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CODE-SWITCHING, LANGUAGE CROSSING AND MEDIATIZED TRANSLINGUISTIC PRACTICES

Rika Yamashita

Code-switching (henceforth, CS) refers to the juxtaposition of two languages or varieties (Gumperz 1982). In line with a strong ideology of monolingualism, using two languages or varieties at the same time was once considered simply as "makeshifts" in communication. Studies in CS have reversed this view and contributed to our understanding of linguistics and sociolinguistics in general (see Woolard 2004). The first part of this chapter very briefly reviews CS studies involving Japanese. I then move on to discuss multilingual language use beyond the confines of CS. This is followed by discussions on mediatized translinguistic practices. I will then sketch issues of race and ethnicity and discuss how these relate to Japan. In the last part, role language and mediatized translinguistic practices in contemporary Japanese society are discussed.

Code-switching

CS became an object of study among sociolinguists and psycholinguists in the 1980s. Scholars questioned how and why bilinguals mix or switch two or more languages from syntactical, pragmatic, anthropologic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. The mixing of the two languages in a single sentence is called "intrasentential code-switching", while that between sentences is called "intersentential code-switching". The first sociolinguistic study of code-switching involving Japanese language was conducted in North America. Nishimura (1995, 1997) recorded conversations of a small family-friend circle of second generation Japanese-Canadians (*nikkei nisei*).

Universals and non-universals in intrasentential CS

A major point of interest in the study of intrasentential CS is the identification of linguistic universals and non-universals. CS data can provide clues in the processing and the production of language in general, and such studies invite discussions on how human language is organized in the brain, and this helps develop our understanding of the psychological aspects of language.

In a seminal study, Poplack (1980) provided for the two universal rules of intrasentential CS, the "equivalence constraint" and the "free-morpheme constraint". The equivalence constraint

predicts that CS occurs where the grammar of the two systems do not clash. The free-morpheme constraint predicts that CS occurs between two free-morphemes; below, (1) is an example that exemplifies the two constraints from an example of two siblings (aged 3–9) who were brought up bilingually in English and Japanese.

(1)
Now all the *yasashii kaijū* [kind monsters] did *gattai* [unification, i.e., came together as one].

(Nanba 2014: 118).

In the two switches, the equivalent constraint is at play. Nominal items can easily be incorporated because they are not conjugated. In both Japanese and English, noun phrases tend to come before verb phrases. The phrase *yasashii kaijū*, is immediately followed by the verb phrase. The result does not sound strange for English or for Japanese. Another example is the "do + noun" construction as in "did *gattai*". Such constructions appear frequently also in other language pairs (Azuma 1997). We can also observe the free-morpheme constraint in (1). The word "all" in the beginning of the sentence infers that there was more than one monster here. However, the plurality is not indicated here with the English plural marker –s. The English plural marker is a bound-morpheme, and not a free-morpheme. Therefore, it is not used as a suffix of the Japanese noun *kaijū*.

Example (1) is taken from children in a family setting, but also adults engage in CS using Japanese. For example, the first generation of women in the Korean community in Ikuno Ward (Osaka Prefecture) was found to mix Korean and Japanese within a single sentence (Kim 2003). As Korean and Japanese are both agglutinative languages and have similar word order, they often switched between predicates and sentence-final forms (e.g., Japanese –*ne* and –*yo*, and Jeju-Korean –*ge*).[1] Switching within the "do + noun" phrase also appeared in this language combination in both directions (Kim 2003).

There exists also a lot of data that contradicts the equivalence and the free-morpheme constraint for CS involving Japanese. Unlike Spanish/French and English CS that Poplack studied, Japanese nouns and verbs lack agreement for person and number. Moreover, especially in informal and spoken Japanese language, subjects and case marking can be omitted and word order is more flexible. The equivalence constraint principle does not hold when it comes to word order in many examples of Portuguese-Japanese CS (Nakamizu 2000). Also, the free-morpheme constraint was not observed in CS among children brought up in Spanish and Japanese. Forms such as *tabe-t-iendo* in place of *comiendo* (eating), where *tabe-* is the verb stem for the Japanese verb *taberu*, are reported (Flores and Williams, in print).

Particular patterns of CS that do not conform to constraints have been given specific labels. For example, "portmanteau sentences" refers to a type of CS when we find duplicates in the intrasententially codeswitched sentences. In Japanese, this pattern often results in a word order of SVOV, where the first verb in English is semantically repeated in Japanese at the end (Nishimura 1995). We see this structure in example (2), where "bought" and *katte-kita* are both verbs with the same meaning. We also see that "about" and *gurai* (also "about") occur in the same sentence, as well as the sentence just before. My translations of the CS utterances into English follow in brackets.

(2)
Sean: *Sore da kara*, anyway, *asoko de* smoked salmon *katta no yo*. (Therefore, anyway, we bought smoked salmon there.)
And, er, I think it was about five dollars a pound *gurai yo* [about]
We bought about two pounds *gurai kattekita no* [about bought]

(Adapted from Nishimura 1995: 167.)

Domains and functions of CS

Situational CS refers to switching according to the setting or participants. Metaphorical CS occurs in situations where genres or domains merge. These types are sometimes also called "discourse-related CS" and "participant-related CS", respectively. One of the first studies in CS, Blom and Gumperz (1972) looked in particular at the relationship between dialect and standard language. It is likely that Japanese speakers, too, switch between dialect and standard language according to participants and topics. However, this type of CS study has not been widely conducted in the case of Japan and we know relatively little about this. A rare exception is the recent work by Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016). The issue of the possible separability of standard language and dialects is one of the problems that stand in the way of studying standard/dialect CS.

On the basis of data from interethnic communication in Kenya, Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997) argued that speakers' negotiation was another factor triggering CS. She found speakers switching to a specific language (native language, ethnic language, regional language, English, etc.) in order to negotiate personal needs. This type of strategic switch was also not much discussed in the case of Japan, probably because of the differences in the data collected. Studies in Japanese CS tend to collect data of informal conversation within a close-knit circle of family or friends. Most switches in Japanese contexts are therefore attributed to discourse management by speakers. The Kenyan context that Myers-Scotton studied therefore involves much more rigid negotiations involving issues of social class and ethnicity.

We find in Japan, however, cases of CS in more formal institutions, too. Excerpt (3) is an example of an addressee specification involving Urdu and Japanese that is taken from a classroom with Pakistani pupils in a mosque school in a Kanto suburb (Yamashita 2014, 2016). After the teacher confronts the pupil in Urdu for being late for class, one of the pupils, nine-year-old Laila, responds to the teacher by asking a question in Urdu. Then, turning to her older sister and brother, she repeats the same question in Japanese. Usually, Laila would use Japanese to the teacher as well, and her siblings were more competent in Urdu than her, so both Japanese and Urdu would be intelligible for everyone in the classroom. The question in Japanese lacks the word for "father" and adds a request for confirmation *honto ni* (really?), showing that Laila is aware that her siblings heard the conversation between her and the teacher (Urdu is in italics).

(3)
Teacher: *abhii abbuu aaye to kyaa karnaa hai?* (Right, now your father has come what should we/you do?)
Laila: [in response to the teacher] E? *Abbuu aaye t'e?* (Huh? Did father come?)
[turning towards her siblings]
Kita no? Hontō ni? (Did he come? Really?)

(Adapted from Yamashita 2016: 153.)

In her data of *nikkei* Brazilian university students in Japan, Nakamizu (2000, 2003) found evidence of discourse-related and participant-related CS. Nakamizu showed three different types of CS: (a) discourse management CS, (b) CS for reaching out (*hatarakikake*) and (c) employing CS for expressing inner feelings (*naimen hyōji*). Nishimura (1995) noted that (b) is the result of trying to reach out to linguistically heterogeneous networks, in that case a network that included both predominantly Japanese and predominantly English speakers. On the other hand, (c) is similar to the switching in polite registers between *desu/-masu* and non-*desu/-masu* forms.

Other pragmatic functions mentioned were the intensifying involvement in a story (Nishimura 1995; see also Kim 2003) or CS in order to fill lexical gaps.

A relatively new field of research in CS involving Japanese pays attention to the linguistic accommodation of the addressee. Japanese scholars of CS can in general be said to have been more addressee-oriented in comparison to North-American scholars. One of Nishimura's descriptions for the motivation for CS is addressee-oriented. Speakers switch to Japanese for "native Japanese" persons like Nishimura herself, or for addressees who use more Japanese.

Scholars of Japanese CS never questioned the bilingual identities of speakers, as the canonical studies in the US had already affirmed that CS indexed bilingual identity. Poplack (1980) concluded that the reason why the speakers who were more competent in both languages in her data switched more often was due to their desire to express their belonging to both the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking communities. Poplack's finding had a large impact to reverse the ideology that CS is a sign of incompetence in the languages involved in CS. Azuma (1997) also observes that bilingual speakers with high proficiency frequently engaged in CS. Unfortunately, these insights backfired in Japan, as some misinterpreted these findings in a way that only full bilinguals would engage in CS and that anything else was merely a "search for words". However, it is not the competence in both languages that promotes CS but the belonging to two communities of practice.

In Japan, the Korean community is of particular interest when studying CS. As the Korean population in Japan and their migration patterns diversified, studies of Korean speakers started to look at different CS patterns across different groups of migrant Koreans. These groups involved students, newcomer workers and returnees (individuals who had spent part of their youth in Japan and then moved to Korea). They found that students from Korea studying in Japan and Koreans brought up in Japan have indeed different language choice patterns (Yoshida 2005; Kwak 2013). Linguistic competencies are seen to be the main factor for this. Also, the more proficient speakers are in both languages, the more complex that CS becomes. A good way to better grasp these complexities is to apply methods of conversation analysis. In Europe, scholars started to include this to the study of CS from the 1990s onwards, and this trend was also picked up in Japan. A conversation analysis approach to the language use of a teenage "multiethnic Japanese"[2] friendship group in an international school in Japan confirmed that CS is part of bilingual youths' practice of bi-ethnic membership (Greer 2007, 2010). This finding underlined once more that it is not ethnicity as such that creates sense of community but that language practices play a crucial role thereby.

Studies mentioned so far sketched a speech community with speakers across a horizontal axis in terms of social power. Analyzing verbal interactions can also reveal existing hierarchies within a community. In Japan, minority languages are often marginalized and considered less valuable among speakers of these languages themselves, but this does not mean that minority languages are always the inferior code. For example, students at Korean schools share the habit of using Korean to elders in the community and they also use it for greetings. Choosing Korean over Japanese in such contexts is considered a sign of respect. We can see here how language use is intricately linked with social roles.

The topic of social roles is taken up by Iwata (2011) who applies Goffman's frame analysis to study language use at a dinner table in an English-Japanese bilingual family that is based in Japan. This study pays particular attention to gender and family roles. The mother often switches from Japanese to English in order to invite the father who does not speak a lot of Japanese into the conversation. His lower proficiency in Japanese notwithstanding, the father took more controlling frames than the mother, while the mother acted often as a communication facilitator, telling children to repeat in English what they said before in Japanese. In this way, the father

became a "language monitor" who took a more controlling role in the conversations, while the mother remained the subordinate facilitator and mediator of conversation by switching to English (Iwata 2011).

Language transgressions

In the following, I refrain from using meta-language that has been developed entirely on western case studies for discussions of phenomena occurring in Japanese society. "Transgression" as defined by Heinrich (2017) refers to culturally neutral ways to discuss similarities between case studies such as "crossing" in England, "Kiezdeutsch" in Germany or "dialect cosplay" in Japan. Transgression is an etic term, while crossing or dialect cosplay are emic categories.

Crossing

Many CS works presented in the previous section studied speakers switching between languages with others who share the same repertoires and were members of the same community. Language crossing, on the other hand, refers to linguistic behavior where speakers "cross" into languages that are not socially recognized as part of speakers' repertoire (Rampton 1995, 1999). Unlike CS, speakers tend to have limited knowledge of the language they cross into. Unlike CS, crossing cannot be explained in a purely pragmatic framework like Gumperz (1982) does, because it involves a transgression in terms of social boundaries.

Following the tradition of British and American sociolinguistics, where categories of race and ethnicity have played a central role, Rampton studied student interactions in a multiethnic secondary school in England. He found that crossing occurred mostly in "moments and events where normal social relations are suspended" (Rampton 1999: 54). In such moments, boundaries of race and ethnicity were an issue. Pupils crossed not to mock the particular social group associated with a language, but they crossed in order to transcend social boundaries and in this way establish a sense of solidarity. For example, in one instance, a South-Asian male pupil refers to the Anglo female teacher in Caribbean creole in her absence to make other pupils laugh. According to Rampton, these instances invoke a sense of solidarity among the pupils and constitute a challenging move towards the institutional system of school and the dominating Anglo society. Crossing is thus not a racially hostile interaction. It served to reassure peer solidarity and to create spaces where participants challenge or mock the predominant ideologies connected to language, ethnicity and identity.

Dialect cosplay

Crossing in terms of race or ethnicity has not been reported in Japanese sociolinguistic academia, but we find in Japan many young people engaging in linguistic transgressions by using tokens of dialects they do not speak. Such partial knowledge of dialects is common among younger Japanese, as different dialects along with regional stereotypes are ubiquitous in the Japanese media (anime, manga, TV, etc.). Tanaka's (2011) book, *Hōgen kosupure no jidai* (The Age of Dialect Cosplay), calls attention to the fact that young people today have added elements of non-native dialect items to their language repertoire. A quarter of the 127 college students in Tokyo that Tanaka surveyed reported to use what she calls "fake dialect" (*nise hōgen*) when texting, i.e., they used elements of dialects with which they had not been socialized. The most commonly used fake dialect was that of the Kansai region. Students also reported using northern Kanto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Chugoku and other dialects, suggesting that an extensive and creative

repertoire exists among them. Most dialect elements consisted of clause final or sentence-final forms. Dialects were strategically "put on and off" (Tanaka 2011: 3) according to the situation. Using fake dialects allowed students to exploit regional stereotypes for communicative purposes and to create informal settings. Tanaka notes that the users attach positive values to dialectal elements. Speakers use these "mainly to expand their repertoire of expression and have fun, regardless of their regional origin" (Tanaka 2011: 10). Furthermore, young people choose different "styles" to perform characters (*kyara*) associated with the dialect in order to diverge from their bare self (*su no jibun*). These stylized expressions evoke stereotypical features of those imagined to speak the specific dialect in question, and this evocation is used as a strategy in conversation (Tanaka 2011: 16). Unlike Rampton's crossing, young Japanese employ these dialects casually, without putting their own regional identity or identity as a standard language speaker at risk. They do not question, challenge or express affinity or hostility towards regional identities. Such use of dialect features is also not part of linguistic accommodation.

Is dialect cosplay "crossing" for fun?

What then is similar between crossing and dialect cosplay, and what is different? First of all, both phenomena investigate how participants diverge from the language or language variety they mainly use and with which they are associated. Crossing was observed in a particular social group in the school that Rampton studied, while the extent of responses that Tanaka gathered in her survey suggests that dialect cosplay was shared by a larger group of people than just school friends. Whereas Rampton's participants did not exploit linguistic elements to invoke stereotypes, Tanaka's participants did so. Rampton's data was ethnographic and allowed to study face-to-face interaction in a particular social context, whereas dialect cosplay is more like a genre that is crucially based in texting. Both Tanaka and Rampton see the use of non-native repertoires as non-discriminating. Due to the standardization process, young people in Japan may no longer encounter diverse regional varieties in their everyday interactions. However, such variety continues to exist in texts or in audiovisual media, and it is from there that it enters into young people's repertoires. In Japan, discussions about ethnolinguistic boundaries are difficult to define, but in Yamashita's (2016) study of language in a mosque in the Kanto area, we find a variety of instances where Pakistani pupils switch to a second language variety of Japanese – a variety that resembles the speech of their parents' generation.

Role language, fictional styles and registers

Role language (*yakuwarigo*) is another field of research in Japan that studies linguistic forms associated with stereotypical speakers.[3] Such imagined speakers are prevalent in fiction, and language is used for the differentiation of and "building up" of fictional characters (Kinsui 2003). The most famous such role language is *rōjingo* (old men's language). It is very close to *hakasego* (PhD or scientist language). *Hakasego* is often assigned to male scientists with gray hair in a white doctor's lab coat. The first person pronoun is *washi*, and the sentence-final form *-ja* is used. Role-language forms often manifests through particular sentence-final particles that are called *kyara gobi* (social character final particles). It goes without saying that in real-life "old men" or "scientists" have never used such language. From historical evidence, Kinsui (2003) assumes that the prestige and power that certain western dialect speakers (some of whom had *washi* and *-ja* forms in their repertoire) had during the Meiji Period (1868–1912) led to the association between these linguistic elements and these specific roles. Other known sets of linguistic elements that Kinsui (2003) identified as role language include *joseigo* (women's language, a

generic term for all different subsets of women) and *kuruwa kotoba* (language of courtesans and prostitutes dating back to Edo Period, literally "language of the red-light districts"). Kinsui approaches the study of role language in two ways. One is to trace back the origin of such role language by using historical language documents. The other is to look at its use by past or present fictional characters. His research is based on written data that includes comics, newspapers, chronicles, diaries but also classic literature. He hardly examines spoken or interactional data, as he is more comfortable to postulate that the image created by role language is the product of writers and other artists (Kinsui, personal communication).

If one extends role language to all fictional registers that are associated with a particular gender, age or occupation, we can find many more roles than those identified by Kinsui. Role language, as a fictional register, can also be used in everyday social interactions. For example, in (5), two Pakistani boys shift to "teacher register" in Japanese. It is debatable whether teacher register here is made up on the spot or is part of a set role language. However, it is evident that the two boys share the same indexical association between the linguistic forms and the imagined character associated with them. Since their roles in the classroom are that of students, the boys are engaging here in a linguistic transgression. This shift challenges the authority of the teacher by appropriating the language associated with the teacher. ~~Note that the teacher in question, a South-Asian woman, does not know that pupils imitate her way of speaking.~~

(4)
01 Bilquis: Wait, I'll get the marker.
02   \<Mrs. Bilquis leaves the room>
03 Imran: \<whispers> *jibun no sutoresu kotchi ni butsukechattan da yo* ([Mrs. Bilquis has] burst out her own stress at us)
04 Imran: \<stops whispering, changes his tone> *dame da zo, kimī* (Hey yoooou, you shouldn't do that)
05 Khareem: *yūki ga areba nandatte dekiru* (with courage, you can accomplish anything)
06 Imran: *sō sō* (exactly)

(Adapted from Yamashita 2016: 266.)

Mrs. Bilquis scolds the class, and after returning to teaching, she leaves the classroom to grab a pen for the whiteboard (line 01). Imran whispers that Mrs. Bilquis was getting at them, and that she was in a bad mood. Then Imran lowers the pitch and utters the phrase (line 03) where the sentence-final form *-zo* and the word *kimi* index masculinity and communication between peers, or from superior to inferior. *Kimi* is not the second person pronoun used by the pupils either. They use *omae* to each other, and they usually address the teachers by *sensei* (teacher). Both are socio-pragmatically appropriate in Japanese. In some rare cases they use *anata* (formal, polite form), which is marginally acceptable. *Kimi*, on the other hand, indexes a superior position, a register associated with male superiors – be it seniors or teachers. In line 04, Khareem adds in a lower pitch voice what sounds like a teacher admonishing pupils, taking after what Imran has said. In so doing, the pupils are crossing into a fictional "senior register" which they usually do not use. They use it in the absence of the teacher in order to challenge her authority.

Usually, protagonists of manga and anime are portrayed as speakers of Standard Japanese, because the standard language facilitates readers' self-identification with the protagonists (Kinsui 2003: 51). At the same time, dialects are sometimes employed as role language in order to invoke regional stereotypes. For example, Kansai dialect can be used to express "crudeness"

or "openness", or to portray a character for being "a gourmand" or "talkative", etc. (Kinsui 2003: 82–83). Fictional dialect speakers tend to have an inferior status vis-à-vis the protagonist. More recently, we can witness this allocation of linguistic features to change. In present-day manga and anime, also protagonists occasionally switch to dialect. In addition, not all dialects use is employed to index stereotypes. Yuri Katsuki, the protagonist of the immensely popular anime series *Yuri!!! On Ice* (henceforth YOI) occasionally uses his native Kyushu dialect. Other Kyushu-born characters in YOI, especially by older characters, also use this dialect. That is to say, the protagonist Yuri and various sub-characters share the same dialect. It is arguable whether the Kyushu dialect is used to stress the stereotyped "bossiness" of Kyushu men, because Yuri uses Kyushu dialect from the start of the series when he is still portrayed as unconfident. In this case, the use of the Kyushu dialect is merely an indication of his geographical origin, rather than a means to define his character by linking language use to social stereotypes. Dialects may be assigned to characters in order to stress a geographical connection or to evoke an association with regard to their personal character. Ultimately, the interpretation of this rests with the audience, and they may come up with different conclusions according to their own language repertoires and language uses.

We can see that the association between dialect and regional stereotypes is opaque in the example of Michele Crispino, a fictional Italian figure skater in the YOI series. Crispino uses *washi* as his first person pronoun, and often uses *-ja* and *-jaken* as clause final forms. While both *washi* and *-ja* are also part of the *rōjingo* (old men role language), the use of *-jaken* indicates that Crispino is not using *rōjingo* but rather Hiroshima dialect. Hiroshima dialect is less well known, making it harder for the audience to come up with a stereotyped association for his character on the basis of his language use. Let us therefore consider reactions that were posted on Twitter where YOI viewers discuss Michele Crispino's use of Hiroshima dialect. We can notice altogether six different types of interpretation.

(5)
(a) Confusion: The viewers try to voice out and/or interpret the unconventional assignment of the Hiroshima dialect to someone not associated with Hiroshima, e.g., "Why is he using Hiroshima dialect when he is from Italy?"
(b) General positive evaluation: "Interesting mix", "initially surprised but now I got used to it and came to like it"
(c) Positive evaluation by associating it with one's own linguistic identity: e.g., "I like that someone is speaking my dialect"
(d) Interpretation – Reading the ideological analogy of standard/non-standard dichotomy, e.g., "My friend who lives in US told me that Italian-American English sounds like Hiroshima dialect", "maybe people from Naples, southern Italy, correspond with people from Hiroshima, in the western part of Japan"
(e) Authenticity judgment and approval/disapproval: Viewers use their linguistic knowledge to evaluate the authenticity of the dialectal forms, often accompanied with affective evaluation, e.g., "it sounds authentic", "I hate it because it sounds fake"
(f) Others: "As an Okayama person, it bugs me as I wonder whether it is Okayama dialect or Hiroshima dialect?" "I didn't realize it was a dialect until certain point", "I was wondering why he was speaking like an old man"

We see that Hiroshima dialect does not evoke one set stereotype shared among all viewers. If the author meant to utilize an existing stereotype to index a particular character, then this strategy has failed. However, it is significant that the use of dialect invokes a lot of fan

discussions and creates some sort of mystery to be discussed among fans. Once the stereotype attached to Hiroshima dialect speakers is detached from the regional background of the character, users are even free to show an affinity to an Italian character because he speaks the same dialect as they do (see 5(c)). The stereotype associated with Hiroshima dialect does not come into play here. There is also the possibility that Michele is assigned Hiroshima dialect/old men role language in order to stress the gap between the assumed "Italian stereotype", and the way Michele is actually portrayed in the series. During an inner monologue, he describes himself (in dialect) as "Italian but introvert". Meanwhile, in his "biographical information" on the official website of the series he states to be "a prudish virgin, contrary to the stereotype of Italian guys" (*itaria otoko no imēji o kutsugaesu kōha na dōtei*) and confesses to have a sister complex. It could therefore well be that the artist intended to portray him as "unsexy" or "conservative for his generation" and towards this end assigned him a dialect that shares features with old men role language. At the same time, there is also the possibility that the artist wanted to create an "interesting character" that has an unexpected mismatch between how viewers would assume him to be and how he actually is. This unexpectedness clearly shows in some of the reactions shown above. In Japan, dialects can thus be employed to create contested and layered meanings, even to foreign characters that have no geographical association to Japanese dialect areas. This unexpectedness reflects well how young Japanese associate themselves with dialects but also how anime and manga are consumed today. Anime and manga are not a unilateral production, flowing from author to the audience. Character design is more important than ever, because viewers, especially the fervent ones, also purchase limited edition products and reproduce the anime-content through secondary creation (*niji-sōsaku*), multiplying thereby the fandom (we will return to this further below). The portrayal of fictional characters today is an open, ambivalent and layered enterprise. Authors may in fact be exactly playing with these features to create multiple meanings that then become topics of discussion and resource in the fans' secondary reproductions of popular culture.

Race, ethnicity and Japanese language

Let us next consider examples of racial and ethnic forms of Japanese language that are perceived to various extent as fictional and that circulate in the Japanese-speaking media. Despite the transgression and emancipation from a one-on-one relationship between language and ethnicity that we discussed in previous sections, not all association between language and ethnicity is lost in Japan.

Aruyo kotoba

We find in Japan also role language that points at ethnic groups. *Aruyo kotoba* is a role language that is often used for Chinese and other exotic foreign characters (Kinsui 2003). Kinsui traces its origins to the *aruyo* form used in the 1878 textbook *Exercises in the Yokohama Dialect* by Bishop of Homoco.[4] Many phrases in the book have a pidgin feel to them because they lack verb inflexion. Either *aruyo* or *arimas* is attached to the dictionary verb form (*-ru* form), which is an ungrammatical construction. Kinsui (2003) doubts that there actually existed a person such as "Bishop of Homoco" and speculates that the book may have been supposed to be a joke. This notwithstanding, Kinsui notes that the use of *aruyo* can be observed in comics in the utterances of Chinese characters since the 1950s. *Aruyo* is simply added to the Standard Japanese predicate parts and auxiliary verbs are simplified. Most if not all readers of such books today are aware that second language Japanese speakers of Chinese origin do not speak like this.

English as a foreign-role language and stylization of "whiteness"

Besides role language, race or ethnicity can also be indicated by certain uses of English. English can be stylized through modification in orthography, phonetic articulation and intonation to evoke associations on the speaker. Black or white characters in fictions sometimes switch to English in otherwise entirely Japanese works of fiction. This, too, is a kind of "role language". It assigns and emphasizes racial or ethnic traits in order to underline the personality of a given character. If we stick to our example of YOI, we find there the Canadian figure skater Jean Jack "JJ" Leroy whose signature phrase is, in English, "It's JJ style". This phrase is used without phonological adaptation to Japanese. It may be seen as a display of narcissist over-confidence, an image that loosely connects to stereotypes of white men in Japan. Another example is Viktor Nikiforov, a Russian coach, who uses English words such as "amaaazing" (with a prolonged second vowel) also without any phonological adaptations to Japanese. One interpretation of this would be that the audience expects that Viktor and the Japanese protagonist skater Yuri cannot communicate in Japanese. However, Asian characters (Chinese, Korean, Thai, Kazakh) with whom Yuri would not be using Japanese either do not use this kind of phrase, or anything similar.

In written language, katakana script is often used for this type of "racialized Japanese". Users of language transcribed in katakana are often "white", less often "black" and far less Asians (Asians can traditionally be assigned *aruyo kotoba*). In spoken Japanese, such racial linguistic stylization is often expressed though American English articulation of Japanese. The Japanese moraic structure is abandoned in place of a syllable-based pronunciation. Vowels are lengthened or over-emphasized and the pitch accent is altered. For example, in Standard Japanese, the polite form of the copula *desu* is produced with a sharp falling intonation in affirmative, and the second vowel /u/ is devoiced. Meanwhile, in the stylized "white Japanese", the last syllable is voiced and lengthened. Such stylized "white Japanese" appears widely in animated series, TV dramas, TV advertisements, comedy performances, movies or as recorded voices of "white" Christian missionaries that can heard through loudspeakers on streets across Japan.[5]

Mock Korean

The spread of SNS has also opened up spaces for everyone to develop and share new virtual ethnolects, and the assignment of race and ethnicity via language does not only occur in neutral, "fun" or fictional contexts. These strategies are also used for discriminating motives. Racist and extreme rightist groups and individuals in Japan have targeted Resident Koreans in Japan as targets of hate speech and racist public demonstrations (see Taka 2015 for an overview). The fictional sentence-final form –*nida* (written in katakana) is commonly used as an element to create a fictional Korean ethnolect that is employed for derogatory purposes. It is mainly used on online discussion boards (such as the notorious 2ch discussion board), blogs, as well as kinds of tweets that engage in hate speech. *Nida* is likely to be derived from the Korean verb ending (-*mnida*). There is no evidence that Korean speakers have ever used –*nida* as a sentence-final form when speaking in Japanese (mock Korean in italics).

In (6) we see an example from such use from the 2ch discussion board.

(6)
uri wa sanryū kokka *nida*
(*We* are a third-class nation *nida*)

In example (6), *uri* and *nida* were written in katakana characters. Both are not Japanese words. *Uri* is a first person pronoun in Korean, which is used either as a subject or as a possessive marker. Korean phrases *uri mal* and *uri nara*, respectively, refer to "our (Korean) language" and "our (Korean) nation". Racist users are thus degrading Koreans by using *uri* – a term Koreans use with pride – in a derogatory sense.

Makoto Sakurai of the ultranationalist Japan First Party has been involved in numerous anti-Korean demonstrations, and he also ran for the Tokyo mayor election in 2016. He often uses *-nida*, when quoting, dubbing or voicing his opponents in sentences that are otherwise entirely in Standard Japanese. In (7) we have one of his tweets on a randomly chosen day.

(7)
Sukoshi zutsu desu ga yo no nagare ga kawari-tsutsu arimasu. Payoku-gawa wa "heito supīchi o tomeru-nida" to wameki chirashimasu ga, nihonjin wa baka de wa arimasen.
Albeit in small steps, the tide is changing. The "payoku" side screams out "stop the hate speech *nida*", but Japanese people aren't stupid […]

(12 December 2016.)

The word *payoku* which rhymes with *sayoku* (left wing) is rightist jargon to refer to "liberals" who are seen to be "siding" with resident Koreans. Hostility is expressed in the use of their own jargon, *payoku* and *-nida*. People referred to as *payoku* in this tweet include all Japanese who are not on Sakurai's side. Hence, while in (6) *-nida* was assigned to Koreans through direct indexicality, *payoku* in (7) is an example where it is assigned to leftists though indirect indexicality (Ochs 1992).

Mediatized translinguistic practices

Despite the monolingual stereotype of Japanese society, using or mixing two different languages is not an exclusive practice of bilinguals. Many "monolingual" Japanese speakers make use of (partial) knowledge of English and other languages in their social networks. Tokens from other languages are incorporated into everyday casual interaction, and this language use leaves traces in media. Previously, this kind of language use has been overlooked and has been simply labeled as "jargon" or studies as short-lived "buzzwords". Some may consider it to be the result of an influence of or aspiration for English, but there is actually no evidence for this. With the recently increased interest in and awareness of translanguaging (Garcia and Li Wei 2014), it is better understood how Japanese employ bits and pieces of foreign languages without being full-fledged users of these languages.

As is the case with loanwords, English is the most common source for linguistic items used in translinguistic practices in Japan. As English is taught in compulsory education, many Japanese have a large repertoire of English words and everyday interaction and discourses on Japanese media are full of these translinguistic practices. This phenomenon has existed for several decades by now, but these translinguistic practices have been made more visible and become frequent with the rise of SNS in the past two decades.

Translinguistic buzzwords of the past

English influence on buzzwords, product names, advertisements, popular songs, daily interactions, TV programs, dishes on the menu, etc. are a common sight in Japan. One of the

famous buzzwords of 1970s and 1980s, that is before the fervent discussions on globalization started, was *naui*, meaning "trendy". It is a combination of the English adjective "now" and the Japanese adjective ending *–i*. The mid-1990s saw another popular mixed phrase – ~~*chōberiba*~~, a clipped version of *chō berī baddo* (super very bad), where *chō* is Japanese (extremely) while *berī baddo* is the English ("very bad" adapted to Japanese articulation). ~~*Chōberiba*~~ became an iconic phrase of the then booming *gyaru* (gal) subculture, i.e., trend-setting urban teenage girls. These buzzwords were seen as deviant, but fun to use. They were never considered as signs of "bilingualism" or associated with "knowledge of English". It basically had nothing to do with English, or English-speaking culture. The media, especially TV, highlighted such language use, and while such buzzwords became widely known, they were still strongly associated with teenage girls.

Karaoke nau!

The introduction of SNS made translinguistic practices in everyday interactions more visible. It also showed how people other than teenage girls engage in creating and using neologisms. More than 25 million people use Twitter in Japan. It is so popular that Japanese tweets resulted in the crash of Twitter's servers when over 20,000 tweeted "Happy New Year" precisely at midnight in 2013. In the same year, 140,000 people tweeted "*barusu*" in one second, exactly at the time the word was uttered in a TV screening of an all-time favorite animation film of Japan.[6] This set a Twitter world record at the time. When there are earthquakes or severe weather conditions, many Japanese users use Twitter to report on it and to collect information.

The "pre-SNS buzzwords" *naui* and ~~*chōberiba*~~ were adjectives and adverbs. They were easy to use without violating either the grammar of Japanese or English because adjectives precede nouns in both languages. Things have changed. Today, we find translinguistic words which express time, finality or intention on Twitter or elsewhere that are often "violating" both English and Japanese grammar. Mediatized translinguistic practices are more widely spread today, too. They are no longer limited to or associated with young people or *gyaru*. Forms such as *nau* (now), *wazu* (was), *dan* (done) and *wiru* (will) are widely used to share the temporal flow of everyday life through SNS. They are written in hiragana, i.e., not marked as loanwords by choosing katakana. These terms usually follow names of places such as school, hospital, geographical locations, names of restaurants, events such as reunions, concerts, festivals or activities such as karaoke, shopping, golf, homework, etc. Examples of such language use are listed in (8).

(8)
Place names (Tokyo): *Tōkyō wazu*, *Tōkyō nau*, *Tōkyō dan*, *Tōkyō wiru*
Nouns (*shukudai*, homework): *shukudai wazu*, *shukudai nau*, *shukudai dan*, *shukudai wiru*
Events (*raibu*, live concert): *raibu wazu*, *raibu nau*, *raibu dan*, *raibu wiru*

Tōkyō wazu and *Tōkyō dan* means the user is about to leave Tokyo or has left Tokyo, respectively. *Tōkyō nau* means the user is already or has just arrived in Tokyo, while *Tōkyō wiru* indicates that someone is on the way or planning to go to Tokyo.

The words "violate" the grammars of both Japanese and English to some extent. First of all, *dan* (done) is not a word-to-word translation of *owatta* (finished), which would be used in an entirely Japanese utterance. "Done" corresponds more closely to Japanese *shita* (did/done). Furthermore, *dan* (done) is in English the past participle of the verb "to do" and this form does not appear without auxiliary verb (e.g., have done) independently. However, phrases where

"done" follows a noun without an auxiliary verb can be seen in informal writings (e.g., "conference done!"). Meanwhile, the verbs in these tweets come at the end, following Japanese syntax. Many Japanese speakers may be familiar how "done" is used in English when one is finished with doing something. We find the same pattern with *wazu* (was). Many Japanese speakers would use *kaeru* (going back) or *kaette-kita* (came back) when reporting their return. The verb forms *ita* and *imashita* (was) sound more objective, and distant physically and temporally, and of course an utterance such as "Tokyo was" in English is incomplete and basically devoid of meaning.

We can also find *nau*, *wazu*, *dan* and *wiru* after long nominal clauses such as in (9).

(9)
Ōe ana no otakara eizō ni me o kagayakaseru shōgatsu dan
The New Year holidays where (one) indulges in exclusive clips from broadcaster Ōe are over.
(Posted on Twitter by a user on 1 January 2012.)

These expressions do not seem to be "one-off calques", but have become part of unmarked language in SNS, where users report their momentary locations and activities through simple written text, often without addressing any particular individual. Note also, that such expressions do not occur in spoken bilingual interactions. Many users that apply these terms never tweet in English. Also, the use of these terms does not have the usual social or pragmatic motivations we can find in classic CS studies. At the time of writing, such practices had been online on various SNS platforms for at least six years, and they have not become obsolete. This does not seem to be a linguistic fad. What we have, instead, is a blurring of boundaries between monolingual and bilingual language use, and this points directly to the elasticity and flexibility of linguistic forms and language use in contemporary Japanese society.

Transliterated foreign language terms and phatic communication

In the age of SNS, foreign words, phrases or linguistic items are not replacements of their Japanese equivalents. They are semiotic resources that are used to construct identities and to engage in phatic communication (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). They are used as icons of solidarity and affinity in networks of users that are often not in face-to-face contact. The forms can have several meanings, and they can spread through different means.

Russia is a prominent country for figure skating, and some Japanese figure-skating fans, of which there are many in Japan, use certain phrases in the languages where famous figure skaters are from. Use of Russian such as ~~davai/ dabai~~ (let's go) can be observed in face-to-face communication among fans, but also in SNS. Such language use became notably more widely spread when YOI was broadcast on TV and the Internet. This fictional series centers on the Japanese male figure skater Yuri Katsuki who is competing at the international level. The broadcast of this series coincided with the real Grand Prix competition season in 2016, and it gained almost three million tweets in the first two months of its airing. Real-life international figure skaters across the globe also tweeted about this series, which brought it further attention among figure-skating fans and anime fans. Yuri Plisetsky (the protagonist's rival) and Viktor Nikiforov (the protagonist's coach) are important characters in the series. They usually speak in Japanese, but since they are Russian, they sometimes also utter Russian words such as *vkusno* (delicious) or ~~davai~~! (let's go!). On SNS fans started to use these expressions widely, and transliterated them

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in katakana as ~~huk*ū*suma~~ and *dabāi/davāi*, respectively. We can tell that these posts refer to YOI, because users also make several linguistic and iconic references to the series. Some account names include the phrases *dabāi/davāi* or ~~huk*ū*suma~~ itself, and/or use the Cyrillic alphabet. Some users tweeted ~~hukusuma~~ along photos of food they were eating that day. Many photos happen to be *katsu-don* (pork cutlet bowl – Yuri Katsuki's favorite dish) or Russian dishes such as *pirozhki* (the "comfort food" that Yuri Plisetsky's grandfather prepares for him in the series). Fans identify themselves through such semiotic resources, and use them for expressing and sharing their affection for the series with others. It goes without saying that users know that these words are Russian, and that these expressions are also not used to communicate with Russians. These terms are used to share an affinity towards this anime series, and these terms come in handy as emblems of their appreciation and as a means to identify as a fan.

Outlook

In Japan, we do not find much discussion on race and ethnicity, because Japan is thought of as a racially and culturally homogeneous country. Ethnic and cultural diversity does of course exist in Japan (Fujita-Round and Maher 2017), and Japanese society is in fact further diversifying at the present. As an effect thereof, the once undisputed dichotomy between "Japanese" and "non-Japanese" is becoming fuzzier, and this raises the question of how to deal with this in sociolinguistic research. Rather than applying western notions of racial and cultural diversity to the case of Japan, and of uncritically linking them with mainstream sociolinguistic ideas and terminology, one needs to examine how diversity actually relates to and manifests in contemporary Japanese society. An entirely new way to approach this topic is that of "metroethnicity" (Maher 2005) and "metrolingualism" (see Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). These "metro" ideas emerged in academic discourse as a means to make sense of how speakers actually use the different linguistic resources that are available to them. It stresses that metrolingualism and metroethnicity is not necessarily only a means of self-representation, neither is it simply about transgressing social and linguistic boundaries. Similar in line, but with more focus on the creativity of linguistic forms is the concept of "translanguaging" (Garcia and Li 2014). Meanwhile, focusing on the flexibility and the diversity of language use alone does not eliminate issues of racism or linguicism as we could see above. For this reason, the study of such phenomena needs also to be critical. There are other problems of methodology. Metrolingualism involves ethnography, but the study of texting and written language does not match well with ethnography. Analyzing texting in the narrow confines of "role language" and "dialect cosplay" blocks the expansion of these phenomena to also include, for example, issues of language and social justice.

With the strong bias in linguistics towards spoken language, we have not yet attained a method that is up-to-date with the study of communication in contemporary society. A good point of departure to expand the field is media studies and language ideology. In many examples of mediatized translinguistic phenomena, we saw various social and semiotic associations being created by users of SNS platforms. Some linguistic forms may be fun, casual and friendly like in the case of dialect cosplay, others are hostile and dehumanizing as in the case of "mock Korean". From a linguistic perspective, the crossover between spoken language, texting and written language calls for more attention. Here, too, we can already find a range of approaches to start with (e.g., Iwasaki 2015; Sadanobu 2011). Applying these is important to create a new vision of linguistic and sociolinguistic study, one that is inclusive of all languages and individuals in Japan and, what is more, that deals with language as it is actually used in the real world in which we currently live.

Notes

1 Jeju–Korean refers to Jeju language, a Koreanic language spoken in the Jeju Province in South Korea. Jeju was one of the three main provinces of origin for colonial migration of Korean laborers to Japan. In her discussion on code-switching, Kim (2003) includes Jeju-Korean under Korean, but make notes of some Jeju-specific forms.
2 Greer uses the term "multiethnic Japanese" to refer to the participants in his study. For a review and discussion on various terms used to refer to people with both non-Japanese origins and Japanese origins, see Okamura (2013, 2016).
3 The issue of assigning different varieties in translations has been previously discussed by Hiramoto (2009), and the topic of "over-feminization" in translated works and dubbed TV dramas is discussed by Nakamura (2013).
4 Honmoku is still a name of a district in Yokohama City today.
5 A representative example of this can be found online by searching "*perī kaikoku shite kudasai*" on Google. The results refer to a popular audio comedy (source unknown) acting as Matthew C. Perry, the Commodore of the United States Navy who pressured Japan to open its doors in mid–nineteenth century.

  Two examples of what is meant here by "voices of white Christians on streets and in unexpected places" come immediately to mind. One is the "Christian style" marriage ceremony in Japanese wedding halls, where a Caucasian man takes the role of the priest marrying the couple. The second are tape-recorded religious speeches. Such speeches can at times be heard on streets via loud speakers.
6 *Barusu* is an incantation in the popular animation film *Tenku no shiro rapyuta* (*Castle in the Sky*), directed by Hayao Miyazaki in 1986. The two protagonists, Pazu and Sēhta, recite this at the climax of the story, as they decide to destroy the flying castle rather than handing it over to the villain, Colonel Muska. During the 2011 screening of this film on TV, Twitter recorded 25,088 tweets of *barusu* in one second, making it a world record. In a 2013 TV screening, this multiplied and arrived at 143,199 tweets per second (*The Economist* 2013).

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