

9 Tokyo

Standardization, ludic language use and nascent superdiversity

Patrick Heinrich and Rika Yamashita

The study of language in the city has never been a prominent subject in Japanese sociolinguistics. The negligence of city sociolinguistics in Japan notwithstanding, there is a wide range of issues to be found in Tokyo, which reveal the intricate ways in which language and society relate to one another.¹ In this chapter, we discuss two interrelated issues. Firstly, we outline the case of language standardization, which subsequently led to various destandardization phenomena and ludic language use. Secondly, we discuss how language diversity in Tokyo has grown in recent years and how it is no longer swept under the carpet and hidden. Tokyoites, too, are diversifying as an effect. We shall start, though, with a brief sociolinguistic history of Tokyo.

From feudal Edo to Tokyo as a global city

There exists no such place as “Tokyo City”. There is “Inner Tokyo”, comprised of 23 wards; there is “Metropolitan Tokyo” made up of the 23 wards and the Tama region; and there is “Greater Tokyo”, which refers to Metropolitan Tokyo plus the surrounding prefectures of Chiba, Kanagawa and Saitama. The Tama region, rural until 1920, is now home to one third of the population of Tokyo Metropolis, while Kanagawa, Chiba and Saitama prefecture have doubled their population over the past 50 years. Greater Tokyo comprises more than 35 million inhabitants. It is the largest urban center on earth. One third of the Japanese population lives there on less than 4% of the Japanese territory – and the number of inhabitants continues to grow.

Before Tokyo became the capital city of Japan in 1868, it was called Edo. It had been the seat of the last shogunate (1602–1868), and during this time it had grown from a fishing village to a city of 1.2 million inhabitants. Population growth had been triggered by a system of “alternate attendance” (*sankin kōtai*) of feudal lords from across Japan. All local feudal lords were required to alternate their residence between their local fiefs and Edo, and they also brought their families, servants and a number of soldiers along. Edo was a place of intense dialect contact, and especially the dialect of Japan’s premodern capital, Kyoto, exerted a lasting effect on Edo speech (Frellesvig 2010: 397–402). As a result, the Tokyo dialect constitutes a dialect island in the western Japanese dialect continuum.

The geographical origin of Edo/Tokyo lies in what is called Shitamachi (literally, “the low city”), located at the mouth of the Sumida River. Merchants and artisans

originally populated Shitamachi. The higher-lying parts of today's 23 wards are called Yamanote (uptown, literally, mountain foot). During the feudal period, the samurai and their entourage resided there. Tokyoites firmly distinguish between these two parts of the city until today, and real "Tokyoness" (*tōkyōrashisa*) continues to be associated with Shitamachi. Shitamachi was severely affected by the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 and the bombings of World War II. Being completely destroyed twice in two decades led to a gradual shift of the city center to Yamanote. Most of Tokyo's urban centers are now located there, e.g. Shinjuku, Shibuya or Ikebukuro. However, the Central Business Center remains in Shitamachi, adjacent to Tokyo station.

Tokyo experienced several large waves of internal migration. The first peak was during Tokyo's industrialization from 1910 to 1945, the second during the high economic growth period of the 1960s, and a third during the so-called bubble economy period of the 1980s. The first growth period led to an expansion of Tokyo from the 23 wards into the Tama region (Figure 9.1), whereas the second and the third population growth period led to an expansion of the metropolis into the neighboring prefectures (Figure 9.2).

The industrialization of Tokyo started in Yamashita along the Sumida River and then expanded northwards towards Senju. A second industrial zone, called Keihin, developed between Tokyo and Yokohama along the Tama River. Both Senju and Keihin subsequently became popular destinations for rural migrants and associated with the working class. The most destitute migrants settled in labor slums near the industrial zones or in neighborhoods where Japan's pre-modern caste of "untouchables" (*eta* or *hinin*) had been confined to live. To this day, extremely

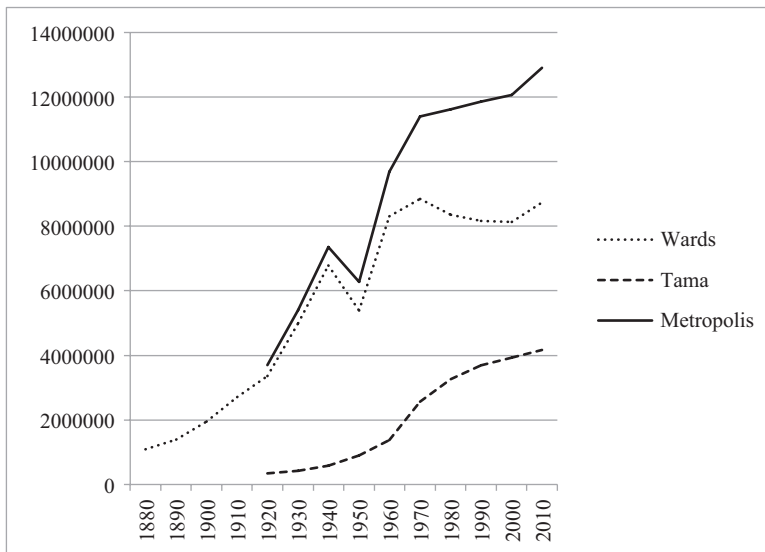


Figure 9.1 Population growth of Metropolitan Tokyo

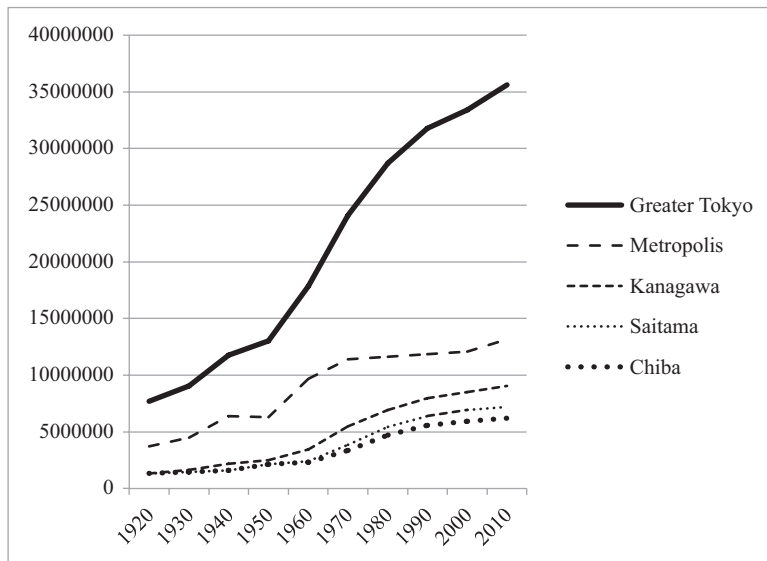


Figure 9.2 Population growth of Greater Tokyo

poor neighborhoods exist in Sanya in northern Tokyo and in Kotobuki, not far from Yokohama station. Most migrants came from poor rural areas of the Tōhoku region in northeastern Japan. By the turn of the twentieth century, those who had been born in Tokyo were the minority (Cybriwsky 1991: 74), and those who could trace their family history at least three generations back to Tokyo came to proudly refer to themselves as *Edokko* (literally, Edo children).

Tokyo is a city with a relatively low level of social inequality. The Gini coefficient has been hovering around 0.3 for the last 10 years. However, the last 20 years – the so-called “lost decades” of economic stasis – have led to an increase of poverty. Low income and unemployment are concentrated in the northern part of Shitamachi (Sano 2012: 152–155). Tokyo also has neighborhoods that are associated with the upper middle class, most notably Minato ward. Affluent neighborhoods are usually the result of new urban developments and not the result of gentrification.

The population has been ageing for many decades, although social ageing is slower than in other parts of Japan. Tokyo is a popular destination for a large number of young people. Of the total net population inflow, more than 90% are aged between 15 and 29 (Japan Times 2016). Young Japanese are moving to the city in order to study or find work there. More than 40% of all university students are studying in the metropolitan area. It contains 138 universities, 49 colleges, 446 vocational training schools and 943 natural science research centers. Some 5% of the working population is employed in the field of education.

With a GNP of US\$808 billion, Tokyo’s economy is the largest urban economy in the world.² The economy is centered on the tertiary sector, where 83% of the

work force is employed. Tokyo is the center of government in Japan and of finance in Asia. It hosts 51 of the Fortune 500 companies – a number unparalleled by any other city in the world. Tourism is by now a major industry as an effect of the “Visit Japan” campaign launched in 2003. In particular, since 2010 the number of short-term foreign visitors has been increasing sharply (JNTO 2016a, 2016b). Tourist visa requirements for East and Southeast Asian countries have been eased, and the number of items eligible for duty-free shopping has expanded. In 2015, 20 million foreign tourists visited Japan, 84% of whom were from Asia. Chinese and Korean signs are now ubiquitous in shopping districts in Tokyo. The influx of foreign tourists drastically changed the shopping scene. Certain goods, such as medicine, cosmetics or electric goods, are advertised in foreign languages, Chinese in particular. It is worthy of note that *bakugai* (shopping spree) was chosen as word of the year in 2015 because it reflects the new trend of Chinese tourists going on shopping binges in downtown Tokyo. Note also that one of the currently most popular nationwide TV shows is *You wa nani shi ni nihon e* (What brought YOU to Japan?), in which “you” is English and the rest of the title Japanese. In the program, foreign visitors are interviewed at airports. In order to target Chinese customers, who contribute to more than half of the consumption of the foreign visitors as a whole (MLIT 2015), large stores in downtown Tokyo often have at least one shop attendant who speaks Chinese. In some shopping districts, such as Ueno and Akihabara in Shitamachi, sometimes the only shop attendants around are non-native speakers of Japanese. Duty-free shops in the airports have also changed. Until recently, the assumption was that East Asian looking customers were Japanese. Today, Japanese travellers are sometimes addressed in Chinese or in English, and when the customer responds in Japanese, the shop attendant usually apologizes and switches to Japanese.

More than one million foreign visitors are expected for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics in July and August 2020 alone. Its official slogan is “Discover tomorrow” and this also relates to communication. In order to manage the large number of non-Japanese-speaking visitors great efforts are currently made in revolutionizing instant translation technology for Tokyo’s public space. Once developed, it will permanently be made accessible free of charge via free Internet access across the city.

Language standardization and destandardization

The sociolinguistic history of Tokyo has been shaped by the linguistic assimilation of millions of dialect speakers under Standard Japanese. However, Standard Japanese has also undergone processes of language change since its establishment, and the new ways of using Japanese in Tokyo are spreading from there across Japan.

Language standardization

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, linguistic variation in Tokyo came to be perceived as a problem. Language standardization was seen to require a modernization of Yamanote speech, where many formally educated residents lived.

The Standard Japanese that emerged from these efforts was subsequently spread among all Japanese nationals, including Japan's linguistic minorities and its colonial subjects in Taiwan, Korea and the South Pacific. In line with this endeavor, all existing social and geographic variation in Japanese, as well as all other languages spoken in Japan and its colonies, became earmarked for "correction", which meant extinction. The ideal of the day was to create a situation where everyone would speak the same uniform standard language and where language would no longer index the social and geographical origin of its speaker (Heinrich 2012).

Consider some examples of variation in Tokyo speech then. In 1902, linguist Okano Hisatane lamented the social variation, writing that:

In order to unify spoken and written language (*genbun itchi*), there is first the problem [of deciding] whose language in Tokyo, i.e. which social class, should serve as standard with regard to vocabulary and grammar? Currently, Tokyo language features marked differences according to social class, occupation, age, sex, etc.

(Quoted from Tanaka 1999: 91)

Okanao went on to illustrate his point by presenting socially stratified variation of Tokyo speech for the utterance "I, too, would like to have this."

Popular language:	<i>watashi ni mo, sore o kudasai</i>
Boys:	<i>atai ni mo, sore o okun-na</i>
Girls:	<i>watashi ni mo, sore o chōdai-na</i>
Geishas:	<i>watashi ni mo, sore chōdai-yo</i>
Students:	<i>boku ni mo, sore kuretamae</i>
Workers:	<i>washi ni mo, sore kunnei</i>

(Tanaka 1999: 91)

Given such variation, Okano proposed to develop a standardized speech on the basis of the "middle strata" (*chūryū kaikyū*) of Tokyo society. That middle strata was always associated with Yamanote.

Another example of the social stratification can be seen in the variants of the copula in Tokyo. Around the turn to the twentieth century, the following variants were used there.

GOZARU: Used by samurai, medical doctors and scholars, also used in public lectures

GOZAIMASU: Used by the upper strata of society, also used to express politeness

DA: Used by the masses, also used in written language

ZANSU/ZAMASU: Used by courtesans and young women in Yamanote

DESU: Wildly used by all strata of society, considered to be in terms of politeness between *da* and *de gozaimasu*

DEGESU: Used by Geishas, courtesans, people working in the nightlife business

DE ARU: Used in written languages and in translations from foreign languages into Japanese.

(Sugimoto 2014: 334)

The copula *de aru* has become the unmarked form of written Japanese today, but it was rejected by many Tokyo residents then for not being part of the Edo dialect and, hence, for smacking of provincialism.

Several factors led to the transition of Edo speech to Tokyo speech. Contact between the local dialect and dialects spoken by migrants resulted in abandoning some Edo vocabulary for that introduced by migrants. Probably the most famous example for this is the copula *de aru* and its polite variant *desu*. Also, both the formal evidential inflexion *-rashii* (seems like), and its informal variant *mitai na*, entered Tokyo speech only in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, language contact with foreign languages and translation of foreign words into Japanese preeminently took place in Tokyo. For example, the loanword *biru*, clipped from “building”, instead of the Japanese term *tatemono* is a Tokyo innovation and so are the calques *shakai* (society) or *jiyū* (liberty). The systematization of the honorific speech system relied heavily on Kyoto speech. The Shitamachi dialect had no system of honorific speech.

In the transition from the feudal period to the modern age, it is often said that Yamanote speech was adapted to serve the communicative needs of a modern Japanese society and that this result was Standard Japanese. Reality was more complex, though. To start with, many of the samurai and their entourage left Yamanote after the Meiji Restoration, and in their place moved in a new class of bureaucrats, administrators, police officers, teachers and university students. These migrants to Yamanote were all literate and learned “Tokyo speech” mainly from popular works of modern literature. The origin of Standard Japanese is largely rooted in these works of literature. On the one hand, this new literary language was purposefully crafted in order to reflect ideas about modern Japanese society and, on the other hand, it drew heavily on the Yamanote speech of the Edo period, that is, on polite registers of a language variety heavily influenced by the Kyoto dialect (Inoue 2006; Nomura 2013). Hence, while Shitamachi had been a “melting pot of various dialects” (*kotoba to rutsubo*) in the Edo period, Yamanote speech drew much on the Kyoto dialect and was in addition “systematized” by modern literature. This literature was written in a “spoken style” called *genbun itchi* (unification of written and spoken language). This new style of writing later received the “stamp of approval” by a National Language Research Council and the Ministry of Education and found entry into the Japanese education system (Heinrich 2005). Standard Japanese had been nobody’s first language.

The language spoken in Yamanote and in Shitamachi had always been distinct. Before the completion of the standardization process in Tokyo, Yamanote speech indexed middle class and Shitamachi speech working class belonging (Tanaka 1999: 94–96). Differences between Shitamachi and Yamanote included the palatization of the word-initial bilabial fricative, i.e. “person” being pronounced *hito* in Yamanote but *shito* in Shitamachi. Differences existed also with regard to accent.

In Shitamachi, *kaminari* (thunderstorm) had, for example, low pitch on the first mora and is then followed by three high pitches. In Yamanote, and subsequently in Standard Japanese, the accent pattern is low on the first two morae and then high. There were initially also differences in morphology, such as in Shitamachi *ta-ranai* (insufficient), which was replaced by *ta-rinai* from Yamanote. The dialect atlas of Tokyo shows the replacement of Shitamachi speech at the expense of Standard Japanese from the old to the young generation (Tōkyō-to Kyōiku I'inkai 1986). Examples include shift from *furushiki* (wrapping cloth) to *furoshiki*, from *shakuen* (100 Yen) to *hyakuen*, or from *shitchō* (business trip) to *shutchō*. The atlas also reveals a significant decline in the ratio of young people claiming proficiency in Shitamachi speech that is almost extinct today. In a similar vein, the Tama dialect became displaced by Standard Japanese. For example, Yamanote words such as *chichi* (my father) replaced *otō*, and *haha* (my mother) replaced *okā* in the Tama region of Metropolitan Tokyo.

Put simply, a written variety imitating spoken Yamanote speech grew into Standard Japanese, or Japanese *tout court*, and Shitamachi speech and the Tama dialects became local dialects and, as such, earmarked for replacement by Standard Japanese (Sugimoto 2014: 309). The most influential person promoting this linguistic unification was the linguist Ueda Kazutoshi, who wrote that “the language used in national language instruction should follow the correct pronunciation and grammar as used mainly by the middle and upper classes in Tokyo” (Monbushō 1901). However, since such language did not exist but referred initially to a literary language, every single Tokyoite, also those of middle and upper class background, had to learn to adjust their language to the new Standard Japanese, or otherwise live with the consequences of being a non-standard speaker.

Language destandardization

The fervent craving for standard language was met with processes of language destandardization from early on. In an important contribution to pre-war “language life studies” (*genko seikatsu*), Kindaichi Haruhiko published a study on the velar plosive /g/ and its variants [g] and [ŋ] in 1941. At the time of Kindaichi’s survey, /g/ was to be realized as [ŋ] in word-internal position (e.g. *kage*, shadow) but as [g] in word initial position (e.g. *goma*, sesame) in Standard Japanese. In other words, the variants were in complementary distribution. However, Kindaichi noted that his younger sister had started using [g] also word-internally after entering elementary school. This puzzled him because all language change that anyone knew of was the replacement of local dialects by Standard Japanese. Use of non-initial [ŋ] was even an emphasized point of language instruction in school. This pronunciation was considered to be more prestigious – it was the older variant, it was most widely used across Japan and it was perceived to sound more pleasant. Kindaichi, therefore, extended his attention to the classmates of his sister. He made them read word lists, and he gathered social information on them, such as their place of residence and the local origin of their parents. The survey confirmed that the use of the non-standard variant was spreading among students. To his surprise, the local

origin of the parents played no role in explaining this. Rather, his data revealed that children living in Yamanote initiated language change. On the basis of these results, Kindaichi correctly predicted that the use of [ŋ] would further decrease (Kindaichi 1967[1941]: 169).

Hibiya Junko re-addressed the issue of the velar plosive in Tokyo speech 45 years later. She chose Nezu in Bunkyo Ward as the locus for her study. She confirmed Kindaichi's insights of language variation as a harbinger of language change and concluded that the shift from [ŋ] to [g] had been almost completed at the end of the 1980s. What is more, Hibiya (1999: 111) confirmed that "those who were born and brought up in in the *yamanote* area but also those who had daily contact with *yamanote* in their adolescence definitely favored [. . .] [g]." Hence, the prescribed standard variant had failed to take root in Tokyo. Despite all efforts to create a purely referential standard language, a language variety that would not index the social background of their speakers, Tokyo's posh Yamanote speakers made sure that they would be associated with the city by shifting from standard [ŋ] to non-standard [g], when everybody else was doing the contrary.

Ludic language use

The success in language standardization led to a desire for variation. This trend becomes clearer when considering the creation of a new metropolitan dialect. From the 1990s onwards, Japanese sociolinguistics noted different attitudes towards linguistic diversity. By the 1990s, the vast majority of Japanese spoke Standard Japanese, and most of the young and the middle generation spoke only the standard variety (Inoue 2011). Nowhere was this truer than in Tokyo. The high degree of language standardization led Tokyoites to start drawing on all kinds of dialects in order to "decorate their speech" or to "play with language" (cf. Kinsui 2003; Tanaka 2011). These new attitudes have also led to the development of a new variety called the "metropolitan dialect" (*shutoken hōgen*). Besides the incorporation of elements from other Japanese dialects, the new metropolitan dialect is also characterized by a simplification of the language system. The overall result is perceived to be some kind of "relaxed standard language" (*kudaketa hyōjungo*) in Tokyo.

Consider some prominent changes in the Tokyo variety of the past two decades. On the level of morphology, ra-syllable deletion is probably the most prominent feature (NINJAL 2013). Ra-deletion features in a simplification of potentialis or passive inflexions for type II verbs.³ Hence, type II verb *tabe-rareru* (can eat, is eaten) becomes *tabe-reru*, dropping the syllable *ra* of the passive and potentialis inflection and using the inflectional pattern of type I verbs (*-reru*). The distinction between verb-type I and type II is collapsed. Ra-deletion has become the de facto standard in Tokyo. A second type of ra-deletion involves dropping syllables starting with the consonant /r/ and replacing them by the moraic nasal /N/ in word internal position. Accordingly, Standard Japanese *wakaranai* (I don't know) becomes *wakaNnai*, or *kamoshirenai* (might be) becomes *kamoshinNnai*.

Simplification also manifests in polite registers. The elaborate Japanese honorific system involving specific vocabulary and inflections differentiating between

teineigo (polite speech), *sonkeigo* (respectful speech) or *kenjōgo* (humble speech) is often reduced to polite speech only. Polite speech is thereby expressed by the copula *desu* or the verb inflection *-masu*. Some expressions of this simplified polite speech have now spread into formal domains. A well-known example is *yoroshikatta desu-ka* (Is that all?) used by salesperson towards customers in place of Standard Japanese *yoroshii deshō-ka*. Such forms are termed “part-time workers’ honorifics” (*baito keigo*) or “convenience store honorifics” (*konbini keigo*), because they are associated with part-time working students in convenience stores. These forms are, however, widely used all across Tokyo.

The new metropolitan dialect also incorporates a number of words, inflexions and grammatical constructions from other Japanese dialects (cf. Inoue 2011). The widely used *chiga-katta* (was different) has the past tense inflexion of an adjective, despite being a verb (it is *chiga-tta* in Standard Japanese). This form has entered Tokyo speech from the northern Tochigi prefecture. The adjectival noun *mitai* (similar to) has the inflexion of an adjectival verb in adverbial position now *mita-ku* (it is *mitai na* in Standard Japanese) – this use has also entered from prefectures north of Tokyo. The modal particle *jan* (isn’t it) and the adverb *yappashi* (as expected) have entered Tokyo speech from Shizuoka prefecture through Kanagawa prefecture and then Tama before arriving in Inner Tokyo. The metropolitan nominalization of “blue” as *aotan* (blueness, Standard Japanese *aosa*) is a feature of the Hokkaido dialect and so is the adjective *kattarui* (fatigue), which is *tsukare* in Standard Japanese. Linguistic elements from Metropolitan Tokyo, but from outside of Yamanote, are also entering the new metropolitan speech. The popular *uzattai* (annoying), also clipped as *uzai*, has its origin in the Tama dialect. Shitamachi features are also seeing a revival, in particular in informal masculine speech. For example, Yamanote monophthongs are replaced by long vowels, following the system of the now defunct Shitamachi dialect, resulting in new forms such as *hidee* (Standard Japanese *hidoi*, terrible), *takee* (Standard Japanese *takai*, high, expensive) or, most famously, *sugee* (Standard Japanese *sugoi*, awesome).

Inoue (2003) demonstrates through extensive empirical research how dialect vocabulary has been spreading along trade routes and railway lines for many centuries. Vocabulary spreads, thereby, with an average speed of 1km per year. There is, however, an entirely new pattern in non-standard language diffusion since the 1990s – the age of ludic language. Once dialect expressions arrive in Tokyo, they are picked up by popular and mass media, which then results in an instant diffusion across Japan. This phenomenon led Inoue (2011: 122) to develop what he calls the “umbrella model of linguistic diffusion” (Figure 9.3). Departing from Trudgill’s “classic model” of language variation, where regional varieties form the base of a triangle while social variation extent all the way to the standard variety at the top, Inoue adds two more elements. Firstly, the influence of internationalization on standard language (depicted by rain on the umbrella in the model) and, secondly – and more importantly – he adds the constant geographical diffusion of non-standard language at the base of the triangle. Once the moving non-standard features enter Tokyo and become part of Tokyo speech, these elements quickly spread across Japan through media and pop culture. Elements of this new metropolitan

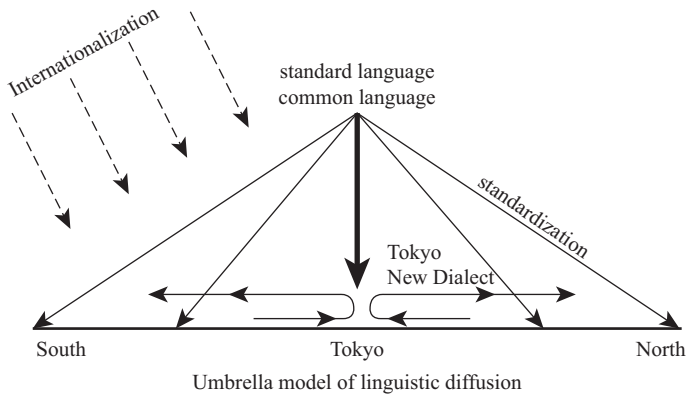


Figure 9.3 Umbrella model of language change and spread

Source: (Inoue 2011: 122)

dialect are thereby not conceived to be dialect outside of Tokyo. Because they have their origin in the capital city, they are rather seen to be part of a more relaxed use of the standard language (Tanaka 2010: 466–468).

In the case of Tokyo we see how people make use of linguistic resources or truncated repertoires available to them in order to stylize their language. The advances in language standardization notwithstanding, the permanent influx of young Japanese to Tokyo from all over Japan, and their (partial and hybridized) knowledge of dialects, allows Tokyoites to draw on non-standard elements. Doing so has become the default strategy for communication in Greater Tokyo among the young and middle-aged in informal settings. For them, standard and linguistic homogeneity is out. Stylization drawing on diversity is in. Only the latter allows to creating “cool” self-representations via language (Maher 2005). Since metropolitan Tokyo speakers draw on linguistic elements of dialects that had never been part of their repertoire, the stigma once connected to these varieties does not affect them. It is the loss of the consequences of the “old indexical order” on them that paves the way for creative stylization in Tokyo. Languages other than Japanese are also affected by a new consideration of linguistic diversity.

Minority languages and their speakers

Japan is often believed to be a mono-ethnic and monolingual nation with poor English skills. Present-day Tokyo is different from this stereotyped image. Japanese minorities, overseas migrants, bilingual families, a growing number of Japanese speaking foreign languages, cosmopolitan and transnational residents are characteristic features of the city. Tokyo has always harbored diversity, starting with Japan’s own ethnolinguistic minorities.

Ainu and Ryukyans

Despite all the attention on creating linguistic homogeneity, pockets of diversity have always existed. In the 1920s, economic depression and famine drove thousands of Ryukyans to Tokyo. Many Ryukyans settled in the Keihin Industrial Zone, where women mainly worked in factories, and men found work in the reconstruction of the city after the 1923 earthquake and later in the heavy industry in Kanagawa Prefecture (Kawasaki City). The industry is largely gone, but some 50,000 people with ancestors from the Ryukyus remain in Kanagawa Prefecture today. Tsurumi Ward in Kawasaki City has a well-known Okinawa Town and commemorates a popular Okinawa Festival every year. In the past, their languages and cultures were not celebrated. Under the ideology aiming at cultural and linguistic homogeneity, Ryukyans suffered discrimination for being diverse, and this led them to hiding or denouncing their origin to outsiders (Aniya 1989: 448). When their accents were spotted, the usual answer for their place of origin was simply “from the south” and not “from the Ryukyus”. Ryukyuan languages were only spoken in the home by first generation migrants, and they were not passed on to the next generation born in Tokyo. Today, it is not easy to find speakers of Ryukyuan languages in Tokyo. However, as an effort of reviving their languages, a “Speak Okinawan Circle” (*Okinawago o hanasu-kai*) was founded in the 1980s, and a second Okinawan language circle, the so-called “University of a Hundred Rulers” (*Momajara daigaku*), was established in the new millennium. The history of the Ryukyuan languages neatly fits in the larger sociolinguistic history of Tokyo. Once stigmatized and earmarked for extinction, the Ryukyuan languages are hardly used by anyone in Tokyo anymore, but recollections of the Ryukyuan languages still serve as a source of pride for Ryukyans in the city. Some set expressions survive due to the now popular Ryukyuan cuisine and folk music in Tokyo’s numerous Ryukyuan restaurants.

The Ainu, originally from Hokkaido in the north, started moving to Tokyo in the first half of the twentieth century, and their number rose considerably during the period of high economic growth in the 1960s. Many of them settled in day labor ghettos such as Sanya, and a number of Ainu women worked in the nightlife entertainment district of Kabukichō in Shinjuku Ward. Just like Ryukyans, many Ainu tried to pass as “ethnic Japanese” (*wajin*) in order to escape discrimination. Since this strategy proved unsuccessful, and self-denigrating, Tokyo Ainu formed societies and established meeting places in order to improve their situation. From these settings emerged Ainu culture and language workshops, some of which are still active today (Watson 2014: 102). The Ainu shifted to Japanese language even earlier than Ryukyans, and the overwhelming number of them no longer spoke Ainu at the time they arrived to Tokyo. This notwithstanding, Ainu study circles and language courses have been offered at some universities in Greater Tokyo since the 1960s. Today, Ainu language and culture is taught at the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture near Tokyo Station. Due to their smaller number, the decade-long presence of Ainu in Tokyo is often overlooked. This notwithstanding, more Ainu may be

present in Tokyo than in any other place in Japan, including in any municipality in their native Hokkaido Island.

The oldcomer migrants

The modern history of foreign migration started in Yokohama (Kanagawa Prefecture) when the last shogun opened the port there in 1859. The first foreign settlements were created there, and a Chinese community settled there, mainly merchants from Guangdong and Hong Kong. The first wave of migrants, which started with the opening of Yokohama Port, is called the “oldcomers” (*orudokamā*). The term was coined in the 1990s when a second wave of migration, the so-called “newcomers” (*nyūkamā*), arrived in Japan. Many of the oldcomers came involuntarily to Japan during Japan’s colonial period (1895–1945), when they were forced to work as indentured laborers there. The oldcomers are either of Chinese or Korean decent, and their case is well documented (cf. Maher 1995; Maher and Yashiro 1995; Ryang and Lie 2009). At the end of World War II, some 2.5 million migrants from China and Korea lived in Japan. Since Japan had to renounce its colonies after the war, the oldcomers lost their Japanese nationality and their repatriation was subsequently promoted. Nevertheless, more than 800,000 chose to stay in Japan, roughly three quarters of them of Korean descent.

The case of Japanese-Korean bilingualism has also been widely studied. There are 98 North Korean affiliated schools in Japan, which range from elementary school to university. There are, in addition, three South Korean affiliated schools. Roughly a quarter of these ethnic schools are located in Greater Tokyo. Today, most Korean oldcomers have been born in Japan, speak Japanese as their first language and they also predominantly use Japanese at home. Many of them no longer speak Korean, and a large number of them have been naturalized or have married Japanese nationals. The shift to Japanese as the default language in the family does not necessarily mean the complete loss of Korean as a community language. The North Korean Schools teach the entire curriculum in Korean (Shikita 2014; Nakajima 2014). Pupils of these schools also use Korean for all the activities at school, including activities outside the classroom (Lee 2012). Studies suggest that pupils at these schools learn to speak a written variety of Korean, which researchers call “Japanese resident variety of Korean” (Miyawaki 1993). At the present, Korean schools are aiming to “grow out” of the ethnic school status and transform themselves in global schools (Tanada 2014: 116). As a consequence, English language education is receiving new attention there.

There are also three Chinese ethnic schools in Greater Tokyo today, two in Yokohama and one in Tokyo (Ishikawa 2014). These schools have been receiving much attention due to the economic growth of China in the past two decades. Chinese was once a small ethnic language in Japan, but it is today, in addition, an important lingua franca in Asia and a precious asset for everyone working in Japan’s booming tourist industry. Pupils of the school include oldcomers and newcomers. The latter group is constantly growing. Despite poor funding, these schools are attractive, because, according to Kanno,

[graduates] who are fluent and literate in Chinese and who have deep familiarity with Chinese culture, [. . .] make very strong candidates in today's Japan, and would certainly be very attractive to multinational corporations operating in the Asia-Pacific region.

(Kanno 2008: 164)

Hence, in the case of the ethnic schools established by the oldcomers, we can also see how the pendulum is swinging from an emphasis on linguistic homogeneity towards diversity. The experiences of the newcomers to Japan are, therefore, quite different from that of the oldcomers and Japan's autochthonous minorities in Tokyo. Because of the different experiences, occupations and integration into Japanese society, there usually exists little contact between oldcomers and newcomers, even if they share the same nationality.

Newcomer migrants

Between 1995 and 2015, the foreign population in Japan increased by over 60%. There are currently some 2.2 million foreign nationals in Japan, or 1.8% of the total population (MIAC 2016). Roughly one million of them live in Greater Tokyo. The two largest nationalities in Metropolitan Tokyo today are Chinese (145,320 residents), followed by Koreans (117,567). Koreans tend to be concentrated in Shinjuku ward and outside the 23 wards. Chinese residents are in particular concentrated in Shinjuku ward and Toshima ward.

Chinese nationals became the largest foreign population for the first time in modern Japan in 2007, taking that place from the Koreans. Chinese nationals include various Chinese ethnicities and many of them speak local Chinese varieties or ethnic languages in their families or social networks, in addition to Mandarin and Japanese. There are also Chinese nationals speaking non-Sinitic languages such as Mongolian, Tibetan or Uyghur. Chinese and Korean newcomers are more proficient in Chinese and Korean than in Japanese, and newcomer pupils may receive additional Japanese as a second language instruction in the Japanese school system (Fujita-Round 2013).

The newcomers also comprise Brazilians and Peruvians (300,000) of Japanese descent, and, migrants from Asia. China and Korea aside, many of the Asian migrants in Japan come from the Philippines (230,000), Vietnam (147,000) or Nepal (55,000). Southeast Asians tend to live on the periphery of Metropolitan Tokyo.⁴ There are presently 85,000 Filipinos living in Greater Tokyo (MOJ 2016). There is a gender bias in the Filipino population in Japan with women outnumbering men at a ratio of 3:1 due to the fact that many entered Japan on "entertainer visas", i.e. are mostly working as dancers and hostesses. Recently, however, a growing number is arriving to Tokyo as an effect of new Economic Partnership Agreements, under which a growing number of Southeast Asian women are trained to work as nurses in Japan (Otomo 2016). Migrants from the Philippines, Vietnam and Nepal are also ethnically and linguistically diverse and often speak an ethnic language in addition to the official language of their country. Newcomers have also been discussed from sociolinguistic perspectives, and, in particular,

Proof

language problems of newcomer children in school has received much attention (cf. Kawakami 2006; Kojima 2006; Miyajima 2014).

With the arrival of the newcomers, Tokyo has been continuously diversifying. Good settings for studying the ongoing super-diversification of Greater Tokyo are mosques (see Yamashita 2016). Mosques gather people across ethnicity, language, occupation and different migration trajectories. You can find there international-oriented Japanese, Japanese with foreign spouses and bi-national children, old-comers and newcomers, visitors to Japan with worker or trainee visas, foreign businessmen, foreign students, visitors with working class and with middle class backgrounds, etc. Also, some non-Muslims visit mosques, attracted to the aesthetics, the gastronomy of Muslim countries or simply the Arabic language. A number of people visiting mosques in Japan (e.g. from Pakistan, Iran or Bangladesh) came to Japan in the 1980s with tourist visas, which they overstayed, working at the time illegally in factories and in construction. Many married Japanese, obtained permanent residential visas and set up their own businesses. They hired Japanese or used their Japanese family members to deal with the documents written in Japanese, and they quickly learned to speak Japanese, including its polite registers. A large number of foreign women visiting the mosque do not work outside home and many of them do not speak Japanese well.

Diverse people employ various languages in the mosques. In a mosque in Greater Tokyo where one of us (Yamashita) has conducted extensive fieldwork, the *imam* and the manager spoke Urdu to each other, while the *shaikh* (the main lecturer) spoke either in English or in Japanese with them. All three also spoke Arabic. The homepage of the organization that this mosque belongs to is in English. In formal announcements or speeches, English and Japanese were predominately used. Urdu and Arabic were also used at some occasions. There exists no default language choice for communication between visitors of the mosque. The language to be used has to be negotiated. Accordingly, members of the mosque speak to each other according to their language competences and the nationality or ethnicity of the other. Language boundaries exist between some of the members and this restricts the formation of social networks. English or Japanese are used to fill lexical gaps when speaking languages where speakers have no full competence. Almost all children old enough to attend preschools, nurseries or mainstream schools are fluent in Japanese, regardless of the nationality of their parents. Japanese is the language in which they are most comfortable with, and they also use Japanese among themselves. Mastery of Japanese often gives these children an edge over their teachers and instructors at the mosque. Bilingual pupils, competent in spoken Urdu and written and spoken Japanese, often take up the task of translating daily affairs between the school and the parents, but also the larger purpose of the mosque, such as spreading knowledge about Islam.

Diversifying Tokyoites

Last but not least, there is a growing number of diversifying Tokyoites. With 1.3 million individuals, the number of Japanese nationals living abroad is at its highest rate ever (MOFA 2015). The top destinations of Japanese living abroad are the

US, the People's Republic of China, Australia, UK, Thailand, Canada and Brazil. The vast majority of the Japanese abroad are employees and their families who are dispatched abroad for a few years. As an effect, there is a considerable number of so-called "returnee children" (*kikoku shijo*) from abroad enrolled in the Japanese education system. These children have a somewhat ambiguous image. On the one hand, they are perceived to be "cool" due to their knowledge of foreign countries and languages. On the other hand, they are also at times negatively portrayed as "semilinguals" who cannot speak any language properly or as being "too outspoken". Many of the Japanese returnee expat families live in large cities, especially in Tokyo.

Japanese of international marriages are becoming more numerous and more positively perceived, especially in large cities. Their children are popularly called *hāfu* (half), but many reject the term for being discriminatory and propose to replace it by *daburu* (double). More than 20,000 such children are born every year. Research and activism have revealed how their multiculturalism and multilingualism is often seen as a problem rather than an asset. Their growing visibility has also resulted in a growing attention and sensitivity towards them. However, prejudice and racist discrimination is still part of their lives in a number of social settings (Murphy-Shigematsu 2012).

Even for Tokyoites not going abroad or not having foreign relatives, those who speak a foreign language other than English are more widely acknowledged than they were a decade or two ago. Some Japanese parents without foreign roots or experiences abroad are enrolling their children in Chinese and Korean ethnic schools as an alternative to mainstream public and private education and as an alternative to international English medium schools. Two out of three Chinese schools in greater Tokyo have more than 20% Japanese pupils of non-Chinese heritage (Ishikawa 2014). Likewise, more than one third of the pupils in Tokyo's Indian school are Japanese (Kobayashi 2014). Parents chose these schools for their children because they expect them to acquire the communication skills necessary for successfully participating in a globalizing world.

Outlook

Several issues can be learned from the case of Tokyo for the sociolinguistics of urban ecologies. In the past, Tokyo was similar to world cities today (migration patterns, social stratification, settlement patterns), making a historical sociolinguistics of cities approach appear desirable. Cities are sociolinguistic processes. Furthermore, Tokyo stood very much out as a world city for its (emphasis on) linguistic homogeneity. Japan's peripheral geographical position, its rather brief history as a colonial power and its strong focus on nationalist ideology have shaped a sociolinguistic situation that is distinct from that of other world cities. The strong focus on modernization, i.e. its emphasis on homogeneity, monotony and clarity, has also reduced diversity within the Japanese language and in Tokyo, a city whose population is predominantly made up by rural migrants and their decedents.

Tokyo additionally serves as an interesting case where “too much standardization” has been achieved. Following a period of relentless standardization, variation in language that can still be tapped has become “de-identified”, and it is now widely employed in ludic language use. This specific way of language use may very well be more prominent in Tokyo than in any other city in the world. What all of these changes in Tokyo sociolinguistic history will imply for new foreign migrants to Tokyo and for the Tokyoites themselves remains to be seen.

Notes

- 1 All transcriptions of Japanese terms follow the Revised Hepburn System. Long vowels are not indicated by a macron in words that are widely used in English, e.g. Tokyo. The order of names follows the Japanese order, that is, family name first. All translations from Japanese have been provided by the authors.
- 2 All statistical information in this part is taken from Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2016) and Tokyo Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs (2011).
- 3 Japanese verbs are distinguished due to their inflectional patterns into two basic types. Type I have a vowel-stem attached to the inflections to one and the same stem, while type II verbs have five different stems. Some inflections differ according to the verb type.
- 4 There are more newcomers in Osaka than in Tokyo, and more South Americans in Aichi Prefecture, Kanagawa Prefecture and Shizuoka Prefecture, where they are employed in large factories in the industrial belt around Tokyo.

References

- Aniya, Masa'aki (1989) *Kengai dekaseki to kennai ijū*. In: *Okinawa kenshi* (volume 7). Okinawa Kyōiku Pīnkai (ed.), 423–74. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō.
- Cybriwsky, Roman (1991) *Tokyo. The Changing Profile of an Urban Giant*. London: Belhaven Press.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke (2010) *History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fujita-Round, Sachiyo (2013) The Language Development of a JSL Schoolchild. Analyzing the Linguistic Ethnography of Young Jae, a Korean/Japanese Bilingual. *Educational Studies* 55: 189–201.
- Heinrich, Patrick (2005) Things You Have to Leave Behind. The Demise of Elegant Writing and the Rise of Genbun Itchi Style in Meiji-Period Japan. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 6: 113–32.
- (2012) *The Making of Monolingual Japan*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Hibiya, Junko (1999) Variationist Sociolinguistics. In: *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*. Natsuko Tsujimura (ed.), 102–20. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Inoue, Fumio (2003) *Nihongo wa nensoku ichi kiro de ugoku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (2011) Standardization and De-Standardization Processes in Spoken Japanese. In: *Language Life in Japan*. Patrick Heinrich and Christian Galan (eds), 109–23. London: Routledge.
- Inoue, Miyako (2006) *Vicarious Language. Gender and Linguistic Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ishikawa, Asako (2014) Minzoku kyōiku kara aratana fēzu e. In: *Nihon no gaikokujin gakkō*. Kōkichi Shimizu, Tomoko Nakajima and Itaru Kaji (eds), 160–6. Tokyo: Akashi.

- JNTO = Japan National Tourism Organization (2016a) Hōnichi-gai kyakusū. Available online at: www.jnto.go.jp/jpn/reference/tourism_data/cq6g7o0000027zc0-att/cq6g7o0000027zc0.pdf (accessed 10 May 2016).
- JNTO = Japan National Tourism Organization (2016b) Visitor Arrivals, Japanese Overseas Travelers. Online available at: www.jnto.go.jp/jpn/reference/tourism_data/pdf/marketingdata_outbound.pdf (accessed 10 May 2016).
- Japan Times (2016) Population in Tokyo Area Increases Further. In: *Japan Times* (31 January). Kanno, Yasuko (2008) *Language and Education in Japan*. Basingstoke: PalgraveMacmillan.
- Kawakami, Ikeo (2006) *Idō suru kodomotachi to nihongo kyōiku*. Tokyo: Akashi.
- Kindaichi, Haruhiko (1967 [1941]) *Ga-gyō bion-ron*, Republished in: *Nihongo on'in no kenkyū*. 168–97. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.
- Kinsui, Satoshi (2003) *Vācharu nihongo*. Tokyo: Iwanami.
- Kobayashi, Akira (2014) Nihon de indo-shiki kyōiku. In: *Nikkei Style* (17 October). Online available at: <http://style.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO78410170V11C14A0000000> (accessed 10 May 2016).
- Kojima, Akira (2006) *Nyūkamā no kodomo to gakkō bunka*. Tokyo: Keisō Shobō.
- Lee, Jaeho (2012) Zainichi chōsen gakkō no gakuseitachi ni yoru chōsen go shiyō ni kansuru shakai gengogaku-teki kenkyū. Master thesis, University of Tokyo.
- Maher, John C. (1995) The Kakyō. Chinese in Japan. *Journal of Multilingualism and Multicultural Development* 16(1/2): 125–38.
- (2005) Metroethnicity, Language, and the Principle of Cool. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 175/176: 83–102.
- Maher, John C. and Kyōko Yashiro (eds) (1995) *Multilingual Japan*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- MOFA = Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan (2015) Kaigai zairyū hōjinsū chōsa tōkei. Online available at: www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000086464.pdf (accessed 16 May 2016).
- MIAC = Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication (2016) Japan Statistical Yearbook. Online available at: www.stat.go.jp/english/data/nenkan/ (accessed 16 May 2016).
- MOJ = Ministry of Justice Japan (2016) Kika kyōka shinseisha-sū – kika kyōka shasū oyobi kika fukyōkasha-sū no sui'i. Online available at: www.moj.go.jp/content/001180510.pdf (accessed 16 May 2016).
- MLIT = Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (2015) Hōnichi gaikokujin shōhi dōkō chōsa. Online available at: www.mlit.go.jp/common/001126525.pdf (accessed 16 May 2016). Miyajima, Takashi (2014) *Gaikokujin no kodomotachi no kyōiku*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai.
- Miyawaki, Hiroyuki (1993) Zainichi chōsen gakkō shijo no gengo seitai. *Jinbun shakai kagaku ronsō* 2: 1–63. Monbushō (1901) *Jinjō shōgakkō kokugo-ka jisshi hōhō*. Tokyo: Monbushō.
- Murphy-Shigematsu, Stephen (2012) *When Half Is Whole. Multiethnic Asian American Identities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Nakajima, Tomoko (2014) Kōri-kei gaikokujin gakkō no hōkatsuteki na rikai o mezashite. In: *Nihon no gaikokujin gakkō*. Kōkichi Shimizu, Tomoko Nakajima and Itaru Kaji (eds), 52–7. Tokyo: Akashi.
- NINJAL = National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (2013) Shutoken no gengo jittai to dōkō ni kansuru kenkyū. Available online at: <http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/shutoken/> (accessed 16 May 2016).
- Nomura, Takashi (2013) *Nihongo sutandādo no rekishi*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

- Otomo, Ruriko (2016) A New Form of Language Policy? The Case of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) in Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Education Research* 25(5–6): 735–42.
- Ryang, Sonia and John Lie (eds) (2009) *Diaspora Without Homeland. Koreans in Japan*. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press.
- Sano, Mitsuru (2012) Toshi mondai. In: *Shuto-ken* (volume 1). Mineaki Kanno (ed.), 151–5. Tokyo: Asakura Shoten.
- Shikita, Naoko (2014) Gakkō wa jisedai no tonmu no tame ni. In: *Nihon no gaikokujin gakkō*. Kōkichi Shimizu, Tomoko Nakajima and Itaru Kaji (eds), 58–72. Tokyo: Akashi.
- Sugimoto, Tsutomu (2014) *Tōkyōgo no rekishi*. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Tanada, Yohei (2014) Zainichi gakkō to shite no rekishi to mirai. In: *Nihon no gaikokujin gakkō*. Kōkichi Shimizu, Tomoko Nakajima and Itaru Kaji (eds), 103–17. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.
- Tanaka, Akio (1999) *Nihongo no isō to isōsa*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Tanaka, Yukari (2010) *Toshuken ni okeru gengo dōtai no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin.
- Tanaka, Yukari (2011) *Hōgen kosupure no jidai*. Tokyo: Iwanami.
- Tokyo Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs (2011) Overview of Tokyo's Economy. Online available at: www.sangyo-rodo.metro.tokyo.jp/monthly/sangyo/graphic/2011nen/overview-e.pdf (accessed 16 May 2016).
- Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2016) Tokyo Statistical Yearbook. Online available at: www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/tnenkan/tn-index.htm (accessed 16 May 2016).
- Tōkyō-to Kyōiku I'inkai (1986) *Tōkyō-go gengo chizu*. Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Kyōiku I'inkai.
- Watson, Mark K. (2014) *Japan's Ainu Minority in Tokyo*. London: Routledge.
- Yamashita, Rika (2016) *Zainichi Pakisutanjin jidō no tagengo shiyō – kōdo suitchingu to sutairu shifuto no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Hituzi Shobō.

Not for distribution

Proof