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Interculturality: Reconceptualising cultural memberships and identities through translanguaging practice

Zhu Hua

Abstract

Many approaches in intercultural communication are predominantly concerned with providing a cultural account for mis- or non-understanding in interactions. These approaches take cultural memberships, for example, Chinese vs. American, as something given and static and attribute mis- or non-understanding in intercultural communication to differences in value and belief between different cultural groups. In contrast, interculturality, as an emerging research paradigm, represents a line of investigation that departs from these traditions. It problematises the notion of cultural membership and investigates the interplay between language use and socio-cultural identities. In this chapter I first give an overview of Membership Categorisation Device (MCD), a concept central to the interculturality perspective. I then examine some selected interactional data from a Chinese disaporic family to demonstrate how multilingual participants make use of interactional resources available to 'do' cultural identities. Among multilingual speakers, translanguaging practice, in which multilingual speakers make use of their multilingual resources and go between and beyond different languages in a dynamic and flexible way, plays a critical role in the (co-) construction of affiliation vs. disaffiliation towards cultural memberships. During the dynamic process, speakers not only make aspects of their multiple and shifting identities relevant, but also develop new social and cultural identities. These examples add to the central arguments of Interculturality by demonstrating that a) cultural membership is neither prescribed nor static, and b) the relevance of one's cultural membership is contingent on the interplay of self-orientation and ascription-by-others.

Key words

Membership categorisation device, address terms, codeswitching, translanguaging, metalanguaging

1. Introduction

Many studies of intercultural communication are predominantly concerned with providing a 'cultural account' for mis- or non-understanding in interactions involving people of different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. They typically start with cultural differences, take cultural memberships, for example, Chinese vs. American, as something given and attribute mis- or non-understanding in intercultural communication to cultural differences in values and beliefs. While these studies provide a valuable source of information and draw attention to both salient and subtle differences between different cultural groups, they carry the risk of stereotyping and over-generalisation. Questions have been asked about the issue of cultural regularity over variability (Kesckes, 2012; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009; Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012), and the difficulties in explaining communicative behaviours which seemingly contradict the dominant values associated with a particular culture (termed as 'cultural paradox' by Osland & Bird, 2000). Some scholars (e.g. Scollon, et al, 2012; Sarangi, 1994/2011) are also concerned with the problem of circularity and reification. Scollon et al (2004, p.4) once asked,

> *"How does a researcher isolate a situation to study as "intercultural communication" in the first place? If you start by picking a conversation between an "American" and a "Chinese", you have started by presupposing that "Americans" and "Chinese" will be different from each other, that this difference will be significant, and that this difference is the most important and defining aspect that social situation."*

Currently there are a number of lines of enquiries that argue against the cultural-account approach. Some scholars argue that it is the lack of knowledge about professional and institutional discourse systems and mismatches in contextualisation, rather than *ethnicity per se*, that sometimes lead to failures or breakdowns in intercultural communication and put specific ethnic groups or outsiders in a disadvantaged position (e.g. Roberts, 2011). Other scholars challenge the practice of regarding cultural differences as something static. For example, Piller (2011) proposed a progressive account of cultural differences and used

examples of intercultural marriage to argue that cultural differences between intercultural partners may become less prominent over time. Another line of enquiry is what I call the Interculturality perspective, which will be the focus of this chapter.

As an emerging research paradigm, Interculturality represents a line of investigation that problematises cultural identities and emphasises the *inter* nature of interactions (cf. the term *interculturality* as it is used in other chapters in this volume and in public discourse). Its theoretical perspective originates in Nishizaka's seminal work (1995), extended by Mori's work on Japanese and American students' talk (2003). Two journal special issues (Higgins, 2007; Sercombe & Young, 2010) present some recent, concerted efforts by scholars to develop the approach theoretically and methodologically. Its primary focus is neither on the causes of break-down in intercultural communication, nor on the trajectory of cultural differences. Instead, it seeks to interpret how participants make (aspects of) cultural identities relevant or irrelevant to interactions through the interplay of self-orientation and ascription-by-others and the interplay of language use and social-cultural identities. Its main agenda and contributions can be summarised through the following six questions (a detailed review can be found in Zhu, 2014).

1. Are cultural memberships always relevant to intercultural interactions?
2. What do participants do with cultural memberships?
3. How do participants do cultural identities?
4. What interactional resources are available for doing cultural identities?
5. Why do people bother with interculturality?
6. How far can participants go when doing interculturality?

Some of the above questions are related to the issues of identities in general and also addressed in other chapters in this volume (e.g. the issue of flexibility and fixity in De Fina's chapter; the issue of 'brought about' vs. 'brought along' in identity construction in Bayham's chapter, the issue of subjectivity in Kramsch's chapter and the issue of categorisation in Stokoe & Attenborough's chapter). Central to the Interculturality perspective is an analytical concept, Membership Categorisation Device (MCD), which is reviewed in the next section.

2. Interculturality and membership categorisation

Proposed by Sacks (1972), Membership Categorisation Device explains how people order things into categories such as family, mother, student, British, etc. When someone displays a certain set of features or carries out certain actions typically associated with a category (i.e. category-bound activities, in Sack's terms), she would be cast as a member of the category.

For example, if one goes to lectures on a regular basis and/or carries a student card, she would be categorised as a student. In addition to membership categorisation, Sacks observed that people also link categories together through what they hear. Using an example from a children's story, 'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.', Sacks argued that it was due to *conventional expectations* about what constitutes a category's normative behaviour that people link 'the mommy' and 'the baby' in the two sentences and think the mommy as the baby's mommy, not someone else's mommy. In some later studies, category-bound attributes are extended from activities and features to predicates such as rights, entitlements, obligations, knowledge, competences, etc (Hester & Eglin, 1997). Through these category-bound features, activities or predicates, which may be symbolic and indexical, participants activate the necessary and relevant contextual features and make relevant certain aspects of their own identities or those of others, intentionally or inadvertently. Drawing on from the concept of Membership Categorisation Device, the Interculturality perspective argues that while an individual has a number of identities and belongs to many membership categories such as a foreigner, a Latin American, a Mexican, a student, a stamp collector, not all identities are equally salient or relevant in different social interactions or at different points in the same social interaction. The relevance of (cultural) identities is contingent on the participants' self-orientation and ascription-by-others, whereby particulars 'do' cultural memberships through interactions.

As interpreted by Schegloff (2007), categories are more than just labels. An individual belongs to several different categories, but not all the categories are equally relevant or salient at a given time. For example, a student could be a mother, British, a hockey player, a consumer, a traveller, etc, depending on the contexts. The ascription of categories is, therefore, rich with inference. One example from Sacks (1972) is when people read 'a thousand teenagers died in traffic accidents last year', they are likely to assume that the death must have something to do with the fact that these people were teenagers as opposed to adults. The former may be less experienced in navigating road traffic. Given that a category often comes with multiple lexical designations (for example, fellow/man/guy/bloke), the choice of and the change in reference terms is also meaningful. Watson (1983, reviewed in Kasper, 2009) argued that an alternative reference term of a person in subsequent turns of the same speaker in conversational interaction enables the speaker to update or downgrade her stance.

Additional conversational inferences can be made when rules of operations of categorisations in conversations are breached (a review can be found in Schegloff, 2007). One is the

economy rule, which stipulates that a single category term can in principle do the job of reference (Sacks, 1972). When several category labels are used, extra inference work is needed to make sense of why the additional categories are relevant. The other is consistency rule: if one person is described using one category from a collection, subsequent persons may be referred to using either the same category or other categories from the same collection. Additional sense-making work will be required when categories from other collections are used. An example is provided by Schegloff (2007): if someone introduces herself as a sociologist, other participants are likely to orient to disciplinary categories. If, for some reasons, the next person describes herself as a Canadian, this would prompt a search by other participants for what has occasioned that categorisation or her extra effort to justify the change.

Inferences drawn on the choice of category and lexical term as well as the change in the categorisation indicate a reflexive relationship between categorisation and conversational meaning, the very essence of MCD. Through categorisation, participants display their interpretation of social relations, affiliation and disaffiliation and, most relevant to scholars interested in cultural identities, make particular aspects of their cultural identity relevant or irrelevant. Therefore, the situated and reflexive nature of categorisation offers a useful analytical concept and methodology to interpret how cultural identities are negotiated by participants through interactions.

3. Doing interculturality through translanguaging practices among multilingual speakers

In the rest of this chapter I will explore the question of how multilingual participants make use of interactional resources available to 'do' cultural identities through a detailed examination of interactional data from a Chinese diasporic family. There are a number of reasons for my focus on diasporic families. Diaspora is one of the best sites for examining changes and differences in cultural dynamics and values. In general discourse, the term diaspora is often used in contrast with the host community and diasporic communities are compared to one another as if each community is a homogenous and discrete entity (e.g. the Chinese community, the Pakistani community, the Arabic community, etc). However, diasporic communities are super-diverse in many aspects. Diasporic families, more often than not, face tensions between different generations in addition to tensions in the cultural values of the diasporic community and those of the 'host' community in which the diasporic community is located. When the language of the host community differs from that of the

diasporic community, there are also issues of different language ideologies and discrepancies in linguistic abilities between generations, which pose challenges to language socialisation of the younger generations, i.e. the process of learning to speak the language in a way appropriate to the community, and adapting to the beliefs and norms associated with speaking a language. The study of family intergenerational talk within diasporic communities provides an opportunity to examine 'doing interculturality' among the people of seemingly similar background, in contrast to those situations when participants regard themselves as different right from the start (e.g. a Spanish person interacting with a Japanese person). Also of interest to the discussion is the translanguaging practice, i.e. dynamic and flexible multilingual practices among members of disasporic families who are capable of going between and beyond two or more linguistic systems and structures and bringing together different dimensions of linguistic, cognitive and social skills, knowledge and experience of the different social worlds (see Li Wei, 2011, for a more detailed discussion on the notion of translanguaging).

4. Data and analytical concepts

The example I want to analyse in this chapter come from a conversational interaction recorded in a Chinese diasporic family in the UK (see Appendix for the transcription of the conversation). The multi-party conversation took place between two parents and their teenage son, Jeff. The family moved to the UK when the husband was awarded a university research fellowship seven years before the recording was made. The parents, both in their 40s at the time of data collection, speak Mandarin as their first language and English as a second language. The son was five years old when the family settled in the UK. He attends a local primary school and operates in English most of the time. He goes to a Chinese complementary school to 'maintain' his Mandarin during the weekend.

In the conversation, the family is discussing a forthcoming visit by a family friend, referred to as 'Uncle Liu'. Jeff cannot recall the person and his parents are trying to refresh his memory by reminding Jeff of other acquaintances in the same social network in Turns 4-14. In the second half of the extract (Turns 15-35), the conversation turns into a discussion of social, cultural and linguistic appropriateness of Chinese address terms. The apparent tension in the conversation between Jeff and his parents is with regard to the Chinese way of addressing each other using pseudo-kinship terms. In the following analysis, we are going to focus on the translanguaging practice of the participants in negotiating their affiliation with Chineseness; in particular, how Jeff undermines and resists the Chinese way of addressing

each other, a category-bound activity associated with being Chinese, and how his parents respond to his resistance and ascribe Chineseness to him. I will look at different aspects of the data in turn, including address terms, metalanguaging, language play and codeswitching.

5. Data analysis

5.1 Address terms

Address terms, including personal names and pronouns, proper nouns, kinship terms, status terms, play an important role in the creation and maintenance of social relations. They also serve as membership categorization device in the sense that the choice of address terms indicates one's categorization of the addressee in terms of their social relations. For many multilingual speakers, the languages of address terms, in addition to address terms itself, mark one's membership categorization. For example, there are a number of important differences between Chinese and English address terms. The use of Chinese address terms is very sensitive to factors such as roles, status, degrees of intimacy and familiarity, age, gender and situational contexts. Contrary to the use of first name to address friends or colleagues in some societies, there is a preference for the use of pseudo-kinship terms such as 叔叔(*shushu*, meaning *uncle*); 阿姨(*ayi*, meaning *auntie*), and terms of deference such as 老(*lao*, meaning *old*), 小(*xiao*, meaning *little*), 大(*da*, meaning *big*), among acquaintances in the Chinese context. In terms of personal names, it is very common among Chinese living abroad to have both Chinese and English name, partly for ease of communication and partly as a way of fitting into the new culture (e.g. Li, 1997). However, there are differences between generations with regard to which names are used and in what context. For example, younger generations of Chinese diasporic communities frequently present themselves in English names across a range of contexts and social networks (workplace, peer groups, social events, families, etc). For the parent generation, many prefer to stick to their Chinese names within the community, but may choose to use English names when socializing with people outside the community.

Some differences between Chinese and English address term play out in the extract below and are used by the participants as symbolic and indexical cues to evoke Chineseness and non-Chineseness. The predominant use of pseudo-kinship terms and terms of deference by the parents in referring to their acquaintances is very noticeable. The examples include:

- 刘叔叔 *Liu shushu* {surname + father's younger brother} (Turn 2)

- 莹莹姐 *Yingying jie*{given name + elder sister} (Turns 4, 7)

- 王姨 *Wang yi* {surname + mother's sister} (Turn 10)

- 王姐 *Wang jie* {surname + elder sister} (Turn 11)

- 老朱 *Lao Zhu* {Old + Surname} (Turns 12, 13, 14)

The main factor in the choice of kinship terms in referring to an acquaintance is the relative age difference between the referent and addressee and sometimes in conversation, people need to make adjustment in kinship terms in referring to the same person when the addressee changes. The subtle adjustment is well demonstrated in Turn 11, which is the beginning of a side sequence from the main topic of the conversation (Turns 11-15). Following Turn 10, in which the mother is telling Jeff that Jenny is the daughter of Jeff's 'Auntie Wang', the father specifically asks the mother for the name of Auntie Wang's husband. With the mother becoming the addressee, he changes the pseudo-kinship term from 'Auntie' to 'Elder Sister', an address term more age-appropriate to the couple.

The frequent use of kinship and deference terms would not have been interesting to our analysis of interculturality if Jeff, the 3rd participant of the conversation, had followed the same practice. The contrast between the parents' preference for kinship and deference terms and Jeff's preference for first-names in English becomes apparent when Jeff specifically asks for the English name of the person he cannot recall in Chinese in Turn 6. Like many people from the younger generation of the Chinese diasporic population, Jeff builds and maintains his social network through English names and relies on his dominant language, English, for cognitive tasks.

The contrast and misalignment in the address terms between Turns 1-15 index the difference in Jeff and his parents' affiliation with Chineseness: while his parents position themselves as Chinese, Jeff distances himself from Chineseness. The difference surfaces in the 2nd half of the extract when the participants explicitly discuss about the social, cultural and linguistic practice of address terms, to which I will now turn.

5.2 Metalanguaging

Metalanguaging here, or 'talk about social, cultural and linguistic practices' (TSCLP), refers to explicit or inexplicit comments by participants about the degree of appropriacy of a social, cultural and linguistic behaviour in specific contexts (Zhu, 2008). It is an activity type frequently found in intercultural communication and parent-child interaction when

participants make meta-comments about a social and cultural practice. The comments in metalanguaging may appear to be made causally or incidentally. Nevertheless, they index participants' awareness about and perception towards socio-cultural norms regulating behaviour. When it occurs as part of the talk between parents and children, it often functions as an important means of socializing children by parents toward the social and cultural norms of the community they identify themselves with. For analysts and researchers, metalanguaging provides a site where participants make their beliefs and orientations to culture(s) *demonstrably* known rather than leaving it as a matter of interpretations.

The second half of the conversation under study here (Turns 15-35) is an example of metalanguaging. After a side sequence, Jeff, in Turn 15, brings back the topic of the visitor by reinstating his question. He refers to the visitor as 'Liu Guy' in English. However, Jeff's parents find this reference not only unexpected, as shown in Turn 16 when the mother asks for clarification, but also rather rude, as shown in Turn 18 when the father explicitly tells Jeff off. Jeff does not give in easily. He challenges his father by saying that this is how his father refers to him and by asking a question why calling someone old is respectful in Turn 23. In the Chinese language, the term 老 (*lao*, meaning *old*) plus a family name is often used by adults of the similar status to address each other, indicating a certain degree of deference as well as familiarity, since being old commands respect and gives one authority and privileges. However, children, generally speaking, are encouraged to address other people by kinship terms, even with strangers. This practice is reflected in the father's comment in Turn 26 when he is trying to show Jeff how this rule of address terms applies categorically in China by saying 'Everybody is your uncle'. The mother quickly points out that in China kinship terms are very popular in that people address each other as older or younger brother or uncle/auntie. She refers to an incident in the past where a barber calls Jeff 'big brother' even though the barber himself is older than Jeff. The rationale for doing so is, according to the mother (Turn 32), to show respect. Jeff responds to his parents' teaching by using humour. In Turn 33, he says 'no thank you'. This 'polite', but direct declination has a double agenda: Jeff rejects the idea of being called 'big brother' by someone older than himself; and while doing so, he asserts his own position and role contrary to his parents' expectation. The conversation ends amicably when the parents made fun of a Chinese word mispronounced by Jeff.

As shown in the above analysis, the metalanguaging in this conversation, on the one hand, captures the parents' overt attempt in explaining the rationale behind the Chinese address terms, socialising Jeff into the appropriate use of address terms according to the Chinese way

and hence ascribing Jeff a Chinese identity. On the other hand, it also displays Jeff's resistance to the ascription through his language play and humour.

5.3 Language play and multilingual creativity

Language play is not only an effective language learning strategy among many language learners (Cook, 2000), but also a means of resisting being socialised into specific norms (Li & Zhu, in press). Among bilingual and multilingual speakers, language play often takes the form of multilingual creativity, a practice whereby multilingual speakers invent new forms of expressions (e.g. bilingual puns) by following the rules of one language yet at the same time flouting the rules of another language.

In the present extract, language play and multilingual creativity, along with other resources, are used by the participants to display their orientation or resistance to Chineseness, a category-bound activity. In Turn 21, Jeff plays on the difference between a Chinese character '爱' (*ai*, meaning *love* when standing alone) and the compound '爱称' (*aicheng*, meaning *endearment*) and tries to turn the argument around by showing the funny side of the logic his father follows in Turn 20. Jeff is not the only one to resort to language play and creativity. When Jeff mispronounces 敢当(*gan dang*, meaning '*don't deserve it*') as '*gang dang*' in Turn 33 and ends up with a phrase close in pronunciation but with ambiguous meaning, his mother seizes the opportunity to play on the collocation of the wrong word with 磕头 (*kowtow*, an old Chinese way of showing deep respect by kneeling and bowing to the floor). While language play adds amicability to the conversation on a whole, it also helps the participants to display and negotiate their positions and orientations.
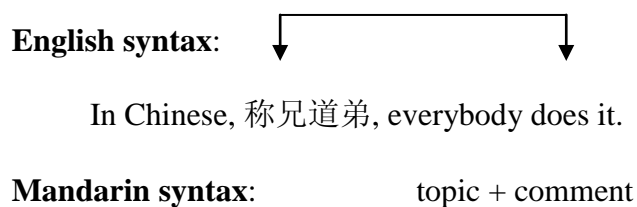
5.4 Codeswitching

There are many examples of codeswitching, the alternation of languages in the same interactional episode, in the extract. Over the years, many researchers have investigated the linguistic and social motivations of codeswitching. Most researchers agree that codeswitching carries significant social meaning. Yet, how exactly social meaning is achieved (i.e. intended, articulated and interpreted) has been a matter of debate. One approach sees languages carrying different symbolic values; thus the choice of Language A as opposed to Language B would index certain views, values and identities (e.g. Fishman, 1965; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Another approach sees the very act of codeswitching as more meaningful than the identity of the language that is chosen. Thus, the directionality of codeswitching −

whether it is A to B or B to A – matters less than how the switching is initiated and responded to in its sequential context (e.g. Auer, 1984; Li, 2002, 2005; Gafaranga, 2005).

There is now a very substantial body of empirical evidence to suggest that whilst social roles, power relationships, responsibilities and expectations can be useful in understanding the meaning of codeswitching in conversation, there is no simple, one-to-one association between language and social values (e.g. Cashman, 2005; Williams, 2005). For instance, Jorgensen (1998) finds that Danish/Turkish-speaking children only occasionally attempt to allude to the superior position of Danish in their peer conversation. In most cases, codeswitching, the direction of which is neither unilateral nor predictable, is simply used as a signal to indicate whether the speaker intends to converge or diverge from the previous speaker's code choice and thus serve as a device to dominate the interaction. As Gafaranga points out, 'social structures and therefore social identities, are not fixed and stable objects out there waiting to be correlated with linguistic objects' (Gafaranga, 2005:291). In the context of interculturality studies, some have looked into the use of codeswitching in creating insider/outsider memberships (Higgins, 2007) and for managing the dispreferred action of resisting membership categorisation ascribed by others and other dispreferred actions (Higgins, 2009)

In the present episode, codeswitching serves a variety of purposes. There are two types of codeswitching. One is the between-speaker codeswitching, which is frequent throughout the interaction. Jeff's parents show a clear preference for Mandarin and tend to switch to Mandarin from Jeff's turns in English, while Jeff sticks to English and nearly all of his turns are in English. This results in the alternation between English and Mandarin between speakers in Turns 1-9 and again in Turns 17-25. The other type is within-speaker codeswitching which is also referred to as intrasentential codeswitching, since they occur within one utterance. There are a number of within-speakers' codeswitching which serve different purposes. For example, In Turn 4, Jeff's father switches to the English word 'fancy' when there does not seem to be a word which is semantically compatible with this word in Chinese. In Turn 18, his father mixes codes in prefixing his repetition of Jeff's address term with a Chinese phrase '什么' (*shenme*, meaning *what*). This type of construction: *wh-*question with partial repetition or substitution of previous turns is often referred to as 'format tying strategy' (Goodwin, 1983) and used by Jeff's father to initiate an opposition. In Turn 20, Jeff's father continues the topic initiated by Jeff in his previous turn in English, but switches (back) to Chinese to sustain his opposition in his previous turns. In Turn 22, Jeff's

mum resorts to a English word to explain the idea of '爱' in the Chinese language, which means love if standing along, but can also mean respect, like, passion, etc when it occurs in different collocations. Similarly, in Turn 28, Jeff's mum uses a Chinese set phrase, '称兄道弟', referring to the habitual practice of Chinese people calling each other older or younger brother, followed by an English sentence 'everybody does it'. The utterance as a whole is structurally ambiguous as it contains both a full sentence in English and a topic-comment structure with the Chinese phrase as the topic and the English sentence as the comment, as the following chart shows. Chinese is a topic prominent language. So we may say that the mother is following a Chinese syntactic structure. At the same time, the utterance can be interpreted as two separate phrases with 'it' in 'everybody does it' referring back to the phrase '称兄道弟'.

English syntax:

In Chinese, 称兄道弟, everybody does it.

Mandarin syntax: topic + comment

For Jeff, the only codeswitching occurs in Turn 33, in which Jeff switches from English to a Chinese phrase, which, if he had pronounced correctly, would have meant 'I don't deserve it' and extended his previous utterance and stance.

The above analysis shows that the use of codeswitching, which occurs frequently in multilingual interaction, varies significantly for different participants at different points in the exchange. In the present episode, the frequency and direction of language alternations between speakers are clearly related to the participants' language preference. It echoes the findings of many earlier studies (e.g. Gumperz, 1982) which argue that immigrants from East and South Asia in the UK regard English as the 'they-code' and prefer to use their ethnic community language (e.g. Cantonese, Urdu, Punjabi) for family interaction, whereas their British-born children consider English as 'we-code' and prefer it to the ethnic languages. At the same time, the examination of intrasentential codeswitching shows that codeswitching is a resource employed by speakers to expand, elaborate and reinforce their points, to fill in the semantic gap between the languages and to initiate and mark an opposition. It is through both language alternations between speakers and within speakers' turns that codeswitching

contributes to interculturality, albeit more indirectly than directly. By bringing about the inferences about the change in language choice, codeswitching indexes and marks Chineseness vs. non-Chineseness.

6. Conclusion

Interculturality provides an analytical perspective which demonstrates that cultural membership is neither prescribed nor static. Using Membership Categorisation Device as its main analytical concept, the Interculturality perspective argues against a cultural account in understanding problems in interactions involving people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and shows that cultural memberships of speakers are not relevant to all the interactions all the time. Instead, their relevance is contingent on the interplay of self-orientation and ascription-by-others. Among multilingual speakers, translanguaging practice, in which multilingual speakers make use of their multilingual resources and go between and beyond different languages in a dynamic and flexible way, plays a critical role in the (co-) construction of affiliation vs. disaffiliation towards cultural memberships. The example we analysed in this chapter centres upon the construction of Chineseness vs. non-Chineseness, which becomes noticeable in the conversation as the misalignment between identity ascribed by his parents to Jeff and that oriented to by Jeff himself plays out in the interaction.

As shown in the analysis, there are a range of translanguaging practices employed by the participants in their membership categorisation in the acts of self-orientation and negotiation of ascription-by-others. These translanguaging practices do not contribute to the construction of (non-)Chineseness in the same way. The metalanguaging provides an opportunity for an overt and explicit discussion of conventional expectations regarding address terms between Jeff and his parents: while the parents try to socialise Jeff into 'Chineseness', Jeff voices his reluctance and resistance towards the category-bound activities associated with being a Chinese. Elsewhere, Day (1998) identified several ways in which resistance of categorisation-by-others occurs. These include: dismissing the relevance of the category; minimising the supposed 'difference' between categories; reconstituting the category; ethnifying the ethnifer (i.e. turning the table by assigning cultural memberships to those who assign memberships in the first place) and actively avoiding it. Jeff, in the present example, uses an additional and different strategy by challenging the rationale of conventional expectation associated with the category of being Chinese.

Compared with metalanguaging, other translanguaging practices are more indexical and symbolic in nature. They are very much context-contingent in their role in the construction of Chineseness. It is the contrast and change in linguistic codes between the speakers and within the same speaker, not *codeswitching per se*, that creates an opportunity for additional inferences of membership categorisation to be drawn. The same applies to the use of address terms: the contrast between the use of Chinese pseudo-kinship terms and deference term by the parents and that of first name in English by Jeff requires participants requires additional inferences. Both parties resort to language play to enforce their argument and stance towards Cheesiness.

The analysis of the disaporic family intergenerational talk also shows that interculturality as an analytical approach applies to not only interactions where participants are assumed to be from different cultural backgrounds as most of currently available intercultural communication studies are concerned with, but also interactions where participants are often regarded or perceived to be from the same cultural group and assigned the same label, i.e. the Chinese diasporic community. Viewing intergenerational talk as a process of interculturality has a number of advantages. It brings attention to the tensions within diasporic communities, especially between different generations and throws new light onto the current debate on new super-diversity (e.g. Vertovec, 2007). In addition, it provides insight into the process of language socialisation among diasporic families in which the older generation of a community is expected to socialise the younger generation into the social-cultural values of the community to which they pledge their allegiance. What becomes clear through the application of interculturality analysis is the agency of younger generation who, rather than playing a passive role, actively constructs and negotiates the identities ascribed by others and shapes and impacts on the identities of those with whom they are interacting. During the process, opportunities are created for developing new and different social and cultural identities and changing family dynamics, which ultimately adds to an increased super-diversity and socio-cultural change.

Appendix

Mandarin is first transcribed in Chinese characters and then pinyin, a Chinese Romanisation system. English translation is given in italics. ( ) indicates the transcriber's best guess. The data was previously published in Zhu (2010).

(Jeff: aged 11; Mum & Dad: in their 40s).

1 Jeff: Who's coming?

2 Dad: 刘叔叔。

               Liu Shushu

               Younger Uncle Liu.

3 Jeff: Which one?

4 Dad: 刘叔叔你不知道？你莹莹姐你不记得？上次你不还说 Tom fancy 她吗？

               Liu Shushu ni bu zhi dao? Ni Yingying jie ni bu ji de? Shang ci ni bu hai shuo Tom fancy ta ma?

               Younger Uncle Liu, you don't know? Your Older Sister Yingying. You don't remember? Did you say 'Tom fancy' her last time.

5 Mum: 真的？

               Zhen de?

               Really?

6 Jeff: Is it Jenny or Christine?

7 Dad: 莹莹姐你忘了？

               Yingying jie ni wang le?

               Older Sister Yingying, do you not remember?

8 Jeff: What's her English name?

9 Dad: 我不知道。

               Wo bu zhi dao.

               I don't know.

10 Mum: 不是 Jenny。Jenny 是你王姨的女儿。

               Bu shi Jenny. Jenny shi ni Wang yi de n ü er.

               Not Jenny. Jenny is your Auntie Wang's daughter.

11 Dad: 哎，王姐老公叫什么来着？

               Ai, Wang jie Laogong jiao shenmo lai zhe?

Ai (interjection).Older Sister Wang's husband, what is his name?

12 Mum:　　老朱啊。你怎么不知道？

Lao Zhu a. Ni zenmo bu zhi dao?

Old Zhu. How come you don't know his name?

13 Dad:　　是老朱我知道。朱什么来着？

Shi Lao Zhu wo zhi dao. Zhu shenmo lao zhe?

I know it is Old Zhu. But Zhu what?

14 Mum:　　那我可不知道。你老朱是你认识的，我又不认识。

Na wo ke bu zhi dao. Ni Lao Zhu shi ni ren shi de. Wo you bur en shi.

That I don't know. Your Old Zhu is your acquaintance. I don't know him.

15 Jeff:　　　　Who's this Liu guy anyway?

16 Mum:　　Which Liu guy?

17 Jeff:　　　　I don't know. You said he's coming today.

18 Dad:　　什么 Liu guy? 那是你叫的吗？没礼貌。

Shenmo Liu guy? Na shi ni jiao de ma? Mei li mao.

What Liu guy? Is that how you address him? It is very rude.

19 Jeff:　　　　You call him Old Liu.

20 Dad:　　Old Liu 是爱称。

Old Liu shi ai cheng.

Old Liu is an endearment.

21 Jeff:　　　　(Laugh) You fancy him then?

22 Mum:　　不是那个爱。爱称是对人表示敬爱，respect 你懂不懂？

Bu shi na ge ai. Ai cheng shi dui ren biao shi jin ai. Respect ni tong bu tong?

Not that kind of endearment. It is to show our respect. Respect, do you understand or not?

23 Jeff:　　　　Call him old is respect？

24 Dad:　　"老" 是我叫的，不是你叫的。你得叫 Uncle。

"Lao" shi wo jiao de, bu shi ni jiao de. Ni dei jiao Uncle.

I can call him 'Old', but you cannot. You need to call him Uncle.

25 Jeff: He's not my uncle.

26 Dad: In Chinese he is. Everybody is your uncle.

27 Jeff: Lucky me!

28 Mum: In Chinese, 称兄道弟，everybody does it. 走大街上见了人也要叫叔叔阿姨。就像上次在沈阳，人家还管你叫大哥嘛！

In Chinese, cheng xiong dao di, everybody does it. Zou da jie shang jian le ren ye yao jiao Shushu Ayi. Jiu xiang shang ci zai Shengyang, ren jia hai guan ni jiao Da ge ma.

In Chinese, people call each other older brother or younger brother. Everybody does it. On street, you need to call people Uncle or Auntie. Give you an example, when in Shenyang (a city in China), someone called you big brother.

29 Dad: 谁管他叫大哥？

Shiu guan ta jiao Da ge?

Who called him big brother?

30 Mum: 理发馆的。

Li fa guanr de.

The Barber's.

31 Jeff: Oh he was dead weird. He was older than me.

32 Mum: See, it doesn't matter. He's showing respect.

33 Jeff: No thank you. 不 gang dang.

No thank you. Not gang dang (gang dang resembles an onomatopoeic word, guang dang in Chinese, is the sound when something hard drops onto the ground.)

34 Dad: (Laugh)

35 Mum: (不敢当）。什么不 gang dang! gang dang 磕头哇？

(bu gan dang) I don't deserve it. What 'bu gang dang'! gang dang [kowtow](#)?

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