

ACCOMPLISHING IDENTITY
IN BILINGUAL INTERACTION:
CODESWITCHING PRACTICES AMONG A GROUP OF
MULTIETHNIC JAPANESE TEENAGERS

A dissertation submitted by

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Abstract

The number of so-called ‘half-Japanese’ children (*haafu*) has been increasing in Japan over the last twenty years, and one place in which such multiethnic people exist in community is in the international school system. Although international schools typically deliver their curricula in English, most multiethnic students are equally familiar with the dominant Japanese culture and language, and can alternate between English and Japanese to accomplish discourse functions and express their hybrid identities. However, little research has been conducted into the bilingual interactional practices that multiethnic Japanese people use to accomplish aspects of their identity in mundane conversation.

In conjunction with ethnographic observations and focus group discussions, this study adopts a conversational analytic (CA) approach to investigate some of these interactional practices. Specifically, the investigation draws on video-recorded data of the participants’ speech in naturally occurring conversations to explore the role of codeswitching in co-constructing aspects of identity in interaction with others.

The study draws on Membership Categorization Analysis to examine the participants’ use of competency-related category bound activities to index identity in mundane talk, and Conversation Analysis to explore the role of discursive and situated identities in indexing transportable identities like ‘multiethnic Japanese’ in bilingual interaction. The investigation found several bilingual practices that index identity in multi-party talk, including the use of forward-oriented self-repair in bilingual word search sequences and backwards-oriented repair to design a translation in bilingual multi-party talk for a known non-native (or *novice*) speaker. In combination with embodied practices such as gaze shift, these bilingual practices worked by altering the participant constellation to partition recipients based on their perceived language preference.

Throughout the study, mundane talk is seen as a key site in which multiethnic identity is made visible and co-accomplished by the participants.

CERTIFICATION OF DISSERTATION

I certify that the ideas, transcriptions, analyses, results, and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged. Parts of section 2.1 were published in Greer (2001a) and section 5.2 is based on Greer (2005).

Signature of Candidate

Date

ENDORSEMENT

Signature of Supervisors

Date

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This dissertation, like any, has only been made possible with the assistance of numerous people.

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Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)

Walt Whitman, 'Song of Myself' 1855

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

It has been suggested that one in thirty-seven babies born in Japan (2.7%) has at least one non-Japanese parent (Lee, 1998). In central Tokyo, the figure is one in fifteen (6.8%). The annual number of couples entering into international marriage¹ in Japan has increased seven fold in the last twenty-five years — from 5546 in 1970 to 39,511 in 2004 (JMHLW, 2006). With over 22,000 multiethnic Japanese children being born each year (JMHLW, 2006), issues of identity are receiving unprecedented attention from those families directly concerned.

Children with multiple ethnic backgrounds often face difficulty in attempting to fit into the Japanese education system, which has traditionally dictated assimilation and homogeneity over multiculturalism (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999; Takahashi & Vaipae, 1996). As a result, many dual-heritage families in Japan opt to send their children to international schools, where they can become part of a multilingual community and are free to cultivate and express a multicultural sense of self.

Although international schools typically deliver their curricula in English, most multiethnic and returnee Japanese students are also familiar with the dominant culture beyond the school boundaries. With students from Japanese, English and non-English speaking backgrounds, the playgrounds and classrooms at international schools are an eclectic mix of languages and worldviews. Many students regularly use at least two languages, alternating between them in conversation – both between and within sentences – in what is commonly known as *codeswitching*. While such switching often accomplishes discourse functions, it can also be seen as an expression and affirmation of their hybrid identities.

¹ Based on its Japanese equivalent, *kokusai kekkon*, the term “international marriage” is widely used in Japan to describe exogamous unions. It is recognized that not all multiethnic people live in families where their parents are married.

In the past twenty years, there have been a variety of studies that have investigated codeswitching as a means of negotiating identity among bilingual speakers. In the main, these have focused on ethnic minorities within the context of a majority culture, children in ‘monoracial’ bilingual families, or on immersion classroom learners of a second language. Few researchers have specifically examined the way multiethnic people mix languages, and codeswitching studies in Japanese contexts have likewise been scarce. In order to inform educational policy and further extend our understanding of bilingual interaction, there is clearly therefore a need for an empirical investigation into the way in which multiethnic Japanese students at international schools alternate between their languages in order to accomplish aspects of their identity in mundane conversation.

1.2 Aim and scope

Bilingual people often mix their languages when in the company of other bilinguals. Similarly, multiethnic people use a mix of customs and identify, or are identified, with a mix of cultures. Together these outwardly visible manifestations of hybridity must inevitably contribute to their multi-faceted social identities. The primary focus of this dissertation will be the way in which such people employ multi-variety speech to index various aspects of their performance of ‘self’.

Through a micro-sociolinguistic study of codeswitching in a paired-language community, the study examines the ways in which multiethnic Japanese jointly construct and accomplish aspects of their locally situated identities through social interaction with others. Specifically, the investigation draws on video-recorded data of the participants’ speech during focus groups and in naturally occurring conversations to explore the role of codeswitching in co-constructing aspects of identity through interaction with others. In conjunction with ethnographic observations and focus group discussions, the study adopts a conversational analytic (CA) approach to investigate localized, sequential aspects of talk-in-interaction and discursively accomplished identity.

To this end, the study focuses on codeswitching among multiethnic Japanese teenagers at an international school in Japan to investigate the central research question:

What interactional practices do multiethnic Japanese adolescents use to accomplish aspects of their identities in bilingual interaction?

Codeswitching has been investigated from a variety of research disciplines, ranging from the morpho-syntactic through the psycholinguistic to the socio-political and beyond. However, as a hybrid ethnographic/ethnomethodological study of bilingual interaction, the present study is primarily concerned with the description of authentic episodes of communication in their natural settings. The investigation followed a holistic, emergent design grounded in natural inquiry, and as such the findings have come out of the data, rather than through the formulation and testing of *a priori* hypotheses or the prescription of established models. The study was guided, however, by the following research goals:

1. To investigate the interactional accomplishment of identity among multiethnic Japanese teenagers.
2. To collect examples of bilingual interaction in a paired-language community.

1.3 Overview of the study

In short, this study aims to provide insight into the ways in which multiethnic Japanese teenagers accomplish their situated identities through and in bilingual interaction. Following a review of the literature on multiethnic identity, bilingual interaction and discursively accomplished identity in Chapter 2, I will provide an ethnographic description of the fieldwork setting (Chapter 3) and an account of the methodology I have used (Chapter 4). The next three chapters will discuss the study's findings.

Chapter 5 considers the ways that multiethnic identity becomes relevant for these young people. It begins with an ethnographic summary of how the participants

saw themselves, based on data collected in the focus group discussions. After putting forward a case for a fluid, dynamic understanding of '*haafu*' (half) as both Japanese and non-Japanese, the remainder of that chapter uses Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) to explore ways that these identity categories are indexed, occasioned and accomplished in interaction.

Chapter 6 turns the focus towards identity categories specifically as they are accomplished in bilingual interaction. Here another ethnomethodological approach, Conversation Analysis, is employed to consider a single case analysis of naturally occurring bilingual interaction. The discussion reveals the way that a number of situated identities are occasioned in one instance of naturally occurring multi-party talk recorded at the school, focusing on the role of bilingual interaction in managing the talk.

Chapter 7 continues this search for identity-in-interaction (Aronsson, 1998) by examining some of the bilingual practices that the participants use in everyday conversation to accomplish certain aspects of their multiethnic identities. In particular it documents (1) codeswitching in word search sequences and (2) the use of translation in multi-party, multi-language preference conversation. Each of these sections examines the role of embodied practices, such as eye contact and gaze direction, in conjunction with language alternation to select or design some element of the turn-in-progress for a specific recipient. The focus here is on the locally negotiated and interactionally accomplished emergent functions of specific codeswitches, referring first and foremost to the way that language choice shapes interaction in natural settings.

Finally in Chapter 8, I discuss the significance of the findings and provide some recommendations for international schools in Japan.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study contributes to the understanding of bilingual interaction through an interdisciplinary approach that intersects anthropology, linguistics, sociology and education. One of the strengths of the research is its diverse approach to examining the data. Even so, in calling on these various disciplines, I do so always in the pursuit of the participants' perspectives on the way that identity is situationally achieved by

and through discursive practices. The world is constituted in and through interaction. Since a multilingual person's world is, by definition, made up of at least two ways of interacting, it must follow that these mediums of interaction can shape their social worlds, and in turn the moment-to-moment ways in which they present themselves to others. In this sense, their bilingualism is integral to the process of accomplishing their discourse, situated and transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998) in interaction. An understanding of this process is essential for teachers in international schools and immersion education environments and for parents who have bilingual and multiethnic children. Ultimately it is hoped that the need for bilingual people to express themselves in both languages will be reflected in more realistic and accommodating educational policy and curricula.

1.5 Background of the researcher

Any research inevitably has a motive behind it, and the role of the case researcher in qualitative studies in particular is integral for interpreting the evidence he or she collects. To this end, I feel it is important to provide the reader with an indication of my own background from the outset of the dissertation in order to reflect on the personal perspectives that I bring to this research.

I am an Australian male who has lived in Japan since 1995. I have been studying Japanese since I was thirteen years of age and consider myself fluent in the spoken language and functionally fluent in the written language, depending on the topic at hand. In terms of official language certification I am a qualified Japanese teacher in Australia and have acquired level one of the Japanese Proficiency Test, which means I can read 2,000 kanji characters and have a vocabulary of over 10,000 words.

I first came to Japan in 1990 to study the language for three months in central Tokyo. After teaching Japanese in Australia for a few years, I returned for a teacher exchange in 1993, during which I spent the year living with a Japanese family in suburban Saitama and teaching English in a local high school. At the end of 1995, I was awarded a Monbusho scholarship to study at Hokkaido University and I have lived in Japan ever since. In 1997, I married and my wife and I now have two children who are so-called '*haafu*' Japanese. The knowledge that they will grow to

experience some of the challenges that face multiethnic Japanese teenagers is the original and omnipresent motivation for this dissertation.

So in one sense, I am more than qualified to carry out this research. Yet in many ways I was, and remain even now, an outsider to the ethnographic setting I studied. I was neither a teacher nor a parent at the international school, and until I began my research there, my only experience with the school had been when I attended some unrelated conferences that used it as a venue on the weekend. Although my full-time job involved teaching at a nearby university, I presented myself to the staff and students primarily in what I considered my most relevant persona for that situation, a graduate student completing ethnographic fieldwork for his doctoral studies.

This meant that I had the freedom to cross unspoken boundaries in ways that perhaps no one else at the school could. I could approach the teachers as a colleague or I could sit with the students at lunchtime and listen in on conversations that would probably not have happened if their teachers were present. I generally wore casual clothes, such as jeans and a t-shirt, so the students came to accept my presence. I wanted my attire to convey the image that I was not a teacher, which aided in the process of ‘delicately lurking’ (Van Mannen, 1988). The video camera eventually also became part of my uniform, alerting others, in part, to the reason I was there and providing me with an excuse not to over-participate in the conversation.

The attitude I adopted in presenting myself during the fieldwork will be outlined in greater detail in chapter 4, but at this stage it is sufficient to mention that my relation to the research setting and the participants is somewhat paradoxical. I am simultaneously (1) insider (in that I understand English and Japanese and have personal connections to the focus of the study as a parent in an international marriage in Japan) and (2) outsider (in that I was new to the school and ancillary to its everyday running).

2 *Theoretical Background*

Overview

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework behind the study by reviewing relevant research into codeswitching, multiethnicity in the Japanese context, and the way that identity is accomplished in interaction.

Section 2.1 will provide background information into the multiethnic experience in Japan, examining it in relation to conventional socio-psychological notions of identity, which up until now have largely dominated the way most people view identity- as something that happens inside the head. In contrast, section 2.2 will introduce the ethnomethodological view of identity as a participant resource, co-constructed and made relevant by and through interaction with other people, a notion that locates identity very much outside the head. Section 2.2 will outline in more detail the view of identity that will chiefly inform the study, but Bucholtz and Halls' (2005) definition puts it succinctly—"identity is the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586).

Sections 2.3 and 2.4 will turn to the question of language alternation in conversation, the former looking at four of the major socio-interactional codeswitching studies in recent decades, and the latter introducing a re-specification of the concept of codeswitching from the point of view of the language users themselves. Finally, section 2.5 will outline some recent studies that are of particular value to the present dissertation in exemplifying the study of codeswitching as an activity in which bilingual people discursively co-construct elements of their ethnic identities.

Throughout the review of the literature, the aim will be to critically consider existing theory on identity and bilingual interaction in order to arrive at an informed decision for selecting a methodological approach and ground the study's findings in what other academics have already established.

2.1 Multiethnic Japanese identities: Half, double or somewhere in-between?

2.1.1 *Who (or what) is a multiethnic Japanese person?*

The central players on the stage that goes to make up this investigation are the multiethnic children of *kokusai kekkon* ('international marriages') in Japan. Although such exogamous relationships exist between Japanese and people from just about every other country in the world, the present study will focus primarily on those individuals who have one Japanese parent and one native English-speaking non-Japanese parent. This is not to infer that multiethnic people from other combinations of cultural and linguistic heritages do not exist in Japan. In fact, it is recognized that Korean-Japanese and Chinese-Japanese account for a far greater number of the multiethnic people in Japan than do those such as the participants in this study who are visibly 'half-Japanese' (Lee, 1998).

Multiethnic Japanese is not a term that has been commonly used in the fields of bilingualism and multicultural identity in Japan up until now. It is perhaps indicative of the ambiguous nature of 'mixed race' that a variety of referents and euphemisms have been used in the quest for assumed and ascribed categorization. Some such terms in English include biracial, bicultural, people of dual ethnicity, interracial, interethnic, multicultural, racially mixed, Eurasian, Amerasian and international.

In Japanese, people of mixed heritage are generally called '*haafu*', from the English word 'half'. The students that I talked to in my study ultimately felt that this was the way they would best describe themselves (Greer, 2003). However they also acknowledged that this term was problematic when used by other people. In fact many parents oppose the word '*haafu*' for its negative connotations in English ('half-breed', 'half-caste') and for its nuance of incompleteness (McCarty, 1996), which may deny children access to one of their cultures (Moriki, 2000). Instead some have begun using the term *daburu* or 'double' (Life, 1995) in order to give a fuller description of their children's bicultural experience. However, as many of the

participants in this study were largely unaware of the term *daburu*, it was felt that it would be inappropriate to use it as a descriptor in this study.

In the end, both of these terms were rejected in favour of ‘multiethnic’. ‘Multi’ reflects not just the dual nature of their parents’ individual heritages, but also the participants’ own shifting ‘in-between’ culture. As a broad term it also recognizes that not all such people have parents who clearly identify with just one cultural background. Some of the participants in the present study identified themselves as ‘*kuohtaa*’ (quarter) rather than ‘*haafu*’, because one of their parents was also part-Japanese. That is to say, that multi here refers to “two or more”, in the way that many researchers use the word multilingual to refer to people who speak two or more languages.

‘Ethnic’, as a descriptive form of the word ‘ethnicity’ can be used to encompass both physically distinguished ‘racial’ traits and socially transmitted behaviour patterns, attitudes and beliefs that go to make up the participants’ ‘mixed’ cultural backgrounds. While nationality refers to the country or countries where a person holds citizenship, ethnicity relates to a person’s social heritage. An ethnic group is one that (a) shares common origins, (b) claims a common history, (c) possesses a collective cultural identity and (d) feels a sense of distinct collective solidarity (Gatt et al., 2001).

Until now, ‘multiethnic’ has been most commonly used in the macro-sociological arena to refer to societies, communities and states (Lie, 2001). But for the purposes of this investigation I will appropriate it to refer to the ascription, acceptance and assertion of multiple cultural allegiances by an individual person. It was felt that one of the biggest advantages of adopting the term *multiethnic* over (say) *bicultural* was that it could be used to refer to a group of people, even if their non-Japanese heritages differed.

The decision to focus on Japanese/English speaking multiethnic people was taken upon consideration of a number of relevant contextual factors. Firstly, as an analysis of codeswitching in conversation, it was important to choose speakers of the two languages in which the researcher was proficient. Secondly, the international school in which the field research was carried out is an English language environment and has a large percentage of students from English speaking

international families. In addition, it was felt that multiethnic Japanese who speak English make up a significant, yet largely isolated group of bilinguals in Japan.

The aim of this section then is to examine some of the ways in which people of ‘mixed-race’ develop a sense of multiethnic identity in Japan, where the dominant social discourses tend to encourage homogeneity over difference. Initially it will detail some of the background that is particular to the Japanese situation, especially the *Nihonjinron* theory of uniqueness and homogeneity. The section then proceeds to review studies from the literature, including research into cultural, ‘racial’ and multilingual identities, especially as they apply to multiethnic Japanese people. It provides the reader with a broad overview of multiethnic identity in Japan through an eclectic review of social research conducted across a range of academic disciplines.

2.1.2 The question of Japanese uniqueness and homogeneity

Although most observers now recognize that ‘race’ is a social construct and that at a genetic level the difference between ‘races’ is miniscule (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Parker & Song, 2001; Parra et al., 2003; Tatum, 1999; Zack, 1995), it is still undeniably one of the greatest determinants of discrimination, precisely because societies have made it so. Japan is no exception, attempting to preserve its self-proclaimed homogeneity by obliging its citizens to conform to multifarious cultural rules, while at the same time discouraging outsiders, either explicitly or implicitly, from becoming members (Yoshida, 1999).

During the Meiji restoration the Japanese government enacted a policy which established the Tokyo dialect as standard Japanese, forcing the Ainu minorities in Hokkaido to assimilate and downgrading the Ryukyuan language of Okinawa to a dialect (Coulmas, 1999), even though it is virtually unintelligible to mainland Japanese even today. The outcome was an all-pervasive cultural myth of uniqueness and homogeneity that links language to ethnicity and dictates a monocultural Japanese ethnic identity, despite the fact that regional differences are clearly evident. Such ethnocentrism took its place as an ostensibly apolitical ideology known as *nihonjinron* (literally ‘theories on being Japanese’) which set about contrasting the aesthetic, sentimental expressionism of the Japanese with the cold,

power-fixated nature of Western discourse (Dale, 1986). The *nihonjinron* amassed an extensive body of work which affirmed Japanese uniqueness by constructing us-and-them dichotomies on a wide variety of topics including intellectual style, geo-climatic features, socio-cultural mode and social and productive bases. Authors used a myriad of key words (*ie, ki, amae, tate...*), mystifying and deifying the Japanese language with long-winded diatribe that was based more on the authors' emotional judgment than any hard data (Miller, 1982). Unfortunately, some Western academics took the bait, accepting, echoing and even adding to the *nihonjinron* line. Those who questioned it were met with the perennially indisputable argument that they couldn't be expected to understand because they were not Japanese.

So just as many Japanese came to believe that they were a unique society with a homogeneous and distinctive character, the world at large also started to perceive them in the same way. The Japanese establishment credits its homogeneity as the reason for Japan's outstanding success in overall development and lack of crime, revolutions and major social upheavals that have affected other major powers during the last few centuries (Hicks, 1998).

The myths of homogeneity and uniqueness become particularly noticeable in situations where borders between Japanese and non-Japanese nationalities overlap. Yoshino (1992) notes that:

'Social definitions of Japanese identity are deeply racial and based on both phenotypic and genotypic qualities. Although Japanese nationality is not legally defined on the basis of race, in social practice, an individual must 'look Japanese' racially and possess pure 'Japanese blood' to be considered 'Japanese'. The non-scientific concept of Japanese blood is assumed to give exclusive ownership to cultural knowledge.' (1992:p 24)

For this reason, multiethnic Japanese people pose a particular threat to the *nihonjinron* assertions of homogeneity. By their very looks they are seen as a curious anomaly that challenges long-established assumptions of racial purity and uniqueness, which causes Wagatsuma (1982) to note that Japanese possess mixed attitudes towards the physical features of whites, often expressing a kind of dual bias within

the same breath. He feels that while most envy the fair skin, pronounced nose and shapely legs of the stereotypical Westerner, they also believe that Japanese skin is smoother in texture and has less wrinkles and blemishes. ‘This attitude- maintaining a Japanese ‘skin supremacy’ while at the same time admitting the desirability of the Caucasian facial and body structures- is exemplified by a widely held notion that a Eurasian child will be very attractive if it takes the Japanese parent’s skin and the Caucasian parent’s bone structure, but that the result of the opposite combination could be disastrous’ (1982:311).

The idea that Japanese intellectuals should spend time on such detailed analyses of physical features must in itself be considered as evidence that the Japanese are sensitive to external appearances, and perhaps also attests to their belief that they harbor feelings of both inferiority and superiority towards Westerners, the so-called ‘*Gaijin* Complex’² (March, 1992). However Nakashima (1992) believes that similar stereotypes concerning the physical appearance of multiethnic people exist in the United States even though such judgments about racial features have no objective basis. Even when a physical trait is designated as positive, a distinction is still nonetheless being made so Nakashima contends that being seen to possess “‘the best of both worlds’ is just as ‘otherworldly’ as the hybrid degeneracy ‘worst of both worlds,’ leaving people of mixed race as the perpetual ‘other’” (1992:172).

Recently, some writers (Kikkawa, 1998; Maher & Yashiro, 1993; McCormack, 1996) have started to question the *nihonjinron* assertions of homogeneity and are instead beginning to urge a shift toward multiculturalism. In fact, Ito (1999) suggests there is undoubtedly an element of hybridity to the Japanese themselves as they see their ethnic identity as neither Asian nor Western, but something in-between. While this is undoubtedly the case, it is important to gather empirical evidence about this shift in identity, particularly in ways that the discourse of homogeneity and its counter-discourse of multiculturalism are played out at the micro-interactional level.

² *Gaijin* is often rendered in English as *foreigner*, but a more literal translation would be *outsider*. I prefer the term *non-Japanese*, which I believe is closer to the real nuance of this word.

2.1.3 *'Biracial' identity*

In the United States there have long been laws that determine people's ethnicity by their lineage. The so-called 'one drop rule' means that even a person who had one black great-great-great grandparent is considered to be black under law in some states (Zack, 1995). Pinderhughes (1995) points out that such hypodescent is a strategy used to 'preserve the purity of the White race, along with its power and domination in (that) society' (1995:76). While not institutionalized in law in Japan, the same could be argued on a social level about the Japanese people, who fear the mixing of blood, not only because blood is (mistakenly) assumed to give exclusive ownership to cultural knowledge (Yoshino, 1992), but also because of the threat it makes to their social myths of homogeneity and uniqueness. The doctrine of hypodescent and the Japanese version of the 'one drop rule' exist in that multiethnic children are often labeled as *gaijin* or *haafu* before they are considered to be Japanese.

From a psychological perspective, Pinderhughes (1995) believes that this kind of attitude 'may prevent racially mixed people from moving back and forth between colour lines, a process which is now seen as necessary for adopting a healthy, biracial identity' (1995:77). Early studies of multiethnic adolescents focused on clinical psychologists' reports of individuals who experienced feelings of anomie and emotional hardship due to their mixed status, but Tatum (1999) feels that these cases do not accurately represent the real situation because they also involved additional hardships such as family break up, abuse or neglect; conditions that are more likely to contribute to their problems. Although it was previously thought that multiethnic people should choose either one or the other culture, most researchers, such as Minoura (1987) and Sarrup (1996), now believe that ethnicity is unfixed and that people consciously re-examine and redefine their cultural identities and adapt their interpersonal behaviour according to the multiple contexts in which they find themselves.

There is some overlap in the ways identity development takes place among both multiethnic individuals and other minority groups, but the fact that they occupy

a place on the boundaries presents multiethnic people with their own set of challenges. Kich (1992) maintains that the development of a 'biracial', bicultural identity takes place over three stages: the first characterised by feelings of difference and discrepancy, the second in which individuals search for acceptance from others and the final ongoing stage when they reach an understanding and self-acceptance of their 'biracial' identity. In addition to coping with externally ascribed identities, people of dual heritage must come to terms with loyalty conflict, a condition in which some children become confused over which parent to identify with, causing them to reject one parent and over-identify with the other (Pinderhughes, 1995).

But perhaps the biggest challenge comes from the ways in which society views multiethnic identity. As one multiethnic teenager quoted by Gaskins (1999) mentions, 'the problem isn't us- it's everyone else' (p. 14). While children from intercultural families generally learn to live with their racial ambiguity, the common reaction from those around them manifests itself in the bewildered inquiry 'What are you?' In the second or so that it takes to ask that question, multiethnic people must try to judge the inquisitor's motives- societal racism, bias against interracial marriage or just plain curiosity- and then attempt to formulate an answer that will satisfy both the questioner and themselves.

In essence, societal expectations play a large role in how multiethnic children are labeled by themselves and their families. Their ethnic allegiances may seem fluid, changing according to the context and the interlocutor: sometimes English-speaker, sometimes Japanese, sometimes both, sometimes neither.

Some authors conclude that interracial and international families are emerging as key sites where new forms of cultural, social class and gender identity are being reconstructed. Stephan and Stephens' study (1989) found that 73% of the multiethnic Japanese in their study listed a multiple identity on at least one measure of ethnic identity, which they believe demonstrates a potential erosion of ethnic boundaries through intermarriage. Luke and Luke (1998) discuss the possibility that their interracial relationship has given many parents the opportunity to re-evaluate and reinvent their own ethnic identities, making the likelihood that such flexible attitudes towards multiculturalism will be passed on to their children – whether implicitly or explicitly. These parents encourage in their children an ability to operate

under multiple reference points, not only in order to function in two cultures, but also because they themselves have developed a hybrid worldview in their relationship as a couple, blending the cultural practices and beliefs within their family.

Piller (2002) likewise notes that couples in bilingual marriages iconically link multilingualism to their own performance and perceptions of hybridity in their social identities (2002:265). As a result, Schwartz (1998) concludes that:

‘(i)ndividuals who are socialized as multiracial usually benefit from their heritage. Their families provide them with a cultural education that is broader than that of monoracial children, giving them both a larger knowledge base and a more well-rounded sense of the world. They have an enhanced sense of self and identity, and greater intergroup tolerance, language facility, appreciation of minority group cultures, and ties to single-heritage groups than do monoracial people’

(Schwartz, 1998, Advantage section, paragraph 1)

However, Moriki (2000) and Yamamoto (1995) both note that some parents in Japan choose to bring up their children monoculturally in order to avoid having the children feel different. Murphey-Shigematsu (1997) believes that multiethnic Japanese are likely to regard a monoethnic identity as normal and desirable, but when they attempt to assert such an identity they are often met with a lack of acceptance from those around them. In this respect Stephan and Stephans’ assertion that ethnic identity is selected rather than assigned is only partly true. Perhaps a more accurate statement might be that multiethnic children choose their preferred ethnic identities and then continually adjust them based on the perceptions of those around them.

Identities are formed largely through socialization (Murphey, 1998) and as multiethnic children find themselves in a variety of situations, it is likely that they will develop the ability to operate under social rules that may sometimes conflict. In places where there are large numbers of multiethnic Japanese existing in community, such as in an international school (Ochs, 1993) or on an American army base in Japan (Williams, 1992), a transcultural worldview develops, and usually results in an

eclectic mix of language, tastes and pursuits. However, children of dual heritage who are taught solely in Japanese schools can be very much in the minority, lacking both a group identity and a community in which to form one. Okano & Tsuchiya (1999) point out that the Japanese education system has always assumed that its students are 'Japanese', and assimilated anyone who was 'a little different'. International families who enroll their children in regular Japanese schools often also seek alternate opportunities to experience the non-Japanese parent's culture in order to maintain a bicultural heritage, such as overseas visits and short term schooling experiences abroad (Gillis-Furutaka, 2001).

2.1.4 Bilingual identity

Language is one of the most apparent manifestations of biculturalism in Japan. Part of the *Nihonjinron* myth asserts that the Japanese language is too difficult and too subtle for non-Japanese to comprehend, effectively instituting a link between race and language (Miller, 1982). This may manifest itself in situations where some Japanese feel they must speak in English to a multiethnic person, based on the child's physical characteristics. Most international families can tell stories of Japanese strangers talking in English to their children, whether to 'test the child's level' or to publicize their own foreign language skills. English in Japan does enjoy a definite prestige (Loveday, 1996), but this comes as a mixed blessing to multiethnic Japanese as they are held in either distant awe or jealous contempt, or are otherwise expected to be capable of linguistic competence beyond their development level.

Since Japanese often erroneously judge linguistic ability based on an individual's physical features, children born to international families, who defy definitions of homogeneity by their very existence, can sometimes face rejection from society. Thus, some try to minimize their distinctiveness by behaving like the majority population. Yamamoto (1995) observes that one way bilingual children in Japan do this 'is to refuse to speak the minority language, at least in public and sometimes in private as well' (p. 80).

However, refusal to use the minority language is accompanied by the risk of losing familiarity with the minority culture because, as Ting-Toomey (1999) notes,

‘language infiltrates so intensely the social experience within a culture that neither language nor culture can be understood without knowledge of both’ (p. 93). A survey by Yamamoto (1991) found that over 80% of her sample of English/Japanese speaking international couples living in Japan were in favor of bringing up their children bilingually and were making efforts to provide them with a bilingual environment. Although the families experienced varying degrees of success, there seemed to be a general trend in which native English speaking parents who spoke in Japanese or a mixture of Japanese and English to their children, were (perhaps predictably) less likely to have productively bilingual children (Kamada, 1995b; Noguchi, 2001a).

It has long been understood that bilingual people can foreground various aspects of their identities according to the context and the language they are using (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). Kramsch (1998) further recognises that by changing languages, bilingual people can demonstrate their access to a multicultural identity.

‘Language crossing enables speakers to change footing within the same conversation, but also to show solidarity or distance toward the discourse communities whose languages they are using, and whom they perceive the interlocutor as belonging’ (Kramsch, 1998, p. 70).

Spolsky (1998) backs up Kramsch from a sociolinguistic point of view, claiming that

‘(t)he selection of a language by a bilingual, especially when speaking to another bilingual, carries a wealth of social meaning. Each language becomes a virtual guise for the bilingual speaker, who can change identity as easily as changing a hat, and can use language choice as a way of negotiating social relations with an interlocutor’ (1998:50).

So how do these multiple identities manifest themselves in the Japanese situation? Williams (1992), herself an American-Japanese who was brought up bilingually on an army base in Japan, conducted interviews with forty-three multiethnic people in Japan. She also concluded that the multiethnic Japanese have

created their own blended culture and customs through their language to produce a 'third culture'.

'Codeswitching, which was originally a matter of family communication, became the unofficial language of the Amerasian- an inseparable part of his or her psyche. Many also learned when to keep quiet about their knowledge of the other language and when to disclose it. Sometimes Amerasians pretended they could not speak either language, to get special attention or for mere convenience...Amerasians took on many worlds: the Japanese-speaking world of their mothers, the English speaking world of their fathers, and the marriage of two (or more) languages in which they created their 'half-and-half' world. As a system of symbols with socially governed guidelines, bilingual code switching allowed Amerasians to relate to their parent groups, to express their sense of self, and to formulate a group solidarity and belongingness to their very own multiethnic group. Through their languages, they thought, spoke and lived in multiple consciousness' (Williams, 1992, p. 295).

In a similar fashion, Ochs (1993) also found that the students at the international school he studied were able to 'assimilate linguistic and cultural elements from Japanese society, and incorporate them into a pupil language that is a rich mosaic of lexical diversity and codeswitching' (1993:452) in order to express their cross-cultural existence.

This crossing between Japanese and English is known in Japanese slang as *Champon*, a term appropriated from a word meaning to mix drinks or foods in an unlikely combination. The use of *Champon* during in-group communication has also been noted among Japanese returnees (*kikokushijo*) who have been raised and educated overseas (Kanno, 2000). They are often chastised by monolingual Japanese for allowing English expressions to intrude into their conversations because it is perceived that they are either showing off or that they don't know the proper Japanese word.

Pan (1995) acknowledges that codeswitching is sometimes spontaneous and automatic. However, in situations where speaker and interlocutor understand both

languages, bilingual interaction can serve to affirm shared cultural knowledge rather than merely indicate inaptly acquired linguistic ability. Parents and teachers may try to encourage the use of only one language, but knowledge of both Japanese and English linguistic conventions and non-verbal communication cues, and how to mix them properly, are seen as proof of the right to bicultural group membership. Ochs (1993) notes that when teachers' and bilingual adolescents' attitudes to language use are at odds in this way, the students are likely to reject the pure form of the language because of its link to authority. The dilemma for English-speaking parents then is whether to risk this rejection or use Japanese and have monolingual children.

Miller (2003) maintains that spoken communication provides a medium through which speaker and hearers co-construct identity. She suggests that minority second language learners can come up against discrimination based on their 'audible difference' (p. 19). Not only looking different, but sounding different can be grounds for distinction, and the consequential identity negotiation it entails. While many multiethnic Japanese teenagers have a relatively balanced command of their languages, some are so-called 'late bilinguals' or 'non-native speakers' of English. As discussed in chapter 5, this can be grounds for others to contest their claims to a non-Japanese identity.

The link between language and ethnolinguistic identity has been well established (Fishman, 1999; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Kramsch, 1998) and the fact that most multiethnic Japanese teenagers have some proficiency in another language must therefore mean that they have some sense of bilingual identity. However, as Sebba and Wooffit (1998:284) point out, the relationship between a code (language variety or style) and identity is not as simple as one-to-one. The use of Japanese does not necessarily indicate anything about a person's 'Japanese self', although it certainly can. Moreover, identity is not simply about well-known macro-categories such as gender, race or ethnicity. As will be discussed in the next section and throughout the rest of this study, a fine-grained analysis of interaction reveals that identity consists of variable situated relational positions – such as bully/bullied or joker/audience – which in turn may be related to more transportable identities such as ethnicity (Zimmerman, 1998). The aim of this study is to describe some of the ways this is done through bilingual interaction.

2.1.5 Conclusion

In this section I have undertaken a broad review of existing research into multiethnic identity, to provide the reader with some background issues that are particularly relevant to multiethnic people in Japanese contexts. This section of the review has been intentionally eclectic, taking into consideration the notion of identity from a wide variety of research traditions. Some of these studies differ from the way that I view identity, while others arrive at their findings in ways that I would not be comfortable applying to my own work.

However, what has become clear is that many post-structuralist researchers (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2001) now recognize that identities are fluid, dynamic co-constructions. One of the richest environments for observing identity being negotiated is in everyday interaction.

Therefore, the focus for the remainder of the dissertation will be somewhat different from many of the studies that have been reviewed in this section. As outlined in Chapter 1, the study will use participant-centered methodologies to describe how bilingual and multiethnic identities are co-accomplished in mundane talk, and to look at the role that bilingual practices play in that process. The next section will outline in further detail the view of identity that informs the study.

2.2 Accomplishing identity in interaction

2.2.1 Introduction

A father is playing with his two year-old son in the living room. With a ‘vrroom’ he imitates the sound of a truck as he pushes a toy replica along the floor and encourages the boy to follow his lead. His wife calls from another room and he answers her in a casual tone of voice, but one appropriate for an adult. This brief response indicates a depth of shared experience between the speakers. While they are not rude to each other, there is no excessive politeness in their speech and no negative reaction to its absence, indicating that they have an ‘intimate’ relationship. The telephone rings and the man begins to talk about a work-related matter with a

colleague. His speech becomes more careful and controlled, his demeanor more business-like. In each situation, he adapts his speech according to his relationship with the person he is speaking to, changing not only lexical and morpho-syntactic elements of his speech, but also prosodic features such as tone, pitch, intonation and volume. If this man is bilingual, he may have also changed languages with one or more of the interlocutors. The way he talks reflects, in turn, his identity as a father, a husband or a co-worker.

While there is nothing particularly innovative in this observation, it serves here to highlight the notion of discursively co-constructed identity, or the ways in which interactants demonstrate localized understandings of self and other through situated talk. The aim of this section then is to examine identity not as something that speakers *are*, but as something that they *do* through their talk.

2.2.2 Identities in interaction: An ethnomethodological approach

This dissertation focuses principally on the way that speakers can be seen to be actively constructing elements of their identity through interaction by paying particular attention to the locally ordered character of culture-in-action (Hester & Eglin, 1997c). Along with an ethnographic analysis of the community of practice, it adopts a participant-centred ethnomethodological approach, utilizing as two of its key methodologies, Applied Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorization Analysis. Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), in reviewing the vast amount of work left behind by Sacks³, outline the following key points to an ethnomethodological view of identity:

³ Much of Sacks's work was not published before his untimely death in 1975. However transcripts of his lectures (beginning in 1964) were circulated widely in mimeographed form among interested researchers until they were eventually published in two volumes as "Lectures in Conversation" (Sacks, 1992). In this thesis I will adhere to Silverman's (1998) convention of referring to this canonical and comprehensive collection as "LC1" and "LC2".)

- ‘for a person to ‘have an identity’- whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about – is to be cast into a *category with associated characteristics or features*;
- such casting is *indexical and occasioned*;
- it *makes relevant* the identity to the interactional business going on;
- the force of ‘having an identity’ is in its *consequentiality* in the interaction, and:
- all this is visible in people’s exploitation of the *structures of conversation*.’

(Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 3, original emphasis)

Section 2.2.2 will elaborate further on each of these points to demonstrate how identity can be viewed as both an achievement between speakers and a tool for informing further talk.

2.2.2.1 *Membership Categorization*

One of Sacks’s major aims in describing how people achieve social order through interaction was embodied in the study of what he called Membership Categorization Analysis. Any disparate group of four people may be arbitrarily termed A, B, C and D, but as soon as we identify them as a collection, for example ‘a rock band’, we can assume that there will be certain roles that will be assigned to individuals in the group; vocalist, bass player, lead guitarist, drummer, and so on. Sacks calls such collections of categories Membership Categorization Devices, or MCD’s (LC1: 40). The members of this group would then be understood to have certain definable proficiencies, activities and character traits. They would be assumed to have certain musical abilities and tastes, to perform in concerts and make audio and video recordings of their work. Certain assumptions about their lifestyles might also be made, whether favourably, accurately or otherwise. Sacks identified those activities that can normally be attributed to the members of a certain group as ‘category bound activities’ (LC1:175).

The same collection of people might equally be assigned the term ‘British’ if they were classified according to nationality. This would then presume certain features about their upbringing, legal documents they hold and the way they talk.

Any given person can be cast into a wide range of classificatory groups, depending on the MCD being currently invoked. At the same time, having certain characteristics or performing certain category bound activities can prompt others to describe an individual according to a particular MCD. In Sacks's famous example (LC1:236);

The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.

it is clearly understood that the person who picked up the baby was the baby's mother, not someone else's mother, because listeners ascribe the MCD's 'mother' and 'baby' to the collection 'family' and have background knowledge of certain expected actions for each of the category members (Sacks, 1972b). When a mother hears her baby crying, she picks it up. Sacks explains the tendency for hearers to categorize this mother and baby as members of the same family according to his consistency rule (LC: 225, 238-9, 246). In short this means that once a member of a hearable collection has been mentioned, subsequent members will be categorized according to the same collection. So in the earlier example of the rock band, it would be unlikely that one person would be categorized as the lead vocalist and another as a Liverpudlian. Likewise Sacks puts forward an economy rule (LC1:246) that states that it is usually sufficient to apply only one category to each member in any specific instance.

One particular type of membership categorization device in which the relationship between the two members 'constitutes a locus of rights and obligations' (Lepper, 2000) is the standardized relational pair, or SRP (LC:327). These are membership categories that are logically organized in dyads, such as husband-wife, parent-child, and employer-employee. The discursive occasioning of one such paired category can imply the speaker's reference to the other standard relational pair, even if it is not explicitly mentioned. In one example taken from Sacks's counseling data (Sacks, 1972a), the interviewer asks the question, 'Have you ever been married, Miss G?' In doing so he is invoking the husband-wife SRP through its shared inference to the category bound activity of 'being married'. Sacks demonstrates that by referring

to actions, the interactants can foreground various aspects of their own or others' identities⁴.

Watson (1987) notes that categorizations have motivational implications and that they are utilized by interactants to conduct the moral work of justifying and excusing actions (Hester & Eglin, 1997a). The pair of categories that will be of most relevance to the present study will be *Nihonjin-Gaijin* ('Japanese-Outsider'), particularly because multiethnic Japanese people are routinely classified in both of these categories depending on the speaker and the context, and by default can occupy a middle ground that defies and obscures ordinary SRP's.

One MCA study that is of particular relevance to the present research is Day's work on 'ethnification' (Day, 1994, 1998), in which he sees ethnic identity as a 'situated accomplishment' (1998:53), recasting it as a resource for participants to draw upon in their everyday social lives, rather than a socially determined constant. The methods members use to resist ethnic categorizations through talk-in-interaction as revealed in Day's study are summarized as follows:

- Dismiss the relevance of the category
- Minimize the supposed 'difference' between categories
- Reconstitute the category so that one is excluded
- Ethnify the ethnifier
- Resist 'ethnification' by actively avoiding it.

While Day's study focuses on the resistant dimension of ethnic ascription, ethnic identities are not always called into dispute. In section 5.3, the present study will also examine cases in mundane talk in which the speakers implicitly comply with an ascription and chapters 6 and 7 will cover ways in which language choice can act as an MCD to select specific recipient (or subset of recipients) known to have a preference for that medium, therefore indexing their ethnic identity.

⁴ Of course, Sacks was working with the terminology of the times in which he wrote, and what he referred to as *membership* categories are now also known as *identity* categories (Edwards, 1998). The two terms will be used interchangeably throughout this study.

2.2.2.2 *Indexing and occasioning*

In order to place someone into a category, speakers must somehow index and occasion that category in their interaction. The concept of ‘indexicality’ has its roots in the semiotic theories initially developed by Charles Peirce in the late 1800’s. An index is a kind of sign that has a logical relationship to the object it stands for (Swann, Deumert, Lillis, & Mesthrie, 2004). In pure linguistics deixis markers such as ‘it’, ‘here’ and ‘then’ take on different meanings depending on the context in which they are used (Levinson, 1983). In ethnomethodology, Garfinkel (1967/1984) broadened this concept to demonstrate that interactants’ understanding of any word varies from conversation to conversation, according to the locally negotiated usage in that particular instance. Through MCA, Sacks extended the idea of indexicality even further to include expressions of category membership.

The notion of occasionedness is a natural extension of indexicality. Any utterance, including one that ascribes or assumes a particular identity through the use of categories or category bound activities, is indexed to its locally constructed meaning in the context of the present talk. The occasion on which a category is being discursively invoked is what determines its meaning in that particular situation or what Hester and Eglin (1997b) refer to as a ‘category-in-context’. Sacks’s position was that everyday reality is ‘accomplished’ and made ‘storyable’ (LC2:218) through locally constituted *in situ* talk (Silverman, 1998). To this end all categories are dependent on their immediate interactional context and their intended meanings are therefore ‘*locally and temporarily contingent*’ (Hester & Eglin, 1997a).

2.2.2.3 *Relevance and orientation in Interaction*

Schegloff (1991) further developed the ethnomethodological notion that the only identities that should be analyzed are those that the speakers *make relevant* or *orient to*, and that can be demonstrated to have procedural consequences in the resultant interaction. In conversation analysis, the active usage of these terms serves to remind the analyst that it is the participants’ categories that are important. Just as interactants can ‘orient to’ a statement as a joke by responding with laughter or as a leave taking gesture by responding with a similar salutation, speakers can also demonstrate an awareness of these aspects of their identities that they deem to be relevant to the

particular talk at hand. Wary of fixed and static notions of identity, researchers in an ethnomethodological paradigm seek to provide an empirically grounded explanation of the interactants' orientations to self and other based on categories that are of relevance to the momentary talk at hand (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

2.2.2.4 *Procedural consequentiality*

Schegloff (1992a) recommends that analysts should only pay attention to those identities that somehow affect the pursuant interaction. Antaki and Widdicombe refer to this, when combined with the notion of *relevance* outlined above, as 'the discipline of holding off from saying that such and such a person is doing whatever it is he or she is doing because he or she is this or that supposed identity' (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998:5). This means that conversational analysts will refrain from calling someone 'a laboratory technician' until there is some evidence in the way she talks, or the way that others talk to her, that makes this particular observation relevant to the analysis. Ethnomethodological researchers focus primarily on the way the members display their identities through talk, not the business of ascribing *a priori* categories based on other knowledge or manipulating the data to conform to an assumed understanding. In any particular conversation, the speaker's identity as a laboratory technician may be secondary to her identity as a Buddhist, or as an accomplished mahjong player, or as a middle-class Thai woman. It is through her talk-in-interaction, and that of those around her, that these categories will be made relevant at any particular time.

2.2.2.5 *Making identity available through conversational structure*

The way that speakers react to each other, their demeanor towards other speakers, and the level of politeness they use are all reflected in the mechanics of their conversation. 'Every turn at talk is part of some structure, plays against some sort of expectation, and in its turn will set up something for the next speaker to be alive to.' (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998:6). The basic organizational features that make up interaction, such fundamental CA tools as turn taking (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), repair (Schegloff, 1979, 1987b, 1992c), preference (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), and sequencing (Schegloff, 1972), are all influenced by the

speaker's identity-in-interaction (Aronsson, 1998), and in turn will affect the way that others view that identity.

Sacks often problematized static identities by prefixing verbs of existence with the word *doing*, in order to focus on the interactional nature of the action, such as doing 'being ordinary' (Sacks, 1984). Auer (1984) and more recently Cashman (2000; Cashman, 2001, 2005) have used the phrase 'doing being bilingual' to acknowledge the ways in which speakers perform a bilingual identity through their use of language. In this way, then, the present study is concerned with the way that bilingual young people draw from both their linguistic heritages in everyday talk to demonstrate something of who they are, or in other words, 'doing being multiethnic'.

2.2.3 Conclusion

In sum, this section has taken the static notion of identity as something we *are* (typified by many of the studies reviewed in section 2.1) and recast it as something we *do*, and something that is *done* to us through our talk. It has set the stage for the adoption of an ethnomethodological understanding of identities as indexical and occasioned, allowing individuals to selectively foreground and background elements of themselves through the social activity of conversation, styling or positioning themselves and others discursively through the way they use categories and elements of speech in their everyday interaction.

In this respect, both monolingual and bilinguals achieve identity in similar ways. However, Auer (1984;1998b) maintains that people in paired-language communities have an extra tool in their communicative repertoire, the ability to alternate between their languages for discursive effect. The current study will draw on Antaki and Widdicombes' approach to analyzing identity in talk with the aim of building on work that has already been done on language alternation in mundane bilingual interaction.

The next section will examine the work of four researchers in the field of socio-interactional codeswitching as exemplars of the key methodologies employed to document the phenomenon of language alternation. It will then spotlight, in particular, a CA approach to codeswitching.

2.3 Socio-interactional approaches to understanding codeswitching

2.3.1 Overview: What is codeswitching?

The bilingual speech pattern known as *codeswitching* has been the focus of much attention in the last forty years. In general terms, codeswitching can be used to refer to *situations in which bilingual people alternate between languages, either between or within utterances*. This definition is refined in section 2.4 (below) according to the recommendations made by Gafaranga and Torras (2002) in order to align it more closely to participant understandings of what is happening when they use two languages simultaneously. But for now, we will use the definition above as a starting point in order to consider some of the more influential studies into bilingual interaction in the last twenty years.

Some actual examples of codeswitching may help at this point to clarify the concept better than the definition itself. Table 2.1 lists some instances of codeswitching taken from data collected in an earlier study (Greer, 2001b) and categorized according to Poplack's grammatical typology (Poplack, 1980). Japanese utterances are written in italics and translated in parentheses.

Table 2.1 Some examples of codeswitching taken from the author's corpus

<i>Type</i>	<i>Example</i>
Intersentential	I know. <i>Sore wa iya da ne</i> ('I hate that, don't you?').
Intrasentential	When I was in the Japanese school and we were learning English, when you read, I was better than anyone else and it was like ' <i>gaijin dakara.</i> ' ('That's because you're foreign').
Suprasentential	<i>Sore ne,</i> ('That's...') That's not because, <i>nan dakke</i> ('what would you say'), you look like an American or anything.

However, on the whole, the intrasentential/intersentential distinction is of more importance for those studying codeswitching from a purely syntactic perspective, and as my main interests lie in the field of socio-pragmatics, I will use

the turn as a basic unit of analysis and therefore prefer to use mid-turn/turn final to refer to this difference.

In the 1950's and 60's, codeswitching was largely viewed as evidence of language interference, and often held connotations of social and cognitive ineptitude (Grosjean, 1982; Skiba, 1997). Yet it continues to be used widely in paired-language communities, even when it is ostensibly denied and devalued by the speakers themselves. Most researchers now believe that codeswitching is a useful resource for bilingual people which adds positively to the linguistic repertoire and does not inhibit their ability to interact with monolingual speakers (Poplack, 1980).

The motivations behind why bilingual people codeswitch are many and varied; however, at its most basic level, codeswitching can be understood as either a tool for maintaining the flow of conversation, or as a means of expressing something about the speaker's identity. Production related functions of codeswitching include emphasizing a point, quoting someone else, or seizing the floor. On the other hand, speakers can also switch or mix their language to communicate affiliation or indicate social distance, to exclude people from the conversation or express an idea more adequately (Baker, 2000). Quite often a single codeswitched utterance will simultaneously fulfill multiple discourse and social functions.

Some scholars conceive a difference between codeswitching and codemixing. McLaughlin (1984) uses *codemixing* to refer to the insertion of linguistic elements within a sentence (intrasentential switches) and *codeswitching* to refer to the mixing of linguistic units across sentence boundaries within a speech event (intersentential switches). However this distinction is only important in analyzing the syntactic structure of codeswitching itself, and will not play a direct role in the present study. Baetens-Beardsmore (1986) maintains that codemixing 'appears to be the least favoured designation and the most unclear for referring to any form of non-monoglot norm-based speech patterns' (1986:49) and as Eastman (1992) suggests, 'efforts to distinguish between codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed' (1992:1).

Although under-represented in Japanese sociolinguistics, codeswitching is one of the most widely researched topics within the field of bilingualism studies internationally. Significant research has been carried out on syntactic and other

linguistic aspects of codeswitching (Clyne, 1987; MacSwann, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Nishimura, 1997; Poplack, 1980). Other researchers have looked at codeswitching from a neurolinguistic perspective (Grosjean, 1997) in order to gain insight into the way the bilingual brain processes language. Some, such as Fishman (1965) and Heller (1982), have attempted to answer macro-sociolinguistic questions concerning which communities codeswitch and why. However, the most fundamental yet unresolved questions about codeswitching look at individual examples through the discipline of interactional sociolinguistics.

With this in mind, this section will concentrate on studies of socio-interactional functions in codeswitching, with a particular emphasis on language alternation as an expression of identity. Specifically, it will outline some of the most influential models developed in this field over the past three decades; the pioneering interactional sociolinguistic work by Gumperz, the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton, which has recently been recast by the author as a rational choice model, the ethnographic approach of Zentella and the conversational analytic approach of Auer. Each approach will be reviewed in turn and various criticisms that have been made about each will be put forward. Finally I will discuss which of the methodological frameworks I have chosen to adopt for my ongoing study of identity accomplishment in bilingual interaction.

2.3.2 Gumperz' interactional approach

John Gumperz and his associates pioneered investigation into the socio-pragmatic functions of codeswitching in two revolutionary studies which changed the way researchers looked at the phenomenon (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1975). While the rest of the world still viewed it as evidence of language interference, Gumperz saw codeswitching as a kind of skilled performance which added social and pragmatic meaning. To him it was a discourse strategy which encouraged rather than inhibited communication (Gumperz, 1982).

Based on their ethnographic research into bidialectal language use in a Norwegian village, Blom and Gumperz (1972) put forward the concepts of 'situational' codeswitching and 'metaphorical' codeswitching, and these formed the

basis for a number of other studies into the social functions of codeswitching. According to this classification, situational codeswitches occur in response to some change in the physical language environment, such as the addition of a non-speaker of one of the codes, or the movement of the interactants into a setting in which the code is not routinely used, somewhat akin to Fishman's (1965) language choice domains. In contrast, metaphorical codeswitching occurs when such expected code-situation relationships are violated without any observable change in the physical situation. Here the regular context of the speech is indexed in an unusual context in order to 'bring in some of the flavor of this original setting' (Blom & Gumperz, 1972:425).

Later Gumperz (1982) recast this latter kind of language alternation as 'conversational codeswitching', maintaining that it can fulfill not only metaphorical functions, but also local discourse management functions such as quotations, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, addressee specification and personalization of content. In this kind of unmarked discourse contextualization, bilingual speakers suspend conventional relations between a language and its socio-cultural world, and the turn-internal switch becomes a function of discourse maintenance. Turn final switches, regardless of the direction of the language shift, are more likely to signal a change in the purpose of the speech.

Bailey (2000a) notes that Gumperz' characterizations of 'situational', 'metaphorical' and 'unmarked discourse contextualization' codeswitching are best viewed as a general guide to the functions of codeswitching and single meanings should not be assigned to individual cases of codeswitching.

While Auer (1984) prefers to use conversational analysis of the speakers' interaction (see section 2.3.5 below) rather than set decontextualized taxonomies to interpret the social functions of codeswitching, he does employ a continuum based 'participant related' vs. 'discourse related' polarity model, and in doing so essentially echoes Gumperz' distinction between situational codeswitching and the unmarked discourse contextualization features of conversational codeswitching.

In addition to theorizing functional categories for codeswitching, Gumperz also put forward the concept of we-codes and they-codes (Gumperz, 1982), which roughly equated with the minority and majority languages. The we-code was used for

informal speech in casual situations among in-group members, while the they-code was employed in official situations and for out-group interaction. However, in practice Gumperz notes that the we- and they-codes can be used in a variety of situations such as when a postal worker and a customer conduct their business in the majority out-group language and then switch to the local dialect (we-code) to discuss family news. An understanding of Gumperz' we- and they-codes is integral to understanding his concept of metaphorical codeswitching.

The we- and they-codes have come under criticism for a variety of reasons, but the one that is perhaps most pertinent to this study is that they are an analyst's tool and it is difficult to demonstrate empirically whether or not the participants are indexing them in the same way as the researcher (Auer, 1995; Sebba & Wooffit, 1998). The binary nature of the we/they distinction implies set linguistic boundaries and an imagined uniformity of interactive patterns, which doesn't reflect contemporary sociolinguistic understanding concerning the fluid nature of language use. For this reason the notion of we- and they-codes will be limited in this study to instances where it can be determined that these categories are relevant for the participants themselves, as evidenced in the details of the talk itself.

2.3.3 Myers-Scotton's markedness model: A rational choice approach

Myers-Scotton's widely cited Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1993b, 1998a, 1998b; Scotton, 1983) aims to account for social motivations for codeswitching by building on one aspect originally introduced by Gumperz, the concept of markedness, or expected usage. The Myer-Scotton model maintains that, through codeswitching, speakers access the socio-psychological values which they associate with different linguistic varieties of their speech communities: they switch codes in order to negotiate a change in social distance between themselves and other participants in the conversation, expressing this through their choice of a different language (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

There are three central maxims which make up the Markedness Model: the unmarked choice maxim, the marked choice maxim and the exploratory choice maxim. These are outlined in further detail in Table 2.2. Myers-Scotton suggests that

people who regularly use more than one language are able to recognize the marked and unmarked codes for a particular interaction based on factors such as topic and setting. Codeswitchers index a pre-established rights and obligations (RO) set that the speaker wants to use to regulate the language of conversation. In other words, by choosing one language over another in a given situation they are able to signal their perceptions or desires about group memberships. The unmarked choice is the expected or normal one, which is linked to the rights and obligations set whereas the marked choice is socially or interactionally significant because it is unexpected and creates a linguistic juxtaposition for the speakers.

Table 2.2 Markedness Model maxims (Myers-Scotton, 1993b)

The unmarked choice maxim	Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set.
The marked choice maxim	Make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange.
The exploratory choice maxim	When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour

Bailey (2000a) maintains that the Myers-Scotton model can be meta-analyzed according to Gumperz' three original categories. For example, Myers-Scotton refers to *codeswitching as a sequence of unmarked choices* in situations where circumstances change mid-conversation such as an outsider joins the discussion or the topic of conversation changes. The change in circumstances trigger a change in the RO set and the unmarked choice is preserved by an appropriate codeswitch. This has clear links to Gumperz' notion of situational codeswitching. Under Myers-Scotton's terminology, when a group of bilingual people alternate

between languages without even noticing it, *codeswitching* occurs as an unmarked choice.

In recent years, Myers-Scotton has recast her Markedness Model as a Rational Choice approach (Myers-Scotton, 2000), as opposed to a truly interactional approach. She argues that language choice is individually based, even though most speakers choose the societal pattern. Where factors outside the interaction itself, such as the presupposed social motivations of the speaker, become crucial to the model, then the model becomes self-determining. However, the basic limitation to this approach for Li Wei (2002) is that interaction-external factors such as the marked and unmarked choices are assumed prior to the analysis and are therefore ‘not always consistently empirically definable’ (2002:26). Like Li Wei, I do not necessarily refute the findings of the Rational Choice model, but I am reluctant to apply them arbitrarily to all analyses of codeswitching, preferring instead the micro-analytic, emic CA approach.

2.3.4 Zentella’s ethnographic typography

Zentella’s study (Zentella, 1997) was an ethnographic approach based on a longitudinal case study of bilingual teenage girls in a predominately Latin section of East Harlem known as *El Bloque*. She was mainly concerned with uncovering the complexity of bilingual communication and its role in the ongoing social development of the participants. The study was a holistic investigation, the researcher immersing herself in the community as a bilingual ethnographer to document the personal narratives of her informants from an emic perspective.

Her typology of functional codeswitching denotes variables explained according to the effect of shifting settings or the speakers’ language proficiency as ‘on the spot’ observables. While the links to Gumperz’ ‘situational’ category are obvious, Zentella found that the perceived language proficiency of the interlocutor was a key factor in determining language choice among her participants whereas other domain-like variables such as setting or topic were of secondary importance to her participants.

Extending her metaphor of the body, Zentella denotes unmarked discourse contextualizing switches as ‘in the head factors’ used for managing conversation,

utilizing in the process Goffman's notion of footing (Goffman, 1979). Along with contextual cues, she also includes meta-linguistic knowledge in this category, such as 'how to show respect for the social values of the community, the status of the interactants and the symbolic value of the languages' (82-83). As was the case with Auer's study, Zentella does not make mention of metaphorical switches because they are not a feature of speech among the second generation New York Puerto Ricans she investigated.

Table 2.3 Zentella's conversational functions of codeswitching (1997:92-99)

<i>Footing</i>	
Realignment	
1. Topic Shift	The speaker marks a shift in topic with a shift in language, with no consistent link between topic and language.
2. Quotations	The speaker recalls speech and reports it directly or indirectly, not necessarily in the language used by the person quoted.
3. Declarative/ Question shift	The language shift accompanies a shift into or out of a question.
4. Future referent check	The speaker makes an aside, marked by a shift into or out of a question.
5. Checking	The shift seeks the listeners' opinion or approval, usually in the form of a tag.
6. Role shift	The speaker shifts languages as s/he shifts role from actor to narrator or interviewer.
7. Rhetorical ask and answer	The speaker asks a question and immediately follows it with the answer in the other language.
8. Narrative frame break	The speaker departs from the narrative frame to evaluate some aspect of the story, or to deliver the punch line, or ending.

Appeal and/or control	
1. Aggravating requests	The switch intensifies or reinforces a command.
2. Mitigating requests	The switch softens a command.
3. Attention attraction	The shift calls for the attention of the listener.
Clarification and/or Emphasis	
1. Translations	The speaker switches in order to translate speech, either directly or slightly changing the wording.
2. Appositions	The switch marks the introduction of an appositional phrase to add subject specification.
3. Accounting for requests	The switch moves into or out of a direct request, with a supporting explanation or account.
4. Double subject (left dislocation)	A noun or noun phrase is followed by a switch to a clause that begins with a pronoun that refers to the same noun. e.g. 'My mother's friend, el se murio ('he died') because...'
Crutch-like codemixing	
1. Crutching	The speaker does not remember or know the switched word(s).
2. Filling in	The speaker fills the space with a catch-all term e.g. 'whatchamacallit'.
3. Recycling	The speaker tries to repair a non-grammatical switch.
4. Triggers	A word with a similar surface structure in both languages triggers the switch e.g. 'My name es Paca.' ('is')
5. Parallelism	The speaker copies the previous speaker's switch.
6. Taboos	A taboo topic is addressed in the other language.

Zentella also defines a third set of observables as ‘out of the mouth’, referring to the influences on an individual speaker according to the lexical limitations and syntactic constraints of the particular pair of languages in which they are codeswitching. As this factor is dependent on the speaker’s linguistic proficiency as well as the structural features of the languages themselves, it could be argued that the ‘out of the mouth’ category may be classified according to Gumperz’ situational constraint.

Warning that her typology is based on the data collected in her particular ethnographic setting, Zentella insists that it should not be arbitrarily applied to all codeswitching settings and language pairs. Even so, many of the observations made in Table 2.3 above will have a familiar ring to those who have experienced codeswitching in other bilingual settings, and indeed many of these categories could be applied and modified in order to describe the data collected in this study.

That said, Zentella’s typology has two major shortcomings. The first drawback with any attempt to create a typology of codeswitching is the futile nature of the activity. Zentella herself acknowledges that ‘pinpointing the purpose of each codeswitch is a task as fraught with difficulty as inputting the reasons of a monolingual’s choice of a synonym over another, and no complete accounting may ever be possible.’ (1997:99). As extensive as typologies like those of Zentella and Gumperz may be, there are inevitably an infinite number of reasons for this phenomenon, so any effort to list them all can never be exhaustive. Moreover, in many cases a particular instance of codeswitching can simultaneously possess multiple functions, making the process of assigning them to a single rubric complicated and rendering any effort to quantify the categories meaningless. In addition, Zentella found that some switches did not correspond to any of the categories she created, and the functions were not always necessarily accompanied by a change of languages.

The second limitation to Zentella’s analysis is that the examples are often taken in isolation from their interactional context, a criticism that could also hold for other theory-driven typological analyses, such as that of Gumperz and Myers-Scotton. In the process of dividing her data up into various categories, Zentella decontextualizes them. This obliges the analyst to apply her definitions to any

particular instance of codeswitching divorced from the implicative and sequential environment, lessening the probability that it will be comprehended in the same way as it was by the participants themselves. Though Zentella's categories obviously attend to the interactional nature of codeswitching, they are based on the sentence, a linguist's analytic unit that is generally of little relevance to speakers in spontaneous conversation. Bailey (2000a) re-analyzes some of the data that Zentella classifies according to conventional grammatical rules, highlighting the ways in which the switches are, in fact, more likely co-constructed within the localized context of the conversation. For instance, Zentella (1997:118) lists:

Ráscame allí, allí mismo, a little bit down. ('Scratch me there, right there...')

as an example of codeswitching at an adverbial phrase. However, Bailey maintains this probably more accurately represents five interactional turns, both verbal and non-verbal, some of them performed by a participant who remains unnamed in the original syntactic analysis:

- 1) First Pair Part: Request: *Ráscame allí* ('Scratch me there')
- 2) Second Pair Part: Acceptance and Enactment: Interlocutor scratches speaker on a spot, displaying candidate understanding of *allí* ('there').
- 3) Speaker confirms candidate understanding of *allí* as the correct one: *allí mismo* ('right there')
- 4) Scratcher changes scratch site (and/or itch migrates).
- 5) Speaker other-initiates repair of scratching behavior: 'a little bit down'

(Bailey, 2000:4)

Basing its assumptions on established syntactic approaches, Zentella's oversimplification has presented the five-step sequence as one single sentence. Bailey, after Auer (1984), calls instead for the use of the *turn* or *turn constructional unit* (Sacks et al., 1974) in order to shift the focus of analysis 'from trying to fit code switches into pre-established linguistic types to uncovering the local discursive and

interactional processes and contextual features to which participants themselves visibly attend' (Bailey, 2000a:4). In her defense, Zentella's 1997 publication is largely based on her doctoral dissertation (Zentella, 1981), which predated Auer's groundbreaking work on Conversation Analysis (CA) for bilingual interaction by three years. While the strength of Auer's work lies in its thorough micro-analyses of specific instances of bilingual talk, Zentella's ethnographic approach develops its warrantability through its combination of qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis of interaction and extensive descriptive investigation of the wider background of the bilingual speech community.

2.3.5 Auer's Conversational Analysis Approach

Auer (1984; Auer, 1998a) was the first to propose the application of conversation analysis to codeswitching. He maintains that any analysis of codeswitching must be centered on the participants and be event-specific, because 'the definition of the codes used in codeswitching may be an interactional achievement which is not prior to the conversation ... but subject to negotiation between participants' (1998:15). Auer sums up the task of the conversational analyst in two short questions: 'Why that now?' and 'What's next?' (Auer, 1988). In this sense, syntax-based examples of codeswitching like those given in table 2.1 are meaningless because they use a grammatical construct, the 'sentence' as a unit of analysis and explain little about the speaker's organization of their speech in relation to that of other interactants. Instead, CA uses the speech 'turn' as its unit for analysis and focuses on the way language is both shaped by earlier interaction and shapes further interaction. Exponents of the CA approach prioritize the interactionally emergent and locally negotiated functions of specific codeswitches. According to Bailey, 'presentation and analysis of switches in their sequential, interactional context serves as an antidote to the sentence-based syntax bias in listing decontextualised switches under category headings' (Bailey, 2000:11).

Codeswitching researchers who apply the CA framework (Alfonzetti, 1998; Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998; Auer, 1988, 1995, 1998a; Cashman, 2005; Cromdal, 2000; 2001, 2005; Gafaranga, 2000, 2001, 2005; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Li Wei, 1994, 1998, 2005; Sebba & Wooffit, 1998) assert that the juxtaposition of elements from

two languages is used by bilingual speakers as an additional resource to manage the four basic organizations of talk-in-interaction: turn-taking organization, sequential organization, repair organization, and preference organization. Auer (1984) further suggests that bilingual speakers have access to an additional linguistic resource for the management of identity through talk-in-interaction. Co-participants in conversation can use codeswitching to re-negotiate the language of interaction, in order to signal their language preference or competence, or to ascribe linguistic competence to their interlocutor (Cashman 2001:144).

2.4 Towards a participant-centred definition of codeswitching

2.4.1 Introduction

Having outlined some of the most influential studies of interactional codeswitching and established that the present study will adopt an applied version of the conversation analytic perspective, this section aims to reexamine and extend the definition of ‘codeswitching’ informed by the ethnomethodological practice of adopting the participants’ understanding as its analytical focus. It will address the difference between ‘code’ and ‘language’, as well as introducing Gafaranga and Torras’ notions of ‘medium’ and ‘interactional otherness’, and examine the notion of codeswitching as style shift. Finally it will go on to propose a (re)definition of codeswitching as ‘not any occurrence of two languages within the same conversation, but rather any instance of deviance from current medium which is not oriented to (by participants themselves) as requiring any repair.’ (Gafaranga and Torras, 2002:18).

2.4.2 The Conversational Analysis (CA) approach to bilingual interaction

Conversational Analysis (CA) is emerging as one of the new research paradigms in bilingual interaction. CA studies the social organization of everyday ‘conversation’, or ‘talk-in-interaction’, through careful sequential analysis of audio- or video-taped recordings and their transcripts. Rather than conceptual models or numerical tables, ethnomethodologists are interested in, above all, the procedural study of common-sense activities (Li Wei, 2002). As such, CA data is taken from naturally occurring

conversations and is analyzed according to interactional categories that are derived from, and grounded in, the data. These categories must be shown to be relevant to the participants and not merely based on the researchers' intuition or an external model. According to Li Wei (2002) CA holds the following basic tenets:

1. social order is constructed through face-to-face interaction in everyday social life,
2. to 'know' what people are doing in the everyday life does not require any rationalization through models, but to show how they actually do it, and
3. every claim an analyst makes about people's actions must be evidenced from their everyday social lives through a focused, systematic analysis of their face-to-face interaction.

Li Wei (2002) notes that the advantages of the CA approach include that 'it facilitates analysis of fragmentary and unidealised data and gives primacy to interpretations which are demonstrably oriented to participant actions rather than to global social categories' (2002:2). He believes that 'in contrast with other existing theories of codeswitching, the CA framework dispenses with motivational speculation, in favour of an interpretive approach based on detailed, turn-by-turn analysis of language choices' (Li Wei, 2002).

While followers of the CA approach do not necessarily dispute the findings of models, such as Gumperz' situational/metaphorical dichotomy or Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, they are wary of using them to predict speakers' motivations in specific instances of codeswitching. Likewise, a grammatical analysis can be useful, but only in conjunction with an interactional one. When the analyst is an outsider, particular care must be taken in assigning meanings to examples of codeswitching collected in the data, so a detailed analysis of the observable features of the talk must take precedence over the researcher's assumptions about the speaker's intentions.

Typically a CA approach offers a transcript of an extended, sequential segment of everyday talk and provides a detailed turn-by-turn socio-pragmatic analysis of the participants' interaction. Bailey (2001), notes this may also then link it to 'larger questions of power, intergroup relations, and social identity formation

processes' (2001:215) especially in regard to talk in institutional situations (ten Have, 2001; Vallis, 2001). The aim is to show how such issues are 'brought about' in actual contributions by the speakers rather than assuming they have been 'brought along', as is often the basis for social-motivation based theories of codeswitching (Li Wei, 2002). While echoing Antaki and Widdicombe's points about relevance and procedural consequentiality that were outlined in section 2.2, Li Wei (2002:22) maintains that an investigation of codeswitching from a CA perspective should embody a balance between social structure and conversational structure.

2.4.3 A participant-centred understanding of codeswitching

Ultimately typologies such as those of Zentella and Gumperz, and models like Myers-Scotton's are inadequate tools for analyzing conversational codeswitching because the analysts interpret the speakers' motives according to their model, rather than attempting to see it from the interactants' perspective. The present study will therefore adopt Auer's CA approach (Auer, 1984, 1988, 1998b) based on ample warnings in the literature against forcing external (analyst's) knowledge on to the reality the participants themselves are orientating to in their talk (Li Wei, 1998; Sebba & Wooffit, 1998).

To this end, Gafaranga and Torras (2002) have advocated the need for a move towards a more participant-centred definition of codeswitching. The discipline has out-grown its early definitions of codeswitching (Gumperz, 1982), based as they were, in the language of grammar rather than an appreciation for the nature of sequential interaction, as evidenced by the participants' own reactions within local contexts of talk.

Gafaranga and Torras argue that different definitions of language alternation in the literature reflect the various researchers' epistemological orientations with regard to their view of language, their preferred theory of social interaction and their chosen methodological approach. Gumperz, Zentella and Myers-Scotton take an identity-related explanation while Auer prefers a primarily sequential approach (Sebba & Wooffit, 1998).

One of the major concerns lies in the mismatch between the way linguists analyze bilingual talk and the way bilingual people understand and use it in actual practice. Although some researchers tend to use the words *code* and *language* interchangeably, there is a growing recognition (reviewed in detail in Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998) that the concept of language leads to monolingual understandings of bilingual conversation and that code and language do not necessarily refer to the same phenomena.

For Gafaranga and Torras (Gafaranga, 1999, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), code may include linguistic and paralinguistic signals, gestures, prosody or codeswitching itself can be one form of (bilingual) code. The fact that participants themselves orient to some forms of codeswitching as warranting repair is evidence that not all bilingual talk is the same.

This is the motivation behind Gafaranga and Torras' need for a re-specification of the definition of codeswitching. They suggest *language alternation* as an umbrella term, and an alternative conceptual framework, *medium (of bilingual code)* to differentiate it from other non-verbal codes that speakers use. Basing their findings on conversational data taken from natural settings, they document the mediums that bilingual speakers orient to as orderly in their talk, as summarized in table 2.4.

Table 2.2 Mediums available to bilingual speakers

Medium	Speaker 1	Speaker 2
Monolingual Medium	uses language A	uses language A
Bilingual Medium		
▪ Parallel mode	uses language A	uses language B
▪ Mixed mode	uses languages A and B	uses languages A and B
▪ Halfway between mode	uses language A	uses languages A and B

Firstly it can be seen that bilingual people have the option *not* to codeswitch, effectively establishing a monolingual medium for any particular conversation.

However, in conversations where speakers do alternate between languages, Gafaranga and Torras identify three main modes. The parallel mode occurs when one speaker consistently uses one language while the other speaker replies in another. When both speakers use both languages, either mid-turn or between turns, Gafaranga and Torras refer to it as Mixed mode while if only one of the speakers alternates, they term it as halfway-between mode.

The advantage of using the term *medium* instead of *code* or *language* is that it suspends the notion that same language communication is normative until this can be found to be observable in the conversational data itself. Instead it is more accurate to say that, depending on the interactants, same *medium* communication is orderly, whether it makes use of one language or two. By extension it also negates the need for the analyst to determine a ‘base language’ as the medium itself could be bilingual speech. The search for a ‘base language’ has been a recurrent debate in the literature with Myers-Scotton viewing it as integral to her analyses (Myers-Scotton, 1998a) and Auer deeming the effort to determine which is the base language futile (Auer, 2000). Through Gafaranga and Torras’ attempt to understand the phenomena from the participants’ perspective, the linguists’ construct of language, with its implicit preference for monolingual speech no longer becomes the analytic focus.

From an ethnomethodological perspective, Gafaranga and Torras note that every interaction is either an adherence to an act within a specifiable ‘scheme of interpretation’ or an instance of *deviance* from it (2002:19). Deviance is defined in terms of the conversation analytic concept of *preference* (loosely understood as ‘expected or unmarked response’) that can be either *practice-based* (orderliness at the global level of talk) or *structure-based* (at the local level of talk organization).

Like Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998), Gafaranga and Torras call for the definition of codeswitching to be ‘narrowed to exclude ... interactionally meaning alteration’ (1998:42), such as in instances when the medium itself is language alteration. Instead they put forward a redefinition in which codeswitching would be ‘not any use of two grammatical systems in the same conversation, but rather any instance of functional deviance from the medium, from the actually oriented-to code’ (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002:15)

Gafaranga and Torras (2002) further conceptualize their re-definition according to Figure 2.1. Language alternation itself may be the medium the interactants are using (Myers-Scotton's *CS as the unmarked choice*) or it may be seen as deviance from the present medium. Here deviance refers to the ethnomethodologists' basic premise that social action is informed by norms, or expected actions. In situations where speakers regularly use both languages A and B in the same conversation, one member who suddenly refuses to use language B, say, is in violation of the expected social norm and would be sanctionable, requiring either repair, or else assume some specific interactional function.

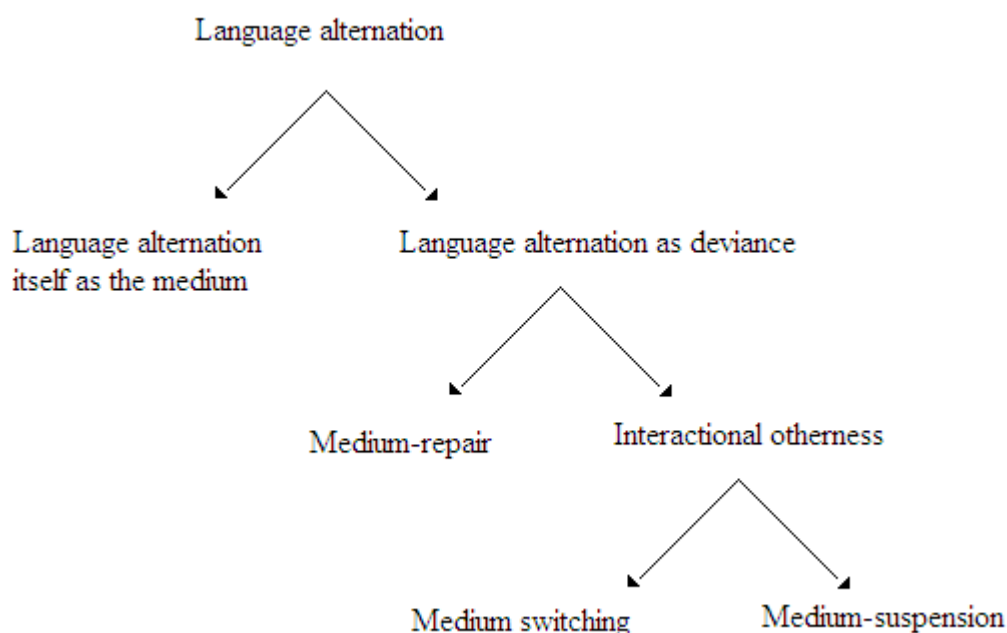


Figure 2.1 Types of language alternation (Gafaranga and Torras, 2002:19)

Possible instances of medium-repair might include an attempt to renegotiate the language of communication, or when participants orient to the language as a problem to be repaired, as in extract 2.1 taken from Gafaranga and Torras' corpus (2002:12).

Excerpt 2.1 From Gafananga and Torras (2002)

This exchange occurs at a student exchange office (Erasmus) on a university campus in Barcelona. The participants are a Spanish secretary (A) and a German student (B) who is in the process of being registered.

1. A: *no (.) I'm going to give this mmm (.) eh today (.) maybe today
 or tomorrow you will be inscribed*
2. B *uh*
3. A: *matriculated (.) and after this eh it has to wait (.) four five six
 JOURS eh six*
4. B: *days*
5. A: *days (.) after being*
-
3. A: *matriculated (.) and after this eh it has to wait (.) four five six
 DAYS
 eh six*

Here English has been selected as the medium and the presence of French in line 3 causes B to proffer an other-initiated-repair sequence which is ratified by A in line 5.

On the other hand, when the unexpected deviance from present medium serves a specific interactional function, Gafaranga and Torras refer to it as *interactional otherness*. When deviance is not repaired it may be assumed to be functional. This relates back to Gumperz' original *metaphorical codeswitching* category, whereas Auer (1984) calls this *transfer*. Another possible explanation for non-repaired deviance is in situations when language alternation leads to a new medium (Gafaranga, 2001:15), such as insertion sequences (Auer, 1998b; Sebba & Wooffit, 1998) as illustrated below.

- Speaker 1. A
Speaker 2. A
Speaker 1: B
Speaker 2: B

Speaker 1. A

Speaker 2. A.

Where language alternation leads to a new medium in this way, Gafaranga and Torras term it *medium switching* and propose a different rubric, *medium suspension*, for language alternation which is not repaired even though it does not lead to a new medium. However in that these are both situations in which participants orient to as interactionally functional, medium switching and medium suspension are both examples of codeswitching.

With these points in mind, Gafaranga and Torras put forward a re-specified definition of codeswitching as ‘*not any occurrence of two languages within the same conversation, but rather any instance of deviance from current medium which is not oriented to (by participants themselves) as requiring any repair*’ (2002:19). The major difference between this definition and those that came before it is that it is grounded primarily in the participants’ locally-negotiated orientations to changes of medium. This re-definition will be adopted as the basis for investigating language alternation and medium-repair during the present study.

A corollary to the acceptance of this definition is that the terms *language alternation* and *medium* as discussed above must form part of the terminology in the research that follows.

2.4.4 Conclusion

Formal models cloud the variety of socio-pragmatic nuances revealed in bilingual interaction. In particular, models that are based on codeswitching samples that are decontextualized from their localized conversation are best used for understanding general tendencies rather than being applied arbitrarily as a universal means for accounting for this bilingual speech practice. While this is not to reject the findings of Myers-Scotton’s rational choice model or Zentella’s categories, I am cautious in applying them to all data because of their focus on analyst’s interpretations rather than the ways in which the participants themselves demonstrate

their comprehension of a particular switch within the sequential context of that conversation.

The present study adopts the conversational analytical perspective pioneered by Auer (1984) and emerging as one of the most dynamic approaches to understanding interactional codeswitching (Alfonzetti, 1998; Cromdal, 2000; Li Wei, 1998, 2002).

2.5 Accomplishing identity in bilingual interaction

2.5.1 Negotiating identities in multilingual contexts

The concept of identity has become one central to many sociolinguistic studies. Traditionally, variationist approaches have linked language and identity based on the assumption that people speak a certain way according to fixed notions of who they are, such as gender, class, age and region. Similarly socio-psychological approaches to identity evolved from a largely monocultural bias that constructed groups as homogenous, depicting them in terms of in- and out-groups, with individuals as belonging to only one category at any given time.

However, the move towards more ethnographic-centered sociolinguistic approaches began with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) investigation into ‘acts of identity’, and a post-structuralist view of identity as a fluid, dynamic, negotiated and interactionally achieved position has become a major paradigm for viewing bilingual identity (Pavlenko, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2001).

In this section I will review some recent studies that examine the use of language alternation in situated accomplishment of identity.

Lo (1999) uses a discourse analytic approach based on Applied CA to examine the links between codeswitching, speech community membership and the discursive construction of ethnic identity in a single conversation between two Asian-American men in California. The first, Ken, is a Korean-American and the other Chazz, a Chinese-American speaker of Korean as a second language. As they discuss the ethnicity of a third party Asian woman who is not present, they simultaneously position and align themselves with various ethnic membership

categories to locally negotiate their emergent and performed ethnicity. The Chinese-American speaker uses a Korean racial epithet to project a category membership on to the Vietnamese woman they are discussing, and the native-speaking Korean recipient disaffiliates with the assessment through a variety of local discourse features, including facial expressions, gaze and language alternation. Lo demonstrates the ways in which this and other unreciprocated examples of codeswitching serve to position Chazz as outside the Korean community by representing Ken's withholding of alignment. The refusal to reciprocate codeswitched utterances can be interpreted as an attempt to indicate social distance. Moreover, we can see the importance of analyzing inter-group talk in capturing issues of ethnic and social identity in talk.

Bailey also uses Applied CA to investigate codeswitching and the situated accomplishment of identity in talk. His study of language alternation among Dominican American adolescents (Bailey, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2002) explores speakers' use of bilingual interaction to 'negotiate identity and resist ascription to totalizing social phenotype-racial categorization' (2000b:555). Bailey's and Lo's studies are particularly significant because they investigate the relationship between 'race', ethnicity and language alternation, issues that are essential to take into account when considering the ways that multi-ethnic Japanese people likewise accomplish aspects of their identities in and through conversation.

In addition, Bailey (Bailey, 2000a; 2001, 2002) links the mundane details of everyday bilingual talk to wider socio-political issues of power and identity. In using multi-variety language to call into dispute the way in which they are discursively positioned, Dominican Americans, who appear no different from African Americans but whose Spanish speaking background means they affiliate more closely with Latinos, are both resisting hegemonic social categorizations and contributing to the formations of new ones. The same holds for multiethnic Japanese people in Japan as their phenotypic appearance often dictates the way others react to them. Bailey maintains that bilingual interaction and the use of language alternation to access multiple aspects of the speaker's identity undermines implicit monolingual assumptions about the uniform nature of ethnicity.

Through their talk, individuals display and negotiate social meanings and construct social worlds. Analysis of such talk-as-social-action can thus shed light on the process by which larger-scale constellations such as ethnic/racial identity groupings are reproduced, resisted, and/or transformed (Bailey, 2001:215).

In a similar vein, Cashman's work (Cashman, 2001, 2005) finds codeswitching is used both to construct and negotiate identities and to manage the organizational tasks of talk-in-interaction among the Spanish speaking community of southern Detroit. Her micro-analysis adheres closely to Auer's original framework, but also investigates the form of out-group codeswitching that Rampton (1995) refers to as *crossing*. Using CA, Cashman demonstrates the turn-by-turn sequence in which a group of native Spanish speakers refuse to accept an English speaking American lady's mispronunciation during a card game in an old people's home, discursively locating her outside their social group (Cashman, 2002, 2005). In addition, Cashman's study also combines her CA data with a macro-sociolinguistic study of language choice using a survey instrument to document language preference across domains, intergenerational language shift and variables that affect language maintenance. These kinds of hybrid methodologies can provide valuable context to the linguistic environment, something that is not always readily apparent through 'pure' forms of CA alone.

Cromdal, (2000) likewise adopts a CA framework to examine bilingual children's mundane reflexive production of social order through codeswitching during playtime in an English-medium school in Sweden, focusing particularly on the ways in which their bilingualism is managed during interactional exchanges. His research pays particular attention to locally managed identity co-construction using CA in conjunction with the Goffmanian concept of footing (Goffman, 1979) as he analyses bilingual speech in negotiation entry to play, overlap resolution and codeswitching in children's disputes. Cromdal's work is a further example of hybrid Applied CA, framing his micro-analyses within an ethnographic study that gives background detail about the international school at which the data were collected.

What all these studies hold in common with the current study is their commitment to examining identity from the ground up, based on thorough analysis of everyday naturally-occurring talk. This study will further the work that has already been done on identity in bilingual interaction in three ways. Firstly, it will apply the methodology to a language pair that is yet to be examined from a CA perspective—Japanese and English.

Secondly, it will incorporate embodied practices —gesture, gaze and bodily conduct— in ways that have not been possible up until now. Although some authors have noted the use of gaze shift in combinations with language alternation, it has been difficult to provide evidence of this phenomenon in the analysis. Cashman’s data, for example, were only audio-recorded so her observations on gaze shift in conjunction with language alternation were based only on ethnographic field notes, which can never capture the detail nuances that video recordings can. Cromdal did use video in his study, but due to the limitations of the technology even a few years ago, his analysis includes only descriptions of the participants’ gestures as part of the transcripts. The current analysis, however, makes use of “framegrabs”, still photographs taken from the video footage that make such details as gaze and bodily conduct explicit in a far more satisfactory way than transcript notes can.

Finally, the present study will consider the role of category work in the accomplishment of multi-ethnic identity. As noted above, Gafaranga (2001) has suggested that medium shift can be one way that bilingual people make public the ways that they categorize their participants. But this is by no means the only way by which they achieve aspects of their identities, and the present study will aim to explore others ways in which categories are talked into being in everyday interaction.

2.5.2 *Japanese studies of interactional codeswitching and identity*

Interactional codeswitching studies are extremely under-represented in the Japanese literature. However, research that has been done in English/Japanese paired-language communities which is particularly pertinent to the present study, namely Nishimura (1997) and Kite (2001), will be presented in this section. In addition, with regard to studies on language and identity in Japanese context I will examine the work of Iino on *Gaijinization* (Iino, 1996) and Kanno’s study on identity

formation among the so-called ‘returnees’- Japanese children and teenagers who have spent a significant amount of their formative years living outside Japan.

Perhaps the most extensive attempt to document Japanese/English codeswitching has been done among bilingual Japanese *Nisei* (second generation) communities in Canada by Nishimura (1997). Much of her work is based on syntactic analysis, challenging accepted word order constraints (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981) which maintain that languages with a different word order like Japanese and English inhibit intrasentential codeswitching and consequently calling into question the validity of a universal codeswitching grammar.

As important as her syntactic work is, it is Nishimura’s work on the pragmatic functions of language alternation that is of most interest to the present study. Positioning this aspect of her research within the field of interactional sociolinguistics, she draws from an eclectic mix of frameworks, including frame-analysis (Tannen, 1993), involvement (Tannen, 1984) and both Japanese and English discourse analyses. She also notes the stylistic and organizational functions of codeswitching among the *Nisei*. However many of the categories she devises appear reminiscent of Zentella’s approach- filling lexical gaps, symbolic effect, involvement intensification and so on- if not in content, at least in form. This of course leaves her work open to similar criticisms of analyst bias in the creation and application of her typology.

Kite’s study (Kite, 2001) is likewise grounded in a concern for the socio-interactional understanding of Japanese/English codeswitching, and is particularly relevant to the present investigation because it is set in an international school in Japan. Whereas Nishimura’s participants were second-generation adult Japanese-Canadians raised and living outside Japan, the speakers and setting studied by Kite closely resemble the situation investigated in the present dissertation. Kite employs Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model as the basis for her findings, referring also to Fishman’s Domain Theory (Fishman, 1965). She conducts a questionnaire and elicits short written responses from her participants to establish the relationship between the student’s reported unmarked codeswitching and social domains such as interlocutor, setting and topic. She finds that the majority of the students codeswitch and evaluate it positively, concluding that ‘(codeswitching) is the unmarked language choice for

peer interaction in a variety of settings for these bilingual high school students in an international school in Japan' (2001:325).

However, Kite's study is based not on any direct discourse analysis, but on student and teachers' reported attitudes and language preferences according to domain. As such it cannot be called a truly socio-interactional approach, but rather a study informed by an understanding of such theoretical frameworks. Still, it was Kite's call for further research into discourse studies of Japanese use in English-language environments (2001:326) that was one of the original motivations for the research reported in this dissertation.

In an ethnographic study that focuses on American learners of Japanese as a second language in a homestay program, Iino (1996) examined the ways the host families adapted their language for their American visitors, not only as 'foreignerese' (to facilitate communication) but also culturally in order to discursively construct us-and-them categories, displaying the speakers' occasioning of ethnicity in talk. Iino called this *gaijinization*, the process by which speakers presented themselves as Japanese when talking to a non-Japanese person ('*gaijin*'). The links to Day's notion of ethnification (Day, 1994, 1998) are obvious and it would seem both concepts can be applied to analyses of multiethnic Japanese identity, as such individuals are often cast as external to popular social perception of what it means to be Japanese.

Finally, while not concerned directly with the study of spoken discourse, Kanno's work (Kanno, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b) is also of value to the present study because it investigates language use and hybrid identity among Japanese/English bilingual teenagers. Kanno's theoretical framework is based on narrative accounts by her participants through a longitudinal qualitative study. She maintains that the *kikokushijo* ('returnees') in her study attributed different symbolic meanings to their two languages. The majority language in each context was viewed as the key to participation in society and the minority language as an expression of individuality. The different roles that each language plays in various contexts represent the two conflicting desires of many bilinguals: a desire to be included in society's 'mainstream' and a need to assert their difference. To a certain extent, the experiences of multiethnic teenagers in Japan mirror many of those told by Kanno's returnees.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to locate the present study within the existing body of knowledge that surrounds the central research question of identity accomplishment in bilingual interaction. In particular, it has outlined contemporary understandings of;

- multiethnicity in the Japanese context,
- codeswitching and bilingual interaction, and
- the way that identity is accomplished in interaction.

Section 2.1 conducted a methodologically diverse review of the literature on multiethnic identity, especially as it relates to Japanese contexts. A review of studies such as these point to the very real need for a methodologically robust approach to getting at the often-slippery topic of identity. While they all provide valuable background into identity in the Japanese context, most such studies up until now have been either based on the author's personal perceptions or on pseudo-experimental approaches that disconnect the participants from their natural interactional contexts.

There is clearly a need for a study into multiethnic Japanese identity that provided sound data taken from natural conditions. Section 2.2 narrowed the focus by introducing the ethnomethodological approach to understanding talk as the key medium through which identity made visible and mobilized as a participant resource. In later chapters, interaction will be viewed as the primary site through which identity work gets done.

With regard to bilingual interaction in particular, Section 2.3 looked at four of the major socio-interactional codeswitching studies in recent decades and 2.4 introduced Gafaranga's re-specification of codeswitching from the point of view of the language users themselves. After comparing some of the most prominent researchers over the past thirty years to theorize codeswitching practices, I have come out strongly in favour of a conversation analytic approach due to its insistence on participant understandings above all else.

Finally section 2.5 outlined some recent codeswitching studies that are especially pertinent to my investigation because they likewise adopt a CA approach

to identity. Throughout the rest of the study I hope to extend on this work by examining it in the Japanese context, one which has yet to be covered in the CA literature.

Having established the broad background of multiethnicity in a Japanese perspective and outlined the particular approach to identity that will become integral to the present study, the dissertation now moves to a more detailed look at the particular setting in which the study is based, the international school known as HIS.

3 *The Fieldwork Setting*

Overview

While the previous chapter grounded the study theoretically, this chapter is intended to provide background information about Hokkaido International School, the site in which my fieldwork was conducted. It will begin by locating the school within the broader historical context of international educational institutions in Japan, and describing the research site physically, geographically and ethnographically. It will, then, introduce some of the teenagers who took part in the study as key consultants. While a strict ethnomethodological (CA) approach would not be concerned with much of the detail this chapter provides, it constitutes an essential component of the ethnographic side of the study.

3.1 International Schools

3.1.1 The role of international schools

International schools operate in most countries around the world. Historically these schools have been established to cater for expatriate communities, and have used language proficiency as a means of determining and managing student enrolment. The majority of parents of international school students have well-paid careers and high educational expectations for their children. This, along with the expensive fees associated with these institutions, helps to dictate the make-up of the student body. Broadly speaking, the families at international schools fall into three categories; short-term expatriates, families from non-English speaking backgrounds, and international families.

Short-term expatriate families, such as those where the household head is in a business, military or diplomatic post, are generally only expecting to be in the host country for one or two years, and therefore do not invest a lot of time in acquiring the culture or language. Many such families experience regular overseas transfers, so

they rely on international schools to maintain curricular continuity between countries. For these families, the school can also serve as a link to the foreign community, allowing them to establish new social ties upon relocation in an unfamiliar environment. Typically such parents have few long term commitments to the host country, and are chiefly concerned with maintaining their children's (monolingual) education in English.

Another type of parent who sends their children to international school is concerned with acquiring English as a second language. They may be business or diplomatic personnel from non-English speaking countries, or they may be members of the host country who have spent significant time abroad and desire to maintain their children's English through continued exposure. Either way, it is likely that such parents are also from high-income backgrounds and value English fluency as a means of maintaining their children's privileged circumstances. Naturally, such parents also hold their own culture in high regard so international schools are beginning to recognize the need to give children access to English while also fostering respect for other cultures and languages (Sears, 1998).

Increasingly, international schools in Japan are also catering to a third set of parents, those in exogamous (or 'international') marriages. These families have strong ties to the dominant local culture, including fluency in the language and an intimate involvement in the way of life. In most cases children from these families have been born and raised in the host country and may have relatives in the immediate area. They are also likely to have functional fluency in English before they begin school, with many parents in such families following a one person-one language approach (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004) to bilingual child-rearing. For them, the main concern is neither to gain short-term access to an English environment, nor to acquire English for upward mobility. In many cases they simply want to provide their children with exposure to greater diversity while maintaining their bilingual proficiency language. In the case of Japan, some parents also decide to send their children to international schools, particularly from junior high, to avoid the test centered educational philosophy that is inherent in the national schooling system.

International schools vary in size, curriculum and nature. While most cater primarily to the itinerant, high socio-economic expatriate families from monolingual

English backgrounds, some schools also have a high proportion of students from the host country. Where there are large numbers of ESL students, it is more likely that the school will offer a bilingual education program of some kind. As non-government run schools, most of them have selective admission procedures, with language proficiency often the most rigorous requirement. The syllabus is likely to be based on that of another country, and high school students in international schools are usually working towards university admission in the U.S. or U.K., or a recognized diploma such as the International Baccalaureate.

The teachers in the vast majority of international schools are native speakers of English, many having been recruited from abroad, resulting in a faculty that is often as transitory as the students. However, this is by no means a predictable trend. Some of the teachers are inevitably chosen from among English speakers who have already settled in the host country, while others choose to stay for longer terms. The office and ancillary staff are also typically recruited locally and are likely to be far more bilingual than the teachers, often dealing with non-English speaking parents and outside authorities in situations that might otherwise be handled by academic staff in ordinary schools.

3.1.2 International schools in the Japanese context

Various case studies confirm the view that international schools are a popular choice for primary and secondary education among international families in Japan (Gillis-Furutaka, 2001; Kamada, 1995a; Kite, 2001). However, they are not the only choice. Some parents prefer to put their children through the Japanese public schooling system, at least for part of their education, while a growing number of families are seeking alternatives to regular schooling such as home schooling (Akazawa, 2001). A small minority of families also send their children to overseas boarding schools to complete their secondary education.

There are some 33 international schools in Japan, fifteen of which are in Tokyo (Kawano, 2004). They range in size from modest collectives like the 21 primary aged students who study at the Tokyo International Learning Community to the 1500 students and 135 staff at the American School, which receives corporate

sponsorship from a variety of multinational companies. A list of international schools in Japan appears in Appendix 7.

The vast majority of the established international schools in Japan use English as the language of instruction. This testifies as much to the Japanese perception of English as an elite language as it does to the need for specialized instruction for the expatriate community. In fact, as mentioned above, a significant number of international school students in recent years have been made up of the so-called *kikokushijo* or ‘returnees’, Japanese people who have spent a significant part of their childhood overseas, often due to one of their parents’ careers. English-medium instruction, then, is not only required by native-speaking English monolinguals, but also increasingly by Japanese whose parents’ first language is not English.

Apart from these formally acknowledged schools, there are numerous Japanese schools that include the word *international* in the name of the institution, often primarily to give an air of sophistication that might appeal to the Japanese appetite for *kokusaika* (‘internationalization’). While these schools might offer certain programs that could be considered ‘international’, such as English lessons at the pre-school level or overseas exchange programs, such institutions are invariably made up almost entirely of Japanese students and the classes are held in Japanese, so they do not fit the commonly held conception of an international school. For this reason, such schools will not be considered under the present analysis.

Likewise, some non-Japanese language institutions cater to children from specific ethnic backgrounds. The most well known example is the extensive network of schools for children of North Korean descent, including a specialized Korean-language university in Tokyo. Similarly there are certain schools that cater to the children of military personnel located at American army and naval bases throughout the Japanese archipelago. Other schools use Chinese, German or French as the language of instruction. These have not been examined in detail in the present study as their selection criteria for enrolling new students make them inaccessible to most of the international families that are the focus of this investigation.

Some of the international schools in Japan were originally established as mission schools, and are still supported financially by a variety of religious

organizations, as outlined in Table 3.1. This in itself is not unusual, as perhaps the majority of private schools are run by religious groups. What is more surprising is the number of non-sectarian international schools- as high as seventy percent. These schools obtain a good deal of their financial resources via corporate sponsorship, particularly from companies who offer their executives subsidized tuition fees while their children are living abroad. Such companies grant on-going support to certain international schools, and the schools in turn provide expatriates with stability in an unfamiliar environment.

Table 3.1 Religious affiliations of international schools in Japan

Religious Affiliation	Percentage
Non-sectarian	70 %
Catholic	15 %
Anglican	3 %
Evangelical Missions	9 %
YMCA	3 %

Many of the well-established international schools in Japan are members of associations such as the Japan Council of International Schools (JCIS), the East Asian Regional Council of Overseas Schools (EARCOS), and the Council of International Schools, which provide them with recognized accreditation and assist in providing academic staff. Sporting and academic exchanges between students are also facilitated through such institutions. In addition, certain international schools in Japan have been officially registered with the federal Japanese government as *Gakko Hojin* (or ‘academic corporations’), allowing them a degree of recognition among potential Japanese applicants and granting them certain tax advantages as non-profit organizations.

The vast majority of international schools operate according to the American school year, meaning that classes run from September to June. While this facilitates overseas transfers, it can be problematic for students trying to transfer from the Japanese education system, which begins in April and finishes in February.

3.2 Hokkaido International School

3.2.1 *The physical and historical setting*

The fieldwork in this study took place in Sapporo, the capital city of Hokkaido, which is the north island of Japan. With a population of around 1.8 million, Sapporo is Japan's fifth largest city; however, due to its relative isolation and a distressed local economy, the number of non-Japanese people living in Sapporo is considerably smaller than other major urban centers in Japan, such as Tokyo and Osaka.

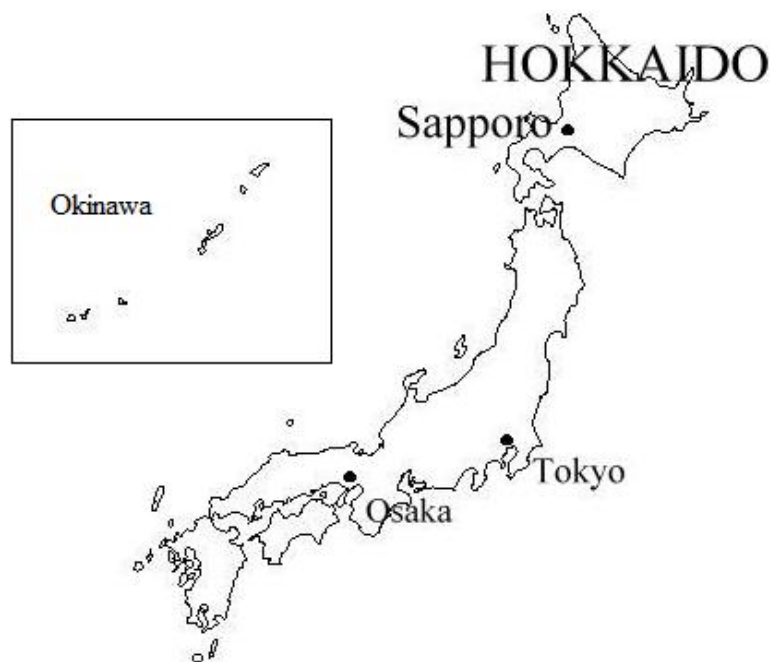


Figure 3.1 Hokkaido in relation to the Japanese archipelago

Eleven minutes on the Nanboku subway line from the center of Sapporo, visitors to the Hokkaido International School arrive at Sumikawa station, an unremarkable hub that is situated two stops from where the subway emerges from underground and two stops before the end of the line. From here students and teachers make their way up the hill to the school on foot. On the way they crisscross

through the back alleys that surround the station. They pass a hairdresser, a bookshop and a bar, and then cross over a busy yet narrow road to cut through a neighborhood park via a steep set of concrete stairs.

The houses in this part of the city are square and gray, more functional than aesthetic. Their roofs appear box-like, obscuring the inverted slope designed to melt snow during the long northern winters. An expansive array of condominiums and two or three storey apartments denotes this as an average Japanese suburb, neither economically disadvantaged nor particularly well-off. As the visitor turns left, a green arch looms out from the top of the hill at the end of the street. It is the roof of the gymnasium which sits atop a modern, four storey structure that is Hokkaido International School.



Figure 3.2 Hokkaido International School⁵

The school's modern appearance belies its long history. English medium education began in Hokkaido in the post-war years at the Camp Crawford dependent school, an adjunct to a nearby US aviation base. When the base was disbanded in 1958, a group of missionaries, business people and educators enlisted the aid of the American consulate to establish the 'Hokkaido American School'. In 1961, the name was changed to Hokkaido International School ('HIS') and a new campus was opened in the suburb of Fukuzumi a year later. In 1995, the executive director

⁵ Photo obtained from the school's website and used with permission.

returned to the US and the city of Sapporo gave the school land to establish a new campus in the nearby suburb of Hiragishi.

Grass on the sports field and the fact that there are no fences or gate inform the casual passer-by that this is no usual Japanese school. Next to the main building stands a smaller structure which also features a green arched roof. This is the student dormitory, which accommodates up to twenty students and, at the time the study took place, the American PE teacher and his family, who lived on the first floor and served in capacity as dorm parents. The second floor is for boys and the third floor is for girls. The vast majority of the dorm students are from Asian countries other than Japan.

The narrow car park between the dorm and the school's main entrance is usually reserved for the school's two buses. The school itself consists of a single building with four floors. Students and teachers enter through separate *genkan* entrances. As in any Japanese school, this is the place where all students and visitors must take off their outdoor shoes and put on their indoor shoes, which they keep in rows of shelves marked individually with each child's name. Unlike most Japanese schools however, the labels on these 'shoe boxes' testify to the multicultural nature of the school's student body; Mahendra McCabe, Aaron Nakamura, Li Jao Jin, and Laura Llew.

The administrative offices are found on the ground floor, where three Japanese clerical staff sit behind the glass window which frames their work space. Beyond this and around the corner is a well-appointed office that belongs to the principal, an American man in his mid-thirties. In the next room there is a faculty lounge where some of the teaching staff gather at lunchtime to eat and chat. In addition, the ground floor contains classrooms for the preschool and kindergarten groups, and features a multi-purpose room with a stage and space for indoor play. There is also a kitchen, where the school lunches are made. One classroom has been designated as the International Room, and is used for a variety of purposes ranging from Japanese classes to staff meetings.

The second floor consists mainly of the primary school, where there is one classroom for each year level from the first to sixth grades. The beginning Japanese and ESL classrooms are also found on this level. This is actually a mezzanine floor

that opens out onto the first floor multi-purpose space so that the stage can be viewed from two levels.

The seventh to twelfth grade classrooms are located on the third floor, and it is here where most of the observations in the present investigation have taken place. The upper school includes a smallish library, science and computer labs, and specialist art and music classrooms. A row of conventional classrooms is used for Spanish, History, Advanced Japanese, English and Math classes and these double as the homerooms for the respective teachers who teach in each.

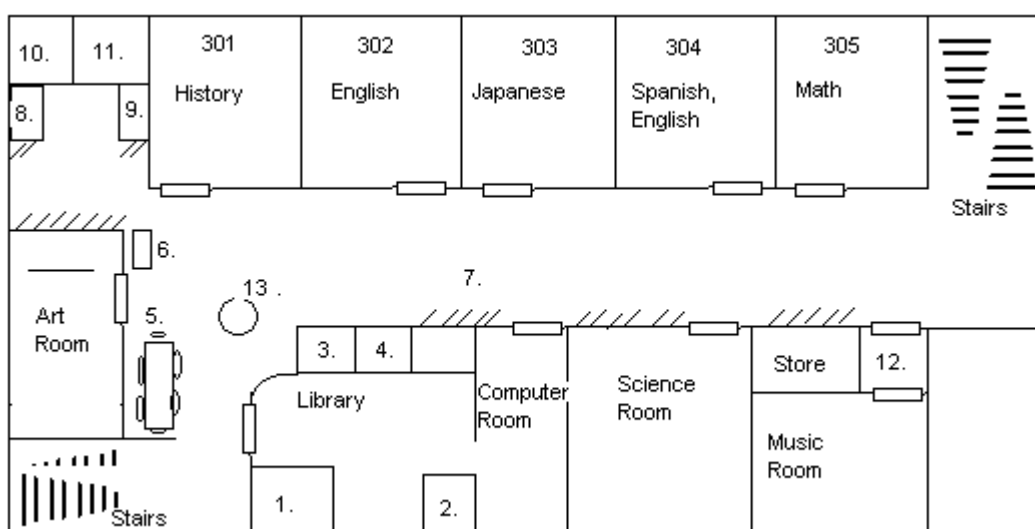


Figure 3.3 Map of the third floor of HIS (High school classrooms)

1. Elevator
2. Silent study room
3. Officially the counseling room, but most often used for band practice.
4. Broom closet
5. Desk in front of the art room where the seniors usually gather at recess
6. Drink machine
7. Student lockers line the passageway walls
8. Female teachers' washroom
9. Male teachers' washroom
10. Female students' washroom
11. Male students' washroom

12. Passageway to music room, has two heavy metal doors that act as a sound barrier
13. Pillar

The entire top floor consists of a multi-purpose gymnasium and assembly hall, which includes a stage, dressing rooms and a weight-training room. Behind the school there is an expansive sports oval, a vegetable garden and a variety of playground equipment. During lunch times, the high school students generally gather in the corridors of the third floor, or play basketball in the gymnasium. The focal participants in this study can most often be found congregating around the desks in front of the art room (No. 5 on the map in Figure 3.3). They are permitted to go out into the playground or down to the lower levels, but there seems to be a tacit understanding that these are the domains of the younger children.

The school runs on a dual day timetable, alternating between 'A day' and 'B Day' as outlined in figure 3.4. There are four 85-minute periods a day and a one-hour break for lunch. The school day commences with a homeroom class in which the teacher takes attendance and gives the students notices related to the daily running of the school. Typically homeroom class was more informal than other classes, with the result that students tended to use Japanese more there than in other classes. Although homeroom class did not start until 9:00, many of the students were at school by 8:30 and stayed behind until around 4:00 to do their homework together at the table outside the art room. This enabled me to record additional examples of codeswitching outside of the classroom environment.

A Day timetable (every first day)

	8:40-10:05	10:15-11:40	12:20-1:45	1:55-3:20
	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
Gr 7	PE	Spanish or Japanese or ESL	Humanities	Math
Gr 8				Humanities
Gr 9	Journalism		East Asian History	Science
Gr 10	American Lit.	World History II	Algebra II	Music or Art
Gr 11	Pre-Calculus	AP Physics	Regular Physics or Quest	
Gr 12	Urban Studies			

B Day timetable (every second day)

	8:40-10:05	10:15-11:40	12:20-1:45	1:55-3:20
	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
Gr 7	Humanities	Humanities	Music or Art	Science
Gr 8	Science	Pre-Algebra		Humanities
Gr 9	PE	English		Geometry
Gr 10		Biology	Spanish or Japanese or ESL	Geography
Gr 11	East Asian History	PE or American History	Spanish or Japanese or ESL	Regular or AP English
Gr 12	Calculus			

Figure 3.4 HIS timetable (2002 Term 3)

Most visitors to HIS are left with an overwhelmingly positive impression of its physical environment. Co-designed by Japanese and American architects, it is a warm, inviting space which is conducive to learning. Its walls, plastered with artwork and student projects, reflect and record the school's pedagogical ethos, one which is ostensibly accommodating of multiculturalism and plurilingualism.

Most of the formal student projects displayed around the corridors are written in only either English or Japanese, depending on the academic subject being featured; a science project about gravity in English and a history of the *Shinsengumi*

in Japanese. Student-initiated posters however are more likely to combine both the languages, such as the hand-drawn advertisement for a charity fundraising venture, which reads:

‘10th Grade Bake Sale: Every Monday っぽい’.

The Japanese word ‘*ppoi*’ tagged on the end of this otherwise English sign makes the phrase mean something like, ‘*Just about* every Monday’. Such signs are perhaps the visitor’s first taste of the sort of language alternation that is second nature to most of the students at HIS. The overall impression is one of a comfortable modern school that is getting on with the business of educating its students.

While the facilities are quite impressive, the school does not receive significant government funding. It derives its income from tuition and fees, gifts and grants, and by renting out its facilities to other non-Japanese groups outside of school hours. Of these, the majority of its income is collected through student fees, which are outlined in Table 3.2 below. The school also charges a transportation fee of US\$750 for those who make use of the school bus, an entrance fee of US\$1,667, an application fee of US\$125, and an annual building fee of US\$1,213. Those students with limited English proficiency are also charged an additional fee for ESL lessons. Although by no means cheap, these tuition fees are less than half of that charged by the major international schools in Tokyo.

Table 3.2 Annual HIS tuition rates (2003)

YEAR LEVEL	COST IN US DOLLARS (YEN)
Kindergarten to grade 5	US\$6,563 (773,778 yen)
Grades 6-8	US\$6,833 (805,611 yen)
Grades 9-12	US\$7,021 (827,776 yen)

Due to the city’s low non-Japanese population, HIS cannot be as selective in determining its enrolment and the relatively low tuition fees are designed to make it

accessible to those families whose educational costs are not subsidized by their employer. Short-term expatriate families in this school are in the minority and long term international and host-country families provide the school with its stable income. The concentration of multinational companies and diplomatic agencies in the larger urban centers has led to a trend across Japan in which the smaller regional international schools are catering increasingly to a higher percentage of bilingual students from families established in Japan. HIS is one such school.

3.2.2 The Ethnolinguistic Environment

With a total student population of only 173, Hokkaido International School is one of the smallest international schools in Japan. Even so, the students represent an ethnically and linguistically diverse group of people from twenty-three different countries. However, the number of monolingual ‘native’ English speaking students at HIS is relatively small, perhaps as low as 10 percent at any given time.

The figures below provide a brief overview of the ethnolinguistic community at Hokkaido International School, based on information provided by the school administration. Table 3.3 and Figure 3.5 offer statistics about the entire school, from K-12.

Table 3.3 Summary of HIS student population by ethnic background (K-12)

Ethnolinguistic Background	Number
US American	14
Japanese	72
Multiethnic Japanese (English)	41
Multiethnic Japanese (LOTE ⁶)	8
Korean	20
Other Asian countries	10
Other non-Asian countries	8
Total	173

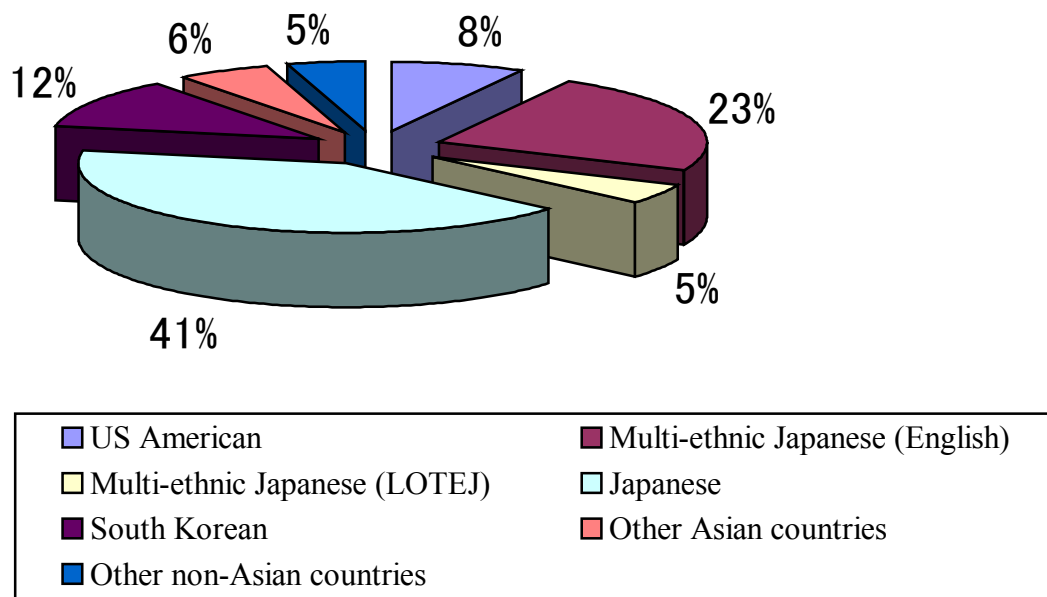


Figure 3.5 HIS student population by ethnic background (2003)

⁶ Languages other than English.

While the percentages in Figure 3.5 represent the entire school, the present study will focus only on the upper secondary department, which has a slightly different ethnolinguistic make-up, as detailed in Table 3.4 and Figure 3.6. This group is made up of a greater proportion of multiethnic Japanese, which was another reason why it was decided to focus on the senior high students in this study. Perhaps associated with this trend is a tendency, reported to me by the principal, for international families to send their children to regular Japanese primary school and transfer to the international school from junior high. Part of the reason for this might be financial, but it is also likely that many international families value their children's bilingualism and want them to develop proficiency in both languages. However, again according to the principal at HIS, many 'bicultural' students who have been educated in Japanese primary schools do not have sufficient English to cope with international school classes at the junior high level.

Table 3.4 HIS senior school (10-12) by ethnic background (2003)

Ethnolinguistic background	10th grade	11th grade	12th grade	Total
US American	2	2	3	7
Japanese	3	3	1	7
Multiethnic Japanese (English)	5	4	5	14
Multiethnic Japanese (LOTEJ)	2	1	2	5
South Korean	3	3	0	6
Other Asian countries	1	1	0	2
Other non-Asian countries	0	0	0	0
Total	16	14	11	41

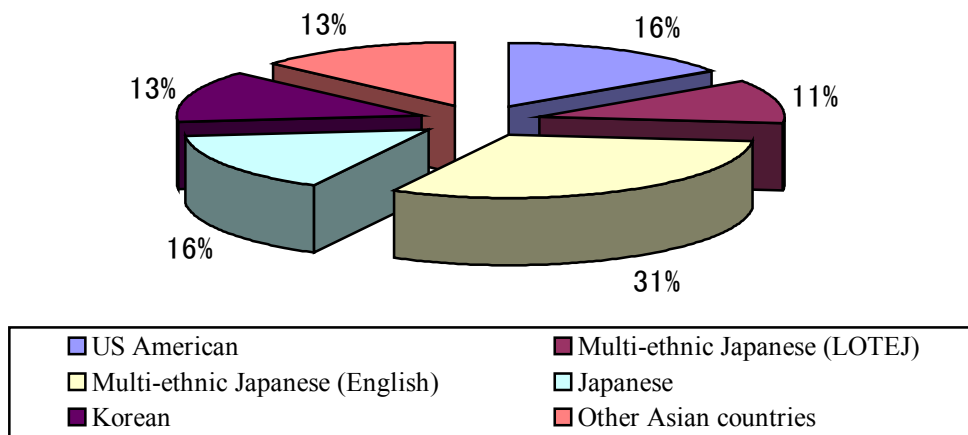


Figure 3.6 HIS senior secondary school by ethnolinguistic background (2003)

These figures are based on data included in the school’s records, as well as categories I created based on a brief language background questionnaire (Appendix 3) I conducted in the upper secondary school during my initial observation period. The main purpose of the survey was to get to know the students a little better and to help determine those who might be of further interest to my study, and to that end it was successful. However, allocating individuals to predetermined categories proved difficult. For example, Kate, who I placed in the multiethnic Japanese category, has a US American father who is divorced from her Japanese mother, which means that Kate only speaks Japanese at home. Ashley and Jan both come from US American missionary families but they were born and raised only in Japan, rarely living in their ‘home country’. Gino has a Vietnamese-German father and a Japanese mother and was born in Italy, but he lived in France up until a few months before the study and speaks more French and English than he does either German or Vietnamese. Sophia’s mother is Finnish and her father is Japanese but they communicate in English as a *lingua franca*.

As these few examples indicate, at HIS ethnic affiliations were not simple to capture in just one word. The reader is reminded that the data in these graphs and tables are intended only to provide a general overview of this investigation. The complex ways in which the participants construct and accomplish the identities they

associate with these ethnicities and languages in everyday settings will become the dissertation's major focus throughout the coming chapters.

Table 3.5 details a full list of the students' nationalities, as supplied to the school by their parents during admissions procedures. A significant number of these list two nationalities and understandably such hyphenated identifiers were common at HIS. A French-Japanese person will likely have a different set of world experiences to a Korean-Japanese, or even a Belgian-Japanese, and precise descriptions are preferable wherever practicable. Even so, the term multiethnic Japanese serves as a convenient descriptor for groups of Japanese people who have one parent of non-Japanese background.

Table 3.5 HIS population by nationality

NATIONALITY	NUMBER
US American	14
American/Japanese	29
Australian/Japanese	2
Bangladeshi/Canadian	1
Belgian/Japanese	1
British/Japanese	4
Canadian/Japanese	4
Chinese	2
Dutch/Japanese	2
El Salvadorian	1
French/Japanese	2
Indian/Japanese	1
Iranian	1
Japanese	72
Korean/Japanese	1
Malaysian	1
Mongolian	1
New Zealander/Japanese	2
North Korean	3
Russian	2
South African	1
South Korean	20
Taiwanese	2
Taiwanese/Japanese	1
Zambian	3
Total	173

3.2.3 The English Language Policy

Despite the fact that its student population is made up of such a range of diverse linguistic backgrounds, the school has instituted a written policy which states that English is the only language to be used for communication within the school between the hours of 8:00 am to 4:30 pm. The English Language Policy, reproduced in full in Appendix 6, is therefore one of the greatest constraints on codeswitching within the institutional context.

The document outlines a number of institutional ‘beliefs’ and ‘truths’ about language, framed to enlist student compliance. It depicts codeswitching as a matter of ‘free will’ and infers that those who do it are displaying a lack of self-control. The policy condones the use of other languages in certain classroom situations for beginning language learners who have been ‘assigned a bilingual partner’ and acknowledges that ‘there will be times when they must rely on their first language to access previous knowledge’. It then goes on to list consequences for those who use other languages during the school day, including running laps of the sports oval, cleaning classrooms, or writing an essay. ‘Repeat offenders’ will be made to write an essay and ultimately have their parents notified or, in extreme cases, face expulsion.

While it is ratified publicly by staff and nominally by students, in practice it is an arduous task to adhere to the policy in everyday conversation, particularly because Japanese is the dominant language of the outside community and the first language of many of the students. Consequently, teacher-directed domains such as classrooms and school assemblies tend to use English as the language of communication, while Japanese/English codeswitching is the medium of choice in student-directed conversation, such as lunchtimes, before and after school and to a lesser extent in small group discussions during class.

The school’s English Usage Policy was one of the major institutional constraints on language use within the school, and therefore had a role to play in limiting the ways that the participants could (legitimately) express their identities.

3.3 Key Consultants

Although all members of the school community were considered potential participants in the study, after initial observations during the first weeks of the study, certain students were chosen to act as key consultants, or what ethnographers have traditionally termed ‘informants’. Wolcott (1988) describes an informant as ‘an individual in whom one invests a disproportionate amount of time because that individual appears to be particularly well informed, articulate, approachable, or available’ (1988:195). In this study, the following criteria were used for determining suitable consultants:

1. Family background: Consultants had one Japanese parent and one native English-speaking, as determined through the family background questionnaire.
2. Language: Consultants demonstrated a high level of communicative competence in both English and Japanese, as determined through observation and self-reporting in the language background questionnaire⁷. In addition, the researcher had observed them codeswitching in peer group situations.
3. Age: Consultants were between the ages of 15 and 18. As outlined in the audit trail in Chapter 4, during the early stages, students in both upper and lower secondary classes were observed, but after these initial observations it was decided to limit the study’s focus to the 10th, 11th and 12th grade classes for two reasons. Firstly it was felt that the students in these groups had a comparatively balanced mastery of their languages, which would minimize the number of transfer related episodes of codeswitching. In the junior high classes there was a larger number of Japanese students who could not communicate effectively in English, which meant it would be difficult to determine if a switch was an expression of their identity or reflective of their communicative competence. Secondly, it was felt that the students in the senior school would be better able to articulate their feelings and experiences about identity.
4. Personality: Key consultants were approachable and actively communicated with others. I considered this an important indicator of whether or not they would be willing to discuss their bilingualism with an outsider.

⁷ The observation process is described in further detail in Chapter 4.

5. Willingness to participate: The consultants were interested in participating in the research and permitted me to audio-record and videotape their conversations during class and at lunch times.

Six key consultants were chosen based on the above criteria. Table 3.6 lists their background information, as self-reported in the language background questionnaire. All participants' names have been changed to protect their privacy.

Table 3.6 Ethnolinguistic backgrounds of the key consultants

PSEUDONYM	AGE	GRADE	YEARS IN JAPAN	YEARS AT HIS	MOTHER/ FATHER	LANGUAGES	PREFERRED LANGUAGE	HOME LANGUAGE
Mick	17	12	17	4	Japan/USA	English, Japanese	Japanese	Mix of English and Japanese
BJ	16	11	16	12	Japan/USA	English, Japanese	English	Mix of English and Japanese
Peter	15	10	14	2.5	Japan/UK	English, Japanese	Japanese	Mix of English and Japanese
Nina	17	12	16	5	Japan/UK	English, Japanese	Japanese (spoken)	Mix of English and Japanese
Kate	17	12	17	13	Japan/USA	English, Japanese	Japanese (spoken)	Japanese
Mia	16	11	14	7	USA/Japan	English, Japanese	English, Japanese	Mix of English and Japanese

All of the key consultants were born in Japan and have spent the vast majority of their lives there. The group included three teenage boys and three teenage girls, all of who had high proficiency in English and Japanese, even though most reported a preference for one language over the other. From my observations, I considered Nina, Mia and BJ the most balanced bilinguals in this group, (i.e. they demonstrated approximately equal competency in their two languages) whereas I regarded Mick, Peter and Kate as stronger in Japanese than English. Much of the remainder of this dissertation will examine the ways the consultants and their peers incorporate such linguistic proficiencies into their multiethnic identities.

3.3.1 *Nina*

Nina attended a Japanese elementary school and began at the international school in Junior High. Her family adopts a one person-one language policy, so she speaks predominately Japanese to her mother and English to her father, and according to Nina, she mixes the languages most with her younger brother, Peter. In her 10th grade she spent a year in the UK while her father, a university professor, was on sabbatical. As a result her English has a definite British accent, which sometimes causes comment in the otherwise US-dominant environment of the international school. Nina excels academically and is enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) Physics and English classes, which will enable her to get credit in US college courses.

3.3.2 *Mia*

Mia is a quiet yet confident student whose has acquired a thorough understanding of the ways her Japanese and non-Japanese worlds operate. Her mother, a US American who has lived in Japan for over twenty years, is a teacher in the school's elementary department. Although her mother speaks Japanese fluently, she has endeavored to use only English with Mia since childhood. This, along with the classes at the international school, has meant Mia has developed a mastery of both English and Japanese equivalent to an 11th grade student from either cultures, although she maintains her written Japanese (*kanji*) is not as

proficient as most Japanese. From my observations, Mia seems to separate her languages the most consistently of the key consultants, only codeswitching within an utterance on rare occasions.

Physically, Mia appears the least Japanese of the consultants. She is tall, and slim, with deep set eyes and a prominent nose. She told me that while traveling through Europe she was regularly mistaken for a Spanish or Italian speaker and I once overheard a Japanese student say to her, '*Mia mitai na kao ja eigo dekinai to komaru ne*', which translates roughly as 'With a face like yours Mia, you'd be in trouble if you couldn't speak English'. The student was tacitly observing the relationship that is often assumed to exist between phenotypical features and language, but Mia gave the comment minimal response and the conversation stopped there. Those around her expect her to speak English because she resembles her mother more than her father, and she reports that strangers often compliment her on her Japanese, even though she has lived in Japan all her life.

On one occasion during my observations when a Japanese film crew came to the school to interview the students about their thoughts on the first anniversary of the September 11th terrorist incident in the United States of America, the reporter began asking Mia for her opinion as an US American. When Mia let her know that she was in fact Japanese, the reporter quickly decided to interview another (blonde) student instead. Mia later told me that she 'gets that kind of thing all the time'. Despite her non-Japanese features, Mia sees herself primarily as Japanese. While those around her may mistakenly link her physical features with assumptions about her linguistic proficiency, Mia adopts an attitude of quiet acceptance in most cases. She knows who she is, and doesn't see the need to educate those who see her as otherwise.

3.3.3 BJ

BJ has attended the international school since kindergarten, and although he has never spent an extended period of time out of Japan, he maintains that English is his stronger language. His English has a definite American accent and his Japanese shows lexical and prosodic features of typical teenage boys from the Hokkaido region. In the time I knew him, I never had occasion to witness errors

or transfer from either of his languages. Not only could he speak academic English when he needed to, but he also had an incredible mastery of colloquial speech and slang from both languages.

As the school has no official uniform, BJ usually wears hip-hop fashion such as oversized t-shirts and loose fitting jeans. He keeps his hair cut short and spiky, sometimes dyeing it blonde. BJ is an avid sportsman and plays on the school's basketball team. When he is not playing sport, he spends his lunchtimes in the Spanish classroom sitting and talking with his girlfriend, another multiethnic Japanese person.

3.3.4 Mick

Mick is captain of the basketball team and enjoys sports of all kinds. He is popular among the group, but is not necessarily its leader. He often assumes the role of class clown, joking his way through situations in which he feels insecure. At times, he is on the periphery, especially when English is the dominant language, preferring to communicate through short comments or facial gestures.

Mick spent his elementary years in the Japanese education system, so his Japanese ability is stronger than his English. Even so, he prefers to associate with English speakers like Ryan and Max, rather than other Japanese speakers. Part of the reason for this is that these two are the only other 12th grade boys in the school, but it may also be in part due to his desire to be seen as American. He often wore hip-hop style clothes and tried to behave in ways that would gain approval from his American peers.

3.3.5 Peter

Peter is Nina's younger brother, so while he spends most of his free time at school with the tenth grade boys, he is also afforded greater access to the various social groups in the upper grades. Part of the reason for this lies with Nina, but it is also due to his physical prowess on the sports field. The relatively small number of students in the school means that the senior basketball team consists of boys from the 10th to 12th grades, so Peter knows most of the seniors fairly well, even though he doesn't sit with them regularly at lunch.

Like his sister, Peter went to Japanese elementary school and entered the international school from the 7th grade. At the time, his English was much weaker than it is now, and he was obliged to take extra ESL classes with the ‘non-native’ English speaking students. After a year in the UK during his father’s sabbatical, he has developed much greater fluency in English, but his accent is not as stable as Nina’s, fluctuating between British and American English.

Peter possesses a sharp wit that he employs when he wishes to entertain others. He is adept at impersonations and will often quote from movies and do impressions of teachers or celebrities. This may contribute to the impression that his English seems more American than his sister’s.

3.3.6 Kate

Like BJ, Kate has been at HIS since she was in the first grade of elementary school. Her father is American, but because her parents are divorced she has little contact with him and speaks mostly Japanese outside of school. By her own admission, she appears more Japanese than other multiethnic Japanese teenagers at the school, and this allows her to ‘pass’ when she doesn’t want to stand out in the crowd. She told me that when she goes out with her Japanese friends, people rarely treat her as a ‘*haafu*’. Instead the physical attributes that make her look Japanese encourage others speak to her in Japanese, and this in turn may play a role in limiting her English ability. At school, Kate’s closest friends are Japanese speakers and she is often responsible for directing casual conversations from English to Japanese. Although her English does not have a Japanese accent, her vocabulary is somewhat limited compared to Mia and Nina’s, and she sometimes appears uncertain about the accuracy of her English. Like the others, she maintains her *kanji* is not up to par, but sees Japanese as her preferred spoken language.

3.4 The ‘Other Halves’

Partway through the study I came to realize that there was also another group of multiethnic Japanese people that I hadn’t originally considered as ‘half’. These

included people like Gino and May, who had one non-Japanese Asian parent, as well as Anja, whose father was a ‘Caucasian’ who had only ever held Japanese citizenship. Since the participants themselves often treated these students as multiethnic, I likewise came to view them in the same way and decided to hold a focus group with them that eventually became one of the most fruitful sources of data that I collected. A summary of these students’ backgrounds as reported in the language background questionnaire (Appendix 2) appears below in table 3.7.

Table 3.7 The 'other halves'

Name	Gino	May	Anja
Age	16	17	17
Grade	11	12	12
Years in Japan	3	17	17
Years at HIS	1 month	10	12
Mother	Japanese	Japanese	US
Father	Vietnam/Germany	North Korea	Japan (of Russian heritage)
Languages	French, Japanese, English, Italian	English, Korean Japanese, Spanish	English, Japanese
Preferred Language	French	(no response)	English
Home Language	French, Japanese	Mix of Korean and Japanese	A mix of English and Japanese

3.4.1 *Gino*

Gino transferred to HIS partway through my fieldwork and was placed in the eleventh grade class. He came to the school from Paris, by way of Tokyo. He was born in Italy to a German-Vietnamese father and a Japanese mother, although he

spent much of his childhood and early teenage years in Paris, and according to him he speaks ‘three and a half’ languages; French, Japanese, English and Italian, roughly in that order of proficiency. He is the only French speaker in the high school, and though there is no one he could speak to in his strongest language I sometimes heard him speaking French under his breath, presumably to himself. His English has a slight French accent, although he is able to make it stronger or weaker when he so desires, such as when he wants to impersonate a French person speaking English. Since both his parents are Asian, physically Gino doesn’t appear much different from a lot of other Japanese boys his age, but his appearance hides a diversity of experiences that are far from the everyday familiarity of most Japanese teenagers.

3.4.2 *May*

May is an attractive, sociable young woman who is near the top of her class in most subjects. She excels at AP Physics and AP English, two courses that offer advanced placements at American universities after graduation. She is also taking advanced classes in Spanish and I often witnessed her speaking it with Yoko, though both girls consider Spanish very much a ‘learned language’, and do not claim fluency in it to the same extent they do in their other languages. Although her mother is Japanese, May does not have a Japanese passport, presumably because her parents did not apply for it. Many North Korean families are not interested in taking Japanese citizenship. May’s younger sisters go to a Korean school in Sapporo, and while she does not talk about it often either with her friends or with me, her life at home must be very different from those multiethnic Japanese participants who have a native English-speaking parent. May learned her English mainly through the international school, and though there are times when she appears to be having trouble finding the word she needs, her English is of an extremely high level, to the point where she does not have to think about what she is going to say before she says it.

3.4.3 *Anja*

I never expected to come across a multiethnic Japanese person like Anja when I first began my study, and for several weeks I did not even think of her as *haafu*. Although I know a few foreigners who have become naturalized Japanese by giving up their citizenship in other countries, Anja and her younger brother are the only naturally born ‘Caucasian’ Japanese people I have ever met. Anja’s grandfather was born onboard the ship that brought her ancestors to Japan from Russia. Her white father holds only Japanese citizenship and her mother comes from the USA. Anja’s blond hair and sharp features would normally identify her as a foreigner in Japan, but she considers herself Japanese despite what those around her might think. Her passport is her proof of her Japaneseness, and she cites these credentials to anyone who treats her as otherwise.

Of all the students I met at HIS, Anja is the person whose bilingualism I consider the most balanced. Like all the students at the international school, she acknowledges that her written Japanese is not as proficient as a teenager who goes through the Japanese educational system, but as far as I could tell there is no difference between her spoken skills in English and Japanese. On the other hand, Anja claims to have almost no ability to speak Russian and reports that she feels uneasy when Russian students at the school make bids to affiliate with her based on her family background. To her, she is an American-Japanese, just like Mick or Mia are. For this reason I came to see her as *haafu* as well, as did most of the other students at the school.

3.5 Other participants

There were many other students who also appear in the analyses that will follow, but those I have described in this section were the ones I spent most of my time observing and talking to throughout my study. There were a number of other students who were not included in the group I chose as key consultants, but who also appear throughout the analyses in later chapters. I have summarized these participants briefly in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Other participants who appear in the findings chapters

Pseudonym	Grade	Age	Nationality	Preferred language	Years in Japan	Years at HIS
Ryan	12	17	USA	English	14	11
Max	12	18	USA	English	5	5
Ashley	11	16	USA	English	17	2
Yumi	12	17	Japan/USA	Japanese	17	1
Benny	10	15	Japan/Canada	Japanese	15	7
Ulliani	12	17	Japan/USA	Japanese	17	1
Eri	11	17	Japan/USA	Japanese	17	10
Donald	11	16	Taiwan	Chinese	5	3

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to provide an ethnographic overview of Hokkaido International School and the teenagers that took part in my study. I have introduced the local setting and placed it within the broader historical and geographical context. The next chapter will examine the research methodologies that were applied to the study of bilingual interaction as it occurred in this setting.

4 *Methodology and Audit Trail*

4.1 **Methodological Framework**

This chapter will outline the methodological approaches utilized in this study. In any discourse analytic research, the focus is primarily on naturally occurring language, particularly spoken talk. The way it is collected and how the researcher makes sense of it reflect that researcher's methodological beliefs. My study adopts a hybrid applied Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, combining elements of both ethnographic and ethnomethodological traditions.

As outlined in earlier chapters, one of the recurrent themes of this study is hybridity. Since the subject matter centres on a group of teenagers from 'mixed backgrounds' and the way they use 'hybrid language', it made sense that my research methodology should also be a mixture of more than one epistemological approach. In the same way that the participants' access to more than one culture ultimately broadens and strengthens their worldviews, approaching the data from two distinct methodological traditions will eventually bring reliability and trustworthiness to the study, by triangulating its findings across research paradigms to corroborate the evidence (Dey, 1993; Silverman, 2000).

This section will examine each of these methodologies in turn, and then present the case for an interdisciplinary approach to the micro-analysis of interaction. I will commence the chapter by discussing an important underlying theoretical principle which is central to both ethnography and ethnomethodology, the notion of an emic approach to the data.

4.1.1 *The emic nature of the study*

As described in the previous chapter, and again in chapter 5.2, I have adopted an ethnographic approach to examine the participants' attitudes and to document how they reportedly view themselves as multiethnic Japanese. In

contrast, in the remainder of the dissertation I take up an ethnomethodological perspective, using Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorization Analysis to look at the role of codeswitching in the accomplishment of situated identity. On the surface, these two approaches seem epistemologically incompatible, and indeed at times it was difficult to reconcile one with the other, but at their roots they both adopt an *emic* (or participant-centred) approach to understanding their data.

The distinction between *etic* and *emic* approaches to data is most often made in ethnographic studies. These terms were coined by Pike (1967) based on the contrast between *phonetic* and *phonemic* analysis of language. Pike proposed that ‘the etic viewpoint studies behavior from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behaviors as from inside the system’ (p. 37, quoted by Markee and Kasper, 2004:494).

Markee and Kasper (2004) list some influential examples of etic approaches to social interaction including Hymes’ (1962) rubric for the analysis of speech events, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory and Searle’s classification of illocutionary acts (Searle, 1976). What each of these studies has in common is that it first presents a researcher-generated model or typography and then goes about applying it to the interactional data.

On the other hand, ethnographic approaches and grounded theory work inductively from the data to arrive at their conclusions about the phenomena and their findings emerge from an intimacy with the participants’ experiences and viewpoints (either through participant or non-participant observation) and extended anthropological contact with the key consultants. Ethnographers can, then, claim an emic understanding of the phenomenon by having achieved an understanding of it similar to that of the participants themselves. Owing to the extensive time I spent in the international school and the in-depth discussions during focus group sessions, I was able to piece together a deeper understanding of the participants’ multiethnic identities, that emerged from their own experiences rather than my own *a priori* assumptions or models.

However, Markee and Kasper claim that ethnographic readings of emics are ‘antithetical to CA’ (2004:494) and Kasper (2004) typifies CA instead as ‘radically emic’ in that it treats

‘...actions, activities, social categories, contexts, knowledge and so on, as relevant only to the extent that the co-participants make such objects relevant through their displayed orientation to them; their situated relevancies must be demonstrated in the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction.’ (p. 564).

By this Kasper maintains that they mean that the conversation analysts’ claims about the relevance of certain interactional practices must not only be derived from the analyst’s claims to familiarity with the speakers and their culture, but should also be observable in the ongoing details of the talk itself. In part this is possible because the focuses of a CA study are usually based in the micro-interactional details of talk, or what ten Have (1999) calls ‘the procedural infrastructure of talk’ (1999:198).

My background knowledge of the participants, their social relationships and the ideas they expressed in the focus group discussions provided me with valuable ethnographic insight into their identities and the ways they deal with multiethnicity. But the findings in the ethnomethodology section of my study are rooted firmly in CA’s concern for a radically emic reality based on the co-participants’ locally achieved understandings at a particular time which are displayed to each other through the procedures of talk-in-interaction and which have observable implications for the ongoing communication (Schegloff, 1992b).

In sum, the study is fundamentally emic in its epistemology on two levels. It is grounded both in the realities that the participants made relevant in their discussions with me as the ethnographic researcher, and in their real-time interaction with each other.

4.1.2 (Micro)Ethnography

4.1.2.1 *Passive participant observation and recordings of conversations*

A key methodological tool in traditional ethnography is participant observation, in which the researcher endeavors to understand the people he or she is studying by attempting to become one of them, while keeping detailed records of personal reflections throughout the process.

In this study I was primarily concerned with documenting the participants' observable behaviour, namely talk-in-interaction, so instead of trying to become a multiethnic Japanese teenager, I carried out what Duranti (1997) calls *passive participation*, refraining from taking an active role, but instead becoming an 'accepted bystander' or 'professional overhearer' (Cashman, 2001). As an outsider to the school community and obviously neither teacher or student, the participants appeared to generally come to accept me for what I was; a researcher interested in the way bilingual teenagers use language.

Discourse analytic approaches primarily collect their evidence in the form of recordings of real conversations in natural settings. The vast majority of my evidence is based on video recordings of the participants engaging in everyday talk. Owing to the inductive nature of its investigation, CA aims to uncover the machinery, rules and structures of social interaction through a program of what is commonly known in the field as *unmotivated looking* (Psathas, 1995). During the data collection phase of the study, any bilingual interaction was considered to be potential evidence. While transcribing and analyzing the tapes, I paid particular attention to examples of talk-in-interaction in which the participants used language alternation to express certain aspects of their identities, although the exact practices to focus on were not decided at the outset of the study.

My observations occurred in classrooms, on the sports field and around a table where the participants often sat during lunch. An initial period of four one-day visits was spent accustoming the students to my presence and determining suitable informants. Recordings were collected after the initial period, in a variety of situations including group work in class, lunchtime friendship groups, and informal after-school study sessions. I obtained permission from those involved

before filming them or setting the video somewhere inconspicuously in the room and leaving it to capture extended sequences of conversation. In addition, I gathered detailed handwritten field notes concerning the participants relevant to the specific situations I was recording.

The recordings were made primarily using digital video. Although up until recently most codeswitching data has been collected using audio recordings, Bailey (2000b) notes that ‘the interactive shaping of individual turns...is frequently only evident with documentation of participants’ gaze, head nods, bodily orientation etc’ (2000a:5). Such gestures and visual features of the conversation form an important part of the present analysis. Audio recordings were also taken using a digital IC recorder, and provided additional back-up information in cases where the interaction was inaudible on the video.

4.1.2.2 Member checks and informal consultation

Interviews were conducted with key consultants in an informal manner and due to the nature of their content were intentionally open-ended. They generally involved the clarification of relationships between participants or of what was being said in particular situations, in order to better my understanding of the talk I was recording. This also served to familiarize the researcher with the students and I occasionally used this method to retrospectively check some of the interpretations of a particular speaker’s socio-pragmatic or linguistic intent. I played back specific incidents in the video recordings to seek elucidation from the key consultants on data that were particularly difficult to understand from an outsider’s point of view.

4.1.2.3 Focus groups

Although originally employed in business for market research, focus groups are being used increasingly in education, psychology, and the social sciences (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). The researcher acts primarily as a facilitator rather than an interviewer, using a discussion guide to encourage group members to talk among themselves.

Focus groups tend to be more relaxed than one-to-one interviews, so the participants are often willing to offer more honest opinions when the researcher is not seen as an interviewer (Orsburn, 2000). A large amount of relevant information can be gathered in a short period of time and the opinions of others in the group generate further discussion which leads to richer data that can be obtained through interviews or survey instruments.

In some ways, the inclusion of focus group discussions is a departure from discourse analytic tradition. While the aim of a focus group discussion is normally to collect data through group interaction (Morgan, 1997), these data are then generally coded for content and outcomes are established according to a grounded theory approach. My study begins with such an analysis of *what* was said (Chapter 5.2) and then extends the focus group data even further by investigating *what was done* by what was said in the conversation analysis (Chapters 5.3 and 7).

As one of my aims was to document the students' opinions about their identities, I felt that the focus groups would be a suitable way to raise topics that would not necessarily surface in everyday talk. I developed a discussion tool (Appendix 5) that provided a basis for the students to deliberate multiethnic identity and bilingual language use. The results have been analyzed for content in Chapter 5.2, but they remain complimentary to the discourse analytic findings that appear throughout the remainder of the dissertation.

Although focus group discussion is not strictly everyday talk, there have been ample CA studies of interviews (Clayman, 1993; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Hester & Francis, 1994; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1995, 2000, 2002; Lazaraton, 1997; Mazeland & ten Have, 1996) and much of Sacks's early work revolved around group therapy sessions in which he led discussions much like a focus group (Sacks, 1979, 1984, 1992). It is therefore still possible to approach the focus group data from a conversation analytic perspective because the talk is not rehearsed

The focus group data are therefore useful to the investigation in two ways; firstly for the insights they offer into the participants' opinions on codeswitching and identity and secondly for the interactional examples of

language alternation that occurred during the discussions. The former are analyzed through ethnography while the latter are taken up with reference to ethnomethodology.

4.1.3 Ethnomethodological Approaches to Interaction

While the ethnographic evidence provided me with necessary background information about the participants and enabled me to explore their attitudes toward bilingual interaction and multiethnic identity, much of my analysis is based on several critical episodes of codeswitching in natural occurring sequences of talk. For this I have relied on two forms of analysis which have grown out of Garfinkel's participant-centred notion of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967/1984), namely Conversation Analysis and Membership Category Analysis.

4.1.3.1 Conversational Analysis

Conversational Analysis (hence CA) has emerged as one of the most prominent research paradigms in the study of bilingual interaction. Having evolved from the work of ethnomethodologists like Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1972, 1979), CA scrutinizes the social organization of everyday conversation, or 'talk-in-interaction', through a careful sequential analysis of audio- or video-taped recordings and their transcripts. Rather than conceptual models or numerical tables, ethnomethodologists are interested in, above all, the procedural study of common-sense activities (Li Wei, 2002). To this end, CA data are based on recordings of naturally occurring conversations and are analyzed according to interactional categories which are derived from, and grounded in, the data.

Based very much on the reality of the participants, my CA analysis aims to provide a descriptive, empirical and sequential account of the actions that they used to accomplish aspects of their identity through the practice of codeswitching, and how bilingual interaction yields such actions recognizable (Schegloff, 1996).

4.1.3.2 *Membership Categorization Analysis*

Another research approach to emerge from Sacks's work on the details of social interaction is known as Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Its aim is to investigate the locally used, invoked and organized commonsense categories to which participants orient in everyday interaction (Hester & Eglin, 1997a). In short, rather than relying on pre-existing social categories such as 'Japanese' or 'teenager' the focus in an MCA approach is on descriptions that must be seen as both situationally relevant and culturally coherent to the members in any particular sequence of talk.

Simply put, *categories* refer to the ways members name people and *predicates* indicate the ways of saying what they do (McHoul & Rapley, 2001). By clustering the two together in what Sacks referred to as the *membership categorization device* (MCD), consisting of a collection of categories and the rules about how to apply them (Sacks, 1972b), analysts can begin to understand how members view the categories they perceive around them, rather than applying their own external categories on to the participants' lived experiences. MCD's are local devices and, like CA, MCA privileges the participant's understandings over researcher-applied categories. Participants' social relations are made explicit and reaffirmed through and by their talk, and certain categories can be mobilized to invoke aspects of identity.

To use a particular category or its predicate is to do some form of moral work (Jayyusi, 1984) and talk is rarely neutral in the moral sense. Predicates can imply categories even without directly naming them, and this was often the case when others categorized multiethnic students in this study. Categories are rarely fixed and the meaning of words is dependent on the context of their use (Lepper, 2000). One method of invoking a category is to name it specifically, but another is to imply the category through naming its predicate, an activity that is specific to members of that category (Vallis, 2001).

The category to which an observed activity is bound has a special relevance for the identification of the action it does. If a participant is observed to be doing something that is known to be related to a particular category it permits the observer to make an inference as to the identity of the doer (Hester & Eglin,

1997a). If, for example, a teenager is seen to be reading a book in a high school classroom, anyone watching the scene would be justified in assuming that person is a student at the school, because the activities she is involved in are bound to the category 'student'.

A preliminary glance at the recordings collected in this study might indicate that the participants very rarely refer to themselves as '*haafu*' or 'double' or indeed 'multiethnic'. Yet still they are somehow categorized as different by those around them, and to a large extent this is done by relating category-bound activities like bilingual proficiency to participant conceptualizations of the notion of *haafu*. Moreover, the very act of participating in bilingual talk perpetuates aspects of their 'multiethnic identity'. Chapter 5 will expand further on the notion of category work in the accomplishment of identity.

Silverman (1998) believes Sacks treated MCA and CA as two sides of the same coin and makes a case for consideration of both traditions. Until recently these two strands of Sacks's work have been pursued separately, but recent work by Gafaranga (1999) has acknowledged the importance of combining MCA with CA to investigate the significance of language choice in the orderliness of language alternation.

4.1.4 Applied CA: A case for interdisciplinarity in discourse analysis

4.1.4.1 Introduction

As outlined above, this study will combine two major methodologies: ethnography and ethnomethodology. While on the surface, the theoretical bases for these two disciplines may appear at odds with each other, I would like to argue here a case for hybrid interdisciplinarity in the analysis of bilingual talk, drawing on the fortes of both methodological traditions to establish an even more compelling case for my findings.

4.1.4.2 Applied CA

A distinction within studies of talk-in-interaction is increasingly being made between 'pure' and 'applied' CA (ten Have, 1999). Conversation Analysis

was originally developed as a ‘pure’ science, whose motivation was to discover basic and general aspects of sociality. Findings dealt with the mechanics of interaction- such as repair, procedurality and sequencing- and it was assumed that these would be constant across settings and speakers.

Later researchers began to utilize these findings to analyze talk in particular circumstances, most notably in organizational settings such as doctor-patient talk in hospitals or teacher-student talk in schools, to discover how interactions with an institutional purpose are organized as institutional interactions (Hester & Francis, 2001; Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998; ten Have, 2001). Although there has been some resistance from traditional CA researchers who maintain that institutional identities should only be relevant to the extent that they affect the unfurling sequence of interaction, Silverman (1998) notes that ideally the two should be complimentary and not armed camps.

According to ten Have’s distinction, the present study would best be described as Applied CA, since it is set in the institutional setting of an international school. However, at the same time, the vast majority of my codeswitching data have come from around the lunch table, representing a time and place where the institutional setting assumes little relevance for the talk-in-interaction. To be sure, the bulk of my data clearly represent mundane talk between peers. On the other hand, the CA analysis of focus group discussions such as that in chapter 7 could be said to be institutional in that asymmetrical rights to turn control and topic shift are noticeable in the talk and consequential for the way subsequent actions occur.

For this reason, I have elected to call my study simply CA, prefacing it with ‘Applied’ or ‘Pure’ only when such terms are shown to be relevant in the course of the data. Embedded in this decision is the hope that the two sub-disciplines will have something to offer each other.

4.1.4.3 Ethnographic CA

While there can be no substitute for in-depth analysis of interactional data and triangulation of data through interviews and questionnaires is by no means common in CA, Seedhouse (2005) notes that there is a movement to

integrate CA and ethnography, in order to make transparent the expert knowledge that analysts inevitably take into consideration along with their recorded data (2005:260).

Hester and Payne (1997a) see a need for ‘a form of conversational analysis which remains sensitive to the orientations people are working with in particular settings’, or what they call ethnographic conversation analysis. Researchers who combine ethnography with CA (Bilmes, 1992; Gafaranga & Britten, 2005; Goodwin, 1990; Meehan, 1993; Moerman & Sacks, 1988; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005) note that an attention to background cultural knowledge can inform the micro-analysis of specific sequences of talk, just as the minute details of talk provide valuable insight into how notions of culture and identity are played out in everyday conversations. Moreover, whereas pure CA is analytically motivated and aimed at an audience of ethnomethodology specialists, Applied CA is often directed toward a lay audience who may have only a passing interest in ethnomethodology, but a greater concern with the focus of the study (ten Have, 1999).

Rampton *et al* (2002) note that ethnography has generally been used to turn the exotic into something familiar, while CA began from the opposite direction, making notions that had been taken for granted ‘seem strange and emphasizing the discontinuity between CA methodology and ordinary modes of thought’ (p. 380). The topic of study for pure CA researchers then became the common sense knowledge they proposed to problematize.

However, Markee (2000) maintains that in some respects CA is also epistemologically close to ethnography. Both focus on the particular rather than the general and seek to develop a participant’s viewpoint rather than privileging the observer’s perspective by developing a rich account of the context. As outlined in 4.1.1, the difficulty is that conversation analysts and ethnographers do not view context in the same way. For ethnographers, understanding members’ perspectives involves developing a ‘thick description’ of their local knowledge by compiling a detailed profile of the members’ cultures and biographies. In contrast, researchers working in a pure CA tradition make no use of ethnographic accounts.

For them context consists solely of the immediate sequential environment of the turns at talk.

Moerman (1988) has attempted to reconcile ethnomethodology and ethnography by synthesizing ethnography's concern for context, meaning, history and intention 'with the sometimes arid and always exacting techniques that conversation analysis offers for locating culture *in situ*' (p. iv). While pure CA researchers rely more on collections of interactional practices that have been gathered across a wide range of settings and from a broad selection of speakers, many applied CA studies are situated in one institution and consist of a more detailed description of critical incidents. This necessitates greater background information about the participants because as Rampton *et al* (2002:383) maintain '(t)he longer that analysis dwells on a particular instance, the more conspicuous any absence of ethnographic validation is likely to become.'

4.1.4.4 *The risks in combining CA with ethnography*

Some researchers have warned against combining CA with ethnography. Silverman (1998) notes that one of CA's greatest assets is its dedication towards 'anti-Romanticism'. By restricting the analysis to the participants' understandings in the recorded sequence of talk, analysts are forced to justify any claims regarding culture or history in terms of the presented talk. Applied CA must be careful to limit its arguments to the interaction at hand, providing background details only where they are relevant and can be said to be commonly understood by the speakers.

Similarly ten Have (1999) cautions against the possibility of constructing an inconsistent argument by combining ethnography and CA due to the use of categories established in society but not used by the participants. 'What such studies do is to construct an etic picture of the distribution of behaviours across generalized population categories, rather than a context-sensitive analysis of emic action sequences' (1999:197).

The present study will tread lightly, resisting analysis that relies too heavily on external categories and merging ethnography and conversation analysis only in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of identity in interaction. In doing so

I will adopt Rampton and his colleagues' view (Rampton et al., 2002) that the traditional divide between theory and practice in social science is beginning to become blurred, meaning pure researchers must be able to demonstrate some use for their findings and applied investigations should offer something back to the disciplines which sustain them. In adopting an interdisciplinary approach, I aim to procure the best from both ethnographic and ethnomethodological traditions.

4.2 Transcription Approaches to Multilingual Discourse Analysis

4.2.1 Introduction

This section outlines the strategies I used to transcribe my data, including the nature and positioning of translations within the text, and the adoption of other conventions to transcribe relevant non-verbal elements of the interaction. In addition, it will also describe Transana, the software used to transcribe and analyse the data collected during the study.

4.2.2 From Data Collection to Data Transcription

Transcribing spoken discourse is more than just writing down what is being said. The way the researcher chooses to render the spoken data into text can influence not only their interpretation by the reader, but also the subsequent analysis. When the data are based on bilingual interaction, such as those in the present study, informed transcription decisions are all the more vital.

The transcription methods I have adopted are based on those developed by Gail Jefferson, which are the conventions most commonly used by CA researchers (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998; Markee, 2000; Psathas, 1995; ten Have, 1999). The following adaptations have been added to facilitate English-Japanese translation, based on the conventions used by Japanese CA researchers such as Tanaka (1999), Takagi (2001) and Hayashi (2003).

Japanese talk has three tiers. The talk appears in its original form in *Courier New* font on the first line with Japanese talk in italics, followed by a word-for-word gloss on the second line and a vernacular translation in Times Roman on the third line. The second line provides a literal rendering of each lexical item at the point that it is produced while the third line aims to present a

comprehensible rendition of the utterance intent. The translation was carried out by the author, in consultation with bilingual Japanese speakers.

The Japanese talk is rendered in Romanized orthography in order to make it accessible to a wider audience and to facilitate any non-standard pronunciation and prosodic features of talk that occur.

Non-verbal behaviours are noted in double brackets when relevant to the analysis. Gaze direction is recorded according to an adaptation of Goodwin's conventions (Goodwin, 1981) and additional visual features such as diagrams and frame captures have been included where required. A complete account of the transcription conventions is included in Appendix 1.

For the ethnographic analysis in Chapter 5.2, I adopted a more straightforward transcription approach. At this level, I was concerned primarily with content over form so the transcription for this data followed generally conventional orthographic practices. In other words, I transcribed the participants' talk as if they had written what was said. Later I transcribed certain sections of the focus group discussions in greater detail when analyzing them according to the CA approach.

4.2.3 *Transana*

The video recordings were transcribed and analysed with the aid of a software application known as *Transana*⁸. After converting the data to MPEG-2 format, it was uploaded into the application which automatically created a soundwave bar that corresponds to the precise position in the video footage. This allowed me to easily play selected sections of the recording, and repeat them as necessary via the keyboard. I was also able to time pauses and gaps with greater accuracy than would have been possible with just videotapes, down to a tenth of a second. All this helped ensure that the transcripts were as accurate as possible.

⁸ This program is available at www.transana.org.

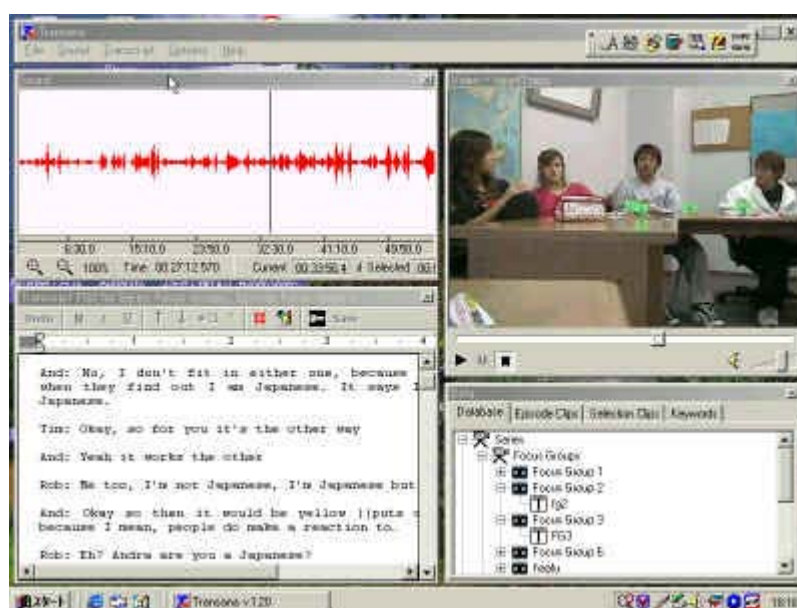


Figure 4.1 A screenshot of the transcription software Transana

In addition, I made use of Transana’s analytic tools for organizing my video data through the creation of a hierarchy of user-designated keywords. I was able to select analytically significant portions of the video, and organize them into the collections that emerged during my extensive observations. Collections of interactional phenomena were organized in a database in the lower right-hand window. These collections gathered together similar actions that were observed across the corpus, and each was determined according to the CA principle of procedural consequentiality (Schegloff, 1992a). That is to say, each collection documented some interactional practice according to evidence provided by the participants themselves in the third and subsequent turns. Examples of the collections that were developed included “participant-specific gaze”, “self-initiated backwards repair” and so on, and these formed the basis of the analysis in chapters 6 and 7. Each episode was linked to the specific point in the videotape in which it occurred, allowing me to compile collections of a given interaction practice and access the associated transcripts and video clips with ease.

4.2.4 Transcribing from a CA Perspective

At the most detailed level of my research I have chosen to transcribe and analyze my data according to the conversational analytic tradition. CA places a heavy emphasis on detail in transcription, not only as a means of merely orthographically encoding the spoken word, but also as an integral process in its analysis, adopting the turn as the basic unit of analysis, in its simplest systematic model (Sacks et al., 1974). As such, elements of naturalistic talk such as turn overlaps, gaps and pauses, breathiness and laughter are all taken into account in a CA transcript.

Even issues that are not readily apparent had to be taken into consideration in the transcription process. Initially I had to decide whether to provide pseudonyms for the participants or just call them A or B. The strictest of CA researchers would hold that issues of identity such as name or gender are only relevant in the analysis to the extent that the members orient to them specifically in the localized context of the talk. I take the position that the names are known to the participants and they facilitate an understanding for the reader that is already held by the members. Likewise I had to make a decision whether to number the transcripts according to the turn or the line. Both are acceptable conventions in discourse analysis, and serve as a convenient analyst's tool rather than a part of the talk-in-interaction. I have decided to number lines rather than turns, in part because I have provided translations mid-script so there is potential for confusion about what is being said and what is being translated.

While CA-based transcripts have occasionally been criticized for being too detailed, proponents maintain that it is through such fine-grained attention to detail that elements of the interactional work become apparent, and that 'transcripts play a key role in the claim of CA to be a rigorous empirical discipline' (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998:92).

4.2.5 *Challenges Inherent in Transcribing Multilingual Data*

Multilingual data necessitate translation at some level, if only to accommodate a wider readership. This section will discuss some of the challenges faced in rendering Japanese talk into English within the bounds of a transcription.

Bucholtz (1999a) notes that, in making interpretive and representational decisions about what and how talk is being described, the transcriber's own beliefs and expectations about the interaction and the speakers inevitably enter the final transcription. Transcribers must decide whether to render the speech to text by conforming to written conventions or to retain links to the original oral discourse, such as accent or dialectic idiosyncrasies. The potential for the transcription tool to become a politicized tool of linguistic representation is ever-present.

In my transcriptions, I have carried out the initial translation myself, but conducted extensive checks along the way with other Japanese speakers in order to confirm my interpretations. I have rendered the talk into a naturalized translation, in the belief that a detailed literal and syntactic record is not warranted for the present analysis.

I decided to use *Romaji*⁹ instead of *kana* for the Japanese data in order to make them accessible to a wider audience. Most Japanese writing is, of course, not normally written in the Roman alphabet, but as the Japanese orthography is not generally well-understood by many potential readers, it was decided to adopt its most readable form. In addition, even within Japanese transcripts that adhere to *kana* scripts there are still questions about whether to write elements of talk in katakana, hiragana or kanji, and these can all marginally affect the way the reader interprets the transcripts. Romaji was also a more convenient way to incorporate non-linguistic elements such as laughter and breathiness into the Japanese transcription.

⁹ The Japanese language consists of four scripts; the pictographic *kanji*, the two phonetic alphabets, *hiragana* and *katakana*, and the westernized equivalent *Romaji*. Therefore, the word “Mitsubishi”, for example, can be written in four ways— 三菱, みつびし, ミツビシ and Mitsubishi.

4.3 Warrantability in Discourse Analysis

4.3.1 The need for an alternative means of justification

Although decidedly empirical in its detailed description of the data, this study is based primarily in qualitative research methodologies. Qualitative methods have been in use for nearly a century and it is therefore unnecessary for each new researcher to defend them (Wolcott, 1990); however there is still a fair amount of resistance to such approaches, largely because of the persistent view that quantitative studies are more verifiable and reproducible. It is not my intention to rehash such debates here, but there is perhaps a need to acknowledge the dissimilar natures of the two methodological traditions.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches need to establish the rigor of their data and the means in which they were collected, but the manner in which such rigor is demonstrated is dependent on the theoretical underpinnings of any study. Historically, positivist research paradigms have sought to determine ‘truth’ through the pursuit of reliability and validity, yet one of the basic tenets of discourse analysis is that truth is subjective. The social phenomena that are its focus have multiple versions and meanings, shifting and changing according to sequential context. Clearly such ambiguity requires an alternative set of criteria to establish validity and reliability, appropriate to the study’s epistemological perspective.

As such, in this dissertation I have adopted Wood and Kroger’s (2000) notion of ‘warrantability’ as a means of establishing credibility, conceptualizing reliability and validity in terms of trustworthiness and soundness. This is not to say that all aspects of reliability and validity will be ignored; those elements that are most useful for discourse analysis will be adapted to suit a qualitative research paradigm, as outlined below.

In most research, reliability refers to repeatability, whether across samples, raters, measures, or over time. It is considered the most basic requirement for establishing a case for the study’s assertion; without reliability there is no point in trying to determine if the findings are valid, or an accurate measure of the study’s focus.

In responding to reservations about the validity and generalizability of conversation analytic methods, Pomerantz lists three types of claims that conversation analysts usually make. Firstly the analysis should be clearly based in action — what the co-participants are doing in any given conversation. Characterizing the action — whether it be greeting, disagreeing or providing an account — helps to situate it within its sequence and helps build an empirical description of the interactional practice. Secondly, conversational analysts add validity to their claims by gathering a collection of candidate cases that demonstrate the practice. At this point in the analysis a proposed practice is formulated and it is compared across all the collected cases.

Finally, the researcher puts forward a proposal of sequential and interactional features, which is usually a turn-by-turn description of the practice. Often this leads to further questions, which necessitates a return to the data collection to search for further examples. Situations in which the practice fails or is aborted for some reason are especially useful for deviant case analysis (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998). Careful attention to deviant cases may lead to further fine-tuning of the description in order to account for the deviation. In the present study, these collections of bilingual practices have been documented in Chapter 7.

In addition, conversation analysts make use of a single case analysis to conduct an in-depth description of extended sequences of talk, particularly those that are of some importance to the focus of the study. While collections are often made up of short sequences of a few turns, a single case analysis is likely to include a range of sequences and places the practice in its broader sequential context. Schegloff (1987a) notes that ‘the resources of past work on a range of phenomena and organizational domain in talk are brought to bear on a single fragment of talk’ (1987:101). In Chapter 6, I conduct a single case analysis of one complete sequence of bilingual interaction. This became the springboard for my investigation into the other bilingual practices in word search sequences and post-exclusionary translations.

Common to each of these conversational analytic methods is the deep description based around participant understanding at the point of production. It is

this attention to detail and the reader's own common knowledge with the language that provide a CA study with its internal and external validity.

4.3.2 Criteria for warrantability

While discourse analysts do not refute the need for reliability and validity, Wood and Kroger propose certain scientific and moral criteria for warrantability to 'transcend reliability and reformulate validity' (2000:167) These depend on an understanding of reliability and validity not in the positivist tradition, but in the common sense of these terms. Trustworthy (reliable) claims are those that can be depended on as a useful means of interpreting discourse, because they derive from systematic, accountable procedures. Sound (valid) claims are those that are 'solid, credible and convincing' (2000:168) since they are logical and based on well-documented evidence.

Like the discourse on which it centres, warrantability is co-constructed and based on shared knowledge. The analyst does much of this warranting, but compared to conventional research methodologies, discourse analysts also give greater prominence to reader evaluation (Potter, 1998). This is largely possible again because the objective of the study is the description of natural talk and the detailed data transcripts and commentary that accompanies them provide sufficient evidence for the reader to determine the accuracy of the claims and establish generalizability on a logical basis.

In CA research, findings emerge out of recurring examinations of the data without a priori decisions about the specific focus of the investigation. They are based on repeated listening and viewing of the recorded data and minute examinations of the transcripts. CA studies are designed to report solely on the social action accomplished by the participants' talk where the purpose is to discover orderliness in conversation and the mechanisms that underlie it (Sacks et al., 1974). Individual cases of an interactional practice are built up into collections through careful comparisons across episodes and contexts. Interpretations of the data are often generated during data sessions, in which a group of researchers examine transcripts and recordings with a view to unmotivated looking.

Therefore, taking the nature of the present study and its focus into account, I have sought to establish its trustworthiness and warrantability through:

1. Triangulation of methodologies
2. Member checks
3. Long term observation and micro-analysis of data
4. Peer examination of the data and findings during data sessions

No attempt has been made to quantify the data. Most CA researchers view any efforts to quantify and count features of natural talk as problematic, not only because any particular form is only made meaningful in its sequential context, but also because multiple connotations can be attached to individual features of conversation. Talk is contentious not only for the researcher but also for the participants who are engaging in it. To reduce the data to numerical codes based on the researcher's judgments is deemed by conversation analysts as a futile exercise.

Wood and Kroger (2000) recommend that the trustworthiness of discourse analytic studies be judged in terms of the orderliness and clarity of the documentation, as demonstrated through audit trails. Section 4.5 provides evidence of the data collection and analysis, and this process has been continued throughout the subsequent chapters. The transcripts and recordings allow the reader to become part of the research, independently assessing and interpreting the data for themselves.

CA also relies on 'data sessions' in which experienced researchers review transcripts and put forward 'noticings' about the data. During the data analysis phase of my research, I regularly submitted my work to such peer review and I readily acknowledge the input of my colleagues into my work. By pawing over the details of a moment's talk with others and brainstorming the social actions it achieved I was able to get a better sense of what was happening in my data. The data session then provides a form of external audit for my analysis.

Moreover, in micro-analytic studies of natural talk like CA, the participants' own orientations become a constant guide for any claims made by the analyst. For example, if a participant treats her own utterance as problematic, say by offering a mid-turn self-repair, then the analyst is justified in treating that

utterance as problematic. Similarly the categories that are made relevant by the participants should be the categories that are used by the analyst.

4.3.3 The effect of the researcher on the data and their analysis

As outlined in section 1.5, I presented myself to the participants in what I considered my most significant role for the context, a graduate student completing fieldwork. Prior to the data collection, I addressed the faculty at their regular staff meeting, explaining the nature of the research and asking for permission to enter their classes. At this point, I spoke to them as colleagues, and they were therefore aware of my teaching background outside of the school. During the fieldwork I generally wore casual clothes, as was common among both staff and students in the school. I was introduced as a researcher from Hokkaido University, and the students came to accept my presence largely in that role. Naturally they could tell that I was an adult, but since I usually spent lunch with them, not with the staff in the faculty lounge, the students did not view me as a teacher. I refrained from speaking too much, either during class or at lunch times, to encourage the participants to talk as naturally as possible among themselves.

Even so, one of the greatest issues for ethnographic and ethnomethodological researchers is how to collect natural data when the participants know they are being watched, or what Labov (1972) has termed the *observer's paradox*. It is likely to some extent that my presence, or in fact the presence of the camera alone, may have influenced the data in some way, causing participants to act differently than they would have if I were not there. On several occasions students were observed to attend directly to the camera, speaking to it or to me. At other times, they referred specifically to me in their conversations, such as in the extract below:

Excerpt 4.1 Stick with your work

Dan and Max are in study hall, and even though there is a no-talking rule, Max has caused Dan to start laughing.

01 Dan: heh he heh [ha:

02 Max: [come on man
03 Dan: but what
04 Max: °stick with your work (you've got people
05 staring)°
06 Dan: ehh ha ha: Ha
07 Max:→ °he's standin' right over there c'mon°
08 awright so (.) it's a circle
09 Dan: HE he[heheh heh HA ha]

In this conversation, Max attempts to stop Dan from laughing and invokes my presence as a means of doing so¹⁰. Although the comment in line 7 is barely audible, it is obvious that this conversation would have turned out differently if I had not been in the room. Nevertheless, because the data clearly acknowledge the researcher's presence they can then form part of the analysis.

In this sense the fact that I was nearby with a video camera became part of the potential ongoing interaction even though I was usually perceived as a *nonratified recipient* (Goffman, 1981) by the participants. Even when I used the remote observation method (Iino, 1996) by leaving the camera recording while I was not in the room, I may still have had some influence on the interaction if participants formulated their talk for the camera, and consequently for me as an observer some time in the future.

The issue of what constitutes natural talk in research data has a bearing on this discussion. While my presence can never be extricated completely from the analysis, the data collected are nonetheless natural talk in that they have not been invented or staged (Potter, 1997) and that any influence I had over the ongoing talk should be plain from the conversation itself, as it was in the extract above. Cromdal (2000) sums up this issue for micro-analytic studies of interaction in the following way:

¹⁰ Refer to section 5.4 for a more detailed analysis of this conversation.

‘To the extent that the researcher’s presence or actions are construed as a relevant feature of interaction, they are analyzed in the same way as those of any other participant. Thus, no particular status is claimed for the researcher other than that to which the (interactants) orient in the course of their daily encounters.’ (p. 96)

In fact, as will become apparent in the analysis in chapters 6 and 7, I was indeed very much a participant in the talk, especially during the focus group sessions. Given that the students all knew each other well and many had grown up together, most of them had a detailed knowledge about each other’s family backgrounds, language preferences and so on, and therefore did not have to negotiate those aspects of their identities to any great extent on a daily basis. I, on the other hand, as an outsider was perhaps the only person who hadn’t yet worked out “who they were” with respect to their ethnolinguistic heritages and so at some level their conversations with me represented one of the few opportunities to gather interactional data in contexts where the participants were negotiating their multiethnic identities with a stranger.

The risk though is one in which the researcher ‘leads the witness’, by asking questions that reflect only on topics that he or she is interested in. This is a concern where the focus of the analysis is primarily on the content of the talk, especially when it is analysed in ways which isolate the participants’ statements from their sequential context. However, in the present study, most of the findings are based not on what the participants (including me) said, but also on the actions that were done by each statement. Detailed attention to the flow of the talk makes my role in the conversation apparent, and what I said is entered into the analysis in exactly the same way as the students’ talk is. If they were “performing” for the camera, that will become procedurally consequential in the talk, and naturally becomes part of the analysis.

That said, I acknowledge that my own point of view undeniably had a part to play on the way the data were analysed. My life experiences and worldview no doubt influenced which conversations I chose to record, which data I analyzed in greater detail and the interpretations I placed on them. The ethnographic analysis

in particular relies largely on my ‘insider’ knowledge as a long-term non-Japanese resident in Japan and a father of multiethnic Japanese children. However, such emic understandings assist readers who are unfamiliar with the study’s context to gain an impression of the school and the participants. Wherever possible I endeavored to check my interpretation on the data I collected, both with the participants themselves and with Japanese language informants, but it is possible that there may still be some parts of the analysis that are still open to other interpretations.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Issues of ethics are of consequence in any study which focuses on ‘human subjects’, and the present investigation is no exception. The host university’s Ethics Committee required that all graduate level research obtain ethical clearance at the proposal stage. Their approval was contingent on several key elements, including the informed consent of all key participants and their parents (if under 18), the anonymity of the participants and an outline of how the study would benefit them.

The general purpose of the study was made clear to staff, students and parents. Parents gave permission for their children to be involved in the study by signing the Parental Consent Form (Appendix 3) and the participants themselves later completed a Language Use Consent Form (Appendix 4) that detailed the ways in which the data could be used by the researcher. All participants willingly gave their permission for me to use the video recordings in the five situations outlined on this form.

Surreptitious recordings were avoided and students were given the right to ask for the video recorder to be turned off at any time. They were also entitled to withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason. Although there were two or three occasions in which participants asked me to turn off the camera momentarily, there was no case in which someone actually requested to leave the study. As an outsider, I was ever conscious of the video-recorder’s intrusive potential, even though the overwhelming majority of the data constituted

mundane talk. In cases where I thought the topic or situation was potentially confidential, I checked with the individuals involved, and on one occasion taped over a recording at the request of the participant.

Pseudonyms have been used throughout the dissertation to conceal the participants' identities, and their names have been deleted in cases where they appear in the recordings.

4.5 Audit trail

4.5.1 Overview

Audit trails are one technique for establishing trustworthiness and confirming the quality of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In line with this aim, section 4.5 will document the investigative process and procedures I have undertaken during the data collection and analysis phases of the research.

4.5.2 Initial contact and preliminary phase

As detailed in chapter 3, the study took place with the participation of upper secondary students and teaching staff at the Hokkaido International School (HIS) in Sapporo, Japan during 2002/2003. A full overview of the research timetable appears in table 4.1 below. Initial contact was made with the school's principal via email in February 2001 and the preliminary phase of the study was undertaken in May, 2001, consisting of a single focus group discussion, which was subsequently transcribed and analyzed from a conversation analytic perspective (Greer, 2001b).

Table 4.1 Overview of research timeline

	<i>2001</i>		<i>2002</i>		<i>2003</i>		<i>2004</i>	
<i>Investigation</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>July</i>
Initial contact	⊙							
Initial focus group		◆→						
Formulate proposal			◆→					
Fieldwork data collection				◆→				
Data analysis					●→			
Preparation of report							●→	

The aim of the initial focus group session was to trial a discussion guide intended for later sessions, but this session also served as my first direct contact with some of the students who eventually became focal participants in the broader study. The first focus group was made up of five multiethnic Japanese teenagers selected by the principal according to their availability. At that time they ranged in age from 14 to 18. The group included three students who would later become key consultants in the major study and two who graduated that June, and do not appear in the later study. Some of the data collected in this initial focus group session are included in section 5.1.

Before the observations and video recordings began in earnest in June 2002, I met with the school's teaching faculty during one of their regular staff meetings. There I outlined, in broad terms, the aims of the study and the way I would go about collecting data. Teachers were given the opportunity to put forward any concerns they had about the study, and verbal consent was given for me to enter the school as a researcher.

The school year at Hokkaido International School ran according to the American calendar, while my teaching duties at a local university were based on the Japanese school year. As a result, there was some difference between the vacation periods of the two systems, meaning that the window of opportunity for

me to conduct blocks of intensive investigation at HIS was somewhat limited. The research timetable was constructed in order to take advantage of the dates when my university teaching commitments and the HIS school years coincided. I was later able to use my weekly research time to conduct further observations.

Table 4.2 outlines the timetable of the data collection phase, and this is followed by more detailed descriptions in sections 4.5.4 to 4.5.8.

Table 4.2 Fieldwork data collection timeline 2002-2003

	2002									2003	
<i>Investigation</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Apr</i>	<i>Jun</i>	<i>Jul</i>	<i>Aug</i>	<i>Sep</i>	<i>Oct</i>	<i>Nov</i>	<i>Dec</i>	<i>Jan</i>	<i>Feb</i>
Explain study to teaching staff.		⊙		HIS summer vacation							
Background questionnaire			⊙								
Select key consultants			■								
Two week block							■				
Gather video data						---	---	---	→		
Member checks						◆	→	→	→	→	
Weekly visits						◆	→	→	→	→	
Focus groups							☆	☆	☆	☆	
Follow-up observations						◆	→	→	→	→	→

4.5.3 Initial observations

In May and June 2002, I attended classes at the school one day a week over a period of four weeks. The main objective of this phase was to familiarize myself with the school environment, its workings and procedures and too allow the staff and students to get used to seeing me in the classroom and around the

halls. During this time I observed both upper and lower secondary classes (7th to 12th grades) as well as a range of lunchtime and after school situations. My main purpose at this stage was to determine where codeswitching was happening and between whom.

This helped me to locate potential key consultants. At the end of the initial observation period I decided to concentrate the study on the upper secondary students, mostly because they seemed more open to the study. It was important for me to be able to establish a sense of trust with the consultants, and the 11th graders in particular were keen to talk with me. On the other hand, the 8th and 9th graders appeared to resent being observed and seemed unforthcoming when talking with me. In addition this group also had a larger proportion of beginning ESL learners, which meant that it would be harder to determine if their codeswitching was related to identity or proficiency. Although a study of younger multiethnic teenagers in the Japanese context is undoubtedly also overdue, for these reasons I decided at that stage to limit my data collection to the upper secondary group.

I also used these early days to gather primary documents relevant to the study, including the school's language policy, class groupings, and academic timetable. Some of these had immediate relevance in helping me acclimatize to an unfamiliar environment, while others provided me with important background information that was common knowledge to the students and teachers at the school.

At this stage in the data collection I was keeping a variety of field notes, but I made a conscious decision not to make any video or audio recordings. I wanted the students and teachers to get used to seeing me at the back of the classroom (and if possible, stop seeing me too) so that they would be accustomed to my presence when it came time to begin recording in the next phase.

It was also imperative at this stage to get to know the teachers and determine those who would be willing to allow the camera into their classrooms. Although I had received their approval as a group, I found that, like the students themselves, certain teachers were more approachable and interested in my research than others. As I was free to observe any of the classes, I made an effort to observe every teacher's class at least twice. This allowed me to determine

which classes were worth recording further during the main phase of the data collection. The math class, for example, was very teacher-centred and provided little opportunity for student interaction so I did not conduct any further observations with that particular group.

I observed the participants both in and outside class. I sat with them at lunch, talked with them informally during class and played basketball with them after school. In doing so, I got a sense for those who would be most likely to provide access to the type of data I was seeking. At the end of this phase I had chosen those who would eventually become my key consultants and since it was such a small group, I had in fact started to get to know all of the upper secondary students to varying degrees.

4.5.4 Two week intensive block of observations

After the students' summer vacation, in September 2002, I returned to conduct a two-week block of observations. I attended classes everyday during this period and was able to extend my initial observations by collecting video and audio recordings of their natural interaction.

One of the initial problems was that the school had changed a lot over the summer holidays. Many of the teachers had left and, to some extent, I had to begin my work afresh with their replacements. As is often the way with international schools, many students had also returned to their home countries and while the six key consultants were still there, a number of their friends were not. There was an adjustment period in which new alliances and friendships were being forged. The eleventh graders had become the school's seniors and were getting used to the new responsibilities and privileges this entailed.

Having obtained the necessary parental approval, I began making my video and recordings, documenting peer group language both in class and during informal conversations outside of class time. I used a hand held digital video recorder (Canon IXY-DV3) as well as an IC Recorder, which I placed near whatever group I was recording to serve as a backup in cases where the sound was inaudible.

Because the data were recordings of natural interaction, I was not always able to capture every element of the talk. On occasion students would walk away or whisper or the surrounding noise would obscure their interaction. These limitations are one of the necessary evils in gathering natural data. Sometimes I placed the video on a shelf or table and just left it to capture whatever was happening, but for the most part I held the camera myself, directing it towards interesting segments of talk. This allowed me to catch more relevant data from participants I knew to be bilingual multiethnic Japanese, and also furnished me with a degree of anonymity; when I ‘hid’ behind the camera, participants were less likely to involve me actively in their discussions.

At the same time I also collected detailed field notes on the conversations I was recording. Each written description included a code that linked it to the videotape and audio recordings and provided me with both ethnographic descriptions and my own thoughts about the talk that had taken place. At the end of each day I also wrote my reflections on the data I had recorded and highlighted critical incidents to prioritize them for later transcription.

4.5.5 Weekly follow-up visits, including focus group sessions

From October, 2002 to February 2003, I attended the school once a week to continue making further audio and video recordings and to conduct the focus group sessions. During this time I had begun to make my first viewings of the data I had collected and was annotating critical incidents in my notes. Where necessary I played back segments of the data to the participants in order to ascertain their interpretations of what was going on. These I added to my field notes. On occasions I also conducted informal interviews with the key consultants, discussing their attitudes to language use and delving deeper into the culture of the school.

After class I conducted five more focus group sessions as outlined in section 5.1. Each group consisted of four or five participants as summarized in Table 4.3. It was important to leave these until towards the end of the observation

period as too much open discussion about codeswitching and identity at the start of the study may have tainted the participants' natural interaction.

Table 4.3 A summary of the focus group sessions

Focus Group	Date	Tape	Time	Participants
1	14 May 2001	Audio only	48 min	ME Japanese
2	01 Nov 2002	Tape 36.2	45 min	ME Japanese
3	08 Nov 2002	Tape 41	56 min	Other MEJ's
4	19 Nov 2002	Tapes 43, 44	32 min	Non-Japanese
5	29 Nov 2002	Tape 45	33 min	Teachers
6	03 Dec 2002	Tape 46	43 min	ME Japanese

While my main interest was in the multiethnic Japanese students, it became apparent to me throughout my fieldwork that my initial assumption about who was 'half-Japanese' was not the way the participants saw themselves. In addition to those with one Japanese parent and one English-speaking parent -the people who most Japanese generally view as *haafu*- I became aware of another group of multiethnic Japanese. Although the participants had no particular name for them, I came to see them as the 'other halves' (see section 3.4).

I was forced to re-examine my own preconceptions about what multiethnicity might mean for these people. I decided to adapt my focus group discussion instrument and conduct sessions with these other groups in order to gain a fuller picture of multiethnic identity. Besides the 'other halves', I also spoke to a group of 'foreign' students who had no Japanese family connections, and to a group of teachers who in order to gauge their perspectives on language use in the school. I also conducted a 45-minute interview with the principal.

The recordings of natural occurring interaction along with the focus groups and interviews will form the basis for the arguments laid out in the remainder of this study.

4.6 Conclusion

In short, this study aims to provide insight into the ways in which multiethnic Japanese teenagers accomplish aspects of their identities during everyday bilingual interaction with their peers. It gathers its evidence by highlighting the locally negotiated and interactionally emergent functions of specific switches, referring most importantly to the way that the language shapes and builds on further interaction in natural settings.

This kind of qualitative micro-analysis does not aim to test a hypothesis and generalize it to a broader audience, but to record the participants' management of social interaction in descriptive depth through a detailed record of the sequential implicativeness of language choice (Auer, 1984).

This chapter has detailed the methodological framework and data collection procedures used in the study. My 'unmotivated looking' (Psathas, 1995) focused on conversations in which the students codeswitched with regard to locally-negotiated identity. While I was open to discovering identity in all its interactional forms and all its sequential environments, I paid particular attention to episodes in which identity was accomplished through codeswitching, such as those noted by Bailey (200b), Garafanga (2001) and Lo (1999).

The analysis in the following chapters will document my findings.

5 *Accomplishing Multiethnic Identity through Membership Categories*



Figure 5.1 A self-portrait drawn by a Filipino-Japanese student at HIS

5.1 Overview

As outlined in Chapter 2, talk-in-interaction is one of the key mediums through which identities are co-constructed. People may possess some internal sense of who they are, but it is only by displaying as such in social interaction that they make elements of their identities relevant for others. By communicating with those around them, people are able to foreground and background identity through interactional practices associated with membership categories. Likewise, those with whom they interact have a role to play in casting them into a certain identity category, which may be subsequently accepted or challenged, again through the details of the talk itself.

This chapter will focus on the way that multiethnic identity is accomplished through membership categorization practices in everyday talk-in-interaction. By way of introduction, section 5.2 begins by summarizing what was said in the focus group sessions. As such, it will be the component of the dissertation that draws most heavily on the ethnographic tradition to provide an account of how the participants saw themselves. Its aim is to broaden the reader's background of the participants and their reported attitudes towards being multiethnic Japanese. While it adopts a participant-centred perspective, it differs

from the rest of the dissertation in that its focus is more on the content of *what* was reported than the *way* that these identities were performed during the telling.

This latter ethnomethodological aim is taken up from section 5.3 and will become an ongoing theme throughout the remainder of the dissertation. Here the research will become ‘radically emic’ (Kasper, 2004:564), in that the findings are not only based on the participant’s perspective, but that perspective as it was demonstrated by those involved in the conversation at the time of the recording, or what is referred to in CA as *procedural consequentiality* or the *next-turn proof*.

Section 5.3 will focus on social knowledge and competency-based category-bound activities, such as food preferences or linguistic proficiency, which can be mobilized in talk to ethnify multiethnic people by indexing relationally constructed aspects of self and other. Section 5.4 will document ethnic ascriptions as they occurred in mundane talk and during the focus group sessions. It will look specifically at referents and vernacular categories such as *haafu*, *gaijin* and *white*.

Throughout the chapter, my purpose will be to establish some of the ways in which multiethnic identities are accomplished in interaction through category practices.

5.2 Accounts of multiethnicity as reported in the focus group sessions

5.2.1 Reconceptualizing ‘haafu’

During the focus group discussions, the participants related many experiences about being multiethnic, both in Japan and abroad. They reported a variety of complementary oppositions manifest themselves in various aspects of their lives. Their access to English means they are at once both privileged and marginalized within Japanese society. Their appearance is often interpreted as ‘Western’ in Japan, but ‘Asian’ when they travel to their non-Japanese parent’s home country. The very fact that they have two passports is often thought to be inconsistent with received perceptions of Japanese-ness. Yet the participants themselves routinely

reported that they felt alternatively (and simultaneously) Japanese and non-Japanese.

A stereotypical view of the notion of '*haafu*' often depicts a half-Japanese person as somehow being split evenly between his or her two cultures, which may even lead multiethnic people to see themselves that way, as evidenced by the self-portrait at the start of this chapter. However, the narratives of the participants revealed instead the experience of being '*haafu*' as one which was fluid, shifting and context-reliant, more akin to stirring cream into coffee than it was to placing identity into two distinct boxes. These symbiotic dualities harmonize within a whole person who is competent in not just half of his or her cultures, but both. At the same time he or she is aware that this balance frequently shifts back and forth according to context and can create a third distinctive culture which typifies the experience of living in and between two worlds.

5.2.2 Being both Japanese and non-Japanese

At the most fundamental level, the participants described their ethnic identity in terms of such overlapping dualities. They were reluctant to identify themselves as Japanese, at least in the sense that most people commonly understand 'Japaneseness'. To them, ethnicity involved at least some mention of all their constituent ethnicities, but this did not prevent them from seeing themselves as both fully Japanese as well as non-Japanese to varying extents. As Anja summed up, '*Datte, (But) I'm more than just Japanese*' (FG3:28)¹¹.

Most of those I talked to viewed the possession of multiple worldviews as unproblematic to their own definition of what it meant to be Japanese. The members in Gino's focus group saw nothing remarkable when he asserted, 'I'm Japanese and I can talk Japanese so no one cares – just I can talk French and English and I have a different culture. That's all.' (FG3:4). Yet, in my experience,

¹¹ In this section I will reference any of the participants' statements that I quote directly by listing the number of the focus group session and the page of the transcript in which the quote appears. FG3:28 therefore refers to Focus Group 3, page 28. The quotations have mainly been rendered in English, but italics indicate that the original utterance was in Japanese. In such cases the original can be found in a footnote.

to many Japanese people, having a different culture (or even a different language) ordinarily excludes a person from being Japanese, at least in the typical sense. While social or national myths of homogeneity dictate to most Japanese that they are monocultural (Miller, 1982; Noguchi, 2001b), at Hokkaido International School, the vast majority of students who identified themselves as Japanese did so with some proviso.

Although she recognized her dual heritage in many different ways, Nina felt more Japanese when she was overseas. In 2001, she spent a year in Britain while her father, a university professor, was on sabbatical. Reflecting on her experiences abroad, she said, 'In the future, *if I go some place like London I'll probably be Japanese*'¹² (FG2:35). But while she was in Japan she was often made to feel non-Japanese by those around her.

Other participants, however, believed that their Japanese ancestry was unavoidable and had no hesitation in embracing it as their own. BJ maintained that since he was born in Japan and had only ever lived in Japan, it was natural that he thought of himself as Japanese. Kate placed emphasis on her physical appearance and language proficiency as her main motivations for viewing herself as Japanese. Her features do resemble her mother more than her father, and as she declared in the focus group, she 'look(s) the most Japanese' of the multiethnic students in her session. In addition Kate only speaks Japanese at home and the fact that her parents are divorced probably results in less non-Japanese influences on her outside of school hours. She reported that, apart from her school friends, she also associates with a range of Japanese friends from other schools. These may account for some of the reasons she comes to the conclusion, '*watashi wa Nihonjin*'¹³ (FG2:35).

Still others preferred to avoid any attempts to have them categorize themselves in terms of pre-existing macro-social categories. May saw herself as 'everything', and maintained that the focus group session was the first time she had actually thought about this issue. In retort to comments on his Japanese

¹² "In the future *dokka tatoeba London e ittara tabun watashi wa nihonjin.*"

¹³ "I am Japanese."

appearance by members in this group, Mick claimed he was ‘a totally new species’ (FG1:9). I suspect that he had probably used this comment before in other situations where the topics of ‘race’, ethnicity and culture had forced him to reflect on his heritage. Like Mick, many of the participants had a rehearsed repertoire of comebacks to call upon in such situations. Mick’s responses were intentionally evasive, perhaps indicating a reluctance to talk about ‘race’. In fact the comment above occurred in a sequence where he had stated that others are shocked when they discover he is Japanese. Personally I found this surprising, since I considered his features more Japanese and others in the group seemed to judge him in the same way. His peers maintained at the time that he was just trying to be seen as an American. This conversation highlighted the notion that identities are not only claimed by individuals, but also rejected and bestowed by those around them.

While Gino’s eclectic attitude to ethnic identity took form in his simple summary, ‘I’m both. I’m all’ (FG3: 32), there were also several occasions where he portrayed himself as different from ‘normal’ Japanese by invoking *we/they* dichotomies in which he positioned himself as non-Japanese. His use of the third person plural pronoun ‘they’ included statements such as ‘they don’t know how to say *la* or *ra*’ (in reference to Japanese pronunciation, FG3:8) or ‘they don’t have originality’ (in reference to Japanese collectivism, FG3:18). On the other hand, when Gino used ‘we’ it was more often to cast himself as a student of the international school, such as in the following statement; ‘The problem of international school *tte sore da yo ne* (‘is that, isn’t it?’). We must learn English but we talk as you like in... Japanese’ (FG3:14). Such use of proterms provides evidence that Gino saw himself as non-Japanese even if he was not fully aware that he was doing it.

Some of the participants were adamant that they were not Japanese. Ulianni made the following claim: ‘My Japanese is good but I don’t feel Japanese’. Brought up in a rural Hokkaido town, Ulianni had only been attending the international school for a few years. Her father is ‘half-Japanese’ and she has many friends and relatives in Hawaii, but until the 11th grade she attended a conventional Japanese high school. As such, her bilingualism was perhaps the

least balanced of the group and she still attended ESL classes even in the 12th grade. Even so, in her previous school her accent during English classes was sufficiently competent to single her out from her Japanese peers. Her teacher cast her in the lead role of the school's English play, but this only meant that her differences were made even more public and she was ostracized (*ijimerareta*) by her schoolmates to the point where she refused to go to class (*tohkoh kyohi*), hiding instead in the bike racks or the toilet. Leah and Peter both related similar incidents they had been through at Japanese public schools. Although international school environments are not immune to episodes of peer intimidation, they are less likely to be based on language proficiency or 'foreign' appearance since bilingualism and multiethnic experiences are far more common among students in such institutions. Ulliani said that she felt more accepted in the international school since she no longer stood out as being different.

Some participants reported that their personal habits and idiosyncrasies were responsible for making them feel either Japanese or 'foreign'. Anja, for example, said, 'I walk Japanese'. She had obviously noticed, or been told, that she didn't walk in the same way as Americans. Although she didn't expand on her comment any further in our discussion, the laughter Anja's comment received from the others seemed to bear witness to some affinity with this experience. Generally speaking Japanese teenage girls tend to remain 'child-like' for longer than teenagers in Western countries. One way this is manifested is in the way they walk. A heavy, flat-footed gait is one way for Japanese girls to express the feminine quality of *kawairashisa* (cuteness). Besides being a pun on the more commonly heard comment 'I talk Japanese', by bringing up the fact that she 'walks Japanese', Anja was recognizing that she has internalized particular cultural traits that distinguish her from her non-Japanese heritage, despite the fact that her physical appearance is no different from many white Americans.

5.2.3 *Ethnification*

A recurring theme to emerge from the focus group data was what Day (1998) has termed *ethnification*, or 'ethnic identity as a situated accomplishment of

interlocutors' (1998:151). The participants reported a variety of ways that their ethnicity was made relevant in and through everyday talk. When others made reference to linguistic and cultural differences it often categorized multiethnic Japanese people as 'expert' or 'novice', or 'marginalized' or 'privileged'.

Even when multiethnic people are comfortable with their own sense of self, the opinions of those around them are an undeniable influence in challenging those identities. In the focus groups, the participants reported that ethnification and ascription from others were often at odds with the way they viewed themselves, causing them to rethink and reshape their identities. The ways in which their appearance and behaviour were interpreted meant they were routinely ethnified as either Japanese or non-Japanese, which in turn left them feeling both privileged and marginalized. Nina expressed this facet of the multiethnic experience in the following way. '*Like for me, I'm just human, but for other people I'm different. I'm half. It's not like I go around saying I'm half. I'm just me. But to those around me I'm different. That's my concept of half*¹⁴' (FG2: 18).

Being cast as '*haafu*' has much in common with being referred to as '*gaijin*' (non-Japanese). In both cases, the speaker is making a distinction between themselves and the 'other', by dwelling on physical or cultural differences. Implicit in such ethnification is the comparison to the ethnifier's own culture or ethnicity, thereby re-confirming his or her own normalcy, a phenomenon that has been widely described in the post-colonial and cultural studies literature as 'othering' (Ang, 1994; Bammer, 1994).

By the same token however, multiethnic Japanese people are also by definition Japanese and are not always consistently treated as 'other' by those around them. In many ways they have undergone typical Japanese up-bringsings, and those who know them well often treat them no differently from other Japanese in most contexts. In this sense, they have the potential to be ethnified as either 'same' or 'other', in a manner that is constantly shifting according to discursive context.

¹⁴ *Dakara for me I'm just human, but for other people I'm different. I'm half. Watashi watashi haafu na no mitai no janakute, watashi wa watshi dakedo, mawari niwa chigau to iuno wa, my concept of half.* (Nina, FG2: 18)

Phenotypical appearance apparently played a major role in determining the way others reacted to the participants in first contact situations. Those participants who took after their foreign parent reported that they were often treated as non-Japanese, making it difficult to assert a Japanese identity. Mia maintained that many people mistook her for a '*gaijin*' when they first met her. She said, 'people are always shocked when they find out that ...my father is Japanese. They think I'm completely European. Or Spanish or American.' (FG2: 4). Nina was also regularly judged as foreign due to her appearance. 'I get mistaken for any culture actually, except black or Indian. I was on a Japanese train and a Spanish person talked to me in Spanish. I was at the airport, (and) a French person talks to me in French and I just get so many nationalities talking to me. On the one hand it seems like I don't fit into any culture's face, but on the other hand, ... everybody thinks I'm like that' (Nina, FG1: 28). Here again Nina seems to be recognizing that phenotypic ambiguity is a part of what defines and reveals her dual heritage.

For those who looked more like their Japanese parent, the reaction from Japanese people was less extreme. Kate, whose physical appearance is almost indistinguishable from many mainstream Japanese, summed it up in the word '*yappari*', an expression that is used when a prior supposition is discovered to be true. So in Kate's case then, the reaction from Japanese 'is not so much like... a shock, but more like ah *yappari*'¹⁵ (FG2:6). The participants maintained that not everyone they met was astonished to learn that they were '*haafu*', but they did report a range of reactions. Whether extreme or not, 'there's nobody who has no particular reaction. They always have some kind of reaction.' (Nina, FG2:6).

However in some ways multiethnic Japanese from 'biracial' families were the easiest for the people they met to come to terms with. Those who were not visibly ambiguous reported the most intense reactions from the Japanese people around them. Anja, who does not appear 'Asian' at all, regularly met with a shocked reaction when she told others she was Japanese. In fact, since Gino was a fairly recent arrival at the school, the focus group session was the first time he heard that Anja was Japanese. This led to a brief discussion of her family history,

¹⁵ "*Betsu ni, nanka*, it's not so much like a shock, *to iu ka, ah yappari* (Kate, FG2:6).

including how her (Russian) grandfather was born on the ship on the way to Japan and how her 'Caucasian' father had only Japanese citizenship. Her pat response to people who don't consider her Japanese was, 'Believe me, I am. I have papers' (FG3:2, 3). Contested claims to ethnicity are a frequent occurrence among second and third generation minorities in multicultural societies like Australia or Canada, but in Japan a white Japanese person is so rare as to declare possession of credentials in order to placate the inquisitor. In Anja's case, despite a face to the contrary, her proof of ID would be a passport, not an alien card. In Japan nationality is often misconstrued as equivalent to ethnicity and it is worthy to note that Anja saw the need to evoke nationality in this case in order to justify her ethnicity.

May found herself on the other side of the same coin. With a Japanese mother and a (North) Korean father, she was able to pass freely as Japanese, revealing aspects of her multiethnic identity according to her own agenda. In most daily situations this meant that her interaction outside the school was not significantly different than most other Japanese people. 'In a convenience store, I am totally Japanese,' as she put it (FG3:13). It was generally only to close friends that she chose to reveal her father's ethnic heritage, at which time the disbelief from Japanese people could be as intense as it was with Anja. However in an international school where hyphenated ethnicities abound, being Japanese-Korean was not nearly as problematic as it may have been in a conventional Japanese school. Although outside the scope of the present study, multiethnic Japanese of Asian heritage clearly face an additional set of challenges as an invisible minority.

Ethnification often depended on which country the participants happened to be in at the time. In Japan all white foreigners were typically seen, at least initially, as American, which meant that multiethnic Japanese like Nina and Peter, who identified as British-Japanese, were forced to contest the assumptions people made about them. On the other hand, when they were in the UK, people tended to focus on their Asian features. In Nina's words, 'so we're not Japanese here, we're Americans, but when you went to England everybody was like, 'There's like no European blood in you guys. You're so Japanese, so Chinese' (FG1:24). Multiethnic Japanese people whose appearance is ambiguous in terms of

prevailing 'racial' stereotypes may find that members of the dominant social group in whatever country they find themselves tend to focus on those features that are least like them.

Perhaps because they were more familiar with Japanese social mores, the focus group participants reported that the ethnification that they faced in Western countries was worse than the way they were treated in Japan. It irritated them that non-Japanese people thought all Asians look the same and they marveled at the stupidity of people who didn't understand the difference between Chinese and Japanese (FG1:26). Nina reported, 'One student in England said, 'Now I understand the difference between Japanese and Chinese. Chinese people have thin eyes and you have big eyes therefore Japanese people must have big eyes' (FG1:25). Such comparisons were particularly hurtful when expressed as racial epithets such as 'Chinkie' (Greer, 2003), but Nina and Peter saw any attempt to ethnify them as Chinese as offensive, partly for its ignorance and partly because Chinese are a marginalized minority in Japan with whom the participants do not regularly identify.

This leads to another clear difference between ethnification in Japan and Britain. As Nina noted, 'When we were in England we were called... Chinkies, but over here we're Americans. Basically the Japanese people think foreign equals American' (FG1:23). The difference between categorized as 'Chinkie' or 'American' is immense. Essentially, outside Japan their multiethnicity often meant they were looked down on, whereas in Japan it was seen as a mark of privilege, even if it put them the minority.

The participants reported that language proficiency was also invoked during the ethnification process. Although all of the participants were bilingual to varying degrees, they frequently reported that others used such linguistic competence to position them as different. Competence in the English language provides multiethnic Japanese with access to privileges outside the realm of most Japanese people's experience, but also marginalized them as being different from 'normal' Japanese.

Nina voiced this aspect of ethnification with the Japanese expression ‘*Haafu, ii na~*’¹⁶, a phrase she seems to have heard many times throughout her life. On the surface, such an utterance implies a sense of mild envy, but it also makes relevant the distinction between the speaker and the recipient. Many of the participants resented being typified as worldly or authoritative, especially when they hadn’t lived outside Japan or completely mastered English.

On the other hand, during my field observations at the international school, the multiethnic students were regularly called on by non-Japanese peers to explain aspects of Japanese culture and language. Undeniably the same was probably true in situations where Japanese speakers needed to know about English language. Their bilingual proficiency and bicultural knowledge allowed multiethnic Japanese to be viewed as situated ‘experts’ in certain contexts.

5.2.4 Conclusion

This section has provided an ethnographic account of what it means to be ‘multiethnic Japanese’, based largely on experiences related by the participants during the focus group sessions. Being ‘*haafu*’ inevitably involves a variety of socially constructed dualities that are based around the standard relational pair Japanese/Non-Japanese. These groups of multiethnic Japanese teenagers recounted that they sometimes felt privileged and at other times felt marginalized. At times they adequated themselves (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) with Japanese and in other situations they could distinguish certain differences that led them to feel non-Japanese.

Such identity categories are situated and accomplished, much like other perhaps more mundane aspects of their identities, such as mother/daughter, teacher/student or speaker/recipient. In the following sections we will place these category ascriptions under an interactional microscope to investigate the way ethnic identities were mobilized both during the focus groups and in everyday talk through the use of membership categories and category bound activities.

¹⁶ “A haafu? I’m so jealous”

5.3 Accomplishing multiethnic identity through reported ascriptions

5.3.1 Overview

As outlined above, the participants reported that their multiethnic identities were often made relevant through membership category work in everyday conversation. It seems that these teenagers were well aware of the way that identity categories could be used in interaction with others to relationally construct distinctions between them and so-called ‘pure’ Japanese.

While section 5.2 aimed to provide an ethnographic account of such practices based on the participants’ narratives, the remainder of the chapter will adopt an ethnomethodological approach. In it I will use conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis to examine situations in the focus group sessions and in naturally occurring talk in which categories and category-bound activities are used as interactional resources to accomplish multiethnic identity in interaction.

Even without specifically using recognizable referents like ‘*haafu*’ or ‘*Japanese*’, speakers can cast a member into an identity category by assigning features to them that are associated with that category. During the focus group sessions, the participants frequently reported that Japanese people often attributed non-Japanese or novice characteristics to them by assuming they do not have normal Japanese proficiencies. These category bound activities (CBAs) often involved reference to competence, either hyper-competence, such as in linguistic or athletic ability, or hypo-competence, in assuming a lack of proficiency in Japanese language and social mores, such as the ability to use chopsticks.

Significantly, in raising these points during our discussions, the participants were not only demonstrating that they realized when they were being treated as ‘foreign’, but also tacitly asserting that this was an inappropriate identity category for them.

5.3.2 *Indexing non-Japaneseness through category-bound competencies*

In this section I will analyze two segments taken from the focus group discussions in which competency-based CBAs are accredited to a non-present speaker, and ultimately contested and rejected by the participants themselves. Just as the category *child* can be found to be precompetent based on the way that others treat them in their talk (Austin, Dwyer, & Freebody, 2003), the category *haafu* was likewise found to be linked to competence. The category *child* indexes precompetence in relation to its SRP, *adult*. The category *haafu* however, invoked the SRP *Japanese/non-Japanese* and indexes superior or inferior competence by casting the multiethnic person into either of these categories, depending on the category of the speaker.

This sequence of talk was occasioned by a discussion point that asked the participants to choose which of the following statements they agreed with most;

1. ‘Most people I meet don’t have any particular reaction when I tell them I’m *haafu*’, or
2. ‘People are shocked when they find out my father/mother is not Japanese.’

The aim of the exercise was not to quantify the participants’ responses, but rather to get them to talk about the middle ground between these two extremes. The excerpt we will examine in detail below begins at a point in the discussion when Nina has stated that she doesn’t feel people are shocked to find out she is *haafu*, but they still have some sort of reaction. She then proceeds to explicate some of these reactions by giving an impromptu tongue-in-cheek performance that she seems to have designed as a compilation of a variety of ascriptions heard from Japanese people throughout her life, demonstrating her awareness that people were treating her as non-Japanese.

Excerpt 5.1 FG2 5:32 ohashi

01 Nina: [they have some] kind of reaction.

02 Mia: [m m m]

03 Nina: [but they still have (initial) s[hock] (voice)]

04 Mia: [not like extre::me]

05 Kate: [()]

06 (0.9)

07 Kate: *smuuzuni ah yappari ne[::::]*
smoothly ah indeed IP
They just say, ‘Oh I thought so’, quite naturally.

08 Nina: ((clears throat)) [nghn]

09 (0.3)

10 Kate: (*ten*) *dakara* (0.4) *betsuni* ()
so particularly

11 (1.9)

12 *watashi ni [taishite,]* ()
me with respect to

13 [(clonk)]

14 [mm. nothing.]
So, to me, they don’t say anything in particular.

15 Nina: [*futusu* (.) *desho?*]
normal TAG
Normal, right?
random questions.

16 (0.4)

17 *ne? natto wa? toka*
IP beans TOP etc
Don’t they? ‘How about natto?’ and that sort of thing.

19 BJ: *ts ☺ soh soh da.☺ kiite kuru [yo.]*
yeah yeah COP ask-CONT come IP
Yeah, yeah they come and ask that.

20 Kate: [sore]
that

21 *kikareta koto nai*
ask-PAS-PST thing NEG

22 [*n da yo ne.*]
NR COP IP IP

- No one has ever asked me that.
- 23 Mia: °[*watashi aru [wa]*]°
me have IP
I have.
- 24 Nina: >[*oji*] *ichan to obaasan*
grandfather and grandmother
- 25 (*kekko*) *iu.< toshiyori kei.*
often say elderly type
Old men and women often say that. Elderly types.
- 26 BJ: *ny↑A::h↓hh.*
(a display of disbelief)
- 27 Nina: *natto taberu n da [ne::.]*=
beans eat NR COP IP
Oh, you eat natto!
- 28 Mia: [m::m.]
- 29 Nina: =*ohashi tsukaeraremasu?*
chopsticks-POL use-POT-POL
Oh, so you eat fermented beans, do you? Can you use chopsticks?
- 30 Mick: *ts[s:. hh]*
- 31 Mia, BJ: [((laugh))]
- 32 BJ: ☺*iru yo ne.* ☺
COP IP IP
There are people like that, aren't there.
- 33 Kate: *wa[rai sugi da yo]*
laugh too much COP IP
You're laughing too much.
- 34 Mick: [*sushi toka ku*] *ttatte*
sushi etc eat-even
- 35 *nammara bibirareru ssho* ((dialect))
really surprise-PASS TAG
They act real shocked even if you just eat sushi.
- 36 Nina: *oishii desu [ka::?] ((grandma voice))*
good taste COP-POL Q
Do you like the taste?
- 37 Mick: [sushi]

38 BJ: [*iya*]
no/yeah

39 *gaijin* [*rashiku* *itteru*]
foreigner like say-PRES-CONT
Yeah, they're saying it like they're talking to a foreigner.

40 Mia: [*fohku* *o* *tsukaimasu ka*]
fork ACC use-POL Q

41 *fohku?*
fork
A fork. Would you like a fork?

42 PA: ((three taps of mike))

43 Mrs Kaufmann? uh *Kofuman-san* *Kofuman-san*
Mrs Kaufmann Mrs Kaufman

The participants list several social competencies that are linked to the identity category *Japanese*, including the ability to eat *natto*/fermented soybeans (line 18, 27) or sushi (line 34-35), or use chopsticks (line 29). Note that all these activities would be considered unremarkable competencies for members of that category. Therefore, by raising these topics to the participants, particularly in the form of a question, the hypothetically quoted speaker (Alfonzetti, 1998) is inferring that they do not possess competencies that are unmarked for others of the membership category *Japanese*. In other words, the reported speakers are placing the person to whom they are directing their question in some category other than Japanese. Here is where Sacks's *economy rule* comes into play. As outlined in section 2.2.2, this rule states that 'a single category from any membership categorization device can be referentially adequate' (Sacks LC1, 246). The speaker is situating the participant in some other category within the MCD *ethnicity*, and the standard relational pair that is being invoked in this instance is *non-Japanese*.

In line 39, BJ makes it clear that he hears Nina and Micks' reported ascriptions as indexing the category *non-Japanese*, by offering an account that names the category explicitly- '*gaijin rashiku itteru*' (They're saying it like

they're talking to a foreigner). In this way, several instances of category-bound activities have occasioned an instance of the ethnic referent *gaijin* in the talk.

By collaboratively accomplishing these reported ascriptions, the participants themselves are able to ascribe an identity category to the non-present speaker to whom the ascriptions are attributed. Although it would be obvious to most readers, and to the participants themselves, that the people who are using these CBAs are Japanese, that membership category is not referred to directly in the talk, and does not need to be. We know that the old people who ask Nina if she can eat *natto* are *Japanese* old people, not because Nina says so specifically, but because this is the kind of question that Japanese people ask foreigners.

We can likewise hear Nina's reported ascriptions such as the questions in lines 29 and 36 as quoted speech from a Japanese source by examining the details of the talk. To begin with, it is delivered in Japanese. This in itself is not firm evidence as there are many other actions within the sequence that are also performed in that medium and at any rate, quoted speech in bilingual interaction is not always repeated in the medium in which it was delivered (Alfonzetti, 1998; Bani-Shoraka, 2005; Zentella, 1997). However, it does facilitate the membership work by invoking an image of the person who is reportedly speaking.

This choice of Japanese as a medium allows Nina to make use of politeness as an interactional resource in designing the reported ascriptions. The polite copulative in line 36 (*'oishii desu ka'*) or her hyperstylized (but grammatically inaccurate¹⁷) attempt at honorific speech in line 29 (*'ohashi tsukaeraremasu?'*) both indicate social distance between the reported speaker and Nina (as the recipient). Polite speech forms index social asymmetry through the talk, implying that the reported speaker does not equate the recipient (Nina) as an equal, that is someone who belongs to a similar identity category.

¹⁷ Here Nina is probably trying to approximate the honorific potential form of the verb *tsukau*, which would accompany the *o*-initial polite form of *hashi* (chopsticks). Arguably Nina attends to this in line 40 by enacting self-repair by using the verb *tsukau* (use) in a more conventional polite form, *tsukaimasu*. The fact that she is unsuccessful in producing this complicated polite verb on this occasion does not make her a novice speaker of Japanese. Many Japanese Nina's age are likewise unfamiliar with this kind of speech register.

In contrast, Mick's ascription in lines 34-35 is delivered very much in his own voice, incorporating elements of the local Hokkaido dialect that contrasts with the polite speech that Nina is attributing to the non-present speakers. However, Mick's turn is not designed to be hypothetical reported speech, instead giving a more general account of an ascription. Again, even though Mick does not use a subject, it can be understood that it is Japanese people being shocked at the fact that he can eat sushi, since that is the category that has been sequentially occasioned by Nina.

As noted in chapter 2, Iino (1996) refers to the kind of ethnification that Nina and Mick are reporting as 'Gaijinization'. He notes that the proficient use of chopsticks or the ability to eat *natto* (the very things that Nina lists in her depiction) are 'Japanese identity markers' (1996:235) and are invoked as a means of reaffirming cultural identity. Because Nina is Japanese, she has access to such cultural codes and knows that they are generally applied only to foreigners. She also realizes that when they are being applied to her, it likewise casts her as non-Japanese.

Yet obviously the participants do not accept these ascriptions as accurate. The very point in raising them is to lampoon them, and thus challenge their legitimacy. The recipients orient to these reported quotes as intentionally ironic, through a display of disbelief (line 26), suppressed laughter¹⁸ (line 30), open laughter (line 31), and agreement (line 32). It is apparent that most of the participants do not categorize themselves as non-Japanese, at least in this interactional context.

However they are not in complete unison in this stance. Throughout the sequence, Kate's utterances are at odds with the emergent stance of the rest of the group. Just prior to this sequence she has stated that she sees herself as Japanese and that Japanese people don't treat her any differently to other people, a position that she seems to maintain throughout this excerpt. She produces a disagreement after Nina's first reported ascription (line 20-22) and cautions BJ and Mia when

¹⁸ See Greer *et al* (2006) for a more detailed analysis of the interactional practice of suppressing laughter in order to disaffiliate with a reported ascription.

they provide affiliative laughter (line 33). These actions serve to demonstrate that Kate's experience with reported ascriptions is not the same as the others, possibly reflecting the fact that according to her own assessment, her physical appearance is more Japanese than the others.

Even though Kate claims to have never been asked about *natto* (line 20-22), she is able to recognize that this is the sort of question that multiethnic Japanese people are often asked. Nina's turn in line 18 '*natto wa toka*', the first occurrence of a reported ascription in the sequence, literally means 'how about natto? etc'. At this stage in the talk, Nina has only typified the ascriptions as 'random questions' (line 16), but the minimal reference to *natto* is sufficient for Kate to index the *ethnicity* MCD, and to subsequently disalign in deference to her prior affiliation with the category *Japanese*.

In one respect then, Kate's interactional stance serves as a form of deviant case that strengthens the analysis, since she is casting herself as Japanese at a point in the talk at which the other participants are parodying those they have placed in that category. Nina, Mick and the others are noticeably disaffiliating with both the CBAs that attribute them with novice competencies to cast them in the category *non-Japanese*, and with the Japanese speakers who they have implied said them.

The flipside of this argument comes when multiethnic people are ascribed competencies that are beyond their abilities, or when they are called upon to demonstrate these proficiencies in order to justify inclusion in a certain membership category. The participants reported that this form of ethnification often took place in relation to linguistic proficiency, as typified in the next excerpt by the reported request '*eigo shabette mite*' ('Speak some English').

Excerpt 5.2 FG15:50 *eigo shabette mite*

01 Ulliani: >kono ko<, haafu da sa.
 this kid half COP IP
 This kid's a haafu.
 02 Tim: HA [HA.]
 03 Eri: [()]

04 Ulliani: ()

05 Tim: ye:ah.

06 Eri: [otohsa]n ameri[kajin yo] kono ko
 father American IP this kid
Her father's American, this kid.

07 Peter: [demo] [demo]
 but but

08 Eri: [and we go what?]

09 Peter: [ano sa]
 IT IP
Um, hey,

10 (0.6)

11 Benny?: yeah[(Pete).]

12 Peter: [a-]after yo:u've been talking for
 13 about u:m ten minutes of Japanese they ask i-
 14 you i[f you can] [speak] Japa[nese].

15 Benny: [ah yeah] [nese].

16 Eri: ☺ [ahhhn] ☺ [heheheh]

17 Tim: mm.

18 Peter: that's so weird.

19 Tim: ☺ [use cho]psticks? ☺

20 Eri: [(a:nd)]

21 Peter: (and you're) no. if you ah- yo[u can] speak
 22 Japanese=

23 Tim: [nyeah]

24 Peter: =[after I]'ve spoken [Japane][se.]

25 Tim: [oh right] [yeah.]

26 Eri: [yeah]

27 Ulliani: [hehha]

28 Benny: [()]

29 Peter: and they- she just (goes)
 30 (Pete)-chan. *Nihongo shabereru* n [da.]
 Pete Japanese speak-POT VN COP
Hey Pete, you can speak Japanese!

31 Tim: ((laughing through nose)) [nng]gh

As in excerpt 5.1, this sequence deals with reported ascriptions that can be hearably attributed to a (non-multiethnic) Japanese person. The excerpt is part of a longer sequence of reported ascriptions in which the ethnifiers have clearly been established as Japanese, in particular Japanese teenage girls from a neighbouring school. Just prior to the beginning of this excerpt the participants have noted that such girls like to go out with ‘American guys’ just because they are ‘*kakkoi*/cool’. This leads Ulliani to provide an account of a situation in which her friends introduced her as *haafu*, presumably for its novelty or status value. Excerpt 5.2 begins in that sequential context, and line 1 ‘*kono ko haafu da sa*’ is a repetition of the reported ascription that has received affiliative laughter just prior to the excerpt.

So it is this interactional environment, in which the participants are disaffiliating with the reported actions of a group of people from a membership category other than theirs, that occasions Peter’s second account of a similarly absurd ascription from the same group of Japanese teenage girls. In lines 12-14 he notes that such girls ask him if he can speak Japanese, even when it should be commonsensically clear that he can, because he is speaking to them in Japanese and has been doing so for some time. In other words, Peter is treating this reported action as illogical, as evidenced by his negative assessment in line 18.

Tim’s response to Peter’s account is partly delayed as he initiates a comprehension check sequence that probably resulted from a mishearing because Peter’s initial account was in overlap¹⁹. Even so, it appears that Benny and Eri are quick to recognize where Peter’s story is headed, providing overlapped receipt tokens and laughter at a point when the TCU is incomplete (lines 15-16), which lead to Benny’s co-completion of Peter’s turn (line 15). There are also further agreement tokens from the recipients after Peter repairs his account by providing a simplified version in lines 21-24, indicating that the other participants had experienced this form of ascription.

¹⁹ Interestingly my candidate hearing in line 19, “use chopsticks?”, seems to index the same sort of social competencies raised in Focus Group 2, which demonstrates that I was attending to the sort of account that Peter would give at this point in the talk as a reported ascription.

This then occasions a reported speech sequence that is collaboratively produced by Peter and Tim in lines 29-35 and serves to depict the scene that Peter has just described. The action sequence is initiated in lines 29-30 by Peter, with the utterance, ‘and they- she just (goes) (Pete)-*chan*. *Nihongo shabereru n [da.]*’. Peter makes use of discourse-related codeswitching to achieve two different voices within this turn. His own, as narrator, is produced in English while what the girl said is produced in Japanese. After a form of suppressed laughter (Greer et al., 2006) in line 31 that disaffiliates with the reported ascription and projects alignment with Peter’s emergent stance, Tim produces a response that places him discursively in the role of Peter (line 32).

Line 30 (‘*Nihongo shaberu n da?*’ ‘you can speak Japanese’) is hearable as a noticing, but one that is presumably misaligned with the talk, since it has come after Peter has reportedly been speaking Japanese for some time (line 13). Were this a real-time conversation instead of reported speech, the sort of action that might come after such a misaligned noticing would be some form of repair-initiating action, such as the one Tim produces in line 32 (‘*shabette n jan?*’ ‘I am speaking it’). In this way, Tim is co-participating in the reported speech by expressing the sort of reaction that someone in that situation might have. Peter signals that this response is an appropriate one, demonstrating his agreement by repeating Tim’s utterance in next turn (lines 33-34). At the same time this allows Peter to take back control of the story and recast himself as the recipient of the reported ascription.

Like those in Excerpt 5.1, the reported ascription in line 30 relies on a competency-based CBA, this time linked to linguistic proficiency. Specifically, the reported speaker indexes the *ethnicity* MCD by noticing that Peter can communicate in Japanese. If the girl considered Peter to be Japanese, it would be highly unlikely that she would point out that he can speak Japanese, an activity that is so routinely bound to that membership as not to warrant mentioning. In fact, by doing an explicit noticing of Peter’s Japanese proficiency, the reported speaker is proposing that this is an unexpected activity for the membership category in which she had placed him up to that point. In other words, the noticing of

Japanese proficiency casts Peter not in the category *Japanese*, but in its SRP, *non-Japanese*.

In précis, the reported speech from line 30 might go something like, ‘Peter, you have linguistic competency that is linked to an identity category to which I didn’t think you belonged’. One inference that can be drawn from such a noticing -by Peter in real-time, as well as by the analyst- is that there must be some other reason why the reported speaker did not cast Peter in the category *Japanese*. Without having access to what was said in the ten minutes that Peter and the girl were talking, the logical assumption is that she considered him to be non-Japanese, or at least multiethnic, based on his appearance. In fact, the important point to note is that, whether she considered Peter to be foreign or *haafu*, she is attributing non-Japanese characteristics to him by displaying awe at his mastery of an activity that is routine for Japanese people. Moreover, by reporting this account during a discussion of illogical ways in which multiethnic people are treated, Peter is acknowledging that he recognizes the identity work that such a noticing has achieved.

Evidence that Peter and the other participants dispute such a categorization is made visible in the ongoing interaction. The utterance ‘*shabette n jan*’/ ‘I am speaking it’ (lines 32-34), which is produced as a next-turn response to the reported ascription, accomplishes a sarcastic stance by producing an equally ludicrous noticing of a patently obvious CBA. This serves to downplay the noteworthiness of the reported ascription, and by implication assumes that Peter should be equally logically placed in a membership category in which mentioning such linguistic competence should not happen, that is *Japanese*.

Since this episode has occasioned the link between language and ethnicity, Ulliani puts forward another instance of reported speech that is again hearable as coming from a Japanese source: ‘*eigo shabete mite*’/ ‘say something in English’ (line 39). In this case, the hypothetical speaker is not only invoking an activity that is bound to the identity category *non-Japanese*, but also employing it to assess the recipient’s appropriateness to that category. This places the multiethnic Japanese person in an interactional dilemma. By complying and actually saying something in fluent English, they are accomplishing a category-based distinction

between them and the Japanese person, but, as Peter notes in line 47, to refuse denies them recognition of their true abilities. As Eri acknowledges in line 51, this leaves them open to further interrogation of the kind that will ultimately isolate them from their peers anyway.

Linguistic competency, whether in Japanese or English, then can also be invoked as an activity that is linked to various categories in the *ethnicity* MCD. Fluency in English can be used as a ‘test of credentials’ to establish incumbency in the category *non-Japanese*, while noticing or praising Japanese proficiency can likewise evoke the same membership category. Jayyusi (1984) notes that naturally occurring categories such as *woman*, *child*, or *black* are treatable as stable incumbencies, while competence categorizations like *blacksmith* or *doctor* imply some special proficiency that has been achieved. At one level categories such as *Japanese* or *American* can be viewed as stable, but they also imply certain socially achieved competencies. When a Japanese speaker calls into question a multiethnic person’s possession of some competency that is commensensically bound to the category *Japanese*, they are by implication casting that person outside ordinary socially established understandings of Japaneseeness.

While Japanese people may acknowledge that multiethnic Japanese people have access to certain Japanese competencies, or as in the case of the person who noticed Peter’s Japanese proficiency only after carrying out a conversation with him in that language, these abilities may be publicly or perceptually available. By making them accountable for such category-bound competencies, the Japanese speaker is co-participating in accomplishing multiethnic Japanese identity through talk.

5.4 Accomplishing multiethnic identity in mundane talk

5.4.1 Being ethnified as *haafu*

As noted in section 5.2, Day (1998) suggests that group categorizations are both orientations to sociality and social actions in themselves (1998:151). He make use of the notion of *ethnification*, which he defines as ‘ethnicity as an accomplishment

of interlocutors' (p. 151), to focus on the way in which speakers make ethnicity relevant through talk, and the socio-pragmatic resources available to interactants for calling ethnic categories into dispute. The process of discursively constructing an 'other' has been widely documented (Bell, 1999; Bucholtz, 1999b; Iwabuchi, 1994; Kamada, 2003; Rampton, 1999b). Common to all these studies is the fundamental issue of how ethnicity becomes a resource for speakers in everyday conversation.

This section will examine three instances of everyday talk in which a non-Japanese participant makes a multiethnic person's ethnic identity relevant to the conversation by using variations of the word 'half'. Although these sequences could not be considered to involve bilingual interaction to any great extent, they offer essential insight into how categories can be mobilized to invoke multiethnic identities in mundane conversation.

5.4.2 *Invoking ethnic categories in talk*

The referent *haafu* was by no means widely used on a daily basis at HIS, either by the multiethnic participants themselves or by those around them. It appears frequently in the focus group data, because I occasioned it through the topics I asked the participants to discuss, but in everyday talk among the students themselves its use was rare. That is not to say that they were unaware of it or that it was irrelevant to them, but just that *haafu* was a word that they did not often choose to identify themselves with in mundane talk.

Moreover, as outlined in 5.3, the word *haafu* did not have to be used explicitly for the category 'multiethnic Japanese' to be invoked. Activities and attributes that were routinely bound to that category were often used to accomplish the work of ethnification. The use of another category or CBA could make relevant multiethnic identity according to the consistency rule:

'If some population of persons is being categorized, and if some category from a device's collection has been used to categorize a first Member of the population, then that category or other categories of the same

12 Peter: like (0.4) put it. (0.5)
13 [((raises his hand, imitating a slam dunk))]
14 [(1.6)]
15 Max: yeah but you're not white.
16 Peter: I'm white. (.) I'm half white
17 Max:→ you're half white?
18 Peter: yeah.
19 (1.2)
20 Max: but you're not, (0.4) white.
21 Peter: °yeah I am°
22 Max: I don't think white boys can't jump
23 (2.5)
24 Peter: that's a funny jumping style right
25 (5.0)
26 Peter: ((turns to face Max)) ne?
IP
hey?
28 Max: huh?
29 Peter: [like run up to mid field['n()]
30 [((makes jogging motion with his arms))]
31 Max [((copies the action))]
32 [(5.0)]
33 Max: hh
34 [((Eri enters. Both Max and Peter look at her.))]
35 [(1.4)]
36 Eri: Okay
37 [(0.9)]
38 [((Max raises his head, smiling))]
39 Eri: *got it
40 Max ((*takes a short glance at the camera, smiling))
41 Eri: what* is the image of (war in the)
42 Max: ((*returns to his work))

The fact that both Max and Peter are members of the school basketball team is highly pertinent to this sequence of interaction, as not only ethnicity but

also other MCDs like *basketball team*, *age* and *male* are all subtly indexed throughout the talk. Prior to this excerpt, there was an extended period of silence in the room, so when Peter initiates a summons in line 1 by saying ‘hey check this out’, he may be making relevant his and Max’s co-membership on the school basketball team. In most normal high schools, 10th graders are not free to talk to just any 12th grader. Even given the small number of students in this school, there were a large number of 10th grade boys who would rarely initiate a conversation with Max, owing to the difference in age. But for these two, age does not appear to be an issue that would prevent a freshman from talking to a senior, at least at this point in the conversation. Moreover, by showing Max a series of pictures of people playing basketball, Peter is making public an assumption that Max will find these pictures worthy of his interest. By offering an enthusiastic assessment of the photos²⁰ in line 4 Peter is inviting a response from Max, and one that could be expected to demonstrate agreement.

In line 6, Max provides this in the form of a second assessment, but in a way that is downgraded from *suge::* (cool) to *pretty neat*. While Pomerantz (1984) has noted that second assessments can downgrade first assessments, in her data this usually functions to dismiss a compliment, because the person to whom the first assessment refers does the downgraded assessment. In this case however, Peter is implying that the act being performed in the photograph (by a third person) is praise-worthy due to its difficulty, whereas Max’s assessment can be seen as disaligning with Peter’s, inferring that it is not such a difficult maneuver. In that sense, by withholding unqualified agreement Max can be heard as ‘doing expertise’, which might index several MCDs including *age* and *experience*.

Ultimately, this sets the stage for a boast sequence in lines 8-14, in which Max initially asserts that he could complete the dunk being performed in the photo (line 8) and then upgrades the claim by introducing another move (‘a three-sixty? (.) flipped up.’) that is hearable as something that is different from what is

²⁰ Notice also that this assessment is delivered in Japanese, potentially making relevant Peter’s Japanese-ness.

on the screen²¹. Even so, the way that Max delivers his boast in lines 10-11 relies on categorial work related to the *ethnicity* MCD. By asserting that he is going to be ‘the first white boy’ to do something that has so far been the domain of black basketballers, Max accomplishes a boast that links the activities bound to one category (black) to a relationally paired category to which he belongs (white). Note that Max uses not just the category *white* but the phrase *white boy*, which is hearable as the kind of referent that might be used by a black person, so in a sense Max seems to be giving voice to the basketballers in the photo. He may also be invoking the proverb-like pop culture reference ‘White Boy’s Can’t Jump’, which he subsequently disputes in line 22. At any rate, up until this point Max has cast himself in the category *white* in relation to the images on the computer screen in order to further his interactional goal of performing a boast.

Once the *ethnicity* MCD has been invoked, it becomes consequential for the ongoing interaction by occasioning other co-present participants’ ethnic identities in line with the consistency rule. The sort of action that could be expected to occur after a boast like Max’s brag in line 11 might include appreciation (of the claim) or indeed disagreement (to dispute it), but Peter instead initially responds by further specifying the maneuver that Max mentioned, performing a gesture that illustrates it. Peter indexes his co-membership in the *basketball team* MCD by demonstrating knowledge of the move and his ability to perform it, at least via gesture. One way for Max to hear this is as a counter-claim. Completing a gesture of a ‘three sixty flipped up’ becomes paramount to a declaration of basketball proficiency, at least for Max.

In the next turn (line 15), by producing ‘yeah but you’re not white’ at this point, Max displays his understanding that Peter is making a claim to be able to perform the same move, but he is also proposing that the claim is irrelevant. ‘Yeah but’ seems to be a spoken form of ‘be that as it may’, and therefore works to dismiss what Max sees as Peter’s counter-claim.

²¹ Although it is not clear from the video just what is happening in the photo on the computer screen, it is most likely not a “three sixty”. The way Max produces lines 10-11, with try-marked intonation, a micro-pause and a post-possible completion with downward intonation, leads me to believe that “a three sixty flipped up” is something other than what is happening in the photo.

Max uses membership categorization as a resource in this endeavour; that is, he casts Peter outside the category *white*, which he himself has indexed in line 11. Since both boys know that Peter is not of African-American heritage, Max's claim that Peter is not white indexes instead Peter's Japanese heritage. By making ethnicity and 'race' relevant within the conversation, Max attempts to use the category bound activity *athletic ability* to imply that he could perform the basketball maneuver more proficiently than Peter. Through his talk, Max establishes a three-tiered hierarchy which links sporting prowess to ethnicity and 'race', with 'blacks' at the top, 'whites' in the middle and 'all others' at the bottom. His attempt to cast Peter outside the category of 'white', therefore serves to bolster his claim to be the superior basketball player.

However in line 16, Peter brings this claim into dispute with the utterance, 'I'm white. (.) I'm half white'. He initiates simple direct disagreement to the prior turn, and then qualifies it by reconstituting the category so that he is included. For Peter, the membership category 'white' includes the subset 'half-white', but for Max, the two are mutually exclusive. Given the link that Max has established between basketball and the categories he has talked into being, Peter's claim to be 'half-white' then also implies that he is able to perform the slam dunk move to which Max refers.

In response to this, Max produces a delay device in line 17. The interrogative repeat, 'You're half white?' acts as a repair sequence initiator, which ostensibly seeks clarification, but also projects disagreement with Peter's self-categorization, since the trouble source for the repair sequence can be assumed to be Peter's bid to cast himself within the incumbent category *white*. Peter does not provide the self-repair operation and instead in line 18 reasserts his claim to the membership category *half-white*, which he has claimed in line 16 to be a subset of the membership category *white*.

Max then repeats his earlier ascription in line 20 'but you're not (0.4) white', which sequentially attempts to restore the category to the way Max claims to have originally intended it, meaning 'white boy' as 'pure white' with himself as the case in point, and casting Peter outside that category. Along with the inter-turn silence in line 19, the 0.4-second pause in line 20 (which appears at an incomplete

TCU) indicates that this is a guarded reassertion. A turn-internal pause often indicates a word search initiation sequence but here the word 'white' has been already used five times. Considering the sequential context, here the pause may instead serve to highlight the word 'white', in order to give it the localized meaning 'white as I mean white'.

In summary, this sequence demonstrates one instance of ethnification in which membership categories are invoked, ascribed and resisted. A white American indexes a racial category, casting himself as member of that category. When a multiethnic Japanese includes himself within that category the white American disputes this inclusion. As the multiethnic Japanese attempts to reconstitute the category in order to include himself, the white American reinforces the mutual exclusivity of these categories, at least within his understanding of them.

Two things are clear from this sequence. Firstly, social or 'transportable' identities (Zimmerman, 1998) are accomplished according to the ongoing interactional context. Indexing one's own category makes other related categories relevant, and an individual's membership in an incumbent category may be called into dispute. Secondly, a membership category can be used as a resource to accomplish other discursive functions, such as laying claim to athletic superiority during a boast. Of course, this claim in itself has repercussions for a set of gender-related MCD's that are interwoven within the negotiation of ethnicity categories in this sequence, highlighting the simultaneous occasioning of multiple facets of identity.

Secondly, this is mundane talk between peers and ultimately the incident does not cause significant friction between the speakers. This is due in part to the conversational work that both speakers do in diffusing a potentially contentious topic. After Max's reassertion in line 22 that he doesn't think 'white boys can't jump' Peter chooses to avoid further discussion of ethnic categorization instead redirecting the conversation by basing his next turn on the CBA 'jump' rather than the disputed category 'white boy' to produce a bid for topic change (in line 24). He does this by using *jump* to refer back to the picture on the screen rather than the category that Max has linked it to. Peter refuses to take up the discussion

about ‘race’ and seeks alignment on a safer topic. In this way he maintains his own position by not allowing the dispute to go any further.

The sequence ends when Eri interrupts the conversation, but it is perhaps worth noting finally that Max gives the camera a glance and a smile (line 41), which may indicate that he considered the preceding sequence about ‘race’ to be a contentious issue that has been ‘caught on tape’.

5.4.2.2 *You’re haafu*

We have seen how Max and Peter were able to talk the category ‘white’ into being and negotiated the meaning of ‘half-white’. As noted in chapter 2, ‘half’ and its Japanese phonological equivalent ‘*haafu*’ are the most commonly used referents for multiethnic people in Japan. While in the previous sequence Max rejected ‘half-white’ as equivalent to ‘white’, in an earlier conversation he saw *haafu* as a positive descriptor and used it instead to align with the person to whom he was referring.

Roughly seven minutes before the previous sequence, Max was carrying out his study hall session in a different classroom seated at a cluster of desks with BJ (an 11th grade American-Japanese male) and Don (an 11th grade Taiwanese male). Although they were ostensibly studying physics and the general atmosphere of the room was quiet, Max was intermingling various ribald jokes into the discussion for Don’s entertainment. Prior to this sequence, BJ had been listening to music on his headphones, so he wasn’t active in the previous talk. At the point where the sequence begins, Max has been talking about the radius of a circle, which is part of the geometry problem he and Don are working on, but the gestures that he has been using to accompany his talk have broadened the meaning of ‘circle’ so that at this stage in the talk Don understands Max to be clandestinely referring to a penis, and is having difficulty containing his laughter.

Excerpt 5.4 Circles

01 Max: ((to BJ)) [he’s (.) I dunno what to do with him]
02 Don: [.hhh HEH HA ehuh heh]

03 Max: °(he's gone [ma:d])°
 04 Don: [ehHEheh]
 05 awright it's a [circle]
 06 Max: [i::t's] a *small circle
 07 Don: hheh heh ha *((gestures 'small'))
 08 Max: right?
 09 [((camera is being repositioned))
 10 Max:→ [like a Japanese man's is [right]
 11 [((clonk))]
 12 Don: ye(h)ah ri(hh):ght he(He)
 13 BJ?: [hha]
 14 (0.7) ((Max turns to BJ))
 15 Max: [No offence]=
 16 [((pats hand towards BJ))]
 17 =but yeah=
 18 BJ:→ =[yeah I'm a foreigner
 19 [((gestures a length to Max using thumb and
 20 forefinger about 10 cm apart))
 21 (0.6)
 22 Max:→ you're half [(so it doesn't include you)]
 23 Don: [this is tape recorded]
 24 (0.3)
 25 Max: so
 26 ((clonk))
 27 Max: [((forms another circle with both hands))]
 28 [(0.5)]

In his ongoing effort to make Don laugh, Max indexes the category *Japanese*. As Don attempts to redirect the conversation to the physics problem they are supposed to be discussing (in line 5), Max qualifies Don's utterance in overlap to 'it's a small circle' (line 6), which allows him to reprise his comic stance by using a post-possible completion to extend his utterance (in line 10) to 'like a Japanese man's is'. In doing so, Max continues to cast the object (a circle) not as an element of their legitimate study but through innuendo, insinuating that the circle

represents a male sexual organ. Don acknowledges the sexually-oriented stance in line 12 with a laughed appreciation response, but this also causes a dilemma sequentially for Max because he has invoked a membership category (and its category bound attribute) that potentially makes relevant BJ's membership in the category that he has been disparaging. If the circle is small 'like a Japanese man's is' (line 10) and BJ is Japanese, then Max's joke could logically be interpreted as implying that BJ also possesses a small 'circle'.

Max demonstrates his recognition of the category work that his comment has occasioned and initiates a bid for affiliation in line 15 by patting his hand in the air in BJ's direction while formulating an apology. He then follows this immediately in line 17 with a reassertion of his category ascription by saying 'but yeah', which reestablishes the CBA as one which Max still considers appropriate, but may also project a possible change of topic.

In line 18 BJ resists Max's ethnification by laying claim to membership in an alternative category within the *ethnicity* MCD ('Yeah, I'm a foreigner'), accompanying his utterance with a gesture that makes relevant the attribute associated with that identity category. Note that this gesture is only fully comprehensible in relation to the previous talk, particularly in comparison to Max's gesture in line 7. It works because it lays claim to being the opposite of a 'small circle', which in this local sequential context has become bound to the category *Japanese*. In this way, BJ uses the embodied action of a gesture in conjunction with an overt claim to membership in a category that is the second part of standard relational pair (Japanese/foreigner).

Max further works to reconstitute the category in line 22 by casting BJ as *half*, and explicitly locating him outside the membership category *Japanese* ('it doesn't include you'). Both speakers here can be seen to rework ethnic membership categories in order to maintain harmony and save personal face. As in the previous sequence, the multiethnic Japanese teenager is successfully able to contest ethnic categories in order to defuse a potentially volatile situation. Likewise, elements of the participants' gendered identities also come into play in this sequence, as they work to recast the incumbent categories in a bid for affiliation.

5.4.3 *Non-reaction as reaction*

However, such explicit references to the word *haafu* were rare in my data. For the most part, the participants did not often refer to each other as *haafu* or *foreigner* or *Japanese* to any great extent in everyday talk. Based on what they reported during the focus group sessions, it seems that these categories are more likely to be made relevant in first contact situations, such as when multiethnic Japanese people meet someone for the first time. The data that I collected were conversations between people who had known each other for some time, so there was little opportunity to capture the kind of category work that goes on when a stranger tries to come to terms with the notion of a half-Japanese person.

Even so, as can be seen from the excerpts so far, a category need not be referred to explicitly in order for identity work to be accomplished. Some feature associated with that category is often enough to cast the recipient as multiethnic. Consider the following conversation, taken from around the lunch table, in which the participants have been discussing TOEFL, an English language test that Yoko (a 12th grade Japanese female) had recently taken in order to apply to an American university.

Excerpt 5.5 People like you

01 Max: I think the system's so screwed up
02 → people like you don't have to take it
03 and she does that's just so screwed up
04 ((points to Mick on 'you' and to Yoko
05 while producing 'she does'))
06 Mick: °mm:??°
08 (4.0)
09 Max: how does how does that work?
10 Nina: ((a quick glance at the camera
11 then continues eating))
12 (9.0)
13 Mick: ((gives a loud sigh))
14 Mick: °(ben san)° ((Mick and Nina look at

15 Nina: [°(ben san)°] someone passing by))
 16 ?? [()] ((peripheral talk))
 17 Yoko: (*demo kirai ja nai*) ((to Kate))
 (but hate COP NEG)
 (But I don't mind it.)
 18 Kate: (*fusafusa no chairo ni natteru.*) ((to Yoko))
 (fluffy NOM brown to become-CONT)
 (It's gone all fluffy and brown.)
 19 (2.0)
 20 Max: wasn't TOEFL really easy?
 21 Yoko: mm *demo ne*(.)first you do like li:stening?
 but IP
 22 'n it's really easy. It's like,

The membership categorization work in this excerpt begins in line 2 when Max uses the referent 'people like you' to Mick, a multiethnic Japanese person, specifically in comparison to Yoko who is cast as a member of the category *Japanese*. By producing this categorization as 'people like you' rather than just 'you', Mick becomes representative of a group and Yoko is therefore likewise heard as representative of another group. Max is implying that Mick does not have to sit for the TOEFL examination because he has American citizenship, whereas Yoko, who only has a Japanese passport, is required to take the test. Along with his categorization, Max delivers a negative assessment ('the system's so screwed up') displaying that he considers it to be unfair.

Having to take a test of language proficiency is an activity that is logically bound to the membership category *non-native (or novice) speaker*, and since Mick does not have to take the test he is placed outside that membership category. That is to say, by virtue of the SRP that is put into operation, Mick is categorized as a native speaker of English (at least for the purposes of college entrance tests). However, by assessing this negatively, Max is disputing the appropriateness of this category. Specifically, he is calling into question Mick's language proficiency in relation to Yoko's and implying that she has better English than Mick does, despite the fact that she is required to take the test.

Because the test requirements are based on nationality rather than language proficiency, the two categories become conflated. The implication that Max's assessment holds for Mick is that he is somehow taking advantage of his nationality to make the college application process easier and by extension that this is some act of deception.

So when Max refers to Mick as 'people like you' he seems to be employing a euphemism that is linked to the category *multiethnic*. In its broadest possible hearing, he might be referring to all people who have dual citizenship with an English speaking country, but given Max's negative assessment he seems to be using the referent more specifically in relation to multiethnic people who do not have native-like command of English, which would arguably include Mick. Whichever way Max meant it, he has invoked the category in its plural form 'people like you', which potentially makes the same identity categories relevant for other multiethnic people sitting around the table, including Nina and Kate.

Given that Mick's categorization implies some kind of accusation, it is worth considering how those who have been cast in the category deal with this action. Mick reacts initially with a minimal response token (line 6) that is audibly softer than the surrounding talk, but which seems to acknowledge some sort of recognition that Max's turn was directed primarily at him. This is followed by four seconds of silence in which Mick does not defend himself, the preferred response to an accusation. Max then self-selects to produce a second attempt to initiate an action-sequence (line 9), this time with a direct question, an interactional form that is more difficult for Mick to ignore since it is the first part of an adjacency pair. Yet Mick's response is no response, at least for a full nine seconds, before he lets out an audible sigh and then changes the topic by doing a noticing of something external to the current conversation. That is to say that Mick refuses to enter any discussion on this topic, choosing instead to 'let it pass' (Tai, 1996).

Nina also appears to be sensitive to the category work that is occurring in this sequence, firstly in line 10 by attending to the camera at the point where Mick's response is procedurally relevant, and then in lines 14-15 by co-participating in the noticing that Mick uses to ignore the topic that Max has raised.

The other participants are likewise actively engaged in avoiding the conversation. Kate and Yoko carry out peripheral talk in Japanese on a different topic (lines 17-18) that initiates a schisming (Egbert, 1997) to partition the conversation and effectively eliminate themselves from Max's line of questioning.

During the pauses in lines 8-12 Ryan and Nina both choose to put food in their mouths rather than comment on what Max is saying. This might be coincidental, but owing to the length of this pause either of them would be able to self-select to enter into the conversation if they so desired. By engaging in the business of eating they are conveniently able to avoid the conversation in a way that is less noticeable than the response that Mick is performing. Of course though, in the end it is Mick that is being made accountable in this instance so it is more difficult for him not to respond.

Faced with this refusal to provide uptake, Max redirects the conversation to Yoko in line 20. While this still potentially leaves Max the option of continuing his line of argument at some later opportunity, for the moment Mick is no longer the focus of the conversation and Yoko goes on to change the topic by joking about the simplistic nature of the TOEFL test. Just as Peter did in excerpt 5.3, Mick refuses to take part in talk in which his incumbent membership in the category *multiethnic* could be considered problematic.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has offered some initial observations on the way multiethnic Japanese people accomplish aspects of their identity. It was found that the identity category *multiethnic* could be constituted not only through direct use of referents like *haafu* or *gaijin*, but also by indexing certain attributes, activities and competencies (or the lack thereof) that are routinely attributed to either the *Japanese* or *non-Japanese* categories, and by extension index an *expert/novice* SRP. Such category-bound activities contained elements of both hyper-competence and hypo-competence, including cultural knowledge, social competencies and linguistic proficiency in both Japanese and English. These categories were achieved through talk and could be used as an interactional resource in the ongoing conversation. The process of identity accomplishment in

interaction was made available only through careful observation, thorough transcription and comprehensive microanalysis of such talk.

All co-participants had a part to play in constituting membership categories. A Japanese person might cast a multiethnic person as foreign by acting surprised to find them eating sushi, or an American might deny a multiethnic person access to the category *white* in order to brag about his own athletic skills. Multiethnic people likewise participate in co-accomplishing these identities, either by accepting or refuting the membership categories, or by reconstituting them in ways that are more inclusive.

An underpinning assumption throughout this chapter has been that identities are accomplished relationally to others, and people demonstrate their understanding of membership incumbencies by comparing and contrasting various aspects of self and other. The kinds of identity category work that I have discussed in this chapter are relatively straightforward to observe, and therefore are likely to receive the most obvious real-time reactions from the participants themselves.

However, a far more commonly utilized practice that provides evidence of how the participants viewed themselves in relation to others was codeswitching, and the use of a certain interactional medium with a recipient who is known to prefer that medium. Therefore in the remaining chapters we will focus particularly on the role of bilingual interaction in accomplishing identity.

6 *A single case analysis of multi-party, multilingual talk-in-interaction*

6.1 **Overview of the chapter**

The next two chapters will focus in particular on the way that bilingual practices assist the participants in accomplishing and co-constructing elements of multiethnic identity.

Chapter 6 will begin this investigation by considering a single case study of a typical sequence of multiparty bilingual interaction recorded during lunchtime at the school. It documents some of the ways the participants access various languages and linguistic styles to accomplish not only multiethnic identity but also situated identities, such as ‘vendor’ or ‘comedian’ and discourse identities, like ‘next speaker’.

The aim of this chapter then is to explore ways that multiethnic identities become relevant through bilingual interaction, and conversely, how bilingual interaction can index and occasion multiethnic identity.

Identities are not only realized according to macro-social categories such as ethnicity or gender, but are also situated within the sequential context of particular instances of interaction where they are used to accomplish temporary roles, interactionally specific stances and locally, emergent positions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Speakers and recipients may align to each other as ‘female’ or ‘multiethnic’, but they also often simultaneously co-construct identity at its most elemental level within the turn-taking organization of talk by demonstrating an understanding of each other as next-speaker, self-selected speaker and the like. Studies of such turn-generated micro-identity categories have included Caller/Called in telephone conversations (Schegloff, 1979), Questioner/Answerer in adjacency pairs (Goodwin, 1990; Heritage, 1984) and Speaker/Audience in story-telling (Charles. Goodwin, 1986).

Through a single case analysis in the conversation analytic tradition, in this section offers a glimpse of the way the students at HIS accomplish identity in everyday bilingual interaction. I will focus in detail on one episode of multi-party,

multilingual talk-in-interaction to examine the ways in which bilingual interactants can design an utterance for a particular recipient by alternating between languages and linguistic styles. At the same time as the act of codeswitching indexes aspects of their transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998), such as *multiethnic Japanese*, the speakers also simultaneously accomplish both discursive identities that can be used as turn-allocating resources in the ongoing talk, and temporary situated identities, such as ‘vendor/customer’, that are locally emergent within the sequential context of the talk.

6.2 Recipient Design

Atkinson and Heritage (1984) note that, by the way they choose to formulate any particular utterance, ‘speakers commit themselves to a range of beliefs about themselves, their co-participants and their relationships’ (p. 270). In CA, the way that each turn characterizes and embodies what the speaker knows (or assumes he or she knows) about the hearer is termed *recipient design*. How a turn is organized can orient to membership categories, making relevant certain attributes of the speaker and his or her audience. Goodwin (1986) demonstrates that members of an audience can be separated into relevant subsets by the way the speaker frames his or her talk, which can serve to differentiate recipients from each other without explicitly stating membership categories. In his analysis, Goodwin examines such elements as profanity and depictions of violent actions in the way a story is constructed by a male speaker in order to direct it primarily to the males in a mixed group of listeners. At the same time, the recipients’ responses help to shape the way the story is told when an interpretation other than that intended by the storyteller is proffered.

6.3 ‘Matte cheinji’: An instance of codeswitching in multi-party talk

If speakers design their utterances for an intended audience, and this reflects their understanding of the recipients’ personal characteristics and background knowledge, recipient design must therefore be one of the key elements of identity construction in bilingual interaction. This section will examine a typical sequence

of bilingual talk from my corpus, in which a single speaker manages two distinct identities by switching between his languages. The analysis will center on the way he uses each recipient's preferred medium to manage separate but simultaneous actions.

The sequence is typical of the multi-party, multilingual conversation that takes place around the lunch table at HIS. This table was actually two large desks in the corridor which the seniors appeared to have claimed as their own. Unspoken, but implicitly acknowledged through their everyday practice, the lunch table was a focal feature of the social territory for the group that included most of the key consultants. Since the school had such a small student body, all of the twelfth graders as well as certain eleventh graders regularly gathered around this table when they weren't in class. It was rare to see the non-Japanese Asian students at the table, but otherwise it was frequently populated by a mix of American, Japanese and multiethnic Japanese students. Consequently the lunch table was one of the most fertile sites for gathering codeswitching data, and became one of the key locations for my video recordings.

In the conversation I will analyze the participants had arranged themselves according to the seating pattern shown in Figure 6.1. Some of the key participants are shown in the Framegrab in Figure 6.2. Yumi, one of the key participants, is not visible in this Framegrab, but she is seated on the left-hand side of the table.



Figure 6.1 Diagram of seating arrangement in the Yoda sequence



Figure 6.2 Some key participants in the Yoda sequence

Prior to this episode, the group had been discussing Peter, a tenth grade multiethnic Japanese boy, and commenting in particular on his ability to do impersonations. A few minutes later Peter comes past, carrying a basket of cakes to sell²². Gino calls Peter to the group, letting him know that he has been the topic

²² Each homeroom class organized various fundraising events and charity bake sales were a regular occurrence during lunchtimes at the school.

of an earlier conversation by saying '(Peter) *niteta tte*' ('Peter, they were saying you did a good impression').

The sequence begins when the group makes relevant Peter's ability as a comedian by soliciting him to give an impromptu performance, including his impression of the Star Wars character Yoda. The talk is carried out primarily in English but Peter's imitations constitute a monolingual example of 'double-voicing' (Bakhtin, 1986) in which he 'codeswitches' to his Yoda voice. At the same time, however, one of the members (Yumi) orients to Peter's initial purpose and attempts to negotiate the sale of a cake in Japanese.

Excerpt 6.1 Yoda

01 Ryan: next time you come up here come up with a yoda
02 voice
03 [(0.5)]
04 [((Peter walks toward Ryan))]
05 Peter: ((grunts in a Yoda voice)) ooh
06 Tim: hhh
07 Anja: [>yatte<?]=
do-IMP
Do it.
08 [((bang))]
09 Peter: =(te-h)
10 Ulliani: >to[tally totally]<
11 Peter: [tenth graders]=
12 Ryan: =be like say we:ll=
13 [=mgmm (0.2) [how ya doin']]
14 [((Yoda voice))]
15 Yumi: [()]
16 (0.2)
17 Anja: eh totally
18 Peter: well i[t's like] totally is [totally mgm]
19 [((Yoda voice))]
20 Yumi: [*tabe tai*]

IT that way COP (.)
 43 (0.2)
 44 *matte cheinji*
 wait change
 Oh, that's right. Hold on, the change.
 45 [(0.5)]
 46 Peter: [((turns to Mr. S.))]
 47 Peter: um do you have change?
 48 °I've got five hundred yen.°
 49 (1.5)
 50 Mr. S: I might. ((looks through wallet))

While filming, I originally took note of this sequence because it includes a striking example of participant-related codeswitching (Auer, 1984) in lines 41-47, in which Peter switches from Japanese to English to address a teacher, Mr. S. After examining the interaction that surrounds this switch, we will return to the start of the sequence to explore in more detail the ways in which Peter uses bilingual interaction to partition his audience into relevant subsets (Charles Goodwin, 1986), orienting differently to the various recipients in order to conduct serious business with one member while simultaneously entertaining the others.

6.4 Polyvalent local meanings of codeswitching

In line 36, Peter is engaged in his Yoda impression, performing for the audience using an English utterance that they have requested ('totally'). At the same time he has been serving his customer, Yumi, and realizes he doesn't have the correct change to carry out the transaction (lines 40-44). This leads to an awkward moment in which Peter is required to both switch languages and conduct a change in footing (Goffman, 1979) within a very short space of time.

When Peter accepts the 500 yen coin from Yumi in line 37, he has reached the height of his Yoda routine, having received affiliative laughter from the group (line 22), as well as specific appreciations (line 30) and requests (lines 10, 12-13, 17). However, just as he is getting into form, the sequence of co-occurring talk with Yumi necessitates a serious response in order to conduct the business for

which he came. During the confusion that arises from these coinciding actions Peter drops Yumi's coin. At first he receives it successfully in his right hand (line 37) but follows this immediately with a dual handed 'hang loose' sign, in which the thumb and index finger are extended. Facial expressions, a Yoda-like grunt and a slight bobbing motion denote this gesture as a continuance of Peter's comic performance. The coin is grasped in his three middle fingers as he performs the gesture, as depicted in Figure 6.3.



Figure 6.3 Line 37 Peter receives coin



Figure 6.4 Line 37 Peter's double handed 'hang loose' sign

He continues to grasp the coin while he gives a further short Yoda impression in line 36 and then immediately attempts to place it back in Yumi's hand amid the

burst of laughter in line 39. Yumi's outstretched hand may have cued Peter to the fact that she required change, but because he has been focused on his impersonation he simply returns the coin she gave him (Figure 6.5). In line with her situated identity as customer, Yumi does not close her hand around the coin, and it falls to the table.



Figure 6.5 Line 39 Peter returns coin

This complicated sequence of gestures occurs at the overlap between two points where Peter's conflicting duties as both *comedian* and *vendor* collide, and is the cue for his codeswitched turn which begins in line 40. Peter completes this turn in his own voice, not the Yoda voice, and along with the obvious prosodic difference between this and his natural speech, the switch to Japanese invokes a change in footing in which he abandons his Yoda impersonations. From this turn to the end of the sequence, he is noticeably occupied with the business of serving his customer.

From lines 40-47 Peter produces three TCU's that together constitute the codeswitch in question. Simplified, the switch is, 'oh, *ah soh da. Matte cheinji.* Um, do you have change?' Taking into consideration the action that each part of the utterance performs, I maintain that each utterance is directed at a particular recipient, and thus that Peter's codeswitching illustrates his knowledge of a preferred (expected) language use for each specific recipient.

The first part of the utterance effectively contains two ‘ohs’, the first produced in English and the second in Japanese. Clearly there is a switch between the first and second ‘oh’, and each refers to a different error. The English ‘oh’ in line 40 is a response cry (Goffman, 1981), providing a reactive token to the dropped coin, while the second ‘oh’ (line 41) is a change of state token (Heritage, 1984), which indicates that Peter has achieved a new knowledge state, as he realizes that he needs to provide his customer with money as well as the cake.

The first ‘oh’ does not have a specified recipient but is instead simply an emotive token, and displays Peter’s recognition of his mistake in dropping the coin.²³ The consequent codeswitch into Japanese is part of the recipient design, which suggests that the second ‘oh’ as well as the rest of this turn is tailored either to fit Yumi’s individual language preference, or to be heard as part of the vending exchange, or indeed both. In either case, it is demonstrably directed towards Yumi.

Consider also the action that Peter is performing in uttering ‘*Ah, soh da*’. There is a commonsensibly recognizable organization of such business transactions such that if a customer pays for the goods with too large a bill or coin, s/he is entitled to some change back. Clearly the participants all know this. Further, Yumi realizes Peter’s mistake in returning the original coin, rather than giving change back, as evidenced by the fact that she does not close her hand around the coin to accept the coin. This in itself can be seen as a communicative type of action: by not accepting the coin Yumi shows that something’s gone wrong, since not accepting change back is akin to a dispreferred second pair part. In that sense, the act of refusing the coin is a nonvocal repair initiator. The first part of Peter’s turn in line 41 (‘oh, that’s right’) then, is a receipt and recognition of Yumi’s action as an orientation to the trouble source.

The form of the second part of the utterance ‘*matte cheinji*’ (‘Hold on, the change.’) is perhaps typical of bilingual Japanese-English speakers in my corpus. A standard Japanese speaker would probably have said ‘*matte, otsuri*’. The English word *change* does exist as a loanword in Japanese (‘*chenji*’) but its lexical

²³ The question of whether or not a response cry can provide any insight into an individual’s stronger or preferred language is beyond the scope of the present study, but remains a worthwhile topic for future research.

scope is limited to substitution of one thing for another, such as in the expression *chenji suru*, which is used when two sporting teams change sides. At present, it cannot be used to refer to the balance of money that is due to a customer who has given more than the required amount. In other words, Peter's utterance, *matte cheinji*, is hearable as a turn-internal codeswitch, albeit one that has been somewhat altered phonologically. Such phonological codeswitches were a common element of bilingual interaction at HIS²⁴, so we can view the two mediums here as Standard Japanese and Phonologically Japanese English. However, a closer look at how the participant themselves view this turn may establish a case for it as an instance of interactional otherness (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002)

Peter produces '*matte cheinji*' ('hold on, the change') for Yumi, to whom change is due, to show that he hasn't got any change at the moment, but that he's dealing with it. In other words, this is a specification of the trouble source acknowledged immediately prior that was initiated nonverbally by Yumi by refusing to accept her own coin back. Even though Yumi does not actually accompany this action with any words, since Peter delivers his response to it in Japanese we can see that he is continuing the conversation in Yumi's preferred medium. However, this part of the conversation is also probably overheard by Mr. S, who is standing a short distance away. In line 46, just after he says '*matte cheinji*', Peter turns his body to where Mr. S is standing and shifts his gaze towards him (Figure 6.6). This effectively serves to exclude any of those sitting at the table as incumbent next-speaker.

²⁴ Another example of Japanese-English can be found in line 24 when Nina uses the phrase "Yoda voisu" (Yoda voice). Semantically it is closer to English, but phonologically it resembles Japanese. Yet since the /v/ sound does not exist in Japanese, voice would normally be pronounced as /boisu/. Nina's pronunciation therefore reveals something of her bilingual proficiency.



Figure 6.6 Line 46 Peter turns to Mr. S

Because Mr. S is a teacher, Peter is expected to address him in English, and indeed this is what occurs as he forms his next TCU in standard English. However, Mr. S. is also one of the few HIS faculty members who is also Japanese. While he very rarely speaks it in front of the students, his accent and appearance are available to the participants in such a way that everyone is aware that he is a native speaker of Japanese. At this time, his physical location in relation to the conversation has not ratified him as an active participant, but Peter's codeswitch in line 47 clearly slates him as the intended recipient.

Cromdal and Aronsson, (2000) found similar codeswitching behaviour among their participants when they needed to increase the number of ratified addressed recipients (2000:451), resulting in what Auer (1984) has termed polyvalent local meanings of codeswitching to simultaneously perform both discourse-related and participant-related functions of bilingual interaction.

Firstly, at the discourse level, it affects the ongoing interaction by signaling a change in the participation framework to deselect the group as ratified addressed recipients and effectively select Mr. S. as next speaker. In monolingual talk, a current speaker can select a co-participant to speak next by producing a turn that includes a sequence-initiating device and an addressing device (Sacks et al., 1974), such as when a name is used to allocate next turn. Another way to directly select a specific recipient as next speaker is to use gaze direction in

conjunction with the recipient proterm *you* (Lerner, 1993). In bilingual interaction, codeswitching can co-occur with such interactional devices as an additional means of making clear who is expected to speak next.

Peter's switch in lines 40-47 is accompanied by an explicit reference, (the proterm *you*), prosodic features (amplitude, tone), bodily conduct (gaze, the cessation of the previous jocular gestures, a directional turn) and a display of politeness that is noticeably different from the preceding talk. All these features work in conjunction with the switch to determine next speaker, a discourse-related purpose of codeswitching.

At the same time, this switch could be considered participant-related since even though Mr. S. is Japanese, in this situation his identity as teacher is shown to be relevant to the co-participants. Speaking Japanese to a teacher would be unusual in this particular social context. In other words, Mr. S's entrance into the conversation has altered the group's language preference, where preference is taken in the CA sense to refer to expectedness or markedness. Up until this point, language alternation itself was the medium (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), but by selecting Mr. S. as next speaker, the language that the co-participants are expected to speak becomes English. Peter's switch here accommodates the preferred (unmarked) medium for a certain recipient. In this sense, the motivation behind this switch can be understood to be polyvalent, both discourse- and participant-related. As Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) argue, it is uncommon to find clear-cut cases of participant-related codeswitching that are not relevant for the ongoing organization of talk, since any action, including medium shift is procedurally consequential for the ongoing talk-in-interaction.

Here the institutional identities (teacher-student) are more relevant to language/medium choice than language competence, or even visual ethnic characteristics. Throughout my observations at the school, I noted that the students routinely spoke to Mr S in English only, despite the fact that it was clear from his accent that he was a 'non-native speaker'. While this could no doubt easily be accounted for in reference to the school's English language policy, it is only by both parties choosing to accept this policy throughout their everyday interaction that a habitual medium choice arises. Clearly the students choose to

ignore the policy among themselves, but adhere to it for teachers (whether they understand Japanese or not), which makes language choice an indicator of not just ethnic but also institutional identities within the bounds of this school.

6.5 Institutional and mundane identities in bilingual interaction

Let us now return to the earlier part of the sequence to establish how Peter utilizes codeswitching as a resource for managing the simultaneous presence of two distinct recipients; a potential customer and a multi-party audience with a frivolous agenda. He seems to be directing each of his two languages at a different kind of participant. Although there are some exceptions, the comical Yoda persona is carried out mostly in English while the business transaction is conducted largely in Japanese.

At first, Ryan's request for a Yoda impression (line 1) meets with only a minimal response from Peter. Since this initial request has come from a speaker whose preferred language Peter knows to be English, it implies that the language of the impression should also be English. In addition, since the request is specifically for a character from a well-known American film, it can be assumed that the impersonation should occur in English. Moreover, sequentially since both of Ryan's requests (first pair parts) are produced in English then the compliant action (second pair part) is typically aligned with the language of the first part. The short grunt in line 5 is hearable as a minimal response that works more to Peter's advantage than to that of the recipients. It satisfies the request for a Yoda impression without having to commit to either language, and Peter continues to move toward Yumi, offering her the cakes he is selling and thus maintaining his primary objective.

So in one sense the grunt can be seen as a convenient means of managing the issue of language choice. However, in fact there are three codes at play here: Japanese, (standard) English and a stylized Yoda-speak (a variety of English based on a fictional character). Codes are not always only equitable with established linguistic systems. In line with the conversational analytic perspective (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998; Auer, 1984, 1998a, 2005; Gafaranga, 1999, 2000, 2001;

Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), I view codeswitching as an instance of socially and interactionally meaningful action, as a matter of local recontextualization of talk and action. The Yoda-Speak comprises a ‘code’ for the participants and is indeed very much relevant to the participants’ conduct in organizing the discourse. Hence, as part of my interaction-oriented analysis, that is how I will treat it.

While Yoda-speak could be said to have its own OSV clausal syntax, Peter’s impressions in this instance are not long enough to demonstrate the extent of his familiarity with the Yoda-like word order. Instead he indexes Yoda through paralingual elements and stylistic shift such as the grunts in lines 5, 18 and 36. In fact the only word that Peter uses in the Yoda voice *-totally* (lines 18 and 36)- is not actually something that Yoda would say. Instead it indexes some other pop culture reference that is available to the participants, effectively adding to the humor by having Peter giving an impression of Yoda doing an impression.

Quotations and reported speech have been well documented in the literature as frequent environments in which codeswitching occurs (Alfonzetti, 1998; Nishimura, 1997; Sebba & Wooffit, 1998). As was seen in Chapter 5, the participants in my study often slipped into their other language to provide a linguistic contrast that let the audience know that they were speaking for another, such as in the following example.

01 May: and I (0.3) make sure that they
 02 → understand *wakaru* *yo* *ne*
 understand IP IP
 You understand don’t you?
 03 Anja: Yeah=

In this excerpt, May is talking about the way she adapts her speech when she is talking to Ryan and Max, who are non-native speakers of Japanese. Neither of the boys she is talking about is present at the time, so this kind of reported speech is hypothetical or what Alfonzetti (1998) calls a ‘virtual quotation’. The fact that May switches to Japanese to deliver the phrase that she is intending for Max and Ryan does not necessarily indicate that she would actually address them in that

language. Rather the contrast between it and May's previous talk in English allows her to give voice to a different character, or in this case herself in a different context. So in one sense, Peter's Yoda impression is hypothetical reported speech in that he is not quoting something that Yoda did say, but rather what he might say.

Bani-Shoraka (2005) observes that codeswitching in reported speech can also serve as an imitation. In her study she analyses Azerbaijani/Persian talk in which two co-participants imitate their non-present aunt by switching languages along with a concurrent change of pitch, tone and quality of voice- the kind of extra-linguistic features we would expect to see in a monolingual impersonation. Peter's Yoda impression is likewise not achieved by codeswitching alone.

Note that Peter is not the only one that uses Yoda-speak. Ryan also attempts an impression of Yoda in line 13, but it is clearly not ratified with laughter in the same way that Peter's impersonations are. Instead, Ryan switches to Yoda-speak as a form of quoted speech, a well documented discourse-related function of codeswitching (Alfonzetti, 1998; Auer, 1984). There is nothing particularly Yoda-like about the quote that Ryan suggests, ('How ya' doin'??') in either its form or its content, but sequentially we can see that what this turn really achieves is to offer an assessment of Peter's initial Yoda impression (a grunt) as insufficient, and consequently it acts as a request for a more elaborate impersonation, similar to those being made by Anja, Nina and Ulliani in their own voices. When Peter takes up the Yoda voice midway through line 18, the turn-internal codeswitch from standard English to Yoda-speak is integral to Peter's performance.

Both the group and Peter have jointly accomplished Peter's situated identity as 'performer'. Firstly, by requesting an impression, the group cast him with associated attributes that belong to the identity category 'entertainer'. Such requests occasion Peter's Yoda impersonation and make his identity as 'entertainer' relevant and consequential to the ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1992b). Secondly, Peter himself indexes the identity category of entertainer, in accepting the group's attempts to position him that way and demonstrating the ability to switch from English to Yoda-speak, which in turn is ratified and

procedurally consequential. Conversely we can see that Ryan is not attributed with having an entertainer identity as his attempts at Yoda-speak are structured as a request to Peter and do not receive ratification from the group in the way that Peter's do.

On the other hand, Yumi makes a bid to cast Peter in a second identity category, that of 'vendor'. She introduces Japanese as the medium of institutional business (vending) in this conversation, by responding to his inferred offer of cakes ('tenth graders'²⁵, line 11) with an acceptance ('*tabetai*'/I'll have some, line 20). Yumi's utterances to Peter are consistently in Japanese, with the possible exception of the unsure transcription in line 15, which is hearable as directed to the researcher²⁶. During my fieldwork, I noted that Yumi demonstrated a definite preference for Japanese and this was regularly accommodated by the other participants. In this case this presents Peter with the dilemma of how to simultaneously conduct two conversations in two different languages at the same time.

His overlapped English turn in line 11 is an account directed at Yumi, since it was the 10th grade class who was selling the cakes. It is not clear from the video footage why Peter begins walking toward Yumi, but it is possible that she signaled him with some kind of gesture or made eye contact off-camera. It is likewise uncertain whether Peter heard Yumi's Japanese turn in line 20 (*tabetai*/ 'I want some') since it occurs in overlap with his own Yoda impression. However, he does display receipt of her Japanese inquiry in line 23 (*ikura?*'How much'), and responds in mixed-code in lines 25-26 with 'one hundred yen *nan desu kedo*'.

²⁵ Peter seems to be using this utterance as a minimal account of why he is walking around with a basket of cakes in his hands, and the others appear to accept this as an unremarkable practice. That is, by saying "tenth graders", Peter is explaining that the money he raises from selling these cakes will go to the tenth graders' charity fundraising efforts, and for Yumi in this time and place, this is enough to infer that the cakes are for sale.

²⁶ After extensive listening I believe this utterance was in English, though with the Japanese accent that typified Yumi's speech. Unfortunately it is not clear from the video recording where her gaze is directed during this utterance. She seems to be addressing the camera as she takes one of the cakes out of the basket. In this sense this switch would be considered participant-related as she is demonstrating an understanding of the appropriate language to use when addressing a non-Japanese adult outsider.

One possible explanation for this turn-internal switch might be its proximity to Peter's earlier English turns (lines 11 and 18) and the predominant use of English from the other participants in the sequence up until that point. In this case lines 25-26 are hearable as an instance of self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) where the trouble source or 'repairable' is the use of a dispreferred medium. Yumi's utterance in line 23 is the first part of an adjacency pair (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) in which an action initiated in Japanese (the question, *ikura?*/'How much?') would normatively be completed in the second pair part with a response in the same medium. Peter's response in line 25 begins in English ('one hundred yen') after which he completes the sentence in Japanese, providing evidence to suggest that he considers that the first half of his utterance repairable. In this case Peter is clearly orienting to Japanese as the established medium for the vending episode through the bilingual practice of medium repair (Gafaranga, 2000).

The syntactic order of Japanese grammar (Subject-Object-Verb) allows him to do just this. Although the English part of this turn provides sufficient information to act as a complete turn constructional unit (TCU) on its own, adding the Japanese verb ending *nan desu kedo* repairs the response in relation to the first pair part simultaneously upgrading the politeness level. This phrase is typically heard in polite Japanese speech such as that used in the retail industry, and therefore helps to accomplish Peter's situated identity as 'purveyor of goods', which is appropriate to a specific recipient (Yumi) and contrasts with the stance as 'entertainer' he has adopted with the rest of the group.

In addition, *nan desu kedo* may also index the age difference between the two speakers. Japanese politeness endings are used by *kohai* (juniors) to their *senpai* (seniors) in a way that is difficult to convey in English. Peter is two years younger than Yumi and the others at the table, and he does not usually socialize with this group at lunch, having only approached them to sell cakes on this occasion. Therefore this politeness upgrade could also be interpreted as Peter's attempt to cast himself within the *kohai/senpai* relationship, another aspect of his identity that needs to be juggled along with his languages.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has documented the way the students at HIS commonly speak with each other outside of class. We have seen that they use a mix of English and Japanese, not because of a lack of competence, but because their complete linguistic repertoire consists of both these languages. Through a detailed micro-analysis of a single instance of multi-party, multilingual interaction, we have found that various situated identities are jointly accomplished through mundane interaction with others.

Importantly, the analysis shows that their multiethnicity is not always the most relevant aspect of their identity for these participants in any given conversation. Imbedded in the interactional Yoda sequence, we have observed the students evoking situated identities such as Vendor/Customer, Entertainer/Audience and Teacher/Student.

The ability to proficiently alternate between Japanese and English firstly serves various discourse functions (Auer, 1984). Peter and Ryan both switch to Yoda-speak to (hypothetically) quote a well-known character for humorous effect. Nina and Yumi switch to an alternate code to provide an interactional juxtaposition to grab Peter's attention (lines 20 and 24).

However, in addition the talk is often participant-related, highlighting what the speaker knows about his or her interlocutor. Although in many cases it is difficult to separate the two, since any switch in medium is likely to have consequences for the ongoing discourse, a participant-related switch often partitions the talk, making relevant the various identities and language preferences of the interlocutors.

In the Yoda sequence, the speakers are separated into two groups, not just on the basis of the content of the talk but also on the medium in which it is being delivered. The Yoda impression is delivered largely in English (and Yoda-speak), while the business transaction occurs concurrently in Japanese. Since Peter responds in the medium in which he is addressed, a preferred action in bilingual talk, the two conversations emerge according to what he understands about the language preferences of the co-participants.

Further it is worth considering the question of how an individual deals with situations in which he or she is called on to be active in two simultaneous conversations and to project two separate aspects of himself. This kind of thing is not limited to bilingual speakers. A monolingual speaker can be active in two conversations as well, and would probably make use of intonation, bodily conduct and other interactional practices to do so. In this sense, having access to another language is simply an additional communicative resource that helps the speaker achieve certain interactional goals. But before the speaker can employ such a resource, he or she must know (or assume) something of the interlocutor's linguistic proficiency, which in turn makes relevant perceptions of self and other.

In other words, discourse functions of codeswitching are a reflection of participant-related functions, and in turn shape both the ongoing interaction and the speakers' impressions of each other. In the next chapter, I will further explore this notion of partitioning recipients through talk, in an analysis of two collections of bilingual practices in parenthetical sequences and post-exclusionary translations.

7 *Accomplishing identity in bilingual practices: Codeswitching to enact forward and backward-oriented repair*

7.1 Overview

The previous chapter offered a single case analysis, which documented a detailed account of how the participants accomplished identity during roughly 30 seconds of bilingual multi-party talk. We saw that conversation became the means by which participants demonstrated moment-by-moment knowledge of how they saw each other, not only with respect to transportable identities (such as *ethnicity*), but also situated identities (like *vendor* or *customer*) and discourse identities (like *current-speaker* or *recipient*).

Within the CA tradition, there are three main ways to make sense of data; (1) the single-case analysis, (2) a collection of cases of the same interactional phenomena, and (3) deviant-case analysis. All CA collections necessarily consist of data that has been built up through single case analyses. Moreover, as was the aim in chapter 6, a single case analysis can stand alone in order to track the sequential unfolding of various actions across a particular interactional event (Mori, 2004). Schegloff (1987a) maintains that conducting a single case analysis is one way to apply existing knowledge so that ‘the resources of past work on a range of phenomena are brought to bear on a single fragment of talk’ (p. 101).

However Gardner and Wagner (2004) are correct in noting that ‘the real power of a CA argument is based on the regularity of behavior as documented in the collection of cases’ (p. 7). So while the single case analysis proved useful in documenting the Yoda sequence, in chapter 7 I will turn my attention instead to a collection of cases, developing a prototypical description of the interactional practice and analyzing some of the most interesting examples in detail.

I have compiled two collections of identity-related bilingual practices. Both involve the organization of repair, and in particular self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977). Self-repair can be understood as occurring in two directions; backwards and forwards (Schegloff, 1979). Backward-oriented repair is used to replace some

element of the turn that has already been produced, such as an ‘error’. Consider the following example taken from my data;

01 Ryan: you shoulda seen Hanley today? me and
02 Hanley w-when we did our report on *unchi*? (.)
poop
03 o- on the crapper?
06 Nina: [UNCHI?] ((Nina and Yumi look up at Ryan))
07 Yumi: [UNCHI?]
08 Ryan: ah tha- the *unchi* thing. [The crapper.]

In this turn, Ryan is initiating a story-telling sequence about a report he gave on Japanese-style toilets. In line 2 he uses a Japanese word *unchi* and then replaces it with a lexically associated English item *crapper* that is closer to the theme of his report. An additional self-repair appears at the end of line 1, when Ryan includes himself in the story by changing ‘Hanley’ to ‘me and Hanley’ in the transition space after the first complete TCU. Note that in each of these cases the speaker affects repair that allowed him to respecify some element of the story. That is, the notion of *repair* is broader than just ‘error correction’ and may include such actions as amplification or clarification. Moreover, in each case the repair comes at a point in the turn after the trouble source has been produced, which indicates the speaker’s self-repair is orienting back to an earlier segment of the turn.

On the other hand, forward-oriented repair addresses problems with elements of a speaker’s turn-in-progress that are yet to be produced. The most recognizable form of this is a word search (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2003b; Schegloff, 1979). Although Ryan has already started one such word search in the above excerpt, consider also the forward-oriented repair that follows it:

09 Nina: [You did a report
10 on unchi?

- 11 Ryan: *unchi janakute* the cra- a:h the: [toilet
 poo COP-NEG-CONT
 Not poop-
- 12 Nina: [washiki toire?
 Japanese toilet
- 13 Ryan: the toilet *nihon*[*nihonfuu* toire right?
 Japan Japanese-style toilet
- 14 Yumi: [yeah
- 15 Mick: mm
- 16 Ryan: it was so:: funny

Lines 9 and 10 constitute a repair initiating action, and in line 11 Ryan initially begins to repeat the respecification he gave in line 3 (crapper) but stops mid-word and replaces that with *toilet*, indicating that he is repairing some segment of the turn before he has even produced it. Note that while backward-oriented repair is typically characterized by cut-offs and repetitions, forward-oriented repair regularly features elongated vowels and turn-internal pauses that locate the trouble source in some not yet produced element of the turn. Such prosodic features are evident in Ryan's turn in line 11 (a:h, the:).

This chapter aims to look at how these two kinds of self-repair occur in bilingual interaction, and what that can tell us about identity. Section 7.2 will put forward a collection of forward-oriented repairs to examine bilingual words searches in parenthetical sequences. It documents how bilingual speakers switch mediums to offer a side comment to a specific recipient, thereby partitioning the hearers according to their (perceived) language proficiencies and preferences.

Section 7.3 will focus on bilingual resayings as a form of backwards-oriented repair, considering in particular the repercussions this has for identity work in bilingual interaction. I have termed this second practice *post-exclusionary translation*. After a codeswitch has potentially excluded a co-present participant, a bilingual speaker will sometimes switch back to that person's preferred medium to offer a parse of the unknown talk. I will contend that this action also makes relevant the speakers' relative identities as fluent and non-fluent speakers, and in

doing so draws on and reestablishes participant understandings of knowledge rights and linguistic/cultural knowledge.

Throughout the chapter, the emphasis will be on the way that bilingual practices aid the participants in accomplishing and co-constructing elements of multiethnic identity. The aim of this chapter then is to explore ways that multiethnic identities are made relevant through bilingual interaction, and conversely, how bilingual interaction can index and occasion multiethnic identity.

7.2 Accomplishing identity through forward-oriented repair: Word search sequences in bilingual interaction

7.2.1 Overview

As outlined in the previous section, co-participants make use of situated identities as a resource when communicating in multi-party groups with mixed language preferences. One of the most striking things in the Yoda sequence is the way that Peter alternates between Japanese and English to help him carry out two separate conversations at the same time.

In this section I will turn from a single case analysis to a collection of comparable instances in which speakers use codeswitching to initiate one kind of subordinate or parenthetical sequence (Hayashi, 2003a), namely a word search. The speaker knowingly designs such a switch for a fluent recipient of the switched-to code by accompanying the alternation with a shift of gaze, allowing the speaker to complete the aside in that language. Typically these switches are followed by an imminent return to the base language of the conversation. I ultimately contend that such switching in mixed-preference multi-party talk is salient to the issue of the codeswitcher's identity because it makes relevant participant collectivities which become consequential for the ongoing interaction (Goodwin, 1981; Lerner, 1993).

Although his analysis focuses mainly on repair initiation, Auer (1984:39-40) notes that bilingual speakers may switch languages to carry out side sequences to deal with actions that are secondary to the ongoing talk, such as offering a glass

of wine. Of course, parenthetical sequences likewise occur in monolingual speech, and can be accomplished with linguistic markers, bodily conduct or through prosodic means. However, in bilingual interaction, codeswitching is often used as an additional resource to mark the boundaries of such asides (Auer, 1984). In the remainder of this section I will document several cases of recipient-related language alternation from my corpus. The data in this section are mainly taken from the conversation recorded in Focus Group 3. The participants, shown in Figure 7.1 are from left; May, Anja, Gino and Donald.



Figure 7.1 Participants in focus group 3.

The group was discussing the questions outlined in Appendix 5. As facilitator, I appear in these sequences as a fifth interactant, although one who is consistently off-camera. I was seated at a separate table about two metres away and was also operating the camera, which was sitting on the table to my left (see Figure 7.2). The video footage therefore does not include my facial reactions or the direction of my gaze. My aim was to participate in the discussion as an interested outsider, initiating topics and encouraging the participants to talk freely among themselves. However, as facilitator, I was also able to shift the topic to the next question when I felt there had been sufficient discussion, so at times the interaction becomes asymmetrical with respect to the rights and responsibilities of the speakers.

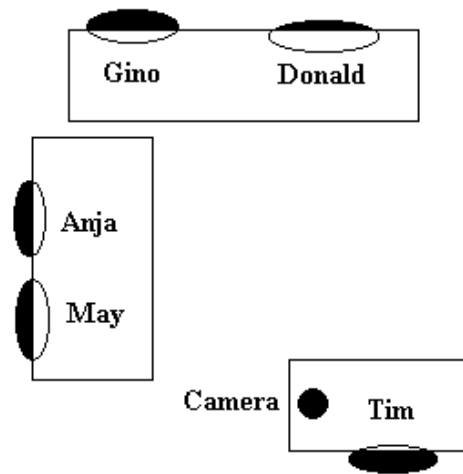


Figure 7.2 Seating arrangement in focus group 3

As with most of these groups, the main language of communication was English. Apart from the fact that the discussion guide was written in that language, the participants probably also recognized English as my preferred language and normatively equated a non-Japanese adult face with that mode of communication within the boundaries of the educational institution. On the other hand, the students frequently spoke in Japanese among themselves throughout the session, reporting the outcome to me in a form of summary. This was particularly noticeable when there was some concept or word that could be discussed more smoothly in Japanese.

7.2.2 *Word searches in bilingual interaction*

Parenthetical codeswitched sequences often began with a filler like *ano* ('um'), *e:to* ('er') or disfluency markers such as *nanka* ('like'), which signaled the initiation of a word search sequence. When speakers cannot access a lexical item, they often employ such fillers to delay production of the item while reserving the turn (Schegloff, 1979). Because of the unfinished nature of the utterance, fillers frequently occur at incomplete TCU's and may be preceded by a momentary silence, followed by the filler, which is designed to negate the silence.

In excerpt 7.1, Gino switches to Japanese to deliver a filler while he searches for an example. He shifts his gaze away from me as he produces the word *nanka* (line 5), but his eye contact returns as he switches back to English to formulate the response in line 5.

Excerpt 7.1 FG3 Nanka

The participants are discussing the difference between Japanese people and themselves.

01 Tim: For example?
02 (1.8)
03 Gino: For example=
04 Tim: =mm=
05 Gino:→ =[yeah um (.)] [**nanka* (.)]
something
like
06 [*TG=====] [*right~~~~=====]
07 [my way of thinking is=
08 [*TG~~~~=====]
09 =(.)[diff]er[ent=
10 Tim: [uhuh]
11 May: [un sore wa *chigau*.
Yeah that TOP different
Yeah that (is) different.’

Hosoda (2002) maintains that one way non-native speakers can demonstrate their incumbent membership in the category of ‘non-native speaker of X’ is by producing fillers in that language. While this may be the case when bilinguals have a stronger language (i.e. so-called ‘non-native speakers’ or ‘late bilinguals’), it is likely that those who have been bilingual since early childhood are better understood as having two first languages (Baker, 2000), meaning that a codeswitched filler (*nanka*) may not necessarily indicate non-native status. In line 5, Gino’s switch to Japanese comes directly after an English filler (‘um’) that

accomplishes the same work. It is not unusual for speakers to employ multiple fillers in succession, although Hosoda notes that Schegloff (lecture, Fall 2000) has stated that ‘three ‘uh’s’ are usually the maximum, and then co-participants may be invited to join the search’ (2002:155).

By producing the first filler in English and then repeating a lexical item that accomplishes the same action, Gino is doing more than just reserving the turn. The switch in line 5 ‘um (.) *nanka* (.)’, along with its accompanying shift of gaze, demonstrate that Gino is no longer directing the utterance towards the English speaker (Tim). Since the function of a filler is to hold the right to continue to speak while the current speaker accesses an unavailable lexical item, the first filler (‘um’) is hearable as directed to the previous speaker, while the next one (‘*nanka*’) seems to contextualize a disengagement from the current recipient (Tim) and may be designed to be heard as a shift in the participation framework, and thus projecting a Japanese turn completion.

In this case however, the turn-internal switch is discontinued after a filler consisting of a single lexical item and the speaker returns to English to complete the turn. During this switch Gino also returns his gaze to Tim, the prior speaker, demonstrating that he understands the use of English is preferred (that is, unmarked) for this particular recipient. Since I have initiated the action sequence in English (in line 1), and the broader conversation has been mostly in English, Gino is normatively expected to complete it in that language. By doing so, he makes available his understanding of how an utterance should be designed for this particular recipient, an adult whose first language is English.

However, Gino and I are not the only speakers in this conversation and the fact that May’s turn in line 11 is formulated in Japanese is significant. Her utterance, an agreement, is hearable as directed to Gino (and her other two bilingual peers) and this is again evidenced by the direction of her gaze. It is possible that Gino’s single mid-turn insertion in line 5 acts as the trigger for May’s switch to Japanese on this occasion.

Gaze and language alternation were massively found to co-occur in parenthetical sequences in my data. The participants were able to enlist aid from others bilingual recipients by directing the conversation towards them during the

period of the switch while conducting a word search, and then finishing the sequence in the base language, as in excerpt 7.2.

Excerpt 7.2: FG3 sakoku

Gino has been comparing multilingualism in Europe to the situation in Japan

01 Gino: so at least one, (0.3) person could speak (0.4)
02 two language or three.

03 Anja: °right°

04 Gino: that was normal.

05 Tim: [mm]

06 Anja: [un] un °[I think so]°
yeah yeah

Yeah, yeah I think so.

07 Tim: [yeah]

08 Gino: So (.) I think because Japan was



09 (0.2) ((shifts gaze towards May))

10→ ne? (.) sakoku.

IP national isolation policy
you know, (under) forced isolation.



11 (0.3)

12 Anja: un. ((shifts gaze to Gino))
yeah

yeah

13 Gino: so (.) they didn't have relations



14 between lands so they didn't have

15 (0.6)

16 no need to have another language

17 May: mm

In line 8, Gino attempts to discuss a concept that doesn't translate well into English- *sakoku*, a period of 250 years during the Tokugawa shogunate in which Japan enforced a closed door policy of isolation, cutting itself off from the world. The word *sakoku* explains the notion of national seclusion succinctly and accurately without the necessity of an English circumlocution.

Gino uses codeswitching as a communicative resource to affect a shift in the participation framework by designing the switched segment of his utterance for a specific group of recipients that does not include Tim, before giving an approximate gloss in English in lines 13 and 14. Up until the end of line 8 Gino has been speaking in English and his eyes are facing slightly down towards the desk in front of him, which he seems to be using in this instance as a means of keeping an extended turn at talk. In lines 9 and 10 he shifts his gaze directly to May to deliver the Japanese switch and then in line 13 returns his eyes to the desk as he continues to speak in English, demonstrating that he has (at least ostensibly) designed the Japanese part of his TCU for May, a known Japanese speaker.

Gaze redirection can be used to help solicit agreement in collaborative word searches (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1986), and in this case Gino's switch is syntactically designed to accomplish just that. He shifts his gaze to May as he produces the word *ne* in line 9. The interactional particle *ne* commonly occurs at the end of an utterance and is used to achieve a shared stance, similar to

the function of tag questions such as ‘you know?’ or ‘right?’ in English. The particle *ne* accomplishes the work of current-speaker-selects-next (Sacks et al., 1974) by marking a transition relevance place (TRP) but also invites a preferred response in the next turn, meaning that Gino’s turn in line 10 is designed to enlist some sort of affiliation from the recipients. Tanaka (2000) notes that turn-internal use of *ne* solicits reciprocity by marking an ‘acknowledgement relevance place’ (p. 1155). *Ne* functions to seek confirmation or continued attention, therefore projecting further talk.

It is testimony to the power of the particle *ne* that when May is not immediately forthcoming with acknowledgement in line 11, Anja looks up and self selects to provide the missing response. By directing his gaze at her while he switches to Japanese, Gino seems to be selecting May as the next speaker, but when she fails to provide the response in a timely manner, a similar response token from another known Japanese speaker in the proximity is sufficient. Anja’s backchannel response delivers the demonstration of affiliation made relevant by *ne*, and Gino goes on to produce the rest of his turn in English.

This brief continuer (Schegloff, 1982) from Anja in line 12, also delivered in Japanese, is designed to yield the turn to the prior speaker without further elaboration²⁷. In this case the continuer provides ratification for Gino’s candidate reference and Anja can be heard to be speaking for the gaze-addressed recipient, May, who failed to provide a timely response. Why May did not respond is not clear- she is sucking on one finger which may have prevented her from speaking, or indeed this gesture may indicate she was thinking about something else and not really following closely what Gino was saying. Although she is not looking directly at him when he switches to Japanese, Anja is also in the general proximity to which Gino shifts his gaze and this allows her to self-select in response to the *ne* that May failed to pick up on.

²⁷ Such minimal responses, popularly known in Japanese as *aizuchi*, are common throughout the corpus I collected, and while it was sometimes difficult to determine whether they are being delivered in Japanese or English, the frequency with which they are used (by recipients) and expected (by prior speaker) is more akin to Japanese discourse than to English, even when the codeswitching is of a ‘basically English’ variety (Nishimura, 1997:94).

Together these two short turns in lines 10-12 constitute a codeswitched sequence that establish *sakoku* as the most appropriate lexical item for the concept Gino is trying to convey. Upon confirming that the others have understood the term, he returns his gaze to its prior position to complete the turn that he began in English. While his Japanese switch is parenthetical and therefore subsidiary to the main talk, it is designedly for a particular type of recipient, suggested by Gino's shift in bodily orientation towards May. While he is looking at the table, he is addressing everyone in English. Directing his gaze toward May for the duration of the switch legitimizes his use of a Japanese lexical item that in turn facilitates the ongoing talk in English. This in turn allows the word search sequence to become a resource for specifying concepts that do not have a succinct current-code equivalent.

It is important to note that it is not just gaze, but the complete embodied action, that directs the switched turn-segment to a known bilingual recipient. As noted above, in this instance even though Gino looks at May, it is Anja that provides the backchannel response in line 12. The shift in bodily orientation contextualizes a general shift in the participation framework, while the direction of Gino's eyes narrows the shift to that part of the group that he knows to be made up of native/expert speakers of Japanese, in this case those located to his right.

The fact that Anja responds even though it is May that Gino is looking at also seems to provide evidence that she sees herself as, if not equivalent then at least the next most appropriate person to May in terms of being selected. That is to say that, at that moment in time, Anja understands herself to hold the discourse identity *possible next speaker*, the same membership category that Gino is assigning to May through his gaze shift in combination with codeswitching. While Gino has selected May as someone he believes will understand the word *sakoku*, there is nothing marked about the fact that Anja responds instead, because they are both understood to be proficient in the switched-to medium.

In summary, a prototypical bilingual word search sequence of this kind takes the following form:

1. A trouble source appears due to the projected occurrence of some lexical item without a succinct equivalent in current-medium.

2. Current speaker initiates a parenthetical sequence in which the trouble source is specified in other-medium in an unmodified form, accompanied by bodily conduct and/or prosodic features that direct it at one or more bilingual recipients.
3. One or more bilingual recipients acknowledge comprehension of the other-medium segment.
4. The original speaker returns to the prior-medium to circumlocute the intact other-medium item with a paraphrase.

In one sense, this practice is simply a discourse-related resource that bilingual interactants can use to make specific the word they want to use, before having to talk their way around it for those who (they believe) do not know the word. It increases comprehensibility for the bilingual participants and provides an opportunity for the speaker to gather his or her thoughts before explaining it in English. However at the same time, the practice also has participant-related repercussions because it makes relevant the relative identities of the interactants.

Firstly the switch to other-medium assumes that at least some of the recipients will be able to recognize the intact item, which is evidence about what the speaker knows about his or her audience. Secondly the act of paraphrasing the item in prior-medium indicates that the speaker is orienting to the presence of one or more participants to whom the other-medium item could be potentially incomprehensible. The speaker and recipient identities are made procedurally consequential (Schegloff, 1992a) through and by the on-going talk.

Furthermore, by redirecting his or her gaze toward a bilingual recipient while producing the other-medium item, the speaker legitimizes the use of the switched-to medium and makes use of it as a resource to expedite the word search. Gino's switch in excerpt 7.2 is a striking example of this. The shift to Japanese is not so much evidence of improperly acquired English, as it is a tool for delivering the most appropriate term for something that does not exist in English before providing a rough gloss for those who might not understand. Such informal translations for a non-fluent participant will be explored further in section 7.3.

The next two excerpts (7.4 and 7.5) constitute a deviant case analysis (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998), in that they largely follow the above pattern but differ in some significant way.

We begin in excerpt 7.3 with an instance in which the final action (Turn 4, the paraphrase in prior medium) does not occur. The group has been discussing the school's English language policy, which prohibits the use of other languages during school hours. May initiates a word search sequence that results in a number of Japanese turns from her peers before she completes her initial statement in English. In this case the bracketed sequence is more extensive than earlier examples but May uses gaze and language alternation to accomplish partitions in the recipient design in the same way Gino did above.

Excerpt 7.3: FG3 nani

The group is discussing the school's language policy.

01 Tim: it's the international language too so it's what=



02 =everybody wants to [get

03 Anja: [ye:ah=

04 Tim: =[it's] useful to have it

05 May: [m:m]

06 Tim: so:(0.3) innat sense it's:(0.3)it's more valuable

07 but (0.3)

08 Anja: hmm

09 (0.5)

10 Tim: m[m

11 May: [I don't like the school's argument (.)



12 which says that because



13 it's the- En- that you know,



14 (1.5) ((Clicks pen))



15 May:→ >nani minna< no kyotsugo
 what everyone GEN lingua franca
 What? Everyone's common tongue



- 16 (0.4)
- 17 *kotoba [eigo] da to iu kedo*
 language English COP QT say but
 They say our common language is English but...
- 18 Tim: [mm]
- 19 Anja: *soh demo nai (yo [ne])*
 that way PT-NG IP IP
 It isn't, is it?
- 20 May: [but] it's [not]-
- 21 Don: *[kyo]tsu ja nai yo ne*
 common TOP NG IP IP
 It's not common, is it?
- 22 May: °un°= ((nods))
 yeah
 No.
- 23 Anja: =>*nanmo kyotsu ja ne[:<*
 nothing common TOP NG
 It's not common at all.
- 24 May:→ [so that in



- 25 that way we don't exclu:de anybody (.) but
- 26 that doesn't really make sense because
- 27 you're excluding people who
- 28 can not really



28 (0.6)
29 speak English



30 Tim: yeah there are some.

Whereas the bracketed talk in the earlier examples was reasonably brief and resulted in eye contact and language alternation with one recipient which established the partition for all of the members, this excerpt involves the whole group in a much more active way. After an extended sequence in which Tim provides an assessment in English, May prepares in line 11 to reciprocate and extend the discussion with a reciprocal assessment on the same topic. Just as narrative sequences occasion a second storytelling sequence (Jefferson, 1978) so too does one opinion warrant another, and in this case the ‘but’ at the end of line 6 may project an ‘on the other hand’-type of argument, offered as it were by May in line 11. In beginning to formulate her turn in English in lines 11-13, May seems to be initiating a second sequence in the same language, just as same-medium second pair parts in adjacency pairs are preferred²⁸.

However, she meets with a disfluency in line 13 where the trouble source seems to be some yet to be produced word. May at first attempts self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) in English and then after a 1.5 second pause in

²⁸ Although beyond the scope of the present study, this kind of phenomenon itself requires further research in the future.

line 14, proceeds to carry out the repair by switching to Japanese in line 15. The first part of this turn is marked by its elevated pace in relation to the surrounding English talk, indicating not only that May seems more at ease in Japanese but also that she is recognizing this as a side sequence that needs to be handled quickly in order to return to the main gist of her turn. She begins the switch with the interrogative *nani?* ('What?'), which serves to initiate the self-repair a second time and makes projectable a Japanese repair.

Although the word *nani* in line 15 accompanies a gaze shift toward a bilingual participant, May is not selecting Gino as next-speaker in this instance since she responds to her own question without a pause. Instead, by making eye contact with a bilingual peer she is using it to legitimize her switch to Japanese during the word search sequence. As in the earlier excerpts, once the parenthetical sequence is completed, the talk reverts to English and May is able to formulate her response while addressing the facilitator.

For their part, the recipients demonstrate that they understand May's switch to be directed towards them. This is evidenced by their response in rapid succession in Japanese with a collaborative completion (line 18), an agreement (line 21) and its upgrade (line 23). But the problem with such self-selections is that May risks losing the floor and consequently having the topic move in a different direction.

To avoid this, May makes a bid to return the conversation to English in line 20. She begins with the word *but*, which links this utterance to its Japanese equivalent *kedo* at the end of her previous turn. Facing competition for turn from Anja (and later Donald) May designs her utterance so as to treat Anja's turn as irrelevant –as if it didn't even exist– by producing line 20 as a continuation of her own turn as a first occurrence, rather than as an aligning repetition of the prior speaker's turn. The switch allows her to formulate her point as if it has not yet been made –which in a sense it hasn't in English, the base medium for this conversation. Cromdal (2001) notes the use of codeswitching as a turn securing device in turn-competitive environments. In this case it is May who initiates the initial shift to Japanese in order to enact forward-oriented repair (lines 13-15), but her return to English in line 24 allows her to keep control of the floor.

The use of a Japanese term in an English utterance facilitates communication for those who can be assumed to understand it, but as noted above, this also makes relevant a subsequent translation in mixed preference multi-party talk. In making a translation or a paraphrase, the speaker is recognizing the presence of a non-proficient speaker of the switched-to medium²⁹. However, in excerpt 7.3, May does not provide an English version of *kyotsugo*, but instead continues with her argument upon returning to English in line 24.

Part of this may be accounted for in terms of the multi-turn nature of the parenthetical sequence. May's first attempt to steer the conversation back to English in line 20 is produced in overlap with surrounding Japanese utterances and she is forced to postpone her English turn in order to acknowledge Don's agreement in response to the turn-final *ne*, which then allows Anja to extend the emerging Japanese parenthetical sequence with an upgrade. At the next available TRP (line 24) she again makes a bid to move the conversation back to English³⁰ and as she does so she realigns her body and re-engages visually with Tim (the participant with a known preference for English) in the talk.

As in excerpt 7.2, throughout the sequence, gaze in combination with codeswitching make relevant the two participant groups. Language and bodily conduct 'mutually contextualize each other to build temporally-unfolding frameworks of co-participation' (Hayashi, 2003a). At the discourse level, speakers are using language alternation as a resource to accomplish specific communicative acts within the interactional sequence, including enacting side sequences, initiating repair and changing footing. At the same time they are orienting to what they know about the person they are talking to, such as by switching to the recipient's preferred language in what Auer (1984) has called participant-related switches. Knowledge of elements of the interlocutor's language preference is crucial for the production of any speech, and dramatically apparent in

²⁹ This notion of post-exclusionary translations will be explored in further detail in section 7.4.

³⁰ Note that this is done through turn-competitive onset (Schegloff, 2000), as evidenced by emphasis in conjunction with codeswitching, so that May's action is affiliative with the previous speaker on the level of topic (or propositional content) while being equally competitive with respect to the local organization of turn-taking.

codeswitched data like these. Ways in which the recipients respond then also make their identities visible in the ongoing structure of the pursuant talk.

Hayashi (2003b) observes that speakers make use of a variety of embodied practices during word search sequences to provide recipients with publicly available resources that enable them to participate in an ongoing word search. Among them he notes that speakers can mobilize their gaze to invite recipients' co-participation or divert it to indicate that they wish to continue the word search sequence alone. In lines 12-14, May is actively diverting her gaze from the other members as she initiates her word search, indicating that at this point she is engaged in a solitary word search (Charles Goodwin, 1986). However by the time she achieves mutual eye contact with Donald in line 15 she seems to have already found a Japanese word for what she wants to say. Here she is not inviting his participation in a search for the word *kyotsugo*, but its English equivalent.

Hayashi (2003b) also notes that another syntactic resource available to Japanese speakers is distal demonstrative pronouns such as *are* ('that one') or *asoko* ('that place'). Hayashi argues that one of these pronouns can be used as a placeholder, somewhat like the English phrase *watchamacallit*, to index a relevant domain of words that includes the searched-for item. This provides recipients with resources for co-participation by projecting a specific kind of referent.

Goodwin (1996) calls such communicative placeholders 'prospective indexicals' because they help specify a projected action. In the case of these bilingual word searches, the indexical is even more explicit than merely *are* ('that one'), and provides the recipient with a thorough understanding of the missing item before the paraphrasing begins. In this respect a bilingual word search is opposite to a monolingual search in which the circumlocution comes first. The fact that the search is continuing alerts the recipients to the fact that the speaker is searching for an other-medium item.

So in this excerpt May could initially be attempting to do something similar to what Gino did with *sakoku* in excerpt 7.2. Like *sakoku* ('a period of politically enforced national isolation'), *kyotsugo* ('lingua franca') does not have a succinct equivalent in English, or at least not one that is used in the everyday conversation of teenagers. Therefore the most communicatively economic way to

express the notion for most of the recipients is to specify what they want to say in Japanese. The expediency of the Japanese lexical item allows the speaker to express him or herself precisely and in so doing maintain the turn at talk. However this then necessitates a paraphrase for the benefit of the co-present researcher, who the students view as an English speaker.

The interesting thing about this case is that the English paraphrase does not occur. As outlined above, the fact that the switch led to a multi-turn sequence in Japanese may account for delaying the sequentially-due return to prior medium, but what appears to be more important in this instance is Tim's timely uptake token in line 18, which signals receipt of the Japanese version of May's projected trouble source. This may be sufficient to indicate to May that he has understood the word *kyotsugo*, therefore circumventing the need for an English version.

While it is likely that *kyotsugo* is the cause of the trouble, it seems that May has repaired the entire phrase into Japanese. In line 13 she begins the turn with 'it's the En-', which when considered retrospectively in consideration of the turn she eventually produced, probably would have led to something like, 'It's the- English is our common language.' The first part of this turn 'which says that it's the' is produced as an incomplete TCU, which could have been completed with the word *kyotsugo* (common language) if May were talking exclusively to a group of her peers. However, the prior talk has been directed by Tim (an adult with a preference for English), which might indicate to May that she should produce her argument in that medium. However, since the term (common language) is not available on time to her, she repairs instead the entire phrase by delivering it all in Japanese.

Since Tim makes public his understanding of the Japanese version through a receipt token in line 18, May is not obliged to provide an English version in subsequent talk in this instance.

Finally a further variation on this bilingual practice for conducting forward-oriented repair (word search) can be seen in excerpt 7.4. In this case Gino begins with a fairly literal English translation of what he wants to say, then specifies the Japanese indexical and finally gives a more natural English translation.

Excerpt 7.4: FG3 They don't care

01 Tim: does that stop you from using *champon*
codeswitching
02 (.) outside (.) the school?
03 May: no::.
04 (0.7)
05 Tim: you [don't-]
06 Gino: [Yes it do][es][(sometimes)]
07 May: [I-][don't care]
08 Tim: [you don't]care about?]
09 Gino: sometimes [if they] look in a strange way.
10 Don: [()]
11 Don: when I('m Chinese) I don't use both
12 languages because (0.3) like it's
13 like like showing off. [so,]
14 Tim: [uhuh]
15 Don: [and they don't like] it [most of them.]
16 May: [a:::h]
yeah
17 Anja: [a:::~:]:::h
yeah
18 Gino: →Yes but (0.4) in Tokyo there's less (.)
19 of that (.) like (1.1) thing.=
20 =nanka (.) nanka
like like
21 [(0.7)]
22 [((door bang))]
23 Gino:→ *sonna no kankei nai. °tohkyoh wa°*
that NOM relation COP-NEG Tokyo TOP
That sort of thing doesn't matter in Tokyo.
24 → they don't care.
25 Don: *maji (de)?*
real PT

Really?

26 Gino: [ah]
 yeah

27 Tim: [Okay][I guess that's kin]da' like question

28 May: [()]

29 Tim: three so let's see if we can put our cards out.

In this case the participants are talking about using their minority language outside of the school environment. The trouble source begins in line 18 when Gino self-selects after a sequence in which there has been considerable competition for turn. In lines 16 and 17, May and Anja are agreeing with Don's assertion that using English in an otherwise monolingual environment can be regarded as 'showing off' by others. In lines 18 and 19, Gino attempts to disagree with Don. He eventually seems to be trying to say something like 'but that sort of thing doesn't matter in Tokyo', but his first attempt instead becomes 'in Tokyo there is less (.) of that like (1.1) thing'. Disagreement is a dispreferred action (Pomerantz, 1984) and so such disfluencies may signal that the action is unexpected or disaligned with the projected flow of the prior talk. At the same, the competition for turn, as evidenced by mid-turn overlap in the earlier sequences may have contributed to Gino's attempts to seize the turn without due attention to the form of his utterance.

Whatever the cause, Gino's utterance in line 18-19 is not complete, as evidenced both by the syntactic deficiency and his own attempts to self-initiate repair in subsequent turns. It is interesting to note that the Japanese filler *nanka* in line 20 is basically equivalent to the filler *like* that Gino used in line 19, forming a kind of turn-internal self-translation. That, in combination with the long pauses in lines 19 and 21, seems to indicate that a switch to Japanese is imminent. And indeed Gino's next utterance in Japanese in line 23 displays none of the disfluencies of the turns that preceded it.

The first two words, '*sonna no*', are the Japanese equivalent of 'that sort of thing', which is similar to the trouble source phrase in line 19. Gino seems to be using this bilingual repetition as a self-repair, and the bilingual recipients are

able to see what the English phrase in line 19 actually meant. Moreover, the correct Japanese phrase *sonna no* leads to *kankei nai*, a phrase that literally translated means ‘no relationship’ but is used pragmatically to mean ‘(they) don’t care’, the translation that Gino eventually comes up with in line 24.

In this sense the phrase ‘They don’t care’ can be seen as a second self-initiated self-repair, which was prompted by the first. Switching to Japanese facilitated access to an English phrase. In other words, Gino is translating from his stronger language. The switch to other-medium in this case is not so much as a resource for others as it is for the speaker himself. In fact, throughout this word search sequence, Gino has averted his gaze from the other participants, indicating that he doesn’t want them to participate in the search (Hayashi, 2003b). This suggests that some bilingual word search sequences work in a similar way to monolingual sequences. In comparison to the earlier examples, Gino did not have immediate access to the phrase that eventually completes the repair sequence.

7.2.3 *Conclusion*

In this section I have examined a number of bilingual practices that occur during parenthetical sequences. Whether in bilingual or monolingual interaction, such ‘asides’ can be used as a discourse resource to negotiate some subordinate matter that is bracketed from the main flow of the talk-in-interaction, such as a word search sequence. From the data excerpts in this section, I have suggested a bilingual practice which accomplished forward-oriented repair. A lexical item from medium B is directed in its unmodified form at a recipient who is normatively expected to understand it, making it clear to those in the group who understand that language precisely what the speaker is really wanting to say. The speaker then goes on to provide a circumlocution in medium A.

This practice is obviously related to the discourse, but at the same time they are also interconnected to the participants’ identities and their knowledge and assumptions about each other. By alternating between languages in multi-party talk, a speaker can bring about new constellations of speakers by excluding some recipients from the conversation or choosing to include others. Recently a similar

practice has been documented by Mondada (2004), who suggests that ‘practices of repair initiated within a team and in the language of the team are a recurrent technique to restrict participation to the co-members of that team’ (p. 31). However it is not just by switching languages alone that such partitions are created. Bodily conduct and syntactic practices are also responsible for determining whom a current speaker is expecting to speak next.

This issue of exclusion was one that was very controversial at HIS, and even became a central part of the school’s English language policy (Appendix 6), which prohibited the use of other languages during school time. As they mentioned in excerpt 7.3 and many other times during my ethnographic observations, the students felt that switching languages also helped to include others. In the next section I will explore another practice that I observed the participants using in bilingual interaction- informal translations that aimed to include those who had been left out of the conversation.

7.3 Accomplishing identity through backward-oriented repair: Post-exclusionary translations in bilingual interaction

7.3.1 Overview

In the previous section, we examined one sequential environment in bilingual interaction in which codeswitching facilitated communication by using a precise Japanese lexical item to reserve the turn while the speaker accessed its English equivalent. In multi-party talk where the recipients are not all fluent in both languages, codeswitching can often mean that some of those in the group are excluded for the duration of the switch, which makes translation relevant as a possible post-switch action. In other words, the act of translation acknowledges the presence of members who are not proficient in the switched-to medium, thereby indexing various participant identities. Because these switches involve a repetition of some part of the turn-in-progress that alters the participant constellation, I will refer to this bilingual practice as *post-exclusionary translation*.

Recent studies have focused on the role of translation as a form of codeswitching in classroom second language learning situations (Kasper, 2004; Mori, 2004; Ustunel & Seedhouse, 2005) and to a certain extent, the act of repairing a trouble source by translating it must necessarily call into play standard relational pairs such as novice/expert (Hosoda, 2001, 2002) which parallel more formally acknowledged identities such as the teacher/student dichotomy. Cashman (2005) notes the way translation can partition talk according to ethnic and other locally negotiated categories, concluding that 'language alternation in conversation may be seen as constituting and changing, not merely reflecting, social structure' (2005:313). Translation thus appears to be one bilingual practice that is highly salient to aspects of the interactants' relative identities.

This section will focus on a collection of post-exclusionary translations from my data that was taken from both the focus groups and in natural occurring interactional contexts at the school. A detailed sequential analysis of this bilingual practice reveals that speakers often make available their assumptions about recipients' identity-related competencies by providing a translation even when it is not required, such as in a situation when a potentially non-fluent recipient has already indicated his or her understanding of the translatable talk. I will argue that this demonstrates the preference for a certain language for a particular recipient makes medium-repair relevant at the earliest possible juncture, thereby facilitating that person's inclusion in the ongoing talk.

This is not to infer that codeswitching cannot be used to purposefully exclude certain recipients from the conversation, but that to do so is a marked act and would be somehow made noticeable through the details of the interaction. The fact that I was unable to identify any examples of unrepaired switches that purposefully aimed to exclude a co-present participant from some element of the talk is testament to the overwhelming expectedness that all interactants should be catered for according to the recipient design of the conversation.

Interestingly it is this kind of exclusionary codeswitching that is mentioned specifically in the school's language policy, perhaps reflecting a monolingual-centric view of language alternation in which any shift to other medium constitutes an exclusion. Certainly it was the monolingual teachers who

the basketball team. All participants were bilingual multiethnic Japanese and at this stage I was not active in the conversation, so logically there should be no reason for Mick to provide his English translation in line 4 for the participants based on what he knew about the recipients he was addressing. Neither was there any indication, such as gaze or bodily conduct, that he was addressing me during the English segment of his switch in line 4.

Instead, Mick's translation of his prior turn seems to work as a repetition for the purpose of emphasizing or upgrading his initial assessment. Note that his original utterance in line 1, a self-deprecating assessment, is met with immediate strong agreement from BJ, delivered in a laughing voice. Self-deprecations are normatively met with immediate *disagreement* (Pomerantz, 1984), so BJ's agreement may be seen as one way of achieving affiliation by including himself in the membership category *basketball club member*, which would mean the boys are talking as a team (Lerner, 1993). Since Mick's initial assessment meets with a kind of appreciation from BJ, his self-selected translation serves as an upgraded assessment rather than providing any information the others may have missed.

A similar practice can be seen in excerpt 7.6.

Excerpt 7.6: Osowareta

01 May: *Ah Makkusu ga ii Makkusu ga osowareta tstte*
 oh Max Nom good Max Top attack-PST QT-say
 Oh Max will do. Say Max was attacked.

02 (1.0)

03 Nina: *osowareta (.) rape? ((laugh))*
 attack-PAS-PST
 attacked?

04 Girls: ((laugh))=

05 Anja: =*osowareteta no ka okasareteta no ka*
 attack-PAS-PST NR or rape-PAS-PST NR or
 Either attacked or raped.

06 Girls: ((laugh))

07 Anja: *dotchika saki (des [ne])*

	either	first	COP	IP
	One of them must come first, huh?			
08	May:→			[<i>oso</i>] <i>wareta</i>
				attack-PAS-PST
				attacked
09		(1.3)		
10	May:→	<i>atakku</i>	<i>sareta</i>	
		attack	do-PAS-PST	
		He was attacked.		

In this sequence, taken from free talk around the lunch table, the participants are playing with two Japanese words that are phonologically and semantically similar. After May uses the word *osowareta* ('attacked') in line 1, Nina makes a bid to initiate repair by repeating the word *osowareta* but with an English translation for a similar word, *okasareta* ('raped'). In this case, the repair initiation does not seem to be due to any misunderstanding on Nina's part, but rather it acts as an attempt at humor or a play on words, as evidenced by the laughter from the other bilingual participants in the next turn³¹. Anja makes the pun more specific in lines 5 to 7, in a form that uses mock repair in a similar way to Nina's playful request for clarification in line 3.

In her response in line 8, May begins by repeating the word she used in line 1 in its original form. Since no uptake from the others is immediately forthcoming, May then self-selects to further clarify which of the two words she meant by delivering its English equivalent, albeit with some Japanese phonological and syntactic modifications.

One further observation about this switch is that it seems to echo Nina's 'false translation' in line 3. Nina's repair initiator takes the form:

Japanese term: incorrect English equivalent:

³¹ Part of this laughter might also be due to Nina's use of the word "rape" itself, especially in regard to Max, since "being raped" is routinely bound to the category "female", to which Max does not belong.

while May's eventual self-repair takes the form:

Japanese term repeated: correct English equivalent

The structure of the turn in both cases is simple, stating only the term in question and its target-language equivalent, in a similar manner to an entry in a Japanese-English dictionary. Here the translation is clearly working as repair, but not because the recipients (Nina and Anja) do not comprehend the meaning of *osowareta*.

While only the bilingual girls speak in this segment of the transcript, in fact one novice Japanese speaker, Ryan, is also co-present. Even so, the codeswitch in lines 7-10 is noticeably delivered to the other bilingual Japanese girls at this stage of the conversation, as evidenced through May's gaze direction, the fact that the switch is inserted into what is otherwise Japanese talk, and also perhaps to some extent because the sequence constitutes co-participatory teasing of Ryan's friend, Max. At this point in the conversation, the translation can be considered discourse-related, with its aim being to clarify a potential trouble source by providing a known gloss in the switched-to medium. Ryan's role as a non-native recipient only becomes relevant as the conversation progresses and will be considered later in Excerpt 7.7.

As can be seen from these few examples, bilingual speakers do not only repeat something in their second language in order to include someone who has been excluded from the talk. Such bilingual re-sayings also regularly accomplish a range of discourse-related functions such as reiterations and clarification, and therefore appear to be qualitatively distinct to translations.

One of the most important differences is that in translations the speaker orients toward a specific recipient whose preferred language is known (or assumed) to be the switched to medium. In multi-party conversation that includes speakers with a variety of linguistic competencies, a translation from a proficient speaker can sometimes be understood by the participants as directed to a non-

proficient or novice³² speaker. In sections 7.3.3 and 7.3.4 I will look at situations in which the presence of a non-Japanese person within the group occasions the act of translation.

7.3.3 *Novice-initiated Translation*

Perhaps the most commonly known function of translation is to render one language into another for the benefit of someone who doesn't understand the first language. Kasper (2004) observes that codeswitching was one device used by a novice learner of German to request a target language action format from the language expert. She notes that the complementary membership categories of target language novice and expert were demonstrably omnirelevant, but they were predominately invoked by the novice, such as when she codeswitched to her stronger language to request clarification of an unfamiliar lexical item. Kasper found that in her data, repairs were self-initiated by the novice and other-completed by the expert (2004:562). Moreover the shift from conversation to language learning event was indexed by codeswitches to the learner's first language. Language alternation from the novice's second language to her first acted as a trigger for recasts, their interactional trajectories and possible acquisitional effects (2004:563).

In this section we will look at the use of similar codeswitching in which an expert speaker completes a novice-initiated action sequence by repeating some prior turn segment in the novice speaker's preferred medium. At the time these recordings were made there was no student in the senior high school department who had absolutely no understanding of Japanese but there were a number for whom it was a definite second language. While such students often understood the gist of many Japanese and mixed-medium conversations, they didn't always follow the specific details. This often led the novice speaker to initiate repair, such as in the following excerpt, which occurred in the same conversation as Excerpt 7.6.

³² The terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* have become ideologically loaded (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Rampton, 1999a). Rather than use them here, wherever possible I will adopt Carroll's (2000) terminology of *novice* and *expert*.

The okonomiyaki place is...

- 02 Anja: =`ya=
no
- 03 Nina: =It's it's=
04 Anja: =It's not there
05 Nina: it's not there anymore
06 Yoko: HU::h he ha [ha (*soh nan da*)
that VN COP
Is that so?
07 Nina: [No no it's it's there
08 *nan da kedo*
VN COP but
but
09 me and Anja went there and it's like
10 → [*shibaraku kyugyoh itashimasu toka itte*]
a while shutdown do-POL or say-CONT
It said something like 'Temporarily Closed'.
11 [((makes emblematic gesture of a sign on door))]
12 Yoko: e::? [what happen(ed)] (.) to the(m)?
13 Kate: [*kieta no?*]
disappear-PST VN
It's gone?
14 Anja: *un*
yeah
15 Nina: we don't have anywhere to eat
16 Ryan:→ *kyugyoh?*=
closed for business
17 Yoko: [(*Uso da::*)
lie COP
I don't believe it.
18 Ryan:→ [=is *shinda?*
die-PST
dead
19 Nina: *shinda.* (.) [*iya mada shinde wa*

(line 10), in which she gives a relatively direct quote in Japanese of what was written on the door of the restaurant. Even if Ryan is unsure of what exactly is being said during this switch, he probably recognizes it as formal language and also has available Nina's accompanying gesture (line 11), which indicates that it was written on something that was a small rectangular notice at chest height (rather than for example a large sign above the door).

Ryan makes use of the sequential context so far to arrive at a candidate understanding of the Japanese expression in lines 16 and 18, when he produces the utterance '*kyugyoh?* is *shinda?*' ('dead'). Note that by initiating repair in this way, he makes available to Nina both the specific trouble source (*kyugyoh*) and his current interpretation of it, and in doing so is delaying his news response to Nina's account. In contrast, Kate and Yoko both provide timely uptake in lines 12 and 13, with newsmarkers and questions that initiate further account. Although Ryan is directing his gaze towards Nina during the switch in line 10, demonstrating his reciprocity by paying attention to her, his own news receipt doesn't come until line 24 when Nina has provided a temporary confirmation of his bid for repair.

In other words, by initiating repair instead of providing a newsmarker (the preferred response), Ryan begins an insertion sequence that is collaboratively completed by Nina and Anja in lines 19-25. Initially Nina accepts Ryan's candidate repair by repeating the word *shinda* with falling intonation to demonstrate she agrees.

But in fact this is not the most appropriate way to interpret the translatable turn. Ryan's rewording of *kyugyoh* ('temporarily closed') as *shinda* ('dead') may reflect his cultural understanding of the gesture that accompanied it, rather than any semantic knowledge he has of the Chinese compound. In Japan, families usually post a handwritten notice on their door when someone has died. Nina's gesture, along with what formal language he understood and the fact that the restaurant is closed, make *shinda* a reasonable guess from a non-native speaker of Japanese.

One could put forward the argument that Nina accepts Ryan's answer because he is a novice. However, a closer examination of the data in this case

indicates that this acceptance is probably just an immediate reaction intended to hasten Ryan's arrival at the newsmarker. Note that as soon as Nina ratifies *shinda* it immediately becomes a trouble source itself, receiving self-initiated self-repair from Nina in Japanese (lines 19-20, 22) and other-initiated other-repair from Anja in English (line 21). While Anja's bid for repair seems to be projecting some other explanation for why the restaurant has closed (such as renovations), Nina's utterance builds on Ryan's misunderstanding by downgrading it from *shinda* (dead) to *shiniso* (looks like he'll die). In this part of the sequence it seems that Nina is more concerned with a prompt explanation rather than an accurate one, and Anja provides an agreement token in line 23 to display that the downgraded explanation is sufficient for that recipient at that time.

However since there is actually nothing in the reported sign to infer that the owner is necessarily ill, the truth value of Nina's explanation (*shiniso*) is still potentially open to criticism. In line 26 she self-selects to provide a more accurate English translation 'temporarily unavailable', which approximates something of the formality and ambiguity of the original Japanese and effectively disallows Ryan's original interpretation.

So as we have seen in this section, translations can be other-initiated by novice speakers of the switched-to medium, either directly or via candidate understandings. Relatively simple lexical items to which the initiator of repair claims no knowledge (as in excerpt 7.7) commonly receive direct translations in next turn, while more complicated translations that involve several lexical items or conflicting participant interpretations (excerpt 7.8) may involve negotiation over several turns.

What is common to this kind of repair is that a participant who is known to be a non-expert user of the language in the translatable turn requests the translation. In doing so, novice repairers are acknowledging both the translator's bilingual proficiency and their own lack of proficiency in their second language. This in turn invokes hierarchies of proficiency within multi-party talk, such that balanced bilinguals are able to accept or reject participant interpretations and therefore influence the knowledge to which they have access.

14 Max: [hai.]
yes
15 Nina: (you probably should mention that.)
16 (1.1)
17 Nina:→ take (.) take means bamboo=
18 Max: =yeah.

Here, as part of a homework task for his Japanese class, Max has been writing the hiragana readings for various musical instruments on to some photocopied sheets. Just prior to this segment he has enlisted Nina's assistance with one of the other lexical items, but in line 1 he attempts a translation of his own, probably based on something available to him via the written resources he has in front of them. His claim that 'a flute is a *takebu*' is incorrect on both semantic and phonological levels. As Nina points out in the next turn, the most common Japanese correlate for flute is '*fue*' (foo-eh), but this is a generic term for any musical pipe or whistle, whereas the picture that Max has in front of him depicts a traditional Japanese instrument made of bamboo. That information doesn't become available to Nina until line 3 when she glances at Max's page, but along with Max's inaccurately pronounced initial translation it leads her to initiate repair by producing a second translation that in turn functions to further repair Max's initial attempt from line 1.

This is followed by a side sequence with Ryan, a co-present novice that also helps to establish Nina as the situated authority on Japanese language and cultural artifacts, at least for this time and place. While this is happening Max writes the word on his paper in hiragana and eventually displays he has acquired the appropriate phonological form of the word by pronouncing it correctly in line 11. But as Max has yet to demonstrate that he is aware of the semantic differences between *takebue* and *fue*, in line 13 Nina again self-selects to initiate a sequence, which in line 17 leads to a translation of the word bamboo, the most relevant difference between the two instruments.

In these kinds of conversations the bilingual participant's multiethnic Japanese identity is jointly accomplished by making relevant situated membership

category pairs of expert and novice. The novice makes a direct appeal for a translation to someone he or she knows (or assumes) to be an authority in Japanese, as in Excerpt 7.8, and the bilingual participant ratifies this identity by providing an adequate translation. Likewise a proficient bilingual may use a translation to initiate repair, again foregrounding expert and novice categories for the pursuant talk-in-interaction.

The ability to provide an appropriate translation therefore ultimately assists in establishing and co-constructing elements of that person's social identity. Note that it is not only the ability to understand Japanese that is of import in such sequences, but also the ability to access an English equivalent in a timely fashion.

Codeswitching in mixed-proficiency multi-party talk always presents the possibility that certain participants will be excluded from the conversation, at least for some of the time. In cases where a novice speaker was excluded from the interaction, he or she was able to initiate repair. Rather than a same-code explanation, in such cases this often led the expert speaker to come up with a concise lexical equivalent in the repair-initiator's preferred medium.

While the kind of sequences that have been analyzed in sections 7.3.3 and 7.3.4 have been fairly straight-forward uses of translation in which the relevant membership categories are clear, there were also many cases of translation which were not specifically initiated by some action on the part of the novice language user, but yet somehow still made relevant various situated participant identities. Often the current speaker would repair their own utterance by providing a translation at a point in the talk where they considered a novice speaker to be potentially excluded, before the novice had a chance to initiate repair or demonstrate his non-comprehension through an inappropriate usage. The next section will explore such instances of self-initiated language-choice repair.

7.3.5 Translation as backwards-oriented self-repair

While the examples in this section up until now have clearly involve the action of a recognized novice speaker in the repair, many times the participants translated what they were saying without any clear prompting from recipients. Unlike the

forward-oriented self-initiated self-repair in section 7.3, in which a speaker used an other-medium translation to hold the floor until he or she was able to provide its equivalent in current-medium, the examples we will examine in this section were produced first in current-medium and then translated into other-medium for a specific sub-group of recipients. In other words these translations can be considered a form of backwards-oriented self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, 1979) in which the trouble source appears to be language choice, particularly with respect to appropriate recipient design for some subset of recipients. The translation serves not simply as repair but also ensures optimum reciprocity for some yet-to-be-produced turn segment.

In short, this practice involves the following sequence of actions:

1. *First saying*: a bilingual participant produces a turn (or turn segment) in medium A.
2. *Possible receipt token trigger*: a recipient who is known (or assumed to be) non-fluent in medium A provides some uptake token.
3. *Translated resaying*: some prior-produced element is repeated in medium B in conjunction with gaze shift or other bodily conduct to indicate it is intended for a specific participant or subset of participants.
4. *Return*: talk returns to medium A.

In these cases there is nothing to indicate to the speaker that the co-present novice speaker is experiencing difficulty with the translated segment. However, a fine-grained analysis of the participants' gaze shifts reveals that the translated turn segment is indeed intended for the novice speaker, despite his or her claims to reciprocity. For this reason, this section will rely heavily not only on detailed transcripts but also framegrabs³³ to document the participants' embodied actions during the course of the readdressed repair sequences.

³³ In these framegrabs, the red triangle denotes the point in the turn at which the video was paused.

In the first example, excerpt 7.10, Eri describes one of her earliest experiences at the international school in which she reportedly thought her teacher was ‘a husky’ because she had blue eyes. Eri translates the word *husky* for her peers, even though its Japanese equivalent is almost the same as the English.

Excerpt 7.10 FG6: 9:35 Husky-ken

01 Tim: so after that you came here
02 Eri: yes. yes
03 Tim: [I see.]
04 Eri: [at the end of] first grade I didn't know any:
05 (0.7) English ((shifts gaze to Tim))
06 Tim: uh[uh]
07 Eri: [a]t all. and when I: first sa:w?
08 >Mrs (Gray.)<, she's (0.6) my first.
09 ((looks away)) >grade teacher<,
10 ((shifts gaze to Tim))
11 → I thought she was one of the husky,
12 you know like the (.)
13 puppy? ((gestures quotation marks))
14 You [know like the]= ((turns to others on 'the'))
15 Tim: [>ah ah a:h.<]
Yeah yeah yeah
16 Eri: → =hasuki-ken. ((with gesture to Ulliani))
husky-dog breed
husky
17 Ulliani:((slight smile, nods, diverts gaze momentarily))
18 Eri: because ((turning to Tim))
19 her eyes was blue. ((gaze at Tim))
20 'n [I was like] ((shifts gaze away))
21 Tim: [°eh ha] ha°
22 Eri: ☺I'm not going in to see this school. ☺
23 but now I'm here:.

During lines 1 to 13, Eri is directing her gaze largely at Tim (that is, towards the camera), although she does look away momentarily during the parenthetical sequence in lines 8 and 9. In line 11 she produces an initial description in English (Figure 7.3) that includes the translatable turn segment. Whether or not there was some visual display of uptake at this point from Tim is unclear, but at the end of this TCU Eri self-selects to provide her first form of repair, an expanded English clarification also directed at Tim (Figure 7.4), ‘you know like the (.) puppy?’



Figure 7.3 Husky, Line 11



Figure 7.4 Husky, Line 13

The keyword *puppy* is delivered with an ‘air quote’ gesture that serves to denote it as marked. One possible reason that Eri would need to call attention to the fact that she is talking about a dog here is that the school’s mascot is the husky and it’s basketball team is also called The Huskies, so saying that her teacher was one of the huskies might be conceivably misunderstood by her recipients as indexing the teacher’s membership in the *school community* MCD. Perhaps a more likely explanation would be that the emblematic gesture attributes the word *husky* with some special meaning, in effect saying that while she is calling her teacher a puppy, she is doing so figuratively.

Whatever Eri’s motivation, the English word and its explanation are now publicly available for the participants. Without acknowledging uptake from Tim, in line 16 Eri turns to Ulliani and the other participants, whose language preference is Japanese, to produce the Japanese equivalent *hasuki-ken* (Figure 7.5). Note that apart from its inherent morphological similarity, there are two other repetitions that help set this turn up as a second version of lines 11-13. Firstly, the English phrase ‘you know like the’ is virtually identical in both turn segments. Secondly, the gesture that accompanies the word *puppy*, is recycled in an adapted

form and produced in conjunction with the word *hasuki-ken*, this time representing something of the form of the animal.

Eri shifts her gaze from Tim to Ulliani in line 14 on the word ‘the’, precisely at a time when she has receipt of his uptake of her earlier gloss. This allows Eri to direct the Japanese portion of the translation at Ulliani, a recipient known to hold a preference for that language. Ulianni’s display of uptake (line 17) is not obvious, but it is present, acknowledging receipt of the Japanese translation through embodied action. After this, Eri shifts her gaze back to Tim and returns to English to deliver the remaining part of her turn (Figure 7.6), displaying her understanding of English as the preferred medium for that particular recipient.



Figure 7.5 Husky, Line 16



Figure 7.6 Husky, Line 19

While this sequence obviously makes available the speaker's knowledge of the recipient's preferred medium (i.e. participant-related codeswitching), Eri is also able to use the switch to Japanese as an interactional resource to clarify her point (discourse-related codeswitching). Lines 11 to 14 contain two descriptions: 'one of the husky' (line 11) and 'you know like the puppy', which is produced as a clarification of line 11, indicating the non-precision of the first description. The quotation mark gesture that accompanies the second description indicate that it is not entirely accurate either. Hence, Eri treats her two attempts at describing the teacher (line 11 and 12-14) as possibly misleading or ambiguous, and so codeswitching into Japanese allows her to negotiate this production difficulty. So rather than just adapting to Ulliani's preference for Japanese, Eri is also resorting to Japanese as a way of resolving the ambiguity she has created in English. In other words this sequence constitutes an example of polyvalent codeswitching (Auer, 1984).

Note that Eri's Japanese translation *hasuki-ken* is literally 'husky-dog'. In other words, in this sequence she is repairing not only the word husky, but also her English gloss from line 13 ('puppy'). This might be another way to account

for Eri's action in translating a word that would seem comprehensible to all those present. The potential trouble source comes not merely because the word *husky* could cause problems for those co-participants who speak Japanese, but from the fact that the word is being used in a way that is somewhat marked. To call a human a dog implies a metaphor, and one that is not clear at the point at which Eri's translation is produced. By emphasizing that she means a literal canine *husky* (rather than the team mascot), recipients are expected to search for some link between the teacher and a dog. This link comes in Eri's account (lines 18-19) that it was because the teacher's eyes were blue³⁴.

Alternatively, Eri's use of 'puppy' (lines 12-13) may be viewed as evidence that she is already on the way to a Japanese translation, and has produced the English gloss based on the yet to be produced *hasuki-ken*. Whatever the reason, we can see clearly that a key phrase has been reproduced in preferred medium for a specific subset of participants (of which Ulliani becomes representative) before speaker returns to prior-medium to complete her multi-unit turn.

The next instance, excerpt 7.11, is taken from focus group 2. It comes immediately after a section of mixed-medium talk in which the participants have been discussing the word *haafu*, largely without any input from the researcher who is seated apart from the group (again, behind the camera). From line 1, Tim self-selects in English to confirm his understanding of the word *haafu*. Before the others can respond, Nina brings up another antiquated epithet, *konketsuji* (literally 'mixed blood child'), with which she appears to have had some experience and then switches to English to translate this word for Tim.

Excerpt 7.11 FG2 17:20 Konketsuji

01 Tim: it- >haafu is pretty much< just a word that

³⁴ Evidence that Tim may have been able to project this metaphor comes in line 15 with his extended acknowledgement marker. Ah ah a:h is stronger than a usual backchannel marker and shows that I could anticipate the comment about the blue eyes even before Eri said it. In fact I have been likened to a husky myself in the past by Japanese people because of my eye colour, although the metaphor is by no means common.

02 other people use, right [y]=
03 Mick: [ahn]
yeah
04 Tim: =in this school
05 *I-I don't really hear i[t everyday.]=
06 Nina: [*mukashi no hito demo]=
Past GEN person but
07 *((Tim===== *BJ~~~~~))
08 Tim: [yeah]
09 Nina:→ [*kon] *ketsuji *to yutteteta
mix blood child QT say-PST-CONT
But in the past people used to say *konketsuji*.
10 ((*BJ==*TG~~~~ *=====))
11 Tim: hm:
12 Nina:→ *mixed blood pe[rson]
13 ((*TG =====))
14 Kate: ☺[KON]ketsuji? ☺
mixed blood
A mixed blood?
15 Mick: [((* laugh))
16 Nina: ((*Mick~~~~~=====))
17 Kate: [*☺E::h, *shihrahnahi☺
Huh know-NEG
Huh, I've never heard of that!
18 Nina: ((*Kate~~ *=====))
19 Mick: [((laugh))

In lines 1 to 3, Mick, Kate and Nina are displaying their reciprocity by maintaining eye contact with Tim (Figure 7.7) while he confirms his understanding of the usage of the word *haafu*. During line 4, Nina briefly looks away from Tim (Figure 7.8), perhaps displaying some kind of disengagement with the projectable thread of Tim's turn-in-progress. For the first half of line 5, she returns her gaze to Tim briefly and then shifts it towards BJ and Mia as she uses discourse-related

codeswitching to seize the floor and introduce a new topic (Figures 7.3.7-9). By the time she delivers the alternative epithet *konketsuji* in line 9 (Figure 7.12) her gaze is directed firmly at BJ, who is seated off-camera between Mia and Mick.

Having established that this turn is directed at her multiethnic peers, she once again turns back to Tim during the second half of line 9 (Figures 7.13-14). This may be due to the fact that this switch has occurred in overlap. Having grabbed the turn from Tim, Nina can be normatively understood to be in potential competition for the floor in subsequent turns, but since Tim has signaled his reciprocity in line 8 Nina is within her rights to continue.

In line 11 Tim produces a second backchannel that further casts him as a recipient, and simultaneously signals his comprehension of the newly introduced term *konketsuji* even before Mick, Kate and the others have. At this point, Nina has already completed her Japanese rendition of the epithet and is preparing to deliver it again in English for Tim (Figure 7.15). This clearly constructs Tim as a relative ‘novice’ speaker of Japanese, which strengthens the turn-competitive force of Nina’s turn in line 6.

Nina’s real-time translation comes in line 12, and although it is not completely accurate (*person* instead of *child*), it is accepted as sufficiently accurate to the extent that it does not receive any comment from the other co-participants. This act of self-initiated self-repair demonstrates that Nina sees some source of trouble in the way she has delivered part of the immediately prior turn-segment. Her embodied action, however, provides evidence that she does not consider it a problematic word for all of the participants. She specifically delivers the codeswitched translation of *konketsuji* for Tim (Figure 7.16-17), and then returns her gaze to Mick and Kate in response to their overlapped laughter in lines 14 and 15 (Figure 7.18-20). At this point, Nina returns to prior medium (mixed Japanese and English) to provide an account of her experience with the word *konketsuji* to Mick and Kate.



Figure 7.7 Konketsuji, Line 2



Figure 7.8 Konketsuji, Line 4



Figure 7.9 Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6



Figure 7.10 Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6



Figure 7.11 Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6



Figure 7.12 Konketsuji, Line 9



Figure 7.13 Konketsuji, Line 9



Figure 7.14 Konketsuji, Line 9



Figure 7.15 Konketsuji, Line 11



Figure 7.16 Konketsuji, Line 12



Figure 7.17 Konketsuji, Line 12



Figure 7.18 Konketsuji Lines 12 to 14



Figure 7.19 Konketsuji, Line 17



Figure 7.20 Konketsuji, Line 17

The act of translation here may also have an additional discourse function in providing emphasis. Since this is the first time the term *konketsuji* has been introduced in the discussion, Nina makes certain that all her co-participants are

clear on its meaning by saying it again in other-medium. Repeating it, even in another language, has the effect of highlighting it, marking the translated turn-segment of particular import, as did husky in excerpt 7.10. Shifting her gaze towards Tim for the duration of the translation may be a convenient embodied practice that sanctions the use of repetition, allowing Nina to pursue her broader discourse goal in getting her point across.

Note that Tim's uptake signal in line 11 and Nina's facial expression during the translated segment in line 12 both project a stance that is at odds with the display of open laughter that eventuates in lines 14 to 19. During the ongoing talk both Tim and Nina continue to withhold laughter while Nina defends her position (not shown here). On the other hand, Kate claims to have no knowledge of the word *konketsuji* (line 17), but is apparently able to figure out its meaning from either her understanding of kanji characters or the English translation delivered for Tim, or both. Her light-hearted approach to the receipt of this word seems to indicate that she does not view it as offensive as Nina and Tim do.

So in this case we can see that a bilingual, multiethnic participant delivers an English translation to a specific recipient, a white adult who is known to be a native-speaker of English. Although there is no specific mention of his ethnicity, the act of self-initiating translation invokes certain categories within the co-participants, whether they are based on ethnicity or language preference, or indeed a combination of both.

The fact that Tim has implied comprehension of the word *konketsuji* before Nina produces its English equivalent (line 11) appears irrelevant for Nina. Here it is not so much his claim to comprehension that is important but his ongoing participation in the conversation, particularly at a point when he is in direct competition with Nina for the floor. Tim's short utterances both in line 11 and immediately prior in line 8 may act as a kind of trigger that reminds Nina that she is talking to two distinct audiences at the same time, causing her to repeat key elements in a way that she considers will be most easily understood by each subset of recipients, namely in their expectedly preferred medium. This ascribes a certain language preference (and competence) to Tim, which is a significant part of the identity work in which the participants are engaged.

Note also that in this case it is essential for the ongoing interaction that Nina enters the Japanese word into the record. The Japanese term *konketsuji* only has the connotations it does in Japanese, and its English equivalent is understood by the participants to be only a momentary equivalent that is designed to include Tim in the conversation. If Nina had remained in English and only said ‘mixed blood person’ it might not be clear to the participants which term she was referring to.

A similar example can be found in excerpt 7.12 in which Peter translates the word *sugoi*, which literally means *terrible*, but is often used in a positive sense to mean *great*. However in this context Peter is using it in a third way to mean ‘crowded’. With all these possible connotations, Peter chooses to repair his Japanese utterance by shifting his gaze to Tim and translating this earlier turn into English, implying that the translation is designed for a recipient whose preferred medium is English. The excerpt begins just after Ulliani has announced that she is planning to attend a university in Hawaii.

Excerpt 7.12 FG6 31:27 Waikiki

01 Tim: in Hawaii you'd be able to speak Ja(h)panese
 02 I th(h)ink
 03 Benny: >h-heh ha<
 04 Ulliani: But the- [for Ja]panese [many Japa]nese
 05 Peter: [()] [Japanese]
 06 *nihon to nihonjin ni shika kouryuu nai desho*
 Japan and Japanese with only exchange NEG TAG
 With Japanese you can only communicate with Japan and other Japanese.
 07 Ulliani: no I know. That's the problem
 08 Tim: heh heh h[em]
 09 Ulliani: [ma][ny like]=
 10 Peter: [heh heh he]h
 11 Ulliani: =many Japanese are i:n (.)
 12 [Ha]waii so-
 13 Peter: [ne]

14 Peter:→ *waikiki de mo sugoi mon*
 Waikiki in also terrible IT
 It's unbelievable in Waikiki too.

15 (0.4)

16 Peter: .pff

17 Tim: [mm]

18 Ulliani: [I can o]nly hear (.) [Japanese.]
 19 [(in JE)]

20 Peter: [Japanese.]

21 Ulliani: *heh heh[heh

22 Benny: [hn ha ((nods))

23 Peter: *Tim~~~~~==

24 Peter:→ there's li:ke Japanese people all round
 25 in Waikiki. It's [s:cary.]

26 Ulliani: [(Kansai)]
 27 ((a region of Japan))

28 (0.7)

29 Tim: hmm

30 Ulliani: *kansai ben*
 Kansai dialect

31 Tim: tschh=

32 Peter: =Hong Kong *demo soh ssho*
 too same TAG
 Hong Kong is the same, right?

33 Tim: so is that why you chose, Hawaii university?

Unlike the two excerpts above, in this case the translation does not follow immediately after the trouble source. The translatable turn comes in Japanese in line 14 but the English translation does not come until line 24. Again, this can be explained by paying proper attention to the details of the talk. Note that Ulliani's turn in lines 11-12 is unfinished, ending with a cut-off and an incomplete TCU. This delay may be caused by Peter's overlapped bid for turn in line 13, which allows him to initiate a specification of the unfolding topic, an assessment of

Waikiki, which includes the translatable turn segment *sugoi*. He shifts his gaze towards Ulliani at the start of this turn (Figure 7.22) and then away on producing the word *sugoi* (Figure 7.23), perhaps the first indication that he sees this as a potential trouble source. Since Peter other-medium turn in line 13 has come mid-turn for Ulliani, she is within her rights to complete her prior turn at the next available TCU, which she does in line 18, even receiving co-completion from Peter before he turns to Tim to translate his prior turn.

There are two significant events in the interim that may aid in triggering the translation. Firstly Tim provides an acknowledgement of Peter's turn in line 17, which may somehow remind Peter of his presence. Secondly, during the laughter in lines 21-22 (Figure 7.24), Peter looks towards Tim, possibly to check if he is going to join in the appreciation of the co-completed turn³⁵

In either event, Tim's co-presence in the conversation seems to be consequential for the ongoing talk, as Peter makes visible by the act of translation in line 24-25. His gaze is directed towards Tim (Figures 7.3.23-25) while he repeats an English equivalent that aptly renders the sense of *sugoi* that he is using in line 14. This time there is no one English word that captures *sugoi* so the translation covers two sentences, noting that Waikiki is both crowded with Japanese and the fact that this makes the speaker uncomfortable.

³⁵ The collaborative completion in lines 18-20 itself is loaded with membership category work. It arguably gets its humor from the fact that both Peter and Ulliani pronounce the word *Japanese* in a Japanese accent, insinuating that the Japanese that are to be encountered in Waikiki are not fluent speakers of English and inferring that Peter and Ulliani are distancing themselves from "normal" Japanese.



Figure 7.21 Waikiki, Line 11



Figure 7.22 Waikiki, Line 15



Figure 7.23 Waikiki, Line 15



Figure 7.24 Waikiki, Lines 21-22



Figure 7.25 Waikiki, Line 24



Figure 7.26 Waikiki, Line 24



Figure 7.27 Waikiki, Line 25



Figure 7.28 Waikiki, Line 25

A further example in which the speaker gives more detail in the translated resaying can be found in Excerpt 7.13. As in the previous excerpts, May's

translation involves a shift of gaze towards Tim, indicating that it was intended for a recipient whose preferred medium is English.

Excerpt 7.13 FG2 41:50 Kansai ben

- 01 May: → *Kansai ben shabeteiru hito*
Kansai dialect talk-PRES-CONT person
- 02 *to kaiwa ooi to sa,*
with conversation many if IP
- 03 *isshukan gurai?*
one week about
- When you've been talking to someone who speaks the Kansai dialect,
say for about a week...
- 04 Don: ah[n.
yeah
- 05 Tim: [aah
yeah
- 06 May: *nanka*
FIL
like
- 07 TG: °(sometimes)°
- 08 Anja: *a *kuru(shi)/kuru(i)* [soh]
painful/go crazy seem
sounds agonizing /I'd go nuts.
- 09 *Don~~~
- 10 Don: [hah]
- 11 May: [SOH] (.)
yeah
- 12 *soshitara. uttsuru no yo.*
then pick up NR IP
Yeah, and then you start doing it.
- 13 Tim: → °oh right° ahn
yeah
- 14 May: → m- I have this (.) my fathe:r's
(.) hgm co-worker? from >Kansai over?<=

but the important thing, at least to May, is that this category is different from her other recipients, Anja and Don³⁶.

In fact, it is possible to surmise that it is a combination of these factors that occasions May's translation. Consider the other two participants. Anja is 'white', but known to May to be fluent in Japanese, having lived in Japan all her life. Don is non-Japanese but Asian (he is Taiwanese). His Japanese is about the same level as his English, but neither is his first language, which doesn't give May the option of translating her utterance for Don, since she doesn't speak Mandarin. By choosing to translate her turn for Tim, May is implying that he is in some way different from the others, that is non-multiethnic Japanese. In turn, this demonstrates that she sees Anja and Don as part of a sub-group that does not require translation. In other words she is adequating them with herself (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

It is significant that Tim also plays a part in talking this identity category into being by accepting May's translation, despite the fact that he has clearly understood the initial translatable utterance. He has provided uptake on the Japanese rendition minimally in line five and significantly in line 13, with a possible projection of a new turn in line 7. Why then should May be concerned with repeating her story in English?

It seems that the explanation lies not with the fact that Tim is claiming comprehension of the translatable utterance, but with the possibility that these backchannel signals make his ongoing co-recipiency relevant to the speaker, therefore occasioning the translation in response to the mixed language preferences of her audience.

Finally, how are we to interpret the observation that certain parts of the translation, such as *utsutta* (line 20), are left unrepaired? In this case, this may be due to the fact that Tim has already clearly displayed his receipt of this lexical item after its first appearance in the talk. Like *sugoi* in excerpt 7.12, *utsuru* is a convenient word to leave in Japanese if the speaker suspects that the recipient will

³⁶ At this stage in the focus group discussion, Gino had stepped out of the room after being paged by the office.

understand it, since it would have to be rendered as a phrasal verb, which would also require a renegotiation of the subject. But more importantly May has just received Tim's uptake on this word in relative isolation in line 13, which tells her that he understands what it means. So rather than having to translate it she can leave it in prior medium. In addition, the sheer number of backchannel signals Tim has produced by the end of the translation segment may inform May that he did not have any difficulty understanding what was being said in the translatable section, rendering a complete translation redundant.

So in each of the above excerpts the act of translation serves as a category-bound activity that casts its recipient into an identity category that is associated with features that include non-preference for that medium. By extension those co-participants who are not selected as primary recipients by speaker's gaze shift and other bodily conduct are cast into an identity category that is associated with the language preference of the translatable turn segment.

In accepting the translation, the recipient also plays a role in accomplishing the identity category that has been indexed by the medium shift. Having already signaled comprehension throughout the translatable segment of the talk, Tim is arguably within his rights to block May's attempt at a translation, say in line 15 by saying something like '*un wakkatteiru*' (I got it.). The fact that he does not do so implicates him in the ongoing co-construction of his identity as non-Japanese, and in turn accomplishes May's identity as multiethnic Japanese by virtue of recognizing her right to translate.

But what happens when a non-fluent Japanese speaker does attempt to stop an imminent translation? Our final example, excerpt 7.14, is somewhat of a deviant case in this regard, because Max (an American novice speaker of Japanese) claims comprehension of a complicated Japanese turn before the translation has been produced.

This conversation took place during an English class in which the teacher was absent. The teacher had set the students an assignment in which they were to write a story that involved a given set of characters and features (a frog, three onions, a lawyer, a Mercedes Benz etc) that he had listed on the blackboard. Max has been writing his story for the assignment, but at the same time he is using it to

10 Yoko: heheheh

11 Yumi: *jibuntachi de zaisan o morau*
ourselves for assets ACC receive
...we keep all his possessions for ourselves.

12 (0.6)

13 Yoko: *Orgh*[:[: ((turns to Max))

14 Max: [*Orgh*[:

15 Yumi:→ [> [*setsumei shite*] <
explanation do-IMP
Explain it to him.

16 [((points at Max then Yoko))]

17 Max: .hhh *ahh* ((clicks fingers)) *wakatta*::
Oh understand-PST
Oh, I get it/ I've got it.

18 Girls: hhehe[hehh heh he he]

19 Max: [I got good idea] ((in Japanese accent))

20 okay ((looks at camera)) (.) since you guys (0.3)

21 you guys go like this

22 ((hits his own fists to each other))

23 right an' you're fighting *desho*
TAG
okay?

Although this excerpt is undoubtedly filled with a wealth of category work and would make a fascinating study from a gender-in-talk perspective, our focus here will be on Yumi's bid for translation in line 15 and Max's claim to comprehension in line 17. Note firstly that Yumi's suggested story in lines 3-11 is produced as a second element of the story-so-far, which has up until this point largely been told by Max, casting himself in the leading role. Notice also that Yumi's turn is

delivered in relatively quick, complicated Japanese, including several kanji compounds (*zaisan*, *kyotei*) that would be difficult for Max (a novice Japanese speaker) to understand. In other words, although it is a response to Max, it is not designed for him directly.

Arguably Yumi has set this segment of the talk up to be translatable from its inception, by directing her gaze towards the desk for the majority of the story element, and towards Yuko on the word *koroshite*. This makes relevant Yuko's co-participation in its production, initially by the affiliative laughter she provides in line 10, but also by virtue of the fact that she is one of the lead characters in the story and this laughter infers agreement with Yumi's twist to the narrative.

If Max fully understood the Japanese in Yumi's extended turn, he could normatively be understood to respond upon its completion with some sort of assessment or counter-story in line 12. Instead what comes there is a silence, during which Yoko turns her head to Max, demonstrating that she also sees this as an appropriate opportunity for him to speak, possibly to provide an alternative ending that casts himself in a better light. Since Max does not provide any uptake, Yoko self-selects to produce an extended *orgh*, which is a Japanese form of news marker (Heritage, 1984) that also includes some element of appreciation. This news marker is frequently produced chorally, and Max joins in with it (line 14), despite the fact that he evidently does not understand all the details of Yumi's narrative.

For her part, Yumi displays that she believes that Max has not fully understood what she has just said by immediately appealing to Yoko to provide a translation in line 15 (Figures 7.3.29-30), pointing initially at Max and then at Yoko. In other words, Yumi is initiating repair, and inferring that her prior story sequence was in an inappropriate medium for its focal recipient, but acknowledging that she is unable or unwilling to repair it herself. She does this by selecting Yoko as the participant to enact the repair, making Yoko's superior bilingual proficiency consequential for the ongoing talk, and inferring a hierarchy

of English ability that places Max at the top, Yoko in second place and herself at the bottom³⁸.



Figure 7.29 Setsumei, Line 13



Figure 7.30 Setsumei, Lines 13-14

³⁸ The fact that Yumi does not select Kate (who is seated on her left) to do the translation may also position her towards the bottom of this linguistic hierarchy, but this is more likely to be related to the fact that she has been relatively uninvolved in the talk at this point.



Figure 7.31 Setsumei, Lines 13-15



Figure 7.32 Setsumei, Line 15

At this point in the conversation, it would be fair to say that all three girls are expecting Yoko to provide Max with a translation of Yumi's prior utterance. Instead what happens in the next turn (line 17) is that Max self-selects and apparently claims comprehension of Yumi's narrative, by clicking his fingers, producing a second newsmarker ('aah') and a Japanese receipt token (Figure 7.33). This claim effectively negates the need for Yoko to provide a translation for Yumi's turn sequence.



Figure 7.33 Setsumeji, Line 17

In line 18, the girls treat Max's claim to comprehension as laughable (Figure 7.34), coming as it does at a point in the talk at which a translation for his benefit was projectable as a next-action, and which implies Max's exclusion from the talk at that point.



Figure 7.34 Setsumeji, Line 18

However, on more detailed examination, we can see that Max is perhaps not claiming complete knowledge of Yumi's narrative, but rather the gist of what was said. The past tense Japanese verb *wakatta* (lit. understood) can act both as a

receipt token ('I get it') and as a newsmarker that projects the production of a new idea ('I've got it'). Although the girls (understandably) hear Max's *wakatta* as a claim to comprehension, it transpires in further talk that he is in fact projecting a further amendment to Yumi's narrative, which he makes clear in overlap with their laughter in line 19³⁹. His response to Yumi's twist on his own story does indeed imply some level of comprehension of what she said between lines 5 and 11, particularly with respect to the easier words like *koroshite* (kill). By self-selecting before Yoko is able to provide an English version of Yoko's story, Max is able to provide a counter-narrative that allows him to remain in control of the collaborative production, by ignoring much of the detail.

So what does this deviant case tell us about identity? Firstly, that the (multiethnic) Japanese participants assume that the American novice speaker of Japanese does not have complete comprehension of a fairly complicated just-produced turn. Moreover, this turn comes at a point in the talk at which it serves their purposes to have him included in the conversation. Secondly, we can see from the details of the talk that the girls believe that the most expedient way to repair the trouble source is to repeat the turn in English, Max's preferred language. Finally, when Max (hearably) claims knowledge of the translatable turn sequence, this is treated as marked by the other participants, indicating that they do not believe that he in fact does understand. Both the bid for translation and their rejection of his claim to comprehension index Max's transportable identity as a novice speaker of Japanese, and by association cast the girls' as expert Japanese speakers, by virtue of the standard relational pair that this invokes.

7.3.6 *Summary of section*

This section has examined the use of translation to enact medium repair in multi-party bilingual interaction where one or more co-participants have a different language preference to others in the group. We have noted that certain translations have a purely discourse function, and even those that seem to be related to the

³⁹ Note that Max uses stylized Japanese English to deliver this turn, in a form of crossing that adds to the humorous stance that evolves through this misalignment.

participants' identities have consequences for the ongoing talk. In fact it is difficult to imagine a purely participant-related codeswitch, since any adaptation or assimilation to a speaker's personal preference, such as exclusionary switches or inclusionary translations, will be consequential for the subsequent interaction. In some instances a novice speaker initiates this kind of participant-related codeswitching, such as by asking for a definition of some unknown lexical item that has appeared in prior talk. In other cases an expert or 'balanced' bilingual can make relevant a recipient's identity as a 'non-native' by self-initiating medium repair to provide a preferred-medium resaying of some element of a prior utterance, thereby indexing his or her own identity as a proficient speaker of both mediums. The bilingual practice of translation as medium-repair therefore makes visible participant orientations to each other's identities through the structures of the talk and the choice of medium.

Surprisingly we have seen that the preference for a given medium for certain recipients is stronger than real-time claims to comprehension by that person. Indeed, even in cases where the novice provides acknowledgement tokens prior to the translation, the expert speaker still frequently initiates medium repair. For this reason, such self-initiated translation makes available the participants' understandings of each others' relative language proficiencies and preferences and therefore becomes category bound to various social identities.

It appears that often an expert speaker does not view a receipt token from a novice (or late bilingual) speaker as an uptake or a display of comprehension. Instead it seems to act as a kind of prompt or reminder that the group consists of participants with multiple language preferences. For multiethnic Japanese who have been raised in families where a one-person-one-language (OPOL) policy is in place, the practice of using English with their (white) native-English speaking parent and Japanese with their Japanese parent may be carried over to the school environment, where a one-language policy is instituted. Speaking English to one sort of person and Japanese to another sort has become such a habit to these multiethnic teenagers, that it seems difficult for them to comfortably codeswitch with members of one of these groups, even given displays of proficiency. Indeed the fact that they see the need for medium-repair, and they have the ability to

provide a real-time translation becomes indexed to the category of ‘multiethnic Japanese’ in a way that is perhaps not possible for monolingual speakers of either language.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at two collections of bilingual practices in which self-repair seemed to indicate the participants were attending to some aspect of their multiethnic Japanese identities, particularly in relation to bilingual proficiency, and the language preference of a given recipient.

In section 7.2, we looked at word search sequences in bilingual interaction, analyzing the ways in which the participants were able to use codeswitching to momentarily alter the participant constellation for the duration of an instance of side talk. I noted that this often held some discourse function, such as conducting forward-oriented self-repair in word search sequences, but participant identities aided in accomplishing these interactional goals by enabling the speaker to design the word search for a known recipient of the switched-to medium, in combination with embodied practices such as redirecting gaze, gestures and other bodily conduct.

Finally in section 7.3, we considered the use of *post-exclusionary translations* as medium repair in bilingual interaction, focusing in particular on backwards-oriented self-initiated self-repair in mixed language-preference multi-party talk. The co-presence of a novice recipient (especially a white adult) frequently occasioned a translation, making speaker and recipient identities both visible in and consequential for the ongoing talk-in-interaction. Speakers displayed their awareness of the presence of a novice by repeating and adjusting some element of a prior turn segment in a certain participant’s preferred medium, altering the participant constellation to include others by repairing a perceived exclusion at the earliest possible juncture. Far from being exclusionary, this practice assured that all participants were included in the talk, even when they had displayed their understanding of what was being said.

This act of translation most obviously made relevant the recipient's identity as a non-native speaker of the prior medium, but by extension it also indexed the switcher's own identity according to the standard relation pair (novice/expert) which it invoked. Not only by what they said, but also by the way they said it, multiethnic Japanese at this international school regularly demonstrated that they viewed proficiency in both Japanese and English to be an integral element of their social identities.

In the final chapter we will discuss the overall conclusions and put forward some ramifications for international schools where a significant number of the student population regularly uses more than one language.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Overview

This chapter will summarize the findings, discuss the contribution the study has made towards research into identity and bilingual interaction and propose some directions for future research. It will also outline some implications of the study for international education in Japan, for international families and for multiethnic people themselves.

8.2 Summary of the findings

At the beginning of this study, I set myself the goal of illuminating some of the ways that multiethnic Japanese teenagers express their identities in bilingual conversation. To this end, I conducted a micro-sociolinguistic study of codeswitching at an international school, one site in Japan in which multiethnic Japanese people can and do maintain a regular community with each other.

The study drew extensively on video-recorded data of the participants' naturally occurring talk to investigate several key practices that these teenagers used to accomplish aspects of their identity in bilingual interaction. These practices included;

- The use of competency-related category bound activities to index multiethnic identity without directly referring to a membership category
- The use of participant-related codeswitching and its consequences for the ongoing talk
- The role of discursive and situated identities in indexing transportable identities in bilingual interaction
- The use of forward and backwards-oriented repair in bilingual multi-party talk to alter the participant constellation and partition recipients based on their language preference.

- The use of embodied practices in conjunction with bilingual practices in partitioning the talk

Throughout the study, identity as an interactional accomplishment was made accessible via a process of careful observation, thorough transcription and comprehensive microanalysis of unscripted talk.

Chapter 5 began with an ethnographic account of multiethnic identity in the words of the participants themselves. They reported that, while others frequently ethnify them to the contrary, they do indeed see themselves as both Japanese and non-Japanese. To them, being *haafu* is not an ‘either/or’ decision but a ‘both/and’ reality. To that extent, the most common Japanese referent for multiethnic people, *haafu* would be better understood as not *half* but *double* (McCarty, 1996), or at least *half-half*.

The analysis in the current study then went on to further explore the implications this dual identity holds for multiethnic people in everyday situations by applying Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) to the corpus of mundane talk that was collected. It was found that the identity category *multiethnic* could be constituted not only through direct use of referents like *haafu* or *gaijin*, but also by indexing certain attributes, activities and competencies (or the lack thereof) that are routinely ascribed to either the Japanese or non-Japanese identity categories, and by extension indexing an *expert/novice* standard relational pair (Sacks, 1972;1979). Such category-bound activities included elements of both hyper-competence and hypo-competence, including cultural knowledge, social competencies and linguistic proficiency in both Japanese and English. These categories were *talked into being* with other co-participants and could be used as an interactional resource in the ongoing conversation.

All interactants play a part in co-constructing membership categories. A Japanese person can cast a multiethnic person as foreign by acting surprised to find them eating sushi, or an American might deny a multiethnic person access to the category *white* in order to brag about his own athletic skills. Multiethnic people likewise participate in co-accomplishing these identities, either by accepting or refuting the membership categories, or by reconstituting them in ways that are more inclusive.

The practice of categorization remained relatively consistent whether the medium was Japanese or English. However another membership categorization device available to bilingual people is *language choice* (Gafaranga, 1999), and the act of codeswitching provides further evidence as to how the participants viewed themselves in relation to others. This notion was explored in chapters 6 and 7.

In chapter 6, a single case analysis revealed that identity work often co-occurs according to the three tiers put forward by Zimmerman (1998):

- Discourse identities
- Situated identities
- Transportable identities

Codeswitching played a significant role in managing the conversation in the Yoda sequence analyzed in chapter 6. During 28 seconds of multi-party, bilingual talk we observed that the focal participant, Peter, was able to utilize language alternation to partition the co-participants into two situated identity categories (*audience* and *customer*) in order to carry out two distinct action sequences in a relatively simultaneous manner. Both what he was saying and the medium in which he said it allowed the others to know when Peter was responding to them or when he was selecting them as next speaker. Moreover, Peter's knowledge of each participant's preferred medium facilitated this process. In this way, codeswitching became a resource that made situated and discourse identities relevant for the ongoing bilingual interaction, and which ultimately indexed the transportable identity category *multiethnic Japanese*.

In chapter 7 this search for identity-in-interaction continued through the compilation of two collections of bilingual practices that relied on the participants' use of a certain medium for a particular recipient. Both practices focused on repair in bilingual interaction.

The first practice looked at forward-oriented self-repair in bilingual word search sequences. The analysis examined in particular the role of embodied actions in conjunction with language alternation. While such embodied practices as gaze shift and bodily direction are available to both monolingual and bilingual speakers, codeswitching becomes an additional resource that enables speakers to design some element of the turn-in-progress for a specific recipient. The analysis

noted that this allowed participants to momentarily alter the participant constellation for the duration of an instance of side talk in other-medium. In the collection that was presented, this parenthetical sequence often held some discourse function, such as conducting forward-oriented self-repair in word search sequences, but participant identities aided in accomplishing these interactional goals by enabling the speaker to design the word search for a known recipient of the switched-to medium, in combination with embodied practices. Far from being evidence of inadequate second language acquisition, the use of Japanese to access some due English lexical item is a highly sophisticated resource that takes advantage of the full range of a bilingual speaker's interactional repertoire.

The analysis of the second practice documented the use of *post-exclusionary translations* to enact backwards-oriented self-repair in bilingual interaction, particularly mixed language-preference multi-party talk. The co-presence of a novice recipient (especially a white adult) frequently occasioned a translation, making speaker and recipient identities visible in and through the details of the conversation. Speakers displayed their awareness of the presence of a *non-native* or *novice* by repeating and adjusting some element of a prior turn segment in that participant's preferred medium, thus altering the participant constellation to include others by repairing a perceived exclusion at the earliest possible injunction.

Significantly this sometimes even occurred in situations where the novice had signaled his or her understanding of the trouble source before it was translated. In other words the practice of translation accomplishes medium repair by acknowledging that the term was delivered in a way that was *potentially* troublesome for that participant.

A common thread throughout the data has been the notion of recipient design (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1995; Hutchby, 1995; Sacks, 1992). Codeswitching to a late bilingual recipient's preferred language (say, English) delivered the turn in a manner that made it readily accessible to the recipient, but it also potentially cast him or her into the identity category *novice*. In the context of the international school, English was also the unmarked medium to be used with those whose incumbency in membership categories like *teacher* or *white* was visibly and

experientially available. Given that the same action (switching to English) could simultaneously index several identity categories, translating some Japanese item is a risky business.

Although it is not apparent in the data I have analyzed here, there have been many times in my life when I felt that I was being treated as an outsider because a Japanese person repeated something in English for me. On reflection, the times when I took most umbrage to such translations were either when the speaker was obviously weaker at English than I was at Japanese, or when I had already made it clear that I understood the Japanese term. Dealing with someone as a *novice speaker* by providing translation can also inadvertently invoke other transportable identities such as *outsider* or *foreigner*. Undoubtedly this sort of practice is another form of ethnification that multiethnic Japanese themselves come across in their daily lives.

In retrospect, the fact that I allowed the participants to translate for me during the focus groups, despite the fact that I didn't require it, must indicate that I too had a hand in accomplishing their expert identities. In my own language classrooms and with my children at home I often feign incomprehension of a Japanese item in order to elicit its equivalent in English. Tolerating an unnecessary translation implicates the non-Japanese recipient in the co-construction of a bilingual identity.

8.3 Implications for education

When considered in relation to the school's English Language Policy (Appendix 6), the findings of this study with regard to codeswitching have important implications for this school, and for similar educational programs in which a one-language policy is institutionalized.

The most obvious thing to note is that such externally applied rules can never be completely effective in regulating mundane talk. While the school administration had a legitimate rationale for insisting on 'English Only' during school time, it would be unrealistic to expect total compliance in an ethnolinguistic environment like this, in which the majority of the student

population was more proficient in Japanese than in English. In fact, the teachers and parents seemed to recognize this in that there were certain concessions incorporated into the HIS language policy, such as permission to occasionally use Japanese to explain certain words to novice speakers of English. On the whole, it seems the school's approach to codeswitching was successful: adopt a policy, but disregard it in practice when appropriate.

Still, many of the bilingual students saw irony in the policy's claim that 'English is the language of inclusion at HIS'. To them, switching to Japanese was more likely to facilitate understanding, even if it excluded some sub-group of recipients for the duration of the Japanese part of the conversation. In fact, far from being exclusionary, this practice assured that participants whose preferred language was Japanese were included in the talk. Moreover, as can be seen from the analysis in chapter 7, a momentary medium shift to Japanese was regularly followed by an English equivalent, even when the potentially excluded participant had displayed his or her understanding of what was being said in Japanese. It appears that a preference for category-bound language exists in Japanese contexts, in which a non-Asian face occasions the use of English. Certainly multiethnic Japanese people who physically resemble their non-Japanese parent are aware of this tendency, having experienced it themselves from Japanese people. Even though they rightfully view it as one of the many ways in which they are ethnified in everyday conversation, multiethnic people themselves often do the same thing, switching to English effortlessly according to their interlocutor's appearance.

International schools, immersion programs and second language classrooms could do well to observe the mundane talk that takes place among bilingual people outside the classroom. Attempts to force students to speak only in their second language are unlikely to be successful if students are aware that they are talking to someone who understands their first language. A more realistic goal would be to aim for communication in the target language *wherever possible*, but if not openly condone, then at least tolerate the use of the students' mother tongue amongst themselves. This appeared to be the practical reality of how the English Language Policy was institutionalized at HIS.

In addition, the present study offers international schools and families in Japan insights into what it means to be multiethnic Japanese. While many parents and teachers in such situations are no doubt sensitive to the fact that being *haafu* can have its share of challenges, an understanding of multiethnic identity as an interactional achievement may allow them to better detect situations in which children and teenagers are being ethnified in ways that are not appropriate. Ultimately such knowledge would enable teachers and parents to help prevent the kind of bullying and social ostracism that is prevalent in Japan towards people who stand out physically (Gillis-Furutaka, 1999).

Moreover, the study poses serious issues for second language teaching more generally. Teachers should be aware that the aim of teaching a second language is not to produce speakers who interact like monolinguals, but by definition, bilingual speakers. Increasingly language educators in Japan are beginning to re-evaluate the role of the students' mother tongue in second language classrooms (Burden & Stribling, 2003), questioning the value of a completely monolingual learning environment and advocating the need for Japanese proficiency among native English speaking teachers (Barker, 2003). Attention to the way that bilingual people use their languages in the process of learning (and teaching each other) in mundane talk would provide further insight into this debate.

8.4 Implications for research into bilingual interaction

In many ways my personal growth as a researcher is visible in the progression of this dissertation. When I began my investigation I originally thought that the ethnographic aspect of the study –what these teenagers had to say about being multiethnic in a largely monocultural country– would yield the most fertile data for my research. Without a doubt, the discussions held during the focus groups and the field notes I made while observing the students provide an absorbing account of what it means to be *haafu* in Japan in the early 21st century. Adopting a participant-centred perspective led to a wealth of valuable results, such as the discovery of the group I came to refer to as ‘the other halves’.

Although they could not be considered *haafu* in the way that word is commonly used by most Japanese people, my observations at HIS led me to notice that the participants themselves treated people like Anja, May and Gino as multiethnic nonetheless. Therefore the ethnographic element of the study was extremely important in uncovering such findings.

However, as the study developed and I tried to make sense of the naturally occurring talk I had collected, I found my research stance becoming more and more 'radically emic' (Kasper, 2004:564). I was less satisfied with reported accounts of multiethnic identity, even firsthand ones, because there was no way to guarantee that my findings would be completely convincing, either to other researchers or to the participants themselves. How was I to be sure that the participants were not merely telling me what they thought I wanted to hear?

Instead I found myself gravitating toward the ethnomethodological side of my study, finding both value and credibility in the CA approach to investigating identity according to procedural consequentiality, or 'the next turn proof' (Sacks, 1992). Slippery topics like 'identity' and 'culture' are notoriously difficult to make warrantable claims about and, for me, CA provided the meticulous, empirical attention to detail that not only allowed me to document the participants' claims to multiethnic identity, but also gave me a means to build up a series of snapshots of people 'doing being multiethnic', often even as they were talking about that very topic.

In this respect the decision to combine the two approaches was both valuable and successful. It enabled me to obtain a deeper understanding of the role of multiethnic identity in bilingual interaction than would have been achievable through either methodology alone. That said, I am under no illusion that the combination of ethnomethodology and ethnography has been an even 50-50 split. Just as multiethnic people are able to foreground and background aspects of their identities according to the situation, so too did I apply the research paradigm that I felt was most suitable for the task at hand. In the end, I have come out in favour of an applied CA approach to my data, but one that is based in an ethnographic knowledge of the broader context. Although this approach is not unknown in the

literature (Bilmes, 1992; Goodwin, 1990; Meehan, 1993; Moerman & Sacks, 1988), it certainly is a departure from the ‘pure’ form of CA.

In one sense, the ethnographic knowledge was essential in illuminating the taken-for-granted understandings of the world that the participants held, which was necessary to conduct an ethnomethodological study in which the analyst could not claim full membership of the target community. On the other hand, the CA approach to the data provided access to the real-time world of the participants’ interaction, which in turn can be used to build up a tighter case for ethnographic claims. For example, when a speaker switches from Japanese to English she not only positions herself as linguistically competent and the person she is talking to as a relative novice, she also enters a chain of ideologization involving locally specific beliefs about language rights and ethnicity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006).

While the study’s methodological approach is innovative, the findings themselves also have much to contribute to the literature on bilingual interaction. Sociological research into bilingual interaction in Japanese contexts is rare, and to the best of my knowledge this study constitutes the first ever attempt to qualitatively examine Japanese-English codeswitched data from a CA perspective. In addition, up until now there have been few CA studies of codeswitching that have incorporated video footage and detailed analysis of the embodied action that accompanies language alternation. Figures like those that were used in the analysis in chapters 6 and 7 will no doubt become *de rigueur* for CA studies of multi-party interaction in the future. Further research into embodied practices in combination with bilingual interaction is clearly needed in other language pairs.

The use of transcription/analytic software was also integral to the research process. The Transana program allowed the researcher not only enabled the researcher to produce more accurate, detailed transcripts, but also to locate and organize the collections of interactional practices that have been documented throughout this dissertation. Proficiency in using such technology is a necessary skill for discourse analysts in the 21st century.

8.5 Directions for future research

The study has shed light on the way that multiethnic identity is interactionally achieved in international schools, but there is still much that needs to be done. One of the most challenging research agendas left to be tackled is the question of how multiethnic Japanese teenagers fare in the Japanese school system. International schools provide *haafu* Japanese people with a community of peers from similar families, which gives them regular opportunities to establish relationships with others who face the same challenges as they do. On the other hand, in Japanese-run schools multiethnic people are more likely be ‘on their own’, which certainly must have consequences for how they come to view themselves (Kamada, 2005). Many of the findings of the present study that relate to bilingual interaction, for example, would probably not reflect the experiences of multiethnic people in the Japanese educational system, where the use of any language other than Japanese is so marked as to effectively prevent it from happening. Undoubtedly this must lead to attempts at passing for Japanese (Tai, 1996), which in turn would create a very different worldview to that which the participants in my study held.

As the participants reported during the focus group discussions, one of the key sites in which their multiethnic identity became problematic was in first contact situations with strangers. When they first met someone from outside the school, the participants often had to deal with inaccurate assumptions that were based on their physical features, and which frequently led to unnecessary language negotiation and communicative difficulties that were not caused by their linguistic competence. This points to first contact encounters as another key interactional context in which identity is foregrounded for *haafu* Japanese teenagers.

If the main aim of documenting ethnification in intercultural communication is ultimately to improve the lives of multiethnic people, and I believe it should be, the Japanese school system and the broader community outside the relatively protected walls of the international school community must surely provide some of the most imperative sites to investigate. This is perhaps

particularly important in regard to those multiethnic people I have termed ‘the other halves’. Unfortunately, this can be very difficult to achieve in practice, considering the logistical and ethical issues involved in recording people in first contact situations. Although a small body of CA work of this kind is beginning to emerge (Mori, 2003; Torras, 1998, 2005; Zimmerman, 2004), perhaps future researchers will have to search for a more time-economical way to collect naturally occurring first contact data.

With regard to my own study, there is still much left to do. Although I collected around forty hours of data, it has only been selectively transcribed, focusing mainly on excerpts that included codeswitching. I also have many cases of mundane monolingual interaction, such as classroom conversations between teachers and students that will no doubt provide equally fascinating findings concerning the institutional nature of talk in education in the years to come. For now, my hope is that the present study has provided some insight into the way that one group of multiethnic teenagers in an international school mobilized identity as an interactional resource in mundane bilingual conversations.

8.6 Conclusion

To sum up, this study has contributed to the understanding of bilingual interaction and the accomplishment of multiethnic identity through an interdisciplinary approach that intersects anthropology, linguistics, sociology and education. Based firmly in a belief that the social world is constituted in and through talk, the study gives interaction the serious analytic attention it requires in order to make empirically grounded claims about what is going on when bilingual people mix their languages to foreground various aspects of their identities. Throughout the study, therefore, mundane talk has been viewed as the key site in which multiethnic identity is made visible and co-accomplished.

The cross-disciplinary investigation into codeswitching is the groundbreaking not only because it is the first Applied CA study in Japanese-English contexts, but also because it focuses on the way that multiethnic identities can be accomplished in bilingual interaction. Any instance of interaction is

situated in the social and cultural world in which it is produced. Through careful micro-analysis of naturally occurring talk, the study has contributed to our understanding of multiethnic identity by building up a series of snapshots of such interaction among bilingual teenagers that provides valuable insight into the way they construct their view of the world, and themselves.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

This study has used the following transcription conventions, as outlined in Psathas (1995), Hutchby and Wooffit (1998), ten Have (1999) and Markee and Kasper (2004).

SIMULTANEOUS UTTERANCES

huh [oh] I see Left square brackets mark the start of overlapping talk
[what] Right square brackets mark the end of an overlap

CONTIGUOUS UTTERANCES

- = Equal signs indicate that:
- a) Turn continues at the next identical symbol on the next line, or
 - b) Talk is latched; that is, there is no interval between the end of prior turn and the start of next turn

INTERVALS WITHIN AND BETWEEN UTTERANCES

(0.4) Numerals in parentheses mark silence, in tenths of a second
(.) A period in parentheses indicates a micropause
(less than 0.1 sec)

CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH DELIVERY

hhh hee hah indicate laughter or breathiness
.hh indicates audible inhalation
hh indicates audible exhalation
dog Underlining indicates marked stress
? A question mark indicates rising intonation
yes. A period indicates falling intonation
so, A comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation

HUH	Capitals indicate increased loudness
°thanks°	Degree signs indicate decreased volume
\$yeah yeah\$	Dollar signs indicate the talk was in a laughing voice
><	Inward-facing indents embed talk which is faster than the surrounding speech
<>	Outward-facing indents embed talk that is slower than the surrounding speech
go:::d	One or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound. Each additional colon represents a lengthening of one beat
no bu-	A single hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off, with level pitch

COMMENTARY IN THE TRANSCRIPT

((hand clap))	Double parentheses indicate transcriber's comments, including description of non-verbal behaviour
the (park)	Single parentheses indicate an uncertain transcription

OTHER TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

→	An arrow in the transcript margin draws attention to a particular phenomenon the analyst wishes to discuss
---	--

TRANSLATION

<i>ore ja nee</i>	Italics indicate talk is in Japanese.
me COP NEG	Second tier gives a literal English gloss of each item.
It's not me.	Third tier gives a vernacular English translation in Times New Roman font with conventional orthography.

Translations and glosses are not allotted line numbers in order to differentiate them from actual talk in the transcript. Where a Japanese utterance takes up more than one line, the vernacular translation may appear after several tiers of original

and gloss. Where a single Japanese word is inserted into an otherwise English sentence, the third line of translation is not included.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LITERAL GLOSS

Based on Tanaka (1999) and Takagi (2001)

IP	Interactional particle (e.g. <i>ne, sa, no, yo, na</i>)
NOM	Nominative particle (<i>-ga</i>)
ACC	Accusative particle (<i>-o</i>)
GEN	Genitive (<i>-no</i>)
TOP	Topic Marker (<i>-wa</i>)
PT	Other particles
QT	Quotation marker (<i>-to, -tte</i>)
Q	Question marker (<i>ka</i> and its variants)
POL	Politeness marker
NR	Nominalizer (e.g. <i>no, n</i>)
TAG	Tag-like expression
LOC	Locative (<i>de, ni</i>)
PLU	Pluralizer
CAU	Causal marker (<i>-datte, dakara, kara</i>)
VN	Verb nominaliser (<i>nan, no, n</i>)
FIL	Filler (<i>eto, ano</i>)
IT	various forms of interactional tokens (such as <i>moh, ano, eto</i>)

Verbs and Adjectival forms

COP	Copulative verb, variations of the verb <i>to be</i>
NEG	Negative morpheme
PST	Past tense morpheme
CONT	Continuing (non-final) form
IMP	Imperative form
PAS	Passive form
POT	Potential form

GAZE

Framegrabs taken from the video are generally used to demonstrate bodily conduct. In addition the following notation has been used selectively within some transcripts to indicate gaze shift.

- * Asterisks locate the onset of the action in both the spoken and gaze tiers
- Tim A name or object indicates the direction of the gaze
- = A double line indicates constant gaze
- ~ A curved line indicates gaze shift

Appendix 2: Language Background Questionnaire

The following information is to help me get to know you and learn which languages you speak. These details will be kept confidential.

Family name			
Given name			
Age		Grade	
Where were you born?			
How many years have you been living in Japan?			
How long have you been studying at HIS?			
What country was your father born in?			
What country was your mother born in?			

Please circle a letter for these three questions:

1. *Which language(s) do you speak? (circle as many as you need)*

A. English B. Japanese C. Other (_____)

2. *Which is your strongest language? (circle only one)*

A. English B. Japanese C. Other (_____)

3. *Which language do you speak at home?*

A. English B. Japanese C. A mix of English and Japanese D. Other

Appendix 3: Parental Consent Form

(Completed by the parents and participants at the start of the data collection phase.)

The Researcher

Tim Greer is a full-time language instructor in the Institute of Language and Cultures at Hokkaido University. He is also completing his Doctorate of Education through the University of Southern Queensland in Australia. He has lived in Sapporo for around seven years and has been teaching English and Japanese in both Japan and Australia for over twelve years.

The Research

Mr. Greer is presently conducting research into the relationship between language and identity among bilingual Japanese teenagers. A number of students will be selected as key informants for the project and examples of their natural language will be observed at regular intervals throughout the remainder of the school year. Some of the conversations will be audio and video-taped, but participants are free to stop the tape at any time they choose.

Students may also be asked to join in focus group discussions or short interviews about the ways in which they use language. Students' names will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the follow-up report.

When the research is complete, copies of the findings will be made available to participants and their parents/guardians on their request.

The Request

If you are willing to allow your child to participate in the study, please fill out the consent form below and hand it to Mr. Greer.

.....
Parental Consent Form

I give permission for my son/daughter to participate in the bilingualism research study.

Signed.....

Parent/Guardian

I am willing to participate in the bilingualism research study and to have my speech recorded. I realize that I can stop the recording at any time and for any reason.

Signed.....

Student

Appendix 4: Language use consent form

(Completed by the participants at the end of the data collection phase.)

How can I use these recordings?

As part of my project, I have made audio and video recordings of you, including classroom conversations and lunchtime chats with friends. I would like you to indicate below what uses of these records you are willing to consent to. This is completely up to you. I will only use the records in ways that you agree to. In any use of these records, names will not be identified.

Please check as many boxes as you like.

The records can be studied by the research team for use in the research project.

The records can be used for publications and/or academic meetings.

The transcripts and/or recordings can be used by other bilingualism researchers.

The records can be shown in public presentations to non-specialist groups.

The records can be used on television or radio.

Signature.....

Date.....

Adapted from ten Have 1998: Appendix C, based on a form developed by Susan Ervin-Tripp, Psychology Dept UCLA.

Appendix 5: Focus group discussion tool

The following tool was used during the focus group sessions to facilitate discussion and minimize the researcher role in the conversation. Participants spent roughly five minutes at the start of the session choosing one of each of the statements in each item, and were then asked to discuss among themselves the reasons behind their choice. At the end of the session they gave written responses to the two questions at the end.

Check one box (yellow or green) for each pair of statements. There are no correct answers.

	Yellow	Green	
People are shocked when they find out my father/mother is not Japanese.			Most people I meet don't have any particular reaction when I tell them I'm 'haafu'.
Most Japanese people think I'm the same as them.			Most Japanese people think I'm different from them.
I don't really mind where or when I speak English.			There are times and places I prefer not to speak English.
I can't imagine living with just one language.			I would still feel the same if I couldn't speak Japanese.
Using <i>Champon</i> doesn't mean anything in particular for me.			Using <i>Champon</i> helps to show others who I am.
I see myself as Japanese.			I don't see myself as Japanese.

The last word

- What is the biggest difference between being Japanese and being 'haafu' Japanese?
- What does mixing Japanese and English mean to you?

Appendix 6: The school's English Language Policy (2003)

English Language Policy Revised at Secondary Level

HIS, and the HIS Secondary in particular, continues the seemingly endless discussion of how best to promote an English Usage Policy that works and is fair. We want to encourage and nurture a value for the learning of English which is really essential for a student to embrace the challenge of becoming proficient in a 2nd language. As you are aware, we have tried a number of different approaches to date; none of them has been particularly successful for a small group of entrenched Japanese speakers. To this end, the secondary has again been involved in discussion of how to change the policy so that it will work for everyone and promote an English speaking environment at HIS which is desired by parents, essential for our international acceptance, and an important part of our school identity. The policy is based in the following institutional beliefs:

1. English is the reason HIS is here. It is why we are accredited by an American accrediting agency; it is what qualifies our students for US,
2. Australian and Canadian universities; it is why we hire teachers from the US, Canada and Australia; it is what parents are paying for and what parents want when they send their children to HIS.
3. English is the language of inclusion at HIS. It is the language shared (or to be shared) by students from the 22 countries that comprise the HIS student body. It is the language which greets students and that 'welcomes them into the HIS community.' It is the language students who come here with neither Japanese or English are here to learn.
4. Students have free will and self control, and students of the age of 13 and older can choose to 'code switch' and make the choice of speaking in Japanese or English. The language they speak is a matter of choice (we see this in children as young as three years old and even younger).
5. The language acquisition process is an extremely complex one, and often very difficult. For students new to an English language environment- particularly at the secondary level- there will be times when they must rely on their first language to access previous knowledge (about, say, cell

mitosis) so that they can understand the context of the complex English being used in their class.

6. Research shows us that the language acquisition process- to become fluent in academic English- can take from 5 to 7 years: to become socially conversant, however, takes only 2 to 3 years. HIS has students at both elementary and secondary levels who are at every phase of the language acquisition process. Some elementary students are here with zero English and zero Japanese. Some are here with very limited English but fluent Japanese. Students at every phase of the acquisition process have different needs based not only on their abilities in English but also their personalities, their aptitude and their value for the act of learning English.

With all these truths, it is difficult to imagine a policy that would govern all students. However, this is what we are going to try for this school year.

1. English is the language of inclusion at HIS and the language of learning in HIS classrooms. Greetings and exclamations in Japanese are fine, however, secondary students who have been at HIS for three years will speak English- unless given special permission- while at school from 8:00am until 4:30pm.
2. Students who are learning English and need help in classrooms with translating vocabulary and concepts may be assigned a bilingual partner for assistance, or may be given other extraordinary help in their native language so as to assist them in their language learning.
3. Students who violate the letter or the spirit of the English Policy at HIS will be punished. In PE, students using Japanese will be required to run before resuming participation. Students in other classes may be required to help clean the room. Repeat offenders will be required to write an essay explaining why they think they need to be at HIS. If individual problems do not improve, parents will be called.

Finally, there are students at HIS who really show no interest in improving their English, in becoming fluent, or in becoming members of an English speaking community. Ultimately, we cannot make them learn English. If they do not value the language and the opportunities learning it will provide them, we really cannot serve them and they will be counseled to find schooling that will best suit them and their particular interests.

Abstract 7: International schools in Japan

This table lists international schools in Japan. Information was collected via the Internet from the schools' individual websites in March 2003. There may be other international schools in Japan that are not included on this list.

SCHOOL	LOCATION	GRADES	NO. STUDENTS	LANGUAGE(S)
American School in Japan	Tokyo	K-12	1500	English
Aoba Japan International School	Tokyo	K-9	550	English/Japanese
British School in Tokyo	Tokyo	P-8	420	English
Canadian Academy	Kobe	P-12	750	English
Chinese School in Tokyo	Tokyo			Chinese
Christian Academy in Japan	Tokyo	K-12	435	English
Deutsche Schule Kobe /European School	Kobe	K-12	200	German/English
Deutsche Schule Yokohama	Yokohama	P-12	331	German
Fukuoka International School	Fukuoka	P-12	200	English
Hiroshima International School	Hiroshima	P-8	70	English
Hokkaido International School	Sapporo	P-12	173	English
International School of the Sacred Heart	Tokyo	K-12	600	English
International Secondary School	Tokyo	8-12	27	English

K. International School	Tokyo	P-9	300	English
Kansai Christian School	Osaka	1-12	36	English
Kyoto International School	Kyoto	P-9	75	English
Lycee-Franco Japonais	Tokyo			French
Marist Brothers International School	Kobe	P-12	250	English
Nagoya International School	Nagoya	P-12	300	English
New International School	Tokyo	P-9	170	English/Japanese
Nishimachi International School	Tokyo	P-9	420	English/Japanese
Okinawa Christian School International.	Okinawa	K-12	400	English
Osaka International School	Osaka	P-12	250	English
Seisen International School	Tokyo	K-12	700	English
St. Mary's International School	Tokyo	P-12	930	English
St. Maur International School	Yokoyama	K-12	500	English
St. Michael's International School	Kobe	P-6	131	English
Tohoku International School	Sendai	K-12	100	English
Tokyo International Learning Community	Tokyo	P-12	21	English
Tokyo Korean School	Tokyo			Korean
Tokyo YMCA International School	Tokyo	P-6	55	English/Japanese

Tsukuba International School	Ibaraki	1-6	17	English
Yokohama International Christian Academy	Yokohama	P-12	86	English
Yokohama International School	Yokohama	K-12	650	English