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Heteroglossia and the Construction of Asian American Identities

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This article examines the interactive deployment of code-switching in a conversation between a Chinese American man, a Korean American man, and an African American man. By drawing upon their heteroglossic repertoires of a vulgar register of Korean, English inflected with African American Vernacular English, and formal English, the participants index specific ethnic identities for themselves and for each other while collaboratively constructing the identity of a girl. Yet because a single act of language can have both affiliative and disaffiliative ramifications and because participants' ideologies about even individual words can vary, the indexical meaning of the code-switching is not always shared. This article thus argues that any analysis of code-switching must take into account the local constitution of identities and ideologies as well as the multivocalic nature of language.

The study of ethnic identities as expressed through language has traditionally focused on two main fronts: describing the linguistic features which characterize distinctive ethnic dialects and determining the social and situational motivations for code-switching. Much of this work on in-group and out-group talk has been predicated on the notion of unitary, homogenous, and in some sense, linguistically isolated ethnic speech communities (Pratt, 1987). Yet the density of modern urban life, where individuals from different and overlapping speech communities come increasingly into contact, problematizes this notion of a single, fixed ethnic identity. As individuals become socialized into different ethnic groups throughout their lifespan, they participate in multiple, multilayered communities, creating a heteroglossic repertoire of identities from which to draw on (Kroskrity, 1993). In this context, ethnic identity is fluid and contingent; in Moerman's (1988) terms "situated, motile, shaded, purposive, consequential, negotiated" (p. 90).

This portrait of ethnicity as a dynamic, subjective *choice* (Lyman & Douglass, 1973; Waters, 1990) is not, however, without its constraints. Situational ethnicity is dialogically constituted in relation to ascriptions of identity from others while at the same time mediated by cultural notions of race and biological determinism. The invocation of ethnic identity in interaction cannot be unilateral, but is subject to and contingent upon both ratification and resistance from others in the interaction.

In this world of ethnic fluidity, language plays a special role. For when ethnicity becomes, as Mary Waters (1990) writes "a subjective identity, invoked at will by the individual," no vehicle other than language is as ideally suited for signaling the

rapid shifts in ethnic identification. These shifts can be accomplished through what Gumperz (1982) has termed "contextualization cues," features of phonology, grammar, lexicon, or language choice which index specific social meanings.

In this article, I investigate how these shifts in ethnic identity are constituted through the interactional deployment of code-switching within the Asian American community. Based on a close analysis of a conversation between a Chinese American man, a Korean American man, and an African American man, I explore how the act of codeswitching into an interlocutor's language is situated within an interactional matrix. Taking as my starting point the idea that language is a *resource* for doing particular social identities and that those identities are not fixed or pre-given (Ochs, 1993), I demonstrate how the participants index specific ethnic identities for themselves and for each other while collaboratively constructing the identity of a girl. At each step of the interaction, multiple ethnic identities are invoked, and are subject to contestation by others.

In particular, I examine how the heteroglossia of language (Bakhtin, [1935] 1981) affects this constitution of identities. Through a complex practice of code-switching between English inflected with African American Vernacular English, a formal register of English, and a vulgar register of Korean, the participants index a multiplicity of stances and identities. Yet because any act of language can have multiple interpretations, the meaning of a particular act of language is not always self-evident. As Gumperz has shown, this ambiguity is particularly salient in interethnic contact, where presuppositions of indexical meaning may not be shared. By displaying how the participants themselves orient to different interpretations of the 'same' act of language and indeed, of specific individual words, this paper argues that any analysis of code-switching must be sensitive to the multivocalic meanings of language.

PARTICIPANT ORGANIZATION

The conversation which forms the basis for this paper was videotaped in 1995 in Los Angeles in a community where interethnic communication is frequent. The participants are Chaz, a 23 year-old Chinese American, Ken, a 23 year-old Korean American, and Rob, a 25 year-old African American.

Table 1: Relative Language Abilities

LANGUAGE	CHAZ	KEN
English	native	good
Korean	good	native
Japanese	minimal	good
Chinese	good	--

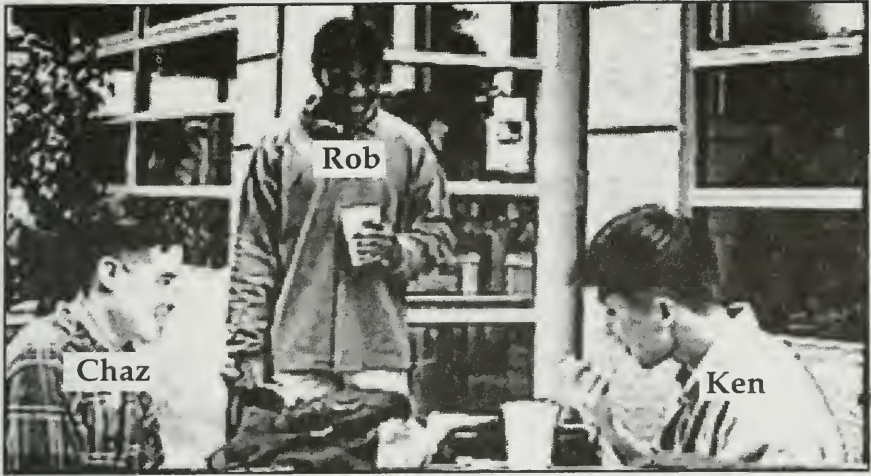


Figure 1: The Conversation Participants

Both Chaz and Ken are multilingual in variety of Asian languages. Although Chaz is Chinese American and was born in the US after his parents emigrated from Taiwan, he was an active participant in second-generation Korean American culture at the time this conversation was filmed. He learned to speak Korean by interacting with a peer group of second-generation Korean American men who socialized in the extensive network of Korean restaurants, bars, nightclubs, pool halls, and karaoke clubs located in the ethnic enclave of Koreatown. Chaz then studied Korean for a year in college and took an Asian American studies course on the Korean American experience. He also studied Chinese for two years, and Japanese for a quarter.

Ken self-identifies as a member of the 1.5 generation—Koreans who enter the US during puberty or adolescence. He was born in Korea and immigrated to California with his family when he was sixteen. He usually speaks Korean with his friends, including Chaz, and his grasp of rapid conversational English is at times shaky. After graduating from high school, he lived with his aunt and uncle who are ethnic Koreans but often speak Japanese at home because they were both educated in Japan, worked there as missionaries, and have many Japanese speaking friends. Ken then studied Japanese for two years in college and ranks his Japanese ability as roughly equal to his English speaking ability.

Because the bulk of this segment involves interaction between Chaz and Ken, I will not detail Rob's linguistic background. Chaz and Ken know each other as casual acquaintances; Chaz and Rob are better friends, and Rob and Ken meet only at the beginning of the conversation.

INITIAL POSITIONINGS

The specific segment I will be analyzing in this article concerns a girl Chaz finds attractive. At first she is described in overwhelmingly positive terms, which leads Ken to ask whether she is Chinese. She is not, and her ethnicity is co-constructed as a trouble source.¹

- 1 Rob: **it would be coo-**
 2 I mean I guess bein married would be cool
 3 but [findin that girl is
 4 [((Rob horizontal headshake))
 5 (1.0)
 6 ((Rob horizontal headshakes, turns to Ken))
 7 ((Ken vertical headshakes))
 8 Rob: [**I get**]
 9 [((Chaz two-handed point to Rob))
 10 Chaz: [**there's this one [girl**
 11 [((Chaz's gaze reaches Ken))
 12 [((hands come up))
 13 [**that's so f:↑LY:::::ri'now[ohmi[god.[she is**
 14 [((moving in)) [((head bounce)) [((Ken & Rob mutual gaze))
 15 Rob: [**gh [hah hah hah hah hah hah**
 16 Ken: [**hah hah hah hah**
 17 ((Chaz' palms hit table, pushes away from table, hits head on table))
 18 Chaz: [**d**amn I am [**do:wn.** (.)
 19 [((palms move up and down)) [((palms hit table))
 20 [**she's:::: she's::**
 21 [((Chaz vertical headshakes, mouth curl, hands out palms down
 22 marking beat, looks at Rob, then at camera, then at Ken))
 23 (.2)
 24 [((Chaz' gaze down to table.))
 25 Chaz: **she's [a:ll that**
 26 [((Chaz hits table))
 27 Ken : [**what(.) she's Chīnese?**
 28 Chaz: **no.** ((looking down))
 29 (.4)
 30 Chaz: **that's the [only** ((hands moving alternately up and down above table))
 31 [((point to Ken))
 32 [**that's the only one point of- of question.**
 33 [((raises gaze to Ken))
 34 (.2)
 35 Chaz: **she's [not Chinese.**
 36 [((Chaz eyebrow cock and simultaneous point to Ken))
 37 (.2)
 38 Ken: (**w-**)
 39 Chaz: **If she was I'd fight off [e]veryone.**
 40 [((Chaz' left hand sweeps from left to right))

- 41 I'd be like ((begin smile voice))
 42 [[[Chaz' gaze reaches Rob]]]
 43 [>ok, [you gotta boyfriend
 44 [[[point to Rob]]]
 45 I'll [come over en kill 'im<
 46 [[[Chaz' two fists bounce up]]]
 47 Rob: huh hah hah damn that's doin the (freedom thing)
 48 [[[Chaz looking off to side]]]
 49 Chaz: [nah that's the that's the o:nly [thing (that's the only thing)

At first, in lines 10-25, the girl is constructed as extraordinarily attractive, through the affect, high pitch, and lengthening of the vowel on “f:↑LY:.....” (line 13), the embodied performance of overwhelmedness on line 17, the AAVE-inflected evaluative terms “down” (line 18) and “all that” (line 25); and the projected inarticulateness of lines 20-25, “She’s:..... She’s:..... (.2) she’s all that.”

Ken then makes a candidate identification of her ethnicity at line 27, “what she’s Chinese?,” a guess made relevant by earlier talk: In the segment directly preceding this one, Chaz explained that he wouldn’t consider a job in show business because he wanted to marry a “nice girl. nice family and all that.” He says:

cause my dad’s like the oldest son right, of- and his dad is like the oldest son so like I’m his o:nly son. So like for me it’s like it’s really important to get that fa:mily thing going on.

Through these references to the importance of patrilineal succession, Chaz thus indexes his identity as a Chinese eldest son, with a duty to carry on the family line. Ken’s utterance therefore seeks to take Chaz’s perspective as to the most desirable ethnicity, constructing both Chaz and the girl in question as Chinese:

Table 2: Ken: What (.) she’s Chinese?

language of utterance	English
construction of the girl	Chinese
construction of Chaz	Chinese
construction of Ken	Projects his understanding of Chaz's perspective on the most desirable ethnicity for the girl

However, she is not Chinese. Chaz shifts into an intellectually formalizing register in line 30, thereby distancing himself from her. Her ethnicity is the “only thing” wrong with her, the “only one point of question” which prevents him from pursuing her. Note that she is constructed as undatable because of this fatal flaw. If she were Chinese, Chaz would “fight off everyone” and indeed, kill her boy-

friend, to win her. But she is not and her ethnicity is therefore constituted as a trouble source.

Table 3: Ethnicity Emerges as a Trouble Source

KEN	CHAZ	IMPLICATIONS
	There's this one girl that's so f:LY:.....! Damn, I am down! she's she's all that	girl=extremely positive
What (.) she's Chinese?	that's the only one point of question....that's the only thing that's the only thing.	girl=not Chinese Her ethnicity is a trouble source

POSITIONINGS WITHIN AN ASIAN AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER

In this next section, Ken then asks whether she is Vietnamese. In seeking to understand the cultural implications of this next possible identification, it is important to recognize that being Vietnamese is not highly regarded in either Chinese or Korean cultures; in China, to be called Vietnamese is a slur, and in a series of interviews with Korean Americans in LA, my informants repeatedly characterized Vietnamese as “lower,” based upon a stratified Asian cultural hierarchy. One second-generation Korean American in her twenties described this hierarchy in the following way:

Chinese, Japanese, Korean up here
((hand making horizontal motions at chin level))
 Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino down here
((hand making horizontal motions at waist level))

Several informants also told me that color plays a role in this hierarchy, as Southeast Asians are generally darker and smaller than East Asians. This positioning of East Asian superiority over Southeast Asia was echoed by another local second-generation Korean American woman:

If I had to marry anyone outside I guess number one would be Chinese [let me note that she might have said this because I had identified myself as ethnically Chinese], number two would be Japanese, and I mean, it'd be better for me to marry someone Jewish than to marry someone Vietnamese.

These cultural stereotypes of Vietnamese as “less civilized” were echoed in a survey of Korean American attitudes towards intermarriage conducted by Gin Yong Pang (1994) at Berkeley. She, too, found that when asked about their attitudes towards intermarriage, second and 1.5 generation Korean Americans preferred Japanese and Chinese Americans as marriage partners over whites, who were in turn preferred over Vietnamese or Filipino Americans. The low social and economic status of Vietnamese Americans was cited as one reason, while the East Asian/Southeast Asian divide was also relevant, according to one 21 year-old 1.5 generation Korean American:

I think there is this world view. Certain groups are higher. Let's say, according to the Western view [of evaluating the status of Asian countries], the Japanese are the highest because they are economically superior than other Asian countries. They are much more modernized, technically advanced, not a backward nation like the Southeast Asian countries. In a way, Koreans have a somewhat similar view of seeing Southeast Asian countries as backward. But because Korea is coming out of that, if we intermarry with these people [the Southeast Asians], we would be going back and lowering our status (p. 115).

So when Ken identifies the girl as Vietnamese, it is clear that he is indexing being Vietnamese as a problematic ethnicity. However, because Vietnamese are not highly regarded in either Chinese or Korean culture, it is not clear whether he is constructing them as problematic from his perspective, from Chaz's perspective, or from a joint East Asian perspective. In his earlier identification of the girl as Chinese, for example, it was evident that he was taking Chaz's perspective on the most highly valued ethnicity. In any case, his candidate identification of the girl as Vietnamese invokes this stratified cultural hierarchy, indexing potential ethnic identities for him and for Chaz.

The girl has now therefore been characterized in notably opposed ways, first as extraordinarily positive, and then as highly negative. This tension between Chaz's evident admiration for the girl and the inherent contradiction of her status comes to the fore in the next utterance, when Chaz code-switches into Korean.

CODE-SWITCHING AND THE HETEROGLOSSIA OF THE CODE

In the next segment, Chaz vehemently denies the girl's positioning as Vietnamese, code-switching into Korean. First, he embodies shock by recoiling and frowning sharply at Ken's suggestion that he would have ever thought so positively about a Vietnamese girl. The term that he uses in Korean is a slur term for Vietnamese, *dangkong*, which is highly localized to a particular subset of the second-generation Korean American community in LA.

- 50 Ken: [what is she Vietnamese?
 51 Chaz: ((head recoil, frown, eyes flash, then smile)) (.6)
 52 Chaz: *dangkong anya!* ((smile voice))
 53 ((trans: She's not a peanut!))
 54 Ken: *hh(h)Q(h)Q:(h)Q:(h)* ((recoil back, smiling))
 55 (.4)

Intersubjectivity and the indexical meaning of *Dangkong*

Dangkong, which literally means peanut, is a highly affect-marked term for Vietnamese used by some second-generation Korean Americans who live in LA. Korean Americans told me that it can also be used to disparage someone who is short and stocky, or to describe the thick, unattractive, muscular legs of a woman. The Koreans from Korea with whom I spoke only recognized the use of it as meaning peanut or short; its use as a referent for Vietnamese seems to be strongly localized to LA. Specifically, the term is used exclusively by second-generation Korean Americans who socialize in predominantly Korean American settings, such as Garden Grove and Koreatown. According to this survey, Korean Americans in their twenties who went away from LA for high school, or who do not socialize in predominantly Korean American settings were unaware of its use to refer to Vietnamese. Several informants offered the folk theory that sound symbolism had played a role in its origin, and that the /ng/ sound iconically represented the nasalized sounds of the Vietnamese language.

This term was universally identified as derogatory, with an affective force equivalent to such English terms as “kike” and “nigger.” Interestingly, Ken and Chaz have very different linguistic ideologies about the word *dangkong*. When I interviewed Chaz, he told me that he thought the term originated in Korea and specifically stated that it was a term used by “real first generation guys,” known to most 1.5 generation Korean Americans, but in fact not part of the lexicon of many second-generation types. For him, then, using this term with Ken would demonstrate that he was taking Ken’s perspective and indexing Ken’s social framework from Korea.

While Ken is certainly acquainted with the use of *dangkong* as a referent for Vietnamese and well aware of its affective force in this context, he learned the term here in LA. For him, it actually functions as an index of Chaz’ participation in a second-generation Korean American community, as distinct from his own 1.5 generation community. In his view, the cultural divide between the 1.5 generation, who were mostly socialized in Korea, and the second generation, who were socialized in America, is quite large. Ken told me that he actually finds it easier to interact with “pure Anglo-Saxon Americans” than with second-generation Korean Americans, because he expects Korean Americans to share congruent cultural

expectations, but second generation types often fail to use the proper terms of respect with him or to speak to him in a way befitting his status as an elder. In Ken's linguistic ideology, then, Chaz's use of the term *dangkong* actually reifies the linguistic and cultural divisions between himself and Chaz.

Here the heteroglossia of speakers' individual ideologies about words directly impacts the achievement of intersubjectivity in conversation. As Bakhtin (1981) observed,

Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process (p. 294).

While Chaz seems to be attempting to imprint his own intentions upon the word, as an affiliating term meant to index commonality with Ken, Ken doesn't seem to hear this turn as affiliative; upon hearing *dangkong anya*, or "she's not a peanut!," he recoils sharply, embodying the loaded negative affect of the term, while exclaiming "hh(h)Q(h)Q:(h)Q:(h).".

This lack of intersubjectivity concerning the word's indexical meaning becomes a key factor in constructing stances of alignment in the subsequent turns.

Code-switching and the indexing of multiple ethnic identities

When Chaz says "*Dangkong anya!* (She's not a peanut!)," he again invokes a multiplicity of changing ethnic identities for all of the figures summarized in the following table:

Table 4: Chaz: *Dangkong anya!* (She's not a peanut!)

language of utterance	Korean
construction of girl	not Vietnamese
construction of Ken	inside member of the Korean American speech community
construction of Chaz	inside member of the Korean American speech community
construction of Vietnamese	devalued ethnicity from a Korean American perspective
construction of Koreans	dislike Vietnamese

The use of a particularly vulgar form of Korean in this turn is heteroglossic because the turn can be seen as both affiliative and disaffiliative. From one perspective, Chaz is clearly disagreeing with Ken. He is insulted that Ken would presume that he would ever have been so enthusiastic about a Vietnamese girl. Chaz reads Ken's candidate identification of the girl as an index for his own status and performs his umbrage that Ken would consider him as lowly as a Vietnamese person—first through his body behavior, marked as head recoil, frown, and flashing eyes on line 51, and also through the forceful affect he projects when he says "*dangkong anya!*" Vietnamese women are therefore constructed here not only as not worthy of dating, but as not even capable of being attractive.

While the immediate action this utterance may be performing is disagreeing forcefully with Ken's identification, from another perspective, Chaz is indexing solidarity with Ken. He does this first of all by using a language which only he and Ken, of the three conversationalists, can understand, therefore selecting Ken as sole addressee. Because the term *dangkong* as a referent for Vietnamese is highly localized to the Korean American community of Los Angeles and comes from a particularly vulgar and in-group register, the use of this marked form by Chaz indexes joint insider membership for himself and for Ken in a speech community where conventions regarding the social meaning of the word, and the denigration it encodes, are shared. This word thereby both presupposes and creates affiliation through a mutual stance towards Vietnamese.

In effect, Chaz recontextualizes Ken's statement in line 50, "what is she Vietnamese," as a projection of Ken's own attitudes. The use of the term *dangkong*, a slur term which refers to Vietnamese as small brown food items, explicitly encodes denigration, thereby lexicalizing the stance Chaz thought Ken was indexing in line 50. As noted earlier, it was not clear whether Ken was producing this stance as his own or as his understanding of Chaz's cultural values. When Chaz says *dangkong anya* in Korean, however, he marks hatred of Vietnamese as a particularly Korean stance, thereby repositioning Ken's earlier statement as a voicing of his own cultural values. Chaz thus intensifies the alignment he thought Ken was indexing, not just as a joint East Asian stance towards Vietnamese, but as a Korean American one.

Chaz's use of Korean here is therefore double-edged. On the one hand, he is displaying an orientation towards Ken by using his language, and he is indexing solidarity with him through the mutual denigration of Vietnamese. On the other, he is refracting a particularly unsavory part of Korean culture, and one which is usually not readily disclosed to outsiders. The switch to Korean not only circumscribes Rob, the African-American, out of the conversation, it also marks this view of Vietnamese as insider knowledge, a shared cultural attitude which is perhaps not suitable for outsiders' ears. Furthermore, it contextualizes the Korean language itself as the language of insults, ethnic tensions, and later on in the segment, vulgarity (for summary see table).

Table 5: Affiliative and Disaffiliative Implications of One Korean Code-Switch

affiliative implications of this code-switch to Korean	disaffiliative implications of this code-switch to Korean
selects Ken as sole addressee	performs umbrage at Ken's presupposition that Chaz would ever have been so enthusiastic about a Vietnamese girl
displays Chaz's orientation towards Ken and his cultural values by using his language	situates dislike of Vietnamese as a particularly Korean value
indexes affiliation based on joint denigration of Vietnamese	constructs the Korean language as the language of insults, vulgarity, and ethnic tension
contextualizes "what is Vietnamese" as a projection of Ken's own attitudes towards Vietnamese	

Identification of the girl's ethnicity and its troublesome implications

At last, in line 56, after two incorrect guesses, Ken asks Chaz to identify the girl's ethnicity directly. Chaz has in fact evaded several earlier slots to identify the girl's ethnicity, since the denial of an incorrect candidate identification is usually followed by providing of the correct identification.² Note too that Ken does not follow Chaz' code-switch but persists in using English, a disaffiliative move :

- 56 Ken: **what is she [then.**
 57 *(((Chaz looks off to right side))*
 58 Chaz: **hanguk yucha=**
 59 *((trans: Korean girl))*
 60 Ken: **=Korean?**
 61 Chaz: **yeah** *((Chaz vertical headshake))*
 62 Ken: **really.** *((withdraws gaze from Chaz, looks off to left side, grimaces,*
 63 *looks down and reaches for sandwich))*
 64 *(2.0) ((Chaz bites lip, looks left))*

Chaz's response, *hanguk yucha* (Korean girl) is multivocalic in a number of respects, indexing identities for the girl, himself, and Ken, while again accomplishing contradictory actions of affiliation and disaffiliation:

Table 6: Chaz: *Hanguk yucha* (Korean girl)

language of utterance	Korean
construction of girl	Korean
construction of Ken	member of the Korean American speech community
construction of Chaz	member of the Korean American speech community
construction of Koreans	problematic ethnicity

While Chaz is still using Ken's language, a move which could index solidarity with him by again referencing common membership in a linguistic community, this statement firmly contextualizes Ken himself in a negative light. Remember that the girl's ethnicity was "the only thing," the "only one point of question" which prevented Chaz from dating her. If her ethnicity is a trouble source, and she is then identified as Korean, clearly, being Korean, like Ken, is a problem for Chaz. Moreover, the projection of this Korean girl is rejected within the projection of a highly negatively constituted Vietnamese girl. And by producing both identifications in Korean, Chaz underscores the links between them.

The central contradiction in Chaz' ideology has at last become apparent. Chaz's interactional construction of Koreans as a highly troublesome ethnicity is certainly at odds with his attempts to index his membership in the Korean American community and his affiliation with Ken through a common language. Moreover, the term that he uses, *hanguk yucha* (Korean girl), is neutral and not marked with any sort of softening or affective markers. The muted affect he projects while delivering this utterance and his withdrawal of gaze upon the completion of Ken's question may reflect his premonitions of its troublesome implications.

We can see that Ken is oriented to the ramifications of the correspondence which has just equated having an undesirable ethnicity with being Korean. Upon hearing that she is Korean, he initiates repair in line 60 and furthermore, continues not to align with Chaz's language choice by speaking in English. When the girl's Koreanness is confirmed, Ken withdraws his gaze and performs a large grimace to the side. When Chaz sees Ken's reaction, he too bites his lip and withdraws his gaze and the tension between them during the 2.0 second silence becomes palpable:

Figure 2: Ken's Reaction



Ken: Korean?
Chaz: Yeah
Ken: Really. *((grimace))*
(2.0)
((Chaz bites lip, looks left))

Table 7: Summary of Implications

Ken	Chaz	Implications
	There's this one girl that's so f:LY:.....! Damn, I am down! she's she's she's all that	girl=extremely positive
What she's Chinese	that's the only one point of question....that's the only thing that's the only thing	girl=not Chinese her ethnicity is a trouble source
What is she Vietnamese?		Vietnamese=problematic ethnicity from either/both Chinese and Korean perspectives
	<i>dangkong anya!</i> (trans: she's not a peanut)	Vietnamese=problematic ethnicity from Korean perspective only Koreans (and Chaz and Ken) strongly disapprove of Vietnamese as romantic partners
What is she then	<i>hanguk yucha</i> (trans: Korean girl)	Chaz is simultaneously indexing his membership in the Korean American community and his affiliation with Ken through language choice, while constituting Korean women as not appropriate for dating

Double-voicing of another's words

The indexical struggle concerning the word *dangkong* and its ownership becomes explicit in the next turn. When Ken says "O(h)o(h)o(h) you don't like *dangkong* then" in line 65, this has multiple implications.

65 Ken: O(h)o(h)o(h) you don't like *dangkong* then
66 ((looking down at table))

Given the way in which Ken's own ethnicity has now been marked as troublesome, his reprisal of the construction of Vietnamese could be an attempt to escape from further discussion of the troublesome Korean girl by focusing all of the accrued negative affect onto its proper object, Vietnamese. His turn-initial laughter could seek to rekey the stance towards Vietnamese as a lighthearted joke. And the reprisal of Chaz's term, *dangkong*, is a further index of affiliation with Chaz, and also potentially, a sign of alignment with him through the joint denigration of Vietnamese.

However, the word *dangkong* is the only Korean word in an utterance which is otherwise in English. Not only does Ken's refuse to accommodate Chaz's code-switch to Korean, he also stares at the table throughout the turn, avoiding Chaz's smiling gaze. This maintaining of English does not validate Chaz' attempts to index Korean-American identity but rather, reconstitutes him as American. Moreover, his statement animates Chaz as a Vietnamese hater, situating this attitude as a *personal* stance of his, not as a shared cultural norm.

As Bakhtin ([1929] 1984) would put it, this is an example of "vari-directional double-voicing," where "the authorspeaks in someone else's discourse, but...introduces into that discourse a semantic intention directly opposed to the original one" (p. 193). In double-voicing speakers do this by

inserting a new semantic intention into a discourse which already has, and which retains, an intention of its own. Such a discourse, in keeping with its task, must be perceived as belonging to someone else. In one discourse, two semantic intentions appear, two voices (p. 189).

While Ken does recycle Chaz's term *dangkong*, he signals his unease with the term by attributing ownership of it and the intentionality of its negative affect to Chaz, thereby using the word while not necessarily aligning with its stance. And as the rest of the sequence plays out, Chaz continues to seek alignment with the derogatory stance of *dangkong*, while Ken goes to ever increasing measures to distance himself from the term.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I hope to have shown how heteroglossia directly impacts the construction of ethnic identities. As the participants marshal their heteroglossic resources, their rapid shifting between registers and languages indexes a multi-

plicity of ethnic identities for themselves and for each other. Yet because language always "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other" (Bakhtin, [1935] 1981, p. 293), speakers' individual ideologies about a word enter into play, and the struggle over intersubjectivity becomes apparent. Thus functional analyses of code-switching which seek to assign a unitary motivation to a particular instance of code-switching ignore the locally situated ways in which one can use a term or a language while simultaneously distancing oneself from the term or from the speakers of that language. As any individual act of language can both attribute prior intentions to another while presupposing and creating shared stance, any instance of code-switching and concomitant invocations of alignment can be resisted and contested by recipients. At each turn, the use of Korean in this short segment is embedded within the particularities of the interaction; using an addressee's language can actually *disaffiliate*, as when Chaz finally identifies the girl as Korean in Korean within the projection of the negatively identified *dangkong*. The multiple and often contradictory stances and identities invoked by each turn of this conversation underscore the heteroglossic nature of language.

NOTES

¹ Editor's note: An explanation of the transcription conventions used here can be found in the appendix to Roth & Olsher (this volume).

² Emanuel Schegloff, Personal Communication.

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