eigakan ga ik-ken. Quonesthouse no. sorekara BITC ga hito-tsu dake  
cinema NOM one-CLF GEN then NOM one-CLF only

Fourth, honorifics is not observed in OML. Honorifics is an important feature of Japanese. Long (2007a) considers the historical and social background of the omission of honorifics. During the US-governed period, there were only about 200 people left on the islands because all the Japanese islanders were repatriated to Japan. The islanders were all familiar with each other. Given this background, it is obviously not necessary to speak in a formal way with your friends. Honorifics and/or polite expressions were not used accordingly. In SJ, people greet to each other with the expression *hajimemashite* ‘Nice to meet you’ when meeting each other for the first time, whereas people greet to the person who one meets for the first time with *doudai* ‘Hey, what’s up’ in OML. The expression used in OML can also be found in SJ; however, it is only used in the situation that one is greeting to someone who he/she has known for some time. It would be considered rather inappropriate or impolite to greet to a person who one meets for the very first time with such an expression in SJ.

Moreover, OML uses *oma'e* or *oma'i* as the unmarked second person pronoun besides the borrowed form *you*. However, both *oma'e* and *oma'i* are considered informal and vulgar in SJ. Again, they are used when the speaker already knew the addressee for some time.

Fifth, the use of calqued expressions based on English, as shown in (11a-b). In SJ, the verb *nomu* 'to drink' is used when expressing 'take medicine'. Although (11a) can still be a grammatical sentence in SJ, it means 'hold the medicine' rather than 'take medicine'. Long (2007a) indicates that the greetings found in (11b) is the literal translation, viz. calquing of English expression 'See you again' and it can be easily noticed by Japanese speakers visiting these island because the expression is very different from what SJ speakers will use.

- (11) a. kusuri toru  
 medicine take  
 'take medicine'
- b. mata mi-ru yo  
 again see-NPST PTC  
 'See you again'

(Long 2007a: 30)

Last, English words are pronounced in an English way without accommodating to Japanese phonotactics, e.g. the use of an epithetic vowel to avoid the occurrence of consonant clusters or of a non-nasal word-final coda, as shown in Table 5. Moreover, Long (2007a: 31) further observes that sounds that do not exist in Japanese (e.g. [ɹ] in *stɹaɪk*) are pronounced as the way they are in English.

**Table 5:** Pronunciation in SJ and OML

gloss	SJ	OML
'copy'	ko.pi:	ka.pi
'strike'	si.to.ra.i.ki	stɹaɪk
'tack'	tak̄.ki	tæk

### 3. Is OML truly a mixed language?

In this section, I will evaluate whether OML is truly a mixed language. Before I consider this issue, a question needs to be answered first; that is, whether OML is a single language. Long

(2007b: 22) argues that the OML is a single language based on the following reasons. First, when the islanders are asked what language they grew up speaking, they usually respond “we mixed the languages”, rather than “Japanese” or “English”. Second, some residents report that they feel inadequate when speaking in only English or Japanese. Last, when they speak, English and Japanese are NOT mixed in a random way by OML speakers.

Long (2012) provides five more pieces of evidence to support the claim that OML is a single language: (i) language identity, (ii) language use, (iii) linguistic competence, (iv) language acquisition, and (v) linguistic structure.

First, in terms of language identity, Long reports that the islanders feel uneasy about the language that they speak and they feel embarrassed in mixing Japanese and English. Long does not consider OML to be merely a mixture of Japanese and English. To verify his hypothesis, he created some sentences in which elements from Japanese and from English are randomly mixed. The sentences were, however, rejected by the speakers. His informants told him that the sentences sound funny and that they will not mix sentences in that way. Long thus concludes that OML speakers have the ability to judge the grammaticality of sentences, just like native speakers of other languages.

Second, in terms of language use, OML is an in-group language used between Caucasian islanders, but not the tool of communication for other groups of islanders. This implies that the OML presumably does not serve as a lingua franca. Moreover, Caucasian islanders feel embarrassed in speaking in a mixture of English and Japanese to out-group people. Long argues that if they are bilingual in English and Japanese, they do not have to mix the two languages. Rather, they consider OML a natural language and their mother tongue. In Labov’s (1972a, 1972b) sense, OML is a vernacular.

Third, with respect to linguistic competence, some speakers find themselves inadequate in speaking only English or Japanese. Fourth, in terms of language acquisition, OML is acquired by Caucasian islanders as their first language while English and Japanese are acquired as a second language and a third language, respectively. Last, as for linguistic structure, some features of English pronouns, e.g. case, number, etc. are not incorporated into the OML, as already discussed in section 2.4.2. Based on the reasons above, Long argues that one cannot simply assert that the OML is simply a mixture of English and Japanese because neither language displays such a feature.

### *3.1 Does OML display the features of mixed languages?*

I discussed prototypical features of mixed languages in section 2.2.2. The features are repeated here as in (12). For the first feature, we can identify OCE and OKJ as the source



languages of OML. However, it seems that OML is not of the most common type, i.e. “G-L mixed language”, because the source languages for lexicon and for grammar cannot be properly identified. If we assume that OML is a mixed language, it is presumably formed via code-switching. As discussed in section 2.3, Backus (2003) concludes that such a clear lexicon-grammar dichotomy is not possible in code-switching. Moreover, speakers of OML do not seem to be bilingual either.

When examining OML from the four properties commonly associated with mixed languages (shown in (12)), we get the following answers. In terms of the second feature, the answer to it is “no”. Long (2007b, 2012a, 2012b) claims that some speakers find themselves inadequate in expressing themselves in only English or Japanese. Given the fact, we may infer that these speakers are not proficient in either one or both of the source languages. As for the answer to the third feature, the answer is “perhaps yes”. Long (2012a, 2012b) claims that OML is an in-group language used among Caucasian islanders. An in-group language is presumably used as a marker of identity. Concerning the third feature, the answer to it is “yes”. As reported by Long (2012a, 2012b), OML does not function as a lingua franca for communication between Caucasian islanders and other people. As for the last feature, the answer to it is “probably no” again. It is reported that they feel embarrassed in speaking in a mixture of English and Japanese. If it is a marker of a new identity or of a retained identity, they might not be embarrassed in speaking in a mixture of English and Japanese. If OML were really a marker of identity, speakers should be proud of using it.

- (12)
- a. Mixed languages are languages in their own right that emerged through the fusion of two or few identifiable source languages in situations of large-scale community bilingualism.
  - b. Speakers of mixed languages are often proficient in one or both/all of the input languages.
  - c. Mixed languages are identity markers that arose due to expressive rather than communicative needs.
  - d. Mixed languages usually arise as markers of a new identity or markers of a retained identity.

It seems that OML is perhaps not a typical mixed language because it features only some of the characteristics that mixed languages will typically display.

Next, I consider the question by evaluating OML based on three different definitions of “mixed languages” provided by Campbell, Meakin, and Velupillai, respectively, as already

offered in section 2.2.2. Comparing to Campbell and Velupillai, Meakin's definition of mixed languages is much broader. However, OML does not satisfy the condition of 'bilingualism' albeit Meakin's loose definition. As a result, I have to claim that OML is probably not a mixed language with respect to either the definitions of "mixed language" or typical features of "mixed languages". Rather, OML is more likely a case of code-switching or of code-mixing. One may question why the elements are not mixed in a random way. With respect to this question, the answer is as follows. Even in the case of code-switching, languages typically do not mix elements from different source languages in a random way (Li 1998). This is the preliminary conclusion that can be reached by evaluating OML from the definitions and features of mixed languages.

### 3.2 Accounts by Auer (1999) and Backus (2003)

As already discussed in section 2.3, Auer proposes a three-stage model to account for generating mixed languages via code-switching and assumes that both alternational and insertional code-switching may be involved in stage 1 and stage 2. Furthermore, mixed languages that lose any hint of alternational code-switching will look like insertional code-switching and contain much less syntactic variation than language mixing. Due to the inadequacy of data, the conclusion or generalization drawn herein may account for only the data available so far.

Examining the data provided by Auer (1999), I found that most patterns are insertional code-switching with English elements and Japanese structure, as shown in (13a-c). The sentences in (13) are all consistent with SJ syntactic structure. The position where code-switching occurs can be replaced by any element that share the same syntactic feature or category with it.

- (13) a. August        no    owari  
                               GEN end  
                               'the end of August'
- b. jibun        no    mom ni        shabet-te-i-ta  
                               self        GEN    DAT                say-LNK-PROG-PST  
                               '[She] was speaking to her mom'
- c. me        no    sponsor  
                               GEN  
                               'my sponsor'

(Long 2009: 3)

Meanwhile, some examples do not look like cases of insertional code-switching, as shown in (14). In these examples, elements got inserted are mostly phrases or words rather than whole sentences. In fact, (14a) and (14b) are not structured allowed in SJ. The auxiliary (in the sense of traditional Japanese grammar) or the copula (in the sense of western linguistics) *dat-* cannot be preceded by an IP or TP (a sentence) directly but can be preceded by nouns or adjectives. However, there exists another construction *-no/n da* that can be used to strengthen speaker's mood. In this construction, *-no* is a nominalization marker. An IP or TP can precede the copula with the help of this marker. I suppose that the code-switched IP or TP in (14a) and (14b) are supposed to be inserted in such a construction to strengthen speaker's mood; however, the nominalization marker is not overt in the OML sentence. Without this assumption, these sentences are not possible in either English or Japanese. These two examples are not cases of alternational code-switching because there is no alternation of structures from different languages. As for (14c), it is also not a possible sentence in SJ. Demonstrative pronouns and deictic determiners do not share identical phonetic forms like English *this* and *that*. The one used in the example here is the medial demonstrative 'that'. The examples we have seen so far are all in Japanese structure but with code-switched elements from English. However, I argue that (14c) is the opposite, viz. English structure with code-switching from Japanese. No distinction between demonstrative pronouns and deictic determiners is made in English.

- (14) a. She had four boys      dat-ta      yo  
    COP-PST      PTC

'She had four boys'

(Long 2009: 4)

- b. But typhoon Karen was      the typhoon of all typhoon dat-ta  
    COP-PST

'But typhoon Karen was the typhoon of all typhoon'

(Long 2009: 3)

- c. sore                      French door  
    DEM.MED

'that French door'

(Long 2009: 4)

I have identified most patterns as insertional code-switching. There are two ways that it can be accounted for using Auer's proposal. Auer claims that mixed languages that lose any hint of alternational code-switching will look like cases of insertional code-switching. However, the apparent counterexamples turn out to be insertional code-switching. The first inference that one can draw is that OML has not developed into a mixed language yet. It is still at stage 1 or stage 2, where both kinds of code-switching are possibly involved. The second inference is that there is no alternational code-switching in OML. Auer argues that mixed language speakers do not need to be speakers of either of the contributing languages. However, this is a rather loose definition of mixed languages. OML satisfies this condition. In short, OML cannot be regarded as a mixed language but can only be considered as a case of either code-switching or language mixing by Auer's account.

Next, I provide an account following Backus's proposal. First, according to Backus (2003: 238), mixed lect is "any kind of bilingual speech that is the unmarked way of speaking in the community in question". Recall that Long's description that OML is used as an in-group language. It is possible to claim that this is the unmarked way of speaking in the community. Long argues that if speakers are proficient in the two source languages, it will not be necessary for them to communicate in a mixture of the two. If we interpret "bilingual speech" in Backus's definition of mixed lect as two languages, OML satisfies this feature. Paying attention to Backus's generalization in (7a), repeated here as (15), it shows that Backus adopts Auer's proposal that mixed languages lose any hint of alternational code-switching and that the 'mixed lect' in Backus's proposal is identical to code-switching or language mixing in Auer's proposal.

(15) *Generalization*

Mixed languages exhibit what could be construed (but isn't) insertional code-switching, but they do not exhibit anything resembling alternational code-switching. Mixed lects, however, exhibit both kinds of code-switching.

(Backus 2003:239)

I have proved that OML employs insertional code-switching and there may not be alternational code-switching in OML earlier in this section. What needs to be done now is to determine whether OML is a mixed language or is simply a mixed lect. In table 2, Backus shows four possibilities of outcomes of language mixture. According to Backus, the difference between mixed lects and mixed languages lies in predictability. If the patterns are

predictable, such a language is a mixed language. Based on what we can observe from the data, no generalizations can be made on what can be inserted. Given this fact, OML should be considered as merely a mixed lect by Backus's account rather than a mixed language.

#### 4. Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

In this paper, I reexamined data used by other scholars to figure out whether OML conforms to the definition and features of mixed languages. Contrary to Long's analysis, I consider OML a mixed lect in Backus's sense or simply exhibiting code-switching or code-mixing in Auer's sense, rather than a mixed language because it is not possible to predict what will be mixed. However, I agree with Long in considering OML as a language with its own structure. Because younger generations are shifting to Standard Japanese and the number of speakers of the language is decreasing, it is important to carefully study the language before it fades away. The rate of language change differs from one language to another. Some are radical and fast while others are gradual and slow. The development that OML might have in the following decade(s) is of great interest to me. I would like to explore the following issues in the future. Will OML develop into a mixed language or will it end up with a mixed lect in a few decades from now? If it is developing into a mixed language, in what patterns can we predict the elements that will be mixed? What makes the patterns become fixed and predictable and what are the mechanisms?

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