Accomplishing difference in bilingual interaction: Translation as backwards-oriented medium-repair

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Abstract

Speakers often perform impromptu translations during bilingual interaction. Such translations can hold a wide variety of socio-pragmatic functions including reiteration, emphasis, recasting, and repair. When translations occur in multi-party talk where the interactants are of mixed linguistic proficiencies, they may also serve to include interlocutors who have been excluded from prior talk that was delivered in their weaker language. In this respect, translations re-partition interactants in an inclusive way. Making use of both conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA), this paper examines a collection of such post-exclusionary translations video-recorded among Japanese–English bilingual teenagers at an international school. A detailed sequential analysis of this bilingual practice reveals that the act of translation makes relevant various elements of the speakers' and recipients' identities. When a bilingual speaker offers a translation to someone, he or she casts the recipient in the category of novice (or 'non-native'), often even despite real-time claims to comprehension from that person. Indeed, the study found that when non-natives offered a receipt token after a turn delivered in a medium that was not assumed to belong to them, it often prompted the speaker to repeat the prior turn in the recipient's preferred medium.

1. Introduction

A common misconception among monolingual people is that bilinguals switch languages to exclude them from conversations. During a yearlong study based at an international school in Japan (see Greer 2001, 2003, 2005), this sort of perception was frequently held by teachers and parents, the only monolingual people in that community. They often invoked the exclusionary nature of codeswitching as justification for the school's language policy, which privileged English over other languages.

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On the other hand, the students themselves viewed codeswitching as a way to *include* those with limited language resources in bilingual conversations, by repeating elements of prior talk for one or more recipients in their preferred language. In fact, analysis of a corpus of forty hours of naturally occurring interaction found no instance in which the participants purposefully excluded a co-present monolingual from the conversation for surreptitious purposes.

While novice (or so called 'non-native'[1]) speakers sometimes played a role in initiating *medium-repair* (Gafaranga 2000), more often bilingual participants translated what they were saying without any clear prompting from their recipients. Informed by the interdisciplinary framework of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), this paper draws on a conversation analytic (CA) approach to document one bilingual practice related to medium-repair, based on a collection of real-time translations in multi-party bilingual interaction. The data to be examined were all 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 co-present recipients. The translation serves not simply as repair but also to ensure optimum recipiency for some yet-to-be-produced turn segment. In short, by repeating some element of an utterance in another language, the speaker is ensuring that his or her message will be fully understood. Moreover, by doing so, the speaker demonstrates his or her understanding of certain aspects of the recipient's identity, such as perceived linguistic expertise and language preference.

2. CA/MCA studies of identity in bilingual interaction

This paper focuses on the way that speakers can be seen to be accomplishing elements of their identity through bilingual interaction. A central notion in Bucholtz and Hall's comprehensive coverage of interactionally accomplished identity is that 'identities are relationally constructed through several often overlapping aspects of the relationship between self and other' (2005: 585). One of the most widely documented of these relational pairs is *similarity/difference*, or as Bucholtz and Hall term it, *adequation/distinction*. They argue that 'distinction depends on the suppression of similarities that might undermine the construction of difference' (*ibid.*: 600). When bilinguals provide a translation for one person in an audience, they are making publicly available their internal assumptions about that person's linguistic proficiency, and therefore constructing her or him as *different* from others in the group.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) propose that sociocultural linguistics should be 'a broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society'. The present study adopts one such subfield, the participant-centred Conversation Analysis (CA) and its related discipline of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998; Lepper 2000; Richards and Seedhouse 2005; Sacks 1992; ten Have 1999, 2001) to examine a collection of real-time translations in interaction.

While CA has been widely documented, MCA is perhaps less well known. Its aim is to investigate the locally used, invoked, and organized commonsense categories to which participants orient in everyday interaction (Hester and Eglin 1997). In brief, 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.

As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998: 3) note, any group of four people may be arbitrarily called 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 (1992: 40) calls such collections of categories Membership Categorization Devices, or MCD's. The members of this group would then be understood to have 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. A variety of assumptions about their lifestyles might also be made, whether favorably, accurately, or otherwise. Sacks identified those activities that can normally be attributed to the members of a certain group as 'category bound activities' (1992: 175).

The same collection of people might equally be assigned the term 'British' if they were classified according to the MCD *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. Conversely, interactants can make a particular identity category relevant in conversation simply by referring to category bound activities that index a particular MCD.

In recent years there has been a growing interest among researchers in applying the CA/MCA approach to the situated accomplishment of identity in bilingual interaction (Auer 1998, 2005; Bailey 2002; Cashman

2005; Cromdal 2000; Gafaranga 2001, 2005; Li Wei 2005; Williams 2005). Gafaranga (2001) points out that speakers categorize themselves and one another either as monolingual or as bilingual and in which language, and that language preference can therefore become a membership categorization device – a means by which identity categories are organized. Similarly, the act of using more than one language in conversation can be seen as a category-bound activity, one that indexes the identity category *bilingual.*

Based on this perspective, Gafaranga and Torras (2002) have advocated the need for a move towards a more participant-centered definition of codeswitching. They 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. 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 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 (cf. Álvarez-Cáccamo 1998). For Gafaranga and Torras (Gafaranga 1999, 2001; Gafaranga and Torras 2002), *code* may include linguistic and paralinguistic signals, gestures, prosody and codeswitching itself can be one form of (bilingual) code. The fact that participants orient to some forms of codeswitching as warranting repair is evidence that not all bilingual interaction is the same.

This is the motivation behind Gafaranga and Torras' 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. The advantage of using the term *medium* instead of *code* or *language* is that it suspends the notion that same language communication is normative, at least 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. Possible instances of medium-repair, then, might include an attempt to renegotiate the language of communication, or when participants orient to the language as a problem to be repaired.

With these points in mind, Gafaranga and Torras put forward their 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: 19–20). The major difference between this definition and those that have come before it is that it is grounded first and foremost in the participants' locally-negotiated orientations to switches.

In multi-party bilingual conversations, one way that speakers may orient to the current medium as repairable is by repeating various elements of prior talk in other-medium – in other words translating something that has just been said. Cashman (2005) documented several situations in which translations in interaction indexed a recipient's (perceived) language preference, which in turn indexed a variety of membership groups and served to cast the recipient of the translated segment as an incumbent member of the category that was associated with that language. Based on the data she analyzed, Cashman argued that this act could also become a means of disaffiliating with certain groups or ascribing incompetence (2005: 307). Del Torto (this volume) shows how interpreting in mundane conversation becomes a brokering resource, as well as making participant identities relevant for the ongoing talk. In other words, the practice of translation in bilingual interaction is one that provides insight into the way speakers view each other's social identities.

However, up until now very few CA studies of codeswitching have incorporated video-recorded data into their analysis, and therefore it has been difficult to investigate the role of embodied practices such as gaze shift or the use of gestures in conjunction with language alternation. Since the direction in which a speaker is looking largely reveals intended recipiency and often determines next-speaker selection (Goodwin 1981), a deeper examination of embodied practices during translation sequences is needed in order to confirm that the *other-medium* segment of talk is in fact intended for a particular participant or subset of participants who are being cast into a category associated with switched-to medium.

3. Background to the data

As indicated above, the data in this study are taken from video recordings of multi-party bilingual (Japanese/English) interaction. The complete data set consists of everyday talk-in-interaction from around a lunch table at an international high school in Japan, as well as classroom talk and five focus group sessions facilitated by the author. The segments included in the present paper are taken from three of the focus groups that consisted of multi-ethnic Japanese teenagers. Specifically, the participants were aged between 15 and 18 and had one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent. In each case the non-Japanese parent was a native speaker of English, either from the US or the UK. Except for Mia,[2] the non-Japanese parent was their father. The school instituted a language policy that privileged English as the official means of communication,[3] but in practice students regularly mixed Japanese with English when speaking among themselves.

During the focus group sessions, the participants discussed various topics related to language practices. The intention was to gather information about the participants' experiences as (so-called) half-Japanese people, so consequently the talk involved a good deal of discussion related to identity, including cases in which the participants reported ways in which other people treated them. Data were transcribed according to standard CA transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004) and Japanese has been translated with the three tiered system used by Mori (1999) and Tanaka (1999). See Appendix for further details.

The participants are all regular users of more than one language. They speak at least Japanese and English, and some of them also use a third or fourth language. When they talk among themselves, they tend to codeswitch between Japanese and English.

In each of the excerpts in this paper, the author also appears as one of the participants, albeit one who is consistently behind the camera, and therefore out of shot. At the time these data were recorded, the focus group sessions were chiefly intended as ethnographic background and it was not anticipated that they would become part of my CA study. However, in retrospect these sessions proved to be valuable not only in terms of what the participants were saying, but also for the identity work they were doing while they spoke. In each case there was a group of multi-ethnic Japanese teenagers speaking to a non-Japanese adult (me, as the focus group facilitator). This often led to situations in the talk where our relative identities were occasioned by and through the talk. I am an Australian who has lived in Japan since 1995 and who first started studying Japanese in 1981 at the age of twelve. Although I am fluent in Japanese, my first language is English, which, according to the conventions of this particular institutional setting, was the unmarked language that students used with non-Japanese adults. In practice this often meant that the participants spoke Japanese among themselves and enacted medium-repair by switching to English when they spoke to me. This practice is the focus of the analysis in this paper.

4. The practice of inclusion by translation

In short, the bilingual practice to be discussed involves the following sequence of actions:

1. *First saying*: a known bilingual speaker (S) produces a turn (or turn segment) in medium A.

2. *Possible receipt token trigger*: a recipient (R) who is known (or assumed) to be non-fluent in medium A provides some form of uptake token.
3. *Translated resaying*: S repeats some prior-produced element in medium B in conjunction with gaze shift or other bodily conduct to indicate this is intended for a specific participant or subset of participants, namely R.
4. *Return*: S delivers next turn in medium A.

In the cases in the present analysis there is nothing to indicate to the speaker that the co-present novice speaker is experiencing difficulty with the translatable 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 recipiency. For that reason, this paper will rely not only on detailed transcripts but also framegrabs to document the participants' embodied actions during the course of the readdressed repair sequences.

In the first excerpt, Eri describes one of her earliest experiences at the international school in which she reportedly thought her teacher was 'a husky' because the teacher had blue eyes. Eri provides a translation of the word *husky* for her peers, even though its Japanese equivalent is almost the same as the English:

Excerpt (1) FG6: 9:35 Husky-ken

1	Tim:		so after that you came here
2	Eri:		yes. yes
3	Tim:		[I see.]
4	Eri:		[at the end of] first grade I didn't know any:
5			(0.7) English ((shifts gaze to Tim))
6	Tim:		uh[uh]
7	Eri:		[a]t all. and when I: first sa:w?
8			>Mrs (Gray)<, she's (0.6) my first.
9			((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.* ((gestures 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:.

Framegrabs 1–4 below correspond with the speech represented in excerpt (1). The exact point from which the framegrabs below were taken is indicated in each figure by a triangle placed above a fragment from the transcript. During lines 1 to 13 in the transcript above, 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 1) 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 turn constructional unit (TCU) Eri self-selects to provide her first form of repair, an expanded English clarification also directed at Tim (Figure 2), 'you know like the (.) puppy?'.

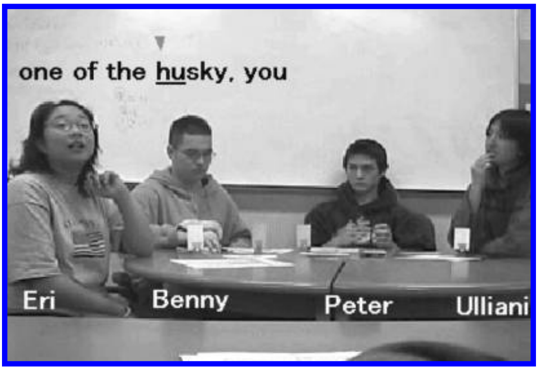

Figure 1. *Husky, Line 11.*

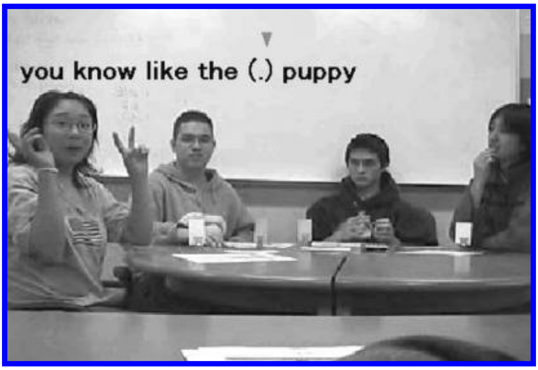
▼
you know like the (.) puppy

Figure 2. *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 its 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. A further explanation could 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 3). 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 point when Tim has indicated his uptake of her 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 remain-

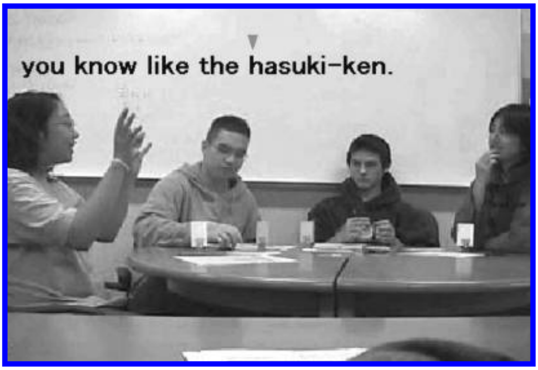
you know like the hasuki-ken.

Figure 3. *Husky, Line 16.*

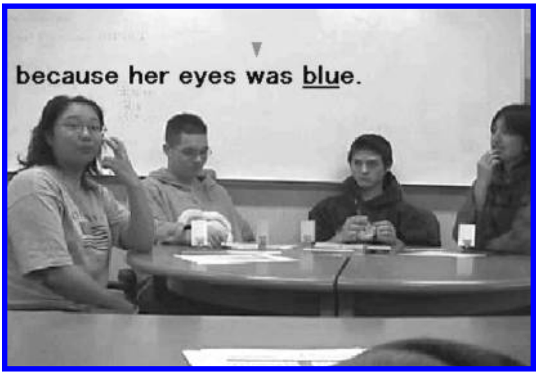
because her eyes was blue.

Figure 4. *Husky, Line 19.*

ing part of her turn (Figure 4), displaying that she understands English to be the preferred medium for that particular recipient.

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, which is essentially a discourse-related feature of her codeswitching (Auer 1984). 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 indicates that it is not entirely accurate either. Hence, Eri treats her two attempts at describing the teacher (lines 11 and 12−14) as possibly misleading or ambiguous, and codeswitching into Japanese allows her to negotiate this production difficulty. So rather than simply 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 both discourse- and participant-related codeswitching, or what Auer (1984) calls polyvalent codeswitching.

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 school basketball team), 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 blue.[4]

Eri's use of 'puppy' (lines 12−13) may also 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*. Clearly then, 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. In Bucholtz and Hall's sociocultural linguistic terms, by shifting her gaze and changing medium, Eri accomplishes *distinction*, as she utilizes each medium to negotiate a production dilemma.

The next instance, excerpt (2), is taken from another focus group, this time with five 12th grade multi-ethnic Japanese teenagers. It comes immediately after a section of mixed-medium talk in which the participants have been discussing the word *haafu,*[5] 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 *haafu*. Before the others can respond, Nina brings up another antiquated epithet, *konketsuji*, with which she appears to have had some experience, and then switches to English to translate this word for Tim. *Konketsuji* literally means 'mixed blood child', and although now rarely used, it has a strongly derisive nuance. While such labels are obviously doing identity work at one level, the current analysis will focus instead on the way Nina's translation creates a distinction between Tim and the rest of the group:

Excerpt (2) FG2 17:20 Konketsuji

1 Tim: it- >*haafu* is pretty much< just a word that
2 other people use, right [y]=
3 Mick: [*ahn*]
yeah
4 Tim: =in this school
5 *I-I don't really hear i[t everyday.]=
6 Nina: [**mukashi no* *hito* *demo*]=
Past GEN person but
7 *((Tim======== *BJ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~))
8 Tim: =[yeah]
9 Nina: → =[**kon*]**ketsuji* **to* *yutteteta*
mix blood child QT say-PST-CONT
'But in the past people used to say *konketsuji.*'
10 ((*BJ= *Tim~~~~ *=========))
11 Tim: hm:

12 Nina: → *mixed blood pe[rson]
13 ((*Tim=============))
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 recipiency by maintaining eye contact with Tim (Figure 5) while he confirms his understanding of the usage of the word *haafu*. During line 4, Nina briefly

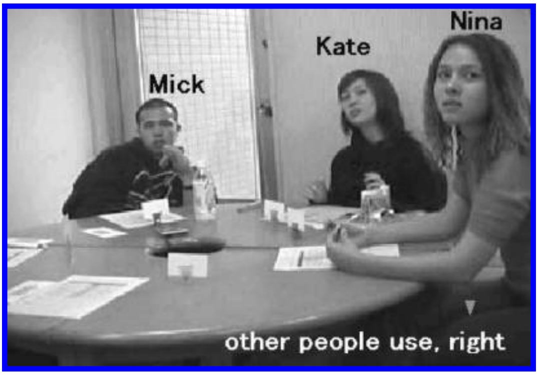
Nina
Kate
Mick
other people use, right

Figure 5. *Konketsuji, Line 2.*

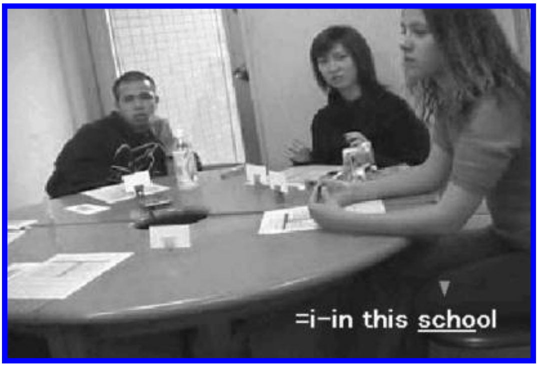
=i-in this school

Figure 6. *Konketsuji, Line 4.*

looks away from Tim (Figure 6), 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 7–9). By the time she delivers the alternative epithet *konketsuji* in line 9 (Figure 10) 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 11–12). 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 recipiency in line 8, Nina is within her rights to continue.

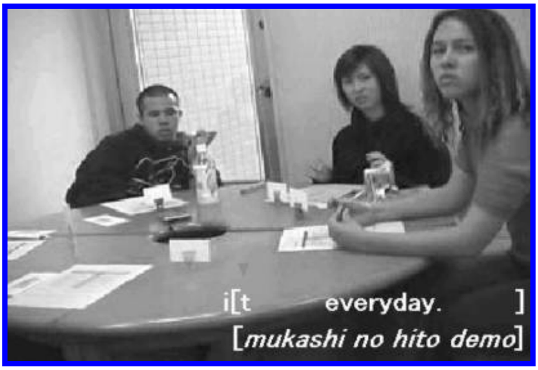

Figure 7. *Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6.*

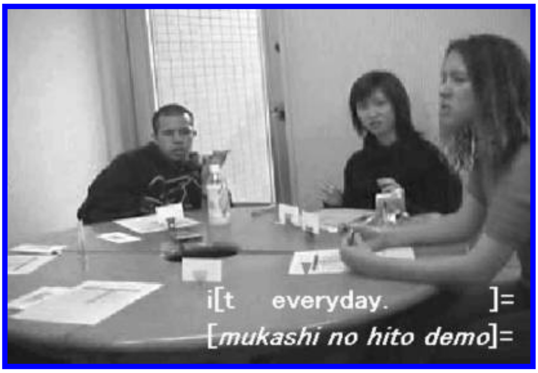

Figure 8. *Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6.*

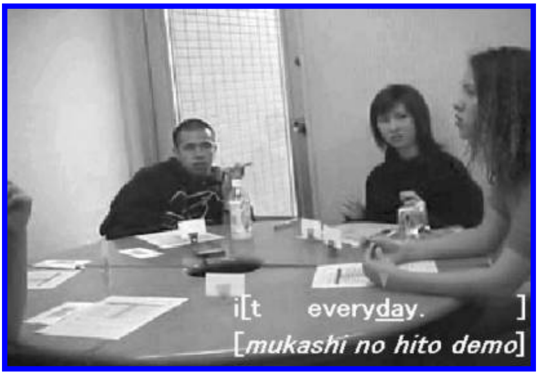
i[t everyday.]
[mukashi no hito demo]

Figure 9. *Konketsuji, Lines 5 and 6.*

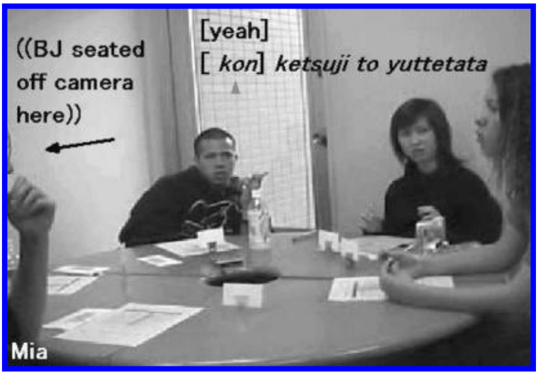
((BJ seated off camera here))
[yeah]
[kon] ketsuji to yuttetata
Mia

Figure 10. *Konketsuji, Line 9.*

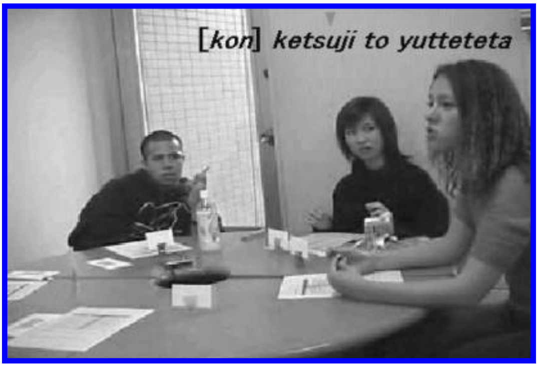
[kon] ketsuji to yutteteta

Figure 11. *Konketsuji, Line 9.*

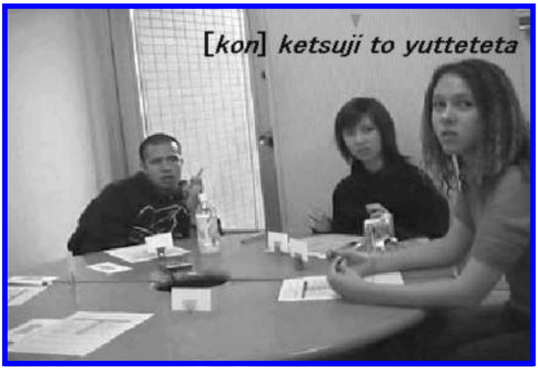

Figure 12. *Konketsuji, Line 9.*

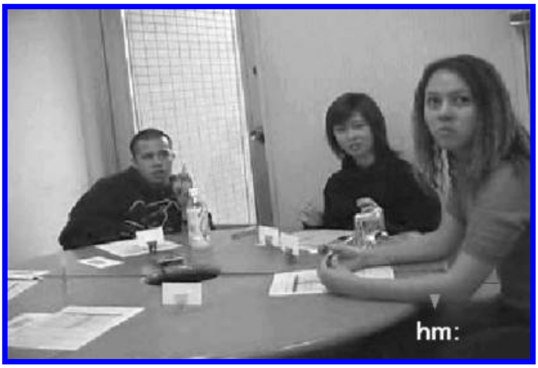

Figure 13. *Konketsuji, Line 11.*

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 13). This constructs Tim as a relative 'novice' speaker of Japanese, which strengthens the turn-competitive force of Nina's utterance 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 in 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

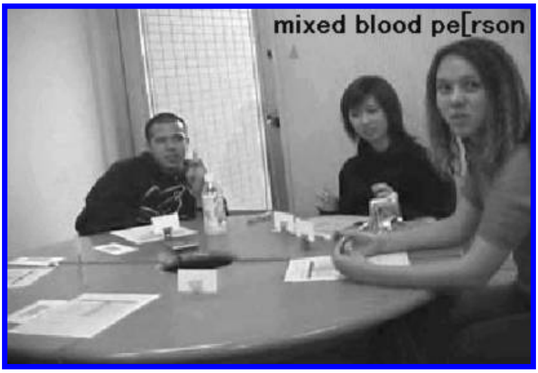

Figure 14. *Konketsuji, Line 12.*

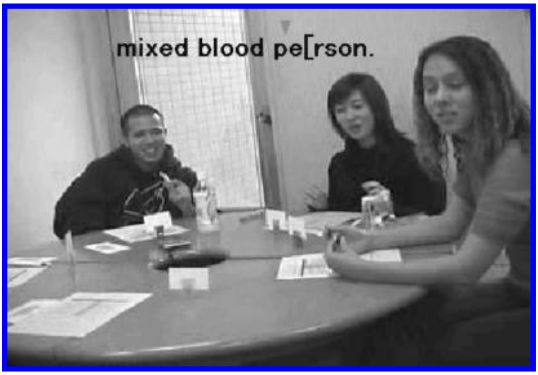
mixed blood pe[rson.

Figure 15. *Konketsuji, Line 12.*

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 (Figures 14–15), and then returns her gaze to Mick and Kate in response to their overlapped laughter in lines 14 and 15 (Figures 16–18). 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.

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

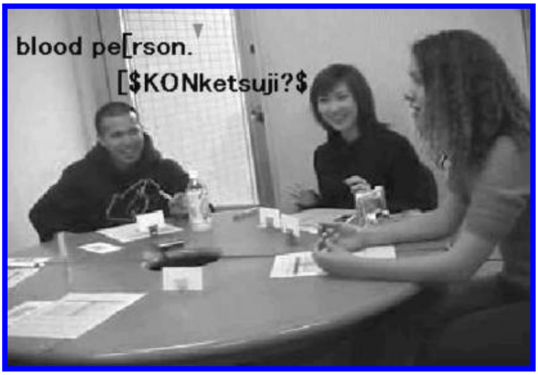
blood pe[rson.
[$KONketsuji?$

Figure 16. *Konketsuji, Lines 12 to 14.*

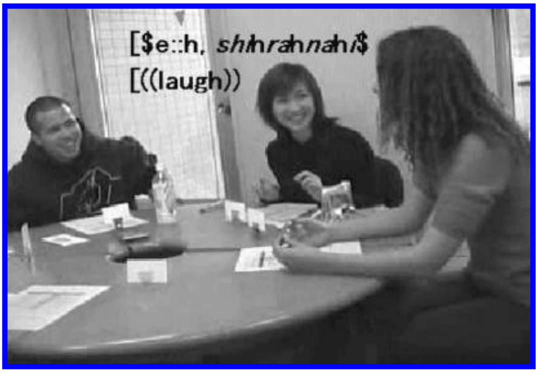
[$e::h, *shhrahnahi*$
[((laugh))

Figure 17. *Konketsuji, Line 17.*

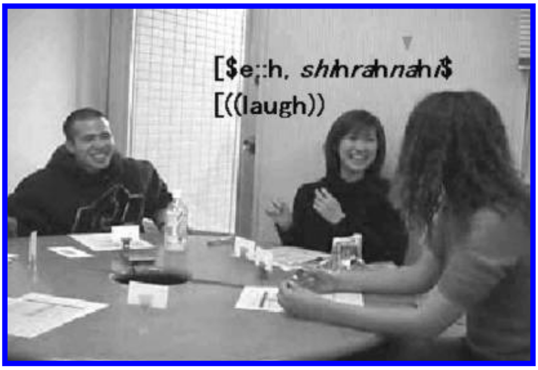
[$e::h, *shhrahnahi*$
[((laugh))

Figure 18. *Konketsuji, Line 17.*

highlighting it, marking the translated turn-segment of particular import, as did 'husky' in excerpt (1). Shifting her gaze towards Tim for the duration of the translation may also 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 neither Tim nor Nina produces reciprocal laughter and 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 the English translation delivered for Tim. 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 medium-repair indexes certain categories for the co-participants, whether they are based on ethnicity or language preference, or indeed a combination of both. By making relevant such membership categories, Nina interactionally acknowledges a difference between Tim and the other participants.

The fact that Tim has implied comprehension of the word *konketsuji* before Nina produces its English equivalent (line 11) appears to be 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 at line 6 and only said 'mixed blood person', which Japanese term she was referring to might not have been clear to the participants.

A further example of the practice can be found in excerpt (3) 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 instance 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 his earlier turn into English, again 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 Hawai'i:

Excerpt (3) FG6 31:27 Waikiki

1 Tim: in Hawaii you'd be able to speak Ja(h)panese
2 I th(h)ink
3 Benny: >h-heh ha<
4 Ulliani: But the- [for Ja]panese [many Japa]nese
5 Peter: [( )] [Japanese]
6 *nihon to nihonjin ni shika kouryuu nai 'ssho*
Japan and Japanese with only exchange NEG TAG
'Japanese (in Hawai'i) only communicate with Japan and other Japanese.'
7 Ulliani: no I know. that's the problem
8 Tim: heh heh h[em]
9 Ulliani: [ma][ny like]=
10 Peter: [heh heh he]h
11 Ulliani: =many Japanese are i:n (.)
12 [Ha]waii so-
13 Peter: [*ne*]
IP
'Hey!'
14 Peter: → *waikiki demo sugoi mon*
Waikiki too 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: → there's li:ke Japanese people all round
24 in Waikiki. It's [s:cary.]
25 Ulliani: [(Kansai)]
26 ((a region of Japan))
27 (0.7)
28 Tim: hmm
29 Ulliani: *kansai ben*
Kansai dialect
30 Tim: tschh=

31 Peter: =hong kong *demo soh ssho*
too same TAG
'Hong Kong is the same, right?'
32 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 23. 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 20) and then away on producing the word *sugoi* (Figure 21), perhaps the first indication that he sees this as a potential trouble source. Since Peter's 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 *sugoi.*

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 ('mm'), which may remind Peter of his presence. Secondly, during the laughter in lines 21–22 (Figure 22), Peter looks towards Tim, possibly to check if he is going to join in the appreciation of the co-completed turn.

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 implying that Peter and Ulliani are distancing themselves from 'normal' Japanese.

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 lines 23–24. His gaze is directed towards Tim (Figures 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 Peter's translation covers two sentences, noting that Waikiki is both crowded with Japanese and the fact that this makes the speaker uncomfortable.

So in each of the above excerpts the act of translation serves as a category-bound activity (Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1972, 1979, 1992) that casts its recipient into an identity category that is associated with features

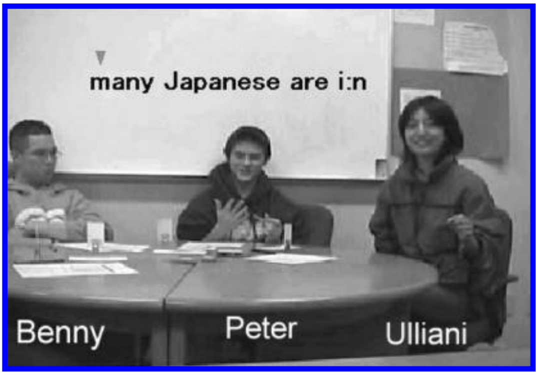
many Japanese are i:n
Benny
Peter
Ulliani

Figure 19. *Waikiki, Line 11.*

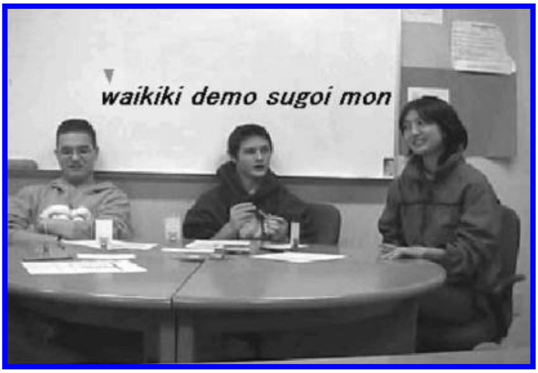
waikiki demo sugoi mon

Figure 20. *Waikiki, Line 13.*

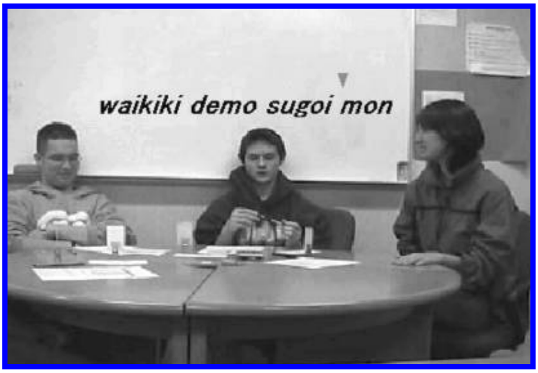
waikiki demo sugoi mon

Figure 21. *Waikiki, Line 13.*

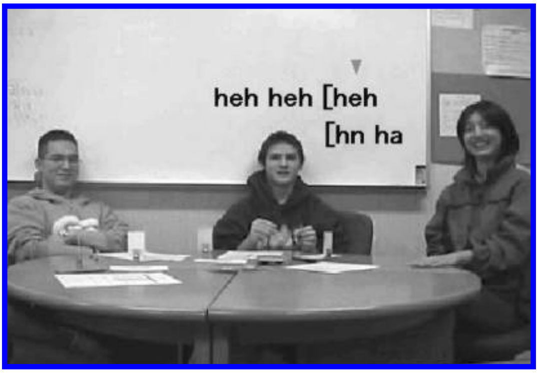
heh heh [heh
[hn ha

Figure 22. *Waikiki, Lines 21–22.*

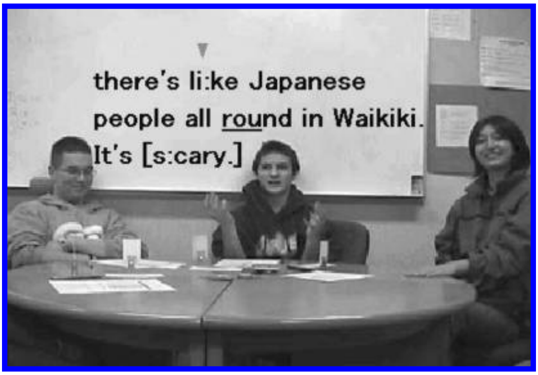
there's li:ke Japanese
people all round in Waikiki.
It's [s:cary.]

Figure 23. *Waikiki, Line 24.*

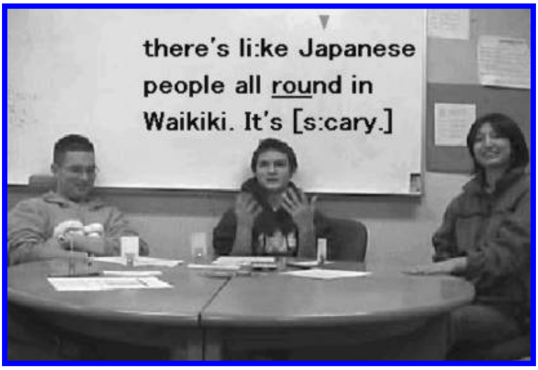
there's li:ke Japanese
people all round in
Waikiki. It's [s:cary.]

Figure 24. *Waikiki, Line 24.*

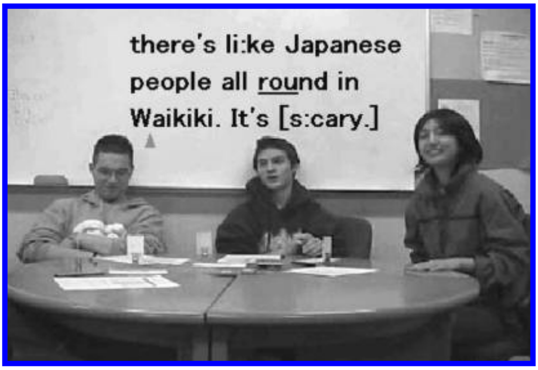

Figure 25. *Waikiki, Line 25.*

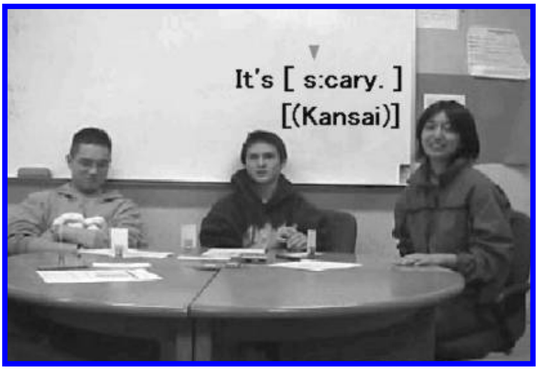

Figure 26. *Waikiki, Line 25.*

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.

Although there is clearly no animosity toward Tim as the outsider, the act of translation nonetheless accomplishes difference in interaction, by indexing the relational pair of adequation/distinction. The fact that I did not dispute the need for such translations at the time they occurred is testament to my role in co-constructing the relative identities. In other circumstances I have been known to refuse an English translation from Japanese people when I am already following the conversation. By not doing so in this case, I am implicitly ratifying the participants' representation of me as an outsider, probably because to do otherwise would involve the disprefered act of rejecting an offer and may have jeopardized my relationship as a researcher with the participants.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has examined the use of translation to enact medium repair in multi-party bilingual interaction where one or more co-participants are understood to have a different language preference to others in the group. In all these cases an expert or 'balanced' bilingual made relevant a recipient's identity as a novice or 'non-native' by self-initiating medium-repair to provide a preferred-medium resaying of some element of a prior utterance, thereby simultaneously indexing his or her own identity as a proficient speaker of both media. 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 can be 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 interpret a receipt token from a novice (or late bilingual) speaker as an uptake or a display of comprehension. Instead it may even 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-parent-one-language policy (Barron-Hauwaert 2004) 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 international school environment, where a one-language policy is instituted. In their partialness principle, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 606) note that the interactional accomplishment of identity 'may be in part deliberate and intentional, [and] in part habitual and hence less than fully conscious'. Speaking English to one sort of person and Japanese to another sort has become such a habit to these multiethnic teenagers, that it is difficult for them to use other-medium 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.

An important element of the present analysis has been attention to co-occurring embodied practices, such as gaze shift, which provides clear evidence that the switched segment of talk is principally directed at a certain subset of recipients. It is not just codeswitching alone, but codeswitching in conjunction with gaze addressee selection and the interactional practice of bilingual repetition that casts the recipient as 'other'. Whether or not it is ultimately necessary, it seems that this is an attempt by the speaker to alter the participant constellation in order to include co-present novice speakers by repairing a perceived exclusion at the earliest possible injunction. 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 relational pair (novice/expert) which it invoked. Not only by what they said, but also by the way they said it, bilingual multiethnic Japanese at this international school regularly made relevant elements of their social identities even at the most micro-interactional level.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) claim that linguists are well prepared 'to provide an empirically viable account of the complexities of identity as a social, cultural, and – most fundamentally – interactional phenomenon' (2005: 608). In order to understand macro-level social and cultural identities, the analyst must first examine individual cases of identity accomplishment in real interaction. The aim of this paper has been to document real-time translations in bilingual interaction, and the analysis has shown that the practice is intimately connected to Bucholtz and Hall's relational pair of adequation/distinction (2005). While the content of what these teenagers were reporting in the focus groups is obviously connected with their experience of being multiethnic in a largely monocultural country like Japan, through the act of translation they are also *doing* multiethnic identity, even as they are talking about it. The CA attention to the micro-details of the talk provides evidence of identity accomplishment as a bilingual practice. Through social interaction, the participants' internal perceptions of each other's identities become publicly available both in real-time for the participants themselves, as well as the analyst via the video recordings.

Contrary to the widespread ideology that bilinguals switch language to exclude others, the participants are clearly endeavoring to include all the participants in the talk, by repeating some element of a prior turn in other-medium. However, at the same time this in itself indexes another form of locally emergent ideology, on in which the speaker targets certain recipients for translation and not others. Bucholtz and Hall (this issue) note that '[t]hus accommodation through translation, while ensuring the inclusion of all participants, can also be understood as partly hierarchical, while lack of accommodation may symbolically signal inclusion by not foregrounding linguistic difference'.

A sociocultural linguistic approach builds up such macro-social findings by basing them firmly in micro-interactional analysis, such as CA. Arguably this is also the way that worldviews are established – from the bottom up. By paying due attention to the details of bilingual interaction, we are able to arrive at an understanding of how they view their world that doesn't rely simply on secondhand reports, even those of the participants themselves. The practice of translation in interaction is one way in which bilingual, multiethnic people demonstrate difference between themselves and others.

Kobe University

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

Transcriptions are based on the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson as outlined in Hutchby and Woofitt (1998), ten Have (1999) and Markee and Kasper (2004). Translations of Japanese segments follow the three-tiered system used by Tanaka (1999) and Mori (1999).

TRANSLATION

ore ja nai	Italics indicate talk is in Japanese
me COP NEG	Second line gives a literal English gloss of each item.
'It's not me'	Third line gives a vernacular English translation in single quates.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LITERAL GLOSS

GEN	Genitive	(-*no*)
QT	Quotation marker	(-*to*, -*tte*)
TAG	Tag-like expression	
IP	Interactional particle	(e.g., *ne*, *sa*, *no*, *yo*, *na*)

Verbs and Adjectival forms

COP	Copulative verb, variations of the verb *to be*
NEG	Negative morpheme
PST	Past tense morpheme
CONT	Continuing (non-final) form

GAZE

Framegrabs taken from the video are generally used to demonstrate bodily conduct. In addition the following notation has been adapted from Goodwin (1981) and 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.

Notes

1. As Rampton (1996) has noted, the identity categories of native/non-native have become conflated and politicized in recent years. This paper instead uses the categories novice/expert in order to focus primarily on language proficiency and to reflect the way the participants themselves oriented to each other in everyday talk. See Hosoda (2006) for a detailed review of the way that members make linguistic expertise relevant in second language talk.
2. Other than for the researcher, pseudonyms have been used throughout this paper.
3. In theory, students were required to speak only English between the hours of 8:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. and according to the policy could be punished for using other languages. In reality, however, the teachers rarely reprimanded students for using Japanese outside of class time, and the lunch table was a fertile site for collecting codeswitched data.
4. 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 simple receipt token 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 the color of my eyes, although the metaphor is by no means common.
5. *Haafu* is a Japanese loanword that derives from the English *half* and is the most commonly used descriptor for multiethnic Japanese people in Japan, particularly those like the participants in this study whose non-Japanese parent is a Caucasian speaker of English.

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