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Word search sequences in bilingual interaction: Codeswitching and embodied orientation toward shifting participant constellations

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Abstract

This study explores the way a group of Japanese/English bilingual teenagers makes use of embodied and bilingual practices in accomplishing word searches. The investigation draws on video-recorded data of the participants' talk during focus group sessions in order to undertake a micro-analysis of several cases of codeswitching in forward-oriented repair. When alternating between languages, speakers use bilingual practices conjointly with other embodied practices, such as eye contact and gaze direction, to select or design some element of the turn-in-progress for a specific sub-set of recipients. This was found to be one interactional locus in which discourse identities became relevant for the turn-in-progress. The study focuses on the locally negotiated and interactionally accomplished emergent functions of specific codeswitches, referring first and foremost to the way that language choice shapes interaction and makes public moment-by-moment participant understandings of identity.

Keywords: Word search; Conversation Analysis; Codeswitching; Embodied practices; Participant constellations; Discourse identity

1. Introduction

The repair organization originally proposed by Schegloff et al. (1977) proposes a set of interactional practices that are available for dealing with trouble in talk. Repair is accomplished differently depending on whether it is initiated and/or repaired by the current speaker (self-initiated/self-repaired) or a recipient (other-initiated/other-repaired). When some source of trouble has already appeared in the talk, interactants may acknowledge it as incorrect, improper, inaudible, incomprehensible, or in some other way *repairable* by referring back to it in ongoing talk. Schegloff (1979) calls this backward-oriented repair, in that the participants are attending to a trouble source that is located in prior talk. On the other hand, when the trouble source is yet to be produced, such as when a speaker is searching for a word, the repair becomes forward-oriented, and speakers design the repair turn in a very different way.[1] Forward-oriented repair seeks to delay the turn in progress through silence at incomplete turn construction units (TCUs), sound stretches, vowel elongations, hesitation markers and candidate insertions, while backward-oriented repair uses cut-offs to address the trouble as soon as possible.

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[1] A word search is always forward-oriented in that it seeks a satisfactory resolution, but it may also be oriented to prior talk, such as when a speaker initiates a self-correction with "I mean er. . ." In addition, there are other functions of forward-oriented repair, such as pre-second insert expansions (Schegloff, 2007).

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Conversation Analysis (CA) researchers have looked at word search sequences in a variety of contexts. In addition to word searches involving native-speakers of both English (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986; Schegloff, 1979) and Japanese (Funayama, 2002; Hayashi, 2003b), the phenomenon has been examined in novice-expert language user talk (Brouwer, 2003; Hosoda, 2006; Mori, 2010) and novice-novice talk between Japanese speakers of English (Carroll, 2005). However, the role of codeswitching within this practice remains under-explored, especially in relation to embodied actions like gaze direction and gesture.

The present study undertakes an analysis of word searches in bilingual (Japanese/English) interaction in order to investigate the role of codeswitching during forward-oriented repair in multi-party groups with mixed language preferences. An integral element of the analysis is its consideration of co-occurring embodied practices in accomplishing such repair. In the cases we will examine a bilingual speaker designs a switch for a recipient who is known to be communicatively competent in the switched-to medium,[2] accompanying the alternation with a shift of gaze, which allows the speaker to complete the repair sequence in that language. Typically these switches are followed by an imminent return to the base language of the conversation. The study ultimately contends that such switching in mixed language preference, multi-party talk indexes the codeswitcher's identity in that it makes relevant participant collectivities and sub-groups that become consequential for the ongoing interaction (Goodwin, 1981; Lerner, 1993).

2. Embodied practices and bilingual interaction

This study is concerned with unscripted spoken bilingual interaction. Since the word codeswitching has been used extensively within the literature it has taken on a multitude of meanings to different researchers; we will therefore use the term *bilingual interaction* for referring to any talk that contains elements from two or more languages. Similarly, when referring to individuals the word *bilingual* will mean that they use two or more languages routinely within their daily lives, not only in classroom language learning settings. They may not have equal proficiency in both languages (and therefore possess an individual preference for one language over another), however they do demonstrate a high level of communicative competence in each. The act of word searching in no way reflects negatively on the participants' linguistic ability, since it is a routine repair phenomenon even among monolingual speakers. Before examining the data we will consider some of the previous CA work on embodied action and bilingual interaction.

One important aspect of word searching in face-to-face communication is its relation to embodied action—gestures, gaze, posture, proximity and other associated multimodal features of interaction. Goodwin (1986) notes that when speakers look away while attempting to access some sequentially due lexical item, they are indicating to recipients that they are undertaking a solitary word search. As soon as they reengage eye contact with another participant, they invite co-participation in the word search, and listeners routinely show that they understand this to be the case by offering candidate items precisely at the point when the word searcher looks at them. Initiators of forward-oriented repair often accompany their word searches with iconic gestures that help the recipients to guess at the yet-to-be-produced trouble source (Hayashi, 2003b), and novice L2 speakers can circumvent the need to complete forward-oriented repair by replacing part of a turn that has a projectable trajectory with a gesture, a practice which has been termed ''embodied completion'' (Olsher, 2004; Mori and Hayashi, 2006). In this sense, embodied practices can be seen as contextualizing cues that assist speakers in carrying out forward-oriented repair.

Codeswitching researchers who apply the CA framework (including Alfonzetti, 1998; Auer, 1984, 1995, 1998; Cromdal, 2004; Gafaranga, 2007; Li Wei, 2005) have found that bilingual speakers can use the juxtaposition of elements from two languages as an additional resource to manage talk-in-interaction. Auer's seminal work on codeswitching from a CA perspective (Auer, 1984) notes that these contextualization cues co-occur with other prosodic and embodied elements that are available in monolingual talk. Although the technology available at the time did not readily afford close examination of gesture and gaze in relation to interaction, Auer's analysis of the discourse-related functions of codeswitching demonstrated that it could be used to handle changes in the participant constellation[3] through the organization of turn-taking, such as selecting a specific next-speaker from within a group of recipients. At the same time, the recipient-designed nature of any given switch can offer insight into the speaker's assumptions about the selected next-speaker's preferred language, which ultimately makes public the interactants' understandings about each other's linguistic identities (Gafaranga, 2001; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002).

[2] One of the fundamental challenges in codeswitching studies is to demonstrate that bilingual speakers themselves are aware that they are speaking Language A or Language B at any particular point in a spate of dual-medium talk. Following Gafaranga's respecification of codeswitching as ''interactional otherness'' (Gafaranga, 2000; Gafaranga and Torras, 2002), the current study will suspend the notion of ''language'' in favor of the term ''medium'', until a point in the talk when the participants themselves orient to their ''languages'' by enacting medium-repair.

[3] Building on the work of Goffman (1979), Auer (1984:33) defines ''participant constellation'' as ''the system of 'roles' that hold(s) for all ratified participants'', including *speaker*, *addressee*, *recipient*, *listener* and *bystander*.

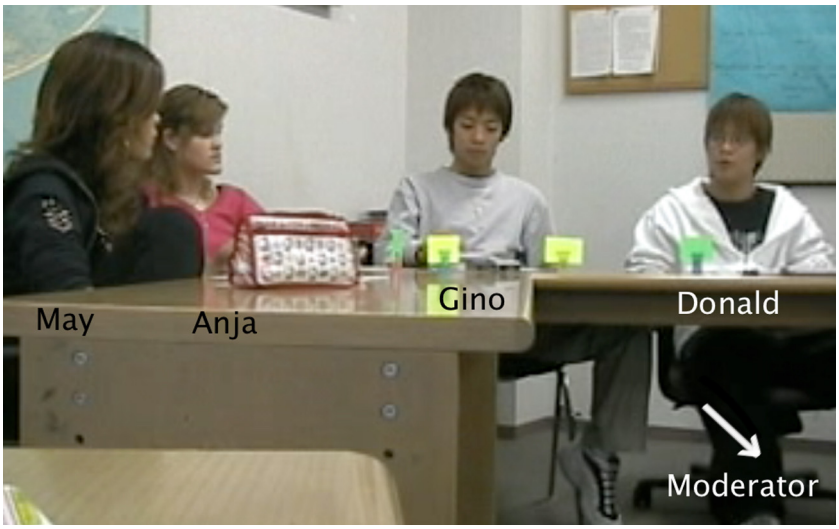


Fig. 1. Participants as they were seated during the conversation.

So while the use of non-verbal signaling devices in conjunction with codeswitching has been generally acknowledged by CA researchers (Auer, 1984, 2005; Cromdal, 2004, 2005; Li Wei, 2005), up until this point there has been no systematic analysis of the role of gestures, body position and gaze in bilingual interaction, despite the fact that such embodied actions provide important clues to both the primary recipient and to shifting participant constellations in multi-party talk (Goodwin, 1986).

The overarching aim of this paper, then, is to explore the role of embodied action in bilingual word search sequences, including the social actions they accomplish and the way they are carried out in multi-party talk involving speakers with a variety of preferred languages. A secondary agenda is to consider how bilingual interactants make relevant certain aspects of their discourse, situated and transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998) in such situations.

3. Participants and data set

The study's findings are based on a corpus of unscripted talk collected during four focus group sessions conducted among Japanese/English-speaking bilingual teenagers. The extracts we will consider here are all taken from a conversation recorded in one of the focus groups. The participants, shown in Fig. 1, will be identified with the pseudonyms May, Anja, Gino and Donald.

A brief summary of their backgrounds is provided in Table 1; however, the reader is reminded that from a CA perspective these categories must not be taken as omnirelevant or afforded any *a priori* significance. Like any other identity category, these features may be indexed, occasioned or made consequential through the details of the talk (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998).

Originally intended as part of a broader ethnographic study (Greer, 2005, 2007), the aim of this focus group session was to have the participants discuss a list of statements about being bilingual and multiethnic in Japan. As moderator, the author appears in these sequences as a fifth interactant, although one who is consistently off-camera. I was seated at a separate table about two meters away and was also operating the camera, which was sitting on the table to my left (see Fig. 2). The video footage therefore does not include my facial reactions or the direction of my gaze. My aim was to participate in the discussion as an interested outsider, initiating topics and encouraging the participants to talk freely among themselves.

Table 1
Participant backgrounds.

Name	Nationality	Age	Languages spoken, in order of self-reported preference
May	Korean	17	Japanese, English, Korean, Spanish
Anja	American-Japanese	17	English, Japanese
Gino	German-Japanese	16	French, Japanese, English, Italian
Donald	Taiwanese	16	Mandarin, English, Japanese
Mod	Australian	34	English, Japanese

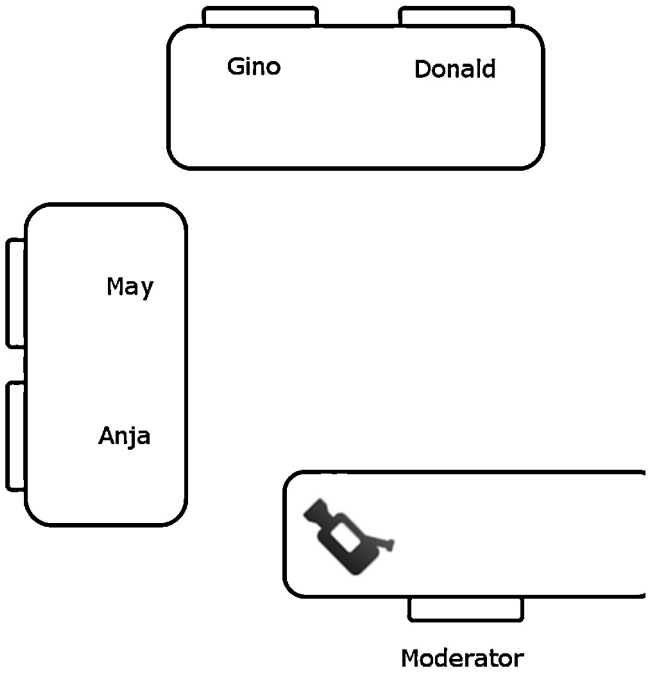


Fig. 2. Seating arrangement.

However, as facilitator, I was also able to shift the topic to the next question when I felt there had been sufficient discussion, so at times the interaction becomes asymmetrical with respect to the rights and responsibilities of the speakers.

The students all belonged to a pre-existing social network prior to the discussion. May and Anja had spent ten and twelve years respectively at the English-medium school, and could therefore be classed as early or simultaneous bilinguals, in that they had relatively equal access to both English and Japanese. Gino had grown up in France and although he had spent time in other English-medium schools in Tokyo and Paris, his English was not as strong as his French and Japanese. Having learnt their second languages after the age of twelve, Don and the moderator could likewise be considered as ''late-bilinguals''.

CA findings are typically based on naturally occurring talk, and so the data in the present analysis are somewhat atypical. As such, they are best understood as a form of institutional talk (Drew and Heritage, 1992), in that the facilitator set the agenda and the topics were limited by the task. Generally I share Edwards and Stokoe's wariness of focus group data for such analysis (Edwards and Stokoe, 2004), especially as it tends to be reflective rather than active, but since the present study is concerned more with turn-taking and participant constellations in bilingual interaction, *who* the students are speaking to (i.e. their turn-taking practices) is just as important as the content of *what* they are saying.

The main language of communication in these focus group conversations was English. Apart from the fact that the discussion guide was written in that language, the participants probably also recognized English as my preferred language and normatively equated a non-Japanese adult face with that medium of communication within the boundaries of this educational institution; although I can speak Japanese, the school had an official ''English-only'' policy, and so these students did not usually speak with me in Japanese, and at least some of them had never heard me speak in that language up until this focus group. On the other hand, they frequently spoke in Japanese among themselves throughout the session, reporting the outcome to me in a form of summary. This was particularly noticeable when there was some concept or word that could be discussed more smoothly in Japanese. It is precisely this practice—the partitioning of participants through gaze shift in conjunction with a switch to a different language—which I will contend provides publicly available evidence of the participants' understandings of self and other.

4. Findings

Codeswitched sequences in this corpus regularly began with hesitation markers like *ano* ('um'), *e:to* ('er'), elongations, self-addressed questions and/or disfluency markers such as *nanka* ('like'), which signaled the initiation of forward-oriented repair—in other words, a word search sequence. When speakers cannot access a lexical item, they often employ such practices to delay production of the due item while reserving their rights to the turn-in-progress (Schegloff, 1979).

Because of the unfinished nature of the utterance, delay devices frequently occur at incomplete TCU's and may be preceded by a momentary silence, followed by the hesitation marker or other non-lexical perturbations.

In Excerpt 1, Gino switches to Japanese to deliver such a hesitation marker while he searches for an example. In line 5 he shifts his gaze away from the moderator as he produces the Japanese token *nanka* (''like''), however his eye contact returns as he switches back to English to formulate the response in line 6.

Excerpt 1: FG3 Nanka
The participants are discussing the difference between Japanese people and themselves.

```
01 Mod:    For example?
02         (1.8)
03 Gino:   For example=
04 Mod:    =mm=
05 Gino:   = Yeah um (.)          nanka  (.)
                                  something
                                  like
                ((Gino looking at Mod))   ((Gino looks to the right))
06         my way of thinking is=
           ((Gino looks back at Mod))
07         =(.)[diff]er[ent=
08 Mod:      [uhuh]
09 May:                  [Un sore  wa   chigau.
                          Yeah that TOP different
                          Yeah that (is) different.
```

Hosoda (2002) maintains that one way non-native speakers can demonstrate their incumbent membership in the category of 'non-native speaker of X' is by producing hesitation markers in that language. While this may be the case when bilinguals have a stronger language, it is likely that those who have been bilingual since early childhood are better understood as having two first languages (Baker, 2000), meaning that a codeswitched delaying device (*nanka*) may not necessarily indicate non-native status. Gino's switch to Japanese comes directly after an English hesitation marker ('um') that accomplishes the same interactional work.

By producing the first hesitation marker in English and then repeating an other-medium lexical item that accomplishes the same action, Gino is doing more than just reserving the turn. The switch in line 5 'um (.) *nanka* (.)', along with its accompanying shift of gaze, demonstrate that Gino is no longer directing the utterance toward the English speaker (the moderator). Since the function of a hesitation marker is to hold the right to continue speaking while the current speaker accesses an unavailable lexical item, the first hesitation marker ('um') is hearable as directed to the previous speaker, while the next one ('*nanka*') seems to contextualize a disengagement from the primary current recipient (the moderator), which accomplishes a shift in the participant constellation, and thus project a Japanese turn completion.

In this case however, the turn-internal switch is discontinued and the speaker returns to English to complete the turn. During this switch Gino also returns his gaze to the moderator, the prior speaker, demonstrating that he understands the use of English is preferred (that is, 'unmarked') for this particular recipient. Since I have initiated the action sequence in English (in line 1), and the broader conversation has been mostly in English, Gino is normatively expected to complete it in that language (see Li Wei, 1998 for further discussion on the preference for prior medium in second pair parts). By doing

so, he makes available his understanding of how an utterance should be designed for this particular recipient, an adult whose first language is English.

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

Gaze and language alternation were frequently found to co-occur in forward-oriented repair sequences in this data. The participants were able to enlist aid from others bilingual recipients by directing the conversation toward them during the period of the switch while conducting a word search, and then finishing the sequence in the base language, as in Excerpt 2.

Excerpt 2: FG3 *sakoku*
Gino has been comparing multilingualism in Europe to the situation in Japan

01 Gino: so at least one, (0.3) person could speak (0.4)

02 two language or three.

03 Anja: °right°

04 Gino: that was normal.

05 Mod: [mm]

06 Anja: [*un*] *un* °[I think so]°

yeah yeah

Yeah, yeah I think so.

07 Mod: [yeah]

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

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

10→ *ne?* (.) *sakoku.*

IP national isolation policy

you know, (under) forced isolation.

11 (0.3)

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

yeah

yeah

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

14 between lands so they didn't have

15 (0.6)

16 no need to have another language

17 May: mm

In line 8, Gino attempts to discuss a concept that does not translate well into English—*sakoku*, a closed-door policy of isolation enforced in Japan between 1633 and 1853 in which the country essentially cut itself off from the world. The word *sakoku* captures the notion of national seclusion succinctly and accurately without the necessity for an English circumlocution.

Gino uses codeswitching as a communicative resource to affect a shift in the participant constellation by designing the switched segment of his utterance for a specific sub-group of recipients that does not include the moderator, before giving an approximate gloss in English in lines 13 and 14. While he is still ultimately oriented to the broader activity of answering the moderator's question, changing the participant constellation at the point when he initiates the word search allows him to conduct a brief peer consultation. Up until the end of line 8 Gino has been speaking in English and his eyes are facing slightly down toward the desk in front of him, which he seems to be using in this instance as a means of holding an extended turn at talk. In lines 9 and 10 he shifts his gaze directly to May to deliver the Japanese switch and then in line 13 returns his eyes to the desk as he continues to speak in English, demonstrating that he has (at least ostensibly) designed the Japanese part of his TCU for May, a known Japanese speaker.

Gaze redirection can be used to mobilize a response from a given recipient (Stivers and Rossano, 2010) and to help solicit agreement in collaborative word searches (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986), and in this case Gino's switch is syntactically designed to accomplish just that. He shifts his gaze to May as he produces the Japanese lexical item *ne* in line 9. This interactional particle commonly occurs at the end of an utterance and is used to achieve a shared stance, similar to the function of tag questions such as 'you know?' in English, meaning that Gino's turn in line 10 is designed to enlist some sort of affiliation from the recipients. Tanaka (2000) notes that turn-internal use of *ne* solicits recipiency by marking an 'acknowledgement relevance place' (p. 1155). *Ne* functions to seek confirmation or continued attention, therefore projecting further talk.

The particle *ne* invokes a claim of shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee and therefore strongly makes recipiency relevant in next-turn—so strongly that when May does not immediately respond with acknowledgment in line 11, Anja looks up and self selects to provide the missing response. By directing his gaze at her while he switches to Japanese, Gino seems to be selecting May as the next speaker, but when she fails to provide the response in a timely manner, a similar acknowledgment token from another known Japanese speaker in the proximity is sufficient. Anja's receipt delivers the demonstration of affiliation and a claim of shared knowledge made relevant by *ne*, and Gino goes on to produce the rest of his turn in English.

This brief uptake token from Anja in line 12, also delivered in Japanese, is designed to yield the turn to the prior speaker without further elaboration.[4] In this case the token provides ratification of Gino's candidate reference and therefore Anja can be heard to be speaking for the gaze-addressed recipient, May, who failed to provide a timely response.

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

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

The fact that Anja responds even though it is May that Gino is looking at also seems to provide evidence that she sees herself as, if not equivalent then at least the next most appropriate person to May in terms of being selected. That is to say that, at that brief moment in time, Anja understands herself to hold the discourse identity *possible next speaker*, the same membership category that Gino is assigning to May through his gaze shift in combination with codeswitching. While Gino has presumably selected May as someone he believes will understand the word *sakoku*, none of the participants orient to the fact that Anja responds instead as marked, making public the participants' understanding of both Anja and May as proficient speakers in the switched-to medium.

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

1. A trouble source appears due to the projected occurrence of some problem in formulating the turn-in-progress, such as a lexical item without a succinct equivalent in current-medium.
2. Current speaker specifies the trouble source in other-medium in an unmodified form, accompanied by bodily conduct and/or prosodic features that direct it at one or more bilingual recipients.
3. One or more bilingual recipients acknowledge comprehension of the other-medium segment.
4. The original speaker returns to prior-medium to circumlocute the intact other-medium item with a paraphrase.

In one sense, this practice is simply a discourse-related resource (Auer, 1984) that bilingual interactants can use to make specific the word they want to use, before having to talk their way around it for those who they believe do not know the word. It increases comprehensibility for the bilingual participants and provides an opportunity for the speaker to gather his or her thoughts before explaining it in English. However at the same time, the practice also has participant-related repercussions because it makes relevant the relative identities of the interactants.

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

Furthermore, by redirecting his or her gaze toward a bilingual recipient while producing the other-medium item, the speaker legitimizes the use of the switched-to medium, using it as a resource to expedite the word search. Gino's switch in Excerpt 2 is a striking example of this. The shift to Japanese is not evidence of improperly acquired English; it is a tool for delivering the most appropriate term for a notion that does not have a concise English equivalent before providing a rough gloss for those who might not understand. The availability of Japanese resources means that the speaker is able to strategically deploy bilingual practices by directing the word toward a specific subset of participants.

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

A variation on this sequence of turns can be found in Excerpt 3, in which the final action (the paraphrase in prior medium) does not occur. The group has been discussing the school's English language policy, which prohibits the use of other languages during school hours. May initiates a word search sequence that results in a number of Japanese turns from her peers before she completes her initial statement in English. In this case the side sequence is more extensive than earlier examples but May uses gaze and language alternation to accomplish partitions in the recipient design in the same way Gino did above.

Excerpt 3: FG3 nani
The group is discussing the school's language policy.

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

02 =everybody wants to [get

03 Anja: [ye:ah=

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

05 May: [m:m]

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

07 but (0.3)

08 Anja: hmm

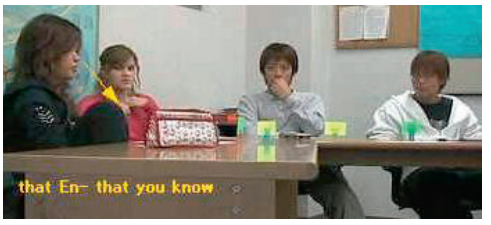
09 (0.5)

10 Mod: m[m

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

12 which says that because

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



14 (1.5) ((Clicks pen))

15 May:→ *>nani* *minna<* *no* *kyōtsūgo*

what everyone GEN lingua franca

16 (0.4)

17 *kotoba* [*eigo*] *da* *to* *iu* *kedo*

language English COP QT say but

What? They say our common language is English but…

18 Mod: [mm]

19 Anja: *sō demo nai* (*yo* [*ne*])

that way PT-NG IP IP

It isn't, is it?

20 May: [but] it's [not]-

21 Don: [*kyō*]*tsū ja nai yo ne*

common TOP NEG IP IP

It's not common, is it?

22 May: °*un*°= ((nods))

yeah

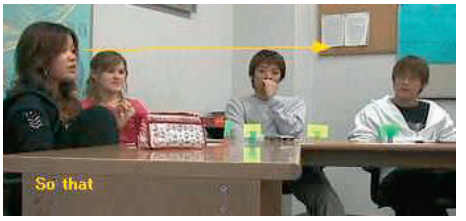
No.

23 Anja: =>*nanmo kyōtsū ja ne*[:<

nothing common TOP NEG

It's not common at all.

24 May:→ [so that in

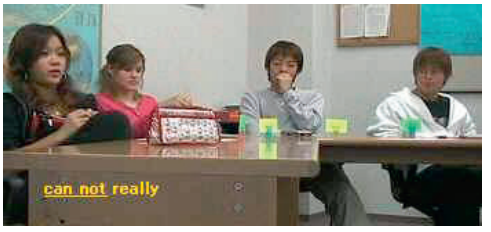


25 that way we don't exclu:de anybody (.) but

26 that doesn't really make sense because

27 you're excluding people who

28 can not really



28 (0.6)

29 speak English

30 Mod: yeah there are some.

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

However, she meets with a disfluency in line 13 where the trouble source seems to be some yet-to-be-produced word. At first May attempts self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) in English and then after a 1.5 s pause in line 14, proceeds to carry out the repair by switching to Japanese in line 15. The first part of this turn is marked by its elevated pace in relation to the surrounding English talk, indicating that May recognizes this as subordinate talk that needs to be handled quickly in order to return to the main gist of her turn (see Local, 1992).

She begins the switch with the interrogative *nani*? ('What?') in line 15, which serves to initiate the self-repair a second time and makes projectable a Japanese repair. Although this accompanies a gaze shift toward a bilingual participant, May is not selecting Gino as next-speaker in this instance since she immediately self-selects to respond to her own question. Instead, by making eye contact with a bilingual peer she appears to be using gaze to legitimize her switch to Japanese during the word search sequence. As in the earlier excerpts, once the other-medium sequence is completed, the talk reverts to English and May is able to formulate her response while addressing the moderator.

For their part, the recipients demonstrate that they understand May's switch to be directed toward them, as evidenced by their Japanese responses in rapid succession; a collaborative completion (line 19), an agreement (line 21) and its upgrade (line 23). However, the problem with such self-selected turns is that May risks losing the floor and consequently having the topic move in a different direction.

To avoid this, May makes a bid to return the conversation to English in line 20. She begins with the word *but*, which links this item to its Japanese equivalent *kedo* at the end of her previous turn. Facing potential competition for turn from Anja (and later Donald) May designs her talk so as to treat Anja's turn as irrelevant – as if it didn't even exist – by producing line 20 as a continuation of her own turn as a first occurrence, rather than as an aligning repetition of the prior speaker's turn (see Lerner, 1989 on delayed completion). The switch allows her to formulate her point as if it has not yet been made—which in a sense it hasn't in English, the base medium for this conversation. Cromdal (2001) notes the use of codeswitching as a turn securing device in turn-competitive environments has been noted by a variety of CA researchers (Auer, 1984, 1995; Cromdal, 2001; Li Wei, 1998). In this case it is May who initiates the initial shift to Japanese in order to enact forward-oriented repair (lines 13–15), but her return to English in line 24 allows her to keep control of the floor.

The use of a Japanese term in an English utterance facilitates communication for those who can be assumed to understand it, but also makes relevant a subsequent translation in mixed preference multi-party talk (Greer, 2008). In making a translation or a paraphrase, the speaker is recognizing the presence of a non-proficient speaker of the switched-to medium.[5] However, in Excerpt 3, May does not provide an English version of *kyōtsūgo*, but instead continues with her argument upon returning to English in line 24.

Part of this may be accounted for in terms of the multi-turn nature of this other-medium sequence. May's first attempt to steer the conversation back to English in line 20 is produced in overlap with surrounding Japanese utterances and she is obliged to postpone her English turn in order to provide receipt of Don's agreement in response to the turn-final acknowledgment relevance token *ne*, which then allows Anja to extend the emerging Japanese sequence with an upgrade. At the next available TRP (line 24) she again makes a bid to move the conversation back to English[6] and as she does so she realigns her body and re-engages visually with the moderator, the participant in this conversation with a known preference for English.

As in Excerpt 2, throughout the sequence, gaze in combination with codeswitching makes relevant the two participant groups. Language and bodily conduct 'mutually contextualize each other to build temporally unfolding frameworks of co-participation' (Hayashi, 2003a). At the discourse level, speakers are using language alternation as a resource to accomplish specific communicative acts within the interactional sequence, including enacting insertion sequences and initiating repair. At the same time they are orienting to what they know about the person they are talking to, such as by switching to the recipient's preferred language in what Auer (1984) has called participant-related switches. Knowledge of elements of the interlocutor's language preference is crucial for the production of any speech, and becomes apparent in

[5] This notion of post-exclusionary translations is explored in further detail in Greer (2008).

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

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

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

Hayashi (2003b) also notes that another syntactic resource available to Japanese-speaking word searchers is distal demonstrative pronouns, such as *are* ('that one') or *asoko* ('that place'). Hayashi argues that one of these pronouns can be used as a placeholder, somewhat like the English phrase *watchamacallit*, to index a relevant domain of words that includes the searched-for item. This provides recipients with resources for co-participation by projecting a specific kind of referent. Goodwin (1996) calls such communicative placeholders 'prospective indexicals' because they help specify a projected action. In the case of these bilingual word searches, the indexical is even more explicit than merely *are* ('that one'), since it provides the recipient with a thorough understanding of the missing item before the paraphrasing begins. In this respect a bilingual word search is unlike a monolingual search in which the circumlocution comes first. The fact that the search is continuing alerts the recipients to the fact that the speaker is searching for an other-medium item.

So in this excerpt May could initially be attempting to do something similar to what Gino did with *sakoku* in Excerpt 2. Like *sakoku* ('a period of politically enforced national isolation'), *kyōtsūgo* ('language in common' or '*lingua franca*') does not have a succinct equivalent in English, or at least not one that is used in the everyday English conversation of these teenagers. Therefore the most communicatively economic way to express the notion for most of the recipients is for the speaker to specify what he or she wants to say in Japanese. The expediency of the Japanese lexical item allows the speaker to express him- or herself precisely and in so doing maintain the turn at talk. However this then necessitates a paraphrase for the benefit of the co-present researcher, who the students view primarily as an English speaker.

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

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

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

Finally a further variation on this bilingual practice for conducting forward-oriented repair can be seen in Excerpt 4. In this case Gino begins with a fairly literal English translation of what he wants to say, then specifies the Japanese indexical and finally gives a more natural English translation.

Excerpt 4: FG3 They don't care

```
01 Mod:    does that stop you from using champon
                                          codeswitching
02         (.) outside (.) the school?
03 May:    no::.
04               (0.7)
05 Mod:    you  [ don't-  ]
```

06 Gino: [Yes it do][es][(sometimes)]

07 May: [I-][don't care]

08 Mod: [you don't]care about?]

09 Gino: sometimes [if they] look in a strange way.

10 Don: [( )]

11 Don: when I('m Chinese) I don't use both

12 languages because (0.3) like it's

13 like like showing off. [so,]

14 Mod: [uhuh]

15 Don: [and they don't like] it [most of them.]

16 May: [*a*:::*h*]

yeah

17 Anja: [*a*:::::]:::*h*

yeah

18 Gino: →Yes but (0.4) in Tokyo there's less (.)

19 of that (.) like (1.1) thing.=

20 =*nanka* (.) *nanka*

like like

21 [(0.7)]

22 [((door bang))]

23 Gino:→ *sonna no kankei nai. °tōkyō wa°*

that NOM relation COP-NEG Tokyo TOP

That sort of thing doesn't matter in Tokyo.

24 → they don't care.

25 Don: *maji (de)*?

real PT

Really?

26 Gino: [*ah*]

yeah

27 Mod: [Okay][I guess that's kin]da' like question

28 May: [( )]

29 Mod: three so let's see if we can put our cards out.

In this case the participants are talking about using Japanese outside of the school environment. The trouble source begins in line 18 when Gino self-selects after a sequence in which there has been considerable competition for turn. In lines 16 and 17, May and Anja are agreeing with Don's assertion that using English in an otherwise monolingual environment can be regarded as 'showing off' by others. In lines 18 and 19, Gino attempts to disagree with Don. He eventually seems to be trying to say something like 'but that sort of thing doesn't matter in Tokyo', but his first attempt instead becomes 'in Tokyo there is less (.) of that like (1.1) thing'. Disagreement is a dispreferred action (Pomerantz, 1984) and so such disfluencies may signal that the action is disaligned with the projected flow of the prior talk. At the same time, the competition for turn, as evidenced by mid-turn overlap in the earlier sequences may have contributed to Gino's attempts to seize the turn without due attention to the form of his utterance.

Whatever the cause, Gino's utterance in lines 18–19 is apparently not complete, as evidenced by his own attempts to self-initiate repair in subsequent turns. The Japanese filler *nanka* in line 20 is basically equivalent in usage to that of the filler *like* that Gino used in line 19, forming a kind of turn-internal self-translation. That, in combination with the long pauses in lines 19 and 21, seems to indicate that a switch to Japanese is imminent. And indeed Gino's next utterance in Japanese in line 23 displays none of the disfluencies of the turns that preceded it.

The first two words, '*sonna no*', are the Japanese equivalent of 'that sort of thing', which is similar to the trouble source phrase in line 19. Gino seems to be using this bilingual repetition as a self-repair, and the recipients are able to see what the English phrase in line 19 actually meant. Moreover, the correct Japanese phrase *sonna no* leads to *kankei nai*, a phrase that literally translated means 'no relationship' but is often used to mean '(they) don't care', the translation that Gino eventually comes up with in line 24.

In this sense the phrase 'They don't care' can be seen as a second self-initiated self-repair, which was prompted by the first. Switching to Japanese facilitated access to an English phrase. In other words, Gino is translating from his stronger language. The switch to other-medium in this case is not so much as a resource for others as it is for the speaker himself. In fact, throughout this word search sequence, Gino has averted his gaze from the other participants, indicating that he doesn't want them to participate in the search (Hayashi, 2003b). This suggests that some bilingual word search sequences work in a similar way to monolingual sequences. In comparison to the earlier examples, Gino did not have immediate access to the phrase that eventually completes the repair sequence.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has examined a number of practices that were found to occur during word search sequences. Whether in bilingual or monolingual interaction, self-initiated repair can be used as a discursive resource to deal with some trouble that momentarily delays the main flow of the interaction. Based on the data excerpts we have looked at, I have suggested a bilingual practice that is used to accomplish word searches in forward-oriented repair. A lexical item from medium B[7] is directed in its unmodified form toward a recipient who can be normatively expected to understand it, making it clear to those in the group who understand that language precisely which lexical item the speaker is really attempting to access in medium A. The speaker then goes on to provide a circumlocution in medium A.

This practice is obviously related to the unfolding sequence of interaction, but at the same time it is also intimately connected to the knowledge and assumptions about each other they make publically available through the talk. By alternating between languages in multi-party talk, a speaker can bring about new participant constellations by excluding some recipients from the conversation or choosing to include others as primary recipients. Mondada (2004) suggests that 'practices of repair initiated within a team and in the language of the team are a recurrent technique to restrict participation to the co-members of that team' (p. 31). However it is not by switching languages alone that such partitions are created. Bodily conduct and interactional grammar are also responsible for determining whom a current speaker is expecting to speak next.

While this study has focused largely on discourse identities and the micro-details of talk, there is some temptation to link these to the sorts of transportable identities that we typically think of when we hear the word identity: gender, ethnicity, ''race'' or age. Bucholtz and Hall (2008) liken identity work at the micro-level to the bricks that make up a building. It might be tempting to assume that when Gino turns to May and switches to Japanese, he is somehow indexing her ethnic identity.

[7] Medium B refers to the other language (Japanese in the examples shown here), but this could also be English in conversations that are mostly occurring in Japanese.

Yet this is not such a simple thing to prove in terms of the here-and-now. As outlined in Table 1, all of the participants including the moderator are proficient in both English and Japanese. It may well be possible that alternating between languages for these students at this time and place also indexes some aspect of the membership categorization device *age*, since both Japanese and non-Japanese adults in this institutional setting normally adhere to the school's English-only policy. On the other hand, speaking Japanese in codeswitched sequences may also be a way of 'doing being a student', since in this institutional setting only students used codeswitching in this way.

The issue of exclusion was one that was somewhat controversial at the international school where these data were recorded. Parents and teachers even specified exclusionary codeswitching as justification for the school's English language policy. On the other hand, as the participants mentioned in Excerpt 3, the students themselves felt that switching languages also helped to include others. Elsewhere I have explored a related interactional practice the participants used in bilingual interaction—informal translations that aimed to include those who had been left out of the conversation (Greer, 2008). While I did not feel particularly excluded when the students performed the repair sequences discussed in this paper, I was undoubtedly aware that they were talking among themselves at that time, as evidenced by my general reluctance to take part in the word searches even though I understood what was being said in Japanese. It may be that English speakers who cannot understand Japanese find this practice exclusive not only because they cannot understand the other-medium segment of talk, but also because they recognize the fleeting changes in the participant constellation that momentarily eliminate them from the conversation.

Whatever the case, language alternation is not a simple matter of Us and Them. Many classic studies of codeswitching (such as Gumperz, 1982) tended to account for bilingual practices in terms of ethnicity, as evidenced by in-group/out-group switches. While there is plainly a pattern of distribution in these data that establishes an in-group member as the primary recipient during the medium B switch, it is difficult to claim that the participants are basing this selection on ethnicity alone, since they all come from diverse backgrounds. Rather it is more likely that the practice first and foremost relates to more ephemeral understandings of Self—discourse identities like ''word searcher'' or situated identities like ''interviewee''. In employing codeswitching to accomplish those identities, bilingual speakers also make clear their knowledge of recipients' language preferences, which in turn makes associated transportable identities like ethnicity potentially consequential in the ongoing talk.

Appendix A. Transcription conventions

Transcripts are based on Jeffersonian transcription conventions as outlined in Schegloff (2007). Additional conventions are as follows;

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.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LITERAL GLOSS

IP	Interactional particle (e.g. *ne*, *sa*, *no*, *yo*, *na*)
NOM	Nominative particle (*-ga*)
GEN	Genitive (*-no*)
TOP	Topic marker (*-wa*)
PT	Other particles
QT	Quotation marker (*-to*, *-tte*)
COP	Copulative verb, variations of the verb *to be*
NEG	Negative morpheme

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
Gino	A name or object indicates the direction of the gaze
=	A double line indicates constant gaze
∼	A curved line indicates gaze shift

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