12th Conference on British and American Studies

12th Conference on British and American Studies:

Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Construction of Meaning

Edited by

Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu
and Raluca Sinu

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

12th Conference on British and American Studies:
Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Construction of Meaning

Edited by Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu and Raluca Sinu

This book first published 2016

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-8587-8
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-8587-4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Languages in Contact and Languages in Use

Chapter II: Multidisciplinarity and Multiculturalism in Literary Studies

CHAPTER I:

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT AND LANGUAGES IN USE

INTRODUCTION

As the title of this chapter suggests, the main scope of the following papers is language investigated from different vantage points. Overall, the authors explore a number of interesting issues relating to the characteristic features and developmental stage of an extinct contact language within the English-lexifier group, the phonological specificities of a geographical variety within the New Englishes group, the acquisition of English as a second language and the early acquisition of simultaneous bilingualism, aspects of meaning rendition as reflected in terminological databases and in bilingual reference works, the pragmatic value of humour in professional interactions in the Romanian context and, respectively, two special uses of syntactic patterns including indefinite determiners in Romanian.

In the realm of contact linguistics, **An Extinct Variety of Pidginized English: Japanese Pidgin English** (Andrei A. Avram) approaches the topic of Japanese Pidgin English (JPE), a makeshift language emerging in the wake of the Second World War in the context of interactions between the US troops quartered in Japan and members of the local population. Exploiting the modicum of evidence extant in the literature, the author provides a description of JPE in terms of its phonology, with particular emphasis on mutual accommodations at the level of syllable structure; lexical morphology, specifically word-formation processes such as compounding, affixation and reduplication; syntax, with a focus on functional syncretism (*categorial multifunctionality*), negation, word order, coordination and subordination at clausal level. It also considers a number of characteristic features of the JPE lexicon, a language level where Japanese has made a clear contribution, despite its substrate status. It is on the basis of these phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features that the author locates the stage reached by JPE on the pidgin-to-creole continuum. The discussion also refers to the diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages in JPE: because of the little evidential support available, their number is quite low, when compared to the comprehensive list of 302 features, attested in the literature.

At the interface of phonetics and phonology, **The Behavior of Dark [Ł] in the Speech of Two Nigerian English Adult Speakers** (Gabriela Anidora Brozbă) provides a phonetic analysis of the realization of a lateral liquid consonant in the speech of two adult subjects with English functional nativeness. Taking the extensive research in the field

(particularly Simo Bobda's 1995, 2001, 2007 work) as a starting point, the present study uses experimental data to identify the occurrence of *vocalization* and *deletion*, two repair strategies used in the articulation of syllabic dark [Ł], a sound alien to the extremely large groups of African speakers of English. The data indicate that both strategies are employed, depending on the phonological context in which the sound in question occurs. Vocalisation is a tendency associated with basilectal and mesolectal variants of Nigerian English, while the production of dark [Ł] is an acrolectal feature encountered with speakers who attempt to sound as native-like as possible. Deletion of the sound in question is a tendency observable across the entire basilectal-mesolectal-acrolectal continuum, being the outcome of a typical way to handle consonant clusters.

Early Acquisition of Vocabulary in A Romanian-Hungarian Bilingual Context (Veronica Tomescu) reports on longitudinal research which lends further support to the view that, in the process of language acquisition by young children, syntax is indispensable for language comprehension, not only for production. This testifies to the fact that rather than going through a "pre-grammar" stage, children experience the emergence of syntactic and/or pragmatic categories quite early in their mental and linguistic development.

Studying the parallel acquisition of vocabulary by two children aged between 1 and 2 growing up in a Romanian-Hungarian bilingual environment, the author finds that switching from one language to the other is likely to have developed the two children's ability to compare and contrast the two systems. This leads to the development of their metalinguistic awareness, and allows the two child subjects to "show off" their skills in the two languages (Romanian and Hungarian) they are in the process of acquiring. The children's use of language foreshadows the linguistic creativity found (in varying degrees) with adults. Furthermore, since their performance errors are mostly caused by omission, there is virtually no evidence, as the author argues, of the existence of any wild grammars.

The next study in this chapter, **The Cultural Significance of Learners' Errors** (Daniela Caluianu) draws on experimental data concerning the lexicalization of motion events in the interlanguage of Japanese learners of English, making a compelling case for cultural (and linguistic) determinism in ESL students' use of language. The analysis reported in this article rests on the theoretical support provided by Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology of motion verb lexicalization, seen as a framework apt to account for the subtle interconnectedness of language and perception, language and thought, language and culture. Equally relevant

to the present work has been Slobin's (1991, 1996) *Thinking for Speaking* hypothesis which posits – in a determinist vein - that acquiring a new language goes hand in hand with adopting a new way of thinking.

The fact that languages encode the same reality in different manners is particularly salient in the description of motion events: in some languages, speakers draw more on verb-internal semantic features, and rely more heavily on verb-external elements, in others. From here, the author overviews six features separating the two types of language, with special emphasis on Japanese, which illustrates the former type, and English, belonging to the latter. The discussion then focuses on *information packaging* and *dynamicity*, seen as two conspicuous, interrelated points of discrepancy emerging from the analysis of the set of Japanese-English interlanguage data. As the author argues, the loose packaging of motion events and the lower dynamicity of motion descriptions found in the learners' L2 texts are the result of influence from their L1 rhetorical style. This suggests that occurrences which are sometimes diagnosed as performance errors may be put down to culturally-determined choice on the part of the Japanese ESL learner.

Prompted by the need to create a Romanian terminological database apt to accurately and consistently capture the meaning of the original, law-regulated English terms and expressions currently in use in the field of sustainable built environment, **Consistency in Specialized Translation or the Path to Reliable Terminological Data** (Oana Tatu) reports on an investigation of an English-Romanian parallel corpus consisting of legal texts issued by European Union institutions, along with their multiple Romanian translations. Starting from a number of translation inconsistencies found in the Romanian renditions of these specialised texts, the paper makes a case for systematic translation versions, raising awareness of the importance of an appropriate and coherent field terminology in general, and the urgency of elaborating a consistent terminological database in the field of sustainable built environment, in particular.

Contextualization in Online Bilingual Dictionaries: Trends and Challenges (Raluca Sinu) looks at the changes brought about by the online medium in the microstructure of bilingual dictionaries, more specifically in the treatment of examples. The aspects where medium-induced changes appear to be more salient are the form, source and translation of examples. Along these lines, the three general purpose reference works under investigation provided clear evidence of the online dictionaries' preference for full sentence examples, and their increasing use of (non-lexicographic) corpora as sources of examples. The analysis

has also shown that online dictionaries supply translations for almost all examples, which can be explained by the lack of space constraints and their reliance on parallel corpora. Whilst examples are not the only microstructural component affected by the capabilities associated with the online medium, there is enough evidence to suggest that the changes in their treatment are among the most conspicuous ones.

An object of study within different domains, i.e. linguistics, anthropology, psychology, and sociology, humour is a versatile concept which shows variation across time and geographical space. Starting from this premise, **Humour at Work** (Gabriela Chefneux) explores the intricacies of humour in professional interactions taking place in two Romanian institutions. The discussion is grounded on an elaborate theoretical framework which takes into account different paramenters along which humour can be investigated: the functions it performs, the different genres it instantiates, the typology of humour and, from the other end of the communication continuum, the reactions to humour, including the relationship between humour and laughter. This theoretical discussion underpins the analysis of the author's empirical data and allows for interesting insights into the matter at hand, while also pointing at humour as part of the company culture, as well as an index of the power relations established in professional settings.

The last contribution in this chapter, **On Non-Canonical Uses of the Indefinite Determiner in Romanian** (Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru) reports on research conducted in the area of syntax. The focus of the author's attention is Romanian singular indefinite articles *un* and *o* which, in particular types of syntactic structure, acquire a "higher degree" or, as the case may be, a "lower degree" interpretation. Referring to data yielded by similar studies involving several other languages within and outside the Romance family (e.g. French, Spanish, English, Dutch), the author accounts for two special uses of the indefinite determiners in Romanian, showing that the "high degree" indefinite constructions contain a silent noun TYPE, while the "low degree" indefinite constructions (which retain a partitive meaning) include a silent noun UNIT and behave like classifiers.

AN EXTINCT VARIETY OF PIDGINIZED ENGLISH: JAPANESE PIDGIN ENGLISH

ANDREI A. AVRAM

Abstract: The paper starts with an overview of the main features of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Japanese Pidgin English, a variety formerly spoken by US army personnel and local Japanese, and also transplanted to South Korea. Next, the diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages attested in Japanese Pidgin English are identified. The paper ends with an assessment of the developmental stage attained by Japanese Pidgin English.

Keywords: contact language, diagnostic features, Japanese Pidgin English, lexifier language, substrate language

1. Introduction

Japanese Pidgin English (henceforth JPE) is an extinct pidginized variety of English (i.e. with English as its lexifier language), formerly used by US army personnel and local Japanese after the Second World War. JPE was also transplanted to South Korea. JPE is also known as "English-Japanese Pidgin" and, popularly and rather derogatorily, as "Bamboo English".

Various social criteria have been suggested for the classification of pidgins. Sebba (1997, 26-33) proposes the following typology of pidgins in terms of the social context of their origins: (i) military and police pidgins; (ii) seafaring and trade pidgins; (iii) plantation pidgins; (iv) mine and construction pidgins; (v) immigrants' pidgins; (vi) tourist pidgins; (vii) urban contact vernaculars. Given the setting in which it emerged, JPE belongs to type (i). Bakker (1995, 27-28) suggests that pidgins can be classified in terms of the social situation in which they are used: (i) maritime pidgins; (ii) trade pidgins; (iii) interethnic contact languages; (iv) work force pidgins. In terms of this typology, JPE is illustrative of type (iii).

Previous descriptions of JPE include Norman (1954, 1955), Algeo (1960), Webster (1960), and Goodman (1967). A one-page outline can be found in Stanlaw (1996). JPE is also discussed by Duke (1972) and Stanlaw (1987, 2004, and 2006). More recently, Avram (2014) in a contrastive analysis of JPE and Yokohama Pidgin Japanese, a 19th century pidginized variety of Japanese.

JPE is rather poorly documented: there are very few attestations, even if anecdotal evidence and literary representations are included. The corpus of JPE analyzed in this paper consists of a dialogue (Michener 1954), captions of cartoons (Hume 1954, Hume & Annarino 1953a, 1953b), a story (Webster 1960), as well as of the lexical items, phrases and sentences in Norman (1955), Algeo (1960), and Goodman (1967).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is concerned with the phonology of JPE, in particular with adjustments at the level of syllable structure and with the considerable inter-speaker variation. Section 3 focuses on derivational morphology and looks at three word-formation processes in JPE: compounding, affixation and reduplication. The syntax of JPE is discussed in section 4. The topics covered include categorial multifunctionality, the lexical categories attested, negation, word order, clause coordination and clause subordination. Section 5 illustrates the main characteristics of the lexicon of JPE: its sources, the existence of synonyms from different source languages (English or Japanese), the pervasive lexical polysemy, the occurrence of lexical hybrids, reanalysis of morphemic boundaries, the use of circumlocutions. Section 6 deals with the diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages attested in JPE. The developmental stage of JPE is assessed in section 7. The implications of the findings are discussed in section 8.

All examples (including variants) appear in the original orthography or system of transcription used in the sources mentioned between brackets. Relevant items are highlighted in boldface. Unless otherwise specified, the translations are from the original sources.

The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; AS = American speakers; E = English; IMPER = imperative; INDEF = indefinite article; J = Japanese; JS = Japanese speakers; NEG = negator; PL = plural; PRT = particle; SG = singular; SUF = suffix.

2. Phonology

As is well known, English – the lexifier language of JPE – and Japanese – its substrate language – differ significantly with respect to the syllable structure and to the phonotactic constraints on well-formed

syllables. Both groups of JPE users, i.e. the Japanese speakers and the American speakers, proceeded to phonological adjustments at the level of syllable structure with a view to accommodating the other party in the language contact situation.

Goodman (1967, 51) writes that "in the Japanese speakers' version […], /o/ or /u/ is normally added in final position to English words that do not end in [n, m, ŋ]". This repair strategy is reminiscent of the phonological adjustment of loan words in Japanese, in which the uvular nasal /N/ is the only permissible word-final coda. It appears that the other group of JPE users, the American speakers, reciprocated in kind. Thus, according to Goodman (1967, 52), "English speakers […] developed a sensitivity to Japanese syllabic structure and attempted to end all words with /u/ or /o/ in a rather arbitrary pattern". The occurrence of these paragogic vowels is reflected in the spellings with <u> and <o> respectively of English-derived lexical items containing word-final codas:

(1) a. *pail-**u*** 'pail' (Stanlaw 2006, 184)
b. *job**u*** 'job' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
b. *card**o*** 'card' (Webster 1960, 1963)
d. *saym**o**-saym**o*** 'similar, alike' (Goodman 1967, 51)
e. *test**o**-test**o*** 'to examine; an analysis' (Goodman 1967, 51)

It is very likely that the back high vowel had two phonetic realizations: as unrounded [ɯ] by the Japanese users, but as rounded [u] by the American users of JPE. Similarly, where Japanese speakers had [o], American speakers presumably used a more or less diphthongized version, with an off-glide.

Furthermore, Duke (1972, 170) notes the tendency of American speakers to proceed to another type of adjustment "by ending English words with either "i" or "ee". This is reflected in the spellings with <ee> or <ie> of English-derived lexical items with word-final codas. Consider the example below:

(2) a. *chang**ee*** 'to change' (Webster 1960, 163)
b. *catch**ee*** 'to get, to take, to have' (Algeo 1960, 121)
c. *kidd**ie*** 'kid' (Webster 1960, 164)
d. *scrubb**ee**-scrub**ee*** 'to scrub' (Webster 1960, 163)
e. *speak**ie*** 'to say' (Webster 1960, 163)
f. *wash**ee**-wash**ee*** 'laundry; to launder' (Algeo 1960, 121)

The spellings suggest that the paragogic vowel at issue was phonetically realized as tense [i].

Interestingly, the Japanese users of JPE also accommodated the other group of users of JPE. Goodman (1967, 52) states that "Japanese speakers […] made the same sort of compensation by clipping of final vowels", as illustrated by the following example:

(3) *jidoš* 'car', cf. J *jidosh**a***

It would appear that the Japanese users of JPE became aware of the fact that English has words ending in one or more consonants and accordingly proceeded to the deletion of the word-final vowel in Japanese-derived lexical items.

To conclude, the mutual adjustments at the level of syllable structure operated, rather paradoxically, in two opposite directions. The addition of paragogic vowels yielded a large number of forms ending in a vowel – i.e. a more Japanese-like syllable structure, whereas the deletion of word-final consonants in Japanese-derived words yielded forms ending in a consonant – i.e. with a more English-like syllable structure.

JPE is also characterized by considerable inter-speaker variation, given the influence exerted by the first language of its users. This is hardly surprising. As noted by e.g. Mühlhäusler (1997, 131), "pronunciation [is] that area where substratum influences can make themselves most freely". *Mutatis mutandis*, the same holds for the phonetic realization by speakers of the lexifier of words from the substrate language. Inter-speaker variation has already been illustrated in the case of the phonetic realization of the paragogic vowels. Other instances are discussed in what follows. Consider first inter-speaker variation in monophthongs. The short front mid unrounded vowel [e] alternates with the front high unrounded vowel [i]:

(4) JS [sak**e**] ~ AS [sæk**i**] 'sake' (Goodman 1967, 51-52)

The same alternation is suggested by spellings such as *dammey-dammey* 'bad', where <ey> presumably represents the front high unrounded vowel [i] in the American speakers' pronunciation of this lexical item, etymologically derived from Japanese *dame*. The long front mid unrounded vowel [e:] is replaced by English speakers with the diphthong [eɪ]:

(5) JS [n**e:**] ~ AS [n**eɪ**] 'confirmation particle' (Goodman 1967, 48)

The short central mid unrounded vowel [ə] alternates with the long, central, low, unrounded vowel [a:]:

(6) AS [ɹəʊləɹ] ~ JS [ɾoːɾ**aː**] ‘roller’ (Goodman 1967, 51)

The central low unrounded vowel [a] alternates with the front low unrounded vowel [æ]:

(7) a. JS [iʧiba**a**N] ~ AS [iʧibæn] ‘very good’ (Goodman 1967, 51)
b. JS [s**a**ke] ~ AS [s**æ**ki] ‘sake’ (Goodman 1967, 51-52)

Consider next the deletion of the high vowels /i/ and /ɯ/ in lexical items etymologically derived from Japanese. As is well known, when devoiced, /i/ and /ɯ/ are phonetically realized as [i̥] and [ɯ̥], respectively. In Japanese, devoicing occurs in the following phonological environments: when the high vowel /i/ or /ɯ/ occurs between voiceless consonants, and in word-final position (see e.g. Avram 2005, 28-33). These are also the environments in which deletion of /i/ or /ɯ/ is attested in JPE forms as phonetically realized by the Japanese users. On the other hand, the devoiced vowels [i̥] and [ɯ̥] in Japanese-derived words are deleted by American speakers; vowel deletion is indicated in the sources by the absence of the vowel letter <i> or <u> or of both. Consequently, the devoiced vowels [i̥] and [ɯ̥] alternate with Ø in lexical items of Japanese origin:

(8) a. JS [wataʃ**i̥**] ~ AS *watash* ‘I’ (Goodman 1967, 48)
b. JS [s**ɯ̥**.ko.ʃ**i̥**] ~ AS *skoshi* ~ *skosh* ‘few, a little bit’ (Algeo 1960, Webster 1960, 164)
c. JS [tak**ɯ̥**.saN] ~ AS *taksan* ‘much, many’ (Webster 1960, 163)

The phonetic realization of diphthongs is also subject to inter-speaker variation between the Japanese and the American users of JPE. For instance, the English diphthong [eɪ] has a monophthongal phonetic realization [eː] with Japanese speakers.

(9) AS [b**eɪ**sbɔːɬ] ~ JS [b**eː**sɯboːɾɯ] ‘baseball’ (Goodman 1967, 51)

Similarly, the English diphthong [eɪ] is monophthongized by the Japanese speakers:

(10) AS [ɹ**əʊ**ləɹ] ~ JS [ɾ**oː**ɾaː] ‘roller’ (Goodman 1967, 51)

Consonants are not exempt from inter-speaker variation either. For instance, in intervocalic position the alveolar voiceless stop [t] alternates with [d]:

(11) JS *mite-mite* ~ AS *meda-meda* 'to look' (Duke 1972, 172)

In words of Japanese origin American speakers use the laryngeal voiceless fricative [h] instead of the palatal voiceless fricative [ç]

(12) JS [**ç**ibatʃi] ~ AS [**h**ibatʃi] 'earthenware stove' (Algeo 1960, 117)

In Japanese-derived lexical items the American users of JPE substitute the alveolar nasal [n] for the uvular nasal [N]:

(13) JS [itʃiba**N**] ~ AS [itʃibæ**n**] 'very good' (Goodman 1967, 51)

The phonetic realization of the rhotic liquid also differs: the American speakers favour the [ɹ], whereas the Japanese speakers typically use a flap/tap [ɾ]:

(14) AS [**ɹ**əʊləɹ] ~ JS [**ɾ**o:ɾa:] 'roller' (Goodman 1967, 51)

The English lateral liquid /l/, whether "clear" [l] or "dark" [ɬ], is replaced by Japanese speakers with the only liquid available in their repertoire, i.e. the flap/tap [ɾ]:

(15) a. AS [**ɹ**əʊ**l**əɹ] ~ JS [ɾo:**ɾ**a:] 'roller' (Goodman 1967, 51)

b. AS [beɪsbɔ:**ɬ**] ~ JS [be:sɯbo:**ɾ**ɯ] 'baseball' (Goodman 1967, 51)

Finally, a number of high-frequency words had several alternative pronunciations:

(16) a. AS and JS *dai-job* ~ *dai-jobee* ~ *dai-jobu* 'all right. OK' (Norman 1955, 44, Algeo 1960, 121)

b. AS ['musi,me] ~ ['musə,meɪ] ~ ['mus,meɪ] 'young woman' (Algeo 1960, 119)

The forms in (16a) are interesting since they illustrate the effect of various tendencies discussed above Japanese *dai jobu* [daiʤob]. Thus, the variant *dai-job* obtains from Japanese *dai jobu* [daiʤobɯ] via the deletion, presumably by Japanese speakers, of the word-final vowel, cf.

example (3). This variant *dai-job* serves as the input for *dai-jobee*, in which the paragogic vowel [i] is added. The last variant can exemplify the alternation [ɯ] ~ [u] in the phonetic realization of the word-final vowel.

To sum up, the picture that emerges accords well with the observation made by Goodman (1967, 51): "the English speaker […] employed English phones almost entirely and occasionally modified them slightly in what he considered the direction of corresponding Japanese phones [and] the Japanese speaker […] employed Japanese phones in the same way". Also, according to Goodman (1967, 51), "where corresponding phones were phonetically very dissimilar, both [group of] speakers seemed to learn quickly the correspondences".

3. Morphology

Basically, JPE has no inflectional morphology. The only exception is plural marking, which occurs occasionally in the JPE of English speakers (see Appendix 2).

Derivational morphology is poorly developed. Three word-formation means are attested: compounding, affixation, and reduplication.

The members of a compound may originate from either English or Japanese, as in the following example:

(17) a. *benjo ditch* 'toilet, the can' (Goodman 1967, 49)
b. *skoshi-timer* 'one nearing the end of his term of enlistment' (Algeo 1960, 121)

Affixation is limited to the use of the *-san* < Japanese honorific suffix *-san*. According to Algeo (1960, 119), this "was freely suffixed to English words". Actually, a more accurate statement would be that, as in Japanese, the suffix *-san* is attached to [+human] nouns or to proper names only. As mentioned by Goodman (1967: 54), the resulting forms are used "as both terms of reference and address". Consider the examples below:

(18) a. *baby-**san*** 'baby, child' (Goodman 1967: 54)
b. *boy-**san*** 'young male' (Algeo 1960, 119)
c. *Cinderella-**san*** 'Cinderella' (Webster 1960, 163)
d. *godmother-**san*** 'godmother (Webster 1960, 163)
e. *mama-**san*** 'middle-aged or elderly woman; the madam of a brothel' (Algeo 1960, 119)
f. *papa-**san*** 'elderly male' (Algeo 1960, 119)
g. *prince-**san*** 'prince' (Webster 1960, 163)

Duke (1972, 170) also mentions the form *jo-san* ‘girl’, which would be a counterexample since the base *jo* is not an English-derived word. In fact, as shown by Algeo (1960, 119), “*ojō-san*, Japanese for ‘young girl’, was borrowed in the form *jo-san*”.

Consider next reduplication. Algeo (1960, 121) states that “a number of everyday phrases were formed from English roots by reduplication and suffixing the ending [-i]”. Similarly, Duke (1972, 170) comments on the tendency of American users of JPE to produce such forms “by ending English words with either “i” or “ee”, and saying the word twice”. Listed below are several of the reduplicated forms attested in the available corpus of JPE:

(19)
a. *changee-changee* ‘to exchange money’ (Algeo 1960, 121)
b. *chop-chop* ‘food; to eat’ (Algeo 1960, 121)
c. *dame-dame* ‘bad’ (Hume 1954, 95)
d. *hubba-hubba* ‘to hurry’ (Goodman 1967, 51)
e. *punchee-punche*e ‘fight; to fight’ (Algeo 1960, 121)
f. *saymo-saymo* ‘same’ (Goodman 1967, 51)
g. *shine-shine* ‘to shine’ (Webster 1960, 163)
h. *switchee-switchee* ‘to exchange money’ (Algeo 1960, 121)
i. *testo-testo* ‘to examine, an analysis’ (Goodman 1967, 51)

Several remarks are in order here. First, some reduplicated forms are not derived from an English base. For instance, the form in (19c) *dame-dame* ‘bad’ is etymologically derived from Japanese *dame*. Second, it is not the case that all reduplicated forms end in [i], see the forms in (19b), (19c), (19d), (19f), (19g), and (19i). Third, [i] is not an ending, but rather a paragogic vowel (see section 2). Finally, the status of reduplication as a word-formation means in JPE is debatable. JPE appears to have had almost exclusively quasi-reduplicated forms, i.e. for which no corresponding simplex form exists. The only exception in the corpus appears to be *change* ‘to change’ (Webster 1960, 163) vs. *change-changee* ‘to exchange money’ (Algeo 1960, 121).

4. Syntax

A characteristic of JPE syntax is categorial multifunctionality (in the sense of Mühlhäusler 1997, 137): words can be assigned to more than one lexical category, i.e. they are lexically underspecified. Categorial multifunctionality in JPE has not gone unnoticed. Goodman (1967, 52), for instance, mentions the “looseness of word classes”. This is manifested in “the use of many words in a variety of grammatical functions”

(Goodman 1967, 53). More specifically, Duke (1972, 170) writes that "grammatically, many of the words function as both nouns and verbs and sometimes as adjectives and adverbs". Consider the following examples:

(20) a. *chop-chop* 'food' and 'to eat' (Algeo 1960, 121)
b. *hayaku* 'quickly' and 'to hurry up' (Goodman 1967: 53)
c. *okay* 'OK' and 'to fix, to adjust' (Goodman 1967, 54)
d. *punchee-punchee* 'fight' and 'to fight' (Algeo 1960, 121)
e. *sayonara* 'absence' and 'to get rid of' (Goodman 1967, 53)
f. *sukoshi* 'few, some' and 'small, little' (Norman 1955, 44)
g. *taksan* 'much, many', 'very' and 'large' (Algeo 1960, 121)

Categorial multifunctionality is a consequence of both the lack of inflections (see section 3) and of the small size of the vocabulary (see section 5).

Generally, articles do not occur in JPE. However, *one* is occasionally used by American speakers as an indefinite article:

(21) *one prince-san* (Webster 1960, 163)
INDEF prince SUF
'a prince'

The system of pronouns and pronominal adjectives is extremely poorly developed. Plurality may be marked with pre-posed *ol*, etymologically derived from English *all*. The pronominal forms attested in the corpus are listed below:

(22) a. *I ~ watash ~ watashee* 1SG (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170, Algeo 1960, 121, Webster 1960, 164, Goodman 1967, 48)
b. *you* 2SG (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170, Webster 1960, 164)
c. ***ol** watash* 1PL (Goodman 1948: 48)

Only cardinal numerals are attested.

With adjectives, the only degree of comparison which occurs is the superlative. Goodman (1967, 48) states that *ichiban*, etymologically derived from Japanese *ichiban* 'first', is "used to indicate relative or absolute superlative". An English-derived phrase, *number one*, when used on its own, has the meaning 'the best', as shown in the following example:

(23) *'Meda-meda', say Cindy -san. 'Number one'.* (Webster 1960, 163)
look over say Cinderella SUF the best
''Let me see', said Cinderella. '[It's] the best'.'

Consider next the verbal system of JPE. As noted by Goodman (1967, 52), speakers […] used no copulative verb". Stanlaw (2006: 184) also mentions that "there is a general absence of a copula".

(24) a. *You takusan steky* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
2SG very wonderful
'You are very beautiful.'

b. *Kid, you dai jobu* (Webster 1960, 164)
kid 2SG OK
'Kid, you're all right.'
c. *Ima only 10 o'clock, ne?* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
now only 10 o'clock PRT
'It's only 10 o'clock, right?

No auxiliaries are attested in JPE:

(25) *I beauty saron go*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
1SG beauty salon go
'I'm going to the beauty parlor.'

As shown by Goodman (1967, 52), "verbs […] were used […] in infinitive forms or citation forms without affixes". In the absence of inflections, the temporal and aspectual interpretation essentially relies either on contextual clues or on the use of time adverbials. Thus, Goodman (1967, 52) writes that "where tense distinctions seemed necessary […] [ašta] from Japanese /asita/ tomorrow and [kino] from Japanese /kinō/ yesterday were often inserted after the verb". Similarly, Stanlaw (2006: 184) states that "tense is not indicated, though temporal distinctions could be made by using English or Japanese time markers such as *one time* ('once'), *kinoo* ('yesterday') or *ashita* ('tomorrow')". Consider the example below:

(26) *Maybe you one time gang boy* (Hume & Annarino 1953a, 43)
maybe 2SG once gangster
'Maybe you were once a gangster.'

Negation is expressed by means of the invariant, pre-posed negator *no*, etymologically derived from English *no*:

(27) *No can stay*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
NEG can stay
'I can't stay.'

Prepositions are not attested in the speech of Japanese users of JPE, whereas American speakers tend to use them.

Generally, conjunctions and complementizers are conspicuously absent.

With respect to word order, Stanlaw (2006, 184) writes that it is "derived from English", i.e. SVO. However, variation frequently occurs, in spite of the general tendency towards the SVO word order. First, "both American and Japanese speakers were somewhat indeterminate about this" (Stanlaw 2006, 184). Second, and perhaps as a strategy to accommodate Japanese users of JPE, "Americans would often use an SOV structure" (Stanlaw 2006, 184).

(28) a. *I takushi, get*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
1SG taxi get
'I'll call a cab.'

b. *I jobu go, ne?*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
1SG job go PRT
'I have to go to work, right?'

According to Goodman (1967, 52-53), "parataxis is the term which best describes syntactic patterns". Generally, "the juxtaposition of terms in topic-comment order and the juxtaposition of topic-comment constructions [were] the means of expressing relationships" (Goodman 1967, 53). Not surprisingly, coordination of sentences is also achieved via parataxis:

(29) *Meter-meter dai jobu. Testo-testo dammey-dammey*. (Goodman 1967, 53)
look over OK examine bad
'It's fine to look at the girl, but don't try anything else.'

Overt marking of coordination occurs extremely rarely:

(30) *I like stay with you* ***keredomo*** *I train go honto* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
1SG like stay with 2SG but 1SG train go really
'I would like to stay with you, but I've really got to catch the train.'

Similarly, clause subordination is also dependent on parataxis. As illustrated below, this holds for all types of embedded clauses found in the corpus: complement clauses (31a), adverbial clauses of time (31b), adverbial clauses of condition (31c).

(31) a. *You all time speak work-work*. (Stanlaw 2006, 184)
2SG always speak work
'You always say you're out working.'
b. *Come night of big shindig, sisters speak sayonara* (Webster 1960, 164)
come night of big event sisters speak good bye
'When the night of the ball came, the sisters left'
c. *You number one washee-washee catchee; number one presento*
2SG the best wash get the best present
hava-yes. (Algeo 1960, 122)
have yes
'If you do my washing satisfactorily, I'll pay you well.'

Obviously, parataxis is the consequence of the general absence in JPE of complementizers and conjunctions.

5. Lexicon

Although JPE is an English-lexifier variety, Japanese-derived words and phrases are found, *contra* Mühlhäusler (1997: 136), who claims that "the military Pidgins developed between American troops and the Japanese […] are lexically entirely English". The Japanese-derived lexical items include:

(32) a. *dai jobu* 'alright' (Goodman 1967, 54) < J *daijobu*
b. *denki* 'electricity' (Goodman 1967, 53) < J *denki*
c. *hibachi* 'earthenware stove in which charcoal was burned' (Algeo 1960, 117) < J *hibachi*
d. *keredomo* 'but' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170) < J *keredomo*
e. *honto* 'really' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170) < J *hontō*
f. *kudasai* 'please' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171) < J *kudasai*
g. *moose* 'one's own daughter; young girl; mistress' (Goodman 1967, 49) < J *musume* 'one's own daughter'
h. *presento* 'present' (Algeo 1960, 122) < J *prezento*
i. *tatami* 'straw floor mat' (Algeo 1960, 117) < J *tatami*

Japanese-derived phrases are also recorded:

(33) a. *anoo-ne* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171) < J *anō nē*
b. *gomen nasai* 'excuse me' (Hume 1954: 95) < J *gomen nasai*
c. *komban wa* 'good evening' (Norman 1955, 44) < J *konban wa*
d. *mō sukoshi* 'at a later time; after a while' (Goodman 1967, 54) < J *mō sukoshi* 'a little more'
e. *so desu ka* 'is that so?' (Norman 1955, 44) < J *sō desu ka*

Japanese also contributes synonyms. In the examples below, the synonymic series contain lexical items from both English and Japanese:

(34) a. *nice* < E *nice* and *steky* < J *suteki* 'nice, beautiful' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
b. *now* < E *now* and *ima* < J *ima* 'now' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
c. *okay* < E *OK* and *dai jobu* < J *daijobu* 'all right' (Goodman 1967, 54)

Consider next code mixing (in phrases):

(35) a. ***chotto*** *goddamn* ***matte*** 'wait a minute, goddamn' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170) < J *chotto matte* 'wait a little and E *goddamn*
b. ***denki*** *up* 'to install electrical equipment; raise electrical power' (Goodman 1967, 53) < J *denki* 'electricity' and E *up*

Finally, phrases from Japanese and English are occasionally used by the same speaker:

(36) *Deki-nai […] no can* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
can NEG NEG can
'[I] can't […].'

A direct consequence of the small size of the vocabulary of JPE is the lexical polysemy. In turn, lexical polysemy has several consequences. Thus, Goodman (1967, 54) notes what he calls the "quality of semantic extensibility" and that "almost any […] word in isolation is not concrete but extremely abstract" and is "concretized […] only in specific contexts". Under the circumstances, "most of the vocabulary items have undergone semantic extensions" (Stanlaw 2006, 184). One of the best examples of polysemy is the English-derived verb *catchee*, which, as aptly put by Algeo (1960, 121), functions as "a filler verb", with a wide range of context-dependent meanings:

(37) a. ***ketchee*** *one mouse* (Webster 1960, 163)
catch INDEF mouse
'[she] caught a mouse'
b. ***ketchee*** *beeru* (Webster 1960, 163)
get beer
'[she] got a beer'
c. ***ketchee*** *no fun* (Webster 1960, 163)
have NEG fun
'[she] had no fun'
d. ***ketchee*** *post cardo* (Webster 1960, 163)
receive post card
'[they] received a post card'

Obviously, polysemy also characterizes words etymologically derived from Japanese:

(38) *shimpai-nai* 'don't worry; don't bother; let's enjoy ourselves; you're welcome; I've recovered from my malady' (Goodman 1967, 54)

The lexicon of JPE also includes lexical hybrids, i.e. lexical items identified across languages, given their phonetic similarity (as defined by Mühlhäusler 1997, 135):

(39) a. *meter-meter* 'to look over' (Goodman 1967, 51), cf. J *mite* 'to see IMPER' and E *meter*
b. *mor* 'more', cf. J *mō* 'more' and E *more*

A few Japanese-derived lexical items illustrate reanalysis of morphemic boundaries:

(40) a. *morskosh* 'a little more' (Norman 1955, 44)
b. *ohayo* 'good morning' (Norman 1955, 44)

The small size of the lexicon of JPE also accounts for the occurrence of circumlocutions:

(41) *speak sayonara* 'to leave', literally 'say good bye'

Finally, a feature specific to JPE is the peculiar uses of English-derived cardinal numbers from *one* to *ten* in the structure *number + cardinal number*, which also build on Japanese superstitions regarding numbers:

(42) a. *number one* 'the best' (Duke 1972, 172)
b. *number two* 'second best' (Duke 1972, 172)
c. *number five* 'mediocre' (Duke 1972, 172)
d. *number ten* 'the worst' (Duke 1972, 172)

As shown below, the basic meanings of these structures undergo significant context-dependent extensions:

(43) a. *You* ***number one*** *washee-washee catchee* (Algeo 1960, 122)
2SG the best wash get
'If you do my washing satisfactorily'
b. *I ketchee you* ***number one*** *outfit* (Webster 1960, 163)
1SG get 2SG the best outfit
'I'll get you the best outfit'

c. *Boy-san, you* ***number ten*** *speak*. (Algeo 1960, 122)
young male 2SG the worst speak
'That's a ridiculous offer.'
d. *You* ***number ten*** *GI* (Stanlaw 2006: 184)
2SG the worst soldier
'You're a lousy soldier.'

A related case is the use of the Japanese-derived cardinal number *hachi* 'eight':

neva hachi (Algeo 1960, 121)
never eight
'impossible'

6. Diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages in JPE

As is well known, English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are characterized by a number of diagnostic features. A comprehensive list of 302 such features has been compiled by Baker & Huber (2001, 197-204). They are divided into three groups: Atlantic (173), world-wide (75), and Pacific (54). The classification is based on the following criteria (Baker & Huber 2001, 165): to qualify for the Atlantic group, items must be attested in at least two Atlantic English-lexified pidgins and creoles; world-wide features are recorded in at least one Atlantic and one Pacific variety; Pacific features occur in Pacific varieties exclusively.

Given the poor documentation of JPE, only a very small number of diagnostic features have been identified. The world-wide and Pacific features attested in JPE are listed in Table 1; for ease of reference, each diagnostic feature is numbered and labeled and/or defined as in Baker and Huber (2001, 197-204):

World-Wide features	
184.	*catch* 'get, obtain, reach'
215.	*no* (negator)
217.	*number one* 'best, chief (adj.)'
218.	*one* (indefinite article)
219.	*one time* '(at) once'
220.	paragogic vowels
248.	ZERO (predicative copula)

Pacific features
249. *all* (PL marker)

Table 1. Diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages in JPE

7. Developmental stage of JPE

As is well known, several developmental stages can be identified along the so-called "pidgin-to-creole life cycle": (i) minimal pidgin; (ii) stable pidgin; (iii) expanded pidgin; (iv) creole (see e.g. Mühlhäusler 1997: 5-6, Bakker 2008, 131, Siegel 2008, 2-4).

The assessment of the developmental stage attained by a particular variety is made on the basis of phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical criteria. The features which are diagnostic of minimal pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1997, 128-138) are set out in Table 2. Also included is the criterion of productive reduplication, which correlates with the developmental stage: as shown by Bakker (1995, 33), reduplication is rare in pidgins; more specifically, reduplication is not productive in minimal pidgins (Bakker 2003, 44, Bakker & Parkvall 2005, 514).

Feature	**JPE**
inter-speaker variation in phonology	+
minimal personal pronoun system	+
no copula	+
no tense and aspect markers	+
no/one adposition	±
no complementizers	+
non-productive reduplication	+
categorial multifunctionality	+
small size of core vocabulary	+
lexical hybrids	+
reanalysis of morphemic boundaries	+
circumlocutions	+

Table 2. Minimal pidgin features in JPE

8. Conclusions

The paper sheds light on the pidgins with Japanese as their substrate language. These are not only under-researched, but are also rather frequently ignored in the literature: JPE is not listed by Loveday (1996)

among the Japanese- or English-lexifier contact varieties formerly spoken in Japan, nor is it mentioned by Holm (1989) in what is the most comprehensive survey of pidgins and creoles.

It is hoped that the findings also contribute to a better knowledge of English-lexifier pidgins. Finally, the data from JPE are also relevant to the literature on pidgin and creole languages, in which pidgins with a Japanese substrate have figured only marginally.

References

Algeo, John. 1960. Korean Bamboo English. *American Speech* 35 (2): 115--23.

Avram, Andrei A. 2005. *Fonologia limbii japoneze contemporane*. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

—. 2014. "Pidgin Japanese and Japanese Pidgin English: A contrastive overview". Paper presented at the *Fourth International Symposium on Japanese Studies*, 1–3 March 2014, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Bucharest.

Baker, Philip and Huber, Magnus. 2001. Atlantic, Pacific, and world-wide features in English-lexicon contact languages. *English World-Wide* 22 (2): 157-208.

Bakker, Peter. 1995. "Pidgins". In *Pidgins and Creoles. An Introduction*, edited by Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith, 25-39. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

—. 2003. "The absence of reduplication in pidgins". In *Twice as Meaningful. Reduplication in Pidgins, Creoles and Other Contact Languages*, edited by Silvia Kouwenberg. London: Battlebridge. 37-46.

Bakker, P. 2008. "Pidgins versus Creoles and Pidgincreoles". In *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*, edited by Silvia Kouwenberg and John V. Singler, 130--57. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Bakker, Philip & Parkvall, Mikael. 2005. "Reduplication in pidgins and creoles". In *Studies in Reduplication* edited by Bernd Hurch, 511--32. Berlin New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Duke, Charles R. 1972. "The Bamboo style of English". *College Composition and Comunication* 21 (2): 170--72.

Goodman, John S. 1967. "The development of a dialect of English-Japanese Pidgin". *Anthropological Linguistics* 9 (6): 43-55.

Holm, John. 1989. *Pidgins and Creoles*, vol. II, *Reference Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hume, Bill. 1954. *Babysan's World.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Hume, Bill. & Annarino, John. 1953a. *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation*. Tokyo: Kasuga Boeki K. K.

Hume, Bill. & Annarino, John. 1953b. *When We Get back Home*. Tokyo: Kyoya.

Loveday, Leo J. 1996. *Language Contact in Japan. A Socio-linguistic History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Michener, James. 1954. *Sayonara*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1997. *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, expanded and revised edition. London: University of Westminster Press.

Norman, Arthur M. Z. 1954. "Linguistic aspects of the mores of U.S. occupation and security forces in Japan". *American Speech* XXIX (3): 301--2.

—. 1955. "Bamboo English. The Japanese influence upon American speech in Japan". *American Speech* XXX (1): 44--8.

Sebba, Mark. 1997. *Contact Languages. Pidgins and Creoles*. London: Macmillan.

Siegel, Jeff. 2008. *The Emergence of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stanlaw, James. 1987. "Japanese and English: Borrowing and contact". *World Englishes* 6 (2): 93-109.

—. 1996. "Japanese Pidgin English". In *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, edited by Tom McArthur, 543. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 2004. *Japanese English Language and Culture Contact*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

—. 2006. "Japanese and English. Borrowing and contact". In *World Englishes*, edited by Kingsley Bolton and Braj B. Kachru, 179-200. New York: Routledge.

Webster, Grant. 1960. "Korean Bamboo English once more". *American Speech* 35 (4): 261--65.

Appendices

The portions in boldface highlight words, phrases and various patterns specific to JPE, discussed in sections 3, 4 and 5.

Appendix 1. JPE text (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170-171)

Hana-ogi: *Rroyd-san **you** takushi please.*
Lloyd: ***Daijobu**, **I takushi, get**, **ne**?*
H-o: *I like stay with you **keredomo I train go honto**.*
L: ***More sukoshi** stay, **kudasai**.*
H-o: ***Deki-nai**. Rroyd-san. No can stay.*
L: ***Do shi'te**? Whatsahurry?*
H-o: ***Anoo-ne**! Takarazuka. My job**u**, ne? **I jobu go**, ne?*
L: ***Chotto, chotto** goddamn **matte**! Takarazuka **ichi-ji start** now. **Ima** only 10 o'clock, ne?*
H-o: *Anoo-ne! Rroyd-san. You mess my hair, ne. **I beauty saron go**, make nice, **deshoo**?*
L: *No, no, no, anoo-ne! You **takusan** steky now.*

Appendix 2. Korean Bamboo English text (Webster 1960, 163-164)

***Taksan** years ago, **skoshi Cinderella-san** lived in hootchie with sisters, poor little Cinderella-san **ketchee** no fun, hava-no social life. Always **washee-washee**, **scrubee-scrubee**, make **chop-chop**.*
*One day Cinderella-san sisters ketchee post cardo from Seoul. Post cardo speak**ie** so: one **prince-san** have big blowout, taksan kimchi, taksan beeru, play 'I Ain't Got No Yo Yo'. Cindy-san sisters **taksan** excited, make Cinderell-san polish up clothes. Sisters go blackmarket, ketchee fatigues, new combat boots, bring up hootchie and Cinderella-san cut down fatigues, **shine-shine** bots. Come night of big shindig, sisters speak sayonara, leave Cindy-san by fire. Eiiii.. is appearing fairy Godmother-san. She speak: 'Cindy-san, **worry hava-no**, I ketchee you **number one** outfit and you go to hoedown number one prince'. Godmother-san speak Cindy-san ketchee one mouse and one mousetrap. Godmother-san waving wand and mousetrap and mouse becoming streamlined oxcart. Then wave wand again **one time** and old rubber shoes chang**ee** into polished Corcoran jump boots.*
*'**Meda-meda**', say Cindy-san. 'Number one'.*
'One thing, kiddie', speak fairy Godmother-san, 'knock it off by 2400. I gotta get these clothes back to QM warehouse'.
*'Hokay', speak Cindy-san, taksan happy, and rush off to Seoul to hootchie of number one prince. Cindy-san ketchee big hit at barn dance. All rest jo-sans bags by Cindy-san. Number one prince is on make, ketchee beeru and Spam sandwiches for Cindy-san and dance to 'I Ain't Got No Yo Yo' eight times. Suddenly clock starts to strike 2400. Cindy-san has **skoshi** time, she can speak only sayonara to number one prince before chogeying to oxcart pool to go home. She **hubba-hubba** home*