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CULTURES IN INTERACTION – CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN AMY TAN'S *THE BONESETTER'S DAUGHTER*

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Johanna Saarenmäki

Department of Languages
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Johanna Saarenmäki
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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella kielellisen vaihtelun merkitystä etnisten identititeettien rakentumisessa ja esittämisessä Amy Tanin romaanissa *The Bonesetter's Daughter.* Tutkielma keskittyy kielten ja tyylien käyttöön ja tehtäviin romaanissa. Kielenvaihtelun funktioita tarkastellaan sekä identiteettien esittämisen että romaanin temaattisen sisällön kannalta. Kielenvaihteluun mukaan luetaan kiinan kielen ja pidgin-englannin lisäksi muut tyylilliset piirteet joilla on merkitystä identiteettien ja teemojen rakentumisen kannalta. Tutkielma on luonteeltaan laadullinen. Tutkielman viitekehyksessä kielenvaihtelua eritellään koodinvaihdon (code switching) sekä kielten sekoittamisen ja tyylien vaihtelun (code mixing) avulla. Koodinvaihdolla (code switching) tarkoitetaan kielen tai tyylin vaihdosta, jolla on kielenkäytön tilannetta tai kontekstia määrittelevä erityinen merkitys. Kielten sekoittaminen (code mixing) tarkoittaa kielenvaihtelusta syntyvää kokonaista puhetyyliä. Kielenvaihtelua tulkitaan diskursiivisena käytänteenä, joka ilmenee kerronnan tasolla kirjoittajan ja lukijan suhteessa, sekä romaanin äiti- ja tytärhahmojen välisessä dialogissa ja vuorovaikutuksessa. Henkilöhahmojen dialogia tulkitaan keskustelunanalyysin ja interaktion tutkimuksen avulla, sekä kerronnallisessa kehyksessä kielen valinnan ja keskustelukokonaisuuksien kannalta. Identiteetti nähdään tutkimuksessa diskursiivisena konstruktiona, joka on vaihteleva ja monipuolinen ja jota luodaan kielen ja vuorovaikutuksen kautta. Analyysissa koodinvaihdon ja tyylien vaihtelun ominaisuudet luokitellaan diskursseiksi ja puhetavoiksi, ja tarkastellaan näiden merkitystä etnisen identiteetin rakentumisen sekä romaanin teemojen kannalta.

Tutkielmassa selvisi että pidgin-englanti ja englanniksi esitetty kiinan kieli ovat romaanissa yleisimmät kielen lajit, joita lisäksi esiintyy sekä koodinvaihdossa (switching) että kielten sekoittamisessa (mixing). Kiinan kielen suora esittäminen rajoittuu yksittäisiin ilmauksiin ja lainasanoihin. Näistä monet kuuluvat kielten sekoittamiseen (mixing) ja esiintyvät romaanin kiinaan sijoittuvassa jaksossa. Näiden lisäksi löytyi muita kielenvaihteluun sekä identiteettien ja teemojen rakentamiseen liittyviä puhetapoja. Näitä ovat sanaleikit, kuvakieli ja kielenkäyttöä kommentoiva metakielellinen diskurssi. Analyysissa kävi ilmi että koodinvaihdon ja tyylien kontekstit ovat osin samoja. Ne myös liittyvät tiiviisti romaanin pääteemoihin. Näitä olivat kulttuurisen sisäpiirin ja erojen luominen, kirjan päähenkilöiden äiti-tytär suhteeseen ja vanhemmuuteen liittyvät diskurssit, opettava ja ohjaava puhetapa yhdessä kiinalaiseen kulttuuriin liittyvien käsitteiden ja kuvakielen kanssa, sanaleikit sekä tunteiden ilmaisu. Kieltä kommentoiva metakielellinen diskurssi sitä vastoin liittyy pelkästään kielten sekoittamiseen (mixing). Koodinvaihdolle puolestaan on ominaista kontrastien luominen ja huomion kiinnittäminen näkökulmien erilaisuuteen. Temaattisten funktioiden lisäksi kielenvaihtelu seuraa osin todellisia kielenvaihtelun tapoja. Näitä ovat koodinvaihdossa (switching) mm. puhujien suhteiden ja tilanteiden määrittely sekä kielten sekoittamisessa (mixing) monikulttuuriselle kirjallisuudelle ominaiset kulttuuripiirteitä korostavat käsitteet ja metakielellinen diskurssi. Romaanissa todelliset kiinalais-amerikkalaisiin yleisesti liittyvät piirteet luovat autenttisuutta ja uskottavuutta, kun taas hahmojen henkilökohtaiset ja luovat kielenkäyttötavat painottavat etnisen identiteetin tilannesidonnaisuutta ja muokattavuutta. Etninen identiteetti pohjaa suurelta osin kieleen, ja näyttäytyy enemmän hybridisenä neuvottelua vaativana konstruktiona kuin yksittäiseen piirteeseen nojaavana muuttumattomana ominaisuutena.

Asiasanat: Amy Tan, Chinese American, code switching, style, ethnic identity, discourse analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present study is, firstly, to look at code switching in fiction. The data consist of Amy Tan's novel *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. The main focus will be on the use of distinct languages, and the varieties of a language, such as dialects, and on some of the more subtle stylistic variation prominent in the data. The aim is to describe the forms, functions and effects which code switching has in the novel, both at the levels of the fictional dialogues and the narration in general. Code switching and style shifting will be related to the specific contexts of their occurrence, to find out how they are used as a part of the general style and themes of the novel, and how they function in the social and cultural context. In addition, the second focus of the present study is to explore the formation of ethnic identities: the aim here is to examine how the author's use of languages and styles in the novel contributes to the representation and construction of ethnicity and cultures. In the framework of the present study, the concepts of 'representation' and 'construction' relate to the two theoretical approaches to the use of language and identity formation: the former refers to the effect that social categories and structures have on the behaviour of individuals, and the latter to the creative and active use of language and other resources to construct and negotiate identities and practices. The present study investigates the way the data reflects existing sociocultural structures, and the way these structures are utilized and combined to create new meanings.

Amy Tan's *The Bonesetter's Daughter* was chosen as the data firstly, because it is a representative of multicultural fiction containing language alternation, and secondly, because it is one of the most recent novels by Amy Tan, and relatively little studied. Amy Tan's first novel, *The Joy Luck Club*, became a bestseller, well noted and studied, and she is often compared with the pioneers of the post-colonial and multicultural fiction, such as Maxine Hong Kingston (see e.g. Wong 1993). Characteristically for multicultural fiction, the works of Tan, including *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, feature themes that foreground language and culture, and concentrate on the identities and circumstances of the characters. As Shan Qiang He (1996) notes: "Most of the Chinese-American writers writing in English are the offspring of immigrants, looking back and retracing the immigrant experience as American born minority members, writing and negotiating their place in a predominantly white market" (Shan Qiang He 1996:56). This implies an awareness that identities are not unproblematic, and there is a need to find consistence and continuity between contradictive elements. However, as Tan herself has also argued (Huntley 1998:33), this kind of fiction is not limited to ethnolinguistic issues: many themes are in common for people in general.

In the current context of globalization and post-colonialism, language contact and language alternation are some of the most central phenomena. They have consequently been studied a great deal in speech, but in writing, however, they have not been studied as extensively. In particular, studies on the effects of code switching in prose are few (some of these are Montes-Alcalá 2005, Callahan 2003, 2004). In addition, there has been debate about the actual cultural and social significance that code switching might have, and criticism on the way functions have been categorized by researchers (Boztepe 2003:19). Furthermore, the cultural dimension in code switching has not been as much analysed as its grammatical and pragmatic constraints (Montes-Alcalá 2005:1, Stroud 1999). Many of the previous studies on written code switching have focussed on Spanish/English code switching (see e.g. Montes-Alcalá 2005, Callahan 2004, Lopez 2002). The present study concentrates on a linguistic context which is more different from English, namely Chinese.

The present study adopts a discursive approach and draws on discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, stylistics and identity research, under which the functions of style and code variation are examined in terms of the dialogues of the fictional characters, and in terms of the literary discourse in general. The main focus of the analysis will be on the interaction between the mother and the daughter characters in the novel. The analysis will move from the more detailed situational analysis to the larger, sociocultural frame of interpretation. This aims at providing a general picture of what kind of code and style variation is used, how, and to what effects. The results of the study offer insights into the use of different language varieties in fiction, and in written texts, and might be of interest to the readers of texts containing code switching, and to those interested in cultural contacts in general.

A limitation for the present study is that it does not aim at an extensive description of formal features of code switching, but concentrates more on the cultural and social contexts of code and style use. A further limitation is also that the data is studied closely as an individual example of a wider phenomenon, and thus, the results of the study might not be generalizable to a great extent.

As to the structure of the study, the theoretical framework consists of a discussion of the general context of and theoretical approach to the data, and the concept of code variation in the context of multilingual and multicultural literary discourse, and finally, aspects of identity in the mentioned context. The analysis focusses first on the local and situational contexts, and moves then to the larger, sociocultural ones. The instances of code variation are traced from the text, and their points and contexts of occurrence (e.g. in dialogues) are analysed. Finally, the findings are drawn together and related to the larger context of discourses, to form a picture of the identities represented.

2. MULTICULTURAL FICTION AND *THE BONESETTER'S DAUGHTER*

> They were pages written in Chinese, her mother's writing. LuLing had given them to her five or six years before. 'Just some old things about my family,' she had said, with the kind of awkward nonchalance that meant the pages were important. 'My story, begin little-girl time. I write for myself, but maybe you read, then you see how I grow up, come to this country.' (BD:14)

The pages referred to in the extract above are included in Amy Tan's novel *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. They tell the story of a Chinese woman, LuLing, from the beginning from her childhood in China to her arrival to the United States. They are accompanied by the narrative on her American-born daughter, Ruth, a book editor and a step-mother to two girls. Her life with her work, her partner, and LuLing is followed trough the lense of Ruth's organizing and reflective point of view. Her life is complicated by not only the common everyday things she has to remember, which she habitually enumerates in her mind, but also by the worry about her mother. This is not only because she is accustomed to helping LuLing to get along in English and in the United States, but also because her mother begins to show symptoms of old age. Their relationship is also thorny. The story moves back in several flashbacks into the beginnings of the fractures in their relationship, the rebellion of the young Ruth against her mother and the fustration, anger and depression of LuLing. A mystery for Ruth seems to be, how to interpret her mother's meanings. She cannot understand her habits, the Chinese ways LuLing tries to teach her and LuLing's talk about ghosts, curses and tragedies of the past. Ruth also cannot read the pages LuLing has written for her in Chinese, and forgets them. Only when it is almost too late, she feels the urge to know her mother's story.

The story of LuLing's is accompanied with the story of Precious Auntie and the way she became an outcast because of her untraditional upraising and the death of her family. Her daughter, LuLing, did not know that Precious Auntie was her real mother. Precious Auntie's life as the nursemaid of LuLing was overshadowed by the death of her father and husband and the loss of the family heritage, the dragon bones, as well as the belief of a curse that was looming on her. LuLing's rebellion against her eventually made her commit suicide and LuLing became an outcast as well, ending up in an orphanage. Thanks to the education by Precious Auntie, LuLing became a teacher. When she found the autobiography Precious Auntie wrote for her and learned about her real family, she regretted having forgotten the real name of Precious Auntie and felt the curse Precious Auntie often spoke about was now on her as well. The civil war of China and the war with the Japanese intervened, LuLing's husband was killed, and eventually she had to leave for Hong Kong as a refugee. After a long and difficult period, she finally managed to get a visa from her step-sister, already in the United States.

The intense events in the story of LuLing stand in contrast with the everyday life of Ruth. After getting to know that her mother's obsession with the ghost of Precious Auntie was because of her regret and guilt of what happened, Ruth learns to understand her mother and Precious Auntie and feels that they have been mistreated and misunderstood. At this point, the quest for the lost name of Precious Auntie becomes the most important thing in the novel, involving not only the recovery of the lost family of LuLing and Ruth, but also the recognition of Precious Auntie's good intentions. Since Precious Auntie was mute because her face was damaged, in a way this recognition also gives her a voice. When Ruth learns the real name, she also resolves her troubles towards LuLing and adopts her cultural and familial background as a new part of her life.

Kobayashi (2002) notes that in the novels of the two Asian American authors, Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan, through the "interaction with their mothers, the daughters come to attain not only their independent American selves but also a more sharpened sense of their own cultural heritage passed down from their mothers, an important legacy with which the daughters can confront larger society" (Kobayashi 2002:69). Though this description does not include *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, it seems to apply to it as well. In addition, Bella Adams notes that as to the style characteristic for Amy Tan, *The Bonesetter's Daughter* also involves the themes of mother-daughter relationships and familial difficulties (Adams 2003, online, paragraph 10).

Kobayashi (2002), in line with several other critics discussing Amy Tan and Maxine Hong Kingston, argues that the way Tan and Kingston write about Chinese American identity, with the concern for the female experience in particular, represents the new kind of emphasis on the many aspects of cultural experience instead on only a single one (Kobayashi 2002:69). In addition, Wong (1993) notes on the specific Asian American literary tradition that as ”Asian American ethnic group is a political coalition, Asian American literature may be thought of as an emergent and evolving textual coalition” (Wong 1993:9). This means that the shared interest for authors is to get the Asian-American voices heard by writing about their experiences in their own way, dismissing dominant conventions and stereotypes. However, Amy Tan, among others, has also been criticized for presenting stereotypical views on both the Eastern and Western cultures (Wagner 2004), as well as being too centered on the female experience and thus blurring other aspects of identity (Kobayashi 2002:79).

This debate on the qualities of the writings by Amy Tan and Maxine Hong Kingston shows the diverse concerns prevailing in the discussion about cultures and identities and the way they should be represented and treated. The representation of the diversity of cultural, ethnic and other social groups in fiction is one particular area of this, because the authors are considered as not only expressing their own view and experience of their cultural background, but also as representing the ethnic, gender, minority (an so on) groups they write about. As to the concept ‘multicultural’, it has been used for many purposes, in the words of Bhabha (1998) it can be ”anything from minority discourse to postcolonial critique, from gay and lesbian studies to chicano/ a fiction” (Bhabha 1998:31). It can refer to the existence of many cultural and ethnic groups side by side, and the evaluation of the differences and characteristics of each, instead of assimilation into one majority group (Hames-García 2000, as cited in Li 2004:269-70). This point of view is also political in that it promotes the acceptance of minority groups. In the present study, ‘multicultural’ and ‘multicultural fiction’ are taken to refer to the co-existence or representation of beliefs, practices (and so on) of more than one cultural group. This also includes the view that these can also change and produce new combinations. More discussion on topics related to this is provided in chapter 4 on identity.

2.1 CULTURE

The general concept of ’culture’ needs some clarification here. ’Culture’ has been used for various meanings: as Barker and Galasinski (2001) note, ”the abstraction 'culture' covers a variety of ways of looking at human conduct and can be used for a range of purposes” (Barker and Galasinski 2001:3). ’Culture’ can refer to systems of knowledge, and beliefs and values (Duranti 1997:27), or to sets of rules and norms of a group of people (Barker and Galasinski 2001:4) Culture can also be seen as specific ways of communicating (Duranti 1997:33). Furthermore, it can refer to specific cultural practices, of which language is a part, or to social practices, where people engage in social activities and use language to produce a specific kind of relationships and ways of being (Duranti 1997:46). For Raymond Williams (1983) culture is “lived experience” (as cited by Barker et al. 2001:3), as all the practices, texts and meanings that ordinary people use while conducting their way of life.

The contemporary view of culture is concerned most of all with the interaction between language, meaning and power (Barker et al. 2001:3). Language is seen as constituting meaning (Barker et al. 2001:4): in cultural studies, culture is taken as a question of representation and it is created symbolically, i.e. through signifying practices, that is, by organizing the relations between different signs, and thus creating social conventions and meanings (Barker et al. 2001:4). Culture is, then, constituted by social processes, “[sets] of meaningful practices” (Barker et al. 2001:1), and identities are seen as socially and discursively constructed (Barker et al. 2001:1) According to Woodward (1997), ”representation includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and which position us as subjects” (Woodward 1997:14). Thus, culture is not taken as reflecting other processes, such as economical and political, but as including and constituting them (du Gay et al. 1997, as cited in Barker et al. 2001:1) Meanings are basically changing and fluid, but they are temporarily regulated in certain ways in social practices (Barker et al. 2001:2) Language is used “to do things”, i.e. meanings are stabilized for particular purposes by using language in a social context (Barker et al. 2001:3). Furthermore, all kinds of cultural practices have become called as ‘texts’, whether written language or not, and are analysed for example with the help of ethnography, or semiotics and “textual categories” such as style (Barker et al. 2001:5-6). Recently, there has been a turn in focus from texts to audiences and the ways people actually interpret and use texts, such as media texts, as a resource to construct their identities (Barker et al. 2001:8). Thus, the study of culture involves the relationship between the special features of different texts, and the way the audiences negotiate the meanings of the texts.

Thus, the present study adopts the view that culture is not merely ’high culture’, such as art or literature as opposed to popular culture, and not simply the same as ’nation’ or ’country’, but all the values, beliefs, norms and practices that characterize and regulate the behaviour and thinking of a certain group of people, and it is broadly defined as including everything that makes up the way of living for people. The present study examines how different aspects of cultures are made use of for various purposes in the novel: in particular, how language is used as a resource for negotiating between cultures.

2.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The discourse analytic framework of the present study follows the line of Talbot (1995) who applies a discourse analytic approach to fiction. As Phillips and Hardy (2002) argue, discourse analysis aims to understanding how context and text are linked by discourses and the discursive level. That is, how looking at how language is used helps to see how texts and various contexts affect each other. *Discourse* refers to a “regulated way of speaking that defines and produces objects of knowledge, thereby governing the way topics are talked about and practices conducted” (Barker et al. 2001:12). In other words, ’discourse’ refers to a system which regulates what can be said, in which circumstances and by whom, as well as what kind of knowledge it produces. Fairclough (1992:62) uses ‘discourse’ to refer to spoken or written language, instead of the more abstract view in social science which includes more general sociocultural structures as well. The present study uses ‘discourse’ in Fairclough’s sense as language use. The term will be used to refer to specific types of language use. Thus, the term is not used in the common way to separate spoken language from written language.

Discourse is a process which produces texts, and contains systems of knowledge and belief, social relationships and particular kinds of social identities or subject positions (Fairclough 1992:64-5). This means that discourses draw from specific kind of belief systems and ways of being and acting and produce texts which contain traces of these. Discourses and *discursive practices*, that is, the practices of language use, are both affected by social practices and construct them. These three levels of text, discourse, and social practice form the model of Fairclough (1998, 1995) on discourse as a social practice. He takes language as one form of social practice and thus as "a mode of action as well as a mode of representation" (Fairclough 1992:63). This is also the view of the present study. This also involves the view that there are both conventions which restrict what can be said and how, and possibilities for creativeness (Talbot 1995:32).

Thus, fiction as a social practice means that various discourses are used to build representations about social relationships, beliefs, conventions and ways of being. In fiction, the restrictions by conventions and the possibility to creativeness means that there is a tension between being original and following social conventions (Talbot 1995:32). This is because discourses and the more general and regulative *discourse types* set up *subject positions* for the authors (Talbot 1995:32). 'Subject position' refers to a particular way of being which is made possible by the system of conventions and beliefs which is involved in a discourse type. Thus, various social and institutional structures offer social roles and ways of being to individuals, and because there are many discourse types and discourses, the are also many subject positions available for an individual (Talbot 1995:33). Acting in a particular subject position entails acting according to the conventions of the discourse type. Because the discourse type both restricts and enables, the subject or individual is both an active agent and passively shaped by the conventions (Talbot 1995:32).

In this way, the discourses which are included in a novel, also position the reader in a particular way, depending on what kind of conventions they involve (Talbot 1995:32). The author directs the reader's attitudes and sympathies towards particular characters and events (Talbot 1995:17). A novel includes several discourses and discourse types, and many of these are not specific to fiction or literature but can be found everywhere. This is also called 'discourse-mixing' (Talbot 1995:18). Thus, fiction can be discussed along other kinds of texts when looking at discursive representations (Mills 1997:23). This also involves the notion of *intertextuality.* Intertextuality refers to the points of intersection between texts (Talbot 1995:45). Fairclough (1995) takes 'manifest intertextuality' as "specific other texts that are overtly drawn upon" (Fairclough 1995:117) and 'interdiscursivity' as the presence of more than one discourse in one text (Fairclough 1992:128). Some of the intertextual references can be made explicitly, but many are also implicit and presupposed or taken for granted (Talbot 1995:3). The presence of the discourse types is also referred to as a types of ‘voice’ (Talbot 1995:14). In the present study, discourses and discourse types, as well as the possible points of intertextuality will be identified in the contexts of language use.

The analysis of discursive practices involves both a detailed analysis of “how participants produce and interpret texts” (Fairclough 1992:85) and explaining these by looking at the quality of the resources they use (Fairclough 1992:85). This means that specific linguistic and text-level features are looked at first, and then related with the wider sociocultural structures and processes. This will also be the guideline for the analysis in the present study. In terms of fiction, the act of narration which compiles the story and dialogues, distributes and represents linguistic elements in the novel, and belongs to the level of discursive practice (Talbot 1995:9). In addition, this level involves the reader as the adressee and the author as the adresser (Talbot 1995:9, citing Stephens (1992). In the present study, the text-level features are examined in relation to the discourses and discourse types present in the novel. This will help to form a picture of the way linguistic elements function in the discursive practices of narration.

3. CODE AND STYLE ALTERNATION IN MULTICULTURAL FICTION

Contacts between cultures often involve contacts between languages as well. In the context of social and political changes, norms of language use also change and give rise to linguistic awareness and the need to negotiate language choices (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003:11, citing Heller 1982:109). As fiction can be seen as a part of social action, the discursive practices in multicultural fiction follow not only the principles of literary discourse in general, but are often also characterized by multilingual practices such as language alternation. In general, literary discourse involves creation of an illusion of the real world by exploiting the real patterns of language use (Leech and Short 1981:35, Semino 2002:346). Language representation is also commonly used for characterization, that is, attributing language varieties such as dialects to the characters to depict their qualities (Talbot 1995:11-12).

In many cases, the linguistic features are used not only to reflect the features of real speech, but are also accommodated to the written medium and the goals of the author, so that linguistic forms used symbolize socially significant aspects, such as languages which are associated with a particular social group (Talbot 1995:11). Thus, if stylistic differences are meaningful in fiction in general, they are even more so in multicultural and multilingual fiction, which often focuses on social and cultural differences and experiences. In terms of representation of language varieties and social and ethnic groups, the marginalization of non-standard language varieties has been challenged by authors who use them in new ways and give them a prominent place (Talbot 1995:13). The use of language alternation and code switching as discursive strategies is one way to achieve this. Therefore, code switching can be seen as part of the discursive practices which are at work in a novel, which both draw from the sociolinguistic reality and are also modified by the author to literary goals.

3.1 CODE SWITCHING

Code switching has been studied from many points of view, and it has been defined in various ways. Likewise, it has been attributed many different functions. One of the common definitions of code switching as a general phenomenon is that it refers to the alternate use of two or more languages (Boztepe 2003:4). This view has been adopted for example by Milroy and Muysken (1995). However, some researchers also take into account other varieties of language, such as dialects (see e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993b, Gardner-Chloros 1991, Gumperz 1982). Some also argue that language and variety alternation is a part of the more general alternation of styles and other ways of speaking. This view is promoted by for example Auer (1998), Meeuwis and Blommaert (1999), Gardner-Chloros, Charles and Cheshire (2000) and Romaine (1995). This is the view adopted in the present study as well, because it pays attention to the interaction between ways of speaking, which is one of the major characteristics in fiction.

These divisions also involve different definitions of ‘code’. The view of code switching as alternating use of languages equals ‘code’ with ‘language’ as a structurally distinguished variety (Alvarez-Caccamo 1999:34). However, in everyday contexts, languages are not necessarily seen as distinct by the speakers, and the boundaries between linguistic varieties are likewise not simple to draw (Alvarez-Caccamo 1999:35). Thus, there are differences between the approaches on code switching which focus on structure, and those which emphasise the sociolinguistic and sociocultural functions of code switching.

The structural approach to code switching is concerned with the grammatical constraints and qualities of language shifting (Auer 1999:3). In the structural vein, language alternation as a general phenomenon has been referred to by various terms, such as code switching, code mixing and code alternation (Boztepe 2003:4). For example, Milroy and Muysken (1995) consider code switching as the umbrella term and use ’intra-sentential’ and ’inter-sentential’ to refer to switching within and between sentences, whereas Muysken (2000) takes code mixing as the cover term, and code switching as the shifts between turns or utterances (Boztepe 2003:4-5). Furthermore, single structural items have been commonly separated from longer stretches such as parts of utterances, the previous labelled as ’insertion’ and the latter ’alternation’ (Boztepe 2003:4). However, unlike many of the advocates of the structural approach, Auer (1998) considers code switching only those language shifts which have a specific and local meaning, that is, when the languages used have a meaning for the speakers themselves (Auer 1998:4). This is distinguished from code mixing, in which the languages used have no specific meaning but the alternating use of languages is seen meaningful as a style of speaking (Auer 1998:1). This will also be the view adopted in the present study. Auer’s approach will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

In addition to intra-sentential shifts, another distinction has been introduced by Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1980) between ’switching’ and ’borrowing’ (Boztepe 2003:5). The problem of how to distinguish ’switched’ and ’borrowed’ items is called *the transition problem*. It is caused by the various degrees of integration between languages which makes it difficult to distinguish which elements come from separate languages and which are already integrated as part of the receiving language (Boztepe 2003:5). However, this kind of distinction is only relevant in an approach which is concerned with structurally distinct languages, since the actual users of languages do not necessarily make similar differences than the linguists (Auer 1998). Therefore, in the present study ’borrowing’ is used to describe the structural qualities of the inserted items (such as the degree of integration to the receiving language), but this is considered as secondary to the contextual factors. In the present study, *code switching* and *alternation* are used as a general terms for language and variety shifting. These terms will be defined in more specific terms later on.

The sociolinguistic approach towards code switching is concerned with the social functions of code switching. This field is divided between orientations towards the wider social and cultural structures, and the situational and interactional contexts of use. These differ in how they explain the reasons for code switching. In the first, language alternation is seen as a result from sociocultural structures, such as class. This view is promoted for example by Fishman (1965, 1972), who explains language choice as following the norms of various activity types (Boztepe 2003:12). The micro-approach, in turn, sees that the motivation for language choices comes from the invidual and not the norms, and aim to explain code switching with the speaker's personal goals in an interaction situation (Boztepe 2003:12, Wei 2005:379). A view which aims at a combination of these two is Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1993c) Markedness Model, where languages are seen to reflect certain sets of sociocultural norms and which the speakers take up by choosing a language most beneficial for their goals (Boztepe 2003:14). This model has been applied on multilingual fiction for example by Callahan (2004).

However, the Markedness Model has been criticized because it does not account for the practical everyday contexts for code switching (Wei 2005:379). The conversation analytic approach, in turn, sees interaction as the site where social meanings are created, and therefore it contrasts with the 'normative' view (Boztepe 2003:12). This view is promoted for example by Wei (1995, 2005) and Auer (1998, 1999). Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study on the interactional and social features of code switching was the ground for more extensive work in this area. They identified two types of code switching: *situational* and *metaphorical*. Situational code switching is caused by a change in the situation and activity type and the differing norms for language use in these (Wei 1999:156). In metaphorical switching, the situation does not change but the language switch signals a change in topic (Boztepe 2003:11). Thus, the notion of *conversational code switching* was introduced, to refer to the rapid alternation of languages in bilingual conversation (Alvarez-Caccamo 1999:39).

Gumperz (1982) also introduced the notion of *contextualization cues*, which are languages, styles or other features used to infer meaning by the speakers (Boztepe 2003:11). They help "speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz 1982a:131 as cited in Duranti 1997:212). Thus, the associations which the languages carry, are used in conversation to hint about how the context of the talk should be interpreted. The notion of contextualization cues has been widely used and is also adopted by Auer (1998). The present study adopts a combination of the micro and macro views, taking into account both the influences of the sociocultural associations, as well as the more specific local functions of code switching.

Gumperz (1982) listed six common conversation functions for code switching: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization (Boztepe 2003:19). These are found in spoken discourse, but many of them can also be found in written texts and multilingual fiction. Quotation is one of the most obvious of these, because the author quotes the characters' speech to depict the fictional world. However, as Callahan (2004:72) notes, in the fictional speech of the characters quotations are rare. In addressee specification, language choice is used to direct the message to a particular person (Boztepe 2003:19). However, Callahan (2004:71) found that the use of vocatives such as kinship terms was more common in multilingual fiction and they underlined the relationship between the speakers. Reiteration refers to the repetition of the message in different language to emphasise or clarify the meaning (Boztepe 2003:19). This is also found in multilingual fiction, where it also serves to translate the meaning to the reader (Callahan 2004:72). In literary texts, language juxtaposition has been found to contribute to the compositional structure of poems, which is different from code switching in spoken language (Callahan 2004:82). In addition, metaphorical switching according to the topic or context has been found for example by Oster (2003:96).

Code switching can be socially meaningful as well. Of Gumperz's list, interjections have also been found in written texts, in the context of ”set phrases, tags and exclamations” by Callahan (2004:73) in fiction, and McClure (1992:190) in Mexican magazines. These were sayings which represented the cultural associations of the code switched language. In addition, objectivization and personalization refer to the degree of personal involvement, such as adding authority to a statement by switching language (Boztepe 2003:19). These involve the sociocultural associations the languages have. Currently, the wider sociocultural meanings of code switching have come to the fore and issues such as language ideologies and political and power-related reasons for code switching are considered (Wei 2005:275-6). Code switching can be used for identification with a social or ethnic group, as found for example Blom and Gumperz (1972) or to manage an ambiguous participation to two social groups (Heller 1982) (Alvarez-Caccamo 1990:3). In addition, as argued by Auer (1998), language alternation as such can mark a group membership (Auer 1998:21).

The discursive functions such as listed above are criticized by more socially oriented researchers, because the functions do no explain what exactly is achieved by speakers (Nilep 2005:27). To explain this, identity related explanations of code switching have been developed. For example, Rampton (1995) argues that language choices can be manipulated and used by the speakers to express meanings which do not derive directly from either of the languages involved (Nilep 2005:40). In addition, it has been argued for example by Stroud (1999) that cultural differences must be taken into account when interpreting the discourse and identity related functions of code switching (Nilep 2005:46). These are also the views adopted in the present study.

To return to the beginning of this chapter and to the context of multicultural and multilingual fiction, the sociocultural and political aspects have been discussed frequently in the interpretation of this kind of fiction (see e.g. Wong 1993). The linguistic aspects have received less attention. However, language alternation has been noticed to both reflect real uses, as well as to be used politically, to challenge language norms and associations (Li 2004). As to the first aspect, Callahan (2004) notes that common contexts for the use of Spanish in Spanish/English fiction where English was the main language, were those where the use of Spanish would have been normal in real life: the setting would have required Spanish, the characters represent social groups who would use Spanish, and the thematic content of the novel deals with ”social, political or cultural issues which are germane for the Latino community” (Callahan 2004:36). The authenticating function of code switching shows in these reality-based uses.

However, code switching can also function exclusively, and to challenge the reader. Therefore, using foreign languages might for example prevent some from understanding the text. Therefore, language use may also have a political function as a challenge to social and language norms. This has been noted for example by Oster (2003), who sorts out types of linguistic elements embedded in an English text according to how difficult they are for the English speaking reader to understand. The use of dialect, or ”interlanguage” such as pidgin English or learner’s English is among the easiest, insertions of foreign words present more challenge (Oster 2003:29). The most difficult ones are longer stretches of another language, which can already hinder understanding and exclude the reader who is not familiar with the language, and create an inclusive atmosphere for those who do (Oster 2003:94). Thus, code switching has significance beyond the ‘realistic’ function.

In addition, some of the typical instances of code switching in literary texts are culture-bound terms that have no equivalent in the language of the narration, or foreign words that have no single-word equivalent in English (Oster 2003:96-7). Foreign words may also be used to convey more complex and symbolic meanings. As an example of this, Oster (2003) mentions ”imperfect translations” (Oster 2003:97), that is, the difficulty of understanding and translating the precise meaning of a foreign term, without intricate knowledge of the culture. In the novels of Amy Tan, this aspect is also foregrounded: the American-born daughters of the Chinese immigrant mothers cannot realize the full emotional and social significance of their mothers’ behaviour, because the mothers are not able to completely express their meanings in English, and the daughters are not familiar enough with the Chinese culture. In addition, in multilingual fiction, code switching is also often used in situations which involve emotions: language choice can have a distancing effect to the topic or the people and values associated with it, or it can convey intimacy, anger, or solidarity (Oster 2003: 95-6).

Thus, the present study is located in the discursively oriented study of code switching and style shifting, and follow similar lines to David Herman’s (2001) study on Edith Wharton’s novel *The House of Mirth*, in which a sociolinguistic and discourse analytic approach on linguistic alternation enables him to show how the use of style shifts and social styles indexes identities, such as class and gender based ones (Herman 2001:64) and how ”[s]trategically managed shifts into and out of speech styles reveal a mutually constitutive relationship between style and identity, patterns of usage and contexts of use” (Herman 2001:64).

4. IDENTITY IN MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS

As Auer (2005:403) notes, speaking more than one language does not automatically imply knowledge of more than one culture. This involves a contradiction between the view that language reflects society, or that the way we use language can be directly explained by social and cultural categories such as class or ethnicity (Auer 2005:404), and the view that identity is constructed socially and in local situations. In the latter view, identity is not considered to exist as such beyond social interaction, but is constructed in relation to the other participants and the social interaction at hand (Barker and Galasinski 2001:122). There is also an opposition between seeing identity as a single fixed unity, or as a shifting and flexible. These two points of view are called *essential* and *non-essential* views on identity (Woodward 1997:11). According to the essential view, identity can be defined according to some single set of characteristics such as genetic origin or shared history and kinship, which is taken as the ’truth’, and without internal differences or contradictions (Woodward 1997:28). The *non-essential* view, in turn, takes identity as consisting of different sides and elements, and takes into account that there are differences both between these elements, and also between various definitions of identity. Therefore, identity is seen as continuously changing and not fixed to any single set of characteristics (Woodward 1997:26). Thus, identity is ’becoming’ more than ’being’, that is, making identities according to differences and similarities (Barker and Galasinski 2001:30). This is also the view adopted in the present study.

The aspects described above are some of the major threads in conceptualizing identities. That identities are ’constructed’ derives from the social constructionist view, according to which identity is created by ”people in relationship” (Gergen 1985, as cited in Leets et at. 1996:127). Identity is enacted and articulated by people, by actively participating in interaction and taking up various aspects of identity according to what they see as relevant at the situations at hand (Leets et al. 1996:128). Identity is also seen as a *discursive* construction. Aspects of identity are created in social interaction and by the way we speak about and describe our identities (Barker and Galasinski 2001:123, 30). In addition, aspects of identity are taken up in relation to other identities, that is, there are other ways of defining oneself (or larger group of people) which can be used as a point of comparison (Woodward 1997:12). This kind of comparison often also involves marking the differences to other identities (Woodward 1997:12). Furthermore, there are also social and cultural structures and categories which are used by individuals and groups when defining their identities, such as the division between ’us’ and ’them’, that is, the ’ingroup’ and the ’others’ (Woodward 1997:29), or urban and rural, minority and majority, local and national, and so on (Auer 2005:403).

This categorization of self and others is a part of the process where *subject positions* are taken up and negotiated. As Woodward (1997) notes, identities are produced by representational systems: ”[d]iscourses and systems of representation construct places from which individuals can position themselves and from which they can speak” (Woodward 1997:14). In other words, ”culture shapes identity through giving meaning to experience, making it possible to opt for one mode of subjectivity… amongst others available” (Woodward 1997:15). Thus, the way identities and positions are marked as different from another is due to the differences in the meanings produced by the symbolic systems in which the positions and identities belong. In addition, since these discourses can change, the identities are also subject to change. They can also be contested, which refers to relations of power, whereby some particular meanings and identities are preferred, and some social groups are excluded and marginalized (Woodward 1997:15). Thus, identities are relational, they are constructed in relation to other meanings, categories and groups (Woodward 197:12). Our experience of who we are, is culturally and historically specific (Barker et al. 2001:29).

In addition to symbolic systems, our sense of identity is also affected and restricted by social relations of everyday life, because this is the site where the symbolic systems become ’real’ and actualized (Woodward 1997:14). Changing circumstances, such as economic and social, may also produce new identities (Woodward 1997:14) Globalization for example, can cause different possible outcomes for identities: global marketing can promote cultural uniformity, and thus make identities more uniform, separating them from the communities on which they were based before. On the other hand, these kinds of changes can also make communities resist change and strengthen their shared experience and identity, or the changes can produce completely new identities (Woodward 1997:16). In addition, migration between countries is another factor which causes the need to define and redefine one’s identity, and has resulted in heterogeneous cultures and communities where there cannot be found any single source for identity. Furthermore, there can also be inequalities between various groups of people and identities, because of migration due to poverty, and colonialism (Woodward 1997:16). Thus, there are various reasons for the need of individuals and groups of people to (re)define their identities.

4.1 IDENTITY AND MULTICULTURALISM

The cultural diversity and inequalities between groups of people have also given rise to identity politics and an emphasis on shared ethnic origins. Identity politics can be seen as a part of cultural politics (related to other types of cultural politics, such as that of institutions) in that we are able to talk about ourselves in different ways and thus engage in ”re-descriptions of persons and social situations” (Barker et al. 2001:28). In the 1960’s, during the Civil Rights Movement, ’culture’ often became used in a political way and for activist purposes, for example by Asian American minority cultural producers (Reyes 2002:4). During the 1960’s, the orientation in cultural research also shifted from the notion of ’race’ towards ’ethnicity’ (Leets et al. 1996:117). Here, the most relevant aspects of ‘culture’ involve membership in ethnic groups and categories, their distinctiveness, and the attitudes towards them, especially by the dominant or mainstream group. The main interest is to promote positive recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity (Reyes 2002:12-13). This can be pursued through various means such as religious affiliation, or claims to the recognition of a community’s’ ”own language” (Woodward 1997:17). In multicultural fiction, this kind claims for positive recognition shows particularly in the authors’ choice to use their native languages and dialects in their writing to challenge the standard norm of the dominant English language (TuSmith 1996:43).

Thus, in addition to the fact that the negotiation of identities is conducted through language, different languages can also be a way to mark a specific identity, because of its associations to a specific culture or a group of people. According to Auer (2005:404-5), this kind of language ideology takes language as reflecting or marking the shared values, history, and so on, of the social group. This may involve an ‘essential’ view of identity. Another way of reasserting a threatened shared identity is to ”seek a return to a lost past” (Woodward 1997:17). This kind of issues are also prominent in the multicultural and multilingual literary tradition which aims at recognition and self-definition of the minorities and ethnic groups instead of stereotypes imposed on them.

However, the heterogeneous cultural context has also given rise to way of writing which aims at undermining boundaries and essential conceptions of ethnic groups and underlining the *hybridity* of identity, that is, the heterogenous combination of many aspects. This is argued to characterize for example the novels by the Asian American authors Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan. As Kobayashi (2002) notes, the daughter-characters in these novels ”together present refreshingly new Asian American subjectivities, at once rooted in America and yet not neglectful of their own cultural legacy” (Kobayashi 2002:65). In the study of multicultural fiction, this kind of ’fragmentation’ of identity shows that instead of a single ’ethnicity’, identity is discussed in terms of many different aspects of identity: ”the ‘‘I’’ is subject to different kinds of identifications—minority, women, American, Chinese, immigrants, and so on” (Knippling 1996:61).

One of the characteristics of multicultural texts is the tendency to foreground the contradictive aspects of identity by dramatizing the difference between internal experience and the external images of it (Oster 2003:35). For example, the topic of a journey is one of the common contexts for this, as in immigration, and often foregrounds the change and feeling of ”strangeness” in the immigrant’s identity: that one conforms to the new environment, and simultaneously begins to differ ”from one’s former image and from the people at mother’s dinner table— a difference more complex and more conflicted” (Oster 2003:35). This is one of the major themes in the works of Amy Tan as well, *The Bonesetter’s Daughter* being no exception: there is this kind of change in terms of time and history (life history of the characters) and in terms of what kind of a relation the characters have to their present-day environment and spheres of living and to each other. In multicultural literature, this kind of change is more sudden and radical than for example in traditional narratives on personal development and growth (Oster 2003:35-36). Here, as a theme, the unexpected difference expresses the disruption and formation of identity (Oster 2003:36).

Oster (2003) notes that ”[i]n bicultural families, differences in languages, customs, and assumptions can loom as conflicts or require identity decisions daily.” (Oster 2003:36) She notes that this unstable identity, or subjectivity, discussed in postmodern theory, has also been a concern for multicultural writers and their protagonists (as well as other minorities), who are aware of the fragmenting and conflicting elements that they confront in forming their identities. However, one also has a need to achieve a coherent picture of oneself, and consequently many writers of multicultural works strive to integrate the different elements into a coherent whole. This kind of integration is characteristic for *The Bonesetter’s Daughter*, and for Amy Tan’s other works as well. For example, in *The Bonesetter’s Daughter* the personality and life history of the mother-character, LuLing, seem to have a significant binding function for the lives of the rest of the protagonists in the novel. In addition, Wagner (2004) notes on the novels of Amy Tan that whereas Tan in her earlier novels uses simplifying stereotypes to show the contradictions and inconsistencies in the multicultural United States, in her later novels her characters are more ‘hybrid’ and there are more non-Chinese characters (Wagner 2004:438).

4.2 ETHNIC IDENTITY

In ethnically heterogeneous societies such as the United States, aspects of ethnicity and cultural identity are a field of contestation, because there are different and contradicting ways to determine ethnicity, cultural identities, and because ethnicity is seen as a highly relevant factor (De Fina 2003:144). In the case of immigration, the definitions of the immigrant themselves and those of the country of destination can be different and contradictive. The immigrant’s sense of self can be based on other aspects than cultural origin, such as occupation, whereas in the new country the social categories available are based on ethnicity (De Fina 2003:143). Therefore, the immigrant both encounters ethnic categorizations by others, and needs to develop her/his own understanding of the categories (De Fina 2003:143). The immigrants’ own definitions of themselves and the categorizations by the dominant population has been studied for example by Bailey (2002), who found that Dominican Americans in the United States were categorized according to their skin colour as ’Blacks’ though they themselves spoke Spanish and categorized themselves according to their educational level. Thus, they used the Spanish language to differentiate themselves from the African American association.

The concept of ethnicity has been used and defined in many ways, including criteria such as the ’objective’ political, biological, cultural, national, social organization and linguistic criteria (Leets et al. 1996:117, 138; Liebkind 1999:140), or ’subjective’ criteria such as psychological or subjective identification, affiliation with certain practices (e.g. languages), or a belief in a common ancestry (Leets et al. 1996:117; Liebkind 1999:140). The concept has also often been used for minority groups, such as immigrants (Liebkind 1999:140). In different research orientations, ethnicity has been often defined as a stable set of characteristics, based for example on biological origin. From the non-essential point of view, ethnicity is a social and discursive construction which describes a group of people in relation to differences other groups, and this also often involves relationships of power between the groups (Barker at al.

2001:123). Descriptions of ethnicity are seen to be based on social and cultural categories and systems, and created and temporarily stabilized in social practices (Barker et al. 2001:122-3).

Thus, because the descriptions are constructed in relation to others, and exist only temporarily in social practices, the meanings of ethnicity change according to circumstances, its social and historical contexts which are specific and changing (Barker et al. 2001:123). Thus, ethnicity is a different concept than for example ’nation’ or ’country’, because these are based on a politically loaded idea of unity. There cannot be a single, universal and fixed set of ethnic characteristics for a group of people, so that what it means to be a, say, Chinese, varies according to time and place (Barker et al. 2001:123). In addition, there is the aspect of subjective identification and affiliations. The descriptions and categories used for self-definition are also affectively loaded, and create a sense of ’belonging’, that is, we see ourselves as having similar characteristics as in the description. The term of identification has been adopted from psychology and describes how we ”attribute qualities to ourselves and transfer associations, making it possible to see ourselves in the image presented” (Woodward 1997:15). In the context of multicultural fiction, it has been a current topic of debate that the simple concentration of one social category, such as ethnicity or gender, may obscure other differences and therefore, authors should take into account the specific combinations of different aspects of identity if they are to be taken as depicting the real experience of for example female Asian immigrants (Kobayashi 2002:70-1).

The way ethnicity should be studied, depends on whether it is seen as a classification of characteristics by the researcher, or as descriptions constructed through actual social and cultural practices and subjective identifications. Various orientations in research have affected the study of ethnicity, from social science to communication studies (Leets et al. 1996:117). The view adopted in this study follows the lines of the non-essential and discursive view on identity, according to which ethnicity is one aspect of identity, formed in relation to others in social practices and interaction, and its relevance depends on the context (Leets et al. 1996:35). The contextual factors include the social groups and communication networks of the individuals, situational factors, and the interactional exchange which is regulated by interpersonal relations and medium of communication (Leets et al. 1996:136).

4.3 IDENTITY AND MULTILINGUALISM

In the study of language and identity, there has been a debate about the relationship between language and identity, and the view that the use of a linguistic variety is directly caused by some specific social category such as class or ethnicity has been criticised by for its focus on pre-established categories instead of focussing on the interactional exchange and the meanings it produces (Auer 2005:403-4). The view that languages can be directly related to social structures and groups is represented for example in Myers-Scotton's (1993) model of code switching where languages represent specific sets of rights and obligations, or norms, which are activated when the languages are used in conversation (Auer 2005:405). In addition, the idea of direct correlation is also involved in the concepts of 'we-code' and 'they-code' presented by Gumperz (1982), whose study on the social and interactional significance of code switching otherwise represents the interactional and socially oriented branch of research as contrasted with the grammatical and structural one. 'We-code' and 'they-code' refer to languages which are used for ingroup and informal communication ('we-code' is often the language of a minority group) and formal, out-group and less personal communication ('they-code' is often the majority language) (Gumperz 1982:66, as cited in Sebba and Wootton 1999:262). Therefore, if the minority language is used, it could be interpreted as being used for informal and personal communication, which is not necessarily always the case.

There are also views, such as Auer (1998), which take into account both the effects of sociocultural structures and linguistic practices. A central point of view which created a link between the sociocultural and linguistic structures is that by Bourdieu (1977b, 1991), who argued that because we have acquired social norms and values in our childhood, we have also learned the different values which are attached to various language varieties. Therefore, we assess the contexts where we speak according to what is the proper language to speak. Some languages are valued higher than others (Bourdieu (1977b, 1991, as cited in Boztepe 2003:15). This can also be noticed in the context of for example immigration, as described above, where attitudes can be negative towards the minority language. However, since the speakers are the ones who give the value and power to the languages, they can also alter and challenge the existing values by using them differently, such as by code switching (Heller 1992, 1995, as cited in Boztepe 2003:15). Thus, associations between languages and social structures are accumulated through their use in specific contexts.

Auer (2005:404) notes that in the study of language use and code switching, language and sociocultural structures can be linked with the concept of social identity, that is, the social categories and memberships which are taken up in the course of interaction. This, in turn, links with larger sociocultural structures such as ethnicity or gender (Auer 2005:404-5). Auer's (2005) view is also adopted in the present study. Language is taken as one aspect of marking identity, but through a discursive and interactional process, where resources such as interactional orientations and assumptions by the participants and explicit labels and attitudes contribute to the creation of social identities in addition to linguistic structures associated with social groups (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:594). In addition, as Ochs (1992, 1993) argues, linguistic structures index identity by being ”associated with interactional stances such as forcefulness, uncertainty, and so on, which in turn may come to be associated with particular social categories, such as gender” (Ochs 1992, 1993, as cited in Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6).

Auer (2005) argues that languages cannot be directly attributed to a social group, so that for example a bilingual person would not necessarily identify with two cultures (Auer 2005:404-5). This means that although there are contexts where a single language is seen to ’belong’ to some social group or is associated with a particular social category and it is seen by the users as marking their identification to the group, the idea of a single language as a natural determinant of for example a nation or country, is ‘essential’ and simplistic (Auer 2005:406). This is because contacts between groups also involve language contacts, which generate phenomena such as code switching and hybrid forms of language which do not fit into the monolingual framework (Auer 2005:406). In addition, languages are used in situational and interactional circumstances and therefore, they are not necessarily used for marking identification to the groups or countries they are generally associated (Auer 2001:405). For example, mixing languages as a new style can be associated to a new identity which has formed in the contact of social groups and languages (Auer 1998:9), or switching languages can have functions which are interactionally specific (Auer 1998:3). Auer (2005) also argues that “[l]anguage alternation can be void of identity-relevant meaning in some contexts, and yet in others extremely rich in the identity-work it accomplishes” (Auer 2005:409) .

Thus, multilingual contexts often involve identity negotiation as well. In some cases, such as the emergence of ethnic identity discussed above, language can mark ethnic or national identity, and sometimes it is used for power and prestige, as in establishing a standard language. Yet in other cases, multilingualism as such can mark some aspect of identity, such as an international and consumer identity (Piller 2001, as cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003:2). In the context of multicultural fiction, this has been studied as well. Oster (2003) notes that in multilingual and multicultural fiction, a minority language can be used to reflect the inferiority felt by a member of a minority group or an immigrant, and the difficulties to accommodate oneself into the new country, or to reflect the relationship of various languages and personal identity (Oster 2003:86).

As noted above, for example communicative principles and rules or sociocultural norms may regulate how language is used, but the speakers can also use language(s) to their own goals. The latter aspect has been emphasised for example by Coupland (2002), who argues that the presentation of self through using dialects is one of the major characteristics of motivated language use (Coupland 2002:191). He argues that the motivations of the speakers to mark their identities, that is, the identity function of language use, has to be taken into account in the study of language alternation (Coupland 2002:190).

Coupland takes dialects and ‘ways of speaking’ as basically different phenomena, in that dialects or language varieties are sets of linguistic features associated with social groups, and ‘ways of speaking’ are more related to “what we choose to mean, to whom, when, and where” and are not associated to social groups (Coupland 2002:190). However, he also argues that because dialects are often used together with culturally and communicatively meaningful ‘ways of speaking’, these must be studied and interpreted in relation to each other (Coupland 2002:191). In his words “dialect styles are a subset of a community’s culturally imbued ways of speaking and need to be analyzed in relation to other (non-dialectal) dimensions of cultural meaning” (Coupland 2002:191). ”Dialect styles become meaningful for our self-identities and our relationships through the ways in which they cross-refer to other symbolic processes in discourse” (Coupland 2002:191). This is also the view adopted in the present study, in that language varieties are related with other meaningful ’ways of speaking’, also termed here as ’discourses’. In this way, language varieties and ways of speaking relate to the view of Bakhtin (e.g. 1981) that linguistic forms and styles involve many competing associations, meanings and values (Coupland 2002:196). Thus, there is a range of identity positions, or ’voices’ which can be taken up by the speakers to their goals (Ochs 1988:29 as cited Coupland 2002:196). Coupland (2001) argues that the speakers can purposefully take up a style or ‘voice’, to represent themselves in a particular way, and thus, identity can also be *performative*, intentionally crafted (Coupland 2001:346).

Similar phenomenon is also studied by Rampton (e.g. 1995, 1998), who found that the languages associated with some specific group could also be used by non-members for marking their own identity. (Coupland 2001:350). In his study on the speech of a radio disc jockey, Coupland (2001) found that this kind of stylized use of Welsh dialect can be used both to parody and de-authenticate the representations of Welsh cultural traditions, as well as to re-authenticate or create a new kind of understanding of Welshness through this kind of playful parody and to identify with it (Coupland 2002:367, 371). Thus, language can be used creatively to craft and perform identities. This aspect is also relevant for literary analysis, since literary discourse is also oriented to the reader, and planned beforehand. In the context of multilingual and multicultural texts for example by Li (2004) who argues that in the novels of the Asian American writer Maxine Hong Kingston, the use of Chinese pidgin English both helps to create an authentic depiction of the lives of the Chinese immigrant generations in the United States, and is also used to take up and question the notions of the White Americans have on the community and its language, as well as to “seek a new way of using language that will reflect and define the identities of her people” Li (2004:275-6).

In terms of literary texts, Coupland notes that in literary studies, the focus has traditionally been in the expression of individuality, in contrast to sociolinguistic study of the distribution of linguistic features among social groups (Coupland 2002:188). Thus, in the present study, language varieties are seen as possibly marking identity, but identity marking function is analysed in relation to other ways of speaking and the communicative situation as well. Both the motivated use of language to representation of identities, and the sociolinguistic context as well as interactionally oriented functions are taken into account.

5. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework of this study is based on the interpretative views of Auer (1998, 1999) and Androutsopoulos (2003) on code switching. Language alternation and code switching are studied widely in spoken language, but written data has received less attention. In addition, many of the studies on written data has a predominantly formalistic focus (e.g. Callahan 2004, Lopez 2002). In terms of fiction, the significance of language alternation has been discussed from a literary point of view, concentrating on the symbolic meanings of language variation but with little attention on the actual linguistic features and processes (e.g. Oster 2003).

The present study will examine linguistic variation in the dialogues in the novel. The linguistic items will be related to their wider contexts, instead of isolating them according to formal features (which would not give an adequate understanding on their actual use and effects in the novel). In addition, the approach suggested by Auer (1998) and applied in the present study, is developed for spoken language and therefore, the qualities of written fiction require some attention. The application of Auer's views on written texts suggested by Androutsopoulos (2003) is useful for this. However, a novel is somewhat different as data than relatively short web and magazine texts, as analysed for example by Androutsopoulos. Therefore, these models are complemented with the levels of language choice as applied by Moyer 1999, and the types of fabricated conversational sequences as presented by Vimala Herman (1995).

5.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the present study is to investigate how code switching is used in Amy Tan's novel *The Bonesetter's Daughter.* In particular, the study focusses on the functions and effects of language alternation, and the way this contributes to the construction and representation of ethnic identities in the novel.

The research question of the present study is the following:

1. How are ethnic identities constructed and represented through code switching in Amy Tan's novel *The Bonesetter's Daughter*?

The more specific analytic questions of the present study are the following:

a) What forms and functions does code switching have in the novel?
b) What do choices of languages and styles index of ethnic identity in the novel?

Indexing means here that linguistic forms and functions used in discourse are associated with specific kind of knowledge, practices and groups of people. This relationship is not direct, but is formed through situational details, and the recurrent use of particular linguistic forms in certain contexts and functions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6, Ochs 1992 as cited in Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595). Therefore, linguistic forms and practices can index, or point to, something (concepts, groups of people etc.) through the patterns of language use in discourse (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6, citing Ochs 1992, 1993). Examining to what exactly these patterns point helps to form a picture of the representation of ethnic identity as a whole.

The *construction* of meanings (and identities) in the present study refers to the overall active process of creating meaning. This also includes the aspect that there are no predetermined limits for what can be constructed, as the discursive process is situational and creates meanings at the ”grassroot” level of language use. The meanings created are *representations*: concepts, things, groups of people presented in a certain way, as having certain kind of characteristics. In this study, this includes discourses and their combinations which are used in the construction of meanings in the novel under study. This is different from the critical view where representation includes the aspect of power relationships and interests (Barker et al. 2001:65-6). The present study is not critically oriented. However, power relations are an inherent part of social action, so they cannot be left completely without attention. Though in theory there are no predetermined constraints to what kind of representations are possible, there are larger social structures and authorities, which may affect, or impose, patterns of construction and representation (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595). The degree of effect can vary, resulting in more normative and conventional or more creative and original representations (see e.g. Fairclough 1992:7-8). In the present study, representation as a concept refers to the overall picture which the author creates of ethnic identity, which is constituted by the various elements indexed by patterns of language alternation.

The present analysis focusses both on the narration, and on the speech and dialogue of the fictional characters, the mother-daughter dialogue in particular. The specific focus of this study is on the interaction between the mother and daughter characters, because this is one of the prominent themes in the novel, and also because the scope of the analysis would be too broad if all the discussions and characters in the novel were analysed. Instead, in order to form a more detailed and comprehensive picture of the significance of code switching, both the level of narrational discourse and the level of fictive representations (such as the dialogues) are taken into account. The former means here the way the events and characters and their relations are constructed and described, the latter means the resulting ’imitation’ of real world, including the characters and their life history, the dialogues, and the themes and symbolic meanings formed in the course of the story.

These two levels overlap and interact, and the nature of the language of the narration affects the way the character speech and dialogue are interpreted: ”[…]characters in novels do not speak in isolation. Because their speech relates in style as well as content to the speech of other characters, all quoted language in a novel is contained within and potentially interacts with the language of the narrator” (Ferguson 1998:1). The author creates a web of social meanings by using different styles of speaking, and thus structures the fictional world (Ferguson 1998:1).

The analysis concentrates mostly on the first section of the novel, which is set in the United States, because it includes most of the pidgin English and Chinese alternation. However, in the second, Chinese section there are some meaningful examples of linguistic behaviour, such as representations of spoken Chinese and sign language (reported in English), which are also taken into account. This is because the focus of the study is on the patterns of language alternation, and these ways of speaking seem to resemble common features of bilingual behaviour, such as excluding a participant by refusing to translate for her. In cases like this, one could replace the sign language with a distinct language variety, and the functions of the two languages used in conversation would still remain the same. In addition, the second section of the novel features ways of speaking and conversational structures which help to interpret those in the American section and to form a picture of the general styles of the novel.

5.2 THE DATA

The data of this study consist of instances of code switching collected from *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, the novel hereafter referred to as BD. I have taken into account both structurally distinguished varieties, such as languages (for example Chinese and English), as well as styles and ways of speaking which cannot be distinguished so clearly (such as figurative language and certain recurrent expressions), but which still seem to have significance in the novel. As to the structural varieties, there are instances of pidgin English and actual Chinese, as well as Chinese reported in English. Pidgin English is more common than actual Chinese, and consists of longer passages. Pidgin English is the habitual way of speaking of one protagonist, LuLing, and is represented in quotations and reported speech, both in the narration and in dialogues. Though some instances of pidgin English and Chinese occur outside dialogues, they were included in the study because they condense certain meaningful aspects of interaction and the styles used in the novel. In addition to actual Chinese immigrant's pidgin English, there are some other instances of English with non-standard features. These include variations in spelling, imitating the way the English spoken by Western characters, and the way the Chinese characters experience this. The episodes of dialogue and conversation also involve longer stretches of Chinese reported in English. Furthermore, certain styles and ways of speaking emerged from the data which are related to language alternation, such as word play and a performative way of story telling.

5.3 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The methods of analysis of the present study build on the interpretive approach and the typology of code switching proposed by Peter Auer (1995, 1998). This has been applied to spoken conversations by, among others, Wei and Milroy (1994). However, because the data of this study is written fiction, the model needs to be adjusted. Auer's approach has been applied to written magazine and web texts by Jannis Androutsopoulos (2003). Based on Auer (1998), this model is the guideline for the present study. In addition, a classification of the levels of language choice has been adapted from Moyer (1999) to make sense of the overall features of the dialogues in the novel. The principles of Conversation Analysis and interactional dynamics are also explicated in this section, since this approach both underlies the study of conversational code switching which is the basis of Auer's approach, and also helps to make sense of the way identities are situationally constructed. The approach also supports the analysis of the interpersonal and interactional dynamics in the novel. In addition, the significance of dialogues and aspects of interaction at the narrational and thematic level is discussed in terms of Vimala Herman's (1995) conversation analytical approach on drama.

5.3.1 Types of code switching

The typology of language alternation by Auer (1998) is based on the division between code switching and mixing, on the other hand, and insertion and alternation, on the other. The model differs from the other views on code switching in its narrow definition of *code switching* as only those instances which have functional and/or symbolic meaning in the specific point of conversation where they occur (Auer 1998:4-5). There is also a clear distinction to *code mixing*, which is significant only as a general style (Auer 1998:21). However, these do not exclude each other, and some features of a mixed style of speaking can also have meanings in their local contexts of occurrence (Auer 1998:10). Auer (1998) argues that the analysis must not be based on the analyst's definition of 'codes', but on the way language is actually used (Auer 1998:3). Androutsopoulos (2003) applies these classifications on magazine and web texts, adding to them some useful analytic concepts such as intertextuality and linguistic routines. Because of the narrow view of code switching, in the analytical part of the present study the concepts of switching and mixing will be used in a different meaning than in the earlier discussions of code switching as a general phenomenon. A more detailed explanation of these concepts follows below.

Code switching as defined by Auer (1998) and Androutsopoulos (2003) include instances of code shifting "[…] in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants." (Auer 1998:1) In other words, the contrast of languages has a particular meaning in the speech situation for the participants. According to Androutsopoulos's (2003) summary of Auer's (1998) view, code switching means that the shift in code "indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc." (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). In other words, code switching is used as a contextualization cue (Auer 1998:2) and it has a stylistic or rhetorical function (Auer 1998:21). The juxtaposition of the languages can also be highlighted by other cues such as metalinguistic comments or prosodic cues, making it locally meaningful

(Auer 1998:5). In addition, the function of the inserted elements does not depend on their grammatical form and on the degree of their accommodation to the receiving language (ibid.). Auer also argues that code switching is also possible with restricted language abilities, and extensive knowledge of every language involved is not required (Auer 1998:3).

Code switching also typically occurs in contexts where a single language of interaction can be identified, until a code switch occurs (Auer 1998:3) and the switch marks the interaction as bilingual (Auer 1998:2). However, the switched items need not be from different languages, but they can all be for example from dialects or sets of prosodic features (Auer 1998:5). In addition, in the case of written texts, as Androutsopoulos (2003:3) notes, it is usual that there is a clearly recognizable base language, such as the language of the magazines and web texts in Androutsopoulos' study.

Auer (1998, 1999) makes a distinction between *discourse-related switching* and *participant-related switching*. Discourse-related switching includes instances which signal changes in the context of the conversation or organize the conversation ”by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance” (Auer 1999:4). Switching the language can signal that the following utterance is in contrast with the current conversational context and it thus brings in another ”contextual frame” (Auer 1998:3), signalling a change of footing, for example, the speaker's attitude towards the conversation. The exact meaning of the utterance depends on the particular situation (Auer 1998:3). Similarly, Androutsopoulos (2003) notes in his study on written hip-hop discourse that code switching can add emphasis on the propositional content of a statement, and express ”a stance” (Androutsopoulos 2003:4). Androutsopoulos also notes that code switching marks changes in the discourse role of the writer, and in modality (Androutsopoulos 2003:5).

Participant-related code switching, as defined by Auer (1998, 1999), occurs, in turn, when switching is due to the language abilities or preferences of the speaker or the other participants (Auer 1999:8). Preference means ”the interactional processes of displaying and ascribing predicates to individuals. Their exact nature is entirely dependent on the wider social, political and cultural context of the interaction at hand” (Auer 1999:8). In other words, language preference characterizes the speaker and can draw from the associations of the language(s) used, as in sequences of divergent language choices (Auer 1999:8), and in language negotiation sequences where the participants adjust their language choices (Auer 1999:8). In written discourse, such as a novel, this aspect of code switching is not clearly identifiable, since written discourse is not (usually) spontaneously interactional. However, as dialogues in fiction are imitations of real life interaction, participant-related switching is possible as representations of multilingual practices.

In addition to the patterns of code switching discussed above, Androutsopoulos (2003) notes further instances of what he names intertextual switching, and framing. Intertextual switching includes other-language quotations and allusions, such as quotations from songs (Androutsopoulos 2003:5). Auer (1999) also mentions intertextuality in the conversational context, in the sense of references to preceding conversations to contextualize the current one: ”[o]n the basis of this background information, it is possible to understand that the insertion establishes a link between this episode and these previous ones in the same group; that is, it works ‘inter-textually’” (Auer 1999:7). This kind of intertextuality belongs to the discourse-related type of code switching since it organizes the discourse (Auer 1999:7). In terms of literary discourse, both kinds of intertextuality are possible, since the writer can draw from the wider social context of the novel, or use intertextual references to bind together dialogues and contexts in the novel.

Framing, according to Androutsopoulos (2003), involves using code switched utterances in the beginning and/or in the end of a text (Androutsopoulos 2003:5). The utterances can be quotations, slogans, greetings and farewells, or other resources (Androutsopoulos 2003:5). They are used to frame the text ”as a part of a more extensive sub-cultural discourse” (ibid.). In other words, the language of the switched utterances associates with social and cultural categories such as the US skater culture in the hip-hop texts, and thus frames the text into that context. A further type of code switching identified by Androutsopoulos (2003) is language crossing (introduced by Rampton 1998), that is, ”the purposeful use of (elements of) a language or variety that does not belong to the speaker, but to an identified ethnic or social group” (Androutsopoulos 2003:6). This can include using elements which are stereotypically associated with the group, such as features of the Afro-American vernacular English in German hip-hop discourse (Androutsopoulos 2003:6).

In the present study, code switching is defined according to whether the linguistic items have a local significance. In literary discourse, such as a novel, the assumption is that everything in the novel is there for a reason, because the author has planned it. Therefore almost every instance may be seen as having *some* meaning, and sometimes it might be difficult to distinguish local meanings from the more pervasive ones. In the present study, other cues such as metalinguistic comments by the author or the characters can help to define the local meaningfulness of an instance. I will look at the details of the language alternation instances, taking into account not only structural varieties such as Chinese and English languages, but also other meaningful linguistic features. This will help to recognize ways of speaking which contribute to the overall linguistic patterning of the novel. I will look for discourse-related and symbolic functions of the items, as well as for possible participant-related (which in the present study often means character-related) reasons for language alternation. Furthermore, since discourses involve particular kinds of language use, such as vocabulary, I will look at word choices in the switched elements. This will help to connect the linguistic elements to discourses.

Code mixing is different from code switching in that the language alternation has no local meaning in its context of use. Auer (1998) defines code mixing ”those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, i.e. when seen as a recurrent pattern” (Auer 1998:1). The participants may be aware that more than one language (or style) is being used but they do not take this as significant for the interpretation of the interaction (Auer 1998:6). Code mixing as a general style may be associated with a social group (Androutsopoulos 2003:3, Auer 1998:21). The alternation can also be quite frequent (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). According to Androutsopoulos (2003), in addition to longer stretches, mixing can include both established and nonce borrowings, the former distinguished from the latter on the basis of structural integration, frequency and community acceptance (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). Established borrowings are commonly used and can be structurally integrated into the receiving language (ibid.). Nonce borrowings are spontaneously drawn from the donor language (ibid.). Androutsopoulos (2003) found that in written text, nonce borrowings can be marked with deviant spelling, such as a lower case signalling English in words which in German should be written with a capital. In addition, Callahan (2004) notes that the most common way of representing the ”other” language in literary discourse is to use italics, and that this can make the borrowed or switched items stand out and sometimes also emphasise them (Callahan 2004:103). In the present study, italics are taken into account when determining the quality and integration of the borrowed and switched items. In general, code mixing in this study is taken to include those instances which lack local significance. They are grouped according to their common features, and the kind of vocabulary they represent is analysed to establish links with the styles and discourses they belong to.

Both switching and mixing can include short elements such as single words, or larger chunks. *Insertion* is ”a uni-directional process in which a elements of a donor language are imbedded into a matrix language” (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). In other words, insertions are restricted structural units (small constituents, such as nouns) and do not change or threaten the language of interaction (Auer 1998:21, 1999:17). The grammatical form of insertions (as mentioned earlier in the discussion on code switching) does not affect their function; they can be grammatically integrated into the base language or carry features from the other language (Auer 1998:5). *Alternation*, in turn, is bi-directional so that the language of interaction can change, and the point of switching is unpredictable (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). Alternations often occur at clause boundaries (Auer 1998:21). However, the language of interaction does not necessarily change in all cases of alternation. It is possible that the language is altered only for example to index a change in footing (Auer 1999:7).

In the case of written discourse, Androutsopoulos (2003) notes that because written media, such as the magazines and web texts in his study, have a clear base language, actual language alternation is not likely and therefore insertions are the only important type (Androutsopoulos 2003:3). This is basically the case in the present study as well. However, the dialogues in the novel might feature some alternations, since they simulate real life conversations. A novel is also different from spoken discourse and magazine texts in that although there can be speech representation in magazine texts as well, in a novel it can be more complex and constitute longer passages. In the present study, insertions are firstly, small constituents, such as nouns. In addition, because of the base language in the novel is English, insertions also cover more extensive units, such as quotations of the characters’ speech which are marked off from the narration as separate units, for example with quotation marks or punctuation (as in many cases of pidgin quotations). Alternations (in dialogues) are those instances in which the language of interaction changes or becomes threatened, and the point of alternation is not predictable.

In addition to the types of code switching and mixing presented above, Androutsopoulos (2003) suggests a descriptive category of *routines*. A routine is ”any fixed or set linguistic item that is repeatedly used in a specific context” (Androutsopoulos 2003:6). In other words, routines are stabilized expressions or ”linguistic frames” which are suitable for particular situations, such as greetings (Androutsopoulos 2003:6-7). Routines can be single words or larger utterances, such as idioms or set phrases (Androutsopoulos 2003:6). They can include both switched and new, as well as mixed and conventionalized elements (Androutsopoulos 2003:6). In Androutsopoulos’ data of written hip-hop discourse, routines are also the sites of Afro-American vernacular English, which is associated with the more global hip-hop culture (Androutsopoulos 2003:6-8). Routines (and the English items in general) are a part of a social style and thus, by using these features, the writers can express their identification with the hip-hop culture with a limited knowledge of the ”other” language (Androutsopoulos 2003:9).

Androutsopoulos (2003:6-7) presents seven categories of routines. The first one includes greetings and farewells, and the second one comprises of expressive speech acts, expletives and expressive interjections such as *thanks* or *wow*. The third category includes discourse markers such as *ok* and *well*. The fourth and fifth groups are slogans related to sub-cultural concerns, such as statements expressing beliefs and affiliations or directives urging into particular action or moral conduct, and advertisement slogans for products and services. The last two categories include ”props”, a special greeting and congratulating routine specific to the hip-hop culture, and finally phrases such as *that’s all*, *let’s go*. This kind of features have also been found in other studies on written code switching, such as the linguistic routines and idiomatic expressions in Montes-Alcalá’s (2005) study on personal letters, and set phrases in McClure’s (1992) study on Mexican magazines.

5.3.2 The levels of language choice

In the present study, the code switching typology of Auer (1998) and Androutsopoulos (2003) is complemented by the levels of language choice in conversation as presented by Moyer (1999). Because the novel under investigation involves different and often more extensive structures than for example magazine texts, the levels of language choice help to make sense of the overall meanings of the language and style choices in the dialogues.

Moyer (1999) proposes three levels of conversation structure, on which speakers can switch languages. These multilingual conversation strategies provide resources for non-monolingual speakers for constructing meaning in conversation (Moyer 199:224). At the highest level, there is the choice of language for the entire conversation. The main language that a speaker chooses can ”reflect her or his assumptions about the situation, and the alignment with a given group, as well as a given set of values or attitudes.” (Moyer 1999:222). The main language used gives the frame for the rest of the conversation (Moyer 1999:222). The main language can be determined by looking at the overall linguistic and social context of the conversation. The main language, or the lack of it (frequent language alternation as a style) can signal aspects of the speakers’ identity (Moyer 1999:222-3). The intermediate level includes language alternation between turns, where speakers can ”momentarily select or negotiate the use of a different language for a limited number of turns.” (Moyer 1999:222) This level provides information about the interpersonal relations of the speakers, and can be examined with the sequential analysis suggested by Auer (1995) (Moyer 1999:223, 215). The lowest level consists of turn-internal alternation, such as utterances or sentences (Moyer 1999:222). Together these levels serve as analytical tools to form a picture of the significance of code switching in dialogues.

Moyer argues that these three levels may not necessarily be all present in all multilingual settings, though they can be found in the Gibraltarian context of her study. As an example she gives Wei and Milroy’s (1994) study on the Chinese community in Tyneside, where intra-sentential switching is rare (Moyer 1999:224). In addition, in their study on Chinese families in Tyneside, Wei and Milroy (1995) note that because the Chinese community is in a process of language change, different generations have different language abilities and therefore ”code-switching occurs most often in inter-generational conversation and overwhelmingly at turn and sentence boundaries” (Wei and Milroy 1995:283). This is also accounted for by Auer (1999:8), who assigns switches into divergent languages as participant-related switching, because they are due to participants’ different language preferences. He also accounts for sequences of divergent language choices as ”absence of further participant-related code switching” which can also have situational meanings (Auer

1999:8) In *The Bonesetter's* Daughter, divergent language choices and absence of code switching can also be found. The mother and daughter characters have differing language abilities and preferences and therefore often use divergent language varieties. In addition, in some cases there is no actual switching of language by a same speaker, but lack of switching has significance for the conversation situation.

5.3.3 Conversation Analysis

In the sequential approach on code switching suggested by Auer (1995, 1998), sequentiality means that the analysis focusses on the location and succession of the switches and language varieties in the conversation (Auer 1999:12-13). The meanings of the switches and language varieties cannot be determined beforehand, since they are formed in the course of the interaction. Sociocultural structures and associations do affect the interpretation, but through the details of the conversation.

The basic aspect of conversation analysis is that conversation is an organized activity, following certain principles. This view was proposed among others by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978) (Herman 1995:79). A central aspect of this is *turn-taking,* and the unit of *turn* (Herman 1995:78). Wei (2005) explains this as following:

> ”[t]urn-taking is part of what Sacks and Schegloff call 'members' procedures for achieving orderly and meaningful communication. The ways in which participants design and modify their utterances are 'naturally occurring statements' made by the social actors themselves about how they make sense of each other's contributions. This tacit, organised reasoning procedure is critical in our understanding of how social relationships are developed and higher level social orders are achieved.” (Wei 2005:381, summarizing Sacks et a. 1974)

In other words, turns are used by speakers in a co-ordinated way, so that speakers' turns follow each other. That is, they are *allocated* according to *turn transition places* and constructed to fit the preceding turns (Herman 1995:80). Turn transition places are ”slots” in the succession of turns which enable a smooth speaker change. A further important notion is *sequentiality,* which means the pairing of turns so that two or more turns form a conversational unit, an *adjacency pair* (Herman 1995:84). This means that a turn requires a specific type of turn as a response, such as question and answer. The *preferred* response is socially accepted and simpler than the *dispreferred* one, which is less accepted socially (Herman 1995:86). The building of sequences requires co-operation from the speakers, and thus creates the reciprocity of the conversation. This requirement for co-operation also provides the value of conversation for fiction and other ”fabricated” works. Conversational mechanisms are used in constructed dialogues to depict interaction and social relationships (Herman 1995:15). In *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, social relationships are particularly relevant because the plot and story are primarily about the developments of the relationship between the protagonists.

5.3.4 Conversation analysis of fictional dialogues

In *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, dialogues contribute to the themes and plot of the novel. For example, the problematic relationship and confusion between the mother and daughter protagonists is conveyed through problems and disruptions in their interaction. To make sense of the kind of situations which the dialogues construct, Vimala Herman's (1995) approach to the analysis of turn sequencing in the context of drama dialogues is useful. According to Herman, in constructed dialogue different types of turn sequences are strategically used (Herman 1995:128). In drama they can convey the speaking characters' orientations towards the conversation situation, as for example when the characters fail to build coherent sequences because of diverging understanding of the situation and the communicative rules (Herman 1995:132). Herman also argues that turn sequencing is used in drama to structure the ”course of the action”, and this can construct for example *a conflict situation*, which in turn can have consequences for the plot (Herman 1995:136-7). Other types of situations are *intimacy sequences*, in which the participants display a desire for intimacy and closeness, reciprocity and mutuality by using various conversational resources (Herman 1995:142-3). This can be achieved ”not only by affective displays and by choice of personal topics, but also, paradoxically, by the use of rude or crude socially improper talk” (Herman 1995:146). This can, in turn, bring along other ”interpersonal and social values like trust as appropriate to them” (Herman 1995:149). These aspects can be found in *The Bonesetter's Daughter* as well.

In addition to conflict and intimacy sequences, Herman lists *alternative sequences* where only phatic and routine exchanges are enacted, lacking any new content, and thus showing the problems and unfruitfulness of communication. This is utilized particularly in modern drama (Herman 1995:149-50). *Repetition sequences* do not bring any new information to the conversation either, but they do structure the situation (Herman 1995:157). In these, the speakers repeat their own or others words, and this focusses attention to the speech itself. Mentioning repeatedly some item can draw attention to it and ”foreground it as an unfinished topic or concern” (Herman 1995:156). In addition, referring repeatedly to ”previous contexts of talk, can form a cohesive link bridging separate and disjointed scenes in time and space or placing them in juxtaposition in the present context of speech via memory or narrative” (Herman 1995:156). Features such as this can be found in *The Bonesetter's Daughter* as well since there are many repeated expressions which come from previous contexts of talk. This aspect is also related to intertextuality (as discussed in chapters 2 and 3). The last situation type listed by Herman is *openings and closings* (Herman 1995:158). Openings and closings are strategies for introducing and actor on the stage and disengaging him/her off the stage.

Though this application focusses on drama, the same kinds of functions can be detected in fiction, with the difference that in fiction, dialogues are not as extensive as in plays, and are usually embedded in a narrational voice. In the present study, this classification of situations is used to make sense of the contexts and outcomes of the dialogues, such as arguments. This also helps to examine the interpersonal relationships created in the novel.

5.3.5 Footing and alignment of participants

Despite the norms which characterize conversation, the way turns are managed is specific to speakers, situation and culture (Herman 1995:82). Thus, context is another significant aspect for the interpretation of talk. This has been studied for example in the field of ethnography (see e.g. Hymes 1972). The degree to which context defines how speech and conversation is enacted, is a topic of debate between the ethnomethodological and conversation analytic view which takes conversation as a relatively independent structure, and the view which takes social domains as the defining factor (Wei, 2005:376). The present study adopts the approach suggested by Auer (1999) in the context of code switching that conversation has ”partial autonomy”, but larger social structures have significance as well (Auer 1999:4). In other words, conversational features are analysed to understand how larger social structures are brought about (Wei 2005:381). In the present study this also means that in addition to code switching, other contextualization cues are taken into account as well. As Auer (1998) argues, the meanings created through code switching are often supported by other linguistic elements which function together with code switching

(Auer 1998:5). This is also the view of Moyer (1999) who found in her study on code switching in a fictive conversation in a Gibraltarian newspaper column that

> ”bilingual strategies work together with other textual resources such as topic, alignment of the speakers and humour to portray the ambivalence of Gibraltarian identity.” (Moyer 1999: 231)

The alignment of speakers is an important notion for the analysis of interaction, because it gives information on the orientations of and relations between the participants. Speakers align or disalign with each other by using the resources available to them in a interactional situation. This is done for example by adopting *a footing* or *a stance* towards the other participants and the topic of talk.

The notion of *footing* is introduced by Goffman (Goffman 1974, 1979, 1981, see also Levinson 1988). It refers to the displaying of interactional orientation and alignment through linguistic means. According to Goffman, ”[a] change of footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and to others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance” (Goffman 1981:128, as cited in Davies and Harré 1990, online, chapter 6, paragraph 6). Footings point to *frames*, a term used by Goffman (1974) to describe the systems of concepts and activities which are used to make sense of reality. These systems derive from social and cultural structures (Davies and Harré 1990, online, chapter 6, paragraph 5).

Footing also refers to using interactional devices to express the *interactional roles* the speakers adopt, and the alignments and *participant framework* these suggest. The interactional roles include both speakers and recipients. The speaker’s roles include the involvement and responsibility towards the speech produced. The speakers roles are firstly, *principal*, the origin of the utterance presented who is responsible for the point of view (Goffman 1981:144). Secondly, *author* is responsible for the form of the utterance (ibid.), and *animator* is the one who delivers the utterance (ibid.). Thus, there can be more participants present with their points of view than only those who actually speak. Similarly, the recipients are divided as *ratified participants* and *nonratified participants*, the first referring to the ”official” participants of the interaction situation, that is, those who are addressed by the speakers and who are taken as participants by the others (Cromdal and Aronsson 2000:435). Nonratified participants are not addressed by the others, and are not taken as chief participants (ibid.).

For the present study, this kind of conceptualization of participants and speakers is useful for describing the participant constellations and changes of orientation which can be found in the data, and in particular for the ambiguous speaker and participation roles present in the data. For example, Ruth's position as a ”mediator” between her Chinese mother and the surrounding American society, her profession as a ghost-writer and an editor of other people's words, and her curious position as a ghost-writer between her mother and an assumed Chinese ghost are some of the clearest examples of this. In addition, the words of characters are often echoed in the narrator's speech.

This framework has been influential in the analysis of interaction and underlies many recent models as well. Auer (1995, 1998) also makes use of this framework in his approach to code switching, when mapping the changes in the orientation of the participants brought about by code switching as changes of footing. In the study of code switching and language choice, linguistic marking of the changes in the participant constellation and alignment between the speakers have been recorded to be among the most common functions of language alternation (Franchesini 1999:60), such as exclusion of participants by language choice (Saville-Troike 1982, as cited in Gardner-Chloros et al. 2000:1310). Auer (1995, 1998) also takes participant alignments as one of the situational features managed through code switching. However, concepts such as setting, frame and footing have rarely been used by literary theorists, who have concentrated on context, such as genre (Yaeger-Dror 2002:178). However, in the field of style in fiction, David Herman (2001) discusses characters' styles of speaking and their gender roles in terms of footings and social alignments, arguing that ”every style commits one to a role […] vis-à-vis the roles implicitly assigned to one's interlocutors by way of stylistic choices” (Herman 2001:67).

Davies and Harré (1990) criticize Goffman's original view that frames and alignments are stable and pre-existing to interaction, and argue that only the real and mutual relationships and understandings of the participants truly count, and suggest the concept of *positioning* instead of footing. (Davies and Harré 1990, online, chapter 6, paragraphs 5,9). Woolard (2004, as cited in Nilep 2005:10) argues that Goffman's notion of footing is individually oriented and a better suited term for code switching study would be Bakhtin's (1981) term of *voicing*, which is more socially oriented and thus helps to link linguistic form with macrosocial aspects (Woolard 2004:87, as cited in Nilep 2005:10). This concept has been utilized in code switching research by for example Rampton (1995) and Woolard (2004) (Nilep 2005:10). Another way of conceptualizing the orientations of the speakers is represented in Bucholtz and Hall (2005). According to Ochs (1992, 1993, as cited in Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6), the local, social identities of the participants are created through ”interactional stance[s], such as forcefulness, uncertainty and so on” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6) which are displayed through linguistic forms. Often this also includes evaluations of for example the topic, situation or participants. Bucholtz and Hall (2005:955) define *stance* as ”the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse”. These stances can further link with wider social structures, such as identity categories (Ochs 1992, 1993 as cited in Bucholtz and Hall 2005:595-6), or frames in Goffman’s terms**.**

For the present study, Goffmans’ framework is adopted as a guideline for describing the involvements of the interacting characters. However, it must be taken into account that the roles presented above are only one aspect of the local interactional roles and alignments in interaction. The view of the present study is that interactional roles are locally created in relation to the specific contexts of the situation and the other participants, and therefore cannot be prescribed beforehand. The local aspects of interaction are analysed with the help of footings, which involve the evaluative, epistemic and affective orientations of the participants. The aspects related to larger discourse types and sociocultural context are discussed with the help of *subject positions*, that is, the ways of being which are provided by discourses and discourse types (as explained in chapter 2 and 4).

6. CODE SWITCHING IN *THE BONESETTER’S DAUGHTER*

In this section, the instances of code switching and their meanings are analysed in their contexts of occurrence. Code switching includes those instances which define and characterize the context, situation or participants in some way, or contribute to the interactional meaning of an utterance. In the data, there are switched items from both pidgin English and Chinese. Chinese includes both explicitly presented Chinese words, and Chinese utterances reported in English. Reported Chinese was included since it is an integral part of the dialogues and the linguistic practices depicted in the novel. The use of these two forms of Chinese differ in that direct Chinese is mostly restricted to single words and phrases, whereas reported Chinese is used more extensively. Insertions include all those instances which are limited to structural units, such as constituents or single quotations of a character's words by the narrator. Alternations include those instances in fictional dialogues which threaten or change the main language, or in which the point of switching is not predictable. The switches belong to a number of discourses and ways of speaking which will be presented below. The types and patterns of switching will be discussed in the context of these categories.

6.1 INSIDER TALK AND INGROUP RELATIONS

This category of code switching includes cases where switching signals cultural or social belonging, and contributes to the creation of an ”inside” group. In some cases identity-related labels are mentioned explicitly, while other instances are more complex. The first sub-class consists of cultural contrasts, where the switches contribute to the juxtaposition of Chinese and American points of view. The second sub-category includes parental discourse, where the mother-daughter relationship is highlighted. The next subgroup is related to conveying knowledge and Chinese practices from generation to generation, and instructional activities and roles, such as a teacher-pupil relationship. These subcategories reflect the way ingroup relations are used as resource by the characters. There are also cases where ingroup practices are restrictive for the characters, reducing the characters' possibilities to act. This can be due to language and communication abilities (in the case of LuLing) or control of behaviour (in the case of Ruth).

6.1.1 Cultural contrast

In *The Bonesetter's Daughter,* contrasts between different cultures is a common theme. Cultural contrast is most often created between the American and the Chinese ways of living and thinking. The switched elements which contribute to the creation of cultural contrast include insertions of Chinese words, and some pidgin expressions. They underline juxtapositions in situations which involve cultural and/or social tensions. The first instance is an insertion and a nonce borrowing, "*huli-hudu*" (BD:109). It is an adjective which has no exact English equivalent, referring to a kind of confusion. It is used by LuLing in a pidgin sentence, as a part of an expression of evaluative footing towards the situation. The object of the comment is a next door couple whose bohemian lifestyle LuLing does not approve of and who have just had a loud argument spiced with taboo terms. This episode is similar to an earlier one in which the evaluation is in Chinese (reported in English), and in which the neighbors are labelled as "foreigners". In this instance, the evaluation is marked with a Chinese word. Thus, Chinese seems to be associated with the home and signals a cultural in-group, and therefore it is a discourse-related switch. *Huli-hudu* also occurs in Tan's earlier novel, *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), in a similar meaning.

> 1) "Her mother shook her head and clucked her tongue, then muttered in Chinese: 'Those foreigners are crazy' " (BD:99)
>
> 2) 'Those people *huli-hudu*,' her mother muttered. She set the steaming food on the table. 'Crazy, argue over nothing.' And then she closed the windows. (BD:109)

The following instances of code switching come from an episode of Full Moon Festival, or a "Chinese thanksgiving" (BD:75), a gathering for family members which Ruth hosts. These are insertions of single words, involving one pidgin English expression by LuLing and one Jewish term. These insertions are switches, since they index the stances of LuLing and Ruth towards the festival and the people present. The tension underlying the situation is caused by the former wife of Ruth's partner wanting to participate in the festival which Ruth wanted to organize to strengthen family ties and to share positive memories. The Jewish family of Ruth's partner has accepted the former wife as their heir, since she is the mother of Art's children and is described even to dress alike with Arts family. Ruth, however, feels an outsider. "Mezuzah", an insertion of a Jewish term referring to a parchment scroll of religious writings, indexes the Jewish heritage which is trusted to Miriam along with the other valuable family property. Thus, cultural identities are drawn into the situation. An interesting point to note here is that the "Americans" with which Ruth's Chinese background is juxtaposed with are Jewish, who also have arrived to America from elsewhere.

> 3) Miriam, on the other hand, was now and forever the mother of the Kamen's granddaughters, the keeper of heirlooms for Fia and Dory. Marty and Arlene already had given her the family sterling, china, and the mezuzah kissed by five generations of Kamens since the days they lived in the Ukraine. (BD:75-6)

The next extract comes from the dinner table discussions of the Chinese family members, indexing a shift of the point of view. The insertion is a quotation of LuLing's expression, "foreigners". It is discourse-related, indexing LuLing's understanding of the event, and the participants. To her, the festival is a Chinese occasion, hosted by the Chinese, and the non-Chinese guests are 'foreigners', who have joined the festival and appreciate it. This is in sharp contrast with the rest of the descriptions of the festival, including the biased attitude many of the guests have towards Chinese food, as in ”[m]ore dishes arrived, each one stranger than the last, to judge by the expressions on the non-Chinese faces.” (BD:79) Since the narration accommodates to Ruth’s point of view, the claim made on the enjoyability of the feast at this point is distanced from the narrator’s point of view through quoting LuLing’s expression. Thus, the insertion also points to LuLing’s insistence on her own version of things, which often means also a Chinese one. From Ruth’s point of view, LuLing’s versions often seem unrealistic. Thus, though this instance is short and does not exhibit clear characteristics of pidgin English, it is indexical of a specified Chinese context.

> 4) […] fish coated in a mantle of garlic chips, a Chinese version of polenta smothered in a spicy meat sauce, plump black mushrooms, a Lion’s Head clay pot of meatballs and rice vermicelli. Even the ‘foreigners’, LuLing reported, enjoyed the food. (BD:80)

Another situation where code switching underlines cultural contrast comes from an episode of a doctor’s appointment. The purpose of the appointment is to make a diagnosis on the condition of LuLing’s memory and mental state on the basis of an interview. The doctor’s office is one which is designed for patients with a Chinese background. However, the procedures and practices follow American practices, and the interview and communication has to be conducted in English because the doctor and LuLing have differing abilities in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese (these being very different from each other, though both are considered as representing the Chinese language). Cantonese is common as a spoken language, whereas Mandarin has the position of standard language (see e.g. Coulmas 1999:401). Therefore, LuLing’s position in the situation is unequal, and she is different in many ways due to her mother tongue.

This extract features two different instances of code switching, first a Chinese word *guoyu* (BD:56) which can be defined as an alternational switching, because despite its short form, it represents a full turn (a question) by the doctor. It is a term for standardized Mandarin Chinese, meaning “national language” (Coulmas 1999:401). This instance belongs in a sequence of language negotiation: LuLing understands only Mandarin Chinese and the doctor speaks only Cantonese Chinese. At first, LuLing pretends to understand what the doctor is saying, until Ruth intervenes to inform the doctor about this. At this point, the doctor turns to LuLing and asks the question. Thus, the word is used to confirm the information, and it specifies the addressee by converging to her speech. It is also a participant-related alternation because it is used due to LuLing's language ability. Since the word is not translated, this also excludes the English-speaking reader. Thus, it represents a short moment of ”common ground” between LuLing and the doctor in an otherwise unequal interaction in an English and American context, in which LuLing cannot express herself properly.

> 5) 'Mrs. Young! the doctor greeted her jovially. 'I'm Dr Huey.' He glanced at Ruth.
> 'I'm her daughter. I called your office earlier.'
> He nodded knowingly. Dr. Huey was a pleasant-looking man, younger than Ruth. He started asking LuLing questions in Cantonese, and her mother pretended to understand until Ruth explained, 'She speaks Mandarin, not Cantonese.'
> The doctor looked at her mother. '*Guoyu*?'
> LuLing nodded, and Dr. Huey shrugged apologetically. 'My Mandarin is pretty terrible. How's your English?'
> 'Good. No problem.' (BD:56)

The second instance is an English phrase, “No problem”, uttered by LuLing in her answer to the doctor's English question. This phrase is common in English, expressing a co-operative attitude, and could be taken as a routine, since it is a conventionalized phrase for particular communicative situations. Here, it ends the language negotiation sequence, and signals LuLing's convergence to the doctor's speech because it emphasises the English and American associations. Thus, it indexes that LuLing wants to present herself as an equal to the doctor. In addition, the interview which is conducted later shows a contrast with this because LuLing's non-American background and pidgin English do cause communicative problems. Together with the pretence of understanding the doctor's Cantonese the phrase underlines the way she wants to maintain her autonomy.

A further example of this with the same routine phrase occurs later in an episode where LuLing is in dialogue with Ruth's teacher. This episode is entirely in English, but LuLing's use of routine English utterances have both a discourse-related function as indexing her footing, and a participant-related reason deriving from her limited language skills. In the episode, Ruth has broken her arm in a playground, and this has made her unable to speak. Common to both of these episodes is that Ruth is not able to speak on behalf of LuLing. Therefore, LuLing has no option but to try and communicate with her limited language skills. She uses routines as a resource, and as we can see from the reiteration of “no problem” in the episode with the teacher, this is not enough to cover the communicative needs of the situation. In addition in the following episode with the teacher, there is a visible difference in the interpretation of "complaining". The teacher presumes that complaints are natural when a child is hurt and takes them as an index of the seriousness of the injury. LuLing, however, takes restraining from complaints as a sign of self-control, and therefore takes lack of complaints as a sign of good behaviour, not necessarily absence of pain. The last sequence where the teacher suggests that Ruth's quietness might turn into a problem and LuLing's reassurance of no problems also underlines the way LuLing tries to present herself as an equal to the teacher, like in the episode above. In this way, linguistic differences are accompanied with differences between American and Chinese points of view.

> 6) 'I think she's a bit tired, which is natural for the first day back. But I'm a little concerned that she's so quiet. She didn't say a word all day, not even ouch.'
> 'She never complain,' LuLing agreed.
> 'It may not be a problem, but we'll need to watch if this continues.'
> 'No problem,' LuLing assured her. 'She no problem.'
> 'You must encourage her to talk, Mrs. Young. I don't want this to turn into a problem.'
> 'No problem!' her mother reiteraited. (BD:65-6)

In the same context of the doctor's appointment there is a Chinese insertion, "*po chai* pills" (BD:60). It refers to a type of Chinese herbal medicine, and it is used by Ruth when asking the doctor about the diagnosis on LuLing's health. The word is grouped with another herbal medicine (ginseng) and indexes the tradition of Chinese medicine. With her utterance, Ruth alludes that LuLing would not agree to use Western medicine. Thus, the insertion has a discourse-related meaning. The doctor responds to this by explicitly mentioning "[r]esistance to Western medication" and thus supports Ruth's point of view.

> 7) ''So it could be depression,' Ruth said.
> 'We haven't ruled out anything yet.'
> 'Well, if it is, you'll have to tell her the antidepressants are ginseng or *po chai* pills.'
> Dr. Huey laughed. 'Resistance to Western medication is common among our elderly patients here. And as soon as they feel better, they stop taking it to save money.' (BD:60)

In addition to these episodes, there are other insertions which relate to cultural concerns. These are labels for family roles, such as "Waipo", "*baba*" and "*mama*". "Waipo" is discussed in the next section on mother-daughter relationship. The instances of *baba* and *mama* are general labels referring to family roles of *father* and *mother*. They are not translated, but this is not crucial for understanding since they resemble equivalent words in many other languages, and the meanings are easily inferred from the context. The words are insertions since they are embedded in the narration of the Chinese section. They occur first as a connected pair, and later *baba* is used on its own. In the first instances (BD:224), instead of father and mother they refer to in-laws of a newly wed couple, LuLing and her first husband. They are part of a ritual performed by the couple, the visit to the houses of their in-laws. By calling each of the in-laws by these labels, the bride and groom are formally recognized as family members. The words are accompanied by description of other practices belonging to this ritual. The meanings referring to in-laws and their functions of performing a social act makes them different from the general labels of "father" and "mother". Therefore, the insertions have a discourse-related meaning. They also highlight the family ties and roles, and specify the practices as Chinese. The episode as a whole conveys an intimate and affectionate atmosphere, which is characteristic for this part of the story.

> 8) The next day, we were supposed to visit the houses of our in-laws.
> So we went to the two rooms at the other end of the corridor, where Teacher Pan lived. I bowed and served him tea, calling him 'Baba,' and we all laughed over this formality. Then Kai Jing and I went to a little altar I had made with the picture of Precious Auntie in a frame. We poured tea for her as well, then lighted the incense, and Kai Jing called her 'Mama' and promised he would take care of my entire family, including the ancestors who had come before me. 'I am your family now, too,' he said.
> (BD:224)

In addition, there is another example from the Chinese section, which does not feature Chinese, but instances of English spelled in a non-standard way. This is significant because the instances stand out due to their unconventionality, and because they are shown in italics. Here, the standard English written form is manipulated to reflect the pronunciation of the word, to draw attention and make the words appear non-standard or strange to the reader. In the case presented below, the manipulated utterance is embedded in a Chinese linguistic and cultural context (the first-person narrator is LuLing). It is a participant-related insertion in the sense that it indexes that LuLing is Chinese-speaking and does not understand English, but copies the pronunciation as she hears it. Here, the insertion marks the characters' fictional English off from the English used in the narration, and underlines the narrator's point of view: LuLing's observation of the English words and phrases she does not know. This kind of marking of the Chinese language is not as difficult for the English-speaking reader as Chinese insertions, but more challenging than "perfect" English. The mimicked expression also refers to a specifically Western idea. The rest of the dialogue also brings about a juxtaposition between the Westerners and the Chinese. The extract comes from a dialogue where LuLing and the staff from the orphanage school where

LuLing lives, listen to English news about the progress of the war with the Japanese. LuLing has just entered the room and tries to figure out what is going on.

> 9) *Maku polo* this, *maku polo* that, I heard the radio voice say. I asked: 'What is this *maku* thing?' 'The *Maku Polo* Bridge. The island dwarves have captured it.' I was surprised to hear her use this slur for the Japanese.
> […]
> 'This Maku Polo Bridge,' I said, 'how far away is it?'
> 'North of here, in Wanping,' Miss Grutoff said, 'close to the railway station.'
> 'But that's the Reed Moat Bridge, forty-six kilometers from my village,' I said. 'When did they start calling it something else?'
> 'More than six hundred years ago,' Miss Grutoff said, 'when Marco Polo first admired it.' And as everyone continued to talk about the war, I was wondering why no one in our village knew the bridge had changed its name so long before. (BD:215)

The *maku polo* which is repeated in the radio talk, is spelled first with italics and without a capital letter, indicating its strangeness to LuLing. After being established as a proper name and spelled with a capital letter, the mimicking spelling still remains, reflecting the way LuLing copies the pronunciation without fully understanding the word's implications. After the meaning of the name is explained, the (Western) reader recognizes the reference to Marco Polo the explorer, and that the bridge has been named according to him. However, LuLing is not familiar with this, and the full meaning escapes her. When LuLing mentions the Chinese name of the same bridge, the other participants become culturally juxtaposed as Westerners. The phrase "Forty-six Kilometers from Reed Moat Bridge" is also the nickname for LuLing's home village (BD:136). In this way, the names and labels associate with cultural contradictions, such as the imposition by the Westerners of their own values and practices on the native inhabitants. Both participants seem to be aware only of their own points of view.

A second instance of English spelt in an unconventional way occurs in the narration of the Chinese section of the novel, and it is related to Western Christianity: the twelve apostles. In the episode, the American orphanage school held by nuns is under a threat of the invading Japanese. The staff has decided to hide their money in the wooden statues of the apostles, so that the non-Christian Japanese do not realize the special significance of the statues and thus cannot find the money.

> 10) Teacher Pan assigned each of us – teachers, helpers, and four older students – to an apostle for our share of the refugee money. And from the day that Miss Grutoff left, Teacher Pan had us practice and memorize which apostle was which and where the wood had been dug out of its body. I thought it was enough that we recognized which was our own statue, but Sister Yu said, 'We should say all the names out loud. Then the apostles will protect our savings better.' I had to say those names so many times they are still in my head: *Pida, Pa, Matu, Yuhan, Jiama yi, Jiama er, Andaru,*

> *Filipa, Tomasa, Shaimin, Tadayisu,* and *Budalomu.* The traitor, *Judasa*, did not have a statue. (BD:235)

The religious mission of the orphanage is to teach abandoned Chinese children, especially girls, Christianity and Western values, and thus give them new chances to improve their lives. This is visible here as well, considering that the students have to memorize the apostles. However, the non-standard spelling emphasises the unfamiliarity of the Chinese first person narrator, LuLing, with both the apostles and their English names. Thus, the insertion of the names is a participant-related switch. The spelling reflects a Chinese pronunciation of the words, and makes them look strange to the English speaking reader. The reader needs to recover the pronunciation on the basis of the written form, and match it with the English names of the apostles. Both of the examples discussed here thus help to underline the Chinese point of view which characterizes the second section of the novel, engaging the reader with LuLing's point of view, and distancing the English context. Thus, they have a similar function with the insertions of Chinese words, contributing to the ”Chineseness” of the second section.

6.1.2 Mothers and daughters

Code switching can also underline family roles in a more specific way than discussed in the previous section. In some cases, language is used to change the participant framework. Excluding others by language choice is an efficient way to create an ingroup. In the following instance, this is done by LuLing, in order to conduct an intimate mother-daughter conversation. Here, labels from the family frame are explicitly mentioned in the dialogue, and this is supported with a conversation structure involving a guiding orientation towards Ruth by LuLing. This is a similar to the way of speaking found elsewhere in the novel, but different in that in this case code switching into Chinese is involved, whereas the others are in pidgin English with no clear local functions. Due to this, the following instance is classified as an alternational and discourse-related switch. The instance in the following episode involves an inserted Chinese sequence embedded into the main conversation in English. The episode comes from the Full Moon Festival described earlier. As mentioned in the context of cultural contrasts, the festival involves tensions between the Chinese and the non-Chinese present. In addition, to Ruth's mind LuLing's behaviour has been incoherent. This is partly because she has been talking about something she has kept as a secret from Ruth, and partly because she is suffering the first symptoms of dementic confusion. This, in turn, confuses Ruth. In this episode, LuLing has just given Ruth a present, which belongs to the festival tradition. However, LuLing has forgotten that Ruth has given her the same necklace for a birthday present years ago. In addition, the necklace is a fake, which LuLing does not know. Ruth feels troubled because of this. Thus, the situation is tense.

> 11) ‘Eh, what wrong?’
> Ruth turned and saw her mother scrutinizing her face.
> ‘Nothing, Ruth mumbled. ‘I’m just a little tired, I guess.’
> ‘Nonsense!’ her mother said in Chinese, ‘I can see something is blocked inside and can’t come out.’
> ‘Watch it! Spy talk!’ Dory called from the other table.
> ‘Something is wrong,’ LuLing persisted. Ruth was amazed that her mother was so perceptive. Maybe there was nothing the matter with her after all.
> ‘It’s that wife of Art’s,’ Ruth finally whispered in her American-accented Mandarin. ‘I wish Art had not let her come.’
> ‘Ah! You see, I was right! I knew something was wrong. Mother always knows.’
> Ruth bit hard on the inside of her cheek.
> ‘Now, now, don’t worry anymore,’ her mother soothed. ‘Tomorrow you talk to Artie. Make him buy you a gift. He should pay a lot to show that he values you. He should buy you something like this.’ LuLing touched the necklace, which had been returned to Ruth’s hands.
> Ruth’s eyes smarted with held-back tears.
> ‘You like?’ LuLing said proudly, switching back to the public language of English. ‘This real things, you know.’
> Ruth held up the necklace. She saw how the dark pearls glistened, this gift that had risen from the bottom of the sea. (BD:84)

This episode involves two switches by LuLing, the first one of which is from English to Chinese after Ruth’s evasive answer to LuLing’s question. The shift is alternational because it changes the main language of the conversation for an excluded period, and has a discourse-related function because it indexes a change in the discourse roles and alignment of the participants. By switching into Chinese, LuLing rejects Ruth’s answer and repeats the question, demanding a truthful answer. This kind of code switching to insist an answer has been reported in real conversations between Chinese mothers and children as well, for example by Wei and Milroy 1995. In addition, this changes the participant framework because the majority of the guests do not know Chinese and are thus excluded. As to the inserted Chinese sequence, the topic is intimate, and to avoid talking about what actually troubles her Ruth gives an answer which is intimate enough for LuLing to accept. She also answers in Chinese, converging to LuLing’s language choice. The answer is partly truthful as well, since the former wife of Art does bother her. By giving a preferred answer to LuLing’s question she adopts a less autonomous and responsible position, and LuLing responses by adopting the role of a problem-solver, or an ”all-knowing” responsible mother by explicitly mentioning this (”You see, I was right! I knew something was wrong. Mother always knows!”). She comforts Ruth and provides advice and a solution to her problem.

The position of a mother seems to work, since LuLing successfully conducts a advice-giving conversation with her daughter, which finally gives LuLing the upper hand. In addition, in her view expensive gifts are expressions of love and respect, and by taking the necklace as an example she alludes that her relationship with Ruth is close, and this is how it should also be between Ruth and Art. The fact that the affection-proving necklace is a fake, and the metalinguistic comment on Ruth’s ”American-accented” Chinese additionally point to the ambiguity of the situation: Ruth feels an outsider (as mentioned earlier) and unqualified to be a member of the ”ingroup”. However, in this case the ”ingroup” is not the Jewish family of Art, but the Chinese family represented by LuLing. Not all characteristics of an intimacy sequence (such as trust) are met, and Ruth feels that she as a ”good daughter” is ”fake” (BD:84). Together with the background knowledge that the festival is a Chinese occasion, this episode of mother-daughter ingroup talk is also associated with a Chinese background. After LuLing considers Ruth’s problem solved, she switches back to English and to the gift-giving talk. This is a discourse-related alternation as well due to the change in main language and participant roles.

Another similar example comes from the Chinese section of the novel. In this episode, the participants are the other mother-daughter protagonists, Precious Auntie and LuLing (as a child). The events are set in the China of the past times, at the dinner table of the family with whom Precious Auntie and LuLing live. At this point, LuLing is not aware that the nursemaid she calls Precious Auntie, is in truth her real mother. However, their relationship is close, and Precious Auntie is devoted to taking care of LuLing. The education she gives to LuLing, is also not traditionally Chinese, because Precious Auntie’s own education as a girl was unconventional compared to the standards of the time. In the following episode, the ”languages” involved are spoken Chinese and a self-invented sign language used by Precious Auntie to communicate with LuLing. This is represented in italics in the novel. LuLing is the only person who understands Precious Auntie’s speech. Therefore, it can be seen as a clear ingroup means of communication for them. In this episode, this is used to exclude the others in the dinner table, to talk about a topic which is considered as a taboo by the others.

> 12) One day, at dinnertime, Precious Auntie told me a story with her hands that only I could understand. *A rich lady came to my father and told him to unbind her feet and mold them into modern ones. She said she wanted to wear high-heeled shoes. 'But don't make the new feet too big,' she said, 'not like a slave girl's or a foreigner's. Make them naturally small like hers.' And she pointed to my feet.*
>
> I forgot that Mother and my other aunts were at the dinner table, and I said aloud, 'Do bound feet look like the white lilies that the romantic books describe?' Mother and my aunts, who still had bound feet, gave me a frowning look. How could I talk so openly about a woman's most private parts? So Precious Auntie pretended to scold me with her hands for asking such a question, but what she really said was this: '*They're usually crimped like flower-twist bread. But if they're dirty and knotty with calluses, they look like rotten ginger roots and smell like pig snouts three days dead.*
>
> In this way, Precious Auntie taught me to be naughty, just like her. She taught me to be curious, just like her. She taught me to be spoiled. And because I was all these things, she could not teach me to be a better daughter, though in the end, she tried to change my faults. (BD:146)

The difference to the previous example is that Precious Auntie's medium of communication is divergent from the others the whole time, from obvious participant-related reasons since she is unable to speak. LuLing, in turn, does not use the sign language herself but prefers speaking aloud to Precious Auntie. Her accidental slip to speaking aloud has consequences, because the divergence is purposefully used as an exclusive resource by Precious Auntie to tell LuLing stories without having to accommodate to the general norms and the other people listening. In this way, an ingroup is created with a specific participant framework, and with the roles resembling those of two friends, or a teacher and a pupil talking openly about things. This is in sharp contrast with the formality of the rest of the family. However, LuLing's slip into speaking aloud has discourse-related meanings. Firstly, she begins to speak aloud because she participates in the intimate conversation frame by asking a question. Since she prefers talking aloud, in the exclusive ingroup her role is restricted to a listener. To speak aloud enables participation but also changes the participant framework to include the others. To them, asking about a taboo such as womens' bound feet is inappropriate. Precious Auntie responses to this by using the exclusive sign language to continue the rebellious talk and giving a detailed answer to LuLing's question, yet at the same time making this look like a conventional response of scolding LuLing. Thus, by maintaining the participant constellation she also signals her attitude towards the rest of the family and creates a close and intimate ingroup which challenges the norms of the surrounding society.

Similar in this episode compared with the dialogue of Ruth and LuLing in the Full Moon Festival example discussed earlier is the intimacy and openness of the conversation. However, in the present example Precious Auntie's turns are not of the questioning and consoling type but sharing of personal information. In Vimala Herman’s terms, this is also one of the characteristics of an intimacy sequence (as explained in the section on dialogue types). The difference to the conventional Chinese raising of a daughter is also explicitly mentioned at the end of the episode by the narrator. Being ”naughty”, ”curious” and ”spoiled” do not belong to the characteristics of a good daughter. However, together these two episodes show that language alternation is used as an exclusive resource to build intimate ingroup relations between mothers and daughters, and to align and disalign with other people. In this sense, the ”we” language is the language used at home. However, this is not always an uncomplicated matter, as we will see later on.

A third instance of exclusion through language choice is found in an episode of a dinner table conversation as well. Here, the participants are LuLing, Ruth and the two daughter’s of Art, Fia and Dory. This case resembles the previous one in that there is no code switching by a same speaker, but the episode begins and ends with divergent language choices. The participant framework is also divided in two different ones as above, but in this case Ruth purposefully participates in both of them. Ruth’s role is also restricted to that of a listener as in the previous example, but the hierarchic roles shown by LuLing’s questions and orders to Ruth resemble those of the first example, also between LuLing and Ruth.

> 13) At dinner, LuLing sat next to Ruth. ‘Too salty,’ she remarked in Chinese, poking at her portion of fish. And then she added: ‘Tell those girls to finish their fish. Don’t let them waste food.’
>
> ‘Fia, Dory, why aren’t you eating?’ Ruth said.
>
> ‘I’m full,’ Dory answered. ‘We stopped at Burger King in the Presidio and ate a bunch of fries before we came home.’
>
> ‘You shouldn’t let them eat those things!’ LuLing scolded, continuing in Mandarin. ‘Tell them you don’t allow this anymore.’
>
> ‘Girls, I wish you wouldn’t ruin your appetites with junk food.’
>
> ‘And I wish you two would stop talking like spies in Chinese,’ Fia said. ‘It’s like really rude.’
>
> LuLing glared at Ruth, and Ruth glanced at Art, but he was looking down at his plate. ‘Waipo speaks Chinese,’ Ruth said, ‘because that’s the language she’s used to.’ Ruth had told them to call LuLing ‘Waipo,’ the Chinese honorific for ‘Grandmother,’ and at least they did that, but then again, they thought it was just a nickname.
>
> ‘She can speak English too,’ Dory said.
>
> ‘Tst!’ LuLing grumbled to Ruth. ‘Why doesn’t their father scold them? He should tell them to listen to you. Why doesn’t he have more concern for you? No wonder he never married you. No respect for you. Say something to him. Why don’t you tell him to be nicer to you…?’ (BD:61)

In this episode, the divergent choice of Chinese by LuLing has a discourse-related function of excluding Art and her daughters. In this way, LuLing establishes an ingroup participant framework with Ruth, where the main language is Chinese. The episode begins with LuLing criticizing the food as too salty. This is a reccurrent pattern for LuLing. After this, she requests Ruth to tell the girls they should finish their food and not waste it. Ruth makes a preferred response by remarking to the girls about this. However, she does not use the same kind of commands as LuLing, but reformulates the message as an indirect question. In this sense, she is animating LuLing's views, but can also be seen as an author when changing the form and effects of the message. The girls and Art comprise the other participant framework, where the main language is English. This is due to their language skills, and therefore is different from the Ruth-LuLing one in that it is not exclusive, since LuLing understands English. In LuLing's framework, Ruth is in the responding position, but with the girls, she makes the initiatives and is seen as the principal. However, by her indirect speech she adopts a less dominant role with the girls than LuLing in the other framework.

After Dory has answered Ruth's question and told about their eating junk food, LuLing makes another request, first criticizing Ruth letting the girls eat it and then asking her to forbid this. Again, this is in the form of a command, but Ruth rearticulates this as an indirect request (or "wish"). However, Fia makes a dispreferred response by changing the topic and criticizing the exclusive ingroup talk and the Chinese language, as "talking like spies". This questions the participant constellation because Fia addresses both Ruth and LuLing, and challenges their positions as initiators. Since LuLing has been the one talking, Fia's criticism is directed more at her, and Fia thus challenges her position and authority. LuLing reacts to this by getting angry, but does not participate by answering in English. Instead, it is Ruth who responses by explaining why LuLing speaks Chinese, using the Chinese honorific "Waipo" to index respect to the elders. To this, Dory remarks that choosing Chinese is done on purpose, and thus questions LuLing's motives again. LuLing reacts to this by continuing speaking Chinese and criticizing Art's lack of discipline towards his daughters and lack of respect for Ruth. Here, she also uses the same kind of problem-solving talk as in the Full Moon Festival episode, identifying Ruth's problem and providing solutions for it.

The Chinese honorific for grandmother, "Waipo", used by Ruth in the above example, can also be considered as an insertional switch in this specific context. This insertion occurs more than once in the American sections, but as an honorific, it signals here a Chinese practice of respecting the elders, where as in other instances it is used with less significance and as a general Chinese equivalent for the grandmother. It also underlines the familial relationships. Therefore, it has here a discourse-related meaning. However, when used by the girls, the meaning of "Waipo" is reduced to a general Chinese label of address, which indexes no more than the Chinese linguistic and cultural background of LuLing. This can be seen for example in the following utterance, taken from a dinner table conversation where LuLing complains about the saltiness of the food, and one of the girls questions the truthfulness of this by presenting "evidence" of the opposite: "'Waipo,' Dory interjected, 'Ruth didn't add any salt. I watched. *None.*" (BD:86) This is in line with the lack of meaning of the label, and underlines the lack of mutual understanding between the girls and LuLing.

In this episode LuLing disaligns with the girls and Art by speaking Chinese, and by commanding and evaluating Ruth establishes an alignment with her, acting as an advisor and requires obedience and respect. In this way, Ruth is positioned as LuLing's daughter. By telling Ruth to use her authority over the girls, she seems to try and make Ruth adopt a similar position as a mother. By continuing speaking Chinese after Fia and Dory's comments and expressing her view that Art's responsibility as a father is to maintain discipline, LuLing maintains her footing towards the situation. However, Ruth's way of speaking suggests that she aims at a reconciliation and an avoidance of a confrontation. Thus, LuLing's authoritive orientation towards Ruth contrasts with Ruth's own flexible position as a stepmother. The constellations in the dialogue shows the way in which Ruth tries to negotiate between two different ways of living, and translating and authoring her mother's words is a part of this. The girls' uncomfortableness with Chinese reflects the negative language attitudes of the surrounding society in that not speaking English is considered as lack of respect. Ruth's attitudes are also two-fold: though she aligns with LuLing in this dialogue, she does not fully support her mother's views. This can be seen in the way she modifies her responses to suit her own purposes.

In addition to the tightly knit ingroup frameworks, there are also cases where language choice and code switching are used to disalign with and resign from them. These often involve rebellion and negative attitude by the daughter-characters (Ruth and LuLing as young) towards their mother because they feel their independence is being restricted. Sometimes the possibilities for action of the mother-characters (LuLing and Precious Auntie) are also restricted because of their limited communication skills. The following extract from the Chinese section shows the way the young LuLing uses language choice to rebel against Precious Auntie, her nursemaid. What she actually does is refusing to translate, or animate, Precious Auntie's words to the rest of the family. The respected and rich coffin maker Chang who killed Precious Auntie's father and fiance on her wedding day, stole valuable bones which were her dowry. She believes these bones are causing a curse and wants them back. She wants Ruth to tell this to the rest of the family. However, no one wants to hear about the past events because they are a threat to their good social reputation. Mother (the woman LuLing believes is her mother) commands LuLing not to translate, and because the truth about LuLing's real family has been kept a secret from her, she wants to please Mother. Instead of responding to the urgent request for translation by Precious Auntie, she responds to Mother's request, thus indexing a clear footing against Precious Auntie by speaking aloud to Mother. She changes the participant framework from the intimate ingroup which Precious Auntie tries to create to that of mother-daughter framework with Mother. Thus, Precious Auntie is left without any possibilities to make herself heard. In this way, here the language choice can be seen as having discourse-related and participant-related functions. In addition, it is a part of a conflict sequence which add specifity to social relationships in fictive works and contribute to the structure of the work.

> 14) Precious Auntie came back to the ink studio, and in a short while she realized who it was everyone was talking about. She stamped her feet and punched the air with her fists. *Chang is evil*, she said, her arms flailing. *He killed my father. He is the reason Hu Sen is dead.* She made a rasping sound as if the whole of her throat would slough off.
>
> That was not true, I thought. Her father had fallen off a wagon when he was drunk, and Baby Uncle had been kicked by his own horse. Mother and my aunts had told me so.
>
> Precious Auntie grabbed my arm. She looked into my eyes, then talked fast with her hands, *Tell them, Doggie, tell them what I'm saying is true. And the dragon bones Chang has*, and she poured imaginary ones into her palm, *I realize now that they probably are the ones that belonged to my father*, *my family. Chang stole them from us on my wedding day. They were my dowry. They are bones from the Monkey's Jaw. We need to get them back from Chang*, *return them to the cave or the curse will go on and on. Hurry, tell them.*
>
> Before I could, Mother warned: 'I don't want to hear any more of her crazy stories. Do you hear me, Daughter?'
>
> Everyone stared at me, including Precious Auntie. *Tell them*, she signaled. But I turned to Mother, nodded, and said, 'I heard.' Precious Auntie ran out of the ink studio with a choking sound that twisted my heart and made me feel evil. (BD:159-60)

There are also other types of oppositions, as in the following example where LuLing uses Chinese to reject Ruth's appeal. This is a discourse-related, alternational switch, marking a rejective footing. Similar switches have also been reported in real bilingual conversations, as in the Chinese community in Tyneside studied by Wei et al.

(1995:290). The language contrast underlines the contrast in footing. In this episode, Ruth has been molested by a man next door and tries to tell about this to LuLing. However, LuLing does not understand what Ruth is saying and scolds Ruth in Chinese for being too troublesome.

> 15) That night, Ruth tried to tell her mother what had happened. 'Ma? I'm scared.'
> 'Why scare?' LuLing was ironing. The room had the smell of fried water.
> 'That man Lance, he was mean to me – '
> Her mother scowled, then said in Chinese: 'This is because you're always bothering him. You think he wants to play with you – he doesn't! Why do you always make trouble…?'
> Ruth felt sick to her stomach. Her mother saw danger where there wasn't. And now that something was truly really awful, she was blind.
> (BD:116)

Similar kind of footing on unwanted behaviour is also expressed by LuLing in the following extract, but here the use of Chinese has more to do with the addressee specification. The young Ruth is in the playground, and LuLing yells to Ruth from across the playground not to use the slide because it is dangerous. The use of Chinese excludes the others may also be more efficient a language to get the message through to Ruth, not only because addressee specification but also because it is easier for LuLing to express her meanings in Chinese. Thus, the instance has discourse-related and participant-related functions. In addition, it indexes the way in which LuLing does not care about what other people think of her, and on the other hand how the young Ruth feels restricted by her mother's warnigns and control. The biased attitude towards Chinese as a strange language, expressed by the other children, also affects Ruth's attitude. She wants to identify with the others, and after these comments she denies that she knows LuLing at all**.** This creates an opposition between LuLing and the surrounding English speaking and American society and reflects Ruth's position between these two worlds. In addition, this kind of footing is also visible in the representations on LuLing's language by the adult Ruth. This is further discussed in chapter 7 on code mixing.

> 16) She had done this with Teresa a dozen times without her mother's seeing.
> But then a familiar voice, loud and shrill, rand across the playground:
> 'No! Luyi, stop! What are you doing? You want to break your body in half?'
> Ruth stood at the top of the slide, frozen with shame. Her mother was the busybody watcher of kindergarteners, whereas Ruth was in the first grade! Some of the other first-graders were laughing down below. 'Is that your mother? What's that gobbledy-gook-gook she's saying?' (BD:62)

6.1.3 Knowledge, instruction and guidance

As we can see from the previous examples, sharing knowledge and a guiding way of speaking are part of the interaction between the protagonists, and often this also involves the roles of the mother and the daughter. There are also more examples of this kind in the novel where code switching indexes the context of teaching and passing down knowledge of Chinese cultural practices and beliefs. Code switching indexes a change of roles and context. One activity which consists of this way of speaking is the teaching of calligraphy. LuLing begins to teach Ruth to write Chinese when she is eight years old. Before this, Ruth has already helped her mother in spelling English in the advertisement signs LuLing writes for extra income. LuLing's calligraphy is considered excellent by everyone, and the reader also learns in the second section of the novel that LuLing's family were professionals in ink-making and her mother, Precious Auntie, was an artist and an expert in calligraphy, and taught LuLing the skill. However, the eight-year-old Ruth finds learning Chinese difficult, partly because she does not understand the metaphors and references to the ”old times” LuLing talks about when trying to teach Ruth. Ruth also feels somewhat trapped because she is not allowed to protest, but is required to study hard and to make progress. This kind of requirement by LuLing applies also beyond calligraphy, in school work and other spheres of Ruth's life. As explained in the novel: ”She had made Ruth practice reading and writing since kindergarten, to help her be 'one jump ahead.'” (BD:66)

In the activity of calligraphy teaching, LuLing's language preference is Chinese. The teaching sequences involve topics and concepts related to Chinese traditions, beliefs and practices. As Oster (2003:100) notes, Chinese is ”heavily context-dependent, in contrast to English, which is relatively context-free” that is, the meanings of Chinese expressions and words depend on their context. In addition, the grammatical use of the words also depends on the context. Therefore, the only way to learn how to use them is to carefully follow how a Chinese person uses them (Oster 2003:100). In addition, as Coulmas (1999) notes, in the Chinese tradition ”[m]astering written language through hard study [means acquiring] not only skill but virtue” (Coulmas 1999:412). This is similar to what can be found in the teaching sessions. Since Chinese is represented in standard English in the novel, and Ruth's language use is not commented on in any way, there is little difference between LuLing's and Ruth's language. Therefore it is not always clear which language Ruth uses. The reader can only infer from LuLing's general preferences to Chinese and Ruth's to English and from some features associated with spoken English in Ruth's speech that Ruth is speaking English, divergently from LuLing. Therefore, there is no single main language in the teaching sequences.

Thus, the language choices are preference-related, and in Ruth's case, possibly due to language ability as well. However, the role of LuLing as the advisor and teacher involves her making the initiatives and having longer turns, whereas Ruth is a listener. Therefore, LuLing's speech and language choice defines the situation. In any case, the teaching sessions present an association between the Chinese language and beliefs and ways of speaking which can be seen as related to Chinese cultural contexts. However, this issue will be discussed in more detail in the section on mixing. The following extract comes from the beginning of the first teaching session. It begins with LuLing ordering Ruth in Chinese to watch how calligraphy is performed. This establishes a relationship of an advisor and a pupil and could be seen as a discourse-related alternation because of the change in main language and situation. Ruth is not pleased with this new activity, but takes it as a ”punishment” of challenging LuLing when correcting her spelling. Ruth finds the demands of good performance troublesome.

> 17) 'It's ”grapefruit,”' eight-year-old Ruth once said, exasperated, 'not “grapefoot.” It's a fruit not a foot.'
>
> That night, LuLing started teaching her the mechanics of writing Chinese. Ruth knew this was a punishment for what she had said earlier.
>
> 'Watch,' LuLing ordered her in Chinese. She ground an inkstick onto an inkstone and used a medicine dropper to add salt water in doses the size of tears. 'Watch,' she said, and selected a brush from the dozens hanging with their tips down. Ruth's sleepy eyes tried to follow her mother's hand as she swabbed the brush with ink […] (BD:47)

The association between an ordering way of speaking, the Chinese language and the writing activity shows clearly in the following extract, where LuLing's switch to Chinese and the order to come and sit next to her is immediately interpreted by Ruth as the beginning of a teaching session. However, this time LuLing is trying to find a way to communicate with Ruth through writing, since Ruth has gone mute after breaking her arm at a playground. LuLing first comments on Ruth's not studying, which underlines the importance of hard study. After this, she switches to Chinese and thus changes the activity to advising (which is a part of both parental and teaching frame). Therefore, this is a discourse-related alternation, like the previous example.

> 18) Ruth, who was watching television, noticed after a while that her mother was staring at her. 'Why you not do study?' LuLing asked. She had made Ruth practice reading and writing since kindergarten, to help her be 'one jump ahead.'
> Ruth held up her broken arm in its cast.
> 'Come sit here,' her mother said in Chinese.
> Ruth slowly stood up. Uh-oh. Her mother was back to her old ways.
> 'Now hold this.' LuLing placed a brush in Ruth's left hand. 'Write your name.' (BD:66)

In contrast to the examples above, in which Ruth is a child, in the following extract the adult Ruth tries to read the letter (a stack of pages) her mother has written for her. This letter is LuLing's life story written in Chinese. This time, Ruth's point of view is different from the previous extracts because she wants to know what the letter says. However, she does not know Chinese well enough to be able to read it. At this point, a quotation from LuLing is inserted in the narration, "Should study harder." This can be seen as an index to the recurrent pattern of all the other cases where LuLing has demanded Ruth to study Chinese harder, often in contexts where Ruth has failed to interpret Chinese characters. This recurrent pattern is signalled by the way Ruth predicts what LuLing would say in the present situations ("she could hear her mother scolding her"). Thus, this indexes a footing. The quotation is in pidgin English, which emphasises and distinguishes the propositional content of the quotation from the narration and attributes the footing to LuLing. In addition, the utterance has an extra meaning here. It is used to build up Ruth's own footing: she explicitly agrees to LuLing's view, particularly because now she understands why it is important to know Chinese writing: to understand her mother. Therefore, the demand of study refers here not only to simply practicing Chinese but also to listening to her mother and what she wants Ruth to know. Thus, the quotation can be seen as a discourse-related, intertextual insertion of LuLing's pidgin English.

> 19) She looked at the top page of this new stack in her hands, the large calligraphed character. She could hear her mother scolding her, 'Should study harder.' Yes, she should have. (BD:130)

In the framework of teaching belong also the following insertions of the Chinese nickname, "Bao Bomu". This is the nickname for one of the protagonists, LuLing's mother Precious Auntie. In many cases, this is used simply as a Chinese version of Precious Auntie, in the same way as "Waipo", discussed in the section on mother-daughter dialogues. However, it also has extra meanings in the following examples, coming from the Chinese calligraphy teaching context. As "Waipo", "Bao Bomu" refers to a family role and relationship (family extending here beyond the core family of mother, father and children). However, in addition to marking the language as

Chinese, the label is here used to underline the teacher-pupil relationship, as in the first example which represents the first occurrence of “Bao Bomu” in the novel. The most meaningful instance occurs towards the end of the novel, represented by the second example. The difference between the two is that the exact meanings of the label are explained in the culmination of the story where the lost names of the protagonists are found, and through this Ruth learns about the past of her mother and grandmother (LuLing and Precious Auntie) and also learns to accept them as a part of her own identity. Bao Bomu is explained to be LuLing’s real mother, and the label means almost the same as “mother” to LuLing. Thus, compared to the general honorific “Waipo”, a formal label for a family role, “Bao Bomu” is something more specific and personal, since its meanings are associated with personal relationships as well. In the first instance the label seems to underline the role of a Chinese teacher, but the reader can also anticipate that to LuLing, it means more. In the second instance the label also clearly contributes to a stance, in addition to the Chinese frame. Thus, “Bao Bomu” is a discourse-related insertion. The label expresses Ruth’s affection towards Precious Auntie. Ruth positions herself in the frame of intimacy and respect and acknowledges Precious Auntie as a family member, accepting LuLing’s past and the heritage of Precious Auntie as a part of her own identity, something worth learning.

> 20) ‘Bao Bomu taught me how to write,’ LuLing said one evening. ‘She taught me how to think. When you write, she said, you must gather the free-flowing of your heart.’ To demonstrate, LuLing wrote the character for ‘heart.’ ‘See? Each stroke has its own rhythm, its balance, its proper place. Bao Bomu said everything in life should be the same way.’ (BD:48)

> 21) Bao Bomu comes, as always, and sits next to her [Ruth]. Her face is smooth, as beautiful as it is in the photo. She grinds an inkstick into an inkstone of *duan*.
>
> ‘Think about your intentions,’ Bao Bomu says. ‘What is in your heart, and what you want to put in others.’ (BD:308)

In addition to the calligraphy teaching context, there are also other types of expert talk in the novel. These are related to beliefs and concepts which can be seen as drawing from the Chinese traditions. The following insertions of pidgin English quotations are used by the narrator to build up Ruth’s point of view. The first pair of extracts comes from the beginning of the first American chapter, which introduces Ruth as a character and her thoughts. These episodes also introduce the first citations of LuLing’s speech. The chapter opens with Ruth’s problem of losing her voice every year at the same time, her having no definitive reason why this happens. In the extract, Ruth is star-gazing with her partner. First, a pamphlet is quoted, giving a scientific explanation for the meteor shower they are witnessing, with concepts such as "meteors" and "the earth's atmosphere" (BD:11). In addition, Ruth's point of view that a meteor shower cannot affect her voice is explicitly stated, but this is undermined with presenting LuLing's version on what the stars "really" are (BD:11). The actual insertion is the phrase "melting ghost bodies" (BD:11), a label for the shooting stars. The truth value of this belief in ghosts is finally questioned with presenting the statement as a habitual feature of LuLing, and thus it is distinguished from the narrator's point of view.

This contradiction is the background for the discourse-related insertion of "ghost bodies" in the second example. "Ghost bodies" is here taken as a part of Ruth's inner speech, indexing Ruth's partial identification with her mother. It intertextually refers to the juxtaposition presented by the first instance, and underlines the contrast with Ruth's more scientific world view. This creates humour and thus, a benign orientation towards LuLing, while also restricting and distancing the belief in ghosts to LuLing through her pidgin English. Thus, the insertion has discourse-related functions. It signals that LuLing's belief in ghosts is her personal and habitual curiosity, and Ruth tolerates it even though does not believe in it.

> 22) On their second anniversary, she and Art were stargazing in the Grand Tetons. According to a park pamphlet, 'During the peak of the Perseids, around August I2th, hundreds of "shooting" or "falling" stars streak the sky every hour. They are actually fragments of meteors penetrating the earth's atmosphere, burning up in their descent.' Against the velvet blackness, Ruth silently admired the light show with Art. She did not actually believe that her laryngitis was star-crossed, or that the meteor shower had anything to do with her inability to speak. Her mother, though, had often told Ruth throughout her childhood that shooting stars were really 'melting ghost bodies' and it was bad luck to see them. If you did, that meant a ghost was trying to talk to you. To her mother, just about anything was a sign of ghosts" (BD:11)

> 23) There it was, a sliver of a million dollar view the red towers of the Golden Gate Bridge that bifurcated the waters, marking bay from ocean. The air was moist and antiseptically cold against her face. She scanned the sky, but it was too light and misty to see any 'ghost bodies' burning up. (BD:13)

6.2 CODE SWITCHING,LANGUAGE CHOICE AND AFFECT

Code switching and language choice can also relate to the expression of emotion, particularly in literary practice (Oster 2003:95-6). In a sense, the expressions of intimacy and rebellion through language choice discussed above also involve emotion. The personalizing effect of pidgin English as described above may also be emotionally loaded, as the narrator's standard language may reduce personal involvement. However, there are also some switches which index emotions in a more direct way.

One of these is the Chinese insertion *ai-ya*, repeated several times in the novel. This insertion has discourse-related meaning, because it signals a shift in footing. This interjection differs from the rest of the Chinese insertions because it occurs more frequently (11 times uttered by LuLing, 3 times by Chinese minor characters, and once by Precious Auntie). It is used by LuLing mostly in pidgin expressions, and in Chinese utterances by the others. It is usually (but not always) located in the beginning of the sentence or utterance, and is separated with a comma, or precedes the sentence with an exclamation mark. Sometimes it is also emphasised with italics. It is different from the other frequent word, *k'ang* (discussed in the section on code mixing, chapter 7.1) in that it only occurs in the dialogues and speech of the characters, and conveys a particular kind of footing towards the situation and topic of talk, roughly equivalent to English *Oh no!*. It conveys disapprovance, or sadness and pain (Li 2004:282) and is thus emotionally loaded. There are also other interjections in the same location and performing similar kind of function: "Ai!" (BD:169), "Eh!" (BD:175) and "*Cho!*" (BD:180) occur in the speech of Chinese characters in the Chinese section, and a disapproving "Tst" (BD:61) used by LuLing in a Chinese utterance in the American context. Thus, *ai-ya* marks both the speech of Chinese characters, and the utterances emotionally. This is particularly clear in the instance by Precious Auntie, because she is a character who is unable to speak, and only uses a self-invented sign language. In addition, the interjection is a common expression in Chinese (Li 2004:282). It is thus a ready-made way of expressing emotional and evaluative stance, and stereotypically associated with the Chinese language and culture. Therefore, it can be seen as routine, in terms of Androutsopoulos (2003), marking the Chineseness of the characters.

> 24) As the doctor examined Ruth's arm, LuLing sucked air between her teeth in agony and moaned: '*Ai-ya!* Careful, careful, careful. She hurt real bad.' When the cast was put on, LuLing said proudly, 'Teacher, children, all very impress. Lootie no cry, no complain, nothing, just quiet.' (BD:64)

Another case where the language contributes to expression of emotion is the following, where the choice of Chinese by LuLing works together with other verbal and non-verbal features to create a caring and nurturing atmosphere. This also contributes to the emotional and intimate side of mother and daughter relationship. In this extract, the young Ruth tries unsuccessfully to drown herself, because she misbelieves she is pregnant, and LuLing did not listen to her when she tried to tell about her worries. Here, LuLing reacts urgently and emphatically to Ruth's coughing, putting her hand on her forehead and expressing in Chinese her worry over Ruth's health. Thus, the series of affectionate and nurturing gestures includes here the choice of Chinese, signalling in its part the emotional footing. Thus, the language choice has both discourse-related functions and participant related reasons as a preferred language. This suggests an association of Chinese as the language of the home and personal expression. As an intimacy sequence, this episode has in common with the ones on mother-daughter relationship that Ruth cannot fully reciprocate her mother's expressions of affection because she often knows something LuLing does not, or vice versa, and therefore LuLing's initiatives do not have the desired effect of comfort. In this sense, the intimacy sequences also reflect and indicate the communicative problems between them.

> 25) How easy it was, drowning. It didn't hurt at all. It was like drinking water, which, after a while, she realized was what she was doing. So she pushed her face lower into the water and opened her mouth again. She took a deep breath, welcoming death at last. Her whole body backfired in stinging protest. She began coughing in such a loud and hacking way that her mother rushed in without knocking and pounded her back, put her hand on her forehead, and murmured in Chinese that she was sick and should go to bed right away. Having her mother comfort her so lovingly only made Ruth feel worse. (BD:107)

Another extract on an intimacy sequence is the following, which presents a dialogue with LuLing in the major role. This resembles the previous one in that LuLing uses Chinese for an urgent and emotionally loaded expression, in this case, an apology to Ruth for her mistakes that might have hurt Ruth in the past. The choice of main language has thus preference-related reasons. In this example, as well as in the others containing Chinese reported in English, the language of the narration is close to the language of the character, and without comments from the narrator (which we have here), only the grammatical structure and possible Chinese labels, as *Luyi* here (the Chinese version of Ruth's name) mark the language as Chinese. For the English speaking reader, this convergence might underline the feel of intimacy or reciprocity in an intimacy sequence such as this.

> 26) The other day Ruth's mother called her. She sounded like her old self, scared and fretful. 'Luyi,' she said, and she spoke quickly in Chinese, 'I'm worried that I did terrible things to you when you were a child, that I hurt you very much. But I can't remember what I did…'
>
> 'There's nothing…' Ruth began.
>
> 'I just wanted to say that I hope you can forget just as I've forgotten. I hope you can forgive me, because if I hurt you, I'm sorry.'
>
> After they hung up, Ruth cried for an hour she was so happy. It was not too late for them to forgive each other and themselves. (BD:307-8)

In addition to Chinese, there are also other features which index personal emotion and intimacy. One of these is a particular kind of figurative speech, comprising of concrete metaphors, often based on the human body, and involving exaggeration. This is used in many cases to express emotion, and personal experiences. This kind of imagery is further discussed in the section on code mixing.

6.3 CONFUSION AND CONTRADICTIONS – POSITIONS UNDER NEGOTIATION

> "With Chinese words, her mother did make sense, Ruth now reasoned to herself. Or did she?" (BD:49)

In many cases, social relationships are not simple. Identity is also complex, and rarely only one aspect of identity is relevant. The connections between language(s) and social aspects are likewise not simple. The following sections provide some instances of code switching which index confusion or work in an ambiguous context. In the first example, instead of highlighting Chinese and familial identities, code switching signals here personal aspects such as the trouble with LuLing's memory and her psychological state. Aging is an aspect of identity which is not restricted to any particular cultural or linguistic group. It is a common concern for all people, and yet also individual and personal. Here, it also involves the Chinese background of LuLing and resources such as language ability and associations to Chinese topics and people. This shows the way multiple aspects of identity and linguistic patterns interact.

In the following extract, code switching to Chinese is used for addressee specification by LuLing. The episode is from the last chapter (Epilogue excluded) where the reader already knows about LuLing's life in China, and Ruth has learned this as well. She has got an English translation of LuLing's letter from a Chinese man, Mr Tang, who has learnt to like LuLing on the basis of what she has written. LuLing' however, is not aware of this, and because she at this point already constantly forgets most of the current events, Ruth has only told her that Mr Tang is an old friend from China. However, LuLing still remembers well the events of her past life in China, and Mr Tang wants to share this with her.

In the following extract, Mr Tang is guiding LuLing, Ruth and her partner Art at the Asian Art Museum in an exhibition on Chinese archaeology, and discussing the old Chinese objects with LuLing. The episode begins with Ruth's flashback about the previous story by LuLing, told to Ruth but because of the topic and the Chinese language, Ruth concludes that LuLing thinks she is talking to GaoLing, her sister. This happens again in the museum, when LuLing speaks Mandarin to Art, who does not know Chinese or about LuLing's past. LuLing is describing in detail the bone which was an important part of her life and considered a heritage left by Precious Auntie, her mother. This kind of oracle bones were carved with characters and were used for divination. The "words of beauty" refer to a complex of meanings on the virtues symbolized by Chinese written characters and the importance of Precious Auntie's heritage, which LuLing had to give up.

Next, LuLing translates this into English for Mr Tang, who does know both Chinese and English, and understands what LuLing's stories and descriptions mean. The details of the account burn down here to the fact that LuLing's mother gave her the bone. The switches clearly have here participant-related reasons, because of the addressees' assumed language abilities. In addition, the language choices and the content of the utterances signal that LuLing has mixed up Mr Tang and Art, and they thus index her mental confusion. However, none of this confusion has been explicitly commented on by the narrator, but the issue of LuLing's past is the central topic. Thus, her memory troubles are here shown by the means of language use. This kind of focus contrasts for example with the extracts from the doctor's appointment where memory symptoms were the topic, but where communicative and linguistic incongruences foregrounded cultural differences and problems. The extracts from the doctor's appointment seems to reflect the way Ruth wanted to explain her mother's aging away with cultural problems, and later on, in the present extracts, she has accepted this state of affairs and considers it more important to solve the mystery Precious Auntie's lost name and regain the lost good things for LuLing and herself.

> 27) In recent weeks, LuLing had related several times how she received the apple-green-jade ring that Ruth had retrieved from the La-Z-Boy.
> 'We went to a dance hall, you and I,' she said in Chinese. 'We came down the stairs and you introduced me to Edwin. His eyes fell on mine and did not turn away for a long time. I saw you smile and then you disappeared. That was naughty of you. I knew what you were thinking! When he asked me to marry, he gave me the ring.' Ruth guessed that GaoLing had been the person who did the introductions.
> Ruth now heard LuLing speaking in Mandarin to Art: 'My mother found one of these. It was carved with words of beauty. She gave it to me when she was sure I would not forget what was important. I never wanted to lose it.' Art nodded as if he understood, and then LuLing translated into English for Mr Tang: 'I telling him, this bone my mother give me one.'
> (BD:300-301)

Another, quite a different case is the following, where code switching and language use contribute to a situation which is confusing for Ruth as a child. Here, language choice and code switching patterns such as addressee specification are used to create a particular kind of speech event and a participant framework. The background for the episode is the accident in which Ruth breaks her arm at a playground, and goes mute. Because of this, she receives plenty of attention. LuLing teaches her to communicate through writing on a tray of sand with a chopstick. This way of communication causes her classmates to think she has become smarter and something special. They ask her questions and she answers through writing. However, the sand writing also affects LuLing. Whereas she normally requires obedience, now she begins to ask Ruth's opinion about everything, and does not disapprove of anything Ruth answers. This continues until Ruth writes a word which relates to LuLing's past, and this causes LuLing to believe Ruth is conveying the words of the ghost of Precious Auntie. This makes Ruth nervous but she cannot start speaking aloud because she does not want the care and attention caused by the muteness to be taken away.

> 28) 'You like this dress?' *No, ugly.* Ruth had never experience such power with words.
>
> Her mother frowned, then murmured in Mandarin. 'Your father loved this old dress, and now I can never throw it away.' She became misty-eyed. She sighed, then said in English: 'You think you daddy miss me?'
>
> Ruth wrote *Yes* right away. Her mother beamed. And the Ruth had an idea. She had always wanted a little dog. Now was the time to ask for one. She scratched in the sand: *Doggie.*
>
> Her mother gasped. She stared at the words and shook her head in disbelief. Oh well, Ruth thought, that was one wish she was not going to get. But then her mother began to whimper, 'Doggie, doggie,' in Chinese. She jumped up and her chest heaved. 'Precious Auntie,' LuLing cried, 'you've come back. This is your Doggie. Do you forgive me?'
>
> Ruth put down the chopstick. (BD:68)

In this extract, LuLing is asking Ruth questions in English and Ruth answers in English. LuLing switches to Chinese for one turn for a side comment and an expression of footing (countering Ruth's evaluation of the dress), and resumes English in the questions. After this, Ruth writes a word ”Doggie” in the sand, and this upsets LuLing because (as the reader knows from the beginning of the novel) this is the nickname that Precious Auntie used for LuLing. Here, she switches to Chinese again and repeats the word, addressing Precious Auntie. This is a participant-related switch because Precious Auntie is Chinese-speaking. In this way, the participant constellation changes and Precious Auntie becomes a ratified participant, whereas Ruth seems to be excluded. In this way, LuLing's reactions together with the switch to Chinese index her belief that the ghost of Precious Auntie is present. Thus, the switch also has discourse-related functions. Due to the change in the main language, the switch is an alternation. The episode of ”ghost-writing” beginning here can be seen as an inserted sequence in Chinese, which ends at the return to English between Ruth and LuLing.

As we can see from the following extract, in ”ghost-writing” Ruth’s role seems to be reduced to that of an animator of Precious Auntie’s words. Furthermore, Ruth is disturbed by the assumed ghost and understands little of what LuLing has told her about this. Therefore, her short moment of control in sand writing turns here back to the responsive role and LuLing has the upper hand. In addition, Ruth is confused because she is in the role of an animator, and therefore not sure what the preferred response to LuLing’s questions is. LuLing orders her to write down the answers, and Ruth at first tries to stall and refuse through non-verbal means, because she is frightened by the situation. When LuLing insists her to convey a request to Precious Auntie, she finally has to speak aloud to refuse. LuLing answers in English to her English utterance and thus, the participant framework changes back to including Ruth as a ratified participant. However, LuLing thinks this is caused by Precious Auntie, and thus she still considers Ruth as the animator, or author, conveying Precious Auntie’s words. At this point, Ruth begins to use this role to her own purposes, to end the activity. Thus, LuLing’s code switch to English has a discourse-related function, as well as participant-related reasons because Ruth’s language preference is English.

> 29) Ruth felt something touch her shoulder, and she jumped. ‘Ask her if she understood everything I just said,’ LuLing ordered. ‘Ask her if my luck has changed. Is the curse over? Are we safe? Write down her answer.’
> […]
> LuLing turned to Ruth. ‘Ask her to come every day.’ Ruth shook her head. She tried to slide off her chair. ‘Ask,’ LuLing insisted, and tapped the table in front of the tray. And then Ruth finally found her voice.
> ‘No,’ she said out loud. ‘I can’t.’
> ‘Wah! Now you can talk again.’ Her mother had switched to English. ‘Precious Auntie cure you?’
> Ruth nodded.
> ‘That mean curse gone?’
> ‘Yes, but she says she has to back now. And she said I need to rest.’
> (BD:69-70)

The choice of Chinese for the sequence of ghost writing thus seems to associate to a Chinese topic and people, as in various other cases discussed earlier. However, this case also involves confusion which is caused by differences in Ruth’s and LuLing’s world views. Chinese is not only the language of the ingroup and home, but to Ruth sometimes the language of things she does not understand and cannot identify with. The uncertainty about what is true and real, and what not, is a recurrent theme in the novel and also in Ruth's life. Here, this is caused by LuLing's belief in ghosts and the practices which make this concrete, such as the writing episode discussed above.

However, in addition to personal memory problems and different world views, there are also other contexts which are a cause for confusion and contradictions. In this kind of situations, Ruth does not know how to interpret or feels misguided by LuLing's actions which to her seem inconsistent. This can cause for example unexpected twists dialogues, which leave Ruth searching for the right interpretation. The inconsistency is sometimes due to differences in practices such as in showing affection. In the second extract, the giving of "best things" and then retrieving them creates ambiguity. Here, LuLing and the young Ruth have had arguments, and many of these have ended in LuLing threatening to kill herself because Ruth rebels against her orders. In the following extract, a reconciliation episode, LuLing is giving Ruth as a birthday present the family ring she has inherited. She tells Ruth to be careful not to lose it, and this responsibility makes Ruth believe the ring is now hers to keep. LuLing also gives other important objects, such as a picture of Precious Auntie, her mother, and a Chinese bible. Ruth senses that this is "important, that her mother was giving her a message about mothers" (BD:127).

However, after this LuLing asks the ring back, and this seems to contrast the frame of sharing and adds irony to the dialogue. Ruth is baffled and disappointed. In this way, LuLing only gives the "message", and shows that she loves her daughter, but still hides the significant objects to a safe place. LuLing promises to give the ring "someday". However, Ruth interprets this as taking away everything that LuLing already shared. After this, Ruth's fustration is expressed in the narration with an insertion of a hypothetical quotation of LuLing's words. This refers to the repeated threats of suicide by LuLing in their arguments, which upsets Ruth. Thus, this is an ironic index to that Ruth thinks her mother does not want to share anything with her, and also refrains affection and care when threatening to kill herself. Thus, this quotation can be seen as an insertional switch, which indexes Ruth's footing towards the events. It may also be intertextual since it refers to the recurrent arguments following the same pattern of suicide threats by LuLing in response to Ruth's confronting her.

> 30) 'Wow, wow, wow.' Ruth stared at the ring in her palm.
> 'This is very good jade, don't loose,' her mother warned.
> 'I won't lose it.' Ruth slid the ring onto her middle finger. Too small for that one, but it did fit her ring finger.
> […]
> LuLing slapped the pretty picture into the Bible, then held one hand, palm up. 'Now give back.'
> 'What?'
> 'Ring. Give back.'
> Ruth didn't understand. Reluctantly she put the ring in LuLing's hand and watched as she returned it to the silk purse.
> […]
> 'Some things too good use right now. Save for later, 'preciate more.'
> Ruth wanted to cry out, 'No! You can't do that! It's *my* birthday present.'
> […]
> 'Someday I give you forever.'
> Someday? Ruth's throat ached. She wanted to cry. 'When's forever?' But she knew what her mother meant – forever as in, 'When I forever dead, then you don't need listen me anymore.' Ruth was a mix of emotions, happy that her mother had given her such nice presents, because this meant she still loved her, yet filled with a new despair that the ring had been taken away so soon. (BD:127-8)

Thus, in this episode, LuLing is trying to express her affection towards Ruth by showing the inheritance to her. She wants to make sure Ruth understands the value of the inheritance. However, her way of showing this is incomprehensible to the child Ruth. The value and meaning of the inheritance can be fully understood only when knowing about what it means to LuLing and to Precious Auntie to whom it belonged, and therefore the meanings are tightly knit to family bonds. Here, Ruth only sees LuLing's habit of saving and hiding the "best things", without ever using them, and her authoritative orientation towards her. Thus, as an ambiguous intimacy episode this extract conveys the gap in communication between Ruth and LuLing. It also highlights the difficulty of LuLing to express her meanings to her daughter. This is partly due to cultural differences in family roles such as Chinese expectations on children's obedience and respect towards parents (Belden 1997; Pan et al. 1994, as cited in Williams 2005:322) which contrasts with the individuality of the Western culture, and partly because of events in LuLing's personal past which she keeps secret.

Differences in the background knowledge on LuLing's mother is the cause of confusion in the next extract. Here, code switching has a discourse organizing function, specifying the topic of talk. This episode comes from the Full Moon Festival, where Ruth has given LuLing a present (in accordance with the festival tradition). The present is a photograph of who Ruth misbelieves is LuLing's mother. LuLing has kept it secret that Precious Auntie is her real mother. However, in this episode LuLing begins to talk about the issue, and since only her sister GaoLing knows about the truth, this causes confusion among the dinner table party. First she remarks that the woman in the photo is not her mother. Ruth tries to confirm from GaoLing that the photo is of GaoLing's mother, and when she confirms this, Ruth concludes that she is LuLing's mother as well. However, to this LuLing responds that GaoLing is not her sister, which again confuses the others. She continues then that GaoLing is her "sister-in-*law*" (BD:81). By "sister-in-*law*" LuLing seems to hint that she has not told the authorities the reality. The others take this as a word play and an joke, and are relieved to find a line of coherence.

However, LuLing continues to insist on the issue, showing Ruth the photo of Precious Auntie, and at this point she switches into Chinese. This is an alternational switch since the main language changes, and it has discourse-related functions because in excludes the others and establishes an intimate framework between LuLing and Ruth, used for an intimate topic. This is similar to the switches discussed earlier in the section on mother-daughter relationships. Thus, together with the photograph, the switch underlines LuLing's insistence on the topic and on proving the truth. This is also further specified by the narrator using both Chinese and English versions of Precious Auntie's name. Because Ruth only knows Precious Auntie as a "crazy woman" and LuLing's nursemaid (BD:82), she cannot understand what LuLing is saying and is left in an emotional turmoil.

> 31) 'That's Waipo, isn't it?' Ruth said to Auntie Gal, struggling to stay nonchalant. When GaoLing nodded, Ruth said happily to her mother, 'Well, if that's your sister's mother, she must be yours as well.'
>
> LuLing snorted. 'GaoLing *not* my sister!'
>
> Ruth could hear her pulse pounding in her brain. Billy cleared his throat in an obvious bid to change the subject.
>
> Her mother went on: 'She my sister-in-*law*.'
>
> Everyone now guffawed. LuLing had delivered the punch line to a joke! Of course, they were indeed sisters-in-law, married to a pair of brothers. What a relief! Her mother not only made sense, she was clever.
>
> Auntie Gal turned to LuLing and huffed with pretend annoyance.
>
> 'Hey, why do you treat me so bad, hah?'
>
> LuLing was fishing for something in her wallet. She pulled out a tiny photo, then handed it to Ruth. 'There,' she said in Chinese. 'This one right here, she's my mother.' A chill ran over Ruth's scalp. It was a photograph of her mother's nursemaid, Bao Bomu, Precious Auntie. (BD:81-82)

Thus, in this episode, code switching contributes to a situation where different aspects of both interactional roles such as a clever joker in small talk, and identity positions such as a Chinese mother or an aged and confused person, are contested. Instead of indexing confusion as in the extracts discussed in the beginning of this section, here code switching contributes to the position of LuLing as an a honest person and a mother, telling her daughter about her family. However, to Ruth this causes confusion because it points to her inadequate knowledge of her mother and her inability to translate her mother's words. She cannot fit together the pieces which LuLing tells about her past because there are too many gaps.

6.4 AMBIGUITY AND WORD PLAY

Language use can also involve other kind of ambiguity besides the instances discussed above. In this case, ambiguity is purposefully created and used, either for indexing some aspects of identity, such as the first instances in this section, or for example to distract or persuade others. Most of these instances involve pidgin English. In the first instance, pidgin English is used to signal cleverness and self-expression. This is particularly interesting since pidgin has generally been considered as reducted and inadequate, and also criticized in other parts of the novel (this will be discussed in the section on code mixing). The episode comes from the doctor's appointment where LuLing is interviewed by the doctor to diagnose the state of her memory. The interview involves many questions which are difficult for LuLing to understand, sometimes because of the complex and formal English used by the doctor and sometimes due to the concepts and practices specific to the American culture which LuLing does not know well. This makes LuLing's position unequal and thus also undermines the truthfulness of the resulting diagnosis on LuLing's mental capabilities. This troubles Ruth because she is not allowed to say anything to help LuLing. At this point, every adjacency pair between the doctor and LuLing is commented on by the narrator, reflecting Ruth's urge to translate between her mother and the doctor.

> 32) 'Fine,' Dr Huey declared, with no change of expression. 'Now I want you to name the last five presidents in reverse order.'
> Ruth wanted to protest: Even I can't do that!
> LuLing's eyebrows bunched in thought. 'Clinton,' she said after a pause. 'Last five year still Clinton.' Her mother had not even understood the question! Of course she hadn't. She had always depended on Ruth to tell her what people meant, to give her what they said from another angle. 'Reverse order' means 'go backward,' she would have told LuLing. If Dr Huey could ask that same question in fluent Mandarin, it would be no problem for LuLing to give the right answer. 'This president, that president,' her mother would have said without hesitation, 'no difference, all liar. No tax before, more tax after. No crime before, more crime after. And always don't cut welfare. I come to this country, I don't get welfare. What so fair? No fair? Only make people lazy to work!' (BD:57)

Here, the doctor's request to "name the last five presidents in reverse order" is commented by the narrator as too demanding. and LuLing's answer does not seem to give the information requested. This is explained by the narrator in terms of LuLing's difficulty to understand formal English. After this, the narrator gives an alternative for the progress of the events, pointing out that if LuLing would have understood the doctor's question, she would have provided a "right answer". At this point, this right answer is exemplified with a hypothetical quotation of LuLing's words. This produces a style of speech which is usual for LuLing. This involves elements such as complaints (or pointing out what is wrong), demands on better treatment, word play in a rhetorical question ("I don't get welfare. What so fair? No fair.") and a teaching way of speaking. Thus, using words which sound the same for rhetorical effects points out the possibilities for expression in pidgin English, and particularly in the Chinese linguistic context because Chinese is a context specific language where one word can have many meanings. This quality seems to transfer to English as well, as in LuLing's claim that how something sounds is what counts (BD:119). Thus, that rhetorical use of pidgin English in an opinionated utterance indexes here LuLing's cleverness and wit, and thus reflects Ruth's urge to prove that there is nothing wrong with LuLing's mind, only the problem of not understanding American practices and language. Consequently, this quotation can be seen as a discourse-related insertion.

Another way of using linguistic and cultural resources can be seen in the following extracts, where inserted quotations of LuLing's words are used by the narrator to index the way LuLing is inconsistent in her argumentation because she utilizes suitable cultural assumptions for her own benefit. The following extract comes from a description on the relationship between LuLing and her sister GaoLing. It is preceded with representations of the competition and jealousy which they seem to feel for each other. The preceding dialogue involves LuLing's habitual and recurrent complaints about GaoLing's greed on her belongings and property. In the following two extracts, this is indexed through quotations of LuLing's words. The insertion in the first extract expresses LuLing's footing that her husband was the rightful heir because he was the eldest son. The insertions in the second extract indexes her footing that it should not matter that Ruth is not a boy who would traditionally be the heir.

The two instances are close to each other and the narrator does not use other evaluative expressions than the quotations. Therefore, the contradiction between these two insertions is visible. This indexes the way LuLing uses any suitable reasons she gets for rhetorical purposes to maintain and support her stance, and it does not matter whether these reasons follow Chinese traditions or not. Since the insertions refer to LuLing's recurrent and habitual performative monologues of complaints (discussed in the section on mixing), together with pidgin English they also distance the expressed stances from the narrator's point of view and attribute them to LuLing. Thus, they have discourse-related functions. This creates some irony in the representation of LuLing and GaoLing's relationship and LuLing's determination that GaoLing is against her. In addition, this underlines the shifting between different aspects of identity, such as a rightful heir and a mother concerned about her daughter's future, and how this is used as a resource in everyday life.

> 33) The two sisters came to America separately, and married a pair of brothers, sons of a grocer and his wife. LuLing's husband, Edwin Young, was in medical school, and as the elder, he was 'destined' as LuLing put it, to be smarter and more successful. Most of the family's attention and privileges had been showered on him. (BD:50)
>
> 34) When the grocer and then his wife died, in the 1960s, most of the inheritance – money, the house, the store, gold and jade, family photos – went to Edmund, with only a small cash gift given to LuLing in consideration of her brief marriage to Edwin. 'Only give me *this much*,' LuLing often described, pinching her fingers as if holding a flea. 'Just because you not a boy.' (BD:50)

This section has discussed code switching and its various meanings and functions in local contexts. There are both Chinese and pidgin English elements which work together with other linguistic resources to signal aspects of the situation or participants and which contribute to the interactional meaning of the utterance in some way. Not all possible candidates for code switching could be included due to the limited scope of the study. The examples of code switching discussed above contribute to different kinds of contexts and situation types. They signal aspects of identity construction such as cultural identifications, family relationships and passing down knowledge from generation to generation. Some linguistic features contribute to creative and individual self-expression such as expression of emotion and word play, and some signal aspects of identity which are common to all people, such as aging. Yet some patterns of switching underline confrontations of differing frames of interpretation. However, there are also other kind of language alternation patterns which work together with code switching. These are discussed in the following section on code mixing.

7 . CODE MIXING IN *THE BONESETTER'S DAUGHTER*

Code mixing differs from code switching in that mixing has no significant local meanings and functions. Code mixing is only meaningful as a general style, and a recurrent pattern. (Auer 1998:1). Styles and ways of speaking can be associated to social groups, and constitute a conventional way of speaking. In the present study, there are various kinds of styles and ways of speaking. Not all of them can be attributed to a clear social group or a set of institutional conventions such as the African American hip-hop Vernacular English discussed by Androutsopoulos (2003:8). However, there are patterns which associate with particular social practices and groups, and some recurrent patterns which contribute to sets of conventions or discourse types. Instances of code mixing are identified according to the absence of local significance. They are classified according to their recurrence and similarity as a way of speaking, as well the difference to other styles. Their significance in the novel as a as a way of speaking is considered as well. Some instances of code mixing can also have some local meanings. Code mixing includes both Chinese and pidgin English, and particular kinds of figurative language. The elements included in this section range from single inserted words and quotations to sequences of dialogue which, as parts of the narrational discourse, contribute to particular types of contexts.

7.1 CULTURAL OBJECTS, CULINARY TERMS AND PEOPLE

A discourse type with most of the Chinese insertions is the category of cultural discourse. This type of discourse consists of concepts and terms specific to Chinese, or in some cases, American culture. The insertions include both established borrowings and nonce borrowings. Nonce borrowings are acquired from the other language for situational purposes. Established borrowings are conventionally and widely used words from other languages. Conventional borrowings have been introduced into English in the course of time through contacts with peoples, cultures and languages, as in exploration, immigration and media. A major part of the borrowed words in *The Bonesetter's Daughter* belong to culturally specific vocabulary as well, including for example culinary terms, and many of them do not have an equivalent in English. In most cases this is because the words refer to a cultural aspect which has no equivalent in the American culture. This kind of borrowings have also been reported in other multilingual works (Oster 2003:97). The relationship between multilingualism and multiculturalism is not self-evident, as noted for example by Auer (2005), and the use of more than one language does not necessarily imply multiculturalism. However, because most of these words convey cultural knowledge, they can be seen as contributing to multicultural identity as well.

In addition, in multicultural fiction, the themes concentrating on cultural concerns and identity politics are central, and often there are also linguistic concerns (Li 2004:269). For instance, living with more than one language is seen as an integral part of life for generations of immigrants, and therefore it is taken as an important tool for the construction and representation of identity. In multicultural fiction, linguistic features are one way of both authenticating the characters and of rejecting negative stereotypes on ethnic groups (Li 2004:269). Insertions of culturally specific words are thus expectable when the story involves depictions on cultural contexts. In *The Bonesetter's Daughter,* insertional mixing of Chinese words into English as presented in this section seems to underline the Chineseness of the characters, and authenticate the Chinese contexts depicted in the novel. Therefore, this type of mixing can be seen as a style used by the writer to create an identification with the Chinese cultural aspects and to weave them as a part of the plot of the novel.

This section is comprised of insertions. There are no alternations because the mixed elements are short structural units, and occur mostly in the narration. The most exemplary instance of insertions with no local significance is *k'ang*, a nonce borrowing and a term for a type of Chinese brick bed. It has no other particular local meanings than its referent and it is used in the story every time there is the need to refer to this kind of Chinese bed. It occurs exclusively in the first-person narration of Chinese section of the novel, and is systematically italicized. It is also one of the most frequently repeated items in the data (13 instances). Most of the other Chinese words occur only a few times. *K'ang* differs from the other frequently repeated instances (such as the routine switch *ai-ya*) in that its meaning remains simple. Other insertions similar to this are *shaoping* (a type of food) (226), *mu* (a measure unit of length) (BD:140), and "*pai gar* wine" (BD:188). All of these are nonce borrowings and occur only once, in the first-person narration of the Chinese section. *Chipao* (a traditional Chinese dress) (BD:50, 170) could be taken as an established borrowing, because it refers to a traditional Chinese garment, which has also been adopted by the English-speaking world, and because the spelling of the word has been partly modified to reflect the pronunciation (*chipao* instead of *qipao*). The word is used twice, once in the Chinese section and once by LuLing in the American section, in relation to a Chinese context (BD:50).

There are also labels for family roles, such as *baba*, meaning 'father', also mentioned in the section on code switching in chapter 4.1.1 on cultural contrasts. In contrary to the meaning of father-in-law as in the instance of code switching, the second instance of *baba* (BD: 253) is a general Chinese label for ‘father’. Therefore, it has an English equivalent, unlike many terms specific for Chinese culture. Since the word refers to a common label of a family role, it might be an established borrowing among Chinese-Americans. The author also uses the word to mark the language as Chinese. The word occurs in a quotation of a voice coming from the street from outside the apartment where LuLing, the first person narrator, lives. Together with the direct label “Chinese girl”, the insertion indexes the Chineseness of the voice. The insertion is a part of the description of the surroundings and experiences of LuLing in Hong Kong.

Nonce borrowings and nouns are also “*duan”* (BD:225) and “*majie*” (BD:252) and both of them occur in the Chinese section. *Duan* means a special kind on inkstone which is used for painting and calligraphy. It is highly respected and of good quality. However, this is not explained in the novel. In this sense, this insertion contributes to the “ingroup” Chineseness of the context where it occurs, depicting the life of LuLing in China. The reader is only informed by the fact that the first person narrator (LuLing) values the inkstone a great deal and the instance is repeated three times in a short passage. *Duan* is repeated once more in the closure of the novel, in an American section, where cultural and personal contradictions have been solved. It occurs in a depiction of the habitual writing activity of the most significant Chinese character, Precious Auntie, accompanied by the Chinese version of her nickname (Bao Bomu). *Majie* is an inserted noun with no English equivalent, and refers to a particular kind of Chinese maid or servant. This is used in the Chinese section by LuLing, the first person Chinese narrator, and is an italicized nonce borrowing. It is not translated but is shortly described by the narrator as ”pious, refined and clean” (BD:252), which qualities were valued by the British people in China.

> 35) By the next morning, I had devised a new plan. I took my little bit of money and bought the white smock and trousers of a *majie*. British people were crazy for that kind of maid – pious, refined, and clean. That was how I found a job with an English lady and her ancient mum. Their last name was Flowers. (BD:252)

All the insertions presented above refer to Chinese objects, food or people, and are nouns. As Auer (1999:17) notes, mixing often involves lexical borrowings which are nouns. Nouns have also been reported to occur frequently in multilingual fiction (see. e.g. Callahan 2004:42). In addition, a major part of hat the insertions focus on the Chinese section, supports their authenticating function and contribution to the atmosphere of Chineseness.

In addition to these, there are also some Chinese insertions which occur in the American section. Some of these occur quite near the beginning of the first chapter of the section, and thus contribute to the initial setting of the main character Ruth and her life. Thus, they help to index her Chinese background. One of them is "rickshaw" (BD:25), which is an established borrowing since it is commonly used in English, referring to an Asian cart or a means of transportation. It occurs in the narration reflecting Ruth's thoughts, and is used as a point of comparison. Ruth is trying understand issues unfamiliar to her and compares them to the terms she knows (and which the reader also is presumed to know).

> 36) Within the first week, Wendy was off yoga and onto a home gizmo that
> looked like a rickshaw with oars. (BD:25)

Yoga and exercising is something that Ruth does not know anything about, and the practices seem strange to her. This is also shown by the narrator by quoting a sanskrit phrase: "*Urdhva muka svanasana! Adho muka svanasana!"* (BD:24) without any translation. This is a list of two yoga terms, associated with yoga practice. This shows the way in which Ruth feels an outsider in the context. The use of rickshaw as a point of comparison could be seen as introducing the Asian context as a more familiar and comprehensible than the health and exercising sphere into which Ruth being encouraged by her friend. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of these two can also add the feeling of strangeness to the Asian context, which tendency shows in many instances in the speech of Ruth. Ruth is familiar with her Chinese background but it is often negatively evaluated.

The italicized nonce borrowing "*la-la"* (BD*:*33) is not inherently culture specific in that it does have English translation. However, it is associated with the bilingual family of Ruth. It occurs as a quotation in the narration of the American section. The meaning of the word is translated as "hot-hot" (BD*:*33). The narrator quotes her own words as a child, the term she used for a jar of spiced turnips prepared by her mother. The word thus points to the bilingual childhood of Ruth. It is also used as a label for food, and connected with the familiar sphere of home and LuLing. There is also one instance of Japanese, *uni* (BD:295) which is a noun and a term of food, meaning 'sea urchin'. It occurs in the narration of the American section. This can be seen as an established borrowing since it is quite widely known as a part of Asian culinary culture also in the US. This term is used in a restaurant context together with other seafood such as octopus.

An actual Chinese name is the instance of “Luyi”, which is Ruth’s Chinese name (there is both an English and a Chinese version of Ruth’s name). It is translated in the novel as “all that you wish” (BD:289). It is used three times in the dialogues in the American context by LuLing, when speaking Chinese (BD:61, 62, 269), and once in the narration of the Chinese section (BD:6). It marks LuLing’s utterances as Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese insertions discussed above, language alternation in speech reporting can also contribute to mixing. Chinese immigrants’ pidgin English is spoken exclusively by LuLing in the novel, and her words are cited in many contexts, also outside dialogues. The quotations are a recurrent part of the standard English narration, and are used to present LuLing’s expressions and her points of view. Sometimes the quotations consist of mere note on LuLing’s words, and lack any particular local function. They can be seen as a part of a mixing style. One of this kind of instances is the insertion of pidgin English, “go-round”, which reiterates the English term “lazy Susan” (BD:78). As many of the instances of Chinese presented above, this insertion occurs in the context of food as well and represents a noun, referring to a particular kind of tray. The “go-round” is descriptive of the characteristics of the object, and exemplifies the way LuLing creates her own expressions because she does not know the conventional phrases in standard American English. This is also associated with the immigrant background of LuLing, and thus, the item contributes to an alternative vocabulary and expressions for the standard American English context, and contributes to the authenticity of the character of LuLing.

> 37) The dinner began with a flurry of appetizers set on the lazy Susan, what LuLing called the ’go-round’. The adults oohed and aahed, the children cried, ’I’m starved!’ The waiters set down what Ruth had ordered by phone: sweetly glazed phoenix-tail fish, vegetarian chicken made out of wrinkly tissues of tofu, and jellyfish, her mother’s favorite, seasoned with sesame oil and sprinkled with diced green onions. (BD:78)

7.2 NATURAL AND METAPHYSICAL IMAGERY AND CHINESE TEACHING

The previous section consisted mostly of single insertions of Chinese, which are related to Chinese objects or food. There are also other ways of speaking in the novel which can be seen as contributing to the depiction of Chinese world views and practices. The natural imagery discussed in the present section consists of heterogeneous elements, ranging from insertions of Chinese similar to those above, to inserted quotations of pidgin English and reported Chinese, and pieces of standard English narrational discourse which add to the thematics of this style of speaking. These are unified by figurative speech containing natural imagery and abstract concepts such as terms of religion. This can be seen as drawing from the traditional Chinese philosophical ideas and world views and therefore indexing Chinese aspects in the character's lives and in the novel in general. The quotations of reported Chinese and pidgin English discussed below come from episodes and utterances where there is a single main language. At the level of main language choice, these can be seen as relevant because the extracts contribute to the association of the language with the topics of talk. The quotations are also insertions because they occur outside dialogues in the narration.

The figurative way of speaking extends over different parts of the novel, and often occurs in contexts which involve other Chinese features, such as in the first-person narration of LuLing in the second section, or in LuLing's Chinese language utterances in the American section. In addition, this kind of speech also occurs in specific contexts, such as the teaching of calligraphy by LuLing which relates to passing down traditional knowledge to the next generation. This activity has been discussed to some extent earlier in the section on code switching (chapter 6.13). The figurative language also marks the speech of LuLing and Precious Auntie and therefore creates a link between them as characters, though they are located in separate sections. Thus, this kind of speech can be said to contribute to the authenticity of the Chinese characters and also to the coherence and thematic links in the novel, such as symbolizing the inheritance that Precious Auntie left for LuLing, not in the form of material objects but as knowledge and advice on how to live.

The figurative style of speaking includes metaphors and similes based on concrete natural phenomena and objects, which are used to talk about more abstract things and concepts. In addition, in many cases the points of comparison derive from the human body, such as talking about natural phenomenon or emotions in bodily terms. Sometimes this is also reversed in talking about concrete events in abstract terms. In the extracts below, LuLing tries to pass down to Ruth what she has learned from Precious Auntie. The instance below on painting instruction by LuLing contains expressions such as "young willow branch" contrasted with "a beggar lying on the road" and "a bird landing on a branch" contrasted with "an executioner chopping off a devil's head". Thus, natural imagery represents the positive and desirable qualities in writing, and phenomena of human society such as beggars and executioners represent the negative and avoidable. In addition, there are expressions referring to the spiritual aspect of the writing, such as the saying "news from the gods".

> 38) Later LuLing had Ruth try her hand at the same character, the whole time stuffing Chinese logic into her resistant brain. 'Hold your wrist this way, firm but still loose, like a young willow branch – ai-ya, not collapsed like a beggar lying on the road… Draw the stroke with grace, like a bird landing on a branch, not an executioner chopping off a devil's head. The way you drew it – well, look, the whole thing is falling down. Do it like this… light first, then temple. See? Together, it means "news form the gods." See how this knowledge always comes from above? See how Chinese words make sense?' (BD:49)

In many cases, this style of speaking is accompanied with Chinese language. This is also the case in the calligraphy teaching context, which is loaded with this way of speaking. Figurative speech is used in explaining the meanings of the Chinese characters and the way they should be painted. These meanings are not simple, and require extensive understanding of the logic and contexts of their use. As a practice of conveying knowledge, teaching and instructional discourse is also involved in this, and exploits figurative speech as a resource. Thus, Chinese language is associated with the knowledge of Chinese practices. In addition, teaching Chinese also involves knowledge of the values attached to Chinese writing. Chinese is a language with long traditions as a prestige language, carrying a large body of literature, and written Chinese has been the medium of communication unifying different speech and ethnic groups (Coulmas 1999:402).

There are also moral associations between a word and its meaning. (Coulmas 1999:412) This means that linguistic correctness and high literary standards are important because they involve "beauty, goodness, and rectitude" (ibid). Linguistic correctness is also required to reach crystallized thinking. As Coulmas (1999) explains, "[m]astering written language through hard study [means acquiring] not only skill but virtue" (Coulmas 1999:412). These aspects seem to underlie also in the teaching activity by LuLing. However, the stories and metaphors she tells are also related to her own past, and this makes it difficult for Ruth to understand what LuLing is trying to explain. Therefore, the figurative speech and abstract explanations do not only index the Chinese inheritance, but for Ruth, in contrast, the incomprehensibility of the Chinese culture and language, as can be seen from the first example below.

> 39) This line is like a beam of light. Look, can you see it or not?
> To Ruth, the line looked like a sparerib picked clean of meat.
> LuLing went on: 'Each character is a thought, a feeling, meanings, history, all mixed into one.' She drew more lines – dots and dashes, downstrokes and upstrokes, bends and hooks. 'Do you see this?' she said over and over, *tink-tink-tink*. 'This line, and this and this and this – the shape of a heavenly temple.' And when Ruth shrugged in response, LuLing added, 'In the *old* style of temples,' as if this word *old* would bump the Chinese gears of her daughter's mind into action. *Ping-ping!* Oh, I see. (BD:48-9)

The next two extracts show the resemblance of LuLing's and Precious Auntie's instructional speech and thus the way they are intertextually connected. The first extract comes from LuLing's Chinese utterances, and the next two are from the first-person narration of the Chinese section. In this context, there is also one insertion of Chinese, *ch'i* (BD:205). This occurs in the second section of the novel, in a similar teaching context. The word is italicized and spelled with an apostrophe, which suggests that is less integrated to English and thus a nonce borrowing of a Chinese word rather than an established borrowing. It is a term of religion and world view, related with the connection between the material and the metaphysical. This helps to contextualize the activity of writing to the Chinese framework where writing is not only technical performance, but also a way of improving moral and becoming a better person (see Coulmas 1999: 412)

> 40) 'Writing Chinese characters,' her mother told her, 'is entirely different from writing English words. You think differently. You feel differently.' And it was true: LuLing was different when she was writing and painting. She was calm, organized, and decisive.
> 'Bao Bomu taught me how to write,' LuLing said one evening. 'She taught me how to think. When you write, she said, you must gather the free-flowing of your heart.' To demonstrate, LuLing wrote the character for 'heart.' 'See? Each stroke has its own rhythm, its balance, its proper place. Bao Bomu said everything in life should be in the same way.'
> (BD:48)

> 41) Precious Auntie taught me how to write this down on my chalkboard. *Watch now, Doggie,* she ordered, and drew the character for 'heart': *See this curving stroke? That's the bottom of the heart, where blood gathers and flows. And the dots, those are the two veins and the artery that carry the blood in and out.* As I traced over the character, she asked: *Whose dead heart gave shape to this word? How did it begin, Doggie? Did it belong to a woman? Was it drawn in sadness?*
> (BD:135)

> 42) I also helped the students improve their calligraphy and their minds. I recalled for them what Precious Auntie had taught me about writing characters, how a person must think about her intentions, how her *ch'i* flowed from her body into her arm, through the brush and into the stroke. Every stroke had meaning, and since every word had many strokes, it also had many meanings. (BD:205)

As we can see from the following two extracts from the first person narration of the second section of the novel, natural imagery also extends to the speech of the Chinese characters elsewhere in the novel. Here, religious concepts such as the “Goddess of Mercy” and the bodily imagery of natural phenomena such as mountains swallowing the floodwaters, flies like a storm cloud, and personalization with “thieves”, contribute to the impression of the Chinese village where LuLing lives, the countryside and the ravine near LuLing’s house.

> 43) The dry ravine filled, and before you could run to the cliffs, climb up, and cry out, ‘Goddess of Mercy,’ the gullies ran by like thieves, grabbing you and whatever was not deeply rooted in the soil. Once the rain stopped, the floodwaters drained fast and the mouths of the caves swallowed the dirt and the trees, the bodies and the bones. (BD:142)

> 44) And then we smelled it: the stink of ghosts. A person needs to smell that only once to know what it is. It rose from the earth. It wafted towards us on the wings of a thousand flies. The flies chased us like a storm cloud […] (BD:140)

There are also instances of this style of speaking in the American section. In the first extract, the natural expressions, together with the Chinese language, index LuLing’s confusion which caused her to fall into a swimming pool. The expressions signal that she does not realize her surroundings but is absorbed in the images of her past in China, her worry over Precious Auntie and her belief in the ghost of Precious Auntie. The second extract contains an ironic reference to “wisdom” which is conveyed with Chinese, which seems to refer to the instructional speech discussed above. Here, LuLing’s warnings are marked with Chinese and the abstraction of dirt to “sickness”, which indexes the way LuLing interprets everything as a sign of danger. This expresses Ruth’s resentment on the way her mother’s fear of danger restricts her independence and does not let her adapt into the surrounding life. In this way, figurative speech is used to signal Chinese context on the other hand, and to represent the individual use of Chinese practices by LuLing.

> 45) Ruth swaddled her mother in towels, rubbing her to stimulate her circulation.
> ‘I saw her down there,’ LuLing moaned in Chinese between more coughs. ‘She asked me to help her get out from under the rocks. Then the ground became sky and I fell through a rain cloud, down, down, down.’ She turned to point to where she saw the phantom.
> As Ruth glanced where her mother gestured, she saw Auntie Gal, her face stricken with new understanding. (BD:294)

> 46) By using Chinese words, LuLing could put all kinds of wisdom in Ruth's mind. She could warn her away from danger, disease, and death.
>
> 'Don't play with her, too many germs,' LuLing told six-year-old Ruth one day, nodding toward the girl from across the street. The girl's name was Teresa and she had two front teeth missing, a scab on one knee, and a dress smeared with handprints. 'I saw her pick up old candy off the sidewalk and eat it. And look at her nose, sickness pouring out all over the place.' (BD:62)

There are also insertions of Chinese words in the American section. The borrowings "yin" and "yang" are used by Ruth. They can be seen as established borrowings since there are known in their general meanings as the "duality of nature" as expressed in the extract. They are in juxtaposition with scientific vocabulary and underline the Chinese background of Ruth. Ruth's friend explains a word's meaning using a scientific framework, which remains distant to Ruth, because her word associations are more related with the Chinese concepts her mother has introduced to her. Thus, this underlines Ruth's Chinese background which sometimes makes her feel confused.

> 47) 'One moment you have water,' Art said, his hands forming undulating motions. 'But under pressure from heat, it turns into steam.' His fingers flittered upward.
>
> Ruth nodded vigorously. Water to steam, that she understood, sort of. Her mother used to talk about water and fire combining to make steam, and steam looked harmless but could peel your skin right off.
>
> 'Like yin and yang?' she ventured.
>
> 'Duality of nature, exactly.'
>
> Ruth shrugged. She felt like a fraud. (BD:26)

There is also an insertion of pidgin English which also contributes to the Chinese atmosphere, here introducing the character of LuLing and thus also marking her beliefs and background. This is also the first longer stretch of LuLing's pidgin English speech in the novel, and it is commented by the narrator as being "strangely British-accented" (BD:13). The view of the elements such as water and fire derive from Chinese traditions, and the description of the consequences of the process creates an instructional framework of the utterance: "You know this. Just like teapot. You touch, burn your finger off" (BD:13). The introduction of LuLing's pidgin English in this context adds to the distinctiveness of her point of view.

> 48) Foghorns started to blare. And after another minute, Ruth saw the billows, like an ethereal down comforter covering the ocean and edging toward the bridge. Her mother used to tell her that the fog was really the steam from fighting dragons, one water, the other fire. 'Water and fire, come together make steam,' LuLing would say in the strangely British-accented English she had acquired in Hong Kong. 'You know this. Just like teapot. You touch, burn you finger off.' (BD:13)

Thus, the figurative speech presented in this section both draws from Chinese contexts but it is used by individuals. It is a resource which represents the cultural background and life history of the characters, and therefore as a style involving both Chinese and pidgin English it also underlines the situational and individual factors through which it comes to existence. In other words, the identification to Chinese culture involves individual negotiation, and might not always be easy. In addition, figurative speech can also be seen to contribute to a style of writing which is reported to characterize the works of Amy Tan (see e.g. Huntley 1998:34), utilizing "culturally specific figurative language and symbolism to entice her readers into the dual worlds of her novels" (Huntley 1998:34). This is also the case in the following section, which presents a context of Chinese use in which situational and individual factors are relevant.

7.3 FAMILY, ANCESTORS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

In the previous section Chinese was a language of inheritance. However, the confusion it caused for Ruth was also mentioned. This uncertainty is clearest in the context of sand writing or "ghost writing", which topic has also been discussed to some extent in the section on code switching (chapter 6.3). Here, the difference in LuLing's and Ruth's frames of interpretation is underlined. The cause of the contradictive views is the belief in ghosts. This is related with the close relation between family members and the respect of ancestors. The belief that late family members can be present in the form of ghosts is the object of contradictory views in the context of ghost writing. As a context of Chinese use, these episodes resemble Chinese calligraphy teaching in that they often involve Chinese used by LuLing. However, the main language is exclusively Chinese only in the first episodes of this activity, and later English is used as well. In the first episode, Chinese marks changes in the participant roles and activity. This can be explained as the introduction of the activity for the reader, underlining the nature of the activity.

However, later on LuLing also uses pidgin English to ask questions and to respond to Ruth's writing. This seems to underline the initiating role Ruth later has when she uses LuLing's belief in Precious Auntie's ghost to her own benefit. However, in the initial episodes LuLing has the dominating role and the ghost disturbs Ruth. This is because she does not understand the background which makes LuLing believe in the existence of the ghost: LuLing has adopted from Precious Auntie the old Chinese views on ancestors and their significance (which are only one part in the assortment of Chinese world views). In addition, personal factors such as the traumas caused by the death of Precious Auntie and the conflict between her and LuLing cause LuLing to use ghost writing to try and correct things. However, although she sets herself in the position of the daughter of Precious Auntie by assuring that she wants to be obedient, the frame of ancestral ghosts also shows in her believe that Precious Auntie has powers to affect her everyday life. Thus, there are also some features of a sacred or religious discourse.

> 49) […]
> Her mother put the chopstick in Ruth's hand. 'Here, do this. Close your eyes, turn your face to heaven, and speak to her. Wait for her answer, then write it down. Hurry, close your eyes.'
>
> Ruth squeezed her eyes shut. She saw the lady with hair to her toes.
>
> She heard her mother speak again in polite Chinese: 'Precious Auntie, I did not mean what I said before you died. And after you died, I tried to find your body.'
>
> Ruth's eyes flew open. In her imagination, the long-haired ghost was walking in circles.
>
> Ruth felt something touch her shoulder, and she jumped. 'Ask her if my luck has changed. Is the curse over? Are we safe? Write down her answer.'
>
> […]
>
> She put the chopstick in the sand, and not knowing what to write, she drew a line and another below that. She drew two more lines and made a square.
>
> 'Mouth!' her mother cried, tracing over the square. 'That's the character for "mouth"! She stared at Ruth. 'You wrote that and you don't even know how to write Chinese! Did you feel Precious Auntie guiding your hand? What did it feel like? Tell me.'
>
> […]
>
> Ruth wondered what she had written. How could a square mean all that? Was there really a ghost in the room? What was in her arm and the chopstick? Why was her hand shaking?
>
> (BD:69-70)

Ruth's images of the ghost resemble popular movie representations and are formed on the basis of the second-hand knowledge from LuLing's remarks. As a context of Chinese use this seems to associate with the incomprehensible nature of the Chinese background and resembles that of the calligraphy teaching. In the later episodes with English as a main language, this activity seems to be one of the few where Ruth is able to express her own opinions to LuLing, though in the disguise of Precious Auntie's words. As a discourse involving both Chinese and English, this ambiguous frame of interpretation seems to signal that conceptions about Chinese background and traditions are individually formed. Firstly, there is an assortment of world views and religions which can be seen as Chinese, some of them older than others, and the present one is only one of them, adopted in a framework of mother and daughter relationship. Precious Auntie does not follow strictly any single religion and represents the older Chinese traditions and beliefs**.** Her points of view are also quite original, and therefore cannot be seen as representing "the Chinese" or China in general. They are individually modified aspects from various Chinese traditions. Secondly, because of the pressures of situational and personal factors, it needs to be negotiated as well. This shows for example in that Ruth cannot accept LuLing's views as such, but needs to fit them to her own life. Thus, this also contributes to the uncertainty of what should be taken as real and true, which is a prominent theme in the novel.

> 50) If Ruth told her the actual truth, she would probably go crazy. She'd say she didn't want to live anymore. So what difference did it make? She was alone. No one could save her.
>
> An hour later, while LuLing was knitting and watching television, Ruth took down the sand tray by herself. 'Precious Auntie wants tot tell you something,' she told her mother.
>
> 'Ah?' LuLing said. She immediately stood up and turned off the TV, and eagerly sat down at the kitchen table. Ruth smoothed the sand with the chopstick. She closed her eyes, then opened them, and began.
>
> *You must move*, Ruth wrote. *Now.*
>
> 'Move?' her mother cried. 'Ai-ya! Where we should move?'
>
> Ruth had not considered this. *Far away*, she finally decided.
>
> 'Where far?'
>
> Ruth imagined a distance as big as an ocean. She pictured the bay, the bridge, the long bus rides she had take with her mother that made her fall asleep. *San Francisco*, she wrote at last. (BD:116-17)

As to the language alternation, in addition to the main language level, there some other instances related to this kind of discourse, such as insertions of Chinese and pidgin English. *Wenmipo* is an insertion which occurs in the Chinese section and is translated and explained by the narrator. The word refers to "blind seers" (BD:246), claiming to be "ghost writers" (BD:246). The word is a nonce borrowing which has no exact English equivalent. It contributes to the description on the commonness of the belief on ancestral ghosts and thus supports its background as a Chinese or Eastern phenomenon. The second extract below presents an inserted quotation of pidgin English which comes from the American section of the novel, and represents LuLing's point of view which is discarded by Ruth as a personal habit or obsession instead of a social or cultural feature, because this is a recurrent feature for LuLing.

> 51) And then there were also those who made money from people's despair. I went to many blind seers, the *wenmipo* who claimed they were ghost writers. 'I have a message from a baby,' they called. 'A message from a son.' 'A husband.' 'An ancestor who is angry.' (BD:246)

> 52) Against the velvet blackness, Ruth silently admired the light show with Art. She did not actually believe that her laryngitis was star-crossed, or that the meteor shower had anything to do with her inability to speak. Her mother, though, had often told Ruth throughout her childhood that shooting stars were really 'melting ghost bodies' and it was bad luck to see them. If you did, that meant a ghost was trying to talk to you. To her mother, just about anything was a sign of ghosts. (BD:11)

7.4 DANGER AND SURVIVAL

The topic of ancestors and ghosts is also one of the building blocks in the discourse of danger and survival which is discussed in the present section. However, there are also other aspects involved. This type of speaking comes about most clearly through inserted quotations of LuLing's pidgin English in the American section. It also underlines Ruth's relationship to her mother. The discourse of danger involves talk about threats to safety and disasters already happened or yet to come. In addition, guiding or instructional speech is used in warnings, which aim at learning to avoid these. To Ruth, this way of speaking causes anxiety and is criticized either directly or through irony**.** One instance of this was discussed earlier in the context of natural and metaphysical imagery (chapter 7.2). The "wisdom" conveyed by LuLing through Chinese and warnings was ironically commented by the narrator, pointing at the restrictions on Ruth's individual freedom this caused. In addition to Chinese, instances like this can also be found in LuLing's pidgin English. These involve firstly, LuLing's belief that a curse is on her family and that the accidents which have happened are caused by this. She is also depressed because of the tragedy of Precious Auntie's death and recurrently mentions death. This can be seen from the following extract where LuLing is speaking Chinese to Precious Auntie's ghost.

> 53) 'Since I may not be able to go back to China for a long time,' LuLing continued, 'I hope you will still forgive me. That is why I ask you to take my life, but to spare my daughter if the curse cannot be changed. I know her recent accident was a warning.'
>
> Ruth dropped the chopstick. The lady with bloody hair was trying to kill her! So it was true, that day at the playground, she almost died.
>
> She had thought so, and it was true. (BD:70)

Secondly, there is instructional speech and warnings on causes and consequences to make Ruth understand the reasons why disasters might happen and thus help her avoid them. However, Ruth does not see this but experiences it as incomprehensible and troubling. Thirdly, this also involves the mother and daughter relationship, where daughters are supposed to obey, respect and listen to their mothers. Lack of honesty and rebellion can lead to danger. Having secrets and the destructive consequences of this is one of the prominent theme in the novel and also in the warnings of LuLing. This can be seen from example 54 below, and also the next two extracts (55 and 56) which show the way Ruth is affected by the warnings, the last one coming from an episode of Ruth's dream. Here, LuLing's pidgin English expressions work to bring about the discourse of danger in concrete terms.

> 54) What did her mother mean by ‘our secrets gone with them’? Ruth wanted to know right away, but she could not ask her mother. She knew from experience what happened whenever she asked her mother to render Chinese characters into English. First LuLing scolded her for not studying Chinese hard enough when she was little. And then, to untangle each character, her mother took side routes to her past, going into excruciating detail over the infinite meanings of Chinese words: ‘Secret not just mean cannot say. Can be hurt-you kinda secret, or curse-you kind, maybe do you damage forever, never can change after that…’ And then came rambling about who told the secret, without saying what the secret itself was, followed by more rambling about how the person had died horribly, why this has happened, how it could have been avoided, if only such-and-such had not occurred a thousand years before. (BD:14)

> 55) His only fault was that he was too trusting, also maybe absent-minded when he was concentrating too hard, just like Ruth. LuLing often recounted the circumstances in which he died as a warning to Ruth when she was not paying attention to her mother. ‘You daddy see green light, he trust that car stop. Poom! Run over, drag him one block, two block, never stop.’ She said he died because of a curse, the same one that made Ruth break her arm. And because the subject of the curse often came up when LuLing was displeased with Ruth, as a child Ruth thought the curse and her father’s death were related to her. She had recurrent nightmares of mutilating people in a brakeless car. She always tested and retested her brakes before heading out in the car. (BD:78)

> 56) Then a radio began to blare. *Whonk! Whonk! Whonk!* ‘This has been a test of the American Broadcasting System’s early-warning signal for disaster preparedness.’ And another voice came on, her mother’s: ‘No, no, this is not test! This real!” And the dark shape in the bay rose and became a tidal wave. (BD:20)

Fourth, the warnings are accompanied by other ways of avoiding disasters such as saving money and hiding valuables. Thus, there are several sets of background knowledge for this kind of speech, ranging from individual life events and relationships to Chinese beliefs, and to experiences as an immigrant in a strange country. As to Ruth, the contradiction of restrictions to the individual freedom in the surrounding American society causes tensions and makes the Ruth resentful towards LuLing. However, towards the end of the novel these tensions are solved. A common feature for the discourse of danger is that it provides a position of a victim. However, learning from past disasters to avoid them also involves a positive view on the future and offers a position for individual control of events. The gap and difference between the points of view of LuLing and Ruth is underlined in that the instructional speech and warnings are experienced negatively by Ruth, who does not know the kinds of disasters LuLing is talking about.

> 57) She [Ruth] rushed over and peeled back the rug, and stared at the floorboard. This was one of her mother’s hiding places, where she hoarded valuables that might be needed in time of war or, as LuLing said, ’disaster you cannot even imagine, they so bad.’ (BD:120)

> 58) Didn't Mom ever realize, Ruth now mused, how her demands for no secrets drove me to hide even more from her? Yet maybe her mother did sense that. Maybe it made her hide certain truths form Ruth about herself. *Things too bad to say.* They could not trust each other. That was how dishonesty and betrayal started, not in big lies but in small secrets.
> (BD:122)

Thus, this kind of discourse on danger and survival involves both Chinese and pidgin English. The examples presented above are mostly inserted quotations on LuLing's words. However, there are also dialogues which are characterized by the threat of a disaster, such as the recurrent pattern of LuLing's suicide threats, deriving from her past. These occur often in contexts where her authority is challenged by the teenage Ruth. These conflict sequences intensively convey the gap between LuLing and Ruth, and the way different aspects of identity are negotiated, such as the mother and daughter relationships and individual freedom promoted by the American society as opposed to obedience. This can be seen in the following extract where Ruth explicitly appeals to her American identity and intertextually alludes to the constitution of the United States ("I have a right to privacy, to pursue my own happiness, not yours").

> 59) As usual, LuLing opened the door without knocking. And when Ruth looked up with and innocent expression, LuLing shouted, 'You smoking!'
> 'No, I wasn't!'
> 'Still smoking.' The cigarette had landed on the ledge below the window, announcing its whereabouts with a plume of smoke.
> 'I'm an American,' Ruth shouted. 'I have a right to privacy, to pursue my own happiness, not yours!'
> 'No right! All wrong!'
> 'Leave me alone!'
> 'Why I have daughter like you? Why I live? Why I don't die long time 'go?' LuLing was huffing and snorting. Ruth thought she looked like a mad dog. 'You want I die?'
> Ruth was shaking but shrugged as nonchalantly as she could. 'I really don't care.' (BD:123)

7.5 PARENTAL DISCOURSE AND AFFECT

As noted in the section on code switching and also earlier in this chapter, parental positions and roles are involved in many cases of language alternation. There are various ways which underline aspects of the mother and daughter relationship between the protagonists in the novel. There are both ways of speaking which highlight the position of a mother, and also ways of speaking which are more individually oriented to expression of personal affect. Many of these ways of speaking involve quotations of LuLing's pidgin English, but there are some Chinese instances as well.

The first case which underlines the parental role involves explicit labels of family roles, and also an interactional structure which was already touched upon to some extent in (chapter 6.1.2). This includes for example the role of the mother as a problem solver and advisor for the daughter. The following extracts come from episodes where parental roles are underlined through explicit mention of labels. They also involve expressions of the footing that a daughter should show attention to her mother, and that this relationship is important and should not be forgotten. In the first extract, this involves the autobiographical letter written by LuLing for Ruth, who does not have the time to read it because her priorities lie elsewhere. In the second extract, Ruth thinks she is not able to see LuLing because she has no free time, and if she did, the time should be used for personal recreation.

In addition, considering LuLing's recurrent demands that Ruth should "study hard", this episode shows a contrast between individual freedom and responsibilities towards family, because LuLing's utterance suggests that one should not value work higher than one's family. In addition, similar kind of speech and positions can be seen in the third extract, only this time the context is ambiguous since LuLing is the actual reason for Ruth visiting her. However, the reasons are related to LuLing's memory symptoms and not simple respect towards LuLing. Ruth explains her visit as work-related because LuLing would not accept the real reason. Here, LuLing responses with similar complaints as in the other situations involving this topic. This also creates some irony reflecting Ruth's point of view, suggesting that LuLing does not see the way her daughter is trying to help her and responses with her habitual criticism on Ruth. She might also not accept the fact of not being able to cope by herself, because this would be a threat to her autonomy.

> 60) 'Too busy for mother,' LuLing complained. 'Never too busy go see movie, go away, go see friend.' (BD:15)

> 61) 'So busy, so success,' her mother had said recently when Ruth told her she didn't have any free time to see her. 'Not free,' LuLing added, 'because every minute must charge money. What I should pay you, five dollar, ten dollar, then you come see me?' the truth was, Ruth did not have much free time, not in her opinion. Free time was the most precious time, when you should be doing what you loved […] (BD:38)

> 62) Ruth started interviewing new prospects, and until someone was hired, she decided she should go to LuLing's a few times a week to make sure the gas burners weren't on and water wasn't flooding the apartment. 'I was in the neighborhood to drop off some work for a client,' she explained one day.
> 'Ah, always for client. Work first, mother second.' (BD:90)

In addition to these quotations which condense LuLing's recurrent speech patterns, there are also dialogues such as the following where the roles of an advisor and advisee are contested between Ruth and LuLing. The main language of the dialogue is English. Here, the roles seem to be reversed, because LuLing's memory symptoms cause her to forget how to do things she was an expert before, and Ruth tries to create a setting where LuLing still is the advisor and expert by asking her to make drawings for Ruth's book. However, she is nervous because her mother's memory is getting worse and both of them become anxious every time when LuLing does not remember how to draw something and Ruth wants to change the topic, asking LuLing draw something else. However, LuLing insists on trying things she finds difficult, and at this point turns the framework around with an instructional way of speaking. Ruth tries to discard the topic, by telling LuLing not to worry. At this point, LuLing rejects Ruth's attempt. She adopts an intimate style of speaking, identifies what she considers as Ruth's problem, and explicitly positions herself as the mother who knows her daughter. She also consoles Ruth and provides a solution to her problem. In this way, she gains back her footing, although she does not realize the totality of what is going on. In addition, this kind of role-reversal has been observed in real conversations between Chinese mothers and daughters, such as in the study of Williams (2005) on Chinese American family arguments, the mother rejecting the daughter's attempts to challenge her authority (Williams 2005:320). The present case is different from the argument setting, in that the advising role adopted by Ruth is due to LuLing's memory trouble and not because of a confrontation, the maintenance of the authoritative footing is similar to Williams' findings. Therefore, as a context of pidgin English use, this episode can also be seen to contribute to the authentication of LuLing's Chinese background. It also underlines the associations of LuLing's pidgin English and her persistence and self-confidence, and the tensions her views on family roles cause in the relationship with Ruth.

> 63) Every time LuLing finished a drawing, Ruth praised it, took it away, then suggested a new animal to draw.
>
> 'Hippo?' LuLing puzzled over the word. 'How you say in Chinese?'
>
> 'Never mind,' Ruth said. 'How about an elephant? Do an elephant, you know, the one with a long nose and big ears.'
>
> But LuLing was still frowning. 'Why you give up? Something hard maybe worth more than easy. Hippo, what look like? Horn right here?' She tapped the top of her head.
>
> 'That's a rhinoceros. That's good too. Do a rhinoceros, then.'
>
> 'Not hippo?'
>
> 'Don't worry about it.'
>
> 'I not worry! You worry! I see this. Look your face. You not hiding from me. I know. I your mother! Okay-okay, you don't worry hippo anymore. I worry for you. Later I remember, then tell you, you be happy. Okay now? Don't cry anymore.' (BD:263-4)

In addition, similar kind of orientation towards the parent and child roles by LuLing can be seen in her authoritative commands to Ruth and her requirement of obedience. This involves inserted quotations of LuLing's pidgin English and some instances of Chinese insertions. These insertions have in common that they are represent recurrent patterns of LuLing's interactional behaviour and are presented in a negative tone. The requests expressed in the inserted quotations involve commands and requests for Ruth to do something. They also create a framework where Ruth is required to solve LuLing's problems. Thus, this seems a reversal of the situation in the previous extract. However, in both cases, LuLing has the dominant position as an initiator and advisor. However, there may be other aspects of identity at work as well, since here, LuLing's language and communication skills in English restrict her ability to act in the surrounding American society. Therefore, Ruth has to translate for her, as well as perform various tasks. Therefore, the mother and daughter framework is affected with the immigrant background of LuLing, and the greater degree of integration into the American society by Ruth. Thus, Ruth's role as an animator, or author, of LuLing's words and actions serves a double purpose of an obedient daughter on the other hand, and a (cultural) translator on the other. This shows the way identity can be multiple, and how various aspects of identity are negotiated and used in everyday life.

In addition, the insertions of Chinese and pidgin English quotations are used by the narrator to convey Ruth's resentful footing towards the way LuLing positions herself in an ingroup framework with Ruth with negative evaluations of other people and by using Chinese to exclude the others from hearing this. Ruth does not like this because she identifies with the others as well and does not consider herself as a part of LuLing's framework. As to the third extract below, there are also some Chinese insertions that relate to the authoritative way of speaking. The borrowing "*ying-gai*" (BD:130), meaning "should", occurs in the narration of the American section and is followed by a translation. In this episode of word explaining, Ruth is trying to translate the autobiographical letter her mother has written in Chinese for her to read. Another word occurring in this context is "*bu*" (BD:130), a negative marker, equivalent to English "no". The words are nonce borrowings presented with italics. LuLing's personal characteristics.

> 64) When Ruth lived at home, she had had to mow the seven-by-seven foot squares of lawn. LuLing always criticized any edges that touched the sidewalk. She also complained about the yellow urine spots, made by the dog from across the street. 'Lootie, you tell that man don't let dog do that.' Ruth reluctantly went across the street, knocked the door, asked the

> neighbour if he had seen a black-and-white cat, then walked back and told her mother that the man said he would try. (BD:44)

> 65) Ruth remembered how she felt when she was their age. She too had resented LuLing's speaking Chinese in front of others, knowing that they couldn't understand her covert remarks. 'Look how fat that lady is,' LuLing might say. Or, 'Luyi, go ask that man to give us a better price.' If Ruth obeyed, she was mortified. And if she didn't, as she now recalled, even more dire consequences followed. (BD:61)

> 66) She looked at the top page of this new stack in her hands, the large calligraphed character. She could hear her mother scolding her, 'Should study harder.' Yes, she should have. The larger character was familiar, a curved bottom, three marks over it – *heart!* And the first sentence, it was like the beginning of the page she had at home. 'These are the things I – ' And then it was different. The next word was *ying-gai,* 'should'. Her mother used that a lot. The next, that was *bu*, another word her mother often said. And the one after that… she didn't know. (BD:130)

In addition to the authoritative way of speaking discussed above, the second case which contributes to the parental discourse is more individually oriented, involving figurative language and concrete imagery which is often based on the body, and express emotion and attachment. This involves inserted quotations of both pidgin English and Chinese. This kind of speaking resembles the one discussed earlier in the section on natural and metaphysical imagery (chapter 7.1)**,** with the difference that here, the figurative speech is more restricted to personal expression and often follows a particular pattern of bodily metaphors. It is also exaggerative and creates humour. Thus, it often associates the expressed emotional or evaluative footing with concrete experience, and thus personalizes the expression, adding the reader's sympathy towards the characters using it. This way of speaking is used to express attachment and intimacy by the mother characters in the novel, and thus it also serves as a connecting link between the protagonists in separate parts of the novel. It is also related with the other straightforward ways of speaking (such as the problem solving talk) in that it signals a close relationship between the mothers and daughters.

In the following extract, LuLing's words are quoted by the narrator as a part of a description on a car accident LuLing was in. Ruth is planning a doctor's appointment to LuLing because of the problems with her memory and is recounting the things on which she should inform the doctor. The quotation serves here to express LuLing's own footing towards the incident. The exaggerative and bodily language emphasises the emotional effect, and also creates humour. This signals LuLing's footing that the accident was not her fault. The contrast created by the presentation of the utterance as objective "reporting" by the narrator, further underlines the effect. In this way, LuLing's point of view is personalized and associated with concrete experience. The second extract comes from the Chinese section and represents an utterance by Precious Auntie, the other mother-character in the novel. The similarity of the metaphors contributes to the intertextual and thematic links between the different parts of the novel.

> 67) Ruth had made a mental list of examples to tell the doctor. The accident last March, she should mention that as well. LuLing had bashed her car into the back of a truck. Luckily, she had only bumped her head on the steering wheel, and no one else was hurt. Her car was totaled.
> 'Scare me to pieces,' LuLing had reported. 'My skin almost fall off.' She blamed a pigeon that had flown up in front of her windshield.
> (BD:42-3)

> 68) […] And in Peking, there are strange ailments we have never even experienced here, maladies that could make the tips of LuLing's nose and fingers fall off. Luckily, I know the remedies to treat such problems so that LuLing does not return home bringing with her an epidemic…'
> (BD:166)

However, as to the straightforward way of speaking, directness is often also potentially threatening to the listener's face wants, or in other words, it can be interpreted as disrespectful and improper if the listener is not in the same intimate framework with the speaker. This can be seen in many instances where Ruth orients negatively towards LuLing's expressions and links them with LuLing's other habitual and dispreferred features such as "complaining", as in the following extract, where LuLing's exaggerating utterance in her criticism is resented by Ruth.

> 69) Still later, she [Ruth] thought about becoming a teacher to kids who were retarded. She wouldn't point out what was wrong, as her mother did with her, exclaiming that half her brain must be missing. She would treat them as living souls equal to everyone else. (BD:121)

There are also instances of reported Chinese which involve this way of speaking. The following extract comes from an episode where Ruth has broken her arm at a playground, and LuLing is in the telephone telling about this to her sister, GaoLing. The inserted quotation in the extract is dense with figurative language and also a Chinese religious concept, which indicates the emotional load on the other hand and the ingroup framework with the Chinese speaking GaoLing on the other. It seems that since the Chinese reported in English is quite close to the English used in the narration, figurative language and Chinese cultural concepts serve to mark LuLing's speech off from the narration and personalize her utterance, particularly since the tern "yellow springs" is not necessarily known to the English speaking reader and thus has an exclusive function.

Thus, here one can also see that concrete imagery is related to intimate directness and expression of emotion. The urgent atmosphere and LuLing's emotional turmoil shows in the beginning of the quotation explicitly in "She was almost killed! Scared me to death!" and this is confirmed in the claim "I'm not exaggerating." After this, the same is expressed in culturally specific terms, "She was nearly yanked from this life and on her way to the yellow springs." This connects with a world view where death is conceived in terms of "afterlife", and the concept "yellow springs" in particular, derives from the old Chinese pre-Buddhist beliefs and refers to a place where the soul goes after death (Yu,Ying-Shih 1987:382). The phrase itself is a translation from a Chinese one. However, there is no explanation about this in the novel, leaving only a vague idea of an afterlife place for those who do not know more about this. After this, LuLing expresses her empathy for Ruth's pain with "I just about cracked my own teeth to see how much pain she was in…", and her alarm at Ruth's quietness with "I thought at first she bit off her tongue […]". Finally, she expresses her worry about further damage with "[…] tell your kids to be careful. I don't want her arm to fall off." This exaggeration also creates humour and thus has a mitigating effect. In addition, the claim of not exaggerating creates ambiguity and adds to the humour. Thus, this kind of figurative language both intensifies the expression of affect, and mitigates through humour. It also makes LuLing's speech more vivid and idiomatic, and conveys a straightforward approach towards the topic and the listener. This seems also to challenge the view that Chinese is a confusing and ambiguous language, as discussed for example in the context of Chinese teaching and imagery.

> 70) As she [Ruth] lay in the recliner, she heard LuLing talking to Auntie Gal on the phone.
>
> 'She was almost killed! Scared me to death. Really! I'm not exaggerating. She was nearly yanked from this life and on her way to the yellow springs… I just about cracked my own teeth to see how much pain she was in… No, no tears, she must have inherited the strength of her grandmother. Well, she's eating a little bit now. She can't talk, and I thought at first she bit off her tongue, but I think it's only the fright. Come over to visit? Fine, fine, but tell your kids to be careful. I don't want her arm to fall off.' (BD:64)

7.6 STORY-TELLING, COMPLAINING AND WORD PLAY

There are also other types of expressive speech in the novel. These, as well, are related to LuLing's recurrent patterns of speech. These involve habitual patterns which convey Ruth's criticizing point of view towards her mother on the other hand, and creative and performative aspects of LuLing's speech on the other. The aforementioned aspect involves complaints and criticisms by LuLing, mentioned earlier in this study. In many cases, the complaints are delivered in a performative style of speaking, resembling story telling and often involving play with word meanings or sounds. This includes mostly pidgin English, although there are some Chinese instances as well. Pidgin English features in many instances of word play. A connecting characteristics between complaining and story telling is the participant framework and interactional roles they create. In both cases, Ruth is expected to listen, and LuLing has the role of the speaker, delivering stories and evaluations. Therefore, many of the instances on complaints are inserted quotations, or extensive turns by LuLing in dialogue.

In Ruth's point of view, LuLing's dominance in conversation is irritating because complaining and criticism is recurrent and seems to be a habitual feature for LuLing, and Ruth does not like the role of a listener since she cannot object to LuLing. By complaining LuLing sets herself in a position of a victim in a similar way than in the discourse of danger (discussed earlier in this section), but also presumes that she needs more respect and that something should be done to fix the problems by the others. As to LuLing's point of view, the use of word play in pidgin English utterances is a way to rhetorical efficiency and a way to challenge the surrounding circumstances, though pidgin English is reductive in its vocabulary and there are some mistakes in word choices, particularly in the formal register and jargon (such as "telescope" instead of "stethoscope" (BD:86). In the following examples, the recurrence of complaints as a pattern of speech is indicated in the phrase "too salty", which seems to condense LuLing's criticism towards her circumstances.

> 71) […] The ladies still pride themselves on their cooking abilities. They love to remind us to add only a pinch of oregano, or rub the sage on the inside not the outside of the chicken, that sort of thing.' Ruth could picture dozens of old ladies complaining about the food, and her mother yelling above the rest that everything was too salty. (BD:275-6)
>
> 72) It was already worth Ruth's while to see her mother so happy. *Happy*. Ruth pondered the word. Until recently, she had not known what that might encompass in LuLing's case. True, her mother was still full of complaints. The food at Mira Mar was, as predicted, 'too salty,' the restaurant-style service was 'so slow, food already cold when come.' And she hated the leather recliner Ruth had bought her. (BD:299)

Thus, complaining is a way to disalign with others. This is also interesting since the ideal of not complaining, modesty and not drawing attention to one's needs is also mentioned as a desirable quality by LuLing. In her monologues, LuLing explicitly claims that she never complains, as we can see from the extract below. This politeness towards the others and maintaining one's good appearance in front of others is thus considered as a part of the social interaction with relatives, and by mentioning her modesty LuLing positions herself as the one of appropriate behaviour, and GaoLing as the one whose behaviour has been inappropriate. In addition, however, role in relation to Ruth is ambiguous, because the story about GaoLing is interpreted as complaining by Ruth and therefore as a lack of respect on her individual privacy. In the third extract below, the recurrence of the complaints is indicated in that Ruth is using this as an indicator of the state of LuLing's memory. This also underlines the gap in the communication and relationship between Ruth and LuLing. In addition, similar kinds of patterns in story telling have also been reported in real life interaction, such as creating a particular participant framework with the others in the interaction situation (Goodwin 1986, 1993 as cited in De Fina 2003:41). The narrators can also, for example, present their "moral identity as collaborative, or mature, or knowledgeable individuals" (De Fina 2003: 27).

> 73) She was still pointing out GaoLing's transgressions. 'Later grown-up time, want my things too. Want your daddy marry her. Yes, you don't know this. Edwin not Edmund, because he oldest., more success. Every day smile for him, show off her teeth, like monkey.' LuLing turned around and demonstrated. 'But he not interest in her, only me. She so mad. Later she marry Edmund, and when you daddy die, she say, Ooooh, so lucky I not marry Edwin! So stupid she saying that. To my face! Don't consider me, only concerning herself. I say nothing. I never complain. Do I ever complaining?' (BD:51)

> 74) Throughout the years, LuLing lamented in Chinese, 'Ai-ya, if only your father had lived, he would be even more successful than your uncle. And still we wouldn't spend so carelessly like them!' She also noted what *should* have been Ruth's rightful property: Grandmother Young's jade ring, money for a college fund. It shouldn't have mattered that Ruth was a girl or that Edwin had died. That was old Chinese thinking! (BD:51)

> 75) Her mother then gabbed about GaoLing, rehashing her sister's greatest insults to her over the years. 'She want me to go love-boat cruise to Hawaii. I ask her, Where I have this kind money? My Social Security only seven hundred fifty dollar. She tell me, You too cheap! I the her, this not cheap, this *poor*. I not rich widow. Hnh! She forget she once want marry my husband. Tell me when he die, *lucky* she choose other brother…'
>
> Sometimes Ruth listened with interest, trying to determine how much of the story LuLing changed in each retelling, feeling reassured when she repeated the same story. But other times Ruth was simply irritated by having to listen, and this irritation made her feel strangely satisfied, as if everything was the same, nothing was wrong. (BD:264)

The performative nature of the complaints as stories also involves rhetorical devices such as word play and ambiguous meanings. Imitation and quoting other people's words with an ironic tone can be seen in the previous extracts and also in the following, where imitation of a tenant's words and intonations is represented with italics. Ambiguous word meanings which characterize the second extract are a resource which enables expression and allusion to many things with little demands on complex grammatical structure. Therefore, this is part of the expressive potential of LuLing's speech. As mentioned earlier in the section on code switching and word play, this feature can be seen as deriving from the contextual sensitivity of the Chinese language, which feature seems to work here as well. In addition, in the second extract the narrator contributes to this as well by noting that what was initially interpreted as a language mistake by Ruth, could in fact be true. This gives yet another meaning for LuLing's personal understanding of "toilet water" and thus underlines the expressive potential of LuLing's language.

> 76) 'That girl downstair eat popcorn almost every night! Burn it, fire alarm go off. She don't know, I can smell! Stink! Popcorn all she eat! No wonder skinny. Then she tell me, this not work right, that not right. Always complaining, threat me "lawsuit *in*-jury, code vio-*la*-tion"…'
> (BD:264)
>
> 77) Ruth went into LuLing's bedroom. On the dresser were bottles of toilet water, about two dozen, still in their cellophane-bound boxes. 'Stinky water,' her mother called it. Ruth had tried to explain to her that toilet water was not the same as water from a toilet. But LuLing said that how something sounded was what counted, and she believed these gifts from GaoLing and her family were meant to insult her.
> […]
> Out of curiosity, Ruth opened a box and twisted the cap of the bottle inside. Stinky! Her mother was right. (BD:119)

As to the third example below, the dialogue between LuLing and Ruth shows the way shifting word meanings are used for expression of emotions. In this case, Ruth is trying to explain the diagnosis of dementia to LuLing. However, LuLing explicitly rejects Ruth's suggestion that there might be something wrong with her memory begins to recount her past in China. Here, LuLing interprets remembering and forgetting differently from Ruth. Instead of current happenings, to LuLing remembering is related to family history. After this, she questions the doctor's expertise by noting that he did not even listen to her heart. At this point, she abstracts the meaning of "listening" to that of showing care and concern for her emotional trouble. By repeating the word she emphasises the lack of concern by others for her, and abstracts the meaning of "heart" to "emotions". This continues when Ruth suggests that depression makes LuLing forget things. However, to LuLing, the reason for depression is that she cannot forget things that happened in her past. In this way, the topic changes to the story about the Precious Auntie and the traumatic events which happened in the past. This, in turn, relates to the discourse of danger and disaster talk. As to Ruth, combined with frameworks of complaining and storytelling, this changes her role in the interaction from an explainer to that of a listener. Thus, her position has been undermined.

> 78) LuLing sniffed. 'Hnh! Nothing wrong my memory! I 'member lots things, more than you. Where I live little-girl time, place we call Immortal Heart, look like heart, two river, one stream, both dry-out…' She continued talking as Ruth went to the other side of the car, got in, and started the engine. 'What he know? That doctor don't even use telescope listen my heart. Nobody listen my heart! You don't listen. GaoLing don't listen. You know my heart always hurting, I just don't complain. Am I complain?!'
>
> 'No – '
>
> 'See!'
>
> 'But the doctor said sometimes you forget things because you're depressed.'
>
> 'Depress 'cause can *not* forgot! Look my sad life!'
>
> Ruth pumped the brakes to make sure they would hold, the steered the car down the falling turns of the parking garage. Her mother's voice droned in rhythm with the engine: 'Of course depress. When precious Auntie die, all happiness leave my body…' (BD:86)

Similar sounding words are the resource in the following example, a debate with Ruth. Here, LuLing confuses the names of television programmes which all include the sound [*z*], and turns this to a rhetoric expression of her footing that all the programmes sound the same and therefore none of them is no better than the other, and all of them are only waste of time which could be used for studying. This underlines the way LuLing is aware of her language and is able uses it creatively for her own purposes. In the present case, this can be seen in LuLing's self-expression and ability to maintain her footing in a debate with Ruth, who is better acquainted with various aspects of the surrounding American culture, such as popular culture in this case. This is supported in that after this, the only way for Ruth to challenge LuLing's remark is to use LuLing's belief in the ghost of Precious Auntie to trick her into agreeing with her.

> 79) 'Last year, report card, you get one Satisfactory, not even Good. Should be everything Excellent. Tonight better study more.'
>
> 'But that was in PE!' Ruth wailed.
>
> 'Anyway, you already see this Ozzie show.'
>
> 'It's the Wizard of Oz, not Ozzie and Harriet. And this one's a movie, it's *famous*!'
>
> 'Famous! Hnh! Everybody don't watch then no longer famous! Ozzie, Oz, Zorro, same thing.'
>
> 'Well, Precious Auntie thinks I should watch it.'
>
> 'What you mean?' (BD:100)

In this way, story telling, complaining and word play personalize the expressions and stances to LuLing as a character. They also contribute to a two-fold orientation: on the other hand, the complaints and recurrent patterns of expression convey Ruth's point of view that these are her mother's habitual and personal features, which are always present and which do not have to be attended unless something abnormal occurs. On the other hand, word play and ambiguous word meanings highlight the expressive and original features of pidgin English and contribute to a positive evaluation of LuLing as a character. Thus, the features discussed in this section can be seen to contribute to the style of writing characteristic for Amy Tan, as noted for example by Huntley (1998:34), which involves using linguistic word play as one resource to create layers of meanings in her novels.

7.8 METALINGUISTIC DISCOURSE

The ways of speaking discussed in the previous sections are characterized by a close connection to the story and themes of the novel. They are an inherent part of characterization and the juxtapositions of interpretation frameworks, both in the speech of the characters and in the narrational discourse. In addition to this, there is a great deal of commentary on language, both by the characters and by the narrator(s). This involves mostly insertions of Chinese words, but also insertions of pidgin English expressions. As noted for example by Callahan (2004:121), this kind of metalinguistic speech and a concern for language is a common feature for multilingual and multicultural fiction in general, an in particular for those with a metalinguistic theme. This is also the case in the *Bonesetter's Daughter*, in which the recovery of the full meanings of Chinese words and Precious Auntie's real name constitutes the highlights of the plot, and therefore metalinguistic discourse has an important and integral part in the novel. The most significant events for the plot constitute of metalinguistic talk by the characters, figuring out the meanings of words. In addition to this, there are also other types of metalinguistic and metapragmatic speech. In many cases, these occur in the narration of the American section, and also sometimes in the Chinese section. The function of metalinguistic speech in the American section is often related to Ruth translating LuLing's meanings to other, American characters or only for herself, or vice versa. In general, metalinguistic discourse involves issues which are thematically significant and also meaningful for identity.

The significance for identity comes through firstly, in that the role of an explainer which is attributed to the characters or narratorial voices often also involves expertise in the culturally specific characteristics of words. As noted earlier in this study, in the case of understanding Chinese, sensitivity to context is important. Therefore, knowledge of language also involves knowledge of culture. Thus, here multilingualism involves cultural identities. However, there are differences in the degree of linguistic and cultural knowledge between the characters. When Ruth is translating her mother's meanings, her expertise in both the American culture and LuLing's Chinese-American culture is relevant. However, in the word-explaining episodes in the highlights of the plot, her knowledge is inadequate and the Chinese-born characters, such as LuLing and GaoLing, have the role of an expert of Chinese language and cultural contexts. The second aspect relevant for identity is the fact that Ruth's and LuLing's quest for their family and roots in China is based on the search of Precious Auntie's name, and this suggests that identity is eventually based on language. This has also been noted by Bella Adams (2003), who argues that the many meanings of the Chinese word *gu* in Precious Auntie's name (which will be discussed below) undermine the simple and essentialist basis for identity such as the assumption of single word meaning, because the shifting meanings make language an "unreliable" basis for identity (Adams 2003, online, paragraph 15).

In the following dialogues, metalinguistic speech serves both to authenticate the Chinese-born characters as experts of the Chinese language and the life in China. These dialogues take place in the American section towards the end of the novel, and relate to the preceding Chinese section which tells the story of LuLing' life in China. In the first extract, LuLing's sister GaoLing is explaining Ruth the meanings of the label "Bao Bomu", which have also been referred to earlier in this study.

> 80) 'By the way,' Ruth now thought to ask, 'What was Precious Auntie's real name?'
> 'Precious Auntie?'
> 'Bao Bomu.'
> 'Oh, oh, oh, *Bao Bomu*! You know, only your mother called her that. Everyone else called her Bao Mu.'
> 'What's the difference, "Bao Bomu" and "Bao Mu"?'
> '*Bao* can mean "precious," or it can mean "protect." Both are third tone, *baaaooo*. And the *mu* part, that stands for "mother," but when it's written in *bao mu*, the *mu* has an extra piece in front, so that the meaning is more of a female servant. *Bao mu* is like saying "baby-sitter," "nursemaid." And *bomu*, that's "auntie." I think her mother taught her to say and write it this way. More special. (BD:291)

The instances of *gu* occur in the dialogues of the American section as well. The word occurs several times. When used to represent a name, it is spelled with a capital letter and without italics, but as a nonce borrowing it is italicized and spelled without a capital letter. This applies also to the phrases *liu xin* and *liu xing* in the latter examples. *Gu* is first used by LuLing, when answering Ruth's question about the family name of Precious Auntie (BD:301). Here, the word is used as a name. However, there is no explanation of the word's full meanings, only the connection with the previously known occupation and nickname of Precious Auntie's father, "the bone doctor" and the meaning 'bone'. Since this represents Ruth's point of view, the simple translation conveys Ruth's inadequate knowledge of the Chinese contexts of use and underlines her confusion because of this. This also delays the highlight of the plot.

> 81) Ruth whispered. 'I'll explain later.' To LuLing she said, 'And what was your mother' family name?' Ruth knew it was a risk to bring this up, but her mother's mind had entered the territory of names. Perhaps others were there, like markers, waiting to be retrieved.
>
> Her mother hesitated only a moment before answering: 'Family name Gu.' She was looking sternly at Ruth. 'I tell you so many time, you don't remember? Her father Dr Gu. She Gu doctor daughter.'
>
> Ruth wanted to shout for joy, but the next instant she realized her mother had said the Chinese word for 'bone.' Dr Gu, Dr Bone, bone doctor. Art's eyebrows were raised, in expectation that the long-lost family identity had been found. 'I'll explain later,' Ruth said again […] (BD:301)

However, only in the later episode of LuLing's sister explains that this connection with the meaning 'bone' is not the correct one (BD:304). The way the Chinese characters are written makes the difference, because in speech, the two words resemble each other in the way they are pronounced. Thus, the correct word for the name is the Chinese character for "gorge", not "bone" (BD:304). Here, *gu* is presented as a nonce borrowing and used as a starting point for explanation and translation. In addition, the explanation for the incorrect word meaning, "character", relates to the personal strength and decisiveness which described as the characteristic of Precious Auntie.

> 82) Ruth couldn't stand it any longer. 'What was the name?'
>
> 'Gu.'
>
> 'Gu?' Ruth felt let down. It was the same mistake. '*Gu* is the word for "bone," Ruth said. 'She must have thought "bone doctor" meant "Dr Bone."
>
> 'No, no,' GaoLing said. '*Gu* as in "gorge." It's a different *gu*. It sounds the same as the bone *gu*, but it's written a different way. The third-tone *gu* can mean many things: "old," "gorge," "bone," also "thigh," "blind," "grain," "merchant," lots of things. And the way "bone" is written can also stand for "character." That's why we use that expression "It's in your bones." It means, "That's your character."' (BD:304)

The same kind of translation process appears in the case of *liu xin* and *liu xing*, and in the same contexts. *Liu xin* is first used as a name by LuLing (BD:301) in answering Ruth's question about the first name of Precious Auntie. Ruth assumes its meaning to be the previously known nickname "shooting star" (BD:301), in the same way as *gu* was connected with its previously known referent. In the later dialogue this mistake is corrected by LuLing's sister. Here, both *liu xin* and *liu xing* are presented as nonce borrowings, *xin* and *xing* being separated as individual words, followed by translations, "truth" and "star" respectively. As in the case of *gu*, the words *xin* and *xing* are explained to be pronounced almost in the same way and therefore easily confused. In this case, the similarity is also related with the symbolism of the phrases *liu xin* as "remain true" and *liu xing* as "shooting star". They represent beliefs and qualities which are attributed to Precious Auntie by these names, and the positive and resentful attitudes towards her.

> 83) 'You sure its Gu?'
> 'That's what was written on the photographic plate.'
> 'Did it include her first name?'
> 'Liu Xin.'
> 'Shooting Star?'
> 'That's *liu xing*, sounds almost the same, *xing* is "star," *xin* is "truth." Liu Xin means Remain True. But because the words sound similar, some people who didn't like her called her Liu Xing. The shooting star can have a bad meaning.'
> 'Why?'
> 'It's confusing why. People think the broom star is very bad to see. That's the other kind, with the long, slow tail, the comes-around kind.'
> 'Comet?'
> 'Yes, comet. Comet means a rare calamity will happen. But some people mix up the broom star with the shooting star, so even though the shooting star is not bad luck, people think it is. The idea is not so good either – burns up quick, one day here, one day gone, just like what happened to Precious Auntie.' (BD:304-5)

In addition to these significant instances related to the name of Precious Auntie, there are other instances of metalinguistic speech such as the explanation of other names related to LuLing's story. The verb phrase "*momo meiyu*" (BD:292) occurs in the recount of LuLing's sister on their childhood home and the nearby cliff which is crumbling down little by little, threatening the house. The phrase is a joke and a nickname used by some of the other family members, meaning "rub sink gone" (BD:292). Thus, this episode of translation and metalinguistic talk indexes GaoLing's knowledge on the life in the Chinese village and on the family, and this both proves to Ruth that LuLing's story is true and serves to authenticate the Chinese characters.

> 84) Anyway, we had many nicknames for that place. Some people called it "End of the Land," just like where your mommy lives in San Francisco, Land's End. And sometimes my uncles joked and called the cliff edge *momo meiyu*, meaning "rub sink gone." But most people in the village just called it the garbage dump." (BD:292)

Metalinguistic language also characterizes the narrational discourse. There are some instances of this in the first person narration of the Chinese section, but majority of the instances can be found in the American sections. The reason for this might be that in the context of immigration, the ways of marking one's identity are different than in the native country. In the Chinese context, different social categories (such as occupation) are relevant for identity and language does not have similar implications than in the American context. In the latter, attitudes towards for example pidgin English as "reductive" and "inferior" are in opposition with the commonness of

Chinese in China, and in particular with the position of Mandarin Chinese as a standard language (which is also LuLing's native language). In the United States, ethnicity and cultural origin become relevant, and thus also linguistic issues.

However, there are some instances of reflection over language in the Chinese section as well, as we can see from the example below. The episode also involves an encounter between LuLing's Chinese background and British people living in Hong Kong. The Chinese nonce borrowing *ku-ku* occurs in the first person narration of LuLing, and is followed by an explanation of its meaning. There is also an instance of oral and onomatopoetic expressions, which are recurrent in the novel. Here, *ku-ku* is used to exemplify the way the first person narrator (LuLing) misunderstands an English name: the two British ladies she works for call their pet bird by the name Cuckoo. To LuLing, this sounds like the Chinese word *ku-ku*. The bird also makes sounds similar to the pronunciation this word. This is represented onomatopoetically as "*ku! ku! ku!*" (BD:253). This exemplifies the way language is experienced by a Chinese speaking person in an English context, authenticates the "Chineseness" of LuLing as a character and makes the reader identify with LuLing's point of view.

> 85) In that house, there was also a parrot, a big gray bird named Cuckoo – Cuckoo like the clock bird. At first I thought Miss Patsy was calling him *ku-ku*, like the Chinese word for crying, which is what he sometimes did, *ku! ku! ku!* as if he was wounded to near-death. (BD:253)

As to the American sections of the novel, metalinguistic discourse has a different kind of function. Here, it is used by the narrator to comment LuLing's language. In the extracts below, metalinguistic commentary aims at explaining contradictions and oddities in dialogues with linguistic and communicative differences. This is because Ruth cannot be sure about the reasons of the inconsistencies, and she is worried that they might be due to LuLing's dementic symptoms. The first two extracts in particular are related to this since the context is the doctor's appointment (described earlier in this study) where LuLing's mental state is evaluated through an interview. Here, the narrator comments on the utterances of LuLing and the doctor, criticizing the question by the doctor and attributing LuLing's dispreferred responses to cultural and linguistic differences. She also translates the doctor's formal "reverse order" to LuLing's pidgin English "go backward". The third extract below comes from the Full Moon Festival dinner table dialogue, where LuLing begins to talk about her real mother and confuses the others by stating that the woman in the photo is not her mother. Ruth suspects that this is a mix-up caused by the phrase "bummed out" which LuLing might have not understood.

> 86) ‘Fine,’ Dr Huey declared, with no change of expression. ‘Now I want you to name the last five presidents in reverse order.’
> Ruth wanted to protest: Even I can’t do that!
> LuLing’s eyebrows bunched in thought. ‘Clinton,’ she said after a pause. ‘Last five year still Clinton.’ Her mother had not even understood the question! Of course she hadn’t. She had always depended on Ruth to tell her what people meant, to give her what they said from another angle. ‘Reverse order’ means ‘go backward,’ she would have told LuLing. If Dr Huey could ask that same question in fluent Mandarin, it would be no problem for LuLing to give the right answer. (BD:57)

> 87) ‘Hey, Auntie Lu,’ Sally teased. ‘You look kind of bummed out in this picture.’
> LuLing answered: ‘This because my mother just die.’
> Ruth thought her mother had misheard Sally. ‘Bummed out’ was not in LuLing’s vocabulary. LuLing and GaoLing’s mother had died in 1972. Ruth pointed to the photo. ‘See? Your mother is right there. And that’s you.’
> LuLing shook her head. ‘That not my real mother.’
> Ruth’s mind turned in loops, trying to translate what her mother meant. Auntie Gal gave Ruth a peculiar look, tightening her chin so as not to say anything. Others had quiet frowns of concern. (BD:81)

Thus, metalanguage is used here for a particular purpose by the narrator to highlight ethnic and linguistic identity, instead of aspects which are common to all people such as aging. The style is also related to Ruth’s mediating position between her mother and other people, and reflects the interpretation process which is constantly going on in her mind, both in terms of language and different frames of interpretation. The interplay of language, cultural differences and personal characteristics is a pervasive theme in the novel, most often displayed in the constant weighting between different possibilities of interpretation. In many cases, this reflects Ruth’s position in between of a Chinese immigrant background and the American society, but also conveys the individual nature of her relationship with LuLing because many of the problems she tries to sort out also relate to LuLing’s personal characteristics.

The second case of narratorial metalanguage in the American section is related to negative language attitudes. Here, Ruth’s disalignment with LuLing is expressed through criticizing LuLing’s pidgin English. The rejection of reductive pidgin English expressions which draw from practical everyday experience and an informal register, also conveys Ruth’s criticism on the fact that LuLing has not integrated into the American culture in the same way as her sister GaoLing. In Ruth’s point of view, most of the trouble LuLing gets into is caused by her inadequate language and communication skills. Since LuLing’s sister has learned to speak English well but LuLing has not improved much since coming to the USA, to Ruth this seems unexplicable in terms of mere cultural difference and Ruth attributes this to LuLing’s personal characteristics. She also feels uncomfortable with the communication problems which she has to try and sort out.

In the following extract, LuLing's vocabulary is compared with that of GaoLing's: the established standard English terms for items are juxtaposed with LuLing's self-composed labels, which are characterized by the practical qualities of the objects and represent concepts which come from different domains. The pidgin English labels such as "scratchy skin" or "last long time" associate with practical everyday things. In contrary to this, specified vocabulary such as "organza" and "crinoline" are connected with the more mainstream lifestyle which GaoLing leads. Thus, the negative evaluation is directed not only to non-standard linguistic forms, but trough them to LuLing's other behaviour as well. Thus, pidgin English seems to contribute to LuLing's social difference in the American environment. This is the case with the pidgin pronunciation of Ruth's name as well. The young Ruth's mortification towards the pidgin pronunciation of "Ruth" also hints about the general negative attitude towards the language as such, and underlines Ruth's disalignment with LuLing and the marginal position she seems to be set due to her language. However, the reasons for LuLing choosing "a name with sounds she couldn't pronounce" come up later on in the story: she has chosen the name for its emotional connection to her friends in China in the past. Here, the metalinguistic discourse conveys Ruth's ignorance of all this and the way she aligns with and reflects the attitudes of the surrounding American society.

> 88) Yet her sister, GaoLing, had come to the States around the same time, and her English was nearly perfect. She could talk about the difference between crinoline and organza, name the specific trees she liked: oak, maple, ginko, pine. To LuLing, cloth was classified as 'cost too much,' 'too slippery,' scratchy skin,' and 'last long time.' And there were only two kinds of trees: 'shady' and 'drop leaf all the time.' Her mother couldn't even say Ruth's name right. It used to mortify Ruth when she shouted for her up and down the block. 'Lootie! Lootie!' Why had her mother chosen a name with sounds she couldn't pronounce? (BD:41)

As we have seen in this section, metalinguistic discourse features in the novel for authenticating functions, reflecting expertise in both language and culture. This way of speaking is also used for various thematic purposes, such as for reflecting the positions of the characters in a multicultural environment. As a style, it is also a pervading characteristic in the novel, linking it to a multicultural style of writing, reflective on issues of linguistic and ethnic identity and the significance of language in marking aspects of identity.

8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the present study was to examine code switching and language alternation and its contribution to the construction and representation of ethnic identities. The initial framework for the analysis consisted of looking at the uses of language varieties such as Chinese and pidgin English in the novel, and examining their contexts of occurrence to determine their meanings both in their local contexts, and as general styles. The analysis revealed ways of speaking in addition to Chinese and pidgin English, which have significance in the novel, such as figurative language, word play and metalanguage. These ways of speaking were connected to discourses and styles according to their common features and their significance for the thematic content of the novel on one hand, and their significance for the construction of ethnic identity on the other. In addition, the dynamics of the dialogues as wholes was assessed and they were classified according to their contribution to the various discourses.

At the levels of language choice and degree of challenge for the reader, pidgin English and Chinese reported in English are the most common and extensive elements in the novel, and featured as main language choices in some cases. Chinese reported in English also involves both insertions and alternations, as well as having participant-related and discourse-related functions. Insertions of Chinese are limited to single words and short phrases. The majority of insertions contribute to a mixing style involving culturally specific vocabulary. However, there are also a few pidgin expressions in this group. Many of the Chinese words occur in the Chinese section of the novel, and some also in the American section in representations of Ruth's point of view, where they represent her Chinese background. Code switching also includes some insertional switches of Chinese words, which contribute to the creation of Chinese context. However, in code switching there are also some expressions of American English, such as the routine *no problem*, which is used by LuLing to index English-speaking and American identity, and representations of English with deviant spelling as in *maku polo*. Thus, this type of insertions contribute not only to the representation of Chinese aspects in the novel, but also to the English and American ones, and the juxtapositions between them. An interesting aspect related to routines is that they were very few. Only two clear routines (*ai-ya* and *no problem*) could be detected from the novel. Due to the identity-centered themes and plot of the novel, there could have been more this kind of ‘direct’ identity related indexes. This seems to support the linguistic and thematic complexity of the novel, as discussed below.

At the inter-turn level, there are authenticating features as well. Alternational switches to Chinese between turns are more common in the dialogues than insertions. As noted for example Wei and Milroy (1995), this is a common feature for inter-generational Chinese-English speech communities. In addition, there was language alternation such as switching language by the mother to reject the daughter (as in the section on code switching in mother-daughter relationships, chapter 6.1.2), which also reflects real life code switching patterns (Wei and Milroy 1995). In addition, in terms of interactional dynamics, there are many instances of the mother gaining footing and maintaining authority, both through switching language such as in the in chapter 6.1.2 on switching from English to Chinese to create a mother-daughter relationship. At the main language choice level, this kind of interactional dynamics also contributes to the mixing of pidgin English, such as to the parental discourse in chapter 7.5, where the mother gains back her footing after a temporary reversal of the mother and child roles. This has also been reported in real life Chinese-English intergenerational conversation (Williams 2005). In addition, one of the main functions of code switching in the dialogues is changes in participant framework. This is used in the dialogues by the characters for exclusion of participants, creating an ingroup, and expressing alignment and disalignment in mother and daughter relationship as well as between Chinese and American contexts (as in chapter 6.1.2). This also often involved intimacy sequences with personal topics. Thus, code switching from English to Chinese can be said to create personal and intimate contexts in the novel.

In addition, Chinese and pidgin English involve expressive and affective contexts. In particular, this was shown in chapter 6.2 on emotion and affect, which features a Chinese insertional routine expressing emotional footing (*ai-ya*). This makes the emotion and evaluative footing attributed to the Chinese characters more concrete to the reader than merely reporting on it. This is further extended in mixing, in the discourses of parenthood and affect (chapter 7.5), involving concrete imagery for expression of affect. This both contributes to the authenticity and Chineseness of the characters by marking their Chinese identity through a stereotypical routine, and also underlines the originality of the experience and emotion. This has also been noted to characterize multilingual fiction (Oster 2003:95-6). Thus, as a context of language alternation, emotional involvement seems to contribute not only to authentication of the characters, but also to the multidimensional and original features of the Chinese characters instead of stereotypical descriptions.

A common feature for the categories of code switching and code mixing is that many of the code switching categories follow the lines of code mixing. There is a striking thematic similarity between code switching for cultural contrasts and code mixing with cultural vocabulary, as well as between code switching for establishing mother and daughter relationships and code mixing in parental discourse and affect. Likewise, code switching in the instructional discourse and knowledge about Chinese language, practices and concepts is connected with the metaphysical and natural imagery and Chinese teaching in code mixing. Expression of emotion and affect in the code switching section resonates with the expression of affect in the discourse of parenthood in the code mixing section. Word play with code switching connects with word play and story telling in the code mixing section.

However, these relations are not straightforward or simple, because few of the cases examined in this study contain only one type of discourse. Most of the cases are dense with various resources, and therefore the type of each case had to be determined according to its dominant characteristics. This complexity can also be seen in that some contexts of code switching, such as chapter 6.3 on confusion and contradictions, contains aspects which cannot be found in a single style or discourse in the mixing section. One of these is the use of code switching to index aging and dementic symptoms, which is clearly signalled when LuLing addresses people with “wrong” languages. In addition, there is a mixing style which cannot be found among the functions code switching, namely metalinguistic discourse. Metalanguage is also one of the most pervading discourses in the American sections of the novel, constituting the highlights of the plot in the recovery of Precious Auntie’s name and the full meanings of the Chinese words, as well as reflecting the oppositions and negotiations between LuLing’s Chinese past, LuLing’s personal characteristics, and the American society.

All in all, it seems that code switching has a specifying function in the novel. Code switching creates local significances for the wider types of code mixing, and attracts attention to the themes and discourses which pervade the novel. Sometimes code switching can also highlight aspects which are not the topic of talk for the narrator, so that multiple themes can be run side by side in the course of the story, such as in the case of indexing dementia through abnormalities in language switches when the recovery of familial and cultural roots is the topic of talk (see chapter 6.3), or attracting attention to communicative and cultural differences when troubles with dementia are at issue (as in the examples of the doctor’s appointment, see chapter 6.1.1). Thus, the connections between code switching and code mixing styles suggest that there is a high level of ‘internal’ intertextual relations in the novel. In addition, since the categories of styles and discourses follow the major themes of the novel, this suggests that the construction of the themes is greatly supported with linguistic features.

In addition, the fact that multiple discourses and styles reside in same instances of language shifts, suggests that the subject positions and identities constructed through the shifts are multiple. This means that the characters can claim several aspects of identity at a same time. For example, switching code to create cultural contrasts also involves other identity positions, such as ‘mother’ and ‘daughter’, as in chapter 6.1.2 on code switching and mother–daughter dialogues. As to ethnic identity, this also shows that ethnicity is not relevant in every situation, and when it is, there can be other identities involved as well.

In addition, the styles and discourses are different in quality, particularly in code mixing, in that some of them resemble the general features in other multilingual and multicultural fiction, such as insertional mixing of Chinese and pidgin English to include culturally specific concepts which underline the authenticity of the characters and the story because they draw from real life circumstances. Other ways of speaking, in turn, are also significant for the plot and themes, contributing to the tightly knit web of meanings in the novel (such as the discourse on ancestors and supernatural, chapter 7.3). This does not mean that they would not draw from the circumstances of real life, but rather that they are more closely involved with the plot. The analysis also shows that many of these are not directly connected with ethnicity, but involve footings, interactional roles and alignments which contribute to negotiations of norms and practices, such as what is a proper relationship between parents and children, and are therefore meaningful for the representations of ethnic identity. As whole, the representation of ethnicity constitutes of many different levels of identity negotiation. The discourse of parenthood and affect (chapter 7.5) builds on social relationships and identities such as motherhood. Other styles, such as word play and metalanguage, build more on textual features. In word play in particular, these underline the creativity and expressive potential of pidgin English, and contribute to the originality of the novel and the characters because this challenges negative views on pidgin English being “reductive” and “inadequate”.

Bella Adams (2003, online, paragraphs 3, 8) has noted on the thematic difference between the American and the Chinese chapters of the novel, that the topics and registers differ a great deal. The American chapters concentrate on everyday and mundane things such as Ruth’s social relationships and work, and is narrated in third person. This adds a distancing and “objective” tone to the chapters. Ruth also obsesses about counting and organizing things. In contrast to this, the chapters located in China are narrated in first person by LuLing, and feature significant events such as civil war, the suicide of LuLing’s real mother and LuLing’s journey as a refugee away from China. LuLing is also attributed with emotion, whereas Ruth tries to assess things with reason and is organized (Adams 2003, online, paragraph 3). This might suggest that there is a division between “sensible America” and “nonsensical China” (Adams 2003: online, paragraph 8). However, as Adams (2003) notes, this contrast might also underline the limits and rigidness of Ruth’s reason and obsession on counting and organizing things, and question the seeming objectivity of the American section (Adams 2003, online, paragraph 3).

In this context, some of the discourses and styles found in this study seem to support these views. On one hand, in addition to the attribution of emotion to LuLing and Precious Auntie through code switching and figurative language, contexts of Chinese and pidgin English such as the discourse of danger and survival (chapter 7.4), natural and metaphysical imagery (chapter 7.2), and ancestors and supernatural (chapter 7.3) could be seen to contribute to the representation of the Chinese contexts as inconsistent and incomprehensible, from Ruth’s point of view. In addition, code switching in chapter 6.3, focussing on anomalies and contradictions between LuLing’s speech and Ruth’s point of view, also highlights these inconsistencies.

In addition, the analysis showed that the language and characteristics of LuLing were in many cases represented through her repetitive utterances and ways of acting, which contribute in particular to the styles and discourses of code mixing such as recurrent complaints (such as the phrase “too salty”, discussed in chapter 7.6), criticisms, warnings, and talk about ghosts and danger. These involve both pidgin English and Chinese, and are represented as habitual and personal features for the character of

LuLing. Pidgin English and reported Chinese thus seem to serve to distinguish and personalize these features to LuLing, since the languages are spoken exclusively by her. The quality of LuLing's 'voice', however, remains superficial here and reflects the way Ruth cannot establish a deeper communication with LuLing and cannot fully understand her motives and meanings. Furthermore, as noted in chapter 6.3 on the contradictive contexts of code switching, LuLing's practices of politeness and not showing directly what she means underline the restrained and formal aspects of her behaviour. This contrasts the individual freedom promoted by Ruth.

However, there are also other styles and contexts of speaking which underline the expressive potential, logic and cleverness in the speech of LuLing. These include styles of speaking such as word play and story telling (chapters 6.4 on code switching and 7.6 on code mixing). These contribute to the positive appreciation of her differences as originality and a resource. In addition, the metalinguistic discourse which is used by Ruth to evaluate and translate LuLing's Chinese and pidgin English expressions and meanings, shows the inadequacy of Ruth's simple English interpretations, in particular when it underlines the expertise of the Chinese characters in the logic of Chinese expressions and word meanings. In particular, because this has crucial significance in the plot, this also unravels the juxtapositions between American 'sense' and Chinese 'sensibility'.

Furthermore, though LuLing is the character who is the clearest representative of the Chinese context because of her life story in China, the personalization of her features often blurs this connection. Her creative and expressive language such as word play and concrete imagery, together with the extensive information gained from her life story in the Chinese section, present a variety of resources and contexts which cannot be attributed to a single background, or 'culture'. Different frames of interpretation are contested in the Chinese section as well as in the American section, such as the respect of the ancestors or the belief in ghosts in contrast with practical materiality and science. In addition, the similarity of the concrete imagery connecting the characters of LuLing and Precious Auntie, and the directness and inclusiveness of their speech in the mother-daughter framework (as in chapters 6.5 on code mixing and 7.1.2 on code switching) emphasise more individual and specific relationships.

The fact that LuLing's pidgin English and Chinese expressions and behaviour are repeatedly referred to and quoted in the narration in addition to the dialogues, creates the impression that the voice of LuLing is always present. The comments of the narrator to these also creates the impression of interaction between the two characters, even when there is no actual dialogue going on. Sometimes LuLing's expressions contribute to the narrator's (and Ruth's) point of view so that the limits and differences between the characters are undermined. Thus, as a narrational strategy, mixing styles and switching codes reflects the interpretation process and constant fitting together of contradictions which is a pervading feature of the novel. In addition, the similarities in the speech of LuLing and Precious Auntie establish links between them underline their connection as characters and their significance in the novel as mediators and modifiers of Chinese discourses and practices on the one hand, and as mother characters on the other.

The alignments and disalignments with LuLing's expressions and points of view show the shifts in identifications between Chinese, American, personal and familial, rational and metaphysical frameworks, as well fate, luck and improving one's personal circumstances. As these often overlap, the negotiation of the aspects of ethnic identity involves both a concrete, personal and situational processes and aspects of larger social and cultural structures and positions. In this way, code mixing and code switching work as formulated by David Herman (2001:62), "reinforcing patterns of co-operation and conflict encoded at other levels of narrative structure" (Herman 2001:62). In addition, this also involves interactional dynamics which contributes to the discourses and interpersonal relationships in the novel and involves language and style shifting at various levels and degrees, ranging from a few insertions to inter-turn alternation and main language choices in more extensive sequences.

This kind of ambiguity achieved with switching languages on one hand, and mixing styles on the other, resembles the strategy of ambivalence reported by for example Stroud (1999), in which languages which allow ambiguous meanings are used to achieve multiple identities or to avoid "taking sides", and to use the possibilities this offers for personal goals. This might also suggest that the ethnic identities represented in the novel are hybrid, constituted of many, sometimes contradicting, aspects and negotiated in relation to individual goals and the social environment. In addition, there is resemblance to the findings of Coupland (2001) (as discussed earlier in the chapter 4 on identity) on the speech of a radio disc jockey in Wales in that styles are used for both distancing effects and for ‘re-authenticating’ or creating a new way of identifying with the cultural traditions.

Furthermore, the significance of language for identity can also be seen, as noted by Adams (2003:online, paragraph 14), in that the reconciliation of the novel and the recovery of Ruth’s and LuLing’s familial roots in China does not involve the bones which were one of the main causes of LuLing’s trouble. Instead of returning them to the cave they came from, the lost name of Precious Auntie is recovered. Thus, language seems to have a major significance for the construction of identity, and though the recovery of the roots in China is based on kinship, the shifting meanings in language undermine the essential idea of identity as fixed and building on single unifying factor such as history or kinship. This is also implied in the novel towards the end, where Ruth has accepted her mother’s and grandmother’s past, and has begun to incorporate this to her own identity project: “They know where happiness lies, not in a cave or a country, but in love and the freedom to give and take what has been there all along” (BD:308).

Thus, the results of the present study show that code switching and code mixing both add to the authentic atmosphere of the novel, and contribute to the thematics and the complexity of meanings in the novel. Language alternation also contributes to the representation of ethnic identities as flexible. The framework of Auer’s (1998) typology of language alternation added with Androutsopoulos’ (2003) model for written language seemed to work quite well in the present study, and helped to describe the functions and effects of language alternation. However, in comparison to relatively short magazine texts or letters in many other studies of code switching, the internal complexity and thematics of the novel as data posed some challenges for a clear determination of code switching and code mixing instances. This was also the case with the fictional level which added dimensions to the narrational discourse.

On the other hand, the interpretive approach was useful in that allowed the analysis of both narrational and the dialogue level. Conversation analysis and the study of interactional dynamics were also helpful in examining the functions of language alternation in dialogues and interpreting their significance for interpersonal relationships, which were one of the core aspects of the novel. Looking at the levels of language choice by Moyer (1999) and the types of the dialogues in general helped to interpret them in relation to the wider contexts and as parts of the novel. The classification of dialogue types by Herman (1995) was the most useful for intimacy sequences, whereas the other types were not that clearly relevant.

The present study aimed at providing an overview on the forms, functions and effects of code switching and style shifting in the novel *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, and in the construction and representation of ethnic identities. The results shed light on one way language alternation can work to construct meanings in a written and fictive text. As the present study was not particularly oriented at power relationships and the aspect of power in the representations of languages and ethnicities, an interesting area for further research would be to relate the linguistic processes of identity construction and the representations of identities and languages to the wider identity and language political issues and postcolonialism. On the other hand, a more detailed study of sections of the novel might also give a sharper understanding of the way meanings are constructed in the novel, in particular through intertextual references. In terms of identity, a focus on other aspects of identity than ethnicity could give another kind of understanding of the novel. Comparisons between different cultural backgrounds and literary goals in multilingual fiction could shed light on the common features and particularities of multilingual fiction. One could also apply the code switching framework used in the present study to literary data containing more frequent language alternation than *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. Furthermore, the features of language alternation and code switching found in a novel could be compared to other types of texts such as non-fiction and/or texts in different media, to see what kind of similarities and differences there are, and what kind of contributions language alternation makes in them.

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