Ecology and Identity in Koineization: Cake Baking in a Diaspora Brazilian Portuguese Speech Community in Japan[1]

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This paper examines the ecology and identity observed in a diaspora Brazilian Portuguese speech community in Jōsō City, Ibaraki Prefecture in Japan where an immigrant koiné is newly emerging. Our participant observation of and ethnographic interviews with 60 participants as well as the sociodemography of the research site are analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Adopting the *cake-baking metaphor* (Britain 2012) that views research methods in koiné formation as analogous to cooking, it investigates the *ingredients of koiné* by exploring the participants' places of origin and occupational and educational backgrounds, and the languages in competition in Jōsō City, as well as the *recipe for koiné* by observing and analyzing the social life of the participants and their ethnographic setting in Jōsō City (i.e., their integration into local Japanese and Brazilian communities) and within/beyond Japan (i.e., their transnational mobility between Japan and Brazil as well as geographical mobility within Japan). Narratives on their sense of belonging and identity, which second-generation participants voluntarily initiated, are also examined. These depictions, it is hoped, will enable our future work to better account for the formation and development of this newly emergent immigrant koiné in the local context.

Keywords: sense of belonging, transnational mobility, linguistic landscape, cake-baking metaphor, Japanese Brazilian immigrants

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the ecology and identity of a diaspora Brazilian Portuguese speech community in Jōsō City, Ibaraki Prefecture in Japan, where an immigrant koiné is newly emerging. Since the 1990s when the influx of '*Nikkei* Brazilian (Japanese Brazilian)' immigrant workers led to the appearance of Brazilian communities across Japan, this population has been studied from a range of sociolinguistic perspectives (Shigematsu 2009, Feijo 2016, Okumura 2018a). However, this newly emerging variety of Brazilian Portuguese, which has come about as a result of language and dialect contact, has yet to be investigated from the perspective of koiné formation. To address this gap, we set out to conduct a variationist research project on Brazilian Portuguese as an immigrant koiné in Jōsō City in 2018 (see Matsumoto 2019 for variationist sociolinguistics).

Our preliminary results related to Strong-R[2] realized through the Brazilian Portuguese wordlist, as well as our ethnography on speakers' dialectal backgrounds, abilities in Portuguese and Japanese, education (Brazilian vs. Japanese schools), and social networks have provided some evidence of dialect *leveling* and *focusing* in Brazilian Portuguese as well as xenolectal inputs from Japanese, demonstrating that a newly emerging variety in Jōsō City resembles the Southeast and South Dialects in Brazil, both of which are used in the areas where the majority of first-generation participants come from (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019).

The ecology and identity involved in koiné formation in this speech community, however, has yet to be fully explored. Ecology involves essential factors likely to affect how new dialects are being formed (Mufwene 2001, 2008). In other words, the more we know about the ecology of a speech community where a new dialect develops from an embryotic to a fully-fledged variety, the more we can learn about the necessary social conditions for both the birth and the linguistic structure of a koiné as it is. Identity, on the other hand, has been a controversial concept, which some believe has the potential to shape new dialects, while others find it irrelevant to koiné formation (see discussions on the (ir)relevance of identity on the formation of new varieties by Trudgill 2008 and Schneider 2008 etc.). This paper, therefore, supplementarily provides more detailed information on the ecology and identity observed in Jōsō City that was not described in detail in Matsumoto and Okumura (2019).

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[2] According to previous research on rhotics in Brazilian Portuguese (for example, Rennicke 2015, Bouchard 2017), Brazilian rhotics are classified into the following three categories, **Strong-R**, **Weak-r**, and **coda**, on the basis of syllable structure. A Strong-R is a back fricative that appears as a word-initial <r> or intervocalic <rr>. A Weak-r is typically an alveolar tap that appears as an intervocalic <r> or the second member of consonant cluster. A coda <r> is pronounced with any rhotic sound that appears either in word-internal or word-final coda position.

2. Background to Brazilian immigrants in Japan

In 1989, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was radically revised with the effect that up to third-generation Japanese descendants living abroad began to be allowed to come to Japan to work. This marks the beginning of the phenomenon known as reverse-migration as a form of *dekasegi*[3];—a key term in the history of Japanese overseas emigration, which means 'to leave home temporarily or seasonally to earn money', though these supposedly *temporary* workers often end up staying for a prolonged period and eventually settling permanently. Thus, Japan has, in effect, begun to accept *returning* Japanese Brazilians as labor immigrants. The reason behind this drastic revision was that it was practically impossible for the Japanese domestic labor force to meet the ever-expanding demand for manual laborers during the height of the bubble economy.

Figure 1 illustrates the rise and fall of the populations of Brazilians in Japan since 1989 through the present. The number of Brazilian immigrants continued to rise steadily, eventually reaching over 310,000 at the peak of immigration in 2008. However, later in 2008, the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers led to massive layoffs. Consequently, a large number of Brazilian immigrants returned to Brazil. The Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, which caused a critical nuclear accident, was a further discouraging factor for them
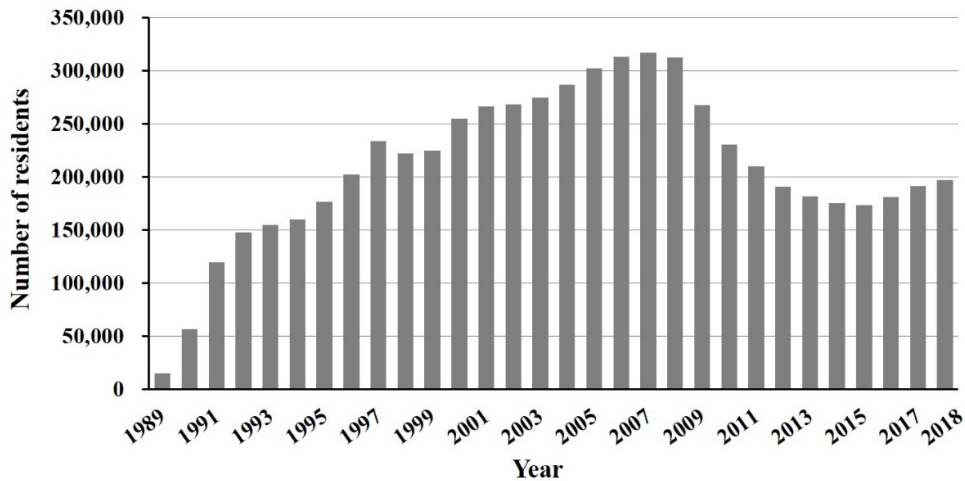
Fig. 1   The population of Brazilian residents in Japan
(MOJ 1993, 1998, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2007–18)

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[3] The spelling conventions for this term vary depending on the language in the destination where Japanese labor emigrants have settled; it is *dekasegui* in the Spanish spoken in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico and so forth; *dekassegui* in Brazilian Portuguese; and *dekasegi* in the English spoken in Hawaii, the USA, and Canada. As discussed further below, not only Brazilians but also Peruvians and other Spanish-speaking Japanese descendants from Central and South American countries now live in Japan.

to remain in Japan. As a result, the population of Brazilians in Japan as of June 2018 was slightly below 200,000. Nevertheless, Brazilians continue to represent the largest ethnic group from a non-Asian country among foreign residents in Japan.

It should be noted that the Brazilian immigrant communities that have emerged up and down the country include not only *Japanese* Brazilians but also Brazilians *without Japanese consanguinity*, such as the spouses of Japanese Brazilians and those who entered into sham marriages with Japanese Brazilians in order to obtain a 'long-term resident' visa.

In 2015, the Tokyo Citizens Council (Conselho de Cidadãos de Tóquio) of the Brazilian Consulate General in Japan [4] issued the Declaration of Yokohama (Declaração de Yokohama), which indicates the end of the period of *dekasegi*, highlighting the importance of the choice open to Japanese Brazilian immigrants to Japan of becoming long-term or even permanent residents as members of Japanese society (the Tokyo Citizens Council 2015).

With a further revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act put into effect in 2018, the criterion for acceptance of immigrants has been broadened to include fourth-generation Japanese descendants living overseas. The rationale behind this further revision is that Japan is facing a rapidly aging society, which is causing a serious shortage in the domestic labor force. It was predicted that this would encourage Japanese Brazilians to come to work in Japan.

However, in contrast to the previous revision of the immigration law, which was flexible in many ways, the present further revision contains restrictions on accompanying family members, the type of work to be engaged in (i.e., unskilled jobs), and on the period of stay (i.e., up to five years) in addition to a requirement of Japanese language ability. Consequently, there were zero visa applications in the first three months following this revision (Toyama 2018).

Table 1 shows the top twenty Japanese prefectures in which Brazilians reside ranked according to the size of the Brazilian immigrant population as of June 2018. As can be seen from the table, Brazilians are concentrated in areas where automobile (e.g., Toyota, Suzuki, Subaru, and Honda) and other manufactories are located, such as Aichi, Shizuoka, Mie, Gunma, and Gifu Prefectures. Figure 2 illustrates these top twenty prefectures on a map of Japan; the darker the green color, the larger the size of the local Brazilian population. It shows that Brazilian immigrants have clustered together mostly in the Chūbu (including Aichi, Shizuoka, Gifu, and Nagano Prefectures) and Kantō Regions (including Gunma, Saitama, Ibaraki, and Kanagawa Prefectures), while Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, Chūgoku, Shikoku, Kyūshū, and Okinawa have not received large numbers of Brazilians. Thus, Brazilian

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[4] The Tokyo Citizens Council of the Brazilian Consulate General in Japan is composed of community leaders residing in the regions of northern Kantō and further north (Ishi 2018: 6).

communities have been established in certain areas of Japan, rather than throughout the country.

Table 1   Top 20 prefectures where Brazilians reside as of 2018 (MOJ 2018)

| Ranking	Prefecture	Number of Brazilians	Ranking	Prefecture	Number of Brazilians
1	Aichi	56,942	11	Tochigi	4,324
2	Shizuoka	28,807	12	Fukui	3,546
3	Mie	13,691	13	Chiba	3,494
4	Gunma	12,628	14	Tōkyō	3,454
5	Gifu	10,993	15	Shimane	3,145
6	Kanagawa	8,762	16	Yamanashi	2,711
7	Shiga	8,724	17	Toyama	2,582
8	Saitama	7,302	18	Ōsaka	2,531
9	Ibaraki	5,870	19	Hyōgo	2,483
10	Nagano	5,329	20	Hiroshima	2,281
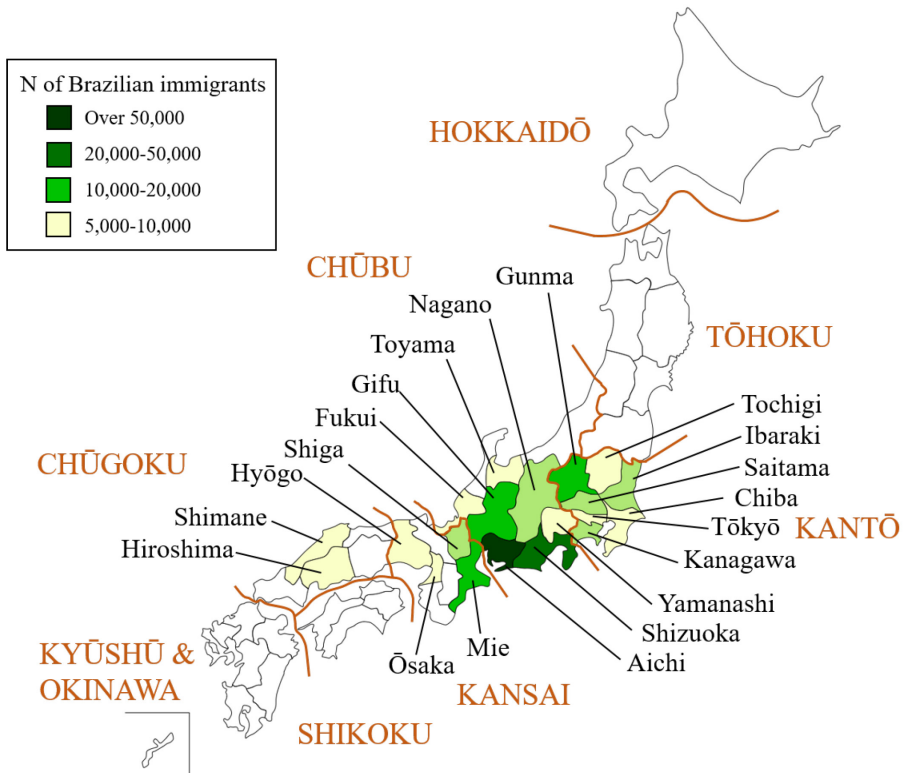
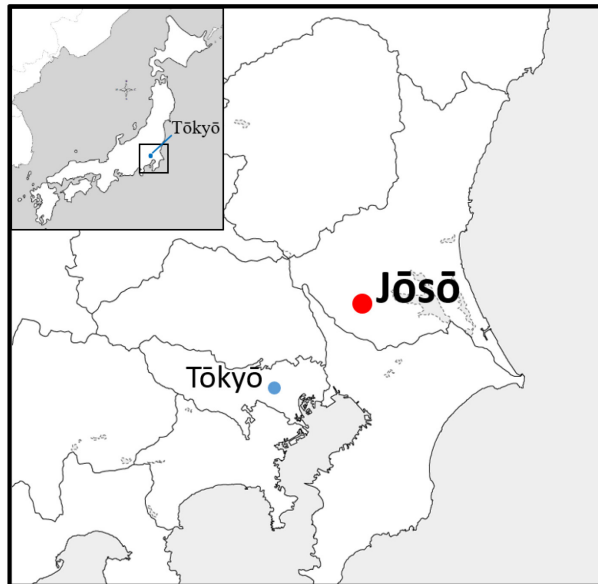Fig. 2   Top 20 prefectures where Brazilians reside as of 2018 (MOJ 2018)

Fig. 3   Jōsō City—location within Japan

The community under investigation in our study is located in Ibaraki Prefecture, which is ranked in ninth place for population size in Table 1. Approximately 6,000 Brazilians reside there. Jōsō City (see Figure 3) is the area in which Brazilians are most concentrated in this prefecture, the majority of whom are engaged in local food manufacturing industries. This work attracts not only Brazilians but also other foreign labor immigrants, together amounting to 7.7% of the city's population as of December 2018 (Jōsō City 2019). There are Brazilian supermarkets, restaurants, beauty salons, sports gyms, and *judo* classes, all of which target Brazilian customers; a driving school and churches accessible in Portuguese; and a Brazilian school that offers education from nursery to high school (see Shigematsu 2009 and Okumura 2018a for Brazilian schools). All of these institutions and facilities allow Brazilians to live in Jōsō City without being required to have fluency in Japanese.

3. Data and methodology

During our fieldwork conducted in the Brazilian community in Jōsō City in 2018, we adopted the **'quota sampling'** method (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30–33) on the basis of generation, gender, and school. It is often practically impossible to employ a 'random sampling method' for research on immigrant communities because there tends to be no available registry of community members. Thus, the quota sampling method appears to be the more realistic and appropriate sampling method for this type of community (Milroy and

Gordon 2003: 32; see also Horvath 1985 and Fox 2015, which employ the quota sampling method in their respective studies of the English varieties spoken by immigrants in Sydney and London).

In our attempt to fill the quotas, we used the **'snowball technique'** (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32), also known as **'network sampling'** (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 135) as our method of recruitment of potential research participants. In other words, we asked our participants to introduce their friends who might be willing to co-operate with our research to us as new participants. The major merit of this method is that since fieldworkers approach a new research participant 'not as a complete outsider but more in the role of the **'friend of a friend'** by referring to the insider's name, 'the fieldworkers' good faith' is said to be guaranteed, which makes it easier to obtain data (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32, 75). In this way, we collected data in various places frequented by Brazilian community members, such as a Brazilian school, Brazilian store and supermarket, Brazilian restaurants, a beauty salon and so on. We have so far obtained data from 60 participants in total.

As Table 2 shows, our research participants so far consist of 18 first-generation Brazilians who came to Japan after reaching adulthood, 21 Japan-born second-generation Brazilians, and 21 Brazil-born second-generation Brazilians who came to Japan when they were very young and spent their critical period in Japan[5]. In other words, we selected the second-generation participants on the criterion that they spent their critical period of language acquisition and development in Japan, because *where* speakers spend that crucial time in which an individual can acquire language(s) is very likely to be an important factor affecting their language behavior later in life.

Table 2   Research participants by generation, gender, and birthplace

Generation	Birthplace	Male	Female	SUBTOTAL	TOTAL	GRAND TOTAL
First generation	Brazil	7	10	17	18	
	Japan	1	0	1		60
Second generation	Brazil	10	11	21	42	
	Japan	11	10	21		

It is worth noting that in the history of Japanese overseas emigration, Brazil, since 1908, has received the largest number of Japanese immigrants. Most of the first-generation participants in this Japanese Brazilian community in Jōsō City are actually also equivalent

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5   As this project is still in progress, our corpus is not yet well balanced in terms of generation and the school background of second-generation participants. So far, the number of second-generation Brazilians who attend Brazilian school is larger than that of those who attend Japanese schools (see Table 8 in 5.3). Our future fieldwork will attempt to construct a more balanced corpus by collecting more data from the first-generation and second-generation Brazilians who attend Japanese schools.

to third-generation Japanese immigrants in Brazil. That is to say, when our first-generation participants grew up in Brazil, they were raised by parents who were second-generation Japanese immigrants mostly born and bred in Brazil. Consequently, most of our first-generation participants did not have communicative Japanese abilities when they arrived in Japan.[6]

Our data consist of three parts: (1) ethnography, (2) recordings of reading aloud of a wordlist, and (3) spontaneous speech. The ethnography of the participants was collected through both ethnographic interviews and participant observation. For the wordlist task, we asked the participants to read aloud a list of 77 words[7] that contains target variables in a range of linguistic environments such as adjacent sounds and word stress. We also recorded spontaneous speech data through semi-structured interviews.

Our earlier study (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019) qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed Strong-R realized through the Brazilian Portuguese wordlist as well as ethnography on speakers' dialectal backgrounds, abilities in Portuguese and Japanese, education (Brazilian vs. Japanese schools), and social networks.

This paper further explores the language ecology not described in detail by Matsumoto and Okumura (2019). Our participant observation of and ethnographic interviews with 60 participants in the Brazilian community in Jōsō City, as well as the sociodemography of the research site, are analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

4. Theoretical motivations

Since Trudgill's (1986) pioneering work *Dialects in Contact*, the dialect contact paradigm of research in variationist sociolinguistics has investigated the linguistic outcomes of contact between varieties of the same language in a number of different contexts, such as postcolonial (a postcolonial English variety that has been formed in New Zealand [Trudgill 2004]; a postcolonial Japanese variety that once emerged and is now becoming obsolete in Palau [Matsumoto and Britain 2003, forthcoming; Matsumoto 2013]), immigrant (Indian immigrants in Fiji [Siegel 1987] and those in South Africa [Mesthrie 1991]), new town (Milton Keynes in England [Kerswill and William 2000], Izumi Park Town in Japan [Okumura 2018b, 2020]), and urban (Norwich [Trudgill 1974], Multicultural London English [Fox 2015]) as well as rural (Fens in England [Britain 1997a, 1997b]) contexts.

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[6] The only exception in our data is that one of the first-generation participants is a *second-generation* Japanese immigrant *in Brazil*. He was born in Japan and then taken to Brazil by his parents at the age of two. He has good communicative ability both in Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese.
[7] We plan to add more words to examine more linguistic constraints in the future.

In his reflections on methods in dialect contact research, Britain (2012: 220) explains that **cooking metaphors** have been applied to the methods used in dialect contact research, particularly on koineization, since 'an original mix (of dialects) eventually ends up as a more homogenized final product (a koiné)'. Using the culinary metaphor of **cake-baking** Britain (2012: 224) then points out that, in some studies, we know what the cake tastes like (i.e., the final product, a koiné), but are not certain of either the ingredients (for instance, original input dialects, number and background of input speakers, other languages in competition) or the recipe (e.g., ethnographic setting and language ideologies).

In the case of our ongoing study on a Brazilian Portuguese immigrant koiné in Jōsō City, it is true that our knowledge and understanding of its linguistic structure will increase as our study progresses (i.e., the final product, a koiné). In terms of both the ingredients and the recipe, however, there is room for closer scrutiny.

Britain (2012: 224–225) outlines a number of essential factors that we should take into consideration in order to understand how new dialects were formed well after the contact event:

(a) We need to know where people came from in the donor community, of what backgrounds, in what numbers, and what dialects they brought with them;

(b) We need to understand 'the ethnographic setting in which the … displaced population has come into contact with … other populations whose structural features enter into the competition with its own features' (Mufwene 1996: 85). Has the transported dialect engaged in *language* as well as dialect contact?;

(c) We need to know about the language ideologies that speakers brought with them, as these, it has been argued, may affect their stances both towards different varieties present in the post-contact dialect mix, but also towards the standard metropolitan variety;

(d) We need to know more about what Mufwene (2001) calls the ecology—the nature of social life—of the early post-contact society.

In what follows, therefore, in order to fully apply the cake-baking metaphor by Britain (2012) to our study on an immigrant koiné in Jōsō City,[8] we make it clear what *ingredients* and parts of the *recipe* have already been identified by our earlier study (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019) and what is still missing. We then list the *ingredients* and the *recipe* components that this paper investigates.

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[8] Matsumoto (2013) also applies the *cake-baking metaphor* by Britain (2012) to her study on a postcolonial Japanese koiné on Palau in the Western Pacific.

4.1. The ingredients of a Brazilian immigrant koiné

Our earlier work (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019) has partly investigated some of the ingredients, namely, what dialects the first-generation immigrants brought with them to Jōsō City and in what numbers, by identifying where they spent the most time during their critical period of language acquisition and development on the basis of their answers regarding their birthplace and history of residence, and then by allocating them accordingly into one of the six dialect divisions in Brazil proposed by Canepari (2017: 152) (see Figure 4).

Fig. 4   Dialect divisions in Brazilian Portuguese on the basis of accent (Canepari 2017: 152)

Table 3 shows the dialectal background of first-generation community members in Jōsō City according to the dialect divisions in Brazil (Canepari 2017: 152).[9] From this table, we can see that the Southeast and South Dialect regions sent the vast majority of Brazilian immigrants to Jōsō City. This information was critical in understanding the post-contact

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[9] As Table 3 shows, the parents of second-generation participants in our study are also included as first-generation community members in Jōsō City, because, needless to say, the second-generation participants were brought by their parents to Japan; hence, their parents are also members of the Brazilian community in Jōsō City. In total, 102 first-generation community members were examined; with a total of 18 first-generation participants and parents of 42 second-generation participants (i.e., 84 parents). However, in cases where the father was Peruvian, he was counted as 'others'; in cases where second-generation speakers did not know where exactly their parents came from, their responses were recorded as 'unknown'; in cases where (twin) brothers and sisters participated in our research, we counted their parents only once and in cases where both a mother (as a first-generation participant) and her child (as a second-generation participant) co-operated with our research, we did not count the child's mother in order to avoid double-counting.

Table 3   Dialectal background of first-generation community members in Jōsō City

Dialect area in Brazil		First generation		Parents of second generation		TOTAL	
North		0	(0.00%)	1	(1.75%)	1	(1.33%)
Northeast		2	(11.11%)	1	(1.75%)	3	(4.00%)
Brasilia		0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)
Central		1	(5.56%)	1	(1.75%)	2	(2.67%)
Southeast		7	(38.89%)	22	(38.60%)	29	(38.67%)
South		8	(44.44%)	32	(56.14%)	40	(53.33%)
	TOTAL	18	(100%)	57	(100%)	75	(100%)
Others	Peru	0		1		1	
	State unknown	0		16		16	
	City unknown in São Paulo State	0		6		6	
	Parents of twins	0		2		2	
	Mother of 2nd generation already included in 1st generation	0		2		2	
	TOTAL including 'others'	18		84		102	

dialect mix as well as the linguistic outcomes by both first- and second-generation speakers (see Matsumoto and Okumura 2019).

However, what is still missing is detailed information on the *precise location* where first-generation speakers spent the most time during their critical period. Oushiro (p.c.), a leading variationist sociolinguist in Brazilian Portuguese, suggests that 'it is very important to consider the exact place of origin of each speaker…because there is great variation in the pronunciation of /r/ even between neighboring states and even cities'.

Secondly, our earlier work (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 254) has already provided (a) the range of speakers' ages as well as (b) their average age at the time of data collection in 2018; (c) their average age on their arrival in Japan; and (d) the average length of their stay in Japan (see Table 4 for the details).

Among these types of data, the average age of first-generation speakers on their arrival in Japan turned out to be the most useful in accounting for both a generational difference in the realization of Strong-R and for potential stylistic variation amongst first-generation

Table 4   Participants' age at the time of data collection and on their arrival in Japan, and the length of their stay

	First generation	Second generation
Range of participants' age in 2018	33 to 63 years old	8 to 24 years old
Average age in 2018	46.0 years old	13.1 years old
Average age on their arrival in Japan	28.2 years old	4.3 years old (only among those born in Brazil)
Average length of their stay in Japan	15.3 years	9.9 years

(Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 254)

speakers. As explained below (see Section 4.2 for language ideologies existing in Brazil brought by first-generation participants to Japan), the age at which speakers left their home country can be an important indicator that may influence their use of language, since a particular age cohort may be sensitive to a particular language ideology existing in the *pre*-contact society. In other words, those who are in the same age cohort, and who are therefore at a similar life stage in their lives, tends to share a similar reaction to a particular language ideology in their homeland, which has important implications for their linguistic outcomes in the *post*-contact society.

However, other background information related to the speakers still needs to be investigated: that is the occupational and educational backgrounds of speakers. In the case of immigrant communities, there is a tendency for those who have received a good education and had jobs requiring higher qualifications in their homeland to come to be engaged in less prestigious jobs in the new community (see Britain and Matsumoto 2015, for example, for Filipino immigrant workers on a Pacific island of Palau). This suggests that it is important to examine occupations both *before* and *after* immigration to consider the possibility that speakers may have linguistic characteristics associated with a particular occupation or social class in the *pre*-contact society. For example, with what sort of occupational and social class backgrounds did Brazilian factory workers in Japan previously have in Brazil? Is there evidence of some of the linguistic outcomes of *social* dialect mixing? This may offer the potential to broaden the scope of our dialect contact study from *regional* dialect to *social* dialect perspectives.

Furthermore, literature on koineization in Mauritian Bhojpuri provides a case where different *regional* dialects in the donor country (India in this case) have been reallocated[10] to different *stylistic* functions (formal vs. casual) in the Mauritian Bhojpuri koiné (Trudgill 1986: 109), while literature on dialect contact in urban Norwich English provides a case where different *regional* dialects brought from other parts of the Norfolk area to the city of Norwich have been reallocated to different *social* functions (lower class, upper-working class, and middle class) (Trudgill 1986: 111).

If we apply Ochs' (1992) notion of 'indexing' to these cases of reallocation, *a stereotypical occupation and/or educational level associated with a particular region* might be the factor that mediates the association between a particular linguistic variant and a particular social class or formality in the *post*-contact society (in Norwich and Mauritia, respectively). For example, a region that has a large city is likely to include speakers with a wider range of educational and occupational backgrounds, whereas a region mostly consisting of rural areas is likely to offer a more limited variety of occupations as well as educational institutions. This may create an image of a particular region that *indirectly*

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[10]   Reallocation is one of the potential linguistic processes of koineization (Britain and Trudgill 1999).

indexes a particular region with a particular social class or formality. Thus, it appears to be crucial to examine both the occupational and educational backgrounds of speakers together with the place of origin, in order to understand the mechanism involved in reallocation in the contexts of both the *pre-* and *post*-contact societies under investigation.

Moreover, the level of education influences subjects' literacy level. On the basis of our preliminary analysis of participants reading aloud from a Brazilian Portuguese wordlist, Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 259) suggest that limited Portuguese literacy has an important implication for the Brazilian Portuguese koiné formation in Japan. Minimal pairs, such as *caro* 'expensive' and *carro* 'car', which also differ in the spelling (i.e., a single <r> or a double <rr>) as well as their realization of (r) both in an intervocalic position, are read aloud in a confused way not only by second-generation but also by first-generation speakers. In Jōsō City, Weak-r is used in a position where a Strong-R would normally be used in Brazilian Portuguese or vice versa (see Bouchard 2017, 2019 for similar patterns found in a postcolonial Portuguese speech community in São Tomé and Príncipe in Central Africa). Thus, for the first-generation participants, it seems essential to examine their educational background in Brazil, while for their second-generation counterparts, it seems fundamental to distinguish between those who have attained Portuguese literacy in a Brazilian school in Japan and those who have mostly attended Japanese schools and did not have an opportunity to achieve Portuguese literacy.

The last ingredient that our earlier work only partially examined is other languages in competition in Jōsō City. Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 257–258) demonstrated that the transplanted Brazilian Portuguese has engaged in *language* as well as dialect contact by providing some evidence that a xenolectal feature from Japanese (i.e., the bilabial fricative [ɸ]), which was not present in the input Portuguese dialects, has entered into competition with its input Brazilian Portuguese features. Other immigrant languages, however, may also be competing languages, since as described above (see Section 2), 7.7% of the population of Jōsō City consists of not only Brazilians, but also Filipinos, Chinese, Peruvians, and so on. It therefore seems sensible to note the existence of other languages in the community, exploring the social life of the participants and their ethnographic setting (i.e., whether the speakers of other languages interact regularly with Brazilian immigrants in Jōsō City and how close they are).

4.2. The recipe of a Brazilian immigrant koiné: language ideologies in the pre-contact society

The first part of the recipe that Britain (2012: 224–225) suggests investigating is language ideologies existing in the *pre*-contact society, since they may influence speakers' stances towards (a) 'different varieties present in the post-contact dialect mix' and (b) 'the

standard metropolitan variety'. Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 257) confirm the validity of the claim by Britain (2012) that language ideologies existent in the pre-contact society can be brought with them by first-generation immigrants to a new settlement. This includes stereotypes towards particular variants present in the home country, which can be maintained in the *post*-contact society, at least among first-generation speakers.

As mentioned above, in our earlier study, the average age of first-generation speakers on their arrival in Japan turned out to be useful in accounting for both a generational difference in the realization of Strong-R and for potential stylistic variation amongst first-generation speakers (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 259). As is common in the settlement context, such as new towns and immigrant communities, those who decide to emigrate to a new place tend to be relatively young. That is to say, those who came to Japan, which is on the exact opposite side of the planet from Brazil, also tended to be from the younger generation; the average age of first-generation Brazilians on their arrival to Japan was 28.2 years old (see Table 4 above).

In Brazil, on the one hand, there has been an ongoing sound change in Brazilian Portuguese Strong-R since the late 19th century, from alveolar trill [r]→ uvular trill [ʀ]→ velar fricative [x]/ uvular fricative [χ]→ glottal fricative [h] (Rennicke 2015: 42–45). On the other hand, different variants of Strong-R are used in different regions in Brazil; the alveolar trill [r] is widely used across the South Dialect region (Noll 2008: 71), which sent the second largest number of first-generation Brazilian participants to Jōsō City (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 255; also see above). However, the important language ideology to be highlighted here is that since the alveolar trill [r] is the oldest sound in the trajectory of the ongoing sound change, it is overtly stereotyped as 'old people's speech' (Madureira 2019: 195) in *pre*-contact Brazilian society.

Our analysis of wordlist data shows that none of the first-generation speakers, including those from the South Dialect region, used the alveolar trill [r], while some of the second-generation speakers whose parent(s) are from the South Dialect region did use it (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 257, 259). We argued, therefore, that the stereotype of the alveolar trill [r] as 'old people's speech' in the *pre*-contact society was carried over to Jōsō City, at least among first generation Brazilian immigrants, so that the archaic variant was not favored among those who were relatively young when they first arrived to Jōsō City (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 257). That is to say, first-generation Brazilian immigrants are aware of its stereotype through their experience of living in Brazil; and though they would probably normally use the alveolar trill [r] in Jōsō City, they might have avoided pronouncing it during the wordlist task, where they could pay more attention to their pronunciation than in spontaneous conversation (see Labov 2001 for 'attention paid to speech'). By contrast, some second-generation Brazilian immigrants have never been to Brazil (see Section 5.5 for more details), and therefore may not be aware of this stereotype

about the alveolar trill [r]; when they read aloud our wordlist, they were very likely to have pronounced <r> as they normally do. Thus, our earlier work suggested that language ideology existing in the *pre*-contact society may affect a speaker's stance toward a particular variant in the *post*-contact dialect mix, which has influenced the pronunciation by first-generation Brazilian immigrants in Jōsō City. When we analyze the spontaneous speech data in the near future, we intend to investigate if style shifting amongst the first-generation is indeed observable or not.

One potential factor that may encourage immigrants to bring language ideologies that exist in their home countries to a new place of settlement outside of their home country may be their transnational mobility. Regular return visits to their homeland may reconfirm the validity of a language ideology with which immigrants were familiar when they left the country, and may familiarize the returnee with a new linguistic trend in a cosmopolitan city. In fact, Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 258) have demonstrated that except for a handful of tokens of archaic variants (e.g., alveolar trill [r] and uvular trill [ʀ]) used by the second-generation participants, a newly emerging variety in Jōsō City is rapidly *focusing* in the same direction as the ongoing historical sound change in Brazil. That is to say, the glottal fricative [h], the newest sound in the trajectory of the ongoing Strong-R sound change (Rennicke 2015: 42–45; see above), was the majority form among first-generation participants (more or less 70% in both word-initial and intervocalic positions) and is increasingly being used by second-generation participants (about 80% in word-initial and 90% in intervocalic positions). Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 260) point out the frequent use of new media as one of the potential causes of this, since contemporary immigrant communities have ample opportunities to see, hear, and interact with contemporary speakers in their homeland through new media. However, it is also worth investigating the degree of *physical* mobility of the Brazilian Japanese population now living in Japan between their host country (Japan) and their country of origin (Brazil), given that there is some claim that linguistic change takes place during *face-to-face interaction* (Trudgill 1986). If high transnational mobility is found among members of a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, this could be another reason for the fact that a newly emerging variety in Jōsō City is rapidly *focusing* in the same direction as the ongoing historical sound change in Brazil.

4.3. The recipe for a Brazilian immigrant koiné: social life and ethnographic setting in the post-contact society

Another part of the recipe Britain (2012: 224–225) suggests scrutinizing is the nature of social life in the *post*-contact society. Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 257–258) qualitatively analyzed speakers' social networks to account for the diffusion of linguistic

innovation found in Jōsō City. For instance, amongst the first-generation participants, two *linguistic innovators* who selected a xenolectal feature from Japanese (i.e., the bilabial fricative [ɸ]) are both early settlers who arrived in Japan in 1990 and started a restaurant and grocery store, respectively, and who therefore have daily contact with Japanese suppliers, Japanese neighbors, and both Japanese and Brazilian customers. Amongst the second-generation participants, on the other hand, the *linguistic innovators* who also selected the Japanese xenolectal feature were those who attend Japanese schools, whereas the *early adopters* who adopted this feature from these linguistic innovators are those who attend Brazilian school but spend lengthy amounts of time with the Brazilians linguistic innovator students attending Japanese schools, especially when their parents work at night. Thus, this demonstrates the importance of a closer examination of the social lives of the speakers in the *post*-contact society to account for linguistic innovation and diffusion.

There are some aspects of social life in Jōsō City for which we collected data still awaiting analysis. We asked about the frequency of Brazilians' participation in local Japanese events as well as Brazilian community events in order to examine the degree of speakers' integration into local Japanese and Brazilian communities. During our interviews, however, when we asked about participation in these community events, many of the first-generation Brazilians questioned and discussed whether there is indeed a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, while many of the second-generation speakers voluntarily initiated a narrative on their own sense of belonging and identities. That is to say, though it was not by design but by chance, we obtained naturally occurring narratives on identities as well as discussions of the existence of a Brazilian community in Jōsō City. As mentioned above, identity has been a wild card in sociolinguistics, which some believe influences the way new varieties are formed (e.g., Holmes and Kerswill 2008). Others, however, find it irrelevant for new dialect formation (e.g., Trudgill 2008). It would be interesting in the future to see whether and how participants' self-confessed identity is relevant to the koiné formation in Jōsō City.

Another aspect of participants' social lives waiting to be explored is their geographical mobility within Japan. Brazilian immigrants in Japan are generally known for their high mobility in a search of a better paid job, which is often seen as a problem as it frequently causes educational problems for their children. From a dialectological perspective, however, it is critical to grasp their degree of mobility within Japan, since it might lead to supralocalization. The term 'supralocalization' refers to 'the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wider socio-spatial currency become more widely adopted at the expense of more locally specific forms' (Britain 2010: 193). Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 256) have pointed out that given that Japanese emigrants to Brazil and their descendants (i.e., *Japanese* Brazilians) have been concentrated in the Southeast and South Dialect regions of Brazil (Sakurai and Coelho 2008: 71), it is

very likely that these regions sent the most *Japanese* Brazilians to various places in Japan, hence, a similar dialectal makeup as well as a similar koiné as its dialectological consequences to those found in Jōsō City may also be found in other Brazilian communities across Japan. Of course, it is nevertheless possible that slightly different linguistic inputs may have slightly different linguistic outcomes even in similar situations (see, for example, different linguistic characteristics in Bhojpuri koiné among Fiji, South Africa, the Caribbean, and Mauritius). That is, a somewhat different dialectal makeup (thereby slightly different linguistic inputs) may possibly bring about a somewhat different koiné in other Brazilian communities in Japan. However, if Brazilian immigrants frequently move around different Brazilian communities within Japan, it could be predicted that linguistic differences may tend to be leveled out, leading to supralocalization.

4.4. Aims of this paper

In order to apply the *cake-baking metaphor* by Britain (2012) to our research on a Brazilian immigrant koiné formation in Jōsō City, this section has so far reflected on the *ingredients* and *recipe* of the Brazilian Portuguese immigrant koiné in Jōsō City that have been examined by our earlier work (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019) and has identified what still needs to be scrutinized. Therefore, in order to fill these gaps, this paper investigates the following ecology and identity in a diaspora Brazilian Portuguese speech community in Jōsō City.

We examine the following *ingredients* of the koiné in Jōsō City:

1. The exact place of origin of first-generation community members (5.1.);
2. Their occupations *before* and *after* immigration (5.2.);
3. The educational background of first- and second-generation participants (5.3.);
4. Other languages in competition in Jōsō City (5.4.).

We investigate the following *recipe* components of the koiné in the *pre*-contact and *post*-contact societies:

5. The transnational mobility of research participants between Japan and Brazil (5.5.);
6. The geographical mobility of research participants within Japan (5.6.);
7. Their integration into local Japanese and Brazilian communities (5.7.);
8. The self-described identity of second-generation participants (5.8.).

One final important note is that through our discussion of each of the ingredients and components of the recipe that together form a koiné in the local context, we have so far shown that what are called *ingredients* and the *recipe* components are not necessarily either separable or independent elements to each other. We have demonstrated that the average

age of first-generation speakers on their arrival in Japan can be viewed as one of the *ingredients*, because it is part of the background of speakers who brought dialects with them to Jōsō City; however, at the same time, it can be viewed as part of the *recipe*, because particular age cohorts tends to be sensitive to particular language ideologies that exited in the *pre*-contact society (e.g., which variant is likely to sound like 'old people's speech'), which were carried over to Jōsō City.

In an analogous way, other languages in competition in Jōsō City can be understood as some of the *ingredients*, because they have the potential to influence the creation of a koiné; however, at the same time, they can be understood as part of the *recipe*, because it is not certain whether they may indeed enter into the competition with features from the input language of Brazilian Portuguese until we explore the nature of the social lives of speakers of other languages and their ethnographic setting; that is, whether and how often they interact with Brazilians and so forth.

However, this by no means devalues the application of the *cake-baking metaphor* to a koiné formation. In order to understand how the cake as the final product has come to taste as it does, it is indispensable for the chef to know both the ingredients and the recipe well.

5. Ecology and identity in a Brazilian immigrant community in Japan

5.1. The exact places of origin of first-generation community members

Following Oushiro's (p.c.) suggestion, we investigated the exact places of origin of first-generation participants and parents of second-generation participants in our study. Table 5[11] presents a list of the states and cities where first-generation community members spent the most time during their critical period of language acquisition and development, while Figure 5 illustrates immigrants' state of origin on the map of Brazil (the density of Brazilian migration to Jōsō City is indicated by the darkness of the color green). As can be seen from Table 5, São Paulo and Paraná States sent the largest and second largest numbers of immigrants to Jōsō City (N=51; 62.96% and N=20; 24.69% respectively). Within these states, São Paulo City (N=16; 19.75%) sent the most, followed by Iguape and Maringá cities (N=4, 4.94% for both cities). As both Table 5 and Figure 5 illustrate, other states sent only a couple of immigrants to Jōsō City.

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[11] The discrepancy in the total number of first-generation community members analyzed in Table 3 (i.e., N=75) compared to Table 5 (i.e., N=81) is caused by the difference in boundaries between dialect divisions and political divisions like states. São Paulo State is divided into two dialect regions according to Canepari (2017: 152); namely, the Southeast and South Dialect regions. Therefore, in cases where 3 second-generation children only answered which state their parents came from, but did not know which city their parents (N=6) came from, it was impossible for us to classify them into either a Southeast or South Dialect region origin; hence they are categorized as 'others' in Table 3.

Table 5   Place of origin of first-generation community members by state and city

| State	City	First generation	Parents of second generation	TOTAL
São Paulo	São Paulo	2	14	16 (19.75%)
	Iguape	1	3	4 (4.94%)
	Mogi das Cruzes	1	2	3 (3.70%)
	Ribeirão Preto	0	3	3 (3.70%)
	Santos	2	0	2 (2.47%)
	Jundiaí	0	2	2 (2.47%)
	Sertãozinho	0	2	2 (2.47%)
	São José dos Campos	1	1	2 (2.47%)
	Guarulhos	1	0	1 (1.23%)
	Araçatuba	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Bauru	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Junqueirópolis	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Lins	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Marília	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Registro	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Rio Preto	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	São Caetano	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Taubaté	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Votuporanga	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Unknown	0	6	6 (7.41%)
	State total	8	43	51 (62.96%)
Paraná	Maringá	0	4	4 (4.94%)
	Londrina	2	0	2 (2.47%)
	Paranavaí	2	0	2 (2.47%)
	Curitiba	1	1	2 (2.47%)
	Assis Chateubriand	1	1	2 (2.47%)
	Umuarama	0	2	2 (2.47%)
	Assaí	0	2	2 (2.47%)
	Carlopolis	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Unknown	0	3	3 (3.70%)
	State total	6	14	20 (24.69%)
Rio de Janeiro	Barra Mansa	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	Rio de Janeiro	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	State total	0	2	2 (2.47%)
Minas Gerais	Monte Azul	1	0	1 (1.23%)
	Diamantina	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	State total	1	1	2 (2.47%)
Alagoas	Junqueiro	1	0	1 (1.23%)
Mato Grosso	Cuiabá	1	0	1 (1.23%)
Rio Grande do Sul	Novo Hamburgo	1	0	1 (1.23%)
Pará	Belém	0	1	1 (1.23%)
Goiás	*Unknown*	0	1	1 (1.23%)
Pernambuco	*Unknown*	0	1	1 (1.23%)
	GRAND TOTAL	18	63	81 (100%)
	State unknown	0	16	16
	Peru	0	1	1
Others	Parents of twins	0	2	2
	Mother of 2nd generation already included in 1st generation	0	2	2
	GRAND TOTAL including 'others'	18	84	102
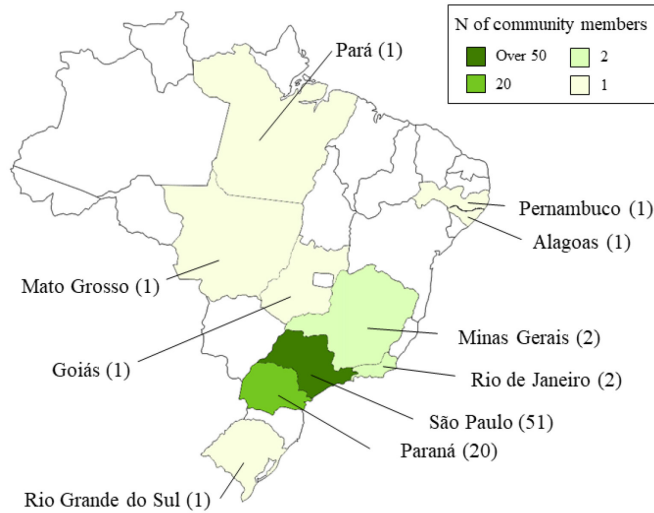
Fig. 5   Place of origin of first-generation community members by state

Unfortunately, however, due to the scarcity of studies on Strong-R in Brazilian Portuguese, how to make the best use of the detailed information on the exact place of origin of the first-generation community members remains unclear for the time being. Most studies on rhotics in Portuguese focus on coda (r), perhaps because (r) is most variable in that position and 'much more salient than the Strong-R' for Brazilians (Oushiro p.c.). Both Strong-R and Weak-r, by contrast, tend to show rather limited variation in *European and Brazilian Portuguese*, and also they are not salient features for Brazilians. However, as our earlier work on a koiné in Jōsō City in Japan (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019) as well work on as a postcolonial Portuguese variety spoken in São Tomé and Príncipe in Central Africa (Bouchard 2017, 2019) demonstrates, Strong-R and Weak-r can also show unexpected variation in the case of *diaspora Portuguese speech communities*, and hence, they are also worth investigating.

When we examine the realization of coda (r) in the near future, however, it would be desirable to closely investigate variation among first- and second-generation immigrants from São Paulo City. For example, Oushiro and Guy (2015) and Oushiro (2016) provide fascinating analyses of regional variation and change in *form* (from the alveolar tap to retroflex approximant) and *meaning* (from uneducated to solidarity) in the peripheral area of São Paulo City, which has begun spreading to the central area. Thus, with reference to such findings, we could then make the best use of the information on the exact place of origin given by first-generation community members in Jōsō City in our future work on coda (r).

5.2. Occupational background of first-generation community members

Table 6 presents the types of occupation in which first-generation community members were/are engaged both *before* and *after* immigration.[12] As expected, the data demonstrated that, while in their homeland, Brazilian immigrants worked in a variety of jobs from retail (N=14) and clerical (N=6) jobs, to architecture and company management (both N=1); in Japan, the vast majority came for factory work (N=69; 65.09%). This means that those who

Table 6   Occupations of first-generation community members in Brazil and Japan

	Type of occupation	Brazil	Japan
Manual laborer	Factory worker	6	69
	Driver	1	3
	Construction worker	0	4
	Care assistant at hospital	2	1
	Farmer	2	0
	Mechanic	1	0
	SUBTOTAL	12 (11.88%)	77 (72.64%)
Service industry worker	Sales person	14	3
	Beautician/hairdresser	1	2
	Cook	1	1
	Waiter/Waitress	2	0
	Car rental receptionist	0	1
	Hotel service personnel	1	0
	SUBTOTAL	19 (18.81%)	7 (6.60%)
Office worker	Office worker	6	0
	Banker	1	1
	Home-based desk worker	1	1
	Real estate agent	1	0
	SUBTOTAL	9 (8.91%)	2 (1.89%)
Professional	School teacher	3	7
	Instructor for manicures, make-up, etc.	2	0
	Interpreter	0	1
	Jujutsu instructor	0	1
	Architect	1	0
	Manager of a company	1	0
	SUBTOTAL	7 (6.93%)	9 (8.49%)
Self-employed		2 (1.98%)	5 (4.72%)
Others	Unemployed	8	1
	Student	4	0
	Housewife	4	0
	SUBTOTAL	16 (15.84%)	1 (0.94%)
Unknown		36 (35.64%)	5 (4.72%)
	TOTAL	101 (100%)	106 (100%)

[12] The reason for the rather large number of 'unknown' in their responses (N=36; 35.64%) is because second-generation participants in our research (especially, those who were very young) did not know what jobs their parents did in Brazil. The number of occupations and the number of participants do not match because there are 10 participants who have (had) multiple occupations, so each of those occupations was counted for those participants. Also note that two mothers of second-generation participants who are also themselves first-generation participants are excluded from the numbers, as well as the responses from a pair of the second-generation twins about their parents, which are counted only once to avoid double-counting (see 'Others' in Tables 3 and 5 for the details).

used to belong to different social classes in Brazil are likely to have daily interaction with each other through factory work in Jōsō City. In other words, linguistic features associated with different occupations or social classes in *pre*-contact Brazilian society may be in close contact, leading to *social* dialect mixing in addition to *regional* dialect mixing in *post*-contact Jōsō City.

The question then arises as to what variant is favored by upper, middle, and lower class speakers in Brazil. Unfortunately, because of a lack of research on Strong-R in Brazil (see above), we could not find relevant literature that examines Strong-R in Brazil in relation to social class or occupation. Thus, again, it is not clear how to make the most of information on Brazilians' occupational backgrounds in the case of Strong-R.

When we examine the realization of coda (r) in the future, however, it would be worthwhile to closely investigate variation among immigrants who used to be engaged in different types of occupations in Brazil. In their analysis of native Paulistanos' speech, for instance, Oushiro and Parafita Couto (2018: 69) demonstrated that the retroflex /r/ favored by lower social class speakers residing in peripheral areas of São Paulo City with lower levels of education has gradually come to be used by middle class speakers even in the central area, though upper class speakers still resist it as it is an overtly stigmatized variant. Thus, our future analysis of coda (r) will be conducted by taking speakers' occupational and educational backgrounds into consideration.

The information on their occupational background in Japan proved to be useful for understanding their social life and network. The small number of school teachers (N=7), self-employed (N=5), and service industry workers (N=7) are all related to Brazilian business in Jōsō City, such as the Brazilian school, Brazilian restaurants, supermarkets, stores, beauty salons so forth for mostly Brazilian customers and students. Together with the fact that the vast majority are factory workers, this suggests that most first-generation Brazilian immigrants have everyday interaction among their own community members.

5.3. Educational background of first- and second-generation participants

Table 7 illustrates the educational background of first-generation participants in Jōsō City, while Table 8 shows that of their second-generation counterparts. The majority of both male and female first-generation participants graduated from high school (N=10, 55.56%). Though there is a fair number of them obtained an undergraduate degree (N=6, 33.33%), the female participants took distance learning courses offered by universities in Brazil while living in Japan in order to teach at the Brazilian school in Jōsō City. In other words, the vast majority of first-generation participants were those who completed a high school education in Brazil. Thus, though there is one male participant who completed junior high school only, generally members of this group appear to have a good level of literacy in Brazilian Portuguese.

Table 7   Educational background of first-generation participants in Jōsō City

	Male	*Female*	*TOTAL*
Postgraduate	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Undergraduate	1 (12.50%)	5 (50.00%)	6 (33.33%)
Vocational school	1 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (5.56%)
High school	5 (62.50%)	5 (50.00%)	10 (55.56%)
Junior high school	1 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (5.56%)
TOTAL	8 (100%)	10 (100%)	18 (100%)

Approximately 60% of second-generation participants (N=24) received a Brazilian education only (including both Brazilian schools in Japan and schools in Brazil),[13] while about 40% (N=18) received both Brazilian and Japanese education. Among the latter, there are a couple of cases where Brazilian children dropped out from Japanese school. Many cases, however, indicate a tendency for them to continue with their Japanese education until junior high school, before moving onto the Brazilian school for their high school education. The entrance examination for Japanese high schools appears to be an obstacle for Brazilian children to continue in the Japanese educational system. Nevertheless, it can be said that the Japanese school environment provides ample opportunities for the children to add Japanese linguistic elements to their 'feature pool' (Mufwene 2001; Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 252–253).

Table 8   Educational background of second-generation participants in Jōsō City

Education	*Brazilian education only*		*Both Japanese and Brazilian education*		*Japanese education only*
	Brazilian school in Japan only	*Brazil school and Brazilian school in Japan*	*Attending/ed Japanese school for more than 2 years*	*Attending/ed Japanese school for less than 2 years*	
SUBTOTAL	16 (38.10%)	8 (19.05%)	15 (35.71%)	3 (7.14%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	24 (57.15%)		18 (42.85%)		0 (0%)
GRAND TOTAL					42 (100%)

The second-generation Brazilians in our study appear to have decent literacy levels in Portuguese, despite their varying lengths of time spent in Brazilian education. Our field observation, however, reveals that among our youngest research participants (i.e., first, second, and third graders) who currently attend Japanese elementary schools, some told us that while they can speak Portuguese, they cannot sufficiently read or write it. As discussed later in Section 5.7, the Brazilian supermarket seems to have found a strategy to accommodate these Brazilian children, who are literate in Japanese orthography but not in

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[13] As shown below (Section 5.5), many participants returned to Brazil during the Japanese economic recession, but have come back to Japan in recent years.

the Roman alphabet, by adding the Japanese *katakana* script as phonograms in food labels on packaging and on price tags.

5.4. Other languages in competition in Jōsō City

Table 9 presents the number and proportion of foreign residents in Jōsō City as of December 2017 (Jōsō City 2019). Apart from Brazilians as the largest ethnic group (N=1,903; 40.7%), the second largest ethnic group is Filipinos (N=1,135; 24.3%), followed by Chinese (N=248; 5.3%) and Peruvians (N=231; 4.9%).

Table 9   Number and proportion of foreign residents in Jōsō City as of December 2017

	Brazil	*Philippines*	*China*	*Peru*	*Thailand*	*Korea*	*Iran*	*Others*	*TOTAL*
N	1,903	1,135	248	231	119	60	13	971	4,680
%	40.70%	24.30%	5.30%	4.90%	2.50%	1.30%	0.30%	20.70%	100%

(Jōsō City 2019)

Like Brazilians, '*Nikkei* Peruvians (Japanese Peruvians)' are permitted to come to work in Japan, and form the largest *Spanish-speaking* group of immigrants in Japan amongst the descendants of Japanese emigrants to Central and South American countries. In contrast, Filipinos are generally not Japanese descendants, and some are allegedly illegal workers in Japan. What is important is that most of these foreign residents work in the same food processing factories, and have daily close interaction. The difference in their residency status and intimate relationships, in some cases, led them to enter into sham marriages, though there are also true marriages between Filipinos and Japanese Brazilians as well as between (Japanese) Brazilians and (Japanese) Peruvians. Thus, their languages, such as Filipino English, Tagalog, and Peruvian Spanish have the potential to be added to Brazilians' feature pool in the case of Jōsō City.

Figure 6 presents some images from the linguistic landscapes in Jōsō City. The top left photo shows a four-layered signboard on the street. The top layer is an advertisement for a shopping center selling Brazilian and Peruvian food. Though the advertising statement 'ブラジル/ペルー食品 [Brazilian/Peruvian Food]' is written in Japanese orthography, these national flags are hung below that (in the second layer) to capture the attention of those from these countries who cannot read Japanese orthography. The third layer is an advertisement for a driving school showing the national flags of Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and the Philippines (from left to right), signaling that instruction is available in these languages.

The top right photo shows a signboard outside a small multi-ethnic corner shop run by a Filipino wife and her Brazilian husband, with the name 'Filipinas Bras Shop' painted in the

Fig. 6 Clockwise from top left: (1) A four-layered signboard on the street: the top layer is an advertisement for a shopping center selling "Brazilian and Peruvian food" where the signage is written in Japanese orthography, but these national flags are hung below (the second layer) to capture the attention of those from these countries who cannot read the Japanese orthography, and the third layer is an advertisement for a driving school showing the national flags of Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and the Philippines, signaling that instruction is available in these languages. (2) A signboard outside a small multi-ethnic corner shop where the name "Filipinas Bras Shop" is painted in the national colors of the Philippines and Brazil. (3) A poster giving the information of this multi-ethnic shop displaying nine national flags and offering Portuguese, English, and Tagalog as communication options for telephone orders. (4) A hand-written notice taped to the wall of this multi-ethnic shop written in simple English together with some common Japanese words using the Roman alphabet.

national colors of the Philippines and Brazil, which nicely captures the close relationship between Brazilians and Filipinos in Jōsō City.

The bottom right photo presents a poster displaying information for this multi-ethnic shop. Both the nine national flags displayed in two rows (Brazil, Peru, the Philippines, India, and Sri Lanka, from left to right in the top row; Pakistan, Thailand, Vietnam, and Nepal, from left to right in the second row) and the advertising phrase 'GREAT VARIETY PRODUCTS' indicate that the target customers are these multi-national residents in Jōsō

City. It also offers Portuguese, English, and Tagalog as a communication options for telephone orders.

The bottom left photo shows a hand-written notice taped to the wall of this multi-ethnic shop. The message 'No credit!!! Credit *owari* ('finish' in Japanese)!!! *Ashita* ('tomorrow' in Japanese) OK!!!' informs the customers that credit cards can no longer be used today, but can be used tomorrow. The mixed use of English and Japanese on the notice—both in the Roman alphabet—implies that simple English together with some common Japanese words may be used as a lingua franca among speakers with different language backgrounds in this multi-ethnic community in Jōsō City.

Furthermore, our ethnographic interviews reveal the closeness between Brazilians and other foreign residents. The following are excerpts from our interviews with first-generation participants:

Excerpt 1 (Speaker 13, a female first-generation, 58 years old)

Tem bastante brasileiro. Uma comunidade eu entendo como um grupo de pessoas que vive em harmonia, e isso não acontece. Aqui é cada um por si, e Deus por tudo … Seria bom se todos os brasileiros respeitassem a todos os brasileiros, mas eles não se respeitam, em um todo, os brasileiros não são brasileiros, não sei explicar; existe uma harmonia entre filipinos, peruanos, norte-americanos, mas não existe harmonia entre os brasileiros, é raro. [There are many Brazilians living here. For me, 'community' means a group of people who live in harmony, and this does not happen here. Here, everyone is living for themselves … It would be nice if all the Brazilians could respect each other, but they don't. In general, Brazilians here are not Brazilians. There is harmony among the Filipino and the Peruvian groups, but there is no such thing among Brazilians here.]

Excerpt 2 (Speaker 1, a female first-generation, 46 years old)

Então né! Assim, é ... Eu acho assim que se for para comparar com outras comunidades de outros lugares, eu acho que brasileiro não é muito unido né! [Well, compared with other communities, I don't think Brazilians here are united.]

Their comments reveal that they are close enough to know how other ethnicities, such as Filipinos and Peruvians, interact with one another within their own ethnic groups in Jōsō City. Another insight is that first-generation Brazilians finds Brazilians in Jōsō City to be different from those in Brazil. Interestingly, the second-generation Brazilians who returned to Brazil during the Japanese economic downturn also comment on these differences. As illustrated further below (Excerpt 13 in Section 5.7), however, their evaluations contrast with those of the first-generation participants.

To sum up, close relationships were observed in Jōsō City between Brazilians and the Filipinos, and between Brazilians and Peruvians. It may be worth including 'simple English combined with common Japanese words' probably used as a lingua franca among the city's multi-ethnic residents as well as Peruvian Spanish, Tagalog, and Filipino English as potential languages in competition in our future work on a newly emerging the Brazilian Portuguese koiné in Jōsō City.

5.5. Transnational mobility of Brazilian immigrants between Japan and Brazil

Table 10 presents the frequency of return journeys to Brazil (including for both short and long stays) since participants' first immigration to Japan. The majority of first- and second-generation participants have returned to Brazil only 'a few times' (77.78% and 64.29%, respectively) during their average of 15.3 years and 9.9 years, respectively, spent in Japan (see Table 4). Though there is only one first-generation participant who is wealthy enough to return to Brazil 'once a year', no one answered that they visit Brazil 'more than once a year'. The rest of the first-generation community members, that is, three first-generation participants (16.67%), have 'never' gone back to Brazil, while fifteen second-generation participants (35.71%) have 'never' been to Brazil. Our earlier work (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 259) explains that this may be the reason why some of the second-generation speakers pronounced the archaic variant in a wordlist task for Strong-R; that is to say, since some of them have never been to Brazil, they are not likely to be aware of the stereotype of the trills (e.g., [r] and [ʀ]) as 'old-people's speech' (Madureira 2019: 195) in Brazil (see Section 4.2 for more details). Given the long distance and the cost of travel between Japan and Brazil, it is reasonable that their visits to Brazil are not regular but infrequent.

Table 10   Frequency of return journeys to Brazil

Generation	Never	Only a few times	Once a year	More than once a year	TOTAL
First generation	3 (16.67%)	14 (77.78%)	1 (5.56%)	0 (0.0%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	15 (35.71%)	27 (64.29%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	42 (100%)

Table 11 shows the participants' length of time spent on visits to Brazil. Interestingly, many of both the first- and second-generation participants (27.78% and 40.48%, respectively) reported having stayed in Brazil for 'more than a year'. In fact, most of these participants had come to Japan during the 1990s–2000s but then returned to Brazil around 2008 when numerous manufacturing workers were laid off in Japan because of the economic downturn triggered by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers. They then came back to Japan again between 2015 and 2018. This means that many of them stayed in Brazil for

Table 11   Duration of visits to Brazil

Generation	Never	Less than a month	Less than a year	More than a year	Unknown	TOTAL
First generation	3 (16.67%)	4 (22.22%)	2 (11.11%)	5 (27.78%)	4 (22.22%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	15 (35.71%)	0 (0%)	7 (16.67%)	17 (40.48%)	3 (7.14%)	42 (100%)

approximately seven to ten years and returned only recently. This seems to have significant implications for the language ideologies they brought with them on their recent return to Japan. In other words, during the prolonged and recent period of their return visit to Brazil, these participants would likely have familiarized themselves with new linguistic trends in Brazil, though they may not necessarily be conscious of it. Thus, it makes sense that except for a few tokens of archaic variants (e.g., alveolar trill [r] and uvular trill [ʀ]), which are used by the second-generation participants, a newly emerging variety in Jōsō City is rapidly *focusing* in the same direction as the ongoing historical sound change in Brazil (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 260).

Thus, all these findings suggest that the Brazilian community in Jōsō City may be composed of speakers with different degrees of familiarity with different language ideologies that have existed in Brazil at different points in time. Roughly speaking, one group of first-generation participants are likely to be familiar with language ideologies in Brazil from when they left their homeland during the 1990s–2000s when they were young (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 257). Another group consists of both first- and second-generation participants who have recently come back from Brazil with firsthand experience of new linguistic trends in their homeland. The last group consists of second-generation participants who have never lived in Brazil, and hence may not be aware of stereotypes about particular variants (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019: 259). As explained above, these distinctions were useful in accounting for variation and change in Strong-R in our earlier study (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019); we will make good use of them in our future work on Weak-r and coda (r) as well.

5.6. Geographical mobility of Brazilian immigrants within Japan

Table 12 presents the number and proportion of 'those who have lived in Jōsō City *only*' and 'those who have lived in other cities in Japan before moving to Jōsō City'. The data clearly illustrate that the vast majority of first-generation participants have lived in other cities in Japan before Jōsō City (83.33%).

Table 12   Number and proportion of participants who have/have not lived in other cities in Japan before coming to Jōsō City

Generation	Those who have only lived in Jōsō City	Those who have lived in other cities	TOTAL
First generation	3 (16.67%)	15 (83.33%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	19 (45.24%)	23 (54.76%)	42 (100%)

Figure 7 shows examples of job advertisements found in Jōsō City, which help demonstrate the reason for the high mobility among first-generation participants. The top left photo shows the covers of a free magazine, *Vitrine*, and a free newspaper, *EMPREGOS*, the latter of which, except for one article on the front page, is full of job advertisements. The bottom left photo is of a job advertisement from *Vitrine* for different types of work available in different locations in Japan (Isesaki, Maebashi, Ōizumi, and Fujioka are all in Gunma Prefecture). The advertising statement '*TRABALHOS FIXOS E ARUBAITOS*' (meaning 'fixed jobs and part-time jobs') demonstrates that the Japanese word *arubaito* 'part-time job' has been so commonly used among Brazilian residents in Japan that it has been incorporated into even written Brazilian Portuguese, where a plural suffix -*s* is added to it. The photo on the right is of a job posting taped to the window of a multi-ethnic shop (see Figure 6 in 5.4). Again, it shows that jobs in the automobile industry are available in

Fig. 7   Clockwise from top left: (1) Covers of a free magazine, "Vitrine," and a free newspaper, "Empregos," both for Brazilian residents in Japan. (2) A job advertisement taped to the window of a multi-ethnic shop in Jōsō City. (3) A job advertisement that appears in "Vitrine."

Ōta City, Gunma Prefecture, offering telephone inquiry services in both Japanese and Portuguese. As these photos show, there is a great demand for manual laborers in Japan, so that automobile and other manufactories located in other prefectures advertise jobs beyond their prefectural boundaries. Information on job availabilities in different regions of Japan encourage Brazilians to continue moving for jobs with better pay and working conditions.

In contrast, Table 12 shows that nearly half of the second-generation counterparts have lived only in Jōsō City (45.24%). In other words, those youngsters were mostly raised in Jōsō City. Thus, it seems sensible that the preliminary findings of Matsumoto and Okumura (2019: 258) suggest that a newly emerging variety in Jōsō City is rapidly *focusing* amongst second-generation participants.

These differences in geographical mobility within Japan between first- and second-generation participants indicate a general trend that when first-generation participants were single or just a couple, they moved freely within Japan in a search of better paying jobs; however, once they had a child, they tended to stay in one place for the sake of their child's education, especially in areas where a Brazilian school is located. Some of them also started thinking about buying a house, as property sales advertisements in *Vitrine* demonstrate (Figure 8).

Fig. 8   Property sales advertisement aimed at Brazilians

Table 13 illustrates in which regions and prefectures of Japan our research participants have lived before moving to Jōsō City,[14] while Figure 9 shows these prefectures on the map of Japan; the darker the green color, the larger the size of the local Brazilian population. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of participants who have previously lived in

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[14] The number of participants does not match the total number of those who have lived in other places because there are 18 participants who have each lived in multiple places, so each place was counted for those participants.

Table 13 Regions and prefectures where the participants have lived before coming to Jōsō City

Region	Prefecture	Number of participants
Hokkaidō		0 (0.00%)
Tōhoku	Iwate	2
	Fukushima	2
	SUBTOTAL	4 (4.88%)
Kantō	Gunma	11
	Ibaraki	10
	Saitama	10
	Tōkyō	6
	Chiba	6
	Kanagawa	4
	Tochigi	3
	SUBTOTAL	50 (60.98%)
Chūbu	Shizuoka	5
	Aichi	5
	Gifu	4
	Nagano	3
	Ishikawa	2
	Niigata	1
	SUBTOTAL	20 (24.39%)
Kansai	Mie	3
	Shiga	1
	Kyōto	1
	Ōsaka	3
	SUBTOTAL	8 (9.76%)
Chūgoku		0 (0.0%)
Shikoku		0 (0.0%)
Kyūshū & Okinawa		0 (0.0%)
	TOTAL	82 (100%)

each prefecture before. Table 13 clearly reveals that the Brazilians who currently live in Jōsō City have mostly moved within the Kantō region (N=50; 60.98%) including the prefectures of Gunma (N=11), Ibaraki and Saitama (N=10 each), Chiba and Tokyo (N=6 each), and Kanagawa (N=4). The second region in which many of our participants have resided is the Chūbu region (N=20; 24.39%) where automobile factories are located (see Section 2); the prefectures of Shizuoka and Aichi (N=5 each), and Gifu (N=4).

Thus, overall, although some Brazilians have lived in the Chūbu region, the majority have had high mobility within the Kantō region. In relation to supralocalization and leveling (see Section 4.3), it is probable that linguistic differences that may have existed in different Brazilian communities in the Kantō region are being leveled due to the high mobility of Brazilians within this region. It would be interesting to examine the degree of similarity

and differences in linguistic characteristics between varieties of Brazilian Portuguese spoken in different Brazilian communities in the Kantō and Chūbu regions in future research.
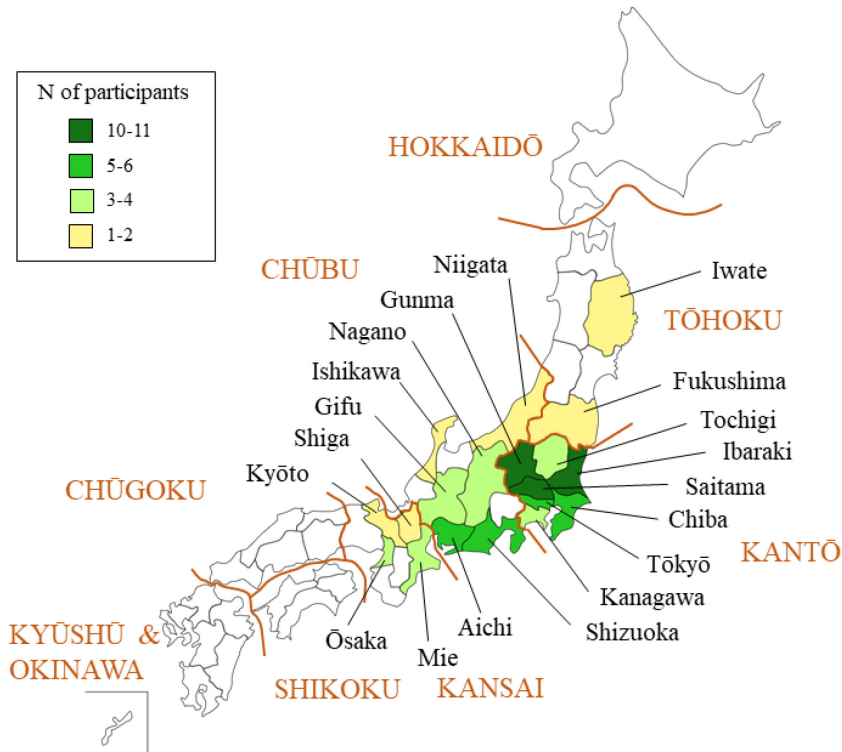

Fig. 9   Prefectures where the participants have lived before coming to Jōsō City

5.7. Integration of Brazilian immigrants into the local Japanese and Brazilian communities

Table 14 provides the frequency of participation by first- and second-generation participants in local Japanese community events. These local Japanese events include firework displays, the *(o)bon* festival dance (Japanese Buddhist festival), sports events, and the public cleaning and patrolling activities organized by *kodomo-kai* (neighborhood organization for local children) or *chōnai-kai* (neighborhood organization for local residents).[15] As Table 14 illustrates, more or less half of the first- and second-generation participants have 'never' or 'rarely' joined in these local Japanese community events (38.89% and 16.67% of first-generation and 30.95% and 26.19% of second-generation

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[15] Both the *kodomo-kai* and *chōnai-kai* exist in local areas throughout Japan; and the number of events and the frequency of gatherings vary depending on each area, but in general, those in rural areas offer more events and gatherings.

Table 14   Frequency of participation in local Japanese community events

Generation	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Non-response	TOTAL
First generation	7 (38.89%)	3 (16.67%)	4 (22.22%)	4 (22.22%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	13 (30.95%)	11 (26.19%)	6 (14.29%)	4 (9.52%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (19.05%)	42 (100%)

participants indicated 'never' and 'rarely', respectively), whereas the other half of the first-generation participants and a quarter of second-generation Brazilians 'sometimes' or 'often' participated in them (22.22% and 22.22% of first-generation and 14.29% and 9.52% of second-generation participants, respectively). These patterns may indicate that (a) half of adult Brazilians are to some extent involved in their neighborhood association's activities in much the same way as are Japanese local residents because participation in such events is generally regarded as a duty in Japanese residential areas; and (b) only those who attend Japanese schools participate in the local children's association.

However, even among those who had attended Japanese school in the past, ambivalent feelings were expressed by second-generation Brazilians:

Excerpt 3 (Speaker no. 53, a female second-generation, 18 years old)

Speaker 53: *Quando eu estava na escola japonesa porque nas férias de verão, assim na comunidade tinha várias coisas que fazíamos na comunidade, aí eu sentia que fazia parte, mas depois que eu sai, não sei...* [When I was studying at the Japanese school, there were a lot of activities we joined in with the (Japanese) community during the summer vacation, so I felt I was part of the community. But when I left school... I don't know...]

Interviewer: *Mas é parte da comunidade japonesa?* [So you mean (you don't know whether you felt like you were a) 'member of the Japanese community'?]

Speaker 53: *É.* [Yes.]

Interviewer: *Aí quando você saiu, você sentiu que?* [When you left the Japanese school, what did you feel?]

Speaker 53: *Não frequentava mais, aí parece que ficou meio separado assim.* [That I was no longer part of the community. I feel there is something that separated us.]

Interviewer: *Brasileiro e japonês?* [Do you mean that Brazilian and Japanese are separated?]

Speaker 53: *É.* [Yes.]

This interview reveals that once they have left school, even those who have graduated from Japanese schools may still feel as if there were an invisible wall separating them from

the Japanese community so that they are no longer an integrated part of the local Japanese community.

In turn, regarding their participation in local Brazilian community events, let us first consider Brazilians' self-initiated discussions on whether or not they feel there is a Brazilian community in Jōsō City and whether they feel they belong to it. Table 15 presents the number and proportions of 'those who feel there is a Brazilian community' and 'those who do not feel there is such a thing'.

Table 15   Opinions on whether there is a Brazilian community in Jōsō City

Generation	There is a Brazilian community	There is no Brazilian community	TOTAL
First generation	9 (50.00%)	9 (50.00%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	40 (95.24%)	2 (4.76%)	42 (100%)

Table 15 highlights different patterns found between first- and second-generation participants. Among first-generation Brazilians, the opinions were evenly divided. Half of the first-generation Brazilians believe there is a Brazilian community, while the other half do not share this belief. The following are comments by those who do believe that there is a Brazilian community and feel a sense of belonging:

Excerpt 4 (Speaker no. 19, a female first-generation, 44 years old)
Speaker 19: *Acho que tem* [I think there is (a Brazilian community here)]
Interviewer: *Você se sente parte?* [Do you feel that you belong to it?]
Speaker 19: *Eu vou falar que sim, porque eu gosto de participar das coisas da comunidade.* [I would say yes, because I like to go to Brazilian events.]

Excerpt 5 (Speaker no. 2, a female first-generation speaker, 43 years old)
É que assim, a gente acaba considerando a escola a essa parte da comunidade pra eles, né? [I consider that the school represents the community for them (Brazilian children).]

These and similar comments by first-generation participants suggest that (a) their participation in Brazilian events gives them a sense of belonging and (b) the Brazilian school may play an important role in fostering the Brazilian community for subsequent generations.

Among those who do not think that there is such a thing as a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, the main reason they gave for this standpoint was that they felt a 'disunity' among Brazilians residing there. Most of these participants commented that, although many Brazilians reside in Jōsō City, they are not united, but just live for themselves without interacting with other Brazilians.

Excerpt 6 (Speaker no. 12, a male first-generation, 35 years old)

Tem muitos, mas unidos são poucos, não é? [There are many Brazilians here, but they are not united. Just few are united, right?]

Excerpt 7 (Speaker no. 4, a female first-generation, 48 years old)

Eu, não na verdade, eu, meu esposo, a minha filha né, que eu tenho uma filha né ... nós não temos essa coisa de conviver com os brasileiros aqui. [To be honest with you, I, my husband, my daughter, we don't interact or spend time with Brazilians here.]

It was also found that participants' past experience of living in other places in Japan or their knowledge about larger Brazilian communities in Japan also affects their viewpoints.

Excerpt 8 (Speaker no. 1, a female first-generation speaker, 46 years old)

É na verdade ..., assim como aqui tem mais brasileiro, aqui pode até ser que eu esteja mais incluída, mas assim nas outras regiões também que eu fui, como não tinha muito brasileiro, onde eu morava principalmente e onde eu trabalhava, aí é ... me sentia qualquer lugar que eu fosse, ou no meio de japonês ou brasileiro, eu me sentia meio ... uma estranha no ninho. (risos) [Actually, because there are many Brazilians living here, maybe I feel more integrated here. In the other places I've lived, for example, because there were fewer Brazilians, especially where I used to work, I used to feel like a stranger, which means I didn't belong there (laughter).]

Excerpt 9 (Speaker no. 10, a male first-generation, 63 years old)

Aqui nessa região de Mitsukaido quase não tem, mas vejo falar que tem, lá no (setor de Gunma) tem um monte de brasileiro lá, a população brasileira de lá e mGunma e Aichi é bem maior, lá parece que tem, mas aqui nessa região não tem, eu não faço parte [I don't think there is a community here in Mitsukaidō (an area of Jōsō City). I heard that there are a lot of Brazilians living in Gunma and Aichi. The number of Brazilians there (Gunma and Aichi) is bigger than here, so I heard there is a community there. But here we don't have a community. At least, I don't belong to this community, if there is one.]

Excerpt 8 shows that the smaller Brazilian population in the participant's previous place of residence made her feel that she was 'a stranger', while the larger Brazilian population in Jōsō City makes her feel 'more integrated'. The interviewee in Excerpt 9 also mentions the prefectures that have a larger Brazilian population (see Table 1 and Figure 2), while claiming that Jōsō City, with a comparatively smaller number of Brazilians, cannot be regarded as having a Brazilian 'community'. These comments suggest that the size of the population does matter.

In contrast, Table 15 clearly illustrates that almost all of the second-generation Brazilians (except for two pupils attending Japanese schools) believe that there is a Brazilian community.

Excerpt 10 (Speaker no. 52, a female second-generation, 18 years old)

Da escola acho que sim. [I feel I'm part of this school community.]

Excerpt 11 (Speaker no. 61, a male second-generation, 17 years old)

Eu acho que eu faço parte, por estar falando a língua portuguesa, e por estudar em uma escola brasileira, mesmo que a minha nacionalidade seja japonesa, eu ainda me considero meio a meio. [I think I belong to the (Brazilian) community because I'm speaking the Portuguese language and studying in a Brazilian school. Even if my nationality is Japanese, I still consider myself half and half.]

Excerpt 12 (Speaker no. 59, a male second-generation, 17 years old)

Eu me sinto bem, porque aqui, querendo ou não, somos em poucos aqui no Japão, brasileiros. Com isso, acho que a gente se ajuda mais, a gente, meio que, tenta se reunir entre a gente e tenta fazer alguma coisa, assim, legal. [I feel good here because whether we like it or not, we (Brazilians) are few here in Japan, and because we are few we tend to support each other more. We try to get together to do something nice.]

Excerpt 13 (Speaker 75, a female second-generation, 12 years old)

As pessoas que eu conheço não são como no Brasil, elas são mais amigáveis, gostam de conversar. [Because the people I know are not like the Brazilians in Brazil. They are friendlier, and like to talk.]

These and similar comments reveal that the Brazilian school and the language that second-generation Brazilians most comfortably speak are two important elements which make them think that there is a Brazilian community and they belong to it. Another repeatedly mentioned reason is that second-generation Brazilians find fellow Brazilians supportive and friendly to each other, and thus feel solidarity among themselves. Their positive image of Brazilians residing in Jōsō City clearly contrasts with the negative image of Brazilians expressed by first-generation counterparts (see Excerpt 1). Given that almost half of these second-generation participants have only ever lived in Jōsō City (see Table 12), it makes sense that they would have attachments to the place where they were born and raised as well as a feeling of closeness to their friends who share similar backgrounds. Their strong belief in the existence of their own community and their strong sense of belonging and solidarity among themselves may help create their behavioral norms (including

linguistic norms), which then influences the newly emergent koiné to be *focusing*, rather than to be *diffused*.

We now turn to the participation of Brazilian immigrants in Jōsō City in Brazilian community events. Table 16 presents the frequency of participation by first- and second-generation participants in the local Brazilian community events. These Brazilian events are mostly related to Brazilian school events, such as cooking contests, the *Yosakoi Sōran* festival (a Japanese-style dancing festival), sports events (e.g., soccer), and school trips such as one to the Asakusa Samba Carnival in Tokyo.[16]

Table 16   Frequency of participation in local Brazilian community events

Generation	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Non-response	TOTAL
First generation	9 (50.00%)	3 (16.67%)	1 (5.56%)	4 (22.22%)	1 (5.56%)	0 (0.00%)	18 (100%)
Second generation	10 (23.81%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.38%)	23 (54.76%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (19.05%)	42 (100%)

Table 16 shows that the majority of first-generation Brazilians have 'never' or 'rarely' joined in the local Brazilian events (50% and 16.67%, respectively), while some 'often' participate in them (22.22%). This seems to reflect that only those who work for the Brazilian school and a small number of parents of pupils attending the Brazilian school typically participate in such events. In contrast, the majority of the second-generation Brazilians (54.76%) 'often' participate in local Brazilian events, whereas only a quarter (23.81%) have 'never' participated in them. These figures roughly correspond to the proportions of children currently attending the Brazilian school and Japanese schools, respectively, in our research participants. In other words, it is very likely that which school the children attend may considerably affect the frequency of their participation in Brazilian community events.

Furthermore, during our fieldwork, we found that Brazilians have adopted aspects of Japanese culture and food, from living along with Japanese people in the same community. Figure 10 is a picture of *kamidana* (votive shelves) taken in a beauty salon. The practice of obtaining *ofuda* 'amulets or talismans' (see the wooden *ofuda* standing on each shelf) from a local shrine, creating votive shelves high on a wall, and leaving an offering of water in *mizudama* (see the white droplet-shaped vessel on each shelf) is very common in Japanese homes and companies, especially in rural areas. It is interesting to observe that Japanese Brazilians set up *kamidana* to pray for the safety and prosperity of their business.

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[16] The Asakusa Samba Carnival is one of the largest Brazilian-style Samba Carnivals, held in Asakusa, Tokyo, with both Japanese and Brazilians participants. It has attracted over 500,000 attendees in recent years.

Fig. 10   *Kamidana* (votive shelves) in a beauty salon run by Brazilians

Figure 11 presents some images from the food-related linguistic landscape, seen in a Brazilian restaurant and supermarket. The top left photo is from a Brazilian restaurant that offers a special kind of *caipirinha* (Brazilian cocktail using cachaça) called a *sakerinha*, which is a combination of Japanese *sake* and a *caipirinha*.

Fig. 11   Clockwise from top left: (1) *Sakerinha* (Brazilian cocktail with Japanese *sake*). (2) Food products with three-way signage (Brazilian Portuguese in the Roman alphabet; Brazilian Portuguese in the Japanese *katakana* script as a phonogram; Japanese translation or explanation)

The other photos in Figure 11 illustrate that the signage on both food labels and price tags is written in three ways: first, Portuguese in the Roman alphabet; second, Portuguese in the Japanese *katakana* script as a phonogram; and finally a Japanese translation or explanation. Take *Folhadinho de Queijo* as an example (top right photo), the signage shows the original Portuguese both in alphabet form, *Folhadinho de Queijo*, and in *katakana* phonograms, フォリャジーニョ, which is followed by a Japanese explanation of the product, チーズ入りパイ生地, which means 'piecrust with cheese inside'. This three-way signage seems to imply an assumption that there are at least three different types of customers: namely, Brazilian customers who are literate only in the alphabet, Brazilian youngsters who are literate only in Japanese (though also fluent in Brazilian Portuguese), and Japanese consumers who may not be familiar with the products. This signifies that (a) Brazilians may have become diversified in terms of the script in which they are most literate

and (b) Jōsō City may have become an inclusive community shared by the local residents, including both Brazilians and Japanese community members.

5.8. Identity of second-generation Brazilians

During our interviews about their participation in local community events (see Section 5.7), some second-generation participants voluntarily initiated narratives about their personal sense of belonging and identity/identities; this section will consider these narratives. In general, it seems that as they grow older, their sense of dual identities, and sense of belonging to the two communities begins to emerge as complex. The following excerpts come from two young participants, ages 8 and 10.

Excerpt 14 (Speaker no. 78, a female second-generation, 8 years old)

Eu gosto daqui do Japão, morar em qualquer lugar, pode ser com brasileiro, os vizinhos podem ser japoneses, brasileiros. [I like to live here in Japan. My neighbors can be Brazilians or Japanese. It does not matter.]

Excerpt 15 (Speaker no. 67, a male second-generation, 10 years old)

Vitor: Para mim é melhor até que o Brasil, porque lá no Brasil tem muito roubo … Então eu posso sair aqui. Aqui eu posso sair, mas lá no Brasil a minha mãe não deixa nem eu tocar na rua lá, tocar o meu pé. Só junto. [For me, it (Japan) is even better than Brazil. Because in Brazil there is a lot of theft … I can go out here. Here I can, but in Brazil, I cannot. My mother does not allow me to go out alone, only with her, in Brazil.]

These carefree, innocent comments may indicate that young children have not experienced the 'invisible wall separating Brazilians from Japanese residents' expressed by the teenage girl (18 years old) who graduated from Japanese elementary and junior high schools and then the Brazilian high school (see Excerpt 3 in Section 5.7).

The following excerpts from our early teen participants (both 14 years old) show that they feel they are half Brazilian and half Japanese, having a mixed identity.

Excerpt 16 (Speaker no. 70, a male second-generation, 14 years old)

Eu me sinto meio misto, eu sigo algumas culturas japonesas e algumas brasileiras, eu fico meio dividido, também porque onde eu moro eu não tenho muitos amigos brasileiros, eles são mais dessa região, e lá eu fico mais com os japoneses. [I feel a mixed (identity). I'm between the Brazilian culture and the Japanese culture. There aren't many Brazilians. All my friends are from here. There (near home) I spend more time with Japanese friends.]

Excerpt 17 (Speaker no. 54, a female second-generation, 14 years old)

Não sei. Eu acho que eu sou mais ou menos dois, acho que tem... não sei ... Sim...Acho que é os dois misturado. [I don't know. I think I'm more or less half and half... I don't know …Yes, I think it is the two of them mixed up.]

The following narratives from three Japan-born teenagers, ages 15 and 17, illustrate that they clearly recognize the differences in behavior, culture, and language between Brazilians and Japanese:

Excerpt 18 (Speaker no. 55, a male second-generation, 15 years old)

É porque a gente não tem os mesmos costumes que eles, sabe? Eles são bem quietinhos, e eu já sou explosiva; e eu tento me adaptar porque aqui não é o meu país, mesmo que eu já tenha nascido aqui, eu não me considero muito japonesa, acho que eu sou mais brasileira do que japonesa. [It is because we don't have the same habits. They (Japanese) are very calm while I get angry very easily. I try to get used to their culture because this is not my country. Although I was born here I don't see myself as Japanese. I think I'm more Brazilian than Japanese.]

Excerpt 19 (Speaker no. 61, a male second-generation, 17 years old)

Também, o português acabou virando a minha língua nativa, por eu falar mais, por estar mais acostumado a usar no dia a dia, antes era japonês, mas agora trocou, então eu diria que eu faço parte da comunidade daqui, eu faço por ter nascido, mas não faço, eu não me considero por não conseguir falar fluentemente a língua japonesa e também por não querer ficar aqui. [Also, Portuguese turned out to be my native language, because it is the language that I speak every day and the language I speak more. Before it was Japanese, but now it has shifted to Portuguese. So I would say that I belong to and don't belong to the (Japanese) community here. I belong because I was born in Japan, but also I don't belong because I cannot speak Japanese well and also don't want to live here.]

Excerpt 20 (Speaker no. 59, a male second-generation, 17 years old)

É, porque se você for ver, é bem diferente japonês de brasileiro. Querendo ou não, um diferente do outro. Com isso, acho que a gente costuma se reunir mais, ter mais amizade. [Yeah, if you see it, you will see that Brazilians and Japanese are different. Whether you like it or not, one is different from the other. Because of this difference, I think we (Brazilians) usually get together more, have more friendship.]

These narratives reveal that being born in Japan does not automatically lead to their stronger sense of belonging to Japan, at least, not at this stage of their life. The Japan-born teenager in Excerpt 18 does not regard Japan as his country, while a different Japan-born teenager in Excerpt 19 describes himself as being on the fence: because he was born in Japan, he feels he belongs to the Japanese community, but because his Japanese ability is limited, he does not feel he belongs there. This again highlights the fact that language plays a significant role in creating a sense of belonging (see also Section 5.7 for a discussion of speaking Portuguese as one of the reasons why second-generation Brazilians believe that there is a Brazilian community in Jōsō City).

The final narrative comes from a Japan-born second-generation woman (24 years old) who struggled during her school life in Japanese schools and discovered a survival strategy for herself in order to get along in Japanese society.

Excerpt 21 (Speaker no. 77, a female second generation, 24 years old)

… crescendo no Japão como brasileira você tem a sua família que é totalmente brasileira em casa, e cada vez que você volta para casa você se sente brasileira, mas no momento que você sai da porta é um mundo diferente, você sabe que a cultura japonesa você precisa saber se enturmar, e você tem que saber acompanhar o que as outras pessoas fazem, senão você não sobrevive nessa cultura, saindo da porta eu tive que mudar um pouco meu pensamento, não pensando que eu faço o que eu quero porque eu sou brasileiras, mas eu colocava na minha cabeça que eu era uma pessoa que teria que acompanhar aqueles que estão em volta de mim porque é a cultura que eu estou. [Growing up in Japan as a Brazilian you have your family that is totally Brazilian at home. Every time you go back home you feel Brazilian, but the moment you walk out the door it's a different world. You know that here in Japan you need to know how to fit, and you need to know how to follow what other people do. Otherwise, you do not survive in this culture. When walking out the door I had to change the way I thought: I should not think 'I can do what I want to do because I'm Brazilian', but I put it in my head that I need to change myself to a person who follows the others around me because it is the culture I'm in.]

Her narrative insightfully reveals that second-generation Brazilians attending Japanese schools concurrently live in two different worlds (i.e., their home is Brazilian, while the outside world is Japanese), which requires them to continually maneuver their demeanor depending on where they are. Coming into alignment with others and working in harmony are generally considered virtues in Japanese culture, which is often incompatible with cultures that emphasize individuality. This participant recognized this difference through

her own experiences during her adolescent period, successfully adjusting herself in order to survive in Japan.

The following is a continuation of the same speaker's narrative in which she depicts her past struggles with her dilemma between her Brazilian and Japanese identities during her adolescence, and then her finding a resolution to assume her own identity.

Excerpt 22 (Speaker no. 77, a female second-generation, 24 years old)

Então dentro de casa eu me sentia mais brasileira do que quando eu estava fora, quando eu fui para o ginásio foi um momento que eu lutei bastante com a minha identidade, porque foi quando eu falava ou eu sou brasileira ou eu sou japonesa, na verdade quando eu era pequena as pessoas falavam que eu não pertencia aqui, que eu era brasileira, para eu voltar para o meu país, mas eu cresci aqui, então esse era o meu país, mas sempre me confrontavam com esse fato de eu não pertencer a esse país, e no ginásio eu lutei com essa identidade, e o resultado final foi que eu vi que eu não era nenhum dos dois completamente, eu era a [her name], que não era totalmente brasileira e nem totalmente japonesa, eu finalmente consegui encontrar uma identidade de quem eu sou, porém, que não se encaixa totalmente nas duas, mas que pega uma parte das duas, então eu faço parte, mas não totalmente. [So at home I felt more Brazilian than when I was away. When I went to the gym (at high school) it was a moment when I struggled a lot with my identity, because it was when I asked myself 'Am I Brazilian?' or 'Am I Japanese?'. Actually when I was little, people around me used to say that I didn't belong here (Japan), because I'm Brazilian and I had to go back to my country. But I grew up here, so for me, this is my country. But I was always struggling with the fact that I did not belong to this country, and in the gym I struggled with this dilemma, and eventually I figured out that I was neither completely one thing or the other. I was (her name) who was not totally Brazilian and not totally Japanese. I finally managed to find an identity for who I am, though it does not match with either a Brazilian or a Japanese identity, but takes a part of both, so I belong, but at the same time I don't belong, to the Brazilian community.]

Her narrative reveals that when she was young, she was often confused about her identity because it was being influenced by the words of people around her, while as she has become more mature, she has realized that she can be honest about her own sense of belonging, and can construct her own identity, eventually becoming comfortable with the fact that her identity does not match either a Brazilian or a Japanese identity. Her statement 'But I grew up here, so for me, this is my country' contrasts with the statement by the 15-year-old Japan-born Brazilian 'this is not my country... Although I was born here I don't see myself as Japanese' (Excerpt 18). This may imply that the identities of second-generation Brazilians

are not necessarily either a fixed entity or an *either-or* choice. Throughout the course of a lifetime, identities *can change*, and *can be constructed even as dual ones mixing both Brazilian and Japanese elements*, each of whose strength can vary along the continuum between these two elements.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the ecology and identity observed in a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, Japan, where an immigrant koiné is newly emerging. By employing the *cake-baking metaphor* (Britain 2012) as an analytical framework, the *ingredients* and the *recipe* of the koiné in this diaspora Brazilian Portuguese speech community were explored. As the ingredients, we have investigated the places of origin and the occupational and educational backgrounds of the participants, as well as the other languages in competition in Jōsō City.

The findings related to their occupations both in Brazil and in Japan, as well as their educational backgrounds, have revealed that first-generation Brazilians who used to belong to different social classes in Brazil are likely to have daily interaction with each other through factory work in Jōsō City. Thus, these results have highlighted the potential to broaden the scope of our dialect contact study from *regional* dialect to *social* dialect perspectives in the future.

The findings concerning the participants' places of their origin have shown that Brazilian immigrants to Jōsō City are predominantly from São Paulo State; in particular, São Paulo City sent the largest number of immigrants to Jōsō City. This has shed light on a direction of our future work on coda (r). Given the previous studies by Oushiro and Guy (2015), Oushiro (2016), and Oushiro and Parafita Couto (2018) on the social stratification of Brazilian Portuguese in São Paulo City, we have suggested that, in the future, our first- and second-generation speakers from São Paulo City and other areas within São Paulo State should be more closely analyzed with a focus on their place of origin, social class, and level of education.

In terms of the languages in competition in Jōsō City, our participant observation and ethnographic interviews, as well as the sociodemography of the research site, have revealed close relationships and daily contact between Brazilians and Filipinos, and between Brazilians and Peruvians, providing evidence of the adoption of simple English together with common Japanese words as a lingua franca in local multi-ethnic shops. This has indicated that the English-based lingua franca, as well as Peruvian Spanish, Tagalog, and Filipino English, have the potential to be added to the Brazilians' feature pool in Jōsō City.

As components of the recipe of the koiné, on the other hand, we have examined the social lives of the research participants and their ethnographic setting in Jōsō City, (e.g., their integration into the local Japanese and Brazilian communities), within Japan (i.e., their

geographical mobility within Japan) and beyond Japan (i.e., transnational mobility between Japan and Brazil).

Our analysis of their transnational mobility between Japan and Brazil has identified two tendencies. First, their visits to Brazil are not regular but infrequent. Second, the differing time spent on their visits to Brazil led us to roughly categorize Brazilian immigrants into three groups, each of which is familiar with different language ideologies: (1) First-generation participants who have never returned to Brazil since their arrival in Japan are apt to be familiar with language ideologies in Brazil during the 1990s–2000s when they left their homeland as relatively young people. (2) Both first- and second-generation participants who returned to Brazil during the economic downturn in Japan, and who have returned to Japan only recently, are likely to have familiarized themselves with new linguistic trends in their homeland. (3) Second-generation participants who have never lived in Brazil are apt to be unaware of both older and more recent Brazilian stereotypes about particular variants.

This paper, together with our earlier work (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019), has demonstrated that the different ideologies brought by the Brazilians who were categorized as the groups one and two (see above) tend to influence stances towards different variants present in the post-contact dialect mix, leading to different linguistic fates: the archaic variant in the trajectory of linguistic change in Brazil was disfavored by those who have recently spent time in Brazil (i.e. the group two), but used by those who have not (i.e. the group three), while the newest variant was more favored by second-generation Brazilians than their first-generation counterparts. These findings have confirmed the validity of Britain's (2012: 224–225) argument that it is indispensable to investigate language ideologies that existed in the *pre*-contact society, which speakers have likely brought with them to the *post*-contact society.

Through our analyses of Brazilian immigrants' geographical mobility within Japan and the integration of Brazilian immigrants into the local Japanese and Brazilian communities, this paper has shed light on two contrasting patterns, related to mobility and beliefs about the existence of a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, between first- and second-generation participants. First-generation Brazilians have high mobility mostly within the Kantō region, and half of them do not believe there is such a thing as a Brazilian community in Jōsō City. For nearly half of second-generation Brazilians, however, Jōsō City has been their sole place of residence, and they share the belief that there is a Brazilian community (often school-based) in which they can actively participate and make friends. These findings have indicated that such a strong sense of belonging among second-generation Brazilians may be a primary factor boosting the dialect *leveling* and *focusing* found in our preliminary study based on wordlist data (Matsumoto and Okumura 2019).

Furthermore, our results on Brazilians' high mobility mostly within the Kantō region, and in some cases between the Chūbu region and Jōsō City, have implied that even if linguistic differences had existed in different Brazilian communities in the Kantō region, they may be leveled out, potentially leading to supralocalization. In the future, it would be interesting to examine the degree of similarity and difference in linguistic characteristics between varieties of Brazilian Portuguese spoken in different Brazilian communities within the Kantō region as well as between Jōsō City and the Chūbu region.

The narratives on their own identity that second-generation Brazilians voluntarily initiated have revealed that (a) in some cases, language plays a significant role in creating a sense of belonging as well as in strengthening their belief that there is a Brazilian community in Jōsō City, and (b) identities are not necessarily a fixed entity nor an *either-or* choice; rather, in the course of a lifetime, identities *can change*, and *can be constructed even as dual ones mixing both Brazilian and Japanese elements*, each of whose strength can vary along the continuum between these two elements. Our future work will investigate whether one's sense of belonging and identity are indeed relevant to the formation of an immigrant koiné in this diaspora Brazilian speech community in Jōsō City.

In summary, this paper has delineated the ecology and identity observed in Jōsō City, providing the context for a more detailed study by locating the underlying salient themes of the koiné formation. Thus, this paper, together with Matsumoto (2013), has supported the usefulness and applicability of the *cake-baking metaphor* to research methods in koiné formation. These depictions of the ecology and identity in Jōsō City, it is hoped, will enable our future work to better account for the formation and development of this newly emergent immigrant koiné in the local context.

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