Japanese/Urdu Language Contact in a Religious

Community: Lexical Borrowing and Phonological Adaptation

Rika YAMASHITA

rikayam111@gmail.com

Abstract

To bridge the absence of studies in the language use of migrants in Japan, this paper gives a description of what lexical forms Pakistani migrants in Japan 'borrowed' from Japanese/Urdu to the other language. This paper discusses three issues; (1) the kind of Japanese words incorporated in Pakistani adults' Urdu speech, (2) how bilingual pupils phonologically adapt names into Japanese, and (3) how the pupils borrow Urdu lexical forms in their Japanese speech. Phonological adaptation to Japanese includes individual names and certain cultural vocabulary. For some words, Urdu phonological features were retained even in the Japanese speech, which cannot be explained simply from their frequency of use.

1. Problem

1.1 Codeswitching and lexical borrowing

It was more than fifty years back, when mixing two languages in one speech has been regarded as arbitrary or an on-the-spot adjustment of speakers' lack of vocabulary in the other language (Weinreich 1953). Today, we call this phenomenon 'codeswitching', and studies proved that such skillful juxtapositions of two languages have their own rules and constraints (Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993). One of the most known features of codeswitching is the equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980), which dictates that codeswitching occur where the grammar of the two languages involved are not in conflict with each other, so that the same lexical item may not be repeated within the frame of speech. Studies in codeswitching and language contact developed since. Different typologies of how the languages come into contact, their internal (grammatical) motivations and external (social) motivations have been incorporated in theories (Apfel and Muysken 1987; Myers-Scotton 1995, 2002; Winford 2003). There were also theoretical debates over difference among mixed language, creole, and codeswitching (Apfel and Muysken 1987, Winford 2003). What distinguishes codeswitching from the other two is that the speakers could speak in three different ways - one language only, the other language only, or mixing the two.

When two cultures contact, there are transfers of concepts which are available in one language, to the other language. Haugen (1950) referred to such acts as 'borrowing', and gave an elaborate typology of it, and is called 'lexical borrowing' today. Many scholars consider, or at least treat, words that are borrowed with phonological adaptation as lexically borrowed (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993). Some even include morphological adaptation (Poplack and Sankoff 1984). Lexical borrowing is considered to operate separately from codeswitching, since borrowing new terms from another language can be seen in any language, even in monolingual speakers' speech. However, despite the fact that speakers and researchers easily and intuitively know the difference, it is empirically difficult to prove. The distinction between codeswitching and lexical borrowing is crucial in discovering the mechanisms of codeswitching, yet difficult, involving different factors (Poplack 2001). The field developed using adjusted variationist approach (Poplack 1980, Budzhak-Jones and Poplack 1997), task-based elicitation (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984), or rigorous testing based on theoretical hypotheses (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002). Lexical borrowing which only occur once are called nonce borrowing, and is distinguished from more established borrowing (Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988). Again, the definition is only possible by examining the combination of different factors, such as the spread and frequency of its use, stability in gender assignments, and morphological and phonological adaptation.

1.2 Challenges in studying migrants' language use

Although more migrant communities are in Japanese cities than ever today, their multilingualism is not understood or appreciated enough in the linguistic literature. Methodological and practical problems could be the reason. Large-scale quantitative studies which are characteristics of previous studies are difficult when there is a smaller pool of speakers. Urban life means heterogeneity even within the small 'migrant communities'. Therefore, there are many factors which may affect language use - high intermarriage with other ethnic groups including the Japanese, different jobs, different social, geographical, educational background, wider social network, multiple modes of communication (especially the use of smartphones) and diversifying lifestyles and values. These factors can only be counted as a large-scale study.

There are some smaller studies which could theoretically be reproduced in Japan, such as Budzhak-Jones and Poplack (1997), which used 10-hour data from seven speakers. Problems are also encountered here. One is that fewer contact features are noted in casual observations of migrant communities in Japan. For many migrant speakers and communities, migrant languages and Japanese language tend to be kept separate according to domains and addressees. This discourages further research for scholars at the initial entry into the community. The second problem is that 'communities' are not as stable or homogeneous either. Like the Nikkei Brazilians, many communities are relatively new and demographically less stable, since its size and structure depend

on socioeconomic conditions. Some migrant communities, such as Nikkei Brazilians and Indians, had increased rapidly in population over the past 20 years, yet the figure significantly diminished just after the financial crisis in 2008. The last practical problem is that of the native speaker/non-native speaker/fluent speaker/non-fluent speaker distinction, in other words, the difficulty in assessing how 'bilingual' the speakers are. The distinction has been used in previous studies (Poplack 1980, Budzhak-Jones and Poplack 1997), with language competence as one of the major factors for differences in language use patterns.

Those studies which did study language use could not make substantial claims within the theoretical study of codeswitching. However, their findings have similarities with the condition that this study has. Kim (2003) discussed language use in first-generation Korean migrant women. The Korean language is typologically the most similar to Japanese. Therefore, although some sentences were more 'Korean' and others more 'Japanese', Kim decided to call it a mixed code, rather than the interlanguage of incompetent speakers of the two languages. The utterances could vary from Korean content words and morphemes embedded in Japanese syntactical forms, to Japanese words with Korean verb suffixes. This view is similar to how Nishimura (1997) described codeswitching in a Japanese Canadian family, where there are 'predominantly Japanese variety' and 'predominantly English variety', and the mixture of two. Nakamizu's study on language use among young Nikkei Brazilians in Japan also reported the amount of Portuguese-base utterances and Japanese-base utterances, though she did not conceptualise them as two varieties (Nakamizu 2000). In her study, borrowed words were not phonologically adapted to the recipient language. Such difference in view suggests that the type of bilingualism in younger and newer communities may differ from older and more established groups like in Kim's or Nishimura's studies.

Since then, linguistic studies in the actual language use of different communities have not been published. The few studies which discussed migrants' language use (Sanada, Ogoshi, and Imu 2005, in addition to the above works) have not been followed up. The difficulties mentioned above hindered the development of this field in Japan, which lead to little attention within the discipline. Consequently, codeswitching and lexical borrowing in migrant communities in Japan are still considered trivial and arbitrary on-spot one-time events.

1.3 Japanese and Urdu

Japanese and Urdu are genetically very different languages. Japanese is a Japonic language, while Urdu[1] belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family. While many Japanese words have native Japanese, Chinese (from different periods), and some European origins, Urdu words are derived from Khariboli, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and European languages (mostly English). These

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[1] This paper uses the term 'Urdu' for what is often referred to as Hindi-Urdu, Urdu-Hindi, or Hindustani, in respecting the name of the language that the bilingual children refer to as their own.

mean that culturally common terms are very few.

Urdu is an inflectional language, while Japanese is an agglutinative language. Gender/number marking, negative marking, morphological, phonological and verb systems also differ greatly. Urdu has gender/number marking, and negative marking comes before the verb. Japanese does not have gender/number marking, and negative marking comes at the end of the verb.

Meanwhile, there are some typological similarities. Both languages typically have SOV sentence structure, and attributive adjectives precede the noun they qualify. Although there are some noun inflections in Urdu, case-marking postpositions are also seen together. What is more, there are zero inflectional nouns in Urdu (masculine nouns which end in consonants). Such structure seems to be open to borrowing new words, as case marking can be done without specific inflections but by just adding the postpositions (see section 3.1.2). In this sense, equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980) can be more easily accomplished across these two languages.

Prosodic properties in Urdu are not clearly defined in literature. There is a disagreement between those who consider Urdu as a stress-accent language and those who don't. At the word level, it is said that the stress location depends on the lexicon, although many come at the last or the penultimate syllable (Kachru 2009). Some argue that stress accent in Hindi/Urdu is not independent, but correlates with duration of the syllable (length of the vowel) or pitch. General prosodic and phonological properties in Japanese languages are less disputed. Japanese is a non-stress accent but a pitch-accent language, and has moraic structure.

Intense hybridity in lexical choices within an utterance is not common for most speakers. As I will show, often it is (1) one Japanese word inserted in the Urdu sentence with Urdu postpositions followed, or (2) Urdu words inserted in the Japanese utterance with Japanese postpositions followed (see 3.4.2).

1.4 Aim of this paper

As a stepping stone to a broader study of codeswitching and style-shifting of migrants and their children in Japan, I attempt to document common lexical borrowings seen among Pakistani migrants, mainly from a particular religious community. The data are from the sound recording of a mosque classroom in Kanto area, and my participant observation in the classroom, the regular mosque events and some visits to their homes. Some data are also from other Pakistanis in Japan (Toyama and Tochigi) whom I met in the course of this research. It is unavoidable that this paper cannot provide enough data to contribute to the large-scale and established with much data in quantity and social factors involved, and therefore, it would become a brief sketch of what was found in the community life. However, even within the modest scale of this study, some patterns are strongly attested. One is the children's strong tendency of phonologically adapting Urdu words into Japanese in children, and the other is the resistance in rigorously mixing two linguistic systems.

2. Community and data collection

2.1 The community

G mosque in Kanto metropolitan area is an 'active' mosque where lectures, events, and classes are held regularly and frequently. It is a pan-ethnic mosque where Muslims originally from different continents of the world gather, and several South Asian and Japanese Muslims as board members maintain such liveliness. It is a spiritual and community space where members of both genders (though at separate floors) and all ages gather to pray, meet, talk, play, share a meal, celebrate festivals, and engage in enhancing religious knowledge through lectures and study groups.

The classroom setting was selected as the site for my data collection and main observation. This was because the classes (1) were a site of intra-community conversation, (2) took place regularly, and (3) were attended by regular participants. This ensured that the linguistic practices that I record were fairly stable and conventional within the community at certain period of time. At the time of my first observation and recording in 2007, the evening classes at G mosque for children, held daily, provided classes in mathematics, Islamic Studies, the *Qur'an,* and English.

2.2 Recording and participatory observation

The digital sound recording was made in July 2007, January to February 2009, and April to May 2009. The digital recorder was visible in front of the class, and I was there to observe the class while recording. Further details, such as class configurations, and duration, are available in Yamashita (2013, 2014). Before the recording, I had asked permissions from the teacher and the parents of the pupils. I had indicated that anyone was allowed to stop the recording as they wish.

The classroom interaction was of Japanese-Urdu bilingual pupils and non-Urdu native South Asian teachers, whereas for other mosque activities, parents and other Pakistani and South Asian adults gathered. Due to the gender segregation in the mosque, most of my observation centered around children's classrooms and women's floor. Many Pakistani women do not speak Japanese as fluently as the Pakistani men or children in Japan.

The four bilingual pupils who participated in the recording had all lived and attended nursery and state schools for most of the time in Japan since at least age 5. They were from two households. Out of the four Imran was born in Japan but had lived in Pakistan for few years over the course of his life. All of them use Urdu to some extent at home. Within my observation, Imran[2] used Urdu for almost all his interaction with his parents, while the other three (Jamila, Khareem, and Laila) used Japanese alongside. Almost all of their conversations among themselves are in Japanese, whether in the mosque or outside the mosque, and whether there is a Japanese person present or not. The pupils

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[2] All names which appear in this paper are pseudonyms chosen by the author to protect personal information. Some names may not sound Urdu as a consequence.

were aged from 9 to 12 in 2007.

3. Social and cultural terms

Cultural terms specific to each language culture are said to be mostly borrowed. The case in this study also involves many, yet there are some which are not directly accountable. Also, it is easy to assume that the borrowed culturally specific terms may be more likely to retain the forms from the donor language. However, this is not always the case in my study.

3.1 Japanese lexical items in Urdu utterances

There are some Japanese words which are used in Urdu talk among both adults and children. Some are more frequently used than others. In 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, I will give lexical items which are frequently used, and by all different groups of Pakistanis in the community. In 3.1.3 and 3.1.4, I will give examples of those items less frequently heard.

3.1.1 The numeral 'man'

The Japanese word 'man (ten thousand)' can be heard in G mosque and other mosques,[3] sometimes among foreign students as well, when speaking about prices in yen. They combine Urdu numbers with 'man'; for example, 20,000 is '*do* man (*two* ten thousands – twenty thousand)', which is a partial calque, instead of *biis hazaar* (literally 'twenty thousand') in Urdu.

3.1.2 School-related vocabulary

Some vocabulary concerning children's school life in Japan are often used especially among women, such as 'sensee (teacher)', 'hoikuen (nursery school)', 'yootien (preschool)', 'syoogakko (elementary school)', 'renrakutyo (notebook exchanged between the homeroom teacher and parents)' etc. These words frequently came up in Urdu only conversations, with Urdu postpositions, such as 'hoikuen *men* (*in the* nursery)'. 'Sensee' was used for teachers at the mosque too. Once, a mother said 'sensee *ko de do* (Give to the teacher)' to her child.

3.1.3 Miscellaneous

One of the other words that were frequently seen used was 'gomi'. I heard this few times when Pakistani women gathered at the mosque. When I asked what the equivalent in Urdu was, but the lady that I asked could not answer. She asked another lady, who could finally give an answer, but also after some pause.

The shared OV structure and other post-positional articles allow calques or 'do X' phrasal verbs.

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[3] I have heard this use in other mosques in Kanto and in Toyama, as well as some confirmations by Japan-residing Pakistanis on SNS.

For example, 'zyama *nahiiN karo* (do not disturb)' was used by one lady to her child. Even women who do not use a lot of Japanese would sometimes include some words into their Urdu words. Once, I asked a mother in English why she wanted to learn Japanese, and her explanation followed in English. She also added 'hazukasii *na*? (Embarrassing, *isn't it*?')'.

3.1.4 Children's nonce borrowings

In addition to above forms, children inserted Japanese words when they did not seem to know the equivalent in English or in Urdu. There were pauses and mitigations before or after the utterance. During my observation, pupils used the word 'ekohiiki (favouritism)' and 'kanningu (cheating by peeking)'. The pupils themselves were aware of the use, and were deliberately doing so. At such times, the teacher asked what such terms meant, and the pupils had to explain. Generally the words were first used according to Japanese phonological rules, although when the words were repeated, they sometimes changed the pitch accent or intonation, or made the word syllabic rather than moraic.

3.2 Phonological adaptation of children's names

All children who gather at the mosque at least has a Muslim name, which could, in theory, be pronounced in different ways according to the languages used, respectively following each phonological stress and tones. Regardless of the language they use for the rest of the utterance, adults call and refer to the children according to Urdu phonology. Meanwhile, since children talk to each other in Japanese most of the time, all names were phonologically adapted to Japanese. When they refer to such names while speaking to the adults in Urdu, they would pronounce the names according to Urdu phonology.

Here, I will give examples of Urdu names and those phonologically adapted to Japanese. All the names are pseudonyms; therefore the vowel or consonants are different from the actual forms used in the community. However, these pseudonyms are chosen to match in terms of moraic and syllable stress, and in some cases, some consonants, where indicated.

When foreign words are adapted to the phonology of standard Tokyo variety of Japanese, an extra vowel tends to be added at the end of consonants, as long as it is not /n/. The pitch accent would fall after the antepenultimate mora (or after the penultimate mora, for two mora items) (Matsumori, 2012). These are also followed in the examples here. In addition to these rules which apply to words from any language adapted into Japanese, there are two common changes in my examples. One is the 'shortening' of Urdu long vowels. Although Japanese has long vowels, in many cases Urdu long vowels were not necessarily represented as Japanese long vowels, regardless of the position of the stress accent in Urdu.

3.2.1 Most stable and regular examples

'Jamila' in example (1) has both of these features. Jamila is treated as a three-syllable name in Urdu, and a three-mora name in Japanese.

    (1) 'Jamila'
    Urdu   /ja-<u>mii</u>-laa/
    Japanese   /zya-mi-ra/   HLL

Example (2) shows an instance where both the teacher and a pupil were calling out Jamila's name at the same time. They did so with the intention of catching her attention, as Jamila was doing something unrelated to classroom activities. The teacher was pronouncing her name according to Urdu/English phonological rules, while Laila was following Japanese rules. Specific intonation was also observed in both in accordance with the phonological patterns in each language, to express their impatience and dissatisfaction. The teacher had a rising intonation at the final syllable, and Laila's intonation slightly rose at the final mora.

    (2) [B-110-111]
    Teacher: *Jamiilaa!*   /ja-<u>mii</u>-laa/
    Laila: zyamira!   /zya-mi-ra/   (phonologically HLL, in this instance the last mora higher pitch because of the rise in intonation)

Other examples given below are taken out of the original context. Some examples are without sound recordings, and were from field notes.

In all of (3), (4), and (5), Urdu long vowels are shortened. The position of the stressed syllable in Urdu does not matter, as we see in (4).

    (3) 'Mina'
    Urdu   /<u>mii</u>-naa/
    Japanese   /mi-na/   HL

    (4) 'Huma'
    Urdu   /hu-<u>maa</u>/
    Japanese   /hu-ma/   HL

    (5) 'Samra'
    Urdu   /<u>saam</u>-raa/

Japanese   /sa-mu-ra/   HLL

3.2.2 Variations in mora treatment

(6) 'Hammid'

Urdu   [ham-<u>mi</u>id]

Japanese   [ha-mi-do]   HLL

'Hammid' in (6) had a long consonant /mm/ in the original name, and a consonant at the end of the word. In the Japanese form, the long consonant is lost, and the consonant at the end gains a vowel.

The following (7) is similarly two syllable item in Urdu, with stress at the final syllable. However, unlike (6), the long vowel in Urdu is represented with a long vowel in Japanese, creating a four mora item. What is notable here is that as a consequence of shortened vowel, the two syllable structure becomes three mora structure.

(7) 'Rahim'

Urdu   /ra-<u>hi</u>im/

Japanese   /ra-hi-i-mu/   LHLL

3.2.3 Names with 'Allah'

The following name, 'Saifullah', follows the foreign word pitch accent pattern. However, unlike examples (2) to (5), the long vowel on the final syllable in Urdu remains long in the Japanese adaptation as well. I speculate that this is because the word 'Allah' is in the name. The word Allah has a long /a/ in Japanese, whereas almost all the other names that appear in the Qur'an tend to be referred to with short /a/.

(8) 'Saifullah'

Urdu   /sai-ful-<u>laa</u>/

Japanese   /sa-i-hu-r-ra-a/   LHHLLL

3.2.4 Deletion of a consonant

In the following example, a deletion of the consonant /n/ is observed. We have seen an example of shortening of the long consonant in (6), and here, the consonant at the end of the first syllable is lost. Again, in this example, the consonants at the syllable boundary are reduced to one consonant. According to Japanese phonology, consonant /n/ can appear before consonants. The motivation of

this deletion is unknown.

> (9) 'Manwal'
> Urdu   /man-wal/
> Japanese   /ma-wa-ru/   HLL

In this section, I have given examples of first names. Similar patterns of vowel shortening and high pitch accent on the initial mora can also be seen in surnames.

3.3 Address terms into Japanese
3.3.1 *anTii/ankl*

Some of the address terms that the bilingual children use are *anTii* ('auntie') and *ankl* ('uncle'). They refer to the adults, and can be used on their own or with individual names. For example, a woman called Fatima, would be addressed and referred to as 'Fatima *anTii*' by the children, and a man named Muhammad, Muhammad *ankl*. At the same time, *anTii* or *ankl* can be used in such way to refer to the adult woman/man. For example, once, I was referred to as *anTii* by a mother telling her child to say hello to me ('*anTii ko* konnnichiwa *bolo*' (Say hello to this auntie – the author)).

During the observation period in 2007, two instances were observed where such forms translated into Japanese by the bilingual children, such as 'Fatima obasan (auntie)' and 'Muhammad ozisan (uncle)'. However, they soon ceased to use these forms and in 2009. The names which come together with such terms also retain their Urdu stress accent.

3.3.2 'sensee'/teacher/*tiicar*

In 2007, pupils Jamila, Khareem, and Laila, were using three different linguistic forms in addressing the teacher. One was the Japanese form "sensee", which was seen 54 times in the 2007 data overall, out of which 46 times were used in Japanese speech. It was used three times in Urdu speech, and once in English speech. The English form "teacher" was used 26 times, out of which it was used in Urdu speeches 15 times, and in English speeches, twice. It was used in Japanese utterances three times, where an English word followed two of them. "Tiityaa", or the phonologically Japanese version of 'teacher' was used 3 times, and only in Japanese utterances.

What we can say is that "sensee" was the most frequently used form overall, and it was the form which mostly appeared in Japanese speeches. "Teacher" was the form most often used in Urdu speeches. The phonologically adapted form "Tiityaa" was rarer and only appeared in Japanese. However, in 2009, these forms all converged into 'sensee'. Within the classroom discourse (but not necessarily outside class), the term *anTii* fell out of use. Teacher or tiityaa also fell into disuse.

These may show, along with the phonological adaptation of the names, that the bilinguals prefer

using the forms which fits the phonological structure used in the rest of the speech.

3.3.3 'okaasan'/*ammii*

Bilingual pupils referred to their parents by Japanese terms 'okaasan (mother)' and 'otoosan (father)' while speaking among themselves. When referring to them while speaking in Urdu to the adults, they would use '*ammii* (mother)' or '*abbuu* (father)'. Bilingual pupils from one household (Jamila, Khareem, and Laila) would often address their parents in Japanese as well, whereas those from the other household (Imran and his younger sister) constantly used Urdu terms for their mother. The former pupils used some Japanese to their parents, while the latter usually used Urdu only.

3.4 Cultural terms into Japanese

3.4.1 'Reading the namaaz' and prayers

The children use the term 'namaazu yomu' to refer to doing the obligatory daily prayers. This is a calque from the Urdu form '*namaaz paR'naa*'('to read namaaz = to pray'). *Namaaz* is an Urdu lexical item whose origin is Persian. South Asian adults also refer to prayers as *namaaz*. The teachers were heard using the Japanese form 'namaazu yomu' as well.

'Arabii' is another phonologically adapted Urdu-based word (*arabii*) used by Laila, which refers to the Arabic language (as a mosque school subject). Again, like children's names, it follows the Japanese phonology. The word is treated as a four mora word with HLLL pitch, rather than a three-syllable Urdu word with the stress on the last syllable (*arabii*).

Bilingual children from one household used the phrase 'allaah pakkaa', or 'arapaakaa'. It was used on its own before stating something, or afterwards saying "arapaakaa dayo (It's allah pakkaa)". I observed an incident where this was not comprehensible to another pupil of Pakistani descent (he did not speak much Urdu). This phrase was generally used to promise, or to swear or make others swear the truth of what they are saying.

The other word is *dars*, whose example of use will be in the next section. *Dars* is the word for 'teachings' or 'course' in general, but in the mosque context, it is referred to the "*Dars-e-Quran*" (Teachings from the Qur'an).

3.4.2 'k'aanaa' as the mosque meal

Some words may be more of a nonce-borrowing, as in the case of the following. However, the reason the word was incorporated indexes particular context that it is more easily accepted, since semantically it is not the exact equivalent to the Japanese form.

(10) [AD48-63]

Imran: mosuku okane nakunatteru rasii <giggles>.

Imran: Ali sen ga itteta.

Khareem: <giggles> *k'aanaa* ka.

Imran: iya, *k'aanaa* dake zyanakute kyo [# # #]

Jamila: [dakara] doyoobi ni yaru *k'aanaa* nakuseba iizyan.

Imran: sositara daremo [mosuku konaiyo.]

Jamila: [choko kure]reba iizyan.

Imran: sositara daremo mosuku konaiyo.

Khareem:konakereba ii.

Laila: <giggles> konakereba ii <repeating K's words to emphasize its funniness>

Imran: sositara *dars* yaru imi naizyan.

Khareem: kesanakereba iizyan, nande daitai yattenno?

Jamila: uwa, saiaku.

Imran: hito ga yokunaru tame ni.

Jamila: ### mottomo iwaretakunai yoona.

Khareem: <with a tune > boku wa *dars* no seede, ittumo iroirona # o torukotoni natteruu.

(Translation)

Imran: The mosque is running out of money <giggles>.

Imran: Mr. Ali was saying that.

Khareem: <giggles> Is it (because of providing) *meals*?

Imran: no, not only because of *meals* but [# # #]

Jamila: [listen] why don't they stop (providing) *meals* that they do on Saturdays.

Imran: Then no one [would come to the mosque.]

Jamila: [Chocolates (they)] can give (us).

Imran: Then no one would come to the mosque.

Khareem: (They) don't (have to) come.

Laila: <giggles> (They) don't (have to) come. <repeating Khareem's words to emphasize its funniness>

Imran: Then there is no point in doing *lectures*.

Khareem: they don't need to delete it, why are they actually doing that?

Jamila: Gosh, that's horrible.

Imran: (They do lectures) so that people will be better.

Jamila: (That is something) we would least want to hear from a person like ###

Khareem: <with a tune> Because of *lectures*, I have to film many #.

In this excerpt, two Urdu words, *k'aanaa* and *dars*, are inserted. Originally, *k'aanaa* is a general

term for food or meal which could be used for any occasion, including home meals. Here, the pupils accept using the word *k'aanaa* rather than saying *gohan* or *syokuzi* ('meal' in Japanese), ending up with three pupils using the word. What they have in mind as a common knowledge and experience is that a meal is offered every Saturday at the mosque, to which they refer to in this sequence by using *k'aanaa. Dars* here refers to the Islamic teachings on Saturdays or other evenings and holidays. Again this word is very specific to the community religious life that the pupils lead, thus accepted in the discourse and used among them.

Both words k'aanaa and *dars* do not conflict with the Japanese pitch accent for katakana words of four moras and three moras each (kaanaa, darusu). It is ambiguous as to whether those words were phonologically adapted to Japanese. Word-initial consonant /k/ tends to become aspirated in Japanese, and unlike in names, the long vowels were retained. As for *dars*, word-medial and word-final u vowels in Japanese tend to be weak or devoiced, which makes less contrast with the Urdu pronunciation.

This excerpt was an example of some nonce borrowings that carries to be used throughout the particular interaction. Not all the words are as easily incorporated into the discourse and continued to be used throughout the interaction. For example, even when English words 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' was used with the talk with the teacher where all pupils and teacher took part, the pupils shifted to the use of words 'doyoobi (Saturday)' and 'nitiyoobi (Sunday)' once the teacher was no longer part of the same conversation (Yamashita 2014:69-70). I assume that the pupils could carry on with using *k'aanaa* in this stretch of talk because the contextualization was at hand in the vocabulary, with nature of the mosque meals as part of the mosque activity organized by the adults as the contextualized information. The Urdu word choice specified not any meal but the particular regular meal provided at the mosque on Saturdays. Since this is the only occasion when *k'aanaa* appeared in the discourse in this sense, whether this word had been established or not is unknown. However, we see that incorporating Urdu words may be only facilitated when there is some contextualisation of the mosque community activities is concerned.

4. Discussions and further directions
4.1 Possibility of development in different registers and styles within the Muslim community

Lexical items related to religion and the mosque also became calques or were phonologically adopted into Japanese. But the term 'namaazu' is not used in the mosque as a whole, as the community itself is not solely South Asian. Prayers are usually referred to with the specific Arabic-origin names for each (*maghrib* for the prayer at sunset time, etc.). In the mosque teachings and in books in Japanese, the prayers are referred to as *salat* (Arabic word for the prayer) or the term phonologically adapted to Japanese, 'saraato' (adapted Japanese), alongside with Japanese terms 'reihai' (Sino-Japanese) and 'oinori (native Japanese)'. The term *namaaz* or 'namaazu' is not as

often used by Japanese Muslims. Only a limited number out of Japanese women who are married to Pakistanis use the term 'namaazu'. Even then, they would usually use it with the verb 'suru (do)', and not 'yomu (read)' like the bilingual children. Such tendency is also attested on webpages – the only web pages that I found that used the katakana word 'namaazu' were referring to both the Arabic and Persian terms while describing the situation concerning prayers in Iran[4], or from an Ahmadija community[5].

The term 'Allah' was one of the terms which was used with both Urdu and Japanese phonological structure. The term was used as frequently as other lexical items within the mosque community life, and therefore, the frequency of use would not be the determinant of the phonological adaptation. One of the occasions where I heard the bilingual children used the Japanese adapted 'Allah' was when they were reading in Japanese, or preparing a presentation script in Japanese for the community. They were taught about 'Allah' since young age by their parents and community adults, but the Japanese adapted version (which was originally from Arabic) can also be heard in the mosque in Japanese lectures, as well as when they need to talk about religion outside the mosque context. If this distinction is confirmed, then, whether Allah is phonologically adapted to Japanese or not could be a matter of stylistic choice for them.

4.2 Explaining the phonological adaptation and non-adaptation

In general, the phonological adaptation of names showed that the speakers do not necessarily seem to simply reflect their sound perceptions in lexical borrowing. Rather, they follow the Japanese phonological rules closely. The children seem to have preferred to use phonologically adapted forms when using Japanese, but chose other forms in other languages.

We have seen that many lexical forms related to social relationships were in Japanese, or phonologically adapted to Japanese. The terms used for parents were in Japanese. However, *anTii* and *ankl* were the terms, along Allah, that had retained Urdu phonological structure. This can be compared with a casual view that community identity could be expressed in a language closely affiliated with the community, which is explained as the case in Korean communities in Japan. The frequency in which the address terms in Korean are used in the Korean community is not well known, and such information would be helpful in understanding the association between community and the community language.

A sociolinguistic explanation to the retention of *anTii/ankl* is as follows. From the nature of their referents (the mosque community adult members), the *anTiis* and *ankls* are only referred to in

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[4] 「こらくぼ　さらくだ—　[イスラーム]イスラームのサラート〜義務編」　Dated 7th January 2006, retrieved April 20th 2015　(http://d.hatena.ne.jp/collabosr/20060107/p1), and 「イランという国で—　礼拝、ナマーズ、サラート…呼び方は何でもいいけれど」　Dated 25th November 2004, retrieved April 20th 2015 (http://sarasaya.exblog.jp/1153362/).

[5]　The teachings and the headquarters of the Ahmadija community come from Pakistan, where the founder of this Muslim group was from.

conversations within the mosque community. Individual names and address terms for family members are used in both the mosque community and outside (e.g. to state school friends). What is more, keeping the Urdu term would be simpler, as both the reference form and the address form could be the same, rather than switching from the reference form in Japanese to address form in Urdu. The tendency to keep two languages separate and congruent according to domains may have played a part in such way.

4.3 Non-aural factors in phonological adaptation and lexical borrowing

Phonological adaptation may have been influenced by scripts. It is possible that the difference between the treatment of two-syllabic names Hammid and Rahim was due to family policies in writing out their names in Japanese, and not necessarily by how they perceived their names. In fact, the long vowel of Hammid's surname was also lost in the Japanese transcription of his name, while Rahim's surname retained the long vowel. Also, it is highly likely that the children did not choose how their names would be spelt in Japanese, and it was either the father or the municipal office which decided on how it should be spelled; whether the names would have a long vowel or not. In fact, transcribing a word into another script has

Some other contact features may be explained by literacy. The use of 'man' instead of Urdu numerals or in thousands, can orthodoxly be explained from the fact that there is a separate note for 10,000 yen notes or how Japanese people count their money. However, another speculation explaining the ingrained numeral cognition would be via the visual mode. Used car sales involve quick decisions on buying cars, which could be on the phone or by looking at auctions on PC displays, or at used car shops. Instead of writing out in full Arabic numerals, the prices tend to be written in terms of 'man'.

4.4 Future possibilities

The present paper leaves a lot of room for refinement and expansion. One of the backsides of this study is that the data on adults' language use are from field notes, and mainly from women's gatherings. Concrete data should be collected more extensively, in terms of the demographic representation and domains.

One of the future directions in the study would be to ask how the migrants decided (or were assigned) their names in Japanese. This would provide information on what kind of ideologies are involved in maintaining two languages and two scripts, which may partially explain the multilingual practices that they engage in.

As there are more consonants in Urdu than in Japanese, phonological adaptation to Japanese saw loss of some contrasts, such as aspirated and non-aspirated dentals. Meanwhile, Urdu words were incorporated into the moraic system of the Japanese language. One of the major setbacks of this

study is the roughness in description and analysis of intonation and phonology. Intonations are not fully studied even within Japanese linguistics, despite its importance in conveying meaning within the interaction. There is not yet a consensus on how intonation and syllable stress intersect in Hindi/Urdu (Hussain 1997, Dyrud 2001). The typology and description methods of suprasegmental features such as intonation are strongly awaited in both languages. More information on this area, and comparison with other loanwords in Japanese by monolingual speakers would provide a hint as to the mechanism behind Pakistani speakers' lexical borrowing and codeswitching. The fruits of such research would provide a new typological set of data to codeswitching studies as well as to cross-linguistic phonological studies.

Transcription conventions

nihongo	Words in Japanese. Japanese is transcribed using the Kunrei-siki system.
Urdu	Words in Urdu
<laughs>	notes and paralinguistic features such as voice quality and laughter
?	rising intonation
# #	unintelligible mora/syllable
[ ]	overlaps
( )	translation and added words to make sense in the translated version

Urdu (Hindi-Urdu) vowels: *a, i, u, e, o, au, ai, aa, ii, uu,*   nasal vowels: *N* added to each vowel

Urdu (Hindi-Urdu) consonants: *p, b, t, d, T, D, R, k, g, c, j* (and their aspirated equivalents with apostrophe ' added), *G, m, n, S, h, r, y, q, x, v, l*

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宗教コミュニティにおける日本語・ウルドゥー語言語接触：語彙借用と音韻同化

山下　里香

rikayam111@gmail.com

要旨

　日本に暮らす移民の言語使用に関する研究は大変少ない。本論文では、日本に暮らすパキスタン人移民がどのような日本語・ウルドゥー語の語彙をそれぞれもう一方の言語に借用したかを記述する。具体的には、(1)パキスタン人成人のウルドゥー語にはどのような日本語語彙の借用が見られたか、(2)パキスタン人児童はどのように名前の音韻を日本語に同化させたか、(3) パキスタン人児童はどのようなウルドゥー語の語彙を日本語の発話に借用したか、の３点に関して言及する。音韻同化は、個人の名前だけでなく、いくつか特定の語彙にも見られた。いくつかのウルドゥー語語彙は、日本語に借用された際もウルドゥー語の音韻構造を残していたが、それらには使用頻度では説明ができないことを指摘する。

（やました・りか　東京大学東洋文化研究所・日本学術振興会特別研究員PD）