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Japanese loanwords in Pohnpeian: adaptation and attrition

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Abstract

This paper describes the general linguistic characteristics of Japanese loanwords used in Pohnpeian, a Micronesian language spoken on the island of Pohnpei in the North Pacific. It briefly illustrates the processes of phonological nativization and the semantic shifts these loanwords have undergone in the course of their being adapted into Pohnpeian and further considers the forms of attrition that have affected these loanwords during the past three decades. This report is largely based upon data found in the Pohnpeian English dictionary, collected in the early 1970's, which I rechecked with a young Pohnpeian informant during the summer of 1998. ¹

1. Introduction: History of Language Contact with Japanese

Pohnpei is a small Pacific island which serves as the capital of the Federated States of Micronesia.² The indigenous language of this island is Pohnpeian (also known as Ponapean), currently spoken by approximately 30,000 people. Pohnpeian is a Micronesian language that belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family.³

Since 1886, the island of Pohnpei has been administered by a succession of foreign nations, including Spain, Germany, Japan, and the United States. As a result, many foreign words were borrowed into the language, the majority being from English and Japanese. Japan ruled most of the islands of Micronesia, including Pohnpei, from 1914 until 1945, when World War II ended. Some of the islands in this region served as important military bases during the war.

The first Japanese on Pohnpei were civilians who came to Pohnpei to develop agriculture, fisheries, and small businesses, some of whom lived there until the end of the war.⁴ These immigrants came from all over Japan, with many from Okinawa. The Japanese population on Pohnpei, excluding the military, reached 3,600 in 1937. A considerable

amount of intermarriage took place between Japanese civilians and Pohnpeians. When the war was over, some of these families were expatriated to Japan, though many Micronesian dependents remained behind. Today, Japanese surnames such as *Yamada*, *Suzuki*, *Nakasone*, *Yamaguchi*, and *Nakamura* are found on Pohnpei and elsewhere in Micronesia.⁵

Intensive contact with the Japanese language lasted for approximately 30 years, during the period of the Japanese administration of Micronesia. During this era, the Japanese government attempted to provide three to five years of elementary education in Japanese to Pohnpeian children — exclusively boys — in Japanese schools. Many of the students who went through this school system emerged bilingual, to at least some degree, in Pohnpeian and Japanese. Today, such individuals are found among the senior men on the island — those aged sixty-five and older. Some of these men not only speak Japanese fluently, but are able to read and write the language as well.

As a result of this educational system and as a consequence of intense daily contact between Japanese and Pohnpeians, many Japanese words were incorporated into the Pohnpeian language. The Ponapean-English Dictionary (Rehg and Sohl: 1979) includes more than 300 entries specified as being of Japanese origin. People over 55 understand most of these words; however, the number of Japanese loanwords recognized by younger speakers has been rapidly decreasing. Moreover, among those Japanese loanwords that continue in common usage among Pohnpeians, some have undergone both phonological and semantic changes since they were first borrowed. In this report, then, I examine both how Japanese loanwords have been adapted into Pohnpeian as well as the nature and degree of attrition these loanwords have undergone during the past three decades, primarily as a consequence of the ascendancy of English.

2. Data Sources

The data for this paper come from two major sources — the Ponapean-English Dictionary, which was published in 1979 by the University of Hawai'i Press, and an informant with whom I worked during the summer of 1998. The data for the dictionary were originally collected between 1970 and 1975. During the summer of 1998, I reexamined the Japanese loanwords listed in the dictionary by going over each entry with a young Pohnpeian informant. My purpose was to elicit some preliminary data on how many of these loanwords are still being used by young Pohnpeians and what linguistic changes these words might have undergone.

The data in the dictionary came from a number of Pohnpeians, but the chief informant was Damian Sohl, who served as the co-author of the dictionary. Mr. Sohl was in his 20's at the time the dictionary data were gathered. My data came from Amanda Sohl,

now in her early 20's, who is the youngest daughter of Damian Sohl. Thus, I was fortunate to be able to compare how two speakers from two different generations, but from the same household, employ and understand the words that have come into Pohnpeian from Japanese.

Damian Sohl was born after the war and was educated within a system that stressed English. His father, however, was educated in a Japanese school and later served as a teacher in the Japanese educational system. His father was fluent in Japanese. Mr. Sohl still remembers some Japanese expressions used in his home during his childhood, and he also had an opportunity to learn about Japanese culture from his father, though he himself is a fluent speaker of English.⁶ Amanda Sohl, on the other hand, grew up in an educational and social environment heavily impacted by contact with the United States, as illustrated by the fact that her knowledge of Japanese loanwords is substantially reduced in comparison to her father.

Since I have worked with only a single informant, I must emphasize that I do not assume that the observations I make in this paper can be generalized to represent all of Pohnpei. It is my impression, however, based upon conversations with other Pohnpeians, that the pattern of usage of Japanese loanwords within this single household is probably fairly typical of the island as a whole. Further data, however, will be required to confirm this.

3. Linguistic Characteristics of Japanese Loanwords

3.1. Sources of Japanese Loanwords

Before detailing the changes that Japanese loanwords have undergone during the past three decades, it will be useful first to comment on some of the linguistic characteristics of the Japanese loanwords listed in the Pohnpeian-English dictionary. It should be noted here that the loanwords provided in this paper and their Japanese sources are presented phonemically. The phonemes of Pohnpeian and Japanese are listed in the following subsection. Further, all glosses are for the Pohnpeian words, except where otherwise specified.

Among the Japanese loanwords in the dictionary, those relating to sports are the most numerous (46), followed by terms for domestic articles (39), food items (27), and words for personal artifacts (21). The loanwords for sports include baseball terms such as *yakii* <*jakjuu* 'baseball', *kurɔp* <*guroobu* 'baseball glove', *saato* <*saado* 'third base' and *sansiy* <*saNsiN* 'three strikes'. Examples of words used to describe domestic articles of Japanese origin are *op^woy* <*oboN* 'tray', *tawasi* <*tawasi* 'brush', *kama* <*kama* 'sickle' and *katorsiyko* <*katoriseNkoo* 'mosquito coil'. Food names of Japanese origin include such words as *kasuwo* <*kacuo* 'bonito', *kyuuri* ⁷<*kjuuri* 'cucumber', *kiarameru* <*kjarameru*

'caramel', *sayta* < *saidaa* 'soda' and *soyu* < *sjoju* 'soy sauce'. Among the words for personal artifacts are *kapaŋ* < *kabaN* 'bag', *sarmata* < *sarumata* 'underwear', *tɛp^wukuro* < *tebukuro* 'gloves', *asmaki* < *hacimaki* 'headband', and *aŋkasi* < *haNkaci* 'handkerchief'.

In addition, the dictionary includes Japanese loanwords belonging to semantic categories such as the following: construction terms (e.g., *deppaŋ* < *teQpaN* 'large sheet of iron', *kasijay* < *kasugai* 'large staple'); transportation terms (e.g., *sitoosa* < *zidoosja* 'automobile', *otopay* < *ootobai* 'motorcycle, scooter'); words for facilities and buildings (e.g., *pioyŋ* < *bjooiN* 'hospital', *sooko* < *sooko* 'warehouse'), war-related terms (e.g., *kikansu* < *kikaNzjuu* 'machine gun', *taytowa* < *daitooa* 'World War II, dispute'), animal and plant names (e.g., *kayru* < *kaeru* 'frog', *tɛntɛnm^wosi* < *deNdeNmusi* 'snail', *ap^wrayasi* < *aburajasi* 'a variety of palm', *nasupi* < *nasubi* 'eggplant'), and some interjections, such as *pakatanaa* < *bakadanaa* 'Too bad! You are a fool!'.

These words were introduced to the Pohnpeians by Japanese immigrants. Since these immigrants came from all over Japan, some of these loanwords reflect their dialects. For example, the loanword for 'eggplant' is *nasupi* < *nasubi*, which is a word used in the western part of Japan. *Nasu* rather than *nasubi* is used more commonly in the east and in Standard Japanese.

3. 2. Phonological Nativization

Japanese loanwords in Pohnpeian are often phonologically, morphologically, and semantically deviant in comparison to their original Japanese sources. That is, they have been passed through the linguistic filters of Pohnpeian in the process of their being adopted into this language. Phonologically, loanwords are subject to a variety of complex phenomena, apparently entailing the interaction of both rules of transfer and innate phonological processes, as has been extensively discussed in the literature on interlanguage phonology. (See, for example, Ioup and Weinberger (1987).) The Japanese loanwords in Pohnpeian are typical in this respect.

Japanese and Pohnpeian are alike in that they are both mora-timed languages; they both have long vowels and geminate consonants. More precisely, Pohnpeian has geminate sonorants in its native vocabulary; geminate obstruents occur only in Japanese loanwords, such as *nappa* 'Chinese cabbage'. Usually, Japanese vowels are also easily transferred to Pohnpeian. To illustrate some of the differences between Japanese and Pohnpeian, I provide in (1) below the phonemes of Pohnpeian and the phonetic characteristics of these phonemes.⁸ I also provide the orthographic letters that are used to represent these phonemes for the convenience of readers who might wish to look up these words in the Pohnpeian dictionary.⁹ Following Saito (1990), I provide Japanese phonemes in (2).¹⁰

(1) Pohnpeian Phonemes¹¹

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Phonetic characteristic</u>	<u>Represented by the Letter(s)</u>
/p/	vl. bilabial stop	p
/p ^w /	velarized vl. bilabial stop	pw
/t/	vl. dental stop	d
/k/	vl. velar stop	k
/s/	vl. alveolar fricative ¹²	s
/t̚/	vl. laminal stop ¹³	t
/m/	vd. bilabial nasal	m
/m ^w /	velarized vd. bilabial nasal	mw
/n/	vd. dental nasal	n
/ŋ/	vd. velar nasal	ng
/l/	vd. dental lateral	l
/r/	vd. alveolar trill	r
/y/	high front glide	i
/w/	high back glide	w
/i/	high front unrounded vowel	i
/e/	mid front unrounded vowel	e
/ɛ/	lower-mid front unrounded vowel	e
/a/	low central unrounded vowel	a
/ɔ/	lower-mid back rounded vowel	oa
/o/	mid back rounded vowel	o
/u/	high back rounded vowel	u

(2) Japanese Phonemes¹⁴

/p/, /b/, /m/, /n/, /d/, /t/, /c/, /z/, /s/, /r/, /h/, /g/, /k/

/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

/j/, /w/

/N/, /Q/¹⁵

I phonemically transcribe long vowels in both languages as /VV/.

By examining the chart above, one can note that some sounds occur in Japanese that do not occur in Pohnpeian, and vice versa. Thus, when Japanese words were incorporated into Pohnpeian, some substitutions necessarily took place. I do not intend to go into the details of phonological differences between Pohnpeian and Japanese in this paper; however, a few examples of common phonological changes that Japanese loanwords underwent might be useful here.

First, note that there are no voiced obstruents in Pohnpeian; thus, Pohnpeians substitute voiceless /p/, /t/, and /k/ for Japanese /b/, /d/, and /g/. Further, the voiced fricative /z/ of Japanese is replaced by Pohnpeian /s/. In addition, all the aspirated stops in Japanese become unaspirated in Pohnpeian. Examples, phonemically transcribed in both languages, are provided below.

(3) /b/ → /p/

<u>Japanese Word</u>	<u>Pohnpeian Loanword</u>	
baQkiN	pakkiŋ	‘fine’
biiru	piiru	‘beer’
kabaN	kaɸaŋ	‘bag’
habatobi	apaɸopi	‘long jump’

(4) /d/ → /t/

daikoN	taykoŋ	‘radish’
deNki	tɛŋki	‘electricity’
rakudai	rakutay	‘to flunk, to fail’
saNdaNtobi	santaŋɸopi	‘a game, hop-skip-jump’

(5) /g/ → /k/

gaNbare	kampaɾɛ	‘Do your best!’
geta	kɛtta	‘Japanese clogs’
geNsibakudaN	kinsipakutaŋ	‘atomic bomb’

(6) /z/ → /s/

zoori	soori	‘thongs’
aNzu	ansu	‘star fruit tree’

Another major phonological change in the process of adapting Japanese words into Pohnpeian is that all the alveo-palatal and alveolar obstruents in Japanese become /s/ in Pohnpeian, as illustrated in (7).

(7) /sj, c, z/ → /s/

sjoobai	soopay	‘business’
peNci	pensi	‘pliers’
zidoosja	sitoosa	‘automobile’
kacudoo	kasto	‘movie’

tamacuki	tamaski	'the game of pool'
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In addition, Japanese moraic nasal /N/ often becomes /ŋ/ word-finally or before a velar such as /k/, as illustrated in some of the preceding examples.¹⁶ Additional examples follow.

(8) /N/ → /ŋ/

daikoN	taykoŋ	'radish'
geNkaN	keŋkaŋ	'porch'
kabaN	kaŋaŋ	'bag'

Pohnpeian does not have the laryngeal fricative /h/, so it is not transferred into Pohnpeian.

(9) /h/ → ∅

haizara	aysara	'ashtray'
hanabi	anapi	'fireworks'
hasi	asi	'chopsticks'
habatobi	apatopi	'long jump'
hacimaki	asmaki	'headband'

Finally, although Pohnpeian distinguishes between short and long vowels, vowel shortening is observed word finally.¹⁷ Examples are:

(10) VV# → V#

teNzjoo	tenso	'ceiling'
saidaa	sayta	'soda'
zjuudoo	suuto	'judo'
maNzjuu	mansu	'dumpling with red bean paste'
deNpoo	temp ^w o	'telegram'

In addition to the changes illustrated above, others are also observed. Unlike Japanese, Pohnpeian phonemically distinguishes between /p/ and velarized /p^w/. In Japanese borrowings, /p^w/ is found before the back vowels /u/ and /o/. Similarly, /m/ and velarized /m^w/ are separate phonemes in Pohnpeian; /m^w/ occurs before back vowels as well. Examples are: *temp^wo* < *deNpoo* 'telegram', *tomp^wuri* < *doNburi* 'bowl', *m^wooso* < *mocjoo* 'appendicitis', and *suum^woŋ* < *cjuumoN* 'to order'.

It might also be noted that some English words were introduced via Japanese after passing through Japanese phonological filters. Examples are: *masuku* 'catcher's mask' <

masuku [Jap] from English ‘mask’, *p^woosto* ‘mail box’ < *posuto* [Jap] from English ‘post’, *p^wuraya* ‘pliers’ < *puraiaa* [Jap] from English ‘pliers’, *sipiito* ‘speedy’ < *supiido* [Jap] from English ‘speed’. These words exhibit phonological characteristics that are different from words that were borrowed directly from English. The most notable difference is found in their syllable structures. Consonant-final English words borrowed via Japanese typically contain a final vowel, whereas no vowel is appended to consonant-final words borrowed directly from English. Examples of English borrowings in Pohnpeian are *teyp* ‘tape, tape recorder’, *lamp* ‘lamp’, *lep_εl* ‘level, a carpenter’s tool’, *map* ‘map’, *mε_εl* ‘medal’, and *oo_εl* ‘hotel’.¹⁸

3. 3. Morphology

The majority of the words of Japanese origin found in Pohnpeian are nouns. Some words that are nouns in Japanese, however, are used as verbs in Pohnpeian. For example, *sikeng* from Japanese *sikeN* ‘examination’ is used either as a noun or as an intransitive verb. The word *pariki* < *bariki* (n) ‘energy’ is used only as an intransitive verb, meaning ‘to go fast’; similarly *adasi*, from Japanese *hadasi* ‘bare foot’, was borrowed as an intransitive verb meaning ‘to go barefoot’. Some intransitive verbs derived from Japanese nouns are transitive in Pohnpeian through the use of the suffix /-ii/. For example, *kampio* (vi) and *kampioii* (vt) ‘to take care of a sick person’ were derived from the Japanese noun *kaNbjoo* ‘nursing’. Similarly, *aykiu* (vi) and *aykiuii* (vt) ‘to ration’ are from the Japanese noun *haikjuu* ‘ration, distribution’, and *suum^woŋ* (vi) and *suum^woŋii* (vt) ‘to order’ were derived from the Japanese noun *cjuumoN* ‘order’.

In some cases, Japanese verbs were borrowed into Pohnpeian as adjectives; for instance, *topas*, from the Japanese verb *tobasu* ‘to hurry, to drive fast’, is used as an adjective in Pohnpeian, meaning ‘fast, speedy, quick’. In addition, *ataru*, from the Japanese verb *ataru* ‘to draw a prize, to win’ is used as an adjective meaning ‘lucky’.

3. 4. Semantic Shifts

Semantic shifts are observed in some Japanese borrowings listed in the dictionary. Some examples are: *kuruma* < *kuruma* ‘cart’, *kona* < *kona* ‘toothpaste’, *sakura* < *sakura* ‘card game’, and *ram^wunε* < *ramune* ‘marble’. *Kuruma* in Japanese means ‘car’ in general, and it also means ‘wheel’. The semantic narrowing that took place when the word was borrowed into Pohnpeian might be a consequence of the fact that another word, *sitoosa* < *zidoosja*, was introduced with the exclusive meaning of ‘automobile’. The second example, *kona*, means ‘powder’ or ‘flour’ in Japanese; I assume that the Pohnpeian meaning resulted from the fact that the toothpaste used during the Japanese era came in a powdered form.

As for *sakura*, it simply means ‘cherry blossom’ or ‘cherry tree’ in Japanese. The meaning of the loanword apparently derives from the fact that a Japanese card game called *anauta* < *hanahuda*, the literal meaning of which is ‘flower card’, uses a card that has a picture of cherry blossoms on it.¹⁹ Finally, *ram^wunε* is a kind of soda in Japan that comes in a glass bottle that has a marble inside. Apparently, the use of *ram^wunε* to mean ‘marble’ in Pohnpeian resulted from the fact that children broke the bottles open in order to use the marbles in games. Additionally, the expression *iranay*, which means ‘do not want, do not need’ in Japanese has a very restricted meaning in Pohnpeian; it is only used in card games with the meaning ‘to pass’.

4. Changes Affecting Japanese Loanwords During the Past Three Decades

During the summer of 1998, I compiled a list of 330 Japanese loanwords that were/are used in Pohnpeian. This list includes all the entries of Japanese origin listed in the dictionary, as well as those that I gathered from a data base being compiled by Rehg and Sohl for a second, still unpublished, edition of the dictionary.²⁰ I then went over each word with my informant, Amanda Sohl. Out of the 330 words in this list, she recognized just 120. As for the remaining 210, either she had never heard them, or she did not know their meanings, though she sometimes indicated that she had heard the word used by others. Typically, among the 120 words that she did know, she was unaware that they were of Japanese origin. This suggests that, although the number of Japanese loanwords used among young Pohnpeians might be decreasing, the surviving words have become completely nativized. In an appendix to this paper, I list 75 words of Japanese origin that Ms. Sohl claims to use frequently in her daily life.

I also observed that some phonological and semantic changes have affected Japanese loanwords during the past 30 years. I discuss these changes in sections 4.2 and 4.3. First, however, I wish to comment on the types of loanwords that have fallen out of use and comment on the reasons why Japanese loanwords might be undergoing attrition in Pohnpeian.

4. 1. The Attrition of Japanese Loanwords

Although nearly all of the Japanese loanwords listed in the dictionary are recognized and occasionally used by people in their mid 50’s and older, it seems nearly certain that many of these words are disappearing from the vocabulary of young Pohnpeians. Words for terms relating to the war, for example, are apparently falling out of usage. For example, my informant did not know words like the following: *teriuudaj* < *terjuudaN* ‘hand grenade’, *kikansu* < *kikaNzjuu* ‘machine gun’, *kinsipakudaj* < *geNsibakudaN* ‘atomic bomb’, *p^wookugko* < *bookuugoo* ‘air-raid shelter’, and *sentooki* < *seNtooki* ‘fighter plane’.

Agricultural terms introduced by the Japanese also seem to be vanishing. Examples are: *tamp^wo* < *taNbo* ‘rice paddy’, *tanε* < *tane* ‘seed’, *impiokay* < *hiNpjookai* ‘agricultural fair’, *kansoopα* < *kaNsooba* ‘copra drying shed’, and *passay* < *baQsai* ‘to cut grass’. One of the reasons that these loanwords are not used today is that some of the agricultural methods introduced by the Japanese are no longer practiced on Pohnpei.

The major reason for the dramatic reduction of words of Japanese origin is no doubt a consequence of the current ascendancy of English. After the war, from 1947 until 1986, the United States administered much of Micronesia, including Pohnpei, under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. Since that time, English has been increasing in importance in Micronesia due to the region’s political and financial ties to the United States.²¹ Even though Pohnpei, as a state in the Federated States of Micronesia, is less closely tied to the U.S. today than it was in the past, English has continued to increase in importance, and American culture is a major influence on young Pohnpeians.²²

Today, Pohnpeian children receive much of their education in English, using textbooks written in English. As a result of such influence, a large number of English words have been incorporated into Pohnpeian. Consequently, some Japanese loanwords have been replaced by English — i.e., *tεɲwa* < *deNwa* has been replaced by ‘telephone’, *osimε* < *osime* by ‘diaper’, *simɸuɲ* < *siNbuN* by ‘newspaper’, *skooso* < *hikoozjoo* by ‘airport’, and *wintεɲ* < *uNteN* by ‘drive’, although the Japanese forms have not totally fallen out of use. Further, many English words introduced via Japanese are being replaced by the same terms directly borrowed from English. Baseball terms are among such examples; that is, *lεpto* < *rehuto* ‘left field’ and *paasto* < *faasuto*²³ ‘first base’ are now being replaced by the original English words.

4. 2. Semantic Extensions

Some Japanese loanwords have undergone extensive changes in meaning during the past three decades. For example, *taytowa* < *daitooa* was originally borrowed to mean ‘World War II, dispute’. According to my informant, the word *taytowa* nowadays means ‘old times, very old’. She did not know the original Pohnpeian meaning of the word. Moreover, semantic redefinition is found in some words. For example, *paɲku* < *paNku* is defined in the dictionary as ‘to have a flat tire’; however, my informant reports that *paɲku* now describes the condition of rubber sandals after the thong has been pulled out. This usage apparently derives from the fact that people compare useless, broken thongs to a flat tire. Another interesting phenomenon reported by my informant is that the word *sarmata* < *sarumata* ‘underwear’ now means only ‘women’s underwear’.²⁴ Apparently, when the English word ‘brief (s)’ > *piriip* was introduced into Pohnpeian, people started distinguish-

ing women's underwear from men's by using *sarmata* vs. *piriip*.

4. 3. Phonological Changes

My informant also reported an interesting phonological phenomenon related to the word *anayrε* 'marble game'. Nowadays, some young people call this game *araynε*; that is, metathesis between /n/ and /r/ has taken place. I checked the new form *araynε* with another Pohnpeian speaker in his mid 30's, and he reported that he knew only *anayrε*. Thus, this phonological change must have taken place quite recently, or perhaps it is limited to a particular part of the island. The word *ittay* 'ouch' is now pronounced by my informant as either *ettay* or *etay*.

5. Conclusion

In this report, I illustrated some of the general phonological and semantic characteristics of Japanese loanwords in Pohnpeian. I also compared the loanwords listed in the Pohnpeian-English Dictionary, collected in the early 1970's, with the words known to my informant in 1998. The most obvious fact is that Japanese loanwords appear to be undergoing massive attrition. Among the surviving words, some have undergone both phonological and semantic changes.

It may be that, as older speakers of Pohnpeian pass away, the number of Japanese loanwords in Pohnpeian will decline still further. However, some of these forms are deeply rooted in the language and have become totally nativized. My young informant did not know that many of these words she often uses were originally borrowed from Japanese. This fact indicates that these words will probably remain stable in the language; that is, they have been completely assimilated into Pohnpeian and are no longer considered to be foreign by speakers of the language.

It is quite likely that English loanwords, on the other hand, will continue to increase in number, primarily because of the strong economic, educational, and cultural ties that Pohnpei has with the United States.²⁵ Moreover, American TV programs are now broadcast via cable to the most densely populated parts of the island, and no doubt this powerful media will also promote the usage of English in the future. The influence of American music, life styles, and fashions are apparent everywhere on the island. However, those people who live where cable TV is available can also watch Japanese programs on NHK (Nihon Hoosoo Kyookai), live from Japan. These Japanese programs, however, do not appear to be very popular among younger Pohnpeians, probably due to the lack of subtitles. Nevertheless, despite the language barrier, many people, young and old, enjoy watching sumo tournaments and are picking up some sumo terms from Japanese.

There are a few other reasons to be optimistic about the likelihood that Japanese language and culture will continue to have an influence on Pohnpei. For example, many major stores, restaurants, and hotels on Pohnpei are operated by Japanese returnees or Japanese descendants. As a result, many Japanese food items are popular among Pohnpeians. The Pohnpeian government is also trying to promote tourism, targeting the Japanese.²⁶ Furthermore, Pohnpei is developing stronger business ties with Japan. For example, the island now regularly ships tuna to Japanese markets via jet aircraft dedicated to this purpose. Such business relations with Japan will increase the opportunities for language contact with Japanese and may increase the need to learn the language. Both the public high school and the College of Micronesia on Pohnpei offer Japanese language classes. If Pohnpei and Japan become closer business partners, it is possible that more young Pohnpeians will start learning Japanese for practical purposes. Thus, in the future, a different type of language contact situation may develop between Pohnpei and Japan, and additional Japanese words may be introduced into Pohnpeian.

Finally, I would like to add that, while a great many papers have been written on the borrowing of loanwords, studies of the attrition of such forms are rare. The loss of loanwords, however, is of as much interest as their gain. In both cases, complex social changes are being reflected in the language. For this reason alone, further research on loanword attrition would seem to be in order.

Appendix: Japanese Loanwords Commonly Used in Pohnpeian

Below, I list 75 Japanese loanwords or expressions that my informant reported she commonly uses. The words are sorted into five categories: ‘domestic articles’, ‘food items’, ‘game/sports terms’, ‘personal articles’ and ‘others’. The glosses provided here represent Pohnpeian meanings.

Domestic Articles

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. asi <hasi | ‘chopsticks’ |
| 2. tama <tama | ‘lightbulb’ |
| 3. tawasi <tawasi | ‘Japanese brush’ |
| 4. katorsiŋko <katoriseNkoo | ‘mosquito coil’ |
| 5. kama <kama | ‘sickle’ or ‘pot’ |
| 6. manayta <manaita | ‘cutting board’ |
| 7. parikaŋ <barikaN | ‘hair clipper’ |
| 8. samusi <sjamozi | ‘rice paddle’ |
| 9. sarasi <sarasi | ‘bleach’ |

Food Items

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 10. ayskeeki <aisukeeki | 'popsicle' |
| 11. ansu <aNzu | 'star fruit tree' |
| 12. takuwaŋ <takuwaN | 'pickled radish' |
| 13. kasuwo <kacuo | 'skipjack tuna' |
| 14. kiarameru <kjarameru | 'caramel' |
| 15. kyuuri <kjuuri | 'cucumber' |
| 16. ramεn <raameN | 'noodle soup' |
| 17. ram ^w unε <ramune | 'marble' |
| 18. samma <saNma | 'mackerel' |
| 19. sasimi <sasimi | 'sashimi' |
| 20. sayta <saidaa | 'soda' |
| 21. soyu <sjooju | 'soysauce' |
| 22. sukiaki <sukijaki | 'sukiyaki' |

Game / Sports Terms

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 23. anayrε or araynε <anaire | 'marble game' |
| 24. iranay <iranai | 'to pass in a card game' |
| 25. kεsso <keQsjoo | 'to run or swim the final lap in a race' |
| 26. rεnsuu <reNsjuu | 'to practice for an athletic event' |
| 27. sakura <sakura | 'hanahuda card game' |
| 28. sansiŋ <saNsiN | 'to strike-out' |
| 29. sεnsuu <seNsju | 'athlete' |
| 30. tamaski <tamacuki | 'the game of pool' |
| 31. teŋ <teN | 'score' |
| 32. yakumεeta <hjakumeetaa | 'one hundred meter dash' |
| 33. yooytoŋ <jooi doN | 'ready, set, go' |

Personal Articles

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| 34. aŋkasi <haNkaci | 'handkerchief' |
| 35. asmaki <hacimaki | 'headband' |
| 36. kamitomε <kamidome | 'barrette' |
| 37. kapaŋ <kabaN | 'bag' |
| 38. p ^w untosi <huNdosi | 'loincloth' |
| 39. sarmata <sarumata | 'underwear' |
| 40. soori <zoori | 'thongs' |
| 41. teyp ^w ukuro <tebukuro | 'gloves' |

Others

42. amimono <amimono	'knitted object'
43. anapi <hanabi	'fire cracker'
44. ap ^w unay <abunai	'Watch out!'
45. atasi <hadasi	'to go barefoot'
46. ittay, ettay, or etay <itai	'Ouch!'
47. paŋku <paNku	'to have a flat tire, to have broken thongs'
48. pampɛy <baNpei	'security guard'
49. taytowa <daitooa	'World War II, very old'
50. tekkij <teQkiN	'concrete reinforcing bar'
51. teŋki <deNki	'electricity, light'
52. teŋso <teNzjoo	'ceiling'
53. tentɛnm ^w osi <deNdeNmusi	'large land snail'
54. topas <tobasu	'quickly, fast, speedy'
55. kakko <kaQkoo	'showing off'
56. kampo <kaNbjo	'to care for an invalid in the hospital'
57. kasdo <kacudoo	'movie'
58. kayru <kaeru	'frog'
59. kisiŋay <kicigai	'crazy, mad'
60. koyasi <kojasi	'fertilizer'
61. kukusuu <kuukizjuu	'air gun'
62. kuruma <kuruma	'cart'
63. makunay <umakunai	'unskillful, not tasty'
64. maŋŋa <maNga	'cartoon, character'
65. may <umai	'skillful, good'
66. m ^w ooso <moocjoo	'appendicitis'
67. omp ^w u <oNbu	'to be carried on another's back'
68. pariki <bariki	'to go fast'
69. paykiŋ <baikiN	'infection'
70. p ^w oosto <posuto	'post office'
71. p ^w uuseŋ <huuseN	'balloon'
72. saapis <saabisu	'service'
73. sirɔŋkawɛ <shiraNkao	'to ignore'
74. sooko <sooko	'warehouse'
75. suum ^w oŋ <cjuumoN	'to order'

NOTES

* I am grateful to Damian Sohl, the Director of Education of Pohnpei State and co-author of the Ponapean-English Dictionary, for his assistance with this report. I am also very grateful to my informant, Amanda Sohl, who spent her precious time patiently going through a long list of Japanese loanwords with me and who provided me with much invaluable information. Finally, my special thanks to Kenneth Rehg, also a co-author of the dictionary, for his valuable suggestions and comments.

- 1 I also lived on Pohnpei for seven weeks during the summer of 1997.
- 2 The Federated States of Micronesia consists of four states—namely, Pohnpei, Chuuk, Kosrae, and Yap. After the war, between 1947 and 1986, Pohnpei together with a number of other Micronesian islands, was administered by the United States as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under a trusteeship agreement with the United Nations. The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), an independent government freely associated with the United States, was formed in November 1986. The FSM is heavily dependent upon foreign aid, most of which comes from the United States. Japan has also been providing financial assistance to the FSM and maintains an embassy in Kolonia on Pohnpei.
- 3 Other Micronesian languages are Marshallese, Gilbertese, Kosraean, the Trukic languages, and probably Nauruan. The Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian includes all of the languages of Polynesian, the non-Papuan languages of Melanesian, and all of the Micronesian languages except Chamorro and Palauan.
- 4 Copra, sugarcane, and some species of fruit were commercially planted. A *katsuobushi* (dried bonito) factory operation was also a successful business on the island.
- 5 Even today, some Pohnpeians give their children Japanese names. Popular names for boys are *Yasuo*, *Toshio*, *Hiroshi*, and *Kozo*; those for girls are *Emiko*, *Kimiko*, *Kyoko*, and *Michiko*.
- 6 It should be noted that Rehg and Sohl report that they were careful in the preparation of the Ponapean Dictionary to include only Japanese loanwords known at that time to Pohnpeians who did not speak Japanese. They did this to insure that only widely used Japanese were included.
- 7 Although Japanese *jakyuu* and *kyuuri* both contain the sequence /kyuu/, this sequence was borrowed with two different pronunciations, as indicated by the phonemic transcriptions of these words in Pohnpeian.
- 8 The inventory of Pohnpeian phonemes is from Rehg (1981).
- 9 Following the German tradition, the letter *h* is used in Pohnpeian after a vowel to show that the vowel is long; e.g., the Pohnpeian word for 'road', /aal/, is written *ahl*.
- 10 The phonemes in (2) are taken from Saito (1990:79). She also provides a chart for the Japanese syllabary on p.82, which is repeated below. (This is, in fact, a mora chart.)

a	i	u	e	o	ja	ju	jo	wa
ka	ki	ku	ke	ko	kja	kju	kjo	
ga	gi	gu	ge	go	gja	gju	gjo	

sa	si	su	se	so	sja	sju	sjo
za	zi	zu	ze	zo	zja	zju	zjo
ta	ci	cu	te	to	cja	cju	cjo
da			de	do			
na	ni	nu	ne	no	nja	nju	njo
ha	hi	hu	he	ho	hja	hju	hjo
pa	pi	pu	pe	po	pja	pju	pjo
ba	bi	bu	be	bo	bja	bju	bjo
ma	mi	mu	me	mo	mja	mju	mjo
ra	ri	ru	re	ro	rja	rju	rjo
N	Q	(R)					

R in this chart represents a long vowel.

- 11 See Rehg (1981) for a discussion of the various phonetic realizations of these phonemes.
- 12 /s/ in Pohnpeian is slightly palatalized in all positions. Rehg (1981) transcribes the sound as [sʲ]. Although the degree of palatalization varies somewhat from speaker to speaker, the palatalization is more noticeable when /s/ is followed by low back vowels.
- 13 This phoneme is listed in the dictionary as a voiceless retroflex affricate, but Rehg (p.c.) now believes that it might better be described as a laminal stop.
- 14 Although I employ Saito's system to represent Japanese phonemes in this paper, other phonologists analyze Japanese phonemes differently. For example, Vance (1987) includes /š, č, ž/, which are not used by Saito. See Vance (1987: Chapter 4) for arguments in support of his analysis.
- 15 /j/ is a palatal glide and /w/ is a velar glide. /N/ is a moraic nasal and /Q/ is a moraic voiceless obstruent.
- 16 Counter-examples to this generalization are found in the words *kaygun* < *kaiguN* 'navy' and *santaytopi* provided in (6). As is well-known, rules of transfer in loanword phonology are rarely without exceptions. The /ŋ/ in *santaytopi* might be explained, however, as follows. In Japanese, *saNdaNtobi* is a compound word, consisting of *saNdaN* 'three steps' and *tobi* 'jump'. Hence, this form might not be a counter-example after all, given the fact that bilingual Pohnpeians at the time of borrowing would almost certainly have been aware of the morphological composition of this word.
- 17 It should be noted, however, that there are several exceptions; one is *rensu* < *renshuu* 'to practice for an athletic event'. For further discussion of final long vowel shortening in Pohnpeian, see Rehg (1981:87-91). Final long vowel shortening occurs in many other Micronesian languages as well.
- 18 When English source words end in a consonant cluster, one of three strategies is employed in Pohnpeian; either an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two consonants (e.g., *milik* 'milk', *klopis* 'clubs'), one of the consonants is deleted (e.g., *kain* 'kind', *palas* 'ballast'), or, rarely, the cluster is simply tolerated (e.g., *p^hoks* 'fox'). The Japanese strategy of appending a vowel to such words never occurs in Pohnpeian.
- 19 *Anauta* < *hanahuda* is still popular among some Pohnpeians.

- 20 Data collection is now ongoing for a second edition of the Pohnpeian-English Dictionary.
- 21 Actually, the first contact with English speaking people took place in approximately 1830. English influence was also extensive during the nineteenth century.
- 22 Another reason that English is widely used on Pohnpei is that the four states of the Federated States of Micronesia do not have a common language. All activities at the level of the federal government are conducted in English. Since Pohnpei serves as the capital of FSM, the usage of English on the island is more widespread than it might otherwise be.
- 23 It should be noted that /f/ does not appear in Saito's chart provided in (2). See Vance (1987) for an account of why /f/ should be considered a phoneme in Japanese.
- 24 It should be noted that the Japanese word *sarumata* is no longer in common use in Japan.
- 25 Citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia today have a legal status in the United States which is equivalent to permanent resident status. By holding an FSM passport, they can freely enter the United States to work or study, with no time restriction on their stay.
- 26 A small number of Japanese tourists come to the island, primarily for diving.

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ポンペイ語に取り入れられた日本語

— 外来語となった日本語とその退潮 —

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キーワード

ポンペイ語, ミクロネシア, 外来語, 音形同化, 意味の推移

概要

現在ミクロネシア連邦の首都がおかれているポンペイ島は、他のミクロネシアの島々とともに1914年から1945年まで日本の統治下にあった。その間多くの日本語がポンペイ語に取り入れられた。1979年に出版されたポンペイ-英語辞典には、スポーツ・ゲーム用語、生活用品用語、食料品名などを含め300語を超える日本語からの外来語が収録されているが、若い世代のポンペイ人が現在実際に使っている日本語からの外来語の数は急激に減少している。

本稿では、ポンペイ語に取り込まれた日本語からの外来語について、以下の二点に関し研究報告をおこなう。

- (1) これらの外来語がポンペイ語に取り入れられる過程でおこった言語上の音形同化、意味の推移、また形態的な変化を分析する。
- (2) 辞典のためのデータが収集された1970年代の初めから現在までの約30年間に、これらの外来語にどのような変化が起こったかについて、1998年夏、19歳のポンペイ人大学生をインフォーマントとして調査した結果を報告する。