

EXAMINATION OF THE QUOTATIVE MARKERS *LIKE*, *MITAINA* AND THEIR CO-OCCURRENCE IN JAPANESE/ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

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1. Introduction

Linguists have often described language as if it were an internally consistent whole, drawing data from monolingual speakers in homogeneous speech communities. No language group, however, has ever existed in isolation from other language groups. Bilingualism today is a phenomenon present in every country of the world, in all classes of society, and in all age groups (Grosjean, 1982: 1). Speakers of multiple languages defy the conception of language as a single invariant system. Code-switching, the concurrent use of two or more linguistic varieties within a single conversational turn or a sentence, is one such phenomenon (Meyer-Scotton, 2006: 800). This study investigates code-switching involving quotations within the speech of thirty-one Japanese/English bilingual international school students. The paper draws on the existing literature on quotative markers and tests previous monolingual findings about Japanese quotative markers against my new bilingual dataset⁴². In so doing, I attempt to explore features of quotative markers that are language-specific and cross-linguistic between Japanese and English, thus offering a more nuanced picture of human language.

The sociolinguistic literature often cites instances of bilingual speakers code-switching at the boundary between quotations and the forms that introduce or mark the quotations (henceforth “markers”) as in:

- (1) He **says** “*Ye hi medsin kentinyu kero bhai*” [Gumperz, 1977: 15]
He **says** “*Continue taking this medicine, friend*”

Code-switching sets off reported speech against its surrounding conversational context and serves as a narrative device (Auer, 1995: 119; Sebba and Wooton, 1998: 274). Alfonzetti (1998: 205) views code-switching as a linguistic tool that marks a change in “footing,” when a speaker shifts from saying something himself to reporting another’s speech, thereby expressing the polyphony of discourse. **Gardner-Chloros** (2009: 75) similarly claims that the function of code-switching is to frame a question as marking the quotation twice over – once with the quotative verb and then with the change in language.

⁴² Unless otherwise attributed, all examples are taken from data I collected during the summer of 2010 at an international school in Yokohama, Japan (See section 5).

The code-switch not only marks the boundary between quotative verb and the quote itself, but also gives the speaker another voice; even the use of a single word in another variety can introduce the sense of momentarily invoking another persona or identity (p. 177).

Japanese/English code-switching around quotations, moreover, includes an additional layer of framing due to the syntactic difference between Japanese (Subject-Object-Verb) and English (Subject-Verb-Object). Switches between the two languages are potential violators of Poplack's (1988: 219) equivalence constraint, which requires that the surface word order of the two languages be homologous in the vicinity of the switch point. Conventionally, the monolingual Japanese speaker places the quotative marker *after* the quotation as in:

- (2) "*Aa chotto shabereru yo*" **mitaina**. [Fujii, 2006: 75]
 "Well, I can speak a little" **mitaina**.

The monolingual English speaker, on the other hand, places the quotative marker *before* the quotation as in:

- (3) And she's **like** "Um... Well, that's cool." [Romaine & Lange, 1991: 227]
 This paper discusses, among other things, a phenomenon in which Japanese/English bilinguals, in addition to switching codes, places both English and Japanese quotative markers respectively *before* and *after* the single quotation as in:

- (4) She was **like** "Hey, you were really good at the concert" **mitaina**. [3.1]
 She was **like** "Hey, you were really good at the concert" **mitaina**.
 (5) My mom's **like** "*Anta nihonjin no kuse ni nande nihongo shaberenaino?*" **mitaina**. [3.31]
 My mom's **like** "*How come you can't speak Japanese even though you are Japanese?*" **mitaina**.

This doubling of the quotative markers applies to quotations that are primarily or completely in English, as shown in example (4), and for quotations that are primarily or completely in Japanese, as shown in example (5).

Unlike monolingual speakers, Japanese/English bilingual speakers have the choice of alternating between *mitaina* (example 2) or *like* (example 3), or using both simultaneously to frame a single quotation (examples 4-5). Despite the separate existing research on the quotative markers *mitaina* (Suzuki, 1995; Maynard, 2005; Fujii, 2006; Kato, 2010) and *like* (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009; Buchstaller, et al.; 2010) among respective monolingual speakers, no previous study has examined the two quotative markers together in the speech of bilinguals. Moreover, prior research on Japanese quotative markers has primarily focused on one quotative variant at a time and failed to examine each in the context of other competing variants. This paper fuses two active lines of linguistics research – studies on how quotations are framed in speech (ie. of quotative markers) and how people code-switch. For the first time, it examines the occurrence and co-occurrence of quotative markers *mitaina* and *like* in Japanese/English code-switching against the totality of their competing variants *to/te*, *toka* and *say*.

2. The Japanese quotative marker *mitaina*

Suzuki (1995: 55) first observed the use of sentence-final *mitaina* among Japanese people in their teens and twenties in 1990. According to Suzuki, the sentence-final *mitaina* originates from the postposing of the noun-modifying form of the auxiliary *mitai* 'seem like, appear to be, look like' (p. 57). The four functions of the auxiliary *mitai* include: 1) evidential; expressing that the preceding statement is based on the speaker's speculation, 2) expressing similarity, 3) giving examples, and 4) hedge. From these four functions, Suzuki derives the central meaning of *mitaina* as 'close to the truth' (p. 59). Extending this definition, Suzuki argues that sentence-final *mitaina* has two primary functions in conversation – a discourse marker that signals a unit that elaborates on a statement made in another part of the conversation and expresses the speaker's distance from the content of the unit. In explaining the latter definition of distance, Suzuki cites examples of *mitaina* as a quotative marker.

- (6) *Fujisaki tomatte iku tte. Fujisaki furo haittetta. "Jaa jaa ore furo hairu waa. Ore furo hainnaito dame nan da yo ne" mitaina.* [Suzuki, 1995: 63]

Fujisaki said that he would stay overnight. Fujisaki went in to take a bath. "Well, well, then I'm going to take a bath. I can't not take a bath, you know" mitaina.

Mitaina follows the quotation and marks Fujisaki's speech. Because the voice is attributed to another character and does not represent the speaker's own experience or subjective views, Suzuki argues, the speaker feels distanced from what is marked by *mitaina* (p. 64). According to Suzuki, this **quotative** use and the resulting distance effect extends to the expression of one's own feelings as well.

- (7) *Ano kurasu ni haitte iku toki ni nanka sugoku ne nanka isshuu no omosa wo kanjite jibun ga koochoku-shita yoo ni naru... "koko de wa amari mono wo iitakunai na" mitaina.* [Suzuki, 1995: 64]

When I go into that classroom, I feel the heaviness of those around me strongly and I become sort of stiff... "I don't want to say very much here" mitaina.

In Suzuki's view, reporting one's own thoughts in the same manner one reports another's speech using *mitaina* suggests the speaker's objectification and emotional distancing from the content of the quotation.

Ten years after Suzuki's article, Maynard (2005: 847) reported the spread of *mitaina* – a discourse marker used to insert speech within a conversation – from youth culture to the mature adult segment, as evidenced in her 2003 data. Maynard reinforces Suzuki's definition of distancing; the approximating meaning of *mitaina* allows the speaker to report speech without making a commitment to what is being said, giving the impression of adding a disclaimer (p. 848). Maynard adds another dimension to the distancing effect. Because *mitaina* acts like a disclaimer and reduces the speaker's responsibility for uttering the quotation, the speaker can take a more direct tone within the quotation and still maintains face. The speaker speaks in double-voiced discourse – the inserted conversation and the conversation-in-progress as its frame. Maynard suggests that the use of *mitaina* thus dramatizes a more vivid representation of speaker's voice within the quotation, including paralinguistic features like intonations and accents.

- (8) *Kimono wo tsutsunda washizutsumi wo kakaete, "Sa, kaerotto!" mitaina.* [Maynard, 2005: 855]

Holding the folded kimono wrapped in Japanese rice paper, "So, I'm going home now!" mitaina.

The quotation in example (7) illustrates a style that a young, outgoing woman may choose. *Mitaina*-insertion transforms conversation into a demonstration, depicting the situation in livelier and more dramatic terms than otherwise would be the case (p. 855).

Fujii (2006) illustrates the use of utterance-final *mitaina* as a pragmatic marker for quoting thought and speech. Unlike Maynard (2005) who focuses on the polyphony of discourse, Fujii expands on Suzuki's (1995) claim that the approximating meaning of *mitaina* allows speakers to use *mitaina* to report inner thoughts and feelings. Fujii argues that when quoting, the speaker virtually reconstructs somebody's inner monologue, representing that speaker's attitude, reactions, feelings and interpretations, but not necessarily what was actually uttered (p. 61). Quotation is only virtual and approximate, and is neither **completely** precise nor faithful to the original speech or thoughts and feelings (p. 90). According to Fujii, quotations are interpretive in nature rather than literal. Fujii re-defines the distancing effect of *mitaina* as a lack of commitment to the truth and authenticity of the quotation. Consequently, the speaker is able to describe a situation or entity with heightened attitudinal overtones using *mitaina*.

Matsumoto (2010) agrees with Fujii (2006) that the speech preceding *mitaina* is not a precise reproduction of the original speech. It is rather the speaker's construction and performance that **represent** his or her observation and comment on the situation depicted in the conversation. Matsumoto calls this performed speech "constructed speech"; contrary to assumptions of previous studies, constructed speech is not a quotation or approximation of someone's actual or imagined speech (p. 4). Matsumoto cites examples of *mitaina* that mark the speech of a person whom the speaker has never met or who may never actually exist. *Mitaina* qualifies how the speaker represents her impression or viewpoint to the addressee in the speech event, rather than signal an evidential expression. The animating function of a constructed speech invites greater involvement from the listener and increases inter-subjectivity.

3. The English quotative marker *like*

In one of the earliest papers on *like* as a quotative marker, Lange (1985) shows the high frequency of *like* in the colloquial speech of adolescents and young adults under the age of thirty. Romaine and Lange (1991) document the ongoing grammaticalization and the emergence of quotative *like* to mark reported speech and thought in American English. Grammaticalization (Traugott & Heine, 1991) is a type of language change whereby lexical items increase syntacticization and lose morphosyntactic independence to acquire new status as grammatical forms. This unidirectional process begins with the use of *like* as a preposition that takes a nominal or pronominal complement. *Like*, for instance, undergoes recategorization and becomes used as conjunction or complementizer. Since *like* can appear as a suffix as well as precede a clause or sentence, it is then reanalyzed as a discourse marker showing detachability and positional mobility (Romaine & Lange, 1991: 261). The paper argues that the meanings of the non-quotative discourse *like* - 'for example', 'approximate' and 'similarity' - contribute to the quotative use of *like* (p. 245). The marker evokes examples of what might have been said or thought on occasions in the past or in the hypothetical future. Quotative *like* moreover shares the ambiguity of scope –

whether the listener would interpret a quotation introduced by *like* as speech or thought is unclear.

Upon examining the alternation between *like* and other verbs of saying such as *go* and *say*, Romaine and Lange (1991) claim that *like* demarcates roles in the speech event and indicates speaker subjectivity (p. 242). *Like* is more often used for self-representation (58% of the cases), whereas *say* is more often used for the speech of others (83%) (p. 243). Romaine and Lange suggest that *like* captures the emotive affective aspects of speech when retelling an event. The use of *like* moreover does not seem to commit the speaker to the actual occurrence of what is reported; the speech event is rather viewed as a dramatic exchange (p. 242).

Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) build on the initial observations by Romaine and Lange (1991) and confirm that the quotative *like* overshadows all other forms among speakers under age thirty. Data collected in 2003 by Jones and Schieffelin (2009: 88) support this finding; among 248 university students between ages 18-22, *like* represented 75% of all quotative tokens dominating all competing variants. According to their study of 6,300 quotative tokens from a total of 199 speakers ages 9-87, internal dialogue consistently favors *like* over direct speech. Perhaps for this reason, high correlation exists between *like* and first person quotations.

(9) SPEECH: I showed mine to my boyfriend and he was **like** "You didn't make that".
[Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009: 296]

(10) THOUGHT: I'm **like** "Okay, I gotta pretend like something happened, think something, think something" right? [Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 211]

However, examination of individual age groups show that the pragmatic effect of inner thought favoring *like* is the weakest among the youngest group (ages 17-19). Tagliamonte and D'Arcy hypothesize that although *like* first entered the quotative system carrying strong pragmatic correlations, this effect may be weakening.

Buchstaller et al. (2010: 211) also record a sharp rise in the frequency of quotative *like* after 1995 that continues to rise until its peak in 2006. Confirming the predictions made by Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), *like* introduces speech and thought in almost equal proportions, and introduces a new category that they call 'stereotypes' – characterizations of people or situation through quotes without actually attributing words or specific thoughts to them (p. 207). Jones and Schieffelin (2009: 105) also document instances of *like* marking gestures, facial expressions and non-verbal sounds in the data collected in 2006.

(11) When you see like a bunch of hick families and the parents are **like** "gra:::h" [Jones & Schieffelin, 2009: 90]

These highly dramatic and expressive features, such as iconic representation and mimetic enactments, set *like* apart from traditional markers, such as *say* and *go*, that are used virtually exclusively for true quotes i.e. speech.

4. *Mitaina* and *like*

Suzuki (1995) first draws the comparison between non-quotative Japanese *mitaina* and English *like*. Despite their strong similarities, she notes that *mitaina* elaborates on the previous statement it marks off whereas *like* contributes the most significant new information (p. 71). Suzuki suggests that perhaps this difference is due to their different

lengths of development; *mitaina* may still retain its original function strongly whereas *like* may have undergone further grammaticalization. Maynard (2005: 846) briefly notes the similarity between *mitaina* and *like* as quotative markers and their frequent use by adolescents in Japan, USA and England, but does not provide further information.

The existing literature claims that quotative *mitaina* in Japanese and quotative *like* in English function to introduce direct speech and thought. In comparison to their competing variants, both quotative markers seem to increase the expression of speakers' emotions and dramatize the content of their quotations. Japanese speakers achieve this through a type of distancing whereby speakers intentionally distance themselves from the content of the quote and remain noncommittal to the truth and authenticity of the quotation. This removes the pressure to reproduce original utterances precisely and allows Japanese speakers to freely interpret, dramatize and reconstruct the speech and thought of self and others using *mitaina*. Consequently, the distancing process achieves a seemingly contradictory effect of allowing speakers to insert or construct speech and thought more freely, directly and perhaps strongly with increased emotion. English speakers, on the other hand, seem to increase the expressivity of quotations by using *like* to introduce first person thought. As *like* undergoes further grammaticalization, however, this effect seems to weaken and English speakers instead achieve dramatization by inserting iconic representations, such as facial expressions and mimetic enactments within the quotations. The two markers thus seem to achieve a similar end, despite exploiting different means.

5. My data

In the summer of 2010, I returned to my alma mater in Yokohama, Japan, to conduct fourteen sociolinguistic interviews with thirty-one bilingual international school students (ages 15-18). Kite (2001) argues that international high school students in Japan are near-balanced bilinguals who use intra-sentential code-switching as the unmarked choice for informal communication with friends. To ensure fluency in Japanese/English code-switching among participants, I selected International Baccalaureate (IB) Bilingual Diploma candidates enrolled in both IB Japanese and English classes. With the consent of the school administration and parents, I recruited students through a small in-class presentation describing my research. The students participated in approximately one-hour long interviews with me, a native Japanese/English bilingual. All students were compensated financially for their participation.

Interviews consisted of two to three classmates at a time since some of the richest recordings of vernacular speech are obtained through group sessions (Labov, 1981). To collect quotative-rich data, I asked questions that elicited narratives of personal experiences from interviewees⁴³. All interview questions [see Appendix] were prepared prior to the interviews and code-switches between Japanese and English. Question topics covered peers, dating, family, school, fear, dreams adopted from "Characteristic network of modules for adolescent or young adult speakers" (Labov, 1981: 35). The audio recordings yielded 562 quotations total, including 122 tokens of *mitaina*, 317 tokens of *like*, and 60 tokens of *like-mitaina* co-occurrence.

6. Findings

6.1 Competing variants of the quotative markers *mitaina* and *like*

⁴³ As Labov (1984: 32) notes, "narratives of personal experiences [are] where community norms and styles of personal interaction are most plainly revealed, and where style is regularly shifted towards the vernacular".

Of the 562 quotations recorded, 291 quotations were primarily Japanese, 217 quotations were primarily English, 41 quotations were Japanese/English code-switching and 13 quotations were nonverbal gestures. The proportion of Japanese and English quotations reflects the students' daily language use. The bilinguals generally use Japanese at home with family members, English at school with teachers and code-switch among friends and classmates.

First, the data illustrate the most frequent quotative markers and their competing variants in each language. *Like* is the most frequent English marker with a total of 317 tokens (91%). Its alternate variants include *say* (16 tokens; 4%) and *go* (3 tokens; 1%). *Mitaina* or *to/tte*⁴⁴ are the most frequent Japanese quotative markers with 122 tokens (37%) each. The third competing Japanese variant is *toka* (75 tokens; 22%). Whereas *like* is the single most dominant English markers, the Japanese markers are more equally distributed between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka*. The frequency gradient of the Japanese markers suggests that speakers are discriminating between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* when choosing a marker to frame a quotation.

Japanese quotative markers		English quotative markers	
<i>mitaina</i>	122 (37%)	<i>like</i>	317 (91%)
<i>to/tte</i>	122 (37%)	<i>say</i>	16 (4%)
<i>toka</i>	75 (22%)	<i>go</i>	3 (1%)
unframed	13 (4%)	unframed	13 (4%)
TOTAL	332	TOTAL	349

Table 1. Variants of Japanese and English quotative markers

6.2 Comparing *mitaina* with its variants *to/tte* and *toka*

The relatively balanced distribution between *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* suggests qualitative differences between the variants. In comparison to *mitaina*, studies on the quotative particle *to/tte* and *toka* (Ohori, 1995, 2000; Okamoto, 1995; Hayashi, 1997; Suzuki, 1999; Kato, 2010) have focused on their role in reporting direct speech, for instance, quoting utterances, marking hearsay, and repeating interlocutor's speech. Itani (1994: 385) describes *to/tte* as quotative markers that append to utterances whose propositional forms are attributed directly not to thoughts, but to spoken or written utterances. Hayashi (1997: 3) reports that all instances of sentence-final *to/tte* in his database contain explicit mentions of verbs of saying in immediately preceding lines. Maynard (2007) also cites every instance of *to/tte* and *toka* with the verbs of saying and contrasts them against the quotative *mitaina* that appears without such verbs. Suzuki (2007: 210) claims that the base property of quotative *to/tte* is to reproduce someone's utterance approximately if not exactly. To explicate, Suzuki provides an example of how speakers use *to/tte* to quote an immediately preceding utterance by the second-person interlocutor. Such patterns of quoting using *to/tte* are also found in the present data –

⁴⁴ *Tte* is often described as a colloquial variant of *to* (Hayashi, 1997; Kato, 2010). The current data includes 13 tokens of *to* and 122 tokens of *tte*; the greater frequency of *tte* is due to the informal style of the interviews. This study treats the two quotative markers as different realizations of essentially the same particle and refers to *to/tte* together.

- (12) A: *Mata* “PowerPoint isn’t perfect so don’t use it” *mitaina*.
 M: *E, douiu imi?* “PowerPoint isn’t perfect” *tte*. [2.30-31]

A: *Again* “PowerPoint isn’t perfect so don’t use it” *mitaina*.
 M: *Uh, what do you mean?* “PowerPoint isn’t perfect” *tte*.

In example (12), speaker A marks with *mitaina* the quotation of a teacher who prohibits the students’ use of PowerPoint slides for a homework assignment. The addressee M then asks for clarification of the teacher’s utterance by immediately using *tte* and quoting A’s speech verbatim. We can judge the accuracy of M’s reporting in this particular scene, because the original utterance immediately precedes the quotation. This example supports the literature that claims that *to/tte* and *toka* function to report true quotes with increased evidentiality and commitment to authenticity, compared with *mitaina*, which interprets and re-constructs quotations.

The examples of *mitaina* (example 13), *to/tte* and *toka* (example 14) below also highlight the speaker’s differing degrees of commitment to the authenticity of the quotations when using each quotative marker.

- (13) M: You want to check if you are right or not *jan*. *Sonde mitetara nanka, nandakke, U ga* “*Ha, omae nani yattenndayo, omae cheat shitenjaneeyo*” *mitaina*. *Nanka iwarete. “E?” mitaina. Sonde* she gave me detention. [2.51-2]

M: You want to check if you are right or not, *you know. So I was looking, what was it, U, “What, what are you doing? You better not be cheating” mitaina. (I) was told something. “Huh?” mitaina. And then she gave me detention.*

- (14) A: I knew it was me, I mean I’m the one who planned it and actually did it with my friends. *De nanka itte, de, “T, morattano, choko?” toka itte. Shitara “Un” tte. De “Darekara? Darekara?” ttara. “Sorega kaiteinaindayo” toka itte. “Ja, makasetokeyo” tte. “Kyo no owarimade ni orega sagashitoku kara” toka itte. De gakko sono ichinichi owatte hokugoni “T, T, wakattayo” tte. De taneakashi sunno.* [12.24-29]

A: I knew it was me, I mean I’m the one who planned it and actually did it with my friends. *And then (I) said like, and then, “T, did you get chocolates?” toka said. Like and then “yeah” tte. Then, “From who? From who?” ttara. “It actually isn’t written” toka said. “Well then, leave it to me” tte. “I’ll find out by the end of the day today” toka said. And then at the end of the school day, after school, “T, T, I know” tte. And then I reveal the secret.*

Both conversations are primarily Japanese and speakers use the variants *mitaina* (example 13), *to/tte* and *toka* (example 14). Speakers M and A animate their narration by inserting multiple voice of the third-person characters and the self. In example (13), a high school student M narrates how a female Teacher U falsely accused her of cheating and gives her detention. *Mitaina* marks the utterance, “What, what are you doing? You better not be cheating”. “*Ha*”, “*omae*” and “*-janeeyo*” are all conventionally male-style register that lack politeness and formality, and in the context of a classroom, would be completely inappropriate means for a female teacher to address her student. The quotation is clearly an exaggerated construction of Teacher U’s internal thoughts upon seeing a student’s delinquent behavior. The utterance moreover depicts Teacher U as a villain, viewing her

from the perspective of the victimized speaker M. In this way, we can assume that the quotation marked by *mitaina* is an interpretation and creation of speaker M upon retelling the story.

On the contrary, example (14) illustrates the repeated use of *to/tte* and *toka*. Speaker A recounts a story of how he pulled a prank on his classmate T by sending him fake chocolates on Valentine's Day. In the dialogue with T, speaker A promises to look for his secret admirer and finally reveals the truth at the end of the school day. Unlike the case in example (13), both speakers A and T use appropriate registers for teenage boys in their respective quotations. Speaker A continuously addresses T's name, modeling spoken dialogue rather than internal thought. Whereas example (13) uses the verb *say* ("iu") once, example (14) uses this verb four times. The quotatives *tte* and *toka* attached to the verb *say* ("iu") alternate repeatedly, supporting previous findings that predict a strong association between *to/tte*, *toka* and the verbs of saying.

Whether an utterance actually occurred or whether the speaker's quotation remains faithful to the original utterance can never be fully verified within the scope of these two examples. The content of the quotations and verbs of saying, however, provide clues that suggest interpretation and construction of thought in example (13) and relatively authentic approximation or reporting of speech using *to/tte* and *toka* in example (14). The two examples reflect a repeating pattern in my data – the tendency for *mitaina* to mark interpreted and constructed quotations often in the form of thought versus the tendency for *to/tte* and *toka* to report true, authentic quotations often in the form of speech. We will return to this discussion of speech and thought in Section 6.5.

6.2 Examining the language of the quotation and the quotative markers

As reported earlier, the present data consists of 291 primarily Japanese quotations, 217 primarily English quotations, 41 code-switched quotations and 13 nonverbal gestures. The English marker *like* is the single most frequent quotative marker regardless of the language of the quotation. *Like* (120 tokens; 34%) is the most frequent marker for Japanese quotations followed by *to/tte* (109 tokens; 31%). *Like* (159 tokens; 60%) is the most frequent marker for English quotations followed by *mitaina* (46 tokens; 15%). The disproportionately high frequency of *like* – extremely popular in the English of younger people in North America, England, and other parts of the world – suggests that this marker frames all types of quotations for these young Japanese bilinguals, regardless of their language.

As shown in Figure 1, *like* is also the dominant marker of nonverbal gesture in my corpus (14 tokens; 93%). Previous studies (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009) have observed the high frequency of *like* to introduce nonverbal mimetic performances or enactments among monolingual English speakers. *Like* presents gestures, facial expressions and other iconic representations that distinguishes it from traditional markers such as *say*. This mimetic function of *like* remains consistent in my Japanese/English bilingual data. The bilingual speaker even inserts culture-specific gestures, such as the American z-formation snapping (example 15) and Japanese bowing (example 16).

(15) I said something which didn't make sense, and he was **like** "(snapping fingers in a Z-formation)". [5.35]

(16) Yeah during the game and me, I was **like** "(repeated bowing)". [14.82]

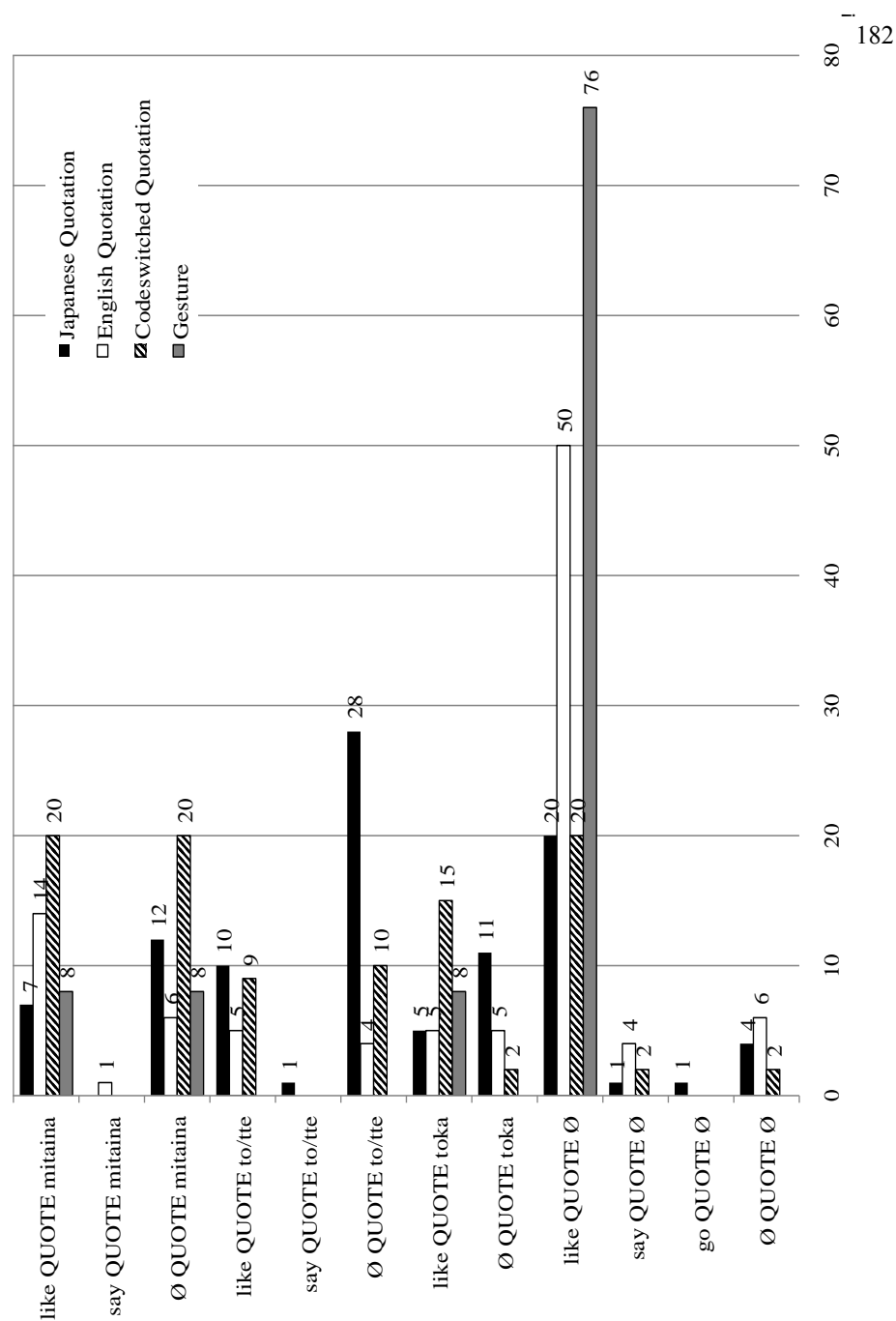


Figure 1. The relative frequency of all quotative variant pairs across Japanese quotation, English quotation, codeswitched quotation and non-verbal gesture

In example (15), the speaker herself snaps her fingers in a z-formation with a facial expression showing attitude to mimic her teacher. In example (16), the Japanese speaker accidentally hits a ball too far in a volleyball match and subsequently bows to express apology. Although the action of bowing is specific to Japanese culture, the English *like* nevertheless marks the quotation emphasizing the dominant use of *like* regardless of the language it marks.

Japanese monolingual studies (Suzuki, 1995; Maynard, 2005) have also noted the function of *mitaina* to frame mimetic enactments; however, no specific examples have been cited. Suzuki also notes that demonstrations of facial expressions or gestures have

not been found (p. 69). The bilingual speakers' almost exclusive choice of *like* over *mitaina* in framing mimetic enactments suggest that this is a distinct function of *like* that does not overlap with *mitaina*.

The high frequency of *like* in introducing nonverbal gesture is one example. On a more global level, the disproportionately high frequency of *like* regardless of the content of quotation agrees with predictions of previous researchers (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Suzuki, 1995; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007) that *like* continues to undergo the later stages of or have undergone grammaticalization. Loss of semantic complexity or pragmatic significance and increase in abstractness of meaning (Traugott & Heine, 1991) characterizes these later stages. Matsumoto (2010) argues that *mitaina* follows the grammaticalization pattern of *like*, but is still in its earlier stages. My corpus suggests that *like* has undergone grammaticalization longer than any of the Japanese variants and consequently serves as an all-purpose marker compatible with quotations of both verbal and nonverbal Japanese, English and mixed languages.

6.3 Code-switches at boundaries between quotations and quotative markers

Historically, the literature on code-switching has cited numerous instances of bilingual speakers switching language at the boundary between the quotative marker and the quotation. (Auer 1995; Sebba & Wooton, 1998; Gardner-Chloros, 2009). The present data also includes such examples as in:

(17) "Wow, what is this?" *mitaina*. [6.23]

Quantitative analysis of the data, however, suggests that despite the abundant examples of such code-switches in the literature, the languages of the quotative marker and the quotation are more likely to remain consistent than not. Again, the syntactic difference between Japanese and English allows the bilingual speaker to code-switch twice, *before* and *after* the quotation, as in:

English quotative marker [switch] **Quotation** [switch] **Japanese quotative marker**

As table 2 illustrates, a switch into Japanese quotation following an English marker occurred total of 124 times, whereas the language remained the same with no codeswitch in 170 instances. An English quotation switched into a Japanese quotative marker in 85 instances, whereas the language remained the same with no codeswitch 213 times. This general trend is true for every quotative variant, supporting the claim that switches occur relatively less frequently than no switches.

Table 2. The frequency of codeswitches between quotation and quotative marker

English quotation [switch] Japanese quotative marker		
<i>mitaina</i>	46	“Wow, what is this?” <i>mitaina</i> . [6.23]
<i>to/tte</i>	21	“I’m gonna be your damn dam guide for you” <i>toka</i> . [12.34]
<i>toka</i>	18	“I need love from you” <i>tte</i> . [8.9]
TOTAL	85	
English quotative marker [switch] Japanese quotation		
like	120	I’m like “ <i>Muda, muda, muda</i> ”. [5.46] I’m like “ <i>Wasteful, wasteful, wasteful!</i> ”
say	4	Just came up and said “ <i>Anata ni hitomebore shimashita</i> ”. [14.7] Just came up and said “ <i>I fell in love with you at first sight</i> ”.
TOTAL	124	
Japanese quotation [no switch] Japanese quotative marker		
<i>mitaina</i>	58	“ <i>Nani koistu?</i> ” <i>mitaina</i> . [10.64] “ <i>Who does she think she is?</i> ” <i>mitaina</i> .
<i>to/tte</i>	46	“ <i>Kore irimasuka?</i> ” <i>tte</i> . [3.26] “ <i>Do you need this?</i> ” <i>tte</i> .
<i>toka</i>	109	“ <i>Ojisan no koe ga shita</i> ” <i>toka</i> . [2.43] “ <i>(I) hear a middle-age man’s voice</i> ” <i>toka</i> .
TOTAL	213	
English quotative marker [no switch] English quotation		
like	159	I was like “Okay, open your eyes”. [5.28]
say	11	They said “We need to go home”. [10.33]
TOTAL	170	

Meyer-Scotton (2008) categorizes such language switches as classic code-switching, in which abstract grammatical structure within a clause comes from only one of the participating languages (p. 337). She argues that bilingual speech presents a particular asymmetry between the participating languages. In her matrix language frame model, the matrix language determines the grammar and the embedded language must meet the matrix language conditions that apply to the clause as a whole. Examples (18) and (19) support Meyer-Scotton’s argument for the matrix language frame model:

- (18) I met this random Indian guy and he’s **like** “*Watashi aruite gotanda ikitaindesu*”. [3.9]
I met this random Indian guy and he’s **like** “*I want to go to Gotanda on foot*”.
- (19) *Sokode direkuta- no hito ga* “Do you wanna do it?” *toka*. [12.8]
And there, the director person was like “Do you wanna do it?” *toka*.

In example (18), the sentence follows the English subject-verb-object word order. When *like* introduces the quotation, the Japanese quotation is inserted. Within the quotation, Japanese grammar determines the structure. In example (19), the opposite is true. The example follows the Japanese subject-object-verb word order. The quotative marker *toka* attaches at the end of the quotation, following the Japanese syntax. Within the quotation, the English grammar governs the sentence. The two examples illustrate an asymmetry between Japanese and English.

However, the co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers argues against Meyer-Scotton's matrix language frame model. Examples (20) and (21) defy the notion of matrix language and embedded language, and challenge her classic definition of code-switching.

(20) It's **like** "Aaah, atashi four weeks ano crutches, *shikamo sonogo yonkagetsu* I couldn't play sports" **mitaina**. [7.10]

It's **like** "Umm, I was on crutches for four weeks, on top of that for four months afterwards I couldn't play sports" **mitaina**.

(21) She's **like** "Nande ano why's she talking to you?" **mitaina**. [3.5]

She's **like** "How come this why's she talking to you?" **mitaina**.

In both examples (20) and (21), the identification of matrix language and embedded language proves difficult. The quotative markers *like* and *mitaina* double, defying the conception that only the grammar of one participating language governs bilingual speech. The structural well-formedness of the matrix language and the embedded language in the bilingual clause do not pass the congruence check. In example (20), the two grammars of Japanese and English are mixed even in the quotation alone. Similarly, in example (21), we cannot determine whether the sentence upholds primarily Japanese grammar or primarily English grammar for there seems to be symmetry, contradicting Meyer-Scotton's earlier definition of classic code-switching.

Although co-occurrences of quotative markers are fewer than the isolated cases, the Japanese and English quotative marker pairs, such as *like-mitaina*, argue against the previous claim that the quotation and the outer framing clause are well-formed constituents. Despite this syntactic mismatch, however, the Japanese/English bilinguals are able to form semantically meaningful and communicative utterances. Such analysis emphasizes the richness of the international school students' language, which goes beyond the traditional frameworks and characterizations of code-switching.

6.4 Examining the co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers

The ability to frame a quotation both at the *beginning* and *end* with quotative makers is a unique linguistic tool Japanese/English bilinguals possess. Examining which markers co-occur and how frequently demonstrates the cross-linguistic interaction between each pair of markers. As table 3 shows, the Japanese quotative *mitaina* favors the English *like* (60 tokens) more than its variant *say* (2 tokens). The English quotative *like* also favors *mitaina* (60 tokens) more than its variants *to/tte* (40 tokens) and *toka* (32 tokens). Looking at *like* and *mitaina* in the totality of other competing variants confirms that the two quotative markers favor one another.

Mitaina co-occurrence		Like co-occurrence	
like-mitaina	60	like-mitaina	60
say-mitaina	2	like-to/tte	40
		like-toka	32
TOTAL	62	TOTAL	132

Table 3. Co-occurrence of Japanese and English quotative markers

The high frequency of the *like-mitaina* pair in my data draws particular attention because it does not follow the original pattern observed in the occurrence of isolated quotative variants. Among variants that mark Japanese quotations, *to/tte* appears 109 times whereas *mitaina* appears 58 times, approximately half in number. *To/tte* alone occurs in 94 cases, whereas *mitaina* alone occurs in 60 cases. When paired with *like*, however, *mitaina* becomes the most frequent variant. Examples (22) and (23) compares the function of *like-mitaina* in contrast with other variants *to/tte* and *toka*.

In example (20), speaker K shares her opinion about feeling judged for attending an international school. Both speaker K and addressee A agree that encounters with non-international school students or parents can create uncomfortable situations. When K attends her little sister's Japanese school event while on a holiday from her international high school, other Japanese parents inquire why she is there.

- (22) K1: *E*, no, no, no, *dakara San Mooru gakkou nakute choudo* [little sister's] *undoukai toka attara sorya ikujan?*
 K2: So I went right?
 K3: *Sousuruto* it's **like** "*Nande oneechan iruno?*" **mitaina**.
 K4: You know what I mean?
 K5: It's **like** "Is she not going to school?" **mitaina**.
 K6: *De nanka shouganai kara* "I go to international school" **mitaina**.
 K7: "*Eigo ga dekimasu*" **mitaina**.
 K8: *Demo sousuruto* "Oh my god" **mitaina**.
 A9: *Soutteiuka urayamashigararenn dakedo* you don't know how *souiuno douyatte riakuto sureba iinoka wakannai*.
 K10: *Sou de* "*Eigo oshiete kudasaru?*" **toka** *iwarete*.
 K11: It's **like** "*Eeeeeh*" **mitaina**.
 A12: *Eeeeeh* [14.74-78]

- K1: *Uh*, no, no, no, *so if there was no school at St. Maur and there was something like [little sister's] Sports Day I go, right?*
 K2: So I went, right?
 K3: *And then* it's **like**, "How come the sister's here?" **mitaina**.
 K4: You know what I mean?
 K5: It's **like** "Is she not going to school?" **mitaina**.
 K6: *And I can't help it so* "I go to international school" **mitaina**.
 K7: "*I can speak English*" **mitaina**.
 K8: *But if I do that* "Oh my god" **mitaina**.
 K9: *Yeah or people are envious but* you don't know how *I don't know how to react to things like that*.
 K10: *Yeah and* "Could you teach English?" **toka** *(she) says*.
 K11: It's like "*Uhhhhhhh*" **mitaina**.
 A12: *Uhhhhhhh*

Speaker K alternates between *like*, *mitaina* and *toka* to frame six quotations that build the conversation between the Japanese mother and herself. Quotations framed by *like-mitaina* such as "*How come the sister's here?*" (K3) and "Is she not going to school?" (K5) express the internal thoughts of the mother. The language again suggests that speaker K constructs the internal thoughts and attributes them to the Japanese mother in the form of a quotation using *like-mitaina*. First, the Japanese mother would not ask the question in English, as speaker K does, in this monolingual Japanese context. It is also unlikely that the mother would explicitly ask K such impolite questions. Similarly, speaker K explains her situation to the mother using *mitaina* and again receives an unlikely response of "Oh

my god” (K8) from the Japanese mother marked by *mitaina*. The phrase “Oh my god” is not only in English, but is also a colloquial American phrase typical in the speech of adolescents. Speaker K is using *mitaina* to construct and communicate her attitudes in this conversation. The only quotation that employs the correct polite, feminine, formal register socially appropriate for the Japanese mother occurs in line 10, marked by *toka*. Speaker K again responds with a disrespectful moan-like noise using *like-mitaina*, unlikely to have actually occurred given this social context.

Following this conversation, speaker K continues to use non-quotative *toka* and *mitaina*. She explains that people create a stereotype of international students as those who are extremely competent at English and are planning to be “translator *toka*... ambassador *toka*...rich *ojousan* (lady/princess) *mitaina*”. Similar to their quotative functions, while *toka* approximates relatively realistic careers for international students, *mitaina* further steers away and grossly exaggerates the stereotype. The quotations marked by *mitaina* however communicate speaker K’s honest attitude of feeling judged by others outside of the international school community.

The use of quotative markers in example (21) serve as evidence to support the distinct characteristics of *mitaina*, *to/tte* and *toka* identified in the discussion of example (20).

(23) A1: *Sonde* I left stuff in the locker.

T2: *Nde* locker *kaettara* you don’t have money.

T3: You’re **like**

A4: “What the fuck? Who the fuck took my fucking money?”

T5: **Tte** *ittara* this dude comes in and he’s like

A6: No, no *sorede* I, I had like rupee a thousand rupees which is like two thousand yen in my wallet.

A7: They didn’t take the rupee.

A8: The thousand rupee *oiteatta none*.

A9: So as soon as I got it, this dude, it’s like one of the fathers in St. Maur *ga* “Hey that’s not your money” **toka** *sonna kanjina koto wo ittanone*.

T10: *Nde* did he start getting pissed off at you?

A11: *Un*

T12: When you were the victim?

A13: Yeah.

T14: And then he’s **like** “What?” *mitaina*.

T15: And you said, you **said**

A16: “It’s mine.”

T17: “It’s my money.”

T18: And he’s **like** “What? What are you talking about?” *mitaina*. [6.17-21]

A1: *Then* I left stuff in the locker.

T2: *And then went back to the* locker and you don’t have money.

T3: You’re **like-**

A4: “What the fuck? Who the fuck took my fucking money?”

T5: **Tte** *said and* this dude comes in and he’s like

A6: No, no *and then* I, I had like rupee, a thousand rupees which is like two thousand yen in my wallet.

A7: They didn’t take the rupee.

A8: The thousand rupee *was left, okay?*

A9: So as soon as I got it, this dude, it’s like one of the fathers in St. Maur “Hey that’s not your money” **toka** *said something like that*.

T10: *And then* did he start getting pissed off at you?

A11: *Un*

- T12: When you were the victim?
 A13: Yeah.
 T14: And then he's **like** "What?" *mitaina*.
 T15: And you said, you **said**-
 A16: "It's mine."
 T17: "It's my money."
 T18: And he's **like** "What? What are you talking about?" *mitaina*.

Example (21) illustrates an interesting case in which speaker A begins the narration of his experience and addressee T, who has previously heard the story, joins the act of narration. In the process of retelling the story together, speaker A and T's choice of quotative markers follow a particular pattern. When speaker A who actually experienced the incident inserts a quotation, *like* (T3), *to/tte* (T5), *toka* (A9) and *said* (T15) mark the quotation. On the other hand, when speaker T who did not directly experience the incident inserts a quotation, *like-mitaina* pairs (T14, T18) mark the quotation. The two speakers are together reporting and re-constructing an incident that occurred in the past. Speaker A reports his personal experience, whereas speaker T is creatively fabricates his friend's experience. The former involves increased evidentiality and approximation of a more authentic quotation marked by *to/tte* and *toka*, whereas the latter presents fictional construction of speaker T marked by *mitaina*.

Examples (20) and (21) contrast the distinct functions of *mitaina* versus *to/tte* and *toka*. Numerous instances of the *like-mitaina* pair (eg. K5, T14, T18) in the examples occur in otherwise completely English utterances. The only Japanese portion in such cases is the utterance-final *mitaina*. This data suggests that *like* and *mitaina* together do not emphasize shared characteristics, but rather the quotative marker *mitaina* must be adding some new meaning that has not yet been conveyed by the use of the preceding English marker *like*. The meaning of *mitaina* that is added to the function of *like*, *to/tte* and *toka* involves the speaker's interpretation, dramatization and re-construction upon retelling the story with quotations.

6.5 Speech and thought

If *mitaina* functions to interpret and construct quotation rather than reproduce original quotation precisely, as previous literature and examples in my data suggest, then I hypothesize that *mitaina* would more frequently quote thought than speech. Since internal monologues are not generally voiced through verbal language, the speaker needs to interpret and construct thought in the form of a quotation when retelling a story.

The data in Table 4 compare the speech and thought encodings between the variants *mitaina*, *to/tte*, *toka* and *like*. In general, both Japanese and English quotations encode speech more frequently than thought. The only category that comes close to an exception is *mitaina* with Japanese quotations, where *mitaina* marks speech (53%) and thought (47%) equally. By contrast, with *to/tte*, *toka* and even *like* as quotative markers, speech is favored for Japanese quotations almost three times as often as thought is. English quotations are similar except that both for *mitaina* and *like*, speech is favored three times as often as thought is, and in the case of *to/tte* and *toka*, speech is favored categorically (ie. 100% of the time).

<i>Mitaina</i> co-occurrence	Speech	Thought	TOTAL
Japanese QUOTE + <i>mitaina</i>	20 (53%)	18 (47%)	38
English QUOTE + <i>mitaina</i>	10 (77%)	3 (23%)	13
Japanese QUOTE + <i>to/tte</i>	58 (73%)	22 (27%)	80
English QUOTE + <i>to/tte</i>	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	9
Japanese QUOTE + <i>toka</i>	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	31
English QUOTE + <i>toka</i>	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	11
<i>like</i> + Japanese QUOTE	47 (81%)	11 (19%)	58
<i>like</i> + English QUOTE	78 (72%)	31 (28%)	109

Table 4. *Frequency of reported speech and thought marked by mitaina, to/tte, toka and like*

While the hypothesis that *mitaina* marks quoted thought more than speech is not quite borne out, the distribution between the two is more or less equal, in stark contrast to the overwhelming preference for speech for other quotative markers when quoting in Japanese ($p=0.025$, $d.f. = 3$).

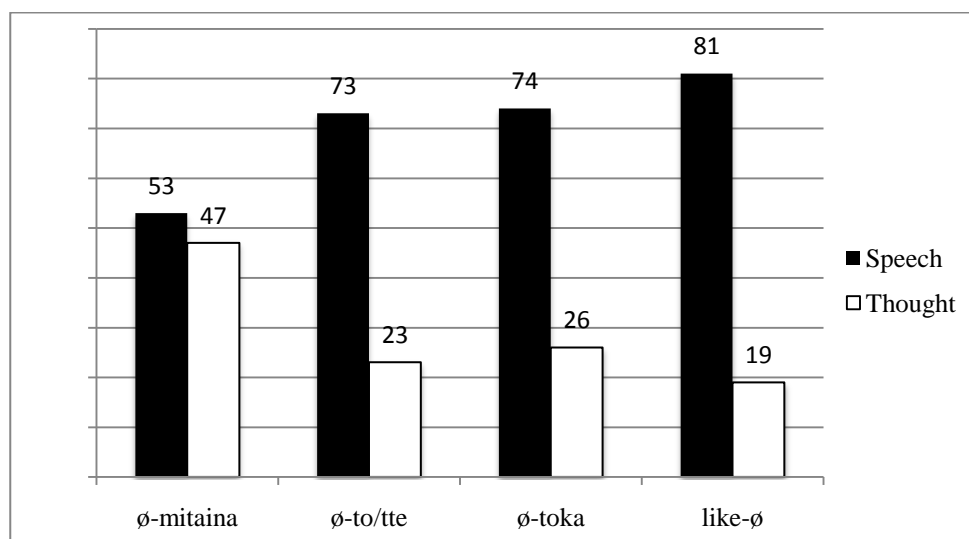


Figure 2. *Relative frequencies of mitaina, to/tte, toka and like marking speech and thought in Japanese quotations*

Further examination of Japanese quotations marked by *mitaina* show that all 18 cases (100%) of thought encodings are reported as first-person thought whereas 7 cases (35%) of speech encodings are first-person and 13 cases (65%) are third-person speech. Perhaps these figures reflect the relative ease of re-constructing one's own thought in the past event versus constructing the internal thought of another person. The first-person thought quotations marked by *mitaina* often convey strong emotions, as in example (24).

- (24) "Sonnnna daremo oshietekurenai kara shiru wake nai jan" *mitaina*. Mou nanka hidoi... [2.10]
 "I mean, no one told me so how am I supposed to know?" *mitaina*. It's like cruel... [2.10]

The speaker, who is not a central character in her high school social scene, is asked by her peer how she did not know obvious information such as boy A dating girl B. In response to her friend's inquiry "How did you not know?" which she labels as "*hidoi*" (*cruel*), the speaker pretends as though she actually knew. In her mind, however, she responds pleadingly with an emotionally-charged first-person thought, "I mean, no one told me so how am I supposed to know?" In retelling the story to another friend, she is able to express this hitherto unexpressed emotion in the form of a quotation. The speaker reconstructs a quotation that was not actually uttered and uses it as a vehicle to communicate her first-person attitude and emotion about the incident. The interpretive nature of *mitaina* allows the speaker to voice her internal thoughts, feelings and attitudes in the form of a quotation.

7. Conclusion

Traditional definitions of code-switching have underestimated the bilingual speaker's linguistic dexterity to mix two languages. The code-switching among the Japanese/English bilinguals challenges Meyer-Scotton's (2008) classic definition of code-switching. The simultaneous use of two quotative markers in two different languages shows that clear distinctions between the matrix language and the embedded language do not seem to exist within the speech of these international school students. This sample of bilingual speech also violates Poplack's (1988) equivalence constraint. When the bilingual speaker inserts a quotation in telling a story and frames the quotation with two markers (ie. *like* and *mitaina*) instead of one, the speaker mixes not only lexical items, but also the syntactic rules of both participating languages.

This paper has investigated quotative markers within the speech of bilingual international school students who fluidly code-switch between Japanese and English. My focus has been on the comparison of variants *like* and *mitaina*, and their co-occurrences to frame a single quotation. The examination of these markers in the totality of competing variants has yielded a more complete picture of the forms' independent functions and their shared characteristics. English *like* is the single most frequent marker regardless of the language or content of the quotations. The marker frames quotations in both Japanese and English as well as nonverbal representations, namely gesture. These data agree with previous studies (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Buchstaller et al, 2010) and confirm that *like* has undergone later stages of grammaticalization. Although *like* first entered the quotative system carrying strong pragmatic correlations, it has lost much of its lexical meaning due to syntacticization. By contrast, *mitaina* follows the same trajectory, but the marker is still in its earlier stages of grammaticalization. Japanese/English bilinguals distinguish its lexical meaning against those of its competitive variants *to/tte* and *toka*. A qualitative analysis shows that speakers use *mitaina* to interpret and re-construct speech and thought, whereas speakers use *to/tte*, *toka* and *like* to approximate and reenact the original utterance, if any ever existed. Quantitative analysis supports this pattern – unlike other quotative variants (*to/tte*, *toka*, *like*) that are used categorically or in the great majority of cases to frame quoted speech, *mitaina* equally frames thought and speech. When quotative markers co-occur, each marker contributes its distinct functions to the act of quoting rather than emphasizing the overlapping characteristics between the two markers. *Like-mitaina* pair occurs more frequently than any other variants, including *like-to/tte* and *like-toka*. The shared characteristics of markers *like*, *to/tte* and *toka*, and the high frequency of *like-mitaina* pair suggest that when the *like-mitaina* pair frames a single quotation, *mitaina* adds an interpretive meaning that does not overlap with the functions of the preceding marker *like*.

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Appendix

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions

The Japanese portions of the interview questions are shown in capital letters.

1. Can you tell me about a REALLY SCARY DREAM where you WERE SERIOUSLY SCARED?
2. AT SCHOOL have you ever been blamed for something you didn't do?
3. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED A near-death experience ?
4. Can you tell me about a time where a FRIEND did something FUNNY and you COULDN'T STOP LAUGHING?
5. TELL ME an embarrassing story about you or your friend.
6. IN YOUR DREA DO YOU SPEAK IN English? OR Japanese? And has there ever been an odd dream AS A RESULT OF THE LANGUAGE?
7. DO YOU BELIEVE IN "Love at first sight"?
8. Have you ever ASKED OUT ? HOW did the guy/girl tell you?
9. HAVE YOU EVER REALLY disagreed WITH A TEACHER OR A PARENT? What happened?
10. HAS SOMETHING YOU SAW IN A DREAM EVER OCCURR IN real-life?
11. Do your parents have rules about WHO YOU CAN date OR NOT?
12. If you play sports: what was THE MOST memorable game for your team? What happened?

13. HAVE YOU EVER GOTTEN IN detention? How did it happen?
14. Have you ever thrown a surprise FOR SOMEONE? OR HAS SOMEONE EVER THROWN A surprise FOR you?
15. What do you think of mixing JAPANESE AND ENGLISH IN THIS MANNER?
16. Have you ever felt judged by other people because YOU ATTEND AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL?
17. HOW DOES YOUR LANGUAGE OR THE WAY YOU SPEAK change when you talk to different people?
18. HAVE YOU EVER HEARD A RIDICULOUS gossip OR RUMOR?
19. Are there classmates you think MAKE A GOOD/MATCHING COUPLE?
20. HAVE YOU EVER DONE A prank ON A FRIEND? HOW did it end up?
21. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED supernatural phenomenon OR SPIRITS?
22. HOW frequently do you mix JAPANESE AND ENGLISH? WHICH IS easier for you?
23. Can you tell me something funny that happened recently ABOUT you, FRIEND OR FAMILY?
24. Have you ever played THE OUIGI BOARD?
25. Tell me a time and place when you felt REALLY LUCKY?