Heritage language quotations in peer interactions:
A preliminary study on Japanese-Urdu codeswitching[*]

継承語を使用した引用の分析：在日パキスタン人児童らの自然談話から

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Abstract

The development and use of heritage languages are dependent on the speakers' micro and macro social contexts. This paper analyses two episodes of the use of quotations in a heritage language, Urdu, by South Asian Muslim bilingual pupils in their everyday conversation in a Tokyo suburb. Urdu quotations in my data can be seen as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982). Analysis suggests that the heritage language quotations function as shared contextualization cues evoking shared experiences in hearing the heritage language from adults. Such contextualization cues function as a resource in interaction, often successful in attaining emotional alignment from the peer members, reinforcing their solidarity.

Keywords

codeswitching, quotation, language socialization, heritage language, bilingualism, multilingualism

1. Introduction
1.1 Multilingual discourses of ethnic minority children in Japan

With increased migration to Japan for business, marriage, education, training and other reasons, children in Japan who use languages other than Japanese are on the increase. Like in any part of the world today, multilingualism can no longer be considered rare in Japan. So far, many scholars

in education and linguistics have been proponents of rights and the value of teaching heritage languages/mother tongues. However, there is still a gap between the scholarly interests and the empowerment of multilingual speakers and minority language speakers in society.

Very little on the actual language use of children has been documented in Japanese scholarly literature. One of the reasons for the lack of attention is due to the prevalent double-monolingualism perspective on bilingualism. Many scholars were biased in looking for bilingualism as the 'native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield 1933:56). From such point of view, less frequent codeswitching or use of a minority language in limited domain would not give enough quantitative data to analyse empirically the forms and types of language use. Later scholars have referred to such view as the 'double-monolingualism norm', such as Heller (1999) who called it 'parallel monolingualism'. They argued that such idealised bilingualism is rare, if not impossible, in bilingual communities and individuals. Double-monolingualism view of bilingualism evaluates actual multilingualism seen as something incomplete and to be adjusted, further distancing the relation between the academic knowledge and the actual processes of bilingual speakers' sense-making through everyday language use.

Heritage languages are generally used in limited domains compared with the social majority language. Children's use and competence in them are heavily dependent on what goes on in the limited domains—their lives outside school. It is their practices, activities, social relations, and attitudes towards the heritage languages that determine the quality and quantity of the use. As language use tends to be a reflection of speakers' daily experiences, analyses of context-embedded natural discourse is needed in order to explore how bilingual speakers use the heritage languages in their social activity.

1.2 Selected studies on bilingual communication

Studies on bilingual communication have been well accumulated in the last few decades. One of the most influential work to this day is Gumperz's study on contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982). Contextualisation cues are subtle linguistic cues in conversation by which speakers of the same speech community make sense of the meaning of the utterance, such as intonation. Though he admitted it was not exhaustive, Gumperz listed six different discourse functions[1] for codeswitching in bilingual communication, including addressee specification and quotations (ibid), citing examples from three different bilingual communities.

Gumperz's concepts marked the starting point of studies in discourse analysis of bilingual communication. However, Gumperz's study was based on more or less stable 'traditional' bilingual communities, where he could point out that the conventions are shared in the speech community. The examples he provided were bidirectional—in other words, they gave the impression that speakers of any bilingual community would switch to and fro, regardless of

direction. What is more, these concepts alone could not explain when, where and how bilingual speakers codeswitch.

With the development in interactional sociolinguistics and increasing attention to recently formed migrated communities, the field grew deeper and wider. Auer (1988) and Li & Milroy (1995) used conversation analysis to answer when, where, and how bilinguals in migrant communities switch between languages. By using conversation analysis, they tried to put forward how bilinguals make use of codeswitching in an ongoing interaction as it unfolds. Rather than taking on Gumperz's ideas of shared conventions within the speech community, conversation analysis views intersubjective organisations of talk by the participants in ongoing interactions, which they engage in through turn-taking. Their studies revealed that some instances of codeswitching could be empirically explained as forms of sequence organisations such as repairs and preference organisations, even if the speakers were not always codeswitching frequently or intrasententially.

1.3 Aims of this paper

This study therefore attempts to bridge the gap in studies in codeswitching by analysing the use of quotations in the less-used heritage language in context-embedded interaction among bilingual pupils. To show that (1) despite its rarity, codeswitching into the heritage language functions as contextualization cues, and that (2) speakers use such contextualization cues to attain emotional alignment from their peers. I will analyse two instances of quotations in the heritage language from naturally occurring interaction at a mosque complementary school in a Tokyo suburb. In order to discuss the bilingual children's practices of using the heritage language and its relation to their everyday life, this paper attempts a more anthropological and ethnographic approach in discourse analysis, rather than using terms from conversation analysis in its strict sense.

2. Background on community and participants
2.1 The mosque community and the complementary school

The audio data[2] referred to in this paper is from a mosque complementary school in a Tokyo suburb. Pupils at the complementary school as a whole are aged between 3 and 14. More than half of the pupils have Japanese mothers and lived in Japan since birth. Japanese was the most widely and frequently used language by all pupils, and teachers had to accommodate to the children using Japanese, rather than children using other languages. The teachers occasionally used Urdu to those who would understand, and English for some other functions[3].

2.2 Participants

The data was recorded in a classroom where pupils, Jamila, Imran, Khareem and Laila[4], and the

teacher, Mrs. B, participated. The four pupils were all bilingual in Japanese and Urdu, and were aged between 11 and 14. They had lived in Japan from age 5 or earlier. The episodes discussed here are from data taken in 2009. Jamila, Khareem, and Laila are siblings, with Jamila the eldest. Imran and Khareem were of the same age. Due to traditional practices of segregating the sexes, the boys (Imran and Khareem) sat in front of the girls (Jamila and Laila). Although this may have affected the proportion of same-sex interaction to some extent, it did not hinder active engagement in responding to those of the other sex at all. Mrs. B is an English teacher from South Asia, who is fluent in Urdu and knows some Japanese.

At the time of recording, Jamila, Khareem, and Laila were seen using both Japanese and Urdu to their parents and their younger sister. Imran was seen using Urdu to his parents and his younger sister.

2.3 Classroom practices

A brief description of the classroom conventions which took place throughout my recordings and my observation is given here. Pupils often talk among themselves while Mrs. B teaches. Their peer conversation may occur while Mrs. B is saying something, while Mrs. B or other participants are reading the text from the textbook, or while the pupils are supposed to work on their tasks in silence.

Topics of talk vary in nature, such as something happening in the physical environment (e.g. borrowing, lending, or breaking their belongings, their doodles), incidents at day school (e.g. school trips, school events, school rules, teachers, friends), talk of children's culture outside school (e.g. TV programmes, animation, pop songs, TV/computer games and portable electronic games), talk of incidents at the mosque and the social relationships there (e.g. gossips of other friends and adult members at the mosque).

The use of Urdu by bilingual children is mostly restricted to when they talk to the teachers or infants. However, this does not mean that pupils categorically used Urdu alone to them. In fact, the data suggests that they used far more Japanese than Urdu when speaking to the teacher. Using Urdu was not a strategy to say something which they cannot say in Japanese. Excluding word-level insertions, quotations of adults were the only instances where the bilingual children used Urdu within their peer conversation.

3. Quotations in interaction by bilingual pupils
3.1 Quotations and children's peer conversations

Studies claim that quotations in interaction are not always acts of providing factual, neutral, word-to-word information of the original speech. Rather, they are considered utterances transformed by the reporter from the original speech, with interactional functions. Tannen (1989) claims that quotations are not truth just reported but creative constructions by the ongoing

speaker in the situation where the speech is about to be made. Labov states that direct speech in reporting experiences provides a way to intensify certain narrative events, warding off indifferent stances to the reported talk (1972:396).

It follows that quotations of adults should not be treated as accurate reports of the original utterance. It is highly likely that the wordings and intentions of the original speech are transformed by the speaker, as they are incorporated into the speaker's ongoing narrative. For instance, Japanese quotations of adults' utterances which were unlikely to have been said originally in Japanese were also observed. What is more, all five quotations in Urdu by pupils which appeared in my data were that of South Asian adults' speech, and not of children's speech.

As the bilingual pupils quoted the adults in both Urdu and in Japanese of the adults, it is highly likely that the bilingual children choose which language to use in quotation as their interaction folds. If they could choose in which language to recount, how and why would the bilingual pupils choose to quote in one language or the other?

3.2 Excerpt 1: His dad's on his son's side

The first excerpt is part of a longer stretch of talk on the fact that Khareem had not got his game disk back from Hakim, a boy who does not come to the mosque regularly and was not present either. The excerpt starts nearly one and a half minute into the conversation. The following is what had happened before the excerpt. Jamila and Imran found out that Khareem had not got his money back from Hakim. Urged by Imran to tell the full story, Khareem recounted Hakim's account that Hakim's mother hid Hakim's game console with Khareem's game disk inside, and that Hakim's mother wouldn't give it back even when Hakim asked her to. Jamila and Imran nagged Khareem for returning Hakim's game without making sure he gets his own back. In the excerpt, Khareem narrates to Imran and others how he tried appealing to Hakim's father to set things right but in vain.

Excerpt 1 (original at the left, English translation at the right)

56	I; nande	(why
57	aituno otoosan ni	don't you tell his dad?)
58	iwanai noo?	
59	K; itte mo muda damon	(There's no point telling him)
60	aitu no otoosan toka	(someone like his dad)
61	zettai kodomo no mikata siteru	(Definitely he's on his son's side)
62	ore hatigatu zyuuyon niti ni ittayo	(I told on the 14th of August)
63	aitu no otoosan ni	(To his dad)
64	nani nani *calo ye bas dusre bar*	(what what *go that's enough next time*

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le kar aa jaaegaa toka	*he will bring it,* he said something
65 ittesa	like that)
66 (5.0)	
67 K; zibun no otoosan ni itte mo	(It's also useless telling my own
68 muda [dasi]	dad)
69 B; [ey]	
70 *cup karo*	(*be quiet*)
71 (3.0)	
72 I; buttobaseba	(Why don't you
73 iizyan	beat him up)

Imran asks "Why don't you tell his dad" at lines 56-58, with the first word *nande* contracted sounds more like a reprimanding with the nuance of "Why haven't you told his dad". Khareem takes Imran's speech as an opportunity to express his righteousness, helplessness, and indignation to be shared through narrating an event. Lines 59-61 are his evaluation of the event—there is no point telling Hakim's father anymore. Details of the event follows (lines 62-65), ending with the Urdu quotation (line 64).

Khareem's account of his action in lines 62-63 shifts into direct quotation of Hakim's father. He starts the quotation in Japanese, but smoothly switches into Urdu for the rest. In terms of linguistic form, *nani nani* (line 64) is structured as if they were words spoken by Hakim's father, although it is less likely that Hakim's father did use these exact Japanese words. What is more, the *nani nani* and the rest of the quotation in Urdu would not pragmatically go together in one utterance, as there must have been a part where Khareem recounted his story between that and what follows.

So what is going on in this stretch of talk? We see two issues—the giving of detailed information and the display of dissatisfaction towards the quoted person. By doing these, Khareem constructs his narrative to gain sympathy and solidarity from his peers who are present in the classroom.

Khareem gives details of the occasion when he spoke with Hakim and his father (lines 62-65). By giving the exact date of the confrontation (which was almost half a year before the recording), he tries to tell his peers that he did talk to Hakim's father.

In addition, Khareem shows dissatisfaction towards Hakim's father in various ways. The *toka ittesa* at the end of the quotation (lines 45-46) shows negative affective stance towards the quoted part. The *toka* (here 'someone like') in *aitu no otoosan toka* (line 60) shows that there is some problem with Hakim's father from Khareem's point of view. The term *zettai* (line 61) is also emotionally charged.

Rather than saying Hakim's father is sided with Hakim, Khareem says Hakim's father is sided

with his son, describing him as a morally wrong father who is too lenient with his son. After a pause, Khareem says that there is no point in telling his own father either, which functions as a coda (Labov and Waletzky 1969), further noting his helplessness.

What are the consequences of Khareem's narrative? Imran seems to acknowledge Khareem's narrative at lines 72-73, aligning with Khareem by justifying that Hakim is wrong and deserves to be beaten up (although not in a literal sense). This is similar to the instance found in Goodwin's work of black child play-group, where the narrator 'attempts to encourage a reaction of righteous indignation so that the listener will promise to confront the offending absent party in the future' (1997:109-110). From Imran's reaction, it seems that this quotation helped Khareem to acquire an ally in righteous indignation.

3.3 Excerpt 2: Dad says

In the following excerpt, Jamila asks Khareem to join her in asking their father a favour, but is met with Khareem's refusal, despite sharing the same wish as her. More precisely, Jamila tries to get her siblings to voluntarily join her in asking permission from their father to request the school to provide school lunch adjusted to their dietary requirements. Quotations are observed when Khareem quotes their father, in Japanese the first time (line 21), and in Urdu the second (line 36).

Excerpt 2

01 J;	#########	
02	nee aredayo?..	(Hey you know)
03	anone	(you know)
04	nankaa,	(well)
05	gakkoo	(my school
06	no tomodati ga ittetanndakedoo	friend was telling me)
07	ga arerugii toka aruhito iru zyan	(ga, you know there are some people who've got something like allergies)
08	sonohito niwa tokubetu ni kyuushoku	(For those people they
09	tukutte age[tendayo]	cook special school meals)
10 K;	[soodayo]	(Yeah I know)
11 J;	dakara utirademo tukutte kureruyo	(So they would cook for us too
12	ieba=	if we tell them)
13 K;	=Suzuki toka nara	(For people like Suzuki
14	tamago nuki de tukutte	they cooked without eggs)
15	agetetandayo	
16 J;	dakara utiramo ieba	(So they'd make for us too
17	zettai tukuttekurerutte	definitely if we tell them,

18 niku nuki nante	no meat
19 [kantan deshoo]	should be easy)
20 K; [dakara otoo]sanga..	(You see, dad's
21 matigaete iretyaukamo	said they might
22 sirenai	put it in by mistake)
23 tte	
24 J; naani	(No worries,
25 tyanto	if you tell
26 ieba [saa?	properly, you know)
27 K; [o—ore ittayo	(I told
28 otoosan ni	dad
29 kyoo kuruma de	today in the car)
30 (0.5)	
31 zutto iituduketayo	(Kept on telling him all the way)
32 L; mini [konaide	(Don't come and look)
33 K; [sositara	(then
34 (0.5)	
35 sositaraa.	then
36 *vo galat bhii se ### sakte haiN*	*they could be ### wrongly*
37 toka saa	something like that you know
38 [nanka moo	well after all)
39 I; [ore wa [²####	(I ####)
40 J; [² ####naito	(We might have to ####
41 dame kamo sinnaikedo	but
42 itioo itte miyoo yo	we can at least try asking)
43 I; ore wa [okaa	(I mu-)
44 K; [dakara	(So
45 otoosan ni	tell
46 itteyo	dad
47 oreni iuna si.	not me)

It is Jamila who brings up the topic suddenly and excitedly (line 02). Jamila says that they may be able to have special school meals for them too (lines 11-12). In response, Khareem just confirms the information Jamila provided, first by simply agreeing (line 05) and second by giving an example that he knows such cases. However, since he does not respond to what Jamila said at lines 11-12 (that they could have some special meals), Jamila reiterates it at lines 16-19, upgrading with *zettai* ('definitely', line 17) and by giving specific details ('meatless is

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easy', lines 18-19).

This is when Khareem quotes his father in Japanese. Interpreting Jamila's utterance at lines 16-19 as an indirect request to collaborate in asking their father, he refuses it by quoting his father in Japanese at lines 20-23. This quotation is designed as a back-up of his reluctance in accepting Jamila's request.

Khareem quoting what their father has said in Japanese was not enough for Jamila to take back her request. In lines 24-25, she belittles his failed attempt to convince their father as insufficient. In response, Khareem retorts that he did make sufficient effort. He starts narrating by giving specific details of when, where, and how he told his father (lines 27-31). Using words such as *zutto* ('all the time', line 31) and *iituduketa* ('continuously said', also line 31), he asserts that he made maximum effort. The direct quotation in Urdu follows such attempt.

There are two ways in which this quotation in Urdu works as an indirect but strong refusal to Jamila's request. Firstly, it strengthens the claim that Khareem did tell their father, by enacting the scene more authentically with Urdu words, as they would have been closer to the original words of their father than in Japanese. At the same time, by invoking the authority of the father in a more direct way by using Urdu, he is emphasising his helplessness, leading to pointlessness in his trying once more.

Furthermore, in order to show his dissatisfaction towards the reported event, Khareem adds *toka saa* (loosely translated into English as 'something like that you know') at the end of the quotation (line 37). The adding of these words shows a negative affective stance towards their father's speech, and aligning with Jamila at the same time.

Here we see the end of the conversation in a similar way as in excerpt 1. Unlike her straight rejection of Khareem's Japanese quotation (lines 24 to 26), this time Jamila takes in Khareem's words. She downgrades her original invitation saying *dame kamo sirenai kedo* ('it may not be possible', line 41) and by words such as *itioo* ('just in case', line 42) and *miyoo* ('let's try', also line 42). Like in excerpt 1, the quotation functions as the climax, giving a quick closing of the discussion.

4. Discussion and conclusion

Although quotations in Urdu function as a contextualisation cue, the heritage language was not randomly used like in Gumperz's examples. In this peer group, using Urdu for quotations was not an unmarked choice. Quotations in Urdu were used by the bilingual pupils as resources in narrative and interaction as they are context-embedded.

In both excerpts, direct quotations in Urdu appeared at the climax of the narrative. More precisely, both quotations were parts of narrating specific events in detail, and functioned as the justification of the speaker's stance. It seems that incorporating the adult's speech in Urdu played a part in evoking some attention, agreement and empathy towards the speaker

by appealing to their past experiences of communication with the adults. As the peer group shares a similar background and experience where their parents and the teacher at the mosque school speak to them in Urdu in various occasions, both speakers and hearers seem to find Urdu quotations as vivid representations of the past experience within the narrative. In both excerpts, we have seen that the speaker was successful in keeping or creating the emotional alignment and solidarity from others who were listening. The next turns of the narratives by story tellers can be analysed whether or not the narrator was successful in warding off a "so what?" response (Goodwin 1997). In the two excerpts, the responses of the hearers after the Urdu quotations showed that the speaker was successful in having his voice heard.

Vološinov (1973)[5] states that no language can ever be independent of the original context. The quoted speech and the original and the new context are not separate and independent, but rather, interrelated. He also supposes that language also reflects 'stable social interrelationships among speakers' (1973:118). In the bilingual conversation with shared context, the lesser used heritage language is not just another code spared for interactions with those who speak the language or contact with the heritage culture, but echoes of the everyday social world the participants live in. Such a Bakhtinian view supports studying bilingual conversation from a more ethnographic and context-embedded approach.

Since this paper limited the number of excerpts to two, it may have led to some categorical views on the relationship between language and social relationship among peers. In fact, how the heritage language is perceived and used is less likely to be fixed and immutable, but more likely to be flexible and constantly changing, especially in such a small community. It is hoped that not only the quotations but also other phenomena from the data would show the construction of more delicate hues of social relations in the community through multilingual language use, giving further insights on variations in how we associate different meanings to different languages in social life.

Notes

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1) The other four functions of codeswitching as contextualization cues are interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and 'personalization versus objectivization' (Gumperz 1982)

2) The data from which these examples are taken were recorded in winter and spring 2009.

3) Unfortunately the full ecology of languages at the mosque cannot be discussed here, but see Yamashita (2009)

4) All names are pseudonyms chosen by the author.

5) There are disagreements as to whether Vološinov, V. N. was a pen name for Mikhail Bakhtin. However, most scholars agree that this work is part of the Bakhtinian circle and its ideas.

6) Transcription conventions are based on Discourse Transcription developed by University of California, Santa Barbara (Du Bois 2006). Number sign (#) represents unintelligible syllable(s). Japanese words are transliterated in kunrei-siki style. Urdu words are transliterated in italicised and underlined Roman alphabet.

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