Code-Switching in Repair Sequences: Conversations Among First and Second Language Speakers of Japanese

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on occurrence of code-switching in conversations among Japanese as first language speakers and second language speakers. In this paper, by using Conversation Analysis (CA) (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) as an analytical method, I will discuss in what context and what environment code-switching occurs and what participants do when code-switching occurs.

The data for this study comes from approximately one hour of audio-recorded interaction and eight hours of video- and audio-recorded interaction of mundane conversations. All interaction was recorded in Japan. All conversations were done among first language speakers of Japanese (FSJ) and second language speakers of Japanese (SSJ). Although the context of interaction was not other code-switching studies' settings such as classroom talk or immigrants' talk (e.g., Auer, 1984; Bailey, 2000; Gafaranga, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1983, Wei, 1998, etc.), code-switching was carried out in the interaction among these people, and it was often carried out in repair sequences.

Participants in conversation occasionally carry out what is called "repair" (e.g., Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1992; Hosoda, 2000; 2006) in CA. Repair, from a CA perspective, often occurs when participants have problems related to understanding, hearing and speaking and so forth. A problem in talk is called a 'trouble source' or 'repairable item' in CA. Schegloff et al.

(1977) argued that when a trouble source occurs, the participants deal with them by initiating repair. They also argued that both a speaker of a trouble source and its recipient can initiate (self-initiation and other-initiation) and repair (self-repair and other-repair) them. This paper focuses on code-switching which occurs in repair sequences and describes the relationship between code-switching and repair sequences.

Studies of code-switching (CS) have been investigated as a topic of major study over the past 50 years (Greer, 2003). Studies have categorized CS into functional or situational, or marked or unmarked (e.g., Auer, 1984: 1995: Bailey, 2000; Gafaranga, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1983, etc.) and so forth. Most current studies can be categorized into two types from the perspective of actions: 'symbolic action' and 'practical social action'. The former is based on identity-related (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993, etc.) while the latter is based on more recent studies and applied CA or ethnomethodology perspective (e.g., Auer, 1984; Gafaranga, 1999, Wei, 1998) to describe the order of social actions (Gafaranga, 2000). Auer (1984) tried to divide code-switching into "participant-related" and "discourse-related". However, Gafaranga (1999) argued that it is very difficult to divide code-switching into these two categories.

On the basis of these previous studies, as the environment of occurrence of CS, this study identifies three types of CS depending on the interactional environment; (a) CS due to recipients' problems in understanding; (b) CS due to speakers' dissatisfaction with repair solution; and (c) CS due to combination of (a) and (b). The participants carried out code-switching when they had problems in understanding or producing specific words, or when they were dissatisfied with candidate solution of repair. In order to achieve or secure participants' intersubjectivity (e.g., Schegloff, 1992), they switched their langauges to deal with these problems during repair sequences.

By conducting micro-analysis of CS instances in repair sequences in first language and second language speakers' interaction, this study reveals some new aspects of CS.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Conversations between native/nonnative or first/second language speakers are often investigated as major topics of research in applied linguistics. The data of these studies come from many situations and settings; classrooms, immigrants' conversation, language proficiency interviews, or adult-child talk (e.g., Nevile, & Wagner, 2011; Auer, 1988; 1995; Bailey, 2001, Gafaranga, 2001, etc.). In those situations, participants often code-switch, change or switch the language of their interaction, during their talk. The action of code changing has been studied in bilingual studies, multilingual studies and code-switching studies over the past 60 years (Greer, 2003; Benson, 2001). In the early studies of code-switching (CS), researchers observed CS as social and cognitive defects. However, nowadays, many researchers investigate the occurrence of CS as beneficial, a socially motivated or socially functional resource (e.g., Bailey, 2000; Gafaranga, 2001). Moreover, recent studies have applied conversation analysis (e.g., Auer, 1998; Wei, 1998, Gafaranga, 2000), and the data has been observed more objectively by conducting microanalysis and analyzing the interaction on a turn-by-turn basis.

In this study, the participants in the data are neither immigrants nor children who grew up with more than two languages, but they often code-switch to accomplish their goals in talk. To accomplish any goals in talk, participants need to secure "intersubjectivity", or mutual understanding, and they carry out many actions to achieve the intersubjectivity. This idea is closely related to the occurrence of code-switching in this study. In order to achieve conversation by building intersubjectivity among the participants, they often switch their languages. This study will observe how switch their languages and how they deal with their codes. Moreover, this study will describe the contexts and the environments related to the occurrence of code-switching.

In this study, I will first discuss previous studies in the next chapter. Chapter 2 consists of two sections; CA and code-switching (CS). In the CA section, the origin of CA and its relationship to ethnomethodology, and other significant features which are relevant to this study, will be described. And in the latter section, the previous studies of codes-switching will be summarized. In Chapter 3, the overview of participants and data details will be introduced. Chapter 4 is divided into three sections according to the types of code-switching; (a) CS in response to recipient problems in understanding; (b) CS due to dissatisfaction with repair solution; and (c) CS due to the combination of (a) and (b). In Chapter 5, I will summarize the occurrence of code-switching in this study, and discuss the relationship between code-switching and repair sequences. Finally, in Chapter 6, I will conclude this study.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Some of the previous studies which are relevant to this study will be reviewed in this chapter. The sections of this chapter can be grouped into two sections: conversation analysis (CA) and code-switching (CS). In the section of CA, five points are organized as following. The first point I introduce is about the relationship between CA and ethnomethodology, and the origin of conversation analysis. The next point is repair, which is the key concept in this study, will be reviewed. And then, one of the significant points, "intersubjectivity", which is closely related to repair, will be discussed in the next section. As another significant feature, "recipient design" will be explained as a final point in the section.

CS and its traditional studies will be discussed in the following section. In order to show the relationship between CA and code-switching, the studies of CS in which CA approach is applied will be also introduced in the section.

2.1 Conversation analysis

2.2.1 The relationship to ethnomethodology

Doing conversation is one of the most important and basic actions of human beings in society. Everyday people interact with each other through talking and engaging in social activities. Doing conversation makes our relationship socialized and developed (Liddicoat, 2006). People talk and have interaction, and this talk-in-interaction includes all kinds of talk such as mundane conversation, business talk, gossip talk, classroom talk, and so forth. During talk, people do not always orient to static identities such as that of a "student" or "doctor", but change their identity orientations on a moment-to-moment basis (Sacks, 1972). Talk-in-interaction appears disorderly but it is actually ordered. This was shown by Harold Garfinkel, who developed

ethnomethodology as the study of talk-in-interaction (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967). He revealed the common sense resources, practices, and procedures which people produce in their society. The main focus of ethnomethodology is to demonstrate how the social order is constructed and to reveal structures of everyday conversation seen through common social knowledge of the members in the society.

Also in the same era of Garfinkel, Erving Goffman suggested that describing the ordinary activities of mundane life would be of significance (e.g., Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1964). Around that time, language often had been investigated as a subject of linguistic study, but it is not simply an object of study in linguistics, but is an equally important object for study in sociology/ethnomethodology. As Goffman (1964) suggested, "The talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks to whom in what language, but as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action, a social encounter", this means that the way people talk have its own order, talks do not occur randomly. He also said "Utterances must be presented with an overlay of functional gestures… Sounds are used in this gestural work because sounds, in spoken encounter, happen to be handy" (p. 65) and "face-to-face interaction had its own regulations" (p. 66). He argues that the study of talk is not simple linguistic problems which linguists focused on but rather that interaction has its own orders and structures which are not essentially linguistic in nature. What he aims in his study is to discover the order of how human beings engage in sociality employing non-linguistic resources which have previously been seen as trivial things. He emphasized that the study of written matter is totally different from the study of spoken matter and these features seen in everyday conversation and actual spoken materials are what is worth investigating.

Garfinkel's practical reasoning on "talk-in-interaction" and Goffman's "face-to-face" social interaction exerted tremendous influences on Harvey

Sacks and his colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, and these three researchers established the foundations of CA.

2.2.2 Conversation analysis

Harvey Sacks is known as one of the founders of conversation analysis. As noted in the previous section, the research by Garfinkel and Goffman influenced his study (e.g., Goffman, 1959; 1964; Garfinkel, 1967). He worked with Garfinkel in the early 1960s (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970) and he was invited to the suicide prevention meeting by Garfinkel in the mid 1960s. Thus Sack's early work cannot be separated from his experience at the suicide presentation center and working with Garfinkel. However in the late 1960s, Sacks started to work on something distinctive and together with Schegloff's "Sequencing in conversational openings" (1968), the foundation of "conversation analysis", was established.

Conversation analysis (CA) is an approach within the social sciences that attempt to describe, analyze, and understand talk, and seeks orders of interaction that are basic to human social life and activities. Moreover, Liddicoat (2010) notes that CA is an approach to the study of talk-in-interaction which arises out of ethnomethodology, as explained in the previous section. Sacks approached the study of conversation as speaker's accomplishment in interaction and observed conversation with the view of talk as activities. For Sacks, conversation has its own order and the order can be clearly observed. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) argue, "CA is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction" (p.12), and this means that CA is the study that analyzes the actual interaction of human beings. Psathas (1995) argues that "this particular social action occurred is evidence that the machinery for its production is culturally available, involves members' competencies, and is therefore possibly (and probably) reproducible" (p. 85). He means that CA focuses on "naturally occurring" data for describing and investigating interaction

because what is said is one of the assured ways to show how people interact with each other. Thus, conversation is seen as the architecture of particular actions in particular contexts which participants share with each other.

The main idea of CA is how conversational structures are organized, how participants jointly accomplish the conversation, and what interactional resources participants deploy in order to interact. In studying CA, a significant point to consider is "intersubjectivity" This point will be discussed in the later section. There is one more remarkable question "Why that now?" In short, this refers to understanding what the speaker is doing by saying this, and in saying it in this way and in this position in interaction.

2.2.3 Repair

In CA, repair refers to the ways available to speakers where they can deal with the problems of speaking, hearing or understanding that occur in talk. Repair has a wider range of concepts than correction of errors that occur in talk, though corrections are one type of repair. The term repair means providing a solution to deal with a problem. The term a repairable or a trouble source refers to the item that is needed to be repaired in talk (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). The techniques to initiate repair are, for example, sound stretches, audible breathing, cut-offs, various non-lexical perturbations (e.g., uh::, uhm, ano:::), repetition of a problematic part of the prior talk, and it depends on who initiates a repair. As a significant feature in repair, repairs never occur when participants themselves do not orient to the problems. Even if an observer finds a problematic utterance in the data, unless the participants orient to it and deal with it, it does not make up a repair sequence.

As shown in Schegloff et al. (1977), and Schegloff (1997), a repair can be initiated by the speaker who produced the trouble source or repairable item (self-initiated repair), or by its recipient (other-initiated repair). By the same token, a repair can be carried out by the speaker who produced the trouble

source or repairable item (self-repair) or its recipient (other-repair). In combining these, the following four types are possible. (Liddicoat, 2007, p.173):

1. *Self-initiated self-repair*: in which the speaker of the repairable item both indicates a problem in the talk and resolves the problems.

2. *Self-initiated other-repair*: in which the speaker of the repairable item indicates a problem in the talk, but the recipient resolves the problem.

3. *Other-initiated self-repair*: in which the recipient of the repairable item indicates a problem in the talk and the speaker resolves the problem.

4. *Other-initiated other-repair*: in which the recipient of the repairable item indicates a problem in the talk and resolves the problem.

The order of the list above as presented shows the frequency of repair occurrence as well. The preference for self-initiation and self-repair are over other-initiation and other-repair (Schegloff et al, 1977). The speaker who produces a problem has more chances to fix their problem than recipients because of the turn-taking system. When the recipient initiates repair, they should wait until the completion of the current speaker's talk. Thus, the most frequently occurring repair is *self-initiated self-repair* and the least frequently occurring repair is *other-initiated other-repair*. Moreover, it is relative to where repair is initiated. There are serial positions in which repair initiation occurs and it is organized by reference to the trouble source. For example, same-turn repair means that the trouble source and repair initiation are within the same turn, transition space repair means that the repair initiation is in the transition space following the trouble source, next turn repair means that repair is initiated in the

turn that immediately follows the trouble source, and third-turn repair means that repair is initiated in the third turn. Many of the extracts in this study include repair in the next turn. Repair initiation in the turn following the trouble source is done by the recipient of the trouble source, and repair itself is often carried out by the speaker of the trouble source in the subsequent turn. In that case, it becomes other-initiated self-repair. Repair initiation in the next turn is done by the recipient and often completed in the third position by the speaker of the trouble source. Thus, it results in a sequence consisting of repair initiation as a first pair part (FPP) and a repair as second pair part (SPP).

Usually, when a trouble source occurs in talk, repair initiation occurs quickly and the participant deals with it. However, not every trouble that is repaired is carried out successfully, and in some cases, the effort to repair the problem is abandoned (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1974).

2.2.4 Intersubjectivity

As introduced in the previous section, the notion of intersubjectivity is very significant and deeply relevant to repair sequences. Intersubjectivity, in short, means “mutual understanding” among participants in interaction, and it is “joint or shared understanding between persons” (Sidenell, 2010, p.12) in talk. Goffman (1964) argues that the talk is organized in face-to-face interaction and a social encounter. This means that the study of speaking should focus not only on a simple matter of linguistic description, but rather on interaction which has its own mechanism of rules and structures.

As Schegloff (1992) argues, the organization of ordinary conversation provides the resource for understanding the disconnection of intersubjectivity. He observes the relationship between third turn repair and intersubjectivity in that paper. This is because a recipient’s response often shows the recipient’s understanding of the speaker’s prior turn, and if the recipient has some misunderstanding, the speaker initiates repair of it. This is why intersubjectivity

and third turn repair are closely related to each other. He also argues that "The defense of intersubjectivity is locally managed and, locally adapted, and recipient designed" (Schegloff, 1992, p.1338). This means that the intersubjectivity is locally achieved in the time on a moment-by-moment basis, and the participants design and make their talk relevant to the problems which arise in their talk. He also argues that "The defense of intersubjectivity is interactional and sequential, coordinating the parties' activities in achieving a joint understanding of what is going on and how these events might have been incipiently misunderstood" (Schegloff, 1992, p.1338). Participants negotiate to achieve their mutual understanding through these step-by-step activities.

2.2.5 Recipient design

A speaker often makes their utterance relevant and appropriate to the recipients in such a way. For example, when the speaker refers to a person who the recipient does not know, they produce something like "Do you know Stacy, a new girl on the second floor?" Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) termed this kind of formulation as "recipient design". They note, "the multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which displays an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson,1974, p. 727). This means that the participants in the conversation design their talk to have their recipients understand and share the knowledge.

Liddicoat (2006) argues that recipient design is not only a resource used to design a talk by a speaker, but also a resource which can be used as an interpretation of talk by a listener. Thus, the term recipient design is a very noticeable feature of talk and the organization of the talk which influences the order of the conversation.

As an example of recipient design, Sacks (1995) mentioned that a speaker should not talk about what the recipient already knows. As another instance, the

name which the participants use should be appropriately designed for the appropriate recipients by a speaker in talk (Sidnell, 2010).

Recipient design is very relevant to this study. In this study, “Who is the recipient?” is the key question in all extracts, and the speakers locally orient to this question and design their talk appropriately to their recipients.

2.2 Code-switching

The phenomena of bilingual or multilingual speech have been studied in linguistics and a variety of other related fields for over 60 years (Greer, 2003; Benson, 2001). Code-switching (CS), or the using of more than two languages in conversation, has been the major topic in the area of study (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Among them, Greer (2003) recently found that people in his data use two languages regularly and they often code-switch a single strip of talk. He called this kind of speech pattern *codeswitching*. Thus here, the term code-switching refers to the language alternation between more than two languages during a single strip of talk.

In 1970s, the focus of study on bilingual speech moved from focus on the linguistic or syntactic aspects (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993, etc) to sociolinguistics or socio-functional aspects (e.g., Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gafaranga, 2000; Bailey, 2000, etc.). More recently, research of language alternation from an identity-related aspect (Gumperz, 1982) showed that language alternation is an example of symbolic action. However, Auer (1988), who applied conversation analysis (CA) into the examination of bilingual speech, showed that two or more codes are used alternatively and this alternation between codes is used as a resource for the accomplishing a practical social action. One of the most famous studies from identity-related perspective is Myers-Scotton& work. She divided code-switching a “markedness model of code-switching” and “unmarked code-switching.”

By taking CA approach, he categorized the alternation between the codes

into two types: “code-switching” and “transfer.” He mentioned that “the definition of codes used in code-switching may be an interactional achievement which is not prior to the conversation” (Auer, 1998, p.15). He also described two types of code-switching: “participant-related” which depends on the language ability of participants and “discourse-related” which is the code-switching related to functions. On the other hand, Gafaranga (e.g., 2001) pointed out that not all code-switching is clearly divided in such a way.

Moreover, other researches such as Li (1998), and Sebba and Wooton (1998), who also applied CA, assert that two languages are used to deal with four basic organizations: turn-taking organization, sequential organization, repair organization and preference organization.

In Greer (2010), he analyzed the interaction which is a mix of English and Japanese interaction among bilingual teenagers in mundane conversation and argues that the occurrence of code-switching is not because of a lack of competence in the languages, but rather it is based on the use of their linguistics repertories and the deployment of interactional resources they can induce from the sequential context. In his study, code-switching is observed as one way to manage interaction and it is one resource to achieve many kinds of pragmatic actions. In monolingual interaction, discourse-related task, for example, getting recipient’s attention is accomplished by prosodic variations such as pitch or volume but in multilingual interaction, language alternation is often participant-related phenomenon. According to Greer (2010), language alternation reveals “what the speaker knows about his or her interlocutor” (p. 59). He also argues that separating participant-related CS and discourse-related CS is difficult because any switches have casual connections with the ongoing talk, a participant-related switch often shapes the talk, to make relevant many identities and language preferences of the speakers and recipients.

CHAPTER 3
DATA

Heritage (1995) mentioned that the data for studies must be taken from actually occurring talk in actual contexts. The data for this study come from approximately one hour of audio-recorded interaction and eight hours of video- and audio- recorded interaction. All conversations were everyday conversation and were done among first language speakers of Japanese (FSJ) and second language speakers of Japanese (SSJ). The level of SSJs' proficiency in Japanese is different across the data set, but all SSJ participants can speak at least daily Japanese conversation. All conversations were recorded as casual conversations among classmates, friends, or teachers and their students who know each other through classes, university programs or work. In addition, all participants have some sort of connection with a university. For instance, some participants work at their respective universities as language or linguistics teachers while others study there as undergraduate exchange students, graduate students, and the like. All data were recorded in Japan.

The data were collected in various places and occasions, such as after class at a teacher's office or after a meeting at the hotel where the participants were staying. Table 1 is a summary of the data for this study. This table describes the following: how the data was captured, audio- or video-recorded; the title of the data; number of participants and the first language of SSJ; and length of each recording. The detailed information of participants, gender, occasions and places of each data is described in Table 2.

The participants in the data spoke both Japanese and the languages of other countries, most typically where SSJs are from, such as Korean, English, or Javanese during their interaction. Therefore, the transcription of the data is presented in three lines as below:

[Example]

011 ***original*** ***[mae renji de attamenai to tabe re nai***

word by word before microwave at heat NEG eat can NEG

easy translation "Lunch that can't eat without heating up"

Here, the first line that is in bold and italic letters is the original utterance in Japanese or English. In the cases in which the original utterances are in Korean, the utterances are not italicized. The second line is a word-by-word translation in English and the third line in another font is a rough English translation.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will divide examples of code-switching (CS) in the data into three types: (a) CS in response to recipient problems in understanding; (b) CS due to dissatisfaction with candidate repair solution; and (c) CS due to the combination of these two.

4.1 CS in response to recipient problems in understanding

First of all, I will analyze code-switching instances that appear to be related to recipients' problems of understanding speakers' talk. Three extracts will be presented here. The first one is the most typical code-switching instance in the whole data. In this extract, the conversation had been carried out in English until the repair solution, in line 06, is produced. When Tom's second repair solution occurs, the code is switched from English to Japanese, and from that point, the conversation is done in Japanese.

1. [LS2: 8:233:9-246]

01 Tom :***do you wanna give me:: (.) ana- another round of change::s***
02 ***and i give you:: another round of feedback? or (1.8)***
03 Kana : ***un?***
huh?
"Huh?"
04 Tom : ***do you wanna make them next (0.4) next submission the end.***
05 Kana : ***next submission?***
06 Tom : ***(sorede) teisyutsu wa owari (.) ni shiyou ka?***
and so submission TOP finish P let"s Q
"And then, shall we finish it as the final one?"
07 ***(2.2)***

08 Kana : ***tte yuu no wa go- konsyu: datta n jyanai?***
QT say N TOP this week was N isn't it?
"The deadline of submission was this week, wasn't it?

09 ***[chi˚ gau ka˚***
wrong Q
"Or am I wrong"

10 Tom : ***i[ya (0.8) hakkiri kimatte nai.***
no clearly decided NEG
"No, it hasn't decided clearly."

11 Kana : ***a.***
oh
"Oh"

12 ***(1.6)***

13 Tom : ***yu wana katta¿***
say NEG Q PST
"Didn't I tell you?"

14 Kana : ***˚un˚***
yeah
"Yeah"

This is the most typical example of code-switching in the whole data set. This is from the LS data and the participants are Tom and Kana in this extract although Chika and Maki are also physically present. Chika, Kana, Maki are seminar students of Tom's class. Here, Tom and Kana are talking about the deadline of their senior thesis. Lines 01 to 06 makes up a repair sequence. In this sequence, at line 01, Tom says "*do you wanna give me another round of changes*" and asks whether the students want to do another round of corrections to get more feedback in the thesis. In line 02, although his question has a "X or Y" alternative choice formation, after producing "*or*", he pauses. After 1.8

seconds, Kana says "*un*" as a continuer. Then Tom continues his utterance in line 4. The word "*next submission*" in this line becomes a trouble source, and repair is initiated in the next turn.

In line 05, Kana says "*next submission*" with upward intonation, thus this becomes the initiation of repair targeting the phrase "*submission*". Kana initiates repair focusing on the phrase which she could not understand, and she repeats the whole phrase in the way Tom produced. In the subsequent turns, this initiation is analyzed by the participants as her understanding problem. At the first glance, Tom ignores her initiation and continues his talk in line 06 because he starts this line with "*sorede*"(which means "and then" in English). However, from this line, his talk in English is switched into Japanese, and the trouble source in 04, "*submission*" is translated exactly into what it means in Japanese, "*teisyutsu*". Kana's initiation of the repair sounds like English pronunciation and the conversation had been done in English before her initiation, then it could appear to be natural that Tom repairs it in English in response to her initiation in line 05. However, by contrast, Tom does his repair in Japanese in line 06. Therefore, it shows Tom's understanding that Kana's repair initiation is a result of her understanding problem of his utterance in English, especially the word, "submission". Thus he changes his utterance from English to Japanese for Kana. Presented blow is the target extract.

[Target extract from LS: simplified]

01 Tom : *do you wanna give me:: (.) ana- another round of change::s*
02 *and i give you:: another round of feedback? or (1.8)*
03 Kana : *un?*
04 Tom : *do you wanna make them next (0.4) next submission the end.*
05 Kana : *next submission?*
06 Tom : *(sorede) teisyutsu wa owari (.) ni shiyou ka?*

Here, this extract appears to be related to "recipient design". As an explanation of a "recipient design," according Sacks and his colleagues, the term recipient design refers to the ways in which the talk is designed to "display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, p. 727). This means that a conversation is jointly designed with a recipient of the talk and form of talk is designed appropriately for that recipient. The kinds of designs include choosing appropriate words, and sentences, ways they are talking, and not talking about what the participants already know. In this extract, Tom changes his language in interaction immediately after Kana initiates repair. He switches his utterance into Japanese, which is Kana's first language. Therefore, Tom appears to have designed his utterance for Kana by code-switching.

Figure1. This picture shows the position of the participants of the LS data.

Next extract is also typical code-switching occurring in response to recipient's understanding problems. The extract is from LS as well. In this extract, Kana is talking about her experience in the USA when she went there as an exchange student. What made her surprised is that there are people who cannot read phonetic signs in the university.

2. [LS3 6:257-6:258]

01 Kana : ***nankasa: amerika no hito tte are(.)***
you know USA of people QT that

02 ***onsei kigou yomenai yo ne?***
phonetic sign readNEG IP IP
"I feel like American can't read phonetic signs."

03 Tom : ***onsei kigou yomeru hito wa sukunai desu ne=***
phonetic sign can read people Top few COP:POL IP
"There are few people who can read phonetic sign."

04 Kana : ***=sou bikkuri shita.***
yeah surprise PST
"Yes, (it made me) surprised."

05 Tom : ***aipi:e desu ne.***
IPA COP:POL IP
"That's IPA."

06 ***(1.1)***

07 Kana : ***nani aipi:e: [tte?***
what IPA QT
"What is IPA?"

08 Tom : ***[sore international phonetic alphabet.***
that
"That"

09 ***(1.7)***

10 Tom : ***jisyo no=***
dictionary of
("That's the sign) of dictionary"

11 Kana : ***=>sousousousou<***
yes yes yes yes
" Yes yes yes yes."

In lines 01 to 02, Kana is asking Tom whether Americans can read phonetic sign or not. In line 01, she produces "*nankasa:*" and "*are*" as a place holder and has a micro pause. Then in line 02, she uses "*yomenai yone*?" to ask the question with a negative form. This utterance performs two important actions. First, this design shows her expectation that Tom answers "*un, yomenai* (No, they can't)." because the preferred answer to the question *"yomenai yone*" is a negative answer which is "*no, they can't.*". Second, this utterance suggests her talk would continue because it can be heard as a preface to her talk about her experience in the USA especially with "*yone?*" at the end. This "*yone"* functions as a request for confirmation. Tom answers the question "*yomeru hito wa sukunai*" in line 03, which is not completely but partially a negative response to Kana's request for confirmation projected in lines 01 to 02. Kana seems to have taken Tom's answer as a preferred response, and her next utterance "*bikkuri shita*" occurs immediately. Tom says "*IPA desune.*" in line 05, and this "*IPA*" becomes the trouble source of this extract. After 1.7 seconds, Kana initiates repair clearly by saying "*nani IPA tte.*". Before Kana finishes her utterance, Tom realizes that Kana is going to be asking the meaning of "IPA" because "*nani"* means "what" in English. Therefore a person who is asked a question with the word "*nani"* knows that he or she is asked a question about the meaning of something, and they know it before the utterance comes to completion. Then he starts producing repair in 08. In line 08, Tom first says just un-abbreviated word of "IPA" ("*international phonetic alphabet*"), but some more silence occurs in line 09. He then starts his utterance by explaining more specifically as to where IPA is often used in Japanese, "*jisyo"*. After his second repair, Kana displays her understanding immediately because her utterance in line 11 latches with the end of Tom's utterance.

[Target extract from LS: simplified]

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05  Tom  : aipi:e  desu  ne.
```

06 (1.1)
07 Kana : nani aipi:e: [tte?
08 Tom : [sore international phonetic alphabet.
09 (1.7)
10 Tom : jisyo no=
11 Kana : =>sousousousou<

In the extract above, Tom changes his code from English to Japanese when he carries out repair. Also, he switches his language because of the silence in line 09, as Kana's response is absent after his first repair. As Tom treats that his repair is not enough for making Kana understand, he code-switches in line 10. This switch is designed for his recipient; Kana who would prefer Japanese to English.

The next extract is also taken from the LS data. Tom and Maki are talking about abbreviations of English phrases and chat language on the Internet.

3. [LS 2 : 2-061:3-065]

01 Maki : ***.h asap wa?***
asap TOP
"How about asap?"
02 Tom : ***that's old.***
03 Maki : **he::::**
i see
"I see."
04 Tom : ***that's from (.) that's from the u.s. (of) (.)***
05 ***the teleg- the telegraph.***
06 ***(.)***
07 Maki : ***hu:::n***
hmmm

"Hmmm"

08 Tom : ***hora are da denpyou zidai.***

here that IP telegraph period

"Um, that's the telegraph era."

Maki is asks Tom where the word "ASAP (the abbreviation of "as soon as possible")" comes from. Tom starts to explain it from line 02, and finishes it in line 05. In line 01, Maki asks the question and Tom says "*that's old.*". He compares it with the word "Lol" which they just talked about and gives an assessment. In response to Tom's assessment, Maki shows her recognition by saying "*he::::::*". This is a kind of " a change-of-state token" (Heritage, 1984) because here, Maki's understanding moved "not knowing"(k−) to "knowing" (k +). In "a change-of-state token", "oh" is used to show that the recipient received information and that the recipient's knowledge changes a state of not knowing (k−) to a state of knowing (k+). In Japanese, the formulation "he:::" or "a:::" is in some ways similar to "oh" in English. Here, in line 5, Tom adds more information from line 04. He says "*that's from*" and pauses. He then restarts the first part of line 5 "*that's from the u.s. of*" and pauses again. In line 06, he doesn't finish saying the word "telegraph" and restarts saying this word again. After a micro pause, Maki gives a response by saying "*hu:::n* ("Hmmm")." Tom takes Maki's response "*hu:::n*" as not enough for receiving his talk and he self repairs in the next line. In line 05, Tom says "*hora, are da* (look, that is)" and he repairs the part that he took as the trouble source in the previous turn ("*telegraph*"). In the repair, he rephrases the word in Japanese, "*denpyo.*" This "*denpyo*" (it is "*denpou*" in 'correct' Japanese) means "telegraph" in English, and it is clear that Tom code-switches from English to Japanese in order to facilitate Maki's understanding, because Japanese is Maki's first language and she may understand it better. Therefore, Tom's code-switching in the next extract can be related to "recipient design." He chooses a code that the person

who initiates the repair understands better. In this extract, from the repair initiation at line 08 in which Tom self-repairs his previous talk, the language code of interaction is switched.

4.2 CS due to dissatisfaction with candidate solution

In this chapter, I will focus on the code-switching instances which appear to relate to the speakers' dissatisfaction with a candidate solution to a word search. There are two extracts presented here and the first one is from the JCI data.

Sara and Ri are exchange students at Mido's university. Sara's tutor is Mido, while Ri has another tutor. They are talking about their life in Japan because they just arrived in Japan.

4. [JCI 07-26]

01 Sara: ***=[° n n n°***

hmmm

"Hmmm"

02 Mido: ***=[>a, katta.<***

well, buyPST

"Oh you bought it."

03 Ri : ***° tto° jibun de:: tsukuru no wa >chotto<***

tch I by make NR Top little

"It's kind of (difficult) to make them by myself."

04 ***nihon no:: nanka (0.6) e:,(.) e, ko- (0.4) ko?***

Japan GEN like um um flo- flo?

"Japanese, um, flo?"

05 Mido: ***° ko?°***

06 Ri : ***e:: >nanka< gyoza o tsukuru:***

umm like dumplings PT make

"Something like to make Chinese meats dumplings."

07 Mido: ***˚ kona?˚***

flour

"Flour?"

08 Ri : ***kona?***

flour

"Flour?"

09 Mido: ***˚ un˚***

yes

"Yes."

10 Ri : ***>nanka< e(h[h) (iya sono) eeh] a flor((means flour)).***

like umm no that um a flour

"No, I mean a flour."

11 Mido: ***[hhu hhu hhu]***

12 Mido: ***a[::]hai=***

oh yes

"Oh yes."

13 Sara: ***[aa]***

yes

"Yes."

14 Ri : ***=aa hai.***

oh yes

"Oh yes."

15 Mido: ***>hai hai hai [hai<, kona.]***

yes yes yes yes , flour

"Yes, flour."

16 Ri : ***[>˚ nanda, nank da ro˚ <](.) kona. aa hai.***

you know, what COP TAG flour oh yes

"Well, what is … yes, flour."

17 Mido: ***komugi ko?=komugi ko ° nano ka° ?=***

wheat flour wheat flour OP IP IP

"You mean wheat flour?"

18 Ri : ***=a, hai. e:::to kona wa::: >nanka< chotto chugoku no***

oh yes well flour OP like little China of

19 ***to chigau.***

OP different

"Well the flour is different from the one in China."

20 Mido: ***hu:::[:::::::::::n***

Ri told the story that she fried gyoza (Chinese meat dumplings) but she over-fried some of them. Mido asked Ri whether she made the gyoza or bought them, and Ri answered that she bought them. Mido repeats "*katta*" which means "bought" in English in line 02. Ri says that she hesitates to make them in line 03, then she starts displaying some problems of speaking with a 0.6 second pause, a micro pause, a cut off of "*ko-*", and a 0.4 second pause, and she then says "*ko*?" with an upward intonation. In the next turn, Mido initiates repair by repeating what Ri said in the previous turn.

[Target extract from JCI: simplified]

04 Ri : nihon no:: nanka (0.6) e:,(.) e, ko- (0.4) ko?

05 Mido: ° ko?°

06 Ri : e:: >nanka< gyoza o tsukuru:

07 Mido: ° kona?°

08 Ri : kona?

09 Mido: ° un°

10 Ri : >nanka< e(h[h) (iya sono) eeh] a flor((means flour)).

11 Mido: [hhu hhu hhu]

As Mido initiates repair by repeating exactly what Ri said, she has some trouble of understanding, not trouble of listening. It is obvious that Ri recognizes Mido's initiation as an understanding problem, because she repairs her previous utterance "*ko"* by explaining what she meant in her previous turn (line 05). After she received Ri's initiation, Mido provides a candidate solution "kona?" However, Ri just repeats what Mido said in the prior turn with rising intonation. Mido takes Ri's utterance in line 08 as a request for confirmation and answers it "*un* (yes)" Ri says "*eh* (well)" and this utterance is overlapped with Mido's laughter. Ri then carries out a word search by saying "*ehh*", a negation "*iya sono*." . At this point, the overlapped talk is over, she says "*a flor*". The word "flour" in English can mean *"kona*" in Japanese. Therefore Ri's utterance of "*ko*" in line 04 might mean "*kona*" because "*ko"* is the Chinese reading (*On-yomi*) of "*kona*". Mido might have thought of this and have given the candidate word "*kona*?" in line 07. However, Ri does not display understanding of what Mido means and Ri code-switches and says this trouble source in English. In response to Ri's repair in English, Mido shows her understanding and Sara does as well. Following Ri's production of a short acknowledgment token, Mido shows stronger understanding by saying "*hai* (yes)" multiple times. Moreover, in the last part of Mido's utterance in line15, she repeats the word "*kona*" after saying "yes" multiple times, and this shows that Mido finally understood what Ri said in line 04 "*ko*" is "*kona"*.

As the background of the participants here, all three participants know each other and where they are from. In addition, Sara and Ri know that Mido cannot speak Italian nor Chinese. They are also aware that Sara cannot speak Chinese and Ri cannot speak Italian either. However, Ri suddenly code-switches from Japanese to English because she treats English as the language that all the participants understand. In other words, Ri chooses English as a common language among these participants. As Mido and Sara does not show their understanding and Ri is not satisfied with the candidate repair solution Mido

produces, Ri code-switches. Mido and Sara then show their understanding of what Ri meant, and the three participants achieve intersubjectivity.

Figure2. This picture shows the positions of the participants of the JCI data.

The next extract is from Yotsuya 01. Although Tina and Maki are talking in this extract, there is another participant, Karti. Tina and Karti are short-term invited students from South Asian countries to Japan and they are working on their studies or surveys in Japan for a month. Maki assists their work and activities during their stay.

Here, Tina is talking about her favorite Japanese idols "*Arashi.*" Ever since she came to Japan, watching TV shows *Arashi* is in is one of her favorite pastime activities.

5. [Yotsuya01 1:24-1:36]

01 Tina : ***datte kyoo mo: "pii esu arashi" to, "tanieru no minasan".***
cause today too TV show name and,TV program name
"Because today,"P.S. Arashi"and"Taniels (Tunnels)"

02 ***tanieru? >tanie[ru?< [tonnee***

03 Maki : ***[tonneru? [zu, no?=***

Tunnel s of

"(You mean) Tunnels?"

04 Tina : ***=un, nanka Sakurai Syou (.)***

yes person name

"Yes, Sakurai Syou (will be)"

05 Maki : ***ga deru n da.***

Nom apper NR COP

"(He) is going to be in (the programs)"

06 Tina : ***u:::n.***

uh-huh

"Uh-huh."

07 Maki : ***he::::[::***

i see

"I see."

08 Tina : ***[desukara, nanka, (0.6) kyo:- komban komban?=***

so somehow toda- tonight tonigh-

"That's why tonight-"

09 Maki : ***=u:n***

mhm

"Mhm"

10 Tina : ***this night- >uh< tonight, i won- i'm not going anywhere=***

11 Maki : ***=HHU HHU HHU HHU[HHU HHU***

12 Tina : ***[(my) television:::n***

In line 01, Tina is talking about TV shows ("*P.S. Arashi*" ("*V.S. Arashi*" is the correct name of the TV show) and "*Tunnels no minasan no okage deshita*") in which her favorite idol appears. In lines 01 and 02, Tina cannot say the name of the TV show name and she starts searching for the word by repeating the trouble source. Maki produces a candidate solution for Tina's trouble

“*Tonnel?*” with rising intonation, and then adds “*zu　no?*” Latched with Maki’s utterance, Tina soon accepts the solution and names the person who is in the show. Maki completes Tina’s previous utterance “*sakurai syo*” and adds a particle and a verb in the next turn “*ga derunda*”. This co-completion shows that Maki understands her recipient’s talk. After that, Tina gives an acknowledgment “*u:::n*” and Maki then receives Tina’s utterance as news by producing “*he:::::*”. In line 08, Tina continues her talk with a conjunction “*desukara* (so)”. Tina again encounters a problem with a Japanese lexical item. At line 08, she starts her utterance in overlap with Maki’s utterance and starts her turn with “*desukara, nanka*”. First, she cuts off the word “*kyo:-* ((kyoo (today)))” after 0.6 seconds silence, and soon changes to “komban”, and she says “*komban*” again with rising intonation. However in the next turn, Maki just gives a minimum token of acknowledgment. Although Maki neither repairs Tina’s utterance nor initiates any problems, Tina code-switches from Japanese to English and repairs what she said in the previous turn in English. In addition, Tina does not only code-switch and repair from “komban” to “this night” but also repairs from “this night” to “tonight”.

[Target extract from Yotsuya01: simplified]

```
08   Tina :     [desukara, nanka, (0.6) kyo:- komban kobman?=
09   Maki : =u:n
10   Tina : this night- >uh< tonight, i won- i"m not going anywhere=
```

Tina produces a candidate “*komban*?” at first and Maki does not initiate any repair but Tina carries out “third turn repair” (Schegloff, 1997) in the following turn. The important feature of third turn repair is “the contribution from another participant which neither claims nor embodies ‘trouble’ with what preceded” in prior turn. This means that the recipients do not initiate a repair in the prior turn but uses a ‘continuer’ such as “uh huh” or “mm hmm” in their turn and pass the

opportunity to produce a full turn. Schegloff also notes that by producing a continuer, speakers pass the opportunity to repair the talk in the prior turn. Thus, in third turn repair, a recipient does not point out the troubles in previous turn by using continuer tokens.

In this segment, Tina repairs her prior turn in line 10 even though Maki does not initiate repair in line 09. Furthermore, in line 10, Tina repairs from "this night" to "tonight". As introduced in the previous extract, here, participant's own dissatisfaction with the candidate repair solutions appears to be related to code-switching.

In all of the extracts that were analyzed in this section, the language was switched to solve the problem the speaker is oriented to. In extract 4, Ri did not seem to be satisfied with the candidate solution her recipient (Mido) provided and she code-switched suddenly. In extract 5, although Maki did not initiate repair, but used a continuer, Tina was likely to be dissatisfied with the candidate repair solution she herself produced. As a result, Tina repaired her own previous utterance and when she did it, she code-switched from English to Japanese.

Figure3. This picture shows the position of the participants of the Yotsuya 1 data.

4.3 Combination sequences

In this section, I will demonstrate code-switching instances which appear to be the combination of the two CS environments that were analyzed in previous sections: "CS due to recipients' problems in understanding" and "CS due to speakers' dissatisfaction with repair solution."

The first extract is from the LS data again. Before the beginning of this extract, the participants were talking in Japanese. Then Maki asks a question to Tom in Japanese.

6. [LS 3 : 5-176:6-187]

01 Maki : ***a (.) ne, sensei.***
um hey teacher
"Hey you know."

02 Tom : ***un.***
yeah
"Yeah."

03 Maki : ***nachraru kurasu tte shitte ru?***
natural class QT know
"Do you know "natural class"?"

04 Tom : ***natural class?***

05 **(1.8)**

06 Tom : ***nachuraru kurasu¿***
natural class
"Natural class?"

07 Maki : ***nachuraru kurasu***
natural class
"Natural class"

08 Tom : ***what do you mean by class¿***

09 **(2.1)**

10 Maki : ***shizen rui (.)tte natte ta.***
natural class QT is PST
"It said natural class"

11 Tom : ***a::[::***
oh
"Oh"

12 Maki : ***[nihongo dato. onsei gaku no.***
Japanese in phonetics GEN
"It's from phonetics in Japanese."

13 Tom : ***° shira na° a:: onsei gaku no ne¿***
Know NEG um phonetics GEN IP
"I don't know, well, it's phonetics, right?"

14 ***kiita koto aru yo.=***
heard thing have IP
"I have heard it."

15 Maki : ***° un° . sou.***
Yeah, yes
"Yeah, that's right."

16 Tom : ***kasukani (.) ([ ) kioku ni aru n da kedo.***
faintly memory in have NOM COP but
"I know faintly" "I remember little, but"

17 Maki : ***[nanda: sore.***
what that
"What is that?"

As this extract includes a lot of repair and code-switching, in order to make them clear, I will present a simplified extract on the next page.

At the beginning of this extract, Maki asks the meaning of a word to Tom. In line 01, Maki first draws the recipients' attention by saying *"a, ne,* (um, hey)"

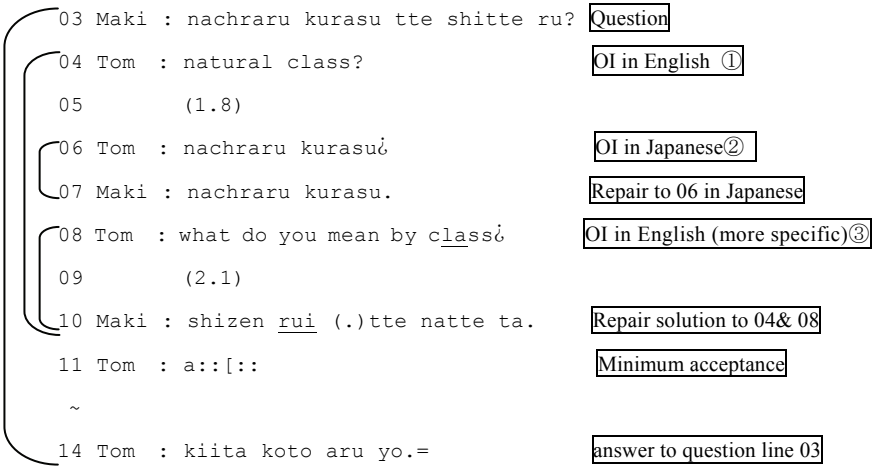
and selects Tom as the next speaker by calling Tom "*sensei.*" Tom says "*un*" to show his recognition that he is selected as an addressee of Maki's talk. Then Maki asks a question "*nachuraru kurasu tte shitteru?*" and Tom repeats Maki's question with upward intonation. This utterance by Tom can be seen as an other-repair initiation with the word "*nachuraru kurasu*" in Maki's question as the trouble source, and he initiates repair by repeating a part of Maki's utterance. This is the first initiation and Tom's repeating in line 04 is carried out with English pronunciation. However, after Tom's initiation, there is a 1.8 second silence. During this silence, Maki nods a few times. Tom then carries out repair initiation again in spite of Maki's nodding. In addition, this time he repeats the word with the inverted question mark intonation that is a weaker rising intonation than the normal question mark intonation. Moreover, in this second initiation, he pronounces the word "natural class" with Japanese pronunciation while he repeats the word in English pronunciation in line 04. Hosoda (2008) notes that when a first language speaker of Japanese produces an English word in katakana pronunciation, a first language speaker of English often produces the word with English pronunciation as a request for confirmation.

In response to his second initiation, Maki just repeats what she said in line 03. This shows that she probably took Tom's initiation as a problem of hearing. As Maki's response does not do enough for solving the problem that Tom has, he initiates repair again in line 08. This is the third time. At this time, in line 08, saying "*what do you mean by natural class*?" Tom makes his problem more explicit by using a question format and asks directly what Maki meant by saying *nachuraru kurasu* or natural class. He also emphasizes the word "class" to focus on which word he is having a problem with now. This third repair initiation in line 08 occurs because Tom is not satisfied with Maki's solution in line 07. Moreover, in this third initiation, he code-switches from Japanese to English again. Instead of repair, a 2.1 second silence occurs. During this silence, Maki does not move and after 2.1 seconds, she emphasizes the word "*rui*" and repairs it in Japanese.

In this line, although Tom initiated repair in English, Maki provides repair in Japanese. She also repairs it by emphasizing the word "*rui*". After her repair, she pauses momentarily and adds "*tte nattte ta* (it said~)". After this repair, Tom says "a::::" and shows a minimum recognition to Maki's utterance. Though Tom asks the question in English, Maki answers it in Japanese. She orients to the fact that Tom understands Japanese.

Here, both Maki and Tom have some understanding problems.

[Target extract from LS: simplified with repair sequence]



Note: OI refers to other initiation.

This extract is combined with the phenomenon of "recipients' problems in understanding" and "speakers' dissatisfaction with candidate solution". First, Tom initiates repair to get a confirmation check in line 04 by repeating a part of Maki's utterance with English pronunciation. In the next turn, Maki says nothing but she nods a few times during a 1.8-second silence. Second, as apparently Tom was not satisfied with Maki's candidate solution, he initiates repair again by

repeating the word with Japanese pronunciation. Maki confirms Tom's utterance by repeating what Tom said in line 06. Third, although Maki produces the candidate solution of repair as a form of confirmation, Tom initiates repair in the next turn again. This shows that Tom is not satisfied with Maki's solution and he still has a problem with the word. This is the third initiation and he code-switches from Japanese to English. The forms of initiation are also changed from a phrase to a question, which is more specific and focused on the problem. As a solution, Maki shows a candidate solution in Japanese and Tom then declares minimum acceptance.

In this extract, code-switching occurs because of dissatisfaction with a candidate solution the recipient provided (Maki's reaction at line 07) and the problem in mutual understanding (Tom's redoing a question at line 08).

The next extract is from the YC data. The conversation here is done in both Japanese and Korean, and the code-switching occurs three times. Hiyun is a teacher of Korean language at a university. Both Nora and Kana had taken Hiyun's Korean classes before. Nora is a first-year student and she has just started studying Korean while Kana is a third-year student and she is very good at speaking Korean. Prior to this extract, the participants were talking about people with identical names. Then, Hiyun starts talking about the movie "*Love Letter.*" The movie was shown in Japan in the 1990s. In the movie, a woman (portrayed by the actress Nakayama Miho) who lost her boyfriend writes a letter to him. Although she knows that her boyfriend already passed away, she writes the letter anyway. However, surprisingly, she gets a reply form a person who has the same name as his, and she starts exchanging letters with that person.

7. [Y1 00:50-02:02,1:36-58]

01 Hiyun: ***u:n. (.) demo tama ni atta ka na: (.) maeni ano::***

yes but sometime exist QT IP before well

"Yes, but it occasionally happens. There was a movie,

02 ***eiga ga atta yo ne:.***

movie Nom existPST IP IP

wasn't there?"

03 ***(0.3)***

04 Hiyun: ***labu retaa kana.***

QTIP

"The name of the movie was "love letter"."

05 Haru : ***u:n?.((tilts her head))***

hmmm

"Hmmmm."

06 Hiyun: **morra?**

knowNEG

"You don't know?"

07 Haru : ***° labu retaa?°***

08 Hiyun: ***un un un. (.) naka:: Nakayama Miho*** **ga: nao nun.**

yesyesyes name QT act NR

"Yes. Nakayama Miho acted, I guess."

09 ***[labu retaa ga***

10 Haru : ***[ano:: (Thai de yat) [ta yatsu desu ka?***

um at show PST one COP:POL Q

"Was it shown in Thailand?"

11 Nora : ***[a::a:::a:a:aaaaaaaaaa.***

oh

"Oh I see."

12 Hiyun: ***uun.*** **irubone so**

hmm Japan in

"No, it was in Japan."

13 Nora : ***° hu::n°***

14 Hiyun: ***Iwai Syunji ka na.***

Name QT PI

“And also Iwai Shunji acted.”

15 Haru : ***Iwai Syunji?***

16 Hiyun: **hangu geso chonmaru inki ga issosso::**

Korea in really popular Nom havePST

“He/It was really popular in Korea.”

17 Nora : ***hu:::n.***

hmmm

“Hmmm.”

18 Hiyun: ***sou.***

yes

“Yes”

19 ***(0.9)***

20 Hiyun: **ku yunfa ga *(.)* hangu geso *zyouei sareta no=***

that movie Nom Korea in show PST IP

“The movie was shown in Korea.”

21 Haru : ***=a::[::.***

oh

“Oh.”

22 Nora : ***[hu:::n.***

hmmm

“I see.”

In this extract, the sequence of repair and CS can be divided into two segments. The first one is from line 01 to line 13, and CS occurs at lines 06 and 08.

[YC-1 1:36-51]

01 Hiyun: ***u:n. (.) demo tama ni atta ka na: (.) maeni ano::***

yes but sometime exist QT IP before well

"Yes, but it occasionally happens. There was a movie,

02 ***eiga ga atta yo ne:.***

movie Nom existPST IP IP

wasn't there?"

03 ***(0.3)***

04 Hiyun: ***labu retaa ka na.***

QT IP

"The name of the movie was "love letter"."

05 Haru : ***u:n?.((tilts her head))***

hmmm

"Hmmmm."

06 Hiyun: **morra?**

knowNEG

"(You) don't know?"

07 Haru : ***° labu retaa?°***

08 Hiyun: ***un un un. (.) naka:: Nakayama Miho*** **ga: nao nun.**

yesyesyes name QT act NR

"Yes. (The movie which)Nakayama Miho acted"

09 ***[labu retaa ga***

10 Haru : ***[ano:: (Thai de yat) [ta yatsu desu ka?***

um at show PST one COP:POL Q

"Was it shown in Thailand?"

11 Nora : ***[a::a:::a:a:aaaaaaaaaa.***

oh

"Oh I see."

12 Hiyun: ***uun*** **.irubone so**

hmm Japan in

"No, it was in Japan."

13 Nora : ˚***hu::n***˚

In lines 01 and 02, Hiyun mentions a movie related to their previous talk and seeks recognition by using the form "*yone*?" However, as she does not receive any response, she adds the name of the movie. She also marks the end of her utterance with "*kana*", and she designs her utterance sounds weaker as if she is not sure about it. In line 05 Haru says "*u:n?*" with rising intonation and shows that she has some problem. Although Haru's utterance and non-verbal behavior in line 04 sounds and looks like an other-initiation of repair, Hiyun in line 06 further pursues a clearer response from Haru. This time, Hiyun designs her talk as a Yes-No question to help the respondent to answer the question more easily. When she asks the question, she suddenly code-switches. In the next turn, Haru initiates repair by repeating the trouble source "*labu retaa*", with a quiet voice, requesting confirmation of her hearing. In response, at first Hiyun says "*un un un* " in Japanese to confirm Haru's hearing. Although, Hiyun provides confirmation to Haru, Haru does not show any reaction. She then code-switches again and adds "*Nakayama Miho ga nao nun*" in Korean. Soon latching with the end of Hiyun's utterance, Haru initiates repair as a request for confirmation again in line 10, and then Hiyun responds to it first in Japanese "*uun.*" and then in Korean again, "*irubone so*".

[Targeted extract from YC: simplified]

04 Hiyun: labu retaa kana.
05 Haru : u:n?.((inclines her heads))
06 Hiyun: morra?
07 Haru : ˚ labu retaa?˚
08 Hiyun: un un un. (.) naka:: Nakayama Miho ga: nao nun.
09 [labu retaa ga
10 Haru : [ano:: (Thai de yat) [ta yatsu desu ka?

11 Nora : [a::a:::a:a:aaaaaaaaaa.

12 Hiyun: uun .irubone so

In this extract, code-switching occurs twice. First, as Haru does not display her clear understanding and it is not enough for satisfying Hiyun, Hiyun code-switches from Japanese to Korean in line 06. In response to this question, Haru repeated the movie name and requested confirmation of what she heard in line 04. Hiyun then said "*un un un.*" and provided a stronger confirmation. However, Haru does not display her understanding to this confirmation. Thus, it shows that Haru had a problem in understanding the referent "love letter." In other words, they have not achieved intersubjectivity yet. Second, Hiyun code-switches after a micro pause, and adds more details about the movie. In line 10, Haru requests for a confirmation of her understanding by latching Hiyun's utterance. In response to Haru's request, Hiyun provides a negative answer first in Japanese, and soon she code-switches to Korean.

As the environment for occurrence of code-switching in this segment, there are three phenomena; (a) speaker's dissatisfaction with the recipient response, (b) lack of recipient's display of understanding, and (c) orientation to language codes that recipient can understand. First, Hiyun code-switched when Haru's response did not display a clear understanding and Hiyun was not satisfied with Haru's response in line 05, second when there was a lack of Haru's display of understanding and the participants were not able to achieve intersubjectivity in line 08, and third, when she provided confirmation and added information in line 12. Her switching from Japanese to Korean here is possibly due to her orientation. She orients to the fact that Haru knows Korean very well and can understand her even if she talks in Korean.

Figure4. This picture shows the position of the participants of the YC data.

This is the second part of the segment from extract 7. In the next segment, code-switching occurs twice, in lines 03 and 07.

[YC-2 1:51-58]

01　Hiyun: ***Iwai Syunji ka na.***
　　Name　　QT PI
　　"And also Iwai Shunji acted."

02　Haru : ***Iwai Syunji?***

03　Hiyun: ***hangu geso chonmaru inki ga issosso::***
　　Korea in　really　popular Nom havePST
　　"He/It was really popular in Korea"

04　Nora : ***hu:::n.***
　　hmmm
　　"Hmmm."

05　Hiyun: ***sou.***
　　yes
　　"Yes."

06 ***(0.9)***

07 Hiyun: ***ku yunfa ga (.) hangu geso zyouei sareta no=***

that movie Nom Korea in show PST IP

"The movie was shown in Korea"

08 Haru : ***=a::[::.***

oh

"Oh."

09 Nora : ***[hu:::n.***

hmmm

"I see."

In the segment above, Haru and Nora have not recognized the movie "*Love Letter*" yet. Hiyun mentions another actor in the movie "*Iwai Shunji*" and tries to seek the recognition from them. However, this name becomes another trouble source. In line 1, Hiyun adds the actor's name "*Iwai Shunji*" by adding "*kana*" that shows uncertainty. Haru then initiates repair by requesting confirmation of the target word "*Iwai Shunji*" with rising intonation. In response to Haru's repair initiation, Hiyun repairs it by adding further information "*hangu geso chonmaru inki ga issosso::*" and the code-switches from Japanese to Korean. However, in line 03, Hiyun fails to include a subject. Thus it is not clear whether her utterance "*hangu geso chonmaru inki ga issosso::*" refers to the actor, "Iwai Shunji" or the movie "*Love letter*". Nora then shows her minimum recognition by saying "*hu:::n*" in the next turn.

After Nora's recognition, again, Hiyun says "*sou*" and completes the sequence at the third position. However, a 0.9-second silence follows. Neither Haru nor Nora shows her understanding or recognition after Hiyun's utterance. Hiyun then adds more information "*ku yunfa ga (.) hangu geso zyouei sareta no*". She code-switches twice in one TCU, first "*ku yunfa ga (.) hangu geso*" in Korean and second "*zyouei sareta no*" in Japanese. Hiyun's CS occurs when she

does not have sufficient response from her recipients. Neither Haru nor Nora display their understanding during a 0.9-second silence and Hiyun then adds an utterance to gain the recognition or understanding from her recipients, Haru and Nora. In addition, these two switches in one TCU show Hiyun's orientation. Hiyun orients to the recipient (Nora) as a second language user at the beginner level. Word 'jouei' is one of a low frequency word. She may have code-switched in this way because Nora has just started learning Korean and she does not know many words yet.

After that, Haru shows her understanding more clearly with a change-of-state token "*a:::*" in line 08 and Nora shows recognition by saying "*hu:::n*" in line 10, and they finally seem to achieve intersubjectivity.

[Extract from YC: simplified]

```
01   Hiyun: Iwai Syunji ka na.
02   Haru : Iwai Syunji?
03   Hiyun: hangu geso chonmaru inki ga issosso::
04   Nora : hu:::n.
05   Hiyun: sou.
06          (0.9)
07   Hiyun:  ku   yunfa  ga (.) hangu geso zyouei sareta no=
08   Haru : =a::[::.
09   Nora :     [hu:::n.
```

Code-switching in this segment occurs because of lack of recognition and thus not achieving intersubjectivity. First, Hiyun code-switches and provides further information in response to Haru's repair initiation in line 02. It can also be said that Hiyun does not receive recognition from her recipients. On the contrary, her recipient initiates repair. Hiyun does not seem to be satisfied with her recipients' reaction and then code-switches. Second, after Hiyun's completion

in line 05, Haru and Nora do not show their recognition and it can be seen that they still have some problems of understanding. Hiyun then code-switches again and adds further information about the movie in line 07.

The first switching occurs because Haru and Nora display difficulties in recognizing the referent. The second switching also occurs because the participants do not show their recognition and thus they are unable to achieve intersubjectivity. Thus, code-switching in this segment is related to lack of achieving intersubjectivity among participants due to lack of recipients' display of recognition. In addition, again, Hiyun selects a language that all participants in the talk can understand.

As demonstrated, all three extracts seem to be related to recipient problems in understanding or dissatisfaction with candidate repair solutions as in previous sections. Considering extract 6, both Tom and Maki had problems of understanding through the word "*nachuraru kurasu*" and Tom changed his utterance formulation, and in extracts 7-1 and 7-2, Hiyun cord-switched when she did not receive enough recognition from her recipients, or when her recipients did not display recognition or understanding. In addition, in all three extracts, we can observe participants' orientation to designing their utterance for their recipients through language choice: they chose the best code for their recipients. The participants themselves oriented to the use of the language which their recipients could understand.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

In this study, instances of code-switching (CS) are divided approximately into three types according to the interactional environment of CS: (a) CS in response to recipient problems in understanding, (b) CS due to dissatisfaction with candidate repair solution, and (c) CS due to the combination of (a) and (b). As shown in extracts 1 to 3, the instances of code-switching occurred in response to recipients' problems of understanding. The problems recipient had appeared to have been solved by the speakers' code-switching. On the other hand, in the instances of code-switching due to dissatisfaction with candidate solutions to word searches, the speakers continued to orient to the problems of not finding appropriate words and code-switched to provide better candidate solutions. In the instances of combination of the two types, the switches occurred as a result of both interactants' problems of achieving intersubjectivity and interactants' dissatisfaction with candidate repair solution.

All instances occurred in repair sequences. In repair sequences, participants deal with problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding. The occurrence of code-switching is relevant to repair sequences because the participants code-switched when they had problems of speaking, for instance, extracts 4 and 5, and when they had problems of understanding, for instance extracts 6 and 7. Repair sequences occur because participants orient to some problems in their talk. As the participants in this study code-switched to deal with problems, CS was often observed in repair sequences.

Therefore, concerning the environment of the occurrence of code-switching, this study suggests two points. First, code-switching is a language problem. When the participants have some problems in talk in the data, they tended to deal with it by code-switching, as seen in extracts 1 and 2 in the first section. The participants know which language that the speaker and the

recipients in the conversation can understand and they code-switched based on that knowledge. Moreover, it was demonstrated that as a part of recipient design, the speaker does not always switch to the recipients' first language, but also switched to the language the recipients could recognize or understand, as shown in the previous section. In addition, "who is the recipient?" is one significant feature. Sometimes, the language of interaction was changed to a better language, namely, their first language for recipients, and sometimes the language of interaction was changed to one which they could understand, namely, their common second language as in extracts 2, 4 and 6.

Secondly, code-switching appears to occur in a sequence that includes some problems in the interaction. In this study, all code-switching occurred in a repair sequence. In a repair sequence, participants deal with problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding. Code-switching carried out here was related to these problems. In conversation, the participants achieve their co-understanding, which is called intersubjectivity, through the talk. Therefore, when problems such as understanding or dissatisfaction occurred in this study, the participants code-switched to achieve intersubjectivity. As far as I observed in my data, code-switching often occurred in sequences in which the participants had some problems in the interaction and it is closely related to problems of intersubjectivity.

As reviewed in chapter 2, data in many code-switching studies come from immigrants, child language acquisition, or the classroom. Even though the data in this study came from mundane conversation, code-switching often occurred. The frequent occurrence of CS may have something to do with the social context in which the data were collected. As noted, the participants in the data were teachers, foreign exchange students, graduate students, and undergraduate students who had some relationship with a university. In a university, there are people who have different nationalities and classes which are carried out in different languages. People who are in these settings frequently use languages

other than their first language. Japan is often considered to be a monolingual country. However, in universities in urban areas in Japan, as the one the participants in this study are associated with, there are lots of teachers and students who come from different parts of the world, and the universities offer classes of various languages.[2] This may be why the participants in this study are accustomed to use second or foreign languages in the data. In the data, the participants did not show their orientation to the university or categories that are relevant to university, but this context may have a significant influence on the occurrence of code-switching in this study. As introduced in Chapter 3, all the participants in this data are related to a university in some way. And then, this context may be one of the reasons that they often carried out code-switching in their conversations.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

This study scrutinized instances of code-switching (CS) in repair sequences among first language and second language speakers of Japanese. In the first section "CS in response to recipient problems in understanding", the speakers code-switched to solve the problems of understanding and achieve intersubjectivity among the participants. In "CS due to dissatisfaction with candidate repair solution", the speakers code-switched in search for better solution for the word searches after candidate solution were produced by either the speakers or the recipients. In the last section, "CS due to combination of these two", it was shown that the speakers code-switched when the participants did not display enough recognition or understanding, and when the speakers was not satisfied with candidate repair solutions.

Code-switching does not occur randomly. As demonstrated in this study, code-switching has own orderliness and they are deployed in order to achieve to intersubjectivity of talk. As analyzed in three sections, every code-switching occurred because of the problems or dissatisfaction speakers' or recipients' had in the interaction. Moreover, it was shown that in carrying out code-switching, the speakers always paid close attention to who the recipients of their talk were.

TABLES

Table1

Data Summary

Type of recording	Title	Participants		Length
		FSJ	SSJ (first language)	
Audio-recorded	JC1	1	1(Chinese)	30 min
	JC2	1	1(Chinese)	30 min
Audio- & video-recorded	LS	3	1(English)	90 min
	YC	2	1(Korean)	70 min
	JCI	1	2(Chinese & Italian)	80 min
	JJI	2	1(English & Hindi)	90 min
	Yotsuya1	1	3(Malaya, Khmer)	120 min
	Yotsuya2	1	2(English & Vietnamese)	40 min

Note. FSJ= first language speaker of Japanese; SSJ=second language speaker of Japanese; All FSJ speak Japanese as their first language.

Table 2
Overview of data and participants

Title (The date)	Participants name	Place	Occasion
JC1	Maki (FSJ female)	University	Lunch break
(4.2011)	Ri (SSJ female)	(Graduate students' office)	
JC2	Maki (FSJ female)	University	After class
(5.2011)	Ri (SSJ female)	(Graduate students' office)	
LS	Chika (FSJ female)	University	After class
(12.2009)	Kana (FSJ female)	(Tom's office)	
	Maki (FSJ female)		
	Tom (SSJ male)		
YC	Haru (FSJ female)	University	Lunch break
(6.2010)	Nora (FSJ female)	(Hiyun's office)	
	Hiyun (SFJ female)		
JCI	Mido (FSJ female)	University	After class
(5.2011)	Ri (SSJ female)	(Graduate students' office)	
	Sara (SSJ female)		
JJI	W(FSJ female)	University	Before class
(5.2011)	Y(FSJ female)	(Graduate school office)	
	B (SSJ male)		
Yotsuya1	Maki (FSJ female)	Hotel lobby	Meeting
(8.2011)	Apsara (SSJ male)		
	Karti (SSJ female)		
	Tina (SSJ female)		
Yotsuya2	Maki (FSJ female)	Hotel lobby	Meeting
(8.2011)	Tao (SSJ female)		
	Koal (SSJ male)		

Note. The same names are same participants in the data.

Table 3

The overview of extracts and its repair and the code

	Data	Placement of initiation	Code-switching	Trouble source	By	Initiation	By	Repair	By
Recipient understanding	Extract1/ LS	Next turn (OI/SR)	Repair turn	English (“*submission*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*un*?”)	FSJ	Japanese (“*teisyutsu*”)	SSJ
	Extract2/ LS	Next turn (OI/SR)	Repair turn	English (“*IPA*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*nani*～?”)	FSJ	Japanese (“*jisyo no*”)	SSJ
	Extract3/ LS	Third turn (SI/SR)	Repair turn	English (“*telegraph*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*hora are da*”)	FSJ	Japanese (“*denpyo*”)	SSJ
Dissatisfaction	Extract4/ JCI	Same turn (SI/SR)	Repair turn	Japanese (“*ko*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*eh::*” “*iya*”,ect.)	SSJ	English (“*flour*”)	SSJ
	Extract5/ Yotsuya1	Third turn (SI/SR)	Repair turn	Japanese (“*komban*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*this night*”)	FSJ	English (“*tonight*”)	SSJ
Combination code-switching	Extract6/ LS	Same turn (OI/SR)	Initiation turn	Japanese (“*nachuraru kurasu*”)	FSJ	English (“*What do you mean* ～?”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*shizen rui*”)	FSJ
	Extract7-1/ YC	Next turn (OI/SR)	Repair turn	Japanese (“*Love Letter*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*labu retaa*？”)	FSJ	Korean (“*un un un?*”)	SSJ
	Extract7-2/ YC	Next turn (OI/SR)	Repair turn (Turn adding detail)	Japanese (“*Iwai Shunji*”)	SSJ	Japanese (“*Iwai shunji*？”)	FSJ	Korean (“*Hangu*～”)	SSJ

Note: OI refers to “other initiation”; SR refers to “self repair”; SI refers to “self initiation”: SR refers to “self repair”; The cell “code-switching” refers to the location which code-switching occurs in the sequence.

Notes

1. There are many ways to write the term code-switching, such as “code switching (e.g., Bailey, 2001)” or “codeswitching” (e.g., Greer, 2003). In this study, I chose “code-switching” which is used by Auer (1988) and many other researchers.

2. Here is the overview of the languages which are taught, foreign professors, and the exchange students at Kanagawa University.

The overview of the foreign languages and people

	Languages		Professors	Exchange students
	General Culture	Special Subject		
Numbers	8	10	19	101
Kind	English	English		
	French	French		
	Russian	Russian		
	Chinese	Chinese		
	Korean	Korean		
	Spanish	Spanish		
	German	German		
	Japanese	Italian		
		Japanese		
		Portuguese		

Note . All the numbers come from undergraduate departments of Kanagawa University; Special Subjects are offered to undergraduate students in the Faculty of Foreign Languages; Japanese language is for Japanese as a second or foreign language speakers at the university. In addition to the professors indicated above, there are approximately 100 non-Japanese part-time lecturers.

APPENDIX

Transcription conventions

(0.5)	The number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates pause in the talk less than two tenths of a second.
=	The “equals” sign indicates “latching” between utterances.
[ ]	Square bracket between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicates the onset and end of overlap talk.
-	A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop.
·hh	A dot before an “h” indicates speaker in-breath. The more “h’s, the longer the in-breath.
hh	An “h” indicates an out-breath. The more “h’s the longer the breath.
wor-	A dash indicates the sharp cut-off of the prior word or sound.
wor:::d	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more colons the greater the extent of the stretching.
!	Exclamation marks are used to indicate an animated or emphatic tone.
( )	Empty parentheses indicate the presence of an unclear fragment on the tape, something is being said but not hearing can be achieved.
(guess)	The words within a single bracket indicate the transcriber’s best guess at an unclear fragment.
(( ))	Double parentheses indicate a non-verbal activity or are used to mark the transcriber’s descriptions of events, rather than representations of them.
word.	A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. It does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence.
word,	A comma indicates a “continuing” intonation.
word?	A question mark indicates a rising inflection. It does not necessary indicate a question.
word¿	An inverted question mark indicates a rise stronger than a comma,

	but weaker than a question mark.
word!	Exclamation marks indicate an animated or emphatic tone
Word	Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis.
Word	Words in capitals mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.
↑ ↓	Pointed arrows indicate a marked rising or falling intonation shift. They are placed immediately before the onset of the shift.
A:	Less marked falls in pitch can be indicated by using underlining immediately preceding a colon.
° °	Degree signs are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding it.
> <	Inward chevrons indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably quicker than the surrounding talk.
< >	Outward chevrons indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably slower than the surrounding talk.
[LS 2:3-6:1]	Extract headings refer to the transcript library source of the researcher who originally collected the data.

Abbreviations used in interlinear gloss

Adapted from Jefferson (1984), Hosoda (2006) and Kushida (2011)

Acc	Accusative (−*no*)
COP	Copulative verb (“be”)
CP	Conjunctional particle
CONT	Continuing (non-final) form
GEN	Genitive (−*no*)
IP	Interactional particle (e.g. *ne, sa, no, yo, na*)
LOG	Locative
NEG	For making negation
NOM	Nominative (−*ga*)
NR	Nominalizer (e.g. *no, n*)
ONO	Onomatopoeic expression
PST	Past tense
POL	Politeness marker
PT	Other particles
QT	Quotative marker (−*to*, −*tte*)
Q	Question marker (*ka* and its variants)
TAG	Tag- like expression
TP	Topic marker (−*wa*)

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