

The Use of Japanese Sentence-final Pragmatic Markers in Toronto Niseis' Bilingual Conversation

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Abstract:

In many bilingual communities, speakers conduct conversations using two languages as part of their daily routine (e.g. Auer 1998; Heller 1988; Maschler 1994; Nishimura 1997). This paper examines the use of Japanese sentence-final particles and other Japanese sentence-final forms in Toronto Niseis' Japanese-English bilingual conversations. In naturally-occurring conversations tape-recorded on two occasions in the Niseis' private homes, the Niseis frequently marked English sentences with the following Japanese sentence-final forms: 1) particles (*ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne*); 2) *da*-derived forms (*desho*, *da*, *da ne*, *da mo*, and *da kara*), and finally, 3) a quotative particle *tte* and constructions containing it (*tte*, *datte*, *chuu*, and *tte wake*). Based on the recent studies of pragmatic functions of various Japanese sentence-final forms (e.g. Kitagawa 1994; Maynard 1996; Nazikian 1994), this paper will illustrate what the Niseis accomplish through these forms in their bilingual conversations. Sentence-final particles in 1) are mostly used for interactional purposes; *da*-derived forms in 2) show degrees of certainty and carry effects such as confidence; and finally, *tte* and constructions containing it are used for marking quotations and for indicating the source of the information conveyed in the sentence. It will be suggested that the Niseis use these forms because English lacks equivalent pragmatic markers. When the Niseis use these forms, they are practicing pragmatics characteristic of Japanese. This account will provide a clue to a more general question of why bilingual speakers use two languages at the same time, a phenomenon generally called code-switching in linguistics.

Background

In many bilingual communities speakers conduct conversations using two languages as part of their daily routine. Different patterns of bilingualism practiced in conversations were documented in different communities (e.g. Auer 1998; Heller 1989; Maschler 1994; Nishimura 1995; 1997; Poplack 1981). One of the most prevailing patterns is the use of tags or metalinguistic expressions of one language with a sentence of another. For example, many Puerto Ricans in New York City, even those who do not otherwise mix Spanish and English, use *you know* in their Spanish. According to Poplack (1981), the use of this little expression serves as an ethnic identity marker for these Puerto Ricans, who assert, through using this marker, that they are participating in the culture of New York Puerto Ricans. Maschler (1994), who examined Hebrew/English conversations among immigrants in Israel, has shown that the immigrants exchange referential information in English, but use Hebrew discourse markers throughout. King & Nadasdi (1999) studied the use of English evidential expressions (I think, I guess, etc.) with French sentences in

Arcadian communities in Atlantic Canada. They argued that these English expressions indicate uncertainty not nuanced by corresponding French verbs. Nishimura (1995; 1997) demonstrated that Canadian Niseis use a variety of Japanese sentence-final forms (e.g. particles *ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne*) with English sentences.

The present study

Building upon Nishimura (1997), this paper will conduct a further study of the use of Japanese sentence-final particles and other sentence-final forms in Toronto Niseis' Japanese/English bilingual conversations. Japanese sentence-final particles are the most common Japanese elements occurring with English sentences in the Niseis' bilingual speech (Nishimura 1997). Strangely, the reverse is not true; i.e. the use of English tags with Japanese sentences is very low. What makes this happen? We should recall what previous linguists have said about Japanese sentence-final particles and other similar items. Martin (1975) observed that Japanese sentences seldom end without being followed by some kind of sentence-final forms. Maynard (1989) reports that in her Japanese conversational data only 11.93% of sentences end with verbs, and that the rest are marked by items such as sentence-final particles (35.5%) and tag-like expressions (e.g. *desho*, 9.73%) among various others. This common practice in monolingual Japanese conversation might be found in the bilingual context as well.

In addition to the particles *ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne* noted above, this paper will demonstrate that the Niseis use additional sentence-final forms including some innovative forms. Based on the recent studies of pragmatic functions of various Japanese sentence-final forms (e.g. Kitagawa 1994; Maynard 1996; Nazikian 1994), this paper will illustrate what the Niseis accomplish through these forms in their bilingual conversations. We will then suggest that the Niseis use these Japanese forms because English lacks such pragmatic markers. This account will provide a clue to a more general question of why bilingual speakers mix two languages in conversation: code-switching.

Data

Examples of Niseis' bilingual speech used in this paper are collected from the casual conversations that I tape-recorded on two social occasions in Niseis' private homes in

Toronto, Canada. I am a native Japanese and a relative of a Nisei couple in Toronto, who are among the participants of the conversations. I had a long-time association with the couple and their friends. Taking advantage of this connection, I conducted extensive field work among my relatives' circle of friends, in a larger study of the Niseis' bilingualism.¹ The Niseis' speech used in this paper were collected during this field work.

The Japanese community in Toronto was established after WW II. Many Japanese Canadians, who were evacuated to internment camps in the interior of Canada during the war, moved to Toronto at the war's end, looking for new lives. Some moved back to British Columbia in later years, but many remained in Toronto. Niseis sought to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society in the post-war years, and achieved economic success (Tanabe 1974). Most of the Niseis have long retired now. Designated as Midori, Geoff, Sean and Yasu in this paper, all four Niseis whose speech is used in this paper are among such Niseis who moved to Toronto in the post-war years. Midori and Geoff, my relatives, are married, and Sean and Yasu are their close friends. They socialize regularly. When they do, they talk using both Japanese and English as shown in this paper and elsewhere.

Violet and Fumiko who appear in the examples below are *kika*-Niseis who grew up in Japan. They were present when the recording took place. Their speech is not analyzed in this paper because their bilingualism differs from the four Niseis who remained in Canada all their lives.

Analysis

From the transcribed data, I found 746 bilingual sentences in total—532 structurally Japanese sentences, 190 structurally English sentences, 7 Japanese topic-English comment sentences, and 17 portmanteau sentences.² Of the 190 structurally English sentences, 69 are marked by some kind of Japanese sentence-final forms (36.6%). In contrast, the use of English tags (*you know* and *eh?*) with Japanese sentences is very low (18 out of 532 sentences, 3.4%). This sharp difference strongly suggests that there is some significant reason why the Niseis use Japanese sentence-final items even with English sentences.³

The 69 Japanese sentence-final forms occurring with English sentences are as follows:

- 1) Sentence-final particles (32): *ne* (17), *yo* (10), and *yo ne* (5).
- 2) DA-derived forms (23): *desho* (2), *da* (5), *da ne* (2), *da mo* (2), and *da kara* (12).
- 3) A quotative particle *tte* and constructions containing it (14): *tte* (2), *datte* (5), *tte iu /chute* (4), and *tte iu wake* (3).

Although this categorization is syntactic, each group can be characterized by a pragmatic function. As will be shown below, sentence-final particles in 1) are mostly used for interactional purposes; *da*-derived forms in 2) show degrees of certainty and carry certain effects; and finally, *tte* and constructions containing it are used to mark quotations and to indicate the source of the information. What follows is a detailed account of what the bilingual Niseis accomplish using these forms in their bilingual conversation.

Sentence-final particles: *ne*, *yo*, *yo ne*

A lot has been said about sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo* (e.g. Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; Maynard 1989). According to Kuno (1973), *ne* is used when the speaker feels that the hearer is familiar with the content of the sentence, whereas *yo* is used when the speaker feels that the hearer does not know the content of the sentence. Consequently, the speaker uses *ne* when he assumes the hearer's agreement, and also when he/she asks for the speaker's agreement (in a rising intonation in the latter case). Because of the agreement between the speaker and the hearer involved, *ne* serves to indicate the speaker's involvement in the conversation and in the hearer (Maynard 1989). *Yo*, indicating the speaker's authority over the information, can sound rude and imposing (Nazikian 1994). A combination of the two—*yo ne*—is somewhat in between. The speaker imposes his/her knowledge on the hearer, but at the same time he/she softens his/her speech by asking for agreement from the hearer.

We will now see that the Niseis use particles *ne*, *yo* and *yo ne* with English sentences, in Examples (1) – (4). Example (1) is a highly involved talk where Midori is talking to Yasu about the money her husband lent his sister Aki. Aki bought a musical instrument for her son with the money and now claims that it is her son's responsibility to repay the money to Geoff. Aki now claims that it is her son's responsibility. Midori does not think so. She claims that Aki is the one who borrowed the money—"She's the one

that borrowed it *ne*?" (line 2). *Ne* here is uttered in a rising intonation; Midori requests Yasu to agree with her.

(1)

- 1 Midori: Aki says it's Steve's responsibility. No. It's not his responsibility.
- 2 She is the one that borrowed it *ne*? *Karita hito ga harau beki desho*
- 3 (The one who borrowed it, should pay back, right)?
- 4 Yasu: *Sore dake Steve ga agattara* (If Steve becomes famous), you would
- 5 be more proud of Steve than the parents *ne* !
- 6 Midori: Sure.

Midori then says, in Japanese, that whoever borrowed the money should pay it back. In response to Midori, Yasu says in English that if the son, Steve, becomes a successful musician, Midori should be more proud of him than his parents. Yasu adds *ne* to it, not lengthening it—assuming that Midori would agree with him.

In Example (2), Midori uses *yo* twice, once with an English sentence ("He's a loner *yo*," line 1), another with a Japanese sentence (lines 2-3), with references to Yoshi, Violet's nephew. Midori said *yo* here because she felt that her listeners may not have noticed these things about Yoshi.

(2)

- 1 Midori: He can't stand lots of people around. He's a loner *yo*. And then,
- 2 *konogoro, tease-suru* (Recently I teased him). *Yoshi datte moo it*
- 3 *toshi yo* (He's old enough).

Let us turn to *yo ne*. *Yo ne* does not sound authoritative like *yo* does by itself. It can carry a flavor of uncertainty because the speaker is asking for agreement from the hearer. In Example (3) *yo ne* follows an English sentence starting with *I guess* (line 4). *I guess* and *yo ne* go together because they both indicate uncertainty.

(3)

- 1 Miwa: *Oishiin da ne kitto* (I guess it's delicious).
- 2 Midori: Oh, *tottemo* (very much so). You can't beat it, eh?
- 3 Geoff: *Ano* (Well), Atlantic salmon, if you buy it fresh,=⁴
- 4 Sean: =I guess it's good *yo ne*.

Let us see Example (4) where Sean and Geoff are responding to my question about how the Japanese Canadians feel about their war-time experience—their evacuation to the internment camps. In (4) Geoff and Sean speak basically in English, using *ne*, *yo*, *yo ne*, and the other short expressions *Nanchuu no?* and *moo*. I will demonstrate that Sean and Geoff relate to each other using these sentence-final particles, expressing their emotional state in some cases.

(4)

- 1 Sean: But I think older people, I think, they had a strong resentment
 2 *chuukashira* (I wonder)? Right now, I still have a little resentment,
 3 the way we were treated, but er, I guess there's nothing you can do.
 4 *Moo* (Really), it's water underneath the bridge *yo ne*.
 5 Geoff: You know the funny thing. I think, B.C. *de ne* (in B.C.), I love the
 6 scenery. I love the sea. *Nanchuu no* (What shall I say)? *Sono*
 7 (Well), somehow, I just can't love the people there.
 8 Miwa: You can't love the people?
 9 Sean: Is it the resentment you still hold?
 10 Geoff: Yeah.
 11 Miwa: Against white Canadians?
 12 Sean: Yeah. White Canadians, I guess. The way I guess Geoff and his
 13 generation were treated *ne*.
 14 Geoff: That's why I have a desire to go back to B.C. when retired. Yet you
 15 know...the same thing, er, I don't particularly (inaudible) because of
 16 the people there. Now I mind you that people that are there now are=
 17 Sean: =different
 18 *yo ne*=
 19 Geoff: =in attitude. Still within one generation, one prejudice remains *ne*.
 20 Sean: That's right.

When Sean says “it's water underneath the bridge *yo ne*” (lines 3-4), he summarizes his feelings towards the Japanese Canadians' wartime experiences. Sean feels that what happened to the Japanese during the war is history now; one cannot do anything about it.

In this statement, *yo* signifies that Sean is stating his opinion, something his interlocutors do not know. By adding *ne* to it, Sean invites Geoff to agree with him. Geoff, however, holds a different opinion towards the wartime experience from Sean's, and expresses what he thinks in his turn (lines 5-7). While doing this, he utters *ne* in the sentence-mid position ("B.C. *de ne*"). *Ne* used like this indicates the speaker's interest in his interlocutor while talking (Maynard 1989). Geoff goes on to conclude his turn saying, "somehow, I just cannot love the people there." (lines 6-7). Notice that this English sentence is not followed by a Japanese marker. Does this mean anything? Together with other similar instances below, I take this to mean that the absence of Japanese markers in this conversation reflects the speaker's attitude, i.e. the speaker just states what he wants to say without considering what the hearer might think. In this example, Geoff simply mentions that he cannot love the people in B.C. He does not invite Sean to agree with him; he does not care what Sean thinks.

Responding to Geoff's rather unfavorable feelings toward the people in B.C., Sean asks if it is a resentment Geoff still holds (line 9). I interrupt and ask whether it is white Canadians that Geoff resents (line 11). Sean thinks so, but he further attempts to answer my question in his own way, saying, "The way I guess Geoff and his generation were treated *ne*" (lines 12-13). Sean guesses that Geoff is not happy about the way he and his generation were treated during the war, not necessarily about the white Canadians in B.C. on the whole. What does this occurrence of *ne* mean? Sean could have said *yo* instead, because what he said is new to me (*yo* indicates the authority of the speaker toward the information). However, Sean did not want to act as the authority of the information. Geoff, who was present, was the authority of the information. Sean was simply guessing what Geoff had meant for my sake.

Let us finally see how the Niseis express their emotional state through the use and non-use of *ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne*. Notice that toward the end of this conversational excerpt, Sean and Geoff are constructing a sentence jointly. Geoff says, "I remind you that people that are there now are" (line 16). Sean immediately supplies "different *yo ne*" (lines 17-18), finishing a sentence Geoff started. Sean was able to infer what Geoff wanted to say here, and agreed with Geoff. In this instance of co-construction of a sentence, Geoff did not feel that he was interrupted by Sean in the middle of a sentence. Rather, they are in

harmony, sharing the view that people living in B.C. now are different from those that were there during the wartime. When Sean supplied “different *yo ne*”, *ne* sends a clear message to Geoff that Sean not only can infer what Geoff wants to say but that he also shares his view.

Geoff immediately follows Sean, adding “in attitude” (line 19). Geoff here does not utter any Japanese sentence-final marker. Why? Geoff thinks that people in B.C. now are different from the wartime people, in attitude. That is his opinion; he does not care whether Sean agrees with him or not. Geoff then goes on to say that “Still within one generation, prejudice remains *ne*.” (line 19). Geoff, uttering *ne* lightly, assumes that Sean feels the same way. Sean responds to Geoff, saying, “That’s right”, without any marker (line 20). The absence of a Japanese marker here reflects Sean’s attitude towards what Geoff has said. Sean thinks that Geoff is probably right (within one generation, prejudice remains), but he does not support it wholeheartedly. Sean does not hold a strong resentment towards the wartime experiences of Japanese Canadian as Geoff does, because he was still a young child then.⁵ Geoff is different. He was already in his twenties when he was evacuated to the internment camp, having his university education interrupted. He does not want to retire in B.C. because some of the people who kicked the Japanese out of B.C. during the war are still there today. Geoff thinks prejudice remains within one generation, and Geoff wants Sean to agree with him. Sean personally does not share this view with Geoff, although he respects Geoff and accepts his word. So Sean says, “That’s right” without any marker and he drops the topic. Had Sean agreed with Geoff wholeheartedly, he would have said *ne* emphatically.

This exchange between Geoff and Sean is interesting because the two used English to express the referential aspects of the messages, but they related to each other, expressing their attitude and emotions through using and not using *ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne*.

Da-derived forms

Niseis use *desho* and other forms derived from *da* with English sentences. *Desho* is very common in monolingual Japanese. Uttered in rising intonation, it means something like “Right?” and “Am I right?” Niseis’ use additional sentence-final *da*-derived forms: *da*, *da ne*, *da mo*, *da kara*, and *da tte*. These forms consist of a copula *da* followed by other

forms; they are the constituents occurring at the sentence-final position in monolingual Japanese copulative sentences. The Niseis extract them and use them as if they are independent markers. They all somehow indicate certainty and give the effect of assertiveness or decisiveness due to the presence of *da*, traditionally called *dantee no jodoshi* (auxiliary of stating). (*Da te* whose *te* is a quotative particle will be dealt with in the next section together with similar forms containing with *te*.)

In Example (5), two sisters, Violet and Fumiko, are discussing what happened to their uncle, who used to own a dry cleaning business during the war. Midori wants to know what happened to Masao, another relative of the two sisters. Midori is trying to confirm with them that Masao kept working during the war, not being sent anywhere—“*Masao-san wa*, he kept working *desho?*” (line 7). The two sisters, busy talking to each other, do not respond to Midori immediately; Fumiko eventually informs Midori that Masao was sent to somewhere (lines 11-12).

(5)

- 1 Violet: *Uchi no ojisan nanka, anoo, cleaner-shiteta no yo* (Our uncle was
 2 running a dry cleaning business)?
 3 Midori: *Masao iu hito mo, doo* (How about a man called Masao)?
 4 Fumiko: (responding to Violet) *Dry cleaning yatte ta no* (He owned a dry
 5 cleaning business). *Ojisan wa* (Our uncle), he went to, er...
 6 Violet: (responding to Fumiko) *Tashme itta no yo* (He went to Tashme).
 7 Midori: *Masao-san wa*, he kept working *desho?*
 8 Fumiko: (responding to Violet) *No. Tashme ni wa ikanakatta no yo* (He
 9 didn't go to Tashme).
 10 Midori: *Masao-san wa*=
 11 Fumiko: =(responding to Midori) *Masao-san wa ne*, er, *nanka te iu tokoro ni*
 12 *okurareta no* (Masao was sent to some place I forgot the name).

Example (6) took place when Midori was trying to convince her friends to allow themselves to be interviewed. Midori uses *da* with an English sentence—“She is going to write a thesis on it *da*” (line 5). Midori sounds very strong due to the presence of a bare form *da*, giving a definitive tone.

(6)

1 Midori: Yeah. She's just interested in how the Niscis lived and operated and
2 their different points of view about everything else.

3 Yasu: *Un* (Right).

4 Violet: *Un* (Right).

5 Midori: She wants to write a thesis on it *da*. *Me-tachi no warui koto* (About
6 bad things about us)! Violet *no ii koto hirotte* (Picking up good
7 things about Violet), no names mentioned. No names mentioned *da*
8 *kara*, no worries.

In (7) Sean finds out that Midori's apartment is not air-conditioned, but that it is fine in this hot weather—"It's not bad *da ne*." (line 8). Sean not only gives his concluding statement about Midori's apartment (*da*), but also he assumes that Midori will agree with him (*ne*). *Da ne* sounds friendlier than *da* alone as in (6).

(7)

1 Midori: So, there's only been about, er, one day that was too hot to stay
2 inside here.

3 Sean: Is that right?

4 Midori: Yeah.

5 Sean: *Demo, kono* building, air-conditioned *desho* (But this building is air-
6 conditioned, right)?

7 Midori: No.

8 Sean: It's not, eh? Oh, I see. Hum. It's not bad *da ne*.

In (8) *da mo* follows an English sentence (line 7). *Mo* here is a shortened form of *mono*. *Mo(no)* occurs at the sentence-final position to give a reason in monolingual Japanese casual conversation, making the speaker sound very proud and confident (Martin 1975). In (8) Midori is confident that my new job will be very interesting because I will meet all sorts of people.

(8)

1 Miwa: xxxxx *ga aru n desu yo ne* (There is a company called xxxxx). *Soko*
2 *no public relation te iu no o* (I'll do their PR).

3 Yasu: *Un* (I see). *De, Japan no* (And is it Japan's)?

4 Miwa: *Soo* (Right).

- 5 Midori: That would be interesting, eh? All sorts of people.
 6 Miwa: *Maa ne* (Maybe). *Omoshirosoo da ne* (It might be interesting).
 7 Midori: Yeah. It's interesting. You meet all sorts of people *da mo*. Yeah.

Da kara in our data follows an English sentence to give a reason. It differs from a connective *dakara*, which occur preceding a sentence in monolingual Japanese. In (9) Midori is talking about a ceiling decoration that is so common in Toronto, but not in B.C. In response to Violet, who says that she has not really seen the decoration in Toronto, Midori says that “you’re so used to it. You see it in everyone’s home in Toronto *da kara yo*.” (lines 7-8).

(9)

- 1 Midori: *Uchi no* apartment *minna chanto yatteru desho* (Our apartments all
 2 have it)? B.C. *dattara* plain room (In B.C. they’re all plain rooms).
 3 Millionaire *no hito dattara tsuketearu desho* (Only millionaires have
 4 it).
 5 Violet: *Soo ka ne* (Is that so)? *Watashi wa minakatta kedo ne* (I didn’t
 6 notice it).
 7 Midori: You're so used to it. You see it in everyone's home in Toronto *da*
 8 *kara yo*.

A quotative particle *tte* and constructions containing *tte*

The third group of sentence-final forms occurring with English sentences are *tte* (an informal form of *to*) and expressions containing *tte*—*datte*, *chuu* (a shortened form of *tte iu*) and *tte iu wake*. They all indicate something about the source of the information contained in the sentences. *Tte* by itself occurs post-sententially to make a quotation or to indicate that the information is a hearsay, the speaker heard from a third party. *Datte* is a copula followed by *tte*; an innovative sentence-final form used by Niseis, it indicates that the information is a hearsay, a rumor, so to speak. *Chuu*, “(someone) says”, occurs post-sententially to quote. *Tte wake* indicates that the information is an interpretation of the speaker (Kitagawa 1994).

Example (10) is an excerpt from Midori’s narrative about how she picked up Sean and his family at the airport when they returned from a summer trip. Midori makes

several quotations of Sean and herself, using both an English verb *say* and Japanese *tte*-related forms. A quotative particle *tte* follows an English sentence—“we’ll take you to the airport *tte yo*” (lines 1-2). *Chute* (a gerund of *chuu*) follows an English sentence—“I’ll go *chute*” (line 4). The perfective of *tte iu* occurs with an English sentence—“...Let’s dutch *tte itta no yo*” (line 6).

(10)

- 1 Midori: I says, That’s what friend are for, eh? So, we’ll try to take you to the
 2 airport *tte yo*, so we took them out to the airport. “Don’t bother!”
 3 I says, “I’m not gonna go home and cook.” I just said, “I’m gonna
 4 Pondarosa. You wanna steak? I’ll go” *chute* (I said), *de konda* Sean
 5 *ga ogorucchuta* (and this time Sean said that he will pay). I says,
 6 “No way! Let’s dutch” *tte itta no yo* (so I said).

In Example (11), Yasu is talking about what he heard about a relative of his friend’s when he saw this friend recently. What happened to the relative of his friend in the post-war years is rather dramatic and could be scandalous. Yasu is conveying this information to his hearers as if it is big gossip, indicating clearly that the information comes from the third party using *datte*. *Datte* occurs twice, once with a Japanese sentence—“*An toki pokaan te inai yoo ni natta n datte*,” “at that time he suddenly disappeared, so I heard” (lines 1-2), and the second time with an English sentence—“He was in Korea *datte*”(line 4).

(11)

- 1 Yasu: *Soshite* (And), Korean War, about 1950 *yo. An toki pokaan te inai*
 2 *yoo ni natta n datte* (At that time he just disappeared, so I heard).
 3 *Soshite* (And), about one year later *wakatta chute* (they found out a
 4 year later, I heard). He was in Korea *datte* (I heard)! *Nani mo*
 5 family *iwazu* (He didn’t say anything to his family).
 6 Midori: *Soo iuu koto ikura mo aru no yo* (Things like that happen all the
 7 time).

According to Kitagawa (1994), the speaker, using the *tte wake* construction, presents the information in the ‘reporter-analysis’ mode. That is, the speaker is acting as if he/she were a reporter, who analyzes the event and reports her/his interpretation of it to

the audience. Our Nisei informants use this construction with an English sentence as well. In (12), Yasu reports to Midori and Geoff about the traffic accident which he read about in a newspaper, using this construction twice. In the accident, one passenger died; one passenger lost his arm. A man walking by took his shirt off, and made it into a tourniquet for the injured man (as Yasu sees it) (lines 17-18). That saved the life of the injured man (as Yasu sees it) (line 19).

(12)

- 1 Violet: *Konaida* (the other day), downtown *ka nanka aruiteta nito ga*,
2 *aruiteta hito desho* (someone walking downtown, right)?
3 *Te torechatta* (lost his arm).
4 Yasu: No. *Sannin notteta no yo* (There were three in the car).
5 Violet: Yeah.
6 Midori: Hum.
7 Yasu: Then, all of sudden, they went up on the curb.
8 Violet: Yeah?
9 Yasu: *Soshite* (And), tree *itte kara* (ran into a tree), tree *ni buchikakte kara*
10 (hit the tree), one guy died. Driver *kashira* (Would that be the
11 driver)? No. Driver *ja nai* (It's not the driver). Passengers were
12 three men. One guy lost the arm.
13 Fumiko: How come?
14 Yasu: *Soshite kara* (And then), passers-by...*anoo* (well), next day *kaitottan*
15 *da kedo* (it was in the paper), *ano* Holton *no* Honda dealer *no*
16 manager *ka nanka* (a Holton Honda dealer's manager or someone),
17 *sore ga* (that guy), he took his shirt off. *Soshite* (And), tourniquet *ni*
18 *shite yatta wake yo* (he made it into a tourniquet for the injured
19 man). *Soshite* (And), they said he saved his life *tte wake* (as I see it).

Conclusion

We have seen that Toronto Niseis mark English sentences with Japanese sentence-final particles and other Japanese sentence-final forms, in their casual bilingual conversations. The Niseis use particles *ne*, *yo*, and *yo ne* for interactional purposes—to relate to their

interlocutors expressing their emotional state in some cases. They use *da*-derived forms to add effects to their statements such as decisiveness, pride, or confidence. *Tte* and other related forms are used for making quotations and for indicating the source of information. All these forms function just like they do in monolingual Japanese, although the Niseis created several innovative forms based on *da* by reanalysis. The Niseis most likely use these Japanese forms with English sentences because English is not equipped with equivalents of these forms. It is probably possible to express these pragmatic aspects in English if speakers wish to do so, but the means to do so are not as easily available as in Japanese, and the practice is not as common.

When the Niseis use these Japanese sentence-final forms, we may say that they are practicing pragmatics characteristic of Japanese. The Niseis, when they were young in late 1920s and '30s, learned Japanese from their Issei parents and the community, including the use of these forms—how they are used and function in conversational interactions. Now many decades later, the Niseis still use these forms and practice Japanese pragmatics in their in-group communication.

Finally, our analysis here has an implication for understanding what is involved in the phenomenon generally called code-switching. Many researchers assume that code-switching/mixing takes place between two items that are interchangeable across two languages (e.g. Joshi 1985; Myers-Scotton 1993; Nishimura 1985; Poplack 1981). The Niseis use these Japanese forms with English sentences, because English lacks the equivalents of Japanese sentence-final particles and other sentence-final forms. It then follows that there is some truth to what bilinguals often say: they mix two languages because certain things can be better expressed in one language, rather than the other.

Notes

1. See Nishimura (1985; 1995; 1997). The amount of conversational data used in this paper is larger than the data used in previous analyses (1995; 1997), although it is from the same corpus. The names used for the informants in this paper are all pseudonyms. They all agreed to my use of their taped speech for my research. I deeply thank them for their cooperation and understanding.
2. Verb-final sentences are structurally Japanese; verb non-final, English. Japanese phrases marked by *wa* occur with English topic sentences. Portmanteau sentences are made up of an English sentence combined with its Japanese equivalents with a shared element (e.g. There's children *iru yo.*). See Nishimura (1997) for the details.
3. There is a noticeable difference in mixed items between Japanese and English sentences. In structurally Japanese sentences, the most common English elements are nouns/NPs—435 out of 649 English

elements identified in structurally Japanese sentences are nouns or NPs (67.2%), whereas Japanese nouns/NPs are used much less in English sentences (21.4%, 44 out of 205). In short, the Niseis, while speaking in Japanese, use many English nouns/NPs. Having lived in North America all their lives, it is very plausible that they find it easy to name things in English. The use of Japanese sentence-final forms with English sentences is 36.3%, while the use of English tags is much less (3.4%) as indicated in the text. This is the focus of this paper.

4. In Example (3) and others, = indicates that speech flows between two speakers, within a sentence boundary.
5. Sean mentioned elsewhere in the conversation that he was too young to remember what it was really like in the camps.

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