Appendix: Transcription conventions and abbreviations

Transcript symbols

[	point where overlapping talk starts
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micropause of less than 2/10 of a second
underline	relatively high pitch
CAPS	relatively high volume
::	lengthened syllable
-	cut-off; self-interruption
=	"latched" utterances
?/./,	rising/falling/continuing intonation
!	animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
( )	unintelligible stretch
(word)	word transcriber is unsure of
(( ))	transcriber's descriptions of events, including nonvocal conduct
hh	audible outbreath
.hh	audible inbreath
(hh)	laughter within a word
> <	increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
° °	passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk

Abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses

Cop	various forms of copula verb *be*
FP	final particle
Neg	negative morpheme
PST	past-tense morpheme
QT	quotative particle
Tag	tag-like expression
LK	mominal linking particle
Nom	nominalizer
O	object particle
Q	question particle
S	subject particle
Top	topic particle

Switching Languages, Juggling Identities: A Sequence of Multilingual, Multiparty Talk

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Speakers are sometimes put in positions in which they are asked to perform 2 or more aspects of their identities at the same time. This chapter documents one such episode through a single case analysis of multiparty, multilingual interaction in which the focal participant, Peter, is called upon to simultaneously complete 2 distinct action sequences for 2 separate groups of people. While he is initiating a sales transaction with 1 interactant in Japanese, a larger group of coparticipants urges Peter to perform an impersonation, invoking his situated identity as "entertainer." He manages this interactional dilemma by responding to each of these groups in a preferred medium, combining not only Japanese and English, but also drawing on other elements of his language repertoire such as Yoda-speak and Japanese/English mixed phonological code. The analysis examines individual instances of codeswitching in their sequential contexts to highlight the ways in which microidentities are invoked and occasioned by other participants through their choices of languages and language varieties. The sequence is taken from a corpus of naturally occurring conversations video-recorded among bilingual teenagers at an international school in Japan.

People regularly orient to a variety of social identities in everyday conversation, including such macrosocial categories as ethnicity or gender. However, within the sequential context of particular instances of interaction, identities are used to accomplish temporary roles, interactionally specific stances, and locally emergent positions (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Speakers and recipients may, on occasion, align to each other as "male" or "Japanese," but

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they 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 conducted from the perspectives of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) have examined such turn-generated microidentity categories as caller/called in telephone conversations (Schegloff, 1979), questioner/answerer in adjacency pairs (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990); Heritage, 1984a) and speaker/audience in storytelling (C. Goodwin, 1986). Zimmerman (1998) called these moment-by-moment intersubjective positionings *discourse identities* and differentiated them from *situated identities* and *transportable identities*.

By the way they choose to formulate any particular utterance, "speakers commit themselves to a range of beliefs about themselves, their coparticipants and their relationships" (Heritage, 1984b, p. 270). This notion is parallel to Goffman's (1981) concept of footing, which refers to "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (p. 128). Goffman saw bilingual interaction as one of the most obvious displays of footing, referring to Blom and Gumperz's (1972) work on situational and metaphorical codeswitching. Thus, the organization of a turn can orient to membership categories, making relevant certain attributes of the speaker and his or her audience. In that sense, "footing invokes a broad range of phenomena in that it concerns not only speakers, but both speakers and recipients, and, perhaps most importantly, *recipient design* and participants' mutual adjustments, that is, the participation framework" (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000, p. 436, emphasis added). Recipient design in particular refers to the way that each turn displays the speaker's "orientation and sensitivity" to another participant (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 42). For example, C. Goodwin (1986) demonstrated 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 identity membership categories. In his analysis, Goodwin examined such elements as profanity and depictions of violent actions in the way a story is constructed by a male speaker 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 a story is told when an interpretation other than that intended by the storyteller is proffered.

If speakers design their utterances for intended audiences, and this reflects their understanding of the listeners' personal characteristics and background knowledge, recipient design and footing must therefore be some of the key concepts for an understanding of identity construction in bilingual interaction. In a mixed-preference multiparty conversation, alternating the language (or "medium") can serve to select certain coparticipants as the primary recipients of a given segment of talk.

This chapter adopts an ethnographically informed CA/MCA perspective (Bilmes, 1992; M. Goodwin, 1990; Have, 2007; Moerman, 1988). It carries out a single case analysis to offer a glimpse into the way students at an international high school accomplish identity in everyday bilingual interaction. By focusing in detail on one episode of multiparty, multilingual talk-in-interaction, the study examines the ways in which bilingual interactants can design an utterance for a particular recipient by alternating between languages and linguistic styles. While the act of codeswitching may ultimately index aspects of transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998), such as "multiethnic Japanese,"[1] the speakers also simultaneously accomplish both discursive identities, which 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. Through a detailed examination of the locally occasioned use of membership categories (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Sacks, 1979; Schegloff, 2007; Silverman, 1998), the analysis focuses on the way bilingual speakers can use linguistic resources and discourse/situated identities to position themselves in moment-to-moment participation frameworks.

Data and background

The present study considers one sequence of naturally occurring bilingual talk that was video-recorded among Japanese/English bilingual teenagers at an international school in Japan. In the segment examined, a single speaker manages two situated identities, largely by switching between his languages. The analysis centers on the way he uses each language with two distinct recipient subsets to manage separate but simultaneous actions.

The participants in this conversation were all bilingual in Japanese and English; they communicated in both of these languages on a daily basis, although naturally, some were more competent in one language than the other. A brief summary of the participants' ethnolinguistic backgrounds is provided in Table 1. This information, including the language preferences indicated, was self-reported by means of a questionnaire during the broader study (Greer, 2007).

Table 1. Ethnolinguistic backgrounds of the key participants[2]

pseudonym	age	grade	years in Japan	parents' nationalities: mother/father	preferred language (self-reported)
Ryan	17	12	14	USA/USA	English
Peter	15	10	14	Japan/UK	Japanese
Nina	17	12	16	Japan/UK	Japanese (spoken)
Yumi	17	12	17	Japan/USA	Japanese
Ulliani	17	12	17	Japan/USA	Japanese
Anja	17	12	17	USA/Japan	English

The sequence examined is typical of the multiparty, multilingual conversations that took place around the lunch table at this high school. The "lunch table" was actually two large desks in a corridor that the senior students 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 participants in my broader study (see Greer, 2003, 2005, 2007). Because the senior high school department had a small student body (only around 40 students in total), all of the 12th graders as well as certain 11th graders regularly gathered around this table when they were not in class. It was rare to see non-Japanese Asian students at the table, but otherwise, it was frequently populated by a mix of American, Japanese, and multiethnic Japanese students. Consequently, it 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 analyzed in this chapter, the participants had arranged themselves according to the seating pattern shown in Figure 1.

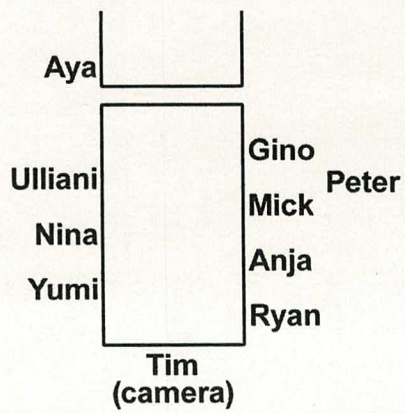

Figure 1. Diagram of seating arrangement in the Yoda sequence.

Prior to this episode, the group had been discussing Peter, a 10th-grade multiethnic Japanese boy, and commenting in particular on his ability to do impersonations. A few minutes later, Peter came past, carrying a basket of cakes to sell.[3] Figure 2 shows a frame grab of Peter's position relative to the group of 12th graders at the start of the conversation.

The sequence begins when the group makes relevant Peter's situated identity as a comedian by soliciting him to give an impromptu performance, including his impression of the *Star Wars* character Yoda.[4] The talk is carried out primarily in English, but Peter's imitations themselves constitute a kind of style shift in which Peter alternates between his own voice and his Yoda voice. At the same time, one of the members (Yumi) orients instead to Peter's initial purpose and attempts to negotiate the sale of a cake in Japanese.

Figure 2. Some key participants. Yumi and Nina are seated to the left, just out of the shot.

Yoda

```
01 Ryan:    next time you come up here come up
02          with a yoda 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          ((switches to his version of Yoda))
14          mgmm (0.2) [how ya doin']
15 Yumi:               [(          )]
16          (0.2)
17 Anja:    eh totally
18 Peter:   well i[t's like  ]totally is
```

```
19              ((in Yoda voice)) totally mgm
20 Yumi:           [tabe  tai ]
                    eat   want
                    (I) want to eat (some).
21              ((takes cake))
22 Others:   he [ heh  ] ha [ha ha h hha ha:::::::=
23 Yumi:        [ikura?] =
                 how much
                 How much (are they)?
24 Nina:                 =[yoda voisu de [ne  ]
                           yoda voice in  IP
                           Hey, in a Yoda voice, huh…
25 Peter:                                [one.]
26           hundred yen nan desu kedo
                       NR  COP  POL
             That'll be one hundred yen please.
27 Anja?:    =heh ha  ha  .hhh
28 Mick:     heh he
29 Anja:     .hhh
30           °ukeru   n [na]°
              receive NR IP
             (He) gets a laugh, doesn't he?
31 Nina:                [ne]
                         IP
32           *yoda  voice de  totaru rifohmu=
             Yoda voice  in  total reform
32 Yumi:     *((takes out a 500 yen coin))
33 Nina:     =[    itte  kureru?       ]
                   say   for us
             (Can you) do Total Reform in
             a Yoda voice for us?
34 Yumi:     [((passes coin to Peter)) ]
35 Tim:      hh HA
36 Peter:    ((in Yoda voice)) like totally
37           ((accepts coin)) mgm
38           ((gives "hang loose" sign))
```



```
39 All:      hehh [      heh       ] [heh heh  ]
40 Peter:         [((returns coin))] [   oh (.)]=
41 All:      [    ha:   ha    ha ]
42 Peter:    [=a   soh        da ]
              oh   that way   COP    (.)
              Oh, that's right.
43                 (0.2)
44           matte cheinji
             wait  change
             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 in wallet))
```

While filming, I originally noted the sequence because it includes a striking example of participant-related codeswitching (Auer, 1984) in lines 42–47, in which Peter switches from Japanese to English to address Mr. S, his teacher. After examining the interaction that surrounds this switch, we return to the start of the sequence to explore the ways in which Peter uses bilingual resources and footing (Goffman, 1981) to partition his audience into relevant subsets (C. Goodwin, 1986), orienting differently to the various recipients to conduct serious business with one member while simultaneously entertaining the others.

Polyvalent local meanings of codeswitching

Obviously, the participants are speaking in Japanese and English, but Peter's Yoda impression constitutes a third kind of "code" that is relevant throughout the sequence. Yoda, a diminutive, sage-like alien mystic from the *Star Wars* series, speaks in a rather particular way. In the original English versions of these films, Yoda speaks a "dialect" of English that features an OSV word order (Gross, 2009), resulting in lines such as, "A visitor we have," and "Impossible to see the future is." It is likely that these are the sorts of archetypical Yoda-isms that the group is expecting Peter to perform, but possibly due to the sudden nature of the request, the first and perhaps most minimal way for Peter to perform a Yoda voice is by delivering a rather nasal grunt (line 5), the sort of sound that Yoda often uses between sentences. A subsequent request from Ulliani in line

10, "totally," is not the sort of thing that Yoda would say,[5] but Peter delivers it in a Yoda voice in line 19 by switching from his own British English to a somewhat raspy, nasal American accent that is immediately recognizable to the group as Yoda's voice.

By line 36, Peter is engaged in his Yoda impression, performing for the audience in English (and the English variant that indexes Yoda). At the same time, he has been serving his customer, Yumi, and realizes that he does not have the correct change to carry out the transaction (lines 40–44). This leads to a moment during which Peter is required to both switch languages and conduct a completely different action sequence within a very short space of time.

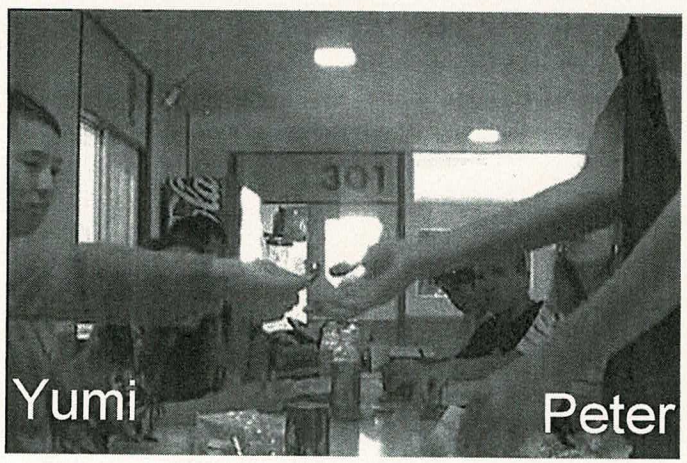

Figure 3. Line 37. Peter receives the coin.

When Peter accepts the 500-yen coin from Yumi in line 37, he has received strong uptake of his Yoda routine, through affiliative laughter (Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff, 1987) from the group (line 22) as well as specific appreciations (line 30). However, the jointly developed and ongoing sequence of talk with Yumi necessitates a serious response to conduct the business for which he came. During the confusion that arises from these coinciding actions, Peter drops Yumi's coin (line 40). At first, he receives it successfully in his right hand (Figure 3) 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 4.

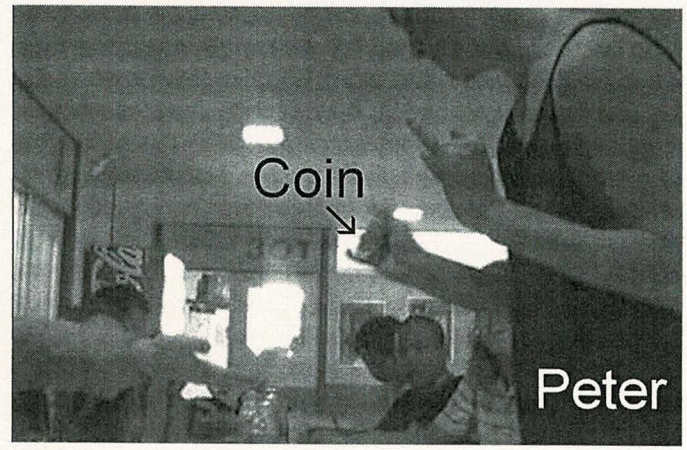

Figure 4. Line 38. Peter's double-handed "hang loose" sign.

He continues to grasp the coin while he gives a further short Yoda grunt in line 37 and then immediately attempts to place it back in Yumi's hand amid the burst of laughter in line 39. Yumi's outstretched hand (see Figure 4) may have been her signal to Peter that she required change, but perhaps because he has been focused on his impersonation, he simply returns the coin that she gave him (Figure 5, line 40). In line with her situated identity as customer, Yumi does not close her hand around the coin, and it falls to the table.

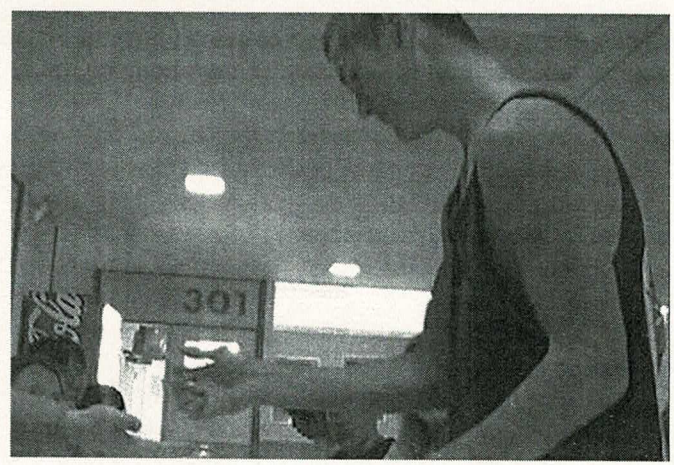

Figure 5. Line 40. Peter returns the coin.

This complicated sequence of gestures occurs at the overlap between two points where Peter's duties as both comedian and vendor coincide. A possible next relevant action for Peter at this point is to notice his mistake and

undertake some sort of interactional work to rectify it. He accomplishes this by codeswitching between lines 40 and 47. Peter completes his turn in line 40 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 occurs at a point where Peter 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 to 47, Peter produces three turn constructional unit (TCUs) that together constitute the codeswitch in question. Simplified, the switch is, "oh, *a 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[6] language to be used 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 source of trouble. The English "oh" in line 40 is hearable as a response cry (Goffman, 1981), providing a reactive token to the dropped coin, while the Japanese "*a*" in line 42 is similar to the change of state token "oh" in English (Heritage, 1984a; Ikeda, 2007), 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.[7]

The first "oh" seems to be Peter's display of his recognition of his mistake in dropping the coin. The consequent codeswitch into Japanese is part of the recipient design, which suggests that the sound "*a*" ("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,[8] or indeed both. In either case, the language choice, together with the function of the utterance, makes the turn demonstrably directed towards Yumi.

Consider also the action that Peter is performing in uttering "*a, soh da.*" There is a recognizable organization of such business transactions such that if a customer pays for goods with too large a bill or coin, he or she 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 it. This apparent lack of action is in itself an action: By not accepting the coin, Yumi shows that something has gone wrong because not accepting change back is a marked response. The first part of Peter's turn in line 42 ("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 typical of bilingual Japanese-English speakers in my corpus (see Auer, 1999, on fused lects). In "standard" Japanese, Peter would probably have said "*matte, otsuri.*" The English word "change" does exist as a loanword in Japanese (*chenji*), but its lexical scope is limited to the 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 in the wider Japanese-speaking community 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 this school.[9] We can therefore view the two mediums that Peter uses here as Standard Japanese and Phonologically Japanese English (see Hosoda, 2001, for a related discussion of "katakana English" in interaction). However, a closer look at how the participants 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 has not got any change at the moment but that he is 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 because Peter delivers his response to it in localized Japanese-English, we can see that he is addressing her by continuing the conversation in what he orients to as an appropriate medium. However, this part of the conversation is also probably overheard by Mr. S., who is standing a short distance away. In line 46, immediately after he says "*matte cheinji,*" Peter turns to where Mr. S. is standing and shifts his gaze towards him (Figure 6). This effectively serves to exclude any of those sitting at the table as the incumbent next speaker.

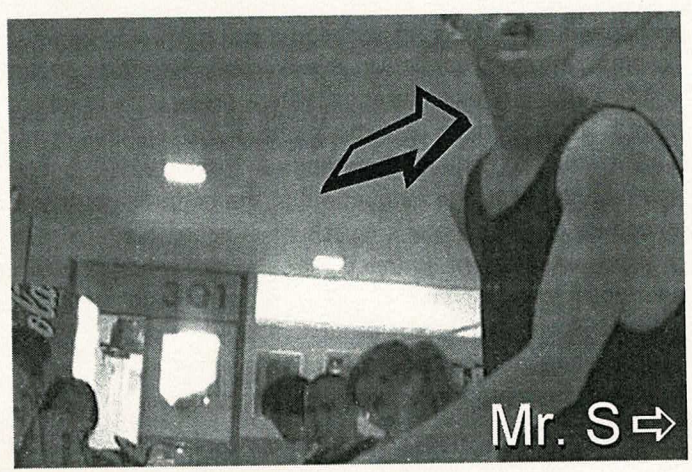

Figure 6. Line 46. Peter turns to Mr. S.

Peter drops the Yoda-speak and produces his next TCU in standard English. Here, Peter seems to be conforming to the social expectation of addressing a teacher in English, a strict convention within this particular linguistic community. However, Mr. S. also happens to be one of the few faculty members at this school who is 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, together with his eye gaze and other actions described below, clearly slates him as the intended recipient.[10]

Bani-Shoraka (2005) observed that codeswitching in reported speech can also serve as an imitation. In her study, she analyzed Azerbaijani/Persian talk in which two coparticipants imitated their nonpresent aunt by switching languages along with a change of pitch, tone, and quality of voice—the kinds of paralinguistic features we would expect to see in a monolingual impersonation. Peter's Yoda impression is likewise not achieved by codeswitching alone. His switch in lines 40–47 is noticeably different from the preceding talk. It is accompanied by an explicit reference (the proterm *you*), prosodic features (amplitude, tone), and bodily conduct (gaze, the cessation of the previous jocular gestures, a directional turn) that all work in conjunction with the medium switch to determine the next speaker, a discourse-related purpose of codeswitching. Note that it is not only Peter who orients to Mr. S. as next speaker. We can also see that Mr. S. himself realizes that he has been selected (because he responds), and the other students demonstrate that they have not been selected because they stop laughing and do not respond.

At the same time, this switch is participant-related because even though Mr. S. is Japanese, in this situation, his identity as a teacher is shown to be relevant to the coparticipants. Speaking Japanese to a teacher would be unusual in this particular 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 unmarkedness. Up until this point, language alternation itself was the medium (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), but by selecting Mr. S. as the next speaker, the language that the coparticipants are expected to speak becomes English. Peter's switch here accommodates the preferred 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) argued, it is uncommon to find clear-cut cases of participant-related codeswitching that are not relevant for the ongoing organization of talk because 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 visually available facial

characteristics. Clearly, codeswitching does not occur simply to accommodate a person's stronger language but according to the most appropriate language in a given situation. Throughout my observations at the school, I noted that the students routinely spoke to Mr. S. in English only, although it was clear from his accent that he was a "nonnative speaker." While this could no doubt easily be accounted for in reference to the school's language policy, which specified that only English should be spoken during school hours, only by both parties choosing to accept this policy throughout their everyday interaction did a habitual medium choice arise. Clearly, the students chose to ignore the policy among themselves, but adhered to it for teachers (whether they understood Japanese or not), which made language choice an indicator of not only ethnic but also institutional identities within the bounds of this school.

Institutional and mundane identities in bilingual interaction

Let us now return to the beginning 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 multiparty audience with a somewhat frivolous agenda. He seems to be directing each of his two languages at a different kind of participant. With some exceptions, the comical Yoda persona is carried out mostly in English, while the business transaction is conducted largely in Japanese, together with the use of fused lects.

At first, Ryan's request for a Yoda impression (line 1) meets with only a minimal response from Peter. First, because the request is specifically for a character from a well-known American film, it can be assumed that the impersonation should occur in English. In addition, this initial request has come from a speaker whose preferred language Peter knows to be English, further implying that the language of the impression should be English. 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 committing 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 a variety of codes at play in this interaction: In addition to "standard" forms of Japanese and English, we have noted that the participants use a phonologically Japanese form of English (*cheinji, voisu*), turns that combine both English and Japanese, and a stylized mock-language, Yoda-speak (codes such as these are not equatable with established linguistic systems).[11] In line with the conversation analytic perspective (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998; Auer, 1984, 1998, 2005; Gafaranga, 1999, 2000, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), I view codeswitching as an instance of socially and interactionally meaningful action and 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 their conduct in organizing the discourse. Hence, as part of my interaction-oriented analysis, that is how I treat it.

While Yoda-speak could be said to have its own 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 paralinguistic elements such as the grunts in lines 5, 18, and 36 and by using a raspy American accent that contrasts significantly with his usual (British-English) pronunciation. In fact, the only word that Peter uses in the Yoda voice—"totally" (lines 18, 36)—is not actually something that Yoda would normally say. Instead, it seems to index some other pop-culture reference that is available to the participants,[12] 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 & Wooffitt, 1998). Peter's Yoda impression can be seen as hypothetical reported speech or "virtual quotation" (Alfonzetti, 1998, p.202) in that he is not quoting something that Yoda did say but rather something Yoda could say. In Goffman's (1981) terms, Peter is the *animator* because he is producing the sounds, but Ryan, Ulliani, and Nina are the *authors* because they are coming up with the words for Peter to produce in Yoda's voice.[13]

Peter is not the only one that uses Yoda-speak: Ryan also attempts an impression of Yoda in line 13, but it is not ratified with laughter from the rest of the group 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 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. The video recording provides evidence that Ryan is directing lines 12 and 13 primarily at Peter because Ryan shifts his gaze and moves his head and upper body to follow Peter while he moves behind Ryan throughout this turn. 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.

Peter and the rest of the group jointly accomplish Peter's situated identity as "performer." First, by requesting an impression, the group casts 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, 1992). Second, Peter himself indexes the identity category "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 by the coparticipants and becomes procedurally consequential. Conversely, we can see that Ryan is not attributed with an entertainer identity because 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," line 11)[14] with an acceptance ("*tabetai*" ["I want to eat 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 researcher. 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.

As noted earlier, his overlapped English turn in line 11 is an account directed at Yumi because it was the 10th-grade class that 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 to eat some"]) because 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*."

One possible explanation for this turn-internal switch might be its proximity to Peter's earlier English turns (lines 11, 18) and the predominant use of English by 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, I propose, the trouble source or "repairable" is the use of a dispreferred medium (Gafaranga, 2000). 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 begins his response in line 25 in English ("one hundred yen") but completes the sentence in Japanese, providing possible evidence to suggest that he considers the medium in which he delivered the first half of his utterance repairable. The English segment of this turn constitutes a complete TCU, but due to the verb-final word order in Japanese syntax, the subsequent Japanese increment seems to acknowledge that the second pair part has been delivered in an other-medium. In this case, Peter is clearly orienting to Japanese as the

established medium for the vending episode through the bilingual practice of medium repair[15] (Gafaranga, 2000).

The syntactic order of Japanese grammar (subject-object-verb) allows him to do exactly this. Although the English segment of this turn provides sufficient information to act as a complete TCU on its own, adding the Japanese increment "*nan desu kedo*" helps match the medium of the response to that of the first pair part and simultaneously upgrades the politeness level, which activates the service-encounter frame of the interaction. 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" that 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 *sempai* ("seniors") in a way that is difficult to convey in English. Peter is 2 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/sempai* relationship, another aspect of his identity that needs to be juggled along with his languages.

Conclusion

This study has documented one episode in which bilingual teenagers interacted with each other. We have seen that they use a mix of English and Japanese, not due to a lack of competence in one or the other, but because their linguistic repertoire consists of both of these languages and because the sequential contexts in which they find themselves demand that they use both. Through a detailed microanalysis of a single instance of multiparty, multilingual interaction, we have found that various discourse and situated identities are jointly accomplished by and through mundane interaction with others.

The analysis has shown, in line with previous research on discourse identities, that *transportable* identities and macrosocial membership category devices such as gender or ethnicity are not always the most relevant aspect of their identities for these participants in any given conversation. Imbedded in the Yoda sequence, we have observed the students evoking relational pairs that index 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 switched to Yoda-speak to (hypothetically) quote a well-known character for humorous effect, while Ryan's use of Yoda-speak was used to request further impressions from Peter. Nina and Yumi both switched to another medium to provide an interactional

juxtaposition to grab Peter's attention (lines 20, 24). Here, codeswitching was another way to manage interaction; in monolingual interaction, these sorts of discourse-related tasks are accomplished by prosodic variations in pitch, volume, and so on. Naturally, participants in multilingual interaction have these resources at their disposal as well and regularly use them in conjunction with codeswitching to achieve various pragmatic actions.

However, language alternation in bilingual interaction 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 because 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 speaker and recipients.

In the Yoda sequence, the participants are separated into two groups, not only 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 (with some codeswitching). Because Peter responds in the medium in which he is addressed, a preferred action in bilingual interaction, the two conversations emerge according to Peter's demonstrated understanding of his coparticipants' language preferences, at least in that time and place. This does not imply that the two subgroups he is addressing consist of English speakers on the one hand and Japanese on the other. Everyone at the table has sufficient knowledge of both languages to follow what is happening in both threads of the conversation.

Taking a CA approach means suspending the analyst notion of "language" to discover the "codes" or "mediums" that the participants themselves orient to as relevant through the sequence of talk (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002). In the current analysis, this has led us to notice not only the use of Japanese and English, but also Japanized English and Yoda-speak, a form of stylized mock-language (Chun, 2004; Hill, 1998) that indexes a specific character and setting and accomplishes humor within the talk by juxtaposing that character with the current context. In addition, the hypothetical quotation voiced in Yoda-speak achieved its humor because someone who obviously does not speak that way under normal circumstances produced it, in a way that is somewhat reminiscent of Rampton's (1995, 1999) notion of *crossing*. However, Peter's use of Yoda-speak is not so much a comment on Yoda himself as it is an attempt at humor. Indeed, as we have seen, in this case, the switch to Yoda-speak was not initiated by Peter but by those around him. Again, this kind of "codeswitch" or "styleshift" could easily have been produced by monolingual speakers—a fact that is worth pointing out to monolinguals who persist in portraying bilingual interaction as somehow deficient.

From an interactional perspective, it is also worth considering how an individual deals with situations in which he or she is called on to be active in

two simultaneous conversations and to perform two separate aspects of his or her identity. Of course, this kind of thing is not limited to bilingual speakers either. A monolingual speaker can be active in two simultaneous conversations as well and would probably make use of intonation, bodily conduct, and other interactional practices such as style shift and register shift to do so. In this sense, having access to another language is merely an additional communicative resource that helps the speaker achieve certain interactional goals. However, before the speaker can use 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. 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.

Notes

1 I use the term *multiethnic Japanese* to refer to those Japanese people who have one non-Japanese parent. In Japan, they are most commonly referred to as *haafu*, a loanword from the English "half." See Greer's (2001a, 2001b) studies for a more detailed discussion.

2 The participants' names are pseudonyms chosen by the author.

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

4 *Star Wars* is a series of six science fiction movies written and produced by George Lucas. One of the recurring characters in this series, Yoda, is a short, elderly humanoid with long pointy ears and grayish-green skin. He is the leader of the Jedi council and is revered within the *Star Wars* world both for his wisdom and his fighting skills. With the possible exception of Yumi, this character was evidently known to some extent by all of those present at the table, as evidenced by their requests for Peter to give a Yoda impression.

5 Here, it is possible that Ulliani was originally requesting some other impression from Peter's repertoire, although it appears that Peter interprets it as a request to do "totally" in a Yoda voice.

6 Here "preferred" is used in the CA sense, meaning roughly "expected" or "unmarked."

7 The question of whether 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.

8 Japanese is not inherently part of the vending exchange per se. It is, however, indicative of this particular vending exchange in that Yumi has initiated an action sequence in Japanese, with the first pair part in line 23, "*ikura*" ("how much"), which sets the base medium for the sales thread as Japanese.

9 A further example can be found in line 24, where Nina produces "Yoda voisu *de ne*"; the phoneme /v/ in her "voisu" does not normally exist in Japanese, yet she combines it with other Japanese elements such as the token-final /u/ to produce a "codeswitch" at the lexical level.

10 Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) found similar codeswitching behavior among bilingual speakers who were attempting to increase the number of ratified addressees, resulting in what Auer (1984) has termed *polyvalent* local meanings of codeswitching. Such switches simultaneously perform both discourse-related and participant-related functions of bilingual interaction. First, 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 the next speaker. In monolingual talk, a current speaker can select a coparticipant 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 a 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" (C. Goodwin, 1986; 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.

11 By "established linguistic systems," I mean the idealizations that traditionally are objects of linguistic theories.

12 Although as an analyst, I am unsure exactly what "totally" refers to at this point, it is apparent from the data that Peter recognizes what Ulliani means by it. It seems to index the sort of phrase that is commonly used by young people in the US. "Totally" is regularly used in movies such as "Wayne's World" to characterize and even lampoon speech, but the Yoda character does not use this word in any of the five *Star Wars* movies in which he appears.

13 And yet, the situation is even more complex because all of the participants are animating the "real" or "hypothetical" Yoda world, albeit from positions of different discourse identities.

14 Peter seems to be using this utterance as a minimal account for why he is walking around with a basket of cakes in his hands, and the others appear to accept this as unremarkable. That is, by saying "tenth graders," Peter is explaining that the money he raises from selling these cakes will go to the 10th graders' charity fundraising efforts, and for Yumi in this time and place, this is enough to infer that the cakes are for sale.

15 Although self-repair usually involves some sort of speech disruption such as pauses or hesitations markers, here, the falling intonation after "one" (line 25) seems to be the only orientation to a repairable by Peter in this turn.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions and abbreviations

Transcript symbols

[	point where overlapping talk starts
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micropause of less than 2/10 of a second
underline	emphasis
CAPS	relatively high volume
::	lengthened syllable
word-	cut-off; self-interruption
=	"latched" utterances
?/./,	rising/falling/continuing intonation
( )	unintelligible stretch
(word)	transcriber's best guess of what is said
(( ))	transcriber's descriptions of events, including nonvocal conduct
hh	audible outbreath
.hh	audible inbreath
(hh)	laughter within a word
> <	increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
° °	passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk

Abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses

(adapted from Tanaka (1999) and Mori (1999))

IP	interactional particle (e.g., *ne*, *sa*, *no*, *yo*, *na*).
POL	politeness marker.
NR	nominalizer (e.g., *no*, *n*).
COP	copula
NEG	negative morpheme.
IMP	imperative form