PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MOTIVATIONS FOR BILINGUAL CODE-SWITCHING IN AMY TAN'S CHINESE AMERICAN WRITINGS

Tetiana Vechorynska
PhD (Philology), Associate Professor
Educational and Scientific Institute of Philology
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
14, Taras Shevchenko Blvd, Kyiv, 01601, Ukraine
t.vechorynska@knu.ua
ORCID: 0000-0002-6942-4237

Olha Vorobei
PhD (Philology), Associate Professor
Educational and Scientific Institute of Philology
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
14, Taras Shevchenko Blvd, Kyiv, 01601, Ukraine
vorobei@knu.ua
ORCID: 0000-0003-4956-8943

The article is the attempt at the psycholinguistic investigation of code-switching (alternation between English and Chinese) specificity in Amy Tan's Chinese American writings. The study of code-switching is a serious concern today because more and more people on the planet are becoming bilingual/multilingual. Besides, the approaches to the scientific understanding of the phenomenon have recently changed: if previously the alternation between two or more languages was regarded as a manifestation of insufficient linguistic competence of a speaker, leading to loss of language purity, today most linguists consider code-switching as a difficult, and somewhat organized and controlled process, which is a natural product of two language systems interaction. It is also relevant to develop new approaches to the study of fictional bilingualism, thus enriching the studies of national literatures by providing them with transdialogical meaning. Psycholinguistics opens new vistas in researching code-switching within a bicultural and bilingual literary text, as in the context of creative writing, psycholinguistic motivations for code-switching act as an important means of image creation. Code-switching in Amy Tan's novels occurs in two levels. The activation of the Chinese language in the form of transcribed Chinese words and phrases relates to their frequency of use, availability, or cultural untranslatability. Such code-switching fits the syntax of the utterance, is conceptually motivated, and is an integral part of the Chinese American image creation. Another level of code-switching attributes to the inhibition of the English language – there is an indication in the English-language text that the character has completely switched to Chinese. The analysis of code-switching allows revealing its psycholinguistic motivations through unveiling emotional states of the characters. Based on the theoretical and empirical findings of the psycholinguistics of bilingualism, we conclude that there is considerable overlap between the psycholinguistic motivations of code-switching in spoken and written discourse.

Keywords: Amy Tan; Chinese language; Chinese American literature; psycholinguistics; bilingualism; code-switching

Introduction

Code-switching is a bilingual and multilingual phenomenon that occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages in the context of a single conversation.

One group of researchers argues that code-switching refers only to the socio-pragmatically conditioned changes of the code, when the psycholinguistically conditioned type should be termed "code-mixing" or "language mixing" [Riehl 2005, *1946*]. Another group of researchers claims that code-switching occurs at the inter-sentential level, whereas code-mixing occurs at the intra-sentential one [Sridhar and Sridhar 1980]. Yet, most definitions view "code-switching" as a collective term to define linguistic alternations at all levels of spoken and written discourses [Gardner-Chloros 2009; Grosjean and Li 2013].

Code-switching often occurs in literary fictional narratives, authored by bilingual writers, who create bilingual characters. Literary criticism views code-switching through the lens of its socio-pragmatic, sociolinguistic, stylistic functions, but the question of its psycholinguistic motivations remains unresolved.

The main researches outlining the approaches to the study of the psycholinguistic background of bilingualism and code-switching are, in particular: [Auer 1998; Grosjean and Li 2013; Grosjean 1996, 1998, 2015; Sridhar and Sridhar 1980; Clyne 2003; Gardner-Chloros 2009]. Most of them are based on experimental methods and consider spoken discourse. It is generally recognized that there is no definite method that accurately and unambiguously determines the psycholinguistic motivations for code-switching as subconscious factors remain beyond the direct observation and analysis. This investigation, therefore, attempts to apply knowledge of the psycholinguistics of bilingualism to creative writing. In our opinion, Amy Tan's Chinese American narratives can serve as true sources for bilingualism study, as they provide an artistic rethinking of the Chinese American experience of the writer and her family. China's language and culture, as well as America's language and culture, are both personal and imaginative components of Amy Tan's phenomenon.

The purpose of this study is to identify the patterns and specificity of code-switching in Amy Tan's novels. This suggests solving the following objectives: to consider the possibility and specifics of the application of theoretical and empirical knowledge of psycholinguistics on the issue of code-switching within the object of this study; to identify the means of realizing the psycholinguistic potential of code-switching on the material of Amy Tan's novels; to define psycholinguistic motivations for code-switching, whereas the latter is viewed as an important device of literary image creation.

Methods

The methods of the research are determined by its purpose and objectives, as well as the specifics of the material studied. These are psycholinguistic method as an interdisciplinary integration of methods, techniques, and research procedures used to study the psychology of language; a psychobiographical method that allows analyzing psycholinguistic motivations as a result of individual experiences, cultural, historical and socio-linguistic preconditions for the formation of a unique writing style; methods of text and discourse analysis, applied to the material containing code-switching. In keeping with the modern literary rethinking of the problems of the national and cultural identity of bilingual writers, the method of poststructuralist critique is also applied. Close reading strategies remain to be important guidelines in analysis methodology.

The study

The formation of bilingualism as a distinctive feature of the Chinese American literature was preceded by the historical, political, and social context of the Chinese community inclusion to the USA multicultural environment. Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882, 1924, and 1943 suspended Chinese immigration and declared Chinese immigrants ineligible for naturalization. This led to the creation of isolated communities, "Chinatowns", where they communicate only in Chinese. The established stereotypes of the "yellow

peril", "perpetual foreigners" constantly associated with the "broken English" created an emotional barrier for Chinese to use English in everyday life. In the second half of the 20th century, the politics of multiculturalism, as a systematic and comprehensive response to cultural and ethnic diversity, advocated for double, Chinese American identity, based on the biculturalism and bilingualism of Americans of Chinese descent. Thereby Chinese American literature began to conceptualize the themes related to the dynamics of language assimilation, language loss, and preservation of language heritage. In the writings of second-generation Chinese Americans, the trope of "mother tongue" often emphasized the psycholinguistic difficulties of bilingualism, which framed the relationship between the older-generation Chinese and their American-born children. Amy Tan's essay "Mother Tongue" explored the drama of growing up in a bilingual environment. As a child, Amy Tan was influenced by stereotypes that her mother's imperfect English was due to her thoughts imperfection. But the adult and successful writer Amy Tan admits that it was "all the Englishes I grew up with" [Tan 2004, *271*] that inspired her to write.

In the light of postcolonial studies, bilingualism of the written texts receives thoughtful academic consideration. Many scholars [Oster 2003; Martin 2005; Sebba, Mahootian and Jonsson 2012] emphasize the importance of the chosen language for establishing identity. For a multilingual author, switching between two or more languages is not an arbitrary act, nor is it simply an attempt to mimic the speech of their community; code-switching results from a conscious decision to create the desired effect and to promote the validity of the author's heritage language [Martin 2005]. Amy Tan's writings gave birth to a unique narrative technique that is not limited to the mere contextualization of languages and cultures, whether American or Chinese, but represents Chinese American identity, which cannot be regarded as the unity of two components. This is what Grosjean draws attention to when researching bicultural bilinguals. He emphasizes the irrelevance of the study of bilingualism as simply the sum of two (or more) different languages or two (or more) distinct cultures. Instead he calls for the study of the complete and unique experience of bicultural bilinguals who have their own linguistic and cultural competence [Grosjean 2015, *585*].

The psycholinguistic approach offers a view on the problem of code-switching in Amy Tan's novels, different from a sociolinguistic one. The research on the preconditions of code-switching is closely connected to the psycholinguistic concepts of "language mode" [Grosjean 1996], "activation", and "inhibition" [De Bot 2004]. Bilinguals find themselves in a monolingual language mode when they are speaking to monolinguals of one or the other of the languages that they know. Bilingual language mode at the time of communication with bilinguals who share their two (or more) languages and with whom they normally intertwine their languages, anticipates that at some point of time the "base language" (also "Language 1", "host language" or "matrix language") may be in various ways (switching code, borrowing) intervened by another language ("Language 2", "guest language" or "embedded language").

Activation of each language in a bilingual's arsenal may be caused by context, interlocutor, topic, and other factors, such as insufficient language skills in Language 1 versus high language proficiency in Language 2, automatization of language skills, the economy of efforts, a stereotype of language behavior, triggering, emphasizing the theme of the utterances, quotations. De Bot provides an image to explain Language 2 activation mechanism for bilinguals: he draws a parallel between code-switching and "holding down ping-pong balls in a bucket of water", where occasionally, however hard one tries, some will pop to the surface [De Bot 2004, *26*]. Unintentional code-switching, not motivated by contextual factors or linguistic need are being considered as "bilingual slips of the tongue" [Gardner-Chloros 2009, *125*] or "switching as an unmarked choice" [Gardner-Chloros 2009, *141*].

Results and discussion

In Amy Tans writings, code-switching occurs mostly in the speech of older Chinese women. They are in a bilingual mode when talking to their children who understand Chinese but do not speak it. The writer marks Chinese words in italics, creating so-called *heterotext* – a term proposed by A. Arteaga, following Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia of novelistic discourse [Arteaga 1997], which aptly depicts the hybrid nature of Chinese Americans:

1. He ran back and forth, jumped up and down, pulling his fingers through his hair, so I knew – *mangjile!*[1] – what a busy, exciting place this Pacific Telephone was, this place where he worked [Tan 2006a, *263*].

2. This is your *yinyuan*[2], the fate that brings lovers together [Tan 2010, *142*].

Code-switching is psycholinguistically conditioned when it's unintentional and simply happens in the conversation of bilinguals – a speaker uses the word that is "on the tip of the tongue". In other words, a bilingual may unconsciously switch code from Language 1 to Language 2, even knowing the corresponding equivalent in Language 1.

Code-switching is also associated with the *cultural untranslatability* of some lexical items. It is known that the strategies of association for natural bilinguals are determined by the structure of a language as a code, and the content of images of consciousness is determined by the culture that was acquired first. Amy Tan's characters sometimes explain why code-switching occurred. In *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), Suyuan Woo recalls:

3. My table was from my family and was of a very fragrant red wood, not what you call rosewood, but *hong mu*, which is so fine there's no English word for it [Tan 2006a, *24*].

The Chinese word 红木 literally means *redwood* or *rosewood*, but Suyuan Woo does not agree to recognize it, which speaks of *nostalgia*, *sadness*, and *regret* for what is gone.

When talking about her childhood, Winnie Louie in *The Kitchen God's Wife* (1991) recalls a special word that her mother called her:

4. She always called me *syin ke*, a nickname, two words that mean "heart liver", the part of the body that looks like a tiny heart. In English, you call it gizzard, not very good-sounding. But in Chinese, *syin ke* sounds beautiful, and it is what mothers call their babies if they love them very, very much [Tan 2006b, *93*].

Indeed, a literal translation of the Chinese *syin ke*[3] is impossible in this context, but any English analog will not convey the special warmth and tenderness of a child's memories about a mother. Although guest language activation normally is not associated with a speaker's intentions, code-switching performs clear functions related to expressive means, context, and something beyond the superficial meaning of the words. In some settings, words from the other language can act as the next best solution to a word-finding problem, much in the same way that a near-synonym or a hyperonym can serve as such [De Bot and Schreuder 1993, *201*].

In *The Valley of Amazement* (2013), Violet's explanation of code-switching makes real sense. Unlike Amy Tan's previous novels, the location here is a different one: it's a world of Chinese Americans living in Shanghai. Violet is a Chinese American little girl, studying at a school for foreigners, where speaking Chinese is considered non-prestigious. Classmates scoffed at Violet when they overheard her speaking to an old beggar on the street:

5. *Lao huazi*[4], let me by [Tan 2013, *7*].

Code-switching is completely justified by the suddenness of such a situation, lack of time for reflection, besides, Violet in her inartificial ways of a child justifies herself by saying that the beggar was Chinese, and therefore should be called *lao huazi*.

Each of a bilingual's languages, and each element within them, have an "activation threshold", which depends on how often and how recently they have been used [Fabbro

1999]. Amy Tan's novels repeatedly feature two Chinese adjectives that more accurately than English equivalents convey the emotional states of the characters:

6. A psyche-atricks will only make you *hulihudu*, make you see *heimongmong* [Tan 2006a, *188*];

7. And it was true. Lately I had been feeling *hulihudu*. And everything around me seemed to be *heimongmong* [Tan 2006a, *188*];

8. I saw what I wanted: his eyes, confused, then scared. He was *hulihudu* [Tan 2006a, *196*];

9. "Those people *hulihudu*" her mother muttered [Tan 2008, *128*].

The accuracy of the words chosen by the writer is striking. By alliteration and repetition of consonants, the Chinese words *hulihudu*[5] and *heimongmong*[6] create an effect of the clumsiness of a confused person. The *frequency of use* of this code-switching, accuracy, and "*availability*" of such words in the bilingual lexicon makes their activation mechanical, unintentional.

In his research on the peculiarities of code-switching in normal bilingual communication (as opposed to bilinguals with aphasia), Green suggested an important precondition for the guest language activation: code-switching cannot occur unless it fits the syntax of the utterance. The researcher hypothesized that the structures of Language 2 reach the activation threshold earlier if they meet the structural conditions of the utterance in Language 1 [Green 1986]. As a matter of fact, code-switching in Amy Tan's writings is subject to grammatical logic. But the emotional context that frames such switches acts as their important psycholinguistic premise, indicating *embarrassment*, *anger*, or *annoyance*. Code-switching is therefore not simply a syntactic phenomenon, but the outcome of individual choices which are conceptually motivated.

If the code-switching is unconscious, it does not imply that it remains unnoticed by the speaker. Code-switching processes are closely linked to the speech monitoring system, which includes prearticulatory editing and postarticulatory editing. At the stage of prearticulatory editing, the speaker can prevent speech errors. Code-switching, which still happens, is regarded as initially unmotivated. The more attention the speaker pays to the utterance, the less obvious the psycholinguistically conditioned code-switching will be. The monitoring system is used less often in bilingual mode or in situations that impose a heavy mental load on the speaker. This is evidenced by the textual analysis of Amy Tan's novels, where code-switching often occurs at the beginning of a sentence in the form of exclamations, which indicates their suddenness, the unexpected situation for the speaker, lack of time for prearticulatory editing:

10. *Ai-ya!*[7] What's the matter with your hair? [Tan 2006a, *166*].

At the stage of postarticulatory editing, the speaker recognizes "guest words" in his speech and, being in a monolingual mode, will try to correct wrong expressions after uttering them [Riehl 2005, *1946*]:

11. These two dragon very loyal, good *chi*[8] – how you say in English, good *chi?* [Tan 2010, *269*].

A dash after the word *chi* indicates that in *The Hundred Secret Senses* (1995), Kwan tries to find an equivalent in English to maintain a monolingual language mode with her American half-sister, Olivia. When she didn't find it, she asked for help.

Another level of code-switching in Amy Tan's novels is a more complex one: there is an indication in the English text that the character has switched to Chinese. Thus, a language not just represents, but becomes an object of representation itself. A language, therefore, serves as the key to an understanding of hidden meanings, and the psychological basis of code-switching serves as the key to grasping the literary image. Inhibition is a process opposite to activation, and for bilinguals, it involves the deactivation of words in another

language or the rejection of unwanted language. A complete transition to a monolingual Chinese mode in Amy Tan's writings is closely connected to emotional motivations.

The literature of the subject contains a large number of interesting case studies [Fabbro 1999; Grosjean 1998; Guttfreund 1990; Pavlenko 2005], proving that emotional factors have a considerable impact on how one learns, remembers, and uses languages. It is observed that bilinguals exhibit more *anxiety* and *depression* in their native language. In a collection of autobiographical essays, *The Opposite of Fat*e (2003), Amy Tan describes her mother suffering progressive Alzheimer's disease. Language plays an important role here because the constant switching between Language 1 to Language 2 speaks for the fact that the speaker becomes more emotional and recognizes feelings which were not otherwise articulated:

12. "Amy-ah", she said, and she began to speak quickly in Chinese. "Something is wrong with my mind. I think I'm going crazy" [Tan 2004, *219*].

The writer's own memories later provide the basis for the plot of her novels. Amy Tan defines the emotions of Suyuan Woo, who found herself in a critical condition:

13. So with him, she spoke in moods and gestures, looks and silences, and sometimes a combination of English punctuated by hesitations and Chinese frustration: "*Shwo buchu-lai*" [Tan 2006a, *106*].

A psycholinguistic progression is thus constructed: from confusion expressed in English to helplessness expressed in Chinese, intensified by the code-switching[9]. Suyuan Woo switches to her native language when she is afraid of realizing her illness and the impossibility of expressing her thoughts. Through code-switching and English inhibition, a similar condition of LuLing is described in *The Bonesetter's Daughter* (2001). A woman switches to Chinese when she begins to lose the sharpness of memory:

14. "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…" [Tan 2008, *367*].

The unconditional connection between the language and mental state is emphasized in the words of LuLing's friend, GaoLing:

15. Your mommy's lonely, that's all. She has no one to talk to in Chinese [Tan 2008, *111*].

Language codes interpretation leads to the understanding of important artistic meanings and complex poetics of Amy Tan's novels. One of the central symbols in *The Joy Luck Club* is a jade pendant that Suyuan Woo gives to her daughter Jing-mei:

16. "Not so good, this jade", she said matter-of-factly, touching the pendant, and then she added in Chinese: "This is young jade. It is a very light color now, but if you wear it every day it will become more green" [Tan 2006a, *208*].

What is hidden behind this gift, what the mother wanted to say, and why she switched to Chinese is not obvious to Jing-mei at first. One day she sees the same jade pendant at a salesman in a Chinese shop. The pendant was also given to its owner by his mother after he divorced. Like Jing-mei, he only guesses the meaning of this gift:

17. I guess my mother's telling me I'm still worth something [Tan 2006a, *198*].

There is no definitive answer to Jing-mei's question in the novel, but there is a hint of unspoken maternal *hope*, *love*, and *faith* in her child.

The most intimate states for bilinguals are language-specific [Grosjean 1996]. Bilinguals usually pray using their mother tongue – the language in which they learned this behavior:

18. It began with "Dear God" and ended with "Amen", and in between she spoke in Chinese [Tan 2006a, *127*].

In intimate situations, we also note the code-switching and inhibition of English when the characters of the novels feel *anxiety*, *concern*:

19. "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" [Tan 2008, *97*].

In Amy Tan's novels, the older generation normally chooses Chinese for stories of the past, which we associate with the *sentimental importance* of memories. In *The Joy Luck Club*, Ying-Ying comforts the daughter of her friend, whom they have just lost. First, the woman speaks to Jing-mei in English, a language common to older Chinese Americans to speak to their children. But when Ying-Ying begins to talk about Suyuan Wu's past, she inhibits English and chooses Chinese for her story:

20. "I think your mother die with an important thought on her mind", she says in halting English. And then she begins to speak in Chinese, calmly, softly. "Your mother was a very strong woman, a good mother. She loved you very much, more than her own life…" [Tan 2006a, *39*].

The importance of the chosen language for describing memories does not go unnoticed for Jing-mei, so in a situation when her father starts talking about the mother, she deliberately asks him to speak Chinese, the language of parents' youth and love:

21. "No, tell me in Chinese", I interrupt. "Really, I can understand". He begins to talk, still standing at the window, looking into the night [Tan 2006a, *281*].

Grosjean noted that bilinguals often switch to their native language under stress [Grosjean 1996]. On the material of Amy Tan's writings, it was concluded that the motivations for code-switching could be *anger*, *fatigue*, or *demonstration of authority*:

22. My mother slapped me. "Who ask you be genius?" she shouted. "Only ask you be your best. For you sake. You think I want you be genius? Hnnh! What for! Who ask you!" "So ungrateful", I heard her mutter in Chinese [Tan 2006a, 136].

Another motivation for code-switching between bilinguals is the exclusion of a third person, i.e., *confidentiality*. In Amy Tan's novels, the characters often switch to Chinese when they avoid unwanted listeners – English-speaking monolinguals, whether new family members or strangers:

23. At dinner, LuLing sat next to Ruth. "Too salty", she remarked in Chinese, poking at her portion of fish [Tan 2008, 69].

24, One night, when my eyelids were already heavy with sleep, she started droning again in Chinese: "Libby-ah, I must tell you something, a forbidden secret. It's too much of a burden to keep inside me any longer" [Tan 2010, *14*].

A psychologically important motivation for code-switching to a non-native language is the L2 *distancing effect*. Psychotherapists have found that it is easier for patients to speak on the delicate subject or pronounce taboo words in a new, acquired language; it provides the necessary distance and in some way removes restrictions from the speaker. This also applies to code-switching in the literary works of writers who write in a non-native language [Oster 2003, *96*]. Amy Tan skillfully conveys the psycholinguistic motivations for code-switching of her characters of the older generation, for whom the Chinese language is the locus of memories, experiences, and eternal truths. However, for the writer herself, who spoke English as a child and learned Chinese indirectly, Chinese is not native. The writer describes this important moment for our research in her autobiographical essay "Mother Tongue", where she plays upon the meaning of the "mother tongue" not in the sense of the native language, but the language spoken by her mother. That is why, in our opinion, in the novel *The Valley of Amazement*, describing a courtesan house in Shanghai in the early 20th century, where clients are Chinese and foreign wealthy

men, the writer often uses vulgar expressions in Chinese. As in Amy Tan's earlier novels, Chinese words are transcribed, so unlike those written in hieroglyphics, they lose their imagery, and veiled comments in English act as euphemisms.

Conclusions

Bilingualism is an integral part of Amy Tan's life and experience and a defining feature of her writings. The writer creates linguistic situations unique in their accuracy and individualization, which reveal the peculiarities of the "linguistic" assimilation of Chinese Americans.

Code-switching in Amy Tan's novels occurs in two levels, each performing an important artistic function. First, these are Chinese words and expressions transcribed in English. The writer does not use *pinyin* (a system for writing Chinese in Roman letters rather than Chinese characters) but conveys the very sound of hieroglyphs in English. Psycholinguistically conditioned code-switching in the language of the characters is natural and unintentional. The study found that the preconditions for Chinese activation are the frequency of use, availability, or cultural untranslatability of certain Chinese words. As a result, code-switching fits the syntax of utterances and is conceptually motivated; it is an integral part of the entire image of the Chinese American.

Secondly, code-switching is marked by the writer herself; there is an indication in the English text that the character has switched to Chinese. English inhibition is caused by emotional motivations. Based on the theoretical and empirical findings of the psycholinguistics of bilingualism, we conclude that motivations for code-switching in Amy Tan's writings are emotional states of the characters, associated with distancing, confusion, helplessness, fear, anxiety, worry, anger, stress, demonstration of authority, confidentiality, intimacy, trust, sentimental memories, expressions of love and hope. It is concluded that there is considerable overlap between the psycholinguistic motivations for code-switching in spoken and written discourse.

---

[1] 忙极了 máng jíle – very busy.
[2] 姻缘 yīnyuán – a marriage predestined by fate.
[3] 心肝儿 xīngāner – heart and liver; darling, sweetheart.
[4] 老 lǎo – old, 化子 huā zi – beggar.
[5] 糊里糊涂 hú li hútú – confused, muddle-headed.
[6] 黑蒙蒙 hēiméngméng – dark.
[7] 哎呀 āiyā is an interjection of wonder, shock or admiration.
[8] 气 qì – vital energy.
[9] 说不出来 shuō bu chūlái – I can't pronounce.

REFERENCES

Primary sources
Tan A. (2004), *The Opposite of Fate*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, NY.
Tan A. (2006a), *The Joy Luck Club*, Penguin Books, New York, NY.
Tan A. (2006b), *The Kitchen God's Wife*, Penguin Books, New York, NY.
Tan A. (2008), *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, Ballantine Books, New York, NY.
Tan A. (2010), *The Hundred Secret Senses*, Penguin Books, New York, NY.
Tan A. (2013), *The Valley of Amazement*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, NY.
Secondary sources
Arteaga A. (1997), *Chicano Poetics: Heterotext and Hybridities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511549311
Auer P. (ed.) (1998), *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*, Routledge, London.

Clyne M. (2003), *Dynamics of Language Contact. English and Immigrant Languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.

De Bot K. (2004), "The multilingual lexicon: modelling selection and control", *International Journal of Multilingualism*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 17–32. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710 408668176

De Bot K. and Schreuder, R. (1993), "Word production and the bilingual lexicon", in Schreuder R. and Weltens B. (eds), *Studies in bilingualism*, Vol. 6. The bilingual lexicon, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, pp. 191–214. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.6.10bot

Fabbro F. (1999), *The Neurolinguistics of Bilingualism: an introduction*, Psychology Press, Hove.

Gardner-Chloros P. (2009), *Code-switching*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511609787

Green D. W. (1986), "Control, activation and resource: a framework and a model for the control of speech in bilinguals", *Brain and Language*, Vol. 27, pp. 210–223. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/0093-934X(86)90016-7

Grosjean F. (1996), "Living with two languages and two cultures", in Parasnis I. (ed.), *Cultural and Language Diversity and the Deaf Experience*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 20–37.

Grosjean F. (1998), "Studying bilinguals: methodological and conceptual issues", *Bilingualism, Language and Cognition*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 131–149. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S13667 2899800025X

Grosjean F. (2015), "Bicultural bilinguals", *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 572–586. DOI: 10.1177/1367006914526297

Grosjean F. and Li P. (2013), *The Psycholinguistics of Bilingualism*, Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ.

Guttfreund D. (1990), "Effects of language use on the emotional experience of Spanish–English and English–Spanish bilinguals", *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 58, No. 5, pp. 604–607. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.58.5.604

Martin H. E. (2005), "Code-switching in US ethnic literature: multiple perspectives presented through multiple languages", *Changing English*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 403–415. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13586840500347277

Oster J. (2003), *Crossing Cultures: creating identity in Chinese and Jewish American literature*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, MO.

Pavlenko A. (2005), *Emotions and Multilingualism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511584305

Riehl C. M. (2005), "Code-switching in bilinguals: Impacts of mental processes and language awareness", in Cohen J., McAlister K. T., Rolstad K. and MacSwan J. (eds), *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism*, Cascadilla Press, Somerville, MA, pp. 1945–1959.

Sebba M., Mahootian S. and Jonsson C. (2012), *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, Routledge, New York, NY. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203136133

Sridhar S. and Sridhar K. (1980), "The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual codeswitching", *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 407–416. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1037/h0081105

Т. В. Вечоринська, О. С. Воробей
**Психолінгвістичні мотивації білінгвального перемикання коду
в сино-американських творах Емі Тан**

Стаття становить спробу психолінгвістичного аналізу специфіки й закономірностей перемикання коду (перескакування між англійською та китайською мовами) в романах сино-американської письменниці Емі Тан. Актуальність дослідження цього явища продиктована сьогоденням: дедалі більше людей на планеті стають білінгвами/мультилінгвами. Крім того, останнім часом змінилися й підходи до наукового осмислення феномену перемикання коду: якщо раніше перехід з однієї мови на іншу розглядався як вияв недостатньої лінгвістичної компетенції мовця, що веде до втрати чистоти мови, то сьогодні більшість лінгвістів визнають, що перемикання коду – це складний, певним чином організований і керований

процес, який є природним продуктом взаємодії двох мовних систем білінгва. З погляду літературознавства актуальним вважається розроблення нового літературознавчого напряму, який полягає в дослідженні літературно-культурного художнього білінгвізму, що органічно доповнює вивчення національної літератури, додаючи їй трансдіалогічного значення, яке виводить літературний твір за межі певного культурно-історичного часу та простору. Як міждисциплінарна інтеграція методик, психолінгвістика відкриває нові горизонти в дослідженні перемикання коду в бікультурному та білінгвальному літературному творі. У контексті літературного твору психолінгвістичні мотивації перемикання коду розцінюються як важливий засіб створення художнього образу. Перемикання коду в романах Емі Тан відбувається у двох площинах, кожна з яких виконує важливу художню функцію. У процесі дослідження встановлено, що передумовами активації китайської мови у формі транскрибованих слів і висловів є частотність їхнього використання, влучність або культурна неперекладність. У результаті художньо втілені перемикання коду підпорядковуються синтаксису висловлювань, є концептуально вмотивованими й ситуативно обмеженими, вони є невіддільною частиною цілісного образу сино-американця. З іншого боку, перемикання коду відбуваються через стримування англійської мови – англомовний текст містить вказівку, що персонаж повністю перейшов на китайську. Текстуальний аналіз дає змогу виявити психолінгвістичні мотивації перемикання коду через розкриття емоційних станів героїв романів. На основі теоретичних та емпіричних надбань психолінгвістики білінгвізму у проведеному дослідженні ми доходимо висновку, що мотивації перемикання коду в розмовному і письмовому дискурсах здебільшого збігаються.

Ключові слова: Емі Тан; китайська мова; сино-американська література; психолінгвістика; білінгвізм; перемикання коду