

東京・横浜地域における華僑・華人：その言語，文化，教育とコミュニティについて

Overseas Chinese in Tokyo-Yokohama: Language, Culture, Education and Community

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華僑・華人コミュニティ，言語状況，社会言語学の要因，グローバルなつながり

Overseas Chinese community, language situation, sociolinguistic factors, global connection

ABSTRACT

The Chinese community is a large ethnic community in Japan, second only to the Korean community in terms of historical and cultural presence. There are occasional articles on the economic and political status of Overseas Chinese in Japan. However, little attention has been paid to the language situation of Overseas Chinese. A description is long overdue. This article focuses on one aspect of community language diversity in Japan. In order to capture the sociolinguistic situation of Overseas Chinese in Japan and how individuals maintain their Chinese language and culture, this article examines social networks in the Chinese community in Japan.

This article is intended to complement studies conducted in other places (Britain, New York City and Singapore) and follows the descriptive models contained therein. Four issues are dealt with: 'Background of Overseas Chinese', 'Changing patterns of language use', 'Language, culture and community' and 'Education and language reproduction'. These four social parameters are able to be applied to the Chinese community in the Tokyo-Yokohama region of Japan.

Due to the economic success of Mainland China and the global connections through mass media and the Chinese diaspora, the Chinese language is likely to become more important in the near future. The children in many Overseas Chinese families have likely shifted to the Japanese language. Language shift will not stop, but somehow the Chinese language will continue to be learned for the foreseeable future with or without the badge of ethnic identity.

日本における華僑・華人コミュニティは，歴史，文化の両面においてコリアン・コミュニティに次ぐ大きなエスニック・コミュニティである。在日華僑・華人の経済・政治的プレゼンスに関する研究も見かける。特に，在日華僑・華人の多くはバイリンガルあるいはマルチリンガルであるが，これらバイリンガリズムに関する記述を試みた論文は皆無に近い。本論文は日本におけるコミュニティ言語の多様性の側面に注目したものである。在日華僑・華人の社会言語学的状況やその個人がどのように中国語や中国文化を保持しているかを把握するために，日本の華僑・華人コミュニティにおける社会的ネットワークを調査した。

本論文は，英国，ニューヨークやシンガポールで行われた研究を補完するものであり，それらの記述モデルを参考に考察をすすめている。主な観点は次の四つに大別される：「華僑・華人コミュニティの背景」，「言語使用のパターン切り替え」，「言語，文化，コミュニティ」，と「教育，言語の再生」。これら4つのパラメーターから東京，横浜地域在住の華僑・華人コミュニティを観察した。

中国の経済面での台頭，マスメディアを通じたグローバルなつながり，さらに中国人の移動性 (diaspora) によって，中国語が今後，より重要になってゆくように思われる。予想に違わず，在日華僑・華人ファミリーの子供たちは，日本語にシフトしていた。しかしながら，日本語への言語シフトは止まらないが，おそらく，中国語は，エスニック・アイデンティティの証として，或いはそうでなくとも今後も学ばれ続けるであろう。

1. Introduction

Japan's multilingualism can be subjected to the same categories of investigation as the cultural diversity of other nations (Maher & Honna, 1994). Japan has long been stereotypically viewed as requiring unique treatment, not subject to the same categories of analysis. This study has shown that it is indeed possible to use the same descriptive models used to describe the language situation in Britain, New York City and Singapore. The four main units of analysis were 'Background of Overseas Chinese' and their 'Changing Patterns of Language Use', 'Language, Culture and Community', and 'Education and Language Reproduction' (Alladina & Edwards, 1991). These four issues were used to examine the language situation of Overseas Chinese in the Tokyo-Yokohama region.

2. A Brief History and Background of Overseas Chinese in Japan: the Tokyo-Yokohama Region

The history of Chinese migration to Japan is not a new phenomenon. This, both inside and outside the country, likely goes back two thousand years. However, this is different from the Chinese migration to other countries.

Chinese came to Japan as merchants rather than as laborers in the old times (Dai, 1980; Yamada, 1983; Shiba, 1997). Actually, long before the Chinese 'trade pattern', a number of learned monks and high-ranking officials, artists, and artisans went to Japan to build many temples and help Japanese develop Japanese culture, the Japanese writing system and other foundations of Japanese culture. Thus, the Chinese language and culture have vastly influenced all aspects of life in Japan vastly (Luo, 1994). All these facts have likely enabled Chinese to come to Japan with quite a bit of ease and

facility.

When the Edo government closed its door to the West and to Christians, Chinese residents distinguished themselves from Christians by building Buddhist temples. At the site of these temples Chinese assembled and became the origins of the permanent Chinese community in Japan.

Later, as the Western powers pressed Japan to open its door, the Edo government opened Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Hakodate as trade ports. In addition to the Fukeinese, Quanzhounese, Zhangzhounese and Sanjiangnese, the Cantonese flocked to Japan and established their own sphere of Chinese influence in Yokohama port when the Sino-Japan Recovery Contract was enacted in 1871. They could not move outside a limited area until a law was enacted in 1899, which abolished this limitation and allowed foreigners to live among the Japanese. The Chinese population increased. After 1899, the Chinese residents in Yokohama began to move inland from the Yokohama district, and the Chinese ships stayed in Tokyo port. Thus, the population of Chinese increased in Tokyo gradually. Later, when Tokyo became the center of government administration, Japanese culture and business, it attracted large numbers of Chinese, e.g., businessmen and students, to come and live there. Although the population of Overseas Chinese in Tokyo has been the largest of any district in Japan, it is so dispersed that no Chinese flavor and atmosphere can be discerned.

According to statistics provided by Immigration Bureau of Japan, the numbers of the Chinese residents in Japan have been increasing annually since 1977. Particularly in 2000, the Chinese population in Japan increased abruptly (i.e., from 294, 201 to 335, 575). Then, 381, 225 in 2001, and, 424, 282 in 2002 (P-C Chen, 2005). Zhu (2003) notes many reasons. On the one hand, the PRC opened its door for people to go abroad. On the other hand, Japan's immigration law was

revised many times to allow easier access for permanent residence in Japan. In addition, the Japanese government plan to receive 100,000 foreign students and the law that Japanese nationality can be obtained by one Japanese parent encouraged numbers of Chinese to come Japan as students.

Whilst the old Overseas Chinese still prefer to live near the places where Chinatowns are located, the second or third generations and the new comers geographically 'scatter'. Zhu (2003) also mentions that the second and third generations, who received Japanese education and assimilated to Japanese society, tend to move out of the Chinatowns. Moreover, most of the new comers who came to Japan as students want to work for Japanese companies after they graduate. Since they have higher education and speak fluent Japanese, they choose places that are most convenient. Thus, they disperse throughout the 47 prefectures in Japan.

3. Changing Patterns of Language Use

There is no monolithic 'Chinese' that is spoken in Japan. This is very important as a symbol for the essential diversity of the community itself. A description follows here since this complexity impacts upon the language situation of Chinese residents in Japan.

3. 1. Written Chinese Characters

Chinese language and culture have influenced many aspects of life in Japan. Typically, Chinese characters (Kanji in Japanese) are used by the Japanese in their daily communication everywhere (Seeley, 1991). The Chinese, even when they first come to Japan, can grasp the meaning of most Kanji and understand without knowing how to pronounce them. Kanji play an adaptational role in the lives of Overseas Chinese. Kanji are the

building blocks of integration, the lifeline for Chinese in Japanese society. Moreover, The Japanese learn 'Kanbun' (the Chinese classics) at school and 'Kanbun' has long been a prestige commodity and part of culture consciousness. There is a unique culture coalescence of Chinese and Japanese language-users in Japan. So much is familiar to Chinese residents. The sociolinguistic importance of this cannot be overestimated. Thus, their presence makes the Overseas Chinese feel comfortable in Japan (Maher, 1995).

3. 2. Spoken Chinese Language

The Chinese language has many different dialects, even though they share the same written Chinese script (Ramsey, 1989; Taylor & Taylor, 1995).

The canonical Overseas Chinese who speaks a variety of Chinese must learn the Mandarin variety as a lingua franca in order to communicate with other dialect speakers. From the history of Overseas Chinese in Japan, we know that the various dialect-speaking Chinese came to Japan from different districts of China. Thus, many different dialects can be heard in the Tokyo-Yokohama region.

The lingua franca was Cantonese over a long period, because the Chinatown in Yokohama had been predominantly characterized by the Cantonese. This situation did not change until a large number of Chinese speaking other dialects and Mandarin, especially Taiwanese from Taiwan, who also spoke Mandarin, arrived in Japan in the 1960s. Thus, the lingua franca in Yokohama Chinatown has come to be both Cantonese and Mandarin, because the speakers of other dialects had already learned Mandarin before they came to Japan (L. Wang, 1995).

In Japan, it seems that it is easy for Chinese to learn daily Japanese. Thus, except for the old first generation and some newcomers, most of first

generation of newcomers in Japan is already multilingual. The language situation in the Tokyo-Yokohama region is almost the same as that in any of the Chinese communities in other places. The attitudes of Overseas Chinese towards maintaining Chinese and learning other languages are also positive.

Moreover, they usually use code-switching according to the language of the person to whom they are talking, or use code-mixing with a person who has the same language background when they work, study, and attend gatherings.

Language use in families has continually readjusted as the families went through many changes. Language shift typically occurs when (a) mother learns more spoken Japanese; (b) parents become busier; (c) children start their schooling and (d) hometown visits cease, the family gradually shifts from Chinese to Japanese.

4. Language, Culture and Community

4. 1. Yokohama Chinatown

There are three port Chinatowns now in Japan, i.e., Yokohama Chinatown, Nagasaki Sinji Chinatown, and Kobe Chinatown.

The Chinatown area around Yokohama is an important center for Overseas Chinese in the Tokyo-Yokohama region and, as Maher chronicles, a source of power for cultural maintenance and ethnolinguistic solidarity (Maher, 1995; L. Wang, 1995).

The historic record indicates that the first wave of the Chinese came to Yokohama port in 1862. These immigrants worked as compradors, interpreters and cooks. The Chinese population in Yokohama is also changing all the time as that in Tokyo and other places in Japan.

The Chinese population in 1867 was about 660 and this emergent 'community' began to construct Yokohama Chinatown step by step. In 1880, the

population was 63% of the whole population of Chinese residents in Japan, and it reached 3,325 in 1893, just the year before the Sino-Japan War (i.e., in the Qing Dynasty) (L. Wang, 1995).

Most of them chose to run restaurants in order to avoid competition with Japanese. Later, the Kanto earthquake in 1923 and World War II (from 1937 to 1945) almost annihilated the Yokohama Chinatown (L. Wang, 1995). After World War II, the Chinese came back to Yokohama Chinatown. In 1947, the population rose to over 3,000, including 'newcomers' who came from Taiwan and from the northeastern part of China. Restaurants also increased to 61. Now, there are as many as 190 eating establishments (W. Wang, 2001). Traditionally, most of the Chinese population in Yokohama City lived in Chinatown (B-Z Chi, 1993).

Compared to San Francisco's Chinatown, its geographical spread and the number of Chinese restaurants is somewhat smaller, but its density, economic prosperity, sightseeing and its safety, make Yokohama Chinatown as source of pride for the Chinese community.

4. 2. Associations

The traditional Chinese Associations everywhere in the world are usually based on clan, dialect, or original locality and occupation in order to distribute mutual help among members of the community. All of them still organize some sort of culture and tradition maintenance, such as the celebration of Chinese Lunar New Year, Lion Dance parades, and to support Chinese language classes.

Great changes have been wrought in many aspects of Overseas Chinese communities since World War II. The Taiwanese recovered their nationality (i.e., the Republic of China). All the associations were urged to be united as 'Huaqiao Lianhezonghui' (Overseas Chinese United Association) by the government of the Republic of

China (ROC, Taiwan). When the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949, the government of the Republic of China was retreated to Taiwan. Thus, Overseas Chinese associations were divided into many different groups according to their political affiliations for a while. However, some newly established associations and the traditional associations that are in the hands of the younger generations have begun to work together recently. They break down the distinctions among different political, national, geographical, and business- interests, but cooperate with each other in many respects. Moreover, numbers of associations have been organizing anniversary celebrations on an international basis recently. These world wide relations among all Chinese will not only promote awareness of Chinese customs and traditions, it will also bring economic benefits to the whole world at large (L. Wang, 1995; L. K. Cheng, 1995).

According to Zhu's report that even though there is no political support, there are 68 'Zhonghua Zonghui' (the Chinese united associations), 33 'Tongxianghui' (fellow village associations) and over 30 other kinds of associations in Japan.

4.3. Religious Groups

Chinese always built Buddhist temples and Taoist temples any place where they stayed. Nowadays, many Buddhist and Taoist societies were established with headquarters located in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The homeland link served as a portal for direct contact and regeneration of the local variety of Chinese not only through official prayers but also homily and congregation member interaction. Yokohama Chinatown's 'Guangdi Miao' ('Kandeibyō' in Japanese) is the spiritual symbol of Chinese residents in the Tokyo-Yokohama region.

Another religious group is the Christian Church. These churches were established by Taiwanese

studying in Japan before World War II. The language of worship is multilingual: Japanese, Taiwanese, and Mandarin Chinese.

There are also several churches in this region. Such as, Ebisu Chinese Church in Ebisu uses both Mandarin Chinese and Japanese in their activities. Others are Taiwanese Presbyterian Churches. The Tokyo Taiwan Church in Ogikubo is the oldest. Taiwanese churches use Taiwanese and Japanese, with a little Mandarin Chinese in their activities. The Ikebukuro Church has a Taiwanese dialect class for the Japanese- born generations or Japanese who is interested in Taiwanese dialect (P-C Chen, 2005).

In Yokohama Chinatown, there is also a Church which uses Cantonese, Japanese, and sometimes Mandarin Chinese for their activities.

4.4. The Media

Literacy maintenance is crucial to overall language maintenance (Fishman, 1984). For average citizens of Japan it would nonetheless come as a surprise to know the massive Chinese-language network of publications on the streets of Japan each day.

The Chinese publications include newspapers, journals and magazines are available in many bookstores. The first Chinese newspaper published in 1898. By 1911, there were about 12 Chinese language newspapers, all promoting the new idea of democracy to support the revolution of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (Luo, 1994). Their appearance on the streets of urban Japan ebbed and flowed over many years. Some were closed down during World War II.

By the late 1980s, the Chinese, who came from PRC as students, continued to stay in Japan after their graduation, and these people have flourished the media. New media, including newspapers, journals, and magazines, are published daily or periodically. There are about 120 nowadays (Duan, 2000). Most are in the Chinese language only,

while a few publications are written in both Japanese and Chinese. Publications in the Japanese language have increased recently (Luo, 1994; Shilamizu, 1998).

In addition, there are many national and international publications available. Some papers cover news and events happening in Japan, Taiwan, the PRC, Hong Kong, Singapore and other places where the Chinese language is spoken.

There is no TV and no radio station that is run by Chinese themselves, but Japanese FM radio stations, e.g., Yokohama Radio and Hama Raji hire bilingual Chinese-Japanese announcers (Maher, 1995). Also, four satellite TV programs from abroad are available in the Chinese language. In addition, the Chinese users of electrical media are increasing recently. Numbers of Chinese even have their own home pages.

Because the population of Chinese residents in Tokyo is the highest in Japan, most of the publications and bookstores are concentrated in the area of the Tokyo-Yokohama region (Duan, 2000). Some bookstores offer services, such as lending Chinese-language videos, CDs, and DVDs, and they also run restaurants and other businesses.

5. Education and Language Reproduction

When the Chinese, who came to Japan in the 19th century, increased and entered the Japanese mainstream society, they began to think about the education of their children and build Chinese schools.

The Chinese schools were established in places where the Chinese communities were, such as Yokohama, Kobe, Tokyo, Nagasaki, Osaka, and Kyoto and so on. After World War II, some other small Chinese schools were established. However, due to the denial of Chinese schools as regular schools by the Japanese government, parents worried about the future of their children and sent

their children to Japanese schools in order to get into universities smoothly, especially, into the national universities. Therefore, the number of students who enrolled in Chinese schools decreased. As a result, most of the Chinese schools closed. Even one of the earliest Chinese schools in Nagasaki closed on its eightieth-anniversary in 1985. Nowadays, there are only five Chinese schools left in Japan, that is, one is in Tokyo, two are in Yokohama, one is in Osaka, and one is in Kobe (Maher & Yashiro, 1995).

5.1. The Chinese Language Classes

Whilst the children enrolling in Chinese Schools has decreased, many are sent to Chinese language classes that have been set up by some temples, churches, associations, and voluntary groups. This kind of Chinese language class has been increasing recently. Because, those parents who send their children to regular Japanese schools think of the importance of having a Japanese regular education and worry that their children will lose their Chinese identities and assimilate to Japanese mainstream society too fast. Most Chinese language classes are taught on weekends, like Chinese schools in Britain, the United States, and some other places in Europe. They teach the basic Mandarin Chinese language.

5.2. The Chinese Schools

There are three full time Chinese schools in the Tokyo-Yokohama region. These are the Tokyo Chinese School (i.e., kindergarten, primary school, junior high school and senior high school), the Yokohama Overseas Chinese School (i.e., nursery and kindergarten, primary school, junior high school, and senior high school) and the Yamate Chinese School (i.e., kindergarten, primary school, and junior high school). They teach on weekdays like any regular Japanese school does. All of these Chinese schools employ bilingual education (i.e.,

Japanese and Chinese) from primary school. In 1997, the Yokohama Overseas Chinese School initiated multilingual education by adding English to the first grade curriculum in primary school. The Tokyo Chinese School intended to add English in the first year in primary school in the following year.

6. Conclusion

Economic opportunities and benefits, government policies, and other factors are known to have influences on language use and learning.

In Japan, there is no bilingual education per se. The instructional language at all levels of education is Japanese. The Japanese government considers it is important to teach the Japanese language to all children, no matter whether they are Japanese or not. This is logical and democratic. At the same time, there are many ethnic schools that use both Japanese and ethnic languages in instruction, the Japanese government does not treat the students of ethnic schools as fairly as those students in regular Japanese schools. Thinking about the future of their children, Chinese parents in the Tokyo-Yokohama region or in Japan in general send their children to regular Japanese schools instead of Chinese schools. Thus, those parents, who hope their children will know the Chinese language, culture and values to some degree, send their children to Chinese language classes.

Thus, the situation of Chinese schools in Japan has reached a critical point. We can say that it is at a crossroads.

Regarding attitudes towards Chinese language learning, this research as well as a number of researchers revealed that the children of immigrants are not as enthusiastic as their parents are about learning the family's original languages. The children go to, in this case, Chinese language schools or classes, just because their parents want

them to do so. As a result, the children have shifted to the Japanese language. However, due to the economic success of Mainland China and the global connections through mass media and the Chinese diaspora, moreover, the constant coming to Japan of newcomers, the Chinese language is likely to become more important in the near future. Thus, language shift will not stop, but somehow the Chinese language will continue to be learned for the foreseeable future with or without the badge of ethnic identity

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